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Anna Paterson Stout: Portrait of a New Zealand Lady
1858 – 1931

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master
Of Arts in History at Massey University

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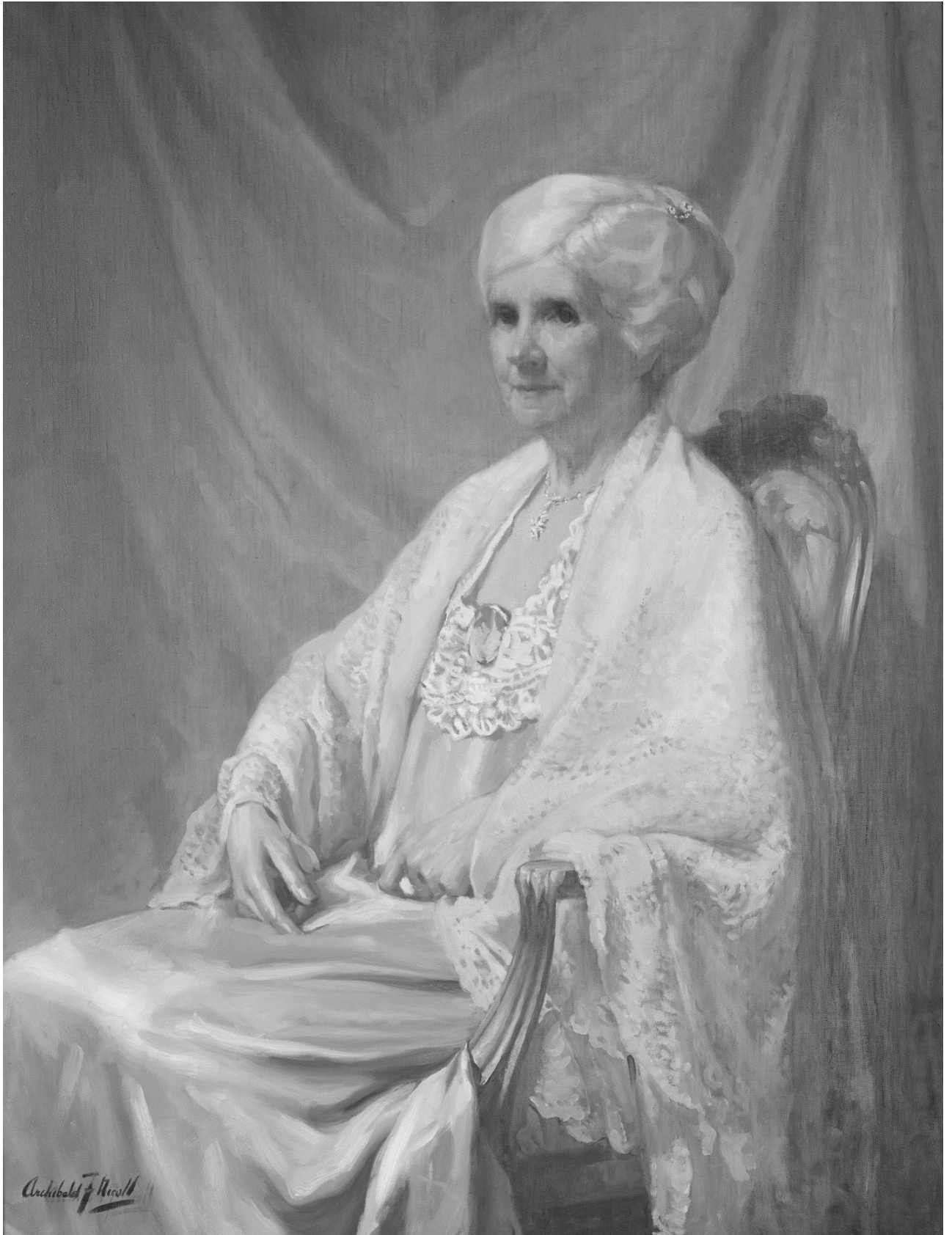


Figure 1: Lady Anna Stout, 1926, oil on canvas, gold plastered frame by A.F. Nicholls, ref: G-830-1, reproduced with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Abstract

Lady Anna Paterson Stout was one of the most widely-known advocates for women in New Zealand in her lifetime (1858-1931) and a leading figure of the early women's movement. During the course of her life, which corresponded to New Zealand's development from settler society to established Dominion, and due to her marriage to Sir Robert Stout, she knew personally, worked with or influenced nearly every leading political, social and activist figure of that period. Why surprisingly little is known about her today forms one of the central questions to this thesis. This thesis analyses Anna's life in light of historians Mary Beard and Gerda Lerner's advocacy of women as force in their generations. It also explores Anna's deliberate use of influence within the unique context of early female political equality as well as her willingness to act deliberately and independently from her more famous husband as a conscious exemplar of the New Woman. This thesis broadens our understanding of the personal relationships between the early leading women of New Zealand, such as Kate Sheppard, with whom Anna worked closely and often controversially. It also looks closely at Anna's transnational engagement with the British suffrage movement in London during the critical years of 1909 to 1914. A study of the life of Anna Stout opens up numerous further avenues of inquiry as well as contributing to our understanding of New Zealand's development in the immediate post-suffrage era. The thesis concludes that Anna Stout was a radical for her time and one who consciously used her access to centres of influence to publicly advance the cause of women on multiple levels.

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The decision to undertake post-graduate study while managing full time work and family commitments is inherently selfish and not one that is made alone. It affects many others and it is these people to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude. First and foremost, I thank my husband Ian and sons Douglas and Cameron; for their patience, the countless meals cooked on the family's behalf, Sundays spent house cleaning while mum was researching, and their willingness to play the role of captive audience to my unfolding tale. My gratefulness is matched only by my pride in their achievements in the field of history.

I want to thank my good friend, Kate Jones, who was the first to call me a historian and helped me believe it. It has been a pleasure to share this journey with her as she wrote her own PhD.

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Abbreviations

DU:HO	Hocken Library, Dunedin
FWG	Fabian Women's Group
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
SPWC	The Society for the Protection of Women and Children
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WTU	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

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Introduction

Women are and always have been active participants in the shaping of events

Gerda Lerner, 1988¹

Lady Anna Stout is most prominently known in New Zealand historiography for her very public role in the British suffrage campaign between 1909 and 1912 and indeed, this is where I first caught a glimpse of her. I was immediately intrigued. How did a New Zealand woman come to feature so prominently in British women's history? Why had I never heard of her before? I met Anna again in the course of working with the *White Ribbon* material during my Honours Research Exercise on the ideological exchange between British, New Zealand and American women activists in the late nineteenth century, where she featured over and over again, vigorously engaging and debating her colleagues in the early women's movement. Anna was everywhere and yet nowhere. A flurry of publishing for the centennial of New Zealand women's suffrage produced the most substantial work up to that time: Raewyn Dalziel's earlier piece for *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* was reprinted in *The Suffragists* and Sandra Coney prepared a profile of Anna Stout's work in England as part of her suffrage centennial work *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won The Vote*.² Three years later, Roberta Nicholls included a more tantalizing look at Anna's England years and a closer look at her role in reinvigorating the National Council of Women in her work *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of the Women of New Zealand 1896-1920*.³ But still the question remained: who was Anna Stout and how did such a woman come to be leading the contingent of enfranchised women in a 10,000 strong procession in the heart of London? There had to be more to the story.⁴

¹ Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters, Life and Thought*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 132.

² Raewyn Dalziel, 'Anna Paterson Stout', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1870-1900*, Vol. 2, 1993; Sandra Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1993; Claudia Orange (ed), *The Suffragists: Women Who Worked for the Vote*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 1993, pp. 137-43.

³ Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of the Women of New Zealand 1896-1920*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1996, pp. 89-116. More recently, Anna receives a brief mention as the 'most prominent public figure' of the women's suffrage period in David Hackett Fischer, *Fairness and Freedom: A History of Two Open Societies, New Zealand and the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 241-42.

⁴ As recently as the Winter, 2014 edition of the *Journal of Women's History*, an in-depth article on the Australian feminist Vida Goldstein and her role in the British suffrage movement completely excludes any mention of Anna Stout, although Anna and Goldstein worked closely together, co-founding the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters Association in London and jointly leading the Australian and New Zealand women contingents of the massive 1911 women's suffrage procession. See Clare Wright, "'A Splendid Object Lesson', A Transnational Perspective on the Birth of the Australian Nation', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Winter 2014, pp. 12-36, particularly pp. 25-6.

Lady Anna Stout was, in fact, a leading figure in the New Zealand women's movement and a highly vocal champion of the advancement of women throughout her life. As a woman of Liberal ideology, she held firmly to the conviction that women and men were equal in responsibility and therefore should have equal opportunities. Her life work was dedicated to this end: to raise women's awareness of their potential and to ensure their protection and equal representation before the law. Although her role as wife of the Premier and later Chief Justice made her a public figure in her day, it was the deliberate use of this proximity to power and her own, multi-faceted work that made her a force in her generation.⁵ Even as she celebrated the moral superiority of women as wives and mothers, Anna championed their mental equality and variously challenged, criticised and beseeched them to use it.⁶ Based on the material she chose to bequeath in her personal papers, it is this work that she wished to be remembered by.

Anna Stout presents a challenge to the historian. In physical appearance, with her air of dignity and feminine reserve, she appears to be the ideal wife of a prominent political husband. But as one rolls back the historical record, one finds a controversial and even polarizing figure willing to use the media to publicly denounce a Premier or challenge her contemporaries. Why has the story of such a prominent woman not been told at length prior to this time? Does the answer give insight into New Zealand women's historiography? From these initial questions came others: what was the nature of Anna's relationship with the other, leading women of her generation? There were in fact many women active to varying degrees in the New Zealand women's movement, but Anna stands out for the breadth of her involvement as well as her willingness to use her title to further her political and social aims. Additional questions that this thesis will seek to answer are: what was the nature of Anna and Robert's relationship? How are we to understand Anna's bold and unflinching public persona in an age that favoured women in a quiet, subordinate role? How should history interpret her contribution to the evolving public discourse on the role of women in society?

In answering these questions, this thesis seeks to add to our understanding of the women who worked beyond the initial goal of female suffrage to influence women's understanding of their potential and their place in New Zealand society. In doing so, we also consider whether their actions helped to push New Zealand society as a whole further along the track of equality and egalitarianism. In focusing in particular on the life work of Lady Anna Stout, a Liberal and prominent feminist, we primarily hope to gain a better understanding of one of the best known women of her generation.

Given the considerable amount of material available and the many years in which both Anna and Robert Stout feature so publicly in New Zealand, this thesis has had to limit itself to attempting a broad understanding of Anna's contribution to New Zealand history with close studies of selected

⁵ Roberta Nicholls and Dorothy Page note in particular the loss of the benefit of Anna's influence when she left the National Council of Women after just one year. 'National Council of Women of New Zealand, 1896-1906, 1916-', in Anne Else (ed), *Women Together*, Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993, p. 82.

⁶ Raewyn Dalziel's, 'The Colonial Helpmeet' is still a foundational argument in this regard. How Anna's actions both affirm and challenge Dalziel's argument is discussed in more detail in chapters three and five. Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, October, 1977, pp. 112-23.

aspects of her life based on a study of her personal papers and relevant primary and secondary material. Considering the scope of Robert's political and legal work, the numerous organizations with which Anna was associated and the number of people with whom this brought them into contact, it would be impossible to analyse in detail her relationship with all of the people who were so important to the forming of modern New Zealand. Indeed, it is the breadth of her relationships and influence that this thesis hopes to impress upon its readers. It does not, therefore, attempt a close study of the Stouts' private lives or living conditions, focusing rather on their ideology and public service. A study of this scope naturally unearths additional material that would lend itself to further study. Some of those topics include the Stouts' relationship with the extended Atkinson-Richmond clan, the political nature of At-Homes and salon culture in early New Zealand, the role of the Lyceum Club of London as a centre of women's activism, and Anna's sometimes contentious relationship with Kate Sheppard, just to name a few.

This thesis is arranged according to the key themes in Anna's life, rather than attempting to follow a traditional chronology. This approach reflects both the nature of the primary and secondary material available and the areas that were of greatest import in Anna's life. It is designed as a portrait of a lady and early feminist rather a comprehensive image, and like a portrait, what is left out often tells as much about the person as what is included.

Time and place feature prominently in an understanding of Anna's life, and this is the focus of chapter one. New Zealand developed rapidly from colony to Dominion in Anna's life span of 1858 to 1931 and the general awareness among its pioneers that they were establishing a new society features prominently in her views.⁷ Chapter two considers the importance of Anna's immediate and extended family, including the role of the Scottish clan in their family identity, the influence of the Macgregors and how, in turn, the Stouts and Macgregors influenced the development of New Zealand. Chapter three undertakes a close study of several of Anna's keynote speeches and publications, revealing in more detail the strong Liberal ideology which drove her work. Anna was primarily an activist on behalf of women and the breadth of her work in this area is examined closely in chapter four. Anna's nearly four years in England from 1909 to 1912 at the height of the British suffrage movement was a watershed event in her life. The importance of the timing of this trip, as Anna reached maturity as a political wife and mother, are highlighted and the surprising nature of her 'conversion' to suffragette is examined in chapter five.

When this topic was first conceived, it was assumed that source material would be limited and that the subject would need to be inferred from marginal references, with a strong use of reading between the lines to glean a picture of Anna. In fact, the very opposite has proven to be the case. Anna's strong public profile and the wonderful resource of Papers Past has meant a plethora of news reports, articles, editorials and letters both by and about Anna. The Anna Stout collection of papers at the Hocken Library has formed the starting point.⁸ Anna formed this collection at the end of her life, which focuses on her areas of work and interest while omitting any journals or personal letters. Additionally, the Stout Family Papers held at the Alexander Turnbull have contributed significantly to

⁷ W. David McIntyre, *Dominion of New Zealand: statesmen and status, 1907-1945*, Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 2007. Originally a crown colony, New Zealand was recognized as a Dominion in September, 1907 by proclamation of King Edward VII.

⁸ Anna Stout Papers, ARC-0021, DU:HO.

our understanding of the extended Stout family and their place in national history.⁹ A significant addition was made to the collection in 2013, extending the material relevant to Anna and her children, with further additions as late as October, 2014 which have yet to be fully catalogued or studied. Thus there is scope for additional work on the Stout family on many levels.

Biographical writing as history has passed in and out of favour through the generations. While traditional biographies have often focused on 'great' men and women and received a strong following among the public, there have also been periods, as in America in the early twentieth-century, when biographies were out of favour.¹⁰ There is also a risk that biographical writing, particularly early, compensatory biography, can end in a kind of pseudo-history without proper critical analysis.¹¹ Social history in recent times has gone some way to advocating the value of the common woman and man, but has had limited reach in the realm of biography.¹² There are, however, many other ways to interpret a subject's life.

The political scientist and philosopher Hannah Arendt wrote that biography 'has become the classical genre for the lives of great statesmen' and not typically 'suitable' for those whose 'main interest lies in the life story.'¹³ But Arendt also acknowledged that a well-written biography has the potential to force 'the colourless light of historical time...through...the prism of a great character so that in the resulting spectrum a complete unity of life and world is achieved.'¹⁴ In Arendt's example, the character of Rosa Luxemburg and her influence on her contemporaries was the compelling motivation to write her life story, not the success (or in Luxemburg's case, failure) of her ideas and leadership.

In contrast to the 'exemplary heroines' standard, American historian Joan Scott advocates an alternative technique:

...I think of them (women) as sites...where crucial political and cultural contests are enacted...to recognize the many factors that constitute her agency, the complex and multiple ways in which she is constructed as a historical actor.¹⁵

Biographies of wives of notable men face additional hurdles as they seek to overcome the (usually) extensive body of work written on their husbands and create a clear picture of the woman as an individual. Just as women's names and legal personas were absorbed into that of their husbands, so too have their identities often been lost to the historical record. Where there is evidence, it is often

⁹ Stout Family Papers, MS-Group-2213, WTU.

¹⁰ 'Biography Yanked Down out of Olympus': Beard, Woodward and Debunking Biography', *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Nov. 1983), pp. 403-27.

¹¹ Compare Nancy Isenberg, 'Founding Mothers, Myths and a Martyr', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Fall, 2007, pp. 185-94 and Gerda Lerner, 'Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges' in *The Majority Finds its Past*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 145.

¹² In contrast, Nick Salvatore argues for the affinity inherent in biography and social history in 'Biography and Social History: An Intimate Relationship', *Labour History*, No. 87 (Nov. 2004), pp. 187-92.

¹³ Hannah Arendt, 'A Heroine of the Revolution' from *Men in Dark Times*, New York Review of Books, Oct 6, 1966.

¹⁴ Ibid. Compare with Liz Stanley's analogy of biography as a kaleidoscope rather than a microscope, *The Auto/biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/biography*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 158.

¹⁵ Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996, p. 16.

viewed through the prism of their husband's actions; the woman as extension of the man. This has been equally true of Anna.¹⁶ Fortunately Anna Stout was a significant personality in her own right and left a considerable amount of material for the historian, both in her personal papers and in the media and organizational records of her time.

The works of Mary Ritter Beard and Gerda Lerner have been influential in forming the theoretical framework of this thesis. Beard's is a voice unknown to many today, much to our detriment. She advocated a different view of women in history, one of force and influence regardless of social standing. She found women at work shaping and directing the outcome of their generations from the earliest nomadic humans to the modern day office girl. Beard was the first to argue that the contribution of women to human development 'cannot be found by treating them only as victims of oppression.'¹⁷ In Beard's reading of history, the female half of the population were as fully engaged as the male half in the making of history; the challenge was to know where to find them.

Beard was primarily a lone voice in her generation in her advocacy for women as force and not victim. In her enthusiasm to promote what she considered a more realistic view of women in history she downplayed the very real social and political challenges that women have historically faced.¹⁸ For this reason I view Beard's work as a starting point to a fuller understanding of women, not the finish line.

The more recent scholarship of Gerda Lerner has been influential in rehabilitating the ideas of Mary Beard. A self-professed student of Beard's ideas, Lerner contributed significantly to the early development of women's history.¹⁹ The questions she and her colleagues asked of the historical record have opened doors to greater understanding. They also widened the field of primary material through the inclusion of institution records, hospital records, letters, diaries, autobiographical sources and even anthropology and sociology.

Following this example, I have extended my research to include aspects from the modern fields of psychology and management leadership, specifically in relation to women. The findings of Bernard M. Bass have been particularly helpful for their elaboration of the concepts of transformational versus transactional leadership.²⁰ While early historiography has often looked for women acting in the male-dominated paradigm of transactional leadership in order to assess their contributions to society, I believe it is in the transformational model that we will find most women working and influencing events of their day.²¹ They were networkers before the term existed. Transformational leaders deliberately seek to influence outcomes through close, personal contacts whereas transactional leaders stand off or above and are more interested in measurable outcomes rather than changing minds and attitudes.²² In order to achieve their aims of political and social equality

¹⁶ In particular, see Megan Hutching, *Leading the Way: How New Zealand women won the vote*, Auckland, HarperCollins, 2010, pp. 247-51 and Eric Olssen, *A History of Otago*, Dunedin: McIndoe, 1984, p. 95.

¹⁷ Lerner, p. 148.

¹⁸ Mary Ritter Beard, *On Understanding Women*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931, p. v.

¹⁹ Lerner, pp. xxi-xxiii.

²⁰ Bernard M. Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership*, New York: Free Press, 2008. Compare with Beverly Alimo-Metcalfe, *Leadership and Gender: A Masculine Past; A Feminine Future?*, University of Leeds, 2002 and James MacGregor Burns, *Transforming Leadership*, New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003.

²¹ Gerda Lerner reinforces this concept in *Why History Matters*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 109 and pp. 119-20.

²² Beverly Alimo-Metcalfe, pp. 4-6.

women understood that hearts and minds had to be won over, a process which takes time and is often difficult to measure. Earlier writings may argue that women relied on inspiration or influence because these were the only avenues open to them while the corridors of power were closed. In contrast, this paper will argue that many of the women activists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were acting from their own positions of strength as they built networks such as the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in Britain or the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The question of whether women's use of influence to achieve their aims is a result of their natural state or an artificial social construct is outside the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient to say here that influence used deliberately to effect change is now recognized as a legitimate and effective tool.

New Zealand women's historiography since its advent in the 1970s has come a long way in writing women's stories into the fabric of the nation's history. Beginning with the early, consciously feminist works of Barbara Brookes and Charlotte Macdonald, which were influenced by their close proximity to the American women's history scene of the 1970s, the body of work has grown in breadth and depth.²³ Margaret Tennant's extensive work on women's organizations has particularly focused attention on the grass-roots, nation-building efforts of women, an important step in understanding how women have demonstrated force in their generations.²⁴ Recent historians such as Katie Pickles have taken women's experiences further, applying transnational and gender frameworks to their analysis and most recently Angela Wanhalla has pushed the borders further with her analysis of inter-racial marriages.²⁵

The work of these and many more historians demonstrate clearly what Beard and Lerner consistently advocated; that women were and are forces in history. Our task as historians is to find the material which will allow us to understand them in the context of their time as they exerted their influence and were in turn influenced by the events of their generations. It is here that we find Anna Paterson Stout, a leading force for women in her generation.

²³ Rachael Bell, 'The Development of a Feminist Historiography in New Zealand, 1970-1999': unpublished BA (Hons) Research Exercise, Massey University, 2002, p. 5. See Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant (ed), *Women in History 2*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992 and Charlotte Macdonald, *The Vote, The Pill and the Demon Drink*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993. Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, October, 1977, pp. 112-23 is still a foundational text for New Zealand women's historiography and is treated in more depth in chapters three and five.

²⁴ Gerda Lerner considered institution-building to be the most significant achievement of American women. This is equally true of New Zealand women. See Lerner's article 'Midwestern Leaders' in *Living with History/Making Social Change*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009, pp. 85-102 for an exploration of how American Midwestern leaders carried forward practical development by focusing on multiple areas of need and interest such as property rights reform, divorce reform and education advancement. Just two of Tennant's many works include: *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare 1907-2000*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003 and *The Fabric of Welfare: Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007.

²⁵ Katie Pickles, *Female imperialism and national identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire*, New York: Manchester University Press, 2002 and *Transnational Outrage: The Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Also Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013.



Figure II: Lady Anna Stout, 1882, Burton Brothers, Dunedin, reference Port 1508, (c/nE6631/6A), reproduced with permission of the Hocken Library, Dunedin, New Zealand. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

ANNA'S WORLD: COLONY TO DOMINION

The fundamental element which frames our understanding of Anna Stout is not the people she worked with, her Liberal ideology, the number of children she bore nor even the fact that New Zealand was the first nation to give women the vote. It is the time period through which she lived. Secondly, it is the two cities that dominated her life: Dunedin and Wellington.

Anna was a native born Pakeha, a child of 'explosive colonisation' and a woman of New Zealand's progressive era.¹ Between 1840 and 1882 alone, European population surged from 2,000 to 500,000.² Additionally, by luck she was born in Dunedin, the wealthiest city in New Zealand during her childhood, fuelled by gold and enterprising Scots. This combination early on brought her into contact with Robert Stout, the other fundamental influence in her life, ideas and subsequent public work. This chapter attempts to understand the importance of time and place on Anna as well as outline the numerous relationships that subsequently developed with the leading personalities of New Zealand history.

At the time of Anna's birth in 1858, New Zealand was a collection of mini-colonies and settlements where the Maori population still outweighed that of the colonists. The colony of Dunedin, with a population of 1,700, was already ten years old, but conditions were still extremely challenging.³ Geography was one of these challenges and played a significant role for many years in New Zealand's development. Settlements were isolated by mountains, rivers and deep forests.⁴ Mail took months to arrive from other parts of the colony, frequently encountering a bottleneck in Lyttelton, the southern-most point in the general government's delivery system at that time. Everything had to be built from scratch, another challenge common to settler communities: a jetty for unloading cargo and passengers, roads for transporting, houses, churches, schools, hospitals. There were very few horses in the early years; nearly everyone walked on unfinished roads with no footpaths.

Dunedin's settlement in 1848 was led by Captain William Cargill, the chief agent for the New Zealand Company and the Reverend Thomas Burns, the colony's primary spiritual and moral leader and nephew of the famous Scottish poet, Robert Burns.⁵ Although the majority of settlers were of Scottish origin, there were also a significant number of English immigrants. The amount of work needed to make Dunedin a viable community made for a long reading list. Water had to be drawn from nearby streams or springs. The first city pumps, proposed in 1857, had still not arrived by 1859.⁶ The condition of the roads was particularly daunting. As Jane Burns, daughter of Thomas Burns, observed with great understatement upon her first landing in Dunedin in 1848 '... being

¹ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders*, Auckland: Penguin Press, 2001, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003, p. 207.

⁴ If John Logan had wanted to travel to Auckland the year Anna was born, the fastest route would have taken him fifteen days. King, p. 231.

⁵ Otago was a Scottish Free Church settlement, modelled on the New Zealand Company settlement in Wellington. King, p. 172.

⁶ A.H. Reed, *The Story of Early Dunedin*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1956, p. 167.

winter, the mud was deep, and our surroundings exceedingly uncomfortable.⁷ In 1858, the year of Anna's birth, High Street was still 'all but impassable for wheeled traffic.'⁸

Settler societies share a number of common traits, among which are inequality in ages, reduced class barriers and gender distribution.⁹ These traits had a direct bearing on Anna's development as well. The early social mixing which she experienced helps explain Anna's willingness to work with a wide variety of people even after she reached social prominence as Lady Stout.

New Zealand was overwhelmingly a colony of young adults and children during the period of Anna's childhood. Only 0.28 percent of the population in 1881 was over the age of 65 and only 17 percent (excluding Maori) were over the age of 40.¹⁰ In gender distribution, Cargill and Burns shared the same goals as the organizers of other New Zealand Company settlements. All were keen to promote family immigration as well as young, strong men and women. Nevertheless, there was a particularly significant imbalance of gender among the Scots of Otago.¹¹ The small world of young Anna was dominated by the sounds of men with a myriad of Scottish and English accents. Among these men came a young teacher, Robert Stout, from the isolated Shetland Islands.¹² Their language and customs were unique among the Scots and for this reason many of them formed business partnerships and support networks in their new homeland. The significant Scottish connection of the Stouts and Logans will be explored in more detail later in this work.

At the same time, large immigration plans were reaping results.¹³ An additional two thousand immigrants to Otago arrived in 1858, requiring the construction of large immigration barracks. Housing was constantly under pressure, with frequent shortages during the arrival period of new immigrants.¹⁴ The demand, however, also increased the value of building sites. By the year of Anna's birth, nearly half of the town's quarter-acre sections had been sold and the more desirable locations had increased up to a thousand pounds from the original ten shillings.¹⁵ The increasing revenue from the sales enabled the Provincial Council to allocate more funds to infrastructure, even before the gold rush, thereby accelerating Dunedin's development.

⁷ Barbara Harper, *Petticoat Pioneers, Book Three*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1980, p. 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁹ Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald (ed) *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996, p. 5-7.

¹⁰ Brad Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013, p. 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68. Once gold was discovered the imbalance changed even more significantly. Between 1860 and 1863 Otago's population increased six-fold, from 12,691 to 76,965. Three quarters of these arrivals were men between twenty and thirty-four.

¹² Patterson, p. 63. Immigrants from Scotland's Far North comprised the smallest percentage of Scottish immigrants to Otago.

¹³ Local provincial governments promoted assisted-immigration schemes sporadically between 1853 and 1870 to increase the number of desirable immigrants. Domestic servants figured highly in this regard. An ambitious immigration plan introduced by the central government, which came to be known as 'the Vogel scheme' after Julius Vogel, colonial treasurer, then Premier, 'drove arrivals to record highs.' Patterson, p. 25.

¹⁴ Anna's early and personal exposure to New Zealand's critical need for immigrants in order to achieve a sustainable level of economic independence left her with a permanent awareness. In 1912 she was still advocating New Zealand as a desirable destination for immigrants. See *Evening Post*, 19 February, 1912.

¹⁵ Reed, p. 147.

If conditions were primitive, a spirit of self-help, hard work and cooperation was widespread, values which are clearly evident in Anna's life and ideology.¹⁶ Indeed, with so much work needed to get the settlement in to a viable condition, there was little time for recreation. This necessity combined with the ingrained Scottish propensity for hard work compelled the editor of the *Witness* in 1858 to remind his fellow townspeople to take a break from their work:

Business-business-uncompromising business appears to be the very soul of our community...We are convinced that in no colony in New Zealand are the means for public amusement and recreation so utterly neglected as in our own.¹⁷

Lack of opportunity may not have been the only factor in the community's reputation for lack of entertainment. The editor of the *Witness* wrote in 1860 that 'Enthusiasm is a feeling which the settlers of Otago never give way to...This peculiarity of character renders Otago one of the dullest of dull places in the world.'¹⁸ Dull it may have been, in the editor's opinion, but Dunedin also early gained a reputation for philanthropy and generosity, a trait the Stouts also became well-known for.¹⁹

In February, 1860 the Reverend Donald M. Stuart arrived in Dunedin with his wife and three children. Dr. Stuart, as he was known, officiated the wedding of Robert and Anna in 1876, remained a life-long friend and was one of the settlement's best known residents. At his funeral in 1894 six thousand people participated in his procession. He made Knox Church, on the corner of Frederick and Great King Streets, his home church. This beautiful building was just a few blocks from Anna's home on London Street and would have been a regular feature of her weekly routine.

In keeping with the tradition of Scottish Enlightenment's emphasis on inquiry, education was highly valued in this Presbyterian and Scottish-dominated colony. There was an urgent need to establish quality schools to cater for the growing number of immigrant families as well as native-born children such as Anna and Alexander Logan. In 1863 a high school for both girls and boys was established. By 1870 the first high school for girls in the Australasian colonies had been established. Otago Boys' High School was established in 1863 and the University of Otago in 1871, the first university in New Zealand.²⁰

Anna was too young to understand the importance of a singular event which occurred when she was just two years old, but it was the most significant development in Otago's history and would

¹⁶ Anna repeatedly applied the concept of self-help to women's development. One manifestation of this are her numerous hand-written notes inside her 1852 copy of *Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention (1851, Worcester, Mass)* in regards to self-help. Of particular note on page 30 Anna pencilled '!!!' next to a paragraph by the American activist Lucy Stone calling on women to help themselves; to stand up and boldly use their talents. Anna Stout Papers, MS-0244, DU:HO.

¹⁷ The *Witness* as quoted in Reed, p. 147.

¹⁸ The *Witness* as quoted in Reed, p. 153.

¹⁹ This is discussed in more detail in the chapter on Family. The Otago settlement may have been one of the most geographically isolated in the British Empire, but they had a strong relationship with and interest in the affairs of the Empire. In 1857 almost 500 pounds were raised to support the widows and orphans of the war with Russia and the following year 365 pounds were sent to London for the Indian Mutiny relief fund. In 1861 relief funds were provided for an event closer to home; 1,100 pounds were raised to alleviate suffering in the Maori-settler war in Taranaki. Reed, p. 141.

²⁰ Robert Stout had a particularly close relationship with the University of Otago, becoming Chancellor in 1903. J.C.Beaglehole, *The University of New Zealand, an historical study*, Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1937, p. 154.

transform her small town into a 'rowdy and riotous city.'²¹ Gold was discovered in the bed of the Maitai River in 1860 and again at Lindis in 1861. The gold rush that would be the making of Dunedin and its province really began, however, with Gabriel Read's strike in Tuapeka in 1861. Word quickly reached the gold fields of Australia and California, sparking a rush of miners and overnight towns. There followed a decade of immigration and prosperity which resulted in a population of over 18,000 by the time Anna married in 1876.²² The gold rush also brought Richard Seddon and Julius Vogel to New Zealand, two men who would play a prominent role in Anna and Robert's lives.

