

## **Urban Legend or Not: The Questionable Circumstances Surrounding the Death of a President in 1920s-era San Francisco by Monika Trobits**

*Preface.* Often there's a national version of events and then there's the local version. Historically, it wasn't unusual for information about various presidents and first ladies to be whitewashed to improve their respective images, particularly following their deaths. In this article it's the local version of events that I'm addressing and exploring. There are more than a few questionable "facts" interspersed with established facts connected with the Hardings' visit to San Francisco in 1923. These questionable "facts" may or may not be true but nonetheless, almost a century later, deserve some reconsideration, especially when we're living in a very different era of disclosure versus that of the early 1920s.

### Part I:

In December 1917, the US Congress submitted to the states for ratification a constitutional amendment for nationwide prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverages. By 1919, the required number of states had ratified the proposed 18th amendment. In October 1919, Congress passed the National Prohibition Act (also known as the Volstead Act) implementing the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution.

When Prohibition officially began on January 16, 1920, the owners of the House of Shields bar on New Montgomery Street in San Francisco realized they had to relocate in order to continue doing business, albeit unlawfully. The bar (established in 1908 or 1912) moved from its street-level location in the Sharon Building down to the building's basement where it continued operating as a speakeasy. Across New Montgomery was the Palace Hotel.

The House of Shields actually began as the Grand Buffet and had moved into the just-completed Sharon Building in 1912. In the 1920s a man by the name of Eddie Shields bought into the business, renaming it for himself. Now, why would someone buy a bar during Prohibition, not knowing at the time when, or even if, it would end? It turned out that Mr. Shields was a successful bootlegger who "imported" alcohol up the California coast from Mexico during the Prohibition years. Ships outside the three-mile coastal zone were exempt from the law, a technicality exploited by many, including Eddie Shields. In the Bay Area, alcohol was frequently offloaded down in Half Moon Bay, a very popular site for that sort of activity in the 1920s. Much of it was then surreptitiously shipped up to San Francisco, where Prohibition was widely flouted.

Decades earlier, in 1849, the Old Poodle Dog restaurant had opened at Washington and Dupont Streets (later, Grant Avenue). The origin of its colloquial moniker are uncertain, but is thought to stem from its formal French name, "Le Poulet d'Or." If so, it was quickly renamed by gold-rush-era miners as the "Poodle Dog," since most locals apparently couldn't pronounce the proper French.

The restaurant moved to Bush Street in 1868, officially renaming itself the Old Poodle Dog. When that location was lost in the calamity of the 1906 earthquake and fire, operations temporarily moved to Eddy Street, eventually returning to Bush Street near Claude Lane. Then came a man-made adversity: Prohibition.

– *Continued on back page*

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Declaring that French cuisine couldn't possibly be served without first-rate French wines, the restaurant closed its doors in April 1922. Upon further reflection, however, the owners decided to reopen, this time south of Market Street. The Old Poodle Dog's new home was in the House of Shields' former ground-level storefront on New Montgomery Street, above the speakeasy downstairs. The following year, the Hardings came to town.

Warren and Florence Harding were both from Ohio. In 1880 at age 19, a pregnant Florence ran off with her neighbor, Henry De Wolfe, the black sheep of his family and a budding alcoholic. Following the birth of a son named Marshall, Henry, who never officially married Florence, abandoned both. She returned to her hometown of Marion, where her wealthy but tyrannical father refused to take in Florence and Marshall. She found a room in a local boardinghouse and, falling back on her musical training, survived as a single mother teaching piano.

Warren Harding moved to Marion in the mid-1880s and became the owner of the *Marion Star* newspaper. He was known as an amiable rake who suffered from high anxiety, insomnia and stomach issues. Nonetheless, Florence avidly pursued the five-years-younger Warren. Both were the subject of local, small-town gossip. Florence was suspected of being part Jewish and Warren was rumored to have a strain of African blood. They were married in July 1891. Florence lied on the marriage license, making herself two years younger than Warren. (Henry De Wolfe would die of alcoholism and tuberculosis in 1894. When Florence became the First Lady in 1921, she told reporters that she had been a widow when she married Warren.)

