In 1938, Virginia Woolf wrote in *Three Guineas*, constructing a verbal icon of increasingly powerful dictators in Europe: “It is the figure of a man; some say, others deny that he is Man himself, the quintessence of virility.”² The man pictured here with ties to both Mussolini and Hitler perhaps best exemplifies how the image of Man himself appeared to
Woolf’s own imagination. His face appears on a page in her *Reading Notes* scrapbooks clipped from a newspaper with no identifying information other than what is apparent—that it is a photograph from a newspaper clipping and that the caption identifies him as “Count Ciano in flying kit.” What history tells us about him, though, is that he is Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini’s son-in-law, married to his 19-year-old daughter, Edda, in 1930. Ciano, the son of an admiral, became a journalist and diplomat as well as an airman, serving as a bomber pilot in the Abyssinian war. Politically, he was connected with Mussolini’s offices for propaganda and became Foreign Minister in 1936. In this capacity, he negotiated the Axis agreements with Germany and favored Italian expansion into the Balkans. After Italian defeats in North Africa, however, he was dismissed from the Foreign Ministry and sent to the Vatican as ambassador. In July, 1943, he voted for the overthrow of Mussolini and left Italy for Germany, where he was blamed by Hitler for Mussolini’s downfall and sent back to Verona to face execution on January 11, 1944. Indeed, Woolf, dying in 1941, could not have known Ciano’s ultimate fate; but at the moment when he’s pictured in the newspaper, “flying high,” his image is in her scrapbooks because it serves, in my view, as an emblem of Woolf’s “quintessence of virility.”

Which brings me to the point of this talk—to explore the “quintessence of virility” with all its ramifications for the exclusion of women from public space and for its display of Empire as masculine spectacle in the newspaper and journal clippings which form a substantial part of Woolf’s *Reading Notes* for *Three Guineas*, the three volume scrapbooks housed in the University of Sussex library and entitled B16.f, vols 1, 2, and 3.

The clippings grow in importance and number against Woolf’s own handwritten notes and other documents contained in the scrapbooks through the course of the three volumes, from 25 in the 67 pages of Volume 1, to 48 in the 59 pages of Volume 2, to 54 in 65 pages of Volume 3. The clippings interest me for what they can tell us about Woolf working as a historian of contemporary culture, for they are the primary documents of her culture; and I mean to explore a selection of them here from two perspectives, structural and thematic. My emphasis in what follows will be on three elements of structure—a conjunction between image and text, a conscious arrangement by juxtaposition of
materials, and a selection of materials which exposes and works against the paper’s own bias—and on two themes—women’s uneasy inhabitation of public space coupled with a deconstruction of public spectacle to expose masculine vanity and ego as essential ingredients for war.

Woolf read no less than 4 - 6 newspapers a day, among them, mainstream, conservative newspapers, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*; leftist, labor-leaning papers like the *Manchester Guardian*; and more glitzy tabloids like the *Evening Standard*. For the purposes of her work, she tended to ignore headlines and major news stories, choosing instead letters to the editor, and back page or offbeat articles. These consciously selected fragments, when put together, could expose her society for what she believed it to be—as sexist, imperialist, and fascist as Germany or Italy. While amply provided with the discourse of patriarchal ideology in the major papers, Woolf could find means to resist the standard versions of contemporary history, by constructing contextual messages in the contiguous placement of articles and by clipping tiny articles that most other readers might have missed to demonstrate a point. To enhance her points, she focused on the visual image, the news photograph collected alone or as part of accompanying text, as an icon of the spectacle of masculine social organization of the public sphere, a sphere in which women were largely absent and the gendering of social space quite apparent.

While consciously clipping articles which take up the issue of women’s place (or lack thereof) in public space, Woolf was encountering evidence of masculine society as “spectacle,” suggesting what Guy Debord’s *The Society of the Spectacle* would later explore. Debord does not gender the spectacle as does Woolf, but his pronouncements on the spectacle replicate in large part what Woolf observes and tracks in her scrapbooks. Debord’s tenth thesis characterizes Woolf’s assumptions about British empire and spectacle and describes a situation which Woolf predicts in her use of the photograph as icon in *Three Guineas*:

Understood on its own terms, the spectacle proclaims the predominance of appearances and asserts that all human life, which is to say all social life, is mere appearance. But any critique capable of apprehending the spectacle’s essential character must expose it as a visible negation of life—and as a negation of life.
that has invented a visual form for itself” (Thesis 10). For Woolf, too, the spectacle negates, specifically the masculine spectacle of empire to which she is witness has a direct link to war: “Obviously the connection between dress and war is not far to seek; your finest clothes are those you wear as soldiers” (Three Guineas 39).

