

In 1870, the Elementary Education Act brought compulsory primary schooling and with it the active and passive female franchise for the newly established School Boards. This study examines how women discussed these new rights and generated opportunities for women in the election campaigns, administration and teaching profession. I also show how the London School Board implemented the ideological programme of reforming working-class pupils in the hope of generating an improved nation and contributing to a successful future amidst fin-de-siècle fears of decay.

Im Jahr 1870 brachte der Elementary Education Act allgemeine Grundschulbildung. Gleichzeitig durften Frauen für die neuen Schulräte kandidieren und wählen. Meine Studie untersucht, wie Frauen ihre neuen Rechte diskutierten und neue Möglichkeiten für Frauen schafften. Ich zeige auch, wie der Londoner Schulrat das ideologische Programm einer reformierten Arbeiterklasse in der Hoffnung auf eine verbesserte nächste Generation umsetzte.

The London School Board, Women Professionals
and Female Emancipation, 1870-1904

Beacons of Civilisation:

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The London School Board, Women Professionals
and Female Emancipation,
1870-1904

Miriam Dolan-Weber



Universität Regensburg
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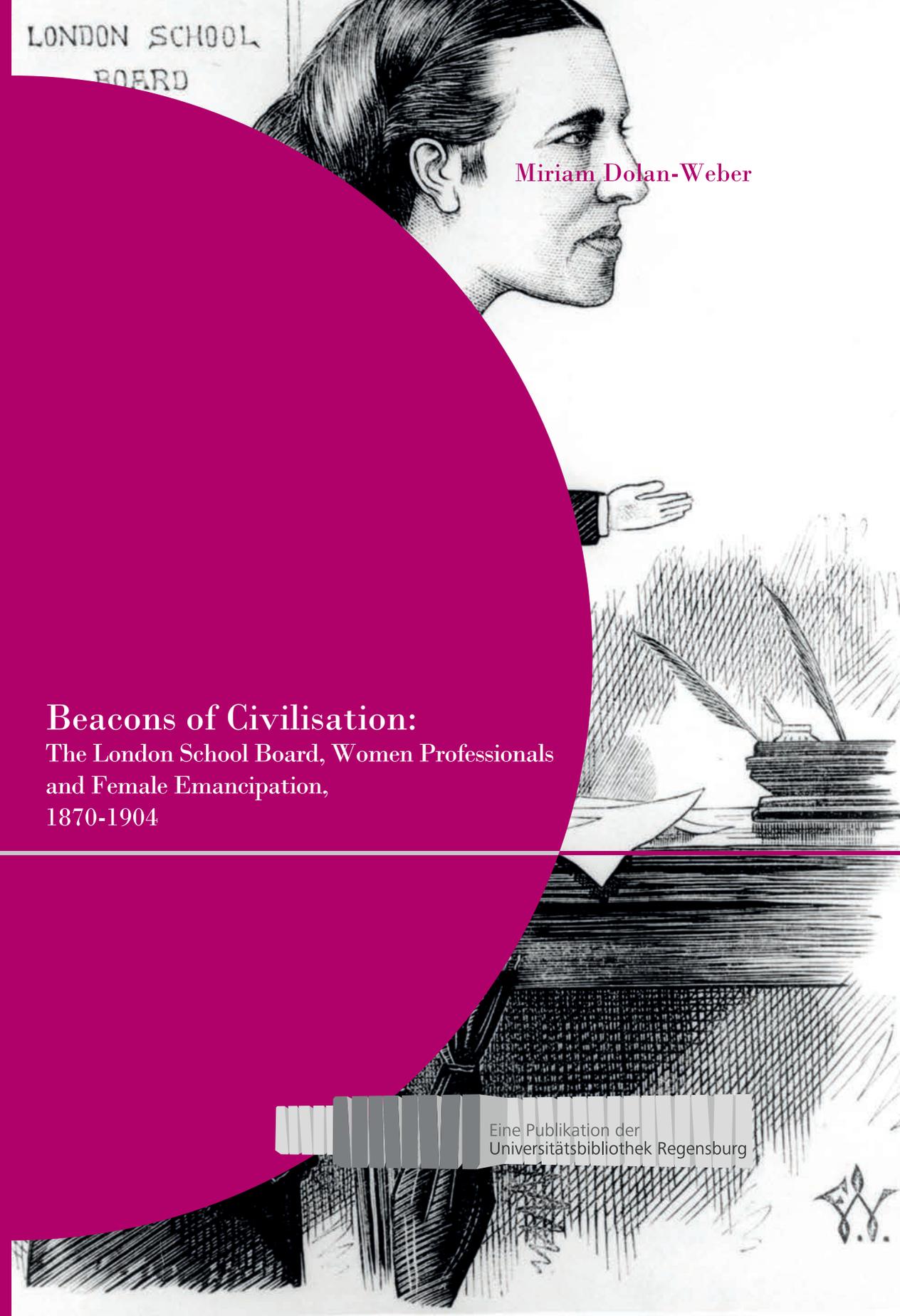
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1870-1904**

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I want to thank my husband for supporting me for all the years it has taken to get this labour of love published. I needed several strict talking-tos not to give up. Außerdem danke ich meinen Eltern, die mir das Selbstvertrauen gegeben haben, immer das Beste anzustreben und am Ball zu bleiben. Herzlichen Dank auch an Frau Prof. Dr. Zwierlein, dank der ich immer daran glauben konnte, dass ich dieses Werk vollenden würde.

rem tene, verba sequentur. – Marcius Porcius Cato

<u>1. Introduction: Education and the Public Sphere, c. 1870</u>	1
1.1. Elementary Education, the School Boards, and Female (Higher) Education	6
1.1.1. Before 1870: Campaigning for a State-Controlled System	8
1.1.2. Forster's Elementary Education Act of 1870 and the School Boards	13
1.1.3. Female (Higher) Education	16
1.2. Women, Government and Professionalisation	22
1.2.1. Women, Campaigning and Philanthropy: Gateways into Politics	25
1.2.2. Women and Social Hygiene	34
1.2.3. The School Boards as Arena in the Struggle for Suffrage	41
1.2.4. Women and Professionalisation	47
1.3. The Nineteenth-Century Periodicals Market as Social Arena	51
1.3.1. New Journalism and the Question of Social Consensus	51
1.3.2. Magazines for Women: Periodicals and the Woman Question	58
1.3.3. Orality and Print Cultures: Creating Impact in Discourse	65
1.3.4. The Corpus of Texts: Methodology and Selection	75
1.3.5. Factuality and Fictionality in Periodical Writing on the School Boards	87
1.4. Focus and Approach of the Study	91

<u>2. The 'very pinnacle of publicity:' Women as Campaigners and Voters in London School Board Elections</u>	102
2.1. Removing the 'Stigma of Inferiority:' Early Female Voters	105
2.2. 'This astonishing victory': Elizabeth Garrett Anderson as Model Female Politician	111
2.3. A 'difficult and toilsome arena': Angela Burdett Coutts and Correspondence	122
2.4. Later London School Board Elections and Interviews	126
2.5. Lydia Becker's <i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i>	138
<u>3. 'So able a woman:' London School Board Administration by Women</u>	155
3.1. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson as Board Member	158
3.2. Female London School Board Managers	165
3.3. Female London School Board Inspectors	170
3.4. The Enforcement of Attendance	181
3.4.1. Women as London School Board Visitors	184
3.4.2. Special Cases: Canal Boat and Theatre Children	191
3.4.3. Criticism of School Board Administration	194
3.4.3.1. 'The Case of Mrs Marks:' Court Reports as Critique of London School Board Administration	194
3.4.3.1.1. Satire as Technique to Criticise Attendance Policies	200
3.4.3.2. 'School Board Socialism:' Criticising the London School Board's Finances	205
3.4.4. Strategies for Ensuring Attendance	214
3.5. 'A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade:' Literary Endorsement for Political Women?	221

<u>4. ‘The Art of Teaching:’ Professionalisation of Women Teachers</u>	232
4.1. ‘Teachers Taught:’ Institutionalising Teacher Training	233
4.1.1. Working-Class Pupil Teachers	242
4.1.2. Middle-Class Women in Elementary Teaching	250
4.1.2.1. Bishop Otter Memorial College	255
4.1.2.2. Experiences of Middle-Class Elementary School Mistresses	262
4.2. A ‘real, genuine combination among teachers:’ Teachers’ Associations	267
4.2.1. Case Study: <i>The Women’s Penny Paper’s</i> ‘Teachers’ Free Trip’	273
4.3. ‘Gentle Methods:’ Reform Pedagogics	276
4.3.1. ‘How to Illustrate a Lesson:’ Art for Schools	283
4.3.2. ‘To Whip or not to Whip:’ The 1893 Controversy about Corporal Punishment	291
4.4. From ‘The Pupil Teacher’ to ‘The Village Schoolmistress:’ Aspirational and Escapist Fiction	302
<u>5. School Board Education for Working-Class Girls</u>	320
5.1. The New Childhood and School Boards	324
5.1.1. Over-Pressure in London School Board Schools	329
5.1.2. ‘Learning Side by Side as Children:’ Co-Education	339
5.1.3. <i>Mens sana in corpore sano</i> : Physical Education and Discipline	343
5.1.4. ‘Education and Ruffianism:’ Character Education	348
5.1.5. ‘Rather a Material Heaven:’ The Happy Evenings Association and Rational Recreation	356
5.1.6. Board School Jokes: A New Angle of Criticism	364
5.2. The Professionalisation of Housewives: Domestic Education	367
5.2.1. Needlework and Public Exhibitions	372

5.2.2. Cookery Lessons and National Progress	382
5.2.3. Laundry Work and National Hygiene	389
5.3. Board School Memoirs: Some Pupils' Point of View	396
<u>6. Conclusion: Building a New Nation</u>	409
<u>7. Appendix</u>	416
7.1 List of Abbreviations	416
7.2 List of Illustrations	417
7.3 Female Members of the London School Board	419
7.4 Bibliography	422

1 Introduction: Education and the Public Sphere, c. 1870

We want our lower classes to be educated so as to be free from the taint which made [Matthew Arnold] satirically give them the designation of ‘populace.’ We want them in the schools and in the houses to learn the self-respect of citizens, to feel their responsibility as voters, to have the self-restraint, the thoughtfulness, the power of judging and weighing evidence which should discipline them in the exercise of the great power they now wield by their industrial combinations and through their political action.

Edward Lyulph Stanley. ‘Our National Education.’ In: *The Queen*. Vol. CV. (11 March - 29 April 1899) 440-664.

In 1870, for the first time in British history, William Forster’s *Act to Provide for Public Elementary Education in England and Wales* (Public General Act, 33 & 34 Victoria I, c. 75) took steps towards implementing a consistent system of primary education in England and Wales. The aspirations of the new approach to compulsory education are captured in the quote above from Lyulph Stanley. As Liberal politician and vice-chairman of the School Board for London, he spoke from a position of authority in his outline of how he hoped education would equip future generations to take their place as effective citizens. In 1897, five years before the Balfour Act would abolish school boards to make Local Education Authorities responsible for an integrated system of elementary and secondary education (cf. Stephens 1998: 93-94), Lyulph Stanley surveyed the state of elementary education to identify possible areas for reform. By referencing the famous inspector of schools and cultural critic Matthew Arnold’s derogatory description of the working classes, Lyulph Stanley highlighted a class dichotomy to be overcome by education. He hoped that the indiscriminate ‘populace’ would be raised to the status of individually valuable ‘citizens,’ who were dependable as voters and workers (Stanley 1899: n.p.). It is worth noting that the social reforms of the nineteenth century and the enfranchising of larger numbers of working-class men generally led to an increased politicisation of those men. This is evidenced in the increase in trade union membership and the rise in influence of these unions, particularly after they were legalised in the 1870s. Elementary education was now considered necessary to guarantee

the wise and disciplined use of these new powers and regenerate the population (cf. K. Evans 1985: 37).

Others were less aspirational in their assessment of compulsory education, noting the juxtaposition between the situation of those who would be attending school for the first time and the new education boards set up to oversee the schooling of these new pupils:

‘Nearly all [pupils] came from regions almost unknown to the dwellers in well-to-do London - districts where in narrow streets and back slums the new board schools overtop the squalid homes around, looking like beneficent giants holding aloft the beacon of religion and civilization.’

‘A Lady School Manager.’ In: *Work and Leisure*. Vol. 1, No. 5.
(Feb. 1876) 75-76.

School boards had been established to oversee new and efficient elementary schools to educate the children of the poorest citizens, who could not even afford the cheapest and most inadequate voluntary schools. These two epigraphs from *Work and Leisure* and *The Queen* summarise effectively what the school boards - as facilitators of elementary education - were supposed to accomplish. The Elementary Education Act was about more than teaching the working classes the ‘Three R’s’ (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic) as basic *kulturtechniken* (cultural techniques) - it was a demonstration of the changed understanding of state and citizenship, which were recognised to be interdependent in the pursuit of progress and stability in a changing world. The Elementary Education Act and the LSB lay at the heart of late-Victorian efforts to construct a stable and dependable society. The poor working classes had been singled out as a threat to the national and imperial body, the workshop of the world and home of free trade (cf. Roebuck 1973: 15-16). Martin Pugh identifies self-help, charity or voluntarism and the Poor-Law as the main late Victorian strategies to reform the poor (1994: 70). This study analyses the Elementary Education Act as the practical application and combination of the three measures outlined by Pugh, examining the Act as a legal reform which relied on (mostly female) charity to enable the working classes to help themselves through education.

School boards were elected triennially and one of the key features of the new boards was the participation of women, who were allowed both active and passive suffrage (cf. Robin Betts 2015: 4). This made school boards a special opportunity for female campaigners to not only participate on an equal footing with men but also to put feminist issues at the forefront and incorporate these into the running of the boards. Women, who traditionally had had to rely on philanthropy to have any influence in the public sphere, used these new avenues of influence as offered by the school boards to broaden their political power. They believed that a truly renewed Britain could only emerge through the active political involvement of women and, according to Seth Koven, ‘accepted [...] a gender-based division of labour and knowledge by [...] shap[ing] social-welfare programs to traditionally female spheres of competence [...] which contributed to the strength and diversity of late-Victorian and Edwardian women's movements’ (1993: 97). Feminist campaigners used the women’s participation in the LSB and other school boards as an effective argument in favour of universal active and passive suffrage. They argued that women’s successful creation of ‘beacon[s] of religion and civilisation’ was not only helpful for the working-class recipients of elementary education, but also for the great project of female emancipation and suffrage. This quotation is from a letter from ‘A Lady School Manager’ to *Work and Leisure* dated 1876, in which the anonymous author described a public exhibition of needlework (Vol. 1, No. 5. Feb. 1876. 75-76). She touted board schools as civilising facilities, designed to bridge the gap between the ‘dwellers in well-to-do London’ and those from the ‘narrow streets and back slums.’ Her position as ‘Lady School Manager’ suggests that women were instrumental for this process in various public functions and roles. I look at all the groups involved in the educational revolution and analyse how they employed the LSB to help build a new social and political reality across England and Wales: This includes looking at the female campaigners who spearheaded this revolution; those women who were first time voters in the early elections; the women who were members of the LSB and, finally, the teachers and pupils

educated by LSB schools, with particular focus on the girls educated by LSB schools.

Female LSB members were part of a general advance of bureaucratisation and the LSB is a valuable early example of increasing state control in the form of local government with female participation (cf. Anderson 2012: 493). I examine how women LSB administrators, that is members, visitors, managers and inspectors, shaped one of the first local government bodies according to their own rules. They chose what were considered typically feminine issues to make their mark on elementary education. An example is the enforcement of school attendance, which in the home was considered the task of the mother and so may have been seen as a logical role to be held by female officials. Additionally, the teachers' growing professionalisation and unionisation followed broader social trends (cf. Anderson 2012: 484). Elementary teaching was among the few professions which offered women the opportunity to progress within a career. I argue that improved teacher training gave female teachers a new professional and academic confidence and made teaching stand out in a time when women were trying to achieve professional equality. The profession was also unique in spanning the social classes, as demonstrated by a campaign to recruit middle-class women as elementary mistresses. Debates about new educational methods, which included pedagogical innovations like the Froebelian system or co-education, had two objectives: Ensuring that the pupils became useful citizens of a modern state, but also positioning women as well-trained and fully entitled professionals. At the centre of the LSB lay the elementary education of the working classes. This was a radical innovation, especially for the girls, as many had never been able to attend school regularly or for a longer period of time (cf. Aldrich 1983: 101). However, despite these undoubtable educational opportunities, here the many causes for which the LSB was co-opted become most apparent: Although the introduction of many new subjects such as physical or domestic education, seemed to be mundane decisions geared towards improving education, they were also highly political attempts to improve the working classes' nutrition, hygiene or even military

usefulness. This thesis demonstrates that many of these subjects were suggested by middle-class women, who appropriated this strategy for far-reaching political influence with a female outlook.

In my choice of source material, I was inspired by Margaret Beetham, who in her many publications demonstrates the value of periodicals as ‘prime sources on economic, political and literary matters’ (Beetham 1990: 25). Hilary Fraser et al. make the compelling connection between *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* when they remark that ‘gender, like the periodical press itself, refuses determination.’ They explain that in the periodical press ‘Victorian attempts to construct a coherent and overarching gender discourse were contested in different ways and from different subject positions’ (2003: 25). Janice Schroeders’s introduction to ‘Victorian Education and the Periodical Press’ also emphasises ‘the role of the press in shaping education debates, instructing readers, and providing a tangible record of school life’ (Schroeder 2017: 679). The constructive nature of the prolific periodicals’ market provides excellent material for an appraisal of the opportunities the LSB provided for women.

The School Board for London has been described as ‘the most prestigious and important’ with peers and MPs fighting for seats and smaller provincial boards adopting its decisions (Hollis 1987: 39). An example of this exemplary position is that, although the original Act did not insist on mandatory elementary education, the London School Board immediately passed a by-law requiring compulsory attendance, which was then taken up by all other school boards. As a result, every English and Welsh child was mandated to attend five years of formal schooling (cf. Lewis 1893: 291). My study therefore focuses on the School Board for London (referred to in the following as LSB). The following introductory section retraces the history of educational reform and the LSB’s place in it and sets this study in the context of previous research. It then explains the methodology and sources with a view to the various cultural and discursive areas pertinent to late-nineteenth-century educational politics. In so doing, this thesis intends to demonstrate how the key role and extensive influence of women’s participation in the running of the LSB went

on to have a much broader impact on the wider emancipation of women throughout the 19th century and beyond.

1.1. Elementary Education, the School Boards, and Female (Higher) Education

The Elementary Education Act transferred the main responsibility for education from religious bodies to the state (cf. Anderson 2012: 496). This epoch-making reform of education for the working classes addressed some historical inequalities at a time when, as Anne-Julia Zwierlein explains in her detailed analysis of nineteenth-century British educational theories, the historical ideal of liberal education, influenced by German Romantic philosophy, was replaced by more pragmatic educational concepts (2009: 19-29). W.B. Stephens' *Education in Britain, 1750-1914* (1998) and Keith Evans' *The Development and Structure of the English School System* (1985) provide a factual overview of working-class education. Philip Collins' *Dickens and Education* supplies historical context of early-nineteenth century education before the involvement of the state by way of depicting Dickens's attitude towards children, both as writer and father, and tracing how his literary works 'recreate the experiences and feelings of childhood.' His second focus is on Dickens' reformist schemes and their limitations. Collins argues that 'in making people more fully aware of the children themselves on whose behalf were being fought all these battles of organisation and ideology, Dickens made his unique, unsurpassed and most enduring contribution' (1963: 208). My study continues the rediscovery of such 'battles of organisation and ideology,' albeit from a less child-centred point of view.

More generally, Hugh Cunningham's *The Children of the Poor* describes the changes in attitudes to childhood in an industrialised society, the development of child-protective legislation and the state's increasing assumption of responsibility for child welfare. He provides an unsentimental view of mainly London's working-class children, of child labour and 'street arabs,' whose independence was

perceived as dangerous (1991: 164). Using contemporary social studies and interviews, he traces how apocalyptic tones were used to warn of the collapse of the social and political order if these children, who were described as genetically underdeveloped savages, continued to be allowed to run free (122-126). But a change in discourse culminated in a new sentimentalisation and extension of childhood. The LSB's debates on what to include in the curriculum and for how long children should attend elementary school is explored as a contribution to this discourse. Anna Davin's *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* has a stricter focal point 'on how childhood was changing in the London working class in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century' (1996: 7). In *The Mind of the Child* Sally Shuttleworth concentrates on physio-psychological concepts of the time, focusing on the inner world of children and the nurture-nature debate. She illustrates how a historicist post-Darwinian view of children developed into the field of child study, which was used to explain for example the origins of culture, language and animal development, but also morality. As a result, children were believed to be closer to animals than humans, which meant that very young children were indulgently allowed to remain undisciplined, but also that strict training was recognised to be useful and necessary (2010: 268-288). However, the 1870 Elementary Education Act extended worries of over-pressure from middle-class to working-class children. This study adds to Shuttleworth's assessment, supplementing her historical biological-psychological approach with a view to the professionalisation of education. I focus on the experience of girls and Sally Mitchell's proclamation of not just a new childhood, but *The New Girl* (1995) and a new culture of middle-class girlhood, which is mirrored for the working-class girl of elementary school age. Carol Dyhouse's *Girls Growing Up In Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (1981) contrasts the experiences of middle- and working-class girls in the contexts of education, domesticity and femininity. The new developments in working-class education were mirrored by the strong movement towards greater educational opportunities for middle-class women.

Women could only become involved in the administration of elementary education once their own training had improved. In the context of elementary teaching even a mixing of the classes was attempted. In this sense, education was a pacemaker for the shifting of the traditional discrimination and infantilisation both of women and the working classes.

1.1.1. Before 1870: Campaigning for a State-Controlled System

According to Stephens, historically ‘British governments were suspicious of bureaucratic centralization and [...] felt it unnecessary to emulate the mass system of state schooling adopted by some European countries for the purpose of [...] promoting national unity, encouraging economic development and buttressing ruling élites’ (1998: 77). Thus, there was no uniform state-controlled system of education and pre-LSB elementary education for the working classes mostly relied on traditional private philanthropy. Sunday schools, which in 1830 educated 1.5 million pupils, dame schools and schools run by the Anglican parishes and other denominational bodies provided a basic network of elementary education. All these schools were fee-paying and often struggled financially (K. Evans 1985: 25-27). To provide education for those who could not afford to pay anything, pauper or ragged schools started to be established from 1843, usually by Evangelicals or Nonconformists. Focusing their attention on the poorest families who lived in the most run-down areas of the city, they were mostly ‘[i]ll-equipped and under-financed [and] relied heavily, often entirely, on untrained teachers.’ The movement often struggled financially because they believed that public money would ‘weaken the schools’ religious purposes.’ They had been founded on the principle of prevention through religion, but soon more reformatory activities like reading lessons, industrial training, food, clothing and beds and even jobs for regular attenders were added (Collins 1963: 87-90 and Mair 2019: Chapter 1).¹ Many,

¹ Laura Mair’s recent study *Religion and Relationships in Ragged Schools* (2019) is an excellent introduction to the Ragged School Movement. Focusing on

for example Dr Barnardo's Ragged School in Mile End, had home-children programmes to send promising pupils to Canada to aid Imperial expansion (cf. Wagner 2004: 972). The later LSB schools would share their purpose of mixing education with social reform, but also the conflicts over funding.

For most of the members of the working classes, elementary education was at best patchy and unprofessional and under strict control of religious organisations, mostly Anglican or Catholic, but also Nonconformist. In the voluntary schools, not bound to a national curriculum or inspection, academic instruction in the three R's was often neglected in favour of religious instruction (cf. K. Evans 1985: 26). Nevertheless, although they were conscious that their efforts were not enough, the churches were reluctant to give up their power. Liberals and Dissenters were therefore campaigning for elementary education free from religious dogmas. In 1869 they founded the Birmingham Education League, which advocated the Nonconformists', secularists' and radicals' interests, who wanted all religious voluntary schools abolished. Their opposition was the National Education Union: The Anglican, Catholic and Methodist Churches, who campaigned for their elementary education programmes (cf. Stephens 1998: 79). Apart from the religious concerns, there was widespread admiration for Prussian elementary education and the positive influence of a well-educated nation on its military and imperial prowess. Their system had been promoted in Britain by Sarah Austin with her 1834 translation and commented edition of Victor Cousin's 1831 *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne et particulièrement en Prusse*, where she argued for a compulsory, state-funded but locally controlled elementary education system with better teacher training and pensions for retired teachers to raise the status of the profession (Martin and Goodman 2004: 54-56). Her *Report* was well received because of concern about 'the upsurge of working-class radicalism in the 1830s and 1840s' (62). Slowly, also the government started to

Compton Place School in London, the book is an intimate account of what schooling was like for the children of the poor before the LSB. Especially her emphasis on the voices of the children themselves is remarkable.

recognise education as an antidote for spiralling ‘crime, endemic poverty and social unrest’ (77) and guarantor for military and economic success.

Accordingly, there were several attempts to establish a state system during the first half of the nineteenth century. The 1807 Whitbread Parochial Schools Bill suggested rate-paid parish schools with elected local committees to offer two years of free education for the poor, but failed in the House of Lords (cf. K. Evans 1985: 28). In 1818 Lord Brougham led an inquiry into elementary education and published a report on *The Education of the Lower Orders of Society*, whose findings resulted in the 1820 Brougham Parish Schools Bill. He demanded the provision of schools by manufacturers for the children they employed in their factories. The running costs would have been financed by local rates and small fees with the Anglican Church responsible for staffing and curriculum, which envisaged undenominational Religious Education. The Bill was opposed by the manufacturers and the Church (cf. Parker and Parker 1991: xxxviii). It took 13 years until another Education Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. As response to the first Reform Act in 1832, John Roebuck’s 1833 Education Bill Act planned for a Minister of Public Instruction to oversee elected School District Committees and central and local financial aid for free education. Teacher training colleges were supposed to guarantee the quality of education, but the Bill was also unsuccessful (cf. K. Evans 1985: 29). However, the First Parliamentary Grant was passed a few days after the failed bill. In following years, this Grant was repeatedly extended and the government provided grants of £20,000 to help build privately funded schools, but only if 50% of the total building cost and the running costs were raised independently. This system favoured schools run by religious authorities with more robust financial backing and 80% of the money was paid to the Anglican National Education Union, 20% to the Nonconformists (cf. Parker and Parker 1991: xxxviii). The compromise had not solved the religious controversy and no consistent system had been built. The poorest areas still had very little provision, but the first beginnings of a state system were emerging. In 1833 the first Factory

Act also introduced effective regulation and limitation of child labour in the textiles industries. From now on, no children under nine were allowed to work, until the age of 13 only reduced hours were permitted and between the ages of nine and 12 each day two hours of schooling had to be observed. A series of Factory Acts in 1844, 1847 and 1867 further improved the situation but also increased the number of children who needed school places. A massive population growth further aggravated this problem (cf. nationalarchives.gov.uk).

As a next step towards an integrated state system, in 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council for Education was set up with Sir James Kay Shuttleworth as its first chair. It was the central administrative agency for dispensing government grants and later became the Education Department. One of its tasks was to organise Her Majesty's Inspectorate as the link between the Privy Council and schools, ensuring that the grants were used properly. More money was pledged to elementary education spending and the pupil teacher system was established to guarantee better training and supply of elementary school teachers (cf. K. Evans 1985: 30-32). From now on, trainee teachers from 13 years of age had to serve a five-year apprenticeship in approved grant-aided schools and only the best of these pupil teachers later received Queen's Scholarships for a two-year course at a denominational training college to finish their training. By 1859, there were over 30 religious training colleges for 14,000 pupil teachers, while 7,000 had already been trained.

Measures like improved and standardised budgets, academic standards and teaching training meant more state control, which the Anglican Church and Nonconformists continued to fight, especially in the training colleges which were all in the hands of religious organisations (cf. *ibid.*). The increased public spending on working-class education prompted investigation by the Newcastle Commission. As a result, Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on Education Robert Lowe's Revised Code from 1862 redirected government money from specific grants for books or furniture and training colleges to general rate-aid for elementary education. The biggest change was the introduction of the 'payment

by results' system. From now on, Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) examined all children over six each year in the three R's. If they passed the examination successfully, up to 12 shillings could be earned per child, split up into four shillings for attendance and eight shillings for results. In total there were six graded levels of HMI exams (cf. *ibid.*: 34). This payment system again favoured schools with a robust financial backing, usually from religious institutions in well-to-do areas, who met the conditions for staffing and equipment to be eligible for grants. Nonconformist schools or schools in poor areas were forced to be run cheaply with untrained teachers. In turn bad marks resulted in no government grants, which meant even less money and efficiency (cf. Stephens 1998: 84). Schools continued to be unevenly distributed and especially poor rural areas did not have enough well-funded school places (cf. *ibid.*: 78). And even if there were enough schools, there were always parents who did not send their children to voluntary schools, for example non-establishment religious groups like Irish Catholic immigrants, who did not condone non-Catholic influence. Destitute parents needed their children's labour to supplement the family's income. A variety of demographic factors and political innovations made government intervention unavoidable. Arguably, the 1867 Reform Act was the main generator for educational change. It 'granted the vote to all householders in the boroughs as well as lodgers who paid rent of £10 a year or more' and had occupied their rooms for twelve continuous months. It also 'reduced the property threshold in the counties and gave the vote to agricultural landowners and tenants with very small amounts of land' (parliament.uk). After this biggest electoral reform to date, suffrage was still based on property and not citizenship, although now also graduates, professionals and those with over £50 savings were allowed to vote. In total this all but doubled the electorate in England and Wales from 1.3 million to 2.4 million voters. The next general election was won by the Liberals and 'proved a major catalyst for further political change throughout the late-Victorian era,' like the introduction of secret ballots in 1872 to protect the newly enfranchised workers from their employers, which was to

indirectly influence female suffrage and the LSB elections (Pugh 1994: 23).

1.1.2. Forster's Elementary Education Act of 1870 and the School Boards

Many nineteenth-century scholars have seen a causal connection between the 1867 Reform Act, which expanded the electorate to include most working-class males, and the 1870 Education Act, which institutionalised elementary education – and which is at the centre of interest in this study. Anxieties about the new empowerment of working-class voters, voiced energetically in conservative quarters, were indeed almost immediately combined discursively with demand for a better education of the working classes, in order to encourage the intellectual judgement deemed necessary by some for a responsible use of the vote. Famously, Robert Lowe captured such notions in his dictum: ‘Now we must educate our masters’ (Ottoway 1953: 62).² Those ‘masters’ were the newly enfranchised masses, no longer just the well-educated gentlemen landowner-voters. This quote demonstrates a deep-seated uneasiness or even fear of the working classes, who would have lacked political experience and knowledge, but also connects the dots between education and politics. The government, in such a reading, can be constructed as aiming at a contented and compliant society to guarantee effective democracy, and a tighter net of state-regulated elementary education was designed as a tool of social control. Stephens, however, argues that the analysis of the Elementary Education Act as a direct outcome of the enfranchisement of the ‘urban artisans’ is overly simplistic, because their children were already receiving sufficient education to prevent them from becoming a ‘serious political threat.’ He sees the 1870 education reform as the unavoidable effect of long years of

² He also clarifies that Lowe’s quotation from the House of Commons on 15 July 1867 actually went thus: ‘I believe it will be absolutely necessary that you should prevail on our future masters to learn their letters.’ Less poignant, but still along the same lines.

campaigning and several unsuccessful Acts for elementary education, whose radical and nonconformist proponents were the main beneficiaries of the extension of the suffrage (1998: 80-82).³ In 'Educating Our Mistresses,' Richard Aldrich comes to the opposite conclusion and considers the better elementary education as effected by the Parliamentary Grants and the Revised Code, as 'justification for an extension of the male suffrage' (1983: 93). I agree with Stephens and argue that the school boards and their inspectors were, like the Poor-Law guardians, another manifestation of the favoured policy of *laissez-faire* localism, which tried to uphold individual responsibility without too much top-down government while tightening the state's means of control and administration (Hewitt 2012: 26).

From 1868 until 1874, W. E. Forster was Head of the Education Department. The results of an investigation of the education of six to twelve year olds in Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham showed that there was inadequate provision and a bad distribution of aided schools, which were often ineffective and that irregular attendance marred results (cf. K. Evans 1985: 39-40). Forster was charged with preparing the Elementary Education Act, which was a compromise for the teaching of religion and the involvement of national and local government:

5. There shall be provided for every school district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools (as herein-after defined) available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made, and where there is an insufficient amount of such accommodation [...] the deficiency shall be supplied in manner provided by this Act.

6. Where the Education Department, in the manner provided by this Act, are satisfied and have given public notice that there is an insufficient amount of public school accommodation for any school district, and the deficiency is not supplied as herein-after required, a school board shall be formed for such district and shall supply such deficiency, and in case of default by the school board the Education Department shall cause the duty of such board to be performed in manner provided by this Act.

Public General Act, 33 & 34 Victoria I, c. 75: 444-445.

³ Also cf. his insightful analysis of the vested interests and effects of the 1870 Elementary Education Act.

That meant that pre-existing voluntary schools would be continued and new schools would fill the gaps in the voluntary system. To organise this huge undertaking, the country was divided into about 2,500 school districts with a school board each, to be elected by the ratepayers. These Boards had substantial power as they were allowed to ‘levy local rate-aid, [...] acquire land, decide for or against religious instruction, [...] remit the fees of poor children, enforce compulsory attendance through the by-laws and appoint their own permanent officials’ (K. Evans 1985: 41). There were three possibilities of action for the Boards: Either, there were enough effective elementary schools in their districts, which were put under official inspection and had to follow a prescribed curriculum. Or the schools did not meet academic and organisational standards. In that case they were given six months to comply before the school boards would ‘transfer [deficient] voluntary schools into their own hands.’ In the districts where there were not enough school places, the school boards built enough new schools to meet the demand. Some voluntary schools even applied to be transferred into the hands of the LSB because the owners were struggling to finance them adequately (ibid.: 40). The LSB had ten such divisions for electoral and organisational purposes: The City, Chelsea, Finsbury, Greenwich, Hackney, Lambeth, Marylebone, Southwark, Tower Hamlets and Westminster. In triennial elections voters were given a cumulative vote, where they had as many votes as there were members to be elected. If they wished, they could give all of their votes to one candidate. This proviso was to guarantee the representation of minorities and ‘plumping,’ as the practice came to be known, did help women candidates be elected (cf. ibid.: 5).

The first LSB meeting was held on 15 December 1870 in the City of London Guildhall and established Lord Lawrence as first chairman. His recent viceroyship of India demonstrates the importance of the body. The Board’s first order of business was to set up committees for the smooth execution of their tasks. Initially these were 1. Finance, 2. Statistical, Legal and Parliamentary matters, 3. School Management and 4. Works and General Purposes,

but soon, as the duties and responsibilities became clearer, more were added (cf. *ibid.*: 7). The Board also had to assess how many children there were in each district and how many of those attended school regularly, how many school places - charging fees of less than 9d. per week - existed and were projected, where these voluntary schools were placed, and how many new places had to be created. After eleven months a committee found that 3,130 elementary schools, public and private, were providing accommodation for 370,960 children and that another 40,804 places were planned, amounting to a total of 413,233. In London, school places for 478,718 children were required. After adding another 5% for estimated truancy, the LSB asked the Department of Education for 100,600 places, which were granted. In their building activities they preferred large schools of between 750 and 1,500 pupils, because the running costs were smaller and more efficient teaching was possible (cf. Betts 2015: 8-12). After several smaller reforms, in 1902 Lord Brougham's Education Act abolished school boards and the ongoing division between voluntary and Board Schools. In 1903 this Act was extended to London and the LSB had its final meeting on 28 April 1904 before handing over its powers and responsibilities to new Local Education Authorities (cf. Martin 200: 90).

1.1.3. Female (Higher) Education

My study's focus is on education for working-class girls, but as the developments described here coincided with new educational opportunities for daughters from better-off families, these need to be considered in conjunction. While the Elementary Education Act regulated elementary education for the working classes, there was not one comprehensive law for the education of middle-class girls. In terms of academic training, many working-class girls were better provided for than middle-class girls, as for them (L)SB-regulated elementary education was mandatory and subject to constant inspection, which maintained a certain standard, just like for the boys (cf. K. Evans 1985: 44). The historical details of (higher) education

for middle-class women have been expounded at large. Stephens' chapter on 'Secondary Education for Girls' in *Education in Britain* is useful. For middle-class education Lee Holcombe's *Victorian Ladies at Work* and Lilian Shiman's *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England* are important as they scrutinise the academic gender inequalities and explain education's 'greatest importance to the women's movement' (Holcombe 1973: 21).⁴ Middle-class women had traditionally received primary education at home from a governess, who did not need any formal training or official qualifications, so the quality of teaching depended on the family's money and attitude to education for girls. There was also no fixed curriculum and the focus was on reading, writing, basic arithmetic, modern languages like French, some smatterings of history and geology, but mostly traditional female accomplishments like music and needlework. If the parents wished it, the girls could then be sent to secondary school, which often took the form of finishing schools (cf. Stephens 1998: 109). In 1868 the Taunton Commission examined schools for the middle classes, but only included girls' schools after energetic lobbying by Emily Davies (cf. Holcombe 1973: 21). They reported that 622 middle-class girls were receiving secondary education in endowed schools in England and Wales, including two elementary schools. The Commission encountered the problem of the classification of girls' education. While for boys their knowledge of Latin was used, this was not practicable for girls, who did not learn Latin, or only very little (cf. Aldrich 1983: 93). It was also found that many parents did not believe girls needed or were capable of education. If girls were sent to school, it was usually a small boarding school with an average of 25 pupils. These had often been started by single women as a means to generate income and were usually conducted in their own poorly converted homes. All ages and stages of education were taught together without much differentiation. The majority of the teachers were unqualified and their teaching was often superficial and

⁴ For a comparison of conditions in England and France slightly before this study begins see Christina de Bellaigue's *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867*.

unsystematic and favoured rote learning over understanding or application. For fear of encouraging an ‘unfeminine spirit of competition’ only few exams tested the pupils’ progress, which meant little stimulus to study (cf. Holcombe 1973: 23). The Taunton Commission condemned such unsuitable conditions and recommended a central body for overseeing secondary education, similar to the school board system, which was being prepared at the same time. This was to include the raising of rates and centralising exams. In 1869 it became a reality in the Endowed Schools Commission. Under its auspices the number of endowed secondary schools for girls rose to 80 by 1895 - as opposed to 782 for boys (cf. *ibid.*: 24). It also opened the Oxbridge Local Examinations to girls as a means of classifying their education like boys’ (cf. *ibid.*: 26). At the same time, private ventures like Frances Buss’ North London Collegiate School (1859) and Camden School (1871) or Dorothea Beale’s Cheltenham Ladies’ College (1853) revolutionised secondary education for girls by adopting principles from the traditional boys’ schools, including the curricula, organisation in houses, Physical Education and games, the prefect system and constant examinations. These new principles for girls’ schools found many imitators, for example the Girls’ Public Day School Company, which was set up in 1872 and founded more than 38 schools with over 7,000 pupils within 30 years (cf. *ibid.*: 28-29). The value of secondary education for girls was starting to be recognised and, according to Stephens, for some families ‘a daughter’s intellectual education represented [...] an indication of élite status’ (1998: 110). Although in 1894 the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education attested great improvements in female secondary education, there were still not enough good schools for girls (cf. Holcombe 1973: 31) and even fewer universities which accepted women. In 1848 Queen’s College London, closely connected with the Anglican King’s College, was established for the purpose of training governesses. A year later Bedford College was founded as a non-religious institution with women involved in the organisation, but neither was recognised by the Taunton Commission as universities (cf. *ibid.*: 27). In 1869, Girton College, Cambridge, became

England's first women's college of university status, soon to be followed by Newnham College. But it was to take a long time before all London colleges admitting women were incorporated into the University of London in 1900, or even longer until Oxford (1919) and Cambridge (1947) fully accepted women as graduating students (cf. *ibid.*: 49).

However, middle-class women were also affected by Forster's Act in other ways as it gave them opportunities to stand for public office, as shown by my study. As more schools were founded and more teachers needed, middle-class women were attracted as elementary school mistresses by professional training, which indirectly improved their education (cf. chapter 4.1 of this study). But while middle-class women were increasingly gaining influence over their own education, working-class women were in a double bind: Mostly men decided about their education and if women were involved, they were from another class. Elementary education has a history of class-based preconceptions and decisions, where it is often unclear who profited most. Several feminist historians have examined the role women played in educational reform and their influence on elementary education. In *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian Britain and Edwardian England*, Carol Dyhouse writes the history of how both middle- and working-class girls around the turn of the century were raised in order to fulfil their allotted roles. She goes into great detail of how the Education Department 'was very responsive to modifying the curriculum to include domestic subjects "to fit the girls for life"' although they originally were against using Board Schools for domestic rather than academic training (1981: 82-83). The much-cited separate spheres ideology was important for the new (L)SB curriculum (cf. chapter 5.2 of this study about the 'professionalisation of housewives'). In *Hard Lessons: The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England*, June Purvis explains how the middle-class ideal that 'femininity should be seen as synonymous with domesticity' was extended to working-class women, as it was a useful tool for keeping up class-based supremacy (Purvis 1989: 63), albeit with small changes. Girls had to learn how to provide for

themselves between school and marriage and thus they had to be good workers. Furthermore, in order to make the ideal of the idle middle-class woman possible, the labour of working-class women was necessary.

But there were also long-term benefits in stressing the role of working-class women as wives and mothers. Political and economic gains lay in a scheme which guaranteed a well-kept home, cared-for children and a contented husband. The likelihood of the working classes challenging the social order might be reduced and an increased pool of healthy workers for the economy ensured.

Ibid.

As a solution, domestic service was defined as especially desirable employment because it was ‘the one form of paid work par excellence that offered preparation for the future ideal of the “good wife and mother”’ (Ibid.). It was a smaller departure from ideal feminine domesticity as working in the home hid working-class girls’ labour and after their marriage the skills they had acquired in a well-ordered, middle-class home would be useful (Ibid.: 67). But early employment for girls was often thought to equal inexperience in household matters and inability to make a home comfortable, which corrupted their husbands, who were driven to the pub and became less effective workers themselves. Purvis charts how such deliberations influenced working-girls’ education and the introduction of first needlework, and then also cookery and laundry work into the curriculum of (L)SB schools (65). For *A Woman’s Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940*, Elizabeth Roberts uses reports from citizens of the three Northern towns of Lancaster, Barrow and Preston, who were children in the later period of the (L)SB time. She confirms that although ‘there was no decline in the overall percentage of women workers in domestic service [...] domestic service seems to have lost status in the eyes of some working women.’ However, as the middle-class campaigners hoped, work in higher middle-class households was radiating respectability and status onto the domestic servants employed there (1985: 51-54). Like Purvis, she reports middle-class doubts about

working-class women's ability to be good housekeepers. She quotes damning assessments of working-class meals, which were considered to be wasteful, yet not nutritious, which were used as arguments for domestic education, despite feminist arguments against too narrow roles for women. Roberts' approach of letting working-class people speak for themselves means that she is able to ascertain that, contrary to middle-class propaganda, her respondents were fed as many vegetables as the family budget could afford - and that domestic education in the Board Schools was mostly considered useless because many working-class families would have preferred their girls to not have those lessons but do the same things at home instead (cf. *ibid.*: 31-32).

How such debates shaped the gender-specific curriculum can be gathered from Jane Martin's *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England*. She writes that 'subject-gender appropriateness was a recurring theme in the decision-making process regarding the selection, organization and distribution of educational knowledge.' A recurring question was how much dressmaking working-class girls had to learn (Martin 1999: 77-78). She discusses various LSB members' opinions, like Benjamin Lucraft's, who as one of the only working-class LSB members and wanted elementary education to help overcome class-boundaries rather than contribute to the maintenance of the status-quo (cf. *ibid.*: 79-84). Martin also describes how female LSB members, especially her main example Ruth Homan, used 'the imagery of virtuous domesticity [...] as a way of moving into the public sphere.' Their 'support for the domestic curriculum enabled female Board members to extend their sphere of influence on the basis of their alleged "expertise"' (87). The female members' attitude to domestic education is a contentious point among feminist historians. For example Hamilton and Schroeder argue that middle-class campaigners were fighting against domestic education because they believed it was 'binding their working-class subjects to depressingly time-worn, class-based social roles' (2007: 8-10). However, all other authors, myself included, are conscious of a much more difficult and differentiated reality. This study includes interviews with female

LSB members who were using their personal involvement in propagating domestic education as advertisement for their election campaigns. But whether despite or because of the middle-class women's involvement, domestic education became one of the mainstays of LSB education for girls. Anna Davin's *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* explains why: Girls were expected to be either artisans' wives or go into domestic service and domestic education was considered more important than book learning. With the example of needlework, she explains how domestic education curtailed girls' academic subjects because 'if garments were unfinished as the examination approached, other subjects were sometimes displaced, or needlework invaded the time given to other subjects, as children could knit or sew while listening' (Davin 1996: 142-143). I examine how domesticity was used in election campaigns or by female LSB members, but also by unelected philanthropists and how my chosen periodicals commented on this strategy.

1.2. Women, Government, and Professionalisation

The spread of better and increasingly standardised education for middle-class women ran parallel to a broadening of political opportunities. In addition to traditional philanthropy, the LSB gave women other avenues of influence. This first advance into political involvement was perceived as a useful stepping stone towards national suffrage. At the same time more women left their home not for political work, but for professional careers, mirroring wider developments of professionalisation. Before the following subchapter introduces the tight connections between women's fight for emancipation and the rapidly changing political and social realities during the (L)SB era, an overview of the developments in politics and government is given.

All through the nineteenth century demands for greater electoral representation became louder, exacerbated by a growing population.

The old forms of *laissez-faire* top-down government were no longer considered sufficient. Or, in the words of Regenia Gagnier in *Individualism, Decadence and Globalization*, this ‘tension of independence versus interdependence, specifically of individual development threatening the functioning of the whole, constituted the anxiety of liberalism after a century of its development’ (2010: 3). The complexities of an industrialised and capitalistic society demanded more from the state and various approaches were tried. In the 1870s Britain was considered to be at the height of its powers. The stable domestic politics had centred around the Liberal party under Gladstone, only shortly interrupted in 1874 by the Conservatives under Disraeli. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884, both passed under Liberal government, helped Great Britain develop from an aristocratic into a democratic society. However, the divide between the rich and the poor was still extreme and solutions to improve social conditions had to be found (cf. Fröhlich 2004: 129). One approach was Gladstone’s Trade Union Act, which in 1871 legalised unions in an attempt to pass the responsibility from the state on to the newly forming workers’ unions. Gladstone was planning further amendments, which would have emphasised individual freedom and *laissez-faire* politics. But in February 1874, Disraeli’s Conservatives won the general election, probably a protest vote against reduced state interference. Benjamin Disraeli was in favour of interventionist social legislation and in 1875 for example passed the Employers and Workmen Act and the 1878 Factory Act, which reduced work time to 56 hours per week (cf. *ibid.*: 134).

Another Liberal solution, and the one most important for this study, was localism. According to Liberal doctrine, Gladstone’s government did not seek to impose uniform technocratic solutions from the centre, but rather ‘to deploy generalist inspectors who would work flexibly with local bodies [...] to effect improvements in local services.’ This is from Tom Crook’s *Governing Systems. Modernity and the Making of Public Health in England*, where he uses the example of the establishment of a nationwide health scheme, which was happening at a similar time and culminated in the 1875 Public Health Act, to argue that local governance systems

displaced state power and created a 'more diffuse understanding of power and agency.' He believes that it was 'social practices and activities' that 'enable collective order.' This is not to say that local governance was 'abandoning the state, for it was and remains an important reference and actor' as 'laws of national scope were forthcoming on a regular basis' (2016 :10). But '[l]ocal government was the linchpin of the Victorian state [...] [and] the key arena for the design and provision of social welfare' (Martin 2004: 9). MacDonagh describes how traditional forms of local government like metropolitan corporations, vestries and *ad hoc* improvement commissions had become increasingly old-fashioned and ineffective (1977: 123-124). To combat these bodies' 'want of co-ordination, purpose or policy,' radicals demanded local government to come 'from two sources - universal and equal suffrage for (but only for) ratepayers, and tight control of the elected by the electorate, by means of annual elections' (Ibid.: 122). Accordingly, more local government bodies were created. But by mid-century, many of the old structures still survived, which resulted in an 'utter medley of authorities. School boards, highway boards, burial boards, constabulary boards and poor law unions now bordered and overlapped vestry, borough and parish, justices of the peace and improvement commissions.' At last, in 1871 the Local Government Act established 'a central department of state with general supervision of local government affairs.' Measures like several follow-up Education Acts, the aforementioned Public Health Act or the 1875 Artisan' Dwellings Act continued to give more power to local governments (Ibid.: 130).

At the same time, as an answer to the fact that neither the Liberal nor the Tory approach provided effective solutions, socialism was for the first time proposing a new system. Socialism was the third way to the nationalism and individualism of the age, seeking to unite citizens in a new common destiny where power was no longer wielded from above. After the Reform Acts, 'the Tories still did well in great parts of the working class [because] values of nationalism and imperialism were invoked by Anglican schools.' But in 1885 the general election returned 12 Trade Union MPs, which made the 'first

coordinated “Labour party” junior member of Gladstone’s third government’ (cf. Reid 2004: 247-249). In the 1890s, these socialist stirrings were ‘beginning to cohere into a genuine movement, not just a matter of political actions, but of Labour churches, Clarion clubs, and working-class associations.’ As a consequence, in 1893, the Independent Labour Party was established (cf. Hewitt 2012: 35). MacDonagh questions whether ‘insurgent democracy implied social amelioration’ (131) but I argue that the LSB as an elected local government body indeed brought much-needed reform, both for the pupils and those involved in administering elementary education. The LSB’s many small-scale interventions have to be placed in the context of what Gagnier calls the reconstruction of ‘conceptions of the relationship of part to whole’ (2010: 2). The years leading up to the turn of the century were shaped by ‘thought-experiments on the limits of self and other’ or, in other words, on how ‘individual needs and desires relate to the needs and desires of others’ (Ibid.: 3). The LSB was an instrument for raising individuals beyond the silent masses of the working classes, which many perceived as a threat to the state as with education comes independence of thought, possibly outweighing the benefits of an intelligent workforce. The individuals’ roles within the state were changing and they were no longer just responsible for themselves, for which they were prepared by the LSB (cf. Luhrmann 2004: 251).

1.2.1. Women and Philanthropy: Gateways into Politics

This next subchapter focuses on how not just the working-class pupils but also women profited from and learned about new responsibilities. Before the Elementary Education Act gave official power to women, they had facilitated social change through the traditional middle-class pursuit of philanthropy. Before an effective state system was in place, better-off women had always visited the destitute. Administering poor relief was a necessary duty in ‘a nation which believed that philanthropy was the most reliable and wholesome remedy for its ills.’ This assessment of Victorian Britain

is made by Frank Prochaska in his comprehensive study of *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Prochaska 1980: 21). Although his introductory description of middle-class women's educational and professional opportunities is overly simplistic, he is right that philanthropy 'was seen as the leisured woman's most obvious outlet for self-expression' (Ibid.: 5). Poor visiting was considered useful work for women, whose supposedly natural instincts for caring allowed them to make life easier for those less fortunate without social upheaval, as neither class nor gender boundaries were disturbed (Ibid.: 112). Prochaska analyses how women who did not want to get involved practically used their 'power of the purse' to financially aid philanthropic endeavours. Although he also briefly mentions working-class charity, which must have been constantly dispensed, albeit very informally, he focuses on the class differential. Most philanthropy to the working-class came from higher-standing middle-class men and women. Angela Burdett Coutts, heiress of Coutts Bank, for example donated probably more than a million pounds for such causes. Her immense financial influence prompted Prochaska to describe her as a professional philanthropist (Ibid.: 21). Despite lacking political or professional power - as she neither occupied an elected nor a salaried post - Burdett Coutts had carved out an influential position for herself, which was comparable to that of a profession. Dorice Williams Elliott's *The Angel Out Of the House*, building on Prochaska's historical assessment of the institutionalisation of women's philanthropy, describes male anxieties about recognising philanthropy as a profession for women. In a time when male professionals were negotiating what constituted a profession, they had 'concerns about women philanthropists competing with male professionals for authority in a newly defined social sphere' (Elliott 2002: 112). According to Elliott, Jameson and other campaigners reacted 'by employing the metaphor of the home as a model for society, reassuring her listeners and readers that women, however well-trained and professional, will play the same subordinate role in philanthropy as they have in the home' (113). Based on the ideological separation of spheres, her metaphor extended women's

space to denote the ‘social sphere.’ However, this again caused tensions between male and female responsibilities as ‘when a middle-class woman left her home to visit in the homes of the poor, she used her domestic expertise to authorise herself as an expert, masculinized observer of the social’ (Ibid.: 115). In *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Seth Koven and Sonya Michel follow this theory further and illustrate ‘the ways in which individual figures accepted and challenged Victorian conventions of nurture and motherhood,’ transforming ‘two discrete realms (state and civil society) into an arena of women’s own self-activity and construction,’ where they could work within the feminine sphere and yet leave it to expand their area of influence (1993: 6). For this objective they reconstructed not only the houses of the poor, but also spaces like workhouses or schools as part of the social sphere and therefore women’s domain of expertise. Consequently, they declared women rightfully and by necessity responsible for social politics. Women philanthropists styled themselves as mothers of the nation, who used their natural skills and instincts for charity work. According to Koven and Michel, this was a useful technique because

[m]aternalism always operated on two levels: it extolled the virtues of domesticity while simultaneously legitimating women's public relationships to politics and state [...] Maternalist ideologies, while evoking traditional images of womanliness, implicitly challenged the boundaries between public and private, women and men, state and civil society.

The women campaigners accepted gender differences as useful techniques for political influence. Motivation was often declared to be drawn from natural feminine altruistic instincts (Ibid.).

The Poor Law allowed considerable female compassionate engagement. In 1834 the first Poor Law Amendment Act, made necessary by the industrialisation having aggravated the plight of many families, reorganised workhouses according to utilitarian principles by dividing the poor into the deserving and undeserving. Parishes were grouped into Poor Law Unions to facilitate the building of workhouses (cf. Roebuck 1973: 26). The Act said that

the idle and the wastrels, responsible for their own poverty, were to be accommodated under unacceptably bad conditions to deter them from further relying on the state (cf. *ibid.*: 27). This was a first step away from a *laissez-faire* attitude towards systematically supporting the poor, but still avoided burdening the state with the sole responsibility as it continued to give middle-class women opportunities for relief work outside the formal mechanisms. For example Louisa Twining won national recognition for workhouse visiting (cf. Cowman 2010: 48). But unless the philanthropic societies were purely female organisations, women often were the street workers while men made the decisions in the committees (cf. Hollis 1987: 14). Apart from such persisting patriarchal hierarchies, women also often still found it unwomanly to seek election and preferred philanthropic work, although as elected members they could have avoided rather than alleviated poverty (cf. *ibid.*: 16). Following the theory of social motherhood, the Poor Law was an acceptable arena for women to enter official politics. But although women theoretically were not legally excluded from the Poor Law Boards, in practice they were for a long time. In 1869 Jacob Bright had ‘amended the borough electoral qualifications,’ through which act, single rate-paying women received the suffrage for local elections. The bill was passed ‘late at night without debate’ and from then on about 17% of women were allowed to vote on a local government level (*Ibid.* 31). In 1875, Martha Merrington ran for election for the London Board of Poor Law Guardians without much ado, and was promptly elected. But four years later she was excluded on the spurious grounds of having moved outside the constituency at the time of election. After her, no other women tried until after the reform of the Poor Law Unions in 1894, when married women were admitted without having to provide proof of property, just residency within the district (cf. *ibid.*: 8). For many years there were relatively few female Poor Law Guardians, only towards the final years of the century did the numbers increase (cf. Cowman 2010: 51-52). In the end, this was the local government body with the most female members. According to Rubinstein, it often turned women into more radical feminists, because the misery and poverty they saw

made them believe that great social change was necessary and that this was only going to be accomplished by women since men did obviously not do enough (1986: 166-177).

To react to such official systems, female-only charities were founded. These 'single-sex philanthropic organisations created domestic or "female" spaces for themselves in the public domain' (Ardis 1990: 127), where they used traditionally female-denoted talents and purposes. One example is Octavia Hill's Charity Organisation Society, founded in 1869. It was modelled on the German Elberfeld System, a scientific case-based approach, where officers systematically investigated applicants' situations and only gave them education and assistance to help them help themselves. In order to not further 'pauperise' the indigent, that means to not make them rely on alms, but to 'instil middle-class habits of thrift, sobriety and self-help,' the Charity Organisation Society ran the administration of poor-relief in a strict and organised way (Lewis 1993: 303). Their biggest innovation was the case work approach, but the controversial theory of undeserving poor, who were believed to be morally depraved and work-shy, was often perceived as condescending and uninformed about the actual conditions for working-class employees. But although unpopular among the poor themselves, the Charity Organisation Society found widespread support among middle- and upper-class women because of the long-term approach, which focused on changing lives and not just temporarily relieving cold and hunger (cf. Wendt 1995: 134). The foundation of the Conservative Primrose League in 1885, followed in 1887 by the Women's Liberal Federation, was another step towards equal extra-parliamentary political rights. These were organisations for women canvassers, who were discovered as useful assistants for election campaigns, especially after the Corrupt Practices Act had limited the expenditures of parliamentary candidates. Women were for the first time officially allowed an auxiliary role in electioneering. This proved popular and in 1891 the Primrose League had one million members nationwide (cf. Tusan 2005: 66). It can be argued that although involvement with such organisations brought women closer to power, in reality it meant not

much more than the traditional philanthropic endeavours without real influence. But despite the Primrose League's reluctance to support women's suffrage, it made female political campaigners more visible and thus helped promote women's political emancipation. Canvassing women evoked criticism and ridicule, but they also refuted many anti-suffrage arguments. Rubinstein quotes for example the Irish politician W.E.H. Lecky: 'Can any one suppose that voting for members of Parliament is a more unfeminine thing than canvassing for them?' (1986: 157).⁵

Apart from philanthropy or canvassing, women also built influential campaigns for feminist causes. According to Prochaska, 'women preferred to contribute to those charities which dealt with pregnancies, children, servants, and the problems of aging and distressed females' (1980: 30). Patricia Hollis identifies three principal sources of unrest among women in the nineteenth century: The legal status of married women, girls' education and employment, and the discontent among leisured ladies looking for meaningful tasks (1987: 4). It can be argued that the last issue was often solved by campaigning for the former two. But while education and employment could be improved through private initiative, the legal status of married women depended on male legislation. In *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866-1928*, Sophia van Wingerden gives a detailed summary of a woman's legal position: Under the doctrine of coverture a married woman became legally one with her husband, whose vote therefore counted as his and hers jointly. Before the wedding, fathers voted for their daughters, but if a woman did not marry, she was not legally represented. Coverture also meant that married women were not legally allowed to keep their possessions upon marriage or their earnings after marriage. Husbands could incarcerate mentally ill wives. Divorce was difficult and wives had to prove their husbands' incest, bigamy, desertion or cruelty for the divorce to be successful

⁵ Rubinstein's *Before the Suffragettes* rediscovers women's emancipation in the 1890s. In important groundwork he investigates images of women as pervasive in stereotypes, literature and the press, women and employment and politics and how horizons were expanded in this important decade before suffragette discourse came to the forefront.

(cf. van Wingerden 1999: 5-7). After much campaigning the situation gradually improved through the first Married Women's Property Acts of 1870, which allowed women to keep any gains after marriage. Finally in 1882 wives' legal identities were restored and women gained the right to own, buy and sell property (Pykett 2001: 84).

One pressure group was the Langham Place circle, founded in the late 1850s as the first organised feminist network in England. It was named after its headquarters at 19, Langham Place and amongst the members were Octavia Hill, Sophia Jex-Blake, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, Emily Davies, Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy and Emily Faithfull. They had club rooms with a library and a tea room, a 'physical place of their own for women, who often lived at home without privacy' to meet like-minded women (Levine 1987: 15). When Jessie Boucherett joined in 1860, she founded an employment bureau, the Society for the Employment of Women (SPEW). Boucherett trained young women to write letters, calculate with a slate and keep accounts in order to make them fit for legal secretarial work in an office for female clerks in Lincoln's Inn. Eventually they also established a Ladies' Institute with accommodation for 50 working girls. This was the 'first practical effort to prepare women of the lower middle classes for new occupations' (Herstein 1985: 72). In the same year they also started the Victoria Press, a small, all-female publishing house with their own printing press, where women learned to be printers, also to keep the cost of their own publications and leaflets down (cf. Tusan 2005: 41). By mid-century, demographic change had resulted in a statistical excess of women - amounting to over one million - who would never be able to find a husband. This forced many middle-class women, who had traditionally relied on marriage and home as their life's task and subsistence, to rely on education like the one offered by Boucherett. Not finding a husband as provider was especially difficult for untrained middle-class women since 'their only traditional employments, governessing and teaching, had become professionalised and overcrowded' (Showalter 1990: 20). Prevalent ideas about women's duty to marry and reproduce meant that

unmarried women, be it out of choice or involuntary, were also seen as unnatural and a threat to the health and continuity of society and Empire. These ‘odd women,’ as they were derogatively called, were used by campaigners as daunting examples to propagate female education, professional opportunities, suffrage and generally alternative roles to being a wife and mother (cf. Richardson 2003: 32).

My study combines all those pre-suffragette feminist movements in the context of elementary education, offering important insight into how they worked together to reform education while creating opportunities for women. I am building on previous groundbreaking scholarship, for example Patricia Hollis’ *Ladies Elect* from 1987, which remains the seminal work for recovering and recognising women in English local government in the late nineteenth century, some 50 years before women’s parliamentary franchise. She has chapters about women on local councils, the poor law and education, in which she distinguishes between provincial school boards and the London School Board and identifies Elizabeth Garrett, Helen Taylor and Annie Besant as three especially influential female members. She only considers women in elected positions and does not talk about the women employed in local government like teachers, school visitors, managers or inspectors. These are also covered in my study, including the children under the influence of the LSB as a local government body. Philippa Levine’s *Victorian Feminism 1850-1900* describes pre-suffragette feminism as ‘more of a life-style than merely a form of organized political activism.’ She explains how ‘[f]or many women committed to the fight for women’s rights, the most effective weapon was not the total rejection of that ideology [of separate spheres], but rather a manipulation of its fundamental values.’ This strategy resulted in the ‘women’s movement [...] discovering a pride in its female identity.’ Her book follows the campaigns which were ‘concerned as much with promoting that optimistic self-image as with a simple call for equality with men’ (1987: 13). She also explores the tight network of women working and living together for ‘emotional, intellectual and political’ support (19), which was later extended to

her 1990 monograph *Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment*. Especially early on in the movement the class differential is an important focal point of Levine's observations and she comes to the conclusion that the division was 'not so much between middle-class and working-class women, as between socialist women and working women' (17). Lilian Shiman's *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England* 'tells the story of the painful emergence of exceptional women from the corporate community of traditional English society into positions of significance in the new public life' (1992: 5). Starting from women in positions of religious leadership in the early nineteenth century she gives a chronological narrative overview, highlighting campaigns like the temperance movement. She 'shows how women of this period, realizing the need to influence the public as well as the government if they wanted to improve their position, learned to organise, educate and agitate' and how "'The Woman Question'" had emerged into public consciousness at all levels of society' (6). Krista Cowman's broader approach in *Women in British Politics, c. 1689-1979* 'attempts to move the study of women's politics beyond the chronology implied by the wave metaphor [of feminism] by demonstrating that women were active political agents long before the campaign for the vote began' (2010: 3). Her book provides an important redefinition of what 'politics' means, an approach I share by establishing LSB campaigners, both in official Board positions and in the pages of the periodicals, as important and emphatically political contributors to female agency. Especially at the beginning of the LSB era this project was a top-down movement as working-class members could not afford unpaid positions on the (L)SB, which meant that the working-class pupils and teachers were mostly managed by middle-class administrators. Soon campaigns for middle-class teachers also established elementary teaching as a desirable profession for middle-class women, who often had better training and therefore held the headmistresships, again reinforcing the class differential (cf. Martin 1999: 22-31).

1.2.2. Women and Social Hygiene

A special place in the history of early feminist campaigning is held by the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts under the helm of Josephine Butler and Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. The Contagious Disease Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869 allowed police in port towns to arrest and examine women and place them in lock hospitals. The police did not need a warrant and was allowed to detain women who were suspected of prostitution and infection with sexually transmitted diseases, against their will. Being out on their own after dark was enough to raise suspicion. This measure was supposed to decrease the infection rates with syphilis and other venereal diseases (cf. Richardson 2003: 46). Anti-Contagious Disease Act campaigners argued that the detained women were the victims of depraved and degenerate male offenders. They believed prostitution's 'primary cause [to be] male lust and depravity rather than women's economic vulnerability' (Pykett 2001: 91). Josephine Butler and her husband offered practical help and took in young, destitute prostitutes to reform them through respectable middle-class philanthropy. The campaign's aim was 'moral reform of society through the reform of male sexuality' and in 1886 they achieved the repeal of the Contagious Disease Acts. This openness about vice caused division in the early feminist movement as some activists considered it 'noxious to be connected to STDs' as they believed them to be unfeminine subjects, too close to the body (van Wingerden 1999: 36). But there existed a perceived close connection between women and the physical, as described by Sally Shuttleworth in *Charlotte Bronte and Victorian Psychology*. Nineteenth-century medical literature described the female womb as sewers and drains, which made women the 'natural breeding ground of social disease,' i.e. in a way responsible for the existence of the diseased working classes:

Both the city and the woman were figured as bodies containing within them dark hidden recesses harbouring disease or crime, liable to burst out at any

moment in excesses of passion or social discontent. [...] The noble progress of industrial development carried with it a threatening inner pollution, spawned in the dark alleys of the slums, which had to be controlled, purged and cleansed, or even removed by surgery.

Shuttleworth 1996: 73.

Like an actual disease in a woman's body, the poor were a social disease, threatening to infect the rest of society, and had to be expurgated. Like the still mysterious monthly periods in a woman's body, working-class lives in desolate parts of town were mostly unknown to the better-off and therefore threatening and yet somehow alluring. Making them more visible, understandable and thus find possible solutions was a continuous endeavour for male doctors and female slum-philanthropists (cf. Zwiernie 2005 :187). The Contagious Disease Acts campaigners exploited this proximity between women's health and social hygiene. Like other female charity workers they were linked with the cleansing process and the breeding of an improved next generation. Similarly to the concept of social motherhood, this possibly limiting doctrine was reconstructed as a clear mandate to be active in reforming the nation.

On a more ideological level, the theory that women are naturally purer than men and therefore vital for maintaining society's morality was instrumentalised by the Social Purity Movement. Prominent supporters like Laura Ormiston Chant equated men with promiscuity and vice and women with virtue, thereby reframing women's role in marriage and motherhood and 'replacing male passion with female rational selection' (Levine 1987: 13). Emphasising women's positive role as 'the natural custodians of religious teachings and values' made 'their campaigns not simply a negative struggle against unjust disabilities but a positive proclamation of their identity as women' (Ibid.). The separate spheres ideology was not only accepted, but redefined as a necessity to be proud of. Social purity's most iconic expression was the New Woman, an umbrella term for 'a figure who privileged independence over family and who rejected social and sexual roles predicated on a politics of (biological) difference' (Richardson 2003: 8). The Social Purity movement led various campaigns to translate their ideas into practical change, for

example the White Cross Society to make young men pledge chastity. They also directed some of their energies against working-class culture and its 'obscene' books, music halls and theatres as spaces of sexual temptation and moral depravity. They claimed that without moral, that is female, control, male sexuality would turn into brutish, unhealthy degeneration, taking society with it (cf. *ibid.*: 48-49). This simultaneous centrality and denial of the body was part of the negotiation of how it was possible that despite biological differences, men and women could have the same rights - not just electoral, but full societal equality (cf. M. Evans 1994: 32). These efforts reflected contemporary discourse of degeneration and sexual and social selection, fired by fears about public health. Typhus and cholera were regularly killing great numbers of citizens, especially in the unhygienic and overcrowded slums. For the competitive middle class with a strong belief in the gospel of self-help the poor were not just responsible for their own misery, brought upon themselves 'through their attitudes, behaviour and domestic disorganisation,' but a threat to the nation (Dyhouse 1981: 79). Robert Koch had not yet discovered that it was germs and not 'miasma' or foul air which bred and transmitted disease, making the prevention of disease difficult (Gilbert 2012: 311). In 1842 Edwin Chadwick's report on *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* 'spearheaded the sanitary campaign to clean up England's large towns' (*Ibid.*). He identified the lack of 'systematic administration' as a major obstacle, comparable to the situation before the Elementary Education Act. But the struggle between local and national responsibilities and a reluctance to increase state control via local government meant that it took many individual Acts before a General Board of Health for London was established in 1848 (Crook 2016: 25-28). It then took another ten years until in '1858, local boards were given more authority, and measures for monitoring and improving sanitary conditions, though imperfect, were in place' (Gilbert 2012: 311). This included the monitoring of outbreaks for easier intervention and the installation of better drainage for prevention. Clearing the slums was the most controversial way of removing the dirt associated with disease, both for the working-class

tenants, whose dwellings were destroyed, and the middle-class owners, who lost an easy income (cf. Crook 2016: 28).

Anne-Julia Zwierlein retraces how health and medical discourse became more and more prominent as scientific progress made safer procedures accessible to more people (2005: 182). In a post-Darwinian environment psychology and psychiatry as young branches of medicine tried to establish links between organic problems and the mind. Physicians like Max Nordau or Cesare Lombroso considered themselves no longer only responsible for somatic phenomena, but also the ‘moral, aesthetic and intellectual sphere and other important forces of civilisation.’ Their new categories of assessment were healthy, that is normal, and unhealthy or unsound, that is abnormal. Abnormality was believed to be a sign of dangerous degeneration, which could be passed down to the next generations, resulting in a weakening of the race (C. Schulte 1997: 202). Often the fast pace of modernisation was held responsible for degeneration - especially deplorable, because avoidable (cf. *ibid.*). This opinion was a flashback to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and often paired with the hope that public life would slow down again instead of further speeding up with the advent of more technology. Thus, contemporary civilisation in itself came to be seen as pathological symptom of diseases like neurasthenia and degeneration (cf. *ibid.*: 203). In his eponymous book *Degeneration* Nordau even equated the European *fin-de-siècle* with the ‘*fin-de-race*:’

When under any kind of noxious influences an organism becomes debilitated, its successors will not resemble the healthy, normal type of the species, with capacities for development, but will form a new sub-species, which [...] possesses the capacity of transmitting to its offspring, in a continuously increasing degree, its peculiarities, these being morbid deviations from the normal form [...] the morbid variation does not continuously subsist and propagate itself [...] but, fortunately, is soon rendered sterile, and after a few generations often dies out before it reaches the lowest grade of organic degradation.

Nordau 1985: 16.

