

MALE ALLIES OF POLISH WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION. ON THE EXAMPLE OF EDWARD PRĄDZYŃSKI'S AND EUGENIUSZ STARCZEWSKI'S PROJECTS

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ABSTRACT: This article presents an extract from the research on the male support of the emancipation of Polish women at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In my consideration of the papers penned by authors who posited common and equal civil rights for men and women, I pay particular attention to Edward Prądyński's book published in 1873, and to the journalistic writing by Eugeniusz Starczewski from the end of the first World War. Their two projects for the emancipation of Polish women are diverse: while Prądyński's proposition was revolutionary, Starczewski's work was late and limited in its emancipatory outlook.

KEYWORDS: female emancipation, women's rights, support provided by men, emancipationists

INTRODUCTION

Polish women's struggle for labor rights, the right to education and suffrage was long. While they could study at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow since 1896, and earlier, they had an opportunity to work in specific professions, women in Poland won their electoral rights only in 1918. In the second half of the nineteenth century, informal emancipation initiatives of Polish women were active in Warsaw, Kraków and

Lviv; for instance, a group of female enthusiasts – Entuzjastki – gathered around the writer Gabriela Żmichowska. It was only after the revolution of 1905 that the women's movement could operate in the form of legal, official organizations, and consequently women's associations were established, such as the Union for the Equal Rights of Polish Women. In 1909, this union was transformed into the Polish Association for Women's Equality and the Association of Polish Women's Equality. These and more, formal and informal emancipation initiatives were supported by men – emancipationists and emancipators. Their work is an important part of the history of Polish women's emancipation.

The overriding aim of this article is to present the research which was initiated as a part of the project titled “Men's journalism and prose in favor of women's emancipation and feminist movements of Polish women in the years 1842-1939”. The article consists of three parts. In the first part, I introduce the methodological foundations of my research on men working with emancipating women. Next, I present a general description of men supporting the emancipation of Polish women. I am interested in the opportunities they had for this type of activity, and the types and shapes of their work in a non-existent country. In the last part, I describe the pro-emancipation writings of two selected journalists: Edward Prądyński and Eugeniusz Starczewski. They both supported various projects for the emancipation of Polish women.

The full list of the publications by male allies is included in the anthology *Głosy sojuszników spraw kobiet. Pisma mężczyzn wspierających emancypację Polek w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku (Voices of male allies of women. Writings of men supporting the emancipation of Polish women in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)* (Duda 2020). The contents of the article are also supplemented by the volume *Emancypanci i emancypatorzy. Mężczyźni wspierający emancypację Polek w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku (Emancipationists and emancipators. Men supporting the emancipation of Polish women in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)* (Duda 2017). This monograph also includes theoretical considerations about men supporting women's emancipation and feminism (Duda 2017: 23-30, 383-393).

A FEW REMARKS ON METHODOLOGY

The investigations of the texts and work of men who sought to support the emancipation of Polish women is treated here as a project at a crossroads of general history, women's history, and history seen from the perspective of herstory and gender (cf. Tilburg 2000). It is an impulse to rewrite the history of culture, driven by two objectives. The first goal is to supplement existing knowledge on the women's emancipation movement with information on the cooperation between women and men, or men and women, examined particularly from a gendered perspective. The second objective is to complicate current research in an attempt to assess men's subjectivity and activism within the framework of the historical women's emancipatory movements. Moreover, the goal is also to examine the effect of women's independent work in the social structure which prevented them from playing public roles and limited their subjective and

direct influence on the shape of the politics of the partitioned country. The significant component of the second objective is also the question of an enforced, strategic character of women's coalition with social actors, who by laws and customs were provided with tools to regulate women's and men's lives.