The discovery of gold accelerated the development and confidence of the young province exponentially. The *Otago Daily Times*, the first daily paper in New Zealand, launched its inaugural issue on 15 November, 1861 with a lengthy article, written by Julius Vogel, reviewing the development of Dunedin up to the time gold was discovered. The palpable relief of the settlers that the difficult early days were now past was reflected in the editor's concluding comment: 'The unfolding of the golden wealth of the Province has been like the divulging of a fairy tale to the major portion of the inhabitants.'²³ John Logan was undoubtedly congratulating himself on his decision to remove to the Antipodes when he did as the economic fortune of the Scottish settlement took off. The same inaugural *ODT* issue reported the delivery of 35,000 ounces of gold under close escort, the largest delivery to date, as well as reporting the amounts of gold on board various departing vessels. It was not just the miners who had gold fever. As Vogel wrote:

...the feelings of wondering doubt have given way successively to started joyful amazement and to unquestioning confidence...Business in every branch is prospering in town; the inland navigation is being opened up, and a large and enterprising population is permanently locating itself on the gold fields.²⁴

In all, 21 million pounds worth of gold made Otago New Zealand's 'richest and most populous province' in the 1860s, with Dunedin at its centre.²⁵ This confident, bold and energetic environment, where anything seemed possible, was Anna's heritage.²⁶ It also reinforced the family's belief that hard work and integrity brought its due rewards. As some of its earliest settlers, the Logans were well known to the Burns and the Cargills and played a central role in the social life of the community. For example, the daily routine of the Logan household on London Street was disrupted in 1863 when the Reverend Thomas Burns, his wife Clementina and his large family came to live with them. The church manse, only a year old, was being demolished in order to excavate the hill where it was located as part of the reclamation project.²⁷

From their home on the nearby hills, the Logans observed the transformation of 'the Flat' swamp lands into the communities of Caversham, St. Kilda and Kensington, among others, as revenue

²¹ Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago*, Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984, p. 66.

²² King, p. 207.

²³ *Otago Daily Times*, 15 Nov, 1861, p. 2.

²⁴ Not everyone embraced gold fever. Costs of basic provisions soared, some of the founding fathers were ambivalent and the *Witness* expressed regret at the social impact. See *Julius Vogel*, by Raewyn Dalziel, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, p. 34.

²⁵ Olssen, p. 69.

²⁶ Olssen, pp. 66-70.

²⁷ Harper, p. 23.

flowed into the provincial coffers. Centres of light industry were established by 1874 through the Hillside Railway Workshops, tanneries, quarries, the Wax Vesta match factory, breweries and bakeries, with accompanying social and domestic implications.²⁸ Dunedin's rapid development, subsequent strong industrial position (by 1890 it was the colony's most industrialised city) and position as the chief port city of the South Island also meant that the labour issues and socialist politics debated in the Logan household and in society at large, maintained their urgency through close proximity.

It would be impossible to name all the people, renowned or otherwise, that Anna and Robert worked with or influenced during their Dunedin years. They were close colleagues with leading social reformers such as Harriet Morison, the founder of the Tailoresses Union.²⁹ Robert was the legal representative of William Larnach, local MP and wealthy developer.³⁰ Anna early learned the benefit of influence as Robert's role as local MP brought them connections such as Downie Stewart, James Macandrew and William Earnshaw.³¹ Their prominence in temperance circles made them colleagues of Sir William Fox, four times Premier of New Zealand and founding president of the New Zealand Alliance in 1886 and the Rev. L.M. Isitt. And of course there was Julius Vogel.

In the same year as Read's strike in Tuapeka, Julius Vogel arrived from London via Australia to work as a journalist. He established the *Otago Daily Times*, New Zealand's first and longest running daily newspaper, where his editorials had significant influence on public issues and debates.³² He became a prominent member of Dunedin at a critical time in its development. Vogel was to have a significant impact on the development of New Zealand in general and the Stouts in particular. Like Stout and many men of his day he was highly ambitious and saw New Zealand as the place to make his name. As Treasurer under various ministries from 1869-1887, including the Stout-Vogel government of 1884-1887, he spearheaded an ambitious program of infrastructure development. The first telegraph line between the North and South Islands had been laid in 1866 but now a boom of road building, railroads, telegraph lines and bridges ensued, fully supported by Robert Stout.

The census of 1874 reveals there was also a sizeable Chinese population (4%) in Otago.³³ Drawn by the gold fields and almost exclusively male, many would go on to establish market gardens around Dunedin.³⁴ It is possible that Anna and her mother bought from these Chinese gardeners, some of whom sold door to door, or at least had practical knowledge of them. Many years later, Anna would take a very public stand in opposition to her husband and other leading politicians in support of

²⁸ Barbara Brookes and others, *Sites of Gender: women, men and modernity in Southern Dunedin*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p. 18-21.

²⁹ A volume of newspaper clippings relating to the Dunedin Tailoresses Union is in the Anna Stout collection. The inside cover notes the volume was formerly the property of Harriet R. Morison. Anna Stout Papers, MS-0982/783, DU:HO.

³⁰ Stout, Larnach, Ballance and Vogel formed an unlikely business alliance to promote the New Zealand Agricultural Company, using their influence in Wellington and London. The repercussions of this questionable alliance of politics and business led to a bitter relationship with Sir George Grey and contributed to Larnach's subsequent suicide in 1898. See 'Agricultural Company and New Zealand Politics' by D.A. Hamer in *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 10, Issue 38, 1962, pp. 141-64.

³¹ Earnshaw, a strong prohibitionist, was 'one of Stout's few consistent supporters in the House after 1893.' Hamer, p. 186

³² Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business politician*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, p. 38-39.

³³ King, p. 208.

³⁴ Brookes, p. 36.

Chinese immigrants, citing them as hardworking.³⁵ The census also reveals a notable lack of Maori in the Dunedin community. Rapid assimilation into European culture and population is the primary reason given.³⁶ Records indicate that the mainly British settlers' contact with Maori was limited to cultural displays. Very few had any significant contact with individual Maoris in their marginalized capacity. The overall lack of racial diversity caused one person to refer to Dunedin as 'the whitest city in New Zealand.'³⁷ This lack of practical contact with Maori, coupled with her own Liberal ideology, influenced Anna's future understanding of interaction between ethnic groups.

The development of New Zealand's political landscape is a theme that predominates throughout Anna's life, both directly and indirectly. During Anna's childhood, Dunedin operated under the provincial system of government, whereby the provinces were primarily responsible for their own affairs. Although a bicameral Parliament was also in place, the real power rested with the provinces due to their success in 'finding workable coalitions of interests and personalities.'³⁸ The provincial system came to its end in 1876, the year of Anna and Robert's marriage, amid much controversy and dispute.³⁹ The following year, through a combination of Vogel's aggressive infrastructure spending, falling wool prices and a period of worldwide recession, New Zealand entered into sixteen years of what came to be known as the 'Long Depression.'⁴⁰ The resultant unemployment, poverty, exploitation of women and children workers and fear of the social evils that dominated in England created a favourable environment for the social experimentation for which New Zealand became so well known.⁴¹ It also coincided with the rise of party politics and the Liberal party's triumph of 1891. Throughout this period, the Liberal M.P., Robert Stout, was heavily involved in politics and the public arena, eventually becoming Premier in a surprising coalition with Julius Vogel in 1884. The record shows Anna worked closely with Robert throughout this period, sharpening her understanding of

³⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 18 April, 1896. Anna defended Chinese immigration during the inaugural National Council of Women meetings in 1896. As the majority of Chinese settled in Otago and Westland, Anna was one of the few women on the Council in a position to speak from experience on the question. King, p. 175. Robert Stout wasn't the only prominent New Zealander to speak against Chinese immigrants. The Stouts' long-time friend and Liberal politician, William Pember Reeves, described them as 'dirty, miserly, ignorant...and a danger to public health.' See Meg Tasker, 'William Pember Reeves, Writing the Fortunate Isles', *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literatures*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2013, p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁸ King, p. 202.

³⁹ Robert was a fierce defender of the provincial system but came to see the value of a central government. Hamer theorizes that Stout's 'conversion' was influenced by Vogel and their shared financial needs of the New Zealand Agricultural Company. David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁰ Robert Stout and John Ballance were members of Grey's cabinet but soon fell out over the New Zealand Agricultural Company. See also Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 32 on the 'Long Depression' which he characterizes as the 'Long Stagnation'.

⁴¹ Among these 'experiments' were women's franchise, old age pension and arbitration. Stout and William Pember Reeves worked closely together on the conciliation committee during the maritime strike of 1890. Dunn and Richardson, pp. 132-33. See also Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 44-5. As a result of its 'experimental' social legislation, New Zealand became an object of interest to such social reformers as the British Fabians Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the American Progressive Henry Demarest Lloyd and the French writers Andre Siegfried and Albert Metin. Fisher, *Fairness and Freedom*, p. 312. Robert Stout corresponded for a time with Lloyd. Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers 1840-1937, Box 5, Wisconsin Historical Society.

parliamentary practice and the value of influence. With Robert's knighthood in May, 1886, she became Lady Stout at the age of twenty-seven.⁴²

From 1877, with the abolition of the provincial governments, political power swung more fully to Wellington, the city destined to be Anna's second home. As the tide of the southern gold rush was ebbing, Wellington was rising to prominence as the centre of government. In her capacity as Mrs. Robert Stout and later Lady Stout, Anna's life also transitioned from Dunedin to Wellington, although she would maintain close links to Dunedin for the remainder of her life.

The Wellington that Anna moved to permanently in 1895 was no longer a small, pioneering settlement but the political centre of the soon-to-be Dominion.⁴³ It was also a city undergoing significant change. Between 1896 and 1921 the population alone grew from 41,758 to 107,488.⁴⁴ From this point onwards the historical record demonstrates a more public and forthright Anna as Lady Stout, with a marked increase in media coverage. Her active role in women's organizations also increased exponentially and is discussed in detail in a separate chapter. Although she had lived in Wellington off and on during Robert's tenures as MP and then Premier, 1895 was a fortunate time to be settling permanently in the capital city. Economic growth was again underway, the Liberals were in power and the question of women's place in society was moving into a new phase with the passing of the Franchise Bill of 1893. By 1895, as an experienced mother, political wife and Lady, Anna was ready to thrive at the centre of political and social action. It was here that her influence could best be brought to bear.

Anna played a prominent and public role in her own right, as an activist, feminist and social reformer and this work forms the majority of this paper. However, it is important to note that the public profile which she achieved in her lifetime was significantly possible as a result of her role as the wife of Sir Robert Stout, Premier, MP, Attorney-General and Chief Justice. Critically, it was Robert's high profile that brought Anna into contact with the leading personalities of her day such as Seddon, Grey, Vogel, Ballance, Pember Reeves, Sievwright, Lord and Lady Ranfurly, Lord and Lady Liverpool, even Dr. Truby King and Dr. Duncan Macgregor. Primary historical evidence encourages and facilitates the study of the organizations which resulted from these contacts. This is the realm of traditional history writing. What are harder to quantify, but equally important, are the private functions, dinners and At-Homes which facilitated and progressed these outcomes; the realm of influence. James Belich calls this 'gentry power' with strict limitations unique to New Zealand's egalitarian atmosphere. He writes that '...gentry power was exercised more as a class, through the institutions of government, than by individuals.'⁴⁵ Through Robert's numerous public and political roles many of the key issues of early New Zealand touched the Stouts and vice-versa. Even when he was out of power, for example, in the historic year of 1893, his close relationship with John Ballance enabled him to influence policy. Another example is Robert's close work with Sir Apirana Ngata and

⁴² Dunn and Richardson, pp. 103-04.

⁴³ New Zealand's status officially changed from colony to Dominion on 26 September, 1907, an important symbolic shift, but one with minimal real change. See W. David McIntyre, *Dominion of New Zealand: Statesmen and Status, 1907-1945*, Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 2007.

⁴⁴ David Hamer & Roberta Nicholls, *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990, p. 218.

⁴⁵ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders*, Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001, p. 22.

the Young Maori Party; in all of these areas, Anna, too, brought her public and private influence to bear.

The public aspect of Anna's influence began in earnest after the family's move to Wellington in 1895. It was here that she gained a reputation for her At-Homes. In their simplest form, At-Homes were obligatory social visits, often limited to fifteen minutes that carried with them a strict protocol.⁴⁶ There were other, private At-Homes by invitation only which marked a special event such as the arrival of a relative from overseas. These At-Homes were frequently reported in the media with details of the guest list, floral arrangements and music. With the arrival of the Liberals and a growing awareness among leading women of their public duties, the nature of the At-Homes also changed to a greater emphasis on discussion of current political and social issues. These were the modified Anglo versions of the earlier French *salons*, an accepted venue for exchange of ideas and civilized debate between men and women and were very common.⁴⁷

At-Homes were also an opportunity to demonstrate one's position in society. Anna would have been very aware that the success of these events reflected on Robert as well as her. In the case of Anna and other leading politician's wives, their At-Homes were also opportunities to showcase refinement in the Antipodes when visiting British dignitaries arrived. In early 1913 the *Dominion* reported Lady Stout's At-Home for Miss Newcombe and Miss Hodge, women's suffrage workers from Britain. Politics may have been on Anna's agenda, but she also understood the importance of atmosphere and presentation. The media reports show her extensive and strategic use of colourful flowers and greenery to convey her political message:

Lady Stout received her guests in the library and from there they overflowed into the hall and into the large drawing room. In this room the suffragette colours, green, purple and white, were largely to be seen in the flowers with which it was decorated...In the library were the anti-suffrage colours, red and white dahlias in large bowls decorating the mantel piece...⁴⁸

In 1914 Anna hosted a particularly grand At-Home for the visiting British MP Philip Snowden and his wife, whom Anna had known well in England. One reporter of the event wrote:

Lady Stout's receptions are always well arranged and interesting, and on Saturday there was a large number of people, political and professional, who found Mrs. Snowden the easiest person to talk to...⁴⁹

In New Zealand, and particularly in Wellington, At-Homes had a distinctively political focus. During their England years, Anna's letters to her sons included lively and entertaining episodes from some

⁴⁶ See Hamer & Nicholls, p. 200. These were important occasions to welcome new-comers to the community and to strengthen relationships within the upper strata of polite society. The wives of prominent early Wellingtonians understood this 'positive duty' to maintain 'the acquaintances and friendships of their husbands.'

⁴⁷ Not all At-Homes were formal events. Grace Neill was well known for her own, more humble, events where politicians, journalists, and even working women shared a biscuit and tea while debating the issues of the day. See J.O.C. Neill, *Grace Neill: The Story of a Noble Woman*, Christchurch: N.M. Peryer, 1961, p. 31.

⁴⁸ *Dominion*, 11 March, 1913. This list of attendees includes Mrs. A.R. (Lily) Atkinson, a young colleague from the Southern Cross Society, as well as the WCTU and NZ Alliance.

⁴⁹ *Manawatu Standard*, 21 October, 1914.

of her At-Homes.⁵⁰ These events also frequently reached the media. As early as 1898, Anna was well known in the social circles of Wellington. A London correspondent is reported in the *Auckland Star* as follows:

In Wellington, nearly every lady....known outside her home circle is a more or less enthusiastic politician. In consequence...society is much more political than literary, musical or artistic... A conversazione...is a favourite method of propaganda...The two ladies of 'light and leading' in the Empire City are Lady Stout, one of the prettiest women in New Zealand, with bright lustrous eyes and a soft, sweetly toned voice, and Mrs. Kennedy Macdonald...Both suggested that pleasing features and tasteful dresses are by no means inconsistent with an active interest in public movements.⁵¹

What this author was seeing was the social manifestation of a political eclipse as a result of the Liberals coming to power in 1890, a change which reflected the wider egalitarian wave rising in the country as a whole and a diminishing of the power of the old, wealthy 'gentry' who had closely followed the social structure of England with its emphasis on closed social circles.⁵²

Yet, while the political establishment may have changed, the importance of social events as centres of influence continued. In this regard, Anna settled permanently in Wellington at a propitious time. Liberal hostesses like Anna Stout continued with At-Homes that featured elaborate floral decorations and music, but now the discussions among the women and men were increasingly political. Her adoption and extension of polite, high-society norms like the At-Home to promote her wider political and activist programs was a triumph of the previously controversial New Woman.⁵³ Never content to be a demure political wife, she helped to make educated, emancipated women socially influential and acceptable. This was one of Anna's greatest achievements: to advance first-generation feminist philosophy politically, socially and institutionally through her influence in the highest levels of New Zealand Liberal political circles. As Roberta Nicholls writes: 'The actions of rebellious elite women in negating the belief that women should spend their lives as mere appendages to men sent ripples through conservative society.'⁵⁴

As part of their permanent move to Wellington, the Stouts built a large home at 238 The Terrace, an address that placed them in the heart of Wellington politics and society. This visible manifestation of their success reflects a conflict inherent within Liberal thinkers and leaders: how to reconcile material success with egalitarian philosophy? On the one hand, they could argue (as did the conservatives also) that financial success was the natural reward for independence and hard work. On the other hand, the Liberals had used the accumulation of wealth by the conservative land owners to justify their political overthrow. While there was no easy answer, one solution was to co-

⁵⁰ 'Robert Stout to Sir Robert and Lady Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers-0183-06, WTU.

⁵¹ *Auckland Star*, 5 July, 1898.

⁵² Hamer & Nicholls, p. 222. The Liberals were not purely or consistently egalitarian and in fact their individual and collective rise to power, influence and wealth brought with it its own contradictions. Stout, for example, felt compelled to explain his acceptance of his knighthood in 1886 as recognition for hard work, rather than as an entitlement.

⁵³ The definition of the 'New Woman' ranged from the lampooning cartoons prior to the achievement of women's suffrage to the high ideals of intelligence, service and duty which Anna favoured. Anna's definition of the 'New Woman' is explored in more detail in chapter three.

⁵⁴ Hamer and Nicholls, p. 224.

opt the norms and traditions of upper society to promote their views. Another was to harness the community pride that might follow (even begrudgingly) when one of their members rose to prominence. Robert wrestled with this line of thinking when offered a knighthood in 1886, after having previously publicly denounced those who sought after titles and advancement.⁵⁵ But Robert was an ambitious and intellectual colonist who had demonstrated his intentions by being willing to retrain for the law and returning to further study even after being articled as a lawyer. New Zealand was a place where one could get ahead and after all, it was a long way to go to not end up better off for the effort.

While Anna made the most of the opportunities afforded to her as Lady Stout to further women's development, she was also loyal to Robert. An offence to him was an offence to her. In this regard, the early, ambivalent relationship between Stout and Richard Seddon progressed to rancour over the succession to Premier after the death of John Ballance. This then developed further into a sustained public and private battle. Indeed, it became deeply personal. Seddon knew that Ballance had wanted his close friend, Stout, to succeed as Premier and he worked to marginalize his 'most effective political opponent.'⁵⁶ Additionally, Tom Brooking, Seddon's recent biographer, writes that Louisa Seddon and Anna 'loathed each other.'⁵⁷ Nor was Anna one to sit quietly by. She publicly refused to participate in the grand reception afforded the Seddons upon their return from the Queen's Jubilee in 1897. The *Evening Post* had published a list of prominent citizens organizing the Seddon's reception and mistakenly included Anna's name. In true Anna style, she penned a heated letter to the editor demanding the error be remedied and refusing to have any part in publicly acknowledging Seddon, whom she accused of heading a government 'which avowedly has no moral conscience.'⁵⁸

Anna moved in the vanguard of publicly active women. Both politically and socially astute, she used her title and position to promote her ideas. While she was a strong activist in the early feminist movement and promoted radical ideas for her day, she does not appear to have embraced the more radical public images of bicycle riding or wearing split skirts. Nor is there any evidence that she followed such fashion trends as the wearing of diamond earrings set by Lady Plunket.⁵⁹ Anna's focus was political and she used her position and connections to influence political behaviour on behalf of women, as in the case of her letter to Lady Ishbel Aberdeen in 1920 requesting her influence on behalf of the reviving National Council of Women of New Zealand:

...if you will use your influence with the government by seeing that our next Governor's wife should be a lady who has knowledge and sympathy with women's aims...with strong support from the King's Representative we should be able to overcome the apathy that prevails.⁶⁰

During her years in Wellington Anna worked or associated with such key personalities as members of the Atkinson/Richmond clan who were prominent in Liberal political and social fields and Grace Neill the first woman inspector of factories and later inspector of hospitals, asylums and charitable

⁵⁵ Dunn and Richardson, p. 103-04.

⁵⁶ Tom Brooking, *Richard Seddon: King of God's Own Country*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2014, p. 180.

⁵⁷ Brooking, p. 182.

⁵⁸ *Evening Post*, 23 August, 1897.

⁵⁹ Hamer and Nicholls, p. 204.

⁶⁰ Lady Stout to Lady Aberdeen as quoted by Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of the Women of New Zealand*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1996, p. 114.

aid under Dr. Duncan Macgregor, the Stouts' close friend and mentor. Anna personally knew and entertained most of the Governor-Generals and their wives as well as the business, political and social leaders of New Zealand's capital city. The length of her years of influence meant she also worked with the next generation of women leaders such as the Henderson sisters and Kate Edger.⁶¹

Through the fortune of her birth to a financially comfortable family in pioneer Dunedin, to her marriage to one of the colony's rising political figures which took her to the highest levels of political influence, Anna Stout consistently used her connections to advance the cause of equality between men and women. She lived through the formation and rapid development of one of the world's last western nations and experienced first hand its transformation from horses and sailing ships to cars, steam ships and even the early years of aviation. Her proximity to the centres of power and influence gave her a unique opportunity among women in early New Zealand, a role which she was willing to exploit to its fullest. Along the way she campaigned with, worked with, hosted or even publicly opposed a significant number of the names and personalities that now form the backbone of our national history, earning herself a high public profile in her own time. The story of how and why she influenced New Zealand's history is told in the following chapters.

⁶¹ Kate Edger was the first woman in the British Empire to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree. See Beryl Hughes, 'Edger, Kate Milligan', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30-Oct-2012. Elizabeth, Christina and Stella Henderson were all well-known second-generation feminists. Elizabeth became the first woman MP for New Zealand, Stella the first woman lawyer and Christina a teacher, prohibitionist and social reformer.



Figure III: Lady Anna Stout in wedding dress, 1876, Clifford and Morris, Dunedin, Reference Port 1506, (c/nE6631/7A), reproduced with the permission of the Hocken Library, Dunedin, New Zealand. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

FAMILY LIFE

And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time,
Sit side by side, full summ'd in all their powers,
Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be,
Self-reverent each and reverencing each
Distinct in individualities
But like each other ev'n as those who love¹

On Monday, December 27, 1876 in the lovely, two storey home of John and Jessie (Janet) Logan at number 75 London Street, Dunedin, eighteen year old Anna Paterson Logan married the 32- year-old barrister and rising politician Robert Stout, thus linking the Logan and Stout Dunedin clans. A description of her in her wedding dress notes 'her dark eyebrows and brilliant hazel eyes contrast with the gold of her hair.'² From this time forward historical records know her as Mrs. Robert Stout or Lady Stout. But she was much more than this. Before she ever became a wife and mother she was a daughter, sister, niece, native-born New Zealander and a vibrant member of the Logan family.

Anna was born 29 September, 1858, the second child of John and Janet (Pollock) Logan to be born in New Zealand, and their second daughter. Her brother, Alexander, had preceded her by three years and a sister, Violet was ten years her elder. A younger sister, Jessie, would also be born to the Logans. (It would be Jessie Logan who would act as official witness at Anna's marriage to Robert.) According to tradition, John and Janet arrived in Dunedin, New Zealand in 1854 on the *Phillip Laing*, the same ship that had delivered Captain Cargill and the first boatload of settlers just six years before.³ Mr. Logan found work as clerk to the superintendent of the Otago province. Their first home was known as 'Violet Grove' or Fern Tree Cottage. While not part of the wealthier class in Otago, they lived comfortably and had sufficient income to invest in property and business ventures. The home at 75 London Street, built in 1872 while Anna studied under Margaret Burns at the Otago Girls' Seminary, is described as 'beautifully constructed, with oak floors and ceilings, Persian tiled fireplaces and appointments.' The twenty-room house stood for over sixty years.⁴ Anna's upbringing was sufficiently cultured to allow her to move comfortably and confidently in later years among the political and social leaders of Wellington and London.

In addition to their physical well-being, the Logans were a principled, thinking family. If time and location constructed the framework of Anna's life, it was progressive ideology which formed her foundation. The Presbyterian principles of service and duty to the betterment of society, as well as reason and individualism, were central to the Logan family as well as to the Otago settlement. Given their early migration to the young Otago settlement, it is likely that these ideals were a

¹ Lady Anna Stout, 'Southern Cross Society: Its Objects', 1895, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0271, DU:HO.

² Family books: Logan, Beck, Pickford, Misc – MS – 0328, DU:HO.

³ In conflict with this traditionally accepted record, the Stout Family Papers donated to the Alexander Turnbull Library in 2013 include a letter from the Otago Early Settlers Association recording the Logans arriving on *Eliza*, 9 March, 1854, not the *Phillip Laing* as stated in most other secondary material, MS 11518-132, WTU.

⁴ Family books: Logan, Beck, Pickford, Misc – MS – 0328, DU:HO.

principal motivation for John and Janet to move over half a world away from home, versus those who followed the migration trail after the discovery of gold or due to economic hardship at home.⁵ It was these values, coupled with the opportunity to put them into practice in a new colony that developed Anna's view of the world and motivated her actions throughout her life. Anna's sense of duty was particularly strong, both to family and to women. In a family that valued debate and inquiry among all its members, Anna was raised to consider that not only was a woman capable of intelligent argument, but that it was her duty as well. Throughout her work as a champion of women, Anna consistently challenged, cajoled and even badgered women to improve their minds as part of their duty to their families and society. It has been argued that Anna's sense of duty to her family resulted in her making less of a contribution to the women's movement in New Zealand than she could have otherwise.⁶ Yet it is this very principle that defines Anna and is central to understanding her life and actions.

In addition to the influence from her own close-knit family, it has been noted that Anna was profoundly influenced by her own teacher, the first headmistress of the Girls' Provincial School, Margaret Burn. Raewyn Dalziel writes that Mrs. Burn 'gave Anna ideals by which she measured her own and others' behaviour for the rest of her life.' According to Anna these were 'devoid of all snobbery, and were founded upon a clear estimate of the value of character and strength of purpose necessary to the attainment of true womanhood.'⁷ Margaret Burn is an interesting person in her own right. Having immigrated as a widow to New Zealand with her three children in December, 1870, she had already been the sole provider for her husband and children for many years as a teacher of high reputation in Australia, a fact that was highly unusual at that time. In addition to her role as founding principal, an 1884 letter from the Reverend D.M. Stuart shows she was an active member of Knox Church and the wider Dunedin community.⁸ The curriculum that Margaret Burn established was wide for a girls' school at that time. As one of the original students, Anna studied English, geography, history, arithmetic, French and music.⁹ In addition to her high standards and Christian ideals, Mrs. Burn exemplified the importance of women being able to earn their own income for their own sake and that of their family, a topic of life-long importance to Anna.

In late 1865, when Anna was just seven years old, her elder sister, Violet, died. This would be just the first of several significant deaths in Anna's long life. Although records are scarce on this topic and no details on her life are available, Violet is known to have been born in 1848 in Scotland. Ten years of age when her sister, Anna, was born, it is likely that Violet was a significant person in Anna's young life. Violet Pollock Logan was named after her maternal grandmother. She would have been six years old on the voyage out from Scotland and her loss at the age of seventeen was likely a great blow to the family. Violet was the first to be interred into the Logan burial plot in the Southern Cemetery on 17 October, 1865.¹⁰ Violets feature regularly in the family history. The Logan's first home was known as Violet Grove in honour of their daughter and Janet's mother, and violets were

⁵ Brad Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists: the Scots in New Zealand*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013, p. 259.

⁶ Raewyn Dalziel, *The Suffragists*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993, p. 139.

⁷ Ibid., p. 137.

⁸ Margaret Gordon Burn Papers, Misc - MS-0538, DU:HO.

⁹ Eileen Wallis, 'Burn, Margaret Gordon', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 5-Jun-2013, viewed 22 August, 2014.

¹⁰ Anna and Robert each took responsibility for the establishment of a perpetual fund for their family plots in Dunedin's Southern and Northern cemeteries respectively, Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-093, WTU.

the flower of choice at the Wellington wedding of Janet Stout, Anna and Robert's youngest daughter, in 1918.

The magnificent Gothic style Knox Church, with its blue-grey stone, was completed just a month before Anna and Robert married and has remained an iconic Dunedin building ever since. As early members of Knox Church, it would have been a logical venue for their wedding. However, while the Reverend Donald Stuart, widely admired in Dunedin, officiated, the wedding service was a private affair held in the Logan home. Although weddings in private homes were common, it is worthwhile to note the significance in the case of the Logans. Originally Presbyterian, after their arrival in Otago they began to distance themselves from organized religion, drawing closer and closer to the Freethinkers. John Logan experienced a very public rupture with Knox Church in 1874 apparently over spiritualism, which was extensively reported in the *Otago Daily Times*. In spite of his defence, John Logan was expelled from his office as Deacon, as well as membership in the church.¹¹ The whole family increasingly followed the Freethought movement and helped to found the Dunedin Lyceum, while continuing to hold to high personal, Christian standards of conduct. John Logan's rupture with Knox Church did not appear to negatively influence his own relationship with Reverend Stuart and certainly Anna and Robert remained close friends of Dr. Stuart throughout their lives.

Early on the Logans were active members of Dunedin's growing community. In particular, they were active members of the temperance and Freethought movements, as has been noted. Just a few days after the sixth birthday of her first daughter, Margaret, and with baby John in hand, Anna watched as her mother, Janet, laid the foundation stone of the Dunedin Lyceum on April 30, 1882, a building which served as the headquarters of the Freethought Association. Anna's sister Jessie played in the brass band and Robert gave the keynote speech. According to the news report Janet Logan was presented with a handsome silver trowel with an inscription commemorating the occasion. According to the same account, there were a thousand spectators at the event. By now a prominent MP and successful lawyer, Robert's speech on this occasion gives useful insight into the logic and principles of the Freethinkers, as well as the central, governing principles in the life of the Logans and the Stouts. In outlining the founding of the organization Robert said:

What, then, was to be the basis of our union? Practically speaking we had no basis. We... threw open our doors to all – a Catholic, a Jew, an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Wesleyan, a Cambellite may join us... We look on religion not as a thing to be settled by authority but by truth.¹²

He went on to defend science as the basis of truth and to defend what some called their 'immoral' lifestyle. He called for an increase in the secular basis of the State in order to guarantee true freedom and concluded with a call for faith in truth and progress.¹³ These same principles formed the basis of Anna's ideology throughout her life and recur time and again in her speeches and writings. While this demonstrates the source of her willingness to work with members of all religious faiths, it is also the basis of a critical point of difference between Anna and a majority of the other

¹¹ *Otago Daily Times*, 21 January, 1874.

¹² *Otago Daily Times*, 17 October, 1881.

¹³ *Ibid.*

leading women of the early women's movement, who centred their activism within their organized religions.¹⁴

The founding of a modest Lyceum in the farthest point on the globe away from the politics of Westminster may seem an unimportant event, but was actually part of a much larger struggle taking place between liberal and conservative camps. The previous year the Freethinker Charles Bradlaugh had won a seat in the British Parliament and requested leave to make a simple affirmation as opposed to an oath in the name of God. His request denied, what followed was a five-year struggle between 'tolerance and liberty' and religious prejudice.¹⁵ The proceedings were followed closely by the Stouts and other Freethinkers in New Zealand who saw themselves as part of a vanguard of enlightened thinkers struggling against stagnant, antiquated ideas. Their goal was to deliberately influence the founding institutions and laws of New Zealand along secular, liberal principles. This conviction in liberal principles made both Anna and Robert bold in the face of opposition, whether advocating together for women's suffrage or heading a contingent of marchers in London.

Anna likely met her future husband through her brother. Alexander received his early education at Shaw's Private School, the same school where Robert Stout found his initial employment upon his arrival in Dunedin in 1864.¹⁶ A fellow Scotsman, Robert became a frequent visitor to the Logan home. It is likely that his introduction to the family came through his role as Alexander's teacher. But their shared ideologies and Scottish heritage would have ensured the relationship continued and developed. Additionally, they shared a lifelong commitment to prohibition. Mr. and Mrs. John Logan and Robert Stout were among the small group of just twelve attendees at a temperance meeting in Dunedin's Oddfellows Hall in 1866.¹⁷ Anna, as a young teenager, would have followed these discussions and likely contributed to them as the years passed. The shared ideology of the Logans and the Stouts as well as their friendly association during Anna's youth was a significant influence on Anna's development. If Robert first met the Logans as early as 1864 or 1865 when he took up his post as teacher at Shaw's School, Anna would have been just six or seven years old. It could almost be said there was hardly a time in Anna's memory that did not include Robert Stout. So while Robert would have had plenty of opportunity to get to know Anna through his association with her family, he was also in a position to influence her development. It thus becomes difficult to unravel the threads of Anna's own ideologies, at least in her early years. There is a profound similarity of viewpoint between Anna and Robert which is understandable when one considers their early association. This makes an analysis of Anna's later years and her points of departure from Robert's opinions particularly interesting. Most noteworthy, however, is how often they were indeed in agreement with one another.