During the summer of 1923, now-President Warren Harding and his wife, Florence, also known as "the Duchess" for her imperious manner, were on an extended visit of the western United States. They were escaping DC's oppressive summer heat and the scandals that beleaguered the Harding presidency. From the beginning of this journey, which the president called the "Voyage of Understanding," he appeared to be plagued by cardiac-related issues. San Francisco was one of their stops and it would turn out to be Mr. Harding's last.

*(Part II follows in the fall Newsletter)*

**Institute for Historical Study**

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# PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE

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As I indicated in the last issue, the Institute board wanted to make our website more adaptable to cellphones and tablets. We are very grateful to our newish webmaster, Jim Gasperini, for plunging into this project and doing his best to replicate the general design of the old site. Complications included needing to change to a different WordPress theme and find some new plugins. He also switched us over from Bluehost to Siteground. We are still working out a few kinks, including that the shortcut “tihs.org” has been temporarily out of commission. If you are not yet included on the Member Profiles page of the website or would like your listing updated, please write to Jim (jim.gasperini@gmail.com).

I hope all of you are receiving our intermittent emails marked [TIHS], sometimes announcing our activities and sometimes other history-related news, announcements and inquiries. If you haven’t been getting them, please sign yourself up (<https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/tihs>).

I think most (if not all) of you will agree that it’s a shame the San Francisco School Board has voted to paint over the Victor Arnautoff WPA murals at George Washington High School. The fight doesn’t seem to be over yet; an open letter from nearly 400 academics, artists, and activists across the US and beyond went to the board on July 5th, and Carl Nolte wrote a strong piece in the July 7th *San Francisco Chronicle* asking how far this trend of trying to erase unpalatable history might go. In itself, the idea of spending up to \$600,000 to establish the legal right to destroy this art and have the work done seems ridiculous.

Here is one paragraph from the open letter:

“Let’s set aside the question of the voices calling for the murals’ destruction and their authority to speak for the communities they claim as their own. What remains is a mistake in the way we react to historical works of art—ignoring their meaning in favor of our feelings about them—and a mistake in the way we treat historical works of art—using them as tools for managing feelings, rather than as objects of interpretation. Let’s stand up for the integrity of art as well as for historical interpretation, and for a shared analysis of the political reality of the United States in the past and the present.”

Want to discuss this in our Google Group? How do you feel about Confederate monuments?

– *Ann Harlow*

## NEWSLETTER EDITOR

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## MONTHLY PROGRAMS

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### “Pioneers to the Present: The Jews of Richmond and Contra Costa County”

The sun evaporated the dicey clouds on Sunday afternoon May 19, 2019 at the Richmond Museum of History where **Oliver Pollak** presented his talk. He began by posing a conversation between two histories: the Jews in Contra Costa County and The Institute for Historical Study seen through 1,500 *Newsletter* pages. His focus was the works of two passionate independent scholars, William Tornheim, an Antioch children’s clothing store owner, and Bernard I. Freedman, a State Compensation Insurance Fund administrator. Tornheim born in Chicago and Freedman born in Brooklyn came to California in the 1940s and died respectively in 1996 at the age of 87 and 2017 at the age of 99. Their writings have contributed to an understanding of Jewish Contra Costa County settlement from the early 1850s to the turn of the century, a theme carried out in the museum’s just-finished exhibit “Pioneers to the Present: Jews of Richmond and Contra Costa County.”

Tornheim and Freedman, without scholarly affiliations, grants, internet, or colleagues, methodically produced impressive accounts of Contra Costa Jewish life in the last half of the 19th century by mining newspapers and court records. In 1993 Freedman self-published his 119-page *Pioneer Jews in California’s Contra Costa County*. He also wrote about youthful games, Portuguese and African American settlers, and aviation, and created lists of Contra Costa obituaries. Starting his project as early as 1965, Tornheim published “Pioneer Jews of Contra Costa County” in *Western States Jewish History* in 1983. Among his papers is Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 1943) of the United Service Organizations (USO) Jewish Welfare Board’s newsletter *Reflector*, which invited its readers to a Passover Seder in the mess hall at Camp Stoneman in Pittsburg. Stoneman, the major

West Coast base for the war in the Pacific, shipped out and demobilized as many as 2,500 Jews per month. It is this Passover edition that Oliver calls a “dead sea scroll,” since it describes the first organized Jewish observance in the county. Tornheim headed the Army and Navy Committee as well as the religious school, 1942-1945, at Camp Stoneman.

