

campaigning for that country's freedom and, later, the rebuilding of the country the last great causes of her life. Understanding that fascism represented an existential threat to all the progressive movements to which she had dedicated her life, Sylvia turned to her old comrades, including those friendships forged in the American tours. In the 1930s, she corresponded with Alice Stone Blackwell, the former editor of the *Woman's Journal*, to enlist her support in anti-fascist activities.¹⁹⁷ In 1936, Sylvia's birthday message to Harriot Stanton Blatch, her parents' old friend who invited her to America in 1911, concluded by warning '[w]e are faced with a new reaction ... Fascism is a real menace to humanity'. She recalled the memory of their past shared struggles:

When we were facing ignominy to win our citizenship, we were spurred on always by the thought that women had a great part to play in sweeping away the evils of war and poverty, and soulless greed and competition. Now we must forge ahead to achieve the Brotherhood and Sisterhood of mankind, the Golden Age of plenty for all by mutual aid.¹⁹⁸

Sylvia never forgot the experiences of the American tours and the stances that she took. In the 1940s and 1950s, Sylvia's campaigning in solidarity with Ethiopia led to her correspondence with the American W.E.B. Du Bois, a leading Pan-Africanist intellectual, and staunch supporter of women's suffrage. In a letter from 1946, discussing means of facilitating African American support for Ethiopia, Sylvia recalled challenging racism in Tennessee over thirty years before: 'I have always had sympathy for the American Negro and had some lively experiences when I was in the United States on that account'.¹⁹⁹ For Sylvia, her American experiences were not a cause for nostalgia. Instead, her experiences, changing ideas and friendships forged in those intense months in 1911 and 1912, recorded so vividly here, inspired her lifelong campaigning efforts against oppression and for democracy.

NOTES

1. New York Passenger lists, Roll T715, 1895-1957, 1001-2000, Roll 1795, access via Ancestry.co.uk. The form wrongly records her age as 28.
2. E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideas* (London: Virago Limited, 1977), p. 347.

3. E. Sylvia Pankhurst to J. Keir Hardie, undated letter [late January 1912], Estelle Sylvia Pankhurst Papers, 9, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam [henceforward ESP Papers].
4. *Ibid.*
5. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2015), pp. 321-357.
6. *Des Moines Register*, 2 February 1911, p. 5.
7. On plans towards this project see Pankhurst to Hardie, 22 January [1912], ESP Papers, 9; Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p. 382.
8. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 3 April 1911, p. 16.
9. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p. 350.
10. Richard and Rita Pankhurst, *Ethiopian Reminiscences: Early Days* (Los Angeles, CA: Tsehai Publishers, 2013), p. 23.
11. Richard Pankhurst, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Artist and Crusader* (New York and London: Paddington Press Ltd, 1979), p. 140.
12. Quoted in Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p. 372.
13. *New York Times*, 5 April 1912, p. 1.
14. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p. 383.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 384.
16. On this process see Katherine Connelly, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Suffragette, Socialist and Scourge of Empire* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), pp. 46-48.
17. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p. 416.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 417.
19. Kathryn Dodd identifies a link between Sylvia's American tours and her East London work but tantalisingly does not develop this: 'Her tour of the US seems to mark a turning-point in Pankhurst's political development; she began to carve out a place within the Union for her long-held belief in the need to develop a socialist-feminist mass movement; and by 1913 she had established the East London Federation, a working-class base for the WSPU'. Kathryn Dodd (ed.), *A Sylvia Pankhurst Reader* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 32. I suggested some links in Connelly, *Sylvia Pankhurst*, pp. 44-49.
20. For a pioneering and influential study that integrated friendship networks into the writing of suffrage history, see Liz Stanley and Ann Morley, *The Life and Death of Emily Wilding Davison: A Biographical Detective Story* (London: The Women's Press, 1988).
21. [Notebook re: journey to United States: n.d.], ESP Papers, 29.
22. *Ibid.* Whether or not 'American Letters' remained Sylvia's intended title, it would obviously have been misleading to have published the manuscript under this title today. Since Sylvia did not supply a title page, the title of this book was chosen by myself.
23. Hardie to Pankhurst, 10.3.11, and Pankhurst to Hardie undated letter [late January 1912], ESP Papers, 9.
24. *Labour Leader*, 19 July 1907, p. 49.
25. Kenneth O. Morgan, *Keir Hardie: Radical and Socialist* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975), pp. 190-198.