Over time this would result in the extinction of a race. But for an imperial nation, dependent on ‘send[ing] forth the best [they] breed,’

as Rudyard Kipling put it (1897: 1821-1822), in order to preserve racial and military superiority, ‘debilitated’ and potentially ‘sterile’ offspring was the worst fear (Nordau 1985: 16). Increasingly also education was believed to be responsible for stunted physical and moral development. Zwierlein explains how the theory of a closed system, where only a finite amount of energy is available, which can either be used for physical or mental growth, led to fears that too much intellectual work would cause disease (2009: 149-150). At first such anxieties arose in educational establishments for the middle class (cf. Shuttleworth 2010: 107-110), but my corpus demonstrates that in 1883 they crossed over into elementary education. An alleged increase in cases of ‘over-pressure’ in working-class pupils under the new (L)SB system, mixed with the perceived threat of racial degeneration, evoked harsh criticism of elementary schools educating children beyond their years and social status. This emphasis on children and reproduction placed the responsibility for avoiding degeneration firmly upon the shoulders of women, who were blamed for symptomatically high infant mortality and low birth-rates. In *The New Woman and the Empire* Iveta Jusova inquires into women’s place in late-Victorian Imperial anxieties. Between 1875 and 1914 the ‘British Empire doubled in size’ (2005: 2). The New Women’s fight for sexual and moral equality was considered a danger to British dominance as separate spheres were deemed necessary for upholding the Empire with women as guarantors for healthy children and Imperial integrity. Their ‘savage’ and ‘uncivilized’ behaviour was even compared to the colonial subjects (Ibid.: 4-5). Jusova explains how New Women authors appropriated this responsibility to produce a new generation of imperialists. Working in the context of social purity, they readily accepted the premise that it was women’s task to maintain racial superiority and even contended that only women were able to do so. In novels by authors like Sarah Grand or George Egerton Jusova traces these approaches. One was the reconstruction of the traditional narrative of men selecting their brides: In order to avoid invisible inward flaws from becoming ‘outward defects and deformities,’ women had to choose their reproductive partners wisely in the knowledge that

nurture could only correct nature to a certain extent (Ibid.: 16-20).⁶ In this, they were guided by Francis Galton's extension of Nordau's theory into the program of eugenics or, as Galton himself as first cousin of Darwin called it, 'practical Darwinism.' In *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality 1885-1914* Lucy Bland explores how "National efficiency" became a central motif in the Imperialist discourse.' Degeneracy was believed to be a 'result of the violation, even reversal, of natural selection [...] due to [...] the distortions of philanthropy, state aid and modern medicine facilitating an artificial lifespan of the "unfit" and undesirable.' But eugenicists contended that heredity was much stronger than such 'environmentalist' distortions and called for rational selection and the encouraging of fit procreation (1995: 223-224). Similarly, Angelique Richardson's *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century* is concerned with 'the intersection of eugenics and the New Woman,' in whose fictions 'the most sustained expressions of eugenic ideas were to be found' (2003: 3-4). She examines how late nineteenth-century feminism 'endorsed or reworked, as well as challenged, the ideology of separate spheres,' always aware of class (Ibid.: 8) and of Galton's warning 'of the dangers to national health of allowing inferior stock to breed: "[...] if these continued to procreate children inferior in moral, intellectual and physical qualities, it is easy to believe the time may come when such persons would be considered as enemies to the State"' (Ibid.: 63). The threat that if undesirable parents ignored warnings of eugenicists, they would forfeit all rights to philanthropy, was supposed to be an encouragement to actively selective breeding, as practised by Menie Muriel Dowie's New Woman heroine *Gallia* or tragically neglected in Sarah Grand's *The Beth Book*. Richardson explains women's involvement in developing this program in

⁶ For in-depth analyses of the New Woman novel see Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle*, where she compares fictional and 'real' New Women in a variety of genres. Jane Eldridge Miller's *Rebel Women: Feminism, Modernity and the Edwardian Novel* analyses how women writers pushed the boundaries of the traditional novel. In *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* Ann Ardis examines the New Women novels' review of narrative conventions and experimentation with new concepts of sexuality. Gail Cunningham's *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel* is also about the feminisation of fiction.

organisations like the Fabian Society, where intellectual women could use their education to contribute their solution to social problems (27). She gives a very insightful definition of eugenic feminism and its redefinition of femininity:

Eugenic feminists emphasized the superior capacity of women for rational selection. Here, they were assisted by the association of women with passionlessness which was fermenting in evangelical and biological discourse. Eugenic love would be the antithesis of passion, a replacement of sexual love, in the name of humanity. [...] The future depended on female virtue, eugenically defined: eugenic virtue. Only through the eugenic intervention of women in the health of the nation might the future of the British race be secured.

Ibid.: 57.

Feminist theorists had reappropriated the potentially threatening association between women and the body. They had reconstructed limiting concepts into an empowering program of a necessary female presence in social politics. Or, in Richardson's words, '[r]esponsible motherhood was a moral obligation and a woman's first act of citizenship in late Victorian Britain' (75). This construction of women as 'guardians of racial progress' and health is important for this study in two ways. On the one hand there was increased pressure to improve domestic education to counteract working-class women's alleged lack of attention to nutrition and child care (Dyhouse 1981: 90-91). On the other hand eugenicists 'saw class as a matter of heredity, and inherited defect as underlying all the problems associated with the residuum, including lack of character' (Richardson 2003: 29). The poor were themselves to blame for their situation and better elementary education was hoped to raise public morality and eradicate unhealthy marriages, while middle-class women reconstructed the emphasis on responsible motherhood into social motherhood.

1.2.3. The School Boards as Arena in the Struggle for Suffrage

For feminists of the late nineteenth century the ultimate goal was the franchise for Parliament in Westminster, for all women of all classes, irrespective of income or education. Suffrage campaigners believed that only this would bring complete equality, as only then women would be able to fight for women's rights at the fount. Comprehensive reform had created a much bigger parliamentary electorate amongst men and it was soon felt that real democracy could not exclude half the population. John Stuart Mill acted as a 'figurehead and speaker for the rights of women at the legislative level,' lending male endorsement to a difficult, but ever-growing campaign (Fraser et al. 2003: 149). The French revolution was still biasing the public against protest and upheaval, but also on British soil the government's crass reactions to anti-Corn Law protesters at the so-called Peterloo Massacre in Manchester in 1819 had made it dangerous to voice discontent. Women were doubly marginalised as protestors. But this limitation was reconstructed by suffragist theorists, who used it to prove that women voters were even more important in such a society because female qualities like kindness and charity were necessary to guarantee social and legal equality for all (cf. *ibid.*: 149-151). I show that the 1870 Elementary Education Act created a welcome opportunity and justification for female involvement. For its implementation, social motherhood was applicable in a very literal sense because elementary education targeted the nation's children, who had always been the women's responsibility. Elementary schools could be interpreted as extension of the nursery in the home where middle-class women had a great wealth of experience, easily extendable to the children of the working classes. Biological gender differences were turned into a strong argument for women as school board members because only both genders working together would achieve lasting change. In the absence of state-sanctioned rational reproduction, elementary education was hoped to correct the worst defects to avoid further degeneration.

The granting of the active and passive suffrage for the school boards to women was a real sensation. All ratepayers, male and female, could vote and every woman could stand for election, without any property or income restrictions. By 1879 some 70 women served on school boards nationwide (cf. Hollis 1987: 8). Many feminist campaigners believed that this was the first concrete sign of imminent political equality. Women rate-payers were technically allowed to vote and run for all local government bodies, as reinforced by Jacob Bright's Municipal Corporations (Franchise) Act of 1869. But often they were excluded, for example no female borough or county councillors were allowed. It took until 1875 for the first female Poor Law Guardian to be elected and even longer for women to be well represented in other branches of local government (cf. Rubinstein 1986: 165-172). The fact that the school boards were the only channel through which 'women were able to influence government - and thus working-class - schooling policy,' meant that suffrage societies especially in major towns recognised the Boards' value for the fight for universal suffrage and helped women to be elected. Hollis even suspects that women like the first female LSB members Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Emily Davies were not enthusiastic about primary education, but ran for office in order 'to stake out women's claims to public life' (Ibid. 39-40). However, Hilary Fraser et al. come to a different conclusion and argue that feminist activists believed 'that other social issues such as women's education, health and employment were more pressing than that of women's suffrage.' As a middle ground, others were afraid that extremism in the fight for suffrage 'would only alienate those upon whom their success depended' and thus purported acceptably feminine interests as justification (2003: 150), always conscious of the positive influence women's valuable work on local government bodies could have on the campaign for universal suffrage. Suffragism was not seen to be as subversive and threatening as for example the campaigns against the Contagious Disease Acts and attracted many otherwise conventional women. It also for the first time succeeded in spanning the class divide and there was for example very strong support from cotton trade

unionists in Lancashire (cf. Rubinstein 1996: 140). But the first significant stirrings towards an organised campaign happened in middle-class London, where in 1867 Henry Fawcett and J.S. Mill unsuccessfully brought the Kensington Society's petition for equal suffrage for men and women before parliament (cf. Hollis 1987: 6). Afterwards, the Society, amongst whose members were many women mentioned in this study, changed their name to London National Society for Women's Suffrage, loosely connected with similar associations in Manchester and Edinburgh. Their umbrella organisation was the National Society for Women's Suffrage (NUWSS) with Lydia Becker as their first secretary. After Becker's death in 1890 Millicent Fawcett, younger sister of Elizabeth Garrett, became leader (cf. Hollis 1987: 30). While the Kensington Society had been a small local venture, this new network was much more successful in creating lasting momentum and remained the main organisation until 1903, when the Women's Social and Political Union was founded in Manchester (cf. Eldridge Miller 1994: 126).⁷ The Pankhursts' WSPU attracted many new, radicalised members, soon to become notorious as the militant suffragettes, while the law-abiding NUWSS members were called suffragists or Constitutionals.

In *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain*, Brian Harrison sums up anti-suffrage arguments. He explains how Liberals and Labour supporters wanted general adult-suffrage to counteract Conservative policies of giving women the suffrage on the same terms as men, that is to property-owners over 30. This strategy was hoped to vouch for a similar distribution of votes as before in order to still allow their policies to pass. They

⁷ Much has been written about women's struggle for suffrage, from all aspects of the campaign. It is impossible to name all the publications, but Sophia A. van Wingerden's *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866-1928* gives a first introductory overview. Jill Liddington and Jill Norris' *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise Of the Women's Suffrage Movement* is important for rediscovering the involvement of working-class women. In 2018, on the occasion of the centenary of the 1918 Representation of the People Act, many new studies were published. Diane Atkinson's *Rise Up, Women!* deserves a special mention for its comprehensiveness. Based on her life-long study of the movement, her latest work is a biographical account of all the women involved, highlighting the intermixture of classes.

feared that extending female suffrage on Conservative terms would ‘practically hand over the government of the country to women and priests’ as property-owning women were feared to most likely vote Conservative and belong to the Church of England, intensifying old biases in the electorate (1978: 41-42). Even some Radicals, who were in general in favour of female suffrage, opposed specific bills because they did not go far enough or would play into the hands of political enemies (cf. *ibid.*: 34-42). Other ambitious politicians refused to sacrifice their career for the cause and often stopped their earlier support as soon as they won office (cf. Rubinstein 1986: 142). Another argument was that women did not want to be enfranchised, for which low voter turnout among women in the poorer areas of London for the LSB elections was used as evidence (cf. Harrison 1978: 37). On a more gender-theoretical level there were fears that the female vote would be more volatile than the male vote because women were too ignorant and inexperienced and more susceptible to voting according to personal preferences and sympathies and not political tactics (cf. *ibid.*: 36-37). Within the suffrage movement, lines were also divided about the question whether husband and wife were one inseparable entity, thus forcing the wife to forfeit her right to vote. After the 1870 Married Women’s Property Act married women were allowed to own property. Since ownership of property was one of the conditions for voting for men, this technically meant that from now on married women were also allowed to vote. But this right was repealed to create a legal precedent (cf. Hollis 1987: 32-33). According to Florence Fenwick Miller, LSB member between 1879 and 1885, a married woman would either vote like her husband anyway or cancel out his vote, which would cause arguments within the family. She therefore opposed suffrage for married women and advised to focus the campaigning energies on votes for unmarried women (cf. Rubinstein 1986: 143).

There are various opinions about what impact the membership of women on school boards had on the greater project of female emancipation and universal suffrage. Hollis notes that several MPs ‘recognized and respected’ women’s work on the LSB and changed their minds about women’s parliamentary suffrage, but that many

drew the line at women becoming MPs. Some contended that ‘as women had the domestic vote in the fields of education, poor law, and public health, this meant not that women had earned the parliamentary vote but that on the contrary, they no longer needed it’ (1987: 39-42). In her essay “‘So extremely like Parliament...’: The Work of the Women Members of the London School Board, 1870-1904’ for the London Feminist History Group, Annmarie Turnbull argues that female LSB members ‘could only react to an educational framework already created by men’ (1983: 130). But at the same time she believes that they changed the perception of women in the public by showing maturity and responsibility. For her their biggest contribution was their position as role models:

The very fact that women could be seen to openly challenge the male political monopoly must have been a subtle, but significant inducement for some women to re-evaluate their own social position and its possibilities, and to start to resist the accepted patterns of male dominance in their own lives.

Ibid.: 134.

Since Turnbull’s essay in 1983 much progress has been made in the scholarship on women and the LSB. Apart from being used in many studies of the feminist movement in the nineteenth century, most memorably by Hollis, who dedicates a long chapter to the school boards for London and other large cities, Jane Martin devotes *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* entirely to the 29 women on the LSB (1999). She considers the social, economic and ideological frameworks shaping LSB members’ lives and also the role and status of LSB women. With education for working-class girls and the handling of truancy she chooses two key policies which were picked up by female members to advance themselves as administrators. My study goes beyond her biographical approach by also considering the discourse created by women’s periodicals about the extension of opportunities for women in the wider context of the LSB. Joyce Goodman and Sylvia Harrop’s *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England* is a wide-ranging collection of essays examining all

aspects of women's nationwide involvement in educational politics. There are four contributions on the LSB administration, for example on 'The Structuring of Educational Authority in Manchester and Liverpool' (2000: 60-74). Four years later Goodman returned to the topic and published together with Jane Martin *Women and Education, 1850-1980*, a biographical collection of the life stories of six women educators, 're-map[ping] understanding of women's participation in changing philosophy, policy and practice in education' (2004: 3-5). Their focus is on 'the relationship between aims, visions and actions' as their protagonists 'negotiated the political and gendered machinations of public life.' All these studies recognise women's work on the LSB as vital for improving the acceptance of women in the public world. Patricia Rigg's essay 'Gender and Politics London School Board Elections' on BRANCH is one of the most recent contributions on the topic and sums up all the arguments made by the previous studies. Through periodicals Rigg reconstructs a battle of letters about Augusta Webster's candidacy to gain insights into the 'gender politics' of the elections. Male members argued that women would use the LSB as the first step towards universal suffrage and their 'rhetoric of war and invasion indicates the extent of male fears [...] Increased numbers of educated women in public life would inevitably erode the patriarchal socio-political system already weakening in the late nineteenth century.' But Rigg also reports that after 1888 there were fewer successful women candidates. Despite this and the fact that 'the issue of female suffrage remained stalled in Parliament until well after the demise of the London School Board in 1904,' she is positive about the LSB women's contribution to the fight for universal suffrage. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel even claim that the social change women accomplished as social reformers like on the LSB was as or even more important than the final acquisition of the suffrage (1993: 2). While this goes a little far, it is true that Forster was able to rely on the long tradition of campaigners like the Kensington group or J.S. Mill to prepare the public for his Act without having to fear electoral defeat because he was perceived as out of touch. The establishment of the school boards was one of the

greatest pushes towards universal acceptability, as women now rightfully held elected positions and used this first foothold on the path towards female emancipation and universal suffrage. I agree with Patricia Hollis' assessment of the LSB as necessary 'apprenticeship for Parliament' (1987: 6). Female members were able to learn how a democratic parliamentary system worked and to prove themselves to be effective politicians and voters. This was essential for female agency, without which the later campaign for suffrage would not have been possible.

1.2.4. Women and Professionalisation

The Elementary Education Act also opened up new professional opportunities for women as teachers. This study examines how the professional opportunities for women that were created by the new state-controlled elementary education system were discussed in the magazines of my text corpus. My fourth chapter considers the progressing professionalisation in a specifically feminine environment. The professionalisation of teaching happened at a time when many fields developed codes of ethics to qualify as full professions. Before the nineteenth century there were only a few professions like law, the Church or medicine, but the extension and standardisation of higher education prepared the way for further 'akademische Bildungsberufe,' as Dietrich Rüschemeyer translates professions (1980: 322). He explains that this development has to be seen in the socio-economic context of early capitalism, which created new class structures and monopolistic opportunities. The new middle class provided a market for new services, which profited from standardisation and legal protection. According to Rüschemeyer the objective of professions is a 'monopoly of authenticity' so that they become the only ones to provide a specific service. However, such economic orientation is always at odds with the older ideology of altruistic service, as practiced by the 'original' professions of law, medicine or the Church (Ibid: 323-324).

For middle-class women professionalisation followed slightly different rules. While selfless service was always a feminine characteristic, up to the second half of the nineteenth century the history of the ‘learned professions’ had been mostly masculine, but now more women made use of the opening-up of professions to find a place for themselves in the market (Malatesta 2010: 126-127). For women the extension of education was especially necessary in a professional context. Another obstacle was the strict separation of spheres into domestic women and professional men. Although this ideology was never fully realised, it placed strong limitations on middle-class women about which profession they could take up. Lee Holcombe’s *Victorian Ladies at Work* is a detailed survey of why professional middle-class women decided to work and which fields they most commonly chose (1973). Similarly, Ellen Jordan’s *The Women’s Movement and Women’s Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain* focuses on the feminist redefinition of femininity and which professions were suitable for women. Increased academic education and acceptance of professional women meant that more young women were persuaded that working outside the home would not endanger their femininity (1999). Bolstering this fundamental rediscovery of working middle-class women, studies like Gregory Anderson’s *The White-Blouse Revolution* have a smaller focus on one professional field. Anderson only talks about female clerks and office workers, which became a popular career for middle-class women once secondary education for girls was more readily available at the end of the century (1988). Valerie Fehlbau uses the example of women in journalism to describe the ‘scorn’ they attracted because of their ‘increasingly visible presence in public spaces.’ Professional women were not only ‘physically caught between the outside world and the confines of domestic interiors [...] but they also brav[ed] social conventions [...]. Women journalists entered a liminal space [...] in the hope of transforming professional and social conditions for women’ (Fehlbau 2013: 61). This can also be applied to other professions, including teaching, and especially middle-class elementary teachers, who had to cross two *limina*, that of their traditional domestic sphere and of social

limitations. Dina Copelman's study on *London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism, 1870-1930* places 'teachers at the heart of the history of state education.' She contrasts women school teachers' 'strikingly different model of gender and class [...] [with] the one constructed by historians of middle-class gender roles and middle-class feminism' (1996: xiv). The profession's stress on service rather than economic profit had always been considered to be a traditionally feminine quality, which women accordingly used to be accepted as professionals on equal terms with men (cf. *ibid.*: 9).

However, according to Rudi Volti's *Introduction to the Sociology of Work and Occupations*, teaching often was and sometimes still is only considered a 'semi-profession.' In his definition, a full profession does not just presume expert knowledge, but also 'considerable power' and 'a high degree of autonomy and self-governance' (2008: 103). These criteria teaching did and does not meet because of schools' and teachers' dependence on state authorities like the Education Department and the National Curriculum. Especially the fact that teaching has many female practitioners and the lower social status of the clients means that it has not always been recognised as full profession (cf. *ibid.*: 101). Copelman discusses restrictions to the acceptance of specifically elementary teaching as a profession: Because of their traditional recruitment straight from the working-class schools where they themselves had been pupils, elementary school teachers were often seen as unintellectual and less refined than secondary-school teachers (cf. Copelman 1996: 47). This negative association at first was a hindrance for middle-class women to work in elementary schools, but my study shows how the reorganisation of the traditional class affiliations of elementary teaching broke down such barriers. The biographical case study approach in Martin and Goodman's *Women and Education, 1850-1980* traces how six influential women educators 'expanded their opportunities and the problems and dilemmas they faced' (2004: 3). I follow their lead in analysing how the new school mistresses put their 'stress on service with notions of expertise, personal independence and autonomy,

which they used to argue for participation in the public sphere generally.’ Their pride in their profession, which in their eyes ‘conferred prestige and suggested moral superiority, intellectual mobility, modernity and efficiency,’ is a sign that elementary teaching had reached a similar status as traditional professions (Ibid.: 18).

The institutionalisation of teacher training was one of the most important factors to have elementary education accepted as a full profession for women. Wendy Robinson’s *Pupil Teachers and Their Professional Training in Pupil-Teacher Centres England and Wales, 1870-1914* writes about life as a pupil teacher and how days in the centres were organised (2000: 42-70), but places special emphasis on how the academic and social standards of elementary school teacher training were raised. Both the 1886 Cross and the 1895 Bryce Commissions advocated abolishing the pupil teacher system in favour of more secondary education for elementary school teachers. At the turn of the century, reforms finally prepared a university-based education, putting elementary teachers on the same academic footing as other teachers (cf. *ibid.*: 100). My study contributes further insights into the social make-up of the professional community by examining the campaign for elementary school teaching as an acceptable profession for middle-class women (cf. 4.1.2.). Periodicals for women tried to attract middle-class women as elementary teachers and not just the working-class members Copelman considers. The magazines I selected demonstrate the importance of the social status which middle-class women brought to the profession to ensure equal status with traditional male professions. Reports of women joining the newly emerging trade unions for teachers and even setting up all-women professional communities or discussions about feminine teaching methods were used by the periodicals to further establish elementary teaching as a full profession for their mostly middle-class readers (cf. 4.2.).

1.3. The Nineteenth-Century Periodicals Market as Social Arena

I based my study on a corpus of 25 periodicals for women to take advantage of the flourishing press, which was an extraordinarily constructive platform for discussing the future of the nation at the end of the nineteenth century. The abolition of the advertising duty in 1835 and of the stamp duty in 1855 combined with technological improvements in the printing equipment (cf. Law 2012: 537), the telecommunications and the railway network, which helped correspondents with gathering news and with the distribution of the periodicals, led to an explosion of the numbers of publications (Clarke 2004: esp. 234-239). The expansion of the electorate, who wanted information on the candidates, and the general politicisation of the citizens made the press a valuable vehicle for the dissemination of ideas. Some critics argue that especially the 1870 Elementary Education Act produced many new readers who needed periodicals as ‘fodder’ to sate their reading appetite, for example on their commute (cf. Braithwaite et al. 1979: 8 and Roebuck 1973: 43). However, Ivan Kreilkamp, amongst others, disagrees that literacy only increased rapidly after 1870, but instead argues that it had been on a steady rise ever since the end of the eighteenth century, paving the way for the newly diversified periodicals market (2005: 39). But whether literacy followed or was followed by the press, there inarguably is an important relationship between mass education, an industrialised and professionalised society, and a proliferation of the periodical press. Especially women’s increasingly rigorous education not only taught them to read and write, but also enabled them to earn money to buy and produce periodicals. Correspondingly, between 1889 and 1900 ‘over 120 new magazines for women’ were created (Beetham 1996: 122).

1.3.1. New Journalism and the Question of Social Consensus

Technological advances did not only expand the periodical market, but radically altered it. Advances in colour printing enabled publishers to incorporate more advertisements into the magazines,

leading to higher revenues and therefore longer and better magazines for little money. Graphic features like breaking up articles into easily readable paragraphs with subheadings, pictures, diagrams and maps made the magazines more attractive (cf. Rubery 2009: 9). The shorter and illustrated texts also catered to the newly literate readerships of Board School pupils, who were still not as well educated as the traditional consumers of press products. But also the contents changed for the new mass audience with more personalised interests, also in other people's lives. The market exploded into magazines for every taste and concern - for sports, society gossip, cheap short fiction, cookery and household, cycling, fashion, education, science, satire and many more. It was also divided along class lines, in sensationalist penny-papers, sophisticated 6d. periodicals for the more discriminating middle class and elaborate magazines for the upper-class reader. Old-fashioned newspapers with purely political news, had been replaced by a huge spectrum of genres, topics and audiences. This innovative style, like elementary education another symptom of the diversification and democratisation of society, became known as New Journalism (cf. Salmon 1997: 42).⁸ In contrast to masculine-gendered traditional newspaper journalism, New Journalism was associated with traditionally feminine characteristics like sensationalism, the emotional appeal and personal interest of interviews or gossip columns and also an aesthetically pleasing layout (cf. Fraser et al.

⁸ Bob Clarke's *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: An Illustrated History of English Newspapers to 1899* is an excellent factual introduction to British journalism. Joel Wiener edited *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, the collected papers from the CUNY Conference of History and Politics. This pioneering interdisciplinary study provides historical analysis of the transformation and innovation of New Journalism. Richard Salmon's "'A Simulacra of Power: Intimacy and Abstraction in the Rhetoric of New Journalism' in the *Victorian Periodicals Review* examines authenticity and orality in new journalistic reporting. For the importance of the press for imperial discourse see Andrew Griffiths' *The New Journalism, the New Imperialism and the Fiction of Empire, 1870-1900*, who focuses on how writers and special correspondents 'produced a mediated experience of empire which was readily comprehensible to British readers.' In recent years studies like Kate Jackson's *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910* about the interactive relationship Newnes created for profit in his seven periodicals, have put the spotlight on specific figures in New Journalism.

2003: 6). Matthew Arnold even went so far as to call New Journalistic publications ‘featherbrained’ in a clearly gendered and disparaging evaluation (qtd. in Beetham 1996: 116).

As Janet Roebuck writes in *The Making of Modern English Society from 1850*, longer commutes, more employees in ever-growing companies and larger blocks of flats to accommodate the increasing number of labourers were causes for a ‘rising anonymity and fragmentation of life and society,’ which resulted in little social cohesion. But on the other hand, ‘public transport, rising prosperity and increasing permeation of the media’ served as ‘social levellers,’ because the new periodicals allowed country and city dwellers, slum and suburb inhabitants, Liberals and Conservatives alike, more similar experiences (Roebuck 1973: 48-50). In *Making News – A Study in the Construction of Reality*, Gaye Tuchman explores how the media ‘enable geographically dispersed individuals to know something about one another, one another’s ethnic and neighbourhood groups, and events in group life’ (1978: 3). In the nineteenth century it became possible to read the same news to acquire shared knowledge, without personal contact and despite different levels of education. News became a social institution of cohesion, never just news, but ‘gathered and disseminated by professionals working in organizations,’ a ‘product of a social institution and embedded in relationships with other institutions [...], claim[ing] the right to interpret everyday occurrences.’ The journalist’s act of making news is a construction of reality, connecting a diverse readership through the choice of what to publish with which spin (Ibid.: 4). Especially influential for this development was journalist and editor William Thomas Stead. As pioneer of investigative journalism, Stead recognised that journalism was more than reporting news. He understood the media as a new public space, where mass influence and education was possible (cf. 1997: Salmon 44). ‘The world has perceptibly shrunk under the touch of Stephenson and Faraday, of Hoe and Edison,’ he proclaimed in his programmatic and prophetic *Contemporary Review* article ‘Government by Journalism.’ This had made it possible for citizens with a common interest, although they lived far

apart, to find each other and create a ‘vast agora [...] in which the discussion of the affairs of State is carried on from day to day in the hearing of the whole people.’ He believed the press to be more up-to-date than Parliament, whose ‘absolutism [...] is controlled and governed by the direct voice of the electors themselves. [...] The Press has become the Chamber of Initiative. No measure ever gets itself into shape [...] before being debated many times as a project in the columns of the newspapers’ (Stead Vol. 49. May 1886: 654). For Stead as an editor this generated exciting possibilities to influence public opinion with investigative and sensationalist reportages, for example the 1885 ‘Maiden Tributes of Modern Babylon’ series in his *Pall Mall Gazette*. Stead bought a young girl to demonstrate the state’s neglect in human trafficking and - apart from vociferous moral outrage - effected a raise of the legal age of consent (cf. Onslow 2000: 14). Stead illustrated the power of the Fourth Estate as independent channel between public opinion and government (cf. Clarke 1004: 231): ‘Parliament will continue to meet in the midst of a newspaper age, but it will be subordinate. The wielders of real power will be those who are nearest the people’ (Stead Vol. 49. May 1886: 656). Stead charged the audience with being aware of this construction of news. Every interpretation depends on the readers’ prior knowledge, attitudes, education, and, especially in the nineteenth century, class. This was mirrored in the aforementioned splitting up of the market, which at the same time permitted new cohesion through the creation of readerships connected by their interest in for example sports or politics or by simply sharing femaleness. During the Victorian period, the press became a mass medium, ‘the context within which people lived and worked and thought, and from which they derived [...] their sense of the outside world’ (Shattock and Wolff 1982: xiv-xv). Following Raymond Williams’ theory of culture being signified in ordinary means of production and communication, this insight helps us avoid simply perceiving the gargantuan body of extant Victorian periodicals as ‘reflecting a consensual reality already in existence,’ but rather as interactive and ‘constitutive medium’ for ‘manufacturing that consensus’ (qtd. in Lyn Pykett 1990: 10).

In 'Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context' Pykett also reminds the student of Victorian periodicals of the necessity of using an interdisciplinary approach for deciphering what consensus had been produced and consider form and content. Periodicals are not just text, but also physical artefacts. Each publication has its own individual structure with a specific cover, choice of paper, amount of pages, publication frequency. On the next level there are illustrations, the layout of where in the magazine what kind of text is placed, colour choices, editing arrangements, anonymous or signed articles, etc. to be considered. Only then are we able to 'reconstruct the writers and their discourse and the readers,' because only then can we get to the full expression of Victorian culture (Pykett 1990: 14-15). In his influential study on *Science, Time and Space in the Late Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press*, James Mussell calls this approach of considering and criticising the text and the physical (or digital, in case we access it via a database) magazine 'cultural eclecticism.' Only the textual and the material signifiers together constitute the whole discourse of nineteenth-century periodicals and its interpretative framework, which enables us to 'reconstitute the historically contingent negotiations of meaning without opposing the signifier to an ontologically distinct realm of the signified' (2007: 8). Mussell further illustrates this by quoting Mikhail Bakhtin on the relationship between the reality, which the periodicals depicted and constructed, and the reality, in which the periodicals existed:

However forcefully the real and the represented world resist fusion [...], they are nevertheless indissolubly tied up with each other and find themselves in a continual mutual interaction; [...] the work and the world represented in it enter the real world and enrich it, and the real world enters the work and its world as part of the process of its creation [...] in a continual renewing of the work through the creative perception of listeners and readers.

Bakhtin, qtd. in Mussell 2007: 95.

Magazines are never free-floating physical copies carrying unrelated text in an unrelated world, but text and real world continuously interact and together create meaning.

In their attempt to attract as big an audience as possible, publishers combined all the variables available to create appealing copy (cf. Pykett 1990: 4). And yet the changed realities between each number of the same publication make periodicals an ephemeral phenomenon. According to Mussell, the titles and publication periods (weekly? monthly?) were the only continuities in the ever-changing genre, where even tone and outlook might have been revised to increase readership (2007: 1). But the example of *Lady's World* shows that even titles fluctuated: As new editor Oscar Wilde changed it to *Woman's World* in what was 'probably a marketing ploy' to appeal to a bigger audience (Ledbetter 2009: 53). Readers, who returned for their usual magazine, had to be kept interested by an "address" in the same term despite different content' (Mussell 2007: 94). The great fluctuation in the late-Victorian market shows the varying degrees of success editors had with continuously attracting their readership. On the other hand, the plethora of specialist magazines made it easier to keep readers interested by catering specifically to their niche.

In 1858 Wilkie Collins famously wrote about 'The Unknown Public,' who read the proliferating penny papers (Vol. XVIII, No. 439. Aug. 21, 1858: 217-222). He called them 'the lost literary tribes' because the middle class, who had so far been the main consumers of press products, did not know much about the newly literate audience. When he turns to the correspondence pages to learn more about the 'pennorth' readers, he is amazed at the teeming working-class life hitherto unknown to him. After a survey of fiction as the greatest attraction of such penny-journals, he 'arrived at the two conclusions that the Unknown Public reads for amusement, and that it looks to quantity in its reading, rather than to quality' (Ibid.: 218). Collins sees this as a great opportunity and recommends the new public to 'the coming generation of English novelists. [...] When that public shall discover its need of a great writer, the great writer will have such an audience as has never yet been known' (Ibid.: 222). But this great writer would have to educate his readers:

The Unknown Public is, in a literary sense, hardly beginning, as yet, to learn to read. The members of it are evidently [...] from no fault of theirs,

still ignorant of almost everything which is generally known and understood among readers whom circumstances have placed, socially and intellectually, in the rank above them.

Although the Unknown Public had learned to read in the Board Schools, their cultural education was still not finished (Ibid.: 221). Thus Collins identified the periodical market as a locus for educating and reforming the newly literate working class. They already appreciated periodicals as cheap and readily available entertainment, so if they were to contain literally and morally inspiring fiction, the no longer Unknown Public would take it in automatically and be the better for it.

Others were more negative in their assessment of the working classes' choices in literature or indeed free-time activities. At a time when working hours were reduced and the available leisure time increased, a

long-standing puritanical concern to discipline popular recreations intensified in the early Victorian period, fuelled by an evangelical religious revival, the 'moral gospel' of respectability [...] State authorities and middle-class reformers undertook a campaign of control and repression. [...] Sabbatarians tried but failed to close the pubs [...] on Sundays but postponed the Sunday opening of the British Museum until 1896.

Bailey 2012: 630.

Hugh Cunningham gives an extensive overview of all the reforms 'in the recognition and regularisation of leisure,' for example the 1871 Bank Holiday Act or the introduction of a half holiday on Saturdays (cf. Cunningham 2014: 107-110). However, how the working classes spent those new holidays was considered idle and wasteful by the middle class. Cunningham connects this with an increasing amount of leisure activities being 'provided by private enterprise [which] was invariably cheap, tawdry and demoralising.' Such entertainments like music halls or gin palaces were feared to be a threat to the efficiency of workers (Ibid.: 136). One attempted solution was the creation of what was dubbed 'rational recreation:' 'New institutions for the provision of facilities in leisure time where the classes might mix and new forms of civilisation emerge' (Ibid.:

66). Another response was the temperance movement, one of the first campaigns with female involvement, who promoted wholesome entertainment without the dangers of alcohol. Peter Bailey describes rational recreation thus: 'In many ways Victorian leisure was a transplant of modern industrial production [...] Its reformers sought to impose a play discipline similar to that of the factory [...] suggesting a significant enhancement of the quality of life' (Bailey 2012: 632-633). It was Board Schools which were one of the most important institutionalised tools for teaching the working classes the benefits of spending their free time wisely. According to Jane Martin, rather than being 'simply establishments for the transmission of official knowledge, Board Schools were also the sites of "welfare" and "moral interventions."' They were 'new forms of surveillance and control,' where the potentially devious working class was exposed to the improving middle class in an effort to 'reform by example' (Martin 1999: 115-117).

1.3.2. Magazines for Women: Periodicals and the Woman Question

In the general explosion of the periodicals market, especially newspapers and magazines for and by women expanded massively. Between 1889 and 1900 over 120 new periodicals for women were started (cf. Beetham 1990: 122). Women were discovered as sales targets, which meant yet another splitting-up of the readership category 'women' into numerous subcategories like 'ladies,' 'mothers,' 'girls,' 'cyclists,' 'women teachers,' 'radicals,' catering for all interest groups, yet always assuming femaleness as 'shared experience' (Ballaster et al. 1991: 9). Echoing W.T. Stead Florence Fenwick Miller called the press

the pulpits from which our modern preachers are most widely and effectively heard [...] For every hundred persons who listen to the priest, the journalist [...] speaks to a thousand; and while the words of the one are often heard merely as a formality, those of the other [...] may effectively influence the thoughts and consciences and actions of thousands in the near future. Shallow, indeed, would be the mind which undervalued the power of the journalist. qtd. in Onslow 2000: 35.

Fenwick Miller understood that traditionally the Church had shaped ideas about women, politics and education but that now the more democratic press was becoming a more important platform. Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman collection *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* gives a comprehensive overview of the periodical press by and for women. Their first section outlines the various types of magazines and the second part describes the article genres making up these magazines.⁹ They identify early-nineteenth century drawing-room journals as 'earliest kind of miscellany for women' (Onslow 2000: 21). But while these first gender-specific monthlies were expensive at 1s., publishers like Harmsworth, Pearson and Newnes soon reacted to the growing individualisation and developed the domestic penny weeklies (cf. Beetham and Boardman 2001: 87). These were cheap, chatty magazines for working-class and lower middle-class women involved in running the household. Their low price meant that they were printed on cheap paper and heavily depended on advertising. In *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, Margaret Beetham reconstructs from case studies in a historical overview how domestic periodicals constructed versions of 'the fragmented feminine self' and offered

⁹ Also consider Beetham's collaboration with Ros Ballaster, Elizabeth Frazer and Sandra Hebron, *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine*, a comprehensive study exploring the pleasures and dangers of the periodical press for women through its history. The authors argue that its heterogeneity and inherent contradiction maintained its cultural influence. Laurel Brake also co-edited two fundamental essay collections. *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, edited with Aled Jones and Lionel Madden, attempts to define the theoretical field as truly interdisciplinary, while *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers* (together with Julie F. Codell) broadly engage with the periodical press' political role. For the relationship between journalism, literature and history see Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century*. For article genres in periodicals see Kathryn Ledbetter's *British Victorian Women's Periodicals: Beauty, Civilization, and Poetry*, who uses themes and patterns of poetry as traditionally female genre in women's periodicals to explore taste, style and content as representation of femininity. Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation* looks at how literary criticism in magazines shaped women's reading. She argues that family literary magazines revolutionized the position of women as consumers of print by characterizing them 'as primary literacy educators of the family, [responsible for] the literary taste of the middle class, and the preservation of the nation's culture.'

‘Ladyship at Penny Prices.’ Published weekly, they contained ‘short articles on housekeeping, care of children and gossip about royalty or the famous, illustrated interviews, fashion news, chats about books, competitions, and advice columns on a range of issues’ and also ubiquitous fiction. Some publications like *Home Chat* or *Home News* reached huge circulation figures of more than 200,000 magazines (cf. Beetham 1996: 190). Beetham explains how, although their preferred topics and article types show they were not designed for upper-class readers, they catered to their readers’ escapist needs with short romantic fiction set in the aristocracy, society gossip and interviews with celebrities (Ibid.: 192-194). The advice columns also helped upwardly mobile readers to emulate middle-class ideals of self-help. On the other end of the feminine market were periodicals like *The Queen* or the *Lady’s Pictorial*. These magazines were more expensive, between 3d. and 6d., and printed on thick, glossy paper. Their very names defined their readers as ladies, not working-class women. As Ballaster et al. correctly remark, the word ‘lady’ ‘always brought class and status meanings to bear on gender definition,’ complicating an already difficult construction. These upmarket magazines were not as interested in domesticity, but ‘focused on definitions which foregrounded appearance, social graces and accomplishments, as opposed to labour. Home [...] was not the site of woman’s work but the visible expression of her taste and, implicitly, her status.’ The typically middle-class interest of philanthropy was also addressed with reports of fundraisers and meetings of progressives societies, even among the working classes and radicals (Ballaster et al. 1991: 97). Such class-based definitions of audience are problematic as it is impossible to know whether the implied readership overlapped with the actual readers. Also women from less well-off backgrounds from time to time would have bought or borrowed those even more escapist magazines. For a time when educational and professional opportunities were obscuring traditional class lines as much as in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, this is especially difficult to ascertain. As this study shows, especially with the example of *The*

Queen, interest groups like domestic and radical were also increasingly blurred.

Another important category for this study is periodicals for girls. Girlhood was defined as taking place between the end of education and marriage. With the increase of educational and professional prospects for women and the general extension of the female sphere, where marriage was no longer the only acceptable choice for a young woman, this time period was constantly changing. Beetham and Boardman show that the advancing 'women's movement can be seen in the definition of girlhood constructed in the pages of this type of magazine,' which still purported girls to be trained to be wives and mothers, but also allowed them to consider education, work and sports. Often they were published by religious organisations, like the Religious Tract Society's *Girl's Own Paper* or *The Monthly Packet*, closely affiliated with the Church of England, which often resulted in a moralising tone (Beetham and Boardman 2001: 71). They were mostly addressed to the middle-class girl as traditional definitions of girlhood virtually excluded working-class girls, who often left school after only a few years. Their girlhood either never happened or was much shorter and less romanticised. Although in the 1880s and 90s cheap weeklies for working-class girls were created, like *The Girl's Best Friend* or *Sweethearts* with a focus on romance, sensationalism and entertainment, these were not published for long enough to be included in my study (cf. *ibid.*). This development follows what Sally Mitchell calls the 'new girlhood' as both working- and middle-class girls 'increasingly occupied a separate culture [...] and recognized its discord with adult expectations' (Mitchell 1995: 3-4).

Soon the periodical press became a key mechanism through which the women's movement discussed and disseminated ideas. Michelle Elizabeth Tusan's *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* looks at how women created new political identities in the pages of the periodical press as 'key aspect of nineteenth and twentieth century, extra-parliamentary political culture' (2005: 10). She uncovers the interdependence between print culture as a vehicle for women's mobilisation and gender politics,

which ‘self-consciously constituted women as political rather than domestic subjects’ (Ibid.: 26). In *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green and Judith Johnston further examine periodicals as critical cultural sites for the representation of competing gender ideologies. They prove that

the medium that most readily articulates the unevenness and reciprocities of evolving gender ideologies is the periodical press, which offers material realisation, generically and formally, of that dynamic and relational cultural process. [...] Moreover, the currency of the periodical press, its ephemeral character, made it an apt mediating agency for the presentation of ideas that were constantly undergoing revision and reformulation. [...] The periodical press, offering a liminal space between public and private domains, was a critical mediating agent between these two worlds.

Fraser et al. 2003: 3-5.

At the beginning there were only a few advanced feminist magazines, but radical women’s groups soon discovered the platform to discuss their issues and created a community of women readers who shared ideas and ideals. Fraser et al. describe the Langhamites’ *English Woman’s Journal* and later magazines as ‘originators’ of a ‘new generation of social and political magazines for women’ (2003: 149). Often the focus of these radical magazines was more on their propaganda rather than on New Journalistic aesthetic appeal. Publications like the *Women’s Suffrage Journal* wanted to be logbooks of what was happening in the world of the woman’s question rather than to sell as many copies as other commercial periodicals. They usually did not feature advertisements, which meant they were not hindered by disadvantageous affiliations, but no revenue also made longevity difficult. It was hard to maintain cash-flow for such feminist advocacy journals and they often relied on ‘networks that consisted primarily of well-funded women’s organizations.’ In her essay ‘Feminism, Journalism and Public Debate’, Barbara Caine also identifies the lack of funds to pay for good and well-known authors as part of the problem, because this meant that fewer readers bought the magazine, closing the vicious circle of under-financing (2001:

101). Publishers had to find a winning formula combining radicalism and commercialism to reach as many readers to convince of the urgency of their objectives as possible. And yet the newly-emerging press for women by women 'self-consciously constituted women as political rather than domestic subjects' (Tusan 2005: 20-27).

In *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere* Maria Diconzo, Lucy Delap and Leila Ryan focus on feminist magazines in relation to the suffrage campaign and 'challenge many of the assumptions about the decline of a political/educational press and the wholesale commercialization of the press by the end of the nineteenth century.' They claim that progressive papers were not just publications for women, because they informed the whole society about the woman question (2011: 3), although Caine challenges this perception because of the small publication numbers of feminist magazines and insists that it 'was in the pages of the *Westminster Review*, or *Fraser's Magazine*, the *Nineteenth Century* or the *Fortnightly Review* that the most significant feminist debates occurred - and in which women entered into debates and discussions about other political and social subjects' (2001: 102). These mainstream magazines had more readers, who were not yet woken up to the women's movement and the debates were hoped to win over more followers. I agree with Diconzo et al.'s assessment that the advanced feminist periodical was an essential part in the promotion of the woman question and shaking women out of complacency and acceptance of the repressive status quo. 'Women were not only trying to gain access to the public sphere through political representation, but were also challenging the very definition of what constituted the public sphere of concern' (Ibid.: 16). An example of how the periodical press became a platform for a debate about women's place in the modern world is how the new woman became the New Woman. In May 1894 author Ouida responded to an article in the *North American Review* by Sarah Grand, entitled 'The New Aspects of the Woman Question,' in which she claimed that the 'Workingman and the Woman, the New Woman [...] meet us at every page of literature written in the English tongue, and each is convinced that on its own especial W hangs the future of the world'

(cf. Ardis 1990: 10). Grand's and Ouida's exchange marked the success of long campaigns to make the utopian New Woman 'real.' The periodical press acted as a public forum to discuss and construct the New Woman as public icon of women's right to education, employment, inviting active participation from the readers (cf. Tusan 1998: 172-173). Magazines by and for women encouraged feminist debate about what it meant for a woman to live a successful life, firmly establishing itself as central stage in the New Woman debate. W.T. Stead was supportive of New Woman fiction and in July 1894 published a lengthy critique about 'The Novel of the Modern Woman.' The New Woman had found male endorsement and entered the popular culture of his *Review of Reviews* (cf. Easley 2012: 41). But much of the periodical press denounced her and publicist Eliza Lynn Linton wrote famous diatribes about the forward and disagreeable 'girl of the period' and her shrieking sisters. Others derided the New Woman as mannish, ugly and sexually decadent and odd women were under suspicion to be New Women because their unmarried status could be seen as revolt against society's norms (Ledger 1997: 9-35). Some particularly revisionist contributions claimed that the New Woman did not actually exist but was an invention of the press (cf. Heilman 2000: 23).

Until mid-century magazines for women had mostly male editors and contributors, but the new magazines by women for women were a 'considerable opportunity for the women who edited and worked for them' (cf. S. Robinson 1996: 160). Journalism was an acceptable occupation for women and especially attractive because it often could be arranged around domestic duties. Barbara Onslow's *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* features a wide range of women, who, despite limited education, parental opposition and fierce competition, sought to earn a living through journalism. Usually no particular education was necessary apart from a sound basic knowledge and good writing skills, making it a popular choice for women who were still not educated to the same standards as men. Onslow traces the obstacles for women in the male-dominated profession, like salary negotiations in the masculine and aggressive

world or Fleet Street. Most women journalists relied on family connections or patronage from male editors or established women journalists (Onslow 2000: 24). Writing for periodicals was considered most suitable for women, who often wrote, sometimes anonymously, columns about feminine topics like society gossip, fashion, child rearing or household hints - pertaining to what was perceived to be their everyday life and interests. Others with more literary ambitions sold the odd short story to feed the endless stream of fiction the magazines were publishing. Onslow describes the letters pages as good practice for becoming a professional writer (2000: 24-27). The first female full-time employed journalist in Fleet Street was anti-feminist Eliza Lynn Linton, who worked for the *Morning Chronicle* from 1849 until 1851. Her salary of one guinea per week shows that journalism was a lucrative profession, but that women were not paid on the same terms as men (cf. Showalter 1977: 47-58). It was not until the 1880s that Hulda Friederichs as chief interviewer for the *Pall Mall Gazette* was employed on the same terms as male journalists (cf. Dillane 2012: 148). But one field of journalism remained the domain of men for much longer: News reporting for daily newspapers. Emily Crawford only inherited her husband's post as Paris correspondent for the *Daily News* after his death. She 'covered important political events like the Franco-Prussian War and the Treaty of Versailles' (Pusapati 2014: n.p.). This was so different from periodical writing because she had to leave the security of her house, both literal and in terms of her subjects, to enter a war zone. Female journalists were inspirational figures, as several series of interviews with celebrity female journalists for example in the *Lady's Pictorial* in 1893 show (cf. Fehlbaum 2012: 66).

1.3.3. Orality and Print Cultures: Creating Impact in Discourse

This breakdown of magazines for women has demonstrated the market's increasingly personal emphasis on the individual. The readers' and the writers' personal opinions were important, or as W.T. Stead put it in 'The Future of Journalism:' '[E]verything

depends upon the individual. Impersonal journalism is effete. To influence man you must be a man, not a mock-uttering oracle.' So accordingly, to influence woman you must be a woman. Stead came to the conclusion that journalism was the 'visible speech if not the voice of democracy' (Stead Vol. 50. Nov. 1886: 663). In order to actually make speech visible, New Journalism discovered the simulation of orality for effective reader manipulation. Walter Ong explores in *Orality and Literacy* the characteristics of how oral cultures think and express themselves. He suggests that oral cultures use aggregative rather than analytic techniques, that means formulaic expressions, to remember and thus record information. They also repeat information for it to become ingrained in their memory. Such information is usually familiar to their own life experiences and often includes dramatic events in order to be empathetic (cf. 1982: 38-45). Even though Ong was focusing on preliterate cultures without any means of technically recording information, these aspects can easily be transferred to Victorian magazines. Their articles also tried to be participatory rather than objectively distanced and preferred to be close to their audience with the authors/speakers and readers/audience communicating. Their periodical nature made them topical and familiar and at the beginning of articles information was repeated to refamiliarise readers with previous events like in an often heard story. The immediacy and authenticity of orality-simulating genres was a useful strategy for convincing readers of the editor's objectives. It was part of the strong oral culture Ivan Kreilkamp attests the Victorian age in *Voice and the Victorian Storyteller*. He challenges the subordination of speech in the sense of rhetoric to writing in the Victorian public sphere, 'when speech operate[d] in cahoots with print to suppress the truth' (2005: 7). He emphasises the 'inextricability' of print and oral cultures and denies that the Victorian novel displaced ancient oral traditions, but was 'a fabricated struggle between multiple and complex forms of speech and writing' (3). Not just Victorian novels, but also Victorian journalism lets us identify the powerful voices at the heart of popular culture. Especially in periodicals by and for women a parallel can be seen between orality and the growing

emancipation of women. While orality had always had feminine implications, now women were no longer a silent mass, but appropriated periodicals for their own interests.

One method to simulate orality was used especially by publications with a progressive outlook: The reprinting of speeches. Kreilkamp describes the influence of Chartist speeches on working-class culture. They were printed and then reread in families and public spaces as innovative and highly effective means of circulating the movement's ideas. Kreilkamp calls this 'tactics of verbal action.' For this ostensibly oral strategy, print was indispensable, since a 'speech transcribed and properly read gains the power of an idealized oratory that can exist only in print' (Ibid.: 34-42). In my corpus there are 18 articles with reprinted speeches from Westminster, LSB meetings or sometimes election campaign meetings. Often they do not have introductions or comments, but are included as short notes in miscellaneous columns. These snippets would have enabled readers at home, who could not attend meetings, to keep up-to-date with the debate. Some other reprinted speeches, especially those from parliamentary debates on suffrage, were used to create outrage and momentum for the feminist movement. These speeches appeared to be reproduced word for word, as if reading the official minutes from a meeting. But John M. Robson questions the authenticity of verbatim publication. In his paper at the University of Lethbridge, he traces the reproduction of parliamentary speeches in *Hansard*. To-the-letter reprinting would not have been possible in an era before recording devices had been invented. What was printed was only what the reporters or collators had been able to catch and write down. An actual word-for-word reprint would also have taken up too much space. This was especially true for regular magazines other than the specialised *Hansard*. Therefore, the reporters only recorded the main arguments of the speeches, not the rhetorical flourish and embellishments. He also mentions the fact that often the original speeches were not good enough to be reprinted in their tedious entirety (Robson 1987: 12-17). Journalistic innovator T.P. O'Connor was unhappy with how parliamentary speeches were reported and in 'The New Journalism' explained his new technique

for making reprinted speeches more effective. He had recognised that traditional verbatim quoting resulted in “long, lifeless even columns” of print, which fail to reanimate the concrete event of speech’ and are therefore counterproductive. To overcome this limitation it is necessary to

convey the context of the speech event and thus to rejoin the link between speech and speaker through the visualized representation of personal detail. [...] Thus, paradoxically, it is only by devoting less space to the speeches themselves that the newspaper becomes able to render the truth of speech as such.

O’Connor, qtd. in Salmon 1997: 44.

In my selected periodicals similar conscious editorial decisions were made about which speeches to include in what way. Only a few speeches were published completely and only the most worthy excerpts, often by female speakers or either the most abrasive or most supportive men. Often the visualisation of the context was very successful and the speakers and their emotions come to life vividly. In the case of the LSB or campaign meetings it is unclear who documented the speeches, since there were no reporters like those who fed back to *Hansard*. It was probably the women themselves who made their revised and corrected speech manuscripts available.

Another performative strategy with a strong personal voice were recurring columns on women’s issues, which were usually written and edited by famous feminist figures. The longest-running and most regular example in my corpus of texts is the *Lady’s Pictorial’s* ‘Woman - Her Position and Her Prospects, Her Duties and Her Doings,’ later renamed to ‘Woman - Her Interests and Pursuits’ and finally just ‘Woman.’ The column was started in 1885 by Florence Fenwick Miller and taken over in 1888 by Emily Faithfull, who conducted it until 1894. Both were famous feminist activists and journalists, while Fenwick Miller also served on the LSB from 1877 until 1885. They both gave the column the weight of their names, even once they were succeeded by anonymous authors with the pseudonyms Doris and Minerva. The instalment from 26th September 1885 is a good example of the general tone and content.

Before the actual text starts, the tone is set by stating that it was ‘by Mrs. F. Fenwick Miller, Member of the London School Board, author of “Life of Harriet Martineau,” “Solicitudes,” “Readings in Social Economy.”’ From the beginning we know that she speaks from a position of authority:

I have hitherto been considering the special and peculiar work for the care of the school girls and women teachers which demands the presence of women upon school boards. But it is not to be supposed that lady members can or ought to wholly confine their attention to these special subjects. Nor does it follow that a woman member, merely because of her sex, will be necessarily a wise judge of the needs, or a sympathetic and sincere advocate of the interests, of women and girls.

Fenwick Miller Vol. X, No. 239. Sept. 26, 1885: 278.

The first sentence introduces women and girls as the topic, thereby creating a community between herself, her readers, and also the female LSB members and pupils. This is a well-timed edition of the column, two months before the next LSB elections and in the midst of the nomination of the new candidates. Fenwick Miller uses her personal voice to argue for the presence of women members on the LSB and inform her readers of the duties and requirements of LSB members. As if she was talking to an intimate she is very forthright in her assessment of unsuitable candidates:

There are women - and women. Not all women can be trusted to show sympathy or to deal justly with their own sex. [...] There is a mean, spiteful, coldly-selfish, greedy-for-admiration kind of woman, as cowardly as she is domineering, as vain as she is shallow, as intriguing as she is feeble, as pushingly pretentious as she is essentially petty. [...] we all know her, especially in connection with Church work and every philanthropic undertaking which has fashionable patronage.

This list is constructed as if it were alluding to wide-spread types of observable ‘female’ behaviour; it thereby both assumes and creates an implicit alliance between Fenwick Miller as the projected speaker and her readership. Generating readers’ sympathy and interest (at the expense of the unsavoury female types she describes), she thus stages a kind of chat behind closed doors, an accompliceship with

her readers which excludes the third party whose character is dissected („We all know her“). Her uninhibited, yet authoritative tone draws readers in, like a heart-to-heart conversation with a good friend, whose advice is readily followed. Fenwick Miller’s objective is to find women members of the LSB and in order to make sure that the candidates are useful, she draws vignettes of inappropriate women. Unsuitable female members would not have helped political emancipation, but efficient members could prove that women deserved their place in local politics. Evoking a shared female responsibility was an effective campaigning strategy, designed to break down barriers.

The most innovative genre of orality-imitation were the interviews and home stories of female LSB members and other important figures in education. Interviews illustrate what Richard Salmon defined as the objective of New Journalism: The creation of a ‘mass-culture as form of pseudo-intimacy’ (Salmon 1997: 43). As public life was becoming increasingly complex with more publicly known figures, whose private lives were of great interest, interviews started celebrity culture as we know it today in a fascinating encounter of privacy and publicity. From the 1860s, this new genre made its way from American origins through the European print media. W.T. Stead credited himself with having brought it over from the USA while at the same time Edmund Yates was said to have ‘americanize[d]’ the British press by introducing the interview (van Arsdel 1988: 245). By the turn of the century it was a mainstay of journalism and, as Michael Schudson puts it in *The Power of News*, ‘a novel mechanism for public watchfulness over the powerful’ (1995: 93). Often accompanied by illustrations of the interviewee and their surroundings, interviews made celebrities’ lives accessible to the reading public, who felt that they were in contact with ‘the private self, if not the creative mind, of a prominent [person]’ (Rubery 2009: 118). An intimate conversation, often set in the interviewee’s home, pretended to let the reader in, although the interviewers usually weaved in facts from other sources or their own opinions to interest readers and reach their political goals (van

Arsdel 1988: 245-246).¹⁰ However, at first there were many reservations about the new form in the British press and the *London Daily News* wrote about its concerns that it might ‘bring[...] the profession of journalism into contempt.’ They thought interviews were no real journalism, as they only repeated the opinions of the interviewee, ostensibly without analysis. New Journalists were accused of creating the news rather than reporting them. Also the kind of news reported in interviews aroused suspicion - it often was more personal than the traditional communications about politics and the government (Ibid.: 72-76). But in reality an interview is far more than just the reprint of a conversation. Michael Schudson explains that the interviewer’s questions analyse a situation or a previous statement and do not just gather information. There is also an intricate web of relationships of trust, forthcomingness, authority and vulnerability between reporter and subject (cf. Schudson 1995: 74-93). Fionnuala Dillane illustrates this with a nineteenth-century example, political journalist Hulda Friedrich, who was originally from Germany. In an article on Friedrich’s style of interviewing, Dillane describes the interview as a ‘compromised form: the intimacy it purports to offer is underscored by the transformation of the interviewed subjects into products to be circulated and consumed.’ This is what makes the interview so interesting for readers: they get a peek into the hitherto unreachable, intimate world of the celebrity subject. According to Dillane, a ‘self-conscious meta-narrative underscores each encounter so that a complex triangular interaction is constructed between the interviewee and the interviewer, the interviewee and the reader, and [...] between the reader and the interviewer herself.’ It is this performativity of the genre that made it so popular in magazines by and for women (2011: 154).

With the rise of journalism as a popular profession for women, female interviewers also became more common. A few, like Hulda

¹⁰ Rosemary van Arsdel also gives a useful overview of the purposes and popularity of interviews, using the *Englishwoman’s Review* as an example of how interviews were used to provide ways out of the dilemma of how to be economically independent and at the same time remain womanly.

Friedrich or Sarah Tooley, whom we will meet again later as contributor to *The Woman's Signal* and *The Woman at Home*, became celebrities in their own right. Women were thought to have 'innate advantages' over male interviewers, because being perceptive and a good conversationalist were skills traditionally ascribed to them. Female reporters mostly interviewed women to avoid improper situations alone with men and along with New Journalism as a whole, interviewing was often seen as a 'distinctly feminine branch of journalism for giving disproportionate attention to private life' (Rubery 2009: 135). Thus personal interviews were popular in the magazines I consider here. One reason is their high cultural productivity: They could be used 'for illustrating what women's places in the new society could and should be' according to the specific magazine. They also 'offer[ed] [achievable] role models,' made accessible by the human interest element of 'behind-the-scenes glimpses of her private life' (cf. van Arsdel 1988: 246). In the process of reconstructing the New Woman as an independent woman who reformed English society as opposed to the mainstream media constructions of morally depraved bluestockings, interviews were 'highly ideological productions.' Doughty contrasts earlier interviews celebrating domesticity and ornamentality with pieces from later on in the century which gave 'professional women [...] working to address social problems [...] public platforms from which to articulate their values' (2012: 169). A good example is Sarah Tooley's interview with Ruth Homan on the occasion of her second campaign for the LSB in 1894:

After threading my way through costermongers' barrows and the "standings" of those who sold ironmongery, second-hand books, and flowering plants, I at length discovered Mrs. Homan's headquarters in the East End. From the spacious windows of an unoccupied shop numerous placards in large blue letters invited votes for Mrs. Ruth Homan, one of the Progressive candidates for the Tower Hamlets, in the approaching School Board election.

Inside the committee room, No. 653, Commercial Road, East, Mrs. Homan was busy with her staff of helpers in organising electioneering work, but expressed herself pleased to spare a short time for a talk regarding her candidature.

Tooley No. 46. Nov. 15, 1894: 310.

This informal and chatty introduction establishes the tone of the narrative about an efficient and experienced candidate coordinating her election campaign. But despite her untypical occupation, Mrs Homan is perfectly ladylike, polite and helpful. This setting of the scene is typical of the genre and in order to be as authentic and convincing as possible, Tooley enables the reader to imagine the middle-class lady amidst the working-class East End without losing her class's affability.

While reprinted speeches, columns and celebrity interviews tried to capture the authority of experts, echoing the developments towards professional specialists, correspondence columns invited the untrained public to participate. Almost all periodicals had letter pages, especially the commercial domestic ones, for whom this meant free copy. Boardman and Beetham describe the 'tangled relationship between letters and advice' in correspondence columns like Annie S. Swan's 'Over the Teacups' in *Woman at Home*. She created a strong, friendly editorial persona, who answered her readers' questions usually without reproducing the original letters (see 2.3). The range of advice columns was wide and included health, beauty, home decor and much more (Beetham and Boardman 2001: 166). Ballaster et al. discuss the problem page in Samuel Beeton's *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. Originally, it had been called 'Cupid's Postbag,' inviting romantic and sexual confidences and perfectly illustrating the link between correspondence and advice. Later its title was changed to the more open 'Englishwoman's Conversazione,' where owner-editor 'Beeton dealt with the correspondence and adopted the persona of the masterful editor, carrying out the promise made in his opening number, to act as mentor to his female readers.' Readers were invited to contribute 'letters, questions and communications of all kinds,' which were then answered by the editor of the column or other readers, so that a lively conversation over several editions of the magazine ensued (Ballaster et al. 1991: 90). A *conversazione* used to be a term for a scientific debate, but Beeton reappropriated it as a cosy and homelike chat between readers with similar interests. Sometimes he also involved his in-house experts like his wife

Isabella, who wrote under the *nom de plume* 'The Silkworm,' to answer domestic questions. The topics were very varied, like in the edition from 1 January 1871, where a reader asked if any of the other readers had a spare sealskin coat for her or 'L.W.C.' received a reprimand about her lines, which 'were not carefully written [and where] rhyme is lacking' (cf. Anon. Vol. 73. Jan. 1, 1871: 61). This continued the original didactic function of scientific conversaciones to pass on knowledge, reminiscent of Platonic dialogue. However, Ballaster et al. describe the relationship between Beeton's authoritative older persona, who sometimes allowed his tone to slip into the mischievous and flirty, and the younger, female readers asking for guidance as the opposite of a learned discussion between equals (cf. Ballaster et al. 1991: 91). The titles of such advice and correspondence columns explicitly evoke orality. A platform was created, very much like at home when friends and family come to visit or one has a chat with the neighbour. The popular features created an emotional connection between reader and magazine, ensuring that consecutive issues were bought in order to receive an answer to one's question or to follow up on an interesting exchange of letters. Sometimes there were also opinion-piece letters. Readers became contributors of the periodicals and a democratically wide spectrum of opinions could be published, sometimes contrary to the editor's house tone. Women had not been used to openly exchanging opinions, but the periodicals allowed them to practise how to discuss political and controversial topics. By encouraging such debates the periodicals, especially the ones that did not only treat domestic-feminine topics, raised an interest in politics, but also made it seem possible to join the same debate in public (Beetham and Boardman 2001: 166). All these oral genres have in common a high cultural productivity for defining and constructing opportunities for women. Women were striving for democratic opportunities, in which they were helped by democratic genres. By exposing readers to political speeches and debates in an unthreatening format, women could be politicised and their opinions be influenced. Interviews constructed aspirational public figures and made political women more palatable for the readers at home. Such article genres tell us about the

periodicals' agendas, but also allow their actual nineteenth-century readers' voices and their opinions about the LSB to shine through, locating the LSB in society.

1.3.4. The Corpus of Texts: Methodology and Selection

To exploit the periodical market's full scope as 'enabling space' where readers, writers and editors 'made their world meaningful' (Beetham 1990: 20-25), I created a corpus of articles about the Board School system, more specifically about the LSB, from 25 magazines by and for women. In total, I found 496 articles, ranging from short notes about the dealings in the latest LSB meeting in columns like *The Queen's* 'Gazette des Dames,' no longer than five lines, to lengthy personal interest stories like interviews with *The Woman at Home's* 'Notable Women of the Day,' filling four pages (Tooley n.p. 1898: 189-193). Most reporting about the educational reform and newly established school boards in women's magazines focused on the London School Board rather than provincial education authorities. I therefore decided to also put my emphasis on London, neglecting articles about regional school boards. But I did include general articles about Forster's 1870 Elementary Education Act, as far as they relate to the LSB and are necessary for understanding the opportunities for women they discussed and helped create. In order to get a representative selection of magazines for women and girls during the LSB period between 1870 and 1904 I had several criteria, first of which was their audience. In an attempt to represent the full spectrum of periodicals for women, I chose magazines with three different focal points: Progressive feminist magazines, often written, edited and published by women, domestic publications with a more traditionalist outlook and juvenile periodicals directed at girls between school and marriage. I was also guided by the print run. To guarantee objectivity, I only considered periodicals with a run of at least one year, although that meant disregarding many shorter-lived publications. Most of them were published in London, but Lydia Becker's *Women's Suffrage Journal* was based in Manchester.

Another guiding principle was the accessibility of the magazines. More and more of the extant Victorian press products are being scanned and digitally published in electronic databases. The three databases I used were Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals, the Gerritsen Collection and British Periodicals. Mindful of James Mussell's precautions about working with electronic databases, which leave out the actual physical copies of the nineteenth-century magazines and also all the other, as yet undigitised periodicals (Mussell 2007: 4-5), I also went to the archives to countercheck results - when physical copies are still available. To avoid Patrick Leary's warning of 'The Offline Penumbra,' by which he means the neglect of all periodical and literary texts that are not online, I also supplemented the digitised texts with periodicals which were accessed in their original print-form (2005: 82). Excessive reliance on electronic databases and their tools can also create online penumbra, as the word search function often leaves out many relevant articles. Although going through the digital copies link by link and sifting out all the hits is more time-consuming, this strategy renders more accurate and complete results. Some periodicals, like the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, the *Lady's Pictorial*, *The Lady's Realm*, parts of *The Queen* (up until 1887) and the *Girl's Realm*, I accessed as microfilms in various libraries across London and, in the case of *Woman*, in Manchester. This form of digitisation meant that the context of where in the magazine the article in question was placed, was still available. However, it often made it difficult or impossible to ascertain the correct volume and edition numbers. For *Home Notes*, *The Lady's World* and *The Woman's World* and the remaining parts of *The Queen*, I was able to use the original nineteenth-century copies, which had been bound into the customary volumes of several months, excluding most of the advertisements at the beginning and end of the magazines, often even the title pages. An example of a journal where lack of accessibility prevented inclusion is *Home Chat* (1895-1959), Harmsworth's rival weekly to Pearson/Newnes' *Home Notes*, which I did include. Although the catalogues of both the British Library and the Women's Library @LSE show positive search results for the complete publication

period, neither library actually has a full print run, but only a few single numbers, while most have been lost in storage. These sporadic issues did not allow an objective analysis. The following list shows all the magazines in my corpus, including their dates of publication, library or database where I accessed them and the number of relevant articles each of them contained, arranged according to their categories, to allow an easy overview. I also added whether the magazines were published on a monthly or weekly basis, because this influenced the amount of articles they yielded.

	Title	Print Run	Publication Frequency	Accessed	Number of Articles
	Feminist:				
1	<i>The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions</i>	1870-1910	Monthly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	16
2	<i>Shafts</i> (Several Subtitles: <i>Light Comes to those who think; A paper for women and the working classes; A monthly journal of progressive thought</i>)	1892-1900	Weekly	Gerritsen Collection	3
3	<i>The Woman's Gazette Or: News about Work</i>	1875-1879	Weekly	Gerritsen Collection	10

	Name changed to: <i>Work and Leisure</i>	1879-1893		Gerritsen Collection	11
4	<i>Women and Work</i>	1874-1876	Weekly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	5
5	<i>Women's Penny Paper</i>	10/1888-12/1890	Weekly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	27
	Name changed to: <i>The Woman's Herald</i>	1/1891-12/1893		19 th Century UK Periodicals	20
	Name changed to: <i>Woman's Signal</i>	1/1894-1899		19 th Century UK Periodicals	21 (68 in total)
6	<i>Women's Suffrage Journal</i>	1870-1890	Monthly	British Library	33
7	<i>The Women's Union Journal: The Organ of the Women's Trades' Union Provident League</i>	1876-1890	Quarterly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	3
	Name changed to: <i>The Women's Trade Union Review</i>	1890-1918		19 th Century UK Periodicals	1
	Domestic:				

8	<i>Belgravia</i>	1866-1899	Monthly	British Periodicals	2
9	<i>The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine</i>	1852-1879	Monthly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	6
10	<i>Hearth and Home – An Illustrated Weekly Journal for Gentlewomen</i>	1891-1914	Weekly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	18
11	<i>Home Notes</i>	1894-1957	Weekly	British Library	2
12	<i>Judy</i>	1867-1907	Weekly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	4
13	<i>Lady's Pictorial – A Newspaper for the Home</i>	1880-1921	Weekly	British Library	30
14	<i>The Lady's Realm</i>	1896-1915	Monthly	British Library	1
15	<i>The Lady's World</i>	1886-4/1887	Monthly	British Library	1
	Name changed to: <i>The Woman's World</i>	5/1887-1888		British Library	2
16	<i>The Queen</i>	1861-1967	Weekly	Women's Library @LSE and National Art Library	227

				at the Victoria and Albert Museum	
17	<i>Woman</i>	1890- 1912	Weekly	Manchester Central Library	11
18	<i>Woman at Home – Annie S. Swan’s Magazine</i>	1893- 1920	Monthly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	2
19	<i>Womanhood – An Illustrated Magazine for Literature, Science, Art, Medicine, Hygiene and the Progress of Women</i>	1898- 1907	Monthly	Gerritsen Collection	1
20	<i>Woman’s Life – An Illustrated Weekly for the Home</i>	1895- 1934	Weekly	Gerritsen Collection	10
	For Girls:				
21	<i>Atalanta</i>	1887- 1898	Monthly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	2
22	<i>Girl’s Own Paper</i>	1880- 1956	Weekly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	10

23	<i>The Girl's Realm</i>	1898-1915	Weekly	British Library	5
24	<i>The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church</i>	1851-99	Monthly	19 th Century UK Periodicals	4
25	<i>The Young Woman – A Monthly Journal and Review</i>	1892-1915	Monthly	British Library	3
					= 496

Although I do not discuss all of these articles in the study, in order to document my research and aid further scholarship I listed all of the nearly 500 primary source articles in my bibliography and marked those that I have analysed in bold print. As described above, I subdivided the articles into the three categories of feminist, domestic and juvenile magazines. Although these genres are only useful to a certain extent, they provide an easier overview in order to not lose sight of the periodicals' original stance. While the progressive periodicals were invariably in favour of the LSB and its opportunities for women, the publications in the second group were not as conservative and critical as their general outlook could suggest. Although the ladies' papers, addressed to upper-middle- or even upper-class readers, created a Ruskin-esque, domestic sphere (cf. Beetham and Boardman 2001: 32), they were open to the new opportunities the LSB afforded women and tried to raise the interest of their readers or promoted elementary school teaching as profession for their readers. The suggested categorisation is also helpful for class-based observations. While the readers of the ladies' newspapers and also the LSB members were firmly established in the middle and upper class, many of the Board School teachers and

all of the pupils were members of the working classes. At the beginning, radical magazines like the Langhamite *English Woman's Journal* with a price of one shilling were too expensive for working-class readers. Michelle Tusan also rightly remarks that their recurring articles on how to find good maid servants indicate a more prosperous middle-class readership (cf. Tusan 2005: 34). But later on in the century, feminism and activism extended beyond its traditionally middle-class domain as working-class women were increasingly educated and politicised. Libraries for women like the one established at Langham Place also enabled more and more working-class women to have access to radical literature and periodicals (cf. Levine 1987: 15). This list illustrates the increase in affordable penny-papers in the later decades of the century. But these cheap periodicals were more about entertainment than political information with relatively few articles on the LSB.

In the whole body of 496 articles there are only 73 articles with a negative evaluation of the LSB, of which six are jokes at the expense of untalented pupils. Most critical articles do not question the presence of women on the Board, although the active and passive female franchise for the LSB was revolutionary and the more reactionary publications (and their male contributors and editors) could have taken issue with these developments. But the feminist papers often mentioned this as major obstacle that had been overcome and would be an important stepping stone towards universal suffrage. The remaining points of criticism can be summed up under a few broad headings, which have nothing to do with the involvement of women in elementary education, but mirror wider public discussions. Pedagogical debates such as the dangers of over-pressure and a resulting focus on reform pedagogics according to Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi or Friedrich Froebel: A context of scientific progress lead to questions about the medical effects of education. Complaints about high LSB rates and extravagant spending: Increasing local government meant controversial higher taxes, but also questions about government involvement. Seemingly simple financial matters hint at deeper rifts in society about how to manage poverty and class divisions. There were anxieties that the

remittance of fees and free school dinners pauperised the working classes or that too much learning made them lose respect towards their ‘betters.’

Most of these critical articles appeared in *The Queen*. *The Queen: The Ladies' Newspaper* was started by Samuel Beeton, but in 1862 he sold it to William Cox, ‘who aimed it at [...] ladies of the “upper ten-thousand” [...] reflect[ing] a wide range of matters of interest to upper-class women’ including philanthropy. *The Queen* became ‘one of the most important magazines of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century’ (Brake and Demoor 2009: 523). The engraving of Windsor Castle on its masthead is an expressive reference of who the periodical catered for. The beautiful fashion plates of expensive Parisian gowns, later on even in colour, also show that the projected readership were the better earning or landed classes. 227 of my 496 articles come from *The Queen*, around 45%, which imbalances the corpus. One explanation for this is the simple fact that *The Queen* appeared every week for all the 34 years of the LSB’s existence. Apart from the *Englishwoman's Review*, *The Queen* is the only one of my periodicals which appeared throughout my entire period of interest. The many articles might also be due to the fact that the magazine was registered as newspaper. Beetham and Boardman explain that newspapers try to give a wider selection of news than magazines, which print more analysis or general-interest articles (2001: 32). *The Queen* wanted to be ‘the glossy to end all glossies,’ as the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* writes, and thus featured the entire spectrum of issues that might have interested its upper- and upper middle-class readers (2009: 523-524). Many of the articles are very short, nothing more than notes in the long-running ‘Gazette des Dames’ column about the last LSB meeting. This column included all the things that had taken place since the publication of the last edition and therefore also covered the LSB, true to the periodical’s endeavour to provide its readers with all the news concerning women. *The Queen* is an impressive example of how traditional categories of domestic and progressive are not universally applicable and need to be re-evaluated. Its middle- to

upper-class audience reveals the class bias of the LSB, their attitudes towards the LSB and elementary education for the masses.