Given Robert's long association with Anna and her family, any understanding of Anna requires a closer study of her husband than is possible in this thesis. The records, however, indicate a close and mutually-respectful relationship between Anna and Robert. Looking back over their lives on the occasion of their golden wedding anniversary, a reporter asked Lady Stout the secret to a successful

¹⁴ This is discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

¹⁵ Peter J. Lineham, 'Freethinkers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, April, 1985, Vol. 17, Issue 1, pp. 61-81.

¹⁶ Logan Family Papers, MS-0328, DU:HO. School records indicate Alexander consistently achieved top marks.

¹⁷ Rev. J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray (ed), *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, London: The Epworth Press, 1930, p. 255.

marriage. After a characteristically humorous quip, Anna replied in all seriousness in words that nicely summarize her long marriage: 'pick a good man and take an interest in each other's work.'¹⁸

Like many a young wife, it appears Anna longed for more 'juicy' letters that reflected Robert's thoughts and feelings;¹⁹ nevertheless the few existing letters from the early years of their marriage demonstrate genuine affection, with Robert showing concern over Anna's health after the birth of their first child, Margaret, and even offering her advice on the child's care. In one letter from 1879, Robert replies to Anna's concern over Margaret's sleep by saying 'I fancy no one can feed her and put her to sleep so well as I can.' And in an earlier letter from May, 1878, just one month after Margaret's birth, Robert writes that after receiving a worrying letter from Anna he 'could not rest until I had telegraphed.'²⁰ Robert was absent for much of Margaret's first year and both he and Anna were anticipating his stay in Dunedin for June and July of 1879.

Robert's letters, which always began with 'my darling Anna', were also full of news on his Wellington experiences, including the privilege of taking Lady Normanby into dinner, the dreadful weather and the loneliness of returning to his single dwellings. He and Anna shared observations on the people they had contact with, (a habit they continued throughout their lives) including several meetings between Robert and William Harrison, an American lawyer whom Robert described as a 'very intelligent man and pleasant.'²¹ In a previous letter, Anna had written to Robert that Mrs. Cargill had called on Anna. Anna must have made some comment about hypocrisy in her letter, because Robert replies that he agrees with what she said about 'the hypocritical ...society.' He goes on to say 'still living in peace with a slice of hypocrisy is better than war.' He finishes by saying they will discuss the name of the baby (Margaret) when he returns to Dunedin. It is clear that Robert enjoyed the professional challenge and recognition that came with his ministerial duties in Wellington, but that he was also committed to his young family. The tone of his correspondence with Anna reflects his position as both husband and father: attentive, concerned and also slightly authoritative. In addition to family discussions, Robert also gives private advice to Anna regarding her father's investment in the Fernhill Coal Mine. Robert was concerned that his father in law was financially overexposed.²² It appears that in the early years at least, Robert made the financial decisions. Before his expected return to Dunedin in mid-1879 he writes to Anna that any decision regarding lodgings should wait until his arrival. Although Anna went to Wellington with Robert initially in 1877, it appears from these letters that Anna lived with her family at the time of Margaret's birth. The language of the letters reveal much about the close nature of Anna and Robert's relationship through the sharing of ideas, gossip, family news and affection.

Anna was raised with a philosophy which encouraged individual development and equality, but lived in a society that expected women to marry and fulfil the role of dutiful wife and mother. How did Anna reconcile these two apparently contradictory forces? In Anna's thinking, there does not

¹⁸ Family books Vol. 1: Logan, Beck, Pickford, Misc – MS – 0328, DU:HO.

¹⁹ Waldo Hilary Dunn and Ivor L.M. Richardson, *Sir Robert Stout: A Biography*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1961, p. 55.

²⁰ 'Letters to Anna Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-103, WTU.

²¹ Both Anna and Robert maintained a life-long interest in America, and passed this on to their children. On their return from their medical studies in England in 1913, Robert and Duncan travelled across America and spent time with the famous doctor and founder of the Mayo Clinic, Dr. William Mayo. *Manawatu Times*, 21 November, 1913.

²² 'Letters to Anna Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-103, WTU.

appear to be any conflict.²³ Anna was not a radical individualist, but she was radical. So while Anna was indeed a keen wife and mother, she did not stop there. She fully embraced the notion that women had the right to develop their abilities and this is where she reconciled her 'conflicting' forces: in service to others. Throughout her life she worked tirelessly to achieve the full development of women on political, social and domestic levels. Her intensity was well known by her family and the public. There are sufficient references in the primary records to show that Anna's strong personality also frequently resulted in tension or offence with her colleagues. Lily Atkinson, a co-founder of the Wellington Plunket Society, was known to often be at loggerheads with Lady Stout.²⁴ This also helps to explain Anna's early departure from the National Council of Women; certainly the tone of the debate of that inaugural 1896 session shows Anna as forthright and pro-active.²⁵ Anna was never one to back down from a debate or to shy away from public statements.

She has been variously described in the press as enthusiastic, spirited, energetic and possessing a keen sense of humour.²⁶ In this she mirrored Robert, who was known for his 'superabundant energy' and relentless drive to achieve.²⁷ The description of Anna by Helen Wilson, a close family friend, is worth quoting more fully:

She was vital, impressive, graceful and decorative and full to overflowing with the milk of human kindness...She was cruelly deaf but she handled her ear-trumpet with such appealing grace that she made it almost an ornament. She was frank to a degree and that she did not often give mortal offence was due not so much to her sweet disposition as to the ingenuous sincerity with which she said things other people would have left unsaid.²⁸

Such energy was not boundless, however. In a particularly touching letter from her son Duncan, written in 1921 on the eve of a second journey to England with Robert, Anna was feeling discouraged and tired. Duncan encouraged his mother:

You are fit enough to stand things for another thirty years but you so exhaust your nervous volatility by your almost furious energy that at times one wishes you feel done for like it

²³ In this regard, Anna's actions agree with and also extend the argument made in Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, October, 1977, pp. 112-23. This is argued more fully in chapter three.

²⁴ 'Waitangi Foundation: Bringing the Records Home', fMS Papers 4923-1, WTO. This comment may say more about tensions perceived by the writer due to the strong nature of both women, than any real offense. Lily Atkinson worked closely with Anna for many years in the WCTU and the Southern Cross Society as demonstrated later in this thesis.

²⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 18 April, 1896.

²⁶ Anna Stout Papers, Misc-MS-0467/004, DU:HO.

²⁷ Dunn and Richardson, p. 24.

²⁸ Helen Wilson, *My First Eighty Years*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1955, p. 152. Wilson's widowed mother, Emma Ostler, formed a close friendship with Robert and Anna Stout who extended their help to her three children as they reached adulthood. Emma Ostler achieved financial independence as a result of hard work, frugality and several property developments. She and her youngest daughter were also in London at the same time as Anna and accompanied her to several key events, including the 1910 coronation procession. See *New Zealand Herald*, 18 April, 1922 for obituary by Sir Robert Stout of Mrs. E.B. Ostler, whom he described as surpassing all others in courage and determination.

makes everybody else feel the same... Volatile people full of energy like yourself always have their up and down such as the ...lazy people never get.²⁹

Anna's family and the family of her brother Alexander remained close and their lives frequently overlapped. After attending Otago University as one of its earliest pupils, he was articled to his brother-in-law's law firm, Sievwright and Stout. His youngest son, born in 1886, was named Robert Stout Logan. Alex had spent some time in Melbourne, Australia where he met and married Mary Wilson Masson. Alex is one of the official witnesses on the birth certificate of Anna's third son, Duncan, in Wellington in 1885 and the record shows that he was living in Wellington as well.³⁰ Their relationship, with its mixture of professional and personal elements, is indicative of the Logan-Stout family as a whole. There are numerous occasions where family members looked after one another and involved themselves in each others' personal and professional business. The Logans and the Stouts were not unique in this regard. Extended families often looked after one another, particularly in colonial circumstances.³¹ What is unique, however, is the degree to which several members of this family rose to prominence in influencing the founding of their colony.

No understanding of Anna is complete without a consideration of her role as mother. Her first child, a daughter, was born in 1878 and the last child, also a daughter, was not born until 1894. During these nearly seventeen years, Anna would run the gauntlet of maternity five more times, bearing four healthy sons and twin boys who lived one hour, just long enough to be registered in the Births, Deaths and Marriages catalogue. How Anna juggled childbearing, childrearing and social and political activism is best understood on a timeline. Some of the times of Anna's greatest public activity correspond to the gaps between maternity. In light of the numerous demands on her as a mother and the wife of a high-profile figure, it is a wonder Anna found any time at all to advocate for the advancement of women and the development of New Zealand as a whole. The fact that she did so, and sustained this involvement for nearly fifty years is testament to her commitment and conviction. It also helps explain her frequent frustration with women who did not concern themselves with their own economic and political development. For Anna, based on her own experience, this was inexcusable.

Robert and Anna were known to be generous with their time and their money, sometimes to a fault. An article in the *Horowhenua Chronicle* 7 December, 1916 reveals that Anna had worked closely with the women of New Zealand to collect and ship spare clothing to organizations in England and Scotland. This particular article reveals the latest shipment had gone to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association of Edinburgh. It also indicates that numerous other shipments had gone out and more were planned. This was at the height of World War I. The members of the Wellington Bar noted Sir Robert for his generosity in their farewell speech on the eve of his departure for England in 1921.³² Additionally, a letter among the Stout family papers to Dr. Robert Stout by an unknown writer makes reference to a purse of gold coins given to the writer by Sir Robert Stout on the eve of

²⁹ Stout Family Papers, MS – Papers-11518-130, WTU.

³⁰ 'Birth, death and marriage documents', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-093, WTU.

³¹ This kind of support was not limited to immediate family members. Robert's first partnership, for example, with Basil Sievwright undoubtedly eventuated through their shared upbringing in Lerwick, Scotland.

³² *Evening Post*, 12 April, 1921

the author's departure for Europe, which enabled the grateful recipient to maximize his European experience.³³

Education was of central importance to both Anna and Robert and they focused a great deal of their energy and resources in assuring their children were well provided for.³⁴ John, the eldest son, and Olaf, the youngest son, followed their father into law practice, while Robert, Duncan and young Janet pursued education and careers in medicine. John appears to be the only one who did not study in England. Whether this was by personal choice or due to family financial restrictions is unclear.³⁵ One thing is clear, however. Sir Robert cited the need to provide for his growing family as his primary motivation in retiring from active political service in 1898. This corresponded closely with eldest son John's entrance into university. In early 1895 the Stout family had settled permanently in Wellington, eventually building the family home at 238 The Terrace. This brought to an end Robert's frequent absences from the family, but limited Anna's ability to care for her elderly parents. Just one month after the family settled in Wellington Anna returned to Dunedin for the funeral of her father. At the same time that she was settling her family in Wellington, Anna began to increase the tempo of her involvement in women's development. It was at this time that she established the Southern Cross Society and received correspondence from Eva McLaren of the International Council of Women asking her to act as president of a national branch.

One of the great challenges for Anna was managing the demands of her many children while still finding time to act on her many social and political interests. Additionally, she had the public demands of Robert's offices to attend to, whether as wife of the Premier, Attorney General, Chief Justice or Chancellor of Otago University. The records show that Anna travelled with Robert as often as she could, even involving herself in his political campaigns.³⁶ While still living in Dunedin, she could leave her children with family members if necessary. A very early letter from her first son, John, scrawled in a young boy's crayon, refers to Grandma Stout calling by the house while he was writing to his mother.³⁷ This was not a custom that her daughter, Janet, was keen to repeat, however. In a letter from Janet to Duncan in 1919 she wrote that she 'wouldn't dream' of agreeing to Anna's suggestion that the new mother leave her young son, Bobby, behind while she went to Sri Lanka to see her husband. While Anna's behaviour in this regard was as much a reflection of social norms as her own choices, it was clear that her daughter had other intentions. Therefore, when we read the notice in the *Otago Daily Times* of September 26, 1885, that Anna accompanied Robert back to Dunedin for a short visit by the express train, it is interesting to reflect on whether any of the children were with them.³⁸ It is possible that baby Duncan, just two months old, travelled with Anna and Robert, but it is most likely that Margaret, John and Robert had remained in Wellington, perhaps in the care of Alexander and Mary Logan.

³³ 'Loose Writings', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-132, WTU.

³⁴ Education was central to the Scottish ethos and Scots made a particular contribution to education in New Zealand. Patterson notes there was a library of a thousand books on the first immigrant ships to arrive in Dunedin in 1848. *Unpacking the Kists*, p. 244.

³⁵ *New Zealand Times*, 4 February, 1898.

³⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 28 September, 1887.

³⁷ 'John Logan Stout correspondence and papers', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-101, WTU.

³⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, 28 September, 1885, p. 2.

This quick visit to Dunedin during Robert's Premiership provides valuable insight into the variety of activities in Anna's life and how she managed to balance family and personal demands. During the first half of 1885 Mary Leavitt made her high-profile tour of New Zealand to establish branches of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Anna and Robert were both life-long temperance activists as well as keenly interested in America. It was likely during this visit to Dunedin in September that Anna formally joined the local WCTU chapter that had been founded in April. Additionally, she followed the political discussions of the visiting journalist George Sala whom Robert had met in Wellington.³⁹ During their brief stay Robert chaired the initial lecture by Sala on events in Russia. World events were high on Anna's list of interests. The Stout Family Papers reveal that many years later, in 1913, Anna maintained a correspondence with a family member in Scotland who had been in Russia, a subject they discussed at length and in detail.⁴⁰ It is possible that in 1887, in her role as wife of the Premier, Anna first made the acquaintance of Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, who was touring New Zealand with her husband the Earl of Aberdeen. It was these kinds of personal connections that gave Anna such influence in promoting women's issues.⁴¹

Despite frequent absences, based on existing family letters, it appears Anna had a close relationship with her children. They all had nick-names or terms of endearment for one another. Sir Robert gifted a first-edition copy of a centennial revision of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* to Anna with the inscription 'To Anna from Robie'.⁴² Duncan referred to his fiancé and wife, Isobel, as 'Pickle' for most of their lives. The tone of Duncan's England letters in particular, is playful, newsy, comforting and kind.⁴³ During their study years in England, Robert and Duncan shared news and laughed over people they knew in Dunedin and Wellington, as well as exchanging newspapers and periodicals from England and New Zealand.⁴⁴ They shared the low points, too, as when Robert was struggling academically and wondering whether it would not have been better if he had come home rather than continuing his medical studies. In the absence of diaries, these letters are a crucial window into the private life of the Stout family. Through the personal letters of the Stout Family Papers, written primarily between 1904 and 1929, we see a close knit family as the children are stepping out into the world as adults. Pulling back the public persona of Sir Robert and Lady Anna, we catch a glimpse of Anna in 1906 enjoying the support of competent servants as 'a change to what we had when the cook used to play up.' We hear Anna sharing a private joke with her son, Robert, at the expense of one of the Macgregors and later, in 1913, Duncan is ...'glad to

³⁹ *Timaru Herald*, 28 September, 1885.

⁴⁰ 'Lady Anna Stout-Inward Letters', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-116, WTU.

⁴¹ The record is unclear in this regard, as news reports indicate at the last minute Lady Aberdeen did not accompany her husband to Wellington, due to poor weather. *New Zealand Herald*, 12 May, 1887, *Star*, 17 May, 1887. Lady Aberdeen was president of the International Council of Women from 1893-1936, among many other roles. Her progressive ideas, strong social conscience and mutual membership in the Lyceum Club of London gave her much in common with Anna. As late as 1920 Anna was corresponding with Lady Aberdeen on behalf of the NCW. *New Zealand Herald*, 17 May, 1887 and Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of the Women of New Zealand*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1996, p. 114.

⁴² Anna Stout Papers, MS-0251, DU:HO

⁴³ 'Letters to his parents', Stout Family Papers, MS-Papers-1118-048/049/050/051, WTU.

⁴⁴ 'Robert Stout to Sir Robert and Lady Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers-0183-03/04/05/06, WTU. 'Letters to his parents, 1910-1913', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers-11518-051, WTU.

hear you are all well again and have servants at last. You will be able to get the garden in order now and see if you can grow cauliflower...'⁴⁵

Anna's own letters are not in the collection, so we are left to infer her correspondence based on the replies she received. Anna frequently asks after the health of Robert and Duncan during their early England years; are they warm enough, do they need more clothes or funds and the boys respond in kind. Anna followed Duncan and Robert's progress through medical school closely, as well as their social life in England. In one letter from 1904 the boys assured Anna they did not touch one drop of liquor during a recent tour of an extensive wine cellar. In 1905 Anna sent them news of the Macgregors and playful advice to Robert regarding the ideal shape of a nose in a wife.⁴⁶ In another letter from 1905 Anna shared an amusing anecdote about the Governor walking into a reception while the band was playing 'will you not come back again' to which Robert replied 'you appear to be having a lively time with at-homes.'⁴⁷ One letter in particular encapsulates all the others: Duncan's successful completion of medical school, which occurred while Anna was in London. Anna had long been waiting for the news and when it came Duncan could not resist teasing his mother just a bit more by including the news that he had won the gold medal in medicine in a teasingly small postscript at the bottom of his card.⁴⁸ In a joint letter to Robert and Anna dated 29 December, 1918 just after his parents' forty-second wedding anniversary, Duncan has his own nuptials on his mind as he shares the news that he has met a very special girl. He shares his private hopes that she will say yes and asks them not to say anything until they get his cable. Shortly thereafter Sir Robert was able to pen a letter of thanks to Mrs. Pearce for sending a photo of her daughter Isobel and reflected that Duncan is a lucky man in getting the love of such a beautiful charming and able girl.⁴⁹

Due to the nature of the Stout Family Papers, Robert and Duncan are the two Stout children that we know the most about. Their letters serve as a useful reflection on the parenting style of Anna and Robert. Duncan and Robert's separate letters to their father are full of their observations as the young men journeyed through Scotland and Shetland in 1904. The heritage of their father, which they had heard so much about over the years, is described in detail for Sir Robert, including the school where he first taught, the quarry where his Uncle William worked and even the old Free Kirk.⁵⁰ In their letters, the reader can feel the young men's excitement as they see for the first time the places that their father had described to them so many times. They are warm in their praise for the family members who remember their father so well, and who now have the opportunity to welcome two of his sons for the first time. It is clear from the letters that the boys were very familiar with their extended family members and the various locations of importance to their father. The extended Stout clan in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Shetland looked after Duncan and Robert well during their years in Great Britain and the brothers made several trips north both before and during Anna's own years of residence. The tone of the letters is open and affectionate to one another. The

⁴⁵ 'Letters to his parents, 22 May, 1913', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers-11518-051, WTU.

⁴⁶ Robert replied that he would send Anna a postcard demonstrating just the kind of nose he was looking for, although he did not intend to marry for a long time.

⁴⁷ 'Robert Stout to Sir Robert and Lady Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers-0183-06, WTU.

⁴⁸ 'Letters to his parents', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-051, WTU.

⁴⁹ 'Outward letters', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-107, WTU.

⁵⁰ 'Robert Stout to Sir Robert and Lady Stout; Duncan Stout to Sir Robert Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 0183-03, WTU.

boys' personalities shine through the letters. Robert loved pantomime and comedic opera but despaired of ever getting Duncan to go with him, as Duncan always wanted to see Shakespeare. Duncan also liked to quote from travel guides in his letters home to Anna, which his older brother Robert liked to tease him about.⁵¹

Anna and Robert both had extensive family in Dunedin and these relationships remained important throughout their lives. Over time, five of Robert's siblings and his step-mother immigrated to New Zealand. His half-brother, George, stood with Robert at his wedding in 1876. One brother who figures prominently in the family papers is William Stout, Robert's half-brother. William was born in 1863, just one year before Robert sailed for New Zealand. By the time of Margaret Stout's birth in 1878 he was an integral part of the Dunedin Stouts. In one of Robert's early letters to Anna from Wellington he concludes with 'I am very sorry I am away from you. I often think of you and baby. Kisses from me to you both. Remember me to Willie and the rest.'⁵² William worked closely with his brother Robert, Anna and later his nephew Robert in regards to their farm property at Waikawa. They shared their frustrations over the manager, Harold Yorke, and the frequent losses due to flood or drought. In 1924 William shared with his nephew that he wanted to fire Yorke, 'but for the fact of his knowing the country so well' and his frustration that Sir Robert had given the man a bonus the previous Christmas.⁵³ Robert's generosity over wisdom in financial affairs was well-known among his family. In her memoirs, Helen Wilson wrote of Stout:

His life was centred in his work; domestic matters and other things he was content to leave in the hands of his very capable wife. She declared that he was quite hopeless with money. If he started out in the morning with his pockets full he invariably found some impostor ...who wheedled it all from him. He could never withstand a tale of woe.⁵⁴

Stout's involvement in the Scottish community of New Zealand was lengthy and detailed.⁵⁵ Stout was a long time member of the Gaelic Society, just one of several cultural societies developed to maintain language and traditions.⁵⁶ Equally important were the networks of support that developed in and through the Scottish community. Immediately upon his arrival in Dunedin, Robert boarded at the home of Mrs. William Goudie, an old friend of the Stout family from the Shetland Islands.⁵⁷ His long-time mentor and friend Duncan Macgregor hailed from Perthshire.⁵⁸ He shared a law partnership with John Macgregor (who was also a member of the Gaelic Society). In 1871 Robert Stout promoted the concept, albeit short lived, of a colony of Shetland Islanders to be established on Stewart Island. It was customary for the Scottish community to acclaim the success of their own men and women and in this regard Robert Stout figured prominently in the community.

⁵¹ 'Robert Stout to Sir Robert and Lady Stout; Duncan Stout to Sir Robert Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 0183-05, WTU.

⁵² 'Letters to Anna Stout', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-103, WTU.

⁵³ 'William Anderson Stout correspondence', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-094, WTU. William shared Robert's interest in law and achieved a position as Lecturer on the Law of Property in 1890 at the University of Otago, a position he held for three years. See *The University of Otago: A Centennial History*, W.P. Morrell, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1969, p. 86.

⁵⁴ Wilson, p. 151.

⁵⁵ Robert's involvement included the Shetland Society, *Evening Post*, 15 November, 1927,

⁵⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, 4 August, 1888 and 6 August, 1890. Robert's brother in law, John Macgregor, was also a member.

⁵⁷ Dunn and Richardson, p. 23.

⁵⁸ Dunn and Richardson, p. 28.

He invited both Basil and William Sievwright (a solicitor in Lerwick) in the 1870s to emigrate from his home town of Lerwick in the Shetland Islands. The law firm of Sievwright and Stout was formed soon after. In 1878 Robert stood as witness to the marriage of William to Margaret Home Richardson, who had been invited by Basil to immigrate around the same time. She became a leading member of the New Zealand women's movement and close friend of Kate Sheppard.⁵⁹ The Stouts and the Sievwrights were close friends and colleagues until the partnership split in 1887, during Robert's tenure as Premier, under a cloud of suspicion and accusations of 'dubious financial dealings.'⁶⁰ This adds a new, additional layer to our understanding of Anna's often tense relationship with Margaret, Kate and the other leaders of the National Council of Women.

Anna's own Logan clan was extensive in New Zealand. Through her father's aunt Hannah, the Logans were also related to the Becks of Dunedin.⁶¹ Anna's grandmother, Mary Logan, arrived in Dunedin in 1859 when Anna was not yet one year old. This trend in chain migration was particularly common among the Scots.⁶² One reason may be the concern for the care of elderly parents over such a great distance.⁶³ This close association with cousins, aunts, uncles and grandparents enabled Anna to instil in her children an understanding of their clan heritage.⁶⁴ It is important to note, however, that although they recognized their Scottish ancestry, the second-generation Stouts identified themselves clearly as New Zealanders, as did Anna herself. This, too, was common among Scottish New Zealanders. While they surely recognized and celebrated their heritage, the strong pioneer emphasis on the development of a new society, the lack of enforced migration and the great distance which limited ease of return meant that within one or two generations the cultural ties loosened considerably.

In addition to their own, immediate families, the Stout clan expanded to include the Macgregors, both John and Duncan. Well respected and highly qualified, it was Dr. Duncan Macgregor's appointment to the inaugural chair in mental and moral philosophy at Otago University at age 27 which had brought him and his wife Mary to Otago in June, 1871 and into the life of Robert Stout.⁶⁵ Although of the same age, Macgregor was Stout's professor in Mental and Moral Philosophy during

⁵⁹ Brad Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists: the Scots in New Zealand*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013, p. 137 and Maxine McGrannachan, *A Fair Field and No Favour: The Story of Margaret Home Sievwright*, Gisborne: H.B. Williams Memorial Library, 1993, p. 37.

⁶⁰ 'Sir Robert Stout', *Southland People: a dictionary of Otago Southland biography*, Dunedin: Longacre Press, 1998, p. 485.

⁶¹ 'Family Book Vol. 1', AG-920/002, Logan, Beck and Pickford family records, in ARC-0112, Tagg, Mary, Dr., DU:HO. Hannah Logan immigrated from Garvald, Scotland in 1854 with her sister Jessie (Janet). After two years in Australia she moved to Oamaru and then on to Dunedin where she married Henry Beck, a widower with a 'large, grown-up family.'

⁶² Patterson and others conclude that Scottish migration to New Zealand seems to have been more dominated by families than seen in other areas of the Empire, p. 257.

⁶³ Patterson notes that the trend of ensuing immigration of parents was not repeated in large numbers by Scottish immigrants to the United States. It appears to be a trend unique to New Zealand Scots.

⁶⁴ This familiarity with their heritage comes through frequently in both Robert and Duncan's England letters and their numerous trips north during their years of education in England. During one trip they specifically refer to looking for the Logan tartan, so it seems likely that Anna had encouraged this interest. Clan tartans were a topic that had become increasingly important to the Scots of Dunedin with the proliferation of ethnic associations in the 1870s. Patterson, p. 220.

⁶⁵ Margaret Tennant, 'MacGregor, Duncan', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012.

his years of study at Otago. It was Macgregor who was largely responsible for Stout's reading and adoption of Herbert Spencer's liberal philosophy. Macgregor's influence in Stout's life did not end with Robert's graduation. They maintained a life-long friendship and collaboration. Anna and Robert's third son, Thomas Duncan Macgregor Stout was named after their long-time friend.

There are multiple, close parallels in thinking between the Macgregors and the Stouts. A central element to their compatibility was undoubtedly their mutual Scottish heritage. They also engaged in robust debate over New Zealand's development on every level. How much of the system from the Old Country should be imitated, how much discarded. What was best in this new colony? Public views and debate ranged widely between conservative and liberal schools of thought. One example of their shared views is in the field of charitable aid. Once again reflecting their Scottish heritage, Duncan Macgregor was equally conservative in this regard, viewing voluntary contributions as vital to the State system. Their privately debated views found a public outlet when Dr. Macgregor proceeded to develop a stringent system to evaluate 'state paupers' to prevent pauperization of the people as a whole.⁶⁶

There are multiple examples of how the private family discussions flowed outwards to influence New Zealand's national development but one will have to suffice here. One of the significant achievements of the Stout/Vogel government was the passage of the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act in 1885.⁶⁷ The question of how public aid should be administered, and what ideology should underpin the aid, had been vigorously debated since the end of the provincial government system without any successful resolution. By the time Vogel and Stout took office, the matter had become 'exceedingly important' by Vogel's own admission.⁶⁸ Stout's view was that aid as a 'right' would be disastrous to the young colony. As early as 1877, immediately after the demise of the provincial government system, during a parliamentary debate on poor laws and a poor rate, Stout was quoted as saying 'I think it would be a dangerous principle for this colony to affirm that any man has a right to go to the State and demand relief whenever he pleases.'⁶⁹ While it was a person's duty to help those less fortunate, it was not desirable that people become dependent on the aid. This was in keeping with Stout's own views of personal accountability, duty and responsibility to better oneself. This thinking clearly matches Anna's own views and is a message that permeates all of her public and private writings.

With the successful passage of the Act, Robert's old mentor and friend Duncan Macgregor was appointed the new inspector of hospitals and charitable institutions, with his friend the Premier's assistance.⁷⁰ Macgregor was considered a progressive in his medical views. Both during and after his years at Otago University he was keenly interested in the medical school and worked hard to

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Michael F. Chilton, 'The Genesis of the Welfare State: A Study of Hospitals and Charitable Aid in New Zealand 1877-92', MA (Hons) Massey, 1968, p. 97.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 127 and p. 94. The split in the debate is perhaps best demonstrated by Canterbury and Otago. Whereas the government of Canterbury 'dominated hospital and charitable aid arrangements...with extensive grants', Otago favoured 'voluntary organizations..., virtually confined itself to providing subsidies and induced a pride in this system in its citizens.'

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 94.

⁷⁰ On-line AJHR, 1886 Session I, E-06, viewed 30 June, 2014. <http://atojs.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/atojs?a=d&cl=search&d=AJHR1886-I.2.2.3.8&srpos=4&e=-----10--1-----0duncan+macgregor-->

ensure its program was comparable to those found overseas. He also championed the training and employment of female nurses in all New Zealand hospitals. He maintained a close correspondence with medical institutions in several countries, including the United States and frequently drew on their case studies to improve New Zealand's own system.⁷¹

Following his brother, Duncan, John Macgregor immigrated to New Zealand in 1875. Undoubtedly with an introduction by his brother, he entered the law firm of Sievwright and Stout. As has been noted previously, John married Robert's sister Jessie, thus binding the Macgregors and the Stouts as a family. Jessie died in 1887, leaving John with a young son to raise. Family letters indicate that the Stout children were close to the youngest Macgregor, although the record is vague on whether their cousin lived with them or with extended family. John Macgregor led a very successful legal career in New Zealand. Additionally he fulfilled two periods of service in the Legislative Council, one of them during the critical period of 1893, when women's suffrage passed the Council by just two votes.

The shared interest in health and medical affairs continued throughout Anna and Robert's lives. Their mutual interest undoubtedly influenced their sons Robert and Thomas to pursue medical careers and Anna's own interests in maternal and infant health led her to co-found the Society for the Protection of Women and Children (SPWC), among others. She also lent her name and profile to the founding of what came to be known as the Plunket Society.⁷² While Anna's interests consistently mirrored Robert's, she did not remain in his shadow, but rather used her energy to advance into parallel fields. A related issue was their concern with eugenics, a subject widely discussed in this time period.⁷³ Anna and Robert also carried the burden of the medical needs of their eldest child, Margaret, who required care for most of her life. Institutional records show that she suffered from severe epilepsy.⁷⁴ The family record is nearly silent in regards to her condition and care, but this undoubtedly was a worry to Anna and Robert as well as an additional financial obligation. Anna struggled with her own health issues, including increasing deafness. There is no clear indication when her deafness began, but by 1896 she regularly carried a horn to assist with her hearing.⁷⁵

The Logans, Stouts and Macgregors, through their extended family relations and shared philosophies, helped one another to establish successful lives in their new colony. Through their various leading roles in education, law, politics and social reform their collective influence was

⁷¹ Chilton, p. 146.

⁷² Originally known as the Society for Promoting the Health of Women and Children, Anna's close association lent credibility and veracity to her frequent use of maternal health statistics during her defence of women's suffrage in her England years, 1909-1912.

⁷³ A social philosophy related to the Darwinian theory of survival of the fittest, advocates of eugenics encouraged greater birth rates in the better classes and those with the appropriate moral and physical criteria as a way of improving the human race. The ideas also extended to a desire to control immigration. The Stouts appear to have followed this line of social Darwinism in a practical way, advocating for a limiting of family numbers in line with ones' ability to provide. See Franz Boas, 'Eugenics', *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 3 No. 5, November, 1916, pp. 471-78 and Frank Dikotter, 'Race Culture: Recent Perspectives on the History of Eugenics', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 103, No. 2, April, 1998, p. 467.

