

# ◆ Rehabilitating Kate Fowler Tutt, 1868–1954

LEWES EDUCATIONALIST, SOCIAL ACTIVIST AND FEMINIST

By Frances Stenlake

*It is not entirely clear why Kate Fowler Tutt (1868-1954) came to be remembered as the spinster schoolmistress who objected to Rodin's sculpture, The Kiss, being placed in Lewes Town Hall in late 1914, when this venue was used for recreation by soldiers billeted in the town. This story has caused her reputation to suffer unfairly and her praiseworthy achievements in improving the lives of working families and their children to be ignored. As head of South Malling Elementary School, she was concerned primarily with the physical and moral well-being of her pupils, and moving to the Central Senior Girls' School, Lewes, she led the Juvenile Health Crusade. The priority placed on citizenship was reflected in her work with her girls during the First World War, when her thrift campaign included the instigating of a communal kitchen. She retired from teaching to become a committed borough councillor, and as chairman of the housing committee oversaw the first stage of the building of the Nevill Estate. She was in constant demand throughout the county as an informative and entertaining lecturer, and during the 1930s promoted League of Nations ideals of international peace by participating in International Friendship League student exchanges, visiting Germany and Russia herself. During the Second World War, she did her best to ensure that the borough's education committee provided adequately for evacuee as well as local children. Convinced that the involvement of women was essential to good government, she continued to address women's groups and to exhort their members to play their full part in the life of the community.*

‘Chinese whispers’ may account for the story of the spinster headmistress who successfully protested against Rodin’s sculpture, *The Kiss*, being on display in the town hall where soldiers gathered for sport and entertainment. This was made much of by the media at the time of the Rodin exhibition in Lewes in 1999, and again when *The Kiss* was displayed at Margate’s Turner Contemporary gallery in 2012.<sup>1</sup> The story may be quite apocryphal: there is no documentation of it in either the local press or the Lewes Borough Council minutes.

The screening of the sculpture from view, soon after its installation at the beginning of December 1914, was, given the unforeseen and exceptional risk to which it was being subjected, simply in accordance with the single condition made by owner Mr E. P. Warren in confirming his two-year loan: ‘that the Council shall take all precautions to prevent the statue from being damaged, including the erection of a substantial guard-rail, fixed at such a distance as to prevent anyone from knocking against the group or climbing up on to it’.<sup>2</sup>

The *Sussex Express*, reporting a meeting ‘of more than ordinary interest’ held in January 1915 in St

John’s Church room by the Chichester Diocesan Purity Association, referred to ‘this time when the morals of Lewes girls are the subject of some controversy’. It quoted only the address delivered by the principal speaker, the wife of Bishop Hook of Kingston, but it appears that Kate Fowler Tutt also spoke on this occasion, ‘the excellent advice contained in her timely address’ being commended by the *Sussex County Herald*.

Her advice was reiterated in a letter to the *East Sussex News* deploring the ‘giddiness of girls’ described by Mrs Hook and referring to the Guild of Honour Among Women, newly-instituted to try to awaken in local girls a respect both for themselves and for the soldiers stationed in the town. The attentions of these girls were irritating and unwanted. The worst offenders were members of the flapper species who had no sense of what was becoming or fitting in their behaviour. Parents were unable to control or guide their conduct. There should be a curfew for all girls under 17 at 8.30 pm.<sup>3</sup>

Instead of being mythologised for fearing the threat to the purity of her girls represented by *The Kiss*, Kate Fowler Tutt should be remembered

for her great contribution to Lewes life, both as headmistress of South Malling Elementary School, then of Central Senior Girls' School, and as borough councillor from 1924 until 1945. Self-made in that she did not come from a well-off background, she became an independent, professional woman through her own ability, determination, self-confidence and energy, and her involvement in social and political matters was always underpinned by her commitment to improving the lives of the underprivileged.

#### FAMILY AND EDUCATION

Kate Matilda Tutt, born in 1868, was the second of five children of parents of limited means. Her early years were spent in Brighton at Marshall's Row, a mid-19th century terrace of narrow-fronted houses, off London Road, which was demolished in 1938 and became the site of the Open Market. The 1871 Census lists Edmund Tutt as a carcass butcher, living with his wife and two daughters at no. 22, sharing the house with a retired seaman, his wife and sister-in-law. By 1881 Kate had three younger brothers, her mother was working as a dressmaker, and the family had moved along the row to no.10.

Kate's father died in 1888 and she and her mother and brothers moved to 71 Hanover Street, to the east of Lewes Road. In 1891 she is listed as a schoolmistress, her mother as employed by an upholsterer, and her three brothers as all in work: 19-year-old Albert as a general smith, 16-year-old Lawrence as a cycle maker, and 14-year-old John as a cashier. By 1901 Kate had added 'Fowler' to her surname and was to persuade her brothers to do likewise. This was the maiden name of her maternal grandmother, who, according to family tradition, had recognised her ability and ensured that she received appropriate schooling.<sup>4</sup>

Where this schooling took place can only be surmised but, thanks to the 1870 Education Act and the establishment of compulsory primary education, three elementary schools soon existed within walking distance of Marshall's Row: the Congregational School in Belmont Street, taken over by Brighton School Board; St Bartholomew's Church School in Providence Place; and, from 1876, Brighton School Board's own York Place Elementary School. By the time York Place became a Higher Grade School in 1884, Kate could already have embarked on a two-year teacher training course

at the Chichester Diocesan Association Training College for Schoolmistresses, within easy reach up at the corner of Ditchling Road and Viaduct Road. As entrants here could be as young as 15, the minimum two-year course is likely to have been followed by a spell of teaching in the vicinity before the move to Lewes.

#### SOUTH MALLING ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The minutes of the Lewes Borough Education Committee in 1918 retrospectively give the date of Kate Fowler Tutt's appointment as a teacher at South Malling School as May 1892.<sup>5</sup> She appears to have taken over as headmistress following the resignation because of indisposition of Miss Harriet Wood in July 1892, although not officially appointed as such until 1 April 1893.<sup>6</sup> Living at 87, then at 92, Malling Street, just along from the school, she was well aware of the deprivation suffered by many of her pupils. Even in 1911, her own accommodation at no. 92 consisted of only one room and a kitchen in a house shared with an unemployed brewer, his wife and daughter.<sup>7</sup>

Soon after arriving in Lewes, Kate Fowler Tutt availed herself of local opportunities to extend her expertise. In June 1892 she enrolled at the School of Science and Art in Albion Street, and was rewarded by being able to announce the success of her boys - the girls having to be taught needlework - in a drawing examination early in 1893. She was subsequently congratulated by the diocesan inspector in 1894 and in 1896 for their excellence in this subject.<sup>8</sup>

In 1890 East Sussex was one of the county councils to subscribe to the University of Oxford's Extension activities. In 1893 a review of the development of Oxford University Extension during the previous seven years referred to its examination courses and special classes for the higher training of local science teachers, held both at convenient centres and, in August, in laboratories at Oxford and Cambridge. Courses on hygiene had been particularly successful, as was borne out by Kate completing W. North's course on 'Healthy Homes' with special distinction. She, in turn, was later to contribute to the university extension programme: students attending her science lectures in 1904 presented her with a 'massive silver-backed hairbrush'.<sup>9</sup>

Domestic hygiene was a priority, and one of the action songs she composed for her pupils was *The Sweeping Brush Brigade*. But caring about their welfare included giving them a good Christmas party. She would take great pains to make a present for every child to be hung on the Christmas tree. It was the occasion for the performance of another 'action song' of her own composition: a *Handkerchief Song* for school concerts and entertainment, with score for voice and piano, list of actions, and handkerchief folding diagrams, published by Curwen in 1888.<sup>10</sup>

Performing on stage in front of a larger audience was also encouraged. 'Mallingites' were among pupils from Lewes schools who entertained at concerts in aid of the RSPCA in 1894 and 1895, and the diocesan inspector regularly praised the pupils' singing, good enough for them to form the choir at a South Malling churchwarden's wedding.<sup>11</sup> Reporting the annual school prize-giving in 1903, the *Sussex Advertiser*, in addition to describing pupils as 'a pattern of politeness and good behaviour', commented that singing was 'quite a feature of the school' and that its action songs were 'quite above the ordinary class of school songs'.<sup>12</sup>