Similar observations are possible for periodicals for girls. Like domestic penny papers, juvenile periodicals published many budgeting articles, which indicates a lower income, but also the didactic purpose of teaching young women preparing for marriage how to run the accounts of their future household. The *Girl's Own Paper*, for example, featured articles with titles like *What to do with cold potatoes?* or *How we furnished our first home with £150* and even ran a regular column entitled *Odds and Ends* about the thrifty recycling of leftovers. The frequency of stories about plucky middle-class girls who suddenly had to manage on a much smaller income suggests that those tips were not for impoverished genteel families, but addressed at poorer working-class girls with the fictional middle-class background as an aspirational mask for their poverty. Judging from its content and the fiction it published, the *Girl's Own Paper* was mainly written for younger girls, but features like the ones just mentioned also made it suitable for older girls. In January 1900 a competition for its ten-year anniversary was broken up into yearly age groups from 15 to 21 (cf. Anon. Vol. XVIII, No. 1146). The other magazines for girls, *Girl's Realm*, *Atalanta*, and *Monthly Packet*, appear to have been attractive for slightly older girls preparing for marriage.

Despite the comparable perspective of Robin Betts' *Powerful and Splendid: The London School Board, 1870-1904*, we have very different objectives: His is a chronological history of the LSB, whilst I focus on the involvement of women in the LSB system, as board members, teachers and pupils. We also use different periodicals as sources. Betts' sources are the LSB's industry papers *The School Board Chronicle* (1871-1902), *The Schoolmaster* (1872-1962) and *The Board Teacher* (1883-1967) (cf. 2015: Introduction). They had an audience of education professionals inside the LSB and were not platforms for the wider public debate. These magazines were directed at teachers of both sexes and thus neutralise the fact that there were female members and staff, while the feminine and feminist periodicals in my corpus specifically discuss the changing

understanding of gender roles for women in public office and the teaching profession. The first of Betts' periodicals, *The School Board Chronicle - An Educational Record and Review*, was a weekly magazine with a price of 6d., providing 'a detailed report of the progress of the business and the contribution of the members' (cf. Betts 2015: Introduction). It focused heavily on (L)SB dealings and even the advertisements revolve around elementary education (cf. Vol. III, No. 27. Aug. 19, 1871: 1-2). Articles often included professional technicalities and sometimes detailed information about how to teach certain subjects. This was of little interest to those not directly involved, but educational for members and teachers. The attention to educational detail is the main reason why I decided not to include *The School Board Chronicle* into my corpus, as the wider public would not have read it. It was also not about the women involved in the LSB and elementary education, but includes them as a matter of course. In the issue from 19 August 1871, there is a list of all members who had attended the previous LSB meeting. Miss Emily Davies is listed in an alphabetical list among all the other male members, without distinction (Vol. III, No. 27. Aug. 19, 1871: 3). On 2 September 1871 'Miss Cunningham, of the Carr-Street Ragged School, Limehouse Fields' gave evidence to the Scheme of Education Committee, like her male colleagues (cf. Vol. III, No. 29. Sept. 2, 1871: 81). The same issue also includes a contribution to the series 'The British Association. No. 3 - Miss Becker on the Employment of Women and the Education of Girls' (Anon. Vol. I, No. 1. Jan. 6, 1872: 1). Women members were written about like the men in the *School Board Chronicle* - as opposed to the periodicals in my corpus, where, especially in the early days of the LSB, a big emphasis was on the novelty of women in such a public position. *The Schoolmaster - An Educational Review* focused on the teachers (cf. Betts 2015: Introduction). It was 'founded by members of the National Union of Elementary Teachers [...] [as] custodian of the interests of all teachers (board and non-board)'. The weekly paper with a price of 1d. dealt with similar topics as the *School Board Chronicle*. According to Betts, their 'chief antagonist was the Education Department' (2015: 1-2), which is typical of a union paper

with a focus on improving the situation of teachers: The issue from 6 January 1872 featured an article on ‘The Pension Scheme’ and ‘Educational Intelligence’ about Teachers’ Associations from all over the nation. Advertisements for education professionals on the first page of the next issue of *The Schoolmaster* has an equal gender division (Anon. Vol. I, No. 2. Jan. 13, 1872: 1). Thus *The Schoolmaster* also did not qualify for my corpus on the same grounds as *The School Board Chronicle*, but it is an impressive example of the professionalisation and unionisation of teaching, especially for women. The third periodical in Betts’ study is *The Board Teacher* (Id.), the ‘Metropolitan Board Teachers’ Association’s monthly journal,’ another union magazine (Betts 2015: 2). It includes general notices about the business of the Metropolitan Board Teachers’ Association, like their Quarterly General Meeting and Away Day in Epping Forest and articles about LSB meetings. In the edition from 2 July 1883 *The Board Teacher* professed to be ‘[f]or the benefit of teachers’ (Anon. Vol. I, No. 1. July 2, 1883: 8-9), not the general public, and thus did not find admission into my corpus. Betts uses the three industry and union papers to write a history of ‘determined, forceful, almost forgotten Victorian worthies, female as well as male, struggling valiantly to deal with the educational and social problems of the metropolis’ (2015: Introduction). His sources and approach do not go far enough for my study, but it is important to understand his corpus for his comprehensive account of the LSB’s activities and personalities. However, sometimes the periodicals analysed by him were the source - in the form of verbatim reprints or reactions - for articles in my periodicals. I follow this example and in some cases supply my study with their articles, providing the alternative opinions of education professionals on several didactic and pedagogical issues that also sparked debates in the main body of texts. On topics such as corporal punishment, LSB members and teachers sometimes used the popular feature of letters to the editors of more mainstream periodicals to alert the public to the seriousness of such debates and to illustrate the different stand-points. Whenever the corpus indicates that a professional debate flared up, I draw on them as the expert background to the public debate.

1.3.5. Factuality and Fictionality in Periodical Writing on the School Board

A valuable addition to the non-fiction articles described so far are the popular fiction series. At the end of the century, fiction was a regular and popular feature of almost all magazines for women, only radical periodicals sometimes did not publish fiction. As Onslow explains, periodicals also regularly ‘reviewed, debated, advertised fiction’ (2000: 201). This was a great opportunity for authors, beginners and professionals alike. Serialised fiction attracted more readers for the magazines, but also for the bound books of their novels, which were usually published after serialisation was finished. Onslow mentions ‘a woman earning between £300 and 400 a year producing stories, novelettes and fiction for newspapers,’ a solid income (2000: 204). I therefore finish each of my chapters about female LSB members, teachers and pupils with a concluding analysis of fiction, both from the corpus and from supporting texts, and autobiographical accounts. Fiction is able to provide a different perspective on the themes and debates discussed in the main body of the chapters. Often fictionalisations reinforced messages and arguments by reframing them, for example the advantages and problems of professional training or public involvement for women. Some are also aspirational, offering an idealised alternative to the real-life conditions discussed in the other articles. For the chapter on women as LSB members I chose ‘A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade’ by Lucy H. Yates (Dec. 1900 - April 1901: n.p.). This serial, from *The Young Woman*, discusses desirable lives for middle-class daughters (cf. 3.5.). Wishing to stand for the LSB is presented as a perfectly normal objective for a girl of independent means - although the moral of the story is that helping the family with the household is much preferable. This didactic use of serial fiction contradicts the search for women as LSB members in the non-fiction articles of the corpus. My periodicals also featured many serialisations about school and education for girls in a wider context, but mostly about fee-paying secondary and boarding schools, like for example the eleven instalments of ‘Memories of Margaret

Grainger, Schoolmistress' in *Woman at Home* (Nov. 1894 - Aug. 1985: n.p.). The author was Annie S. Swan, who I already mentioned in 1.3.3. as conductor of the correspondence column 'Over the Teacups.' In loosely related short stories, Swan tells important chapters from the professional life of Miss Grainger, who runs her own independent school. We also learn about some of her pupils' lives, giving the reader an insight into the life plans of young women and the importance of teachers, which is why I use it to flank and sum up the fourth chapter on teachers, together with fictions where unprofessionalism thwarts well-meaning educational endeavours. In Charlotte Yonge's 1865 novel *The Clever Woman of the Family*, the misguided boredom and philanthropy of an upper-middle-class girl lead to a tragic disbanding of the industrial school for poor girls she has set up. Her inexperience and lack of competent supervision cause much worse misery than the child labour from which she had been wanting to rescue her scholars, echoing contemporary calls for professionalisation. Jenny Wren's 'The Village Schoolmistress' is an example of fiction about an elementary school mistress in a small village (Vol. XX, No. 257. Dec. 17, 1898: 1-14). It has a much sadder outlook on rural elementary teacher's loneliness and loss of class, but a happy albeit not very emancipated ending when the heroine finds her long-lost aristocratic family and marries well. Anne Beale's 'The Pupil Teacher' allows the reader an insight into the difficulty of obtaining the certificates to be allowed to teach, but also mentions the gratifications one might win through studious persistence (June 1884: 34-39) (see 4.4.).

Surprisingly few examples of school fiction from my selected periodicals deal with working-class education and the school boards. This again raises the question about the readerships of these magazines and the influence of the Elementary Education Act on the proliferation of the cheap periodical press. A reader who had gained her education in a Board School and might now be working in one as a pupil teacher should be interested in reading about similar experiences. Maybe not very many working-class women read these publications. Another solution might be that fiction in the penny papers was only published for escapist and aspirational purposes, to

inspire readers from lower classes to use their new education to become more like the young ladies they were reading about, in keeping with the popular doctrine of self-help as characteristic of a successful individual. The two serials about training and working as elementary teachers, but in a way also Rachel's unprofessionalism in *The Clever Woman of the Family*, were variations on the very popular contemporary genre of school fiction. This genre usually tells stories about girls in middle-class boarding schools. We follow the girls through their settling-in process, through their negotiations of what it meant to be a girl and more specifically a schoolgirl who faced rules and exams, through the formation of friendships, which often become valuable relationships through life and through their mapping out of a meaningful life for themselves. The list of school stories both for boys and girls is virtually endless. Many are now long-forgotten, but classics like *Tom Brown's School Days* or more modern favourites like Enid Blyton's beloved novels are still being read. The *Harry Potter* series shows the ongoing productivity of the genre. School fiction was part of the tradition of governess novels, another sub-genre of fiction for women, which also focused on professional women.¹¹ In the introduction to their *Encyclopaedia of Girls' School Stories* Sue Sims and Hilary Clare give the following definition:

The story will be wholly or largely set in a girls' school; it is intended for girls, rather than adults, to read; it is written mainly from the point of view of one or more of the girls; the school is seen in a positive light; there is no central heterosexual love interest, and no overt lesbian material; and the school community is the focus of the story.

Sims and Clare 2000: 2.

I add to their definition the criterion that the stories were usually set in an upper-middle-class environment. One could say that this was a necessity not worth mentioning as only this social stratum could afford to send their daughters to the newly established female boarding schools, but the new Board Schools also allowed working-

¹¹ Cf. Cecilia Wadsö Lecaros' comprehensive study of *The Victorian Governess Novel* (2001), in which she examines its contributions to understanding the role of governesses as well to debates on female education.

class girls to go to school. Despite being set in working-class day schools, 'The Pupil Teacher' and 'The Village Schoolmistress' both belong to the genre. Sims and Clare themselves admit that '[o]f course there are exceptions to all these criteria' and mention for example stories from the teachers' point of view (Ibid.). 'The Pupil Teacher' and 'The Village Schoolmistress' are doubly different in that both talk about school life through the eyes of the mistresses. The pupils are not important in the stories, although Philis' story confuses the boundaries between teacher and pupil due to her special status as pupil teacher. She was somewhere between the two worlds, being of the age and simple intellect of a pupil in need of guidance, but having the added duties of a teacher. Usually school fiction is classified under the wider umbrella of children's literature. Peter Hunt remarks on the ambiguity of that term: Does children's literature mean that it is 'of childhood, for childhood, about childhood, or by children?' (Hunt 2009: 13-14). Only the few magazines for 'girls' in the corpus could be understood as addressing child readers, but even the girls in question are traditionally defined as between their formal education and marriage, not really children anymore. But only 'The Pupil Teacher' and 'A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade' were published in girls' magazines, in *The Girl's Own Paper* and *The Young Woman* respectively, the others appeared in entertaining domestic penny papers. This emphasises Hunt's question about what makes children's literature children's literature. My examples are about children and young adults, but not really for children. They share female teachers as their protagonists and discuss their professional and private struggles, illustrating the difficulties and benefits of being a teacher. This could be an indication that families shared magazine subscriptions, possibly even with friends and neighbours, to control the cost. Hunt also explains that the childhood (or in the case of this study, pupilhood and teacherhood) represented, is not actually what it is like, but what the adult writer 'wishes it to be seen for political, sociological or dramatic reasons.' According to him, children's literature is always caught between instruction and delight. Of course the fiction serials were published for the delight of the readers, who

hoped to not just get the latest recipes and tips from the magazines, but also easy entertainment. But like the magazines' other instructional content, fiction in periodicals usually served a moralising purpose. As Lyon Clark describes it, such stories had a didactic function and at their heart was the 'clash between authority and the individual - [...] between family and school authorities' (Lyon Clark 1989: 5). This clash can be observed in most of what women were doing in the context of the LSB. For the last chapter about pupils there was no suitable fiction available, neither inside nor outside the corpus. This might be because, although children were supposedly at the focus of the Elementary Education Act and LSB, most of the reforms were not constructed around the pupils alone, but from an ideological point of view emphatically addressed the welfare of the 'whole nation'. My chosen periodicals also appropriated the education of working-class children to discuss and create opportunities for women. In order to understand the pupils' reactions, I found autobiographical accounts of women who had attended elementary schools (cf. 5.3.). To be able to see the changes implemented by the SBs, I chose Hannah Cullwick's diary from before the Elementary Education Act reformed and standardised education. Two accounts from during the SB era describe how pupils experienced the Board Schools, while Mary Lakeman's autobiography, who went to a provincial ex-Board School, where the old infrastructure was still being used, looks back.

1.4. Focus and Approach of the Study

This study is based on a comprehensive set of nineteenth-century texts, both fiction and nonfiction. 25 magazines for women are supplemented by three industry papers from inside the teaching profession. This great scope, never attempted before, enabled a new approach to the LSB and the opportunities it created for women. Especially the flanking of the prose articles with serialised fiction from the periodicals, four autobiographical accounts and several novels distinguishes my study from other work which is oriented

more towards documentation and historical assessment. The periodicals' diverse standpoints yielded a huge selection of opinions and discourse strategies focusing on opportunities for women that were generated by the LSB. They were analysed for tendencies in their reactions to and also their contribution to the creation of new places of agency for women. My study contains a broad analysis of strategies employed by feminine and feminist periodicals to direct their readers' opinions and responses to opportunities in the contexts of elections and political campaigning, local government administration, professionalisation, and, overarchingly, the education of the working classes. Their discursive power beyond the institution itself contributes a new point of view on research on the LSB.

For a long time research on women involved in nineteenth-century feminism was mostly focused on how these women contributed to the suffragette movement and on the secondary and tertiary education for middle-class girls. Hollis remedied the situation with her seminal study on women in local government (1987). Since then papers like Annmarie Turnbull's (1983) or Patricia Rigg's (n.t.) have focused their attention on women and the LSB. Jane Martin's *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* was the first monograph on, among other aspects of school administration, the LSB and gender roles (1999). She focuses on the 29 female LSB members' role as policy makers and how this new public and administrative role influenced their private lives, but also the gendering of power and welfare. Davin's (1996) and Dyhouse's (1981) accounts of the lives of working-class girls provide insights into how the Elementary Education Act 1870 influenced their lives and roles in society. My study expands their findings on the new opportunities for women under the LSB to contribute to the improvement of the nation - as administrators, teachers and pupils - and combines them with a survey of periodicals by and for women. Developments in the subjects and contents of articles and place in the periodical allowed me to trace shifts in interests, away from articles mainly focused on elections and campaigning, towards a more widespread creation of

opportunities. Thus the second chapter places the LSB in the context of the suffrage campaign, with a close attention to how the magazines used the political agency created by female candidates and voters to argue for women's universal franchise. The third chapter discusses how female administrators strove to be the practical proof that women made useful and necessary contributions to public government bodies. The corpus periodicals discussed how women used issues that could easily be defined as traditionally feminine responsibilities like the enforcement of attendance, which is used as a case study for the practical execution of social motherhood. But the LSB was also discovered as a professional opportunity for women and the periodicals even extended this by reconstructing elementary teaching as suitable employment for their middle-class readers. The last chapter, while ostensibly being about the pupils as main beneficiaries of the LSB, demonstrates how anxieties about the welfare of the children and by extension the whole nation were utilised by the periodicals as arguments for the importance of involving middle-class women not just in political and elected positions for national progress. This wide range of gender-specific observations makes my study unique among the publications about the LSB.

Another emphasis of my study is on aspects of class. The Elementary Education Act and the resulting (L)SB brought many innovations and opportunities for a range of women and truly became 'beacons of civilisation' for the working-class pupils, as originally intended, but also for the middle-class administrators. The LSB administration was a top-down process and it was difficult for women to break through the hierarchy. The Board members were mostly from middle-class origins, while their administrative employees, the teachers, and the pupils were from the working classes. Although there were no property restrictions for candidates, the unsalaried nature of an LSB membership made it unattainable for working-class women. Elementary school mistresses were also mostly recruited from the working classes, especially at the beginning. The later push for 'gentlewomen' teachers - on the one hand justified by them being good examples for the pupils, on the

other hand necessitated by the growing need of employment for middle-class women - did not break the hierarchy either, as the better educated middle-class women often occupied higher positions. The detailed analysis of this campaign is an important contribution to the study of professionalisation for women. The class-based differentiation in the increasing codification of teaching training is another aspect that has not been examined to this extent. In the context of Michel Foucault's premise in *The Order of Things* that in the nineteenth century, the 'modern' episteme, language was demoted 'to the mere status of an object,' for which it was compensated by having 'critical value bestowed upon its study,' I take inspiration from the 'revival [...] of all the techniques of exegesis' (Foucault 1966: 323-327) and examine the language of feminist journalistic campaigning as it developed. Language is led 'back from grammar to the naked power of speech' as our perception of the world is more and more 'governed and paralysed by language' (Ibid.: 325). I hope to show the power of the language of campaigning that was developed in the periodicals and its influence on how the readers saw their changing world. But Foucault also coined the notion of 'power/knowledge,' with which he meant that 'in a society [...] there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power can not themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse' (Foucault 1980: 93). I show how the LSB created a discourse that implemented power in many respects: While giving knowledge to the people empowered them, as exemplified by complaints about the loss of respect in the better educated working-class pupils, the state-controlled education system also exercised power. This is more easily understood from Foucault's example of the enforced discipline in plague-ridden towns in *Discipline and Punish*. The plague can be compared to the perceived moral and racial degeneration, but also the actual contagious diseases like typhus at the end of the nineteenth century, where state control was used against further contagion. In his example 'magistrates have complete control over medical treatment'

and exercise full surveillance (Foucault 1977: 195-197). Similar surveillance and ‘disciplinary power’ was exercised ‘from the beginning of the nineteenth century in the psychiatric asylum, the penitentiary, the reformatory, the approved school’ (Ibid.: 199). According to Foucault, in the seventeenth century the foundation of schools was explained *ex negativo*, because parents were struggling to raise their children, but soon also acquired the function to ‘not simply train docile children; [they] must also make it possible to supervise the parents’ in ‘minute social observatories.’ After ‘religious groups and charity organisations had long played this role of “disciplining” the population,’ the (L)SB took over (Ibid.: 210-212). My study specifies Foucault’s observations and demonstrates the elementary education system to have been designed as effective instrument of surveillance and spatial control, where all children were pooled together to learn how to implement this discipline for the rest of their lives and, in a chain reaction, to pass it on to their own children.

This conclusion echoes Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony. In his *Prison Notebooks* Gramsci comments on how the school system facilitates hegemony. If the state refuses to take responsibility from a certain age, ‘divisions of group or caste’ cannot be avoided (Gramsci 1971: 170). But he also described how the ‘function of organising social hegemony and state domination certainly gives rise to a particular division of labour and therefore to a whole hierarchy of qualifications in some of which there is no apparent attribution of directive or organisational functions’ (Ibid.: 145-146). With such qualifications that do not lead to any organisational power he meant practical courses like the domestic education lessons the LSB provided for girls instead of the same amount of academic lessons as the boys or children in private schools received. Gramsci deplores a trend in abolishing what he calls ‘classical’ or humanist education:

The tendency today is to abolish every type of schooling that is ‘disinterested’ (not serving immediate interests) [...] - keeping at most only a small-scale version to serve a tiny elite [...] who do not have to worry about assuring themselves of a future career. Instead, there is a steady

growth of specialised vocational schools, in which the pupil's destiny and future activity are determined in advance.

Not giving each pupil the same amount of general intellectual education predestines them for either 'dominant' or 'subaltern' positions and for most children it is automatically decided that they will work in menial jobs without opportunity to take part in the hegemony. Instead, Gramsci recommends 'a common basic education, imparting a general, humanistic, formative culture; this would strike the right balance between development of the capacity for working manually [...] and development of the capacities required for intellectual work' (Ibid.: 165-166). He demands intellectual education for everybody so that all future careers were open to every child because he identified the teaching or withholding of academic subjects as instruments for upholding hegemony as those without access would not be able to take part in it. In Gramsci's terms, the Elementary Education system as implemented by the (L)SB did exactly that and decided what kind of knowledge the working classes needed in order to be effective subordinate workers while preparing an elite for governing purposes. Based on his assumptions, my study examines the LSB as a hegemonic tool, but also the role the periodicals played in persuading readers of the necessity of this mechanism or in critiquing it.

There are a few recurring nineteenth-century historical and ideological contexts which have left their traces on nearly all the material assessed in this study. For instance, the periodicals often echo the fears of racial deterioration which authors like Max Nordau describes in his ominously titled first chapter 'The Dusk of the Nations' in *Degeneration*. He used examples of decreasing decency and morality to prove the general 'feeling [...] of imminent perdition and extinction' (Nordau 1985: 2). Nordau explains that such 'contempt for traditional views of custom and morality' always has underlying physical causes and, if unchecked, would mean national decline. In the case of the working classes, this decay was already very evident and dangerous. My study shows how women's magazines reappropriated their perceived responsibility for sound and healthy children to argue for more opportunities for women in

the administration of elementary education. One of the most-cited arguments was the Libertarian middle-class ideal of self-help as propagated by Samuel Smiles in his eponymous book:

The spirit of self-help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual; and, exhibited in the lives of many, it constitutes the true source of national vigour and strength. Help from without is often enfeebling in its effects, but help from within invariably invigorates. Whatever is done *for* men or classes, to a certain extent takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves; and where men are subjected to [...] over-government, the inevitable tendency is to render them comparatively helpless. [...] National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy, and uprightness, as national decay is of individual idleness, selfishness, and vice.

Smiles 1859: 1.

Smiles finds a solution for ‘national decay’ by making every citizen responsible for their own and consequently for the nation’s fate. Denying Gramsci and Foucault’s later assumption of the state using its power to keep up traditional class-based hierarchies, he claims that poverty and obscurity were the results of individual bad habits. He recommended reading biographies to recognise

what it is in the power of each to accomplish for himself; and [...] the efficacy of self-respect and self-reliance in enabling men of even the humblest rank to work out for themselves an honourable competency and a solid reputation. Great men of science, literature, and art [...] have come alike from colleges, workshops, and farmhouses.

Ibid.: 6.

If Shakespeare managed to become the nation’s most treasured poet from his humble origins, every working-class member could achieve the same. My study traces how the ambitious middle-class administrators of elementary education did not just use the (L)SB, but also the periodicals to promote this attitude to make education last longer than the mandatory school age. But Smiles did not believe in education that was too academic and prescribed. He claims that ‘experience shows that it is energetic individualism which produces the most powerful effects [...] and really constitutes the best practical education. Schools, academies, and colleges, give but the merest

beginnings of culture in comparison with it' (Ibid.: 4). I demonstrate throughout my study how this quandary was debated in the periodicals and affected LSB politics: While elementary education was believed to be necessary for national progress, too much state-control was also feared and loud criticism found its way into the magazines, for example of allegedly extravagant spending. On the other hand, curriculum debates about practical or academic education resulted from Smilesian warnings. Nordau's and Smiles' writings put the focus back on the children as the main asset of the nation, albeit less sympathetically than the contemporary reform pedagogues, who looked back at Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In 1762 Rousseau's *Émile Or On Education* discussed the individual's role in society and credited every human being with innate goodness, to be enhanced by education:

This education comes to us from nature, from men, or from things. [...] If their teaching conflicts, the scholar is ill-educated and will never be at peace with himself; if their teaching agrees, he goes straight to his goal, he lives at peace with himself, he is well-educated. Now of these three factors [...] the education of men is the only one controlled by us; [...] Viewed as an art, the success of education is almost impossible, since the essential conditions of success are beyond our control.

Rousseau 1921: 2.

By redefining education into an 'art' Rousseau's thoughts became the basis for ultimately turning teaching into an official profession since so much was recognised to be dependent on a successful education. Followers of this movement like Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi or Friedrich Fröbel developed better education methods to ensure the best possible outcome despite different natures. My study analyses how their emphasis on the child's benefit made reform pedagogics a popular school of thought for women.

But my analysis also used *a posteriori* theories. To understand the class-based approach to teaching and learning, the concept of behaviourist learning and operant conditioning with positive reinforcements according to B. F. Skinner is important, which he developed from Ivan Petrovich Pavlov's findings. Some of the training methods employed in LSB schools and after-school

activities were very elementary and aimed at teaching basic skills to people with not much intelligence, or indeed, as in Skinner's and Pavlov's original experiments, animals. They were based on what is now called 'imitation learning' (cf. Scott Vol. 55, No. 3. Fall 1972: 336). In LSB schools this was adapted to a class-based model of working-class pupils observing a positive and respected model - their teachers or middle-class philanthropists - and adapting their actions to match those of the model, for example in questions of discipline and hygiene. My discourse analysis of the periodicals' campaigns is influenced by the recent sociological theory of the Overton window. Joseph Overton formulated the theory of a window of public acceptability on a spectrum of more or less freedom. At each moment in time, there is a certain window of what is accepted in politics and public opinion. For a new idea, that is at present outside of this window, to become reality or even law, it has to pass from 'unthinkable' via 'radical', 'acceptable', 'sensible' and 'popular' since 'policy change follows political change, which itself follows social change. The most durable policy changes are those that are undergirded by strong social movements' (Lehman 2010: 1).¹² Together, the female LSB members' and the periodicals' collective achievements for the political and social agency of women prepared and preempted universal suffrage for women.

More specifically I take ideas from two recent studies, one of them being Beth Palmer's *Strategies of Sensation*. Palmer's analysis of how female author-editors used sensationalism, religion and theatricality to sell their magazines, focusing on the performativity of discursive strategies like rhetoric, reporting and fictionalisation is a useful inspiration (cf. Palmer 2011: Introduction). She uses Judith Butler's understanding of gender as an 'ongoing and tenuous performance [...] that flags up its own instability through exaggeration or self-conscious emphases on tropes and conventions' to describe genre (13). The women on the LSB had to reconstruct their understanding of femaleness and femininity to adapt to the new

¹² As executive of the Libertarian Mackinac Research Center Overton used the image of the moving window of thinkability to explain how think tanks work. His untimely death in a plane crash prevented him from publishing the influential idea himself.

public exposure and criticism. This debate was hosted on the platform of women's magazines, which employed a variety of performative and discursive strategies to influence this negotiation. I divide my nearly 500 articles according to their relevance to women as election campaigners, to female LSB members, to the newly professionalised teachers, and to the female pupils. These broad categories I illustrate, similarly to Palmer, with case studies. Jennifer Phegley's approach in *Educating the Proper Woman Reader* helped me understand periodicals as 'active shapers of culture' rather than 'mirrors that reflect society' and used the magazines as 'collaborative' genres in their own right and not just 'as tools to study other subjects.' I follow Phegley, who 'examin[ed] family literary magazines as a class of coherent texts with recognisable traits, paying attention to particular authors and editors only as they are relevant to advancing the agenda and character of the periodicals themselves. This approach draws attention to the actual experience of nineteenth-century readers' (Phegley 2004: 11). However, 352 of the articles in my corpus were published anonymously and 40 more under pseudonyms like 'A Lawyer,' 'A Schoolmistress' or even monograms like 'C.H.' or 'E.S.N.' So only 103 are actually signed and therefore I could not consider authorship for most of my articles. But some of the signed articles are by important figures in the (L)SB system like Florence Fenwick Miller or Lydia Becker. Other authors were the readers themselves as correspondents. For those, authorship is also an important part of my analysis, especially where more is known about the letter-writer to give a better understanding of where their opinions came from.¹³ Such letters to the editor allow the historical readers' raw, unedited points of view to shine through the editors' agenda and contribution to the public debate they wanted their periodicals to be. Students of magazines have to take into consideration that they are always a conglomerate of the writers', editors', publishers' and readers'

¹³ Examples are a 1876 letter on the exhibition of needlework in *Work and Leisure* 'By a Lady School Manager' or a 1893 contribution in *The Woman's Herald* to the corporal punishment debate 'By A Child Lover But Not A Sentimental One,' who quotes from other readers' letters.

struggles to ‘make their world meaningful’ (Phegley 2004: 20), but exactly this allows us a new perspective on the audiences of the magazines in my corpus. This attention to the relation between the implied and the actual historical reader becomes easier through the large scope of my study. Branching out to the relevant discourses of Victorian periodicals studies, professionalisation, local government bureaucratisation and racial degeneration I combine a discussion of the LSB with late-Victorian feminism to show the many opportunities for women in the great project of reforming the working classes for the ultimate objective of an improved and renewed nation for a successful future.

2. The 'very pinnacle of publicity:' Women as Election Campaigners and Voters in London School Board Elections

On December 1st, 1873 the *Women's Suffrage Journal* carried a leading article about 'The School Board Elections.' After thanking the women who were retiring from the first Boards in 1870, the article described their contribution to the struggle for women's suffrage in these glowing terms:

If a woman can take her place on this very pinnacle of publicity without being 'unsexed,' [...] and if hundreds and thousands of her sisters of all ranks in society can come forward and record their votes for her [...] without a thought that they are thereby discrediting the womanhood which binds them in a common sisterhood - and the experience of the recent School Board Elections proves both these propositions - then, indeed, is it an idle mockery to assert that the publicity of the ballot box is detrimental to the character of woman.

Anon. Vol. IV, No. 43. Dec. 1, 1873: 166.

According to this triumphant leader, the School Board Elections had disproved many arguments against female suffrage, but even after the second school board election women's active and passive suffrage was still a highly contested question. This was only the second time in British history that women had been allowed to vote or be a candidate. A note in the moderate *The Queen's 'Gazette des Dames'* shows the importance of the new right for the greater project of gender equality when it described the LSB as 'first downright blow administered to the prejudice which had hitherto excluded women from taking part in public affairs' (Anon. Vol. LIV. Nov. 23, 1873: 411). This chapter focuses on the first LSB election in November 1870 as an important break-through in the ongoing fight for female enfranchisement. Then I increase the scope to later elections as all (L)SB elections were utilised by the magazines I chose for this study to argue for extending the franchise with a variety of discursive strategies to convince readers of the desirability of women voters and politicians.

Women had to learn how to be successful in the public sphere, a completely new, often difficult experience. Leading an election

campaign made women highly visible and vulnerable at the centre of the nation's scrutiny and attack. They had to be able to speak up for their opinions and withstand hostilities or tiredness. But not just discipline and motivation were necessary, but also factual and methodical knowledge: 'Women, as a rule, have less experience in electioneering affairs, less knowledge of the constituency, and very much less money at their command than men. It is therefore no matter for surprise that they have sometimes failed, but rather that they have anywhere been returned' (Anon. Vol. II, No. 10. Jan. 2, 1871: 3). This quote from an anonymous article in the *Women's Suffrage Journal* shows the electoral disadvantages of women. It is very sympathetic that in the first elections only six women in total were elected onto school boards in the whole country: Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett in London, Lydia Becker in Manchester, Catherine Ricketts in Brighton, Eleanor Smith in Oxford and Anne Ashworth for Bath (cf. Crawford 2002: 156). According to the article, considering the fact that no woman in Great Britain had ever sought election before, the small number was excusable, but for future elections women would have to get the necessary experience.

Levine describes the 'conscious woman-centredness' at the heart of feminist campaigns: 'Female identity [...] was a source of pride and identity, denying older prescriptions of shame and inferiority' (cf. Levine 1987: 18-20). True to this reconstruction of gender, women found new structures for their campaigns, without one official leader, ideology or propaganda, consciously deciding not to follow male patterns of political organisation and hierarchy. This can be traced in the subjects for articles which were chosen by the corpus periodicals to discuss the elections, which are all given their own subchapters, and their discursive techniques. A first cluster of articles focused on the first women who voted. Their successful exercising of voting rights was an important practical disproof of the stock argument against the female franchise as damaging for women's dignity. Another cluster covers Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's landslide victory and constructs her as the model woman politician. Miss Burdett Coutts' refusal to become a candidate was treated in a correspondence column. For later elections the new

genre of the interview is examined as a highly performative technique. Lydia Becker's *Women's Suffrage Journal*, whose techniques are considered summarily, was especially instrumental in defining the LSB elections as an indisputable argument for women's national suffrage.

These article genres all simulated orality, a New Journalistic feature, whose implications of femininity made it especially suitable for the present study. Such strategies guaranteed strong reader engagement and an opportunity to construct the ideal female politician. Ivan Kreilkamp describes oral speech and print as 'mutually reinforcing media,' both necessary because speech was often in need of augmentation through printed language as it was considered to be 'corrupted by its proximity to the body' (2005: 25 and 37). This means that speeches by women were doubly contaminated and feminist periodicals had to fight two stereotypes. Some orality-imitating genres like correspondence indeed utilised such feminine associations to create exclusive audiences. Ultimately this limitation was overcome by New Journalism and the original strategy of reprinted speeches was further developed into genres like the interview. In this more periodical-friendly adaptation speech acts were mediated and commented to guide the readers. Such strategies to fight for social acceptability of the women's cause were not unlike those described by Joseph Overton 100 years later, who posits that there is a certain range or window of acceptability for new ideas and policies. This can be extended through activism. Generating discontent while explaining how to address this unsatisfactory situation were important steps to improve the acceptance of a social innovation and LSB activists knew of the importance of rhetoric before social scientists explained the theory, as an anonymous article in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* about Elizabeth Garrett Anderson demonstrates. Her LSB candidature facilitated social change, cemented by the elections:

[T]he instincts of society are opposed to the promotion of women into positions of public utility and celebrity. [...] Many years have passed since the question arose. Writers have gone on girding at intellectual women. Members of Parliament have sneered. Professional students have

applauded. Unprofessional readers have yawned. [...] But the time came. Under the Elementary Education Act women are qualified as members of School Boards. Never before had any representative body, constituted by Act of Parliament, been permitted to admit women to its deliberations, and Miss Garrett became a candidate for Marylebone. [...] Let it be borne in mind that the inhabitants of the borough [...] understood the merits of the case.

Anon. Vol. II, No. 13. March 1, 1871: n.p.

The question of female suffrage had been debated for a long time, going from unthinkability with sneering politicians and a disinterested public to acceptability with Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson as candidate. The first subchapter is about the campaigns to ensure the electorate ‘understood the merits of the case’ of women in local government to reach full electoral emancipation (Ibid.).

2.1. Removing the ‘Stigma of Inferiority:’ Early Female Voters

The *Englishwoman’s Review* claimed that the milestone election of women in 1870 ‘removes in some degree the stigma of inferiority hitherto attached to women.’ In the opinion of the anonymous writer, through the election of the first female members ‘to positions desired by men of eminence and distinction [...] all women are raised’ (Anon. No. 5. Jan. 1, 1871: 1). This early on in the campaign, only three years after the unsuccessful Kensington Society’s first petition to Parliament to enfranchise ‘all householders, without distinction of sex, who possess such property or rental qualifications as your Honourable House may determine’ (qtd. in Rosen 1974: 6), such a great concession gave hope that success would be not too distant. Feminist campaigners fed back this triumphant atmosphere to their readers in order to propagate the further extension of suffrage.

The *Englishwoman’s Review* was published by Jessie Boucherett as a monthly product of the Langhamite Victoria Press. Founder-editor Boucherett also funded it herself, presumably so as not to lose integrity through ad sales. The *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* remarks on its small circulation of 2,000, but also its longevity from 1870 until 1910 (2009: 206). It was a political

bulletin without any fiction or many advertisements, notable for its detailed information about the international woman question, making it an ideal platform to discuss the School Board elections. Despite the greater visibility of the female candidates, more women voters were involved. The *Englishwoman's Review* summary of the first elections emphasises the fact that 'women householders should have shown themselves generally willing, and sometimes eager to vote, and this was especially the case wherever there was a lady candidate for election' (Anon. No. 5. Jan 1, 1871: 1). In the context of Overton's window, this high female turnout was a great success. The acceptability of voting had been reached, although only a short time ago it was illegal and even now only a small part of women were allowed to vote for only one committee. They were part of a radical movement that pushed the boundaries and found a positive woman-centric space in the pages of the *Englishwoman's Review* where the fact that many women now voted was good news.

It has to be noted that the more traditional *The Queen* also commented positively on the first local-government elections with female voters. It was published by Samuel Beeton as an upmarket weekly newspaper, printed in broadsheet format on heavy, glossy paper. In its exceptionally long print-run from 1861 to 1967 *The Queen* discussed social events, artistic and cultural matters, its namesake Queen Victoria and her court, (Parisian) fashion and needlework. But also topical issues like women's education and suffrage and employment were covered, all with a profound class consciousness (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 523-524). On January 21, 1871, a few months into the first LSB's term of office, *The Queen* published a leading article on 'The Proposed Extension of the Franchise to Women,' which argued for giving the passive suffrage to more women (Anon. Vol. XLIX. Jan. 21, 1871: 87). Parliament was about to sit again after the Christmas break and the author was hopeful that the new session might bring a breakthrough for female suffrage:

The recent elections of school boards, in which women have taken so prominent and effective a part, have furnished an additional argument to those who are in favour of giving votes to women. One of the reasons

constantly urged for not permitting women to exercise the franchise was, that in going to the polling places they would be subject to all kinds of indignities [...] The school board elections [...] have again shown that no such direful effects [...] have resulted from the exercise of the new power of voting; and it is now said with justice, if women vote sensibly and without excitement for members of school boards, why should their sense forsake them in voting for members of Parliament?

According to *The Queen* the first LSB elections showed that women were ready to be given more political power. Some anti-arguments had been disproved by women not losing their femininity at the polling stations and national suffrage for women could and should no longer be refused.

This required more campaigning and to spot possible points for improvement *The Queen* reviewed ‘[t]he Experience Gained’ during the first LSB elections (Anon. Vol. XLVII. Dec. 3, 1870: 349). Familiarising readers with the new democratic experience was an important part of the campaign, especially in *The Queen*, whose affluent readership included a high percentage of women who fulfilled the voting criteria of being over 30 and owning property. Even if the readers knew how national elections were conducted, the LSB elections featured some innovations. The first novelty was the cumulative vote, where each voter had as many votes as there were places for the district. This had been introduced to guarantee the representation of minorities (cf. Betts 2015: 5):

Careful analyses of the votes have shown the advantages of ‘plumping’ for candidates whose success is especially desired. Three eminent instances of this sort were furnished by the cases of [...], Miss Davies and Miss Garrett, who [...] received the greatest numbers of votes in Greenwich and Marylebone respectively. Large numbers of the ratepayers gave all their votes to these candidates, and thus their majorities were greatly increased.

Anon. Vol. XLVII. Dec. 3, 1870: 349.

Without the cumulative vote, the women might not have been voted onto the LSB, giving a negative sign for the first election with active and passive female suffrage. To guarantee a further extension, a successful first election had been vital.

The *Englishwoman's Review* and the *Woman's Suffrage Journal* also argued for the franchise to be extended to women because their husbands did or could not vote. The celebratory *Review* article from the beginning of the chapter included a quote from *The Times* 'that in some of the districts, married women were very anxious to vote as the proxies of their husbands, and were much surprised and disappointed at their votes being refused' (Ibid.). Only single, rate-paying women were allowed to vote, which rarely applied to working-class women, but their husbands, who had the vote, often were at work or 'serving the country at sea' or maybe just 'indifferent on the subject of education,' so the women tried to make use of the household-franchise. This anecdote from an authoritative newspaper like *The Times* was inserted to keep up the outrage over women's inequality: Men did not even use their franchise, while women were desperate to have it.

The *Woman's Suffrage Journal* took up the incident without seeking authorisation from male-centred papers. The two magazines were closely connected because the *Woman's Suffrage Journal's* co-editor Jessie Boucherett also founded the Langhamite all-female Victoria Press to print the *Englishwoman's Review*. The *Woman's Suffrage Journal* was the radical organ of the 'Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage,' started by Lydia Becker in 1870 as a medium of communication between the members and for gathering support across the nation. Becker was a radical campaigner for suffrage and her election onto the Manchester School Board a few weeks before London voted made her able to claim to have been the first woman ever to be elected onto a School Board. At the beginning, the *Woman's Suffrage Journal* was a small broadsheet with only a few pages but soon was able to expand with the revenue of more and more advertisements and also dropped the limiting 'Manchester' from the title. The *Journal* always clearly showed Becker's influence and after her death in 1890 the periodical was not continued (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 685).

In an article on 'The School Board Elections,' published one day after the *Englishwoman's Review's* contribution, the anonymous author, presumably Becker herself, described how 'in many

instances, married women, whose husbands could not, or would not, go to the poll, went and claimed to vote in lieu of them, and were much disappointed when the returning officer informed them that the law did not allow them to vote as their husband's proxy' (Anon. Vol. II, No. 10. Jan. 2, 1871: 3). The two periodicals used this as ammunition for different arguments for why the franchise had to be extended. The *Woman's Suffrage Journal* claimed that the fact that so many women made their way to the polling stations was

'a practical refutation of one of the stock objections to women's suffrage, namely that women are so much occupied with domestic duties that they could not find time to vote. Among the working classes it is the men who have difficulty in finding time to attend to their political duties, and the liberty to depute these to their wives would be in many cases a boon [...] and many votes be given which are now unavoidably lost.'

Ibid.

This patronising excuse for not giving women the same rights as men could now no longer reasonably be used since women made time to vote. The *Woman's Suffrage Journal* cleverly takes advantage of this story about women who were unsuccessful at taking part in the election by turning it into an argument for extending suffrage. This news item could have been interpreted as a failure on the part of women, who apparently were not ready for the vote because they were unable to understand simple voting rules. Instead it becomes a powerful rhetorical strategy for arguing that the law did not go far enough yet and had to be amended to allow wives to proxy-vote.

The *Englishwoman's Review* is more technical and political. They agree with the rule that in each household only one person had the vote

for to give them [to both] would be to bestow a double share of representation on one household, and a married woman could scarcely feel it as an affront to be refused a vote on this ground, but to refuse the wife's vote proffered in the absence of her husband is an affront, for it is saying that by marrying she has fallen below the position of an ordinary citizen.

Anon. No. 5. Jan. 1, 1871: 1.

The author does not ask for universal suffrage, which would apply to all women, married or not, but argues that the one-vote-per-household rule should be maintained, no matter if by the husband or the wife, so as not to lose that hard-won privilege. Her argument places the wife on the same level as the husband, demanding that being an adult and married woman suffice as qualification. The last half sentence alludes to the contemporary dispute about married women's legal status and property. In 1870 the first Act was passed to allow a married woman to legally own property and thus to vote, but a legal precedent took the franchise away again, arguing that 'on marriage, the woman ratepayer voluntarily opted out of the 1869 [local government] Act' (Hollis 1987: 32). The *Englishwoman's Review* article takes up this debate and criticises the view that marriage precludes the right to vote. This linked the LSB with the wider context of the woman question at the end of the nineteenth century, which might have been better known to the readers and easier to understand than obscure rules for local government elections. Neither article addresses one of the biggest inequalities of the system: Only rate-paying, that means property-owning, women could vote. This practically excluded working-class women, who rarely owned property. And although the passive suffrage was in theory not restricted, LSB members did not earn a salary, which meant that they were firmly middle-class as only they had the necessary money and connections. Also the very issue the LSB hoped to remedy, the lack of education among the working classes, especially the girls, kept them from running for office.

A wide spectrum of periodicals reported about the first LSB elections and were pleased about how well the newly enfranchised women had done. The fact that nothing negative was said about the first time British women had taken part in political elections refuted many anti-suffrage anxieties. The readers could gather arguments from this first success to use privately. My cluster of periodicals also all agree that an extension of the franchise was imminent and prepared their readers by explaining the technicalities of voting like plumping and that no proxy-votes were allowed. Since the formal campaign for universal suffrage had only been started a few years

ago the atmosphere was very optimistic and positive reviews of the first round of elections fired the enthusiasm for taking part in the movement.

2.2. 'This astonishing victory': Elizabeth Garrett Anderson as Model Female Politician

While the slogan of the national suffrage campaign 'Votes for Women!' put the main focus on active suffrage, in the context of the LSB elections the corpus of selected periodicals shifted their attention to female members and candidates with 94 articles compared to 37 on female voters. Middle- and upper-class women had always been great philanthropists. Without the right to stand for charity committees, they often worked on the streets to alleviate poverty (cf. Hollis 1987: 14). But suffrage campaigners demanded that women have not just access to unofficial channels, but political power to tackle the problems at the root. What Seth Koven and Sonya Michel describe as 'maternalism [...], the entering wedge for the extension of state responsibility' was appropriated by women campaigners on the LSB. Women's traditional duties in the domestic sphere were a convincing argument for their legal equality with men: Those responsible for one half of the population should also be given one half of the power (Koven and Michel 1993: 1-11). Following this argumentation, school boards were reconstructed as extensions of the natural sphere of women in the periodicals and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson was used as a perfect example of a maternal politician. In the spirit of moving the Overton window, her ability to be highly political without alienating the public was used as an inspiration in a wide range of periodicals, who embraced the New Journalistic strategy of putting a strong personality at the centre of a campaign. This subchapter traces how her exceptional life was used to turn her into a poster-figure for emancipation and pushing boundaries.

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson mirrored Lydia Becker for Manchester as the most prominent voice in the first London School

Board elections. Magazines from both sides of the progressive and traditional spectrum presented her attractive equilibrium of femininity and feminism as the mark of a successful politician. While the two other women candidates in the first LSB elections were only mentioned in passing in general articles, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* and the *Women's Suffrage Journal* printed articles with a focus on Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson. In the 1890s two summary articles about women's position at the end of the nineteenth century described Elizabeth Garrett Anderson as an especially important woman in the struggle for equality.¹⁴ The less political periodicals used New Journalism-inspired portraits and interviews to convince readers that Garrett Anderson maintained middle-class respectability despite being in the public eye. Sarah Tooley, a well-known interviewer of celebrities, featured her in her 'Notable Women of the Day' series for *The Woman at Home* (cf. Tooley n.p. 1898: 189-193). The title 'Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D.' shows her special interest as in 1898 women doctors or indeed women with degrees were rare, so mentioning her full title made clear why she was a notable woman.

Alongside Emily Davies in Greenwich and Maria Grey in Chelsea, she ran for Marylebone and won a landslide victory with over 23,000 more votes than runner-up Professor Huxley. A *Times* article, reprinted in the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, congratulated her on the 'crushing way in which Miss Garrett beat every masculine rival' (Anon. Vol. II, No. 10. Jan. 2, 1871: 3). Patricia Hollis finds suitable words when she says that Elizabeth Garrett 'settled the right of women to stand for school boards' (1987: 78). After Elizabeth Garrett had been working as an apothecary in her own practice for five years and just obtained her full medical degree, a group of Marylebone working men asked her to become a candidate because her dispensary for women and children in this borough had made her well known and trusted.¹⁵ This process of being chosen by a male

¹⁴ Cf. Faithfull, Emily. 'Woman.' In: *The Lady's Pictorial*. Vol. XXII, No. 560. Nov. 21, 1891: 917 and M.A.F. 'The Position of Women during the Present Reign.' In: *The Woman's Signal*. No. 124. May 14, 1896: 309.

¹⁵ These biographies are recommended for a more complete retelling of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's life: Elizabeth Crawford, *Enterprising Women: The Garretts and their Circle* and Jo Manton, *Elizabeth Garrett Anderson*.

committee was often the only way for a woman to become a candidate. In one of their articles on 'Women on School Boards', the *Women's Suffrage Journal* summed up the obstacles to a woman's candidature:

Many women of intelligence and experience are not only willing but anxious to give their best help to the state, through the medium of the School Boards, but they are deterred from offering themselves as candidates, by the fact that existing organisations, whether religious or political, take no account of them, and refuse to help them, whilst to stand as independent candidates in opposition to men who have been selected and are supported by powerful educational and political parties, is a formidable undertaking for anyone, and for women, who are, as a rule, much poorer than men, is in most cases too expensive a luxury.

Anon. Vol. II, No. 10. Jan. 2, 1871: 9.

This passionate preamble highlights her achievement even more. In contrast to men, it was virtually impossible for women to establish a network of contacts to be selected or to finance a campaign. The nature of the political landscape did not make it easy for women to meet powerful men. Of course there were feminist networks and some MPs like Jacob Bright, Henry Fawcett or John Stuart Mill supported women and universal suffrage, but it was still difficult to find endorsement. The author calls the 'formidable undertaking' of running for office 'a luxury,' sarcastically echoing enemies of female suffrage. But men started to recognise the usefulness of women candidates because they were often very popular at the polls (cf. Turnbull 1983: 122-123).

After her selection the periodicals presented the unfamiliar publicity of canvassing and public speaking as one of the biggest struggles for Garrett, invoking the trope of female campaigners' traumatic first public speech (cf. Manton 1965: 205). Lilian Shiman explains how outrageous platform speaking was for women and that their first public speeches were often described as accidental, as in the case of Florence Fenwick Miller (cf. Shiman 1992: 132). This occurrence had become a popular anecdote over the years and Mrs Fenwick Miller herself retold it in an article for *The Woman's Signal*

on 'How I made my first Speech' (Fenwick Miller. No. 1. Jan. 4, 1894: 4-5). It is a chatty autobiographical summary of her involvement in what she calls a 'war [...] in which those same qualities of courage and indomitable resolution in fighting up-hill – with imperfect means, against forces far superior in numerical strength, and in the possession of all the muniments of war – were required, the battle for the enfranchisement of women.' She paints a powerful picture of the struggle for equality in which

[s]peaking in public was the very head and front of our offending. It was in the last degree 'unsexing,' 'forgetting the proper delicacy of womanhood,' 'shrieking for our rights,' and so forth. Only two years before I made my first speech, a public meeting in London was broken up by violence because Mrs. Peter Taylor and Mrs. Fawcett were to have addressed it.

Becoming visible and audible in public was the opposite of what the separate-spheres doctrine demanded of respectable middle-class women and at the heart of criticism of feminist campaigning. Although Fenwick Miller had always been drawn to speaking up for the women's cause, she was intimidated when at a meeting she attended with her father the speaker did not come and she was asked to take his place. She was only 18 and Lynn Linton's invocation of the immoral 'girl of the period' and the 'shrieking sisterhood' were only five years old (Lynn Linton 1883: 64-72) and echo through Mrs Fenwick Miller's description of how a woman speaking in public was received. This conformed with the conventions Shiman identifies for women's first public speeches: 'Frequently the first speech was unplanned. Many women speakers took their initial steps onto the platform when some emergency arose' (Shiman 1992: 130). But her father encouraged her, fulfilling the second convention of a man's blessing (Fenwick Miller. No. 1. Jan. 4, 1894: 4-5). However, in her elation about finally being able to make herself heard on a topic she was enthusiastic about, this male approval feels like having been added because custom dictated it. Fenwick Miller did not fit the mould of timid young woman when she describes herself as having been 'born a speaker.' Her 'speaking was [...] without effort' and, 'out of the fullness of [her] heart, [her]

mouth spoke' (cf. *ibid.*: 2). Public speaking had always been her destiny and she went on to a considerable lecturing career. Therefore the daunting descriptions as a personal crisis and having to ask for a man's permission feel rather obligatory and not heartfelt. Not claiming the success for herself was just a convention that had to be gone through in order not to be deemed a 'shrieking sister'.

This was the first issue of *The Woman's Signal* under Florence Fenwick Miller's own editorship. The *Women's Penny Paper* was first published and edited by Henrietta Müller under her pen name Helena B. Temple. It was a weekly 1d periodical about all women's interests, with many small notes about women on school boards. In January 1891 Müller changed its name to *The Woman's Herald* to broaden its scope, but when in 1893 Christina Bremner and Lady Somerset took over as editors, the magazine became the outlet of the pro-suffrage faction of the Women's Liberal Federation and especially Somerset used it as an organ for her temperance movement. This meant a loss in range of topics and hence readers, but Lady Somerset carried on until 1895, probably using her personal income to meet financial losses (cf. van Arsdel 2001: 184). As the editor from 1895, Florence Fenwick Miller increased sales figures, but after funding was lost in 1899, the magazine was finally disbanded (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 683). The *Women's Penny Paper* was a very progressive periodical and important in the fight for the emancipation of women in all fields. Although it was not the longest running of my progressive periodicals, in the course of its eleven years it published 68 articles on the LSB. After *The Queen's* 229 articles this was the highest number by a wide margin. By printing this article in her first issue as editor, 'at the peak of her journalistic powers' (van Arsdel 2001: 184), Fenwick Miller set the tone. It made clear what was at stake and why this periodical was so necessary in its fight for suffrage and temperance.

While Emily Davies was held back by her fear of damaging the women's cause, Garrett Anderson took centre stage on the LSB and became a 'ready and reliable speaker' (cf. Manton 1965: 206). Turnbull mentions a letter from Garrett to Davies discussing public speaking: 'I dare say when it has to be done I can do it, and it is no

use asking for women to be taken into public work and yet wish them to avoid publicity. We must be ready to go into the thing as men do if we go at all, and in time there will be no more awkwardness on our side than there is on theirs' (Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson, qtd. in Turnbull 1983: 121-122). The impressive initial obstacles were effective for making her achievements appear even bigger, yet also for reassuring future activists that their struggles would be less hard after such formidable predecessors. Many articles thus focused on her campaign as this was the first time in Britain a woman was electioneering for herself. The Primrose League and its Liberal equivalent would not be founded until over a decade later, so not even this avenue of political experience was available (cf. Rubinstein 1996: 152). To give her campaign celebrity endorsement, Garrett Anderson's committee was made up of famous figures like Barbara Bodichon and Octavia Hill, founding members of Langham Place, Frances Buss, founder and headmistress of North London Collegiate School for Ladies, and Henry Fawcett MP, her sister Millicent's husband (cf. Crawford 1999: 155). The aforementioned article from *The Queen* on 'The Experience Gained' from 3 December 1870 praises the 'value of [the] persistent canvassing' that had taken place before the election and admired the effectiveness of her team: 'The canvassing for Miss Garrett was of a very thoroughly organised character. Even persons accustomed to see good organisation in work were astonished at the perfection of the machinery.' This technically flawless campaigning is then put into a female-gendered context:

In this instance, also, the powers of women for work were tested; and [...] their powers of organisation and united action were also put to the proof. It has often been alleged against women that they could not and would not act in concert; [...] [and] [...] that no movement conducted in great part by women could ever have permanent success. The circumstances of Miss Garrett's election have shown [...] that women can and will work together.

Anon. Vol. XLVII. Dec. 7, 1870: 349.

Women's alleged inability to support each other was another common argument of anti-suffrage campaigners. *The Queen* used Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's successful and perfectly organised

campaigns to argue that women were able to work in unison, which would also be necessary for national elections.

The anonymous 'Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson, M.D.' from the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* similarly applauded her 'indefatigable exertion' (Anon. Vol. 75. March 1, 1871: n.p.). This meant that on polling day 'town and suburb, rich and poor [...] flocked to the polling-places, and put to shame [...] the English press. It was an election in which the feelings of all classes were thoroughly aroused. More voters by far voted at that election than ever before voted in any election for the borough, and the lady obtained 47,858 votes.' The enthusiastic article shows that the good results vindicated women's campaigns for female candidates. The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was published by Samuel and Isabella Beeton and rather traditional in its outlook. It featured many illustrations, household advice, dressmaking patterns, fiction and was - according to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* - intended for women of the upper classes (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 205-206). But this article shows the periodical to be firmly in favour of female suffrage, at least for the school boards. It invokes democracy as the great equaliser, made even greater by an extension to women. All classes were described to be at last united in their support for Garrett Anderson's campaign. This was technically true for men, who were now mostly enfranchised, but still only 17% of women were allowed to vote in these elections. Middle-class campaigners were either not interested in actually giving the vote to women of all classes or they were happy about a successful first step. Claiming Garrett Anderson to be a candidate of all classes was a good demonstration of social cohesion, of a climate favouring education and of a time when women could officially contribute to national progress.

Garrett Anderson's appearance and character were an important focal point of the corpus and the article was illustrated with an engraving (reproduced here), which shows Garrett Anderson as demure and conservatively dressed, yet pretty and determined woman with a very feminine, abundant crown of hair. Despite her political and professional success, she was still a 'lady.' Another

article from the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* described her thus:

Miss Garrett's high culture and great social influence – her special experience – her practical common sense – the great originality and suggestiveness of her mind – her courage and power of expressing herself in public – and the fact that she is in the full vigour of life, and devoted to work, peculiarly fit her for the position in question.

Anon. Vol. 73. Jan. 1, 1871: 61.



Figure 1: Engraved portrait of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson from *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. (Anon. Vol. 73. Jan. 1, 1871: 61.)

Garrett Anderson's positive characteristics and skills are listed, only separated with hyphens, literally overflowing the sentence structure. But it also mentions her 'high culture and great social influence,' attributes that reconciled those voters who might have been taken aback by her publicity. Elizabeth Garrett was 34 years old, unmarried, had just passed the exams for her medical degree in Paris, and was thus a blue-stockinged old maid. But the author redefines her 'originality' as a positive trait and turns Miss Garrett into a desirable candidate, whose position 'will serve to remind the female pupils that their labours, too, may be crowned by a like reward, and a needed encouragement will be thus given to their efforts.' The article makes her out as a thoroughly inspirational woman and apart from the usual assertion that she was a good member because she was a woman, Elizabeth Garrett is portrayed as a shining example for everybody to emulate:

Tired of the dullness of young lady life, she resolved, at an early age, to devote her life to helping on the higher education of women, and [...] selected medicine for a field worthy of her energies. [...] [I]n 1860 Miss Garrett entered the Middlesex Hospital as a student. At the end of the first session she obtained certificates of honour in all her classes – and this was the cause of Miss Garrett's first check, as the students, disliking her success, petitioned against the admission of women to the school [...] the Dean expressed his regret at having to send away a lady 'whose conduct, during her entire stay in the hospital, had been marked by a union of judgment and

delicacy which had commanded and received their entire respect and esteem.' [...] but by dint of her remarkable energy and tact, her efforts to obtain a medical education were at least successful, and in 1865 she passed creditably the examinations for the diploma of the Society of Apothecaries, the only body that was unable, by the terms of its charter, to exclude her.

Ibid.

Her decision to become a doctor is traced back to her enthusiasm for female education. This reconstruction of the narrative about why she became a medical doctor connects her professional and ideological history with the issue at hand, the LSB, and its contribution to the extension of female education and political rights. It is presented as another argument for why Garrett Anderson was such a good fit as LSB member and also why everybody who wanted better political representation had to start with education – their own and then follow Elizabeth Garrett Anderson in becoming a School Board member.

The story of her medical education is turned into an allegory of her never-give-up attitude, so necessary and useful for early female members of the LSB. Jealous of her good marks – much like male members might have envied her good results in the election – her fellow students tried to have her expelled. Putting words of great respect into the Dean's mouth emphasised the message of the article. Elizabeth Garrett is shown as a model of tenacity and resourcefulness even as a young woman when she fought to open up a competitive profession for women. This gave her the necessary experience to do the same for the LSB and national politics. The article also presents LSB membership as a good opportunity to escape the traditional path of a young middle-class woman. Admitting that 'young lady life' was dull and that education was the only way out shows that even the traditionalist *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* recognised that the world was changing. In a time of 'odd women' and other demographic changes relying on marriage for a place in life was no longer possible or necessary. They encouraged middle- and upper-class girls to follow Miss Garrett, who had cleared the way for them to have the same chances.

This was published in the 'Englishwoman's Conversazione,' a recurring correspondence column. The editor Samuel Beeton took

the role of one of the contributors and used his own platform to add his personal opinion about women in public places, thereby using his editorial influence over the readers' opinions through a distinctly feminine simulation of orality and therefore informality. Beeton being a respectable middle-class man gave male assent to the readers' new and possibly controversial opinions. In the midst of a hodge-podge of topics and requests, the longish piece on Elizabeth Garrett stands out. It is curious why it was inserted here and not treated as a stand-alone article. But in this position even readers who normally were not interested in political topics might have stumbled across it.

A few months after her election Garrett married her campaign manager J. S. Anderson and became Mrs Garrett Anderson (cf. Manton 1965: 217-218). Now, to quote Hollis, she had to settle another question: That of married women on the LSB (1987: 78). After the first success of having women elected onto the first board, the *Women's Suffrage Journal* continued to fight for universal suffrage with Garrett Anderson as an example, also of how to overcome any dangers to the ultimate objective. In April 1871 they informed their readers of a 'discussion [that] arose in the newspapers when the approaching marriage of Miss Garrett, M.D., was announced as to the right of married women to be members of school boards. It was confidently asserted that marriage must necessarily disqualify a woman for the office' (Anon. Vol. II, No. 14. April 1, 1871: 37). This was a new attempt to take power away again from women with the argument that even after the first Married Women's Property Act married women were still not full legal *personae*.

Mrs Garrett Anderson was singled out by the opposition to women on the LSB in a similar strategy as used by the supportive periodicals. Her substantial victory must have intimidated men. It signalled that the times were ready for female politicians and, whether out of belief that women were damaging to or damaged by politics or because of fears that women would push out the traditional rulers, technicalities were used to remove her after her successful election. The *Women's Suffrage Journal* took up this story to create awareness of possible resistance and keep up an

atmosphere of confrontation. They also triumphantly reported that the loophole of no married women on school boards, which their enemies had tried to exploit, had not worked:

[T]he question may now be regarded as practically settled, for not only has Mrs. Garrett Anderson taken her seat at the London School Board and spoken, and voted, without opposition, but two married ladies, Mrs. Huth, at Huddersfield, and Mrs. Crawshay, at Merthyr, have been elected, and no objection has been raised to the legality of their nomination.

Ibid.

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's example was used to settle the dispute about married women, also because the London School Board often led the provincial school boards by example. Other married women had been allowed to take up their mandate, which was presented as proof that this argument was silly and without foundation.

The periodicals' strategy to build her up as a model for female (L)SB members had paid off and she could now also be used to settle such political disputes. Although there were many attempts to undermine them, especially after Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's success, the old argument of women not being fit for office had become untenable. She had proved that women were attractive for voters, good political campaigners and still able to maintain their womanliness well enough to attract a husband. This simultaneously disproved anti-suffrage arguments of women being unsexed in politics and dispelled such fears in readers. The feminine, pretty, yet forward-thinking Garrett Anderson was a great figure to identify oneself with. Her fight for female education in a world where more and more otherwise traditional women were no longer content with their limited sphere raised the readers' personal interest in women in public positions. This was a useful tactic to increase awareness for politics and the women's struggle in an audience that might not have been natural champions of female suffrage in order to push Overton's window of acceptability.

2.3. A 'difficult and toilsome arena': Angela Burdett Coutts and Correspondence

As the reverse tactic, this subchapter shows my periodicals' successful strategies of how to utilise counterexamples to the illustrious model of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. Angela Burdett Coutts, the 'Queen of the Poor,' who donated large amounts of her vast inheritance from the founder of the eponymous London bank (Healey 2004: 715-721), refused the invitation to become an LSB candidate although her experience with philanthropy would have made her an obvious candidate. Miss Burdett Coutts was a woman of independent opinions and a year later Queen Victoria was to give her the first female peerage and yet she was not prepared to enter a political contest. Because of her celebrity status among all classes her refusal would have reached the readers anyway so that the periodicals manipulated it to their advantage. However, the radical periodicals ignored her negative reaction and it was only *The Queen* that mentioned the set-back.

The first edition after the inaugural LSB elections of *The Queen* included two articles about Burdett Coutts' refusal to become a candidate for the LSB. In their issue from 3 December 1870 the leading article on 'The Candidature of Ladies' discussed the clash of opinions concerning women's suitability as local government members (Anon. Vol. XLVII. Dec. 3, 1870: 347).¹⁶ Placing this topic on the front page shows the urgency and *The Queen's* deep interest in the Elementary Education Act and the ensuing opportunities for women, despite their otherwise often traditional outlook. They followed the project from the beginning, discussing the split of attitudes towards female candidates: 'The feelings with which the candidature of women has been regarded have been, as might have been expected, very various. Many have opposed the ladies who have come forward simply on the ground that they were women, and, being women, had no business to take part in public affairs.' Although Garrett Anderson won triumphantly, the campaigners had to acknowledge that only two women had been voted onto the LSB.

¹⁶ Until the next reference all quotes will be taken from this source.

Explanations for this low number had to be found in order to avoid a similar setback next time. To analyse some of the arguments against female candidates, the article gives a personal example:

Miss Burdett Coutts, who was asked to become a candidate for the Tower Hamlets, refused to do so chiefly because she thought ladies would be of little use in such an assembly as the new London School Board is likely to be; and, moreover, she thought the excitement and bustle of an election hardly fit for a woman to join in.

Ibid.

She chose to do the opposite of many other philanthropists and did not use her reputation to justify her political career. For few other people the strategy of social motherhood would have been more credible, but she did not want to be involved. Her declining with such anti-emancipatory arguments must have been discouraging for many women who admired her and might have been thinking of running for office themselves. In a budding celebrity culture, opinions of such public figures, propagated in a popular magazine like *The Queen*, were bound to be influential with a large group of readers. But the periodical's decision to make her the face of the faction against female members produced a tangible enemy whose royal patronage made her even more formidable. Despite *The Queen's* pride in always reporting both opinions (cf. Beetham and Boardman 2001: 53), at first glance this looks like an unwise decision. But the fact that the argument of 'the excitement and bustle of an election hardly [being] fit for a woman to join in' was made by Angela Burdett Coutts, discredited it immediately: Miss Burdett Coutts had made philanthropy her profession and was herself in the public eye (Anon. Vol. XLVII. Dec. 3, 1870: 347). Although she was not directly involved in politics, her charitable enterprise would have accustomed her to exposure and equipped her with the necessary experience to make her very useful for the LSB. To further expose the tenuousness of her justifications, the leading article does not even allow Miss Burdett Coutts to comment but includes an overview of the successful female candidates and all the support they were given.

But in the same edition there is another article about ‘Miss Burdett Coutts and the School Board,’ apparently supporting her decision (Ino. Vol. Dec. 3, 1870: 350). It is a letter to the editor, signed by ‘Ino.’ Ino starts very personally with ‘I have great admiration for Miss Burdett Coutts [...] It is not to be wondered at that this lady has many warm admirers [...] and that they would place her in about every public office which falls vacant.’ Ino identifies Miss Burdett Coutts’ ‘magnificent schemes of philanthropy’ as perfect precondition for her candidacy, although this subtly contradicts her idol. She includes a few lines from Burdett Coutts’ open letter of refusal which mentioned her

strong opinion that the presence of a lady could not only be an embarrassment to the discussions which must take place at the board, and that, at least for the present, the School Board will have to deal more with administrative questions than with those on which a woman’s influence and experience could be of most avail.

Ibid.

Ino judges this not to be a complete damnation of female members, but only that the first LSB with all its organisational problems was unsuitable for a ‘lady.’ This term implies middle- or upper-class origin and a careful observance of the separate spheres ideology, which considered any association with politics and economics as damaging. She then quotes Miss Burdett Coutts’ suggestion that women might later form sub-committees to give recommendations on specifically female issues, further emphasizing women’s limited domain of influence. However, Miss Burdett Coutts justified her reasoning with her own experiences in politics, thereby again contradicting herself:

My sense that I am not, from circumstances, the best person to represent your interests at the Board would make me decline, even if my early and long experience of electioneering life during my late father’s lifetime had not deeply impressed me with the feeling that it is best for the advantage of us all that ladies should not enter into its toilsome and difficult arena.

Ibid.

Ino is impressed by 'these utterances by a lady in so high a position just prior to the elections' and the influence it 'could not fail to have [...] on many minds' (Ibid.).

The letter closes with an invitation to other readers to write letters to the editor to discuss Miss Burdett Coutts' opinion. Correspondence was a popular feature in nineteenth-century magazines. It often generated heated debates, sometimes spanning many consecutive editions. An intimate female space was created and enabled women, who were not normally writers, to contribute to the magazines they liked to read. They were usually anonymous, using *noms de plume* like Ino, which allowed them to express their - sometimes controversial - opinions without endangering their reputation. Beetham uses the example of the column 'Over the Teacups' in *Woman at Home* to demonstrate how the editor and central persona Annie Swan 'enacted a feminine dynamic of mutual support' and a 'community of like-minded readers' (cf. Beetham 1996: 166). This allowed women from different backgrounds to contribute to a constructive debate about class, gender and domesticity, resulting in a fluid, 'provocative and reactive medium' in a 'liminal space between public and private domains, [...] mediating [...] between these two worlds' (cf. Fraser et al. 2003: 1-5).

Contrary to this tradition, in Ino's case no dialogue can be traced in later editions. Her letter gave *The Queen's* editors the opportunity to show both sides of the debate. The editor's opinions 'are to be gathered from leaders,' as Ino puts it, but this only presents the pro-suffrage side of the argument (Ino. Vol. Dec. 3, 1870: 350). So she takes it upon herself to rectify this oversight in a letter. By publishing this letter with extensive quotes from Miss Burdett Coutts' original, the editor presents the anti-suffrage side without having to print the open letter itself or even giving it more space in the leading article. The technique of using an unpaid contributor to voice her opinion on a controversial topic allowed the editor to keep up the usual style without compromising the periodical's house opinion. This was good for sales figures as it did not alienate anybody, but made the readers feel involved. Ino's asking for other readers' opinions on the

subject also left a question mark behind Miss Burdett Coutts' justifications, despite her great authority, which might have swayed some readers who read the letter just before election day. Burdett Coutts was not completely discredited in a condescending or aggressive way, but her assertions about women not being useful in the initial forming stages of the LSB and the dangers of electioneering women, so contrary to the general message of *The Queen*, were questioned in a subtle way, while keeping up a good standard of unbiased journalism. Burdett Coutts was as well-known as Garrett Anderson, if not more so in *The Queen's* philanthropic middle- and upper-class readership, and would have been a similarly useful example. They turned her into a counterexample, but progressive magazines did not engage with her reactionary views at all. At the same time *The Queen* reassured their readers, who agreed with Angela Burdett Coutts or were not able to become female LSB members, that they could still contribute outside of official positions.

2.4. Later London School Board Elections and Interviews

New Journalism's most innovative strategy for constructing exemplary figures and the intimate atmosphere necessary for effectively influencing the readers was the interview. Rosemary Van Arsdel's introductory essay on 'Women's Periodicals and the New Journalism: The Personal Interview' describes the interview as

intimate, close-up view of people, especially of women, who were well known, whose careers were valuable, who were determined to succeed, who could be emulated; and its freshness and rather gossipy tone sold periodicals. Teamed with the cause of women's rights and suffrage, it was a powerful new tool to educate, to inform, and to move to action.

van Arsdel 1988: 255.

The campaigns after the first election learned from the success of putting Elizabeth Garrett Anderson at the centre, but did no longer focus on one inspirational candidate, instead making all female LSB

candidates the subject of interviews, character sketches and home stories.