⁷⁴ Based on currently unpublished research undertaken on Seacliff Asylum by Barbara Brookes, Associate Professor of History, Otago University and confirmed in conversation to the author in May, 2013. The Stout family's personal association with Seacliff lends an interesting personal dimension to Anna's relationship with Harriet Morison, the union activist, who was, for many years, a registered visitor to Seacliff.

⁷⁵ Wilson, p. 152.

widely felt in colonial Otago in particular. Their shared Scottish heritage and liberal thinking additionally formed the foundation on which the next generation secured their own place in New Zealand history. The final word on the Stout-Logan family rests with Duncan. In a letter written to his parents on his twenty-ninth birthday and the eve of World War I, he reflects on all that his family has given him, but one thing stands out in his mind:

I hope the mental intellectual freedom and independence of childhood will ever be a heirloom of the Stout-Logan clan and that we shall ever be able to welcome thought and independence as more to be desired even if differing from ones' own opinions than lack of thought and independence.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ 'World War One letters', Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-052, WTU.



Figure IV: Sir Robert and Lady Anna Stout on their wedding day, 1876, photographer unidentified, Reference PA-Coll 7581-08, reproduced with the permission of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

ANNA'S PHILOSOPHY

Equal justice and equal responsibility with conditions that make
happiness and virtue possible to all women
must be the aim of the united sisterhood of humanity.¹

This chapter attempts to understand Anna's social and political views through a close reading of her speeches, tracts, interviews and pamphlets, as well as a consideration of the papers she left in her personal collection. We will look at both her content and style to gain a better understanding of Anna as a person and as an activist.

To fully understand Anna's position, one must start with the key influences on her life and thought. As has already been noted, Anna was raised in a liberally-minded, Scottish home. Her marriage to Robert Stout at the age of eighteen joined her further in thought to a leading Liberal and Freethinker of New Zealand's colonial era. This emphasis on individuality, personal development and duty was based firmly on Christian principles and wrapped in a traditional mantle of the healthy family as the centre of society. The organizations Anna helped to found during her years of active work demonstrate this further. They addressed both woman's right to personal development and woman's unique needs. She firmly believed in the centrality of family and traditional womanly duties. Her vision of the 'New Woman', however, also included 'strong will, mental grasp, powerful individuality, and keen intuitive faculties.' Anna also argued that 'the New Woman demands the right and opportunity of doing the work that she finds she is most fitted by education and inclination to do.'²In this regard, Anna moved beyond Raewyn Dalziel's classic account of the role of women in colonial New Zealand.³ While Anna exemplified duty to family, she argued repeatedly for women to extend their interests, for their own personal development as well as the good of their family.⁴ At the end of her article, Dalziel uses an extended quote from Anna in the *English Woman* in 1910 to summarize New Zealand women's use of the traditional womanly roles in their arguments for suffrage. However, Anna's words need to be understood in the light of her British audience and her consistent and selective use of the media to further her arguments. In 1910, at the height of the British suffrage movement, Anna was based in England and was firmly committed to furthering the cause of women's suffrage in the face of a seemingly intractable British Parliament. Her use of statistics to reaffirm the traditional role of women was part of this strategy and needs to be understood in the wider context of Anna's philosophy. This is examined in more detail in this chapter and demonstrated again in chapter five.

In a close reading of Anna's ideology, her 1896 address to the delegates of the first National Council of Women is a central starting point. Later published in pamphlet form, this speech encapsulates

¹ Lady Anna Stout, *The National Council of Women of New Zealand*, 1896, Anna Stout Papers, MS-259/B, DU:HO.

² Lady Anna Stout, 'The New Woman' *The Citizen*, December, 1896.

³ Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, October, 1977, pp. 112-23.

⁴

much of Anna's ideas and goals. It is, in essence, her personal mission statement. Not only does this speech demonstrate her ideology, it reflects her personality and style of public advocacy. Much of her later writings and speeches are extensions of this foundational stir to action.

Fundamental to Anna's ideology is the concept of self-help and self-development. She viewed this as an inherent human right and obligation. It was the lack of understanding of this critical element that she considered to be at the root of many of women's difficulties. 'Women can if they would rule the world and make their power felt in every sphere of life but they will not. They must have their own small triumphs and their own pet comforts, and so they fail.' Earlier in the same document Anna writes 'We must first overcome the foes that are in ourselves...selfishness, jealousy and dependence that we have been satisfied to submit to.' Her goal of equal opportunities and development for women was tempered by the realization that many of the struggles were the result of other women who should be their loyal sisters. She wrote 'It is the want of charity, and the cruel indifference of women that makes one hopeless of obtaining justice for women...'⁵

For Anna, the sex question was to be avoided as counter-productive to the advancement of women, but at the same time loyalty to one's sex was a prerequisite to advancement. Quoting from the secretary of the British National Council, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, Anna highlights the idea that 'if we had grievances against men we must remember that they were our fathers, brothers and sons...and that when women taught their sons the beauty and goodness of justice, truth and honour, the equality of the sexes before the law would soon be obtained.' Spoken as a mother of four living sons, her words resonate with personal conviction.⁶ Her numerous speeches and articles written during her nearly four years in England reinforce this idea in specific regard to the winning of the vote. The process of winning full suffrage in New Zealand was never one of antagonism between men and women but rather one of cooperation with enlightened men.

Anna, however, was not unwilling to name specific men when she felt they were obstructing women's advancement. Her challenge to Lord Glasgow in *The Times*, and her scathing indictments of Prime Minister Asquith for his repeated breaking of his word and his refusal to allow deputations, are just two examples of many, but she consistently refused to blame men in general. This cooperative focus was the norm among New Zealand's first-generation activist women, although their motivations for such cooperation varied widely.

In refuting an argument in the British press that New Zealand women voters were responsible for the 'no-license' vote, Anna counters that women voting for temperance reform 'have the loyal support of the 'best men' in their efforts to improve the conditions of life for their children.'⁷ This idea was also reinforced in the writings of Kate Sheppard and reflected in the manner in which she worked with leading politicians such as Sir John Hall and Alfred Saunders. It also helps to explain the profound shock Anna experienced in seeing the rough manner in which women activists were treated in Britain. In spite of profound differences of opinion between the New Zealand politicians and the active women of the 1890s, Anna writes elsewhere that the women delegations to

⁵ Stout, *The National Council of New Zealand Women*.

⁶ At the time of the formation of the National Council of Women, and the writing of this pamphlet, Anna was predominantly a mother of sons. Her eldest daughter at this time did not enjoy good health and led a private life. Her youngest daughter, Janet, was just two years old.

⁷ Newspaper clippings, Anna Stout Papers, MS 0259/B, DU:HO.

Parliament were always cordially received. Taking her idea further and demonstrating her own compassion for those less fortunate, Anna writes:

It is not to men we have to look for the raising of our sisters, as it is not upon them we have to cast the blame of the degradation of women; but to the conditions of society that have made women helpless and dependent, and to the callousness of those women who are always ready to cast stones at their fallen sisters....⁸

In focusing her argument on the conditions of society rather than on the male personalities who had formed those conditions through law and custom, Anna was reflecting her liberal upbringing as well as the current debate on evolution and social conditioning advocated by Darwin, Spencer, and even the American feminist author Charlotte Perkins Gilman. In applying this line of reasoning, she sought a rational, cooperative and enduring solution that would benefit all of society. This style of argument owes much to the influence of Duncan Macgregor on both Anna and Robert. Macgregor was a strong advocate of Social Darwinism.⁹ It was in this regard that her liberal upbringing comes to the fore and we understand better the impact of her ideology.

Where Macgregor took a hard line, however, against those who did not contribute to society, Anna viewed women in a slightly different light. She recognized that they had not had the opportunity to fully develop themselves and so could initially be excused for their selfish and even parasitic behaviour. Anna also recognized that many women, due to their legal and economic handicaps, were not in a position to stand up against drunk or negligent husbands or earn their own living. They struggled and they needed help. Women also needed to stir themselves up to achieve their potential and fulfil their duties to their new society. Those who chose not to do so (as defined by Anna) came in for censure. For example, women who wrote to the papers and only signed themselves anonymously came in for great scorn. Anna always signed her own letters to the papers.

This is an interesting point to consider about Anna. Although Macgregor espoused a strong Social Darwinism, Anna was willing to initially write a different set of standards for women. But once suffrage was granted, and as educational doors were opened, Anna showed great frustration that women did not seize the opportunities provided to them. Perhaps this is what she was really saying when she wrote in 1913 about her disappointment in women's lack of response to equal suffrage.¹⁰ Anna's overriding areas of interest were education, ideology and politics and she failed to see how these same interests were not shared by the majority of women.

In a study of Anna's ideologies it is helpful to remember that she was also very pragmatic. In her opinion, change could only come through targeted improvements in health, hygiene, moral instruction and secular education. It is for this reason Anna devoted herself to the foundation of numerous organizations that dealt with maternal and child health, protection against exploitation

⁸ Stout, *The National Council of New Zealand Women*.

⁹ Margaret Tennant, 'MacGregor, Duncan', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30-Oct-2012.

¹⁰ Anna was not alone in her disappointment. Many other leading women of the suffrage movement expressed similar disappointment. Amey Daldy wrote Kate Sheppard in 1905 'I am wondering if the past has all been a dream...why, oh why, do the women not rouse themselves from their love of ease and do something for the betterment of the race?' Patricia Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1987, p. 114.

and education in political economy. If her ideas were to bear fruit, practical steps were required. It was for this reason that Anna interjected into her opening address to the National Council of Women her own hope that the newly formed council would make as a first priority 'training our boys and girls in the study of physiology in relation to temperance and morality.'¹¹ She was looking for plain talking and the removal of 'false sentiment' in the education of children. 'Knowledge is power' was more than a quote for Anna; it was her call to arms for women everywhere.

Anna considered herself a Christian woman whose duty was to her fellow man and woman, but this duty did not include allegiance to a specific church. For Anna, there was no disagreement between her liberal views and her Christian outlook. Rather, she was likely describing her own faith without a creed when she wrote:

...women who believe that the true spirit of Christianity has its shrine in the human heart, and will not rule the world until the ministers of religion cast aside their dogmas and disagreements and preach with one voice, truth, justice, purity and brotherly and sisterly love, may be surprised to find how very little difference there is in the fundamental truths that underlie all their most cherished convictions.¹²

Anna believed that absolute truth existed and that it could be found through reason and the harnessing of humanity's cooperative efforts. Reflecting the radical theology of her upbringing and the utilitarian views of her husband, Anna would have agreed 'that religion was amenable to reason, that the law of God was discoverable in the order of the universe... Morality was not to be derived from doctrine but established empirically.'¹³

Her Christian view, however, found expression through service rather than submission to doctrine. In the course of meetings at the first National Council of Women, while debating improvements in education and the role of Bible teaching in schools, Anna clearly stated her opposition to teaching the Bible in schools. In her opinion, it was the fault of the ministers if children did not find Bible learning interesting enough to attend Sunday school, thereby necessitating the teaching of Bible in school. She went on to say 'she taught her boys the Bible according to what she thought was right....she did not teach any church dogmas, but kept as clear of that as possible.'¹⁴ Hers was religion based on the highest ideals and acted on in the most practical manner. In this regard, as in many others, her views were similar to Robert. In 1910 Robert published a small tract on observations from his 1909 tour of England and Europe. In it he wrote of a sermon he heard by the 'earnest' Father Stanton on the danger of dying without faith, and the fear of hell:

I heard he was a kindly man to the poor...whether the poor in London can be permanently benefited when their intelligence is not appealed to, remains to be seen.¹⁵

While Anna and Robert espoused a liberal, secular programme, similar ideas were also springing from Presbyterianism. By the late nineteenth century, through a series of key cases, particularly that

¹¹ Stout, *The National Council of New Zealand Women*.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Brad Patterson et al, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2013, p. 125.

¹⁴ April 17, 1896 newspaper clipping, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

¹⁵ 'Impressions of a Visit to Europe' by Sir Robert Stout, Anna Stout Papers, ARC 0021, Pamphlet #7, Collection 196 of pamphlets, 1910, DU:HO.

of William Robertson Smith in 1878, the Free Kirk of Scotland encouraged greater lay participation, education and personal piety over sacraments or doctrine. This translated logically into 'civic engagement', especially as a more 'liberal Presbyterianism emerged toward the end of the century.'¹⁶ Thus it is easier to see how Anna could work side by side with active, church going women. The gap between them was not so great, regardless of their religious affiliation.

Anna's style of writing reflects her personality. She was direct, articulate and impassioned. She also was not above exercising a degree of selective editorializing when agitating for a particular point. In her pamphlet *Woman Suffrage in New Zealand* Anna reflects, for example, that the Education Act has proved to be 'an unqualified success'.¹⁷ No legislation ever passes easily and there were undoubtedly occasions where equality was not achieved, but her aim in the pamphlet was clear: to articulate the success of legislation enacted under full suffrage to a sceptical British public and to use all resources at her disposal to influence the British suffrage movement. The lengthy list of legislation under the sub-heading 'What Woman Suffrage has accomplished' draws a direct link between the legislative Acts and woman's suffrage. While there is no doubt women and women's organizations were active in the petitioning and agitating for many of the changes, to equate one directly with the other may be a bit of a stretch. Another example is in her well-known letter to *The Times* where she directly equates the falling infant mortality rate to a nation 'where the franchise has made women realize their responsibilities',¹⁸ particularly in light of her earlier criticism in New Zealand of women's failure to rise to the responsibilities of equal suffrage. In Anna's view, this was not the time or place for critical debate of general improvements in health, hygiene or standards of living. In the previously named pamphlet and her letter to *The Times*, Anna marshals her resources with one aim: to articulate the positive social and legal developments in New Zealand since full suffrage was gained. This is a technique she repeats at other times; to drive her audience straight to her intended outcome and to make them see, through sheer force and scale of argument, the validity of her views. Her consternation when they failed to respond favourably could be great, as in the response among the New Zealand press to her defence of the British suffragettes in 1913.¹⁹

Anna's emphasis of family and gender roles also gives us valuable insight into what may seem, on one level, to be a dichotomy in her life: her total commitment to the advancement of women on one hand and her equal commitment to family life. Understanding how Anna could stand in both camps at the same time is fundamental to understanding the New Zealand women's movement of the nineteenth century. There was a colonial setting which demanded practical solutions as well as high ideals. There was plenty of scope for women's involvement in the development of their communities, much of it practical. This leads directly to the historical work of Gerda Lerner and Mary Ritter Beard, who insist that women have always been active participants in history, but not in the areas typically dominated by men. Anna is living proof of this. Anna influenced social dialogue at the highest levels through her role as Lady Stout. On a practical level she was more of a social 'former' than reformer, particularly given the nature of the young colony in which she lived. She chose to work actively in traditional, female areas of interest because there was real need but she had no intention that women should be restricted to traditional roles; she also advocated education

¹⁶ Patterson, p. 134.

¹⁷ Anna Stout, *Woman Suffrage in New Zealand*, London: The Woman's Press, 1911, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0265, DU:HO.

¹⁸ *The Times*, 19 November, 1909.

¹⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, 5 September, 1913 and 19 September, 1913.

which would lead to wider roles for women as they qualified for those positions. Addressing the Southern Cross Society she said

We only desire that the women of the colony should have equal rights with men, and not be debarred by law or prejudice from living the fullest and free life that they may be qualified by education to live.²⁰

Anna's overriding goal was the advancement of women in every way and at every level. As women became educated in political issues, for example, there was no reason why they could not sit in Parliament.²¹ But first they had to earn the right to such a place, and this led Anna into her greatest area of interest: education. At every turn, Anna advocated women to educate themselves on the political and social issues of their day. This is the fundamental purpose behind her founding of the Southern Cross Society as quoted in her inaugural address:

The Society has been organised for the purpose of educating women, not women of any one class or opinion, but women from all classes and of all shades of opinions, to take a wide view of the questions of the day and to do all in their power to advocate reforms that will tend to benefit women, to promote their independence and equality and make life and the conditions of living easier and better for those women who have to depend upon their own exertions for their livelihood.²²

A key objective of the Southern Cross Society was to educate women on the political and social issues of the day. Anna believed strongly that women were equally capable of understanding and debating the issues critical to the success of their young nation, but they needed time to develop understanding in areas that had previously been denied to them, such as political economy. This argument in favour of understanding before action sometimes led to confrontation, such as during a debate over the issue of a pending treaty with Japan during the inaugural National Council of Women in 1896.²³ This incident also sheds light on the challenge of working with similarly strong-willed women. Most reports of the proceeding simply state that the matter was postponed. We are indebted to a special correspondent on the day for the following detailed report which sheds significant light on Anna's methods and ideas in a debating chamber:

After a motion by Mrs. Tasker to reject the treaty was seconded by Mrs. Izett, the reporter went on as follows:

Lady Stout asked how they were to express their opinion on the Japanese treaty when they were ignorant of its provisions. They had no business to interfere with the Japanese treaty or any other treaty at the present time. She wished to know the provisions of the Japanese treaty before the question was put. They had no right to vote on a question they did not understand. She moved that consideration of the motion be postponed.

Although seconded by Mrs. (Wilhelmina Sheriff) Bain, Mrs. Sievwright countered:

²⁰ *Southern Cross Society: Its Objects*, Address by Lady Stout, August 22, 1895, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0271, Hocken Library.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ *Otago Daily Times*, 18 April, 1896.

I don't think we should be accused all round of being ignorant of treaties or anything else.

Anna countered 'I said I was ignorant.' Mrs. Tasker said she did not know what Lady Stout meant as elements of the treaty had been reported in the press. Anna then retreated to high ground by calling on the rules of Parliament:

'Members of Parliament will not vote on a bill unless the bill is before them. I don't see why we should be expected to do otherwise.' Mrs Tasker concluded that due to Lady Stout's ignorance on the matter, the motion would be withdrawn.²⁴

Anna argued for women to take their place in society *because* their areas of concern were different from men and because they would act differently from men. It was not her expectation that women would become like men.²⁵ In the modern debate over whether women are equal or different, Anna would have firmly replied 'both.' She believed that women were naturally better judges of character and in this way could influence the selection of their political leaders, as well as the development of their children, but she was adamantly opposed to the argument that women were the 'angels' in the home. She was practical enough to realize that not all women had families to care for, and argued that women who had the capacity and ability should 'willingly have some real object in life' rather than 'spending their lives in utter uselessness and becoming a prey to nervous diseases for the want of some object in life.'²⁶

It was this clear understanding of social and economic inequality that led to Anna's strong support for women's economic independence. This was a recurring theme throughout the latter half of her life and work on behalf of women. Among her personal collection of papers is the 1917 publication *Women's Work in War Time – A Handbook of Employments* by Mrs. H.M.Usborne, *Pioneer Work for Women* by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell²⁷ and two private discussion papers by the Women's Fabian Group (WFG) on the disabilities of women workers. The 1909 Fabian pamphlet concluded with the need for women's economic independence 'so that her powers may expand to the full extent of her natural ability,'²⁸ words nearly identical to those in Anna's own 1896 article 'The Economic Independence of Women.'²⁹ Although there is no direct evidence that Anna had a hand in the two private Fabian discussion papers in her personal collection, the indirect evidence is compelling based on her close relationship with Maud Pember Reeves, her proximity to the Fabian offices in Clements Inn which were immediately next to the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) offices and the fact that both tracts, intended as private discussion papers, are in her personal collection.³⁰

Anna consistently argued in favour of equal pay for equal work, coupled with the need for women to be trained or educated so that they could be deserving of equal pay. Besides the practical need for many women to earn their own way in the world, Anna understood that economic independence meant respect, dignity and equality to women everywhere. She would have been very familiar with

²⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 18 April, 1896.

²⁵ Anna P. Stout, 'The New Woman', *The Citizen-Journal of the Forward Movement*, Vol. 1, No. 4, December, 1895, DU:HO.

²⁶ Anna Stout, *Southern Cross Society, Its Objects, 1895*, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0271, DU:HO.

²⁷ Blackwell was the first woman to receive a medical degree in the United States and the first woman on the UK medical register.

²⁸ Fabian Women's Group, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0269, DU:HO.

²⁹ Anna Stout, 'The Economic Independence of Women', *Press*, 28 September, 1896.

³⁰ Anna Stout Papers, MS-0270 and MS-0269, DU:HO.

the immensely popular *Women and Economics* by Charlotte Perkins Gilman which brought the author acclaim upon its publication in 1898 and its subsequent translation into seven languages. When she spoke of widening the scope of 'women's work', Anna was not just referring to traditional areas of maternal influence. She literally meant a widening of the work available to women.³¹ Although as Lady Stout she moved in politically and socially influential circles, Anna maintained a close relationship with working women, in particular the Tailoresses Union of Dunedin and its founder, Harriet Morison. This familiarity was commented on during interviews conducted during her England sojourn.³²

Following the first National Council of Women in 1896, Anna wrote 'The Economic Independence of Women' to highlight her opposition to the 'impractical resolution' carried by the Council that the government regulate women's economic independence.³³ Anna argued that such matters can never be regulated, but rather change must come through the development of women's own sense of self worth through independent employment prior to marriage. In this way, when marriage is entered into, it is done not out of necessity or escape, but as a mutual union based on respect and value. In spite of disagreeing with her colleagues on the method, she agreed that economic independence was critical to a woman's dignity and respect. In Anna's view 'the most effectual means for securing the economic independence of women after marriage is to maintain their economic independence before marriage. Women who can earn their own living learn to know and appreciate the value of money as well as to appreciate their own value as unpurchaseable commodities.'³⁴

Anna was well-versed in the arguments of those opposed to women's suffrage and equal opportunity and was able to dismantle them in a systematic and direct manner. Based on the material held in her private papers and material collected during her years in England she was a keen student of the 'anti' arguments. The reader can almost feel her enthusiasm as she sets out to tear apart the 'anti' arguments one by one. Frequently her frustration at the endless repetition of worn out arguments pushes to the surface. Equally frequently she does not hesitate to lay the blame for some of New Zealand's social ills, such as an increase in the number of criminals, firmly at the feet of Britain and to equate it directly with the lack of full female suffrage.³⁵ In a young country still requiring high levels of immigration, and considering that the majority of immigrants were from England, her censure is not well-reasoned. Perhaps her argument in this case is better understood as a reflection of her loyalty as a native-born New Zealander.

Anna was both a loyal New Zealander and keen supporter of the Empire. In the course of defending women's suffrage against the accusation that women would be less likely to support a vote for war in the event that the Empire was threatened, Anna frequently called on New Zealand's record in the Boer War as evidence of their loyalty since the granting of women's suffrage.³⁶ She cites the women's wide-spread support for compulsory ambulatory training for women and mandatory military training for their men. She vigorously opposed what she considered 'conscientious objectors' during the Boer War. During the first year of the war, at a formation meeting in

³¹ Stout, *The National Council of New Zealand Women*.

³² Newspaper clippings book, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

³³ Stout, 'The Economic Independence of Women'.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ *Shetland News*, 28 August, 1909, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

³⁶ *The Standard*, 9 July, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

Wellington in support of the new National Council of Women, chaired by Anna, a first motion was put forward on the treatment of 'conscientious objectors.' At first, due to her deafness, Anna did not hear the motion. When she did:

She sprang up like a rocket. 'Conscientious objectors!' she cried. 'How can any woman who is a British subject dare to defend such traitors?' They were not fit to live in human society...She had no patience with any woman who would defend them.³⁷

Her support for the Empire extended to membership in the Victoria League during her years in England and again upon her return to Wellington. The Victoria League, as noted elsewhere, was established for the support of citizens of the Empire living in England. Anna considered herself both a loyal Imperialist and an enlightened daughter of New Zealand. Hers was not a blind loyalty to King and Empire however. She was proud of her native homeland and did not hesitate to speak vigorously in its defence.

Anna's ideology was founded on the concept that every human being had the right, the ability and the obligation to develop themselves for the benefit of society. Women laboured under significant limitations that Anna set her mind and energy to eradicate. For Anna, her life work was the advancement of women and the enlargement of woman's sphere of influence, with the expectation that women would then logically advance to public positions of prominence. Her concluding words in her 1896 speech to the National Council of Women summarize this well:

We must recognise the need of love and tenderness towards the weak and by organisations which will bring the abuses and wrongs under which women suffer before those who have the power and the will to redress them, we shall help to hasten the good time when men will be brothers all, and women will have the right and the opportunity to develop all their powers and lead the life that is best suited to their needs and to the physical growth and mental development of their children, and the advancement of the race.³⁸

³⁷ Wilson, p. 182.

³⁸ Stout, *The National Council of New Zealand Women*.



Figure V: Lady Anna Stout, 1894, L.F. Jones, Dunedin, Reference Port 1507, (c/nE2910/15), reproduced with permission of the Hocken Library, Dunedin, New Zealand, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

ACTIVIST

‘I feel so little done; so much to do...’

Anna Stout, 1926, quoting Cecil Rhodes

On the 14th of April, 1926, the leading women of the Dominion’s capital city gathered to grant what was, in effect, a lifetime achievement award to Lady Anna Stout.¹ In her address, the Mayoress spoke of the ‘reverence and appreciation of the women of New Zealand for the manifold works of Lady Stout for humanity generally and for women and children in particular.’² This chapter will attempt to understand the breadth and scope of Anna’s work as well as whether or not her ideas changed significantly during her lifetime of activism.

Anna was a women’s rights activist in every sense of the word.³ Her actions were firmly grounded in her liberal and Christian ideology that all humans equally had both the right and responsibility to develop themselves for the betterment of society as a whole.⁴ This is critical to understanding her position on such diverse issues as Chinese immigration, female suffrage, domestic training for Maori girls or legal protection for women and children. This chapter will argue that her ideology did not waiver over time, but rather grew in confidence and public expression as she moved out of the young-mother phase of her life. Her increasing public activism coincides with the Stout family’s move to Wellington (1895) as evidenced by the numerous news reports of her speeches and activities from this time forward. This increase in activity also coincided with the birth of her last child.

This chapter focuses on Anna’s work, both in conjunction with Robert and in her own right. Many times the separation between the two is difficult to perceive, so closely did they both work on common ground. It would be a mistake to leave Anna in Robert’s shadow, as this approach completely overlooks the strength of Anna’s will and the level of publicity she generated in her lifetime. Historiography has typically assumed that any periods of public silence on the part of Anna were a reflection of her subordinate position to Robert and his public duties.⁵ While she certainly respected his work and never sought to undermine him, it is just as likely, given the strength of her personality and views, that when she was publicly silent it was because she agreed with him. Throughout her lifetime, Anna needed to harmonize the privileges that came with Robert’s public duties with the work that she wanted to accomplish. Due to Robert, Anna was brought into contact with many of the leading personalities of early New Zealand which granted her a wider arena for her actions than she otherwise would have experienced. However, while Anna and Robert worked

¹ *Evening Post*, 15 April, 1926. As a memorial of their appreciation, a portrait was painted of Anna by the well-known artist Archibald Nichol, who also painted Robert Stout. The silver plate on the painting was to read ‘To Lady Stout, from the women of Wellington in recognition of her lifelong work for women and children’. See Figure 1, p. ii of this thesis.

² Ibid.

³ In this instance, ‘activist’ is defined as someone who works actively to change existing conditions.

⁴ The term ‘Liberal’ was widely used and interpreted. This is a description of how Anna understood and lived the concept.

⁵ Raewyn Dalziel, ‘Stout, Anna Paterson’, *The Suffragists: Women Who Worked for the Vote*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1993, pp. 137-43.

closely together and supported one another's activities for over fifty years, over time Anna also became increasingly aware of her own influence, pursuing her interests with vigour and with Robert's full, public support.

The number of organizations Anna concerned herself with presents a challenge to the historian. How to understand the combination of long-term commitments in some entities coupled with frequent change in others? The sheer number of organizations in which Anna involved herself is indicative of the range of her interests as well as her seemingly boundless energy. Not for her a single issue. Early suffrage, for example, which garnered so much attention to the women of New Zealand, was a means to an end for Anna, not an end in itself. It was the starting line, not the finish line. Anna was nearly peripatetic in her life work on behalf of women. Paradoxically, this may go some way toward explaining how Anna has been overlooked in New Zealand's history to date, with its early emphasis on the suffrage campaign. Her personality and interests constantly drove her to the next issue needing her attention, whether it was co-founding a society to agitate for legal protection of women and children, helping to establish the free kindergarten movement, petitioning for suffrage or promoting women in university education. In her generation, Anna Stout was firmly linked to the women of New Zealand on multiple levels but not on one single issue.

Before focusing on some of Anna's most prominent areas of interest, a brief survey of her organizational involvement is helpful to set the scene, although it is recognized that, as in the words of the Mayoress on that grand 1926 occasion 'it would be almost impossible to gather a full list of the activities of the guest of honour, so full had been her life of work for others.'⁶ By necessity, some items will be omitted and others abbreviated.

Anna joined the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1885 shortly after the foundational tour by Mary Leavitt. While there had been individuals publicly calling for a greater role for women prior to this time, 1885 and the WCTU marks the beginning of the women's rights movement in New Zealand.⁷ A lifelong temperance advocate, this was a natural starting point for Anna to begin to work in the public arena. The movement was socially acceptable in its advocacy for the betterment of women and children, but it was broad enough to incorporate the suffrage demand. Anna's role was limited in these early years of the WCTU due to the demands on her as wife of the Premier and four young children (one just an infant), nevertheless she managed to maintain her affiliation with the WCTU for the majority of her life.⁸ Reports in the *White Ribbon* from 1896 onwards show Anna a frequent attendee at the Wellington union meetings.⁹ Although it does not appear that Anna ever held office in the WCTU, her commitment was on a deeply personal level. Indeed, upon her return from England she presented her local union with a framed picture of Lady Henry Somerset, the British co-founder of the WCTU.¹⁰ In the fall of 1898 discussions were running high in the WCTU on the question of juvenile delinquency. Anna lent her drawing room for a meeting on the subject and the *White Ribbon* reported that 'other meetings followed which resulted in the formation of a

⁶ *Evening Post*, 15 April, 1926.

⁷ Robert Stout was one of the first to advocate the female franchise as early as 1877, so although women at that time did not enjoy legal equality as citizens, Anna lived within an atmosphere of female equality from her earliest days.

⁸ Anna's fourth child, Thomas Duncan Macgregor Stout, was born 25 July, 1885 in Wellington during her time as wife of the Premier.

⁹ *White Ribbon*, September 1897, December 1897, January 1898 to name just a few.

¹⁰ *White Ribbon*, December 1913, card #29.

‘Society for the Protection of Women and Children’.¹¹ Anna’s role in this society will be examined in more detail later.

Together with Robert, Anna was also a keen supporter of the New Zealand Alliance which worked for the abolition of the alcohol trade. Established in Wellington in 1886, the New Zealand Alliance pushed for full prohibition, not just temperance.¹² Robert was a founding member and vice-president during his Premiership and held office on several other occasions as well. Through their association with the Alliance, Robert and Anna developed a close working relationship with the well-known Reverend Leonard Isitt as well as A.R. Atkinson.¹³ As previously noted, on one occasion Anna hosted a very successful ‘at-home’ for the British M.P. Philip Snowden and his wife Ethel Snowden in 1914 as part of their temperance lecture tour.¹⁴ This particular at-home was significant for Anna on more than one level. Ethel Snowden was a leading figure in the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) and a close colleague of Anna during her years in England. To entertain the Snowdens in her Wellington home was undoubtedly a significant event for Anna. They shared not only a commitment to women’s suffrage, but also temperance. In 1930, during Robert’s final illness, the annual meeting of the New Zealand Alliance passed a resolution acknowledging the lifetime of service and support of both Sir Robert and Lady Anna.¹⁵ Upon Anna’s death in 1931 the following resolution was passed by the Alliance:

The Standing Committee of the New Zealand Alliance records its profound regret at the death of Lady Anna Stout, who for many years was an ardent supporter of the aims and ideals of the Alliance and a pioneer in humanitarian work, especially in those departments affecting women and children. The committee expresses its ... deep appreciation of the life and service of Lady Stout...¹⁶

In addition to their work for temperance, Anna and Robert were vocal in their support of the Salvation Army, helping to host its leader, General Booth, during at least one of his three New Zealand visits.¹⁷ Anna was a pragmatic as well as idealistic activist and understood the need to cooperate with numerous organizations to achieve progress on multiple levels. The Salvation Army was a means by which she could reach women and children on a practical level by co-opting the manpower of the organization. In her role as Lady Stout she also had access to the Booths and the Army’s executive and while in London in 1912, as noted in chapter five, Anna attended the grand 80th birthday celebration of General Booth at Albert Hall.