South Malling School did not actually have a piano, having to make do with a harmonium. In 1898 pupils staged a concert in aid of the piano fund, performing recitations specially written for the occasion by their 'popular headmistress'.<sup>13</sup>

Kate herself was a talented and much applauded performer. In 1893 she took part for the first time in the annual concert held by the South Malling Church Missionary Society in her own schoolroom, an event that drew 'a large and fashionable audience' presided over by the mayor. The following year she and Miss Miles, one of her assistant teachers, opened the programme with a duet, and a further 'vivacious rendering' was encored. By this time she was also contributing songs and recitations to the musical evenings held by the Lewes Mutual Improvement Society, formed out of the Tabernacle Mutual Improvement Society a year earlier. On one occasion she persuaded her young nephew, Laurence Fowler Tutt, to participate. In 1903 she made her first appearance at the Phoenix Institute, where 'her efforts to amuse were very successful', and other events at which she performed included the Boxing Night entertainment at South Malling School.<sup>14</sup>

In 1895 the diocesan inspector reported that Miss Fowler Tutt was doing her best to maintain the

efficiency of the school, despite the over-crowding resulting from an ever-increasing attendance, and the lack of any qualified assistance. Against the background of the 'Lewes Schools Crisis', the vehement and much-publicised argument about non-denominational education in the town, the inspector made special mention of the excellence of religious instruction, as he did again in 1897 and in 1898.<sup>15</sup> When the 1902 Education Act made local authorities responsible for public elementary schools, providing rate aid to existing Church schools, Kate was to use the forum of the Lewes and District Teachers Association to express her scepticism about this, remarking that if the country wished for good, beneficial results it would have to go to Church schools to find them.<sup>16</sup> She and Miss Amy Chambers, head of Seaford Infants School, repeatedly upheld the value of religious instruction and argued that the Bible should continue to be read in schools.<sup>17</sup>

South Malling School was Kate's surrogate family. Her birthday on 9 March was marked each year by children and staff, the gifts presented to this 'talented and esteemed headmistress' first being noted by the *Sussex Advertiser* in 1897 and by the *Sussex Express* in 1898. As the government inspector (that is, the HMI) reported in 1900 and 1901, this was 'a capital school'. In 1903 he declared it to be 'a most refreshing school to visit', among its 'many excellent points' being 'the practical and sensible character of the instruction and the keenness of both teachers and children'.<sup>18</sup>

South Malling children participated in Diamond Jubilee celebrations and sports, May Day revels, the 1902 and 1911 Coronation celebrations, and fund-raising fairs.<sup>19</sup> In June 1906 the school began to celebrate Empire Day, its headmistress believing that the celebration of national anniversaries was of great benefit when properly handled, fostering a national spirit. The *Sussex Express* printed three essays written by her pupils, recounting the ceremonial singing of patriotic songs and waving of flags, with her wish that this might lead to an inexpensive celebration for all schools another year.<sup>20</sup> Indeed it did: by 1921 the event involved 1300 elementary schoolchildren assembled in the Convent Field to salute the flag.<sup>21</sup>

When South Malling School represented Lewes at a Home Counties Nature Study Exhibition in 1903, the children's work was supplemented by their headmistress's account of 'How I Made

a School Garden'.<sup>22</sup> In 1904 the government inspector commended in particular the interest shown in nature study.<sup>23</sup> In 1905, shortly before ceasing publication, the *Sussex Advertiser* sang Miss Fowler Tutt's praises in two consecutive news items: the first referring to another glowing report by the government inspector, the second to her lecture on 'Nature Study in an Elementary School' delivered to the Society of Nature Students at the Brighton Technical School in Richmond Place.<sup>24</sup> In 1908 being able to hold her annual prize-giving in the first and only school garden in the town was an appropriate personal celebration. She had just been awarded first-class Technical College passes in Zoology and Advanced Biology and could add these to the five first-class science passes, including a double first in Botany, that she had already gained.<sup>25</sup>

The poverty of many Malling families was emphasized in Kate's 1905 report to the Lewes education committee on the implementation of the new syllabus of physical exercises.<sup>26</sup> Hers was longer and more detailed than those submitted by other schools, as she had to explain that the constraints suffered by her school were not only those of lack of space—muddy playgrounds and crowded classrooms—but the fact that so many of her children were inadequately clothed and fed. They wore boots that were too big or 'in a shocking state of disrepair', and were neither warmly enough dressed nor well enough nourished to be fit for outdoor or indoor physical education. Three years later she appealed for cast-off boots, as many children had to stay away from school for lack of footwear.<sup>27</sup>

By 1903 Kate was speaking from the floor, organising tea and starrng in entertainments at meetings of the Lewes and District Teachers Association. From 1904 until she retired in 1924, she was usually one of the three representatives to the NUT annual conference.<sup>28</sup> A committee member since 1906, in 1908 she was unanimously elected president and used her inaugural address to expound pet theories. Children should be taught the history of civilisation, focusing particularly on their own nation, and principles of civic duty, privilege and responsibility. Increasing numbers of children were not only deficient in stamina, brain power and moral fibre, but physically degenerate. Medical inspections should begin at birth and continue throughout the first five years. Children were suffering from the effects of malnourishment, alcohol and cigarettes, and the lack of parental involvement and control.

Domestic and technical training should be used to develop future parenting skills.<sup>29</sup>

In March 1909 President Fowler Tutt delivered what was headlined as a 'Striking Address on Some Aspects of the Women's Suffrage Question' to the teachers association. She expressed disgust with violent Suffragette action and, unconvinced that the majority of women actually wanted the vote, argued that they had not taken full advantage of the municipal vote already granted.

She advocated useful work in society rather than violence. Leisured women had no understanding of the lives of working people. The great mass of women was insufficiently educated to be ready for the franchise. A non-party House of Women, elected by women, should draft reforms in all questions relating to women and children. Men voted in by women would not be any better than those voted in by men.

Married women should be able to concentrate on domestic duties, ensuring the physical and moral health of their children, instead of having to earn their livings. How few working men wore home-made shirts or warm hand-knitted socks in winter! How few men, whose work precluded the wearing of overcoats, were equipped with warm chest and back pads made of brown paper and old woollen stockings, costing nothing, but saving many a cough and chest trouble! In this age of machinery, we were losing the power of making things for ourselves.<sup>30</sup>

A year later, although her year as president was over, her speech on the same occasion was eagerly awaited. 'One always listens for something out of the ordinary in Miss Fowler Tutt's educational addresses.' It was the turn of the state education examination system to come under attack: 'This style of stuffing has turned out thousands of highly developed boobies with thinking and reasoning powers positively atrophied from want of use.' Greater value should be placed on physical labour; girls must be taught how to do housework properly; more time should be spent learning child hygiene and needlework. The necessities of life should take precedence over literature.<sup>31</sup>

Boys too should receive more education in handicrafts and be encouraged to join the Boy Scouts. Regiments stationed in the district should provide military training and discipline in order to promote national health and stamina through systematic bodily exercise and personal cleanliness.



Fig. 1 Kate Fowler Tutt (centre) and South Malling school staff c. 1908 (courtesy of John Burrows)

'A military spirit is not necessarily aggressive or offensive; it is better than no spirit at all.'

The brilliant child should be given every opportunity to cultivate its abilities but 'strenuous brain stuffing' was not required by the great mass of the population. Educational experts should understand the needs of the working classes.

That year's South Malling School prize-giving provided a further opportunity to consider priorities

in training for life. 'The prizes for this year have been awarded more for qualities of character than of intellect. The child with a sense of duty has been given the preference to the child of high attainments, but lacking moral fibre.'<sup>32</sup>

The school's link to South Malling Church was close. Kate's own Church activity included running the Sunday school, for which she organised a fun-filled annual tea and concert, and she was a member of the Lewes branch of the Church of England Temperance Society, of which South Malling rector, the Revd R. B. Marriott, was President.<sup>33</sup>

At the end of each summer term, South Malling pupils spent an afternoon at Malling Deanery, hosted by Mr and Miss Macneill.

At 2.30 pm they marched in procession, with flags and banners flying and garlands waving, to the grounds. On their arrival they were met and welcomed by Mr and Miss Macneill and guests, and conducted to the Terrace. The Empire song, 'Flag of Britain', was sung, and the flag saluted. Mr Macneill presented the Head Mistress with a framed portrait of King Edward VII to hang upon the schoolroom wall.