During the three campaigns of 1888, 1891 and 1894 a total of nine interviews with female candidates appeared in my corpus. Apart from one home story on Mrs Fenwick Miller in *Hearth and Home* from 1891, all these interviews were published in *The Queen* and *The Women's Penny Paper*. These two periodicals were very different in outlook, content and appearance, but their reliance on interviews demands a closer comparison. The three incarnations of *The Women's Penny Paper* were the only progressive periodical to use interviews. Observing the New Journalism maxim that 'journalists create or make the news rather than report it,' they started a conversation about the female candidates by printing biographical interviews (Schudson 1995: 85). In November 1888, the month of the seventh LSB elections, three subsequent editions of the *Women's Penny Paper* published interviews with female candidates: Mrs Ashton Dilke was running for Lambeth (Anon. No. 3. Nov. 10, 1888: 1), Annie Besant for Tower Hamlets (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1) and Amie Hicks for Marylebone (Anon. No. 5. Nov. 24, 1888: 1). Especially the first two articles about Mrs Dilke and Mrs Besant are very similar in structure, content and tone, suggesting the same, albeit anonymous, author. Both start with the usual *mise en scène*: 'Mrs. Besant was full of business the day I called upon her' (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1). Then they launch into a description of their character and workload as LSB candidates.

Annie Besant was also a journalist and International Trade Union Congress delegate. Inspired by contemporary phrenology, her face is described as 'the face of a worker, showing determination, energy and earnestness.' As evidence details about her early life and education follow, but the author interrupts herself because 'the events of her life need not be recapitulated. To return to my visit...' This technique of making the interviewer's voice visible



Figure 2: Engraved portrait of Mrs Ashton Dilke from *The Women's Penny Paper* (Anon. No. 3. Nov. 10, 1888: 1).

creates the impression of being part of a personal conversation where similar asides are common. Another common feature of interviews is also included: According to Schudson, interview opportunities sometimes had to be obtained by means of intrusion (Schudson 1995: 88). Mrs Besant ‘was not expecting visitors, but she very courteously pushed aside her papers and placed a chair by the fire and herself at my disposal.’ This was taken as proof of her approachability and thus suitability as LSB member (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1). A week earlier, in Mrs Dilke’s interview, the defining and recommending character trait had been her ‘even, good health and [...] very active habits.’ She ‘never [took] exercise for the mere sake of exercise’ and although most ‘women would have been too exhausted with the previous speaking engagement [...] Mrs. Dilke [...] was as blithe as if there were no such things as a School Board election looming’ (Anon. No. 3. Nov. 10, 1888: 1). These introductions served two objectives: The readers were hooked into the interview because they felt like being let into the interviewees’ private life, but also learned that affability and energy were necessary for a candidacy. Mrs Dilke’s recent visit to America is taken as occasion to characterise her further with questions about ‘manners and appearance of American women,’ casting her as traditionally feminine. Her attempts to explain the differences between British and American women in voice, prematurely white hair and bad teeth with the difference in climate reflect contemporary medical research, which tried to link physical appearance with natural phenomena, as inspired by Darwin. Although the *Women’s Penny Paper* did not include any stand-alone articles on beauty, its readers were interested in the topic, contesting the prejudice that interest in radical feminism was connected with an unfeminine indifference to beauty.

In America she ‘was tremendously interviewed’ by interviewers of both sexes and ‘although they were ‘very personal, certainly, [...] they never asked a single question I could object to answer’ (Ibid.). This accessibility proves her to be a good LSB candidate, but also comments on contemporary discussions about whether the new genre of interviews destroyed privacy, especially for women, who

until recently had been protected from the public gaze. Mrs Dilke's portrait, reproduced here, has the same function of demonstrating her refined feminine appearance, undamaged by politics and publicity. Mrs Dilke's interview confirmed that even a delicate widow could be a fearsome campaigner: 'Like a war-horse she enjoys the scent of battle, and the being hurried hither and thither, the composition and delivery of speeches, the answering of questions.' This does not sound like the 'girlish [woman] in her simple house dress' the opening of the article or the accompanying illustration had the readers imagine. The evocative metaphor of the war horse allows the audience to picture Mrs Dilke's strength, but also the lively election atmosphere (Ibid.). The military imagery established a heroic genealogy for Mrs Dilke's campaign and at the same time for all women campaigners. Although her domestic arrangements are mentioned in passing, Mrs Dilke is mainly portrayed as a formidable speaker and campaigner, not impeded by her femaleness. Ballaster et al.'s analysis that the most important objective of interviews was 'to learn the truth about a politician is to learn the detail of [...] her domestic existence' was applied (Ballaster et al. 1991: 14). But for the *Women's Penny Paper* it was also important to show the interviewees in their public role because of which they were chosen as interview partners.



MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Nowhere in the article is it raised that LSB or generally education work especially suited women because of its relation to children or charity. Mrs Dilke is even allowed to say that she feels 'as if [she] were having all the fun now, with the hard work coming after,' her idea of 'fun' being campaigning (Anon. No. 3. Nov. 10, 1888: 1). This article publicly approves of women enjoying themselves in the public arena of political campaigning and encourages its readers to seek the same fun far from home and family without losing their femininity. While both articles' closing remarks on the women's other political engagements and education give the

articles a similar structure, the biggest difference is their differing political views: Mrs Dilke was a Liberal, Annie Besant a Socialist. The two articles directly compare the two women: ‘Unlike Mrs. Ashton Dilke whose energies are concentrated upon speaking, Mrs. Besant’s friends are devoting themselves to canvassing’ (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1). Mrs Besant is shown as a woman of the people, the people ‘among [whom she had been working] for many years’ being the working classes. When asked whether she had observed ‘much change, much enlightenment, say in the last ten years,’ she

Figure 3: Engraved portrait of Mrs. Annie Besant in *The Women’s Penny Paper* (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1).

affirms this and attributes it to the LSB - and socialism. Her socialist persuasion, exemplified by her advocacy for free school meals, is not depicted as something objectionable or unsuitable for women. Similar to the war horse metaphor in Mrs Dilke’s article, Mrs Besant’s determination is demonstrated by this quote: ‘I like fighting and I am fighting to win.’ She unashamedly admits that she is ‘standing chiefly [...] because [...] it is a good thing to get Socialists on elective Boards.’ At first, she tried ‘stand[ing] for the County Council [...] until [she] found that women were not eligible, and then determined to stand for the School Board.’ This is a similarity to Elizabeth Garrett Anderson’s and Lydia Becker’s reasons for standing, who also confessed that a big part of their motivation to run for election was not elementary education, but the determination to improve the situation for women in public positions. Since the establishment of the Trade Union Congress with its Parliamentary Committee in 1868, socialist ideas had been promoted on a national level ‘by Liberal intellectuals like Henry Fawcett and John Stuart Mill who argued that the free market would not operate satisfactorily without the active participation of combinations of working men’ (Pugh 1982: 76-78). By the late 1880s, middle-class socialists like Annie Besant were trying to persuade working men that their political creed and ‘state social politics were desirable’ although these appeared intrusive to many poor families (cf. *ibid.*: 78). As in the interview with Mrs Dilke, there is no reference to women’s special suitability for LSB work, which illustrates the *Women’s Penny Paper*’s progressive character and

unequivocal acceptance of radical women. But the article does close with a detailed paragraph about her musical education, finally allowing some room for traditional feminine accomplishments, giving the impression that it was only caving to convention, not because that was important for a female LSB candidate (cf. (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1).

Both Besant and Dilke were voted onto the LSB, but Mrs Hicks' candidacy was not successful. She was not a typical candidate and her article breaks with the conventions for interviews, talking mostly about her private history and general political opinions, unlike the other two interviews' emphasis on campaigning. It also differs in that it does not evoke the usual personal



MRS. AMIE HICKS.

Figure 4: Engraved portrait of Mrs. Amie Hicks in *The Women's Penny Paper* (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1).

interview situation, but starts with the prosaic statement that 'Mrs. Hicks is the only Labour Candidate for Marylebone' (Anon. No. 5. Nov. 24, 1888: 1). Hicks might have joined the Socialist Democratic Federation, as the Independent Labour Party was only founded in 1894 (cf. Pugh 1982: 79). She had considerable Social Democratic credentials because she had been arrested for public speaking for Labour and her 'father was a Chartist' (Anon. No. 5. Nov. 24, 1888: 1). Unlike in other interviews, the anonymous interviewer's voice is not heard and the author just quotes from undeclared sources. Although it was called an interview, the article form corresponds more with the older genre of character sketch. And yet her character emerges well as a determined woman, never shy of effort and always on the side of the working people. In that respect she was very similar to Mrs Besant and no emphasis was put on any specifically female qualities either. Her defining qualities are resilience and self-help, since after a failed emigration to New Zealand she and her husband had worked themselves back into a middle-class position of being able to run for the LSB 'entirely through [their] own energies' (Ibid.). But almost half of the article is taken up with how she

sustained her impoverished family and earned their return fare, which was not useful campaign material. Although Mrs Hicks had run an independent evening school in Soho for ‘rough lads and lassies’ and had been in charge of a ‘Home for Destitute Children,’ she had ‘not taken any part in School Board work before [...] but [...] [knew] a great deal about the inconvenience which the rules cause to the working classes.’ She was also against religious teaching in Board Schools and these focal points of her campaign might not have ingratiated her with the mostly middle-class voters. Her portrait, reproduced here, makes her appear to be approachable and hands-on, but also less class-conscious. Mrs Hicks’ exotic ethnic origins are clearly visible in the etching, as ‘[o]n her mother’s side she is a descendant of a North American Indian chief.’ The mythical qualities of native Americans are invoked to imply her campaigning prowess. Her mixed race, Chartism and disastrous emigration marked her out from other female candidates. Although the *Women’s Penny Paper* was published by and for middle-class readers, it had an emphasis on work for women and radical feminism. And yet this candidate and article were probably too far off what the voting audience was used to, resulting in electoral defeat.

The etchings or drawings, which accompanied almost all of the interviews in this corpus, were all chosen to emphasise the articles’ messages and made the audience feel as if they actually knew the VIPs. In *The Queen*, renowned for its beautiful illustrations, they



Figure 5: Engraved portrait of Mrs Westlake in *The Women’s Penny Paper* (Anon. Vol. LXXXV n.t. 1889: 277).

sometimes filled a whole page, as in the article on Mrs Westlake (Anon. Vol. LXXXV n.t. 1889: 277 and 288-289). Her portrait, reproduced here, was decorated with a beautiful frame and was printed on page 277, while the actual article only followed on page 288 - making the signed drawing the main focal point, attractive enough to stand alone. *The Queen* ran a series of such aesthetic portraits, all followed by a character sketch

without evoking an interview situation. While the interviewees are as much celebrated as models for the readers to emulate than in the *Women's Penny Paper*, both periodicals have slightly different priorities: Mrs Westlake's interview is not part of a campaign to be elected as she lost her LSB seat a year before the publication of the article. Although 'the number of Mrs Westlake's achievements is quite remarkable,' the interview does not dwell on her politics as much as the *Women's Penny Paper* and only glosses over the fact that 'since her retirement from the Board [...] she has taken an active part in promoting the Liberal Unionist cause' (Anon. Vol. LXXXV n.t. 1889: 288-289). Her contributions to movements like elementary education and suffrage clearly made Mrs Westlake a person of public interest and earned her a three-page feature in a premium magazine like *The Queen* with a full-page portrait, even without an occasion like an election campaign. The editor considered her to be the type of woman the readers would or should try to emulate - all without losing her beauty and feminine propriety, as demonstrated by the portrait.

Ruth Homan, who was also mentioned in the miscellaneous *Queen* article, stayed on the LSB as member for Tower Hamlets for more than 13 years, from her first election in 1891 until the LSB's dissolution in 1904. In 1894, when she was competing for re-election for the first time, there was a cluster of three interviews with her, indicating the high publicity of an LSB campaign. Two appeared in the *Women's Signal* and one in *The Queen* because '[p]lenty of woman candidates [were] required,' as the semi-anonymous 'M.B.,' maybe an abbreviation for Mrs Beeton, a pseudonym for Isabella Beeton, wife of editor-publisher Samuel Beeton, phrased it in her article on 'Professional Women Upon Their Profession: Mrs Homan, M.L.S.B.' (M.B. Vol. XCVI. Aug. 18, 1894: 299). As early as March, a full eight months before the election in November, the *Signal* published an interview from the Conservative 'short-lived weekly' *London* (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 373), reprinted with the minimal introduction of 'The writer says: With the present clerical faction predominating on the School Board, the really useful work of the lady members is apt to be overlooked' (Anon. No. 11.

March 15, 1894: 177). Despite the campaign for more female members in 1891, the number had further decreased from four to three women, although Alice Mary Wright was later co-opted onto the Board after the member for Westminster retired, bringing the number back up to four. The fact that a mainstream periodical like *London* opened an article about LSB elections in such a gendered manner made it excellent campaigning material.

The *London*-article is noteworthy because it put great emphasis on Mrs Homan's political expertise rather than purely feminine-maternal suitability. It launched immediately into questions for Mrs Homan, which systematically covered the important debates of the day like 'the so-called economy of the Board,' 'the religious controversy' between the Church of England and dissenters about Religious Education and 'the moral effect of the School Board Training on the children.' In all these disputes Mrs Homan argued for the general usefulness of the LSB without imposing too many regulations like exaggerated thrift (Ibid.). This interview brought the readers up to date with contemporary debates on the LSB through the eyes of Mrs Homan rather than being overt election propaganda. At that time her active campaign had not yet started, but the interview gave her the opportunity to present herself as an expert, which was exceptional for a woman even 25 years into the LSB project.

However, Mrs Homan's two interviews for the *Queen* and the *Woman's Signal* were also part of a more gendered election campaign, not just for Mrs Homan herself, but all women. After an ungendered approach to election campaigning had been found not to be useful and there were fewer female candidates, the magazines went back to earlier techniques and included the theme of domesticity. Many readers were afraid that pushing the boundaries would throw them into the line of attack by the likes of Eliza Lynn Linton who had painted an old-fashioned ideal of modest and maternal femininity against which she contrasted modern women who dared to defy conventions (cf. Tusan 2005: 46). Her condemnation of everyone who stepped out, metaphorically and literally, with all its social consequences, was an obstacle for many

women to stand for the first school boards. They cast Mrs Homan as a motherly figure, who was concerned about the physical welfare of the LSB pupils, as quotes like the following illustrate: ‘No, I don’t think the children suffer much from over-pressure, but from being underfed and living in insanitary conditions’ (Tooley No. 46. Nov. 15, 1894: 310). Both articles mentioned her special interest in ‘The Mentally Deficient’ and ‘The Domestic Arts,’ to quote Sarah Tooley’s subheadings in her well-structured *Woman’s Signal* article. Sarah Tooley was a very famous interviewer, who often wrote for the *Women’s Penny Paper*. As celebrity interviewer she transferred some of her fame to her interviewees (cf. Doughty 2012: 168-170).

Tooley’s New-Journalistic masterpiece starts with a model description of Mrs Homan’s campaign headquarters: ‘For the time being, she has left her own home for lodgings in the East End that she may be in touch with her constituents, and in the thick of her fight’ (Tooley. No. 46. Nov. 15, 1894: 310). This was a suitable preface to an article which portrayed Mrs Homan as an authority on LSB politics. Especially her expert knowledge on the Religious Education controversy is emphasised in all of her interviews as non-feminine field of expertise. After the Cowper-Temple clause in the original 1870 Act had ruled that no catechism of any specific denomination was to be taught in Board Schools, in 1871 Huxley’s motion that children ‘withdrawn from religious teaching should receive separate instruction in secular subjects’ during the regular Religious Education lessons was accepted (Betts 2015: 26-28). But in 1894 Mrs Homan still had to defend her support for this decision as the LSB chairman Reverend Diggle had launched another campaign for the general teaching of Church of England doctrine. This was used as evidence that women could indeed be knowledgeable even in complicated policies and therefore useful members.

Both articles also talk in detail about her ‘special training’ at the Scullery Department of the South Kensington School of Cookery and at St. Bartholomew’s Hospital. But rather than basing her candidacy on an abstract concept of femininity and social motherhood, Mrs Homan had decided that in-depth domestic

training made her LSB candidacy more credible. Both the domestic *The Queen* and the progressive *Woman's Signal* applauded Mrs Homan's devotion to the traditional feminine role and I have to



Figure 6: Photograph of Mrs Ruth Homan in *The Woman's Signal* (M.B. Vol. XCVI. Aug. 18, 1894: 299).

disagree with Doughty's assessment that *fin-de-siècle* interviews were less influenced by domesticity than public usefulness (cf. Doughty 2012: 168-170). Mrs Homan's interview is an artful mixture of the two when she is presented as a successful politician, whose 'three year of splendid work which she has just accomplished should make her election a certainty' but her expertise on 'systematising the teaching of domestic subjects' was considered just as strong a recommendation (M.B. Vol. XCVI. Aug. 18, 1894: 299). This was a shrewd

image campaign 'to develop an area of expertise upon which to build a power base,' from which Mrs Homan could reach for new honours, like promotion onto one of the committees (cf. Martin 1999: 91).

The 1894 *Woman's Signal's* March reprint and the interview in *The Queen* of the same year were accompanied by a photograph, the same one the summary 1891 article in *The Queen* had used as model for the engraving, reproduced here. This appears to have been the official portrait she had chosen as suitable for the public image she wanted to construct. Mrs Homan presented herself as very earnest and her outfit looks almost masculine: a high-necked dark blouse with a small pattern, closed with a light bow, which was adorned with a little horse-shoe pendant, and a black jacket. Her grey hair was combed back rather severely, with only some fluffy fringe let loose. So although she was cast as a very maternal and feminine woman, Mrs Homan also wanted to appear strict, efficient and not prone to womanly frippery and profligacy, which was especially important in the current climate of attempting to reform the LSB's alleged extravagant spending. It is impossible to know the exact

overlap between *Queen* and *Women's Penny Paper* readers, but if someone had read all those articles in conjunction, which is within the realm of the possible despite the different foci of the two periodicals, they would have been able to gather a very comprehensive picture of Mrs Homan's character, opinions and political campaigning. She was presented as an able and effective member, who was still feminine and not neglecting her own home.

The magazines had become very accomplished at combining convincing facts with entertaining glimpses of celebrities' everyday lives. Tooley finished her article with the request that readers 'who are willing to help in securing Mrs Homan's return are invited to call or send their names to either of her committee rooms' (No. 46. Nov. 15, 1894: 310). But the radical *Woman's Signal* also abandoned the ungendered campaigns they had run in the 1880s in favour of articles that again portrayed the candidates as perfect ladies and highlighted the fact that women were especially necessary for an effective elementary education system. At the same time *The Queen* fully embraced political campaigning. The spread of New Journalism and even more so twenty-five years of women's agency in the eye of the public meant that the original separation between feminine and feminist periodicals has become blurred. Organisations like the Primrose League had pushed the Overton Window considerably further than it had been at the inception of the LSB in 1870 and women were now allowed to enjoy certain public roles, made possible by campaigns in magazines for women.

2.5. Lydia Becker's *Women's Suffrage Journal*

Lydia Becker's *Women's Suffrage Journal* published more articles than other periodicals about how the new right to vote in LSB elections would be useful for the fight for general suffrage for women. 23 of their 33 articles about the School Board were about elections. The magazine was wholly devoted to extending suffrage to all women in all elections and praised the first School Board elections as a good start. Becker was a master campaigner and

regularly used her position as editor and publisher to argue for universal suffrage. She was at the forefront of creating a truly female voice and language in journalism, as Levine observed (cf. Levine Winter 1990: 300), but I argue that she was also vital for establishing a woman-centric branch of political campaigning as culmination of the individual periodicals discussed so far. Going further than the interviews, which emphasised the candidates' feminine suitability for the LSB, she actively constructed the LSB as extension of the female sphere. In order to understand how she utilised the Elementary Education Act 1870 and its electoral innovations to force open a wider breach in the wall of inequality, a discourse and rhetorical analysis of all her techniques is undertaken in chronological order, with speeches about the inclusion of women in the LSB that let other speakers make her case for her at the beginning, then leading articles as an early strategy to argue for the extension of national suffrage to women.

In her first leading article on 'Women Voters for the School Boards' from October 1870 Becker stated that 'we regard the principle of placing women in positions of public trust and authority as of incomparably greater importance than any question of detail in the working of the Elementary Education Act' (cf. Anon. Vol. I, No. 8. Oct. 1, 1870: 79-80). As chair of the (Manchester) National Society for Women's Suffrage she wanted to make sure that there were female members on all school boards in order to accustom the population to voting for women and seeing women in public office as the most useful argument for universal suffrage.

The article 'Table Talk' set the tone for her ensuing campaign (Vol. I. n.t. (Oct.?) 1870. n.p.). The article is a kind of *apologia*, as used by classical authors in their prologues to explain and justify their objectives. The author imagines listening to a circle of men discussing the '[t]he right or wrong - or rather the propriety and impropriety - of the assumption of these new positions by women.' One of the speakers is quoted with this exaggerated summary of women's position: "I would rather see them [...] shut up in the house, and kept entirely out of sight, as they are in some Eastern countries, than that they should go to the other extreme, and take an

active part in affairs that should be conducted by men” (Ibid.). To this vitriolic invitation to hostilities the author replies that this way of discussing the question ‘entirely ignores the feminine opinion on the point at issue. [...] In the argument the women take the place of some article of male property.’ This argument was taken up by many feminist articles and pamphlets, for example Mona Caird’s famous article ‘Marriage’ from the *Westminster Review* in 1888, in which she contends that most women had no alternative for earning their living than a mercenary marriage despite the degradation. And so she polemicises that ‘marriage - upon which the safety of all social existence is supposed to rest - will remain, as it is now, the worst, because the most hypocritical form of woman-purchase’ (Caird. Vol. CXXX, No. 1. July 1888: 186-201).

The *Women’s Suffrage Journal* anticipates Caird’s belligerent view and puts the following in the mouth of one of the debating gentlemen:

Perhaps the position of women in society is all right. [...] But the question is opened and under debate, and we must discuss it on fair premises. What *is* the question? Not, How do the men prefer that women should conduct themselves in society? [...] What one wants to know is whether our feelings are or are not mistakes - as they are very likely to be, seeing how widely men have differed on the subject in different times and countries. And since men have always decided the point hitherto, and have certainly made some curious blunders, it would not be unreasonable, [...] if we were to hold our peace for a while, and let the ladies [...] work it out.

Miss Becker’s magazine was a women-centred space where radical opinions were voiced. This article opens with extreme views, but then admits male mistakes and starts a debate. Two examples of men are introduced: The traditional despot with odious attitudes, employed to provoke outrage and motivation for the fight, and a new specimen, or New Man, as companion for the New Woman, who believed that the time had come for women. This civil and open-minded outlining of the debate was encouraging that the struggle might be successful in the end, but also that it could be conducted in a calm manner. The conversational staging and chatty tone is reminiscent of a dinner, where traditionally women were also the

hostesses who lead the conversation. Inviting the readers to continue the exchange at home or in the pages of the magazine was a female-gendered device, familiar from genres like correspondence pages.

To promote female active and passive suffrage, Becker diplomatically used the socially acceptable argument of women's natural talents and instincts. In January 1871 she reprinted a letter by Thomas Hare to the *Daily News*. Hare was an influential Tory politician and electoral reform researcher and campaigned for proportional representation of all classes and minorities (cf. Courtney 2004: 262). He describes typical problems of working-class families and deplores that 'it is very rare to find men who enter into or comprehend these difficulties, or who form any notion of the manner in which they are to be overcome' (Anon. (Hare.) Vol. II, No. 10. Jan. 2, 1871: 8). This clearly assigns the care for the poor to women and consequently Hare calls on all female voters 'to select among themselves some of those who are best qualified for the task, so that at least one woman may be a candidate in every electoral district.' He believes that there was a 'practical need of such assistance on the School Boards,' not doubting women's ability, but assuring that only women would be good members (cf. Ibid). The fact that this letter was written by an influential male political researcher made social motherhood a forceful argument for Becker. Hare's futuristic vision of a minimum of one woman on every School Board, selected by women voters, looking out for the concerns of working-class women and girls, provided approval by a male expert for the *Women's Suffrage Journal's* definition of the LSB as female domain. This must have moved the window of acceptability, especially through the publication of his letter in the *Daily News*, which had a much wider readership than the feminist *Women's Suffrage Journal*. Reprinting the article also drew the readers' attention to the fact that main-stream periodicals were reporting about the LSB and that the woman question had become public debate.

This gendered perception of a good and useful School Board was a successful argument for female contributors. In the same edition from 2 January 1871, the *Journal* printed a separate list of arguments

why women had to be on the school boards. Their second argument was that most of the powers and tasks of the school boards were 'highly delicate. They will affect the domestic arrangements of every household, and their rules will have to be put into practice [...] almost entirely by mothers' (Anon. Vol. II, No. 10. Jan. 2, 1871: 9). The author is talking about school attendance, school meals and enforcement of discipline, which were the mothers' domains at home and by extension the metaphorical mothers' of the nation. The compiler of the list asserts that only 'the combined experience of men and women' would achieve satisfactory results. Not women alone, because they were not yet experienced enough in administration and politics, but both sexes working together would be able to guarantee to 'adequately care for' the education of girls and give 'some security that [it] will not be neglected' (Ibid.). Even the radically feminist *Women's Suffrage Journal* believed in the separation of spheres and that women alone were capable of regulating domestic matters - or exploited this doctrine as useful technique to alienate neither their readers nor the wider public by describing service on a School Board as practically just an extension of one's womanly duties at home. Reporting how well the first female candidates and members were doing in numerous articles was supposed to ease readers into letting go of old stereotypes, even among feminists. For this she often used the authorial 'we', especially in the editorial section on the first page of her periodical, where she regularly published her more opinionated pieces. In her position as founder, editor and main contributor to the organ of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, soon a national campaign, the plural 'we' lent her opinion more momentum than just her own, private, voice.

One of Becker's argumentative techniques for extending female suffrage after the example of the LSB elections was to borrow more authoritative voices. Like Hare's letter, she also reproduced speeches from Parliament or other important meetings. Political speeches were a very masculine domain and reading them in a magazine blurred this gender barrier. The speeches usually appear to be largely unedited with just a short editorial introduction or summary. This

guaranteed the readers to be well informed not only about the content, but also about the non-verbal implications and atmosphere in the chamber. The *Women's Suffrage Journal* used this method even before the first elections, in the debate about whether the new Elementary Education Act actually did include women. After Jacob Bright's amendment of the borough electoral qualifications from the previous year, all single women and some married women ratepayers had the right to vote in municipal elections like the boards of guardians and the school boards. However, attempts were made to exclude women. In July 1870 the *Women's Suffrage Journal* reprinted in minutes-style a debate in the House of Commons about whether the male pronouns included women.

In the House of Commons, on Thursday, June 16th, Mr. Taylor asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council of Education, whether, by the use of the words 'he' and 'his' in the clauses of the Elementary Education Bill relating to local boards, he intended to exclude women from sitting on such boards. Mr. W. E. Forster, in reply, said that though the masculine pronoun was used it was not the intention of the act to exclude women from the local boards of education. The particular words referred to by the hon. member were used in order to include women as well as men. (Laughter.)

Anon. Vol. I, No. 5. July. 1, 1870: 56.

William E. Forster's, the Vice President of the Committee of Council of Education and sponsor of the Bill, reply that it indeed included women referred back to Lord Brougham's Act for Shortening the Language used in Acts of Parliament ('Interpretation Act,' 10 June 1850), which ruled that 'in all Acts words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females [...] unless the contrary [...] is expressly provided' (Eardley-Wilmot 1857: 762). Although Forster used masculine pronouns in his speech and the Elementary Education Bill, in accordance with the Interpretation Act this also covered women and Mr Taylor's Point of Information was not justified. Forster quoted from Brougham's Act almost verbatim to justify the inclusion of women and then added that in his opinion 'in some cases women would make the most efficient members of the local boards. (Hear, hear)' (Anon. Vol. I, No. 5. July. 1, 1870: 56)

The Elementary Education Act's wording also does not suggest any unclarities. Sections 3 and 4 of Paragraph 37 describe the rules for the election and constitution of the Metropolitan school board:

(4.) The first election of the school board shall take place on such day, as soon as may be after the passing of this Act, as the Education Department may appoint, and subsequent elections shall take place in the month of November every third year on the day from time to time appointed by the school board:

(5.) At every election for each division every voter shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of the members of the school board to be elected for such division, and may give all such votes to one candidate, or may distribute them among the candidates, as he thinks fit.

Foster. Public General Act, 33 & 34 Victoria I, c. 75.

This does not exclude women in terms of active or passive suffrage, but the journal was hesitant and printed this article to alert its readers of possible obstacles to women voting for the first time. The right of active suffrage granted to women by the Elementary Education Act was a breakthrough and they did not yet dare to trust in male support: Mr Taylor's question confirmed their fears. Looking back on that important moment in her memoirs, Millicent Garrett Fawcett even called Forster 'an opponent of political franchise for women' (Garrett-Fawcett 1924: 121). With a sponsor of such reputation and the LSB being a prestigious body with highly contested seats, a repetition of what had happened with the Boards of Poor Law Guardians, where women had been excluded after all, was possible. A reprint of this debate worked like a call to arms for the *Women's Suffrage Journal's* progressive readers.

But the form of this article is as significant as its publisher or content. The important debate is given little more than a note in a column about the general progress of women's suffrage. It looks like the minutes from a meeting without any editorial changes. Especially the insertion of the audience's reaction in brackets mimics *Hansard's* re-printing of parliamentary debates, where it was probably clipped from. John M. Robson describes the Hansard family's method of getting results as closely as possible to the original speech by sending rotating journalists to the press gallery in

Westminster to write down the speeches, which had been held only based on notes. Often Hansard sent their drafts back to the speakers to annotate. Sometimes the collators improved the original speeches, but most embellishments were left out, because only the main facts and arguments were considered important for the public. The full speeches would have taken up too much space. In combination this meant that what *Hansard* printed was only a simulation of verbatim orality, far from the original experience in Parliament (cf. Robson 1987: 10-17). Salmon quotes New Journalism champion T.P. O'Connor's 'dissatisfaction with existing forms of parliamentary reporting' as its long columns without any context were too boring and 'fail[ed] to reanimate the concrete event of speech.' His solution was to 'convey the context of the speech event and thus to rejoin the link between speech and speaker through [...] visualized representation. Thus, paradoxically, it is only by devoting less space to the speeches themselves that the newspaper becomes able to render the truth of speech as such' (O'Connor, qtd. in Salmon: 1997: 44). The technique of reprinting especially controversial excerpts from speeches or minutes of meetings word for word and then adding some editorial comments that explained the issue to the readers was a very innovative way to campaign. This reproduction of orality made the parliamentary debate very relatable to the audience at home, especially as the mostly female readers of the *Women's Suffrage Journal* were unable to go to Westminster. It was a typically New Journalistic method of influencing and directing the politically aware readers' opinion and interpretation of the topic at hand in a subdued, unobtrusive way, while putting the emphasis on the debate itself.

Becker, whose focus was not on entertainment but factual information, included the speech from 1 July 1870 to portray Mr Taylor as an enemy of women (Anon. Vol. I, No. 5. July. 1, 1870: 56). His question did not have any legal justification, which made his resistance even more exasperating. Forster tried to appease a heated discussion with humour and printing the amused reactions including the '(Laughter.)' gives it back its political significance. The 'Hear. Hear.' also reassured the readers that some MPs believed

in women's right to be on the LSB. Becker must have considered her early experiments of reprinting speeches a success as she subsequently published all the parliamentary debates which mentioned the extension of female suffrage. The Women's Disabilities Removal Bill was an almost annually recurring bill, originally brought in by Jacob Bright. Every year from 1870 until 1883 it was brought back, but never passed (cf. Tusan 2005: 80). In many of these debates the Elementary Education Act and its consequences for women was mentioned as argument for the removal of women's electoral disabilities. Although these long columns did not make for exciting reading material, it was important for Becker's readers to be kept up-to-date. She herself lived in Manchester and would not have been able to listen to debates in the Women's Gallery in Westminster. Her subscribers were supporters of the cause and did not need to be convinced to buy the magazine. On the contrary, they wanted to convince others and were able to gather arguments from the reprinted speeches, which were given much more gravitas by the fact that they had been used by MPs.

Becker's most forceful strategy was her rousing leading articles where she used the extension of suffrage through the Elementary Education Act to argue for political emancipation. In leading articles the arguments made in reprinted speeches could be interpreted and explained further to make the connection between the LSB and Westminster. Especially between 1870 and 1872, when the new law was still fresh in people's minds, she dedicated many leaders to the LSB. Although the *Women's Suffrage Journal's* leading articles were always unsigned, they were probably written by Lydia Becker herself, especially at the beginning when her limited financial means made it difficult to afford any other contributors. The first leader, dated 1 November 1870, was published on a momentous day: 'On the date of the publication of this issue of the Journal, women will be voting in great numbers in many of the largest boroughs which return members to Parliament, in elections which every year makes more and more political' (Anon. (Becker?) Vol. I, No. 9. Nov. 1, 1870: 89-90). The stakes were high for the first-ever elections with female involvement and a positive signal had to be sent by recording

as many female votes and returning as many women candidates as possible for women to prove themselves worthy and appreciative of the vote. And thus Becker changes her usual argumentation of maternalism and explains why it was important for women to vote on a personal level: 'Every woman who is asked for her vote will have a new sense of dignity [...] the eyes of her neighbours, and [...] local leaders of parties.' Women would become the objects of political campaigns and a 'woman's opinion will be respected as much as that of a man when she has a vote by which to sustain it.' This is strong feminist theory recognising women's self-worth as objective in itself, but also highly political as its 'effect will be to make the political opinions of women an element of constantly increasing importance in the calculations of political parties.' If the outcome of elections depended on them, it would no longer be possible to ignore women and campaigns would have to change to win their votes. This argument of familiarisation was used on several levels. Men would have to get used to women in the political field and make their policies more inclusive. But even on a simpler level 'the spectacle [...] of women voting along with men in public elections [will] become as familiar' (Ibid.). Becker makes clear her ultimate objective: Although this article is objectively about the first elections after the Elementary Education Act, her magazine's *raison d'être* was universal suffrage on the same terms for both sexes. Female candidates and members would help the public adjust to the new situation and abandon the prejudices against women in public positions.

This sentiment is emphasised again in the next edition's leading article, shortly after Garrett Anderson and Davies were voted in in London and Becker won her seat in Manchester:

The friends of women's suffrage would have had reason to congratulate themselves on this event even if the woman chosen had not been identified with their movement. They have, therefore, a double reason for rejoicing in the fact that the chosen candidate is one whose name is bound up with their principle, and whose opportunities for becoming known to and gaining the confidence of the electors of Manchester have arisen out of her advocacy of their cause.

Anon. (Becker?). Vol. I, No. 10. Dec. 1, 1870: n.p.

This 'chosen candidate' was Lydia Becker herself. Should she actually have written this article, it is interesting how proud she was that she had 'found an honourable place' among the 'foremost men in the district,' but still did not make herself known. But this quote also shows her tactics of having herself voted onto the School Board as a strategic move, calculated to push the struggle for suffrage forward, maybe outweighing her interest in elementary education. True to her radical roots, Becker thought about the next step after women had won places on the (L)SB and demanded female School Board visitors: To enforce attendance in difficult cases, 'women officials are far better qualified [...] But a School Board composed solely of men would not be likely to appoint women to such offices as if their own body contained women' (Ibid.). In this prediction she was proven right and although there were always several women on the school boards, only a few female inspectors and officials were to be appointed.

Although Becker tried to prove that women could hold their own in the ballot booth and the board room, at the same time she exploited the well-known argument that men and women were not the same and had a different set of skills. She thought it through until its logical end: Only female voters would vote for female members, who alone would know that they had to employ female officials. Men would not know what women and girls needed or even that they needed something different from boys, so they required female colleagues to be able to effectively improve working-class education. Like many other early feminists she appropriated the argument and turned it around to argue for women progressing into public spaces instead of remaining in the domestic sphere. Although most of the article had been about women and the school boards, Becker establishes a link to universal suffrage: 'Parliament has now bestowed on [women] the power to give effect to these feelings by voting on the question of religious teaching in schools; it has thereby recognised their right to be consulted in the decision of questions which occupy the attention of the Imperial Legislature' (Ibid.). Elementary pupils were the future citizens of the Empire and needed

the nation's full support to ensure Britannia continue to rule the waves. This powerful ending left the readers with the confidence-boosting knowledge that they were not just the biological, but also the socio-political mothers of the Empire.

Becker also mixed the two genres and reprinted Parliamentary speeches within her leaders to track the progress of universal suffrage as helped by the LSB. On 1 June 1872, after the unsuccessful second reading of that year's Women's Electoral Disabilities Bill, she resumed her accustomed strategy of evoking her readers' resentment as the engine for the fight (Anon. (Becker?). Vol. III, No. 28. June 1, 1872: n.p.). At the end of a very disappointed leader with a detailed analysis of voting behaviour, she seamlessly transitioned into reprinting the debate, where four MPs supported the motion, while nine MPs spoke in opposition. These are Mr Beresford Hope MP's closing remarks, vehemently arguing against the female franchise:

As to women's votes in municipal and School Board elections, the municipal franchise was extended to them by a Bill which slipped through the House in the small hours of the night, and though in the case of the School Board the thing was done deliberately, it must be remembered that these local bodies had limited and definite objects [...] whereas Parliament was vested with the immeasurable government of the Empire and with questions of peace and war over the world. If women enjoyed the Parliamentary suffrage, they surely ought to serve on juries, a duty from which many of the other sex would gladly be relieved. He opposed the bill as the offspring of a narrow, fictitious, and noisy agitation.

Ibid.

His speech shows a narrow understanding of suffrage campaigners' objectives. Women wanted to be recognised as first-class citizens with equal rights and duties and would gladly have served on juries and governed the Empire. Becker reprinted his speech to provoke her readers into reacting and protesting. Beresford Hope claimed that women were allowed to vote for school boards because of their limited power, as a sort of pay-off to stop further campaigning, and that the 1869 Municipal Franchise Act was passed by mistake. Lydia Becker had already exposed this argument as faulty in December 1870. By showing Beresford Hope to be still hanging on to it two

years later, Becker marked him out as a special enemy of feminists. She also questioned his logic in her comments on his speech:

If sex is not regarded as a disqualification for the absorbing, responsible and arduous duties of a member of a School Board in a great city, with what show of reason or consistency can it be maintained that it should disqualify a person for the very humble duty of giving a vote [...]? We shall perhaps be told [...] what we were told in regard to their admission to the municipal franchise, namely, that it must be looked upon as a legislative mistake to be avoided, rather than as a precedent to be followed. Are we then seriously given to understand that the House of Commons pays so little attention to questions concerning women that it votes without taking the trouble to know what it is about?

Ibid.

Calling Parliament unreasonable, inconsistent and inattentive to what it was voting about were harsh words. This was her ultimate damnation of the highest governing body of the Empire, who thought their duties were too difficult for women to successfully take on. Her readers would no longer have taken any parliamentary decisions seriously and would have fought even harder for their inclusion to reform such a corrupt and defective organisation.

Two months later the Ballot Act was passed on 18 July 1872, introducing secret voting. Before, elections were rowdy events, considered unsuitable for women. This was an important step for Becker's campaign and on 1 August, she commented by summing up Prime Minister Gladstone's speech: 'Whatever be the merits or demerits of secret voting, both friends and foes are agreed as to its tendency to produce order and quiet at the polling booth. Therefore, one of the most plausible objections to the enfranchisement of women has been removed' (Anon. (Becker?). Vol. III, No. 30. Aug. 1, 1872: n.p.). But Becker also remarked on the inconsistency of the new regulation and that it was 'somewhat remarkable that the Legislature [...] has refused to extend the plan to School Board elections.' In contrast with Parliamentary and municipal elections, the new law did not apply to the LSB - the only franchise women held. For municipal elections, women only had to fill in a form at home, but for the LSB election they had to personally appear at the

polling station to vote in the old non-secret form. Becker identified this discrepancy as a deliberate attempt to exclude women, refusing to improve conditions for the one election women could take part in:

it was one thing to allow a woman to fill up a voting paper at home, and quite a different matter to sanction her appearance at a polling booth. It would be at least a consistent line of opposition to say that women might be permitted the exercise of the franchise in all elections conducted by means of voting papers, but that they should not be allowed to take part in secret parliamentary elections goes against all logic.

Ibid.

Becker was not scrupulous with her attack on Westminster. Her critique of logical flaws must have been gratifying for disappointed readers, who had hoped that after the first successful LSB elections, universal suffrage on equal terms might be introduced quickly. If the antis based their arguments on such shaky ground, they should not be able to keep up their opposition for much longer. It also gave them material to use in private debates and petitions to their local MPs.

A report of a 'Banquet to Miss Helen Taylor' from January 1877, on the occasion of Taylor's resignation from the Board provides a good summary of Becker's editorial decisions for making her magazine an effective instrument to fight for equal suffrage (Anon. Vol. VIII, No. 84. Feb. 1, 1877: 25-26). This article celebrates female LSB members while exposing narrow male argumentation. After congratulating Taylor on her achievements on the Board, Mr Stansfeld MP promised Westminster as the next logical step after 'the local privilege [...] (Cheers.)' He was followed by Mr Roebuck MP, whose praise of J.S. Mill, Helen Taylor's step father, whom 'he had loved [...] like a brother' emphasised the strong solidarity and intimate connections of everybody involved with the woman question and the LSB (cf. Levine 1990: 15-41).¹⁷ But Roebuck

¹⁷ Levine gives an overview over what influence family relations had on feminist women's opinions and careers, identifying an 'interlocking system of networks [...] [and] feminist dynasties.' Helen Taylor's biological parents were Unitarians, a hotbed for radicalism and feminism. Later her mother sought a divorce and married John Stuart Mill. Levine describes well Taylor's 'lengthy childhood' and the 'radical and reforming intelligentsia of the time as constant guests.' Growing

referred Helen Taylor's success back to her step-father and thus detracted from it. He also used the old argument that especially elementary school girls, 'required the knowledge, the capacity, the tenderness, and the inquisitive power of women' (Anon. Vol. VIII, No. 84. Feb. 1, 1877: 25-26).

His gendered assertion that 'women may be upon school boards because they were in their place in the education of girls and infants' was taken up by Helen Taylor to criticise the often-used argument. She sarcastically claimed that whoever used this argument 'must be living in a different world to the world as she saw it. It seemed to her that if women were only of use to superintend the teaching of girls, women would be only the mothers of girls. (Laughter and cheers). What nature has done in this matter they need not be afraid to imitate' (Ibid.). Following up an MP's speech with such a biting joke could have been construed as disrespectful, but at a banquet in her honour, Taylor assumed she had the right and her audience's reaction proved her right. Although Becker herself had used this argument, Taylor exposed its flawed logic as limiting to women. She used another angle than Becker's to turn around the argument of nature having made women responsible for children. Women had always been successful mothers of children of both genders. She extended this argument further to explain that women 'were the daughters of men, they were the sisters of men, and therefore she claimed that it is nothing unwomanly to be interested in the progress of boys, nothing unwomanly to turn their attention to the means by which they could give them the power of rising in the future to the highest class of education.' She makes it clear that comprehensive national education for both boys and girls was the only hope for 'progress of the country in the future.' To this end, nature created man and woman equal, so society should not pervert this fact by excluding women on account of their alleged natural inequality, tapping into post-Darwinian debates about natural selection and biological destiny. Darwinists and eugenicists believed that

up in such a climate with radical parents must have charted many a woman's ideals.

development could move backwards and that the working classes had to be reformed in order to avoid this threat to the Victorian ideal of progress (Cf. Richardson 2003: 42). The Elementary Education Act was one of the greatest measures in this reform process and Taylor reminds her audience of what was at stake. Acknowledging nature as the great determining factor, but reconstructing women's natural role was a powerful argument in the current climate. The fact that her speech was reprinted verbatim lent it even greater persuasiveness (cf. Kreilkamp 2005: 50-52). *Women's Suffrage Journal* readers were accustomed to regular word-for-word dispatches from Parliament, but hearing or reading a woman's speech after two MPs was a special comfort and reinforcement. A woman had become an expert at public speaking and dared to provocatively defy the usual arguments, but was still allowed to have a banquet in her name.

Becker's decision to include this dinner and Helen Taylor's speech made her able to give a platform to a plethora of supportive voices, although she wrote big parts of the copy herself. Becker was an effective campaigner and lobbyist. While the many reprinted parliamentary debates were not very exciting, but useful in their own right for communicating knowledge, little tricks like the inclusion of exclamations like '(Laughter and cheers)' after Taylor's almost belligerent joke, like a stage manager's directions in a play, increased the reading pleasure and stirred up emotions (cf. (Anon. Vol. VIII, No. 84. Feb. 1, 1877: 25-26). And especially in her leaders she proved her expertise in creating suitable feelings like disappointment, anger, motivation and joy as inspiration to contribute to the campaign (cf. Beetham and Boardman 2001: 102). They were a window into the high politics women aspired to be a part of. She provided her readers with arguments to campaign on a local level. Keeping up the momentum of the women's movement was very important because after the right to vote for school boards had been granted, the hopes for speedy universal suffrage were soon destroyed again. The LSB was a useful tool to cultivate interest and confidence that ultimately women would achieve political equality.

The Elementary Education Act gave women active and passive suffrage for the first time, almost 50 years before the Representation of the People Act. Like the 1918 Act, which only enfranchised 40% of all UK women, the Elementary Education Act was a partial victory, but a consequential one. Turnbull correctly interprets it as an ‘apprenticeship for Westminster,’ which changed the perception of women, who were now able to show their maturity and responsibility: ‘The very fact that women could be seen to openly challenge the male political monopoly must have been a subtle, but significant inducement for some women to re-evaluate their own social position and its possibilities, and to start to resist the accepted patterns of male dominance in their own lives’ (Turnbull 1983: 134). Three years after the Second Reform Act of 1876, which had enfranchised about 1,000,000 men, it seemed as if the Elementary Education Act was a first step towards universal suffrage, allowing hopes to be higher than ever before.

All throughout the existence of the LSB, the corpus periodicals came back to their campaigns for female voters and candidates. Even if the discussion was about a different topic and not immediately relevant to votes for women, a reminder of the need to vote for women was added. The political periodicals took advantage of developments in New Journalism, often initiated in the more domestic magazines in what Beetham describes as ‘feminisation of the press’ (Beetham 1996: 126), to present their readers with idealised images of successful women on the LSB like Elizabeth Garrett Anderson or Ruth Homan, but also proved to them that apprehensions like the ones voiced by Angela Burdett Coutts had not come true. Traditionally domestic magazines agreed with the progressive periodicals in their assessment of the LSB as an argument for the further extension of suffrage for women. But it was publicists like Lydia Becker who appropriated techniques and arguments with New Journalism’s originally anti-feminist connotations to turn their magazines into specifically female campaigning tools, thereby developing a new branch of journalism by and for women.

3. 'So able a woman:' London School Board Administration by Women

Apart from election campaigning, the LSB offered many new practical opportunities for women to administer and manage the system of state-controlled elementary education. Although private philanthropy remained an important force of influence as in the case of Angela Burdett Coutts, who decided to continue her charity work outside of the LSB, the periodicals put a special emphasis on female LSB members as the first group of newly enfranchised women with democratically sanctioned powers. This chapter discusses the contributions of the first female members to the LSB administration and their reception in the corpus of periodicals I selected for this study. In the political world, whose leaders 'had grown up in the shadows of the French Revolution' and had just witnessed the

American Civil War, there was still great ‘fear of democracy’ and the possible instability that might come with it. It had taken years of campaigning to extend the 1832 Reform Act, which, in Jacob Bright’s words, left ‘84 out of 100 of our countrymen [...] excluded’ (Quinault 2000: 114-116). The next extension in 1867 was also not comprehensive and focused on maintaining the status-quo of the classes, or, as W.L. Burn once called it, ‘the equipoise.’ This chapter analyses LSB debates where pro-democratic Liberals and regressive Conservatives clashed about how much independence the working-class was to be given in elementary education.

But the male-created political world was changing and women were involved in the new administration. I show that, like in the wider world of philanthropy (cf. Prochaska 1980: 30), female LSB members focused on decisions for the benefit of other women and girls by carefully extending the concept of social motherhood from election campaigns to their policy-making and choosing the enforcement of attendance and access to free education as one of their main attempts to gain influence (in 3.2). In this context women as official and salaried LSB visitors and school managers will also be discussed and how this new position helped to extend their traditional, though still informal influence. Later in the century, with the lobbying of some magazines, when female Board Members had established themselves as necessary and effective administrators, women were admitted as LSB managers and inspectors in a further extension of female authority. I focus on how periodicals cited successful administration by women as argument for further emancipation. They continued to focus on Elizabeth Garrett Anderson after the first elections and followed her contributions to the first Board closely as the model member. The counter-example was again Angela Burdett Coutts. There are also several disapproving articles about the LSB reducing the autonomy of working-class families about how to raise their children and if this costly interference was necessary. The serialised story ‘A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade’ will (in 3.3) provide the context of how (fictional) women adopted the LSB’s freedoms for their own life.

Hewitt calls the Elementary Education Act of 1870 the ‘fullest expression’ of flourishing localism, which reexamined earlier *laissez-faire* politics and was ‘aimed at empowering localities to improve public morals, encouraging a surge of municipalisation and the take up of permissive powers.’ A general movement towards collectivism and more administration can be observed, but even

as central oversight intensified from the 1870s, Victorian government continued to be dominated by what has been called the ‘political-diplomatic’ approach, which did not seek to impose uniform technocratic solutions from the centre, but rather to deploy generalist inspectors who would work flexibly with local bodies, via persuasion and advice, to effect improvements in local services.

Hewitt 2012: 25-26.

The Act was a Liberal attempt to centralise the control over the working classes by creating local bodies for bottom-up state control, starting with the youngest members of society, who would then grow up familiar with such interventions. Local school board visitors and inspectors carried this system into the homes of the pupils. The LSB sought to be a model for provincial school boards by encouraging this Smilesian demand that everybody help themselves. One of the earliest critics of such methods of rising state control was Max Weber (cf. 1922: 612-613). He analysed means of establishing authority and described three principles for legitimising organisation-based power. The two traditional principles rely on personal authority, either based on tradition or an individual’s charisma, but are both rooted in inherently repressive patriarchy. As a third principle Weber identified the new method of obedience to rational rules of bureaucracy. This power originates from the administration by small governing bodies to control ‘the threat of collective action.’ Weber insists that obedience is given to the norms themselves, not the people implementing them (Ibid.). The LSB’s power was based on the last, modern principle since the national elementary education system was too big and diverse for centralised management. Its systematic organisation and ‘gradual consolidation and extension of a system of ratepayer control of education’ (Hewitt 2012: 26) ensured that LSB bureaucracy was obeyed.

Considering all this, I analyse those LSB matters that were covered in the corpus along the lines of class and gender politics. I argue against Annmarie Turnbull's assessment that few female members had real influence because women were not ready yet to speak up in meetings. She does concede that the 'very fact that women could be seen to openly challenge the male political monopoly must have been a subtle, but significant inducement for some women to re-evaluate their own social position and its possibilities, and to start to resist the accepted patterns of male dominance in their own lives' (Turnbull 1983: 134). Despite their numerical disadvantage of 29 women compared to 302 men on the LSB during its 34-year history (Ibid.: 120), the female members achieved considerable positive change in establishing their own agency and increasing opportunities of female teachers and pupils under their management. The employment of female visitors, managers and inspectors was another great step towards professional and political equality. Like in the preceding chapter, I attempt a discourse analysis and continue to trace the campaigning strategies, but also the new field of reporting about female politicians. This chapter is a diachronic study of female administration and the role played by the periodicals in the creation of new political roles for women. The readers of the periodicals do not seem to have been interested in pedagogical and overly technical matters, but since the first LSB mostly had to deal with such fundamental decisions, there are only a few articles about proceedings on the Board once the excitement of the first election and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's early input had died down. These first articles show how women were received as members of the administration and how they appropriated the institution for their own purpose of general emancipation. I focus on the periodicals' strategies to argue for more female LSB members with the glowing example of Garrett Anderson.

3.1. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson as Board Member

After the periodicals had constructed Elizabeth Garrett Anderson as the model campaigner (cf 2.2), they relied on her positive public image to enter the new ground of reporting about women in political roles. The glory of her landslide victory in the first LSB election in November 1870 continued to generate interest and there are several articles about her contributions. But the corpus includes no article about Emily Davies, although she was on the LSB's Scheme of Education committee (cf. Betts 2015: 24-25). Betts claims that a certain 'mannerism' and 'strong and masterful character' made her less accessible than Garrett Anderson (cf. Ibid.: 40-41). In combination, Davies' timidity as a speaker and Garrett Anderson's charisma focused the periodicals' spotlight on Mrs Garrett Anderson as an exemplary combination of feminism and femininity in a male world to be emulated by their readers.

Manton and Turnbull describe the first few meetings as very difficult because anti-feminist members tried to keep Garrett Anderson and Davies from sitting with the other members from the Progressive block (cf. Turnbull 1983: 127). But Davies herself restricted their own influence when Garrett Anderson was offered the chairmanship of the LSB because she had won the greatest amount of votes and laughingly accepted. Davies wrote this to her:

It is not being a woman (though that probably enhances it) but your youth and inexperience that makes it strike me as almost indecorous to think of presiding over men like Lord Lawrence etc... I should be sorry for you to do anything which might give colour to the charge of being 'cheeky', which has been brought against you lately. It is true that your jokes are many and reckless. They do more harm than you know.

Emily Davies was a well-known campaigner for secondary and further female education. A year before the election she had co-founded Girton College in Cambridge, Britain's first residential college for women (cf. Holcombe 1973: 48). But Millicent Garrett Fawcett described her as 'the least revolutionary of the revolutionists. She meant to spell revolution without the *r*.' The 'quiet, demure little rector's daughter' preferred the slow process of educating the opposition and was frightened of the damage the

‘cheekiness’ of going all the way and chairing the LSB might bring Garrett Anderson personally - and the women’s cause as a whole (Garrett Fawcett 1924: 40). A joking, loud radical was not the good example that she expected the first women in local government to be. In this she would later be followed by the Suffragists, who preferred to be models of decorous femininity rather than forward and ‘mannish’ feminists (cf. Shiman 1992: 133ff).¹⁸

But a letter by Garrett Anderson causes suspicion whether her reckless jokes might have been the proverbial whistling in the dark. The LSB was set up like Parliament in Westminster, both in how the boardroom was arranged and how the debates were organised as motion, reactions with amendments and alternative motions and final vote, which contributed to the daunting atmosphere for the first women. After the first meeting’s difficult debate, Garrett wrote to her campaign manager and future husband Skelton Anderson: ‘I was sorry afterwards that I said so little, but I was really a little awed by the whole thing *being so extremely like parliament* [...] The whole difficulty of speaking is so concentrated in that moment of self-assertion’ (qtd. in Martin 1999: 39).¹⁹ Even the confident Miss Garrett found it difficult to make herself heard and compensated with an air of carelessness and arrogance. Setting up the LSB as a small-scale copy of the House of Commons in Westminster was a well-calculated mechanism to exclude newcomers. Although Forster’s Act expressly included women, the political elite did everything they could to intimidate them. As Turnbull says, women ‘could only react to an educational framework already created by men’ (1983: 130). Without experience of how Parliament worked, women had to gain political awareness to succeed in the mini-Parliament that was the LSB, also for later once general suffrage was won. This chapter traces how in the course of the LSB’s 34-year history this ‘moment of self-assertion’ became easier as women learned to embrace the civic responsibilities provided by the LSB.

¹⁸ Also cf. Jane Robinson’s *Hearts and Minds*, in which she describes the suffragist Great Pilgrimage of 1913, whose organisers decidedly distances themselves from the militants.

¹⁹ Italics mine for emphasis. Turnbull also mentions this letter and indeed uses it for the title of her essay.

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's and thus a woman's first speech on the LSB was made in a debate on physical training. True to their typical style, the *Women's Suffrage Journal* imitated *Hansard* by printing minutes of the LSB meeting from 9 February 1871. It was revolutionary that these reprinted speeches were not from Westminster, but from a board room where women actively participated:

Mr. HEPWORTH DIXON moved 'That means shall be provided for physical training and drill in every public elementary school established under the School Board.'

In the course of the debate Miss GARRETT said that she could state from her own observation that boys and girls of the poorest class in London were not badly off as regards physical training. If they were to begin with those children who wanted such training most, they would begin with young ladies.

Anon. Vol. II, No. 13. March 1, 1871. n.p.

Garrett Anderson's remark is a sarcastic retort not just about the conditions of the London poor, for whose benefit the LSB was established, but also about the stunted circumstances of many middle- and upper-class young women, who were not allowed to get the necessary exercise in spite or because of their more privileged social position.

As discussed in the last chapter, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* identified unequal educational opportunities as one of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's motives for becoming a doctor. She had paved the way for female medical professionals and now she also was an LSB member in order to enforce better education for working-class girls. On the LSB she was able to link her profession and educational opportunities for women of all classes. Female education was also one of the main aims of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, so they printed a contribution by Elizabeth Garrett as figurehead of educated women, where she connected LSB schools with the lives of their middle-class readers. Her strategy made the issue of Physical Education for working-class children more relatable, as everything that invokes one's own sufferings creates interest for otherwise distant debates. Interesting women in the work

of the LSB was not just important to improve education for working-class girls, but also because of the political rights the new authority had given women, who now had to make use of these opportunities to prove themselves as politicians (see 5.1.3. for a discussion of Physical Education and discipline in LSB education). In her role as middle-class doctor to the poor (cf. Manton 1965: 203), she had had ample opportunity to observe both and thus positioned herself as expert judge that working-class pupils did not need more opportunities for physical exercise. But her membership of the middle class also proved her authority to the readers.

The class differential in her remark was an important facet of the LSB administration and deeply connected with gender roles. The LSB was implemented by the middle for the working classes as women's involvement in public work and welfare resulted from the strong tradition of middle-class philanthropy and social motherhood. By choosing a speech on ventilation and health for their first report of a female member's contribution, the *Women's Suffrage Journal* firmly anchored not just Garrett Anderson, but all women members in that accustomed female sphere. As Roebuck explains, middle-class philanthropy was 'grounded on and testified to the general acceptance of the inevitability of a hierarchy of social classes' (1973: 19). She reveals female philanthropists' motives to often be selfish: Charitable work guaranteed the gratitude of others, also men, because social relief-work helped to prevent lower-class social unrest to boil over, but also respectability, as only middle-class women could afford to use it as a means for and reward of climbing the social ladder (cf. *Ibid.*: 36). Similar observations can be made for work on the LSB because it was often seen as extension of voluntary work and Hollis claims that Elizabeth Garrett and Emily Davies became LSB members to 'stake out women's claims to public life' (1987: 39). The fact that neither of them stood for re-election gives weight to this theory. Garrett Anderson's joining of Physical Education for working-class LSB pupils with the living conditions of middle-class girls is evidence that she was not purely interested in School Board education, but used the LSB to extend opportunities for women of her own class. This is not to say that the two first

women to become LSB members were cynically abusing their position - both executed their roles dutifully and Garrett Anderson was long remembered as a successful member. But after they had made their point about women being useful for a public authority, they returned to their true passions and helped other women be elected onto the LSB.

The first motion Garrett Anderson introduced herself was again on the topic of health and hygiene, for which she had established herself as an expert. The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was the only periodical that mentioned her motion in their 'Englishwoman's Conversazione,' right after marriage advice by 'A WIFE OF FORTY-TWO YEARS' and before 'EITA's' hint to use Monsieur Rimmel's hair restorer. The debate was easy to miss by somebody who was just scanning the magazine since not even the title mentions the LSB (Anon. Vol. 85. Jan. 1, 1872: 61). Despite their great interest in female politicians no attention was paid to this early motion by a woman by the progressive magazines. Under the simple heading 'Ventilation' it said that 'Mrs. Anderson moved "That a Select Committee be appointed to take special oversight of the sanitary arrangements of the schools to be provided by the Board."' She said that her first real object was to obtain thorough real ventilation for the schools' and sketched her ideas on drainage and heating. She freely criticised the LSB architects, of whom 'she did not wish to say anything disrespectful [...] individually,' but 'she had a great distrust of the class, and wished to have them carefully looked after' (Ibid.). This was an example of the reckless joking Emily Davies disapproved of, but for Garrett Anderson the architects represented the LSB's bureaucracy and inflexibility of striving for low expenses while losing sight of the children.

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's motion positioned her as the first in a long line of women on the LSB to utilise maternalistic and hygienic deliberations to improve the working-class pupils. But as a doctor she dared to go deep into the unsavoury field of sanitation and possible racial degeneration, despite the negative effects it could have had on her credibility. Possibly that was why the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* did not give the article a bigger

headline, for fear of the unfeminine connotations of ventilation and disease. Sally Shuttleworth describes the mechanism of how and why women were held especially responsible for (social) hygiene: ‘Both the city and the woman were figured as bodies containing within them dark hidden recesses harbouring disease or crime, liable to burst out at any moment in excesses of passion or social discontent’ (1996: 73). The LSB was afraid that too many unwashed pupils and teachers in too little space would cause diseases. At the same time a unified system of public healthcare and hygienic measures like drainage was tentatively being developed, but epidemics still ravaged the urban areas (cf. Crook 2016: 1-3).²⁰ Teaching the working classes better personal and domestic hygiene was an important step towards a healthier nation and women assumed this as their natural responsibility rather than guilty liability. The LSB gave a logical impulse for this discussion to surface as it was another large-scale local-government project for improving the working classes.

To ensure the pupils’ welfare, the buildings had to correspond to certain standards like gendered entrances, concrete playgrounds or huge windows. The increasing state regulation expressed itself in pared-down, functionalist and rectilinear spaces. Or, as Elizabeth Gargano writes in *Reading Victorian Schoolrooms*, architecture and pedagogy became increasingly standardised. They ‘work[ed] together to ensure a specific type of [hierarchical] classroom management, fostering a collective order that facilitates the efficient control of large numbers of working-class pupils’ (2008: 19-25). This linking of school architecture to ‘the equally regulated and mechanized work space of the factory’ can be a metaphor for the purpose of the EEA 1870 of producing useful little scholars. She also quotes Edward Robson as one of the most influential LSB architects: ‘If a church should at once be recognized as a church by the character of its architecture, and a prison as a prison, so should a school-house be immediately known as a home of education’ (Ibid.: 21). Besides

²⁰ His study about the development of a state-controlled system of public hygiene is an important base for this aspect of LSB work.

showing Robson's great ambition to leave a lasting impression on educational architecture, the two standards he compares his schools with prove that in a rapidly changing society, education was meant to take over some of the functions of religion: '[P]reserving social cohesion and stability [...] [and] train[ing] responsible citizens for democracy' (Ibid.). The 'stubborn individualism of a liberal society' (cf. Anderson 2012: 498) jeopardising the progress of elementary education was counteracted by anti-individualist and forbidding architecture and pedagogy, which hoped to raise a generation less suspicious of the state's normalising and improving intervention.

As a physician Garrett Anderson knew the risks of overcrowding. Being familiar with Koch and Pasteur's research and the public hygiene movement, she emphasised her expertise:

The first was, that children who would attend these schools were chronically more delicate than those of the middle class; and the other point was, that the sanitary condition of the schools very much influenced the attendance. Mothers often came to her and asked her to give the children something to make them strong enough for these schools, thinking it was the lessons that made them ill. She (Mrs. Anderson) knew differently; that *it was the vitiated atmosphere.*

Anon. Vol. 85. Jan. 1, 1872: 61.

The 'vitiating atmosphere' was another word for miasma. A subscriber to this theory would have feared infection through not enough clean air, even though John Snow had connected water with cholera at the Pump Street Outbreak (cf. Ashton: Vol. 59, No. 1. Jan., 2005: 4). Putting her main emphasis on the medical welfare of pupils made a strong point about what was most important for Garrett Anderson. Making sure that both pupils and teachers were physically safe in the schoolroom was not just within her remit as a doctor on the LSB, but also as a woman. Like physical education, it suited the image of social motherhood many of the early female philanthropists adopted to rationalise their involvement in politics.

3.2. Female London School Board Managers

Women who could not become elected LSB members might work as school managers. Managers were employed by the (L)SB, who also decided on the salary. This made it a coveted position for all women, especially those who could not afford to be members. In a similar situation as the Primrose League's canvassing women, managers were a good strategy for more female involvement in public affairs. This chapter looks at how women used this opportunity to influence LSB education, despite the limited political power that came with the post.

School managers facilitated the effective running of each Board School, the link between the headmasters and mistresses and the LSB. The 1870 Elementary Education Act had 'restructured school management, designating school boards as the major units for school management.' Section 15 said that the boards 'could delegate powers to bodies of local managers' (Goodman 2000 ('Women School Board Members...'): 67-68). But although women also qualified for the post, '[b]y 1876, in the 1,249 Board Schools in England attended by girls, excluding London, only 221 women managers had been appointed' (Ibid.: 69). LSB managers were responsible for the grouping together of children in forms and grades, absences and prizes, for the buildings, teaching equipment like books or sewing material and teachers' duties, transfers and salaries. They had to report to the LSB twice a year to have their decisions approved. Only in Liverpool and Manchester female managers were almost as common as in London and especially the Liverpoolian managers wielded similarly great powers over staffing, equipment and finances as in London (cf. Ibid.: 70-71).

Two interviews from the *Woman's Signal* with school managers informed readers about their day-to-day duties and difficulties in executing their office as women. For 'Talk With a School Manager' Christina Bremner spoke with Jane Brownlow, an ex-High School teacher (Bremner n.t. May 14, 1894: n.p.). Bremner uses a New Journalistic setting of the scene to introduce herself and her interviewee: 'Seated in the Silence Room of the Writers' Club...' This is a genteel middle-class setting, but also defines both of them

as independent since being a member of a club was still unusual for women. Christina Bremner, who also used to be a teacher, was to publish her influential *Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain* three years later in 1897. At the time of the interview she edited the *Woman's Signal* and the fact that the editor herself conducted the interview gave the article special impact. The *Woman's Signal* was a progressive periodical with a focus on women's work and public influence. As salaried professionals both interviewer and interviewee were supposed to be an inspiration for readers. When asked about the difference between LSB members and school managers, Brownlow, responsible for three schools, was very confident of her work's usefulness:

The number of managers varies from five to twenty (per district), and, as a rule, both sexes are represented. They are responsible for the conduct of schools in their charge. It is their duty to see that the provisions of the Code are properly carried out; they make frequent visits to the schools without previous notice, watch the attendance and punctuality of teachers and scholars, the organisation and discipline adopted, the efficiency of the teachers, the instruction received by pupil teachers; they observe the working of the time-tables, and the keeping of the books.

Ibid.

This was a mammoth task and Bremner's interjection 'Why, it seems as if managers kept the whole educational system a-going' was well-placed to emphasise women's big influence as school managers, even if they were not serving in official positions on the LSB. Especially the handling of salary and career-advancing transfers were big responsibilities and the short time since the Married Women's Property Acts, before which women had not had any experience or indeed rights to handle money, made this an exciting opportunity to prove women's capability (cf. Goodman 2000 ('Women Governors'): 22).²¹

²¹ Although Goodman is talking about endowed schools, her observation that this obstacle was a disincentive to select women as trustees holds true for (LSB) school managers.

With this extensive list of tasks and duties Bremner portrayed Brownlow, and with her all the other female managers, as capable and trustworthy. 'And bidding Mrs. Brownlow good-bye, I regretted that so able a woman is not herself on the Board, where her zeal and thorough knowledge of educational matters would prove serviceable to the community.' (Bremner n.t. May 14, 1894: n.p.). And indeed, shortly after the interview Brownlow was 'chosen as Progressive candidate for East Southwark,' but not voted in (cf. Hollis 1987: 112-121). Bremner's opinion that as salaried manager Mrs Brownlow was not as valuable as if she had been an unpaid, but elected LSB member illustrates the friction between voluntarism, professionalism and increasing local government structures. Despite the rarity of female managers Bremner wanted to extend Mrs Brownlow's authority to more than the limited reach of a few schools as on the LSB she would have been able to take decisions with a far wider influence. Capable women like Mrs Brownlow would have been more useful for the women's cause as elected members of a local government board. Although early campaigners had hoped that in the course of the LSB era more women would be elected, this was not the case (cf. Turnbull 1983: 120-123). Thus unelected positions like the managers, where the appointment was not in the hands of the voters, were a good second line of attack. The fact that managers were paid a salary also made the position attainable for women from a more diverse background.

Earlier in the same year, Sarah Tooley had spoken to 'Miss Harris, Head Mistress, Ben Johnson Street Schools,' again for the *Woman's Signal* (Tooley No. 14. April 5, 1894: 221). Again the interviewer was a famous figure, evidence that the magazine had fully recognised the value of interviews for propagating women in public positions. This interview was part of the series 'Women's Work in School Management,' and did not only include managers, but also all other women involved in organising the Elementary Education Act. True to her usual style, Tooley engagingly describes the surroundings of her subject:

After all, I thought, as I journeyed along Whitechapel to the Ben Jonson Street Schools, the East End is not such a dreadful place. Its beautiful wide

streets and fine open pavements would do credit to the West End. The toiling thousand, hurrying along the streets, looked fairly bright and cheerful on this clear, frosty afternoon...

Ibid.

Middle-class readers would not have visited London's East End, but would have heard scary tales about its rough working-class residents. Tooley makes the readers at once feel at home and superior in order to convince them that they themselves could become managers. We follow the two women on a vivid tour of 'The Board's Largest Girls' School at Work,' where we make our way 'from the piteous little waifs and strays, just starting on the educational ladder [...] to the sixth standard' (Ibid.). Returning to the subject of geographical class difference, Mrs Harris is quoted with the controversial opinion that the 'East End is not to be compared in wickedness and vice to the West End.' The *Woman's Signal's* favourite themes of women, class and the improvement of the working classes through women's work were the main objectives of this interview. Despite the initial double-edged comment, the East End was not as much of an othered place as in other articles, where middle-class women, who temporarily took up residence in the East to be closer to their voters, were pitied and admired for their bravery. This helped with the *Woman's Signal's* endeavour to use their weekly interviews to 'introduce readers to a group of powerful, dynamic women' as role models (van Arsdel 2001: 249).

Tooley also mentions that Mrs Harris in her 'recent paper, read at Toynbee Hall, [...] spoke strongly in favour of lady managers for the School Board District.' This was a question or prompt of the type Michael Schudson calls 'known information question' (1995: 74), as Tooley clearly knew that her interviewee had delivered a lecture on the subject (Tooley No. 14. April 5, 1894: 221). Probably the interview had been set up especially to talk about this subject and to give Mrs Harris an opportunity to make her point 'that all schools in which girls are taught, or women teachers work, should have women among the managers.' Mrs Harris is passionate about employing more women as managers as

[t]here are so many ways in which a kind-hearted, motherly woman can help teachers, pupils, and parents in their work. A lady manager can give personal sympathy to the young teachers fresh from college [...] Then there are sick children to be visited [...] amusement and recreation clubs to be organised for the girls just leaving school [...] A lady manager could be made intimately acquainted with the needs and difficulties of the teachers, and could lay matters before the Board.

Ibid.

This covers all the feminine qualities and fields of philanthropy and also made clear that the LSB was more than just an instrument for the education of children. To prove her point Mrs Harris tells an anecdote about a lesson where a teacher was explaining the benefits of unbleached calico for women's underclothing and a female manager, who happened to be present, reinforced this by letting the pupils know that she herself was wearing such undergarments (Ibid.). The teacher herself most likely was a working class member and her preaching was not considered to be enough to convince the girls. The manager was able to initiate learning by example, intensified by the class differential, which she used as incentive to become a little bit more like her. But unwittingly she might have raised resistance to middle-class women as managers. Working-class mistrust of the middle-class managers' interference is described by Copelman as a common occurrence (1996: 162). Meddling middle-class managers who tried to impose their ideas not just on the pupils, but also the teachers, felt as if their authority was being sabotaged.

The tasks of a manager are described in a way which puts much emphasis on gender-specific differentiations and Mrs Harris explains that 'by the rules there must be a lady manager in all groups of managers,' but is 'sorry to say ladies cannot be found to fill the post. Now, there was a post for women to do, and a work which [...] the Board will be only too thankful if they would undertake' because the female LSB members were too busy to do all this themselves (Tooley No. 14. April 5, 1894: 221). Becoming an LSB manager was in her eyes a singular chance for women to further their public influence, to be respected for their work and to earn a living, which not even the LSB members did. It was another foothold for women

in the professional world. She requested that Tooley ‘make a point of this [...], with emphasis,’ in the hope that many readers would feel inspired and be confident to become female managers (Ibid.). The interviews created an all-female space: a female interviewer reporting for female readers about female headmistresses and managers, who were in charge of schools for girls. The choice of interviewees and topics fulfilled the objective of ‘honouring the political, social and cultural accomplishments of women and to support the struggle for emancipation’ by reappropriating the traditionally patriarchal sphere of school organisation (cf. Schneider 1999: 457).