¹¹ *White Ribbon*, April 1898, card #4.

¹² J. Cocker, Rev., and J. Malton Murray (ed), *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, London: Epworth Press, 1930. In spite of her lifelong temperance advocacy, Anna does not feature as a temperance worker in Charlotte Macdonald’s selection of writings *The Vote, The Pill and the Demon Drink: A History of Feminist Writing in New Zealand, 1869-1993* perhaps because Anna’s primary written material focused on her other interests, such as political education.

¹³ The relationship (sometimes contentious) between the Stouts and the wider Atkinson clan would make for an interesting study in its own right.

¹⁴ *Manawatu Standard*, 21 October, 1914.

¹⁵ *Auckland Star*, 24 May, 1930.

¹⁶ *Evening Post*, 21 May, 1931.

¹⁷ Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare: Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007, p. 47. *Evening Post*, 20 April, 1905.

In the political arena, Anna helped to found the Women's Franchise League in Dunedin in 1892. Franchise Leagues were established for women who wanted a wider field of debate on women's issues than that favoured by the WCTU. Anna allowed herself to be nominated as president of the League, along with her colleague Harriet Morison, with the day to day work carried out by Marion Hatton and Helen Nicol.¹⁸ This technique was repeated in other organizations over the years. Formation of the League followed immediately on the heels of the lively public meeting in Dunedin on 12 April, 1892, where Robert was on the platform and gave a speech after Hatton.¹⁹ In 1894 Anna was again elected as president, this time with Marion Hatton as the other president.²⁰

Anna helped support the formation of what came to be known as the Plunket Society. A member of the original Wellington committee, as late as 1926 she was still an office holder in the Wellington branch.²¹ Anna was also the first president of the Women's Anti-German League which agitated for women to boycott German products during World War I. In addition to Anna's public speaking campaign to raise awareness, the League petitioned the government to take stronger measures regarding internment of German nationals in New Zealand, and to prohibit naturalized British citizens with 'enemy parentage' from taking any role in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.²² Anna's role in the organization was not without controversy, attributable to her exuberant and controversial use of information. By her own admission, 'perhaps some mistakes had been made' and they 'had to learn by experience.'²³ In mid-1916 a re-shuffle of the executive saw Anna step aside from the president's role in favour of Miss Holmes,²⁴ but Anna continued to actively seek out German activity. Her apparently unsubstantiated accusation of a German police officer verbally abusing a widow followed her in October, 1916 when a woman's delegation advocating for women police officers met with a cool reception from the M.P. A.L. Herdman.²⁵ For their efforts in the Anti-German League, Anna and her colleagues were awarded medals from the Alliance Francaise in 1919, with the official presentation made by Sir Robert Stout in his then role as Acting-Governor General.²⁶

¹⁸ Megan Hutching, *Leading the Way: How New Zealand women won the vote*, Auckland: HarperCollins, 2010, p. 193 and Patricia Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1987, p. 50.

¹⁹ The extent of Anna's working friendship with Morison could bear further interesting study. The Irish-born Harriet and New Zealand-Scottish Anna were from different social backgrounds, yet they shared a commitment to temperance, suffrage and equal pay for women. Morison was an official visitor to Seacliff Asylum during the years that Anna also had a personal interest in the institution.

²⁰ *Evening Post*, 26 October, 1894.

²¹ *Evening Post*, 22 June, 1926 and, Linda Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p. 23.

²² *Evening Post*, 4 August, 1916, *Evening Post*, 3 August, 1916 & *Press*, 11 July, 1917.

²³ *Evening Post*, 4 August, 1916.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Evening Post*, 18 October, 1916. Anna may have been expecting a more favourable reception from Herdman, who was well known for his autocratic and even ruthless maintenance of law and order and strict interpretation of the War Regulations Act 1914. As a Liberal, Attorney General, Minister of Justice and Minister in charge of police, Herdman was well known to the Stouts. It was rumoured in 1915 that Herdman wanted a place as a Supreme Court judge. In 1918, using his role as Attorney General, he appointed himself to the bench, when Robert Stout was Chief Justice. Susan Butterworth, 'Herdman, Alexander Lawrence' from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography – Te Ara-The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 9 October, 2013.

²⁶ *Dominion*, 12 July 1919. The Stouts shared a concern over German behaviour in the South Pacific dating back to the early 1880s. While Premier, Stout sought a number of solutions to German presence and aggression but it was not until the outbreak of World War I that New Zealand forces carried out the Stout-Vogel plan originally proposed in 1885. See Dunn and Richardson, *Sir Robert Stout*, pp. 126-28.

In addition to her social and political activism, Anna was a foundation and life member of the Wellington Lyceum Club, a club designed to discuss the political and social issues of the day, as well as to provide its members with exposure to art and culture.²⁷ The Lyceum Club was often the pre-eminent venue for visiting speakers or dignitaries. It would be too simple to ascribe Anna's membership here as a simple extension or expectation of her place in New Zealand society. The Lyceum Club was also a place to sharpen her views on the questions of the day and meet with like-minded women. Anna's membership in the Lyceum Club in London was particularly important to her²⁸ and it was this experience which may have led her to join the Wellington club when it formed in 1923.²⁹

News reports show Anna working together with other women to collect clothing for women and children in need in Scotland and England during World War 1.³⁰ Throughout the years children's homes received her support, as did maternity hospitals and homes for women in need. Anna collected funds in 1897 as part of the wider community response to the Hawkes Bay flooding disaster³¹ and on more than one occasion approached other charitable organizations seeking aid for individual women.³² In particular, throughout her long life she kept a very close eye on all legislation dealing with women. As late as 1922 she was working through the National Council of Women (NCW) to oppose a government recommendation of 'modified notification' of syphilis as, in her view, it was unworkable and in practice would disadvantage women.³³

Anna was an influencer, using her many connections and acquaintances to further her aims. While this is typically described as a traditional role for women due to their exclusion from political equality, Anna primarily exercised her influence within the centres of power after she achieved equal citizenship in 1893. She wielded influence because of who she knew, not because it was the only option open to her. Additionally, she travelled frequently with Robert, even when her children were young, taking an active interest in the leading questions and people of the day. She was never idle, even when she did need to remain publicly silent, as for example in the highly-charged murder trial of Alice Parkinson at which Robert presided.³⁴ Anna was likely influencing events in the privacy of her own home, as well as discreetly indicating how other women might find a favourable solution for Parkinson, when she was quoted at a women's protest meeting against unequal court treatment as saying 'she was sure if any Christian woman applied to the authorities to take care and give a home to this unfortunate woman they would be only too glad to let her go to her.'³⁵ This broad hint

²⁷ *Evening Post*, 5 November, 1927.

²⁸ Anna's role in the Lyceum Club in London is explored in more detail in the chapter five.

²⁹ Jean Garner, 'Andersen, Catherine Ann', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography – Te Ara-The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 22 May, 2013.

³⁰ *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 7 December, 1916.

³¹ *Evening Post*, 6 May, 1897.

³² *Evening Post*, 12 February, 1909.

³³ Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1996, p. 116.

³⁴ Alice Parkinson murdered her partner, Albert West, and attempted her own suicide, after the gruesome still-birth of her child and West's refusal to marry her. Her jury convicted her of manslaughter and recommended mercy due to her extreme circumstances. Robert Stout was the officiating judge and instead sentenced Parkinson to imprisonment and hard labour for her natural life. 'Release Alice Parkinson' committees continued to petition for her release throughout World War II. Carol Markwell, 'Parkinson, Alice May, from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography – Te Ara-The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30 October, 2012.

³⁵ Penal record 1915/256, National Archives, as quoted in Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament*, p. 101.

was not taken up by the women at the time, but was the eventual solution granted to Alice Parkinson, who was eventually released into the care of her mother.

The Parkinson case highlights the social, moral and judicial double-standards that women still faced in 1915, all issues of primary importance to Anna. There can be no doubt her attention would have been focused on this watershed case which also posed an intriguing dilemma for Anna personally. How was she to reconcile such a judgement made by Robert with her own strong views on unequal sentencing? Handwritten notes in her personal papers evidence how strongly she felt on the subject of equal treatment even before the Parkinson case³⁶ and her presence at a protest meeting around the time of the trial speaks volumes. In the absence of any personal journals or notes, the historian is left to infer that Anna, while likely disagreeing with Robert's sentence, was compelled to support him in public. The Kelburn case in 1918, in which Anna openly challenged the judicial proceedings is discussed in more detail below and can be seen as an extension of this issue.

The history of the women's franchise in New Zealand has been well documented. This thesis must limit itself to highlighting Anna's own role in the events, which at this stage of her life was primarily one of influence. This limited public role, as compared to Kate Sheppard, goes a long way to explaining Anna's subsequently limited historical profile. General women's history in New Zealand has been dominated by the suffrage topic, with Kate Sheppard as the central heroine, which may explain the comparative lack of material on the women who were less prominent in this effort.

Robert's early, unwavering and vocal support for female suffrage meant that he was already promoting the movement at the highest levels. Robert attended and chaired numerous rallies and meetings in support of female suffrage. Anna was with him as often as her duties to her young children would allow but did not take an overly public role at this stage. The success of the Liberals in 1891 created a significant opportunity for supporters of female suffrage. Petitions, cables and public influence campaigns in 1891 and 1892 had significantly raised the profile of the issue in the public arena but were unable to break through the final, legislative hurdle. By the early days of 1893 the women's franchise effort was once again in full swing. With an election looming at the end of the year, there was an all-out push to secure the franchise. Public opinion was swinging in their favour, media coverage was more favourable and every relationship was being called into action.

Even as the suffrage supporters renewed their efforts for another round of petition signing and advocacy, the opposition also stepped up their efforts. Among this flurry of activity, Anna found herself in a delicate situation in January 1893. John Ballance, Robert's long-time friend, colleague and Premier confided that he hesitated to actually implement women's franchise for fear of losing the upcoming election, although his commitment to women's equality had not changed.³⁷ Ballance and Stout had been the first of New Zealand's politicians to advocate for women's franchise and Ballance's support had never waived. Hamer concludes this late change of heart is more likely a

³⁶ While in England from 1909 to 1912, Anna followed New Zealand news closely. In her collection of news clippings from 1910 is a series of articles dealing with gross differences between sentences on men and women. Her handwritten note reads 'this is the way men are treated.' Newspaper clippings book, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

³⁷ Timothy McIvor, *The Rainmaker: A Biography of John Ballance*, Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1989, pp. 232-33.

reflection of his rapidly deteriorating health than a significant about-face.³⁸ Nevertheless, if Robert admitted Ballance's doubts to Anna it would have given her grave concern. The Premier's views on female equality were strongly influenced by his wife, Ellen, who was prominent in the women's movement at this time.³⁹ As the Premier's wife at this critical junction, Ellen was in a position of direct influence, whereas Robert was out of Parliament leading up to the historic vote in 1893, thereby also limiting Anna's influence. Stout's influence over Ballance was widely known, however, and the two couples were close friends and colleagues.⁴⁰ Additionally, as Sir Robert and Lady Anna, the ex-Premier and his wife continued to command considerable media coverage and they were highly active in the campaign from their home in Dunedin.⁴¹

1893 was a tumultuous year for Anna, as Robert contested the West Coast seat of Inangahua. Ballance was critically ill and Stout needed to regain a place in government if he was to assume the role of Premiership that he and Ballance had agreed. In April, Stout arrived in Wellington just hours before Ballance went into the surgery from which he never recovered. The death of his close friend impacted Robert strongly, but there was little time to mourn. The ensuing political intrigue in May and June and eventual triumph of Richard Seddon to the Premiership took a heavy toll on both Robert and Anna.⁴²

Meanwhile, the public campaign for female suffrage was continuing. After the Electoral Bill successfully passed the House of Representatives, the balance hung in the Legislative Council. Anna's brother-in-law, John Macgregor was a member of the Legislative Council at this critical junction. As the bill passed the Lower House, interest in the country was high. The *Auckland Star* wrote:

Never before, in the history of New Zealand, has any measure excited such deep and general interest. Men watched the various phases of the contest in the Council far more closely than they regarded the price of shares....the great majority of women of all classes let the fashions slide, and waited breathlessly for the news given in the morning and evening newspapers.⁴³

Telegrams and cables exhorting members to support the women flooded in as the final vote loomed. Anna also brought her influence to bear, as she revealed in an interview in 1903, cabling a government supporter in the Council (who Seddon was influencing to change his vote) 'the women

³⁸ David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, pp. 78-79.

³⁹ Seddon considered it was Ellen Ballance who had converted John to women's suffrage. See McIvor, p. 231.

⁴⁰ Ballance wanted his old friend Robert Stout to succeed him as Premier, but the party favoured stability. Seddon capitalized on this upon the death of Ballance in April, 1893 and maneuvered Stout out of the running. The resulting rift between Seddon and the Stouts was never repaired. See McIvor, pp. 228-40 and Dunn and Richardson, *Sir Robert Stout: A Biography*, pp. 135-36.

⁴¹ Dunedin was a key battleground in the fight for female suffrage. The women were highly organized in gathering signatures for the Parliamentary petitions, returning the greatest number out of the regions, ahead even of Christchurch. The support of the working women, led by Morison, and the organizational skills of Hatton and Nicols, were key elements in this success.

⁴² Additionally, at the age of 35, Anna found herself pregnant again for the seventh time. Her daughter, Janet Osla Stout, was born in 1894.

⁴³ *Auckland Star*, 22 November, 1893, p. 4.

of New Zealand look to you for help in obtaining their freedom.’⁴⁴ It is now widely accepted that the final passage of the bill was a result of two councillors (Reynolds and Stevens), who had consistently opposed the bill without an electoral rights’ safeguard, changing their vote at the eleventh hour due to irritation with Seddon’s manipulations.⁴⁵ Anna’s 1903 interview intimates that the Bill was passed by one vote as a result of the influence of her own cable, a perception that Anna did not refute.

In light of the nature of Anna’s role in the suffrage campaign, it is significant that Anna established the Southern Cross Society (SCS) shortly after the Stouts permanently moved to Wellington in 1895. By now the last of her children had been born and the family was settled. The SCS was Anna’s society and her platform. She had watched Kate Sheppard establish the Canterbury Women’s Institute in 1892. Louisa Seddon, with the public support of her husband, the Premier, was patron of the Women’s Social and Political League.⁴⁶ Anna had assisted with the Women’s Franchise League in Dunedin in 1892 and been a supportive member of the New Zealand Alliance and WCTU for ten years. But for the first time she had her own organization. Her goal was the political and economic education of women.⁴⁷

Reports in the *White Ribbon* contain details of the SCS meetings, including its founding on 8 July, 1895. Meetings were held bi-monthly and discussions ranged widely, including such varied topics as support for technical education (a favourite issue for Robert), old age pension, a petition from Jessie Mackay on the Armenian question, the writings of Olive Schreiner and even a lecture from Sir Robert Stout on Arctic exploration. At an 1897 meeting Anna led a discussion on establishing an order of merit ‘for women who had promoted the interests of their sex’, noting that the Women’s Council and other women’s societies in England had been moving in the matter.⁴⁸ Although Anna was appointed by the Society to meet with the Administrator of the government and ask his opinion, the topic does not feature again in the records.

The predominant area of interest, however, was political, which is to be expected given its location at the seat of government and the central involvement of the Stouts. In July, 1896 the Society expressed its frustration at the loss of the bill to repeal the Contagious Diseases Act. In a September meeting of the same year Anna read and criticized the Juvenile Depravity Bill currently before Parliament. The same meeting passed a resolution to Premier Seddon ‘that this Society considers the bill as it now stands too drastic and putting too much power into the hands of the police...’ The Society suggested that women be appointed as inspectors for the girls rather than police.⁴⁹ At the meeting of 28 September the *White Ribbon* reported that Lady Stout read and explained numerous bills that had been ‘slaughtered in the House of Representatives’ and that were of special significance to women.⁵⁰ Not surprisingly, in addition to terms as both president and secretary, Anna also held the role of superintendant for legal and parliamentary work.

⁴⁴ *Southland Times*, 5 December, 1903, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Patricia Grimshaw, *Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1987, p. 92.

⁴⁶ Tom Brooking, *Richard Seddon: King of God’s Own*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2014, p. 128, 141 and T.E.Y. Seddon, *The Seddons: An Autobiography*, Auckland: Collins, 1968, p. 50.

⁴⁷ Lady Anna Stout, *The Southern Cross Society: Its Objects*, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0211, DU:HO.

⁴⁸ *White Ribbon* microfilm, August 1897.

⁴⁹ *White Ribbon* microfilm. This was an issue Anna would address numerous times, right up to her final speech in 1926.

⁵⁰ *White Ribbon*, September 28, 1896.

During the year of 1895 Anna received a letter from Eva McLaren, foreign corresponding secretary for the International Council of Women suggesting that she allow herself to be nominated as president for a national council. This she did, pro-tem, understanding that the 'more arduous part of the work' would initially be done by Kate Sheppard as corresponding secretary.⁵¹ In her speech calling for the formation of such a Council, Anna struck a high tone, noting:

We New Zealand women have now political power: but we must bestir ourselves, and show that we are governed by high aims and unselfish motives, and that we can lay aside all petty disagreements and work together...we women must be united... and by co-operation and mutual sympathy make our country one in which friendship and perfect trust between all classes will be developed...⁵²

The National Council of Women of New Zealand was formed at Christchurch on 13 April, 1896, but in spite of the earlier noble rhetoric, divisions were immediately evident between Anna and her colleagues. Media coverage of the Council meetings was extensive. The May, 1896 *White Ribbon* also reported on the first NCW in detail, particularly noting the resolution on economic independence for women as 'one of the most important resolutions passed by the N.C.O.W.'⁵³ Anna strongly disagreed with the Council's call to legislate this issue and immediately penned 'The Economic Independence of Women' as a very public rebuttal. In such an assembly of strong-willed women, this alone would not necessarily indicate an imminent rupture, but in light of the events of 1897, the disagreement is prescient.

In January of 1897 the *White Ribbon* reported that Lady Stout was due to read a paper on the responsibilities of parents at the upcoming NCW in March. However, a late decision was made to move the meetings from Wellington to Christchurch, possibly as a direct result of miscommunication between Anna and the executive team. The Southern Cross Society had prepaid their delegation fee but boycotted the meetings in protest. Harsh words and accusations were exchanged in the very public arena of the press, with hard feelings resulting.⁵⁴ The tone of communication between the NCW and the SCS became distinctly icy. The *White Ribbon*, for a time, became a kind of de-facto battleground with the regular SCS reports being used to convey the members' irritation to the NCW executive via the editor, Kate Sheppard, who was also president of the NCW. From her position as editor, Kate was able to deliver rebuttals and rebukes.

The July, 1897 *White Ribbon* issue carried the SCS report on proposed subjects for discussion at the 1898 NCW meetings. Lady Stout was also reported as suggesting that the Council appoint the first female M.A., B.A., M.B. and L.L.B. as councillors to the NCW in accordance with the precedent set by the International Council. It seemed as though business was progressing as usual. However, in the August, 1897 *White Ribbon*, the SCS reported that their July meeting had discussed the location of the next NCW. Both Lady Stout and Mrs. Plimmer were reported as saying 'It would be much better that the meeting should be held in Auckland next year.'⁵⁵ The vote was unanimous 'so as to give time for the feeling of friction that was caused by the disagreement of this year to pass off.' The

⁵¹ Stout, *The National Council of New Zealand Women*, Anna Stout Papers, MS 259/B, DU:HO.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *White Ribbon* microfilm, May 1896.

⁵⁴ *Evening Post*, 6 April, 1897, 13 April, 1897 and 17 April, 1897.

⁵⁵ *White Ribbon* microfilm, August 1897.

meeting also resolved, however, to offer hospitality and financial support should the other member societies vote to hold the 1898 meeting in Wellington.

In spite of this, the tit-for-tat exchange continued. In the December, 1897 *White Ribbon*, the SCS report included an expression of disappointment that only two of the eight subjects suggested by the Society for consideration by the NCW were accepted for the 1898 meetings. Kate Sheppard included the report but then responded 'From about fifty subjects suggested by the seventeen societies affiliated to the Women's National Council, six have been selected by the Executive....Two out of the six have been chosen from those suggested by the SCS. This is more than a fair proportion and the members of the SCS have no cause of complaint.'⁵⁶

As late as April, 1898, tensions were still evident. On April 18 the SCS held a meeting to prepare Miss Kirk to represent the Society at the NCW which was due to start on 20 April in Wellington.⁵⁷ Their report also intimated that the programmes of the meetings had not yet been received by the Society, forcing them to send a late, written reminder to the Council. At first glance it is quite astounding that Anna did not attend the 1898 NCW in Wellington as the delegate from the Society that she had founded. Was she still carrying offence from 1897 or was there more to her absence?

In April of 1898 the *White Ribbon* reported that early in the year Lady Stout lent her drawing room for a WCTU meeting on juvenile depravity. 'Other meetings followed which resulted in the formation of a 'Society for the protection of women and children.'⁵⁸ Anna's interest had been captured by the original work of this society in Auckland, with its practical focus on changing laws to give more effective protection to women and children and to prosecute cases of cruelty and violence. They did not hesitate to tackle 'strong subjects' as the Hon. Mr. Henry Feldwick noted in the Legislative Council with some trepidation.⁵⁹ A comparison of the original objectives of the SCS with those of the SPWC show a progression in Anna's work from education to practical application. With characteristic energy, Anna applied herself vigorously to this new project.⁶⁰ The Mayoress, in her 1926 address, credits the society's formation to Anna's own inspiration. She was one of the original executive committee for this new society, modelled on the lines of the original Auckland society.⁶¹

There is, however, a more fundamental explanation for Anna's departure from active membership of the NCW; a fundamental difference of opinion on how the NCW could best serve the interests of women. Given her proximity to the centre of political power, Anna had a clear and unique understanding of the practical steps required to influence change in government. She was

⁵⁶ *White Ribbon* microfilm, December 1897.

⁵⁷ Lily Kirk married Arthur 'Arf' Atkinson in Wellington in May, 1900, furthering the social and political links between the Stouts, Atkinsons and active temperance workers. Arf won the Wellington City seat in 1899 with a campaign team of mostly women, including Lily. Lily was a committed member of the N.Z. Alliance and WCTU, whom Arf described as 'a prodigy of talent, public and private...a beautiful platform speaker and as strong off the platform....' Anna, upon the news of the birth of Lily's first-born son 'rejoiced that another fighter was born into the world'. See *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990, p. 354-57.

⁵⁸ *White Ribbon* microfilm, April 1898.

⁵⁹ Barbara Brookes, 'A Weakness for Strong Subjects: The Women's Movement and Sexuality', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 27, Issue 2, October 1993, pp. 140-56.

⁶⁰ Anna's eldest son, John, would also later serve on the executive committee as legal counsel.

⁶¹ *White Ribbon*, April 1898, card #4.

consistent and clear in her message that women in general and the Council in particular must educate themselves before attempting public positions on leading questions of the day. Without this, Anna perceived they would come in for ridicule or worse, irrelevance. The very public difference on the subject of economic independence for women is a clear case in point. As time would show, Anna's perception was astute and close to the mark; nor was she alone in her views. Andre Siegfried noted after the 1899 convention that the NCW's emphasis on moral questions meant that it had not 'yet succeeded in acquiring any appreciable influence.'⁶² The following excerpt from an *Auckland Star* report and interview in July, 1898 summarizes her thoughts at this point in time:

Lady Stout...expressed herself not altogether satisfied with the working of woman suffrage. 'At present'...'women know comparatively little of politics; they are showing too much haste in New Zealand in reforming the affairs of the universe.'⁶³

Within a few short years, the public was questioning the value of the NCW in favour of the practical work of such organizations as the SPWC. Whether right or wrong, perception was becoming reality. It is possible the outcome would have been different if Anna had retained a more influential role in the Council, but circumstances in her own life and significant personality differences among the Council executive would have made any extended leadership or influence unlikely.⁶⁴

For a time, at least, the NCW took a back seat in Anna's list of priorities. It is interesting that Anna did not attempt to pick up the reins of the floundering NCW after Kate Sheppard went to England in 1902. Anna's personal papers show, however, that she never completely turned her back on the NCW.⁶⁵ She continued to follow its proceedings and would eventually help to stimulate its renaissance in 1918.

No report from the SCS appeared in the July 1898 *White Ribbon* and in August it was reported that the SCS had been dissolved. Anna's attention was now firmly fixed on establishing The Society for the Protection of Women and Children in Wellington. The SPWC had originated in Auckland three years previously through the efforts of Henry Wilding. With the high profile patronage of Lord and Lady Glasgow it quickly established a reputation for results.⁶⁶ Here was a real opportunity for Anna to use her influence in Wellington to bring about tangible results for women. Not only did the Society take active, practical steps to prosecute those who would harm women or children, they also brought their collective influence to bear on changing the laws concerning women and children. The thirteenth annual report, published in 1910, documents the number and nature of cases and assistance given in that one year. It also reveals that the Society had continued with the tradition of

⁶² Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of Women of New Zealand 1896-1920*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1996, pp. 68-69. See also Anne Else (ed), *Women Together*, Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993, p. 82 for evidence that Ethel Benjamin, New Zealand's first woman lawyer, also levied similar criticisms at the NCW of unanimously passing resolutions with only 'superficial discussion.'

⁶³ *Auckland Star*, July 1898.

⁶⁴ See also Roberta Nicholls, 'The Collapse of the Early National Council of the Women of New Zealand, 1896-1906', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 27 Issue 2, Oct 1993, pp. 157-172.

⁶⁵ News clippings of NCW proceedings, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

⁶⁶ F.J. MacCuish, 'The Society for the Protection of Women and Children', Research Essay, University of Auckland, 1983.

patronage by the Governor General's wife. This year's report also shows Anna on the general committee and her son, John, as one of the honorary legal solicitors.

The SPWC was one of the organizations that sustained Anna's attention and commitment for many years. It was a broad-based association that co-opted the resources of diverse organizations including the Salvation Army and St John's Ambulance. It included representatives of all the main churches as well. The SPWC also furthered Anna's connections among the leading activist women of early New Zealand. The founding president was Kate Evans (nee Edger), New Zealand's first woman graduate. The executive, which included Anna, was all-female. As Margaret Tennant notes, '...of all the society's branches, this was most unequivocally a women's organisation.'⁶⁷ Dr. Emily Siedeberg, New Zealand's first woman doctor, was raised in Dunedin and trained at the University of Otago's Medical School. She was a 'guiding light' for the Dunedin SPWC established in 1899. She and Anna shared not only a deep commitment to the work of the SPWC. Their mutual friend, Harriet Morison, the trade unionist with whom Anna co-founded the Dunedin Women's Franchise League, was one of Emily's private patients and helped her achieve the position of medical superintendent of Dunedin's St. Helens Hospital in 1905.⁶⁸

Anna was not just a figurehead, but maintained an active role in the SPWC. The *Evening Post* of 29 November, 1913 reported Lady Stout chairing the meeting where a large number of cases were reported on. As late as 1920, Anna was still active in the SPWC. At the annual general meeting in October, 1920, Anna was quoted as saying the greatest gain made by the SPWC in its twenty-two years was 'getting the confidence of the public, of members of Parliament and of the men',⁶⁹ exemplifying her understanding of the critical importance of influencing public opinion and her deliberate use of transformational leadership.

One of Anna's more controversial initiatives in the light of current historiography was her plan to establish domestic training programs for Maori girls.⁷⁰ Leading up to the Maori Congress in Wellington, of which Sir Robert Stout was nominated president,⁷¹ in early 1908 Anna visited Rotorua and its surrounding region in conjunction with the Native Land Commission. The following quote by Anna during an interview in July 1908 verges on racism in our present, post-colonial era. Referring to Maggie, an accomplished Maori woman who along with her sister managed the Grand Hotel in Rotorua and employed eleven Maori girls, Anna was quoted as saying:

She is...a most capable woman, and an example of the possibility of turning the talents of the race to use and helpful work for the Pakeha, when given education and training.⁷²

⁶⁷ Margaret Tennant, 'New Zealand Federation of Home and Family Societies 1893-', *Women Together: A History of Women's Organizations in New Zealand*, Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993, pp. 132-34.

⁶⁸ Patricia Sargison, *Notable Women in New Zealand Health*, Auckland: Longman Paul, 1993, p. 14.

⁶⁹ *Evening Post*, 15 October, 1920.

⁷⁰ Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant include Anna's 1908 speech in their analysis 'Maori and Pakeha Women: Many Histories, Divergent Pasts?', *Women in History 2*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992, pp. 35-6.

⁷¹ *Feilding Star*, 15 July, 1908. Anna was also on the platform with Robert at the grand opening event of the Congress.

⁷² *Dominion*, 7 July, 1908.

Was Anna a racist? Was she simply reflecting an empirical British view of genetic superiority or was there more to her statement? To answer this, one needs to read the entire interview and consider Anna's consistent, lifelong belief that everyone, regardless of race, gender or class, deserved the opportunity to be self-reliant. Those who were born to privilege, she expected to use their gifts in service to others. Those who earned their own way in the world deserved to be afforded quality training and education.

Both Robert and Anna considered that the Pakeha had an obligation to the Maori as the first people of New Zealand. Dunn and Richardson state that Robert and his long time friend and political colleague, John Ballance 'were warm friends of the Maoris, by whom they were greatly respected and trusted.'⁷³ Among the many difficulties experienced by the Maori in the wake of European settlement, by 1908 alcohol in particular had wreaked tremendous damage. Anna spoke at Rotorua, Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu where her message of temperance was reported as well received by both the chiefs and the women. (The forthcoming Maori Congress, however, would come to a different conclusion.) Both Robert and Anna recognized the inequities that had resulted on the Maori and sought to mitigate the damage where they could; Robert in the Native Land Court and Anna on the domestic front.⁷⁴

Anna's scheme to establish domestic training facilities was based on her recognition of needs; women needed practical, physical help in their homes and all women needed respectable work. The education previously given was impractical and had not helped the women create healthier homes and families. Anna also considered Maori young women better suited to working with young children as they 'treated them with more kindness and patience than our girls.'⁷⁵ In Anna's view, it was illogical to send all the way to England for young women, with uncertain outcomes, when there was a need locally for genuine employment. She also envisaged that the training they would receive would serve them well in managing their own households. This kind of rhetoric Anna also applied to the need for training and education of all young women, not just Maori. It is also consistent with Robert's own initiatives to establish technical training colleges, an initiative which Anna regularly supported with motions in the societies that she belonged to.⁷⁶ Anna's scheme also envisioned that the training programme could be self-sufficient by taking in laundry from boarding houses and local homes, as well as raising their own poultry or honey bees and selling the surplus. In Anna's view, this was an imminently practical scheme which could serve multiple needs:

I explained in my Rotorua addresses to the Maori that as they had given up the old customs and traditions of the race, and had adopted European customs, there must be no half measures, but that they must lead industrious lives for the honour and continuance of the race, just as must the Pakeha, who is faithful to himself and posterity.

Continuing, Anna appealed to the chiefs and the women for the safety and health of the children and told the reporter:

⁷³ Dunn and Richardson, p. 117.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ *Dominion*, 7 July, 1908.

⁷⁶ See *White Ribbon*, July 1896 and also July 1897 where the Southern Cross Society submitted as one of the proposed topics for the NCW 'training in domestic economy'.

I felt I had scored a strong point here, as the Maori are above all, devoted parents...Many of the Maori customs in the olden days were better for health than those of Europeans, such as not eating in the house and not allowing food to be kept in the living or sleeping apartment. The rules about burning a house where anyone had died and most of the old tapu customs must have been founded on the experiences of the wise men and women of the tribes who understood the rules of health and cleanliness.⁷⁷

Taken out of context, Anna appears as a racial and class conscious elitist. Put in context, her domestic training scheme was just one of many similar plans she promoted to help women into what she considered meaningful, practical employment. And she was not alone in this effort. As Sandra Coney notes, in 1903 Annabella Mary Geddes, a Nga Puhi woman who had married a wealthy business man, had set up a domestic training program in Auckland for Maori girls from the Hokianga. Many of these girls signed Anna's petition for training colleges when she met with them in 1907.⁷⁸ However, the response at the Maori Congress in 1908 was reported in the *White Ribbon* as being 'met with great disapproval from the Maoris, and further discussion in the Congress showed that such a solution of the problem was out of the question.'⁷⁹ How are we to understand this part of Anna's work? Did she completely misread the response in Rotorua? Was the reporter overly biased in his account, or in fact does this represent a difference of opinion among Maori themselves? Were the Maori women at the Congress looking for different outcomes to the challenges they faced than the village women in Whakarewarewa and the Hokianga girls working in Auckland?