A move was made to the playing field where games were indulged in, notably 'Mrs Jarley's Circus', which elicited shrieks of laughter, till teatime. A sumptuous spread

was done full justice to, and more games were indulged in. At 7.30 the children were assembled again upon the terrace and sang the evening hymn. They thanked their Host and Hostess for their great kindness, giving rousing cheers. At their departure each child received a large bun and bag of gooseberries.<sup>34</sup>

A row blew up at the beginning of the following term between school managers and the borough

education committee over the exclusion from the school of children outside the borough. As the parish had been divided in 1881 into Malling Within and Malling Without, the education committee attempted to exclude children from Malling Without, but the managers instructed Miss Fowler Tutt to re-admit them.<sup>35</sup>

It was at this time that the so-called Holmes-Morant memorandum caused a furore within the teaching profession. Edmond Holmes, Chief Inspector of Elementary Schools, and Robert Morant, Secretary to the Board of Education, resigned over the publication of a memo Holmes had sent Morant criticising inspectors who had formerly 'only' been elementary school teachers. At a meeting of the teachers association, now presided over by Amy Chambers, Kate submitted a resolution of protest against this document:

That this association enters its most emphatic protest against the prevailing practice of restricting appointments and promotions in the higher branches of the administration of the affairs of the Empire to persons who have received their education in the great public schools and older universities, thereby placing an effective barrier in the way of candidates fully qualified by ability, knowledge, and experience, merely because their preliminary education has been received in the primary and other schools of the country; and having regard to the opinions expressed in the Holmes-Morant circular and to the power wielded by highly-placed officials who give effect to those opinions, appeals to the Prime Minister to appoint a Select Committee to enquire into the whole question of appointment and promotion in the inspectorate of the Board of Education and other branches of the Civil Service. That a copy of the resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, the Chairman of the Labour Party, the President of the Board of Education, and other Members of Parliament.

She would have none of the exclusivity of those who could afford the expense of a public school followed by university. Democracy should value personal and intellectual merit, whether acquired by heredity or training. If this resolution ensured that in every case the best man for the position was chosen, no matter how he became the best man, it would go far

to securing the educational efficiency desired by all. The resolution was carried unanimously.<sup>36</sup>

Kate was justifiably proud of her own erudition and attended the mayor's fancy dress ball in 1912 as a Professor of Wisdom.<sup>37</sup> The breadth and depth of the education she had acquired by her own efforts was demonstrated by the variety of subjects about which she could talk entertainingly, and she was in regular demand as a speaker: at the Sisterhood of the Tabernacle Congregational Church in Lower High Street; at the Tabernacle Literary Society of which she was an active member; and at the Co-operative Society Guild. In January 1915 an introduction to botany, 'presented in a novel and entertaining form', was declared by the Revd Wilkinson to be one of the best scientific discourses he had ever had the pleasure of hearing.<sup>38</sup>

#### CENTRAL SENIOR GIRLS' SCHOOL

Towards the end of 1912 it was announced that, after 21 years at South Malling, Miss Fowler Tutt was to become headmistress of the Central Senior Girls' School, St Andrew's Place, Southover. A few weeks later it was revealed that this move had been accomplished without her having gone through the usual channels. Instead of applying, as 49 applicants had, for the position offered at a salary of £125 per annum, she had written to offer her services provided that she suffered no reduction in her current salary of £147. Education committee minutes record her appointment at a commencing salary of £145, rising to £150 after one year.<sup>39</sup> These figures are to be compared with the salary paid to the headmaster of the Central Boys' School at this time. Throughout these years in her second post as headmistress, Kate's salary would never match that of her counterpart, despite the fact that the number of girls on the roll could reach nearly 180, while the number of boys could fall to below 100.<sup>40</sup>

On 3 February 1913, Kate inscribed in the Central Girls' School logbook, 'I have today commenced my duties as Head Mistress' (Fig. 2).<sup>41</sup> She found the premises in a far from satisfactory state and had to begin by having a viewing platform installed so that she could see across her classroom without having to stand on a chair (Fig. 3). She frequently expressed concern about the welfare of her girls: from the effect of backless desk seats on their posture to inattention and lethargy resulting from malnourishment. Pupil and staff absences



© Edward Reeves Lewes

Fig. 2 Kate Fowler Tutt 1913 (Edward Reeves, Lewes)

because of illness were frequent. Inadequate sanitation, ventilation and, particularly, heating were chronic problems. 'The children cannot begin to work until they have had an hour's marching and drill.' During the fuel shortage of 1917, 'The children could not hold their pens. And their coughs were deafening.'<sup>42</sup> Equipment and books were in short supply, and when Mrs Stewart-Jones of Southover

Grange visited, her donations of paper and books as well as of apples were appreciated.<sup>43</sup>

In addition, the school's location on the opposite side of the road from the railway station and the cattle and sheep market could make effective teaching impossible. 'Lewes Races are on today and the noise of the charabanc touts, market cattle and engines is almost unbearable.'<sup>44</sup> Certainly,

frustration and despair often seem to be the mood expressed in end-of-term reports in the logbook, but a very different impression of the school is conveyed through approving *Sussex Express* accounts of its productive activity and successes, presumably based on information supplied by Kate herself. Her skill in publicising the achievements of her school in this way could be seen to develop while she was at South Malling, where conditions must have been no less daunting.

On 18 March 1913 Kate recorded the writing out by over 100 girls of her Health Commandments, ‘stuck on brown paper, eyeleted and strung so that they could be hung in bedrooms’. This was a preliminary to National Health Week in April, when girls attended a Red Cross demonstration of First Aid and a mothercraft exhibition in the town hall.

Another event that week saw Kate Fowler Tutt working with writer and lecturer on public health, Greta Allen, a Suffragette organiser who had been imprisoned for militancy, and had attended the 1912 fancy dress ball in her Holloway uniform.<sup>45</sup>

Young Lewes was well represented at the Assembly Room when school children of the town were addressed by Miss G. Allen. Head teachers and their staffs had heartily co-operated with the promoters of Health Week, and under their supervision boys and girls attended in hundreds. Every available space in the building was occupied, even the platform being utilised. There were children everywhere, and the scene was probably unprecedented in Lewes. Miss Allen’s lecture, illustrated with blackboard drawings, occupied about three quarters of an hour.<sup>46</sup>

Telling the children that they could improve the health of the whole nation by looking after their own health, Greta Allen emphasised the importance of pure air, warmth, good food, rest and exercise, and the care of skin, teeth and hair.

Kate must have been in enthusiastic agreement with this. That evening she was on the platform with Greta Allen, and Maud Vallance, wife of the School Hill GP and secretary of the Lewes Women’s Suffrage Society. They and other prominent Lewes

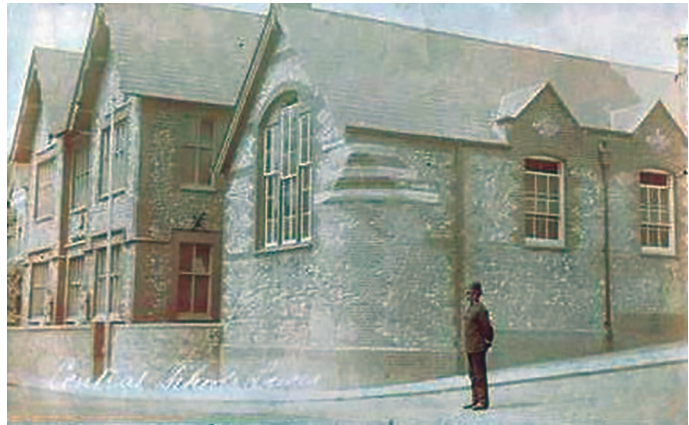


Fig. 3 Central Senior School, Lewes, photograph by James Cheetham, c. 1908 (courtesy of Bob Cairns)

women were supporting Dr Louisa Martindale, daughter of veteran suffragist Louisa Martindale.<sup>47</sup> She spoke about infant mortality, alcoholism and white slave traffic. Women had to take responsibility for these evils and educate the public so as to make them impossible. The remedy was the Parliamentary vote. Central School pupils were among the prize winners in an essay competition held that week by the Women’s Imperial Health Association. The title, ‘How to Prevent Consumption’, had been the subject of a recent lecture to schoolchildren organised by Kate, under the auspices of the Women’s Imperial Health Association. Essays printed in the *Sussex Express* included useful tips. ‘Keep your pavement clean, as people often spit, and when it is dry, germs are scattered by the wind. Keep body and house clean, especially the corners.’<sup>48</sup>