3.3. Female London School Board Inspectors

Female managers were there to represent the female pupils and teachers in a logical and natural extension of women’s natural sphere. The similarities with earlier voluntary women helpers in religious schools made it a relatively attainable position for women. But female school inspectors were as revolutionary as female LSB members and voters. Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education had been established in 1841 for all schools with a Parliamentary grant. HM inspectors wielded considerable financial power by periodically testing the pupils’ knowledge to assess if the school still deserved money from the government. Soon the LSB felt that they should have their own inspectors to inform the Board about how the schools were run more comprehensively than the managers could do, who were not officially responsible for methodical inspection. Also, Religious Education, newly established non-grant subjects and disciplinary matters were not considered by HMI. LSB inspectors would be working parallel to HMI, who would still decide on government grants. But both organisations had similar fields of duties. Despite debates about necessity and financing, in March 1872 the first LSB inspector was appointed and a month later a second one. Both had a yearly salary of £300. The two men were each responsible for about 80 Board Schools and detected difficulties like

unpunctuality, inappropriate behaviour and inadequate buildings. Often the teaching also did not hold up to expectations. Constantly rising demand meant that in July 1875 a third Inspector was appointed (cf. Betts 2015: 55-57). In 1886 *The Schoolmaster* claimed that '[h]ad it not been for the services of these gentlemen, there can be little doubt that the work of the Board would have been much more difficult, and less free from mistakes' (qtd. in Betts 2015: 58).

Employing women as LSB inspectors was to become another big step in the breaking down of restrictions for women, sparking a long campaign in a variety of the periodicals in my chosen magazines. This happened simultaneously as the campaign for women managers, but will be treated as a separate topic for easier accessibility. 21 articles argued that there should not only be 'gentlemen,' but also female LSB inspectors. But none of these articles lobbied for women in HM Inspectorate, which was maybe considered to be out of reach. The LSB's earlier concessions to female voters, members and managers had singled out this system as more accessible for women. There were three main lines of argument for female LSB inspectors: Women's special suitability for working with little children, their expertise in domestic subjects and their need for employment.

As early as September 1870, just after the 'Elementary Education Bill ha[d] successfully passed through Parliament, and received the Queen's assent,' a reprint of the minutes and speeches from The Ladies' Conference of the Social Science Association in Newcastle appeared in the *Women's Suffrage Journal* (Anon. Vol. I, No. 9. Nov. 1, 1870: 92-95). This article directly followed Lydia Becker's leader, where she also used the Elementary Education Act and its extension of female suffrage to argue for women's inclusion in the general elections. The report on the Ladies' Conference is typical of the *Women's Suffrage Journal* as it kept readers up to date with what women were doing and was not content with elected women on the LSB, but wanted to further extend women's acceptance in the public sphere. They welcomed the Act, but even before the first elections, a Miss Newsome opened the conference and her lecture with the

following words: 'The next step is so to arrange the executive of it, that its provisions shall have the chance of being carried out with the best results, and on this we have a few words to say' (Ibid.). Miss Newsome and the *Women's Suffrage Journal* were convinced that women were necessary for a successful education of the whole nation and guided their readers to believe the same: Women 'as inspectors [...] would be of great practical value in directing and judging these schools.' They would be good for the female teachers, but also the pupils, as the personal 'contact, into which educated gentlewomen would be brought with the lowest class of our boys and girls, [would be] in itself an education' (Ibid.). As in the campaign to promote female managers, the argument of the working classes learning from middle-class examples was used. Newsome names medicine and Poor Law Boards as examples where female nurses and philanthropists were already doing the same things as men, but without the money and recognition. Her speech closed with an appeal for the cooperation of the genders for the 'establishment of a higher, truer, purer life among all classes' (Ibid.). Only if the whole population was allowed to work towards that end would an improved nation be possible - an early contribution to the *Women's Suffrage Journal's* and Becker's crusade for the acceptance of women in public office.

In 1877, *The Woman's Gazette*, the first title of the weekly penny-magazine *Work and Leisure* and in their own words 'a periodical devoted specially to the subject of employment for women,' reprinted two letters that introduced a new argument: Only women really knew how to inspect domestic subjects like needlework. One of them was written by the Shakespearean *nom de plume* Imogen, who asked 'with more directness and simplicity than worldly knowledge' why women could not be

trained and appointed as public inspectors of elementary schools? [...] Why, indeed? We echo. Why, when girls and infants form the large majority of the children in our schools, when the proportion of female over male teachers is yearly on the increase [...] Why should not the inspection of, at any rate, such subjects as Needlework and Domestic Economy [...] be intrusted to persons so singularly fitted both to criticise the work done and to instruct and advise as to its better performance?

Her letter was used as an impulse for a longer opinion piece, where Imogen's suggestions were dissected to express the *Woman's Gazette's* own ideas. The author agreed with Imogen that female teachers and pupils ideally needed female inspectors, especially for the feminine subjects only taught by and for girls and women, but had,

unfortunately, more worldly wisdom [...] and can hardly repress a smile at the simplicity with which she considers her case made when she has proved the practical common-sense of her premises. She adds, - 'What special qualifications men are required to possess, in order to be school inspectors, I do not know.' (Nor, we may remark, as an aside, for her information, does any one [*sic*] else!)

Ibid.

By allowing Imogen to voice her own questions and arguments they could make the case sound as simple as it was in their opinion, but also gently mocked Imogen and like-minded readers for thinking it was that simple. Like Imogen, the *Woman's Gazette* believed that women as LSB inspectors should have been a common sense decision. Their reply to Imogen speaks of their disappointment about all the trivial and unconvincing reasons offered by men. The readers might have picked up this bitterness and campaigned with renewed energy. The *Gazette* came to the conclusion that the world was 'certainly neither ripe nor ready' for a female LSB inspector, but that women 'may look ahead, and [...] begin to prepare for work to be done for public ends, and for the good of others' (Ibid.).

This was a very optimistic attitude, but it was to take a lot more campaigning before female LSB inspectors were appointed. In 1881 hopes rose again after the LSB decided to employ a seventh inspector. In the LSB's weekly meeting it was moved 'That it be an instruction to the school management committee to nominate a female for appointment' (Anon. Vol. LXIX. March. 19, 1881: 286). This was published in *The Queen's 'Gazette des Dames'* with a very detailed report of all the motions, votes and main points of speeches. The 'Gazette des Dames' was a prolific recurring column. In total

103 of my articles were published under its heading. Mostly, these clippings are not more than very brief notes without separate titles. The 'Gazette' printed everything that might have interested women, but did not warrant its own article in the eyes of the editor. Its French name gave it international flair and disguised the hotchpotch nature of its wild compilation of topics. Many important news items were published here and its constant featuring of the LSB shows that despite those notices being buried in the 'Gazette,' its editor knew that the readers were curious about the development of elementary education. After about 1890 notes on the LSB were increasingly published as stand-alone articles. The School Management Committee consulted and came to the conclusion that 'in the advertisement to be issued for the seventh inspector the following words be inserted: "A woman is eligible for appointment."' The LSB debated the recommendation, but decided that a new sub-committee had to 'hold an inquiry as to the best methods of inspecting the work of the schools of the board' (Ibid.). This approach proved the LSB's reputation of endless bureaucracy and was another strategy to avoid having to appoint a woman. Similarities to the House of Commons' filibustering techniques over female suffrage bills at the same time are evident. *The Queen* could have created more outrage with this debate, but by putting it in the 'Gazette,' the traditional depository for such notices without having to sacrifice a full article, they chose to not give it a big stage.

Even after the Cross Commission recommended 'appointing women on the inspectorial staff for infants and the earlier standards in other schools, such persons to be mistresses who have had experience in elementary schools' in 1888 (Anon. Vol. XIX, No. 223. July 2, 1888: n.p.), it took another eight years and more sub-committees for this to happen. It was the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, who announced this initiative and 'trust[ed] that some action in the direction will be taken.' The main argument was that women were as necessary as men in a system that catered to girls and boys with a teaching staff of more than 50% women. They saw 'no reason for limiting the advantages of inspection by women to the lower standards [...] Neither [did they] see the necessity for placing greater

limitation on the choice of women inspectors than of men' (Ibid.). Male inspectors only had to have a certain standard of education and no experience in teaching, so the additional requirement for women was either another stalling tactic or a remnant of traditional reservations about women's intellectual and organisational skills, neither of which was acceptable for the progressive *Women's Suffrage Journal* and they explained to their readers why the suggestion was not a real break-through.

In the early 1890s *The Woman's Herald* 'strengthen[ed] the case' of the necessity of 'Women as Board School Inspectors' by printing a letter about male inspectors relying on women as volunteers. Its author 'N.T.' was involved in inspecting the village school and gave a first-hand experience of how incompetent the male inspector was with needlework: 'As each garment was handed to him, he leisurely turned it from side to side and passed it back, making some approving comment or none [...] In the sixth standard children's chemises were given to him, he closely observed them, but without noticing the absence of botton-holes [*sic*]' (N.T. No. 32. Sept. 28, 1893: 51). The correspondent was scandalised by this oversight and pointed it out to the inspector, who promptly 'begged [her] to visit the school and inspect the work from time to time' (Ibid.). She declined, as she did not want to be co-opted into someone else's duties, who was paid for a job he could not do and had to rely on women, who were not officially allowed to do it. The correspondent raised the readers' indignation so that they might join the fight by pointing out institutionalised injustice against women, but at the same time reliance on their skills to keep the system going. Like many other campaigners, N.T. used women's alleged propensity for domestic subjects to argue for female inspectors. She also extended this strategy by asserting that women were 'usually allowed to possess more sympathy and tact than men' (Ibid.). These qualities were necessary for inspectors because of their frightening effect on pupils and teachers, which often skewed results.

In an 1892 article in the *Woman's Herald* author Kate Dodd's main argument for female inspectors was another war cry of the time, voiced in prominent position at the beginning of her article:

‘Women must work’ (Dodd. No. 181. April 16, 1892: 11). This was a period of growing social, educational and professional opportunities for women, but also of the ‘odd women,’ who would not find a husband because of demographic imbalance and therefore had to provide for themselves (cf. Showalter 1990: 20). Dodd used the fight for female inspectors as a hook for her contribution to the discourse about employment for women by assuring that ‘work is not a hardship to woman. She has always worked. Many of the lives of girls [...] are tragedies of aimlessness [...] simply because their existence has been dwarfed by having no real interest in the world’ (Ibid.). Similarly Emily Davies had identified in her introduction to *The Higher Education for Women* ‘the discontent of the modern girl’ as the fact that, if the traditional attitude towards women’s education and employment persisted, all her ‘energies would be frittered away in minor attempts at petty improvement.’ Feminists also argued that the new society needed women to achieve all the necessary reforms, not just for the ‘petty improvement’ of the inspection of needlework. According to Davies ‘[w]ork does not harm woman, it is the unjust conditions under which she works, the lower wage, the longer hours, and the grudging permission the world accords her. [...] Men first said she was incapable, now they say she will interfere with them. This monopoly of men is absurd.’ (Davies 1866: 38). She turned around the argument that women were taking away men’s opportunities to provide for their families: ‘Women are steadily gaining ground, and proving their competence and ability, but [...] [t]he question of men usurping the functions of women has never received public attention.’ Initiatives like the Langhamite Society for the Promotion of Women had the same aim of helping essentially untrained middle-class women to find employment beyond badly paid governess positions (cf. Herstein 1985: 70). Working as inspectors would have been useful for such women, but they were again barred because of their sex.

In 1895, LSB member Emma Knox Maitland ‘raised the question of appointing ladies as additional or assistant school inspectors’ one last time (Anon. No. 210. May 23, 1895: 44). Under the title ‘Editorial’ *Hearth and Home* printed several unconnected short

notes, including this one on female LSB inspectors. Like in the reply to Imogen's article the tone was sarcastic as by then the question had been debated for 25 years: 'The desirability of having school inspectors of the gentle sex is so obvious that I wonder they have not been appointed long ago, but the London School Board's wheels grind slowly, and such reforms are not to be taken in hand lightly and unadvisedly.' Even the government had 'led the way by appointing women labour commissioners and subcommissioners on public inquiries as well as factory inspectors and [...] women as guardians of the poor' (Ibid.). In 1893 May Abraham was appointed as the first Lady Factory Inspector (cf. Holloway 2005: 94). She had formerly been secretary to Lady Ashton Dilke, LSB member for Lambeth West from 1888 until 1891, and one of the foremost campaigners for female factory inspectors. This break-through was new kindling for the campaign for female elementary school inspectors. But yet another committee was formed before in January 1895 the first two female LSB inspectors were appointed. *The Queen* celebrated this triumphant moment with an illustrated joint character sketch of the two first post holders (M.B. Vol. XCIX. Feb. 15, 1896: 291). It summed up the long fight and reminded the readers that 'more than seven years ago' the Cross Commission recommended to appoint a woman. But the article's semi-anonymous author, M.B., who had also interviewed Mrs Homan and Mrs Burgwin, commented positively:

But the delay, vexatious and needless as it appeared, has not been all loss. It has permitted public opinion, in its slow onward march, to come up with the idea that women inspectors should be placed on the same footing as men, if for no other reason [...] because it is important that girls' education should be as well safeguarded as boys'.

Ibid.

She was aware of the slow movement of social acceptance, as later described by Overton. This had been accomplished by the campaigns in the periodicals, probably especially in the more mainstream magazines like *The Queen* or *Hearth and Home* as their readers must have needed the most persuasion. Especially the fact that female

inspectors were employed on equal terms with men can be attributed to this beneficial delay.

M.B. explained that the two first women inspectors were to

receive a beginning salary of £150, which is raised by £10 yearly to a maximum of £300. [...] The two ladies will each be allotted a district in London, where she will work under the direction of an inspector, and that she will be intrusted especially with the examination of girls' schools. [...] [and] take part in the onerous duties of examining pupil teachers.

The Inspectors were held in high esteem as the competitive starting salaries show. George Gissing's descriptions of London middle-class life in *New Grub Street* provides a comparison for contemporary salaries. Edwin Reardon earns £1 a week as a clerk in a hospital despite his very good education. To him, this meagre amount feels like riches after trying to live off 10 shillings a week. But even on £50 a year he has to live frugally of drippings and pease pudding in a garret off Tottenham Court Road and has to remain single until his grandfather leaves him £400 (cf. Gissing 1891: 55-56). In her introduction to the novel Patricia Ingham also states that 'the average wage of an industrial worker was about £45 per annum. A governess with £18 per annum was thus earning less than half the average' (Ingham 2008: ix-x). £150 a year as starter salary was a desirable income, especially for women, whose other professions such as teachers or governesses were not nearly as lucrative.

After a general introduction about why women had to become

inspectors, short biographies of the two new inspectresses are accompanied by a photo of the women as graduates from St Andrew's University (Reproduced here. *M.B.* Vol. XCIX. Feb. 15, 1896: 291). This conscious choice emphasised their academic



Figure 7: Photograph of Miss R. A. Munday, L.L.A. in *The Queen* (*M.B.* Vol. XCIX. Feb. 15, 1896: 291).

credentials, but also their womanly charms. They truly were worthy examples and pride-evoking first incumbents: Both women had impressive academic records with bursaries and headmistressships at both LSB and endowed schools. Miss Munday had 'directed the girls', infants', and intermediate

departments of the school held at [Baroness Burdett Coutts' Westminster Technical Institute] and has organised the women's technical classes' and she was also an expert on 'continental methods of education.' Miss Willis had 'obtained the teachers' certificate awarded by the University of Cambridge,' where she was still working as a lecturer (*Ibid.*). She, too, had travelled extensively in France and Belgium to study their educational strategies. None of these achievements were easy for women of their time. But they also meant that any other women who considered becoming an LSB Inspectress might have been discouraged. Although the conditions were nominally the same, much more was expected of the first female inspectresses. The campaigners were glad that the two women were so well educated, making it more probable that they



[Photograph by Clarke, Cambridge.
MISS S. WILLIS, L.L.A.]

Figure 8: Photograph of Miss S. Willis, L.L.A. in *The Queen* (*M.B.* Vol. XCIX. Feb. 15, 1896: 291).

would be successful and open the doors for other female inspectors. M.B. also encouraged young women ‘who have any personal interest in the professional prospect that is now for the first time opened up to them should give more than a casual attention to the record of the inspectors’ previous career.’

The moral of this story is that those women who wish to stand any chance of obtaining this peculiarly interesting kind of educational work had better make themselves mistresses of the subject of national elementary education in as many of its departments and ramifications as possible. For it is evident that ministers [...] will give the preference to the woman who has added to a good general education a special training for her profession. The special professional training is the one thing indispensable.

Ibid.

Both Miss Munday and Miss Willis were just as or more qualified than some of their male colleagues. The fifth LSB inspector, employed at £300 per annum, had even started his career as pupil teacher before earning an MA from Cambridge (cf. Betts 2015: 58). In a social context of often class-based ambition, education was the gateway to better employment opportunities while at the same time the developing state-controlled education system provided more positions. The whole spectrum of women’s magazines had worked together to create momentum for female LSB inspectors, one of the longest campaigns in the corpus: The more traditional *Queen* and *Hearth and Home* took the practical angle of women’s need to earn their living but the progressive *Women’s Suffrage Journal* and *Woman’s Herald* used the controversy as ideological argument for the extension of women’s rights and opportunities.

3.4. The Enforcement of Attendance

Apart from creating professional and political opportunities for women, periodicals united behind the definition of certain duties of female LSB members and officials as part of their gender-specific purview. The most pervasive of these was the enforcement of attendance. As Dyhouse explains, working-class girls were a special

target of elementary education to 'reform working-class lifestyles as a first means towards altering the environment in which working people lived' (1981: 79). If elementary education was to have a long-term effect, the mothers of future generations of labourers had to have gapless schooling. But in the beginning especially girls and infants often did not go to school regularly. Although by June 1873 a slight increase in the attendance of girls was observed, now even more infants were kept at home (cf. Betts 2015: 40). According to Copelman one of the most important yet difficult steps was making the LSB clients understand that the strict legislation was there to protect children from 'economic exploitation - whether by their parents or by greedy employers' (1996: 85). A long battle was started of accustoming the parents to sending their children to school, which they often failed to do in order to avoid fees. Women members and officials took up this cause and in the corpus there are 37 articles dealing with variations of the topic, almost 7.5 percent of the articles. This high number of articles is the basis for the following case study of why women adopted attendance as their specialist topic. In a survey of the debate whether the LSB should have mandatory attendance and how to enforce this, women as visitors, special cases as strategy to keep up interest and the establishment of free crèches to help girls with domestic duties are discussed. Again, this was happening simultaneously with the campaigns for female managers and inspectors, but warrants its own subchapter to understand all the facets of the topic.

Denison's Act from 1855 had made regular school attendance a condition for poor relief outside of a workhouse, linking fees and attendance (cf. Lewis 1993: 291). Foster's original Act had authorised, but not required school boards to make attendance compulsory between the ages of 5 and 13. The LSB immediately passed a by-law enforcing attendance and many provincial Boards soon followed. In 1876 Sandon's Act then established School Attendance Committees for districts that still did not have school boards, so that they could act *in loco* and enforce attendance. It also stopped the employment of children under ten years and those over ten now needed certificates from HMI inspectors: Satisfactory

previous attendance had to be proved to be awarded a letter of exemption or the parents were summoned to the magistrate's court under suspicion of habitual neglect. In 1880, Mundella's Act required all school boards and School Attendance Committees to implement compulsory attendance. From now on elementary education was mandatory for all children in England and Wales and in 1893 the minimum school-leaving age was raised to 11, in 1899 again to 12 years (cf. K. Evans 1985: 44). This tangle of Acts illustrates increasing state intervention, away from *laissez-faire* approaches to welfare and education.

The unsystematic process caused much confusion, as a note in *The Queen's* 'Gazette des Dames' demonstrates. During one of the many regular court cases against parents for not sending their children to school,

Mr Hetherington, superintendent of visitors for the Hackney division, asked his worship [Mr Bushby] if he was aware that an Act was passed in the recent Parliamentary session which cleared away the ambiguity of section 50 of Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 with regard to proceeding against parents for habitual neglect. Mr Bushby said he was not aware of this.

Anon. Vol. LXVIII. Sept. 18, 1880: 264.

If the judge himself did not know about the most recent amendment, the general public was not likely to be up to date. The note explained that the LSB was very glad about this simplification 'because there was a deal of waste of time in proceeding under Lord Sandon's Act, as an attendance order from the magistrate had to be first obtained, and they had to wait until it was disobeyed before any further proceedings could be taken.' This had stretched the court cases that already occupied so much of the time and resources of the magistrates and the LSB officials even more and made compulsory attendance a difficult stumbling block for the early LSBs.

Davies, Garrett Anderson and Becker were in the middle of endless debates about how to accomplish comprehensive attendance. A 'speech of Miss Lydia Becker before the British Association,' reprinted in parts and discussed in a leading article for *Women and Work*, identified the biggest obstacle to better attendance rates:

[It] was rather a statement of a difficulty than an attempt at a solution of it. [...] Miss Becker contended that the greatest impediment to the satisfactory working of the Act was the ‘domestic difficulty.’ [...] How can compulsory attendance be enforced among the classes whose children must work, if they would keep out of the workhouse, so soon as they are able to carry a baby or scrub a floor? [...] there are whole classes of working people whose labour is so poorly paid, that unless the whole family works, pauperism is inevitable.

Anon. No. 13. Aug. 29, 1874: 4.

The leader writer agrees with Becker in her criticism of parents, who forced children to work and miss school, but they also believed that no law could prevent the gainful employment of children since ‘it cannot say to a man “You shall starve, or go to the parish.”’ if he sent his children to school instead of helping with the family’s income. The author acknowledges that deeper social problems had to be addressed before all children would receive regular elementary education. But they also diagnose another difficulty and criticised Becker for not mentioning that ‘parents are best taught the value of education by seeing the advantages it affords to their children, yet it is obvious that where the *vis inertiae* of ignorance exists among the parents, the difficulties of giving education to the children are multiplied tenfold.’ At least one generation of parents had to be accustomed to the intervention of school boards for it to be wholly accepted. Betts adds that ‘[w]ith no compulsory military service, no question of state of direct interference with family life had ever previously arisen’ (cf. Betts 2015: 41). The working classes had not yet any representation in government to resist the middle-class LSB’s interference in parent-child relationships to stop children becoming ‘idle wastrels’ like their parents (cf. Lewis 1993: 292).

Like in the campaign for female LSB managers *Women and Work* also recommend class-based imitation learning. But the fact that not even all middle- and upper-class parents sent their children to schools made it difficult to persuade working-class parents. ‘But we must be content to work with patience first in the higher strata; improvement descends from the higher to the lower, it does not ascend from the lower to the higher. The poor do not drag the well-

to-do down to them; it is the well-to-do who raise the poor up to a higher level' (Anon. No. 13. Aug. 29, 1874: 4). The ultimate goal was a reformed and refined society of morally, mentally and physically sound citizens, to be achieved through philanthropy, social legislation and the Elementary Education Act. This reform also had to include the middle and upper classes, but Anderson sees the development of a state-controlled education system in opposition to 'the stubborn individualism of a liberal society.' According to him, the ruling middle class accepted state intervention 'for working-class education, despite laissez-faire economic principles and stock prejudices against Continental-style bureaucracy, because it was recognised that neither the market nor voluntary effort could achieve the universal standard needed in an industrialised, democratic country' (Anderson 2012: 493-498). But they did not want it for themselves and had not expected working-class parents to be as reluctant to be patronised and have their responsibility as parents taken away by the state although working-class parents must have been suspicious of sending their children to schools set up by a class who considered them harmful elements to be improved and cleansed.

3.4.1. Women as London School Board Visitors

The following three subchapters focus on how women adapted the debate about attendance as argument for their further involvement in LSB work. Branching out to the related issues of class, poverty and gender, female LSB visitors, strategies to keep up interest and solutions for the enforcement of compulsory education are considered. From the beginning the LSB relied on official visitors to implement the 1870 Elementary Education Act's demands. At first some of these visitors were women, demonstrating a further extension of opportunities for women in the wake of the Elementary Education Act. This provides an interesting comparison of how the first female officials employed by the LSB and the female members were treated and evaluated by the corpus periodicals and what strategies were used to argue for more women as LSB visitors. The

Act had made fees mandatory, but school boards could remit the fees for the poorest pupils or set up free schools. Visitors assessed which children were too poor to pay their school pence and forced truants into school. In 1872, there were 92 visitors, but by 1904 their number had increased to 365, often recruited from retired policemen or even soldiers. Their activities were similar to those of contemporary social researchers like Booth, whose 'Life and Labour of the People in London' also used the accounts of for example a Bethnal Green LSB visitor, 'who found that nearly half of the families on his book removed in a single year (1,450 out of 2,729 children).' Davin mentions these high numbers to demonstrate the 'administrative problem' the LSB officials encountered (1996: 31).

Becker's radical *Women's Suffrage Journal* published the first article in the corpus on 'Women as School Visitors' in August 1871 in order to use LSB visitors, like female voters and candidates, for her emancipatory campaigns (Anon. Vol. II, No. 17. Aug. 1, 1871: 89). Most of the article was a reprint from the *Saturday Review's* 'remarks on the report of the Committee appointed by the London School Board to consider the compulsory clauses of the Education Act,' demonstrating how widespread the debate about female LSB officials was not just in feminist magazines. The *Saturday Review* had been set up in 1855 by A.J.B. Beresford Hope, MP for Cambridge University, whose ardent speech against the Women's Electoral Disabilities Act of 1872 the *Women's Suffrage Journal* also printed. Becker often used the common technique of cutting and pasting an article from other publications to get more copy. Quoting from such a long-established and well-respected magazine also gave her own periodical the required *gravitas* and credibility. The *Review* attested the Committee originality for recommending 'that, as a general rule, these visitors should be women, and, if possible, ladies who have experience in similar work' (Ibid.). The article recognised the extensive experience women had in philanthropic poor-visiting and that 'the visits of a class of persons with whom the poor are already familiar will be the least likely to excite resistance.' Women, who had been doing poor-relief work as volunteers, could now earn money and official recognition for similar tasks. The *Saturday*

Review and by extension the *Women's Suffrage Journal* believed that this plan 'will at all events have the advantage of disposing of sundry jokes about the police being employed to drag children to school. With a really judicious Visitor, the instances of obstinate resistance to the by-laws will, we suspect, be extremely low' (Ibid.). They anticipated problems with heavy-handed ex-soldiers as visitors and hoped that employing 'ladies who have experience in similar work,' that is to say feminine and philanthropic middle-class women, would avoid this. It has to be noted that despite its founder's attitude towards women voters, the *Saturday Review* recognised feminine qualities to be necessary in local government administration. The *Women's Suffrage Journal* did not add any comment of approval or further suggestions, as was their habit when reprinting other publications' articles. They printed it on the second page to let their readers know that they approved of the plan of women LSB visitors for a considerable extension of female power and visibility.

But despite this early male endorsement, 16 years later the debate was still going on. An article in *The Queen* from 28th January 1888 gives 'a brief sketch of the work' to answer the question of 'Shall women be, or shall they not be, School Board visitors?' A visitor was in

charge of no less than 300 children, and is expected to keep a schedule of the names and addresses of all the boys and girls of not less than three and not more than fourteen years of age. [...] It is her duty to report to the superintendent of visitors all cases of infringement to the bye-laws, etc.; [...] Every Friday she must go to each school in her district, in order to receive a duplicate of the school register [...] If any child on the register has made less than eight attendances during the five previous days she is supposed to call at the child's house, and see why it has been absent from school.

Anon. Vol. LXXXIII. Jan. 28, 1888: 95.

The Queen was supportive of female visitors. They passed harsh judgment on the parents' excuses, echoing the Charity Organisation Society where many LSB ladies started their career in philanthropy (cf. Martin 1999: 67):

[A]s the provisional committee never refuses to remit the penny fee in cases of real poverty, and as clothes and boots can nearly always be obtained

from some local charity, or on application to a magistrate, these are lame excuses. The truth is, the parents want their boys to run errands, and their girls to look after babies. They sacrifice the future of their children to their own comfort and convenience.

Anon. Vol. LXXXIII. Jan. 28, 1888: 95.

The Charity Organisation Society only helped the truly destitute, who had fallen on hard times through bad luck and without blame of their own. Many of *The Queen's* readers and contributors would have been volunteering for this or similar organisations and influenced by their strict criteria and regulations of how to help (cf. Wendt 1995: 139-140). Towards the end, the article becomes more gender-specific and focuses on one female visitor as ideal model:

Miss Martin, a lady who has been working for fifteen years as School Board visitor in one of the poorest parts of London, took the writer over a portion of her district last week [...] [and how] the way in which Miss Martin was greeted, the fact that her voice opened doors as if by magic, convinced the writer that School Board visiting is work for women.

Anon. Vol. LXXXIII. Jan. 28, 1888: 95.

The same strategy as for making Elizabeth Garrett Anderson an exemplary female LSB member is applied here by casting Miss Martin as almost superhuman. The fact that in her district, which was one of the poorest and therefore by implication most degenerate, 'her voice opened doors as if by magic' was a strong recommendation of her female qualities. The Charity Organisation Society itself also used mainly female visitors and Miss Martin is described according to their ethos of remaining hard but fair. She managed to establish a connection and be obeyed and even loved by the poorest of the poor, which is accredited to her womanly skills of empathy and motherliness. Miss Martin must have been one of the only original female visitors, since not very many women were appointed after the first years. The objective of the *Queen* article was to prove that 'women are able to perform the work of School Board visitors' in order to open up a new option for the narrow female labour market since 'the number of women seeking employment increases yearly' (Ibid.). The readers were meant to identify with Miss Martin and ask

themselves whether they could be like her, reminiscent of the interviews and home stories so popular in New Journalistic publications.

In the pursuit of stating all the advantages and disadvantages of the job, the author gives exact figures for the salaries LSB visitors could expect, which ranged from £50 to £85 per annum. This was a convincing argument for the profession compared to what George Gissing's *The Odd Women*, the Madden sisters, earn: £16 and £12 as nursery governess and lady's companion respectively (1893: 15). And yet *The Queen* was not satisfied as 'these salaries contrast unfavourably with those of the men, and as there is no difference whatsoever in the work done by male and female visitors, it would seem that the board considers its male visitors more efficient than its female visitors' (Anon. Vol. LXXXIII. Jan. 28, 1888: 95). Men earned considerably more: Between £80 and £120. The figure of £250 Collini quotes as minimum 'on which a single young man could live and still keep up appearances' was out of reach for young women, unable as they were to earn a university degree and study for the bar or a similarly well-paid profession (1991: 35). The *Queen* author speculates that this might be based on the conjecture that men had to provide for their families, but 'it seems scarcely fair to make this distinction, especially as women [...] often have parents and other relations dependent on them' (Anon. Vol. LXXXIII. Jan. 28, 1888: 95). Even the generally traditionalist *Queen* was going with the times and recognised that more and more women could not rely on male relatives, but needed their own income.

But *The Queen* also published a negative assessment of women as LSB visitors. Three and a half months later the magazine printed an article by the semi-anonymous 'L.H.,' who identified herself as 'the very first woman visitor appointed by the board' (L.H. Vol. LXXXIII. May 12, 1888: 563). A 'complete breakdown of health caused the final giving-up of the work,' which made her argue that it was

somewhat strange to find the question whether women should or should not be School Board visitors cropping up again now, but it would seem to have been practically settled in the negative [...] - no woman has been appointed

nor would have a chance of election if she applied for a vacant situation, although the regulations and scale of payment may still exist on paper.

Ibid.

Apart from a critique of pay regulations, the two articles could not be more different. L.H. used her personal tragic ending to convince the readers. In the early days of her LSB visiting

[i]t was thought - and, as experience proved, very wisely - by the first members of the School Board that a staff of female visitors of a cultivated class would prove to be of great value in [...] getting those who were not being educated at all to attend school. [...] About half a dozen ladies were appointed in my division, [...] without any of the difficulties which beset some of the male visitors, who in many cases were hooted and pelted, and had sometimes to call for the protection of the police.

Ibid.

Many male visitors were dreaded, despised and often inefficient. In the eyes of prosecuted parents they were responsible for this criminalisation of indigent families. This was counterproductive to the Elementary Education Act's original objective of ensuring comprehensive elementary education and the parents vented their exasperation on the visitors as representatives of authority. Female visitors were more successful and tactful, resulting in fewer attacks. But according to L.H., since those early days of assessing the amount of necessary school places 'the work of the visitors [had] changed insensibly' (Ibid.) and now it was their task to hold those accountable who still had not been convinced by the LSB that their children going to school was necessary and good. Often this involved sending them to court.

L.H.'s article exposed court proceedings as the biggest problem of the LSB visitor system, especially for women. It was a laborious procedure of first warning the parents and, should attendance not improve, inviting them to explain their reasons to the divisional committee. The East End magistrate wrote around 3,000 summonses each year, where the visitors appeared as witnesses. Often the cases dragged on for several months, forcing the visitors to spend most of their time on the witness bench instead of in the field. In L.H.'s

opinion '[i]t was when attendance at the police-court as a witness for the prosecution became an everyday item of a visitor's duty that its unfitness for women of any class, but mostly for those of culture, became apparent' (Ibid.). Unlike earlier articles, where *The Queen* did not comment negatively on women appearing in a court of law, this article indicts forcing women into such unfeminine situations. L.H. doubts whether 'familiarity with all the loathsome details of a London police-court is a desirable part of any employment for women. [...] No one who has not gone through this terrible ordeal has any conception of the cases which come up for hearing, nor of the horrors with which they become acquainted' (Ibid.). She claims to be 'wholly engrossed and interested' in her work as an LSB visitor, which from the beginning must have brought her in close contact with abject poverty. The profession's similarity with philanthropic poor visiting and roots in feminine maternity made this acceptable for her. Only the exposure to the unwomanly civic world of court cases and criminals made it a 'terrible ordeal' for a woman of culture (Ibid.). With this she means the middle and upper classes, betraying an old-fashioned belief that their class-affiliation made them different from working-class women. By describing her work with expressions like 'the unhealthiness of the places into which it is the visitor's duty to penetrate' (Ibid.), L.H. produces unsavoury associations between the poor clients of the LSB and the dirty sewerage of the city itself, implying diseased degeneration. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson also made this connection, but while Garrett Anderson readily adopted this link between civic and social hygiene and femininity to take on responsibility for the LSB children's health, L.H. used it in the opposite direction as a strong argument against women's involvement in LSB visiting.

And yet L.H. remained in her post for a long time and was 'about the last of the lady workers in [her] division' (Ibid.). Indeed, she finished her article by admitting that women, who could maintain good health, would be useful LSB visitors. Her article demonstrates how contemporary contradictions between old views of women as pure and innocent beings, who had to be saved from 'contamination [...] [with] nameless revelations of crime and horrors' (Ibid.), and

newer constructions of women with an active role in the public eye manifested in the LSB. L.H. serves as an example who had not fully overcome such limiting gender roles, despite having physically conquered them. Eight years after the LSB had opened new opportunities for women as visitors, not all women were convinced that this was positive. L.H.'s opinion was an aberration from what *The Queen* usually circulated. But using private contributors to present the other side of an argument, which did not correspond with the magazine's opinion, was common practise in order to be able to give the full picture and instigate debate.

3.4.2. Special Cases: Theatre and Canal Boat Children

Despite L.H.'s negative evaluation, all through the LSB-era the corpus magazines campaigned for the enforcement of attendance to be recognised as specifically feminine work. *The Queen* picked up several side debates to strengthen their argument of social motherhood and to keep up interest in the fight for more female LSB officials. One such debate was the problem that many children of school-age were hard to reach by regular visitors. In November 1881 the 'Gazette des Dames' reported that the 'bye-law [*sic*] committee of the London School Board [...] received a letter from the education department' about the lack of education of canal children (Anon. Vol. LXIX. March. 19, 1881: 286). By-laws for compulsory attendance, although passed all over the country, were not enough to capture the children living on their parents' canal boats. The LSB tried to compile a list of the children of school age on all registered boats. But these boats were 'constantly moving from one place to another. The board are of opinion, however, that no effectual steps can be taken to ensure the education of the children of school age unless such children are prohibited from residing upon the boats' (Ibid.). An increasingly interventionist state was trying to close the web of a state-controlled education system in order to reach all citizens, who were not yet in the habit of obeying laws that infringed

upon their personal decisions. Well-meaning legislation was not enough to reform elementary education and a better society without the destitute and potentially dangerous working classes was not to be won by a reform of the Poor Law or elementary education alone (cf. Hewitt 2012: 25-26). This made the enforcement of elementary education also a learning process for the administering classes. The struggle was taken up by women to create more opportunities for themselves, both in official and voluntary positions.

The attempt to make theatre children attend school was developed by the 'Gazette des Dames' into a big philanthropic campaign as early as 1872: 'At the Surrey Theatre alone the visitors found 800 to 1000 children attending for the purpose of getting engagements in the pantomimes' (Anon. Vol. LII. Dec. 14, 1872: 495). Poor children went to castings in the hope of being employed as extras. This was of interest to *The Queen* readers not only because of their philanthropic background, but also because they might have taken their own children to see a Christmas pantomime. The fact that child actors could not go to school because they had to earn a living appealed to them because of this immediate contact and the striking difference to their own children, making the note useful campaign material to get more well-off women involved. The campaign was taken up by the National Vigilance Association and the Moral Reform Union, nationwide philanthropic pressure groups. In 1888, *The Queen* carried two articles about a meeting of the National Vigilance Association, which Elizabeth Garrett Fawcett chaired at Porchester Terrace. The elegant address and the list of excused members, among them Dr Barnardo and Dr Gladstone, show the social background of Association members (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1). For two years the National Vigilance Association had researched the subject and found that '[o]ne great cause of the early ruin of children was their employment in theatres [...] on the ground that both moral and physical injury was done to the pantomime children.' Mrs Garrett Fawcett gave a speech about how their parents abused the Factory Act and the Elementary Education Act by asking for their children to be 'half-timers' because they were needed to contribute to the family's income, although the family was actually

tolerably well-off as in the case of a West End tailor ‘earning from £2 to £3 a week’ (Ibid.). Mrs Fawcett closed her speech with the firm assertion that all the friends of children had ‘a grievance against the late London School Board, which failed to put the law in operation against theatrical managers’ (Ibid.). The conflict between an interventionist and a *laissez-faire* state flared up again. Another rather melodramatic speech compared making children work in theatres for the audience’s entertainment to ‘heathen nations’ sacrificing their offspring to the gods. In a time of colonial expansion in Africa and huge interest in research expeditions to make the unknown familiar by systematising it according to Western categories, the barbaric and cannibalistic other was a striking metaphor for what the LSB was trying to eradicate and an effective plea for the readers’ support. The analogy reminds of W.T. Stead’s imagery in ‘The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon,’ where he equates the sex-trade of London with the uncivilised and pre-Christian Orient (cf. Stead: 1885). At the end of the meeting a resolution was passed to write a memorial to the LSB to inform them of the National Vigilance Association’s decision ‘to discourage by every lawful means in its power the public performance of very young children.’

The Queen emphasised the role and success of female campaigners by quoting mostly women’s speeches and reporting that after the National Vigilance Association’s resolution, the Moral Reform Union forced LSB officers to sue ‘theatrical managers and parents for employing children under school age in theatres.’ Real political power was still elusive for women, but lobbying and building public pressure were techniques at their disposal. Without compliant pupils the successful construction of a new nation would not be possible. Women successfully used the attendance debate as a tool to publicise and discuss the necessity of their involvement in social reform in a large spectrum of periodicals. The care for children was a typical female concern: Working-class mothers were responsible for attendance at home, but middle-class women took on the same duty on the administrative level in positions of social motherhood.

3.4.3. Criticism of School Board Administration

The enforcement of attendance and ensuing costs was one of the few debates about which any of the magazines in my selected periodicals printed extensive criticism. In Weberian terms, the LSB used both the new phenomenon of bureaucracy and the customary deference to the monarchy and by extension the monarch's civil servants, to deal with clients. But while crowd-control through bureaucracy was on the rise, it was still inspiring more resistance than the time-honoured institution of the crown. As demonstrated in the previous chapter with Lydia Becker's *Women's Suffrage Journal* (cf. 2.5), journalists were becoming adept at using their medium to their best advantage for fighting public wars, also against the LSB as an expression of controversial modern local government administration. The following subchapters discuss several New Journalistic strategies to address criticism of the LSB's budget and its collectivist and bureaucratic attitudes as opposed to women's more sympathetic approach to attendance.

3.4.3.1. 'The Case of Mrs Marks:' Court Reports as Critique of London School Board Administration

An important strategy for expressing criticism was the publication of court cases, often clipped from other mainstream periodicals. The stream of litigation against parents in breach of attendance laws was endless and throughout the LSB era little notes appeared about especially miserable cases. *The Queen* was aware that such unfortunate stories were ever-present in the late 1870s and commented in their leader from 30 August 1879: 'Very sad these "short and simple annals of the poor," and very natural that "The Case of Potts," "The Modern Inquisition" [...] &c., appeared in flaming characters at the window of every news vendor' (Anon. Vol. LXVI. Aug. 30, 1879: 187). These exemplary article titles paint a

lurid picture of the newspaper war against the LSB's methods where New Journalistic personal-interest stories were used to express suspicions against the LSB's methods. Most of the articles told heart-wrenching stories of poverty and illness, intended to arouse the readers' pity. We can hear the voice of a desperate parent shine through the following notice:

At Dalston Police Court on Feb. 8, before Mr Bros, between seventy and eighty summonses were heard [...] Most of the people were miserably poor, and some had had to journey in the cold and wet from the extreme east of Bethnal Green. One woman, who looked defiantly round the court, said to Mr Stone, School Board prosecutor, 'I think I'll speak to this gentleman (indicating the magistrate). I can't speak to the School Board gentlemen.' Mr Bros: You must behave yourself. Defendant: Yes, sir; but he has summoned me for the big gal as minds the baby, and she is a deal o' good to me when I goes to work. Mr Bros: How old is this girl? Defendant: Twelve next birthday as ever is when it comes. The Officer: The child is only just eleven. Defendant: I don't tell lies [...]. Mr Bros: Do you have a husband? Defendant: Yes; and he and I, if we works hard in the busy season, can't earn more than 25s. a week, and out of that we 'as to keep ourselves and five children and pay 7s. 6d. rent. Mr Bros: I think you ought to stop at home and mind the children. Defendant: And then I should have to let them starve...

Ibid.

And so it goes on until Mr Bros graciously gives her a period of one month after which he will see her again to check if she has sent her eldest daughter to school. The woman was given the last word with her exiting statement: 'If I had my way I would choke you' (Ibid.). This court report is not commented on in any way and the reader had to read between the lines to understand the author's agenda to criticise the LSB's methods of enforcing attendance and intimating that a woman's touch might be necessary. It illustrates the LSB parents' plight of barely earning enough money, but being fined for what enabled them to feed the family. The mother's figures clearly demonstrate that both adults had to work to provide the family even with the precarious amount of £65 per annum for seven persons. This impossibility of her being able to earn enough money and send all her children to school, which is obvious to everybody but not to the

LSB officials and the magistrate, mocks their bureaucratic approach. LSB visitors could expect £50 to £85 per annum on one salary. But it also explains why so many editors chose court reports for their propaganda. The genre talked about a world that was very remote from the readers' experiences to grab their interest. Besides the additional convenience of being free copy, court reports were lurid, but taken from life and nobody could accuse them of exaggeration because no lies were permitted in front of the magistrate. The dire picture they painted made unmistakably clear that present methods were unsustainable and that *The Queen* sympathised with the parents.

This report is extraordinary in recording the idiom of a working-class East End woman of the late nineteenth century. Her ornate expressions brought her into trouble with the officials, who thought she was trying to dissimulate her daughter's age. This was not the voice of a reader of *The Queen* and maybe not even of one of the cheaper magazines. The defendant herself probably had gone to a Board School. But her experiences with the LSB cannot have been very positive, if she had murderous thoughts towards the officer. The excerpt also encapsulates the middle-class officials' opinion and treatment of their working-class clients: The defendant was never not 'behaving herself' and just expressed her frustration with the immovable LSB officer, but was told off like a naughty child and had her credibility doubted. All the court reports I found highlight and criticise the courts' tendencies to infantilise the working-class defendants, who were presented as doing all they could, but whose rational and necessary decisions to use their oldest children as economic support was questioned. However, it does not become clear whether *The Queen* would have preferred free education or the poor woman not having to send her daughter to school. Both scenarios would have indicated two very different world views: One in favour of education and proto-socialism and one indifferent to general education for girls. Considering *The Queen's* usual championing of education for girls, the former is more probable.

Some defendants gained special prominence and in the year 1875 'The Case of Mrs Marks' was made into a symbol of the visitors'

and courts' ineffective and damaging approaches (Anon. Vol. 3, No. 49. May 8, 1875: 4). *Women and Work* dedicated a leading article to her, making it the only progressive periodical in the corpus which published such a critical article. Mrs Marks' situation was also taken up by the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, further turning her into a byword for the LSB's cruelty. This magazine was committed to helping women with employment and education. Throughout its short life between 1874 and 1876 it regularly carried advertisements for teaching jobs in its 'Guide to Employments for Women,' both for Board and independent schools. Their 'Notice to Advertisers' proclaimed that 'WOMEN AND WORK is unrivalled as a special Advertising Medium for all Trade and Professional Establishments patronised by Ladies,' defining their target audience as middle-class women (e.g. Anon. Vol 3, No. 49. May 8, 1875: 7).

The article starts with a summary of Mrs Mark's case, 'whose husband is in a lunatic asylum, [and who] supports a young family by her needle, working from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.,' with her eldest, a girl of eleven, staying home to babysit. This resulted in the LSB visitor threatening to have her benefits revoked and send her to the workhouse. *Women and Work* made their opinion on this standard practise clear in the leading article, ensuring it was read by everybody:

It never was the intention of the Legislature to pauperise the honest poor, nor could such tyranny [...] have anything but a disastrous effect upon the Act under which the Board is endowed with authority. [...] Unfortunately, the case of Mrs. Marks does not stand alone; nor is it likely to be the last of its kind, when we consider the class of persons to whom these inquisitorial functions are entrusted.

Anon. Vol. 3, No. 49. May 8, 1875: 4.

The threat of the inhumane conditions in the workhouse as a deterrent for relying on public charity had been policy since the Poor Law Act of 1834 (cf. Pugh 2017: 48). Such disincentives, which remind of operant conditioning according to Skinner in their reduction to material needs, had started to cause uneasiness as to their appropriateness and usefulness to prevent citizens asking for

state help. Not every adversity or affliction could be solved with sheer will-power and hard work and the state's responsibility for its citizens was more and more recognised. But the intimidating male visitors apparently only had one effect: 'The poor will value education less, instead of more, than they do now, if it is associated in their minds with indiscretion, meddling, and tyranny. The ignorant do not know how to distinguish authority from the assumption of it' (Anon. Vol. 3, No. 49. May 8, 1875: 4). Although *Women and Work* was theoretically for educating the people, they did not agree with enforcement by bullying. In their analysis of what was wrong with the LSB system, they came to a similar conclusion as Max Weber, who wrote that in a bureaucratic system an official, who only administers bureaucracy, but is also used to obeying his superiors, has as much authority as the rules he dispenses and imposes (cf. Weber 1922: 611). But they did not agree with him that this government by organisations, through which the government's power trickled down, was the best solution for big, modern nation states. In their opinion, there was a difference between assumed and real authority and the 'problem is one of the most difficult of solution that can well be put. It is not yet solved in America; it is not yet solved in Germany; in truth, it is one as to the entirely satisfactory solution of which we are somewhat sceptical' (Anon. Vol. 3, No. 49. May 8, 1875: 4). America and Germany were famous for their successful and progressive governments and education systems. Citing them proves commentators to be aware that administration needed innovation, but not yet convinced of bureaucracy's usefulness for individuals' lives.

The article in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* made these concerns even clearer. This was a sister-publication to the Beetons' *The Queen*. Both of the Beetons' periodicals were similarly suspicious of the LSB's enforcement methods and used strong language to express this opinion. It described the 'arbitrary proceedings' as an 'outrageous instance of the practical application of this high-and-dry theorising, the treating of human beings as so many units in a calculating machine' (Anon. No. 182. June 1, 1875: 290). Although education was usually considered to be giving

citizens their own voice, as in *Women and Work*, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* believed that LSB education was doing the opposite:

A pretty moral education, calculated to advance the moral independence of the character, this is! We value education highly, but pure education is not only that which school gives. Would it be a terrible matter for that eleven-year-old girl if she helped her mother [...] even if she could not spell Constantinople or did not know the exact date of the Norman Conquest? The Education Act is for the people, not the people for the Education Act.

Ibid.

The allegation of the LSB being ‘calculating’ is repeated, which demonstrates that the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* and most probably also a wider proportion of the public were very aware that the 1870 Elementary Education Act had more agendas than teaching the three R’s. But they did not agree with the LSB’s type of character education if it taught pupils that going to school was everything, even if that meant that their family had to rely on benefits. Picking especially useless-looking bits of learning proved the periodical’s point that education needed to do more than teach obedience to what Weber had identified as the new means of legitimising the government’s power. They identified obedient rote-learning as the ultimate sign of a spirit broken into being a cog in the wheel of state intervention. By reappropriating a quote by Jesus Christ, they spelled out their opinion for everybody to understand: Education was good and necessary, but only as long as the working classes benefited from it and not mainly the middle- and upper-class administrators, who were hoping to improve their nation, preempting Gramsci’s warnings of hegemony (1971: 145-6).

Sometimes negative court reports were buried in miscellaneous columns, where the authors could comment even more severely. Two such notes appeared in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* ‘Topics of the Month’. The edition from 1 March 1876 sandwiched a court report, castigating the magistrate’s decision to sentence a poor man to debtor’s prison, between a warning to young women not to marry soldiers and the sensationalist announcement that ‘Another Young Man Has Been Killed at Football.’ In the first sentence the eye-catching title ‘School-Boards May Become Public

Nuisances' is finished: '...unless the officials entrusted to enforce the law exhibit more common sense than they have lately done' (Anon. No. 135. March 1, 1876: 121). The article's memorably strong language rants against 'the bumptious ignorance of the busy beadledom of some school-board officials.' It closes with the dramatic statement that '[t]his story was at first doubted, and indeed is more worthy of Russia in the old despotic serf-time than of England; but it is too true. This is not quite such a free country as we think it is' (Ibid.). The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was not convinced that obedience should be given to a bureaucratic government body which interfered with private matters like the upbringing and education of children and financial decisions, again reminiscent of Gramsci. All of these articles agreed that some level of state intervention was necessary for a reformed society, but too much control and socialist methods of financing education were not acceptable. Although often not explicitly mentioned, they all imply that there was a better alternative to be offered by more women on the LSB or as visitors and managers. By creating such outrage, the magazines prepared the ground for articles about female LSB administrators to be received even more positively. Women would solve such situations more sympathetically and in favour of the nation's children rather than in such a brutal and bureaucratic way as the courts did.

3.4.3.1.1. Satire as Technique to Criticise Attendance Policies

Another effective technique for criticising attendance policies was satire, mostly published in *Judy. Judy; or the London Serio-Comic Journal* commented on contentious public debates. It was published for 40 years from 1867 to 1907, styling itself as the 'wife' of *Punch*, who 'had moved upmarket, and [was] successfully exploiting the lower-middle-class niche that had opened. It was also notable for its appeal to a female readership, again signalled in its title' (Brake and Demoor 2009: 327-328). The publications had a fixed and popular place in the periodical market of the time and often commented on

the LSB's innovations. I chose two exemplary pieces, which criticised the LSB enforcement officers in a very tongue-in-cheek manner. Satire lends itself to criticism as it 'isolate[s] conditions or truths in order to chastise the mankind responsible for them,' while fictionalisation 'is interested in those same truths [...] without necessarily operating on the same assumption that it has set forth to mock them' (Matz 2010: 2). Sometimes the two become a little blurred, as in the following story which agrees with the court reports that blamed the LSB's inadequate officials. In November 1875, the satirical story about 'Mrs. Tinsmith and the School-Board Man' appeared (Anon. Nov, 24, 1875: 59). It introduced middle-class readers to a self-sufficient and self-improving part of the working classes and their culture of practical jokes at the cost of officials who took themselves too seriously, but their clients not seriously enough. Again, the School-Board Man was exhibited as a bogeyman, an object of fear, but in *Judy's* article simultaneously of ridicule.

'Mrs. Tinsmith was a widow - fat, fair, and fifty' (Ibid.). This opening sentence sets the tone for the jocular story. The pretty middle-aged widow had three sons, who help her run the ironmonger business she had inherited from her husband - justifying her name. This tells the reader that the adjective 'well-grown,' which had been used earlier to describe her children, meant grown-up, but the LSB visitor, 'a thin person, dressed in black, with a red note-book in his hand,' does not understand (Ibid.). The description paints the LSB official as the stereotypical civil servant, efficient, opposed to indulgence - neither for himself, as his thinness suggests, nor for his clients - and dependent on his rules and notes, as symbolised by the striking notebook. Mrs Tinsmith answers him 'cautiously. (School-Board visitors were not popular in Mrs. T's neighbourhood, and this one was evidently a stranger.)' (Ibid.). From other sources like the court reports it becomes clear that while LSB visitors were always treated with suspicion in working-class neighbourhoods because of their associations with law enforcement, those who were new to the job were even less well-regarded. They had not yet got to know their clients and were eager to do an especially thorough job by clearing up old cases, which meant more disruption and probing into private

matters for the families of elementary pupils by their more or less well-meaning 'betters.'

This School-Board Man repeatedly reminds Mrs Tinsmith that 'the Act compels their attendance.' She knows exactly that her sons had outgrown compulsory schooling and was almost sympathetic with his inefficiency, but as a punishment let him embarrass himself:

"But you have a family, ma'am, I suppose?"

"Bless the man! Thought the widow; "what can he be driving at?" But she answered, "Yes, I have - three."

"Boys or girls?" Continued the School-Board man, with the air of a census official.

Ibid.

The LSB visitor - and therefore the LSB - takes himself too seriously and does not take the time to look up from his papers to assess the situation with common sense. He is described as deserving of the humiliation that was to come when he wants to report Mrs T and her three sons. As a last resort, she tries to make him understand by suggesting that he had better see the boys first and this scene ensues:

The next moment there came out of the back shop a fine stalwart young fellow of twenty-one, with fair hair and long beard, whose abundant physique was a masculine copy of Mrs. TINSMITH's.

"That's my youngest, sir - BABY, we call him." said this latter. - "BABY, the gentleman wants to know *why you don't go to school?*" [...]

"Ah!" Remarked the School-Board visitor, at length, considerably taken aback. "Ah!" repeated he again, somewhat vaguely, as he retreated towards the door. [...]

And BABY and his brothers have not gone to school to this very day.

Ibid.²²

This text contains many points of criticism: The LSB man took rules at face value without using common sense as to how to apply them. He did not consider the actual living situation, although sometimes data cannot give the full picture. Especially new visitors did not

²² Italics and capitalisation original.

know the circumstances of the families in their part of town and getting to know everyone takes time. But like some of the non-fiction articles, the story also contended that not everybody actually needed education to be able to run a successful business like the Tinsmiths' ironmongery. All this criticism in one article might have ended up as a rather long and tedious sermon, but wrapping it up in the popular genre of satire was a very effective strategy of not losing the audience's interest. In this example, the middle-class LSB visitor is the object of ridicule, unlike in the court reports, where the working-class families were victimised. The Tinsmiths were managing well in life, despite the loss of their father and husband and the absence of education, and thus deserved to make fun of the dry and disinterested School-Board Man, who was supposed to improve the unreasonable working class. Here the improvement worked the other way around.

Two years later, *Judy* carried the following caricature. Not many words were necessary to condense the issue into a cynical report of 'What the School Board has to put up with' (Anon. June 20, 1877: 93). The caption explained that the etching on the left depicted the 'Good Mother writing to ask the Master to excuse her Billy, who she thinks has lately over-taxed his Brain [...] N.B. - She wants him at home to "fetch" errands.' The cartoon found a different angle for

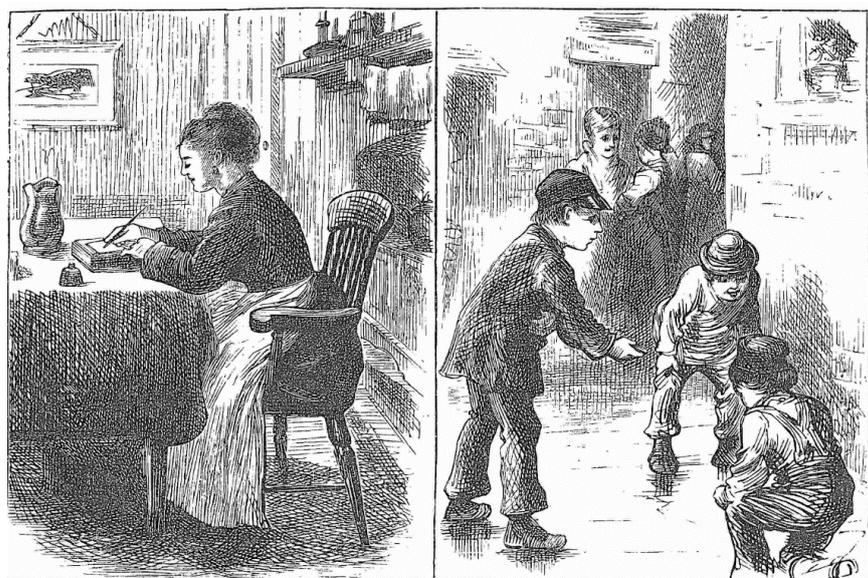


Figure 9: Caricature in *Judy* (Anon. June 20, 1877: 93).

mocking the middle-class organisers of elementary education. Their administration was so inefficient in enforcing attendance that the children were still able to play in the streets. It also alludes to a perceived sensitivity in middle-class children as expressed in the over-pressure debate, which I discuss in section 5.1.1. But while 'Mrs. Tinsmith' was obvious in making fun of the LSB visitor, this cartoon seems to be placing the blame on the working-class recipients, as suggested by the title. The mother did not appreciate the LSB education as a boon for her son but allowed him to miss school. Her grammar is also gently teased when she misuses the verb 'fetch' in relation to 'errands'. But at second glance the cartoon turns out to be mockery for gullible and ineffective LSB officials: Poor, 'over-taxed' Billy is not at all helping his mother, but playing outside with his friends. Being needed at home was the usual excuse, and although it was useless, it was likely to bring the mother widespread sympathy, as shown in the court reports. As a later chapter will show (5.1.1.), fears of overworking and damaging children's undeveloped brains were becoming more common and the 'Good Mother' of the caricature cleverly tapped into this discourse. The fact that the mother herself was literate was not just a jab at the LSB's efficiency and effectiveness, but questioned its necessity. Seven years after the Elementary Education Act in 1870 it was impossible for a mother who had herself gone to an LSB school to have a son of school age, but she still had managed to get a certain amount of education. Neither *Judy's* article nor the cartoon comment on whether children should go to school, but they doubt whether the present system of enforcing attendance was necessary or successful. Again, the criticism is directed at the male School Board Man and the male-created system of enforcing attendance through courts - implied is a better solution through women.

3.4.3.2. 'School Board Socialism:' Criticising the London School Board's Finances

A second object of extensive criticism was the LSB's budget. This is especially remarkable in a corpus made up of periodicals for women, as the Married Women's Property Acts were only just beginning to allow women to be responsible for their own finances. Under the laws of coverture women had limited economic experience and, according to Goodman, women on committees were seldom trusted with the budget because they had to ask their husbands for permission and counter-signatures (2000: 22). But on the LSB women had the right to contribute to the budget and as chairs of subcommittees they wielded real financial power. How much money the LSB could spend per year or on specific projects was one of the most hotly discussed topics and Betts quotes the *School Board Chronicle's* dry comment on the 1881 budget report: 'The annual financial statement of the London School Board has produced the usual crop of critical articles' (2015: 191). In my corpus, the 'crop of critical articles' totals at 42 articles, 8.5% of all articles, 30 of which were published in *The Queen*. But in contrast to the enforcement of attendance debate, most of the articles about the rising LSB budget were calm reports, often only containing the bare numbers. Especially in miscellaneous columns notes about budget reports appeared almost annually. But there are also some free-standing articles, mostly reprinted from other magazines, which means the opinions expressed were not necessarily those of the editors, but included to provide well-rounded reporting. Magazines were becoming more familiar with the technicalities of politics and self-confident enough to comment on an unfeminine issue.

The years 1884 and 1885 saw a crusade against rising rates, to which *The Queen* contributed eleven articles. Later in 1885, the campaign for the sixth LSB elections made use of this conflict and the public's increasing preoccupation with the LSB budget.²³ The first one in this cluster of articles, from 18 October 1884, is a note in the 'Gazette des Dames,' announcing that the LSB's chairman's financial report 'justified the estimated expenditure for the present

²³ Betts discusses the first budget debate of the fifth board and the general unhappiness about rising rates, but does not mention the especially fierce debate in 1884-5.

year of £950,000' as acceptable, but likely to go up since the 367 LSB schools still only accommodated 328,683 children and left many uncatered for (Anon. Vol. LXXVI. Oct. 18, 1884. p. 420). And indeed, in February 1885, a free-standing article about the LSB's chairman's annual financial statement reported that the expenses now amounted to £1,586,406. Chair Sir Richard Temple called the rate of 9.5d 'distasteful,' but blamed it on the 'late board,' who had 'sanctioned [expenses] beyond the power of the present board to revoke' (Anon. Vol. LXXVII. Feb. 13, 1885: 184). In contrast to the 'Gazette,' in this article the anonymous author added the comment that 'Making all allowances, the increase of charge for elementary education in the metropolis was very large' (Ibid.).

The regular recurrence of similar articles demonstrates *The Queen's* strategy of using financial matters to campaign for female members. But party politics came to the forefront of such criticism and alternatives for running the Board were presented in a constructive manner. Ideology about how to help the ever-higher numbers of urban poor entered LSB politics, but faced aggressive hostility as for 'most members, the delicate balance between individual and community, private and public, was best served by an advocacy of *laissez-faire* practices' (Martin 2004: 125). Another 'Gazette' article on the 'Budget Debate,' reprinted without comment from *Vanity Fair*, aggressively criticised the fact that 'the board is becoming an assemblage of dreary and ignorant vulgarians who are at the mercy of smart clerks, and the clerks naturally influence their stupid, half-educated patrons in the direction of extravagance. If gentlemen would accept positions on the board, then the vestrymen might be snuffed out' (Anon. Vol. LXXVII. Feb. 27, 1885: 285). The article really was a call for conservative candidates for the upcoming elections and the opening question whether 'people know that the next School Board rate will practically amount to one shilling?' used the controversial issue of how much the middle-class rate payers had to pay for elementary education. On the other hand, 'the Socialist Democratic Federation ran four candidates [...] [who] pledged to support "the provision of at least one meal a day for the children in the Board Schools"' (*School Board Chronicle*. Oct. 3, 1885: 328 qtd.

in Martin 2004: 123). Many of *The Queen*'s readers must have been the wives of such 'gentlemen' or 'persons of standing' the article wanted to see on the LSB in order to get rid of the 'stupid, half-educated' vestrymen. Until the Poor Law Act of 1834, when they 'were finally superseded,' parish vestrymen had been, among other religious and secular duties, responsible for poor relief and disposed of sizeable funds (cf. Hewitt 2012: 10). In the opinion of the *Vanity Fair* author, they were below the class that was adequate for educational bureaucrats. *The Queen* reprinted this article for the election campaign and showed themselves simultaneously uncomfortable with vestrymen being responsible for a large budget and *Vanity Fair*'s classist evaluation.

Later in the year, after the 1885 elections had taken place, the 'Gazette des Dames' reprinted another article 'rejoic[ing] at the defeat of some particular members of the old board' (Anon. Vol. LXXVIII. Nov. 14, 1885: 5). This was from the *Saturday Review*, which like *Vanity Fair* was not directed at women. The article analysed the results and came to the conclusion that 'electors are fairly tired of all those things which are indicated by an increase in the school rate. They have had enough of a board which did not content itself with applying a necessary minimum of teaching, but was intent on working out a grand scheme of national elevation' (Ibid.). Opinion about the LSB's objective was divided - simply teaching the three R's to the working classes or the greater aim of 'national elevation,' which implied different levels of budgets. Both articles used very divisive language and displayed a low view of the main beneficiaries, but also the LSB itself. Because *The Queen*'s affluent readers constituted a big part of enfranchised women over thirty, who owned property or were married to voting men, and thus were hit most by higher rates, they were an ideal audience for such arguments. And yet the editor did not commission many articles by *The Queen*'s own journalists, but reprinted from other publications, not shying away from their sharp-tongued tenor. Apparently *The Queen* did not think it worthwhile, thereby betraying their readers' opposition to Conservative *laissez-faire* policies without taking responsibility. While these two voices refused to consider the LSB

as a program of national improvement, most other *The Queen* articles did not doubt this to be the LSB's actual objective. This meant a modernisation of their readers' philanthropic interests, now in conjunction with rather than instead of a state-controlled system. Even if the readers were not LSB members or officers, they wanted to continue their voluntary commitment.

In the same LSB election campaign many periodicals put plans for rate-supported school meals at a price of 1d at the heart of the budget debate, constructing another opportunity for volunteers to help an official body. 1 penny would have been affordable for parents, but not completely taken away their responsibility to feed their children. Penny dinners were one of the schemes for which the LSB was accused of extravagant spending habits or 'fads' for national elevation. On January 24, 1884 *The Queen* published a leading article about a Charity Organisation Society meeting on 'Penny Dinners for School Children.' The Charity Organisation Society had systematically experimented, but the project

has been found to fail as soon as the novelty had worn off - the pennies are not as forthcoming, or the children spend them in other modes. The fastidious tastes and prejudices of the poor are much against the movement, and [...] chunks of bread [...] will be found to be given by the parents in place of the penny that would supply the child with a wholesome and nutritious warm meal.

Anon. Vol. LXXV. Jan. 24, 1884: 87.

Children and parents alike are blamed for irresponsible behaviour because they did not know what was best for themselves. As Copelman says, '[s]chool feeding not only made the schools testing grounds for future welfare state policies, but also [...] provided more ways to criticize and attempt to change working-class life and culture' (1996: 97) by building in conditions that were difficult to meet and also through what kind of food was provided to improve the pupils' health, tastes and habits. The article also attacks the traditional philanthropic strategies of many *The Queen* readers:

Charitably disposed people, who have much sympathy and weak judgment, will persist in looking at but one side of the question. A hungry child, with

cold hands and shoeless feet, overcomes the reasoning power they possess, and they will supply any number with food and clothing, regardless of the fact that they are encouraging the vice and idleness of the parents, and that, if every rich person was to act as they do, society would be disorganised.

Anon. Vol. LXXV. Jan. 24, 1884: 87.

This accuses philanthropists of being more sentimental than rational in their attitude towards benefits, a clearly feminine connotation. Ideologically, the suggestion to support the poorest LSB pupils with penny dinners in order to sate their worst hunger was somewhere between the strict rules of the Charity Organisation Society and more open-minded socialist ideas. In December, although the election results had been announced, the school-meal controversy had not died down and another voice from *Vanity Fair* was reprinted as an independent article (Anon. Vol. LXXVI. Dec. 20, 1884: 687). This article was even more securely on the side of traditional conservatism when it asked how ‘many people are aware that a responsible Minister of State actually recommends the feeding of poor children at the expense of the ratepayer?’ This minister was A.J. Mundella, Liberal Trade Minister and later chair of the LSB, who was famous for working-class friendly reforms. He was in favour of a more interventionist government, but faced stern opposition: ‘Once you feed the children by the easy process of stealing other people’s money, you are logically bound to clothe them. [...] There is no logical halting-place for you between providing maintenance and shelter of every kind’ (Ibid.). For the anonymous *Vanity Fair* author penny dinners were a slippery slope to a socialist welfare state where ‘the overburdened taxpayer’ ‘supports the brats of drunken scamps who spend the bulk of their earnings in qualifying for *delirium tremens*’ (Ibid.). While Britain’s financial prowess at the time could have made the rich government more generous, affluence also brought parsimony in its wake. As Fröhlich says, many Conservatives still accepted poverty almost as a necessary consequence of the general prosperity (cf. Fröhlich 2004: 129-134). The *Vanity Fair* author was of this right-wing persuasion and believed that everybody just needed the right spirit of self-

improvement to provide for a family without charity rather than inevitably abusing benefits for buying alcohol.

In the absence of state-funded school meals, several private charitable enterprises sprung up, like the Board School Children's Free Dinner Fund. In March 1890, the year when elementary education was made free of charge, its secretary Mrs Pennington circulated an open letter in *The Queen*. In 'Free Dinners for Board School Children' she explains that late spring was the season when the families' savings were used up and 'many of these children are [...] returning to school after illness, needing, above everything, nourishing food' (Anon. Vol. LXXXVII. March 22, 1890: 377). She reassured the readers that her Charity Organisation Society-approved organisation would never pauperise anybody by only choosing children who were worthy of their support. The article closed with the urge for 'subscriptions and donations.' Although school fees had been abolished, parents were still struggling to feed their children and relying on the private charitable enterprise of women. Conservative critics blamed this on the pauperising and responsibility-diminishing effect of free elementary education. By 1899, the LSB was ready for a more holistic approach and 'appointed [...] a special subcommittee to inquire into the number of children attending the Board schools, who were insufficiently fed and too hungry to pay the requisite attention to the instruction' ('School Board Socialism'. Anon. Vol. CVI. Oct. 12, 1899: 476). Although the state had become interventionist and welfare-minded enough to provide free education, the fear of pauperisation persisted. But the subcommittee proceeded very systematically and also consulted with private providers like Mrs Pennington. The committee found that 13 percent of LSB pupils 'habitually c[a]me to school in want of food.' Only half of them were receiving private charity, 'so that day by day [...] 25,000 [we]re always suffering from hunger [...] and of these 8000 [we]re infants, whose physical and mental growth [wa]s thus stunted at the commencement of their lives' (Ibid.). The debate about free school meals had uncovered another obstacle to national progress: Apart from hungry minds not being receptive to teaching, starving babies could not grow up to be useful and reliable

citizens, endangering the whole project of improving the nation through elementary education. The LSB accepted that they had to act, but feeding the children further enraged the ratepayers by raising the spectre of socialism: According to the *The Queen* article, the ‘condition of the working class [...] is exceedingly satisfactory’ and providing penny dinners meant that even ‘medical assistance’ would have to be given - ‘utopian projects [...] a mere waste of time, apparently [...] raised to give the socialistic members the opportunity of ventilating their crochet’ (Ibid.). Apart from an incorrect definition of the term socialism, this was a very condescending description. The article was trying to invoke a sense of humour and amusement at the expense of misguided socialists who believed in a ‘utopian’ and useless fad to create a front against such ideas and the subsequent increase in rates.

This was the last article both in *The Queen* and in the whole corpus to criticise the LSB budget before it was abolished a few years later - and the most aggressive. It stands out as being not a note in a miscellaneous column, but a free-standing article, which was not reproduced from another magazine, but especially commissioned for one of the last editions of the century, destined to make a lasting impression. This tells of the scepticism and uncertainty such interventionist and welfare-minded suggestions caused and explains why it took so long until a fully-fledged welfare state was established. The article also gendered the support of socialist motions: ‘It was unsatisfactory to notice that the women members were prominent in advocating this ridiculous proposal’ (Ibid.). In 1899, there were seven female members on the LSB: Emma Knox Maitland (Chelsea), Eugenie Dibdin (Finsbury), Margaret Anne Eve (Finsbury), Mary Bridges Adams (Greenwich), Violet Honnor Morten (Hackney), Ruth Homan (Tower Hamlets) and the Hon. Agnes Maude Lawrence (Westminster). Mary Bridges Adams had working-class origins and was a socialist, who was to become a member of the London County Council for Labour. She had dedicated her ‘powerful maiden speech’ to the issue of underfed children in a Marxist analysis (Martin 2004: 126). The author condemns their involvement in ‘this ridiculous proposal,’ which

questions their ability to think rationally - a typical criticism of women. Even after almost 30 years on the LSB, women were still not accepted as fully functioning members whose political opinion could be trusted. Especially socialism was considered as inappropriate for women, maybe because of its associations with the rough working class. However, in the *Women's Penny Paper's* interview with Annie Besant no such gendered disapproval is mentioned (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1). This probably was due to the time differential of eleven years, but maybe also *The Queen's* and the *Women's Penny Paper's* different politics and conception of women's role. A similar preconception that women rather belonged to the conservative camp later also played a role in the struggle for female suffrage. Liberal and Labour politicians 'feared that the extension of the suffrage on conservative, i.e. property-based, terms would only extend old biases' (Harrison 1978: 47). Women who owned property were suspected to be religious conservatives and unlikely to vote for progressive ideas and candidates. However, middle-class women's traditional involvement in philanthropy and poor-visiting would also have meant that they were more familiar with the needs of the poor and the fact that often their plight was not self-inflicted and avoidable through a better work ethic but in need of the holistic approach of socialism. In '1900 the Board finally set up a permanent co-ordinating committee to supplement voluntary efforts,' thereby indirectly proving its belief in private, often female-organised, charity (Martin 2004: 127).²⁴ Only the 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act 'gave local authorities the green light to spend public money on school food - and crucially - money from the treasury in order to do so' (www.gov.uk).