In Volume I of her Reading Notes scrapbooks, Woolf’s attention rests primarily on her investigation of the presence of women in public space, and she chooses articles which examine variations of this major theme.

“Whitehall Storm Over a Woman,” from the Evening Standard, April 8, 1932, records a mounting protest to the appointment of a woman, K. M. Walls, to the management of the Shoreditch Labour Exchange.
R. D. Cook, secretary to the Ministry of Labour Staff Association, told the *Evening Standard*, “We believe that she [Miss Walls] is fully competent, but we do not think it desirable that a woman should be appointed to the charge of a Labour Exchange which deals with a bigger percentage of men than women” (I : 15; LVIII, B.22). On the same page with this clipping Woolf pasted another in a related vein but from a paper dated two months earlier, on February 12, 1932. “Woman Appointed Librarian: Eleven Committee Members Resign.” Claiming that, despite the full qualification and experience of a woman appointed as branch librarian, “they wished a male librarian to occupy the office,” eleven members of the Wolver-hampton Art Gallery and Public Library Committee resigned in protest. Juxtaposition is not only a signal here to Woolf’s insights about the relationship between the messages of each article and their social commentary but also a window into Woolf’s practice of saving clippings until she had found the right space for them in her scrapbook.

“Equality of the Sexes Only a Myth” as a banner headline suggests a number of possibilities to the reader’s mind until she reads the subheading: “Wives the Law’s Favorites.” Authored by Judge McCleary, the article appeared in the February 17, 1932, issue of *The Daily Telegraph* (I: 30; LVIII, B.37).

The article purports that not only is there no equality between the sexes, but that, in fact, women, especially wives, fare better under...
the law. McCleary seems bothered by this fact, arguing that equal rights should entail equal obligations, but the situation he paints describes women now fully invested with the rights of men but not an equal share in the obligations. The central blurb indicates further that this article is, in part, a response to an earlier piece by H. G. Wells on women’s achievements since their recent emancipation. Although Woolf does not quote from or clip the earlier article by Wells, she does use Wells’s opinion of women as a prominent part of her argument in *Three Guineas*. Citing Wells’s *Experiment in Autobiography*, Woolf quotes: “Mr Wells says, ‘There has been no perceptible woman’s movement to resist the practical obliteration of their freedom by Fascists or Nazis’” (*Three Guineas* 43). It would appear, then, that, from Woolf’s point of view, Wells had little regard for women’s attentions to the responsibility to save the world that should go along with their newfound freedoms and equal rights, and the *Telegraph* by linking both male “authorities” and printing McCleary’s legal opinion as established, validated fact, makes its position on the issue obvious.

Linking image to text, “Does University Education Fit Modern Women for Life?” (see opposite page) raises the insidious issue of wasting higher education on women. Published on July 26, 1932, in the *Daily Telegraph*, Stanley Leathes comments upon women in education on the occasion of a conference for women university graduates from all over the world. The image displays women graduates in a proud procession on degree day at the University of Edinburgh, but the text suggests that women’s lives have been impoverished by the decline in marriages, thus access to university should be more restricted. Oddly enough, Leathes concludes that women students who do reach the university are, in general, superior to the average of men students. Is this Leathes’ nod to women, implying that, as always, they are superior to men and therefore don’t need a university education anyway?

In Volume 2 of the scrapbooks, we find that Woolf takes up once more the issue of women in public space. Many of the articles Woolf collected in this volume form the data and evidence for *Three Guineas*. Interestingly, a significant number of the clippings found here are letters to the editor, most frequently penned by men reacting against women’s apparent freedom, status, or presence in the workforce; hence, Woolf appears to be taking the pulse of a masculine backlash. The clincher of
Does University Education Fit Modern Women for Life?

By SIR STANLEY LEATHES

Women Graduates from Universities all over the world meet in Conference at Edinburgh to-morrow.

A circle of friends, a more extended outlook upon the world, both past and present, not to mention the specific knowledge they may have won, which may probably help them to win their livelihood in some profession, and may even help them to live well.

Women are not one whit more like men than they were fifty years ago, and it is safe to prophesy that fifty years from now any appreciation will be perceptible, and by that time the men will have changed also. And perhaps one may say, "Thank God and make the best of it."