The Lewes branch of the Juvenile Health Crusade was inaugurated during this week. In July its 400 members joined branches from Brighton and elsewhere in the south at a fête at the Crystal Palace, this ‘away day’ being organised by Kate as honorary secretary of the branch. In November a rally was held in the Town Hall, and in May 1914 children and parents again filled the Assembly Room to hear her on the platform with Greta Allen, now organising secretary of the East Sussex Health Association. Kate regretted that they had been unable to form a committee of ladies of leisure. If only they could wake up such people to a sense of responsibility to their poorer brethren.<sup>49</sup>

In 1914 the Juvenile Health Crusade’s annual outing, arranged by Kate with Amy Chambers,



took the form of a memorable day spent in bracing seaside air. A special train conveyed 391 children and 87 adults, many of them parents, to Seaford where the children were first marched to the county schools and given a scone, a banana and a bag of sweets each. Beach activity, made all the more entertaining by a cargo boat that had run aground in early morning fog, was punctuated by dinner for the children in a field and luncheon for helpers in Clinton Hall.<sup>50</sup>

When a children's care committee was formed in July 1914, consisting of head teachers and other professionals, it was to liaise between the School Medical Officer and the parents of those children who were unlikely to have become Juvenile Health Crusaders.<sup>51</sup> Wartime preoccupations prevented the implementation of this scheme and it was not until July 1922 that it was revived, with Kate emphasising the need for the continued care and guidance of 14-year-olds leaving school.<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile, thanks to her efforts, the Juvenile Health Crusade became so well established that its annual summer outing took place even in wartime.<sup>53</sup>

A 'strong emphasis on practical Christian service' was noted throughout the consistently complimentary annual reports on Religious Instruction submitted by the diocesan inspector during Kate's headship at Central School.<sup>54</sup> This was reflected in the way in which she put her organisational skills to full use on the home front as soon as war was declared. In September 1914 she announced that the whole of Central School had joined the Young Patriots League and was busily engaged in helpful service. Indeed, the prodigious amount of knitting being done by these 160 girls was regularly reported. Every spare moment outside school hours was usefully employed. To replenish the wool box they were 'willingly foregoing their sweet money' and selling needlework items. Parcels of woollen helmets, socks, mittens and red flannel body belts were being shipped out, not only to fathers and brothers on active service, but as comforts to 'unknown heroes'. The completion of the 500th pair of socks was celebrated in November 1917.<sup>55</sup>

By early 1916 Central School girls were also raising money to contribute to the supply of eggs for the wounded. When their headmistress came up with a war savings scheme for Lewes schoolchildren, they were given cards to be filled with savings stamps purchased at the Post Office, using the money they

would otherwise have spent on chocolates, ginger beer and the cinema.<sup>56</sup>

In 1917, with the Central Girls School leading the way in thrift, Kate became a member of the town's War Savings Committee. 'Assuming naturally the position of lecturer' for this cause, she reiterated the need for continued contributions, citing the example of the more than 1000 knitted garments sent off by her girls.<sup>57</sup> In June 1918 these girls were allowed out of school early to watch an aeroplane display as a reward for their services in distributing War Savings leaflets round the town.<sup>58</sup>

In 1915 Kate had demonstrated at school the use of a haybox for cooking.<sup>59</sup> She responded to the appeal by the Ministry of Food for a food and fuel economy campaign by playing a leading part in the establishment of a communal kitchen in the Town Hall, and during the summer of 1917 instituted a stall in aid of the Victoria Hospital at the Saturday market in the Corn Exchange held by the Allotment Holders Association.<sup>60</sup> In July 1918 her children, instead of playing games, were out distributing leaflets on saving coal.<sup>61</sup>

In October 1914 the government inspector's report had commended the use made of what might otherwise be considered waste material, and in December 1915, a 'remarkable exhibition' held by Central School girls of knitting in all stages of advancement, fancy goods, underclothing, blouses, etc., made out of odds and ends, had demonstrated what could be made from old stockings and pants. In April 1916, the Patriotic Housekeeping Exhibition, staged in Brighton largely by members of Sussex-wide Suffrage Societies, gave Central School's 'moving spirit, whose efforts were worthy of imitation', the opportunity to deliver an address on 'The Tyranny of Fashion', reported in *The Times* as well as in the local press. After the war, extravagant women of leisure would no longer be able to subject themselves to the wasteful tyranny of fashion. Uniforms for working women were commended. 'HRH Princess Louis Duchess of Argyll inspected the Central Girls' work and laughed heartily at the explanation of the possibilities of father's pants, mother's old stockings and Aunt Mary's petticoat, the last-named article having been transformed into a homely-looking mat. She was Exceedingly pleased and surprised at the originality and skill displayed in the manufacture of such a variety of useful articles from odds and ends.'<sup>62</sup>

In October 1918, another exhibition of children's garments, toys, rugs and other household articles

made from oddments and rags, took place at the Central Girls' School. The money raised from the sale of such handicrafts had provided wool for hundreds of pairs of socks for the 90 servicemen whose daughters and sisters attended the school. At a later exhibition of her girls' needlework, both everyday garments and fancy embroidery, Kate claimed that she herself wore the frocks they made.<sup>63</sup>

In the 1922 government inspector's annual report, one of only two surviving from this period, the remodelling of 'thrifty' garments was seen as one of the means by which the girls were led to develop 'wide sympathies and varied interests' and to provide 'help to public charities in concrete form'.<sup>64</sup> Another document, which must date from the same time, lists 333 garments sent to 'Starving Children of Europe' in 1920, 298 to 'Barnardo's' in 1921, and 275 to 'Waifs and Strays' in 1922.<sup>65</sup> In January 1920 as much time as possible was being spent on making garments for newly-founded 'Save the Children', and in 1921 a large box of repaired and renovated garments was sent to 'Barnardo's', although 'some were made to fit some of our poor ones and are now worn in school'.<sup>66</sup> Despite the poverty of many of the children, also recorded throughout the logbook are collections of money to be sent to various charities.

During Kate's final year as headmistress, her girls continued to shine: on the occasion of the 660th anniversary of the Battle of Lewes, marked by a lecture on the spot overlooking the scene, two of them shared the prize offered by the mayoress for their essays on the event.<sup>67</sup> Shortly before leaving the school she was able to consign a sack of 168 garments to 'Waifs and Strays'.<sup>68</sup> She could have confidence in her successor, Elsie Flight, whose appointment as a teacher at Central School in 1918 she had welcomed, writing to Mr Morris, secretary to the Lewes Education Committee, 'I feel she will be worth putting all my training energies into and will make a successful teacher in due time'.<sup>69</sup>

On only a few occasions could Kate record in the logbook that girls had been accepted for free secondary education.<sup>70</sup> One regret must have been that so many continued to leave school as soon as they turned 14. In 1911, a year before Kate left South Malling, the government inspector had declared in his annual report that the future of most of the girls was probably some form of domestic work.<sup>71</sup> At the beginning of the logbook is an undated list of over

70 girls who had left school since the start of her headship in February 1913. Nearly half had gone into domestic service, and only five into some form of further education. 'It is so very disheartening, just as one has stimulated their intelligence and begun to see good results.'<sup>72</sup>

## FEMINIST POLITICS

In 'Noble Woman or Flabby Female', a talk to the Sisterhood in 1915, Kate had declared that women, especially mothers, should aspire to their full personal potential; they were responsible for the future generation.<sup>73</sup> Three years later, at the Westgate Unitarian Chapel Literary Society, she advocated outside work for all women. Women would find many openings in social service and should prepare for participation in Imperial politics. Women should make a clean sweep of representatives whose sole idea was saving rates rather than spending them. Women would be well advised not to join political parties. They would have much more independence as freelancers. Women architects were needed to design better housing. There should be women magistrates and women's courts to deal with women's cases. Women must demand equal rights in all areas of life.<sup>74</sup>

By December 1918 a General Election campaign was underway, with all candidates trying to appeal to newly-enfranchised women. Kate, now wholeheartedly sharing the suffragist principles of Amy Chambers and others, addressed the Sisterhood on the importance of exercising the vote. There was more poverty, malnourishment, and disease here than in any other civilised country. Legislation must no longer concern itself primarily with business interests. Women must put things right.<sup>75</sup>