Despite all these articles in my core periodicals, the *School Board Chronicle* did not mention this debate, only in a meeting of the board for Barry near Cardiff, where a Mr Buzzo moved to 'ascertain the number of underfed children,' but was defeated because of the usual fears or excuses of offending proud parents and pauperisation (Anon.

²⁴ Refer to p. 122-127 for a detailed analysis of women's involvement in the penny dinner controversy, both in official positions on the LSB and through private ventures.

Vol. LXI, No. 1,463. Feb. 25, 1899: 201). For teachers penny dinners were apparently not as important as for periodicals for women. The magazines in the corpus focused on the controversial debate to highlight their readers' involvement in welfare, which had always existed even without government systems. In matters of public welfare women's help was always needed, although they often were not paid and not recognised as professionals. Now that the LSB had started to implement state-regulated benefits, the emphasis on female involvement served two purposes: To argue for women as official LSB members, but also to maintain opportunities for voluntary philanthropy for those who could not become members or paid officers.

3.4.4. Strategies for Ensuring Attendance

At the same time the appreciation of childhood was changing: Rather than forcing them into education at all cost, new solutions for gapless schooling were starting to be discussed. The LSB recognised that legislation was not enough to ensure attendance and other incentives had to be found. This subchapter is about how one of the most common reasons for skipping school, the need to babysit younger siblings while the mother was at work, was addressed by the female members. It will therefore go back to the beginnings of the LSB era in the early 1870s, when again a note in *The Queen's 'Gazette des Dames'* first mentioned an attempt to resolve this problem by reprinting an article from the *Echo*: 'It has been reported that the School Board intends, at some time or other, to try schools with a nursery attached for such babies as are really dependent on their sisters' (Anon. Vol. LIV. Sept. 27, 1873: 247). There were already some 'charity chrèche[s], run in connection with church or mission, or funded by subscribers and patrons. [...] In London before 1870, there were probably a dozen at best' (Davín 1996: 92). After the Elementary Education Act had increased the need, at first the LSB

set up a few more. But in the end there were never enough to cater for all the children who had to be looked after by their older siblings, who as a consequence missed school:

[i]n almost every family of half a dozen children, in which there is a daughter of more than nine years old [...] the entire care of the baby is given to the eldest girl, and of course her own education comes to a dead stop, though frequently it has hardly advanced beyond the alphabet, [...] Even in the rare cases in which, yielding to the pressure of the School Board, the mother resumes the charge of her youngest, and sends the girl to school, she only stays there until her thirteenth birthday.

Anon. Vol. LIV. Sept.
27, 1873: 247.

This was a grave obstacle to the proper working of the Elementary Education Act. The Act itself only provided funding to educate children between 5 and 13 and the budget for nurseries was not sanctioned by law. After many complaints against the LSB as ‘extravagant and over-ambitious,’ no more crèches were set up and the LSB renounced responsibility (cf. Davin 1996: 93). Instead independent nurseries were established with the help of ‘plenty of private charity, especially among ladies’ (Anon. Vol. LIV. Sept. 27, 1873: 247) to relieve older children from their domestic duties during school hours. Despite the LSB’s legal provisions, middle-class women were still necessary to fully implement the laws by running these charity crèches at their personal expenses. For many women who had not taken the step into official LSB membership or employment as visitors and managers this was a good opportunity to keep up their involvement with elementary education and philanthropy. This mirrors the conflict between a completely integrated state system and its critics, which meant that the elementary education attempted by the 1870 Elementary Education Act had to remain incomplete and not fully functional.

But the *Echo/Queen* article praised the reforming effects of combining a nursery with a short course of elementary education, which they hoped would serve as guiding example:

Wild, dirty, ragged girls [...] are induced to come twice a week, and spend two or three hours in learning to read and write. Nor is the reading and writing the only thing they learn. Marks are given for neatness and cleanliness, and the reformation in these important aspects which a few weeks will effect is certainly encouraging. [...] The girls [...] soon become very fond of the ladies who teach them, and compete eagerly.

Ibid.

They were also given homework to keep them busy and off the streets. It was accepted that the one-law-fits-all approach of the LSB's full-time schooling was not practicable for some girls and alternatives were found. But the colourful description cast working-class girls as not much more than untamed animals, who needed conditioning with positive reinforcements for 'neatness and cleanliness' and affirmative examples in the 'ladies,' that means women of a higher class than themselves, to be reformed into useful members of society. In its efforts to reform the lowest parts of society, the LSB and all its affiliate organisations used teaching methods not just in the traditional classroom situations. The approaches described by the *Echo* follow the behaviourist learning techniques of operant conditioning with positive reinforcements according to B. F. Skinner - before he described this development of Pavlov's original theory - and imitation learning by observing a positive and respected model and adapting one's actions to match. But the training methods were elementary, aimed at teaching basic skills to people with not much intelligence, or indeed, as in Skinner's and Pavlov's original experiments, animals (cf. Scott Vol. 55, No. 3. Fall 1972: 336). This demonstrates the low opinion the originators of the Elementary Education Act had of their clients and how necessary they considered general improvement. Tellingly the article closes with an appeal to find more positive reinforcers: 'If any ladies who have plenty of leisure, education, and energy were to start a few such schools in different parts of London and other great towns, they would be helping forward in no small degree the great object of educating the poorest classes' (Anon. Vol. LIV. Sept. 27, 1873: 247). Less than three years into the project, the LSB itself was still perfecting a working system. The *Echo/Queen* article proves

that female philanthropists were using the system's perceived weaknesses to campaign for their own continued involvement. Their campaigning resulted in more nurseries being opened, both as private ventures and under the LSB's *aegis*. Every family with a child attending an LSB school was also able to send a baby to the public nursery, free of charge.

19 years later, Susan Countess of Malmesbury, herself such a lady of 'leisure, education and energy,' wrote an article for *The Queen* about 'A Board School Nursery' (Malmesbury Vol. XLI. Jan. 9, 1892: 51). In contrast to the model described in the *Echo/Queen*, this crèche was part of a regular full-time school. Malmesbury's article is lavishly illustrated with two woodcuts depicting the nurse, her charges and the comfortable and childproof set-up of the nursery. One of these is reproduced here. But the take-up was not very high because in the poorest parts of the city voluntary schools attracted more pupils than LSB schools. The author blamed this on the Christmas gifts and other treats by 'lady visitors,' which made non-LSB schools more 'fashionable' (Ibid.). Middle-class philanthropists had carved out a space for themselves in the changing landscape of child care by continuing their traditional poor visiting. Malmesbury's discontent with private welfare echoes Charity Organisation Society concerns, but also distinguished her as an advocate of an unsentimental and fair state system. She describes the daily routine in the Drury Lane LSB school and nursery as example for the whole system. The babies were dropped off at 9am 'and remain[ed] there til a little after twelve [...] They return[ed] again at two, and remain[ed] till four' (Ibid.). The nurse also washed them when they were very dirty, 'although she does not do this unless compelled, as otherwise the mothers would rely upon her doing it.' Food was not provided. A strong attempt was made to educate the parents to adequately care for their children in order to prevent them from being pauperised and reliant on state charity by taking away their responsibilities - all in keeping with (pseudo-)scientific Charity Organisation Society doctrines and Skinner-esque conditioning. The article also includes a heart-wrenching description of the children and their circumstances. It must have touched the



Figure 10: Engraved illustration of ‘A Board School Nursery’ in *The Queen* (Malmesbury Vol. XLI. Jan. 9, 1892: 51).

heart of *The Queen*’s middle-class readers to read about ‘a little dot of eight months [...] [who] had on a collection of the cleanest and poorest rags I ever saw, hung about its poor little wrinkled body’

(Ibid.). This and the information that the rooms of such LSB nurseries were ‘far superior to anything the children can have in their own homes or, indeed, to many Mayfair nurseries,’ illustrated by two woodcuts (one reproduced here), were all intended to win over the readers for this ‘opportunity for private charity’ (Ibid.). Although by now the LSB had taken ‘upon itself this extra and somewhat arduous charge,’ there were not enough public free nurseries and middle-class philanthropy still had to be appealed to for private financial help (Ibid.).

In November 1903, just before the LSB was abolished, *Hearth and Home* carried an article about another attempt to improve attendance (Clift Vol. XXVI, No. 654:197). Bessie W. Clift described ‘A Hat Trimming Competition in a Board School,’ which was instituted when ‘we f[ou]nd the attendance on Friday afternoons [was] much poorer than on any other day.’ She does not explain who ‘we’ were, but her article gives the impression that she was a school manager or visitor and very knowledgeable about a Board School’s daily routine. Clift had started “‘pleasant half-hours” as a bribe - to put it bluntly - to attend’ (Ibid.). Clift outspokenly calls positive reinforcements for attendance ‘bribes’: After tea parties for the pupils’ dolls, the hat trimming competition was the most effective. Having been invited to the entertainment on Monday, that week the seven-year olds ‘attended “to the man” as the saying is’ in the hope for a little fun at the end. She describes in great detail the

preparations of supplying the children with the necessary equipment and supplies, but also adds some pedagogical insights: ‘It struck us directly how the choice of colours and materials of these little girls indicated their characters’ (Ibid.). The competition was not only useful for compelling the children to attend, but the teachers and managers could also observe them and find out how they were improving, not just academically. The working classes were often considered to be of a lower moral standard, and one little girl was convicted of cheating when she brought in a bow, which her mother had made for her. Clift reports that ‘[t]his was the only unpleasant incident in the whole entertainment, and I am sorry to say it was not the first underhand action of the poor little scrap of humanity’ (Ibid.). Describing the character of a seven-year old girl who brought in a pre-made bow as ‘unpleasant’ and ‘underhand’ speaks of the need for moral improvement perceived in the working classes.

In the end a particularly poor boy won the competition. He was depicted in the accompanying illustration, which invited much ridicule about his outfit. The judges, senior pupils, decided that No. 3 should be the winner,

but he won it for other things than ‘style, neatness and suitability’ [...] Personally, I think it was his *tout ensemble* which gained the prize. As you can see from his picture, it was indeed *chic*: He had no boots to come to school on that day (they had gone to be mended), but his father, being out of work, had stayed indoors and loaned him a pair, while his brother, who had left school, had lent him a coat.

Ibid.

Throwing in French words usually used to describe high fashion makes his appearance even more laughable and pitiful. His whole family, although bitterly poor, had helped together to make sure he could go to school on such an exciting day. And yet Clift caricatured him in a way that is less than kind. Describing him as ‘a dear, bright little man, [who said] he has never been so happy as the time he won the “Hat Trimming” prize’ sounds condescending (Ibid.). A similarly mocking tone was used by Sarah Tooley in her interview with Ruth Homan, where she favourably described the ‘picturesque

effect of ‘Arriet:’ ‘Sunday afternoon is the time to see ‘Arriet in full parade in the Mile End Road, when her hat and feathers - more especially the feathers - are in full evidence’ (Tooley No. 46. Nov. 15, 1894: 310). The working classes took pride in their Sunday Best as a nice change from their usual work gear, but the two authors questioned their taste and felt privileged by their own more subdued and literally classy style to mock those attempts at bringing colour and *joie de vivre* to an otherwise drab world. The winning boy’s reaction was construed as the gratefulness the working classes should feel for middle-class intervention. Clift employed this classist and derisive tone to gather more middle-class support for similar attendance-improving entertainments. The way she described the day, starting with the loud chorus of “‘Number Three!’” “‘Number Three!’” to acclaim the winner, and her intriguing introduction: ‘But that is nearly the *end* of the story: the *beginning* of it was the fact that in our school we find the attendance on Friday afternoons is much poorer’ is very effective for attracting readers with similar problems (Clift Vol. XXVI, No. 654:197). Especially the details about how they planned and organised the day would have been useful for other school managers struggling with the enforcement of attendance. Clift did not just write a charming report, but also a how-to manual for positively reinforcing Board School attendance.

But the most successful solution for consistent attendance would have been free education, rendering all these efforts to trick children into school unnecessary. As Becker had said in her speech in front of the British Association, what kept most children away from school was the cost (Anon. No. 13. Aug. 29, 1874: 4). Forster’s Act allowed the local school boards to ‘from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same’ (Aug. 9, 1870. Public General Act, 33 & 34 Victoria I, c. 75). They could also pay the fees for a while or, if there were enough hard cases, set up free schools. According to Hollis, both Davies and Garrett Anderson were at first vociferously against free education because in their opinion free things were never valued or taken

seriously. But once they had found out that poor mothers often struggled to raise even the small sums of between 1d. and 4d. for the school pence or indeed suitable clothing, they changed their minds (cf. 1987: 85-87). Their arguments raised middle-class concerns about the working classes' ability to see the worth of education and to take rational decisions. But the system was inefficient and ineffective, and cost more money than the fees brought in. Many of the magistrates responsible for judging cases of absence did not believe in further aggravating crippling poverty with court fees and 'constantly dismissed or adjourned school attendance cases, or inflicted only nominal penalties.' This antagonised the visitors, who saw their decisions and usefulness questioned (Davlin 1996: 86).

In 1876, the decision of fee remission was transferred to the Poor Law Guardians, because it had become apparent that it was more within the authority of that Board to deal with impoverished families. After the Mundella Act had made attendance compulsory until the age of ten, the Trade Union Congress demanded school fees to be abolished (cf. K. Evans 1985: 45), but it was not until 1890 that elementary education was made free of charge for everyone. Compulsory, but free elementary education was a socialist concept. But the idea of a welfare state where the better-off citizens paid for those in need was too radical to be implemented at once. Such proto-Labour thought was just being developed by progressive thinkers and organisations like the Fabian society. Jane Lewis comes to the conclusion that 'regard for human capital took priority over fears of increasing pauperisation' (cf. Lewis 1992: 291-293). The education of the working classes was recognised as a far-sighted investment in Britain's future. But although 'the removal of fees did not result in the increase in attendance their opponents expected,' it signified a broader change in attitude towards welfare by 'abandoning a process which was designed in the first place to preserve the perceived division between the deserving and the undeserving poor' (Ibid.: 312).

3.5. 'A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade:' Literary Endorsement for Political Women?

In the last decade of the nineteenth century old encrusted structures had started to break open and women had become more regular sights not just as school board members, but also as County Councillors and Poor Law Guardians. For the many campaigners for universal suffrage these were great symbols of hope but it was to take a very long time, a radical fight and a war before at least a small part of women were allowed to vote in national elections. The local concessions appear to have been like the proverbial bones thrown to dogs to distract them from their real aspiration. Krista Cowman charts the modern disagreement about how helpful local suffrage was for national suffrage. Representing the two main opposing arguments, according to Patricia Hollis it did not help at all, but was just deferment, while Martin Pugh believes that local government forged 'small keys to unlock large doors.' Cowman herself argues that all these brave women paved the way to universal suffrage, 'allowing women to seek election at a time when no other European country offered them a similar role' (Hollis 1987: 54). As this chapter on administration by women has shown, women were not just extending their access to the public sphere as elected members of School Boards, but also embraced responsibility in the unelected but salaried roles of school managers and visitors and at the very end of the century as inspectors. Women's growing involvement in the expansion of local government also illustrates the increasing professionalisation of all aspects of education, which the next chapter will look at from the perspective of teachers. Especially the fact that women were employed on an identical standing as men to inspect schools was an important achievement. It meant that women were finally recognised to be as intelligent, skilled and trustworthy as men. Being an inspector by definition implies superiority to the inspected, but both the women employed to inspect Board Schools and factories were only responsible for a specific section of their field. Women LSB inspectors only inspected girls' and infants' schools and until 1921, the Lady Factory Inspectors were only

mistresses of a ‘separate section of the inspectorate with a specific remit to inspect and regulate the employment conditions of women’ (Spurgeon 2012: 1). The case study of the enforcement of attendance identified how women argued for their responsibility for working-class children with the theory of social motherhood, reinforced by many New Journalistic strategies. Especially in critical articles women campaigners asserted their special expertise for improving the LSB.

Whether making the rules as elected, but unpaid LSB members or ensuring that the Elementary Education Act’s rulings were observed as paid-for inspectors was more important and revolutionary will remain a moot point. But it is important to hear contemporary voices to assess what the women thought, who were immediately affected. For this fiction is a useful tool, especially since it appeared in nearly all women’s magazines. While Onslow explains that periodicals ‘provided an increasingly important outlet for fiction which even popular authors needed to exploit’ (Onslow 2005: 200-204), Beetham and Boardman comment on the varying quality and length of serial fiction and pass the verdict that ‘much of this writing was formulaic and mediocre’ (Beetham and Boardman 2001: 122). This last comment also applies to ‘A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade,’ a story by Lucy H. Yates, which was serialised in *The Young Woman – A Monthly Journal and Review* between December 1900 and April 1901. At first it reads like a literary endorsement of professional women, especially of female LSB members, but turns out to be advocating the status quo. *Young Woman* cost 3d and was directed at working ‘girls who think,’ as it said in their first editorial in 1892. Its mostly female but renowned contributors gave advice on many topics, often on how to earn money. The New Journalistic periodical did not publish much literature, but the usual articles like reports from overseas, religious articles and interviews. An important feature was educational articles promoting their credo of upward social mobility through education. It was a progressive periodical, but not explicitly feminist (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 697-698).

‘A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade’ addresses their audience of working girls with an ambition and an interest in the modern world. The first-person narrator Kitty introduces her three sisters Marjorie, Gertie, and Ursula. While she herself is earning ‘a few guineas’ as an author, Ursula paints miniatures on ivory and dreams of selling them for ‘a £200 fee,’ Gertie is training to be an accountant with the family’s books. Marjorie is ‘compiling notes from a Parliamentary Blue Book on educational statistics’ as she is planning to become a member of the LSB. Marjorie’s character is illustrated especially well as being fixated on her ambition - exemplary of many LSB candidates and members. When their mother distracts the girls with a domestic problem, ‘Marjorie looked up, and there was a little note of impatience in her voice as she spoke. She always said that as the housekeeping was mother’s department she did not think we ought any of us to interfere with it; Marjorie was strongly inclined to shut life up into departments whenever she could get her will’ (Yates Dec. 1900: 70-71). Yates’ partly satirical assessment of Marjorie’s attitude implies that she would have been a great fit for the LSB, whose administration was also strictly based on committees and classical local government-style compartmentalisation - and often the object of jokes. Marjorie is not just studying educational laws, but already has specific plans for her impending tenure. Her mother disturbs the busy girls with the profane household matter that the family’s cook and two other servants have given their notice, apparently a regular occurrence. Marjorie knows an easy solution: “‘We are making Domestic Economy a compulsory subject for girls, and the cookery classes are always well attended; in a few years’ time every girl will have gone through a complete course of training that will fit her for any branch of housework’” (Ibid.: 70).

Complaints about the lack of good servants were ubiquitous at the end of the nineteenth century. Many blamed universal elementary education for the fact that young working-class domestics were no longer satisfied with being loyal to one employer for the rest of their lives. Low wages and long work hours were not accepted as main deterrents. Their education was rightly suspected of ‘giving them

ideas above their station,' that means options beyond domestic service. Marjorie's solution is one championed by many middle-class educational reformers: If girls were trained in school, they would not only become better servants, but also acquire a taste for executing their profession as well as possible because they would have picked up the habit in elementary school. Such an approach was supposed to improve the whole nation by boosting cleanliness, nutritional health and thrift. Thus, in 1889 the domestic subjects of cookery, laundry and needlework were made compulsory (cf. Hamilton and Schroeder 2007: 8-10).

And yet Marjorie herself is not happy to get involved in the domestic work she has just proclaimed to be traditionally female. This reluctance and inexperience marks her out as typical middle-class feminist reformer, who advocated housework as useful for and quintessential of women, especially from the working class (Levine 1990: 138). Yates' criticism of this attitude is not overt, but her ironic tone and Kitty's intervention does show her disapproval of such ideas:

"Girls, if you aren't ashamed of seeing those lines of worry in mother's face, I am, and I want to know if any of you can show tangible proof that your present work is really so valuable that everything in the house must needs give way to it?" Three indignant exclamation stops made me pause a minute, but I went on mercilessly, -

"You are not on the Board yet, Marjorie, and you very likely never will be, so you are neither paid nor required to give your whole time to theories and statistics. [...] and therefore I am going to propose to you that we face the facts of the case fairly and squarely, and acknowledge that we are each seeking to make work for ourselves while we are neglecting what lies nearest to our hands and cries aloud to be done."

"Do you want us all to turn housemaids and cooks, then?"

"Yes, if you like to put it so; at any rate, I want to see that load of worry taken off mother's shoulders..."

Yates Dec. 1900: 70.

The daughters, in their various aspirations prototypes of the New Women, are reminded that neither of them has actually earned any money and that their ambitions are unlikely to come to any fruition. This is particularly cutting for Marjorie, as portrait painting or

writing might be done simply for one's own pleasure, but her dreams of a candidacy for the LSB mean that she is especially advanced and not only wants to do something for herself, but for the LSB pupils and women in general.

Her sister's damning verdict of her negligible chances despite her hard work was a common trope. Feminists were often made to feel ashamed of their preference for public work rather than domestic chores, but unexpected from her equally advanced sister, who was earning her own money. But painting and writing had always been accepted occupations for young women as opposed to public politics. Marjorie's derogatory reply about housemaids and cooks suspects her and other candidates to be work-shy, precocious and deluded. No daughter was allowed to easily refuse helping their mothers with household matters - neither the girls in the story nor their readers. Marjorie's last objection is also born of her interest in education: "But we have not studied that kind of work, and have had no training," objected Marjorie' (Ibid.: 71). The LSB tried to instil their own middle-class ideal of self-improvement into their working-class clients and Marjorie is convinced that meticulous training was necessary even for housework. Her remark can also be seen as satire of the LSB reformers, who believed that working-class girls could only be trusted with housework after learning about it in school, although they had been doing it since time immemorial. On the other end of the spectrum, those who objected to spending public money on elementary education for the working classes did not think they needed training at all. As acceptance grew and more and more subjects like domestic education, music and drawing lessons or PE were added, they again disapproved and ridiculed the campaigners who insisted on improved characters with an understanding of beauty and efficiency for all citizens as vital for a successful nation. The working classes were hoped to adopt middle-class values as 'constant advance of professionalization made formal qualifications of all kinds essential to middle-class careers, as ideas of merit and expertise replaced older networks of kinship and patronage, or apprenticeships to a practitioner' (Anderson 2012: 484).

Marjorie and Gertie betray a refusal of levelling class boundaries from the opposite direction when they hesitate to open the door for visitors or ‘clean the doorsteps and polish the knocker.’ These tasks go beyond their willingness to help their mother, but Kitty knows how to convince them:

“What I want to know is whether you are willing to co-operate in trying to work this establishment on enlightened principles, and in promulgating a Domestic Forward Movement on behalf of womankind generally? [...] We have seen enough in our own neighbourhood to convince any one with common sense that domestic problems will never be settled until educated women take them up and set their intelligence to work upon them. Well, girls, shall we start a campaign?”

Yates Dec. 1900: 71.

She catches them with their deep-seated desire to change the world for women with some sort of campaign, which by 1900 had been recognised as an effective strategy by women. However, Marjorie is again used as example of forward-thinking women, who does not apply the ‘enlightened principles’ of classlessness at home, as ‘[t]his gentle soul who could mount platforms or sit on a Board shrank visibly when it came to opening a door or carrying a tray’ (Ibid.). This sends the message that class boundaries would have to be overcome for real change and also that truly radical women would have to live by the new rules. But it also criticises women for political activism while their own domestic matters are not in order.

In the end the girls agree to collaborate to keep house without the help of servants and their mother even sets up a smaller, but fully functional ‘bijou kitchen’ (Yates Jan. 1901: 150) like in the 168 LSB cookery centres, which were set up like an artisan’ house to practice the tasks of a housewife of that class (Dyhouse 1981: 89). Marjorie’s mother takes inspiration from these standardised teaching methods ‘for [she] want[s] to see if we cannot take away the drudgery from housework. [...] [She] even thought out a plan of work for each department which if carried out will make it possible to get the greater part done by noon and leave us all comparatively free for the rest of the day’ (Yates Jan. 1901: 150). Again her sorting of work into departments hails from the LSB’s endless committees and

efforts to make work and learning more efficient. Her promise of a free afternoon and ‘the art of keeping clean without big cleanings’ is another encouragement for lower-middle-class women to consider keeping their own household. The family in the story is well-off enough to afford a house and some education for their four daughters and two sons, but their rich aunt continuously complains that the father had ‘been burdened with four daughters, for whom he could never hope to provide fortunes, and who were never likely to marry decently without them.’ This was the period of ‘odd women’ who had to earn their own living, but keep up a front of gentility. There were also many families who were trying to resist the descent into working-class despondency. By 1900 the Elementary Education Act also had educated several generations and many had been able to get positions as clerks and were now aspiring to live middle-class lives.

Women had to pick up new skills to maximise money and time for the illusion of a genteel household and three whole instalments are dedicated to a clean and respectable house (January 1901), keeping up class appearances (February 1901) and dinner parties, including a sample menu (March 1901). Such instruction was also regularly to be had in advice columns all across periodicals for women, but here the didactic prose made it easier to digest and probably attracted a new circle of readers, lured in by the promise of a good story. Especially her haughty aunt’s admission that Kitty is ‘looking very well indeed [...] almost pretty’ is a positive reinforcement for struggling housewives, whom allegations and jokes in the press made afraid of being less attractive because of their infringement of traditional class and gender roles.

Male affirmation is also given when the lawyer father defends his daughters thus: ‘We are pioneers in a grand domestic forward movement, that has for its aim the making of better, happier, richer homes, a movement that is going to lift women out of the shackles of conventionality and give them an opportunity to develop their capabilities’ (Yates Feb. 1901: 180). Being a good housekeeper is equated with the unconventional work in the public sphere. Apart from reversing the argument that the LSB was an extension of women’s work at home, Yates argues that true progress would make

women able to do domestic work without being held back by class conventions. However, young women who felt constricted and ‘shackled’ by conventions were probably not easily persuaded that being better at housework and taking on the work of servants would sate their hunger for more options than being housewives and mothers. Emily Davies’ *Higher Education of Women* proves that domesticism was not enough for contemporary young women:

Writers in newspapers and magazines are fond of talking about the nursery, as if every household contained a never-ending supply of young children [...] Others have a great deal to say about the kitchen, assuming it to be desirable ‘that the ladies of the house should supersede, or at least assist, the cook.’ In that case, where there is a mother with two or three daughters, we should have four or five cooks. The undesirableness of such a multiplication of artists need scarcely be pointed out. Needlework, again, as this pursuit is sometimes recommended, occupies a much larger space in the imagination of writers than it does in practical life. [...]

Many fathers, however, are no doubt aware that their daughters have very little to do. But that seems to them anything but a hardship. They wish they had a little less to do themselves, and can imagine all sorts of interesting pursuits to which they would betake themselves if only they had a little more leisure. Ladies [...] have their choice, and they must evidently prefer idleness, or they would find something to do. 1866: 2.

All the girls of the ‘Household Brigade’ successfully found ‘something to do,’ but one of the ‘writers in newspapers and magazines’ Davies quotes so despisingly disapproved again. Yates’ story picked up the period’s general unease about what young girls could do in a changing world, mirrored by the campaign for middle-class elementary teachers, to be discussed in the next chapter.

In the next instalment their oldest brother Bertie is discovered to be a depraved and dishonest alcoholic. The catastrophe makes their help even more appreciated and especially Gertie benefits:

Gertie had been an excellent mathematical scholar, and she had a capital head for figures, besides other business qualifications, that made her one to be relied on, only her ‘unfortunate sex’, as she termed it, kept her from making a practical use of what was undoubtedly a fine gift. In reality, it was not sex but the wedge of social convention that cramped her, and hitherto father himself had been the thickest bit of the wedge.

Ibid.

The fact that the author allows her to make use of her talent softens Yates' damnation of female employment, but Gertie also has to 'take care of father when they travelled,' not just in business but also domestic terms. When the family moves to the country to take Bertie away from temptation, Ursula and Kitty can both return to their painting and writing - as long as the housework is done. Yates agrees with Davies that women needed more scope than domestic work, but only in the form of feminine hobbies. But it is Marjorie whose life decision Yates judges most drastically: She marries a friend of their other brother Tom. When he proposes, Kitty realises that 'Marjorie had another motive for entering into housekeeping details with such zest' (Yates March 1901: 236). Neither Marjorie nor her fiancé have enough money, but if she is able and willing to do the housework herself, they can afford to marry soon. But Marjorie has to give up her ambition of LSB membership to perform the household duties and save money. Marriage forces her to not run herself, but support her husband's candidature. For her, it has to be enough to have indirect political influence through him. But 'Marjorie seems very happy, and she is in every way fitted to be the wife of an aspiring public man [...] it is the wife and mother who is best qualified to serve in the interests of other people's children; while the influence through her husband is undoubtedly a power' (Yates April 1901: 264). The same problems held back many other young women who would otherwise have been great fits for a seat on the LSB. 'A Forward Movement of the Household Brigade' attempts to reconstruct the traditional role model as fulfilling and equally progressive.

The final instalment promises a heavenly reward to all unhappy girls, who were restricted by household duties. Kitty tells her mother that she feels 'indispensable' as housekeeper for the family and gets this answer:

"More than indispensable, my Kitty. When the rewards are given out it shall be said again, 'As his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff.' And though you write no famous book or take no leading place, your work shall last for all time. It may be yours to

fight in obscurity, but never forget that the eye of the Great Commander 'seeth in secret' and what He sees there He has said He will reward 'openly.'"

Ibid.

Such an endorsement by their mothers and God is meant as reassurance that giving up one's ambitions in order to work at home brought true happiness. The story didacticises the age-old problem of how to combine housework and ambitions for careers in public life. If domestic matters were approached with more efficiency and methodology, women could be both mothers and housewives and successful outside the house. Like the LSB, it also tries to contribute to the levelling of classes due to self-help, but top-down. The author claims to advocate the breaking-down of conventionality and arbitrary gender rules, but is really very ambiguous about what women could and should do, especially in the closing statement, which endorses meekness and service despite personal sacrifices.

The Young Woman was addressed to 'girls,' an age between the end of formal education and marriage, when they had to find a suitable life for themselves. According to Beetham and Boardman, the 'women's movement can be seen in the definition of girlhood constructed in the pages of this type of magazine:' Girls were still trained to be wives and mothers, but at the same time they were already told that they could consider education, work and sports before the duties of marriage (Beetham and Boardman 2001: 71). Working for the LSB had become so accepted for women that in this construction of increasingly independent, but still dutiful middle-class girlhood a candidacy was a viable option. Never is Marjorie attacked for her ambition to be an LSB lady as such, only in that it interferes with her duties towards her family. This shows that at the date of publication in 1900, 30 years after the establishment of the LSB, many of the obstacles for women wishing to contribute to the education and improvement of the working class had been overcome. A truly new century was about to begin, one which would soon bring the abolition of the LSB and its opportunities for women, but also the election of women onto the London County Council in 1910 and, finally, universal suffrage.

4. ‘The Art of Teaching:’ Professionalisation of Women Teachers

Another avenue for the four sisters would have been teaching. Teaching was one of the professions which underwent the greatest changes in the second half of the nineteenth century with a proliferation of opportunities especially for women. To keep up with the general professionalisation of society, teaching quickly developed in all the five areas that were identified as defining a profession by T. Leggatt in 1970:

- (a) Practice is founded upon a base of theoretical, esoteric knowledge.
- (b) The acquisition of knowledge requires a long period of education and socialization.
- (c) Practitioners are motivated by an ideal of altruistic service rather than [...] economic gain.

- (d) Careful control is exercised over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice.
- (e) The colleague group is well organized and has disciplinary powers to enforce a code of ethical practice.

Leggatt 1970: 155-156.

Especially (c) has been proved a requirement for the volunteers working for the LSB, but elementary school mistresses also needed a healthy dose of altruistic idealism. (e) was to be enforced by the Education Code and also the unions. The achievement of (a), (b) and (d) is addressed in the first sub-chapter, as one of the most important impacts of the Elementary Education Act was better organisation of teacher training and therefore better employability for certified teachers (cf. Shiman 1992: 78). I demonstrate how female teachers and campaigners used the platform of the periodicals to establish elementary teaching not just as a professional opportunity for women, but as a specifically female profession. Following Rüschemeyer's definition of professions as 'akademische Berufe' (1980: 311), the most important part of professionalisation was the newly organised teacher training and how women's periodicals used it as the foundation of a new professional identity. At first the more common path of working-class pupil teachers is charted (4.1.1.), but then also *The Queen's* and *Work and Leisure's* powerful campaign to win middle-class women as elementary teachers and what that meant for class relations (4.1.2.). The discussion of teachers' unions and an article cluster in *The Women's Penny Paper* about their 'Teachers' Free Trip' documents how the new profession was received in the periodical press for women (4.2.). In the second part, the advent of reform pedagogics, especially Froebel's ideas, is used to illustrate the teachers' new understanding of their profession, with visual and oral teaching methods and changing opinions on corporal punishment as examples (4.3.). The main body of source articles is taken from my corpus of selected magazines as discussed in the introduction, but in the case of the new pedagogical theories *The Board Teacher* as industry magazine provides the point of view of the directly affected teachers. At the end of the chapter some variations on the usual plot and setting of the popular and highly

productive genre of school fiction provide a useful concluding comparison (4.4).

4.1. 'Teachers Taught:' Institutionalising Teacher Training

Ever since religious organisations had developed an interest in education as a method for improving the nation, teachers were coming more to the forefront of attention as good moral and academic examples for the pupils. This introduction outlines the historical context and the development of institutionalised teacher training. One of the traditional paths into elementary school teaching was the monitorial system where a schoolmaster was responsible for the organisation and discipline of the school and the instruction of the monitors, that is older and abler pupils. They then duplicated the master's exercises with different groups, which was determined by ability, not age. This system permitted schoolmasters to cope with a very large number of children, but also had shortcomings like mechanical repetition and rote-learning rather than deep understanding (cf. K. Evans 1985: 26-27). But despite their experience, monitors could not become schoolmasters without attending a training college, from which their underprivileged working-class origins usually barred them. These colleges were mostly residential and often excluded women. By 1850 over 30 existed, of which all but five were associated with the Church of England, colouring the training courses with religious ideals and considering 'the new teachers as akin to Christian missionaries, bringing enlightenment to the uneducated masses' rather than focusing on academic or didactic knowledge (cf. Keating 2010: 1). To remedy this dire situation, Sir Kay-Shuttleworth, administrating minister of government grants, introduced the pupil teacher system in 1846 (cf. Jordan 1999: 71-73). Carefully selected elementary school pupils, aged 13 or older, were apprenticed to experienced head teachers for five years with a ratio of usually one pupil teacher and one schoolmaster per 25 pupils. 'They would teach throughout the school day and be taught by the head teacher before or after

school hours for at least one and a half hours per day five days a week.’ Each year they were examined by HMI to determine whether they would be paid the customary £10 for boys and the girls’ slightly lower salary. Their head teachers’ payment for supervising and teaching also depended on HMI (Keating 2010: 1).

The Endowed Schools Act 1869 resulted in the foundation of almost 100 new endowed schools besides the already existing 218 institutes for middle-class daughters (cf. Stephens 1998: 109-110). But also the 1870 Elementary Education Act generated many opportunities for training and employment for working-class pupil teachers and middle-class academics. Especially the early decision to only employ women as teachers for infants and girls created great demand. Copelman explains that the LSB was ‘caught between the need to find a large number and cheap teachers, and the desire to maintain high standards.’ London needed almost 1000 additional teachers, preferably women, as they never earned as much as men (Copelman 1996: 69). But before the new female teachers could be put to use, they needed thorough training to avoid the pitfalls of the outdated pupil teacher system. Concerns about the existing forms of teacher training also increased, such as the abuse of pupil teachers as cheap teachers by head masters with often very little training themselves. After reforms like raising the minimum age for pupil teachers and improving the teacher-pupil teacher ratio, from 1875 pupil teachers received centralised instruction, at first in the evenings and from 1884 in ‘central classes during school hours’ (cf. Robinson 2003: 26-31). All this led to 98 percent of female teachers being certificated in 1904 as opposed to 66 per cent in 1875 (cf. *ibid.*: 70) - an impressive testimonial of the professionalisation of teaching.

The 71 articles in my corpus about teacher training for elementary schools show feminine and feminist periodicals’ preoccupation with the topic. The articles span the whole of my era and the majority was published in periodicals with a progressive outlook or in magazines for girls, whose audience was understandably interested in professional opportunities for women. But also the feminine-feminist *Queen* contributed, again with the lion’s share of the articles. Despite their middle- and upper-class readership, *The Queen*

was interested in the ‘predominantly working-class world within which’ the pupil teacher centres as the original mainstay of elementary teacher training existed (Robinson 2003: 21). One of their leaders from February 1873 with the title ‘Teachers Taught’ serves as an introduction: The author’s call for a widening of professional training to secondary school teachers in public and independent schools and governesses shows the positive reactions to all Board School teachers under HMI having to have training (Anon. Vol. LIII. Feb. 8, 1873: 108). The article authoritatively reminds the readers that ‘(e)ducation, whether of the lower, the middle, or the upper ranks of society, is undoubtedly one of the chief topics of the day. [...] we are all interested about the matter.’ But it also presents a problem: “‘Where everyone is a teacher, everyone has a view,” was said by a high authority.’ Many people considered themselves experts on education and teacher training was not held in high esteem, reflecting the previously bad standards of pupil teacher education and the consequent difficulty of especially elementary school teachers to be accepted as professional educators. But the leader writer insists that ‘there is an art of education. [...] there exist persons who study the art of teaching as a matter as real as any other art, and who learn to study the development of a child’s mind [...] and the best modes of dealing with it physically, mentally, and morally’ (Ibid.). The slightly cutting and sarcastic tone was directed at people who refused teachers their rightful professional training and status. The author was grateful that the government ‘has insisted, ever since a scheme of national education existed in England, that all those who become certified to teach in elementary schools shall have mastered the elements of their profession.’ As elementary schools only imparted basic knowledge, elementary school teachers were also only to learn ‘the elements’ or ‘something’ about teaching. But although ‘[a]ll apprentices do not turn out to be good workmen [...], they have had opportunities of learning their business before they began to practise’ (Ibid.). Teaching, even in elementary schools, was increasingly recognised as a profession in need of specialised training. However, few of the teachers and governesses of middle- and upper-class children of the nation’s leaders had similarly

advanced coaching. As one day those children would themselves grow up into leaders, this was arguably an even bigger responsibility. And yet,

there are hardly any who come to the exercise of their profession with a previous knowledge either of the ways of children or of good methods of imparting instruction. [...] Consequently we have everywhere the reproduction of all kinds of inferior and mechanical modes of teaching and managing on the part of instructors (who never rise to the dignity of educators), and the continuance of weariness and distaste for intellectual work with children.

Ibid.

The lack of a professional code of ethics for successful teachers was a serious problem. To avoid such bad effects of teaching, especially for future politicians who should welcome education for the benefit of the nation and whose mothers would have read *The Queen*, the author closes with Joseph Payne's inaugural lecture as Professor of the Science and Art of Education at the College of Preceptors. Although the students at this institute would not have been elementary school teachers, its establishment was an early, important step towards the academisation and thus full professionalisation of teaching. A scheme, which had been devised for the benefit of the working classes, was extended to the upper strata.

The innovative pedagogical methods without rote learning which the article advocates were a great improvement for pupils under the monitorial system or indeed in the establishments for the upper classes, where mechanical repetition and corporal punishment were just as ubiquitous. Although the leader purports to be simply reporting a new venture in education, between the lines it is very critical of its readers' and their families' education. They would have gone to expensive independent schools, which to this day often do not require their masters to have completed training. But the article's great trust in teacher training and its improving effects on the pupils must have caused concern amongst its readers. As we have seen from other *Queen* leaders, bold criticism was not unusual for this periodical, whose editor was very conscious of the social obligation to influence their readers. The redefinition of teaching as an art

demonstrates that teaching was on its way to a fully-fledged profession, fulfilling Leggatt's conditions (b) 'a long period of education and socialization' and (d) 'careful control [...] over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practise' (1970: 155-156). The establishment of regional pupil teacher centres followed contemporary localism (Hewitt 2012: 26).

Other articles in the corpus explain what this training looked like. A wide range of periodical genres published informative articles about elementary school teacher training. On 15 August 1874 *Women and Work*, a fitting place for such professional information, claimed that 'scarcely a week passe[d] without [them] being asked "how to qualify for a school teacher,"' demonstrating that from early on the profession was very popular. Copelman backs this up with a plethora of socio-historical (auto-)biographical accounts of elementary school teachers from all walks of life, who considered a career in teaching as 'something solid' because of the 'permanency of employment, periodical increase of salary' and a pension (Copelman 1996: 39-40). In order to analyse the various stages in the fast-paced development of teacher training and what the periodicals made of it, I chose a representative selection of three articles from different kinds of magazines. In a reprinted short article from *Labour News*, a periodical not highlighting specific gender affiliations in its title, *Women and Work* stated that a 'certificate under Government is of course the most important qualification, as it supplies the best chance for a permanent and well-paid situation.' Less than four years after the introduction of Board Schools, there were still 'small uncertified schools [which] often offer[ed] £10 and a small house' (Anon. No. 11. Aug. 15, 1894: 5). These would not have been LSB schools, but voluntary schools in the country, who had managed to pass inspection by HMI without their teachers having training. According to the article, these were not very attractive because they were unlikely to exist for much longer and also because £10 was a very small salary compared to what one could earn with a full diploma: '£60 or £65 a year. This is of course only the beginning of her professional career' (Anon. No. 334. Oct. 7, 1897: 851). This sum was stated in a *Hearth and Home* article 23

years later, but even in 1874 teachers with a full government certificate were better paid (cf. Copelman 1996: 75-76).²⁵ Urging their readers to complete their training contributed to professionalisation, as this fulfilled the conditions of a long training period and the high standard of practice, and to ensure teachers' economic independence.

Women and Work did not embellish its instructive articles, as proved by the similar style of the sandwiching articles about 'Woman and her Wages' and 'The Cookery School.' Its subscribers were not interested in entertainment, but professional opportunities and bought the periodical because of its useful content. Accordingly *Women and Work* explained the 'four ways in which persons may [...] enter the profession of elementary teaching and obtain the certificate, which entitles them to be teachers in schools under Government Inspection:'

- I. Young women, between the ages of 16 and 20, may become Pupil-teachers [...] Such persons will be required to pass the Examination before H.M. Inspector, which is passed by the ordinary Pupil-teachers at the end of their third year. [...] On the completion of this two years' engagement, they may, if they pass the Government Examination for Admission, either, (1.) enter a Training College for the two years' residence which will qualify them to sit at the Examination for Certificate, or, (2.) enter as 'qualified assistants' [...] or, (3.), be 'provisionally qualified.'
- II. Young women who have *not* been Pupil-teachers, are eligible to enter the Otter Memorial College at Chichester as Queen Scholars, provided they pass the Admission Examination and are 18 years of age. [...]
- III. Persons over 21 years of age are admitted by some colleges as Private Students, without passing the Admission Examination, and are eligible for the Certificate Examination after a residence of one year. [...]
- IV. The fourth way by which a lady may qualify herself for a Certificate is by obtaining a *bona fide* engagement as Assistant or Principal Mistress in some "Elementary School" which is [...] under Inspection.

Anon. No. 11. Aug. 15, 1894: 5.

²⁵ Here Copelman also gives a detailed overview of the development of LSB teachers' salaries over time.

This lengthy quote, which still leaves out many of the details and tuition fees between £10 and £35, shows how meticulously training was organised even so shortly after the Elementary Education Act and how many examinations had to be passed for a Certificate. The Education Department had designed a rigorous system to ensure a consistently high educational quality. (Otter Memorial College will be the subject of chapter 4.1.2.1.).

The Woman's Herald was similarly interested in the advancement of women and the 1893 article 'Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses' fulfilled their self-imposed obligation of informing women of everything pertaining to their emancipation (Fitch No. 25. Aug. 10, 1893: 397). The extract from 'Mr. J. G. Fitch's report on the Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses,' who was HM Chief Inspector, provides a great overview of all the changes that had happened since the *Women and Work* article in 1874. *Herald* readers had to have comprehensive pre-knowledge and interest in elementary education to be able to understand extracts from an HM Inspector, making them either middle-class philanthropists and campaigners who needed to be up to date with such developments, or elementary schoolmistresses. Even the abridged extracts from the report are still very detailed, for example mentioning that by 1893 there were 'twenty-five residential colleges for women only, and one (Homerton) for both men and women. To these ha[d] been recently added two day colleges [...] for female students only' (Ibid.). These day colleges were of various denominations in order to solve the problem of too much emphasis on Anglican doctrine in the older residential ones, which kept out dissenters. At the time of the article a total of 2,236 women were receiving training for Board Schools with few, but increasing applications to day colleges. The number of untrained teachers was decreasing. Fitch claimed that in these training colleges students of all classes were 'mingl[ing] on perfectly equal terms with others'(Ibid.). This was or would have been a departure from the traditional class distribution in teaching. Before the 'push to expand upwards the social class base' as part of a plan to attract more pupil teachers with secondary education, elementary school teaching was

a 'closed system of recruitment from amongst the working classes' (Robinson 2003: 189). Able pupils became pupil teachers in their own schools and then progressed through the system so that little interaction with other classes happened. The fact that they were to interact 'on perfectly equal terms' was a radical sociological 'experiment' and an interesting sign of social barriers breaking down (Fitch No. 25. Aug. 10, 1893: 397). But Mr Fitch admitted that it was

still too early to estimate with any confidence the relative qualifications of students trained in the two classes of institutions respectively. Until it shall be known how those trained in the day colleges succeed as teachers, and compare in character and efficiency with those who have enjoyed the advantage of discipline in residential seminaries, the *data* for any trustworthy forecast of the future cannot be said to exist.

Ibid.

As HM Chief Inspector Mr Fitch approached not only his report in a very scientific way, but also the nation's improvement, which started with its teachers. And although he was careful in talking about 'two classes of institutions,' which meant day and residential colleges, Mr Fitch's choice of words implies the great class distinction among trainee teachers. His report demonstrates the interaction between the classes as one main focus of teacher training for elementary schools, as was the case with LSB members and visitors. While the visitors and administrators clearly maintained a higher social position than their working-class clients, teachers from different classes were expected to do the same job and leave class distinctions behind. Board Schools would never have been attended by middle-class pupils, but the professional training was a great opportunity for middle-class women. Although Liddington and Norris uncovered the great involvement of working-class women in the struggle for suffrage (1978: 1-2), both in the LSB's campaigning and administrating roles middle-class women were mainly among themselves. The unsalaried nature ensured that and it took a long time until Mary Bridges Adams claimed an LSB-position for a working-class woman. The traditional differentiation between

middle-class philanthropists and working-class charity recipients took a long time to be broken up. But in the ranks of LSB teachers this amalgamation happened more quickly and easily, although Fitch's assertion was very idealistic.

In contrast to these two rather dry and lengthy accounts, the domestic magazines were characteristically striving to make their articles on the same topic more attractive. The *Hearth and Home* article, which included the promise of £60 as starter salary, looks and reads very differently despite the similar content (No. 334. Oct. 7, 1897: 851). It is broken up by a fashion illustration of a walking costume obtainable 'At Madame Morley's,' which was not directly connected to the topic, but left the reader with the impression that elementary school teachers could still be ladies. *Hearth and Home* was not a radically feminist periodical, but mostly interested in the title's genteel domestic sphere. But it was also catering to (lower-)middle-class women who had started to look for employment. The article is mostly about how to access the profession while keeping up middle-class decorum. It goes beyond the bare facts of the other two, more lecturing articles, and adds the evaluation that 'under certain conditions the opening was at least of a moderately attractive sort [and that t]he chief conditions were: [...] that the lady in question [...] was above the average in health and strength' (Ibid.). Physical suitability was just as important as the details of training, especially for middle-class women who might not be used to steady work. But *Hearth and Home's* chief concern was the perceived reduction in status which becoming an elementary teacher meant and therefore they made a big point of the good wages. For middle-class women in reduced economic circumstances through for example their father's death, elementary teaching was a good opportunity to regain financial independence. Developing a better standard of training or an 'art of teaching' aided not only the acceptance of elementary school teaching as a profession, but especially of women as professional practitioners. Women were still fighting for their place in the developing, but mostly male professional society. Like the men, who were defining new professions apart from the Church and Law and Medicine, they wanted to not just earn a living, but to take

pride in their occupation. The fact that an influential body like the LSB forced their employees to do more than fill the positions, but to hold up excellent standards of teaching propagated the view that women were just as capable of professionalism.

4.1.1. Working-Class Pupil Teachers

Despite Mr Fitch's hopes, there were still two classes of elementary school teachers. First, I address the traditional path of the pupil teachers as discussed in the corpus. Despite official age requirements for pupil teachers, in reality they started much earlier than when they were 13. The Minority Report of the 1886 Cross Commission denounced this practice as 'child labour' and called for strict reforms (Robinson 2003: 33). From time to time, but surprisingly rarely, articles about life as a pupil teacher were published. Once apprenticed as pupil teachers, they would have relied on professional papers like *The Board Teacher* for work-related issues rather than the corpus magazines. Only topics that were of wider social interest made their way into the corpus periodicals, like the health of pupil teachers, mirroring concerns about (social) hygiene and epidemics despite advances in public health care.

A letter to 'The Woman's Gazette,' *Work and Leisure's* regular correspondence feature, from March 1876 addressed possible disadvantages of being a pupil teacher. *Work and Leisure* was published by Louisa Hubbard, a campaigner devoted to extending women's educational and employment opportunities. She set up and edited *The Woman's Gazette*, which later became *Work and Leisure*, as a campaigning tool and for the publication of advice for employment-seeking women from 1875 until 1893. Her great private financial sacrifice for this periodical shows Hubbard's commitment to women's professional progress (Levine 1990 ('The Humanising Influence...'): 297). The letter was entitled 'The Health of Pupil Teachers' and was signed by 'G. M. (A Visitor to a British School)' to give the observations gravity. G. M.'s letter was a reply to a previous letter by a parent and an article 'signed by the "Chaplain of

a London Training College.” thereby illustrating the long discussions that occasionally ensued on such platforms (G.M. Vol. 6, No. 1. March 1876: 93). It is interesting that the parent of a pupil teacher wrote a letter to a periodical. Pupil teachers were usually recruited from abler LSB pupils, usually from the ‘labour-aristocratic’ or ‘upper working class’ (Copelman 1986: 176) who could afford their children’s training and were able to articulate themselves well. For them, reading middle-class magazines would have been an aspirational activity. G.M. did not agree with this parent’s fear that ‘the health of girls [was] being “destroyed for any school purposes whatsoever,”’ which still betrayed mistrust in what was perceived as inappropriate interference by members of a higher class or the uneasy reaction to institutionalised schooling (cf. Gargano 2008: 3). In G.M.’s opinion, failing health was to be blamed on prior conditions, since

hours are regular; the rooms are usually airy and large; there is exercise for the limbs, as well as abundance for the voice and the senses; there are from four to six weeks complete holiday during the year; there is a whole holiday on Saturday and no work on Sunday; and on the five working days of the week school is over altogether by five o’clock at the latest. Either before school hours in the morning, or after about 4.30 in the afternoon, the pupil teachers have to receive an hour’s teaching themselves; and during the evening at home they have to prepare their lessons.

G.M. Vol. 6, No. 1. March 1876: 93.

All this sounds very positive in comparison with other typical jobs for working-class girls like domestic service or factory work. It was a clear advertisement for elementary school teaching, but might not have fully reassured the concerned parent.

The claims might have been true in theory, but Elizabeth Garrett Anderson’s futile attempt to improve the air in classrooms, which I discussed in the preceding chapter, shows that conditions in Board Schools were often less than sanitary. Similarly, calling the fact that pupil teachers used their voices to control large classes an ‘abundance’ of exercise, was a euphemism, as a note in the *Women’s Penny Paper* on ‘Board School Teachers’ Throat Dangers’ proves:

Dr. Greville Macdonald, physician to the Throat Hospital, Golden-square, describes 'an aggravated form of chronic congestion of the laryngeal mucous membrane' as attributable to over-work and to straining of the voice [...] of teachers in London Board Schools, who pass the day in an atmosphere reeking with impurities caused by the dirty skin and filthy clothes of their pupils, and often amid great vicissitudes of temperature arising from over-heating and faulty ventilation.

Anon. No. 45. Aug. 31, 1889: 3.

Davin reports how in 1889 another doctor attested what Mrs Garrett Anderson had first raised almost 20 years earlier and which still caused many physical problems. This was a real danger and not as dismissable as G.M. had claimed:

A throat specialist in the 1880s found a type of throat inflammation so common among teachers that he named it Board School Laryngitis, and wrote a monograph about its special features. He attributed the complaint to classroom conditions and faulty vocalization, and remarked that women teachers' training should include voice projection, since they could not make their voices carry.

1996: 23.

Often the LSB school's means were so restricted that they had to accommodate more than one class in one room, which meant that there were between 70 or 80 pupils per classroom. Even if these children had behaved perfectly and if the teachers had received the best vocal training, it would have been difficult to not feel the strain on one's voice. G.M.'s reassurance that architectural attempts were made to improve sanitary conditions, especially compared to factories or sweatshops, sound hollow and disrespectful (G.M. Vol. 6, No. 1. March 1876: 93). Such potential workplaces for working-class children were notorious for their detrimental effects on health. The 1864 Factory Act had acknowledged industrial workplaces to be harmful to children and women, but it was still to take until the White Lead Act in 1893 before actual improvements were made (Harrison 1978: 51-52). In this context it feels disparaging and belittling for G.M. to say that the pupil teachers should be happy that they were allowed to work for the LSB instead of for example in a matchstick factory in danger of developing 'phossy jaw' from the phosphor. By printing G.M.'s letter *Work and Leisure* made themselves complicit

with his classist attitude that the LSB was giving the working-class pupil teachers more than they could have expected elsewhere, thereby upholding the class hierarchy.

An 'Answers to Correspondents' on the topic of 'Recreations' in the *Girl's Own Paper* also questions the claim about sufficient 'exercise for the limbs.' Addressed to 'Pupil Teacher,' it gives recommendations about physical exercise:

If you cannot manage to obtain exercise enough out of doors, you will find battledore and shuttlecock - played with spirit for an hour every evening - will assist you in retaining your health. It is the most invigorating of games, and keeps hands, arms, and shoulders, as well as the back, in easy motion. [...] We can well imagine that, after being in the school all day, you are stiff and chilly, and want something to warm and amuse you as well.

Anon. Vol I, No. 3. Jan. 17, 1880: 48.

Contrary to G.M., who wanted to persuade as many girls as possible to become pupil teachers, the *Girl's Own Paper* did not gloss over possible health hazards, over-work and a lack of exercise. The *Girl's Own Paper*, which had been launched one year after the *Boy's Own Paper*, was the Religious Tract Society's alternative for girls. The weekly periodical with the price of 1p. was meant to combat the 'pernicious influence of penny papers.' It was sold as 'Counsellor, Playmate, Guardian, Instructor, Companion, and Friend,' but without too much evangelical rigor. Under the editorship of well-known author Flora Klickmann its circulation soon rose to 250,000, which was higher than the *Boy's Own Paper*. According to Jochen Petzold these

large circulation figures make it likely that the *GOP* had its readers among the working-class and the middle class, but particularly the fiction seems to have been primarily addressed to a middle-class audience, and Terri Doughty points out that the magazine contains 'more articles on managing servants than on being a servant.

Petzold 2014: 148-149.

This chapter will show that its editors were catering for a wider audience, but their target readership was of the age of pupil teachers

and this contribution shows that prospective teachers trustfully turned to their advice columns for help.

The fact that awareness of the need for physical as well as mental exercise was only just evolving and led to the eventual introduction of several forms of Physical Education might have played a role in this marked difference in perception within the four years between the two articles. But most likely G.M. was just trying to convince the readers that elementary school teaching could not

be considered a hard life; and whilst it open[ed] the way, not only for social intercourse of a kind very superior to most that its workers could otherwise share, it also [gave] opportunity and occasion for a cultivation of mind and taste, and a refinement of manners and appearance which would not be required in other pursuits.

G.M. Vol. 6, No. 1. March 1876: 93.

G.M.'s attitude exemplifies the clash of classes brought about by the LSB. He believed the backgrounds of the working-class teachers to be lower than they were, revealing his own class's tendency to see everyone 'below' themselves as devoid of culture, self-discipline or prospects other than the gutter if not helped by a higher class. G.M.'s recommendation of the teaching profession as gentle and only moderately demanding was tried to counteract its loss of attractiveness because of the big improvements in working conditions in factories during the second half of the nineteenth century and the general increase in workers' rights through the rise of socialism and trade unions. But apart from these advantages for the working-class pupil teachers themselves, G.M.'s most important argument, their 'cultivation of mind [...] and a refinement of manners and appearance' was ultimately for the benefit of the middle-class reformers, who wanted their own mores and morals adopted by the whole nation. To make his letter an even better advertisement for pupil teacher training, G.M. also addressed the concerns that 'thirteen is rather young to enter on the duties of a teacher.' His answer shows the problems of female LSB pupils even after elementary education had been made compulsory for them: G.M. agrees that a few years later would be better, but only if 'the girls

could remain at school as *learners* so much longer.’ He explains that their families could not afford them staying in school beyond the legal school-leaving age, which meant that the

girls would then get out of practice in their school work, and even should a desire to become teachers survive the year or two years of work, with sufficient strength to bring them at the prescribed age to the point of entering this profession, their school life with its habits would be far behind, their minds would be out of tune with school matters, and the girls would begin at a great disadvantage with regard to their own studies.

Ibid.

G.M. again betrayed his low faith in the working classes and believed that two years out of school would void all the gains in regular habits and academic education which had been achieved in elementary school. This questions the whole project of elementary schooling, if two years later they would not be able to study regularly any more. G.M. considered LSB pupils, and in extension the working classes, to be in need of constant training in order to be useful for educating other members of their own class.

The three articles concerned with pupil teachers’ health were published in the progressive periodicals *Women’s Penny Paper* and *Work and Leisure* and the Church of England’s *Girl’s Own Paper*, whose readers were interested in the possibly unsavoury concerns of pupil teachers. *Work and Leisure* and *Girl’s Own Paper*’s articles were correspondence, suggesting that their readers might have been pupil teachers themselves. Enough non-professional readers were interested for the editors to decide to include such topics. These efforts to improve pupil teachers’ work conditions and health were expertly published in letter-form so as to increase their sway. Another debate that found its way into the mainstream women’s magazines was criticism of the pupil teachers’ education, which followed the same lines of class and gender. I chose two exemplary articles, one from the *Women’s Suffrage Journal* and one from *The Queen*, to demonstrate their two typical strategies and points of attack and why they made it into the corpus periodicals. On January 1, 1880 the *Women’s Suffrage Journal* printed an untitled note about

a certain School Inspector, [who], on being asked by a well-known lady member of the London School Board if he gave the same papers to girls as to boys, replied, 'Yes, I give the same papers to each; but when I come to the girls I leave out the easy questions.'

Vol. XI, No. 119. Jan. 1, 1880: n.p.

While in arithmetic, grammar and geography both genders were treated the same, for the history paper women were allowed one hour, while men could take up to two and a half hours. The semi-anonymous author H.B. did 'not attempt to imagine reasons' for this unfair discrimination, but hoped that by writing this note 'we would earnestly direct the attention of all interested in equal education, especially of the lady members of the Board, to these unequal and insidious practices' (Ibid.). While the inspector in question might have meant this as a gallant compliment for girls' intelligence, *Women's Suffrage Journal* did not see the charm. The *Journal* was read by those 'interested in equal education' who were unhappy about the lower academic expectations for female pupil teachers. Even in the Queen's Scholarship examination for access to training colleges the papers were gendered and the girls' questions on mathematics had a domestic bias. Also the broader curriculum for girls, which included extra subjects like needlework, cookery and laundry work, meant that girls had less time for the regular academic subjects (cf. Robinson 2003: 155). For the *Women's Suffrage Journal* the fact that the majority of LSB teachers were women was not enough, especially since this had partly originated in the inequality of pay (cf. Jordan 1999: 73). Lydia Becker used her *Journal* to campaign for total political and professional equality between men and women and was as interested in such blatant unfairness towards women as her readership, who probably had personally experienced similar discrimination.

In 1887 *The Queen* addressed the bad standards in pupil teacher training by reprinting in their 'Gazette des Dames' a note from the *Journal of Education* that 'reports of the training colleges [were] depressing:'

The examination-papers [...] teem with bad grammar, bad reasoning, and bad sense. Want of culture seems to be their prevailing feature. One examiner fervently hopes that very few of those whom he examined in French may ever teach that subject. [...] the Duke of Wellington was frequently confounded with Nelson, Clive, John Wesley, and Marlborough. [...] Still more amusing are the answers in geography. A water parting is equivalent to a watering-party.

Vol. LXXXII. Oct. 9, 1887: 416.

The note goes on with similar errors, designed to make the more cultured readers smile - in horror. Such a low quality of elementary teachers of future generations of citizens made the aspired improvement precarious. Some readers might also have doubted the necessity of knowing every battle and admiral in British history at primary school level. Such bad reports vindicated sceptics who did not want their rates to be spent on working-class education, as discussed in the last chapter. If elementary teachers were so badly trained, the money was not spent well and the project needed reform. What lay at the heart of this criticism was the alleged 'want of culture' of the working-class teachers. On the one hand, elementary school teachers were kept separate from secondary educators, who went to university, but on the other hand they were blamed for not being as civilised and enlightened. Although *The Queen* was clearly interested in the progress of elementary school teachers and to some extent in the levelling of class distinctions, as many positive articles or the sheer existence of 227 articles in the periodical show, they did choose to reprint this article. They used humour to attract and entertain readers, but also to soften the blow of their criticism and reduce it to a gentle mocking.

One solution for the lack of culture were first moves towards university-based teacher training, when more secondary education for prospective teachers was demanded by the Cross and the Bryce Commissions in 1888 and 1895 (cf. Robinson 2000: 100). This coincided with 'the general movement for sound middle-class schooling' (cf. Stephens 1998: 109-110) and the increasingly widespread secondary schools for girls from the upper working class 'seemed to view elementary teaching as social work, and encouraged their scholarship girls into it, perhaps with the idea that as educated

working-class young women they could now pass on civilised values to the rest.’ They had overcome their humble roots and would serve as excellent examples. ‘For young women from families which were not much better off than those of the children they taught, their position as educated role models in elementary schools might also serve to confirm them as socially upwardly mobile’ (Ibid.). Teaching was ‘a secure career with status in a world with limited opportunities for women,’ especially for working-class girls who rarely had the option of jobs being more than economic necessity (Oram 1996: 23).

4.1.2. Middle-Class Women in Elementary Teaching

The subchapter is about middle-class women as the second class of elementary teachers. 35 of the 71 corpus-articles about teacher training are about gentlewomen as elementary school teachers. However, although we do not know the exact audience, often we can guess in cases like *The Queen* or *Lady’s Pictorial*, whose readers were not from the working classes, that even their articles about teacher training which do not specifically mention middle-class ladies were also about such teachers, further increasing the high number. *The Queen* ran a long and persuasive campaign and I am going to examine their arguments and language for persuading their readers of the suitability of elementary school teaching. The fact alone that *The Queen* regularly addressed the issue in their leading articles is evidence of its importance for the editor.

As early as December 6, 1873 they ran a split leader, with the first half commenting on the recent wreck of an American steamship off the Azores and the second half talking about ‘Ladies as Elementary Schoolmistresses’ (Anon. Vol. LIV. Dec. 6, 1873: 435). The author anchored the article in the debate about employment for middle-class women, ‘which has excited much interest among [...] readers,’ and a traditionalist outlook: ‘The “profession of an English matron,” honourable and desirable as it is, is not open to all women, and there are numbers who cannot look forward to marriage as a certainty

which must come sooner or later.’ Most of their readers either were or aspired to being married and mothers, so this introduction would have spoken to them. It summed up the tragedy of the situation: Young women, raised in the prevalent ideology of women’s destiny being the home, realised that this might no longer be possible. But the article also impresses the necessity of professional pride and ethics on its readers:

The lady who desires to become an elementary schoolmistress is recommended to have - first, a keen desire to do well in her profession; next, to throw her whole energy into her work; thirdly, to have a genuine love for children; and, though last, not least, to have good health. Unless these conditions are fulfilled, there is but a poor chance of success for a lady as an elementary teacher.

Ibid.

The Queen wanted to give their readers the full picture and the prominent position of the leader and its serious, authoritative tone emphasise the gravity of the situation.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the problem of employment for women was becoming more pressing, especially for middle-class women who felt that certain careers were not appropriate for their social standing. Working-class women had always worked, not restricted by the middle-class ideology of separate spheres (cf. Copelman 1996: 193). According to Ellen Jordan, the 1851 Census stated that 56.5% of women between 15 and 24 years were employed, 8.9% of them in middle-class occupations like the 7% who were milliners and dressmakers. But only 1% were teachers and governesses (1999: 5). This small segment of the labour market was now even further decreasing as advancing professionalisation meant that even governessing jobs, which had so far been popular with gentlewomen because, ‘although the lady lost status through working for money, the work took place in the private sphere, under the patriarchal control of the head of the family,’ now required certificates and qualifications (Holloway 2005: 38). In 1848 campaigns to improve middle-class women’s education to help them into suitable gainful employment with less exploitation resulted in Queen’s College being opened in Harley Street to provide training

for governesses. Financed with Church money, it was closely associated with King's College, whose professors taught the Queen's women in the presence of chaperones (Shiman 1992: 10-20). But the majority of governesses remained untrained middle-class women who just had their unmethodical general education to fall back on. Contrastingly, elementary school teaching required full qualification.

A leader in *The Queen* debated the contested question of 'Governess or Schoolmistress?' (Vol. LVIII. Oct. 16, 1875: 253). It was a reaction to a letter by a clergyman to *The Standard*, thus allowing us a glimpse into the mainstream press' opinion on this topic. The clergyman had advertised 'for a governess for his two little girls, and for a schoolmistress for his elementary school. The answers to the first advertisement came in streams [...], to the second not one reply was sent.' He attributed this to the 'super-abundance of private governesses, as contrasted with the scarcity of elementary schoolmistresses.' The *Queen* article utilised his letter to analyse the situation as follows:

This arises from various causes, the chief of which is that anyone imagines she can be a governess, if she has ever been at school herself [...] She depends on the ignorance or indolence of parents, who either cannot or will not find her out; and before setting herself up as a teacher she had had no preliminary examination to pass through which would show her fitness for her work.

Ibid.

In 1875 it was still possible to teach small girls without even having to prove oneself to be 'an instructed person.' But the clergyman praised the fact that 'elementary teachers of any standing possess[ed] the certificate of their competency, on which year by year the Government inspector records his opinion of their work and their merits.' By writing the letter to *The Standard*, the clergyman became a campaigner for women's education and professional progress. *The Queen's* reaction allows us to trace the development of arguments and what were almost like conversations between the press outlets, another incarnation of New Journalistic orality which treated the media as public space. *The Queen* emphasised the difference in

salaries: While the governess would only have earned between £10 and £20, the teacher would have £75 a year. But all this depended on the ‘readiness on the part of those who need help to accept it *when* and *as* it is offered to them. There must not only be the stick held out to the drowning woman, but she must be willing to catch hold of it with a will’ (Ibid.). This drastic wording gives us an idea of how bad the situation really was. But, according to the leader, the ‘great difficulty with women is that [...] they will only be helped in their own way. If help is offered, they will positively refuse it unless it fulfils some conditions upon which they have specifically set their minds.’ Most of these ‘conditions’ were class-based:

They will not undertake needlework unless they can take it to their own houses; they will not help in housework, unless they can retain their caste; they will not teach unless they need not have dirty children to deal with; they will not be trained as cooking instructors, because that has a menial appearance [...] and withal they cry out ‘Give us something to do.’

Ibid.

The article scolded middle-class ladies for considering themselves too good for menial work and adhering too much to traditional class ideology. The ‘dirty children’ were a synonym for lower-class pupils who might have needed more disciplinary training than their usual middle-class tutees. Such class-based fears kept many middle-class ladies from elementary teaching. For *The Queen*, which usually kept up the class differential, these were hard words. But they still maintained that elementary teaching was a better, more secure professional choice, although ‘while women continue to be willing to accept poor pay [...], the mass of incompetent governesses will remain unmoved. Nothing but compulsory examination and registration of all teachers will bring a remedy’ (Ibid.). Their readers would have employed such badly trained governesses, so this appeal was well-placed, although it would probably have brought higher wages for governesses.

In a leader from 24 August 1895, more than 20 years after the beginning of *The Queen*’s elementary mistress crusade, they reacted to a letter to *The Times* by ‘A Rural Teacher.’ This ‘Rural Teacher’

complained about elementary teachers' loneliness and isolation from cultured society in the country, which was a pervasive argument against the scheme (cf. Copelman 1996: 10-29). *The Queen* reprinted the correspondent's opinion of middle-class elementary school mistresses at the end of their article, thereby leaving the reader with a negative last impression:

When [...] it is realised that elementary school teachers cannot choose their own localities, [...] and that their occupation will be not with cultured gentle children, [...] women should look well all around the work before they undertake it. [...] whether they will gain any happiness by the occupation [...] is doubtful. Of the comforts of life that they will lose there can be no doubt.

Anon. Vol. XCVIII. Aug. 24, 1895: 332.

Even if compared to the warning tone of earlier leaders and considering the fact that these are not the words of the leader writer him- or herself, this would have left many middle-class readers questioning their decision to go into elementary teaching. The later date can be made responsible for this change in tone, after the experiment had been going on for 25 years and some disenchantment had set in.

Elementary school teaching was not as obvious a choice for middle-class 'ladies' as becoming a governess. Elementary schools were also often not popular with the working classes and time spent in school was considered a waste, as it could not be spent earning money. This hostile and disagreeable atmosphere was not desirable for middle-class teachers and prevented them from applying for elementary teaching jobs. Reversely, the majority of elementary school teachers would have come from the working classes, a drawback for gentlewomen who had been brought up to avoid contact with their inferiors unless they were the dominant part (cf. Copelman 1996: 7). But LSB teachers held substantial power over working-class children. The clear gradient in age, culture and social power meant that middle-class women's status would not be damaged if they taught in elementary schools. Especially in the early years the clash of the classes was even a recommendation for employing ladies so that they could act as good examples and pass

on their refinement to the rougher pupils. For, as Davin put it, '[s]ocialization, more than the imparting of knowledge or skills, was the point of this schooling.' Taking children away from their parents and into the company of more cultured teachers for imitation learning was a first step (1996: 134).

4.1.2.1. Bishop Otter Memorial College

Throughout *The Queen's* campaign, they emphasised that elementary teaching required the necessary training also and especially for middle-class women, making it one of the first professions for middle-class women to fulfil this condition. A major part of the campaign for middle-class women as elementary school teachers was therefore finding a solution for class-appropriate training facilities. Middle-class women could not be expected to join pupil teachers in their apprenticeship, although often they even had less methodical elementary education. On January 20, 1872 *The Queen* published a leader on 'The Increased Demand for School Teachers' in response to a correspondent who suggested 'the position of a national schoolmistress for ladies whom circumstances compel to earn their own livelihood' (Anon. Vol. LI. Jan. 20, 1872. n.p.). This correspondent probably was Louisa Hubbard starting her campaign for the reopening of Bishop Otter Memorial College. The college had originally been founded in 1839 for training school masters by William Otter, Bishop of Chichester, and had been known as Bishop Otter College until it closed its doors in 1867. Now Hubbard was canvassing for its reopening as training college for young women from the middle class where they would not have to mix with lower classes (cf. Holcombe 1973: 35). Her campaign was taken up by *The Queen* because it would solve several of their readers' problems. In total, there are 14 articles on Bishop Otter Memorial College in the corpus, nine of which were published in *The Queen*, the other five in *Work and Leisure*. This subchapter goes back over the whole LSB era to first trace *The Queen's* campaign

and arguments before turning to *Work and Leisure*'s differing audience.

The Queen's article on 'Governess or Schoolmistress?' described Otter College as a training college 'especially for women of the class who ordinarily would become governesses' (Anon. Vol. LVIII. Oct. 16, 1875: 253). For *The Queen* Hubbard's 'letter was the commencement of a movement which has been quietly going on ever since, and which is likely to issue in definite action' (Anon. Vol. LI. May 4, 1872: n.p.). They were proud of having facilitated the great debate which 'attracted a considerable amount of attention [...] Not only did letters appear on the subject in the *Guardian*, the *Record*, the *John Bull*, and other papers, but a pamphlet, written by Miss Hubbard, the originator of the idea, has also been put in circulation' (Ibid.). The editors were excited about the public attention and progressive reputation this debate brought their periodical, probably causing increased sales figures. In the leader they quote from the pamphlet's preface, which had been written by 'an old educator,' who was nobody else but Sir Kay Shuttleworth:

To a lady, needing for her own support, or that of a dependent relation such additional resources as are offered by the convenient house and modest stipend of a schoolmistress, I cannot hesitate to say that, [...] the position of instructress and guide of the girls of a well-respected rural or village school offers a sphere of beneficial Christian influence, in some respects even as fruitful in the best consequences as that of the parochial clergyman.