Therefore, the research concerning men who supported women's emancipatory struggles can be included in a trend to construct history as an opportunity to revolt; it is a critical history, an anti-history (Solarska 2011). The unwritten history of male allies of Polish women's emancipation complicates mainstream history, in which the historiographic practice known as women's history is perceived as a revision, along with the whole emancipation discourse. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the result of such work is to lead to a revolution and to replace the fossilized historical movement, whose creators did not take into account the socio-cultural gender context in their research. Neither should the results of this examination be perceived as a supplement, or as in this case, a supplement to the supplement, as the history of the accomplishments of the supporters of women's emancipation could be perceived within the marginalized history of women's movements. Seeing it as a supplement would mean an acceptance of such a model of discourse about historical knowledge that is founded on hierarchical thinking, or constitutes an agreement for the existing contract that determines the importance of certain subjects, contexts and protagonists (Domańska 2006). Instead, I concentrate on the critical aspect of my research, which incorporates a disagreement to the existing social and narrative order created by the relations of power. Hereby, the history of writings and work of the authors that I investigate has a subversive dimension.

So far, the studies that have been devoted to women's literature and activism, presenting their literary disputes and worldviews, confronted women's pens against men's. It could have resulted from the polarization of journalistic opinions based on the slogan of »the battle of the sexes«, which, as a form of criticism, was used by the opponents of the emancipation movement all around Europe in the indicated historical period. The »battle of the sexes« metaphor has presented the relations between women and men in a patriarchal perspective, which assumes the gender and systematic subservience and subordination of women. In this optics, women's emancipation and the feminist turn which are to bring the equality of women's and men's rights, by the latter is perceived as a revolt, or as a war declared not only against the natural order, but also against men themselves; as a rebellion against established patterns, essence and binary order (Duda 2014). The historical research presenting the role of men in Polish emancipation and feminist movements in 19th and 20th centuries gives a chance to complement this simple thesis with the contexts that were so far unknown. Instead of opposing the roles and interests of women and men, this research emphasizes their cooperation, which went beyond social conventions that shaped gender relations at the time.

Conducting the study of Polish male supporters of women in their fight for equal rights, I rejected the Anglo-Saxon term "pro-feminist." What is more, I do not describe them as feminist men either. The historical considerations, not the ideological ones, were decisive in this case. Referring to men who supported the Enthusiasts and the

women's struggles for emancipation as feminist men or pro-feminist men would be a historical misuse. Using the practice mentioned above, such men can be defined as male enthusiast or male pro-enthusiast, male emancipationist or male pro-emancipationists, who approved of and supported women's aims, such as the rights to secondary and higher education, unrestricted career, and equal civil rights.

To find the right term for these male supporters, a dictionary that gathered the vocabulary of the period in which these men and women were active turned out to be the most important source. I decided to use *Słownik Języka Polskiego* [A Dictionary of the Polish Language] written by Jan Karłowicz, Adam Kryński and Władysław Niedźwiedzki (1900). The editors presented two terms that would describe men associated with women's emancipation issue and movement. The first term is "emancypant" [(male) emancipationist], that is, a supporter of female emancipation. The second one is "emancypator" [(male) emancipator], "krzewiciel emancypacji, oswobodziciel. Torował drogę, po której mieli stąpać przyszli emancypatorowie" [a propagator of emancipation, a liberator. He paved the way for future emancipators] (Karłowicz, Kryński, Niedźwiedzki 1900). Emancipation itself was defined by the dictionary as liberation from dependency, self-liberation, an equality of women, slaves, and landowners.

AN INITIAL DESCRIPTION OF MALE EMANCIPATIONISTS

At this point, it is crucial to explain what being a male emancipationist or emancipator meant at the time. A male supporter and propagator of Polish women's emancipation would be a proponent of women's education and career opportunities, their right to enter legal agreements, equality in marital and parental rights, equality in inheritance rights, and last but not least, equal rights in terms of public, official and political activity. Each of the above subjects was discussed separately. Education itself included such issues as compulsory education for girls, improvement of the curricula in private schools, organization of public and unpaid education, equalization of education levels between girls and boys, organization of education at secondary level, the ability to study at a university, to finish studies and to graduate. On the basis of this short and exemplary enumeration, it is possible to imagine the variety of emancipation projects that were supported by male emancipationists, or those which were collaborated and supported by male emancipators.

The brothers or husbands of suffragists were included in the circle described above. However, it is difficult to decide if the attitude of those men was influenced only, or particularly by their partners or relatives who fought for their own rights. The majority of male emancipationists graduated from higher education establishments, was of noble descent, lived in large urban agglomerations and had studied at several universities. In other words, they were representatives of intelligentsia. Nevertheless, among male emancipationists were also other urban citizens – craftsmen, salesmen, workmen, and household servants. The hypothetical group of supporters can be also extended to farmers. However, from the perspective of class, it is impossible to go further than speculation at this stage of research. Importantly, the archives do not possess any documents that would confirm emancipatory work of above mentioned

representatives in the studied period. It can be assumed just as well that such documents and fixed relations never existed.