To reinforce this message, she attended the various candidates' meetings. At meetings held by Independent candidate, Lieutenant Gardiner, she was invited to change her seat in the body of the hall for the position of a speaker on the platform, and at Labour candidate Mr Pargeter's final rally in Lewes, she again emphasised the use of the vote as a fresh responsibility for women.<sup>76</sup>

During the War, Kate had talked to the Sisterhood and other groups on the beauty of the immediate environment. Lewes was 'an album of lovely peeps', whether the view from St Swithun's Terrace, where she had recently taken up residence at no. 28, or the

80-mile panorama of Wealden beauty enjoyed from the top of the Downs. These were to be contrasted with the desolate, shattered land of France, so short a distance away. Days should be spent on the Downs whenever possible, the memory of such beautiful landscapes being an invaluable investment.<sup>77</sup>

After the War, and especially following her retirement from teaching, Kate started going further afield to give talks: not only to WI branches in the Lewes area, but all over East and Mid Sussex and into Kent, sending the Press transcripts of such favourite lectures as that on 'Old Sussex Industries'.<sup>78</sup> It was she who addressed the inaugural weekly Women's Hour meeting at Eastgate Baptist Chapel, and she actually conducted services from the pulpit at Westgate Chapel. The address she delivered there on how the world might be saved from its current man-made crisis was printed in the *Sussex Express*.<sup>79</sup>

In October 1913 she had been the only woman among those who gathered to form a ratepayers association, and as the only woman present at its first AGM, and 'the most admirable example of working ladies that could be imagined', she was invited to become a member of the committee. At these meetings she urged that working men be enticed to take an intelligent interest in town affairs. They must be told where their money went, but it must be put to them in an understandable and enjoyable form.<sup>80</sup>

Her own interest in town affairs became increasingly political during the post-war years. Having talked to the Sisterhood about working class housing, she urged its members to vote at forthcoming municipal elections.<sup>81</sup> She championed the working class, expressing sympathy with its justifiable discontent, and especially with the miners who were threatening to strike over the reduction of wages and the increase in working hours consequent on the Government returning control of the coal industry to pit owners. The lines from the hymn,

The rich man in his castle  
The poor man at his gate,  
God made them high or lowly,  
And ordered their estate

were 'the finest piece of blasphemy there was'.<sup>82</sup>

She was a founder member of the Lewes Housing Society, formed to try to supply low-cost housing for the working poor. It had hoped to raise funds by selling 32,000 shares at £1 each, but had sold only 715, so was in debt after building only three houses

to let. Chairing the society's first AGM, she appealed to her fellow townfolk for more financial support.<sup>83</sup>

When Miss Fowler Tutt's retirement was announced, it was stated that she intended to develop the social work in which she had taken such a prominent part for many years. She had recently expressed this determination in an address to the Sisterhood, urging the membership to take an interest in municipal affairs, attend council meetings, and vote, rather than sinking into apathetic indifference. 'We want men and women running the world with equal rights, equal duties, and equal responsibilities.'<sup>84</sup> Speakers at her retirement ceremony, confident that she would pass the rest of her life in occupations beneficial to her fellow citizens, looked forward to her influence for good on the rising generation being exercised for many years to come. Reference was made to the imminent municipal election: it was hoped that she would find a new field of service on the borough council.

In fact, the election took place the very day after her retirement on 31 October, and she topped the poll in Castle Ward. 'It is possible she may be the one to introduce a new spirit into our municipal life.'<sup>85</sup>

Kate Fowler Tutt was only the second woman councillor in Lewes. Mrs Hannah Wood, wife of the then East Sussex County Surveyor, served on the borough council from 1920 until 1926. Kate took her seat on 1 November 1924. Interviewed about her decision to retire before pensionable age, she explained that she was at the zenith of her intellectual powers, but the excessive marking necessitated by new methods of teaching was causing eyestrain, and she wanted to devote her life now to adding colour to adults' lives by offering her lectures on the wide variety of subjects in which she was qualified.<sup>86</sup>

On taking her council seat, Kate was appointed immediately to the education, housing, isolation hospital, and library committees. In 1926 she was also appointed to the finance and general purposes committee and thence to the museum committee and pleasure grounds and baths committees. In the early 1930s she would serve as a manager of the School of Science and Art.<sup>87</sup>

As one of the head teachers who had reported on educational provision in Lewes, following the Education Act of 1918, Kate contributed to the 1920 borough council draft plan for significant re-organisation and new school building, and now, as

a member of the education committee, she lost no time in having her say at council meetings.<sup>88</sup> Before the war she had applied to use the Convent Garden for sports, and ten years later, when the provision of a bowling green there was debated, she argued that an Elysian field for 30 nice old gentlemen was not justified when poor children had no place to kick a football about. When no progress was made as regards a school playing field, she took the matter into her own hands, and negotiated with the owner the use of Ham Field.<sup>89</sup>

As regards educational visits, these should be not only to the Castle, the Priory and the Museum, but to the gas, electricity and water works—and to the iron foundry for boys and to the Malling steam laundry for girls. Secondary school head teachers were urged to recommend the free year's training at the town's School of Science and Art available to boy school leavers. From a meeting of the Association of Education Committees, she relayed the resolution that attendance at training centres should be made compulsory for unemployed 14–16 year olds.<sup>90</sup>

She deplored the suggestion that country children should not be educated at town schools because they might then not want to stay on the land, and returned from a conference of the World Federation of Education Authorities saying curriculum subjects unconnected with life were to be deleted; manual work and craftsmanship were to be given greater importance; there was to be teaching about social problems in order to produce a better type of citizen. As ideas were constantly developing, no school building should last more than 20–30 years, and all new schools should be provided with gymnasiums and swimming pools.<sup>91</sup>

Her concern for the welfare of children extended to out-of-school activity. Regarding new bye-laws to do with the employment of 12 to 14-year-olds, she pointed out that employers were to supply children engaged in outdoor work with boots and clothing to protect them from bad weather. During the recent rainy period, she had been vexed to see children delivering newspapers with their boots and clothes wet through. Very few were provided with capes and rubber boots. It was no use wanting to raise an A1 nation if boys were allowed to stand about with wet feet and clothes.<sup>92</sup>

As a member of the housing committee, chair in 1927, and vice-chair in 1926, 1928 and 1930, Kate played a central part in the first stage of the creation of the Nevill Estate. The 1925 Housing Act

provided for the government-subsidised building in 1927 of 20 houses 'for members of the working class' at Crossway, north of Northway. There was much arguing as to whether the houses should be built of brick, or using the innovative technique of pouring concrete into a steel frame. Eventually the majority vote was for concrete, as this would be cheaper.

Sneering councillors who subsequently called the completed houses 'a blot on the landscape' were told by their chair that their criticisms were 'vitriolic and petty', and reminded that it was they who had decided against using brick. There had been 97 applicants for the houses: 16 had been allocated to ex-servicemen with large families; the other four to cases of special need. She wanted to have some of the garden space reserved as a playground where children could play together safely, observed by their mothers from their scullery windows. Approval of this idea was far from unanimous; it would devalue the property, and she was later obliged to report that her committee had decided against the play area.<sup>93</sup>

At the opening ceremony, committee chair, Councillor Fowler Tutt, responsible for seeing the project through, handed the mayor the key to the first house. The report was illustrated by two photographs: one of a house awaiting occupation, the other of assembled councillors, taking corporate pride in a job well done at such little expense to the council.<sup>94</sup>

A Nevill Estate amenity she went on to fight for was the placing on the green of children's swings, to be donated by Councillor Every. When fellow councillors decided against this, she protested that this was another instance of the callous indifference and utter disregard of the needs of poor children, so typical of Lewes. She had been trying to secure play space for poor children for 30 years, without success. The opposition always came from people whose children had the advantage of a good environment. In 1936 she was still arguing the need for safe, enclosed play areas, pointing out to the mayor, who suggested that children could play on the Downs, that these were too far away. Even agreement to the planting of rowan trees, to be supplied by her and Councillor Every, was hard won. She did not hesitate to tell her fellow councillors that some of them were stupidly out-of-date.<sup>95</sup>

Kate took her campaign for more council housing to Chailey Rural District Council, responsible, until Lewes District Council was formed in 1974, for the

parishes of St Ann Without, St John Without and South Malling Without. Co-opted in 1925, she congratulated the council for waking up to the need to provide working class housing, whatever the cost to those who already lived in comfortable homes.<sup>96</sup>