Ibid.

It is noteworthy that Shuttleworth only considered the more genteel rural schools as appropriate for ladies, who might have struggled in rougher inner-city schools. Citing Shuttleworth, who, as inventor of the pupil teacher system, held huge sway in educational circles, was a useful strategy of invoking male approval. His assessment that women as elementary school mistresses would have the same impact as a male clergyman must have been highly alluring for obvious feminist reasons while at the same time appealing to women's religious duties. He applauds Hubbard's 'idea of establishing a special training college under Government, which shall receive as

pupils only ladies of the class whom she specially desires to help' (Ibid.). Bishop Otter College was to receive 25 to 28 residential students to 'offer not only a place of training, but a real home' as the obvious solution for training middle-class women in a suitable environment. In the three and a half months between the initial letter and this leading article, a lot of work must have gone into this plan. In contrast to the purely rhetorical campaign we have followed so far and which went on after establishing the College, here the very practical efforts behind the movement were revealed, again showcasing women's newfound adeptness at campaigning as discussed in Chapter 2: 'The idea, as at first thrown out, was vague; but so greatly has the need for such employment been recognised, and so numerous have been the friends who have come forward to help that a scheme is now organized' (Anon. Vol. LII. Sept. 21, 1872: 255). Clearly this scheme tapped into so many public debates and found solutions for several grievances for young middle-class women. The question of suitable employment for women, be they 'odd,' a 'revolting daughter,' 'compelled by circumstances to do something to earn their own living' or simply interested in being independent, was being discussed in every periodical. This was the next step for the debate on better education for middle-class women and general feminist emancipation. Teacher training at Otter College, in a middle-class environment, promised a solution for all these disputes and thus found supporters from many fields. The article closed with the following wish: '[W]e trust that ladies for whose benefit it has been instituted will come forward in such numbers as to render it a complete success' (Ibid.). This was followed by a footnote in the same practical spirit of the article and the whole fast-paced campaign: 'Ladies requiring further information should write to Miss Hubbard, Leonardslee, Horsham. Subscriptions and donations should be paid to Messrs. Coutts and Co., Strand.' Although the College could have solved many problems, it was far from clear whether enough middle-class women would actually take the leap. The many articles in *The Queen*, often just little reminders in the 'Gazette des Dames,' were meant as encouragement, as was mentioning Miss Hubbard and the Coutts

bank, property of Baroness Burdett Coutts, both very respectable, yet independent women, as an anchor in safely middle-class ground. The campaign succeeded only ten months later when a short note appeared in the 'Gazette des Dames' to rather anti-climatically announce that

Bishop Otter's Memorial College was formally opened last Wednesday [...] fourteen students having already been admitted. The proceedings were of a very simple nature. In the afternoon the Bishop delivered an impressive address to those assembled, explaining the origin of the foundation of the College and the import of the present scheme. A meeting of the general committee was held in the course of the day, when it was determined to make a further appeal for funds to complete the college and erect a practicing school, according to the requirements of the government.

Anon. Vol. LIII March 1, 1873: 174.

The College was opened as quickly as possible to prevent the first 14 students from having to miss a year, although it was not fully finished yet. *The Queen* had succeeded in their campaign and recommended Bishop Otter College in four of their articles on elementary school teaching for gentlewomen.

Most of the articles about Otter College after it had been set up and the initial campaign had settled down were published in Hubbard's *Work and Leisure*, which took its by-line 'A Magazine Devoted to the Interests of Women' very seriously and alerted readers to all professional opportunities. The very first two editions in October and November 1875 featured a programmatic two-part series on 'Elementary Teaching: A Profession for Gentlewomen' which gives valuable hints about their aspired readership and agenda (F.T. Vol. 1, No. 1. Oct. 1875: n.p and Vol. 1, No. 2. Nov. 1875: n.p.). Like *The Queen*, *Work and Leisure* adopted the strategy of impressing on their readers the importance of sound training, as no 'art, trade, or profession can be followed with any prospect of success by those who have not learnt it.' For those, whose education so far had not been good enough, there was a Preparatory Class (F.T. Vol. 1, No. 2. Nov. 1875: n.p.). Hubbard's periodical extended *The Queen's* arguments and emphasised the fact that this was especially important for women: 'This is universally recognised as regards

men; [...] Girls on the other hand are not brought up with any idea of real work, [...] [but it] cannot be too often repeated, if women are to do real useful work in the world, they must undergo the labour of learning how to do it' (Ibid.). Hubbard understood the importance of creating elementary teaching as a specifically female profession, which had to include an advanced standard of training to conform with traditional definitions of professionalism. The semi-anonymous author F.T. also explained why especially 'ladies,' that is middle-class women, had to improve their education, for example by attending Otter College, as otherwise 'they will in almost every case be found inferior to the ordinary trained teacher, and bring disappointment to themselves and discredit on the movement' (Ibid.). This was a similar argument to the one we have heard in the second chapter, when Emily Davies admonished Elizabeth Garrett Anderson not to accept the LSB chairmanship despite her many votes, as this might have brought them into disgrace. At the beginning of revolutionary undertakings female campaigners were always anxious to present their whole gender group as impeccable. A lot was at stake, as one argument for employing middle-class women as elementary teachers was to improve the working-class pupils. But if the teachers themselves failed due to a lack of ambition and diligence, this was no longer tenable. The short note ended with what was probably the biggest pull: 'The average salaries obtained by Students immediately upon leaving the College [...] has been 72l. a-year, while those who have had some experience in schools are obtaining from 90l. to 200l' (Ibid.). The stereotypical dictum to never mention money in polite society was apparently not applicable in such periodicals, where an intimate atmosphere was created in order to be able to discuss such important matters perfectly frankly. After all, a big part of middle-class women only considered elementary school teaching because they needed money.

The Queen focused their reporting about Otter College on the campaign to re-found it for middle-class women and later only published a few articles mentioning it. *Work and Leisure* carried the majority of articles after Otter College was established to keep their readers up to date with educational and professional opportunities.

Another difference from *The Queen* was that *Work and Leisure* did not only report about the young ladies who could attend Otter College, but also about the annual ‘General Meeting[s] of Subscribers to this Institution’ to demonstrate that some of their readers also regularly donated to Otter College. They might not have been able to attend the meetings themselves, but still wanted to be informed about its progress. Without their financial help the college’s opportunities would not have been able to be continued. Two such accounts exist, from 1880 (Anon. Vol. VI, No. 5. n.t. 1880: 189-190) and from 1883 (Anon. Vol. VIII, No. 5. n.t. 1883: 151-153). In 1880, the Committee’s ‘Seventh Annual Report, which described the past year as one of satisfactory progress and good results’ was introduced with a few lines, before long extracts were reprinted verbatim, providing subscribers who could not attend with an almost first-hand experience (Anon. Vol. VI, No. 5. n.t. 1880: 189-190): ‘30 students had resided in the College throughout the year, and passed favourably the General Examination.’ It was also mentioned that “‘the Chichester Mistresses have produced results more favourable than any we have had since the schools have been opened.’” This was quoted from a clergyman’s letter, again calling upon a male, ecclesiastic authority to vouch for the College’s success. The report did not conceal problems but reframed them as challenges for more campaigning:

For the first time a difficulty has been felt in placing the Students in suitable situations, a difficulty not confined to this College [...] This arises from the fact that the supply of teachers is at present very much in excess of the demand, owing to the very large number of untrained teachers who have during the last few years obtained certificates as Acting Teachers.

Ibid.

This emphasised what *Work and Leisure* and *The Queen* had always been preaching, that untrained elementary teachers were negative for the profession. But despite this surplus, they continued to advocate Otter College and even set up an ‘Exhibition Fund’ for ‘orphans of clergymen or others, who have been brought up in comfort but left penniless through some calamity, and who are unable to pay even

the low fees charged to Queen's Scholars' (Ibid.). This article has two foci: Encouraging further donations by well-off supporters and applications for professional training for middle-class women.

In 1883 the 'Annual Meeting of this College is advertised to take place, by the kind permission of his Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, at 49 Belgrave Square, on May 10th, at 2.30, and it is to be hoped that many friends of this useful institution may find themselves able to attend' (Anon. Vol. VIII, No. 5. n.t. 1883: 151-153). The host's exclusive name and address and also the afternoon slot of the meeting confirms those 'friends' to also most likely be members of the upper middle or even upper class, who were free at such a time of the day, but also financially able to make substantial donations. As this was the tenth year of Otter College's existence, this announcement also served as a review of the experiment of elementary teaching for gentlewomen. An excerpt shall sum up this chapter:

Great progress has been made in many directions during the ten years which have elapsed since the idea that ladies should undertake the education of the children of the working classes in National Schools was first seriously mooted [...]. The ladies who have acted as pioneers in this most practical combination of self-help and benevolence have fully appreciated the great advantage which this College has been for them, as affording specific training for an arduous calling, to which they will ever look back with affection and gratitude.

Both *The Queen* and *Work and Leisure* campaigned for the scheme in different ways, to familiarise the young women with the new professional training opportunities and to keep subscribers informed of its successes and therefore willing to keep donating. The very positive language in this paragraph allows no doubt that the programme was going well. It also displays typically Victorian discourse by talking about 'this most practical combination of self-help and benevolence,' reminiscent of the COS or Samuel Smiles. Images of happy times in a boarding school are conjured up to anchor the College in traditional middle-class experiences. But the fact that it was called College at a time when higher education options for women were still rare and teacher training one of the only

ways to win a diploma (cf. Holcombe 1973: 47-49) implied an opening up of professional opportunities and an approximation to men's educational freedom.

4.1.2.2. Experiences of Middle-Class Elementary School Mistresses

Another strategy for promoting elementary school teaching as a profession for middle-class women were accounts of personal experiences. These eye-witness reports shone a different light on the new profession than the mostly encouraging article types I have looked at so far. One of them is again from *Work and Leisure*, published in 1892, and its author used the pen name 'Charity' to conceal her controversial opinions (Vol XVII, No. 11. N.t. 1892: 290-294). In 'Experiences of Board-school Teaching,' Charity tells the cautionary tale 'of a highly educated lady' with the appropriate code name 'Hope.' 'Her effort was in a sense a failure. But perhaps just on that account it is the more instructive. For it is very easy [...] to put one's fingers on the blot in her work; and so the exemplary narrative is likely to be useful to others who take up similar work' (Ibid.). The rest of the article follows Hope from an early retirement to look after her family back into 'a girls' school in a poor district of the East End' through her ensuing decline. She did not heed the warning that they were rough children as 'Hope [wa]s something of an idealist, with a great deal of *doctrinaire* Socialism about her.' Like her reduced circumstances, this characterisation made Hope exemplary of many of the *Work and Leisure* readers. Her being a fully trained teacher, who had answered her family's call to help them and then again went back to teaching to be independent, made her a model to be emulated. Hope ends up being overstrained and unable to cope with the hyperactive and insubordinate children, so she strikes a girl and is dismissed because of the 'troublesome duty' of keeping the register, 'her endeavour after perfect accuracy' and her pupils' sarcastic humour (Ibid.). As Charity said at the beginning, Hope's story could have happened to many other inexperienced readers, so she recounted it for them to learn from her

negative experiences and not to fall into the same trap. In this ‘inextricability’ of print and oral culture, Charity with the telling name is the benevolent storyteller, like a wise grandmother, teaching the next generation about the world’s dangerous pitfalls (cf. Kreilkamp 2005: 34). Kreilkamp also explains how these ‘imaginary constructions of voice and storyteller’ help us understand ‘the historical reality of specific voices and orality’ (cf. *ibid.*). Charity’s ‘little narrative contains a genuine bit of experience,’ which she had embellished and designed to be didactical (Charity Vol XVII, No. 11. n.t. 1892: 290-294). It allows us not only to find out about the problems desperate and out-of-place middle-class mistresses faced among their uncultured pupils, but also lets Charity/Hope’s voice shine through.

Another negative assessment can be found in my last example from *Woman*, which used the article ‘School Teaching as a Profession’ on ‘The Woman Worker’s Page,’ which was conducted by Rachel Gay, to warn middle-class women against elementary teaching (Gay No. 743. March 23, 1904: 19). This was published in the edition of March 23, 1904, only one month before the London School Board handed over its powers to the London County Council, which however did not result in much actual change for the teachers (cf. Stephens 1998: 94). This column on employment for women was a regular feature in *Woman* and it was beautifully illustrated in the fashionable art nouveau style, with two candles maybe being an allusion to the metaphor of burning the midnight oil, representing hard work, or simply alluding to their self-stylisation as women’s beacon of light (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 681). Gay’s message also corresponded with *Woman*’s by-line ‘Forward, but not too fast,’ as in her opinion ‘at present there is very little inducement for an educated lady, with intelligent ideas about the nature of education, to take it up’ (Gay No. 743. March 23, 1904: 19). In order to give her message more weight, Gay reprinted an ‘ex-High School mistress[’s]’ first-hand account, introduced with the following words: ‘An educated lady [...] had kindly given me much useful information upon the whole question.’ Gay put much emphasis on the education of both her readers and her informant to lend the

eyewitness more credibility. Although Gay's informant had taught at a High School rather than elementary school, her main argument against becoming a teacher was one many elementary teachers also complained of: 'the fearful isolation. One is absolutely cut off from all companionship, congenial or otherwise.' In her country school, 'there was no one but the agricultural labourer' because the county gentry did not consider the headmistress suitable company. In London, it is 'the companionship on terms of perfect equality of men and women with whom she has not one single idea in common' (Ibid.). This echoes the early advertising articles for elementary teaching for gentlewomen. But despite the 30 years that had elapsed since the reestablishment of Otter College, the ambition of mixing the classes had never been realised. In that respect elementary school mistresses were having similar problems as the governesses, which the new scheme had been trying to avoid: Neither belonging to the family, but being socially above the other servants. Eyewitness reports are useful because they allow us to trace such developments. We recognise the most pervasive problems elementary teachers were battling: Finances and class, to which also the complaints about loneliness can be reduced. But ultimately Gay's informant agreed with all the other first-hand witnesses' doubts about elementary education that

the need of educated women coming from homes where gentleness and sweetness and graciousness are the order of the day [...] is simply overwhelming [...] [as] the first lesson needing to be taught in Board Schools today is one [...] in the management of children by gentle methods, by the exercise of ladylike and gentlemanlike virtues, in place of the rough and almost brutal tactics that exist today.

Ibid.

The desire to change the rough working class was still at the forefront of elementary education after more than 30 years and the middle class was still the preferred tool for this although they had to accept personal disadvantages.

Only *The Woman's Signal* published a letter 'By an Old Teacher' in 1897 with completely positive eye-witness opinion. It was a reaction to an article by a Mrs Field and corrected her wary analysis

of elementary teaching for middle-class women (Anon. (An Old Teacher) No. 203. Nov. 18, 1897: 333). The 'Old Teacher' admits the necessity of 'uphill work,' but she 'would not discourage any one from going into it.' To add to her own credibility as veteran of the profession, she cites another, more contemporary example, thereby passing down yet another Victorian teacher's voice:

At this present time I know of three girls who have been educated in what are termed 'High Schools,' and who are now serving their apprenticeship under the London School Board. They tell me they are delighted with their work, and I could judge by the way in which they express themselves that they quite meant what they said.

Ibid.

In a time when more middle-class women felt the need to take up gainful employment for the first time, they did not only have to learn the skills for the actual professions, but also the right attitudes and work ethics. A change in character was as great an adjustment as the change in lifestyle. Feelings of isolation, both socially and topographically, had to be overcome. Contrary to the rest of the campaigning articles the women with personal experience as elementary teachers were more careful to whole-heartedly recommend the profession, thereby possibly influencing the campaign negatively, but realistically.

The articles I have examined used the argument of 'altruistic service,' but repeated statements of possible salaries emphasised that this was on top and not instead of 'material and economic gain' (Leggatt 1970: 155-156). This was important for both working- and middle-class teachers, who all had to earn their living. But it signified a general shift in the nineteenth century as the middle classes diversified and having a profession was no longer limited to younger sons with a small inheritance. A few years before, the lower rungs of the now professional middle classes would still have been firmly working-class, but the technologisation and commodification of society had created opportunities to train for a profession in order to earn a good income and climb the social ladder (cf. Roebuck 1973: 38-40). In return, the 'constant advance of professionalization made

formal qualifications of all kinds essential to middle-class careers, as ideas of merit and expertise replaced older networks of kinship and patronage, or apprenticeships to a practitioner' (Anderson 2012: 484). Although in a traditional definition of 'profession' they would not have come from lower social strata, now a revision of what constitutes a profession was happening. Another concern was traditional reservations against women teachers. These arguments could now be rebutted by the fact that women were just as well educated and trained as male elementary and high school teachers. Constant articles in magazines like *The Queen* with huge readerships meant that a great number of possible sceptics could be persuaded of elementary teachers' right to be called professionals by defining teaching as an explicitly female profession: In the same way as sitting on the LSB, teaching was an extension of the domestic maternal sphere because of the young age of the pupils. And thus, as early as 1880, *The Queen* was happy to announce in a leader that the 'training insisted upon by the Government Scheme of Elementary Education [...] has done much to raise teaching in England to the rank of a profession' (Anon. 'Trained and Certificated Middle-Class Teachers'. Vol. LXVIII. July 17, 1880: 67). There is no doubt that Leggat's conditions of a long period of training with controlled admission and certification were fulfilled by the introduction of standardised training. Especially the employment of middle-class ladies helped to prove the 'careful control [that] is exercised over recruitment.' The campaign to make elementary teaching acceptable for middle-class women had reached an important step: Ensuring the status of professionalism must have been a great added attraction, as it put the 'gentlewomen' on an equal footing with their male relatives.

4.2. A 'real, genuine combination among teachers:' Teachers' Associations

Leggatt's last condition for a profession is the good organisation of the professional group (Leggatt 1970: 155-156). The final decades

of the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of labour organisation and unionisation. Traditional working-class trades were starting to form bodies, contributing to the redefinition of the concept of profession. Such measures were a consequence of the 'economic boom' of the early 1870s and the following 'long period of instability' with bad conditions for workers. This created tension between employers and newly confident employees, but employers were under 'increasing government pressure towards union recognition' and the union-friendly legislation of the 1890s resulted in an 'increasingly formal system of industrial relations, involving employers' associations, government departments and national trade unions.' These 'powerful new forms of collective self-organization' (all Reid 2004: 164-169) were fighting for workers' rights and eventually found their way into politics, for the first time returning 12 Trade Union Congress MPs in the 1885 General Elections (cf. Ibid.: 248). Also in the teaching profession several unions and associations were founded. They were not necessarily trade unions with the corresponding objectives of labour rights and strike, but professional communities, based on their members' common situation, with a mentality of mutual assistance. However, trade unionism was a mainly male world. Women were often too dependent on their wages and more easily intimidated by their employers to protest, but also the male union members often opposed women's involvement and women-only unions remained rare (cf. Rubinstein 1986: 112-120). But in teaching a number of professional women's associations and unions sprang up. For example the Ladies Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, the Home and Colonial Society, the London Schoolmistresses Association, the Manchester Board of Schoolmistresses or the Association of Headmistresses 'offered support, companionship, respectability and important contact' (cf. Martin and Goodman 2004: 8). As discussed, they also often published union papers, for example *The Board Teacher* as organ of the Metropolitan Board Teachers Association (cf. Betts: Introduction). In the corpus there are twelve articles about teachers' associations and unions, ranging from short reports about meetings

and conferences to triumphant announcements of planned protests. Most of these articles are not about female-only unions, displaying the superior power of gender-neutral organisations because of their greater membership. Apart from one article, they were all published in *The Woman's Signal*, a feminist paper with a special interest in women's professional opportunities, or *The Queen*, which confirms the magazine as a platform for the new community of women teachers.

The Queen's report about the tenth Annual Meeting of the LSB Teachers' Association, introduces the kind of topics that were of interest to the members (Anon. Vol. LXXII. Oct. 28, 1882: 397): The 'disabilities under which pupil teachers laboured in seeking admission to training colleges,' 'corporal punishment' and 'the promotion of teachers.' Professional training was at the forefront of teachers' minds and they made their influence felt in politics when they 'resolved to ask the London School Board to memorialise the Department on the subject, and the Board acceded to the request.' Speeches on corporal punishment - which the newly elected president approved of and wanted to leave at the discretion of individual teachers - and teachers' promotions identified the improvement of education and professionalisation as the association's two most important interests. At the end the conclusion was reached 'that the history of the first ten years of the associations' existence gave cause for much satisfaction [...] [and] that with increased vigour and unity of purpose the influence of the association on education and the profession would be much enhanced.' This reads like the popular motto of the Trade Union Congress: United we stand! This suggests that *The Queen* did not actively disagree with left-wing labour activism, as the periodical allowed to be associated by implication with the new trade unions, which were often perceived as radical and dangerous.

Two years later *The Queen* reported about the 'fifteenth annual conference of the National Union of Elementary Teachers,' where over 500 delegates represented about 13,000 Board School teachers in Leicester (Anon. Vol. LXXV. April 19, 1884: 413). The style and content were very similar to the 1882 minute-style 'Gazette' note,

but this time the editor decided on a stand-alone article. The National Union of Elementary Teachers (NUET), not to be confused with the still existing National Union of Teachers (NUT), was very moderate, not leftist, and in 1895 voted to not join the Trade Union Congress (cf. Copelman 1996: 46). According to Copelman, the NUETS's efforts in London were always 'complemented and overshadowed by the Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association' (MBTA), which was 'more radical and combative' (cf. *ibid.*: 80). The NUET President demonstrated the Union's confidence when he defined 'education as the principal instrument in diminishing pauperism, crime and drunkenness' and asserted that 'healthy educational influence would tend to improve [the working classes'] position as well as the tone of society.' The LSB's argument for their largely middle-class intervention had been taken up by Board School teachers as proof of their altruistic motifs for the redefinition of teaching as a profession. *The Queen's* article on the 'Conference of Elementary Teachers' closes with the adoption of 'the scheme for establishing a fund for legal assistance, and for supporting members suffering through any action taken in defence of professional rights', financed by an increase in membership fees (Anon. Vol. LXXV. April 19, 1884: 413). This scheme put the NUET on an equal footing with older, industrial unions by enabling members to proceed against their powerful employers, the London and other school boards.

Despite the fact that fewer women were organised in unions, this radical approach was also adopted by female teachers, when a 'well-attended meeting of London School Board mistresses was held at Essex Hall, to consider the "salaries scheme"' (Anon. No. 236. June 7, 1898: 431). The article had the provocative title 'School Board Mistresses Ask For Equal Salaries With Men' and was fittingly published in *The Woman's Signal*. The LSB mistresses had organised an independent meeting as 'there had been widespread and growing dissatisfaction at the exclusion of mistresses from an increase of salary.' The MBTA had campaigned for higher salaries for male teachers, although there were more women teachers. This double standard with its deep-seated male suspicions of giving women equal partnership illustrates why women did not become

members in the same numbers as men. However, the mistresses had important supporters, for example the chairwoman Mrs Morgan Dockrell, who was a famous women's rights campaigner. She tried to incite the meeting to 'make a stand for fair pay and equality between the sexes, and [...] form an association for the purpose' (Ibid.). In her opinion only breaking away from the main union would bring the women justice. LSB member and feminist campaigner Honnor Morton supported another, less challenging motion to 'raise the status and salaries of women teachers.' This had been moved by a Mr Bridgeman in response to the Rev. Stuart Headlam, another member, who was generally 'in favour of equal salaries [...], but he did not wish to wreck the scheme for raising the salaries of men.' He also cautioned the meeting that 'a Teachers' Union should not be a trade union,' addressing the controversy about the objectives and radicalism of teachers' associations in their endeavour to achieve better conditions while at the same time not endangering their middle-class aspirations (Ibid.). These two motions and their supporters make visible the delicate web of class and gender differentials, of support and disapproval for the LSB mistresses. Without the male-focused MBTA, the salaries would not have increased at all, but at the same time female reformers tried to inspire or even utilise the mistresses for their own campaigns, both of untempered radicalism and compromise-seeking reconciliation.

In an entirely different tone to such rather dry reprinted minutes, the *Lady's Pictorial* reported about a 'Conference of Teachers at Oxford' (Anon. Vol. XXVII. April 7, 1894: 684). The *Lady's Pictorial: A Newspaper for the Home* was started in November 1880, at a price of 3d. At first it was a monthly, but soon changed to weekly publication. Like the other fashionable magazines it featured gossip and advice columns, reviews of books, music and drama and general articles (cf. Bassett and Pope 2011: 7). Lavish illustrations by distinguished artists and good-quality serialized fiction by popular novelists contributed to its lasting appeal for over 40 years until 1921. According to Ballaster et al., the *Lady's Pictorial* was the first periodical to use the new half-tone plate method of picture reproduction. Investing in new technologies to depict women and

their clothes suggests a ‘continuing and developing importance of appearance in the definition of femininity’ (1991: 81). The *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* also credits its popularity to being ‘more than a fashion and society magazine’ by writing about the woman question (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 342) as in the series ‘Behind the Grating – by an MP’s Wife,’ which explained in a chatty tone how Westminster worked.

For the annual NUET 1894 conference the University of Oxford had been rented and the *Lady’s Pictorial* reported about the lavish affair (Anon. Vol. XXVII. April 7, 1894: 684). The opening was ‘a grand function, at which we had present the Vice-Chancellor of the University and other Dons, [...] in all the pomp and panoply befitting the occasion.’ This close association with the university demonstrates a changed perception and importance of elementary teaching, despite its non-university based training. The author appears to have been a member of the NUET as indicated by her choice of the pronoun ‘we.’ Such a long and detailed article suggests that other *Lady’s Pictorial* readers were also members, who had not been able to go, or at least very interested in the Union’s affairs. The report applauded the women members’ contributions:

It was satisfactory to see that women were well to the fore in the conference, and that those who did speak, spoke exceedingly well. Indeed, one of the most sensible speeches made on Thursday was by Miss Broome [...] who did her best to bring the meeting to see that, while cookery was essential to girls of all grades, drawing was useless to those who earned their bread as shop girls, sempstresses, or servants.

Ibid.

Women, for whom public speaking had only been acceptable for a few decades (cf. Shiman 1992: 127-132), felt more at ease in the professional society of colleagues. But it is significant of the *Pictorial’s* focus that not just the best speech by a woman, but of the conference was singled out to be one about girls’ domestic education. But the bigger focus was on the social and pleasurable side of the conference. HRH Princess Christian came personally to collect the Union’s donations to her orphan fund and lent the conference glamour and top-level recognition. HRH’s and other

luminaries' outfits were described in great detail, as was the ball, an at home and a visit to nearby Blenheim Palace. The conference was much more than a business meeting of professionals, but an exciting social gathering with as much entertainment and inspiration as possible. Many articles had warned prospective mistresses of the social isolation that often came with being a teacher, either actual local remoteness, or class-based segregation. The conference gave amusement-starved teachers from all over the country the opportunity to meet like-minded professionals, some of whom they might have gone to training college with - almost like a holiday with the added bonus of being informed about the Union's latest ventures. Such opportunities were an important part of Union membership and participants returned home with a renewed confidence of belonging to a powerful professional group. The positive report was designed to attract other members and find even more strength in growing numbers.

4.2.1. Case Study: *The Women's Penny Paper's* 'Teachers' Free Trip'

The role of the magazines as platform for establishing elementary teaching as a fully recognised profession is illustrated even more clearly by a cluster of six articles in *The Women's Penny Paper*. Between 19 April and 12 July 1890 the *The Women's Penny Paper*, then still under Henrietta Müller's proprietor-editorship, ran a series of three announcements for 'Our "Teachers' Free Trip."' The first article started with a very sympathetic assessment of a teacher's situation:

It is not very often that a teacher gets the chance of going abroad, her holidays are too short to make it worth while, she is too done up when they do come to make all the necessary preparations and arrangements, and last, but not least, the cost is a consideration; and yet there is scarcely a more hard worked class of women in Great Britain than the teachers, not any that endures a greater amount of mental anxiety and such a strain on the nervous

system. There is no greater change and no more complete rest to the overworked brain than the change of scene and thought which comes with travel.

Anon. No. 78. April 19, 1890: 306.

The introduction hoped to draw in teachers, who would have recognised themselves and felt grateful for reading all their complaints summed up. It also touched on the great public debates about the dangers of overwork to weak brains, which will be discussed in the context of pupils in chapter 5, as an incentive for relaxing journeys. Foreign travel was increasingly gaining in popularity. Toynbee Hall's Travellers' Club, which offered MBTA members affordable tickets for continental trips, had been founded because of the recent ability and willingness of lower middle-class teachers to broaden their cultural and geographical horizon in a mixed-sex environment (cf. Copelman 1996: 172-175). Although as a result of having the same responsibilities and professional status, albeit not the same salaries, many of the young Board School masters and mistresses no longer saw the need for strict chaperonage and travelled together, the *Women's Penny Paper* only included women in their competition for 'the two most popular school mistresses in England, Scotland, and Ireland' to win a trip around Europe.

In this first article they also explained all the necessary formalities: 'All mistresses, whether head or assistant, [we]re eligible, whether from a High School, Board, Voluntary, or Private School' and that there was a 'committee of ladies of position connected with education who will act as Tellers' (Anon. No. 78. April 19, 1890: 306). To the *Women's Penny Paper* all teachers were of the same importance and their workloads were equal, so that no distinction between any members of the profession was to be made. Although there were no illustrations - two years after the periodical's establishment it might not yet have had enough income for such costly New Journalistic features - many other strategies to attract voters and competitors, ergo readers, were used. The articles all have very similar names, so as to easily be found in each edition, as the competition must have been the foremost reason for buying the magazine for many readers. Two weeks after the initial

announcement a second article with the by-line 'Too Good To Be True' explains that the periodical found the inspiration for their free trip from a *Daily News* article about an American newspaper, which is reprinted in full and lists the delights of the continent like 'gay Paris, the still more popular Riviera, the pictures galleries of Milan [...] and the far-famed waters of the Rhine' (Anon. No. 80. May 3, 1890: 330). Perhaps not many votes had been sent in and so the formalities were mentioned again, especially that voting papers were attached to every edition of the *Women's Penny Paper*. Both the connection with America and the attractions of Europe were calculated to attract readers and everybody who wished to vote had to buy an edition to increase readership and keep the expense for the trip low or even less than the gains in subscribers. Together with regular updates about the polling to 'stimulate interest and curiosity' (Anon. No. 83. May 24, 1890: 396) this strategy of slowly releasing information and keeping the readers interested was one of New Journalism's techniques geared towards increasing sales. The fact that teaching was chosen as recipient of this publicity stunt shows that the *Women's Penny Paper* recognised it as a proper profession with considerable commercial power. In Alice Lush's words, the competition winner from London, '[i]t was with a delightful feeling of importance' that they left London (Lush No. 97. Aug. 30, 1890: 530). Being marked out as deserving of not only a free trip, but also more generally for the hard work in the service of the nation's children, who would benefit from their teachers' greater knowledge and cultivation after the journey, contributed to a positive professional self-concept.

By the end of the nineteenth century, at the end of the LSB era, elementary teaching had been redefined as a fully-fledged profession for women and a big part of this process had happened in the pages of women's magazines. Magazines addressed to women had an inherent interest to serve as a platform for this redefinition. As the *Women's Penny Paper's* campaign shows, teachers were an important economic force, who could boost circulation immensely. Female teachers also increasingly defined themselves as members of the middle classes, gaining self-respect from their training,

satisfactory economic situation, social responsibility and many other achievements that were new for women. Despite all this, professional women were still often perceived as a threat to ‘the social and moral order’ and had to align the competition’s public assessment with how they saw themselves as women who had stepped out of their traditional confines (Liggins 2006: x). Reading about what other teachers were doing was a much-needed encouragement, especially articles about professional communities and Unions, whose large memberships gave them the power to influence legal matters and self-definition.

Elementary school mistresses also had to learn to use teachers’ associations and unions to organise themselves to fight for equal treatment with men. Initial doubts could be dispelled by articles in the periodicals, both in the feminist-progressive publications, which the readers purposefully turned to for relevant information, but also in less obvious magazines as *The Queen* and especially *Lady’s Pictorial*, whose coverage reassured hesitant readers that there were others of similar education, in similar financial positions, interested in similar issues. Their articles also worked in the other direction and helped to redefine the public image of elementary teachers as professional women in their own right. Working together to help educate not just pupils, but also pupil teachers as the profession’s next generation connected elementary teachers with earlier female-connoted philanthropy. Copelman explains how

by the late nineteenth century middle-class women had carved out a professional sphere for themselves where they specialized in providing certain services to women, children and the working class more generally. Instead of competing directly with men, middle-class women had wound up in areas that were distinctly their own, and where they usually defended their claims against other women - often of working- or lower-middle-class backgrounds - rather than men of their own class.

Copelman 1996: 10.

My analysis has shown the same to be true for working-class elementary teachers. While Copelman’s observations of elementary school teaching as a female-gendered profession are correct, the class-based distinctions were slowly breaking down. Once they had

successfully undergone the extensive training and secured a position as school mistress, they no longer really belonged to the working classes, economically and psychologically. They had the same access to unions and clubs as middle-class women. Exams like the Queen's Scholarship entry tests, taken by both pupil teachers and Bishop Otter graduates, achieved academic levelling. Becoming an elementary school teacher served for both middle- and working-class women as a boost to their self-definition as professional, independent women, on the cusp of catching up with men.

4.3. 'Gentle Methods:' Reform Pedagogics

Another part of professionalism is Leggatt's fifth condition that '[t]he colleague group [...] has disciplinary powers to enforce a code of ethical practice' (1970: 156). In the teaching profession, pedagogics and teaching methods can be defined as this 'code of ethical practice.' Increasingly standardised training came with a growing codification of these methods and theories as a sign of professionalisation. The last decades of the century saw not only higher standards for old educational strategies through more training, but also an influx of new reform pedagogical thought from the continent. Individualism was on the rise and each child was considered worthy of personal attention with less institutionalised violence, mirroring the widespread opposition to the Boer War (cf. Fröhlich 2004: 130ff.). This second part of the chapter examines how pedagogical innovations permitted new approaches to the objective of an improved citizenship and at the same time contributed to redefining the profession. Two article clusters from the corpus demonstrate new attitudes towards education and the working classes: debates about art in schools and corporal punishment. I show how reform pedagogics were used as a discursive strategy to justify middle-class women's involvement in elementary teaching without the need for male recognition, again starting diachronically from the beginning of the LSB era to chart the whole development.

Wiater describes the social changes of the last three decades of the nineteenth century as indicative of the need for a new educational theory. Traditional education with its focus on philology, history and idealism was rejected as ineffective and too far removed from *fin-de-siècle* society with its fears of cultural and racial degeneration. In the tradition of Rousseau, the child's instinctive will to improve was put at the focus of education in order to help children develop naturally (cf. 1997: Wiater 9-20). In *Woman*, on Rachel Gay's aforementioned 'Women Workers' Page,' the ex-teacher correspondent had demanded 'gentle methods' for middle-class teachers:

All the whole school of thought inaugurated by the noble Pestalozzi and Froebel, by means of which the human creature from its cradle is to be unfolded as a lovely little white flower, opening its dewy petals to the light and warmth of heaven's sun, to be nurtured and caressed and wisely guided into the truth by the laws of love, and of gentleness, of tenderness and of beauty.

Gay No. 743. March 23, 1904: 19.

The letter introduces Agnes Turner, née Ward, 'one of the greatest and noblest women teachers that any country has ever produced,' who was a 'lecturer in Kindergarten Methods under the London School Board, Examiner to the National Froebel Union; and formerly principal of the Maria Grey Training College' and disseminated Froebelian thought in Britain. She contributed a lecture to 'the education section of the Cambridge University Extension Summer Meeting in August 1900,' which was later published in the collection *Education in the Nineteenth Century* as a chapter on 'Some Aspects of Theory and Practice in Infant Education.' It is an introduction to Froebelian methods in contrast to children's traditional upbringing and education: 'When the nineteenth century opened the child was still in disgrace.' She identified children's restrictive shoes and clothes as reminders for the child of 'the antagonism between his physical instincts and the demands of conventionality.' Fear was (ab-)used to control and toughen up children (Ward 1901: 15-33). Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich

Pestalozzi and his German follower Friedrich Froebel had retraced human development and education to early childhood. Pestalozzi had been the first theoretician to factor in the child's mental development and explained that rote learning will always stay on the surface and never penetrate deeper into the consciousness because true understanding is missing. 'The main revolution thus created was the destruction of the partition wall between real life and schoolroom life' as children learned how to learn by observation, imitation and deduction. 'Froebel [...] saw the value of this for a stage below that of the schoolroom proper,' that means he 'elaborated his kindergarten system and invented an apparatus which is complete, flexible, adaptable for giving the child, whatever his race or tongue, elementary notions of number, form, colour and language' (Ibid.: 29). The word 'kindergarten' is used in a literal sense: Through a system of 'gifts, games and occupations' nurses educate the children by training and encouraging their natural development. They follow a theory obtained by observing an instinctive mother, who 'exercises the infant's limbs so that they may grow in strength and agility. She awakes in It [*sic*] a pleasure born of movement; and arouses, by songs as venerable as the plays, her child's feeling of union with things and beings not It-self' (Herford 1905: 12-13). This principle of developing innate instincts and desires was extended to education up until seven years, with the help of special songs, games and toys with the kindergarten being the safe space in which children are able to grow up and prosper, as Gay's 'little white flower' would in a real garden (Gay No. 743. March 23, 1904: 19). Froebel was 'imbued [...] with the importance of working *at* the individual *for* Society and at Society for the individual' (Ward 1901: 29). Or as he himself phrased it: 'For is not man more than every other creature in nature, and the child more than the germ of a plant? The tree germ bears within itself the nature of the whole tree, the human being bears in himself the nature of all humanity; and is not, therefore, humanity born anew in each child?' (Froebel 1904: 5). His maxim was therefore 'Come, let us live with our children' and thus create 'an *institution* for fostering family life and for the cultivation of the life of the nation, and of mankind, through fostering the impulse of

activity, investigation, and culture in man, in the child as a member of the family, of the nation, and of humanity' (Ibid.: 6).

Froebel's theories were taken up by what Sally Shuttleworth in her seminal study *The Mind of the Child* calls the Victorian 'open[ing] up [of] the child mind to literary, scientific, and medical scrutiny. [...] it was the Victorians who created the first detailed literary and scientific studies of child development' (2010: 1). Soon after the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, early psychologists established new forms of evolutionary psychology (cf. *ibid.*: 4). Childhood psychology's rise as a new discipline with an interest in the 'mental development of childhood' was connected 'with the rise of the middle classes, and by increasing levels of education, open[ed] up new social spaces and stretches of time in which to be a child' (Ibid.: 2). With his interest in mental development, Froebel was a precursor to these trends in post-Darwinian psychiatric childhood study. Likening a child's development to that of a flower, which reacts to what it is exposed to and can be strengthened with the correct aids, was not dissimilar to Darwin's explanations how stronger species had developed and weaker ones had died out. What Wiater calls the 'Anerkennung des Menschen als zur Selbstbestimmung fähigen Wesens' as basic impulse for all reform-pedagogical thought (1997: 25) is closely related to Smilesian self-help ideology and explains the popularity of reform pedagogics amongst middle-class teachers and so Froebel's educational theory was used as a practical approach to improving the nation. He supported mid-nineteenth century individualistic theorists, who 'promoted the individual's capacity [...] to improve and educate the self' and 'enlist[ed] the individual in the social project [...] through habit and imitation' (Gagnier 2010: 7). This individualism was explained rationally, psychologically, evolutionary, ethically, socially and politically, among many others. A functioning society was recognised as dependent on strong citizens, able to carry their responsibility for national progress, which were guaranteed by important discoveries in medicine and psychiatry (cf. *ibid.*: 6-10). Froebel's attempts to cultivate society were similar to other reformers' objectives, like philanthropic

Friendly Societies or schemes for rational recreation. Froebelian and Pestalozzian reform pedagogy was at the heart of progress by recognising that in order to reform society, continuing to vilify the working classes and treat ‘the dregs of society’ as near-criminals, responsible for their own misery, would not bring the desired results.²⁶

In the *Girl’s Own Paper*, star journalist George Augustus Sala described a common situation:

We have all known them, those forlorn and hopeless pupils, with their heads made of impenetrable stuff, and their backs, through much belabouring, grown hardened and callous to blows. [...] Are they to be turned to any use beyond being whetstones for biting jests [...]? I think, yes. Take away their books, abandon useless interrogations as to the paternity of Henry the Eighth and the geography of Europe. *Try and teach the dunces something else.*

Sala Vol. I, No. 2. Jan. 10, 1880. n.p.

This was early advocacy for differentiation as not every child learns the same way: ‘Try and discover the latent faculty. It must be somewhere. When you have found it, strive to foster and develop it, and it will afterwards bear good and precious fruit.’ Without mentioning him, this is Froebelian thought - and its practice is attributed to women: ‘For this task, who is so suited as a woman? By patience and kindness she alone can eliminate the shining needle that lies *perdu* somewhere in this tangled bottle of hay’ (Ibid.). In a leader on ‘Trained and Certificated Middle-Class Teachers’ from July 17, 1880, *The Queen* therefore demands the perfect teacher to ‘at least know [...] what it was that Froebel, Pestalozzi, [...] and others contributed to the advancement of knowledge of the best method of

²⁶ In the early 1880s, when the corpus magazines also mostly discussed Froebelian methods, almost every edition of *The Board Teacher* carried the recurring rubric ‘Reports of Instructors and Examiners.’ Often Mary Lyschinska as ‘Superintendent of Method in Infants’ Schools’ describes the findings from her visits, like on 1 October 1883, where 3.5 columns are dedicated to her approach to inspecting and improving ‘schools in which the adoption of the Kindergarten system was reported to be unsatisfactory or nil’ (Lyschinska. Vol. I, No. 3. Oct. 1, 1883: 30-31). The sheer number of favourable articles proves the teachers’ interest in the new methods, but also means that I did not consider them separately as this would go beyond the scope of my study.

dealing with children' (Anon. Vol. LXX. July 17, 1880: 49). Their objective was again to strengthen women's foothold as professional teachers: In Froebel's Kindergarten the maternal teacher plays a vital role and thus 'teaching offered the best combination of public service and motherhood [...], a career that appeared to rectify the most glaring irregularity in these women's private lives - their apparent rejection of marriage and motherhood' (Martin and Goodman 2004: 75-81). Female middle-class elementary teachers could use 'the message of Pestalozzi and Froebel [as] a moral rationale for [...] entering the teaching profession' (Ibid.). The debates about reformatory pedagogical methods were an extension of the programme of recruiting ladies for elementary teaching, who were creating their own *raison d'être* for their new status. As a consequence, in 1874 the Froebel Society was founded to spread the new ideas with meetings, lectures and magazines.

At first, in England Froebelian pedagogy 'principally developed in private middle-class kindergartens [...] and reached very few children' (Read 2013: 745-782). In the Froebel Educational Institute in West Kensington, founded in 1879, elementary teachers trained at a Training College and practiced their craft in a Free Kindergarten. But in order to 'introduce Froebelian methods of education into the Elementary Schools,' 'arrangements have been made with the authorities at several schools [...], to permit certain classes to be taken occasionally by the students.' A stand-alone article in *The Queen* on 'Where Kindergarten Teachers are Trained' describes the difficulties with Froebelian thought in LSB Schools:

In the infant schools, the teaching is conducted to some extent on similar lines, though greater difficulty is then experienced in consequence of the unweildy [*sic*] size of the classes. But when the children become old enough to enter the boys' and girls' schools, the subjects demanded by the Code become so multifarious that teachers are compelled to forget education, and to think only of 'standards.' Eventually, we must hope that there will be fewer subjects, smaller classes, and more teachers.

Anon. Vol. XCVIII. Oct. 5, 1895: 65.

LSB education was described thus: 'to know a good deal and to think nothing. The brain contains an undigested mass of facts and no

ideas.’ This article bitterly criticised the LSB’s conventional strategies when it defined the new ideas as ‘the method whereby children are taught how intelligent people think rather than what learned people know’ (ibid.). The return to the nature of the individual’s character inspired some rethinking of the requirements for a child-centred education and resulted for example in the addition of gardens to some schools and brighter classrooms (cf. Gargano 2008: 94-95). However, according to Davin, Froebelian activities like action songs, ‘intended to stimulate observation and imitation [...] had as little chance as his emphasis on spontaneity and movement. They were negated by the large classes (double and treble Froebel's ideal of twenty-four children to a teacher) [...] [and] the galleries’ (1996: 116). Galleries were stationary, wooden benches, preventing individual movement and thus application of reform methods: a metaphor for the old, rigid system impeding new thought. One of the original objectives of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 had been to educate the masses to be rational and mature citizens. But 25 years into the experiment, it had become evident to some observers that the methods were not suitable because elementary pupils were still not taught useful skills to actually support themselves. *The Queen* was again on the forefront of criticising this shortcoming and although LSB realities made Froebel’s progressive techniques difficult, periodicals were trying to implement them. They argued that this was not just of advantage to the working-class pupils, but also the middle-class teachers for added validation by the proto-femininity of Froebelian methods.

4.3.1. ‘How to Illustrate a Lesson:’ Art for Schools

HM Inspector Fitch’s report on the Training Colleges in *The Woman’s Herald* commented on this methodological controversy ‘that too much of the student’s time is spent in listening to lectures and writing notes upon them. In colleges and in schools alike, the methods of examining too often affect injuriously the methods of teaching’ (Fitch No. 25. Aug. 10, 1893: 397). Trainee teachers

continued to use the antiquated methods as they were under pressure from the payment by results system, which based the school's funding and their own salary on the pupils' exam results, and thus practised extreme versions of teaching to the test without attention to didactic needs (cf. K. Evans 1985: 46). This contradicted Froebelian teaching of the necessity for children to fully understand things by independent observation and imitation to awaken natural curiosity and self-improvement. Fitch therefore applauded the progress of 'drawing as an instrument of effective teaching' and recommended further attention to the use of objects and anecdotes 'to illustrate a lesson [...] [in order to] make some appeal to the sympathy, the reflection, or the imagination of the learner' (Fitch No. 25. Aug. 10, 1893: 397). This subchapter is about how art was incorporated into the LSB curriculum, both officially and by private charities, to implement reform pedagogical methods.

Almost since the establishment of the LSB, there were attempts to answer Mr Fitch's call for more illustration, literal and metaphorical, as a characteristically brief announcement in *The Queen's* 'Gazette des Dames' proves in 1878: 'The School Board drawing exhibition is to be held at the Saffron-hill Board School, Farringdon-road. [...] In exhibiting the drawings, those of pupil teachers are to be displayed separately from those of the children' (Anon. Vol. LXIV. Oct. 26, 1878: 309). Such exhibitions were supposed to inspire gentle competition as a new motivational strategy rather than more tests, but also a way to present the LSB's work to the public to justify rising rates. The inclusion of the pupil teachers' artworks encouraged them to acquire creative learning techniques. Apart from fostering in-depth learning through critical and creative engagement, drawing was also hoped to increase artistic awareness as part of the 'culture' that was necessary for an improved working class. In 1877 a leading article in *The Queen* discussed the introduction of drawing to the curriculum (Anon. Vol. LXII. Nov. 10, 1877: 309): 'When it was first proposed that [...] every child above the age of seven should be taught how to draw, a loud outcry was raised that drawing was unnecessary.' This outcry came from advocates of 'hyperrational pedagogy, which appeared to develop

the mind at the expense of heart and spirit' (Gargano 2008: 4). A fast course of useful knowledge and practical skills would have saved rate money, an issue close to the heart of many *The Queen* readers. And yet *The Queen* advocated Froebel and tried to ease the readers' reservations by reconstructing the sceptics' ideas. It claimed that

nothing so well cultivate[s] accuracy of perception of form as the teaching of drawing. Even if all the girls in elementary schools are to be employed in housework, a perception of accuracy in the arrangement of a table, in the lines of a picture against a wall, in the thousand and one things in which neatness is important, would be useful, and would be cultivated by the teaching of drawing.

Anon. Vol. LXII. Nov. 10, 1877: 309.

To have a concept of 'form' was one of Froebel's tenets of infant education, so this justification quotes him without naming him, maybe to avoid automatic condemnation as too radical and *laissez-faire*. *The Queen* argued along the same utilitarian and gendered lines as opponents of Froebelian methods for drawing to be a further way to train working-class pupils for domestic service, although teaching art for better household servants contradicted Froebel's intentions. At the end of the article, the writer returned to the original interpretation of Froebel: 'Beauty of form can be appreciated in any rank of life, and educated sight is as necessary to the poor as to the rich.' This egalitarian sentiment is similarly progressive as the other *Queen* leaders and readers were asked to 'assist teachers in the actual labour of instruction and superintendence, and so they might help forward the advancement of a truly refining education' (Ibid.). Philanthropic middle-class readers were once again encouraged to help with spreading their own culture.

For a slightly different approach, the appreciation of beautiful paintings rather than the creative production of art, in 1883 the Art for Schools Association was founded with John Ruskin as president. As the period's eminent aesthetic, art critic and educator Ruskin was the right person to propel forward the movement. In her study on *Ruskin's Educational Ideals* Sara Atwood explains the moral aesthetic at the base of his educational writings. 'He had realized [...]

that if he were to teach others to see art clearly, he must “begin at the other end, with moral education of the people, and physical” (cf. 28). Influenced by Plato in his conviction that intellectual education without moral maturity was impossible, he rejected

nineteenth-century educational practice, with its emphasis on rote learning, the accumulation of facts, and competitive examinations. Ruskin maintained that education was not about rising above one’s position in the world [...] but about learning to occupy this position productively and contentedly, thereby ensuring a just social balance within an organic community.

Ibid.: 30.

His emphasis on moral education is related to Froebel’s ideas. Using art to further develop a child’s blossoming mind is the natural link between the two schools of thought and so the Art for Schools Association was working ‘to educate and feed the taste of children by simply placing in the classrooms of elementary schools a few good prints and photographs of beautiful and interesting works of art, such as most people of taste take care to have in their own houses.’ This programmatic explanation was given in the Association’s 1895 Annual General Meeting and used as an introduction to a positive report in *The Queen* (Anon. Vol. XCVII. June 22, 1895: 1114). To combat the hardly inspiring ‘huge, empty dreariness prevailing in many board schools,’ the ‘humanising effect of pictures’ was praised, ‘humanising’ being another, even stronger word for ‘cultivating.’ Without art, the working-class pupils could not become true humans or useful citizens. The society’s work was another development from Froebelian learning ‘gifts,’ which were meant to aid a child’s development and learning, extended from The Association’s offices in Queen’s Square, Bloomsbury, an address reminiscent of the most educated middle class, to the uncultured working class. At the end their latest publication is named as John Everett Millais’ ‘Joan of Arc.’ This pre-Raphaelite masterpiece of the warrior girl who answered to the saints’ call to free her country was an impressive subject to learn from, not just aesthetically, but also religious obedience and a sense of duty and toleration of hardship.

To further the enjoyment of beauty, Mrs Will C. Hawksley introduced yet another scheme in her *Lady's Pictorial* column 'Women's Philanthropy.' Toynbee Hall had started

to obtain, from artists of repute, attractive pictures of the immediate neighbourhood of the City Board Schools. (...) The teachers are requested to talk to the children of the scenes represented, and to point out the various beauties shown, thus awakening in their pupils the faculty of recognising for themselves similar beauties in their ordinary surroundings.

Hawksley Vol. XXXVIII, No. 694. Aug. 19, 1899: n.p.

The middle-class initiators of art-based education, themselves influenced by Ruskin, helped to trickle down aestheticism to the LSB pupils. Toynbee Hall's scheme sums up the new approach to education, exemplified by art and aesthetic pleasure: To teach children curiosity and the skills to find out more and analyse facts rather than learn them by heart and regurgitate them in exams. The expectation that the pupils broaden their intellectual horizons with an appreciation of art meant that state education was beginning to be seen as having to entail more than the 3 R's, again initiated by voluntary philanthropists. Reform methods were hoped to make LSB education have a longer impact than the required age of school attendance. At the same time museums were opened to the public as 'deliberately planned instrument[s] for adult education' (Hudson 1975: 62-63) and places for the rational recreation after labour legislation had freed up leisure time (cf. Cunningham 2014: 98-104).

What had been attempted through the exposure to art was also reworked into more generally applicable teaching methods, just as HMI Finch had demanded. In so-called object lessons, the teacher held up the item at the heart of the lesson. Then the pupils told the teacher everything they knew about this object, guided by leading questions, to which the teacher then added all the necessary information. As early as 1847 a reading primer used a similar approach to teaching to spell and read. A lesson about the meaning of the word 'unprecedented' is described, which dissects the word into three parts and then adds an exercise on negative prefixes to build on and extend the pupils' knowledge (cf. Rees 1999: 18). Only by combining the knowledge we already possess and the thoughts

and emotions we have spent on this knowledge with what we see in the world can we truly understand newly learned matter. This 'reforming alternative to the rigid cramming methods of the monitorial system' was 'meant to encourage observation [...] [and] allowed open and flexible teaching' (Davin 1996: 115). Such lessons followed Froebel's belief that we only care for topics of which we understand meaning and use (cf. Herford 1905: 10) and incorporated his maxim 'to make the external internal, and the internal external, and to mark the unity of both' (Ibid.: 63). They imitated the natural learning process of a child and the ways mothers facilitate learning, making such teaching methods deeply feminine. These new methods also speak of the progressing emancipation of the working classes, who were now recognised to have the ability to appreciate an object's beauty and understand its use. Instead of rote-learning pre-digested knowledge, the young generation was allowed and expected to think for themselves. With the help of imitation learning they were taught to make sense of their own world.

Two articles in the corpus illustrate how progressive teaching methods were taken out into the pupils' real world. *The Queen's 'Gazette des Dames'* published a letter by 'A London Schoolmistress,' not their traditional place for reprinted correspondence (Anon. Vol. LXVIII. Oct. 30, 1880: 399). The correspondent had good advice for 'others engaged in the education of girls.' It is unclear why she had not written to a professional magazine, as despite its interest in elementary education, *The Queen* usually did not engage in professional debate. She describes an outing to the Tower of London, where the fact that it was a free day, that means a day where no entrance fee was charged, meant that they 'were kept waiting for nearly an hour in a noisy, rough crowd.' It is not specified whether the mistress was teaching at an elementary school or one of the new secondary schools for girls, but her middle-class sensibilities, as exemplified by her readership of and correspondence with *The Queen*, were hurt by having to queue with less refined visitors. Implicitly this note proves that the campaign to attract middle-class women as elementary teachers had worked, but also that their everyday life in the LSB schools was not easy in many

respects. As one solution, the 'London Schoolmistress' recommends to other teachers to visit the Tower on a Saturday, which 'was in every sense a free day. We found no crowd at the gates, but, having taken our tickets, we were allowed to wander at our leisure through the building' (Ibid.). This 'pleasant experience' presumed being able to pay for the tickets, which many LSB parents were not. Apart from such class-based observations, the note also demonstrates the fact that lessons were no longer confined to the classrooms. A day at the Tower could be used to teach pupils about history, art, how to behave in public and an awareness of what happened in their nearest environment. This was a true object lesson, as it started with a familiar thing from the girls' vicinity and guided them through the acquisition of more knowledge. The 'open day' she mentioned was intended to enable poor members of the public to have similar learning experiences, although Monday might not have been a wise choice.

But not just urban sights such as the Tower were used as impulses for learning. *Girl's Realm* printed a long and lavishly 'Illustrated Chat about Nature Study' (Hedger Wallace n.p. 1903: 902-906). *Girl's Realm* was closely affiliated with *Lady's Realm* and sometimes even ran the same articles. They were catering to upper-class and aspirational middle-class readers and depoliticised the New Woman by featuring enlightened ideas on education, health, independence and employment in a New Journalistic manner with a big focus on celebrities and royalty (cf. Brake and Demoor 2009: 250). The five-page article was accompanied by thirteen well-printed photographs with informative captions, although the one about 'Young Robins' included a grammatical mistake (Hedger Wallace n.p. 1903: 902-906). They show school children from across the nation learning in nature and are described to give an overview of what is possible if one has 'escaped from the school-room.' The introduction was designed to draw in the young readers with their own experience: 'On a fine summer's day, when everything is at its brightest and best, do not most girls feel that it is cruel to be confined within the four walls of a school-room and there be called upon to do the usual round of lessons?' This opening raises the question what

audience the ‘Chat’ was designed for, as school girls themselves could not decide to go outside for their lessons. Maybe they were supposed to request their teachers read the article for inspiration or the article was meant for slightly older girls, who were training to be



YOUNG ROBINS.

*Board School children examining, under the guidance
their teacher, a nest of robins.*

Figure 11: Photograph from ‘Illustrated Chat about Nature Study’ in *Girl’s Realm* (Hedger Wallace n.p. 1903: 902-906).

teachers themselves. At the end, a list of questions about flora and fauna in the winter encourages readers to organise such lessons even when the weather is not pleasant. But they could also serve for the readers’ individual study, for self-improvement without relying on school-based lessons. The

article, written in the form of chatty conversation, expanded Froebel’s ideas on ‘Nature Study.’ It described a rethinking by the ‘educational authorities [who] are now asking themselves [...]’: “Would it not be better to have less instruction and more education?” (Ibid.). In this context, more education meant teaching skills rather than knowledge, which the children could then later use by themselves:

In a good many schools the attempt is being made to abandon the formalism of codes and traditions and to give the children’s instinctive love of Nature full opportunity to develop [with the objective of] stimulating, encouraging, and directing the natural instincts and inclinations of children Naturewards, opening up for them opportunities to become familiar with Nature’s facts, laws, and phenomena.

Ibid.

Keywords here are opportunities, instinct and love and their opposition to formalism, codes and tradition, identified as keeping children from developing their full potential as responsible citizens. The emphasis on nature as opposed to cramped and unsanitary classrooms picked up parallel worries about overcrowded urban slums, which stunted development.

The publication of such an elaborate article demonstrates the arrival of reform pedagogical ideas in the midst of society. The fact that the new methods were advocated for Board and higher grade schools also meant that there was no longer a strict division between working- and middle-class education. Working-class children needed the same stimuli and opportunities to develop and were not just capable of the very formal training and rote learning traditionally considered best for their mental abilities. Although many LSB teachers ‘continued in formal practices despite advocacy of freer methods from the Education Department’ (Read 2013: 762), partly because of practicalities, the adoption of new methods represents an important rethinking of what good citizenship-education meant. The increasing responsibility of women for education and the inherently feminine and maternal nature of Froebelian ideas heralded a departure from earlier conformist doctrines, which had employed religion to argue for the working classes’ duty to uphold traditional hierarchies (cf. Rees 1999: 17). Froebel’s theory that children need their mothers to assist them in learning and developing and that therefore teachers had to adopt maternal methods was traditionalist, but also empowering by asserting women’s indispensability for a better society. Feminine magazines like *The Queen*, the *Lady’s Pictorial* or *Girl’s Realm* were naturally interested in his methods as simple arguments for their readers’ involvement in working-class education without losing class- and gender-based propriety.

4.3.2. ‘To Whip or not to Whip:’ The 1893 Controversy about Corporal Punishment

With his assessment of a child’s mind as a bud that only develops into a healthy plant with the right help and nourishment, Froebel came very close to the results of modern psychologists and neurologists that neurons can only build new synapses, which means consolidate newly learned material, onto already existing neurons, that is pre-knowledge. These new links, that is the increase in skills and knowledge, are only successful if the learning environment is positive and no negative emotions inhibit synapses from forming. In

reverse, ‘our emotions do re-sculpt neural tissue’ and skills can be un-learned or re-developed if we are affected by extremely positive or negative feelings (OECD/CERI: 2). While nineteenth-century child psychologists and educationalists were as yet unaware of these organic causes, they did consider the effects of corporal punishment on a child’s development. This subchapter explores the controversy around corporal punishment in 1893 and its implications of class and gender.

In the LSB era Rousseau’s *Émile Or on Education* was still a benchmark for respecting a child’s character during the educational ‘race against the damaging effects of nature.’ Shuttleworth explains how Rousseau wanted children to be brought up in entire freedom, even without swaddling in infancy, but that in reality ‘the educator was the master, although the child was led to believe there is no master over his thoughts’ (Shuttleworth 2010: 155-158). As followers of Rousseau, reform pedagogues based their theories on similar freedom despite tacit control. But even the staunchest followers of Froebel, Pestalozzi or Montessori were sometimes unconvinced whether a truly child-led approach was actually possible. In her essay on ‘Bringing Froebel in to London’s Infant Schools,’ Jane Read quotes Frances Roe’s, an early-twentieth-century Froebelian headmistress’s, doubts: ‘What will happen if the play does not turn out to be a preparation for the tool subject? What if they never want to read or write?’ (Read 2013: 759). Some sort of discipline was necessary to ensure the usefulness of education. In the rougher LSB schools this included physical restraint to make teaching at all possible. Under LSB law, there was a certain procedure to follow if teachers decided that corporal punishment was necessary: They had to wait till after the lesson and enter the details into the ‘Punishment Book’ before only caning specific parts of the body. Assistant teachers had to ask their head masters to cane for them and were only allowed to beat their pupils themselves with written permission. But the rules were often broken (cf. Copelman 1996: 89) as maintaining discipline was especially hard for middle-class mistresses. In *Work and Leisure*, Charity’s aforementioned narrative describes the struggle vividly. Hope

felt troubled that she could not command good order; and she, who had never struck a girl in her life, began to long for some sceptre of rule, so that by a sharp stroke or two she might inspire some awe in the minds of her troublesome charges. Then, at a moment when greatly irritated, she made the fatal mistake of giving a slap to one girl. 'Your hand slipped, didn't it, teacher?' said a sarcastic little monkey, and thereupon the said hand 'slipped' a second time.

Charity Vol XVII, No. 11. n.t. 1892: 290-294.

Hope as a middle-class elementary teacher was overwhelmed with her pupils, whose upbringing had been so different from hers, and failed doubly: For her personally the slip of her hand meant losing her job and financial security. But she also failed at the great project of bringing middle-class gentility and gentleness to the coarse working-class pupils by way of imitation learning. *Work and Leisure* was in favour of middle-class elementary teachers, but argued with this negative example that managing unruly classes and avoiding inhumane corporal punishment required training instead of classist aloofness (Copelman 1996: 89). Copelman challenges Foucault's analysis that 'discipline, punishment and bodily control were systematized in the modern era to serve the interests of professional consolidation and state power' by arguing that their 'subversion [...] and their challenge [...] was at least as ingrained as the impulse to control' (Ibid.: 90-91). Such protests were gender- and class-based, as it was the working classes who were exposed to the physical discipline, but also who challenged the use of what Foucault described as methods to exercise hierarchical powers. Women played a twofold role in this debate as on the one hand, middle-class women answering the magazines' calls to become elementary school mistresses often stumbled at their pupils' lack of civilisation and tried to beat it into them. On the other hand women were important for the abolition of corporal punishment as examples as Winchester Street Girls school, Pentonville, which 'was run entirely without corporal punishment' show because 'although [Winchester Street] had very rough children [they] secured good exam results and high attendance' (Davlin 1996: 128).

The debate started mostly in the 1880s, when after a decade the first generation of Board School pupils had grown up. Amidst ever-louder calls for reform pedagogy, character education and strategies to maintain civilisation after compulsory schooling had finished, there are ten articles in the corpus about whether to whip or not. A letter by Edith Lupton, member of the Bradford School Board, to *The Daily News*, which was reprinted in the *Women's Penny Paper*, equated 'the abandonment of the idea that the cane is an educational instrument' with a Froebelian 'appreciation of the fact that a child's mind will no more develop under blows and unkindness than a rose will uncloset its petals under the same conditions' (Anon. No. 52. Oct. 19, 1889: 7). Like Froebel's gendered argument for maternal empathy, the repeal of corporal punishment was utilised by women to campaign for the necessity of their involvement in education for the good of the whole society. A 'Gazette des Dames' article in *The Queen* from 13 May 1882 talks about an Metropolitan Board Teachers Association (MBTA) meeting about caning where LSB member Alice Westlake 'expressed her dislike of it, but admitted that in some cases it was absolutely necessary. She thought, however, that this ought always to be inflicted by the head and not by the assistant-masters or mistresses' (Anon. Vol. LXXI. May 13, 1882: 423). This was the usual attitude of female LSB members, who 'opposed use of the cane. Honnor Morten, Rosamund Davenport Hill and Helen Taylor (who linked it to wife-beating) did so with particular determination' (Davin 1996: 127).

Westlake was probably trying to influence the MBTA, who had a different opinion: In their own publication *The Board Teacher* there are only three articles in 1893 although the debate caused such a stir in the corpus in the same year. A semi-anonymous article by 'The Cricket' about 'The Corporal Punishment Committee' shows the Association to be in favour of corporal punishment, which they described as 'wholesome discipline,' without which the children would be 'growing up in a state of lawlessness that bids fair to be a positive evil to the state' (Anon. Vol. X, No. 112. June 1, 1893: n.t.). The article reacts to interference by the newly founded Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. They had organised an At

Home with the MBTA, so that teachers might lose their preconceptions, and now printed a detailed report of this meeting with minuted speeches for those members who could not go. According to one of the speakers, a headmaster, '[t]eachers looked upon the Society as the successor of the "Anti-Corporal Punishment Clique" which introduced the Corporal Punishment rules into the Code of the School Board for London' (Ibid.). The MBTA teachers' perception of the rules as arbitrary suggest that adversaries of corporal punishment knew that teachers would always resort to it, but if they built in too many difficulties, they could try to prevent caning from being used too often. The aggressive rhetoric explains why Mrs Westlake held back her opinion in front of the MBTA. Another argument expressed by the same speaker was that "'namby-pamby" theorists stepped in and interfered with punishment that an Eton boy would think nothing of' (Ibid.). This is well documented in the Punishment Book for the years 1888 to 1965 from the archives of Harrow School. Winston Churchill's name, for example, appeared six times. His misdemeanours, for which he was flogged on four occasions, include idleness, disobedience, impertinence and breaking into premises. But this class-based approach was part of the problem and displays the class wars the LSB was fighting. There were also male middle-class teachers employed for the same good influence as the mistresses, who applied a code for behaviour and punishment they had learned in middle-class schools. Working-class pupils were not automatically familiar with this middle-class code and would not have understood their punishments (cf. Davin 1996: 129). In one of their three stand-alone article, *The Board Teacher* published a report by an LSB Sub-Committee on corporal punishment regulations. Following the great public debate a new set of rules about how to administer physical discipline was prepared by interviewing 'some forty [...] teachers in the Board's employment' (Anon. Vol. X, No. 110. April 1, 1893: 77). Those teachers all wanted to keep the right to cane their pupils and did not consider it useful to postpone it until after lessons, but disagreed whether assistant teachers should punish themselves rather than having to ask their heads to do it for them. This mirrored the hierarchical structure

of the LSB and indeed society, where responsibility was shifted upwards.

Behind the issue of corporal punishment for children was a bigger debate about the acceptability of violence to prevent further evil, hotly discussed in every aspect of working-class reform. Thus the discussion transcended the specialised Union magazine and also spawned a lot of correspondence in the mainstream periodicals I examine. In September and October of 1893 the *Woman's Herald* saw the unfolding of a battle in letters between Catherine L. Osler and 'The Writer of the article.' My analysis of their passionate letters sums up the arguments for and against corporal punishment and more general attitudes to discipline and children's development. Osler's first letter on 'Methods of Education' from September 21 reacted to an article from September 14 on 'The Education Report' (Anon. No. 30. Spt. 14, 1893: 477). This article was a digest of the 'report of the Education Department, a volume of which runs to 853 pages.' After complaints about the inadequate provision of training colleges 1.5 of its 2.25 columns are dedicated to criticising the 'maundering sentimentality [which] ties [teachers'] hands when they would correct vicious and insubordinate conduct' (Ibid.). The choice of words reminds of *The Board Teacher's* "'namby-pamby" theorists' (Anon. Vol. X, No. 112. June 1, 1893: n.t.), who celebrated the proverbial 'stiff upper lip' with which such character-building was to be endured. The article makes clear that the author believed in corporal punishment. Her main argument accused 'the School Boards - whose members are not practical teachers - [of] adopt[ing] the ostrich-like policy of looking the other way' (Anon. No. 30. Spt. 14, 1893: 477). The point that nobody who had not taught a class in an LSB school could understand the necessity of corporal punishment, is pervasive throughout her article, which paints London's and especially Birmingham's streets as dystopian dens of 'defiant juvenile wickedness.' The article closes with a very poignant description of what were to happen if

children are not to be corrected of animal vices and passions while their affectional instincts are too weak to appeal to, their reasons too undeveloped to listen to reason, their brains as yet too feeble to grasp the

exact point of ‘a talking to,’ by the only method that *does* come home to them [...] why, then, *mental* development leads merely to increased knowledge of how to do evil.

Ibid.

The author has very limited trust in her pupils’ intellects, which corresponds with contemporary attitudes towards the working classes. She reveals herself to be follower of post-Darwinian evolutionism, which emphasised the role of inheritance and feared further degeneration if the pupils’ corruption was not adequately punished and thus eventually eradicated (cf. Shuttleworth 2010: 56ff.). But her use of overly emotional language and examples which were supposed to make the unprofessional readers scared of the future of their nation and their own safety betrayed an almost desperate need to justify her belief in corporal punishment in a social climate which was slowly turning against such methods.

Catherine L. Osler from Birmingham, whose pupils had been singled out as especially in need of corporal discipline, reacted to the provocative letter (Osler No. 30. Sept. 21, 1893: 496). Osler challenged the other correspondent’s assumption that the only ‘choice is between physical violence and “looking the other way”’ and tried to take the wind out her opponents’ sails by admitting that many children indeed were ‘unmanageable and even vicious.’ But then she immediately emphasised her belief in what we now call the nature-nurture debate: ‘Under what sort of treatment have they *become* what we find them [...]? Have all higher methods and influences been tried and failed with them, that we must resort to physical violence?’ Osler also wanted to improve the children’s behaviour and character, but she proposed a radically different way: ‘A high standard of good behaviour can only be raised in a child’s mind by arousing the *desire* to do rightly - never by fear of a thrashing.’ Osler was influenced by reform pedagogical ideas, which put the individual child first rather than society as a whole to achieve the same objective: The ‘regeneration of humanity.’ She was also sure, fundamentally opposed to her correspondent’s views, that working-class pupils were capable of such a desire. To this end, Osler put much hope into the modern methods, as

for many children their one chance of turning out decent characters lies in their school life; their teacher is the one ennobling and refining influence with which they come in contact, and the respect and affection [...] with which the teacher is regarded, is the recognition of a moral force which is potent to effect what physical force has failed in doing.

Ibid.

For her, imitation learning, aided by positive emotions, was the only option, but for this the teachers had to be enabled to be as effective as possible for example with smaller class sizes, since it 'is not surprising that overworked, harassed teachers should at times lose faith in the slower and harder methods of moral training.' Osler used the corporal punishment debate to argue for the further professionalisation of teaching and asked for the necessary recognition for those responsible for a reformed working class. With this should have come suitable working conditions to be able to avoid physical violence, which should have been beneath a qualified and self-respecting teacher following the profession's ethical code of service. The MBTA members were fighting for the same goal, but they did not share Osler's argument that moral training was enough to reform 'vicious and unmanageable children' (Ibid.). On the contrary, they saw the possible abolition and regulation of corporal punishment as an attack on their ability to freely take professional decisions. Accordingly, a week later 'The Writer of the Article' replied with a long letter (Anon. No. 32. Sept. 28, 1893: 510). Osler's reply to her first letter pushed 'The Writer' even more into a defensive position and she carefully divided her response into five points and included many personal or friends' examples to justify her arguments. After asserting that there were a lot more children beyond help other than the cane than Osler thought, she addressed Osler's argument of socialisation:

Your correspondent assumes that vicious and unmanageable children have been made such by parental beatings. I do not think this assumption is at all borne out by facts. The majority of them, in my former words, 'start badly before they are born.' [...] Such children, to put it bluntly, are by their

very existence a crime against society, by reason of their hereditary strains of alcoholism and lust.

Ibid.

Wider social anxieties that the nation would further degenerate through the misunderstanding that genetics works within a few generations had entered the discussion. The anonymous author followed the doctrine of eugenics, which ‘saw class as a matter of heredity, and inherited defect as underlying all the problems associated with the residuum, including lack of character’ (Richardson 2003: 29). She believed these pupils to be at the mercy of their natural disposition and incapable of change. By the 1890s Darwin’s theories had been developed into ‘scientific racism,’ which was used to explain British superiority (Jusova 2005: 18). For the anonymous author, however, the British people were not even equal among themselves and the working classes were like a foreign, inferior race, which needed civilising training rather than education, as only the instincts could be controlled.