Many servicemen found California attractive and settled in Contra Costa County, establishing businesses as well as synagogues, temples, Jewish Community Centers and cemeteries. By the 1980s there were temples and synagogues in Richmond, Lafayette, Walnut Creek, Danville, and Brentwood, as well as three Jewish cemeteries. Although 19th-century San Francisco and Oakland entrepreneurs and retail merchants established fraternal organizations like B’nai B’rith, Contra Costa Jews preferred joining the Masonry. In fact William Tornheim served his Antioch Lodge as education program director from 1960 to 1970.

Oliver is busy trying to uncover more history about the lives of Jews in the area. As well as poring through the Tornheim collection at the Bancroft Library, a precious linear foot, which contains 19th-century lawsuits, research notes, and personal papers, he is crisscrossing the county to find people and documents that will reveal more information. He has discovered that the Institute’s *Newsletter* also provides information: member Ava F. Kahn wrote *Jewish Voices of the California Gold Rush, A Documentary History, 1849-1880* (2002), but did not mention Contra Costa County. Oliver concluded that Contra Costa Jews arriving as early as the 1850s did not leave an institutional impression until the 1940s, when their numbers increased and transportation improved.

A lively discussion followed the talk. One issue, since travel to San Francisco was difficult, was where this county’s Jews might have gathered for ritual observances. **Oscar Berland** reminded

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us that Jewish denominations or branches—Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist—should include atheism. The exhibit itself, using photos, ads, postcards, and letters, provided a good deal of information, for example, about important Jewish entrepreneurs and Jews in the Kaiser shipyards. I particularly enjoyed the cookbooks on display which showed one of the functions of the Sisterhoods. I also enjoyed the food after the talk—unfermented grape juice, which accompanied Karen Pollak’s *komish broit*, mandelbread without almonds, known in America by its Italian name biscotti.

I had never visited this lovely museum with exhibits featuring Richmond’s history. You might make the trip to it by traveling along MacDonald Avenue (and turning right at 4th Street and right again at Nevin) from the freeway. MacDonald Avenue was the street along which many of the Jewish-owned retail stores once thrived.

– *Lyn Reese*

### “Jenny in the World”

On Sunday, June 16, 2019, at the home of Georgia Wright, **Bonda Lewis** presented a work in progress, third part of an historical fiction trilogy. The previous two novels describe how Jenny Markov, then 13, and her brother Will, age 10, were taken by the Children’s Aid Society from New York City to rural Nebraska. Will finds a family of farmers who adopt him, and Jenny becomes part of a family in which the wife is much involved with the women’s suffrage movement. Jenny participates in her activities.

In this third part, Jenny, now a high school graduate, returns to the East Coast, going first to Cameron House in Washington, D.C. during the summer of 1916 (returning later for the summer of 1917), then taking up a scholarship at

Barnard College. Cameron House or “Little White House,” was the headquarters of the National Women’s Party.

Bonda gave a lively presentation of her research for the novel, disclosing the multiple topics she needed to explore, many areas unfamiliar to her: various aspects of adolescent girls’ lives, accounts of individuals in the period (Alice Paul, Sara Bard Field, Alva Vanderbilt Belmont for example), life in a woman’s college in early 20th-century New York City (registration, student guidelines, laundry). Jenny and her new roommate, Caroline Beech, live in Brooks Hall.

The novel also examines the World War I political atmosphere, including President Woodrow Wilson’s views of suffrage and the buildup to the United States’ entry into the war, as well as Jenny’s work in controversial birth control clinics.

For this presentation Bonda placed particular emphasis on the sources and places involved in her necessary research and the serendipity of finding answers to questions she hadn’t thought of. She read several scenes from her current work. The audience participated with numerous questions and observations and a lively discussion followed.

–*Nancy Zinn*

### Play Readers

Our most recent venture was reading aloud and discussing Christopher Fry’s 1961 play *Curtmantle* about Henry II, the first Plantagenet monarch and founder of a dynasty that lasted for more than 300 years. Some of us had read or seen other plays about Henry II—notably *Becket* (1959) by Jean Anouilh and *The Lion in Winter* (1966) by James Goldman, both of which were made into popular movies. Fry, a lover of

English history, presents us with a more inclusive portrait of Henry, whose cognomen, “Curtmantle,” derived from the plain, short cloak that he wore.