She also became a member of the Lewes Union Board of Poor Law Guardians in 1925, and was appointed to several committees. As a member of the asylum committee, she regularly visited Hellingly Mental Hospital, and she continued as a 'Lady Visitor' on the boarding out committee, visiting children in foster homes, until the county council took over the functions of the board of guardians under the 1929 Local Government Act. In 1926, however, she had actually retired from both the board and from the Chailey Rural District Council, saying that she was in such demand as a speaker all over the county that her health was beginning to be affected, and she needed to curtail her activities. In any case, as she explained in a talk to the Sisterhood on the history of social legislation, although the Poor Law Boards of Guardians were the salt of the earth, it was time for a new system to deal with distress and destitution.<sup>97</sup>

At the 1927 municipal election, she again topped the poll in Castle Ward, and enjoyed 'an enthusiastic reception' at the count, taking the opportunity 'to blow one little squeak out of her own trumpet': her record of attendance at meetings was second only to the mayor's and equalled by only one other councillor. She promised to work just as hard during the year to come.<sup>98</sup>

Housing remained a priority. Addressing the Scientific and Literary Society in 1930, she said that in Lewes there were some perfectly horrible houses: some back-to-backs that were quite as bad as in the mining districts. All ought to be cleared away, but the moment this was talked about, those who were comfortably housed were up-in-arms, saying that people were used to them.<sup>99</sup> The 1930 Housing Act imposed on the housing committee a five-year slum clearance programme, and in 1934 she was appointed to a sub-committee to work on a timetable of action for the demolition of 254 houses and the displacement of nearly 1000 people.

Kate also chaired the committee of the isolation hospital from 1927, and on one occasion she had to defend it against 'ugly rumours'. These, after immediate and thorough investigation, she found to be 'grossly exaggerated', namely, that men and boys peered through windows at women dressing,

and that one patient was not given all the eight eggs she had been brought.<sup>100</sup>

In 1938 she supported the closure of the hospital, pointing out that in the last year there had only been one case of diphtheria and one case of scarlet fever admitted, and that for six months the hospital had been empty. She considered that no other town the size of Lewes had so few cases, and attributed this to the improved conditions the borough council had given the poorer citizens by building the garden suburbs of Winterbourne and Landport. The following year she became one of the borough council representatives on the new Joint Hospital Board covering Lewes, Newhaven and Seaford.<sup>101</sup>

Kate's sense of social responsibility extended far beyond the local. At a meeting in April 1927 of the Lewes branch of the League of Nations, she declared that there must be 'no next war', and at that month's education committee meeting she was appointed as a delegate to a Board of Education conference on teaching elementary schoolchildren about the league. In 1930 she secured the agreement of Lewes Borough Council to an annual peace day to be marked by all schools.<sup>102</sup>

In August 1931, as first President of the International Friendship League, newly-formed by war veteran Noel Ede, she welcomed students from Berlin to the Friendship Camp established at Ede's home at Peacehaven. By 1932 there were five peace camps in the area and Kate, who welcomed further groups of European students to the Lewes area until 1938, accompanied English groups to Germany and lectured there on the peace movement.<sup>103</sup>

She could draw on this experience at a women's meeting of the Burwash Weald Conservative Club where she talked of the voluntary youth labour corps being trained to create a new Germany. Hitler's movement had awakened the soul of Germany. Two years later, addressing the Selveston and Alciston WI, she described Hitler as an idealist, saying that she spoke from personal observation. As a founder member of the Lewes Society for the Study of Religion, she was reported, under the headline, 'Lewes Councillor Admires Hitler', to have met Hitler and found him to be a man of magnetic personality. Young Nazis were being brought up to the highest ethical and intellectual standards. In the next 20 years the Russians and Germans would become the best educated people in the world. 'Unless we think seriously about developing



Fig. 4 Kate Fowler Tutt, in mortarboard, at meeting in Lewes Town Hall, April 1927 (Edward Reeves, Lewes)

our children both physically and mentally, we shall be in a sad state in the years to come.’ Following a visit to Russia, she extolled its ‘absolute equality’ and ‘immense progress in education’.<sup>104</sup>

Although initially an advocate of international disarmament in League of Nations debates, in 1934 Kate seconded a motion that the league must be prepared to employ military measures to compel obedience to its mandates. 1935 saw her chairing a meeting that resolved that the league take action to prevent war between Italy and Abyssinia. In June 1937 she was on the platform at a meeting in the town hall calling for fund raising to aid victims of the war in Spain. She walked out of a meeting



of the International Friendship League in 1939, disagreeing with the proposal that members who were conscientious objectors be assisted when

appearing before military tribunals. The war could be attributed to the German view of Britain as 'rotten to the core with pacifism'.<sup>105</sup>

During the '30s, Kate had talked frequently on 'The Power of the Woman Citizen'. Gatherings of women were a vital feature of the century. If peace was to be ensured in the world, women would have to make it. By 1941 she saw British democracy as needing to be defended against the tyrannies of Bolshevism as well as of Nazism and Fascism, and women were told that after the war they must keep this democracy alive by not leaving politics to their husbands: they must push councillors, MPs and civil servants to get things done.<sup>106</sup>

In 1927 she had been the speaker at the ninth birthday meeting of the Plumpton WI, founded by three leading members of the pre-war Cuckfield and Central Sussex Women's Suffrage Society.<sup>107</sup> Ten years later this branch received particular encouragement in the first of a series of monthly articles in the *Sussex County Herald* upholding women's institutes and townswomen's guilds as 'valuable adjuncts to local government and town and country life' and highlighting beneficial community work being done by women across the county. In all matters of public concern, women should take the keenest interest. At the same time it was reported by the Lewes and District WI that she was contributing to the attempt to keep smaller branches going by giving a series of free lectures.<sup>108</sup>

Kate also did her best to keep small churches going, whatever their denomination. Presiding at a concert at the Providence Baptist Church in July 1938, she expressed disappointment in the amount raised during the past year for the local minister. She had denied herself a visit to the opera at Glyndebourne and was instead paying one guinea for her seat in the beautifully restored Baptist church that evening.<sup>109</sup>

As the *Sussex Express* commented, Councillor Fowler Tutt was rivalled only by the mayor in the frequency with which she was invited to open fund-raising events, but she was never elected an alderman, despite the newspaper pointing out in 1938 that, 'If seniority is considered, we may have what would be a novelty for Lewes – a lady alderman, for Councillor Fowler Tutt is second in seniority to her longest-serving colleague'. A year later, readers were reminded that it would be a fitting reward for her work on behalf of the town if the council

decided to elect her as the first woman alderman. Her eventual appointment as the first woman chair of the education committee was applauded as 'overdue and deserved recognition'. 'The choice could scarcely have fallen on an abler person.'<sup>110</sup>

This ability was applied to overseeing not only the term-time education of evacuated children, but also their holiday activities and entertainment, and to instigating a canteen at the new Mountfield Road School that had replaced the Central School premises. It was to be supplied by the school garden and to serve both Mountfield and other schools in the district. It was to save foster mothers of evacuee children from having to do so much cooking and to teach evacuee children good manners.

In 1940, however, Kate was 'pushed out' after ten months in the chair for failing to consult her committee about a financial matter. The *Sussex Express* thought that she should be given more credit for her untiring efforts in dealing with the influx of evacuees and especially for her leading role in establishing the Mountfield Road canteen.<sup>111</sup>

Circular 1486, published in November 1939, initiated a national youth service by making local education authorities responsible for the social and physical development of boys and girls aged 14–20 who were no longer in full-time education. Kate would become a member of the County Youth Advisory Committee when it was inaugurated in October 1941. Meanwhile, in May 1941, she defended the county council's proposed expenditure on four trained youth leaders, arguing that existing voluntary organisations catered for only a relatively small percentage of the town's youth.<sup>112</sup>

During this period she repeatedly warned the education committee that unless teachers in council schools were awarded the War Bonus recommended by the Board of Education's Burnham Committee, they would seek employment outside the borough. Lewes being one of the only two out of 315 authorities not observing the full Burnham agreement, this was indeed what the NUT advised. Eventually, following a deputation by teachers she introduced, the mayor's casting vote resulted in the Burnham dates and scales being applied.<sup>113</sup>

The 1944 Education Act put an end to the borough council's education committee in March 1945, and it was characteristic of Kate that one of her last actions as one of its members was to persuade her fellow councillors to spend £70 to purchase the