One conclusion is that Anna, in her socially-privileged position, failed to recognize the complete antipathy to domestic service in general, both among Pakeha and Maori. The apparently prosaic subject of servants in fact demonstrates much deeper cultural fault lines within both cultures. James Belich notes 'the deep roots of antipathy to domestic service in New Zealand'⁸⁰ and that it had 'always been work of last resort for New Zealanders, male and female, despite the fact that demand was high.'⁸¹ Coney writes 'within Maoridom, such work was generally considered beneath their dignity.'⁸² The Maori Congress women, in turn, were members of the Young Maori Party and political in their own right. They resisted the idea of service in Pakeha communities, particularly domestic service, on ideological grounds and subsequently rejected Anna's proposal in total.⁸³ The problem was one of informed respect and cultural understanding. Anna considered that her solution

⁷⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 4 July, 1908.

⁷⁸ Sandra Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1993, p. 225 and 'Geddes, Annabella Mary' from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30-Oct-2012. Geddes also shared Anna's interests in women's development and protection, being a key member of both the Auckland branch of the Society for the Promotion of the Health of Women and Children (later the Plunket Society) and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children.

⁷⁹ Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant, 'Maori and Pakeha Women: Many Histories, Divergent Pasts?', *Women in History 2*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992, p. 36.

⁸⁰ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders From Polynesian Settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996, p. 331

⁸¹ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Auckland: Penguin Press, 2001, p. 501.

⁸² Coney, p. 225.

⁸³ Economic necessity continually vied against idealism. As late as 1929, enquiry and debate was generated over Maori women working for Asian market gardeners. In this instance, the WCTU highlighted the economic necessity of Maori women. Brookes and Tennant, pp. 37.

showed respect to Maori as women by strengthening their training in womanly roles and as individuals, whereas the women at the Congress defined respect in different terms. Anna was not alone in her unconsciously superior role. The same *White Ribbon* wrote 'One cannot be surprised that the Maori girls scorned the idea of becoming the servants of the Pakehas, for many of them have as much pride, and every right to have it, as their more *civilised* sisters'.⁸⁴

Another conclusion is that the conflict played out over Anna's domestic training scheme was reflective of the wider debate occurring in Maori affairs between 1890 and 1920. By this time, the younger Maori were organizing themselves to make more effective use of the political techniques of the settlers in an effort to save their people.⁸⁵ They were forming deliberate plans to improve their position in society and the outgrowth of this was the Young Maori Party so ably led by Sir Apirana Ngata.⁸⁶ These plans did include, in some cases, adoption of European strategies such as medical training through the Maori Health Nursing Scheme.⁸⁷ This was both a continuation of the selection of European elements in an effort to control the impact of European culture which dated back to the first contact and recognition that many changes were now permanent.⁸⁸ The needs were genuinely great and Anna was undoubtedly sure that she had a practical scheme to effect real change, but in doing so, she encountered a multi-layered, cultural challenge in which opinions varied widely.

The nearly four years which Anna spent in England from 1909 to late 1912 were a watershed in her life and the next chapter is devoted to a close study of this period. Her experiences at the centre of the British world had a profound effect on her personally and she returned to New Zealand confident, experienced and inspired to reinvigorate the women's movement in New Zealand. In this regard, Anna had also acquired a new area for her energies: the white slave traffic that was raging in England. Her association with the well-known British publicist W.T. Stead lent credibility to her first hand accounts.⁸⁹ A topic guaranteed to stir strong emotions, one reporter wrote:

The meeting was thrilled by the revelation of crimes against girls and the iniquitous judgments rendered by some English magistrates in such cases.⁹⁰

While agitating for increased awareness of the most horrible crimes committed against innocent English girls and against the light sentences meted to those convicted, Anna was not yet finished with the suffrage cause. Indeed, her sojourn in England had reinvigorated her interest in the subject on a wider, international level. Upon her return from England, she continued her support for the controversial WSPU. She also advocated for increased membership and awareness of the International Alliance of Women Suffrage and particularly the newly forming sub-committee of

⁸⁴ Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁸⁵ There was a great need in this regard. By 1896, the Maori population reached its lowest recorded figure of just over 42,000. There was a genuine sense that the race was in danger of dying out altogether. See Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 249 and Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 466.

⁸⁶ Ngata worked closely with Sir Robert Stout for many years, a relationship which included a shared aversion to alcohol and even a degree of shared Scottish heritage.

⁸⁷ Patricia Sargison, *Notable Women in New Zealand Health*, Auckland: Longman Paul, 1993, p. 21 and Sir Apirana Ngata Memorial Tribute, Wellington: The Polynesian Society, 1951, p. 25.

⁸⁸ To further develop this argument, see John A. Williams, *Politics of the New Zealand Maori*, USA: University of Washington Press, 1969.

⁸⁹ Stead was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and a well-known and controversial journalist. Robert Stout was interviewed by Stead in 1910. *Marlborough Express*, 29 July, 1909.

⁹⁰ *Grey River Argus*, 17 July, 1914.

enfranchised women. The seventh biennial congress met in Budapest in 1913 and was a roll call of some of the best known international women activists, several of whom were financially supported by their governments to attend, including the Australian representative. (Resident in England up until late 1912, attendance at this event would have been a highlight for Anna. She greatly regretted the absence of a New Zealand representative at the event.⁹¹) Carrie Chapman Catt was president and among the speakers were Jane Addams of Hull House fame, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the well known American author, and Madame Maria Verone, the French barrister. A report in the *Press* of 15 November, 1913 by Gertrude Spencer, the Australian delegate to the Budapest conference, highlighted the importance of Anna's pamphlet *Woman Suffrage in New Zealand*. After noting the frequently-mentioned and keenly-felt absence of a New Zealand representative among the delegates, Spencer went on:

Suffragists from many countries spoke to me of Lady Stout's pamphlet on 'Woman Suffrage in New Zealand', which they had carefully studied.⁹²

In March, 1913, Anna held a high-profile At-Home to introduce Margaret Hodge and Harriet Newcomb to some of the elite of Wellington society and to promote the topic of women's suffrage in Britain.⁹³ This was a grand affair and typical for Anna; bringing together the people who could influence and promote the issue at hand. The *Dominion* of 11 March, 1913, reported the evening social event as well as the public meeting which had preceded it. The list of attendees included 'many members of Wellington's influential political, professional and business elite' whose attendance not only influenced and promoted the issues; their presence also gave the controversial topic of suffragettes an air of respectability. Full of confidence, Anna was on a mission to win New Zealand's sympathy for the cause.⁹⁴

Anna received public recognition for her own work in London during Harriet Newcomb's public addresses.⁹⁵ In a February, 1913 address in Auckland, Newcomb spoke on the aims of the New Zealand and Australian Women Voters Association which Anna had co-founded while in London. Newcomb 'doubted if New Zealand really knew how well it (suffrage) had been advertised by Lady Stout. Often when she had heard Lady Stout speaking of New Zealand, she had seen the look in the faces of many present which meant "at the first chance I will go there."' ⁹⁶ Following the departure of Hodge and Newcomb, Anna began a public speaking tour of New Zealand under the auspices of the WCTU to generate interest and support for women's suffrage throughout the British Empire, as well as to highlight the grave issue of white slavery. Making the most of her personal experiences in England, her meetings drew large crowds and generally received favourable press coverage.⁹⁷

In her efforts to stir New Zealand women to activity on behalf of their English sisters, Anna was also once again calling on the women to take up their responsibilities as voting citizens, rights which

⁹¹ Nicholls, p. 100.

⁹² *Press*, 15 November, 1913.

⁹³ Nicholls, p. 97, *Dominion*, 11 March, 1913.

⁹⁴ Nicholls, p. 96.

⁹⁵ Harriet Newcomb was honorary secretary of the ANZWVA in London when Anna was president. See *Nelson Evening Mail*, 17 January, 1912.

⁹⁶ *Manawatu Times*, 22 February, 1913.

⁹⁷ 'Responsibilities of Fatherhood: Address by Lady Stout, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 September, 1913, 'White Slave Traffic', *Grey River Argus*, 17 July, 1914.

Anna believed they had been neglecting at home. Her 15 May, 1913 speech in Wellington on the 'Status of Women' focused heavily on the legal differences between New Zealand and English women and drew on her knowledge of family legislation. She also repeated her message, as one who had seen them first-hand, that the slums of England presented a great menace to England and concluded that England badly needed a 'Spring cleaning' which women were best suited to do.⁹⁸

Not everyone agreed with Lady Stout's defence of the suffragettes, however. An anonymous correspondent to the *Sun* on 13 July, 1914, called her an 'apostle of advanced feminism' who 'talked a lot of nonsense.'⁹⁹ Of even greater note was her public debate in Otago in September, 1913 when her challenge of the New Zealand press for their 'gross misrepresentation' of the British women's suffrage campaign met the editorial resistance of the *Otago Daily Times*.¹⁰⁰ The opposition she was encountering must have hit her on a personal level in her home town. As the *Otago Daily Times* was going to press on the 18th of September Anna typed a fiery letter to Mrs. Ferguson of the Dunedin branch of the SPWC for their opposition to her. Written from the Grand Hotel, the opening paragraph reads:

I am sorry that the wisdom of the S.P.W. & C. has decided to boycott me on account of my intelligence and public spirit. Perhaps it is not known that I have done more to raise the status of New Zealand women in the eyes of Britain than anyone else who has ever been in England. I think when I was made a Vice Pres. of a Lyceum Club Circle and given a luncheon by 40 members of the club including about twelve anti suffragists and when I was elected unanimously to the Council of the Victoria League on Mrs. Balfour's proposal and voted for by Lady Jersey and other rabid antis in my absence and without my knowledge that I was even to be put up the S.P.W. & C. might be able to endure me.¹⁰¹

The debate continued into October, when the paper accused Anna of 'economy of detail' in defending a particular event in England and warned 'Those who do not hesitate to bring violent allegations of unfairness against a responsible newspaper should themselves be careful in their presentation of their case.'¹⁰²

Undaunted, in 1914 Anna continued her public speaking in protest against white slavery and unequal sentencing. The *Grey River Argus* of 17 July, 1914 reported on a Christchurch meeting which 'was crowded to its last inch of standing' at which Anna spoke strongly on proposed changes to the Criminal Code Act and urged the women of New Zealand to make their voices heard.¹⁰³ She took the opportunity once again to defend the Pankhursts and to point out their unfair treatment under the Cat and Mouse Act. The reporter indicated that the meeting generated a 'large enrolment' at the end of the meeting for the British Suffrage Union, designed to generate support within the Dominion for those women who did not yet possess the vote. Her speech in Timaru in July, 1914 was 'listened to with close attention from beginning to end.'¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ *Evening Post*, 16 May, 1913.

⁹⁹ *Sun*, 13 July, 1914.

¹⁰⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 5 September, 1913 and 19 September, 1913.

¹⁰¹ Lady Anna Stout – Inward letters, Stout Family Papers, MS-Papers 11518-110, WTU.

¹⁰² *Otago Daily Times*, 20 October, 1913.

¹⁰³ *Grey River Argus*, 17 July, 1914.

¹⁰⁴ *Timaru Herald*, 24 July, 1914.

Anna's campaign on behalf of British suffrage ceased with the onset of war in 1914. Her energies now turned to patriotic duties, with her own sons serving in the war. However, on the twenty-first anniversary of women's suffrage in New Zealand, Anna joined others who reminded the women that they needed to do more. 'We have done a great deal...but we can do more and must do more.' She would certainly have agreed with the M.P. Dr. A.K. Newman who followed her at the podium when he said:

You don't know your own strength. Half the voters in New Zealand are women and you can get passed any reform you like...Politics is a game of numbers and the cause that wins is the cause which is best supported...You must organise and support one another...It is your sacred duty...to make use of the great power you possess in the vote.¹⁰⁵

Anna also maintained her conviction in the necessity of equal morality for men and women; a 'white life' for two. In the altered environment of the war years, with so many of New Zealand's young men serving as soldiers overseas, there was plenty of scope for Anna's efforts. She worked with the WCTU in these war years to closely monitor the progress of legislation which would affect women, especially in regards to venereal diseases. A public meeting for women was held in Wellington in July 1916 to consider the sections of the War Regulations Bill which affected women. The resolutions from this meeting expressed grave concern that the legislation concerning venereal disease made vice easier and safer for the men and left the burden of enforcement on women. Anna addressed the Wellington Provincial Convention of the WCTU in September, 1916 and pushed once again for fair treatment of women as well as more effort to address the source of the problem: the behaviour of the men.¹⁰⁶

In 1917 Anna publicly opposed the Social Hygiene Bill, which she believed was 'a revival of the worst features of the repealed C.D. Act.'¹⁰⁷ (The story gained a life of its own, particularly among New Zealand's soldiers where Anna was accused of forming a 'White Triangle Society' to 'induce girls to promise not to marry any soldiers from Egypt for three years after their return, in case they were diseased.')

Anna's concerns over the implementation of the War Regulations Bill were realized in 1918 when police raided a house in Kelburn, Wellington suspected of being a brothel. The military officers who visited the house were not named or punished, while five women residents were arrested, compelled to undergo a police medical examination and named in the press. Anna was furious and in protest marched into the court room with thirteen 'purposeful ladies...and disposed themselves in a solid phalanx, in a corner', determined to demonstrate by their presence the injustice of the court proceedings. The judgment sent two of the five arrested women to prison for twelve months, acquitted one and two were discharged as there was no case against them. One of the innocent women was a young school teacher whose reputation had been dragged through the court of public

¹⁰⁵ *Evening Post*, 29 September, 1914.

¹⁰⁶ Anna's interest in unequal sentencing went back many years. Among her personal papers are news clippings from 1910 dealing with gross differences between sentences for men and women. Her handwritten note on the clippings reads 'this is the way men are treated'. Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

¹⁰⁷ *Evening Post*, 5 October, 1917. The Contagious Diseases Act was introduced to New Zealand in 1869 and 'no other act on the statute books outraged the early feminists more...', Coney, p. 122-23. Not repealed until 1910, it exemplified the moral double-standard which Anna opposed her whole life.

¹⁰⁸ *Evening Post*, 21 April, 1919.

censure. Anna immediately called for a protest meeting in the Town Hall to demand more effective legislation for women. The case, and Anna's very public criticism of the authorities, attracted wide publicity and more than a little criticism for Lady Stout. It was at this time that the Parkinson case was once again brought up, the public perception being that Lady Stout was more interested in protecting women of Kelburn than working class women such as Alice Parkinson. Even at age sixty-three, Lady Stout could still polarize opinions, attract controversy and stir up strong reactions in the media. Never one to shy away from a controversial topic, Anna met the challenges head on. In one particularly charged women's meeting, during her share of the program and in response to challenges from the audience, Anna 'smilingly confessed that she had been accused of shielding and sympathising with prostitutes.'¹⁰⁹ The reporter continued:

Remembering that Lady Stout was somewhat deaf, the lady in question marched up towards the platform shrieking out her protests at such a rapid rate that no one understood her....As the speaker continued and interruptions came more persistently, the president took Lady Stout by the coat-tails and firmly and gently sat her down.¹¹⁰

In spite of the high feelings stirred against the subject, there were also many women who supported the steps taken by Anna and others, as reported in the *Evening Post* of 13 June, 1918 where Margaret Anderson wrote to the editor:

We women were revolted and shocked at Lady Stout's revelations, were prepared to believe and were ready to act in a constitutional manner... thanking God in our hearts for the progressive women of New Zealand...¹¹¹

Anna was also incensed at the prophylactic promotional material produced by Ettie Rout and distributed to New Zealand soldiers overseas. With both Duncan and Robert now serving as medical doctors with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in Egypt, Anna was fully aware of the medical conditions among soldiers. Nevertheless, she continued to promote and encourage young men to maintain the same degree of self-control that was expected of respectable young women. In 1918, Anna led a deputation of twenty representative women to the Prime Minister, William Massey to protest against Ettie Rout's material.¹¹² Her opposition to double-standards helps explain why she was willing to protest the treatment of the five Kelburn women accused of prostitution in 1916. Anna demanded nothing less than full equality before the law for both men and women. This is not to say, however, that Anna was opposed to birth control, if it meant healthier children and families. A little side comment in the memoirs of family friend Helen Wilson leaves one with the intriguing concept that Anna favoured family planning. Discussing the discovery of birth control with her husband, Wilson wrote:

When my husband told me of that discovery I felt it to be the death-knell of the British Empire. I argued that it had been the younger sons and those lacking opportunity at Home...who had built the Empire. My husband did not agree, nor did Lady Stout. She

¹⁰⁹ *New Zealand Truth*, 22 June, 1918.

¹¹⁰ *New Zealand Truth*, 22 June, 1918.

¹¹¹ *Evening Post*, 13 June, 1918.

¹¹² *Evening Post*, 22 April, 1918.

contended that two or three well-brought-up and healthy children were worth more to the nation than ten or eleven sickly specimens.¹¹³

The revived National Council of Women held their annual meeting in Wellington in April, 1919 and this time Anna was in attendance, just one of only two early council members. Media coverage shows her being warmly welcomed and taking an active lead, including making speeches on the history of the Council and why it had lapsed. In 1922, twenty-five years after her very public rupture with the organization, Anna was made a life member of the National Council of Women.¹¹⁴ The Council had at last reached a position where it addressed a broad cross section of women's organizations and issues. Additionally, in the time that had elapsed since its inception, a new generation of women had grown up with the expectation of equal suffrage and citizenship. The views they held on the issues of the day were based on expectation of equal treatment before the law; the 'education' that Anna had been calling for originally was being addressed by the best teachers of all: time and experience. The opinions of this new generation of educated young women, such as Eliza Ellen Melville, differed from Anna's generation and as is common with second generations, many of them viewed their predecessors as out of touch with new thinking.

Anna's time on centre stage was slowly drawing to a close. Most of her time, now, was spent in reading and keeping up with the issues affecting women of the day. She still had the energy, however for a few more efforts on women's behalf. In 1922 she compiled a pamphlet of local and international reports which supported the opposition of compulsory notification of syphilis as unworkable and unfair. She had the support in this instance of most of the members of the NCW, but not the Auckland branch, headed by Melville, who believed that some form of compulsion was necessary and that women need not fear the law would be unequally applied. The next generation of feminists did not yet understand what Anna and her first-generation colleagues had learned the hard way.

Conclusion:

It is important to note that Anna was not unique in her multi-faceted civic activism, although her level of involvement was certainly very high. Many women in these formative years were 'active across a wide range of welfare organisations and participated in public life in their own right,'¹¹⁵ women such as Christina Massey, Helena Sidey and Lily Atkinson. Like them, Anna's interests were motivated by her personal beliefs. Where Anna differed, however, was her willingness to actively seek a leading public role for herself. She would undoubtedly have been civically active regardless of who she married, given her own family's beliefs, but her role as Lady Stout opened up numerous opportunities for her to exercise her interests upon which she stamped her own strong personality.

Overwhelmed by the kindness and recognition of her 1926 event, Anna's formal response reflects both her understanding of the partnership which she and Robert formed as well as her unabated commitment to women. In this, one of her last public speeches, the reporter summarized:

¹¹³ Wilson, p. 181.

¹¹⁴ *Evening Post*: 5 November, 1919, 25 May, 1920, 3 May, 1922, 29 May, 1923.

¹¹⁵ Linda Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p. 22.

She and her husband both felt themselves fortunate in that they had been able to see so many results of their efforts to assist humanity. The work she had tried to do to the best of her powers had been done with her heart and soul, but she felt that the appreciation was more than she deserved.

Anna's convictions had remained unchanged by her many years of work and she continued, with an eye to the future:

No country...which lowers its standard of home life, or denies justice to women has ever prospered. Great work for women and children has been done in New Zealand, but much remains to be done. Women must take their place in Parliament....they should be appointed to the Legislative Council to help in revising the laws, and to secure the appointment of women magistrates, jurors, Justices and police.¹¹⁶

Anna was consistent in her commitment to her ideals, being willing to be off-side with her peers and public if necessary. As a result she gained a formidable reputation at home. Her second public debate with Lord and Lady Glasgow in *The Times* in 1912 and its coverage in New Zealand summarizes this well. As one New Zealand writer of the time put it 'Of course Lady Stout has taken to the warpath in search of Lady Glasgow's scalp.'¹¹⁷ The irony in this is that Anna's emphasis on family, maternal and child health and equal moral conduct often overshadows for us today her more radical behaviour. In her day and time, however, she was widely viewed as a progressive and outspoken woman.

¹¹⁶ *Evening Post*, 15 April 1926

¹¹⁷ *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 26 March, 1912



Figure VI: The convention called by the Canterbury Women's Institute which resulted in the formation of the National Council of the Women of New Zealand, 1896. Image from Christchurch City Libraries, file reference: CCL-PhotoCD8-IMG0086. Anna Stout seated centre on left of Kate Sheppard.

ENGLAND: 1909-1912

Time and trouble will tame an advanced young woman, but an advanced old woman is uncontrollable by any earthly force¹

Dorothy L. Sayers

The importance of Anna's nearly four years in England cannot be overemphasised.² The volume of material in her personal papers alone is sufficient to merit its own study. It is clear from her personal collection that this period and the people she met were a watershed in her life. For a woman like Anna, steeped in women's rights, politics and social issues, meeting the leading British women must have been like walking through the pages of *The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who*, a copy of which she had in her papers.³ Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Eva McLaren, Lady Constance Lytton, Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst; previously just names in the newspapers, Anna wasted no time in becoming known personally to these and many other of the leading women in the British movement.

On 5 March, 1909 Anna set sail for England with Robert and their youngest daughter, Janet. This journey was a combination of recuperation, family visit and education. Their sons Robert and Duncan were already in medical school in England and Olaf had recently arrived to study law. The news reports of the period show that Robert's health had been suffering in the period leading up to the journey and it was hoped that time away from the demands of his public role would be beneficial.⁴ The timing of this sojourn is helpful in understanding its impact on Anna and how she was able to make the most of the opportunities it afforded. No longer a young wife or young mother, Anna was now fifty years old and in her prime. Matured by years of social service, seasoned in the world of Parliamentary politics and experienced by the franchise movement of the 1890s, Anna was in a position to have doors opened to her and her opinions solicited. It was her turn to be the recognized expert and the evidence shows she rose confidently to the challenge. As this chapter will also demonstrate, Anna acted from a position of confidence as a conscious representative of New Zealand at the centre of the Empire, defending the reputation of her native homeland when necessary, and regularly promoting its strengths. Although interested to learn about Britain first-hand and a keen defender of the Empire, Anna clearly identified herself as a proud New Zealander.⁵

¹ Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing A Woman's Life*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1988, p. 124.

² Raewyn Dalziel, 'Anna Stout', *The Suffragists: Women Who Worked for the Vote*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993, p. 142.

³ Anna Stout Papers, MS-0255, DU:HO.

⁴ *Auckland Star*, 5 March, 1909.

⁵ In this regard, Anna reflected the New Zealand Liberal's idea of New Zealand as an exemplar to the Old Country; a 'Better Briton'. Compare Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals*, p. 59-64 and Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 76-83 in which Belich extends the concept from the Liberals to the wider population. Additionally, by 1909 New Zealand had claimed Dominion status as part of its transformation from dependent colony to what Felicity Barnes calls the 'new' New Zealand. Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012, pp. 70-5.

Carolyn G. Heilbrun articulates a truth known intuitively by many women which applies well to Anna: 'To allow oneself at fifty the expression of one's feminism is an experience for which there is no male counterpart...' ⁶ This is not to say Anna lived a sheltered or hidden life prior to 1909, but rather that there is something uniquely liberating for women when they reach middle age, even when they have previously lived a life of purpose. Childrearing is past, for one thing and this alone can allow a woman to imagine a new future for herself.

Anna walked into the middle of one of the nineteenth century's great political and social movements when she set foot for the first time in England in April, 1909. The Bishop of London considered women's suffrage 'one of the greatest moral and social movements of our time.' ⁷ True to their liberal upbringing, as early as November 1905 Robert and Duncan wrote Anna that they were making time to attend the university Debate Society on the topic of women's rights. ⁸ According to Ray Strachey, historian and participant of this era, from the summer of 1906 women's suffrage began to attract widespread attention. It was 'impossible for anyone in the country to be unaware of the existence of the demand; and once they were aware of it, people found it an easy subject to discuss.' ⁹ British women had been advocating and petitioning for the vote for many years with no success.

It likely gave Anna great pleasure to finally make the acquaintance of Millicent Garrett Fawcett who was well known by this time as the leader of the constitutional wing of the British women's suffrage movement. Heading the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Fawcett advocated as their chief objective the conversion of public opinion. They viewed this objective as important as gaining the vote itself. Strachey writes 'under Mrs. Fawcett's leadership the numbers of the constitutional suffragists grew rapidly.' ¹⁰ With their objective of moving public opinion, the NUWSS was the publicly acceptable face of women's suffrage. This concept of influencing public opinion was well known to Anna through her own experience.

Fawcett by this time was also a published author on political economy, an area of keen interest to Anna. ¹¹ Like Anna and Robert, Millicent married the much older Henry when she was nineteen years old. ¹² Both Anna and Millicent gained their political education through marriage to radical politicians. Although Millicent was eleven years Anna's senior, she and Anna held closely-shared liberal views on politics, economy, morality, financial independence for women and their development through education. ¹³ Millicent's approach to women's development, while

⁶ Heilbrun, p. 124.

⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 30 September, 1913.

⁸ Robert Stout Letter to Anna Stout, 10 November, 1905, Stout Family Papers, MS 0183-06, WTU.

⁹ Ray Strachey, *The Cause*, rev. ed., London: Virago Ltd, 1978, p. 302.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

¹¹ The political economy writings of her husband Henry Fawcett, a professor at the University of Cambridge and by then deceased, had influenced Robert Stout in his university years, along with the writings of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer whom Fawcett had known personally.

¹² Willie Henderson, 'Millicent Garrett Fawcett's Political Economy for Beginners: An Evaluation', *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 40, No. 4, August 2004, p. 436. Millicent and Henry Fawcett had formed one of the great liberal partnerships of the Victorian era and their influence was felt long after Henry Fawcett's death.

¹³ As early as 1870 her home was the scene of the first meeting in Cambridge in support of university education for women. Writing fifty years later, Millicent was still proud and pleased that the 'birth of Newnham' had occurred in her drawing-room. Newnham College was one of the first places women could achieve a university education.

unflinching, was also conciliatory and deliberate as opposed to the more confrontational approach favoured by Emily Davies.¹⁴ In 1868 she published her first article entitled 'The Education of Women of the Middle and Upper Classes' where she argued vigorously for 'equal educational advantages given to both sexes...and, if they prove worthy of them, to allow them to share with men all those distinctions, intellectual, literary, and political, which are such valuable incentives to mental and moral progress.'¹⁵ Excerpts from her next article entitled 'The Medical and General Education of Women' in the *Fortnightly Review* of November, 1868, read as a blueprint for Anna's own life: 'The object of all education ought to be to produce good and cultured men and women...(it is) vastly important for national welfare that mothers of children should be persons of large, liberal and cultured minds.'¹⁶ It is even possible that this article was read in the Logan home in far off New Zealand.

There were, however, key differences between the two women. Whereas in her early years Anna pursued a political agenda centred within the Liberal political party, Millicent had severed her attachment to the Liberal party and had worked hard year after year to avoid siding with one party or another. She wrote at one time '...can best serve the various political movements in which I am interested by keeping clear of party associations...for me questions, e.g. on women and morality, come first and party second – a long way second.'¹⁷ Another key difference lay in their family obligations. Millicent was widowed early, had only one child and was financially independent. This allowed her considerable independence to focus solely on the goal of women's suffrage. Anna's own life contained significant responsibility to her six living children. And in spite of her own strong opinions and willingness to speak out, she had at all times an awareness of Sir Robert's responsibilities. Finally, the women differed in temperament. Where Millicent was quick to laugh at the foibles and eccentricities of human behaviour seemingly with genuine humour, Anna appears to have had a sharper edge to her views of others. Anna's departure from active work in the National Council of Women in 1896 and other personal references indicate she was less adept at consensus and conciliation.

The records indicate a cordial working relationship between Anna and Fawcett. Well before Anna's arrival in England Fawcett had kept well informed of events in New Zealand's suffrage and women's movement. Among her correspondence are multiple records dealing with events in New Zealand, including pamphlets, newspaper clips, notes and letters. She had previously met with Kate Sheppard during her 1894 visit to England. In April, 1912 she would write to New Zealand asking for supporting statistics on crime, intemperance and immorality.¹⁸ Anna's keen, public support of the women's suffrage movement in England would certainly have earned Fawcett's appreciation.

The movement, however, that was dominating the headlines by this time was that of the militant suffragists, known as suffragettes. Several women, led by Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, had taken the position in 1905 that only through militancy would they ever move the British government

¹⁴ Jenifer Glynn, *The Pioneering Garretts*, London: Hambledon Continuum, 2008, p. 87.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁶ Glynn, p. 85.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁸ Waitangi Foundation/British Council: Bringing the Records Home , fMS Papers 4923-1, WTU.

to take women's suffrage seriously.¹⁹ The 1913 pamphlet *Why We Are Militant*, which is held in Anna's personal papers, was based on a speech given in New York on October 21, 1913 by Emmeline Pankhurst. In this pamphlet, she defended the radical position taken by the Women's Social and Political Union. She wrote 'the whole machinery of government in England may almost be said to be an elaborate arrangement for not doing anything.'²⁰ She argued that year after year larger meetings were held for women suffrage than had been held for male suffrage but still women made no progress. 'Men got the vote because they were and would be violent.'²¹ There was a call to moral violence and civil disobedience.

What attracted Anna Stout, Lady and leading New Zealand figure, to the militant tactics of the suffragettes? At first glance a more natural affiliation could have been expected with Millicent Garrett Fawcett and the women of the NUWSS. And indeed Anna did interact with numerous NUWSS associated organizations in public speaking engagements, correspondence and in the famous procession of 1910 when she headed the New Zealand contingent of voting women.²² She likely met with Eva McLaren, who had written to Anna in 1895 suggesting she form a New Zealand council in conjunction with the International Council of Women. Anna's papers include evidence of correspondence with the officers of various organizations under the NUWSS umbrella, including a handwritten note from Millicent Garrett Fawcett dated November 1, 1909 strongly opposing the methods of violence by women for suffrage but also strongly against the government's response. Fawcett references two resolutions passed on these matters at the Quarterly Council meeting of the NUWSS at Cardiff in October. The evidence shows that Anna spoke and acted at every possible opportunity in support of the women's cause in Britain. In characteristic fashion, Anna's focus was women as a whole and their political and economic emancipation. Anna was willing to work with all parties to affect this outcome.²³

But it was the WSPU and their militant tactics that attracted Anna and it was the WSPU that reprinted her pamphlet *Woman Suffrage in New Zealand* shortly before her departure, not the NUWSS. Did the WSPU and the Pankhursts radicalize Anna Stout? What was it about the WSPU that drew Anna into a close relationship during her nearly four years in England, and that led her to continue to defend their actions long after she had returned to New Zealand? These are questions that have not been analysed in previous historiography.

Anna, by her own admission, had heard of the militant tactics in advance of her arrival in England and was prejudiced against them.²⁴ In her own words, Anna recalled in a speech in May, 1910 to an influential gathering of women's suffrage organizations in Eastbourne that she was present in June 1909 to witness the heavy handed response by the police to the women's deputation to Parliament,

¹⁹ Jason Haslam (ed), *Prisons and Prisoners* by Lady Constance Lytton, rev. ed., Toronto: Broadview Editions, 2008, p. 1.

²⁰ Emmeline Pankhurst, Mrs., *Why We Are Militant*, London: The Woman's Press, 1913.

²¹ Ibid.

²² The *New Zealand Herald* of 26 July, 1910, in reference to the procession, is quoted as saying 'Lady Stout is rendering assistance in no half-hearted manner.' Earlier in the same article, leaders of the WSPU report 'New Zealand women were so fearfully keen on helping their British sisters.' The procession, while organized by the WSPU, included women from numerous suffrage organizations.