Henry ascended the throne in 1154, reigned for 35 years, and was married to the powerful Eleanor of Aquitaine, who bore him five sons and three daughters and outlived him. His aim, as king, was to restore order and undo the damage done by his predecessors. He raised taxes from landholders and attempted to revive royal justice, laying the foundations of the modern English jury system. He should be thought of as a European ruler rather than an English king, for his empire at its height included not only all of England and part of Ireland but an enormous portion of France, as far south as the Pyrenees.

Like other plays about Henry II, *Curtmantle* deals with the conflict that arose when Henry appointed Thomas Becket to the position of Archbishop of Canterbury. Fry sees Henry as a strong king, forging a new order for England as Becket strives to maintain the will of God and the laws and dignity of the Church. Despite his many achievements, Henry is most remembered for the assassination of Becket, in which a majority of historians (and Fry) do not consider him directly complicit.

*Curtmantle* differs from other plays in that it deals with the Henry’s entire reign. Act I covers the years from 1158 to 1163, establishing his dedication to reform. Act II covers the years from 1163 to 1170, ending with news of the death of Becket. Act III covers the years of 1170 to 1189, a huge swath of time that ends with Henry’s death and includes the imprisonment of his wife Eleanor and the rising of his sons against him.

How did Fry contain such a sweeping story in a play that can be performed in a few hours? He employed what are sometimes called

“Brechtian” devices, after the modern German playwright Bertolt Brecht. They include direct address to the audience, simple scenery and movement, lighting changes, and actors who serve as choruses. Fry also used the historical figure of William Marshall to usher audiences quickly through time. The result is a play that is fast moving, with strong conflicts and characterizations. Our reading flowed. We enjoyed, and learned from, the experience.

We now have a regular meeting time: the third Tuesday of the month. New members are always welcome. Our next reading will be Alan Bennett’s *The Madness of George III*. For more information, contact Joanne Lafler.

—*Edith Piness and Joanne Lafler*

### Writers Group

We held meetings in April and June. The May meeting was cancelled because of Mothers' Day. In April the group met at the home of Rob and Cathy Robbins to discuss a chapter of Cathy’s work “A Torrid Splendor: Finding Calabria,” a complex mixture of the region’s history, contemporary politics and culture, and family story. The group was large and the discussion spirited. Much attention was focused on the historical section and important other matters such as the intended readership. There was general agreement that the research was solid, but questions were raised about the amount of detail and the ways in which Cathy’s family story might be blended with the larger historical account.

In June the group met at the home of Jim Gasperini to discuss a section of his work on the cultural history of fire (“A Fire in the Mind”) entitled “Fiery Beginnings/Fiery Endings.” The section being discussed concerned the various ways in which mankind had conceived of the

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fiery ends of either individuals or humanity itself. There was great satisfaction with the draft, a considerable improvement over an earlier presentation. The group pressed Jim to clearly define his audience and to perhaps himself assume the role of a “Virgil” leading his readers through the various “infernos” his story presents.

–*Rob Robbins*

### In Memoriam: Harry C. Meserve

The Institute has a core of members who quietly pay their yearly dues but don’t participate in our activities, often because of living too far away. Such was the case with **Harry Meserve**, associate librarian (emeritus), San Jose State University, and ABD in history, UCLA, who lived in Capitola. In mid-November 2017 when I was listening to KPFA news, I heard mention of Harry’s name, and then he began talking about the demonstration in Santa Cruz around the original meaning of Armistice Day. I immediately contacted him to write an article for the Institute *Newsletter*. He wrote back with enthusiasm (see below). Harry must have received his diagnosis of renal cell carcinoma shortly after our “conversation” because he did not reply to my subsequent notes nor write his article. He died December 11, 2018. Thanks to **Oliver Pollak** for discovering this sad information.) In lieu of the article here is his letter of November 18, 2017. – *Ed.*

“Thanks so much for getting in touch. I would love to write something for the newsletter. I love to write and this is an idea very close to my heart as a veteran and an historian (UCLA 1965-1972). I have often thought about writing something for the Institute, but I have found it hard to make the meetings from down here in the hinterlands.

“This topic is very important because nowadays we (in the US at least) accept the idea that war is the natural way of things, and we have not felt the depth and power of war as have most of the peoples of the world.