The personal life of women has been so much improved — as it is our intent to assert — by the desire of marriage and of procreation, and by progressive social conditions, by the apparent breakdown of family life, by the apparent neglect of the sex, women are made to run as of right, has been dismantled.

The life of business and administration has been opened to them on an unequal basis, for many of which we may expect them to overcome by patient and progressive penetration. I do not doubt that women will ultimately have — their due proportion and by virtue of the gifts that are given to them and which are not less than men's.

A LARGER VISION

But, if women do not get all that the University sets out to provide, they may yet get something that is worth the expenditure of their own time and energy.

The men and women who must use University education, if they are fortunate enough to get it, for its own sake and incidentally to help them to become men fit for life.

Why this justifiable suspicion, modern women? I am, of course, aware that not only some modern young women, but also some modern young men, have put aside habits which Carlyle the Grammarian would not approve, and which would tend to go on, if not to continue — the smooth course of their studies.

This I could fail to be aware of, since some of the most gifted of the modern young men and women tell me all about it in their books, and in their statements, and in their plays. They surely must know, and they are too frank for a change of decorum to be pretended. On the other hand, they are too knowing, and too self-assured — these authors — to get much benefit from a University course, if indeed they are not already graduates.

The life of a woman has never been the same as the life of a man, and the sex — as a perfect, as it is, and its counterpart, modern, as supplied in my little, though it may point to changes in the frame of their life and in the current code of society, cannot alter the essential attributes of femininity.

WOMEN ARE SUPERIOR

Meanwhile there can be no room of understanding who would deny to women access to the open fountain of wisdom and knowledge, and for the propagation of further wisdom and knowledge, which exists in the Universities. There is hardly any defect in the Universities of the country of which I am not fully aware, and I declare that the Universities of the foreign countries have their own defects, but not less grave.

Our great mistake is that we use the Universities as a kind of high-school for the imperfectly educated, as a nursery for scholars, and as a source of livelihood for second-rate scholars who believe that they are first-rate scholars. I do not deny that we see access to success so full that what they would be does not make use of the benefits of their opportunities and turn them to the advantage of their own life, and the life of all around them.
such sentiment is a letter Woolf found in The Daily Telegraph, January 22, 1936: “‘I am certain I voice the opinion of thousands of young men when I say that if men were doing the work that thousands of young women are now doing the men would be able to keep those same women in decent homes. Homes are the real places of the women who are now compelling men to be idle. It is time the Government insisted upon employers giving work to more men, thus enabling them to marry the women they cannot now approach’” (II : 5, Three Guineas 51). Woolf uses this capstone quote in Three Guineas to underscore misogyny and adds: “There! There can be no doubt of the odour now. The cat is out of the bag; and it is a Tom” (Three Guineas 52). Indeed, “Tom” is another of Woolf’s images of male ego as the perpetrator of the spectacle which keeps women enslaved in private space while men bask in the glory of public recognition.

How much difference is there, Woolf seems to ask herself, between the opinions of these authors of letters to the editor and those more easily recognizable fascist views of Hitler? “Praise for Women: Their Part in the ‘Nazi Triumph,” a clipping from the September 13, 1936, issue of the Sunday Times, (II : 22; LIX, B.31), records a speech by Hitler to Nazi women instructing them about their proper place in the Nazi “nation of men”: “‘we will have no female hand-grenade-throwing squads in our country.’” Hitler’s famous statement regarding women’s sphere, one Woolf herself cites in Three Guineas (53), emerges in this report: “‘There are two worlds in the life of the nation, the world of men and the world of women.’” Hitler told the women, “‘Nature has done well to entrust the man with the care of his family and the nation. The woman’s world is, if she is happy in her family, her husband, her children, and her home.’” Hitler’s closing comments were sure to inflame Woolf’s sense of the complexity of women’s complicity in their own oppression: “‘While our enemies assert that women are tyrannically oppressed in Germany, I may reveal that without the devoted and steady collaboration of German women the Nazi movement would never have triumphed.’”

Five pages before the report of Hitler’s speech to Nazi women, Woolf pasted in “Women of To-Day and To-Morrow” by C. E. M. Joad” (see opposite page), which appeared in the January 12, 1934, issue of Everyman (II : 17; LIX, B.22). Aligning himself with fascist ideology, Joad keynotes his article with three citations from Nazis on
EXPOSING MASCULINE SPECTACLE

WOMEN OF TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By a Man—C. E. M. Joad

"The woman's task is to be beautiful and to bring children into the world"—Henri Gecezé (French National Emancipation and Propaganda in the Third Reich).