The description of male emancipationists can be also complicated through the lens of politics. In this case, information about their political preferences and memberships will be crucial. Among the representatives of male emancipators were democratic liberals (Edward Prądzyński), socialists, national democrats (Eugeniusz Starczewski) or conservatives. The biographical notes of authors whose papers I discuss in my research include information about their incarceration, serving a sentence for such misdemeanors as: taking part in protests organized against imperial reign, calling to insubordination against authorities, arranging underground education, arranging conspiracy, arranging the upspring, tolerating one's wife's damaging, patriotic activism, taking part in an upspring, as well as conspiracy and assassination attempt. The above list might imply their patriotic and pro-emancipation stance, showing that these attitudes were supplementary, not contrary to each other. However, it does not mean that women's emancipation associations and national or state interests always went hand in hand.

Equipped with social and cultural capital, education and an ability to act, male emancipationists left their mark on the society. Among those are texts, available for a wide circle of readers, which included lectures, speeches, press journalism, polemics, popular science papers, reports on journeys, international conventions and women's congresses, legal exposés, public letters, manifests and proclamations to men, as well as private documents, such as letters and diaries.

TOGETHER OR APART?

While illustrating the collective and public work of Polish male emancipation supporters, one should refer to *Liga Mężczyzn do Obrony Praw Kobiet* [The Men's League for the Defense of Women's Rights], which was established in 1913. The League was first mentioned in "Ster" magazine, where a text titled *Liga mężczyzn do obrony praw kobiet* was published in issue 19-20 of 1913. The article included information about the League itself, and a proclamation dedicated "to every kind of organization or association, male or female" (author unknown 1913: 117). The League functioned under the guidance of the presidium that included Bronisław Pawlewski, Witold Lewicki and Ignacy Drewnowski. In accordance to the information provided by Romana Pachucka, the ranks of the League were joined by "40 representatives of various clubs: members of the peasant party, progressives, socialist, national democrats and clericalists" (Pachucka 1958: 273). The reading of "Ster" presented the patterns of Polish men's work. What is more, issue 9 published in 1907 included information about men's league active in England (*Liga mężczyzn dla wywalczenia praw wyborczych kobiet w Anglii* 1907), while in the aforementioned issue published in 1913, there was an article about the convention of the International Men's League.

Beside the Men's League for Defence of Women's Rights, men were also active within women's organizations. In April 1907, *Związek Równouprawnienia Kobiet* [The Union for the Equal Rights of Polish Women], established by Paulina Kuczalska-Reinschmidt,

was legalized. Among men who participated in this organization were “those men who represented an ideology of social progress” (Pachucka 1958: 93). During that time (legalization in July 1907), women and men sat together in the board of management (Pachucka 1958: 93).

The reports written by Jadwiga Petrażycka Tomicka (Petrażycka-Tomicka 1931) state that 10% of members signed up on the list of the Union for the Equal Rights of Polish Women were men. They actively took part in rallies and debates in other, similar organizations. Men were not only present there, but also active.

It seems, however, that the activities performed by aforementioned male emancipationists and emancipators could not be defined only in terms of pro-women or pro(-)feminist social movement. The beginnings of such a movement were only becoming visible at this point, and started to take shape just before the outbreak of the Great War. The majority of the aforementioned men can be treated as satellites, alternatively as members of women’s social movements, but not as the representatives of men’s movements. The male emancipationists and emancipators were rarely engaged in describing their position. Their writings do not include private references or self-reflections. In that way, they do not meet the requirements that are laid down by Alice Jardine to contemporarily active male feminists (Jardine 2013). They were, however, focused on a cooperation beyond the gender divide, which yielded various projects.

INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS OF SUPPORT

In my research (Duda 2017), I study the work and writing of male emancipationists and emancipators between 1842 and 1918, which in Poland constitute three historical periods. Each of them was differentiated by dominating intellectual movements, which is evident in the arguments postulated by male emancipators. I took into consideration all three partitions¹, which involves a context of three different legal systems, economic environments, and educational opportunities. Such factors as male emancipationists’ background and social class, political views and political group they identified themselves with had a great impact on the variety of reforms they supported. Another important issue were the reforms which Polish women had fought for and which were brought into force. However, this final aspect is not characterized by a simple correlation between the greater possibilities and demands of more extensive reforms.

The projects created by Edward Prądyński² (*O prawach kobiety [On the Rights of a Woman]*) and Eugeniusz Starczewski³ (*Kwestia kobieca [The Woman Question]*) would be a good illustration at hand. I have chosen them as extreme and significant examples of an alliance between men and women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, at

¹ The Third Partition of Poland (1795) was the last in a series of the Partitions of Poland and the land of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth among Prussia, the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Russian Empire.

² Edward Prądyński (1838-1895) – the author of *O prawach kobiety* (1873), *Kobieta i wymiar kary w społeczeństwie* (1874).

³ Eugeniusz Starczewski (1862–1927) – lawyer, publicist, liberal activist and politician.

the time when Polish women fought for their rights. The first text, published in 1873, was the fullest, the most cross-sectional exposé about women's rights. Prądzyński includes the whole range of reforms concerning education, work, family law and civil rights. However, it does not mean that he is a proponent of total freedom and subjectivity for women. The author wants to provide women all rights, although he sees marriage as a factor which limits their full independence. Prądzyński considers marriage as a contract of two parties, where equality in making household decisions will lead to an impasse. To avoid such a deadlock, according to Prądzyński, the legal rights of a married couple would have to be differentiated, in favor of the more socially and politically experienced man. Such a solution lead to a paradox in Prądzyński's vision, in which women, who practically possess all rights, loose them on behalf of their husbands, due to a contract fully based on gender.

Prądzyński completes his book with a summary and a list of answers to the question „czego kobieta ma prawo domagać się od prawodawcy, a czego od obyczajów?” [what can a woman demand from a legislator, and what from the conventions?] (Prądzyński 1875). For the sake of my research, I focus only on the civil rights, but Prądzyński's list mentions them only as his eighth point, which indicates how extensive the range of his work is.

After presenting the rights of a girl, a workwoman, a virgin, a seduced woman, a wife and a mother, Prądzyński focuses on “women of all status and all situations” (Prądzyński 1875: 313). Human dignity, a full use of her faculties and a wide range of available professional occupation are among the demands that such a woman can make, according to Prądzyński. All restrictions that exclude women from family councils should be repealed. The author postulates: „[w]stęp do urzędów i godności dla wyjątków nie obarczonych rodziną a posiadających stwierdzone uzdolnienie; w szczególności zaś szeroki udział dla młodzieży niewieściej w zawiadywaniu miłosierdziem publicznym i nauczycielstwem ludowym” [admission to the offices and positions of authority for those women who do not have a family but show relevant abilities; and especially, a high involvement of girls in the work related to public charity and education] (Prądzyński 1875: 314). He also advocates the right to vote “according to general rules” (Prądzyński 1875: 314).

Prądzyński's model is not entirely universalistic. He repeatedly proposes in his text that a woman, as a human being, should have the same rights that any man has or will have. This assumption is realized in the concept of suffrage. Whatever restrictions limit this right, it must apply both to women and men. Hence, the suffrage might be limited by one's class origins, education and possessed capital, even if gender is excluded from the repertoire of these potential limitations.

In accordance with Prądzyński's suppositions, the fulfilment of one's civil duties is the foundation of a title and the rights of a citizen. Unfortunately, this is only true in the case of men. Patriotic activities performed by a woman are not awarded civil rights. The nation demands from her social solidarity and love to Poland, as it is demanded from a man; however, it does not provide her with any rights, which results in an instability in her affections to her country, and in cosmopolitan vagaries. In Prądzyński's opinion, the solution is easy – a woman should be granted an opportu-

nity to fulfil her duties towards the country. Along with such duties she would receive her civil rights.