“I am already thinking about what I would want to say about this profound shift. I just found a US coin this morning, a fifty-cent piece from 1934 on which the theme of Peace was prominent.

“I seem to be much more able to ‘work to deadline,’ so I will accept your kind offer. My academic background is in African History (especially Southern Africa) and African American History and (more recently) the history of the Veterans peace movement. Lots of topics there, but I will concentrate on Veterans Day and Armistice Day.

“The short version is that when the great powers decided to end the ‘Great War,’ they decided on one time—the eleventh minute of the eleventh hour of the eleventh month in 1918—when all hostilities were to stop. In that sense, it is a celebration of peace worldwide. Moving to ‘Veterans Day’ on the same day as the Armistice puts a different cast on things—if you celebrate veterans in general, it seems to me that you are accepting war. One of the things I like to say (for Veterans for Peace) is that our goal is to have a ‘world without veterans.’

“I’ll leave that and again thank you for your note. If you think there will be a deadline, let me know.

Peace, Harry Meserve

“P.S. I will try to make the next meeting of IHS so I can meet you.”

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### **Welcome to Our Newest Members: Elise Ackerman, Kevin Knauss, Pam Peirce, and Anne Schnobelen**

**Elise Ackerman** was a newspaper and magazine journalist for most of her career, working as a staff writer and reporter for *U.S. News & World Report*, the *San Jose Mercury News*, and the Knight Ridder organization. Following the decimation of the news media, she left newspaper journalism to pursue a career as a copywriter and nonfiction author. For the last five years, she has been working on a nonfiction book “about the first great tech race featuring three of the world’s greatest inventors—Thomas Edison, Nikola Tesla, and Guglielmo Marconi—and their obsession to harness the fundamental force holding our world together.”

**Kevin Knauss** describes himself as “a novice historian, pursuing my research on the Gold Rush legacy around Sacramento and the American River. Most of my historical pieces are posted to my website\* along with pertinent maps, documents, and photos. I am currently in the final stages of my second book, ‘B. N. Bugbey, Sacramento’s Last 49er Pioneer.’ Bugbey lived a colorful and eventful life in the Sacramento region. He went from a relatively successful vintner and land owner, to a progressive socialist calling for radical land reform in the 1890s.”

\*<https://insuremekevin.com/category/kevin-knauss/history-2/>

**Pam Peirce** is writing a biography of Katharine Gibson (1893-1960), a “New Woman,” whose still-read pseudonymous memoir of four years in a mental asylum and subsequent recovery has never been connected to her successful and unconventional life as a museum art educator and author of books for children. Among Pam’s publications are *Golden Gate Gardening* (3rd edition, Sasquatch Books, 2010) and an essay, “A Personal History of the People’s Food

System,” about her perceptions of an alternative food movement in the 1970s, in *Ten Years that Shook the City* (City Lights Press, 2010).

**Anne Schnobelen** writes: “After receiving a master’s degree in English from Brown University and a stint teaching freshman comp, I did not pursue a teaching career. In 1989 I fell in love with Treasure Island and its history, and since that time have been researching, writing, and giving presentations about the Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939-1940 (GGIE). I have served as an officer on the board of directors of the Treasure Island Museum since 1989. My title is ‘Vice President and Historian.’ I serve in many capacities at the museum, including co-managing our ‘Little Island, Big Ideas’ lecture series.”

### **Members’ Recent Activities**

In October **Peter Stansky** and his co-author Fred Leventhal are publishing with the Oxford University Press *Leonard Woolf: Bloomsbury Socialist*. In April, Peter published an “Afterword” to Elisabeth de Waal’s *Milton Place* (Persephone Books), a novel written shortly after the war but hitherto unpublished. “It came to light through a meeting I had with her grandson, Edmund de Waal, author of the highly regarded memoir, *The Hare with Amber Eyes*.”

**Christopher L. Webber** has just published *Christian Psalms for Worship and Prayer*. “The traditional psalms written between two and three thousand years ago are an irreplaceable treasure,” Christopher writes, “but they can create problems for modern users. They come from an age unimaginably different from ours and take for granted patterns of life unfamiliar to most of us. To supplement, not replace, these psalms, I have taken passages from the writings of some of the greatest Christian teachers of every era, for example, St. Augustine, Julian of Norwich, Dorothy Day, Mother Teresa, and

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restructured them in the poetic style of the Biblical psalms which rhyme ideas, rather than sounds, to provide texts that can be used either in formal worship or in private meditation.”