Women—our place is in the home, not over the counter or behind the bar. —GANDHI, GANDHI.

"A woman's duty is to be the three K's: Knowledge, kindness, and holykin. —Motherhood is undoubtedly the art of feminine education."—V. I. LENIN.

This passage is a reflection on the role of women in society, specifically from the perspective of a man. It discusses the idea that women are meant to be focused on beauty and family, rather than on public roles or professional careers. The author mentions the societal expectations placed on women, as well as the historical and cultural reasons why women have been excluded from certain professions and public positions.

The passage also references the work of Henri Gecezé, a French National Emancipation and Propaganda figure in the Third Reich, who is famous for his statement, "The woman's task is to be beautiful and to bring children into the world." This statement is criticized as being restrictive and limiting to women's roles.

The text also includes a quote from Mahatma Gandhi, who emphasizes the importance of women's duties being centered around knowledge, kindness, and holykin (a reference to Motherhood). The author, C. E. M. Joad, considers the idea that women are naturally suited to these roles and questions the validity of these assumptions.

In conclusion, the passage is critical of the traditional roles and expectations placed on women and suggests that there is a need for a reevaluation of these roles, particularly in light of modern social and economic changes. The author advocates for a more inclusive and equitable approach to gender roles and responsibilities.
women—Goebbels on women’s task of bearing children, Goering on women’s place in the home, and Hitler on women’s duty to children, church, and kitchen. Joad begins by questioning the seemingly reactionary postures of these three pronouncements but quickly moves to counter that position by reflecting upon the “modernity” and success of the young Nazi movement, commending it as the “most modern in the contemporary world.” Joad comments upon the apparent lowering of all the barriers to women’s equality but recognizes the reality of lack of access to the professions for women. It is a shame, Joad opines, that well-educated and intelligent women are reduced to accepting unfulfilling jobs at low wages. Joad insists that higher education for women “is from the utilitarian point of view a monster of false promise, giving women tastes and equipping them with capacities which there is no reasonable prospect that the world will permit them to use.” Joad is careful not to make a claim about women’s innate inferiority but rather about the world’s unwillingness to allow women to advance. In the face of such overwhelming obstacles, Joad concludes with his Nazi counterparts, “It may be better to be boss of one’s own home, however small, than to be everybody’s drudge in office or factory, better to look after a man’s comforts than to look after his correspondence, better to attend to children than to a card-index.” As a fitting accompaniment to the message, the article bears in its center a photograph as an illustration of an apronned woman stirring her pot, yet another example of Woolf’s interest in an ironic interplay between image and text.

Three pages beyond Joad’s article, we find, not surprisingly, two articles (see opposite page) pasted in conjunction with Count Ciano’s photograph. Ciano provides the image to accompany two intriguing articles. The one on the right, “A Nation of Men,” states clearly Hitler’s thirst for war: “‘He who wishes to disturb our peace will no longer fight a nation of pacifists but a nation of men.’” On the left, “The Thorn of Hatred,” counters Hitler’s speech with a report about a woman arrested for having said: “‘I and my husband are and remain German Nationalists; but as long as one does not cohabit with a Jew one can safely buy from him. The thorn of hatred has been driven deep enough into the people by the religious conflicts and it is high time that the men of to-day disappeared.’” By “men of to-day,” Frau Pommer clearly meant the Nazis, and it was enough for her to make even such a rather vague reference as
EXPOSING MASCULINE SPECTACLE

"THE THORN OF HATRED"

OUTSPoken ESSEN WOMAN ARRESTED
FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT
BERLIN, AUG. 11

Frau Pommer, the wife of a Prussian mines official at Essen, has been arrested and is to be tried on a charge of insulting and slandering the State and the Nazi movement.

Frau Pommer told the girl behind the counter of a confectioner's shop that if her favourite brand of chocolate was not in stock she would have to go to another shop which she mentioned. The girl replied, with some pertness, it may be imagined, that the other shop was "pure Jewish." Frau Pommer is then alleged to have said:

I and my husband are and remain German Nationalists; but as long as one does not cohabit with a Jew one can safely buy from him. The thorn of hatred has been driven deep enough into the people by the religious conflicts and it is high time that the men of to-day disappeared.