²³ See the *Feilding Star*, 23 March, 1911 for a summary of one four-week speaking schedule which included addresses to the British Women's Temperance Association, the Women's Social and Progressive League and the WSPU with Adela Pankhurst.

²⁴ 'Suffrage Shop', unnamed newspaper clipping, February 20, 1911, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

with 'women being dragged, and kicked and hauled about.'²⁵ One can imagine the newly-arrived Anna setting out to personally witness such a political spectacle. Having led deputations to Parliament in New Zealand, she was certainly keen to observe the same event in Britain. Was she accompanied by Robert or Maud Pember Reeves or was this her own moment? Regardless, that day she returned home a 'suffragette.'²⁶ Her writings indicate how thoroughly disillusioned she was by the treatment afforded to the women of Britain.²⁷ This nearly-religious experience is similar to the conversion experienced by Lady Constance Lytton, as detailed in her book *Prisons and Prisoners*.²⁸ Other women described similar experiences. Strachey, writing with the voice of one who had participated fully in what was known as the 'Cause' wrote in relation to the rapidly multiplying suffrage meetings of the period 'they were missionary meetings, filled with the fervour of a gospel, and each one brought new enthusiasts to the ranks.'²⁹ The women of the militant suffrage movement in particular were completely committed. It was this total commitment, even to the point of giving up their health, reputation and even their lives that appears to have captured Anna's attention and respect, as well as the complete injustice of the treatment they received. It was this commitment that must have been on her mind when she returned to New Zealand and defended the suffragettes to the New Zealand public in her public speaking tour of 1913 and 1914. She was likely thinking of these women when she said, at a twenty-first anniversary commemoration, that the vote came too early and too easily to New Zealand women.³⁰ But it was more than respect for their courage or indignity at their treatment that compelled Anna to align herself with their movement, although those were certainly central factors. It was Anna's own strong personality which drew her to this radical arm of the suffrage movement, and perhaps a realization that but for the fortune of her birth in a progressive settler society like New Zealand, the conditions of English and Scottish women in 1910 would have been her own inheritance.

Anna clearly had a curiosity about the militant suffragists prior to her arrival in England. She wrote to Lady Constance Lytton almost immediately upon her arrival in England, requesting information about her prison experience and the forced-feedings.³¹ Lady Lytton had only recently been released from Holloway prison. Downplaying the severity of her experience, Lytton wrote 'prison itself is not so wearing as the ignorance, indifference and prejudice of people when one comes out.'³² What began as a request for information soon developed into a personal acquaintance. The numerous letters in Anna's papers bear testimony to the progression of the friendship between these two women with the signature on Lady Lytton's correspondence advancing in November, 1909 from 'Lady Lytton' to 'Connie.'³³ Born in 1867, Constance Lytton was raised with all the comforts available

²⁵ 'Lady Stout at Eastbourne', *The Gazette*, May 3, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 'Votes for Women', *The Shetland News*, 28 August, 1909, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259, DU:HO.

²⁸ Lytton, pp. 56-71.

²⁹ Strachey, p. 305.

³⁰ *Evening Post*, 29 September, 1914.

³¹ Prison conditions and reform was a long-standing interest for both Anna and Robert. See her lead article in *White Ribbon*, Nov 1895, *White Ribbon (NZ) microfilm*, Christchurch, Smith Anthony Sellars, 1895-1960, Massey collection.

³² 'Letters to Lady Stout in connection with women's suffrage in Great Britain, 1909', Anna Stout Papers, MS-0257, DU:HO.

³³ It was also in late November, 1910, that Anna publicly challenged Lord Glasgow in *The Times* over his (mis)representation of women's suffrage in New Zealand. The Lyttons offered significant assistance to Anna, thereby furthering the friendship between Constance Lytton and Anna.

to her station in life. In the introduction to her book *Prisons and Prisoners* she writes of her 'fatalistic submission to events as they befell' and her unquestioning acceptance of women's position in society.³⁴ A chance meeting in 1908 with Emmeline Pethick Lawrence and Annie Kenney, leaders of the militant movement, at a lady's hostel lead to a close friendship with both women. But it was the protest, arrest and trial of Emmeline Pankhurst in October, 1908 that converted this retiring lady to the militant movement. Is Lytton's description of her own conversion equally descriptive of Anna's experience? A copy of Lytton's book, published in 1914, is held among Anna's papers. There are also two photographs of Lady Lytton, the first from one of the mass processions of women in London specifically focused on the women walking under the banner 'From Prison to Citizenship', which included Lytton and the Pankhursts. The second photo is a formal photo of Lady Lytton. As a woman of high principle and ideals, Anna clearly valued this friendship with Constance Lytton.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence is another leading figure of the WSPU with whom Anna worked closely, sharing platforms and public speaking engagements.³⁵ Emmeline and her husband Frederick were a well-to-do couple. Emmeline was known for her benevolent work on behalf of working-class women, and Frederick was well known as a radical lawyer. By the time of Anna's arrival in London, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence was proving to be a successful treasurer in the WSPU, not least of all for her ability to recruit other wealthy socialites to its membership. It was the Pethick Lawrences who established *Votes for Women* as the WSPU's own journal. Among the Stout family papers is a warm letter of condolence from Emmeline Pethick Lawrence to Anna upon the death of Sir Robert. It is the letter of a close colleague.³⁶

When Anna and Robert arrived in London in April, 1909, they surely wasted little time in meeting with their old friends and colleagues William and Maud Pember Reeves, who by this time had resided in London for nearly thirteen years.³⁷ Anna's sons Robert and Duncan had called on the Reeves upon their own arrival in London in 1905. Their letters to their father not only pass on regards from the Reeves but also show Reeves advising the young men on such practical measures as which bicycles to purchase. Maud was also looking after their well-being. Robert wrote home that 'Mrs. Reeves has advised the Victoria League to keep an eye on medical students and to ask them to tennis or boat parties instead of at-homes. The Victoria League was formed to look after colonials and to ask them round to meet the people.'³⁸

Both Maud and William Pember Reeves were well established in intellectual and social circles, particularly the Fabian Group.³⁹ According to Ruth Fry, by 1909 Maud Pember Reeves was a well

³⁴ Lytton, p. 51.

³⁵ 'Votes for Women', 21 October and 16 December, 1910, Bringing the Records Home, fMS Papers 4923-2, WTU. Pethick Lawrence was chairing the meeting when Anna publicly challenged Lord Glasgow's account of suffrage in New Zealand.

³⁶ Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-116, WTU.

³⁷ In 1909 W.P. Reeves resigned his post of High Commissioner to take up the role of Director of the London School of Economics, founded with the funding and support of the Fabian Group and the Webbs in particular. Ruth Fry, "Maud and Amber", Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1992, p. 74.

³⁸ Letter from Robert Stout to his father, 2 August, 1904, Stout Family Papers, MS-papers 0183-03, WTU.

³⁹ The Fabian Society advocated government intervention to improve conditions for the working classes. The Reeves were keen members, even naming their son Fabian. See Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves: New Zealand Fabian*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, pp. 99-104 and p. 243. As early as 1897 in London, the Reeves

established and enthusiastic leader in both Fabian circles and in wider social activism.⁴⁰ In 1908, when the first of the suffragettes began to be imprisoned for their activities, eleven Fabian women were among their numbers. In typical fashion, the Fabian Women's Group, which had been founded by Maud in 1907 in her lounge, began an investigation into prison conditions for women, which was published in 1911. Was this an alternative motivation behind Anna's letter to Lady Lytton shortly after her own arrival in England? Was she already, at this early stage, working in conjunction with Maud Pember Reeves and the Fabians? Prison reform had been under discussion by the New Zealand women gathered around the White Ribbon⁴¹ and Anna was not one to waste time or opportunity when the topics closest to her heart were under discussion, so while neither Anna nor Maud's name appears in the final report, the coincidence is compelling.

The Reeves were active in advocating New Zealand's interests to the wider British community and this included women's suffrage.⁴² Maud was deeply sympathetic to the militant cause of the WSPU.⁴³ Maud and her sister, Effie, did participate in the marches and it was said that Effie tied herself to the railings and was arrested.⁴⁴ Just days before the Stouts' arrival in London, *The Times* printed a declaration in favour of women's Parliamentary suffrage signed by over 300 prominent men, including William Pember Reeves.⁴⁵ The declaration had been promoted by five leading women of the NUWSS, including Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Ethel Snowden. Both of these women would go on to figure prominently in Anna's England sojourn.⁴⁶ Considering their long-standing acquaintance, mutual friendship with Ellen Ballance and mutual interests in politics, education, social reform and women's position in society, it is to be expected that Anna and Maud would have continued to meet even after Robert returned to New Zealand. It is entirely possible that Maud's numerous connections and reputation as a public speaker facilitated introductions for Anna into the various women's organizations during her early months in London. Working her network of New Zealand and British relationships, Anna quickly became an active participant in the British women's movement. Central to this was Anna's membership in the Lyceum Club.

The Lyceum Club was founded in 1904 as a woman-only club, with a special emphasis on literature and the arts. To remain viable, it quickly extended its rolls in the first year to university women and 'wives and daughters of distinguished men.'⁴⁷ Its central location in Piccadilly, at the heart of the male-dominated club scene, was no accident. It was deliberately luxurious, with a well-appointed library, dining room of high repute, reading and writing rooms, numerous bedrooms and exhibition space. Lady Balfour, the club's first chairman said 'We would have this club, made by women, lived

were already enjoying the status of house guests of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, along with such guests as George Bernard Shaw and Bertrand and Alys Russell.

⁴⁰ Fry, pp. 64-74.

⁴¹ *White Ribbon* microfilm, November, 1895.

⁴² The First Quinquennial International Woman-suffrage Alliance Meeting was held in London from 26 April to 2 May, 1909. Maud was one of the opening-night speakers in St. James Hall. With a speech entitled 'A Testimonial' she undoubtedly drew many parallels to her own New Zealand experience. It would be surprising indeed if Anna was not in attendance at this high-profile event.

⁴³ Emmeline Pankhurst was an early Fabian but had left the group in 1903 to found the WSPU.

⁴⁴ Fry, p. 40.

⁴⁵ 'Woman's Suffrage', *The Times*, 23 March, 1909.

⁴⁶ Photos of both women are in Anna's personal papers.

⁴⁷ Grainne Goodwin, 'An Adamless Eden: Counterpublics and Women Writers' Sociability at the Fin de Siecle through the experiences of Flora Annie Steel', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 2013, pp. 449-50.

in by women and run by women...(a) place full of purity and high ideals.’⁴⁸ Guest speakers such as William Pember Reeves were part of the club’s program to promote the education, recreation and professional development of women.⁴⁹ The club gained a ‘formidable reputation’ as an important site for women activists to exchange and debate ideas, as well as a ‘link between the elite women’s clubs and those of a more political and intellectual nature.’⁵⁰ Barbara Caine writes ‘if one were to look for direct links between...London and the later feminist interests of Australian women, one would focus more closely on the concerns about imperial and international questions that were articulated in the Lyceum Club and the Australia and New Zealand Committee of Women Voters.’⁵¹ A contemporary report described it as follows:

There are many women’s clubs in London, but of them all the Lyceum Club still takes first place, with its wide and interesting basis of membership, and its long list of 2500 members. So representative is the club that...you can hardly think of a subject ...without finding some member of the club who has the subject at her fingertip.⁵²

It was here where Anna met and mixed with some of the most important personalities of the British women’s movement, including the leading anti-suffragist and well-known author, Mrs. Humphry Ward. The New Zealand circle within the club was Anna’s particular area of expertise. Here she worked with the New Zealand author and feminist Edith Searle Grossman,⁵³ who had arrived in London a few years before Anna and was highly active in women’s suffrage and Vida Goldstein, the Australian activist.⁵⁴ The importance of the Lyceum Club to Anna is demonstrated in numerous news articles of the time. For example, in late 1910 Anna was hostess for a dinner at which Sir William Hall-Jones spoke,⁵⁵ along with representatives of South Africa, Canada and Australia.⁵⁶ In February, 1911, Anna chaired a journalistic dinner at the Lyceum while also maintaining a demanding public speaking schedule.⁵⁷ In March, 1911, Anna gave a lecture at the Lyceum on the history of New Zealand ‘illustrated with limelight views,’⁵⁸ and in July hosted the annual dinner of

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ *Press*, 10 September, 1910.

⁵⁰ David Doughan and Peter Gordon, ‘Women’s Clubs’ in *Women, Clubs and Associations in Britain*, London: Routledge, 2006, p. 54.

⁵¹ Kay Ferres, ‘The Lyceum Club and the Making of the Modern Woman’, *Queensland Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2014, p. 62.

⁵² *Dominion*, 13 January, 1911.

⁵³ *Press*, 10 September, 1910 and *Dominion*, 13 January, 1911. Grossman was among the participants of the New Zealand contingent of the 1910 women’s suffrage procession. See also Barnes, *New Zealand’s London: A Colony and its Metropolis*, pp. 107-14.

⁵⁴ The Lyceum Club was also a venue for Anna to host visiting New Zealanders such as Lord and Lady Russell, the daughter of the Rev. Frank Isitt, and even Mrs. Downie Stewart, wife of the Stouts’ long-time friend and colleague, *Feilding Star*, 28 December, 1910, 13 July, 1911 and 6 March, 1912, *Auckland Star*, 20 February, 1911.

⁵⁵ Sir William Hall-Jones became New Zealand’s High Commissioner in London upon William Pember Reeves’ retirement in late 1908. He was a well-liked, balanced politician, having worked closely with the Liberal governments of John Ballance and Richard Seddon, as well as an independent MP. Hall-Jones was a long time proponent of woman’s suffrage and a strong defender of New Zealand’s interests. John Hall-Jones, ‘Hall-Jones, William’, from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 30-Oct-2012.

⁵⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 2 January, 1911.

⁵⁷ *Feilding Star*, 23 March, 1911.

⁵⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 29 April, 1911.

the United Empire Circle within the Lyceum. 'A very brilliant and representative gathering of guests from all parts of the Empire' was expected.⁵⁹ In particular, describing the warm public reaction on the day of the highly successful 1910 women's suffrage procession, Anna said in an interview 'Our warmest reception was from the clubs in Picadilly...My own club, the Lyceum, gave us a splendid reception.'⁶⁰ Membership in the Lyceum Club was of central importance to the success of Anna's London years.⁶¹

It is likely that Anna also made the acquaintance of Emily Wilding Davison, a paid worker in the WSPU who early gained a reputation as a self-destructive risk-taker.⁶² Emily was an active member of the WSPU and well known among its leadership. Opinions of Davison were mixed among the activist women. Various described as either a rebel among the suffragettes or an insignificant participant, Davison had undergone several well-reported prison and forced-feeding terms. In October 1909 she had been arrested along with Lady Lytton when the two of them were tasked with disrupting a public meeting by Mr. Lloyd George.⁶³ In spite of her mixed reception among suffragettes, her funeral procession as a 'martyr' to the cause was a well-organized public event by the WSPU.

It has been argued that England was a kind of liberation for Anna; far removed from New Zealand politics and media she was able to express herself more openly.⁶⁴ One of the best known images of this period is Anna at the head of the New Zealand and Australian contingent in the women's suffrage march of July 1910. It certainly is true that her temperament and 'voice' come through clearly in the numerous interviews, speeches and articles that were published during her time in England. Her deliberate and strategic use of facts and statistics to support the arguments in favour of women's suffrage and to refute well-worn anti-suffrage arguments is demonstrated in article after article and speech after speech. A few summary examples must suffice to demonstrate this repeated technique.

In a letter to the editor of *The Standard* on July 9, 1910, Anna refuted the argument by an unnamed New Zealander that women have overwhelmed the Local Option Poll by demonstrating that over the

⁵⁹ *Feilding Star*, 5 July, 1911.

⁶⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 9 August, 1910.

⁶¹ In choosing membership in the Lyceum Club over the Pioneer Club, another progressive women's club, Anna demonstrated her understanding of the importance of moving among upper class, progressive women in a refined atmosphere. The Pioneer Club was the only temperance club in London and widely known in the 1890s for its radical New Woman image. Previous guest speakers included Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Lady Henry Somerset, but by 1910 its glory days were past. See Doughan and Gordon, pp. 55-62.

⁶² Jane Purvis, 'Remembering Emily Wilding Davison, 1872-1913', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 353-62. Davison endured prison terms and force-feeding with Constance Lytton. Not all members of the WSPU approved of Davison's self-directed acts of public protest, including setting fires and throwing herself off prison railings. A newspaper clipping of her death under the hooves of His Majesty's horse at the annual Epsom Derby in 1913 is included in Anna's papers. *Evening Post* 16 June, 1913, Anna Stout Papers, MS 0259/D, DU:HO.

⁶³ Davison's motives on that fateful day in 1913 have been subject to numerous interpretations, most of them unfavourable. More recent scholarship theorizes that Davison's motives, far from suicidal, were to place a suffrage banner around the horse, with disastrous consequences. Jane Purvis, 'Remembering Emily Wilding Davison', *Women's History Review* 2013, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 353-62.

⁶⁴ Dalziel, p. 142. In contrast to this view of a subordinate, restrained Anna, this thesis demonstrates and concludes that Anna was deliberately public and vocal in her activism on behalf of women, even before her years in England, although she was also always aware of the importance of Robert's stature in society.

course of twelve years the number of men who voted for no-license was greater than that of the women. She credits this to the positive influence of women upon the men of their families.⁶⁵

In an interview with *The Shetland Times*, August 28, 1909, her statistics refuted the argument that given the vote, women would not exercise this right. According to Anna, 85% of the women exercised their right to vote in 1893 as compared to 69% of eligible men. She went on to demonstrate that the percentages were comparable to one another in subsequent election years.

Writing from Pembroke Square, Anna's letter to the editor of *The Times* on 12 July, 1910 rebuts the argument that women's suffrage will lead to a decline in the birth rate. As a summary of her longer article in the recent June issue of *The Englishwoman*, Anna once again uses statistics to demonstrate that the infant mortality rate in England and Wales per 1,000 was 147 whereas in New Zealand it was 75. Anna acknowledges a decline in birth rate during the depression years of the 1880s, but goes on to conclude that:

The birth rate of a country always tends to decline as the intelligence and education of the people advances, until the conditions of life become so much improved that thoughtful parents feel assured of the future of their children.⁶⁶

The strength of Anna's 'voice' is further evident in her rebuttals to anti-suffrage articles or letters, particularly as these relate to the New Zealand experience. She rarely missed an opportunity to refute what she termed 'farcical' arguments. As just one example, in a letter to the editor of the *Inverness Courier* on 27 July, 1910, she launches a comprehensive and stinging attack on numerous parties, including the M.P. Mr. Annan Bryce, women with the 'inability or incapacity to think for themselves,' and those who would denigrate the memory of Sir John Hall. In lengthy paragraphs in which she barely takes a grammatical breath, Anna rebuts argument after argument on the 'nightmare dreams of timid souls' who feared women's suffrage. The 'clap-trap and cant' enactments that Bryce refers to she embraces as degrading evils from the old world that are being steadily eradicated from the colonies as a result of women possessing full franchise for eighteen years. Anna even defends the honour of British women from the 'gross impertinence' of those who would insult them by questioning their loyalty to the interests of the Empire in matters of war and trade. Attacking the 'artificial limitations that have been imposed upon women by the ignorance and cruelty of man' Anna labels as 'absurd' the argument that women who have demonstrated their intelligence in Cambridge or Oxford examinations are unable to vote on matters of economics, when barely-literate men are allowed to make their X on a ballot paper. A handwritten note at the bottom of this news clipping in Anna's papers reads 'Bryce ought to be a good boy after that fine spank.'⁶⁷

One of Anna's most effective letters to the editor of *The Times* occurred as early as 19 November, 1909 and caused a stir among the suffrage societies, to whom Anna was, as yet, relatively unknown. Her lengthy letter to the editor entitled 'Votes for Women' enumerates in detail the benefits of female suffrage in New Zealand.⁶⁸ The day Anna's letter was published, The Younger Suffragists wrote and asked permission to reprint Anna's 'admirable letter' to *The Times*. The author calls it 'such a splendidly conclusive answer to so many of the common 'anti' allegations that we feel it

⁶⁵ *Standard*, 9 July, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

⁶⁶ Anna Stout, Letter to the editor of *The Times*, 12 July, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS 0259/C, DU:HO.

⁶⁷ *Inverness Courier*, 27 July, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

⁶⁸ *The Times*, 19 November, 1909.

should have a permanent place in suffrage literature.⁶⁹ This was followed the next day by a telegram congratulating Anna on her letter to *The Times*. The author says 'it will be the greatest help to me in convincing provincial opponents.' The author goes on to say 'your arguments seem to me unanswerable.'⁷⁰

On November 27 Lady Lytton wrote to Anna on several matters, including her intention to order 'many copies' of the leaflet printed by the Young Suffragists. And finally, on November 30 a letter was received on Votes for Women letterhead from F.W. Pethick Lawrence asking permission to include extracts from Anna's 'delightful letter.' The author enclosed a telegraph form so Anna could reply immediately. Among Anna's papers is a copy of a page of the proposed leaflet with a few typographical errors noted by Anna. If Anna's presence among British suffragists had not been noted previously, they were certainly aware of her after this.⁷¹

Perhaps the best known of Anna's public rebuttals was her response to Lord Glasgow in *The Times* in December, 1910. Lord Glasgow gave the royal assent to the Franchise Bill in New Zealand in 1893 after it passed both the Parliament and the Legislative Council. In writing to Lady Jersey of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, he claimed 'it would be deplorable if ever such a measure became law' in Britain.⁷² Anna accuses him of insulting the women of New Zealand and says:

The fact of Lord Glasgow having given the Royal Assent to the Suffrage Bill does not entitle him to speak with authority on the subject. The law clerk who drafted the bill did more.⁷³

The editor of *The Times* appears to have delayed publication of Anna's strongly-worded letter, which led to intervention by Lady Constance Lytton and her brother, Lord Lytton. This generated a response by G.E. Buckle of *The Times* to the Earl of Lytton that Anna's letter had 'not escaped attention' and that he was 'still trying to find room for it.'⁷⁴

Lord Glasgow was not alone in experiencing the sharp pen of Anna Stout in defence of New Zealand. In early 1912 the New Zealand lawyer E.G. Jellicoe sharply disparaged New Zealand's social and political practices, predicting it was 'on the brink of ruin.'⁷⁵ Along with Sir William Hall-Jones, Anna went on the offensive, describing Jellicoe as 'a rejected political aspirant' and tearing apart his criticisms. The reporter concluded 'No man or woman can disparage New Zealand with impunity whilst Lady Stout can wield tongue or pen in its defence.'⁷⁶

⁶⁹ 'Letters to Lady Stout in connection with women's suffrage in Great Britain, 1909', Anna Stout Papers, MS-0257, DU:HO.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² *The Times*, 5 December, 1910.

⁷³ *The Times*, 8 December, 1910.

⁷⁴ 'Letters to Lady Stout in connection with women's suffrage in Great Britain', Anna Stout Papers, MS-0257, DU:HO.

⁷⁵ Jellicoe was personally known to the Stouts, Ballances and the Pember Reeves, having been a controversial business colleague of William Pember Reeves in one of his newspaper ventures as well as a lawyer who argued cases as opposing council to Stout and before Stout as Chief Justice. See Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves, New Zealand Fabian*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 142, *Mataura Ensign*, 6 September, 1889 and *Dominion*, 23 February, 1912.

⁷⁶ *Star*, 17 February, 1912.

Her personal experience with the intricacies of government and legislation are reflected in her close attention to the Conciliation Bill, as evidenced in the material in her papers. High hopes were riding on this bill from all suffrage parties. The militant suffragists called a truce in early 1910 to give the bill every opportunity to succeed.⁷⁷ Chaired by Lord Lytton, the bill was a compromise call to grant suffrage to unmarried, propertied women. In July, 1910 the bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons by 110 votes but the attitude of the government was unchanged. Prime Minister Asquith engineered its further collapse by calling for dissolution of Parliament and using all the remaining time for government business. This was a powerful blow to the women and the suffragettes went on the attack. The ensuing 'Black Friday' resulted in the arrest of one hundred and fifteen women and two men, preceded by several hours of assault. Sylvia Pankhurst wrote of this day 'we saw the women go out and return exhausted, with black eyes, bleeding noses, bruises, sprains and dislocations. The cry went round: "be careful; they are dragging women down the side streets!" We knew this always meant greater ill-usage.'⁷⁸ The NUWSS continued their efforts at persuasion, but this time they solicited petitions from voters in the December poll. Three hundred thousand signatures were secured from the male voters of Great Britain.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, once again the government ignored the petition, focusing instead on its Male Franchise Bill.

Against the backdrop of the succession to the throne of King George V, the Conciliation Bill was renewed in 1911 and in May was carried in the House by a majority of 167 votes. Again its prospects were wrecked by the government. All of this must have felt like déjà-vu for Anna, a veteran of the New Zealand government tactics of 1891 to 1893. As Millicent Garrett Fawcett said at the time 'if it had been (the Prime Minister's) object to enrage every woman suffragist to the point of frenzy he could not have acted with greater perspicacity.'⁸⁰

As a result, emotions were running high in June of 1911 when Anna was once again leading a procession of women voters, this time in conjunction with the Australian activist Vida Goldstein on the occasion of the coronation of King George and Queen Mary. Anna and Goldstein worked within the WSPU to garner the support of New Zealand and Australian women in London to participate in '...the greatest procession known in history.' This was not idle hyperbole. The entire procession was indeed monstrous, estimated at 40,000 participants.⁸¹ W.T. Stead called it '...the first and the longest and most original of all the processions that celebrated the King's crowning.'⁸² As part of the

⁷⁷ The previously mentioned suffrage procession was held largely to urge the government to pass the Conciliation Bill. In an interview following the procession Anna added the following observation: 'To me the most touching and convincing evidence of the unselfishness and loyalty to womanhood of the suffragists is shown by the fact that all 20 societies (militant and non-militant), Liberal and Conservative, have agreed to accept the Conciliation Bill, which excludes women of property and graduates of the universities. ...I believe that the wonderful spirit of comradeship will prevail, and that when the working women have the vote they will use it to enfranchise the women who have so nobly fought the battle...' *Otago Daily Times*, 9 August, 1910.

⁷⁸ Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, rev. ed. London: Virago Ltd, 1977, p. 343.

⁷⁹ Strachey, p. 318.

⁸⁰ Millicent Garrett Fawcett, quoted in Strachey, p. 319.

⁸¹ 'The Women's Suffrage Demonstration', *The Times*, 19 June, 1911, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, Viewed 27 December, 2014.

⁸² W.T. Stead, <http://www.attackingthedevel.co.uk/reviews/ascendant.php>, 1911, viewed 1 June, 2014. Stead was a prominent journalist and social reformer of the Victorian period. As editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, he advocated a number of controversial social reforms. He is best known for his series on white slavery, an issue which Anna continued to speak about upon her return to New Zealand. Stead died on the Titanic in April, 1912 while Anna was in London.

Imperial Contingent designed to show the strength of support for suffrage throughout the Empire, in the June 9, 1911 issue of *Votes for Women* they wrote 'Australian and New Zealand women will form two contingents, as the only women of the British Empire who are politically free. New Zealand, as the first of the Dominions across the seas to enfranchise women, will lead the section, headed by Lady Stout.'⁸³ Anna played a far more active role, however, than just leading the procession on the day. The record shows she and Goldstein had been allocated office space at the WSPU offices at 3 Clements Inn and were also collecting donations and organizing banners.⁸⁴

It was also at this time that Anna and Goldstein formed the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association for the purpose of addressing the Imperial Naturalization Act as well as providing public support for the British women's movement.⁸⁵ In addition to dealing with the very real problem of women losing their citizenship through marriage to foreign nationals, it was anticipated that by addressing the question of naturalization through a deputation to Lord Asquith they would thereby be able to introduce the topic of women's suffrage into the upcoming Imperial Conference.⁸⁶ A later news article reports Anna acted as president and 'guiding spirit' until she returned to New Zealand.⁸⁷

On the fine Saturday afternoon of 17 June, 1911 the procession started on the Westminster Embankment, a ...'living five-linked chain of women, dressed for the most part in white.'⁸⁸ Did a cheer go up for the New Zealand women voters as they passed under the window in St. James where the pioneering suffragist Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy was viewing the procession? Their position as the first politically enfranchised women in the Empire was indeed compelling. Following the 1910 route, the procession proceeded to Kensington where it was followed by large suffrage meetings in the imposing Royal Albert Hall. W.T. Stead wrote that 'it was a night of jubilation not without justification.'⁸⁹ With the platform occupied by Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Annie Besant and Vida Goldstein, this was an event Anna would not have missed.⁹⁰ In the enthusiasm of the occasion some 5,000 pounds were raised in subscriptions. At the conclusion of the meetings Anna would have been just a short walk from her home at 15a Pembroke Square on the edge of Kensington Gardens. Anna was literally in the thick of the British women's suffrage movement.

⁸³ 'A Word to Australian and New Zealand Women' reprinted from *Votes for Women*, 9 June, 1911, Anna Stout Papers, MS 0259/C, DU:HO.

⁸⁴ 'Votes for Women', June 9, 1911, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

⁸⁵ The Imperial Naturalization Act of 1914 was part of a broader effort to harmonize naturalization across the British Empire. As reported in the *Evening Post*, 'The association was formed in London in May, 1911, primarily to represent to the Imperial Conference the disabilities of Australian and New Zealand women under the Naturalization Act.' New Zealand women enjoyed individual citizenship under New Zealand law, but unless these laws were taken into consideration in the revised Act, New Zealand women stood to lose their independent citizenship. By 1912, Anna was president of the association. *Evening Post*, 4 January, 1912 and 1 August, 1912.

⁸⁶ 'Anglo-Colonial Notes', *Otago Daily Times*, 29 June, 1911. See also *Evening Post*, 16 January, 1912 and 10 August, 1912.

⁸⁷ 'Personal Notes from London', *Otago Daily Times*, 4 September, 1912.

⁸⁸ Stead.

⁸⁹ Stead.

⁹⁰ Annie Besant, originally a member of the Fabians, had helped to influence William Pember Reeves's conversion to Socialism through her own writings. Sinclair, p. 102.

In addition to her keen participation in suffrage support, Anna also kept a close eye on the arguments lodged by the 'antis', as demonstrated by the news clippings in her papers. One of the news clippings is a letter to *The Times* dated 5 August, 1910 where the author dismantles Mrs. Humphrey Ward's definition and insight into what constitutes a 'Normal Woman' as one who is naturally too busy raising her family to be concerned with politics or social issues. Assuming Anna kept this particular clipping because it reflected her own views and because Mrs. Ward was personally known to her through the Lyceum Club, it is interesting to consider the following words of the unknown author:

As one of the normal women who spread her services to the State in producing citizens and female children over 21 instead of 15 years...I utterly repudiate her interpretation of my 'thoughts'. Moreover, I claim that the fact that I take, and have always taken, an interest in politics has not 'withdrawn me from' my 'home nor weakened' me in my 'own sacred and inalienable duty'.⁹¹

Sir Almroth Wright's infamous letter to *The Times* in March of 1912 regarding the inferior condition of women set off a barrage of rebuttals and a scurry of 'antis' distancing themselves from his attack on women.⁹² Somewhat surprisingly, there is no evidence that Anna responded while in London, but she did launch her own direct and scathing rebuttal on Wright during a 1913 visit to Dunedin after her return to New Zealand, although her arguments were largely overlooked in the ensuing debate between her and the *Otago Daily Times* over her defence of the militant suffragettes.⁹³

While following the tortured progress of the Conciliation Bill through the British Parliament, Anna was also following events in New Zealand through regular letters and news reports. In early 1910 Robert was deeply involved in deliberations on the University Senate. A news clipping in Anna's papers from the *Otago Daily Times*, January 26, 1910 shows her following these developments. She also followed Robert's legal cases, including one from the *Dominion*, August 11, 1910 reporting Robert's efforts regarding inheritance for illegitimate children. Anna also kept a clipping from the *Evening Post* of November 20, 1909 rebuffing Amelia Pankhurst and the militant women of Great Britain for their behaviour. Given her recent conversion to the militant cause, one can imagine Anna's response on reading this news from New Zealand. Anna also kept a clipping from the *New Zealand Herald* reporting on her own involvement in asking Prime Minister Asquith to grant suffrage and stop the prison terms for the protestors.⁹⁴

While the suffrage campaign dominated the headlines, this was not the only issue occupying Anna's attention during her England years. As previously discussed, Maud Pember Reeves was a central figure in the Fabian Women's Group. In 1909 she was fully engrossed in gathering data on the effect of poverty on women and children in the community of Lambeth. Available in a private Fabian tract in 1910 and later published as *'Round About a Pound a Week'* in 1913, this pamphlet became a best seller. With its practical emphasis on the health of women and children, this effort undoubtedly interested Anna. The chief area of interest for Anna in the Fabian's work appears to have been its

⁹¹ Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 5 August, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS 0259/C, DU:HO.