Ministry of Education's allocation of 433 pairs of plimsolls for physical education.<sup>114</sup>

A swansong contribution to a council debate was a reiteration of one of her favourite themes. There was colossal ignorance among the general public of the powers, duties and work of local authorities. In a true democracy, people must realise their responsibilities as well as their privileges. She hoped that a Civic Society would be established to secure real progress and promote the welfare of the town.<sup>115</sup>

## RETIREMENT

After more than 20 years' service, Kate stood down at the 1945 municipal election. On the eve of her retirement, she addressed the Lewes Labour Party, wishing its candidates for the borough council every success. They had her sympathy because they were up-to-date and in favour of changes that would benefit the town. If elected, they must look forward to continuous study and hard work and to getting nothing out of it except the deep personal satisfaction of contributing to the welfare of the community. She reminded women candidates that she had blazed the trail for them, being the one woman member of the council for so many years.<sup>116</sup>

As one of the guests at the 80th birthday dinner at the White Hart for Fanny Lauri, who had for several years been running the cigarette kiosk outside the railway station, Kate said that old age was not a matter of years but of mentality, and that their hostess was an example of the triumph of mind over matter. 'She had fine ideals, and ideas outside those of the everyday person. That is why she keeps so young.'<sup>117</sup>

She might have been describing herself. She continued going out to talk to WI and other

groups until 1952. At Barcombe in 1948 she was the 'special attraction', giving a 'characteristically clever and amusing talk'. In 1949 the Lewes branch of the National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations was formed, and at its first Sunday service in the Congregational Church, Kate delivered an address on 'How to Dodge Old Age'. Predictably, this involved keeping the brain busy by taking a keen interest in the affairs of the town and the world, and attending meetings of all political parties. 'The person who takes no interest in events might as well send for the undertaker's catalogue.'<sup>118</sup>

In 1950, now in her 83rd year, she addressed a rally of OAP Association branches from Lewes and along the coast on 'The Joys and Pleasures of Old Age', and the *Sussex Express* noted her 86th birthday in March 1954 by reporting that on that day a letter from her was read out at the weekly OAP Association social in the Co-op Hall. She wished members good health and hoped that when they reached the age of 86, they would be as happy as she was. Her obituary at the end of that year was headed, 'Lewes Loses a Great Personality', and was accompanied by a photograph of 'Katie', as she was affectionately known, in one of her extravagant hats. Tribute was paid to this 'exemplary character', much of whose well-spent life was devoted to efforts on behalf of children.<sup>119</sup>

No one as outspoken as Kate could win them all: romantic fiction writer, Mrs Henry Dudeney, with whom she can have had little in common save high self-esteem, described her in 1944 as 'that little absurdity Fowler Tutt peacocking along in her Councillor's robes'.<sup>120</sup> The last word, however, must be given to the *Sussex Express*. It had always admired and championed Katie, 'who spent so many years in so many directions in the service of others'.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *The Independent* 3 Jun 1999; *Brighton Evening Argus* 9 Apr 2012. A. Dyer (ed.), *Rodin in Lewes*, exhib. cat. (Ringmer: SculptureCo, 1999).
- <sup>2</sup> *East Sussex News* 4 Dec 1914; East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO) DL/D/164/7, letter in minutes of Finance and General Purposes Committee 27 May 1914; 28 Apr 1915 Town Hall Expenses Account payment to W. Bussey, preparing and fixing screen for statue £3 5s. Od.
- <sup>3</sup> *Sussex Express* (hereafter *SE*) 5 Feb 1915; *Sussex County Herald* 30 Jan 1915; *East Sussex News* 5 Feb 1915.

- <sup>4</sup> The National Archives RG 10 1080 p5, RG 11/1086 p2, RG 13/931 p10.
- <sup>5</sup> ESRO C/C 13/1/ 6, minutes of Lewes Borough Education Committee.
- <sup>6</sup> ESRO C/E 13/1/6; *Sussex Advertiser* (hereafter *SA*) 27 Jul 1892.
- <sup>7</sup> ESRO R/C 4/11/6-7, registers of School of Science and Art, Albion St, Lewes; The National Archives RG 14/5058/9/3.
- <sup>8</sup> ESRO R/C 4/11/6; *SA* 1 Feb 1893, 29 Jan 1894; *SE* 3 Feb 1894; *SA* 3 Feb 1896.
- <sup>9</sup> *SE* 5 Aug 1891, 16 Jan 1892, 21 Jan, 25 Feb 1893; *SA* 1 Mar 1893; *SE* 17 May 1904.