Women's duties towards the country would be fulfilled through managing and inspecting schools, teaching, founding nurseries and special schools, public libraries, and utilizing (in an indirect and direct way) her right to vote. In a word, a woman should have an ability to influence public matters. Only then she would become "a support and a partner for a man" (Prądzyński 1875: 223). On the question of how far women's emancipation should be allowed and which clerical posts should be taken by women, the author states that an experience gained by a woman who, like a man, does not meet any obstacles in her study or career, should be an indicator in this respect.

Prądzyński built a picture of an ideal environment in which a woman, after the law is changed, would not be an object of prejudice and would find no obstacles that were not the results of legal regulations and economic factors. This idealization is sustained by assertions that an emancipated woman is not going to undermine "men's attributes" (Prądzyński 1875: 220). She is to be concerned with public issues, to be interested in them and to gain education that could positively influence her role as a wife and a mother. The indicated roles result from her female vocation, which is perceived as a guarantee against women undertaking bureaucratic positions *en masse*. A bureaucratic career demanded "rutynicznego przygotowania" [routine preparation] (Prądzyński 1875: 228), this is why "tylko przy wyjątkowym uzdolnieniu i o niektóre tylko urzędy kobieta dobijać się będzie, mianowicie o te, które wrodzonym jej skłonnościami odpowiadając, lepiej przez nią aniżeli przez mężczyznę sprawowane być mogą" [women will be able to work in only in certain bureaucratic positions and only when they possess particular abilities; they will work only in these roles which, due to their natural abilities, would be better performed by women than by men] (Prądzyński 1875: 228). After presenting the comment quoted above, which both serves as normalization of the emancipation issue and a pacification of the readers, Prądzyński claims that the future cannot be forejudged: nobody knows what will happen, so we should not assume the worst.

In his book, several paragraphs before the aforementioned statement about the opportunities and abilities of women, Prądzyński provides examples of women exercising the greatest power in a country. Nevertheless, this does not mean that his argument is illogical or inconsistent. His opinion about the differences between women and men is founded on the belief that the upbringing of both groups influences their psyche. What is more, he values individual difference above generalizations about sexes; he wrote: *[j]ak są mężczyźni z mniej lub więcej kobiecym usposobieniem, tak są kobiety z pewnymi właściwościami męskiego temperamentu* [as much as there are men who have a somewhat female disposition, similarly there are women with some elements of a male temper] (Prądzyński 1875: 226).

It must be emphasized that for Prądzyński, the issue of rights is strongly related to the issue of duties, therefore, the answer to a question of what kind of rights women should possess is closely linked to their duties towards the country.

The issue of one's experience or its lack is for Prądzyński a decisive one when it comes to dividing women into two distinctive groups. The first one includes few,

unique individuals who, as a result of reforms, would be able to find satisfaction in a career, in bureaucracy or in politics. On the other hand, there is a majority of women who (still) do not have competences or abilities to hold any public office.

This assumption is repeated by Eugeniusz Starczewski in 1916 and 1917. Starczewski's writings offer a discussion with three emancipatory projects described in "Pokłosie Kobiece" [The Female Gleanings], which was a supplement to "Kłosa Ukrainie" [The Ukrainian Spikes] published in Kiev. Helena Pinińska, Amelia Grabowska and Ala Rosé-Drewnowska were the authors of those projects. In his discussion, Starczewski proposes women's citizenship, although he also presents a few exceptions. One of them forbids women to work as judges. In his opinion, being a judge demands impartiality and elimination of emotions, which, as the author conferred, would be difficult for improperly socialized and educated women.

According to Starczewski, only a woman who has fully eliminated her gender in the public space could become a full citizen. She is not limited by maternal issues or matters connected with children's upbringing and education – strictly speaking, socialization, which would prevent her from becoming interested in politics. A woman with a politically crucial role could not be governed by feelings.

The full citizenship was not equal to conferring citizenship [uobywatelnienie]. The women with conferred citizenship, except an opportunity or even an obligation of having a job and a career, essentially exist only in a private sphere as a partner. Ultimately, she is to become a wife and a mother, gaining control over her children and sharing the parental authority with their father. Unfortunately, in Starczewski's eyes, a full political equality is strictly connected to an elimination of woman's gender in a public sphere. Paradoxically, while Starczewski recommends such an approach to the future politicians when it comes to women's rights, otherwise he often addresses the issue of misunderstood freedoms and sectional interests, which, as he claims, were among the factors that led to the failure of the Polish state.