In May, as part of the series of talks for the Supporters of the Museum of Russian Culture, **Maria Sakovich** presented “Russian Choral Music in San Francisco in the 1920s and 1930s: Cultural Riches and Cultural Sharing.” She was very pleased to have Rob Robbins in the audience. In the June 22 issue of *Russian Life* her talk from last year in the same series was published with photos: “Last Steps of a Long Journey – First Steps of a New Life” (part of a panel presentation about the *USAT Merritt’s* 1923 Russian refugee-emigrant passengers). Anatol Smelov kindly translated the article from English to Russian.

**Ann Harlow** wrote an article about the history of Berkeley’s City Hall for the Berkeley Historical Society newsletter and is working with a group on a self-guided history walking tour of Solano Avenue. She recently attended the Conference of California Historical Societies in Placerville, as did **Peter Meyerhof**.

**Jody/Judith Offer** writes that she is “enjoying readings and some sales of her new ‘soon-to-become-history’ chapbook, *The Grating of America*, about the disastrous consequences of our current administration and some of the people fighting it. Copies are available at several bookstores in Oakland and Berkeley and on line.\* If you have any ideas for bookstores, clubs, or churches/synagogues that might schedule a reading, please contact me (joffer@juno.com). \*(<https://www.laurelbookstore.com/product/grating-america>)

**WANTED:** copy editor/proofreader for our quarterly *Newsletter*. Contact Maria. Thanks to Ann Harlow for serving in this capacity for the past few years.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### Upcoming Activities

**Sunday, July 21, 2 pm:** Monthly Program, at the home of Nancy Zinn in San Francisco. **Jim Gasperini** will give an illustrated presentation of digital tools for research, with examples from his work in progress: a cultural history of fire provisionally titled *Fire in the Mind – How Humankind Imagined Fire, the Non-Living Relative that Shaped Our Minds and Bodies and Gave Us Control of the World*. He will demonstrate tools for finding sources online, creating bibliographies, optical character recognition (OCR), translation, and more.

**Saturday, July 27, 10:30 am:** Reading of **Jody Offer’s** revised play *Scenes from the Life of Julia Morgan*, at the Berkeley History Center, 1931 Center Street (between Milvia and Martin Luther King, Jr.), Berkeley.

**Sunday, September 15** Monthly Program, at the home of Lyn Reese in Berkeley, 2:00 p.m.. **Karen Offen** will discuss the journey that led finally to publication of her two books on the woman question debates in France. These two books (see review on next page) took over 40 years to research and complete, beginning with the innocent question: Was there ever a women’s movement in France?

### An Invitation to our World History Group

Please join the World History Group for our relaxed, informal discussions in which members take turns presenting some topic that has caught their interest. It might be a project that is either in process or completed. Or it might be a review of a book, film, exhibit, archeological dig, documents, or new approaches to the study of this vast topic. Members also can participate by simply coming to listen, learn, and offer questions or additional ideas. Dates and times vary according to the needs of the group. Please contact Lyn Reese if you are interested.

## BOOK REVIEW

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***The Woman Question in France, 1400-1870***

(Cambridge University Press, 2017; now in paperback) and ***Debating the Woman Question in the French Third Republic, 1870-1920***

(Cambridge University Press, 2018; paperback anticipated) by Karen Offen.

**Karen Offen** has finished her many-year project with two books which offer new research in the history of France from the perspective of female/male interactions. The books explore exchanges around women's influence; their exclusion from authority; concerns about education; motherhood; the politics of women's work; the extent of new ideas about equality; and women's claims for emancipation. *The Woman Question in France* ends on the eve of the Third Republic. In *Debating the Woman Question* multiple issues are explored, including how the expansion of economic opportunities for women and the drop in the birth rate further exacerbated the debates over their status, roles, and possibilities. With the onset of the First World War, these debates were temporarily placed on hold, but were revived by 1916 to gain momentum during France's post-war recovery. Each book includes a timeline of important dates for women during the years and topics discussed.

Offen's ability to uncover and present women's voices in debates about subjects of importance to them is invaluable, as is her use of primary source pro and con arguments regarding women not only at different periods in France's history, but in Europe and beyond.

—*Lyn Reese*