- <sup>10</sup> SE 23 Dec 1893.
- <sup>11</sup> SE 24 Nov 1894; SA 27 Nov 1895; SE 9 Apr 1895; SA 10 Apr 1895; SE 18 Oct 1902.
- <sup>12</sup> SA 14 Apr 1903.
- <sup>13</sup> SE 11 Feb 1899.
- <sup>14</sup> SA 5 Apr 1893, 23 Apr 1894, 11 Oct 1893, 12 Oct 1892; SE 13 Oct 1894; SA 15 Oct 1894; SE 30 Mar, 4 and 12 Oct, 29 Nov 1895; SA 2, 9, 23 Oct, 20 Nov 1895; SE 14 Feb 1896; SA 17 Feb 1896, 11 Apr 1903; SE 12 Dec 1903, 4 Mar 1905, 14 Jan 1910, 30 Dec 1910.
- <sup>15</sup> SA 10 Apr 1895, 9, 16, 30 Jan; 6, 20 Feb, 13, 27 Mar 1895, 12 Apr 1897; SE 13 May 1898.
- <sup>16</sup> SE 29 Apr 1902; SA 30 Apr 1902.
- <sup>17</sup> SE 1 Apr 1905, 12 Oct 1907.
- <sup>18</sup> SA 15 Mar 1897; SE 11 Mar 1898; SE 24 Mar 1900; SA 25 Mar 1901, 11 Apr 1903, 15 Mar 1905.
- <sup>19</sup> SE 9 Jun 1897, 3 Apr 1902, 21 May 1909, 27 Jun 1902; SA 2 Jul 1902, SE 23 Jun 1911; 1 Aug 1908.
- <sup>20</sup> SE 2 Jun 1906.
- <sup>21</sup> SE 27 May 1921.
- <sup>22</sup> SE 7 Nov 1903.
- <sup>23</sup> SA 14 Mar 1904.
- <sup>24</sup> SA 26 May 1905.
- <sup>25</sup> SE 4, 11 Jul 1908.
- <sup>26</sup> ESRO C/E 13/1/2, minutes 7 Feb 1905.
- <sup>27</sup> SE 18 Feb 1905, 1, 8 Feb 1908; *East Sussex News* 5 Feb 1908.
- <sup>28</sup> SA 4 Mar 1903, 8 Feb 1904; SE 6 Feb 1904, 3 Feb 1906, 24 Mar 1906, 2 Feb 1907, 21 Mar 1908, 2 Apr 1909, 25 Mar 1910, 24 Jan 1913, 1 Feb 1918, 26 Jan 1923.
- <sup>29</sup> SE 4 Apr, 19 Dec 1908.
- <sup>30</sup> SE 19 Mar 1909.
- <sup>31</sup> SE 11 Mar 1910.
- <sup>32</sup> SE 20 May 1910.
- <sup>33</sup> SA 12 Feb 1902; SE 24 Jan 1913.
- <sup>34</sup> SE 29 July 1910.
- <sup>35</sup> SE 14 Oct 1910.
- <sup>36</sup> SE 14 Jul 1911.
- <sup>37</sup> SE 2 Feb 1912.
- <sup>38</sup> *East Sussex News* 15 Jan 1915; SE talks to Co-op Society Guild 11 Oct 1912, 2 Apr 1914; to Tabernacle Social and Literary Soc 29 Mar 1912, 15 Jan 1914, 15 Jan 1915, 23 Feb 1934; to Tabernacle Sisterhood 22 Jan 1915, 10 Dec 1915, 22 Sept 1916, 6 July 1917, 13 Dec 1918, 30 May 1919, 31 Oct 1919, 5 Nov 1920, 17 Dec 1920, 14 Oct 1921, 22 Oct 1923, 17 Oct 1924, 23 Oct 1925, 1 Apr 1926, 13 May 1927, 29 Nov 1929, 30 May 1930, 12 Jun 1936.
- <sup>39</sup> SE 1 Nov 1912; *East Sussex News* 10 Jan 1913; ESRO C/E 13/1/4.
- <sup>40</sup> ESRO C/E 13/4-6.
- <sup>41</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, Lewes Central Girls' School, log book.
- <sup>42</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entries for 23 Jan 1914 and 9 Mar 1917.
- <sup>43</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entries for 9 Feb 1914 and 6 Sep 1917.
- <sup>44</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 3 Sep 1923.
- <sup>45</sup> F. Stenlake, 'The Lady fired splendidly, Lewes and the Women's Suffrage Campaign', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **152** (2014), 139–52.
- <sup>46</sup> SE 11 Apr 1913.
- <sup>47</sup> Stenlake (2014).
- <sup>48</sup> SE 21 Mar, 11 Apr 1913.
- <sup>49</sup> SE 4 July 1913, 7 Nov, 14 May 1914.
- <sup>50</sup> SE 25 Jun 1914; ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 19 Jun 1914.
- <sup>51</sup> SE 16 Jul 1914.
- <sup>52</sup> SE 21 Jul 1922.
- <sup>53</sup> SE 26 Jun 1916; *East Sussex News* 2 July 1917.
- <sup>54</sup> ESRO HIL 8/1/9, diocesan inspector's reports on Lewes Central Schools.
- <sup>55</sup> *East Sussex News* 20 Nov 1914; ESRO AMS 6341/1, entries for 4 Sept 1914, end of term report Dec 1914, 29 Jun 1915, 31 Oct 1917, 21 Nov 1917.
- <sup>56</sup> SE 3 Mar, 30 Jun 1916; ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 14 Jun 1916.
- <sup>57</sup> SE 14 Dec 1917; 11 Jan 1918.
- <sup>58</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 11 Jun 1918.
- <sup>59</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 29 Jun 1915.
- <sup>60</sup> SE 26 Jan 1917, 16 Feb 1917, 27 Apr, 11, 18 May 1917, 6, 13 Jul 1917.
- <sup>61</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 6 Jul 1918.
- <sup>62</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, copied in entry for 14 Oct 1914; *East Sussex News* 10 Dec 1915; *Times* 28 Apr 1916; SE 28 Apr 1916; *East Sussex News* 5 May 1916.
- <sup>63</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 18 Oct 1918; SE 18 Oct, 1 Nov 1918, 7 May, 10 Dec 1920; ESRO AMS 6341/1, entries for 26 Jan, 3 Dec 1920.
- <sup>64</sup> ESRO HIL 8/1/10, HMI reports on Lewes Central Schools.
- <sup>65</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/9.
- <sup>66</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1 entries for 26 Jan 1920, 2 Nov 1921.
- <sup>67</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entries for 14, 16 May 1924; SE 25 Jul 1924.
- <sup>68</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 17 Oct 1924.
- <sup>69</sup> ESRO HIL 8/1/16.
- <sup>70</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entries for 5 Jan 1914, 14 Jul 1914, 17 Mar 1921, 15 Jul 1921.
- <sup>71</sup> ESRO C/C 13/1/4, minutes 15 Jan 1912.
- <sup>72</sup> ESRO AMS 6341/1, entry for 17 Oct 1913.
- <sup>73</sup> SE 29 Jan 1915; *East Sussex News* 15 Jan 1915.
- <sup>74</sup> SE 8 Nov 1918. This was one of the lectures delivered to the Westgate Unitarian Chapel Literary Society by the Revd J. Connell and other local authoritative figures and published in J. E. Connell (ed.), *Problems of Reconstruction* (Lewes: W. E. Baxter, 1919).
- <sup>75</sup> SE 13 Dec 1918.
- <sup>76</sup> SE 20 Dec 1918.
- <sup>77</sup> *Pike's Directory* 1914–15; SE 23 Sep 1916.
- <sup>78</sup> SE 14 Apr 1927.
- <sup>79</sup> SE 21 Jan, 17 Apr 1930; 7 Oct, 18 Nov 1932.
- <sup>80</sup> SE 31 Oct 1913; 8 Jan 1914.
- <sup>81</sup> SE 14 Feb, 31 Oct 1919.
- <sup>82</sup> SE 5 Nov 1920.
- <sup>83</sup> SE 21 Mar 1924.
- <sup>84</sup> SE 17 Oct 1924.
- <sup>85</sup> SE 7 Nov 1924.
- <sup>86</sup> SE 21 Nov 1924.
- <sup>87</sup> Lewes Borough Council minutes and reports: ESRO C/E 13/7–10, Education Committee, DL/D 169, 174–5, Housing Committee, DL/D 161/3, Isolation Hospital Committee, DL/D 164, Finance and General Purposes Committee, DL/D 166/3–4, Library Committee, DL/D 178/2, Managers of School of Science and Art, DL/D 179, Museum Committee, DL/D 182/1–3, Pleasure Grounds and Baths Committee.
- <sup>88</sup> SE 20 Feb 1920
- <sup>89</sup> SE 6 Apr 1914, 5 Dec 1924, 3 Jul, 25 Sep 1925.
- <sup>90</sup> SE 17 Oct 1930, 20 Nov 1931, 23 Jun 1933.
- <sup>91</sup> SE 19 Jun 1935, 20 Sep 1935.

- <sup>92</sup> SE 18 Oct 1935.
- <sup>93</sup> SE 17 Jun, 7 Oct, 28 Oct 1927.
- <sup>94</sup> SE 14 Oct 1927.
- <sup>95</sup> SE 4 Oct 1929, 22 May 1936, 8 Feb 1929.
- <sup>96</sup> ESRO DL/D 38/12–13, Chailey RDC minutes; SE 26 Mar 1926.
- <sup>97</sup> ESRO G/6/1a/35, 36, 37, Lewes Union Board of Guardians minutes; SE 18 Dec 1925, 1 Apr, 24 Sep 1926.
- <sup>98</sup> SE 1 Apr 1926; 4 Nov 1927.
- <sup>99</sup> SE 19 Dec 1930.
- <sup>100</sup> SE 19 Dec 1930.
- <sup>101</sup> SE 28 Oct, 30 Dec 1938, 5 May, 27 Oct 1939.
- <sup>102</sup> SE 14, 22 Apr, 24 Jun 1927, 20 Jun 1930.
- <sup>103</sup> SE 10 Jun 1932, 16 Aug 1935, 31 Jul 1936, 6 Aug 1937, 19 Aug 1938.
- <sup>104</sup> SE 27 Jan 1933, 18 Jan 1935, 8 Nov 1935, 30 Oct 1936, 15 Jul 1938, 15 Oct 1939.
- <sup>105</sup> SE 29 Jan 1932, 23 Nov 1934, 20 Sep 1935, 18 Jun 1937, 15 Dec 1939.
- <sup>106</sup> SE 6 Oct 1933, 27 Mar, 24 Apr 1936, 6 Mar, 11 Sept 1942; *Kent and Sussex Courier* 9 May 1941.
- <sup>107</sup> SE 15 Jul 1927; F. Stenlake, *Mid Sussex Suffragists* (2009).
- <sup>108</sup> SE 4 Feb 1938; *Sussex County Herald* 4 Feb 1938.
- <sup>109</sup> SE 22 Jul 1938.
- <sup>110</sup> SE 14, 21 Aug 1936, 1 Apr 1938, 19 May, 23 Jun, 14 Jul 1939.
- <sup>111</sup> SE 29 Dec 1939; 26 Jan, 5 May 1940.
- <sup>112</sup> SE 23 May 1941; ESRO C/E 10/247, East Sussex Advisory Committee on Service of Youth minutes.
- <sup>113</sup> SE 22 May, 4 Sep, 27 Nov 1942, 8, 15 Jan 1943.
- <sup>114</sup> SE 23 Feb 1945.
- <sup>115</sup> SE 19 Oct 1945.
- <sup>116</sup> SE 19 Oct 1945.
- <sup>117</sup> SE 27 Mar 1936.
- <sup>118</sup> SE 14 May 1948; 27 May, 19 Aug, 30 Sep 1949.
- <sup>119</sup> SE 12 May 1950; 12 Mar; 31 Dec 1954.
- <sup>120</sup> A. L. Dudeney, *Mrs Henry Dudeney, A Lewes Diary 1916–1944*, ed. Diana Crook ([Heathfield: Tartarus P., 1998), 9 Mar 1944.
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