⁹² 'Suffrage Fallacies', *The Times*, 28 March, 1912, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, Viewed 24 May 2014.

⁹³ 'Lady Stout's Address', *Otago Daily Times*, 20 October, 1913 and 'Lady Stout and Women's Suffrage', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 October, 1913.

⁹⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 26 July, 1910.

emphasis on economic independence for women. A copy of two of the FWG's private discussion papers on the disabilities of women workers is among Anna's personal papers. It is interesting to note that the Fabian Group's office was located at 3 Clements Inn with the WSPU located at 4 Clements Inn. Anna was well familiar with both these offices. The records, however, are frustratingly silent about Anna's possible direct involvement in these and other FWG efforts. The historian is left with the challenge of interpreting the personal importance of the papers she chose to bequeath and what these papers reveal about Anna's activities.

In addition to her high-profile suffrage activities in London, Anna also attended significant events such as the 80th birthday celebration at the Royal Albert Hall in honour of General Booth of the Salvation Army, whom she and Robert had previously hosted in New Zealand. She also travelled frequently during her four years in England. Based on interviews and news reports, she was in Shetland visiting family in August, 1909. It is likely that she accompanied Robert on a tour of the Continent shortly after this, although the record is not entirely clear. In May, 1910 Anna spoke at a suffrage rally in Bournemouth, where she is described in her royal mourning attire.⁹⁵ In September 1910 she went north again, this time to Inverness. Perhaps it was during this visit that she met with New Zealand women studying in Edinburgh because in an article dated December 16, 1910 Anna refers to a number of young New Zealand friends who had shared with her their feeling of inferiority while studying in Edinburgh, an unexpected feeling for girls raised with full political suffrage as their right.⁹⁶ In early December of that year she was speaking in Hawick at a WSPU meeting. Back in London by the 20th of December that year, she wrote from #2 Pembridge Square of her intention to publish a pamphlet with all the statistics supporting women's suffrage in New Zealand 'whenever I can find time to revise my speeches.' Her intention was to have the pamphlet 'ready for the Cause in 1911.'⁹⁷ In February 1911 she was in Blackburn, an industrial town north of Manchester, participating with a Mrs. Lewis in temperance work. She also spoke in support of women's suffrage during this trip at Lees Hall. The news report of the time describes her surprise at being met with such hearty cheering and clapping.⁹⁸ During this same trip out of London Anna also visited Scarborough where she officiated at opening a WSPU Suffrage Shop.⁹⁹ The news reports are unanimous in the warm welcome she received and the clarity and conviction with which she spoke. Even allowing for a margin of local bias in writing about the wife of their local son, Sir Robert, the *Shetland News* described her as '...a lady who combines with a most charming and attractive personality, a keen intelligence, a thorough and exact knowledge of all phases of municipal, parliamentary, and social government; a wide knowledge of literature and art; and whose outlook on life has been broadened and sweetened by actual contact with people in all grades of society...'¹⁰⁰ In this first significant interview upon her arrival, and considering she was in Robert's home territory during his first visit since his immigration in 1864, it is interesting to note that the interview turned entirely on women's suffrage.

⁹⁵ *Bournemouth Graphic*, 19 May, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

⁹⁶ *Hawick Express*, 16 December, 1910, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

⁹⁷ Anna Stout letter to Miss Marshall, 20 December, 1910, Bringing Home the Records, fMS Papers 4923-1, WTU.

⁹⁸ 'Lady Stout in Blackburn', *Blackburn Weekly Telegraph*, 18 February, 1911, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/B, DU:HO.

⁹⁹ Unnamed newspaper, 20 February, 1911, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

¹⁰⁰ 'Votes for Women: Interesting Interview with Lady Stout', *Shetland News*, August 28, 1909, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0259/C, DU:HO.

In early 1911, Anna joined the widespread census protest against taxation without representation by staying away from home all night so she could not be counted.¹⁰¹ The *Otago Daily Times* reported in October that Anna was intending to take a trip to Norway with all four England-based children¹⁰² and in December of 1911 she was moving house to Golders Green, where Duncan and Robert were expected to also reside. While continuing her work with the Lyceum Club,¹⁰³ the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association and numerous speaking engagements, Anna accompanied Janet in her presentation at Buckingham Palace in June 1912. The two ladies were also guests at a Windsor garden party in July with a large contingent of New Zealanders, followed by a state ball at Buckingham Palace on 19 July. About this time Anna undertook what was probably her last large public speaking engagement when she shared the international and colonial platform at a large Hyde Park demonstration in support of women's suffrage. She and Janet spent August visiting Duncan in Wolverhampton and farewelling family in Scotland. The record at this time indicates that Anna moved back her travel plans from an earlier planned departure.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that this change was made to coincide with the departure plans of the new Governor, Lord Liverpool. As the Acting-Administrator for the government of New Zealand, it would have been logical for Robert to wish his wife to be in the wider travel party. Thus, by late 1912 Anna and Janet were bound for home on the *Malwa*, with Lord and Lady Liverpool also on board. On November 25 Duncan wrote 'It is very difficult to realize you are rapidly speeding to the Antipodes and that this letter will find you in Wellington, a place which seems almost a dream place to me now. We were very sad when you left ...'¹⁰⁵ And taking into consideration her dislike of cold weather and the smoke, fog and dirty rain of London, he concludes with 'How you will enjoy a really fine summer in NZ in the middle of your garden.'¹⁰⁶

The *Wanganui Chronicle* and other papers reported their arrival into Auckland in mid-December, 1912.¹⁰⁷ As representative of the government at that time, it was Robert's duty to officially welcome the Governor, while at the same time welcoming his wife and daughter whom he had not seen in three years. Immediately upon arrival the party moved to an official welcome reception for the Governor and Lady Liverpool. This is just one example of the many times the Stouts juggled personal and professional commitments during their years in public service.

Upon her return Anna continued to explain and strongly defend the actions of the British suffragettes to the New Zealand public, often in the face of public indifference. In addition to the fact that these women had become her colleagues and friends, Anna valued accuracy and facts and

¹⁰¹ Anna was joined by daughter Janet, and her close New Zealand friends Mrs. and Miss Ostler and Miss Isitt. The event was marked with night-time entertainments, suffrage speeches and a visit to Covent Garden. *Evening Post*, 24 May, 1911. See also Jill Liddington and Elizabeth Crawford, "'Women do not count, neither shall they be counted': Suffrage, Citizenship and the Battle for the 1911 Census', *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 71, Feb., 2011, pp. 98-127

¹⁰² *Otago Daily Times*, 5 October, 1911.

¹⁰³ One report of the period refers to the Lyceum Club as 'the most notable women's club of London.' See J.F.J. 'The International Congress of Historical Studies, Held at London', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 7, July 1913, pp. 679-91.

¹⁰⁴ *Auckland Star*, 22 November, 1912. Anna and Janet took rooms at the Lyceum Club during their final days in London.

¹⁰⁵ Letter from Duncan Stout to Anna Stout, Stout Family Papers, MS Papers 11518-051, WTU.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ 'Personal', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 16 December, 1912 and *Poverty Bay Herald*, 18 December, 1912.

she was never one to let a false claim go unchallenged. Additionally, Anna had become closely aligned with the militant suffragettes in the eyes of the New Zealand press during her years in England. By 1913, the more limited media coverage of the suffragettes centred on their sensational actions without any context and it was this that Anna felt compelled to refute.¹⁰⁸ On 25 September, 1913 she addressed a packed hall in Dunedin, with the Stout's long-time colleague, Downie Stewart in the chair as Mayor.¹⁰⁹ This particular address was well received as opposed to a speech in early August in Poverty Bay. The local paper, on that occasion, reported 'Lady Stout is suffering severely from the Pankhurst fever and apparently believes that everyone is similarly affected.'¹¹⁰ As in many cases where a person has a profound, personal experience and returns home, those nearest and dearest, not to mention the general public, cannot relate to the subject as deeply as the person themselves. Perhaps Anna's collection of British suffrage badges can serve as a small summary of the impact these years had on her. A central item in her personal papers, the twenty-one badges range as widely as did Anna's interests and involvement. To name just a few: the Church League for Women's Suffrage, Votes for Women (designed by Sylvia Pankhurst), A & NZ Women Voters, NUWSS, No Vote-No Tax, even one from the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Pride of place is taken by the 'Chairman' ribbon for the Hyde Park march on 23 July, 1910. There is one last, small badge that leaves a compelling question: JLWS, the Jewish League for Women Suffrage.¹¹¹ This league was formed in November 1912, when Anna was already on her way home. The League, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist by 1914.¹¹² How did this badge of a relatively obscure member of the family of suffragists come to be in Anna's possession? The answer, as noted above, is that Anna's involvement with the British suffragists did not end with her return to New Zealand. Anna undertook a vigorous public campaign in support of British suffrage in 1913 and indeed widened her scope of interests as a result of her experiences in England. The extent of the success of her campaign is examined elsewhere in this thesis. But it is clear that her heart and mind remained for several years firmly centred on the British movement and its participants who had, for three and half intense years, been the centre of her world.

¹⁰⁸ As early as 1911 Anna was defending the militant suffragettes by suggesting New Zealand and Australian women visiting England be invited to hear presentations by the WSPU to help dispel the false reports in the New Zealand and Australian media. *Otago Daily Times*, Anglo-Colonial Notes, 29 June, 1911.

¹⁰⁹ 'Women's Suffrage', *Otago Daily Times*, 26 September, 1913.

¹¹⁰ Untitled, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 12 August, 1913.

¹¹¹ Collection of suffragette badges, Anna Stout Papers, MS-0253, DU:HO.

¹¹² Anne Summers, 'Gender, Religion and an Immigrant Minority: Jewish women and the suffrage movement in Britain c 1900-1920', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 3, July 2012, pp. 405-06.

UNDERSTANDING ANNA

In her lifetime, Anna Paterson Stout was both a significant woman and a force for women. She represented all that the historian Beard and later Lerner argued for. Her focus was Women, in all their complexities and she consistently used her position, energy and intelligence to influence the arguments in favour of their equal development. Whether defending women voters to the British public, forming societies in New Zealand for their protection and development or establishing a scholarship at the University of Otago, her interest was always on the development of women. She knew she was helping to establish the infrastructure of a new country and she intended that it be both egalitarian and progressive. This was her life work. Additionally, this thesis has clearly demonstrated that Anna Stout was an active, political woman and not just the proponent of domestic well-being that has often been her description.

One of the fundamental questions asked at the beginning of this paper was why the work and life story of such a prominent New Zealand woman had not been told in more detail up to this point in time. It is not just an academic question. The answer potentially tells us much about the history of New Zealand women's history itself.

There has always been a mutual, even intimate relationship between women's history and contemporary political/social movement. They reflect and direct one another in a symbiotic relationship. At first glance, Anna's story did not fit into the politically motivated women's historiography of the 1970s, perhaps because at that time her life and work was not viewed as occurring in opposition to men, but rather in harmony with men. She was not radical enough. By the 1990s, a new generation of women historians were established in the universities. Built on the foundational work of their academic foremothers, they took as a given the inclusion of gendered perspectives in historiography. Gone was any overt male-female opposition paradigm and in its place was a deconstructionist, post-structural perspective. In this arena, Anna again does not figure highly, being viewed as one who worked within the 'traditional' role of supportive wife, and as something of an extension of her husband's ideology. Additionally, there was a renewed interest in the classic forms of women's history among general readership; a continued desire to hear the stories of women who had achieved great things.¹¹³ Again, in this regard, Anna does not fit neatly.

But if there is one thing women's history has taught us, it is the ability, even willingness, of the field to evolve. Now into the second decade of the twenty-first century, the field of women's history has matured further and is increasingly focused on seeking to understand women on their own terms, as they lived their lives in their time and space.¹¹⁴ This is a demanding task for the historian and calls for a high level of self-awareness from the historian herself. And once again this method reflects the interests and pressures of society itself as the gains of the early feminists become accepted societal norms. Now is the time to deepen the nature of enquiry and to understand *how* women worked not just *what* they did. It is in this developing climate that concepts such as transformational leadership,

¹¹³ Rachael Bell, *The Development of a Feminist Historiography in New Zealand, 1970-1999*.

¹¹⁴ The recent emphasis on transnationalism as a method of historical inquiry is one example of a deepening of understanding of how women interacted in their time and place. Examples include Bonnie S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings*, Margaret H. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy*, Kimberly Jensen and Erika Kuhlman (ed), *Women and Transnational Activism in Historical Perspective* and the combined works of Leila J. Rupp.

working closely with and beside cohorts rather than just measuring outcomes from a distance, becomes a valuable tool for understanding the nature and importance of the actions of activist women like Anna Stout.

Anna does not fit neatly into any one of the historical paradigms of women and for this reason, among others, her life is worthy of study. Although she was the wife of a prominent politician and lawyer, she did not limit herself to the supportive, social role typically favoured. Neither did she undertake voluntary work simply because it was the accepted norm for upper class women. Anna was highly political and she moved confidently in this arena. She was a lively woman, not timid or fearful of offending her contemporaries by expressing opinions in her own name; rather she was bold and confident, with a willingness to literally take the public stage. She consistently used the media to further her arguments. It would be far too simplistic to attribute all of this to Robert's influence or public role, although his support of Anna was undoubtedly a significant factor in her success. Somewhere along her life journey from Logan daughter to Lady Stout, Anna found her own voice and was not afraid of its sound.

Neither did Anna oppose men on principle, although she was not afraid to draw attention to what she perceived as their abuse of privilege when warranted. Rather, she consistently called for equal standards; a 'white life' for two. She advocated for better family, motherhood and marriage as a woman's natural sphere of influence, but understood many women may not have such an opportunity or may find themselves better suited for more independent roles. She consistently argued for women's right and opportunity to develop themselves so that they might find their own areas of expertise and contribute to society accordingly. Her message from 1914 would find a receptive audience in any meeting hall today.

Although considered a radical in her time, Anna was neither a self-centred exhibitionist nor revolutionary. A key example of this is her behaviour in England. Even though her sympathies clearly lay with the British suffragettes, Anna stopped short of participation in the public demonstrations of the WSPU. Anna possessed a clear understanding of the importance of image in the battle for hearts and minds. She consistently used her position and title to this end, as particularly evident in her Wellington At-Homes. She also understood the importance of personal example and deliberately sought to project the image of intelligence, grace and strength to reinforce her message of what the 'New Woman' should be.

Anna was heir to the progressive, enlightened ideology of the nineteenth century. She followed this to its logical egalitarian conclusion, calling for women to educate themselves on their social, moral and political obligations. Her perception that New Zealand women gained the vote too early and did not understand the responsibilities inherent in that freedom was one of her great disappointments. Anna also feared that rather than using their political equality to raise moral standards, women would lower themselves to the more base behaviour of men.

Anna's life runs parallel to the rapid development of New Zealand as a nation. From her childhood in Dunedin through to her marriage to Robert Stout, Anna personally knew, influenced and debated with the leading political figures of this foundational period. Men and women of note and public profile such as Kate Sheppard, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, Julius Vogel, John and Ellen Ballance, Governor George Grey, Richard Seddon and the numerous Governor-

Generals all came within Anna's sphere of influence. She actively sought to influence public debate by using her private and public influence.

Underpinning all that she did was her unwavering moral conviction that women and men had equal responsibility and should therefore have equal opportunity. This conviction and her own, ebullient personality led her into numerous, diverse and public efforts on behalf of women, making her a powerful figure of the women's movement of New Zealand and one worthy of our notice.

Otago Daily Times, 9 August, 1910, p. 2.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A GREAT PROCESSION.

UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, June 24.

Those New Zealand ladies who supported Lady Stout in the Suffragist march on Saturday from the Embankment to the Albert Hall have the satisfaction of knowing that they took part in one of the most remarkable demonstrations that the Metropolis has ever seen. The procession of 10,000 women, drawn from all ranks of life and from many lands, both by reason of its size and its organization, probably won for the cause far more supporters among the tens of thousands of spectators than the series of disorders in the previous history of the agitation. The procession was a striking proof of the strength and the reality of the demand for Women's Suffrage.

As a spectacle it was imposing and beautiful, and as a political event it was most significant. With a lovely summer's day there was a great display of summer costumes, white being the prevailing tone, while a picturesqueness was added to the scene by the bouquets of flowers which the processionists carried—composed always of flowers corresponding in colour to the colours of their respective union badges. Hundreds of banners were borne along, lettered with appropriate mottoes and sentiments, and 40 bands were interspersed among the sections.

The demonstration was a triumph of organisation. Each of the seven sections into which the procession was divided had its section marshal, distinguished by a green sash, and its captain with purple regalia. The purple, green, and white of the Women's Social and Political Union was to be seen everywhere, and the gold, white, and green of the Women's Freedom League was equally noticeable, another body making brave display with scarlet, white, and green. Many of the women

many, and green. Many of the women taking part had journeyed long distances. The contingent from Ireland travelled all night, while others came from Scotland and Wales, and all the principal towns of England sent representatives.

ON THE EMBANKMENT.

The huge stretch of the Embankment was occupied from end to end. From Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars the seven sections of the procession were grouped in rows of four, and they overflowed into Northumberland avenue and Queen Victoria street. By 6 o'clock the Embankment was impassable, and the work of marshalling would have become exceedingly difficult but for the fact that every detail had been carefully thought out. In supreme command was "General" Mrs Drummond, riding astride a splendid horse. She wore a green riding habit and carried a hunting crop. The Hon. Mrs Haverfield and Miss Vera Holmes, also riding astride, and tastefully habited in navy blue, accompanied Mrs Drummond. Miss Jessie Kenny was the chief marshal, and Miss Irene Dallas the chief banner marshal.

The New Zealand contingent, from 20 to 30 strong, assembled beneath Waterloo Bridge in company with the representatives from the Oversea Dominions and foreign countries. Lady Stout bore the flag of the Dominion, and walked with splendid spirit at the head of the section, two ladies carrying a banner with the words "New Zealand" worked in white on a blue background. Each lady wore a fern leaf. Immediately behind Lady Stout came three New Zealand medical graduates of Edinburgh University, wearing the gowns and hoods of doctors. These were Mrs Gibb (nee Aimee Mills), Dr Alice Burn, Dr Eva Meredith. Miss Christine Meredith was there as well, and Mr S. FitzHerbert walked part of the way. The following New Zealand ladies now in London signified their intention to join Lady Stout in the march, and the majority did so:—Miss Sturgess, Mrs J. M. Mason, Miss H. A. Dumolo, Miss Russell, Miss Jamison, Miss Ida Donner, Fraulein Kroger, Miss Poulter, Miss Hilda Nickson, the Misses Feldwick (3), Mrs Georgetti, Mrs and Miss Gray, Mrs E. H. Palm, Miss Ironside, Miss Graco Joel, Mrs Searle Grossman, Mrs W. N. Blair, Mrs and Miss Ostler, Mrs Ward, Mrs Rankine Brown, Mrs Kendall, Miss Dall, Mrs Chapple, Miss Chapple, and Mrs Cooper.

Mrs W. P. Reeves walked at the head of the Fabian Society, her daughter, Miss Beryl Reeves, forming one of the contingent of young musicians—prominent in this section, by the way, was one young lady wearing four silver and two bronze

THE PROCESSION.

With commendable punctuality the order to march was given at 6.30 p.m., and a squad of mounted police had to clear a passage through the dense crowd which filled Northumberland avenue. At the head rode Mrs Drummond; then came the colour-bearer, Miss Charlotte Marsh, who underwent forcible feeding in prison for three months. She preceded the Drum and Fife Band of the Women's Social and Political Union. The musicians, all ladies, wore their smart purple and green uniforms, and led off the musical pageant with the "Marseillaise." Immediately behind the band

came in the place of honour the 617 women who have undergone imprisonment, each bearing a silvered rod surmounted with a broad arrow, the badge of their suffering, and wearing a silver brooch representative of the prison gates. At their head was Mrs Pankhurst, Lady Constance Lytton, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Annie Kenney. Succeeding these section after section marched past in seemingly endless array. The university graduates, all clad in cap and gown, were marshalled under separate banners for medicine, science, arts, etc., and made an impressive show. There were many varieties of academic gown in scarlet, black, blue, brown, and other colours. University men in favour of suffrage for women formed a brave band, and came in fit great cheering.

Mrs Despart led the Women's Freedom League section. She carried a sheaf of white lilies, and bowed gracefully in acknowledging the plaudits of the multitude. Then there were nurses, chemists, County Council school teachers, shop girls, typists, milliners, dressmakers, sanitary inspectors, women civil servants, women gymnasts, sweated toilers from the East End, mill girls from Lancashire, and a goodly muster of actresses.

SOME DISTINGUISHED LADIES.

The representatives of the Actresses' Franchise League carried staves bound with roses and green foliage, and among them were—Miss Eva Moore, Miss Fanny Brough, Mrs Decima Moore, Miss Janette Steer, and Miss Winifred Mayo. In addition to the colonies, detachments came from France, America, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Italy, and practically every county of England had its banner; while Scotland, Ireland, and Wales provided evidences of how deep-seated is the movement in these countries. Afterwards came a seemingly endless stream of motor cars and carriages, all decorated with flowers and the colours of the various societies. Among the women eminent in some walk in life who were to be seen were—Lady Harberton, Lady Blomfield,

Lady Cockburn, Mrs George Bernard Shaw, Miss Beatrice Harraden, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Miss Evelyn Sharpe, Mrs Fenwick Miller, Miss Sinclair, Madame Liza Lehmann, Miss Esther Palliser, Miss Palgrave Turner, Madame Larkoom, Dr Garrett Anderson (Mayor of Aldoburgh), and Miss Dove (head mistress of Wycombe Abbey School). From a carriage in Pall Mall Miss Ellen Terry watched the procession for some time unrecognised, but when her identity was discovered someone called for "three cheers," and these were readily given.

It took exactly one hour and a-half for the procession to pass a given point. The route lay along Pall Mall, Piccadilly, and Kensington Gore to the Albert Hall, and the streets were packed with onlookers. The applause which greeted the different sections showed that the movement has won many sympathisers since the militant tactics were given up, and, in fact, the procession by itself was quite sufficient to convert the most ardent opponent of women's suffrage.

The one tableau in the procession was supplied by the girls' contingent, and was very striking. Clad in pure white, and wearing little shoulder capes and caps either of green or violet, the girls, ranging from 13 to 20 years, typified the devotion and thanks of the younger generation to those who had suffered in the cause of women. On a lorry drawn by two white horses sat Miss Mary Howey, in prison garb, the picturesquely-clad girls forming her bodyguard.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

The meeting in the Albert Hall was a great success. The huge building was packed from the arena to the topmost gallery. Over the platform was a great scroll with the inscription "God Befriend Us; Our Cause is Just." Proceedings were begun with the singing of the Women's Marseillaise.

Mrs Pankhurst, who preside, had a great ovation when she rose to speak, and when the cheering had subsided the audience rose and sang the men's song at such gatherings, 'He's a jolly good fellow,' putting it into the feminine gender. Mrs Pankhurst declared that the great demonstration in which they had taken part meant victory, and the bill now before the House must become law without delay. This must be the last demonstration of unfranchised women, and it was their duty to call upon the Government to conclude the agitation by passing the bill. She moved a resolution calling upon the Government to grant facilities for the passing of the bill this session, and the Earl of Lytton seconded the motion.

An extraordinary, yet not unusual scene at these meetings, followed. Mrs Pank-

£200,000 fund, which is being raised, and toward which £58,750 has been contributed. At the same time she announced that Mrs Hertha Ayrton, the distinguished scientist, would open the subscription with £1000. The words had no sooner fallen from her lips than Mr Pethick Lawrence, declaring "this is no time to deal in small sums," offered £1000, and thereafter cheques and promise cards continued to roll in for various amounts until the total, exclusive of the collection taken in boxes, had reached at least £5000.

The resolution proposed by Mr Parkhurst was carried with acclamation.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE PRINCIPALS.

Though the spectator often sees most of the game, the feelings and impressions of those who took part in the demonstration will more especially appeal to those who are interested in the movement.

Lady Stout says:—"As I was taking part in the demonstration I did not have the opportunity of seeing it, but perhaps my impressions of the effect of the procession on the crowds, and the reception that our New Zealand contingent received might be of interest. Mrs Rankine-Brown and I arrived at Waterloo Bridge, which was the New Zealand station, about 5.35 p.m., and found several New Zealanders there waiting for us, among them Mrs and Miss Ostler, Mrs W. N. Blair, and Mrs Grossman. A large blue banner with a red border and red-and-white fringe, inscribed

'New Zealand' in large white letters was carried by Miss Ostler and Miss Nixon, Mrs David Burn relieving Miss Ostler later on. I walked in front carrying a large New Zealand flag for about two and a-half miles, when I handed it over to Mr Sydney Fitz-Herbert, who had joined in and walked with our contingent. The most vivid impression one who walked in the procession must have was that London had been captured by the suffragettes, and that every man, woman, and child was deeply interested in the demonstration and its object. All along the route from the Embankment to the Albert Hall there was not one unkind remark or one sneering look thrown at us. I felt very proud indeed to be the bearer of our New Zealand flag, and to have it received everywhere with kindness and demonstrations of approval. Whenever our banner appeared men, women, and children clapped, cheered, and raised hats. When we passed the Ritz Hotel I noticed that many men looked amused at first, but the expressions of their faces changed to astonishment and interest, and none looked unfriendly. At the clubs and large hotels all the men were respectful, even the waiters seeming to be much impressed. We had many cheers from young men, who called, "Hurrah for the All Blacks," and "Kapai, New Zealand." Women looked quite excited and clapped warmly, waving handkerchiefs and smiling approval at the 'enfranchised women.'

"I should have been glad if Lord Curzon or Lord Cromer had seen the reception the New Zealand flag received from the soldiers at Knightsbridge Barracks. When our banner and flag was recognised cheer after cheer was raised and re-echoed all along the buildings. I felt very grateful and proud to realise that our flag was considered by the Empire's defenders as worthy of such a spontaneous tribute. I believe the soldiers understand that women stand for Empire, and that New Zealand and Australian women have proved their loyalty and devotion to the Motherland. People in 'buses, trams, taxi-cabs, and motor cars all received the procession with demonstrations of approval. A number of motor cars were ranged up on Piccadilly to watch the procession. In one case a lady told her little boy to salute our flag, which he did very nicely.

"Our warmest reception was from the clubs in Piccadilly. The men evidently had invited lady friends to view the procession, as the balconies and windows were crowded with men and women, who waved handkerchiefs and cheered most enthusiastically. My own club, the Lyceum, gave us a splendid reception. The third very marked recognition was at the corner of the Albert Hall, where we were greeted by shouts of 'The colonies!' 'The colonies!' and cheered as we made our way to the platform, where we gave up our banner and flags. Certainly Saturday's demonstration was a great surprise to me, and to us all. We have been so accustomed to hear the suffrage cause and the suffragettes spoken of with scorn and disrespect that when we found that London, from the humblest and poorest men and women to the members of the most fashionable clubs was in sympathy with the cause and its adherents, we were more than surprised at the folly of the politicians (one cannot call them statesmen), who think they can stem the tide of progress by tyrannous and coercive measures.

"One incident will show how kindly is the feeling among the poor. When I was standing holding my flagpole, the flag dipped in the dust, and two very ragged little boys came up and brushed the dust off with their hands. I would not have missed the experience for any consideration. I felt very glad and very proud to think that our dear New Zealand flag was recognised all along the three-mile route by thousands and thousands of the people of London, and that whenever it appeared it was honoured and cheered. Our reception also proved to me that the suffragettes are not misunderstood by the people who know their reasons for militant action.

"A cause which has inspired 617 women, most of whom are women of culture and refinement, and some of whom are of the bluest blood in all England, to undergo humiliation and imprisonment and tortures and cruelties unsurpassed in Russia must have an enduring basis and must secure a triumphant victory.

"To me the most touching and convincing evidence of the unselfishness and loyalty to womanhood of the suffragists is shown by the fact that all the 20 societies (militant and non-militant), Liberal and Conservative, have agreed to accept the Conciliation Bill, which excludes women of property and graduates of the universities. Working women, householders, the majority of whom are charwomen and factory workers, are to be enfranchised and will have the power to keep back the vote from the educated and wealthy women. I believe that the wonderful spirit of comradeship will prevail, and that when the working women have the vote they will use it to enfranchise the women who have so nobly fought the battle and suffered for the cause."

Mrs Searle Grossmann for whom this was the third demonstration of the kind, says: "I was a spectator of the first important demonstration—namely, the one to Exeter Hall three years and a-half ago, and what impressed me most on Saturday was the great growth of sympathy among the crowd. At the first procession they were as a whole jeering and sneering. Two years ago (the beautiful procession of our own National Union) the great mass showed sheer curiosity and apathy; small groups, however, were sympathetic, and cheered us. In last Saturday's procession the mass of the people were in sympathy with the suffragists. A large number were enthusiastically with us, especially young girls, young men, and old women. We were continually clapped and cheered all along the route from beginning to end by those in the streets and from crowded windows. Many men silently raised their hats as we passed. Many women who watched us silently did more than applaud, and were evidently longing to be with us, and many testified their sympathy in words or looks. There was very little jeering, but some good-humoured and friendly jesting. At points along the route we met an evidently perconcerted and rather mechanical burst of hisses; but the virulent and hysterical anti-suffragist feeling was suppressed. In the former procession one or two people here and there were quite furious—one woman was really raving—she had gone off her head with fury at the 'monsters' of suffragists and at what ought to be done to them. I met an Australian friend last Saturday, Mrs Miller ("Mary Gaunt"), who is not specially interested in the suffrage, but had been persuaded to go, and she said, 'Why, it was a triumphant march.' And so it was. The Territorials presented arms, the soldiers cheered from the barracks. Service clubs (I am told the National Liberals among them) cheered from their windows. The people were on our side. We have to thank Mr Asquith's opposition for spreading the movement far wider than it would ever have reached had he long ago passed a suffrage bill without first forcing us to rouse the masses."

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Mrs W. N. Blair said she took her place in the New Zealand contingent early, and saw only those around her who were very full of enthusiasm. "It seemed to me splendidly arranged and carried out in every detail. The kindly quiet sympathy of the immense crowds that lined the route—men raising their hats and cheering, and women clapping hands, also the crowded windows and balconies where hats waved and handkerchiefs fluttered, made one feel that we had thousands of well-wishers in that crowd who longed to see British women enfranchised. I believe the general impression in New Zealand of the suffragettes is that they are a class we should shun. I hope you will assure New Zealanders that they are some of the most cultured, refined, and noble women one can meet."

Mrs W. P. Reeves says: "My chief impression was that the crowd was more interested and more friendly and much larger than ever before. The procession filled every seat of the Albert Hall, which seats 10,000. As less than half the procession tried to get in, the numbers must have been above 20,000."

Mrs Rankine Brown, of Wellington, says: "What struck me most was:—(1) The size of the crowd looking on. (2) The superior class of person in the crowd. (3) The splendid reception given to the procession. There was not a suspicion of a jeer all along the three miles—every one in the crowd apparently was really interested and sympathetic. We noticed especially how respectful almost the men in the windows, on the balconies of clubs, and elsewhere along the route looked—they did not even seem amused. I, for one, quite expected a few hoots and sneers from the crowd, and I was astonished. If one happened to meet the eyes of a man standing alongside, as we passed, off came his hat! (4) The cheery way in which the New Zealand flag was hailed and especially the way the soldiers at Knightsbridge Barracks greeted us. All London seemed in sympathy. The day before I saw three little ragged boys with rough wooden boxes on wheels. They were hammering with stones notices of the procession on the sides of the boxes. I asked if they approved the suffragettes, and with one voice they said, 'Yes, we do; we sticks up for 'em!' I may say I came Home from New Zealand an anti-suffragette; four months in England have made me change my opinion."

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