"A NATION OF MEN"

THE FÜHRER'S BOAST
SPEECH TO NAZI OLD GUARD
FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT
BERLIN, AUG. 11

Herr Hitler made an unexpected appearance and speech to-day at the celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Rosenheim branch of the National-Socialist Party, the second oldest in Germany. Addressing the assembled "old guard," Herr Hitler recalled his first speech in the town 15 years ago—15 years "filled with a wonderful struggle, such as had never before been waged for the heart and the soul of the German nation." In apparent reference to opponents at home, Herr Hitler said:

In battle we have won the German Reich, and in battle we shall maintain and guard it. Those who are against us need not deceive themselves. We have never shirked from the combat. If they want it they can have it. We shall crush them in such a way that they will abandon for the next 14 years all idea of continuing the struggle.

Recalling "the heavy trials of the movement in the last 15 years," Herr Hitler said:

If fate is to put it to the test again, we should be really hardened by the hammer-blow of Providence. The years since 1918 have taught us: "Woe to the people which is unprepared to take its liberty and independence under its own protection." Nobody will deny that in the last two and a half years Germany has attained a different position in the world. I am convinced that nobody in the world can attack our Reich again. We want peace and reconstruction, but just as we want peace so the other nations ought to want peace. He who wishes to disturb our peace will no longer fight against a nation of pacifists but against a nation of men. This fact alone will contribute more to peace than all the speeches.
this to be thrown in jail.

Masculine spectacle continues to be for Woolf a very suggestive theme in the third volume of the scrapbooks, but seems to serve here as backdrop to her foregrounded concern with women in public space. For example, in “Mr. Baldwin’s Last Speech as Prime Minister,” Woolf read from *The Daily Telegraph* of May 25, 1937, that Baldwin made his last speech “[b]efore one of the most brilliant and distinguished gatherings of Empire representatives ever assembled” (III: 7; LX, B.14). So her attention would have been captured by the imaginary image of that spectacle, but she could not have failed to notice the last section, subtitled “Never Guided by Logic,” where Baldwin claims, “One reason why our people are flourishing and alive is because we have never been guided by logic in anything we have done.” Surely Woolf’s funny bone must have been struck by such a ridiculous conclusion to a speech which upholds the splendor of the Commonwealth as “the greatest political experiment yet tried in the world—an experiment which may mean much to mankind, the failure of which may mean disaster.”

But Woolf was not interested in the photo of Baldwin at No. 10 Downing Street which accompanied the article about his last speech, tearing through its middle, while another article, “The Lord Mayor’s Show” from *The Times*, annotated November 10, 1937, may have
interested Woolf most for its photograph.

The photo depicts an aerial shot of the Lord Mayor’s coach passing through Moorgate and certainly suggests a connection to Woolf’s photos of the heavily adorned general and heralds included in *Three Guineas*. The text of the article, too, supports the pageantry, what it calls the “tableaux” of empire to welcome in the new Lord Mayor of London with “all the pomp, humour, and honest commercial symbolism of the Lord Mayor’s Show” (III : 61; LX, B.80). The procession described seems to have included representatives from cavalry, infantry, and artillery, as well as exhibits of trade and produce and representatives from the dominions, so the article clearly supports a conclusion later argued by Debord about social spectacle:

> The growth of the dictatorship of modern economic production is both extensive and intensive in character. In the least industrialized regions its presence is already felt in the form of imperialist domination by those areas that lead the world in productivity (Thesis 42).

Indeed, a section of the article entitled “Empire Exhibits” reports that the African possessions provided the most impressive exhibits for the festivities and offers a view of British Empire that shocks us today with its callousness: “Southern Rhodesia provided a miniature field dotted symbolically with tobacco plants and worked by cheerful natives under a white overseer.”

War, in its connection to masculine spectacle, is a focus of the clippings in the third volume; indeed, in *Three Guineas*, Woolf invites women to gaze upon a masculine spectacle inextricably linked to militarism. “Smarter walking dress” for soldiers is the theme of one article, dated December 14,1937, from the *Daily Telegraph*, which underscores the supreme importance of dress for ceremonial duty and “walking out” (III : 47). “The problem of finding a suitable working dress has engaged the attention of experts for the past 10 years,” the article reports, alluding to the years of study and experiment that were spent on delivering a “more distinctive, better fitting and smarter uniform.” It’s curious that the *Telegraph* seems to have no problem with such misplaced attention and expenditure. Placed in juxtaposition with “New Uniforms” is “Life in Modern Germany,” an article for the December 16, 1937, issue of the *Times*, which naively recounts a talk given by E. Woermann, Counsellor
of the German Embassy, on the state of present-day Germany. In his remarks, Woermann upheld Germany’s nationalism while denying its lack of international cooperation and its status as a dictatorship, arguing that instead of re-arming, Germany was putting its people back to work. Clearly designed to quell concerns about growing militarism, Woermann’s Hitlerian party line was fed to an audience at the Royal United Service Institution. What must have caught Woolf’s eye, the subtitle “Status of Women,” continues Woermann’s disclaimers about the true status of women in Germany, an issue about which Woolf had read widely from accounts sharply different from that given by Woermann. In the final section of the article, Woermann denies women’s inequality in Germany;
insisting instead:

In some foreign countries fantastic ideas were current about the position of women in Germany to-day. Nothing could be more ridiculous and stupid than the assertion that National Socialism looked on women only as breeding machines. There were millions of German women working in all kinds of professions. To believe that a woman’s principal work was family life and bringing up the young generation was simply to return to natural and eternal law.

Unfair treatment of women in the workplace, largely unreported by the press, is the subject of a lengthy letter to the editor of The Spectator with which I’ll close. Entitling her letter “A Conspiracy of Silence,”
Philippa Strachey decries the fact that events which “one would have supposed to be of sufficient interest to be recorded in the daily Press” have not been. The issue before Strachey is that of differential income limits for men and women workers introduced in a new Contributory Pensions Bill, a bill that was before the House of Lords where, despite strong opposition, it was passing by a slim margin. Strachey is appalled that the events have been “passed over in complete silence from The Times to the Daily Herald.” “What,” Strachey asks, “could be the explanation of this conspiracy of silence?” “It is clearly not fair to the women readers, who are deprived of all information on a matter of vital concern to them.” “Is it fair,” Strachey continues, “that the public in general should be led to imagine that legislation which differentiates on sex lines can be imposed with such ease?” “It would surely be wise,” she concludes, “to face the fact that the women of this country who share the burden of the community cannot much longer be treated by Governments as a class whose economic interests can safely be ignored” (III, 14). Philippa Strachey is best known as a political activist who organized the first major march in London for Women’s Suffrage in 1907, the “Mud March.” For years she was Secretary of the London-National Society for Women’s Service and founded its library, now known as the Fawcett Library. It was Strachey who invited Woolf to give the address to the Society which would become the foundation for Three Guineas. Once Three Guineas was out and being reviewed in the press, Woolf recorded in her diary for June 11, 1938, her “prime relief” at Philippa’s (Pippa’s) approval.

The last clippings Woolf pasted in her scrapbooks are dated December 20, 1937; the scrapbooks were finished, their purpose complete. From late 1936 throughout 1937, Woolf was at work on Three Guineas, substantially finishing it in October of 1937, but continuing to revise it in late 1937 and early 1938 to substantiate her claims by adding citations from the clippings. By June, 1938, Three Guineas was in print; what it had to say was unpopular and largely unheeded. But Woolf never relinquished her hold on the discovery she had laid bare, writing in her diary of Three Guineas (and by extension the clippings scrapbooks which fed it) that: “the book which was like a spine to me all last summer . . . remains, morally, a spine: the thing I wished to say, though futile.”
Notes

1. The man in the photograph is identified by the subtitle “Count Ciano in flying kit.” Woolf clipped only this photograph and left no identifying remarks, including it on page 20 of her scrapbooks, *Monks House Papers* B16.f, Vol. 2.

2. *Three Guineas* (1938 San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1966) 142. All future quotations from this work will be taken from this edition unless otherwise specified and will be identified by title and page number in parenthetical citation.


4. All quotations from the Reading Notes, Monks House Papers B.16f, volumes 1, 2, and 3, will be cited by indicating the volume and page number in the scrapbooks as well as the volume and item number assigned to it in Brenda Silver’s invaluable guide *Virginia Woolf’s Reading Notebooks* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983).

5. See *Three Guineas*, note 13, 161, for Woolf’s identification of newspaper source and date.

6. This letter to the editor, signed “Out of Work,” appears at the bottom of Woolf’s clipping, including the lines in which the writer states that “thousands of young women are now doing” the work that thousands of young men should be doing to support them. Although Woolf cites the entire clipping in *Three Guineas* (p. 5), for some reason she did not include the entire clipping on her scrapbook page, cutting it off at the fifth of 12 lines.