As Starczewski states, full civil rights, understood as "a participation in public issues" (Frevert 1997: 318) would be granted only to women who are ready for it – intelligent, educated and experienced ones. However, it does not indicate that Starczewski limits the rights only to this group.

The emancipation projects described by Prądzyński and Starczewski are divided by 43 years, in which a number of reforms were achieved by women (e.g. secondary, professional and higher education, making a career, an ability to lead associations and gatherings), as well as by the outbreak of the World War I. Since 1897 Polish women were able to study at universities in Galicia. This is an important milestone that could influence women's socialization and education. Nevertheless, this aspect was less crucial for Starczewski than his concern about the power and government of Poland as an independent country created at the end of the Great War. As it can be seen, the political context often had a pivotal meaning for the reforms supported by male emancipationists.

What is more, in a comparison of Prądzyński's and Starczewski's writings, it must be emphasized that the aforementioned statement given by Starczewski occurred 4 years after the establishment of the Men's League for Defence of Women's Rights and 11

years after Leon Petrażycki, in cooperation with “Rosyjski Związek Równouprawienia Kobiet” [The Russian Union for the Equal Rights of Women], proposed in First Duma an absolute admission of women to each stage of education, and a permission for them to work in bureaucratic professions. Such an action was supposed to guarantee a consistent influx of enlightened manpower which would be responsible for an introduction of a new system in the country. The recipe was clear: the bigger the selection among well-educated professionals, the better the chances for political reforms and for a war with the current political system, based on nepotism and self-interests. The freedom of education and access to work was to provide more dignified and brave people who would work for the common good. As Petrażycki stated, “Wykluczenie całej połowy możebnych kandydatów – kobiet, byłoby bardzo niemądrym trwonieniem i bez tego niezasobnych sił” [An exclusion of half of very able, potential candidates - namely women, would be an unreasonable waste of manpower, which is depleted anyway] (Petrażycki 1919: 9). As can be seen, the motivation to accept reforms was not based on an appreciation of the individual struggles and interests of women. The change of the law was to bring mutual benefits, for women and society. However, in Petrażycki’s speech, the individual interest of women was not acknowledged. A collective benefit remained a more convincing argument. The main and the most radical point presented by Petrażycki was to grant women the right to vote for the candidates to local governments and national representatives.

The above comparison of writings presents the differences between the emancipation projects supported by men in Poland. Their chronology was not related to the development of ideas of liberation and equality. The contrasted writings of the three Polish authors contradict the snowball theory. The ideas included in their writings are associated with the economic and political contexts that were important at the time when they wrote their works. Accordingly, Prądyński supported women who had to handle everything on their own after the economical and agricultural crises in the first half of 19th century. Petrażycki – with women’s voices - made a speech in the heat of the revolution in 1905, while Starczewski created his own project and indicated the real possibilities of Poland’s rebirth – and importantly, he did it on the verge of the revolution of 1917.

CONCLUSIONS

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the male allies cooperated with informal and formal associations of Polish women, supporting the struggle of women for the right to education, professional work and suffrage. Although they acted individually, they can be presented as partners of emancipated women or as collaborators of women’s associations. They supported various projects for the emancipation of Polish women. Some can be described as revolutionary; some, like Prądyński, were innovative for their times, others, like Starczewski, might strike the readers as late and limited in their propositions. Nevertheless, their presence and activity complicate the history of Polish women’s emancipation.

Personally, I find that the presentation of their activities has an ethical and activ-

ist dimension. It is important to shed light on this aspect of emancipatory history in the context of the protests and fights of Polish women in 2020 (i.e. Black Protests / Women's Protest). Many men participate in these demonstrations. Unfortunately, some of them seem to politically instrumentalize the Black Protests. They support a change of government, not a change in the abortion law (the main demand of the Women's Protest). Their activity resembles Starczewski's suppositions: a reconstruction of the state takes priority to the full subjectivity of women. Thanks to the history of emancipation, today's ally can find a basic model of supporting women (a form of Prądyński's project) or learn from the mistakes of its predecessors (Starczewski's beliefs). The knowledge of history of men supporting the emancipation of Polish women helps to avoid many mistakes getting repeated today by women's allies.

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