This made the LSB open to easy attacks from eugenicists and ‘The Writer’ expresses doubts about the utility of middle-class elementary teachers and, as one of the only contributors to the corpus, their professional training: ‘They are not in the least aware that many of their methods are suited, not to all children alike, but to the children of one [...] social stratum. They look at things entirely through middle-class spectacles. Yet it is the people of this social stratum from whom the members of School Boards are mainly drawn.’ While the speaker at the MBTA meeting had demanded pupils of all classes to be treated equally, eugenicists believed that the classes were irreconcilably different and that working-class pupils’ instincts could only be managed with the fear of the cane. According to this, middle-class teachers inevitably had to fail at reforming LSB schools. Regeneration was impossible, only degeneration could be avoided. Her main point, which makes up one third of her letter, therefore is that it was a teachers’ religious duty to not ‘exalt the material over the spiritual [...] for [t]hese children are the temple of the Holy Spirit. What chance do the sentimental grant to holiness of permeating the temple instead of remaining

latent in a hidden recess?’ According to the anonymous letter, teachers were God's instruments to beat the devil out of children and it would have been a sin to not give the children the chance to rise above their base instincts. God also punishes humans ‘most cruelly. He does not even let us know *why* we are being hurt’ (Anon. No. 32. Sept. 28, 1893: 510). The argument of god physically disciplining humans without reason was extended to teachers who were expected to beat children in their class regularly for their own good.

Such crude theological arguments were not likely to convince progressive readers as Catherine Osler, but by 1893 the general tone of the *Woman's Herald* had become more religious under Methodist Lady Isabella Somerset as editor. Many of the *Woman's Herald's* new readers, who had been brought to the magazine by Somerset, might have found the anonymous author's arguments compelling. The late Victorian period was a period of hopeful progress. Hynes was talking of natural-scientific discoveries when he described the resulting mood as ‘jubilant,’ but this can be transferred to the wider atmosphere, the humanities and philosophies, which were informed by new scientific ideas about how the body and the world worked (1986: 132-133). Osler described this forward-looking spirit, which clashed with her correspondent's conservative frame of mind:

Little by little the old brutal discipline has been discarded in our army, in our public schools, in our State education. It is no more possible to revive it than re-enact capital punishment for sheep stealing. The spirit of our age is against it. Whatsoever the difficulties and problems which lie before us [...] we shall have to find other and less clumsy solutions than this.

Osler No. 33. Oct. 5, 1893: 526.

Osler seems to accept that these two mentalities were incompatible and did not write again. A reformist magazine like *Woman's Herald* was a useful platform for discussing new ideas, even though this series of correspondence, stretching over six editions, showed that many of the readers agreed that no reform was needed for corporal punishment. Osler's and ‘The Writer of the Article's’ exchange caused many readers to write in, proving that teachers were reading the *Woman's Herald*. The contribution by ‘A Child Lover But Not

A Sentimental One' from October 12 was a synthesis of 'letters from various elementary school teachers (Board and Voluntary)' (Anon. No. 34. Oct. 12, 1893: 543). According to the letter, the teachers were 'quite unanimous in believing that [Osler] would soon see reason to alter her views if she were in their place.' Like 'The Writer of the Article,' the pro-corporal punishment 'Child Lover' chose to remain anonymous and bolstered her defence of the cane with eye-witness reports from middle-class teachers. They did not enjoy punishing, but had to 'get over it the best way [they] can' (Ibid.). 'It was long days of teaching large classes of rough children, of feeling marginalised in the classroom, of trying their best to maintain emotional and physical control. There seems to have been a sense of disillusionment. One of the teachers even went so far as to say that elementary education since 1870 had not been as positive as most people used to think: 'The children of to-day are much more difficult to manage than they were [...] Quite small children are able to inform their teachers how far the Board's rules allow them to go' (Ibid.). Education had given the working-class children a new self-confidence and they were no longer as exposed to 'their betters'' despotism, which left overwhelmed teachers feeling robbed of their innate superiority. 'The Writer of the Article' did not accept middle-class women teachers as only positive because *The Queen's* campaign to broaden the recruitment base had not provided adequate training.

The *Woman's Herald* gave the last word in the exchange to enlightened women by publishing two letters against corporal punishment on one page on October 19. Both were signed and one of the correspondents, Kate Rigby, member of Birkdale School Board, maliciously remarked that 'the people who are anxious to give teachers the undisputed possession of the cane do not, for the most mark, sign their names.' Rigby detected corporal punishment's proponents' fear of losing face (No. 35. Oct. 19, 1893: 553). She also brought the argument back to the fundamental issue of class when she demanded to 'slightly [...] raise the character of our elementary teachers.' Character was often used as a more genteel code word for class. Rigby and Osler were asking for elementary teachers to be of

their own middle-class origin, whereas ‘The Writer of the Article’ wanted the exact opposite. Apart from allowing speculation about ‘The Writer of the Article’s’ class membership and therefore the conjecture that the *Woman’s Herald* was also read by working-class members, this questions the success of the project to have women of all classes work together for an improved society. Working-class teachers, who had started their professional lives as pupil teachers, and middle-class teachers, who had not gone to Board Schools but entered elementary education from a more elevated position, lead separate lives, professionally and privately, and now clashed on *Woman’s Herald’s* platform. For this to change, a joint education and training would have been necessary, which was not to be introduced for a few years.

This fourth chapter followed the debate in magazines for women about what it meant to be a good teacher. The process of professionalisation had clearly defined steps. First came an improved system of professional training, which was adapted to the perceived needs of the class of the trainees: pupil teachership plus maybe college for the working classes, training college for the middle classes. Once a large body of trained teachers had been formed, the formation of unions helped to further advance professional conditions, on a political level, but also for personal and social improvement. Especially women profited from opportunities to learn a profession and be involved in organising it according to their own needs. I fully agree with Oram’s assessment that ‘teaching [w]as a secure career with status’ in a world with limited opportunities for women (1996: 23). Elementary ‘teaching was reasonably easy to enter’ for all classes. ‘It was also seen as very suitable, since it was respected and respectable, [...] suggest[ing] both masculine status and feminine suitability’ (Ibid.: 29). Maternalism was still a useful argument, as much as in the earlier chapters on women campaigning for female LSB members and organising local government. The introduction of reform pedagogics like Froebel’s ideas enabled women to take increasing control of their profession and shape it in a way that made them able to argue with renewed momentum for the importance of women teachers. But

Froebel's ideas were rooted in traditional gender roles and might even have cemented class divisions and traditional gender roles for longer than necessary. But despite all the arguments of social motherhood 'women went into teaching on the whole less to utilise their "maternal instinct" but for its material rewards or because they had an academic interest in a particular subject which they wanted to teach' (Ibid.: 30).

4.4. From 'The Pupil Teacher' to 'The Village Schoolmistress:' Aspirational and Escapist Fiction

A review of relevant fiction, both from the corpus and other sources, places these developments towards teaching as a universally accepted female profession into the broader context of education and professionalisation for women. These stories were a development from the popular genre of governess novels (as discussed in the introductory chapter 1.3.5.) which were reconstructed to discuss women's professionalisation. A number of Dickens references were mixed in to impress upon the readers the almost clichéd poverty and working-class membership of the characters, which could be escaped by becoming elementary school teachers. Newly professionalised women had access to a great tradition of governess novels, but there were only few stories featuring trained elementary school mistresses. In the corpus there are two: Anne Beale's 'The Pupil Teacher,' published in the *Girl's Own Paper*, focuses on the struggles and ultimate reward of professional teacher training (n.p. June 1884: 34-39), while Jenny Wren's 'The Village Schoolmistress' from *Home Notes* tells about a teacher's difficult start in a new position, who finally triumphs socially and personally (Vol. XX, No. 257. Dec. 17, 1898: 1-14). Annie S. Swan's 'Memories of Margaret Grainger, Schoolmistress' in *Woman at Home* is about a middle-class boarding school for girls, but also about the ideal teacher and the benefits of education (n.p. 1894: n.t.). Outside the corpus, Charlotte Yonge's *The Clever Woman of the Family* provides the useful background of the difficult life of young women before teaching became a viable professional option (1865).

These simultaneously aspirational and escapist stories idealise teaching without concealing the struggles, allowing an alternative view on the non-fiction articles analysed in this study.

Charlotte Yonge's *The Clever Woman of the Family* laments the lack of educational and professional opportunities for women. The novel tells the tragic story of an upper middle-class girl's hopes to be useful, who throws 'herself into the process of self-education with all her natural energy [...] until she considerably surpassed in acquirements and reflection all the persons with whom she came in frequent contact.' Apart from leaving her without a friend because of over-education and vanity,

the *cui bono* question had come to interfere with her ardour in study for its own sake, and she felt the influence of an age eminently practical and sifting, but with small power of acting. The small Lady Bountiful duties that had sufficed her mother and sister were too small and easy to satisfy a soul burning at the report of the great cry going up to heaven from a world of sin and woe.

Yonge 1865: 7.

Rachel's character is a difficult combination of aimless education, the desire to do good and 'filial deference' (Ibid.). She is too intelligent to be content with traditional female accomplishments and local philanthropy and desperately 'In Search of a Mission,' as the first chapter's title proclaims. Yonge was not against education for women, but in moderation and with a clear aim. The book was written in 1865, a good decade before the great public debate about occupations and more specifically elementary school teaching for middle-class girls. Had Rachel lived only a few years later, she could have been a student at Bishop Otter College (cf. Holcombe 1973: 35). She is a fictional version of the girls Emily Davies wrote about, who in a 'social atmosphere [which] rings with exhortations to act [...] [are] longing after a larger and more purposeful life,' but were left to their own devices to find a useful position (Davies 1866: 50-58). Davies' solution of *Higher Education of Women* was not available for women yet and neither was professional training. But as the daughter of a well-off family she is expected to help those less fortunate and is trying to combine her religious duty with her life's

mission and when the self-proclaimed Reverend Mauleverer looks for a credulous victim, Rachel is the perfect prey. The fraudster poses as ‘man of highly literary and artistic tastes, a philanthropist’ (Yonge 1865: 70) in order to swindle Rachel into establishing the ‘Female Union of Englishwoman’s Employment’ like a rural version of Langham’s SPEW. Its objective is ‘that an asylum should be opened under the superintendence of Mr Mauleverer himself, in which young girls might be placed to learn handicraft that might secure their livelihood’ (Ibid.: 77). In addition to professional training the girls are to be given elementary education. Rachel recognises education and professional training as the two most important requirements for women of her time, but is sabotaged by a complete lack of experience. Before schools became state-regulated, such unprofessional schools were commonplace for girls of all classes (cf. Shiman 1992: 30-42). Teachers were untrained and the Taunton Commission reported appalling conditions for as late as 1868 (cf. Holcombe 1973: 21-25). Mr Mauleverer insists on Mrs Rawlins ‘the widow of a National Schoolmaster’ as their institution’s matron and teacher (Yonge 1865: 80). Her connection with ‘a trained schoolmaster’ was enough professional recommendation for Rachel, who could not afford more. An unannounced visit brings Mr Mauleverer’s and Mrs Rawlins’ swindle to light: They were embezzling the money, abusing and exploiting the pupils. The girls are ‘starved, beaten, and cruelly used’ and one of them dies (Ibid. 116-120). For Rachel, this is an awful shock. Her friends are severe in their judgment, calling her a ‘simpleton,’ ‘a silly girl’ and ‘accountable for the children’s sufferings’ (Ibid.: 121).

Yonge’s solution for Rachel is a traditional one: After a complete break-down Rachel marries Scottish landowner Alick Keith and realises that she is “‘not fit to be anything but an ordinary married woman, with an Alick to take care of [her]’” (Ibid: 183). Yonge gave her novel a very conventional ending with Rachel asserting that she ‘should have been much better if [she] had either father or brother to keep [her] in order’ (Ibid.: 195). Her delusional experiment only happened because she did not have a well-meaning man to guide her.

Compared to the many articles on elementary teacher training as a viable option for middle-class women, this message feels antiquated, probably accounted for by the slightly earlier date. But Yonge allows Rachel to find some sort of fulfilment: As an outlet for her dreams of doing something practical and adding value to her life, Alick sets up a 'tidy little industrial school' - under his own supervision (Ibid.: 153). Yonge acknowledged the need for elementary schools, but also that more experience was necessary. It is unclear, however, where Alick got the relevant experience from or if his maleness was enough. Alick also makes Rachel realise that what her first project was missing was religion:

The prayer of her life had been for action and usefulness, but when she had seen the shadow in the stream, her hot and eager haste, her unconscious detachment from all that was not visible and material had made her adhere too literally to that misinterpreted motto, *laborare est orare*.

Ibid.

Her marriage dispels this spiritual 'self-conceit' (Ibid.: 169) and grants redemption. For Yonge young women needed a purpose, but only under male and divine leadership. Rachel's happy ending probably made the novel popular reading for the young women who were encouraged by the corpus to become teachers. Many of the 'gentlewomen' addressed in the articles were not looking for work because of their feminist convictions, but because of economic need. Contrary to Rachel they were dreaming of what they had learned to be the best ending: A husband to make gainful employment unnecessary.

Yonge's *The Clever Woman of the Family* is helpful for comparing this pre-professional world with the difficult, yet successful career path of Philis in Anne Beale's 'The Pupil Teacher'. Its publication almost 20 years after Yonge's novel shows a considerable shift in attitudes towards women in education. The *Girl's Own Paper* published all five chapters of her story 'The Pupil Teacher' in *Sunlight, Being the Extra Summer Number of the Girl's Own Paper*. It appeared between issues 235 and 236 in the last week of June 1884. Such special summer editions were as common as

Christmas numbers and contained many suggestions for entertainment for long summer evenings - an extra dose of light fiction, riddles and handicraft patterns (cf. Beetham and Boardman 2001: 122). Beale, a relatively well-known author, was introduced as 'Author of "The Queen o' the May," "The Young Refugee," &c. &c.' in order to increase sales figures. 'The Pupil Teacher' was directly followed by "'Must We Part, and Part So Soon?" New Duet for Soprano and Tenor' by prominent German composer Franz Abt. Together with several poems and the suitably religio-educational 'A Hundred Famous Women of the Christian Era. A Biographical Table,' the special edition is a revealing glimpse into what *Girl's Own Paper* readers did for pleasure. The summer edition is designed very beautifully and 'The Pupil Teacher' features three half-page black-and-white illustrations and the first word 'What' is lavishly illuminated.

The opening words of main character Philis White draw the reader right into the strange set-up of the first chapter 'The Mud Spirit:' "'What shall I do now? I am fairly stranded," said Philis White to herself' (Beale 1884: 34). Philis' canoe is stuck in the mud 'in the middle of a broad tidal river,' but an unknown stranger, whom she cannot see in the dark, strikes up a conversation with her to distract and comfort her. Early on Philis is identified as a pupil teacher, who is struggling with her 'awful hard' lessons. Her father is a boatman, whom she helps after school. The Whites are described in an almost Dickensian manner, redolent of *A Christmas Carol*, as a poor, but cheerful family of seven, but 'mother is ill, and Johnny is lame' (Ibid.). Like Rachel Curtis, Philis is working hard to help herself out of a difficult situation, but has taken up professional teacher training instead of unguided philanthropy. A model Anglican girl, she heartily protests against the allegation that she attends a Board School: "'Oh, no, sir; the Voluntary. Father and mother like that best, 'cause we learn the catechism and collects, and a deal more religion. The Bible lessons are best of all, and I'm never afraid of them. We're church people, please, sir'" (Ibid.). But despite this blatant piece of propaganda on the Royal Tract Society's own behalf, Philis also displays a healthy dose of superstition by believing her

invisible friend to be a mud spirit. Both this belief in supernatural phenomena and her faulty grammar define Philis as typical working-class, evidence that the *Girl's Own Paper* also addressed fiction to this audience segment.

While nearly all magazines for women featured fiction (cf. Beetham and Boardman 2001: 122), the *Girl's Own Paper* was especially addressed to girls. Children's literature is always a balancing act between Hunt's titular question of 'instruction and delight' (cf. Hunt 2009: 12-26). 'The Pupil Teacher' is unashamedly leaning towards instruction when Philis lists her lessons as pupil teacher and 'rattled through these subjects as fast as she could, for she had learned them off by heart.' Only a thin veil covers up the didactic nature of this story and Philis was designed as an instructive character to inform and encourage readers in similar situations about how to train as a teacher. The ultimate incentive is given in this short snippet of dialogue: "“Why do you want to be a pupil teacher?” - “Cause I should get ten pounds the first year, and rise two pounds every year”" (Beale 1884: 34). This is not a big sum of money and girls in such dire straits were hardly able to afford the 1p. to buy the magazine, but some of the readers were in need of even the small help the £10 would have been for their families. While most non-fiction articles in the corpus were for middle-class women planning to become elementary teachers, Beale's story is distinctive in that it highlights a working-class girls' struggles, who had to deal with the added burden of poverty. Beale did not glorify the hardships on the way to being a fully trained teacher. Even Philis' dangerous situation in the canoe, a metaphor for her being stuck in studies beyond her physical and economic means, happened because she had paddled to a nearby village, where her old Sunday school mistress helped her with learning the set poetry. Her adventure on the river leads to 'a severe cold' and 'an attack of rheumatic fever' (Ibid.). The implications of such over-pressure will be further examined in the next chapter in the context of LSB pupils, but pupil teachers were shown as running the same risk, exacerbated by their financial need to pass the examinations. Mrs White utters concerns about the suitability of a thorough education for her working-class children,

‘saying that “a great many of the questions and a good deal of learning was very well for the gentry, but too hard and useless for the likes o’ them. They were both afraid it would be the death of Philis’ (Ibid.). She herself only had a smattering of education at the voluntary school and is of a generation which did not understand the use of schooling and professional training. She betrays a belief in the doctrine of class being connected to genetic aptitude. Working-class members were often advised to know their place in society, so as not to upset the God-given order despite all exhortations to self-improvement.

The trope of overworked pupil teachers is found in many other works, for example George Gissing’s *In the Year of Jubilee*, where tragic Jessica Morgan is studying for the matriculation exams at the University of London. Like Philis, she is doing this mostly because ‘her family, a large one, had fallen of late years from a position of moderate comfort into sheer struggle for subsistence. Jessica, armed with certificates of examinational prowess, got work as a visiting governess’ (Gissing 1894: 10). This was a typical step for middle-class girls in jeopardy, but Jessica wanted to swap this occasional low-income job for a real profession. However, this is too much for her and her illness is described in similar terms as Philis’: ‘The week of Jessica’s ordeal was now at hand. She had had another fainting-fit; her sleep was broken every night with hideous dreams; she ate scarce enough to keep herself alive; a perpetual fever parched her throat and burned at her temples’ (Ibid.: 107). The only difference is that Jessica fights to keep up her class status, while Philis hopes to improve her social position. Gissing also early on describes Jessica’s ‘hysteric determination’ (Ibid.: 10), depreciating her pursuit of education as unfitting for her gender. Jessica Morgan is the ridiculed cliché of a New Woman who has forgotten what is appropriate and attractive. In the end she never passes the entry exams. Their stories are reminiscent of non-fiction articles demanding physical health and strength as mandatory for prospective teachers. Beale is more sympathetic in her portrayal of educated girls and never judges Philis because of her gender - also in contrast to Yonge’s assessment of Rachel’s experiment. She only allows Mrs White’s sceptical

remarks, which are never gender-related, but stem from Philis being ‘naturally delicate, and very small for her age; so small, delicate, and childish, indeed, that people wondered at her energy, and asked how it was she was able to do and learn so much with so fragile a body’ (Beale 1884: 37). But Philis’ determination pays off: ‘It was in vain they told her that she must keep quiet.’ She prevails despite her break-down and becomes ‘a fully-fledged pupil teacher.’ This is possible not least because her ‘mud spirit’ is in fact HM inspector Willoughby, who is impressed by Philis’ resilience (Ibid.: 39). ‘The Pupil Teacher’ reads like a manual for aspiring pupil teachers. Philis is physically too weak, but the examiner reassures that ‘[c]ourage and perseverance are better than physical force.’ This is said just after Philis faints in the literature part of the exams and is calculated to give hope and confidence to similarly fragile girls, who, too, ‘must be built up by nourishment of all kind’ (Ibid.: 38). Throughout the story, Beale mentions the White’s gratitude to Mr Willoughby, who gave them some money and took Philis away to recuperate after her illness. Most working-class pupil teachers had no such benefactors and the *Girls’ Own Paper* wanted to make sure they knew what they could take on. Even the dreaded HMI wanted the best for their examinees and ‘if all inspectors were like that gentleman, there couldn’t be so much harm in the new system of things after all’ (Ibid.).

True to its evangelical roots, the periodical also insisted on gratitude to god. Philis is admonished by the inspector to ‘have no fear for the issue of [her] examination; He will order it aright [*sic*].’ Like in her metaphorical getting stuck in the murky waters of over-pressure, Beale overdrew Mr Willoughby’s kindness and made him appear as a male fairy godmother. ‘The Pupil Teacher’ and *The Clever Woman of the Family* are comparable in their Christian context. Charlotte Yonge was a prolific writer in the service of the Church of England, using her novels and editorship of *The Monthly Packet* to spread the word of the Oxford Movement. The religious principle of altruism is comparable to professional not-for-profit service, both of which are driving principles for Rachel and Philis, if Philis’ wish to help her family counts as a profession’s defining

‘altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain’ (Leggatt 1970: 155-156). Although the Curtis and the White families are on very different economic levels, both Philis and Rachel have to find a way to be useful and meet all social and familial expectations. However, despite her difficult start in life, even Philis has more guidance.

‘The Pupil Teacher’ differs from other articles in that it does not advocate education before everything else. The inspector says to Philis that ‘it is not absolutely necessary to go to college to become a first-rate mistress’ (Ibid.: 39). With the help of a sympathetic community, Philis overcomes the adversities and ends up a successful teacher at Mr Willoughby’s school, where Johnny also finds a position as pupil teacher. She even becomes headmistress without having gone to college. This happy ending was designed to not deter financially struggling working-class girls from pupil teacher training with fears of long and expensive studies, as it was not uncommon that pupil teachers had to give up in order to help their family (cf. Robinson 2003: 194ff). However, at the end of the century few headmistresses actually reached this position without college and even for basic elementary teachers secondary education was demanded (cf. Holcombe 1973: 37). Although Beale’s story is not set in a board school, but the voluntary Church of England system, which sometimes employed teachers without a college degree, the process of becoming a certified teacher was the same. The didactic purpose of the story is so evident that it interferes with the artistic merit of Beale’s work, which leads to the conclusion that the *Girls’ Own Paper* commissioned her in order to inform their readers about a pupil teacher’s necessary skills, qualities and attitudes. Periodicals regularly used fiction of doubtful literary quality as didactic entertainment to emphasise their message. Especially magazines or stories addressed to younger girls were usually of an edifying nature and according to Petzold, juvenile fiction often ‘represented the “mainstream” position on many key issues of the Victorian age - for example, the importance of juvenile fiction for the spread of imperialist fiction has often been noted’ (Petzold 2014: 148-149). And yet Beale’s story is the only fictional

account of a pupil teacher in the corpus. I was able to confirm that many readers of all classes were interested in teacher training and it would have been understandable if more such stories had been published as a break from the many, often dry, non-fiction accounts of how to become an elementary teacher. In the fight for acceptance as professionals, the genre would have offered itself as a new channel to convince readers of a career as schoolmistress, although it took a man to rescue the female teacher.

Jenny Wren's story 'The Village Schoolmistress' provided more escapism as the eponymous heroine is also saved by a man, more exactly by marriage. The otherwise unknown author Jenny Wren might have taken her pen name from the nursery rhyme where an ill Jenny Wren promises Robin Redbreast, who brings her food, to marry him, but then rejects him and is reviled. The name might also be taken from Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend*, where Jenny Wren is a pitiful young girl, who is disabled and works hard, but still musters a lot of pluck and energy. Both characters are ambiguous role models for Evelyn Grey, the schoolmistress of the title. Like 'The Pupil Teacher,' 'The Village Schoolmistress' was published in one piece in the *Home Notes Library*, a literary Christmas supplement from December 17, 1898 in Pearson's domestic penny weekly *Home Notes* (Wren 1898: 1-14). Both stories highlight the difficulties of being a teacher, physically, economically, socially, but their solutions are different. As the title implies, this tale is about another aspect of elementary teaching: Isolation, which was often cited as one of the biggest deterrents for middle-class women (cf. Copelman 1996: 27-29). The first chapter introduces the isolated Kentish village of Brenterden, maybe a disguise for the actually existing Tenterden. It is 'more than twelve miles from a railway station' and its 'inhabitants [...] were singularly unsophisticated and simple-minded [...] This was due in a great measure to the extent with which [they] had intermarried.' The picturesque village's resistance to everything modern is portrayed as positive. It is owned by the young Earl of Garston, who 'had travelled a great deal [...] and seldom visited his native place.' We meet him while flirting with Maud Daventry, the vicar's daughter (Wren 1898: 1). Evelyn Grey's pupils

are introduced as ‘shiny-faced and bright in anticipation’ of the ‘Sunday-school treat’ to be held the next day. From the very beginning, Wren creates a mysterious atmosphere around her person by having Lord Garston ask “‘Who is that?’ [...], as a tall girl in black crossed the green [...]. ‘What a lovely face!’” he added involuntarily’ (Ibid.: 2). Challenged by the jealous Miss Daventry, he explains that ‘she so vividly reminded [him] of an ancestor of [his] whose picture is at the Court - Lady Joan Greville’ (Ibid.: 2). When Miss Grey is finally allowed to speak for herself, she says that ‘hers was an active life; her mission was to work and not to dream’ (Ibid.). Her days in school tire her out and her exhaustion when somebody knocks on her door in the evening would have been food for thought for any middle-class woman thinking about training as an elementary teacher: ‘Miss Grey had had her tea, and now was [...] taking a well-deserved rest. The children had been unusually troublesome to-day, and she was wearily wondering if this sort of thing was to go on all through her life.’ The ‘gentlewomen,’ for whom elementary teaching was recommended, were not used to such physical and mental tiredness, but for Miss Grey it ‘was either this or nothing, coming [to Brenterden] or starving’ (Ibid.: 7).

The story differs from the non-fiction articles as Miss Grey does not have any professional training, so she has to work at a rural voluntary school (Ibid.: 5). The articles discussed earlier in this chapter all encourage middle-class women to undergo full training and join a Board School as only this pathway brought security and adequate salary. Wren showed her interpretation of the job market to be incorrect when she quotes Miss Grey thus: ‘I do not know enough for these days to go out as a governess, so [...] [I] was only too grateful to get even this situation as village schoolmistress’ (Ibid.: 8). It was true that at the end of the century, when this story was published, training schools for governesses had started to improve their employability, but because not even village schools accepted untrained women just on their middle-class credentials any more, the decision-making process would usually have gone the other way and most women would have become governesses (cf. Holcombe 1973: 26). Miss Grey’s position as Brenterden’s elementary teacher also

included a loss of social standing, which is regularly brought up by the jealous Miss Daventry, whose snide reminder ‘that the school-children you are *paid* to look after are running wild’ (Wren 1898: 8) reveals money as cause for the class difference. Having to work for her living is the only difference between the two and yet it is a demarcation line that could not be harder to cross. It manifests again when Lady Garston pays Miss Grey to sing at her party. Being invited not as a guest but as the entertainment is not what the addressees of the articles earlier in the chapter would have been used to. Judging from the shame of being paid, the question of salary was a stumbling block for other ‘gentlewomen.’ Even the free discussion of money and payment in middle-class magazines must have been provocative.

But ‘The Village Schoolmistress’ was published in *Home Notes*, which was not addressed to an audience as genteel as for example *The Queen’s*. *Home Notes* was for readers who aspired to belong to the middle class, as free dress patterns and ingredient lists for their featured recipes suggest. Their readers were able to afford some luxuries such as a pineapple for a special dinner, but most of the time had to budget savvily. For them, working as an elementary teacher was everyday life and without Wren’s web of allusions that Miss Grey was actually somebody else the story would not have been very attractive. And indeed, Miss Grey turns out to be Lord Garston’s first cousin. Her father was the present Lord’s father’s brother, who was disowned for marrying beneath him. When her father died, disinherited and poor, her mother went back to her original profession as a governess and died because it ‘slowly drained her strength’ (Ibid.: 7). *Home Notes* readers would not have been able to allow themselves such sensibilities of work being too hard, but escapist fiction was very popular. Secretly being of a higher class or attaining this aim by marriage must have seemed an attractive solution and so Wren did not allow her heroine to be merely a teacher. Miss Grey, or Lady Garston, as she rightfully becomes again after her marriage to Lord Garston, gave her readers the hope that elementary teachers, too, could be something special. Compared to persistently hard work, which Beale suggested in ‘The Pupil

Teacher,' being rescued by a man through marriage is a controversial resolution of Miss Grey's professional struggles. As a side note, this marriage between first cousins is an even more controversial ending if one considers the gentle mocking of the inbred society of Brenterden at the beginning of the story and even for the high aristocracy such close blood relations had become a taboo at the end of the nineteenth century. With its first edition in 1894, *Home Notes* entered the market only late in the period relevant to this study. By this time, elementary teaching had been accepted as a viable career for women of the working and the middle classes. The fact that the story still fed hopes that marriage to a rich man could solve one's problems rather than actually having to work feels reactionary and not useful, but is a valuable glimpse of what actual readers were dreaming of as opposed to what rational authors were recommending.

A last example of school fiction in the corpus is Annie S. Swan's 'Memories of Margaret Grainger, Schoolmistress.' It has the traditional middle-class setting of school fiction, but, despite its focus on the pupils, is also enlightening as to what was expected of middle-class teachers. Margaret Grainger is a perfect teacher and head-mistress and could thus also serve as an aspirational example for elementary school teachers from all classes. Before coming out as a book two years later, the story was published in eleven installments in 1894 in the monthly *Woman at Home*, or *Annie S. Swan's Magazine*, as the periodical was also called after its chief contributor and later editor.²⁷ According to Beetham, *Woman at Home* pitched its middle-class readers against aristocratic 'ladies.' Alongside the usual fiction, poetry, reviews and advice on domestic skills and fashion, the magazine was famous for its very personal interviews and character sketches. Swan's character was at the centre of her advice columns 'Over the Tea-Cups' or 'Love, Marriage and Courtship,' creating a homely atmosphere of elegantly modest female companionship (Beetham 1996: 158). This feminine space

²⁷ The fact that all editions of 1894 are grouped together as one item on Galegroup's 19th Century Periodicals Database without front matters and tables of content made it impossible to ascertain the exact details of publication.

was also important in 'Margaret Grainger'. In her book on school fiction, Sheena Wilkinson remarks that girls' schools were 'separate female space[s],' where the pupils and the staff were women and could thus develop freely into independently thinking individuals. They lived among 'healthy (i.e. unsexual) friendships' and learned to be 'strong, helpful women' (2007: 65). Margaret Grainger was the daughter of 'a colonel' who fell during the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Her mother died during birth and she was 'brought up by [her] grandmother, the widow of a Norfolk rector,' again firmly rooted in the Anglican church, whose ethics frame the whole story, as the final remarks in the eleventh episode make clear:

I have proved again and again that the love of truth and right - in a word, a fixed and controlling religious principle - is the stronghold of the tempted and the tried, the solace of the afflicted, the crown of the prosperous; the only guarantee of happiness in a world where sin makes suffering the daily portion of most.

This is demonstrated through the stories of ten of her pupils, who are helped through difficult times by Miss Grainger as parents die, fortunes are lost and characters are steadied. But although the story is told by the teacher-narrator, in true school fiction manner the focus is on the pupils. Miss Grainger is an exemplary teacher, full of compassion and a sense of duty, but also free from any indulgence. Her willingness to put her pupils first, even if she has to give up a holiday, makes her a model for prospective teachers among the readers. In this respect *Woman at Home* used the fiction serial in a similar way as their other speciality, the interviews, for offering role models and encouraging emulation (cf. van Arsdel 2001: 246). Miss Grainger does not have teacher training, but

was fortunate in having had a most thorough education, and further, in having a singular aptitude for the acquiring and imparting of knowledge. I made the most of my opportunities, and through my father's connections was fortunate in securing a speedy engagement in a ladies' school, kept by a distant relative.

This relative dies soon and she ‘found [herself] at thirty the head of that large establishment, [her] title and designation being: - Margaret Grainger, Principal, Fleetwood College, Middlesex’ (Swan 1894 Chapter I: 11). This sets her apart from the other stories, but her desirable skills and values for a middle-class teacher of middle- or working-class pupils, is an important contribution to the professionalisation of teaching, which is described as an opportunity for impecunious girls as it did not require too much training, thereby contrasting this career path to elementary teaching as described in *The Queen* and *Work and Leisure*. In contrast to elementary teachers, at mid-century middle-class mistresses still had received less pedagogic training (cf. de Bellaigue 2007: 22), but in 1894 even schools such as Miss Grainger’s were looking for trained teachers.

In one instalment Miss Grainger discourages one of her pupils, Margaret, from seeking refuge in teaching. Margaret broke with her family over an arranged marriage and is now begging Miss Grainger to let her ‘teach the little ones.’ But Miss Grainger does not consent: Margaret ‘was very clever, but she lacked the power, essential to the true teacher, of being able to impart the knowledge she possessed. She was too reserved and self-contained’ (Swan 1894 Chapter IV: 251). This is a strong message to the readers who could think about whether they themselves had more charisma and were better at talking to others. Swan does not leave her readers with the illusion that a satisfactory education and the wish to teach was enough to become a teacher. Yet ‘Margaret Grainger’ encourages its readers to be brave like the eponymous heroine and independently escape financial difficulties by finding a profession: In chapter V Kathleen Moran puts into practice her domestic and smallholding training and saves her family’s estate. Comparable to Brenterden in ‘The Village Schoolmistress’, Killoe is ‘twenty-three miles from a railway station’ (Swan 1894 Chapter V: 334) and education is necessary to bring civilization to the wilderness. The chapter also addresses common fears about the compatibility of work and womanliness. Kathleen’s achievements on her dairy and poultry farm make her anxious to still be feminine and marry, but Miss Grainger reassures her that she is ‘fulfilling the true mission of womanhood, which is to

help, to comfort, to sustain' (Ibid.: 338). This contribution to the discussion of ideal femininity combined traditional ideas of nurturing motherhood with a reconstruction of what it meant to be a successfully feminine middle-class woman. Kathleen works the land and Miss Grainger works as headmistress while keeping up their social standing. But the story also provided plenty of escapism. Several of Miss Grainger's charges are rescued from having to work through marriage, including Kathleen and Margaret, thereby securing the popularity of the serial and magazine.

Swan's narrative contributed to the question of corporal punishment as important aspect of the professionalism debate. Miss Grainger addresses a mother's concern that 'girls suffered physically at boarding schools, and that their moral nature did not improve' with a categorical renunciation of beating her pupils. The worried parent believes that her daughter was morally 'deficient,' but Miss Grainger assures her that her method of making 'refractory girls feel [her] displeasure' was sometimes 'tedious, but [...] generally successful in the end, and lasting' (Swan 1894 Chapter XI: 482). Grainger advocates the same method of appealing to pupils' morality as Catherine Osler. This acknowledgment of a child's innate goodness and ability to develop into a moral and valuable adult adds to Miss Grainger as a social mother despite her own childlessness - another useful affirmation for readers afraid of losing their maternal and feminine credibility.

There are only two examples of school fiction in my corpus of selected periodicals, which are set in a working-class elementary school context. While none of these examples conform with Sims' and Clare's conventions of girls' school fiction (cf. Sims and Clare 2000: 2), 'The Pupil Teacher' and 'The Village Schoolmistress' are just as important exponents of the genre. Especially in 'The Pupil Teacher' this can easily be demonstrated: For Philis education is the most important reference point in her life and shapes her character. The story's intended audience were girls and it was written from the point of view of a young pupil teacher. Philis loves school and in the end also her family come to see it in a positive light. Finally, there is no love story and all of the action revolves around Philis'

professional development (cf. Beale 1884: 34-39). In 'The Village Schoolmistress,' Miss Grey's teaching profession is what defines her most in the eyes of the people in Brenterden (cf. Wren 1898: 1-14). The narrative is an evolution of school stories as now girls could grow up and continue their development in the field of education and still read their favourite fiction genre. Both stories were great advertisements for elementary teaching not just as financial rescue, but also for personal independence. Although such extreme deviations from middle-class boarding school fiction did exist, few authors played with the approved form. This might have been due to the overwhelming popularity of the more escapist narratives set in affluent circumstances, as this meant a positive goal for less wealthy readers and feeling more at home for middle-class readers. It is remarkable that none of the progressive periodicals published any school fiction, neither of the traditional nor of the reconstructed elementary education kind, although this might have been a useful instrument for propagating elementary teaching as profession for middle-class 'gentlewomen.'

This journey through the popular genre of school fiction has proved that by the end of the nineteenth century teaching was a fully-accepted female profession. Aspects of the appropriate training, modern pedagogical methods, drawbacks like loneliness and physical exhaustion and benefits like helping oneself and one's family out of financial difficulties, which were encouraged in the non-fiction articles, were all taken up by the fiction pieces in the corpus. Such literary discussions demonstrate that the issues were considered important enough for the larger exposure that came with entertaining fiction. And yet all these narratives rely on male help to either achieve full professionalism or to escape it. Apart from Beale in her narrative about 'The Pupil Teacher,' all other authors rescued their heroines out of a less-than-ideal situation by marriage. Miss Grainger herself does not marry, but most of her pupils do, sending the message that this was the best lifestyle for women. And even Beale introduces a male benefactor to prevent her protagonist from being overwhelmed by the responsibilities of her profession. Even if these fictional accounts were only supposed to provide escapist

visions, they present teaching for women as still problematic and certainly not a very desirable choice. Only Philis is given a happy ending in her profession, thereby endorsing the arduous of teacher training as a path to a truly fulfilled life.

5. School Board Education for Working-Class Girls

The children and especially the girls who received elementary education as advanced by campaigners, administrators and teachers must not be forgotten in this study and this chapter explores how elementary education changed child- and girlhood. The previous chapter about teachers already provided some relevant insight because teaching methods are always informed by conceptions of childhood. The debates and campaigns of the LSB members mentioned in the third Chapter are also important in this context as mandatory elementary education clashed with the fact that many children had to work and contribute to their families' incomes. Board Schools were described in *Women and Work* as 'schools in which no line is drawn between the son of the artizan [*sic*] and the Arab of the street.' These 'gutter-children' were educated to be 'in a few years a master of the three R's and proficient in several 'ologies.' Although the article is doubtful whether this was possible, it is an enlightening summary of what a Board School education was supposed to

guarantee, albeit with patronising language: To raise up working-class children from ‘thorough little scamp[s] [...] with whom no respectable workman cares to have his children brought in contact’ (Anon. Vol. 4. Jan. 8, 1876: 84). Such deliberations in and about the educational sector took place, obviously, in the context of more large-scale late-Victorian debates about the ‘progress’ and ‘health’ of the nation.

In this chapter the 1880s debate about over-pressure is considered (5.1.1.), but also how especially at the eve of the twentieth century the introduction of new subjects like Physical Education (5.1.3.) or the activities of the Happy Evenings Association (5.1.4.) promoted an education that focused on character formation and was designed to be more sustainable and long-lasting. The chapter traces the changing perception of childhood and the strategies used to influence children’s development. A second part of the chapter focuses on domestic education for the LSB’s female pupils. Rather than following a chronological timeline, the chapter is again structured according to thematic divisions. Apart from my usual periodicals, articles from *The Board Teacher* and other industry magazines will provide professional opinions. Information about and especially by the elementary pupils themselves is elusive but Charles Morley’s *Studies in Board Schools* contains colourful descriptions of children. At the end of the chapter, in lieu of the fiction I used to sum up previous chapters, memoirs of former elementary school pupils are employed as biographical rendering of the children’s point of view. This highlights the lack of fictionalisations of working-class childhood, especially of the younger children, although the market was saturated with accounts of middle-class girls, which propagated behavioural rules to working-class readers, who would have aspired to be like the middle-class girls. But as the chapters have shown, the children’s immediate advantage was not always at the forefront of the LSB’s administrators’ and educators’ minds, who often camouflaged their concern with feminist advancement with an interest in elementary education. This again becomes apparent in this chapter, when the children’s perceived needs were utilised by women campaigners to

create new roles for themselves within the state-funded elementary system.

Scientific theories of national degeneration caused by untamed street children, which lead to the development of child study, but also increased involvement by voluntary organisations or the state (Cunningham 1991: 121), meant that the definition of childhood changed over time:²⁸ ‘Childhood [...] became defined as a time that should be free of work. Positively, it came to be seen, especially in early childhood, as a time for play. Even at the age at which school became compulsory it was interrupted by periods of holiday much longer than any [...] in the adult world of work (Cunningham 2014: 115). Campaigners like Mary Carpenter tried to establish a longer period of childhood, in which ‘the child should be the recipient of love within a family, [and] it should also be wholly dependent; the Samuel Smilesian virtues were for adults only’ (Cunningham 1991: 112) By the time the Victorian gave way to the Edwardian age, the ‘street arab was recast as waif, as victim rather than threat, a vanishing anachronism’ (Davlin 1996: 164). Cunningham also follows the process of increasingly protective legislation like the various Factory Acts to regulate working hours for children as the state no longer just relied on private philanthropy (cf. Cunningham 2014: 102-112). State involvement included more education for every single citizen, which had the effect of further extending childhood. According to Phillippe Ariès’ *Centuries of Childhood*, in the course of the nineteenth century ‘childhood was extended beyond the years when the little man still walked on a “leading-string” or spoke his “jargon”, when an intermediary stage [...] was introduced [...]: the stage of the school’ (1960: 316). This means that, while the children of the poor used to go straight from being a baby to working full-time, ‘childhood was extended by almost the entire duration of the school cycle’ (Ibid.: 321). Although Ariès is mainly talking about France and does not consider state schooling, his assessment is also true for England, making School Board

²⁸ Cf. Hugh Cunningham’s *The Children of the Poor* and Sally Shuttleworth’s *The Mind of the Child*, who chart the new field.

elementary education basically a state-sanctioned legalisation of childhood. This changed perception of childhood raised the question of how far state interference could go in relation to parental power. The confluence of fears for national progress and supremacy and research on the realities of childhood and a young person's psychology meant that children were recognised as the nation's greatest assets for the future. According to Davin, '[d]iscussion focussed on how to balance the needs of children with the relative responsibilities of parents and state' (1996: 208-209). Despite the remaining fears of pauperisation if the state for example provided free school meals, it was becoming increasingly clear that in order to avoid malnourishment and similar dangers to racial superiority, the children of the poor needed support. Such reasoning resulted in more interventionist politics, including extensive reform of the national curriculum and attempts to extend education outside of school.

A useful approach to understanding contemporary attitudes of childhood is Gargano's analysis of the LSB's 'innovative, functionalist architecture' and new methods like streaming and setting to organise the children's learning process. As a curricular reaction to the new perception of childhood, reform pedagogics introduced practical subjects like drawing, singing and Physical Education, but also reconstructed domestic subjects for girls as effective character education (2008: 12-13). Gargano observed that with these 'novel conceptions of the child's developing mind [...] [reacting to] Hume's theory of mental associations, nineteenth-century association psychology painted a linear, highly schematized picture of childhood learning.' Her account of Foucault's explanation in *Discipline and Punish* on how the 'normal is established as a principle of coercion in teaching with the introduction of a standardized education' is one of my central arguments (Foucault (1977), qtd. in Gargano 2008: 184). Iveta Jusova quotes Foucault's description of how 'ancient mechanisms of power - based on the sovereign's right to kill and represented by the law - have been supplemented by "biopower": [...] deploy[ing] sexuality (and particularly women's sexuality) to control the

individual and regulate populations' (2005: 8). Nordau's and Galton's scientific racism distinguished 'between those who helped and those who hindered colonial progress' and passed on the 'duty to ensure the success of the imperial nation' to the personal level of every citizen to produce a number of healthy children (Ibid., 9). At the end of the nineteenth century, there 'was considerable British concern about degeneration - [...] in fears of military weakness after the South African Wars, about growing alcoholism and the end of the large bourgeois family but the continuation of the large proletarian one' (Neve 2001: 13). Children were an important resource for the imperial project as they would be able to maintain Britain's superiority in the world. For this to be successful they needed a specific education, but as Ruskin said in a lecture on 'The Future of England,' 'education does not mean teaching people what they do not know. It means teaching them to behave as they do not behave' (Ruskin, qtd. in Birch 2002: 123). This approach, visible in subjects like Physical or Domestic Education, was meant to make elementary education retain a formative influence for longer than the prescribed school leaving age.

In the context of this study about British elementary education, with a special emphasis on women and girls, Mitchell's book on *The New Girl* and the newly emergent girls' culture is also relevant. Her argument is that between 1880 and 1915 both working- and middle-class girls 'increasingly occupied a separate culture.' A mixture of legal, cultural, educational and professional changes resulted in the transitional period of girlhood and although in every-day life girlhood often did not actually change, girls were 'aware of their own culture and recognized its discord with adult expectations.' Mitchell finds evidence of this girls' culture in books, memoirs, clothing styles, clubs, sports, schools, and, similar to this study, magazines (cf. 1995: 3-4). My analysis goes deeper and I specifically look at how these changes in childhood were communicated to the readers of my selected periodicals, what article types were chosen to convey which attitudes and which magazines contributed to which debate. The question of how to improve the nation has been a red thread

throughout this study and this chapter focuses on the recipients of these reforming efforts, especially the girls.

5.1. The New Childhood and Board Schools

Board School stories as a sub-genre of the Victorian social *exposés* like for example Charles Booth's, allow a first impression of the 'raw material' the LSB had to deal with as they discuss the 'restorative potential' of elementary education provided by the LSB. Copelman explains how the 'chroniclers captivated by state education wrote as explorers and missionaries, usually exhorting the populace to expand the role of the state' (1996: 83). For their middle- and upper-class readers the elementary pupils were as alien as if they lived in different cities. I chose Charles Morley's *Studies in Board Schools* with an emphasis on the children and the general situation as an invaluable source of information on the children's situations, both before and after their exposure to the LSB. His essays first appeared in the *Daily News*, but in 1897 he published them as a book. Despite the changed importance of childhood, most working-class children still had considerable responsibility within the home and often contributed to the family's livelihood with errand-running and child-minding jobs, usually within the neighbourhood and extended family (cf. Davin 1996: 153-171). In Morley's first chapter about 'The Wild Boys of Walworth' the reader encounters nineteenth-century working-class London children as directly as possible. He vividly describes how on a trip south of the river he 'found [himself] groping in the wilderness' because he has lost his way. He 'suddenly stumbled into the middle of a miserable street full of the wildest little ruffians.' In this 'veritable Pandemonium' Morley 'trembled as visions arose of the bloodthirsty Pirates of the Wandle, [...] the Bold Brotherhood of Buffalo Bill - have not the nefarious doings of those famous bands of boys been chronicled in many a news-sheet?' (1897: 1-2). Although this rhetorical question makes his description humorous, he still conjures up the same images as the newspaper articles he is mocking. Descriptions such as 'wild,' 'ruffians,'

‘bloodthirsty Pirates’ paint the children as being in dire need of education. But suddenly ‘a shrill whistle assailed [his] ears, and lo! every boy - a hundred ragamuffins [...] - stood stock still and silent as stone.’ The headmaster Mr Jackman, or ‘enchanter,’ as Morley called him, is calling the boys back from break.

He laughed when I told him of my fears, and admitted that at one time - not so very long ago - they might have had some foundation. ‘But their manners have improved a little..’ [...]

Here, then, was a little light on the black spot - the first glimmering rays playing on to one of the darkest patches on Mr. Charles Booth’s maps of the Metropolis.

This refers to the maps in *Life and Labour of the People in London*, where Booth colour-coded the demographic makeup of every street. Black areas were populated with what he described as ‘Lowest class, Vicious, semi-criminal’ (cf. Pugh 2017: 83). Within the frame narrative Morley draws vignettes of what elementary pupils used to be like before the LSB: They were cocky and ‘used strong language - naughty words which even grown-up people would blink at,’ they ‘broke windows’ and even ‘stole’ (Morley 1897: 4). This horrible image was designed to induce the readers’ thankfulness for the LSB: The children used to be awful threats to society, but a strict, yet well-meaning teacher could reform them into obedient model scholars.

But even the LSB did not reach all children and Morley explained one boy’s reason for stealing 50 dinner tickets and selling them as him being ‘voracious.’ He was caught and caned for the offence. Morley did not actually spell this out, but circumscribed the punishment thus: “‘Whacky - whack - whack” - let those suggestive syllables suffice’ (Ibid.: 6). The boy was probably not getting enough food at home and, far from being ‘voracious,’ was so hungry that this was his only way out. Onomatopoeically making fun of the painful punishment also belittles the boy’s desperation and harsh treatment and was a long way from the reform pedagogical demands of treating children sensitively. Morley’s account of this abuse of state-funded charity would have turned ratepayers against using rates for penny dinners. It echoes Dickens’s sadist schoolmasters, albeit

with a different tone and objective. Both authors relished in horrid descriptions of violence, but while Morley implied that such punishments were justified, Dickens used his celebrity status to expose the brutality of vicious teachers and enforce improvement (cf. Collins 1963: 101-123). Another characterisation of an elementary pupil illustrates the expectations Morley and his readers as typical middle-class ratepayers had of a thoroughly improved working-class child:

Tom lifted his cap politely, bowed, and sirred me till I was quite abashed. Never once did he say 'guv'nor,' nor let fall a D, big or little, nor use such words as bloke or cop (which are not to be found in any dictionary, you know), and even when he was taken with a severe fit of sneezing in the middle of our conversation he produced a handkerchief. To be sure, it was only the leg of a stocking, but he did his best.

Morley 1897: 7.

Using slang or not carrying a tissue as the biggest markers of good breeding makes elementary education on the one hand look easy and discredits fear-mongering articles about the degenerate slum population. But on the other hand Morley ridicules poor children. Tom, the polite boy, was punished for truancy - but not to pursue his personal pleasure, but for harvesting hops to earn money. His father was in the habit of beating him regularly but when he received his son's salary of five shilling, he did not 'hide' him, illustrating the parents' objections to regular schooling instead of financial support. The fact that Morley added the proviso that 'bloke' or 'cop' are not found in the dictionary makes his account sound as if it was a didactic text for children. For protected middle-class children reading of such wayward boys would have been like a scary story, sending shivers of fear and fascination down their spine. Adult readers would have been mostly appalled by the elementary pupils' independence and lack of supervision or family warmth. Morley also describes some other boys who only sometimes lived at home, but often roamed the streets, sleeping in abandoned carts or houses. Such children were often called street Arabs after nomadic tribes of North Africa, who lived independent and fearless lives. Just as those 'savages' were supposed to need missionising and cultivation,

London street children were seen as a race apart to be reformed (cf. Cunningham 1991: 121-126). While Morley did hail the LSB as a beneficial extension of the state's helpful arms and painted a picture of massive improvement so that middle-class members could now walk through the city's worst areas without fear, his message is at best mixed. He was doubtful if complete reform was possible. But readers would have understood that using public money for elementary education was useful from this description of the boys' behaviour after break:

It was a cheerful scene, though wild of eye, low of brow, stunted in growth, pallid of face, were many of these Arabs who filled the benches. Some the gods must love, for death had already marked them for his own. Some will surely take to evil ways, for Cain had stamped them with his indelible mark; some will assuredly be crushed in the great fight, poor weaklings - but there is many a young hopeful amongst them, with bright eyes and open countenance, who will do credit to his masters, and bless the day when he was caught and tamed.

Morley 1897: 11.

In a curious mix of language, with influences from religion, ancient mythology and scientific discourse, Morley admits that some elementary pupils were without the reforming reach of their teachers, but was hopeful that many would be successful. His thinking was influenced by contemporary eugenicist teaching that despite the advances of 'philanthropy, state aid and modern medicine [...]

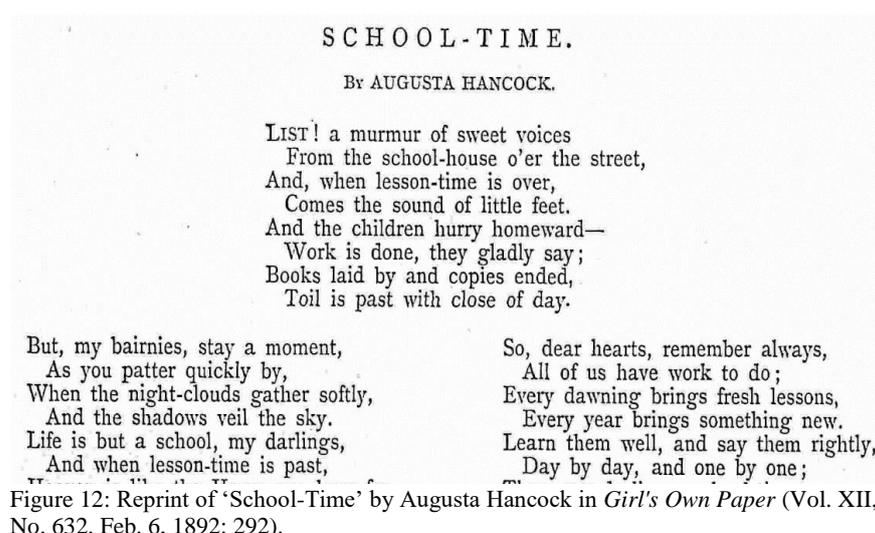


Figure 12: Reprint of 'School-Time' by Augusta Hancock in *Girl's Own Paper* (Vol. XII, No. 632. Feb. 6, 1892: 292).

heredity was five to 10 times stronger' and could never eradicate genetic taints (Bland 1995: 224). However, it is doubtful whether they would actually thank their teachers for 'being caught and tamed' if one considers the taming methods. The fear of the 'School Board Man' and the amount of legal cases I mentioned in an earlier chapter also belie this self-righteous hope of a middle-class philanthropist who believed that his own way was the only way.

In 1892, five years before Morley's book, the *Girl's Own Paper* published an instructive poem by Augusta Hancock entitled 'School-Time' (Vol. XII, No. 632. Feb. 6, 1892: 292), which paints a more idyllic picture of Board School children. Hancock's word choice is very different from Morley's and the 'patter' of 'little feet,' 'my bairnies,' 'dear hearts' and 'my darlings' project a more maternal approach. While Morley advocates ruthless strictness and the liberal use of punishment, also corporal, Hancock sentimentalises childhood. This milder assessment of LSB pupils might be explained by the *Girl's Own Paper's* audience of girls, who were considered to be too delicate to hear the plain truth about slum conditions. Some of them, however, would have witnessed them themselves. Her language makes the poem universally applicable, not just to destitute elementary pupils, but also the more affluent lower middle-class readers, especially her emphasis on hard work as life's only objective. Hancock's metaphor that '[l]ife is but a school' as preparation for the ultimate holiday in heaven after death betrays the *Girl's Own Paper's* origins in the Religious Tract Society. Promising children that 'Heaven is like the Home you long for' appeals to very orthodox religious beliefs, but would have been a feeble solace for poor children without a proper home (Ibid.). These lines leave the question of who the poem and the *Girl's Own Paper* as a whole was addressed to. Street children, who were told to wait for the after-life for their situation to improve, would not have had access to periodicals and the middle-class attitudes which were projected onto working-class pupils. Her message of *Non scholae, sed vitae discimus!* places Hancock's poem in the discipline-worshipping tradition of Smilesian self-help. In that respect Hancock and Morley had similar attitudes towards childhood, even though

they expressed them in different ways with different methods of achieving them. The subsequent sections demonstrate how Hancock's child-friendly and Morley's rougher methods clashed in day-to-day LSB practices.

5.1.1. Over-Pressure in London School Board Schools

One of the most contentious points was the nationwide debate about over-pressure. Copelman explains how the controversy, which 'had originated in debates over middle-class education and the effects of cramming at elite schools, expanded to [...] elementary schools due to payment by results' (1996: 96). It quickly found its way into my corpus of selected periodicals as a rare occasion of criticism. Only *The Queen* commented and in 1884 published nine articles on over-pressure, from short 'Gazette' notes to long leading articles. As late as 1888 there was a leader on 'The Educational Commission,' which had been established following a new 'outcry respecting overwork in schools under Government inspection' (Anon. Vol. LXXXIV. Sept. 22, 1888: n.p.). In Beale's 'The Pupil Teacher' Philis also suffered from a breakdown because of too much studying (4.4.). The fact that failure of bodily and mental health had become a motif of warning in literature demonstrates the ubiquity of such fears. This subchapter examines how *The Queen* reported about over-pressure and used the anxieties to debate the effectiveness of the LSB and argue for women's involvement.

The scientific background was that psychologists and psychiatrists proposed that too much studying would damage the nation's youth. Scientists like Robert Brudenell Carter or Herbert Spencer argued against 'forced development' as an avoidable civilisation-induced symptom of degeneration, which meant pressuring children into developing faster than was natural. Too much mental exertion beyond their years was feared to 'lead[...] only to "physical feebleness, or ultimate stupidity, or early death"'

(Spencer, qtd. in Shuttleworth 2010: 132).²⁹ Although the over-pressure debate nominally did not make a gender-based distinction, women had traditionally been suspected of being more prone to ‘hysteria’ and the physical expression of their overactive emotions (Shuttleworth 1996: 89). Thus, women were rather compared to children than to adult men and female elementary pupils were believed to be in greater danger than boys. In reaction to these Darwinian worries ‘public health officials had every reason to argue for anti-hereditarian solutions [...]: cleaner water, better housing and purity of food’ (Ibid.). One such official was Sir James Crichton-Browne, who was instructed by the Education Department in 1884 to write a ‘Report upon the alleged Over Pressure of work in Public Elementary Schools.’ This was on the merit of his 1883 book on *Education and the Nervous System*, which recommended him to the Government as the leading expert on over-pressure (cf. Shuttleworth 2010: 135). He diagnosed a ‘huge rise in nervous disorders and brain disease due to over-pressure, which was exacerbated for the poor by ill-nourishment’ and connected the Elementary Education Act with a rise in youth suicide rates. His report found evidence that clearly made the school boards and inspectors responsible for fearful, nervous children. After trying to deny having asked Dr Browne to write it, the government still published the report, but also commissioned a counter-report from J.G. Fitch, Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools. Mr Fitch discredited Dr Browne and his methods, for example by claiming that his findings were not based on medical evidence (Ibid.).

In December 1883, one of *The Queen’s* regular ‘Gazette des Dames’ accounts of the weekly LSB meeting documented the moment when the debate drifted from the medical world into periodicals for women: ‘The outcry about overwork in schools (says the *Lancet*), is becoming one of the fashionable agitations of the day’ (Anon. Vol. LXXIV. Dec. 15, 1883. n.p.). The *Lancet’s* description as ‘fashionable agitation’ reveals that they did not take over-pressure

²⁹ Shuttleworth’s seventh chapter especially is a fascinating introduction to the scientific debate.

seriously. Medical professionals were not convinced that over-pressure was a real problem, but once it was picked up by non-professional periodicals, it gathered serious social momentum and was used by *The Queen* as a vehicle for other issues. The note's second sentence departs from quoting the medical magazine *Lancet* and stated *The Queen* author's opinion with the authorial 'we:'

We do not, it must be confessed, believe in the stories told to support the allegation that children generally are unduly pressed. The mistake which has been made consists in not recognising the need of good food if the brains of poor children are to be worked. We are of opinion that, looking to the almost violent change which has been wrought in the management of child life since the passing of the Education Act, it is surprising to note the exceeding fewness of the cases of even temporary breakdown. [...] We have dared to educate a vast multitude with underfed and only half-developed brains [...] The proper course is not to reduce the grade of the instruction given, but to feed the little brains at work up to the level of organic health and efficiency.

Ibid.

The anonymous author agreed with the *Lancet* and identified malnutrition rather than school work as the real problem. *The Queen* believed that the dietary deficiency which was so pervasive in elementary school pupils made it remarkable that not more broke down, thereby differentiating elementary pupils from the situation in middle-class schools. Anxieties about how to reform the poorest members of society always had a physical side and the over-pressure debate introduced this aspect to education: As *The Queen* said, hungry and weak children cannot benefit from mere instruction of the intellect without help like charity meals. This was the traditional field of well-off *The Queen* readers and explains the magazine's continued interest to construct opportunities for their audience to remain involved in elementary education after the state had come aboard.

In April 1884 an alarming statistic alleged an even closer connection between overworked intellects and the physical brain: 'The medical men of Bradford have drawn attention to the extraordinary fact displayed in the returns of the Registrar-General,

that since the Education Act came into force, the deaths from water on the brain among children of school age had increased 20 per cent., and from inflammation of the brain 50 per cent' (Anon. Vol. LXXV. April 12, 1884. n.p.). Today we question the validity of the medical diagnosis of 'inflammation of the brain' or that too much learning causes lethal water in the brain, but in 1884 because of this report a committee in the House of Commons and an 'Exeter Hall meeting' were launched, where doctors 'bore personal testimony to "the direful effect of the overpressure"' (Ibid.). The medical professionals identified a different danger than the philanthropist *The Queen*: '[w]e are sapping the strength of the growing generation by our educational methods. This warning has come in the loudest tones from those members of the profession whose sad province it is to minister to minds diseased and intellects unhinged' (Ibid.). They had another agenda than *The Queen*, who was fighting for their readers' place in the education system and used a reprint from a medical journal to add gravitas to their argument. Notably, these 'medical men' also disagreed with *The Lancet*, who was not sure about overpressure. By now, the debate had left the domain of professionals in specialist periodicals and even women's magazines, but had arrived in Exeter Hall, where experts demanded 'the absolute prohibition of "home lessons" [...] and the classification of children in their work, not according to age, but according to ability' (Ibid.). No homework would ensure the children could relax in the afternoon, especially their brains, through their natural activities of running in the streets. The class-specific pastime clarifies the meeting's focus on the LSB's working-class pupils. Setting according to academic performance rather than age would also avoid forcing children to develop faster than their bodies allow, which was believed to lead to racial damage. These articles were very sympathetic with the children and recognised their need for sufficient nutrition and child-friendly teaching methods. Mentioning Exeter Hall with its long tradition of radical anti-slavery meetings evoked an auspicious tradition of political change as effected by women as in the case of slavery, one of the first political mass movements that attracted women.

Women's involvement was implied to be as necessary as it had been for the abolition of slavery (cf. Midgley 1992: 5).

The Queen followed the debates in the weekly LSB meetings on the issue. On 28 July, there was a stand-alone article on 'The London School Board and Over Pressure' (Anon. Vol. LXXVI. July 28, 1884: 420). It was a minute-style account of the meeting from 17 July when Dr Gladstone 'submitted a motion in favour of the appointment of a committee to inquire into the subject.' The serious accusations in Browne's report generated a great demand for justification and explanations among the members, who mostly did not think they had done anything wrong:

The Board, [Gladstone] thought, had done its duty in the matter, and no blame could be attached to the Department. All children who were ill-fed or excitable and anxious to get on should be looked after by the teachers and managers and such children should not be over-pressed. He considered that bringing children out of dirty slums and such places into well-ventilated schools greatly improved their health.

Ibid.

They believed that the teachers and managers were to blame for any possible over-pressure. The bureaucrats had organised everything to perfection, but if their staff in the schools could not apply those rules with the necessary tactfulness and mercy, it was their fault. This was a self-righteous and defensive excuse because the LSB was responsible for whom they employed. In the end the debate came to nothing and the article closed with the sly comment that the 'whole debate occupied close upon four hours' (Ibid.). Throughout its history, the LSB was accused of wasting time on aimless debates and according to *The Queen* this was just another case of much ado about nothing since the dangers of over-pressure had not even been proved scientifically.

But aside from deliberations about over-pressure related illnesses, *The Queen* recognised the sensationalist potential of the 'rather acrimonious and personal discussion in the columns of the *Times*' between Browne and Fitch and followed it closely. Their leading

article for 27 September 1884 on ‘Over-Pressure in Elementary Schools’ was actually about the highly public quarrel:

It is unfortunate that the two gentlemen whose views on the subject have been published by the Government should have, almost of necessity, assumed the position of advocates rather than that of unbiassed [*sic*] judges. Dr Crichton Browne had already expressed very strong opinions on the subject [...] before entering on the inquiry, and, naturally, he looked for evidence to support his preconceived opinion. It is needless to say that an advocate can always find the testimony required to maintain his views.

Anon. Vol. LXXVI. Sept. 27, 1884: n.p.

In turn, Mr Fitch’s position as HM Inspector made it unlikely that he would testify against the Department of Education and the LSB. Their dispute was watched and commented on with great interest in the periodical press and overshadowed the original concerns about the welfare of vulnerable children. On 18 October, a short, but stand-alone *Queen* article claimed that ‘it is becoming more and more clear that, having courted a free and full inquiry, the Education Department was horrified at the result, and foolishly resolved to print Mr Fitch’s note as a partial counterblast to Dr Browne’s damaging indictment’ (Anon. Vol. LXXVI. Oct. 18, 1884: n.p.). The article calls the LSB system ‘child murder’ and hopes ‘that officialism is not allowed to triumph over humanity and common sense.’ This ‘officialism’ is exemplified by Dr Gladstone’s complacent shifting of the blame from the LSB onto the teachers and managers. *The Queen* also continued to quote from the medical *Lancet*, whose tone had changed and now was convinced that damaging over-pressure was a sad reality. In a reprinted article from 8 November *The Lancet* followed Dr Browne as one of their own in blaming the LSB for killing children with overstrain. *The Queen* allowed *The Lancet*’s cutting language in their pages, who found it quite natural that ‘school boards will not take kindly to the discovery and exposure of the fact that a deadly wrong has been doing, and is still done, under their patronage’ (Anon. Vol. LXXVI. Nov. 8, 1884: 480). Their reaction to tasking the School Management Committee with the investigation is very sarcastic: ‘Meanwhile, may we not ask whether it is not just possible that some day [...] a grain of intelligence may

be discovered secreted in a stray official mind, and that the outrageous stupidity of talking like this may then become apparent' (Ibid.). In this article the lines between the two magazines become blurred, as not one big block is quoted, and it is not entirely clear if it is the opinion of the *Lancet* or *The Queen* that an in-house committee to enquire about malpractice is not useful. Phrases as strong as 'outrageous stupidity' went far for *The Queen*, but *The Lancet*'s professional expertise made them more acceptable.

In the heat of such *ad hominem* attacks the children were lost sight of, although the whole debate should have been about them. After almost 15 years of implementing the Elementary Education Act, the decision to commission a counter-report was a big blow to the Education Department's credibility. *The Queen* usually was a staunch supporter of elementary education for the masses, but now called the Education Department 'foolish' (Ibid.). As discussed in 3.2.3., these were also the years of major criticism against rising rates and thus going back on their own decision was seen as another great waste of public money. Part of the problem was payment by result, which meant that teachers often forced as much dry knowledge as possible into the pupils, mostly rote-learned under pressure, so that they could get the maximum amounts of subsidies and salary. *The Board Teacher* and the *School Board Chronicle* as specialised periodicals published the teachers' opinions but surprisingly, for the whole of 1884 as the highpoint of the over-pressure debate, the *School Board Chronicle* printed only eight articles about the issue. Seven of these were minute-style reprints of debates in the LSB or Westminster, mostly mutual finger-pointing and blame-placing, sometimes through actual cases of children who had allegedly died of over-pressure, which was mostly disproved. The only stand-alone opinion piece about the controversy with the title 'The Over-Pressure Movement' called it 'a teachers' movement' (Anon. Vol. XXXI, No. 685. March 29, 1884: 323-324). With this the author meant that mostly teachers were complaining about the issue or attending the meetings, although they themselves were to blame entirely:

There is a curious and oblique tendency on the part of many teachers to contend that their delinquencies are not their own. [...] In the same way we have heard it pleaded [...] that if an outfitter has a coat stolen from the hook in front of his shop the fault is his for exposing the garment within reach of the thief.

Ibid.

This is a curious opinion for a professional periodical for teachers. Interestingly it did not evoke a flood of letters in the following magazines, maybe because at the end, the article conciliatorily concedes that actually the teachers and pupil teachers were forced to work too hard, ‘in consequence of defective staffing’ (Ibid.). Because there were not enough teachers, they could not give their pupils the necessary help, which resulted in over-pressure. So despite the harsh analogy, over-pressure was found to be not the teachers’ fault after all, but the government’s because of insufficient funding.

The Board Teacher featured only three articles about the over-pressure debate. The first one, from 1 March, 1884, confirmed the *School Board Chronicle*’s claim that the teachers had initiated this controversy, albeit in less acrimonious language. But the periodical was firmly on the side of the teachers and assured that the ‘terrible report [...] has at last led the most sceptical persons to see that the teachers who complain are not really people who would like to be idle if they could’ (Anon. Vol. I, No. 8. March 1, 1884: 85-86). *The Board Teacher* did not doubt the dangers of over-pressure:

We do not believe in the possibility of over-education; we do believe that nothing but mis-education arises from the present system. [...] So far as the training of children’s minds is concerned, [...] [w]e want concentration, so that we may produce definite results in one direction instead of frittering our power away along a score of futile channels. [...] We want a chance to do things well, and we promise that if the chance be only given us the intellectual standard of the metropolitan population will not be lowered.

Ibid.

In contrast, the rather bitter third and last article from 1 September made the over-pressure debate more about the pupils by claiming that ‘unnatural conditions’ were responsible and although ‘[c]hildren

are not killed quickly - that would be murder - [...] they are rendered less fit than they ought to be for the struggle of life' (Anon. Vol. II, No. 13. Sept. 1, 1884: 7-8). *The Board Teacher* was sure that over-pressure existed and that some children had died of it. They also believed that education was as necessary as ever and that the solution was not reducing it, as some of the other articles demanded, but the realisation that the 'training for the contests of life is just like the training for contests in athletics. Certain rational commonplace rules must be followed to ensure success.' For them the solution was the abolition of 'ceaseless inspection' so that teachers could do their work undisturbed and children learn for life (Ibid.). The over-pressure debate was not as contentious or important in the teaching community as for the broader audience of my chosen periodicals. The harsh reactions cause doubt that the true fears were of a medical nature. This is because it not only concerned big sums of public money at a time when the state's involvement was just beginning to be accepted, but also the nation's progress. In reality it was about more than the children as future citizens, whom, in Foucault's terms, elementary schools were supposed to instil with respect for the institution's disciplinary power. None of the numerous committees or inquiries brought a definite answer to the highly political question and the debate became a tool for other issues.

The over-pressure debate was also extended to elementary education to assess how well the new system was working to regenerate the working classes. Concerns that educational over-pressure was killing the children stemmed from a misunderstood connection between intellectual study and mental health problems. Dr Crichton Browne was a leading eugenicist and believed that degenerate genetic material was beyond redemption. For eugenicists, intellectual education was not the solution and Browne's report created demand for more vocational training to make elementary pupils fit for the future. However, the fact that he called the public's attention towards the physical well-being of the poor can also be seen as a positive contribution. Instead of actively improving living conditions, the poor were held responsible for themselves 'through their attitudes, behaviour and domestic disorganisation.'

Educational reformers ‘channelled their energies into attempts to change behaviour rather than conditions’ (cf. Dyhouse 1981: 79). *The Queen* for example utilised the debate to argue for more charity-aided school dinners, a traditional domain of their readers. According to Copelman, especially the resulting establishment of more domestic education for girls ‘reinforced class and gender restrictions’ (1996: 110). But in a corpus made up of periodicals for women it is surprising that this specific debate did not become more gender-specific, as too much intellectual work was often described as especially harmful to women because it was believed to divert energy from the reproductive system (cf. Shuttleworth 2010: 132). I argue that it was the combined effort of better living conditions and education for the working classes that resulted in lasting improvement. While the public outrage did not result in an abandoning of elementary education, a rethinking of educational methods began. The payment by results system was abolished and, as discussed in 4.3, child-friendlier reform pedagogics were adopted. The transfer of the over-pressure debate from middle-class institutions to the LSB started a discussion about what elementary schools were responsible for and if children could still be seen as robots to be fed with mechanical knowledge or as in need of support to learn how to be successful citizens.

5.1.2. ‘Learning Side by Side as Children:’ Co-Education

Another change in outlook of what was best for the children began in relation to gendered education. From the beginning of the LSB period the feminist press tried to introduce co-education to the public debate. This subchapter examines how this argument was used to achieve equal opportunities for both genders, not just educational. Co-education was first mentioned in the *Women’s Suffrage Journal’s* aforementioned long report on the ‘Social Science Association: The Ladies Conference. Newcastle, September, 1870’ (Anon. Vol. I, No. 9. Nov. 1, 1870: 89-90). All attendees agreed that

education would only be truly successful if equal education opportunities were given, as demanded by a Miss Wolstenholme:

She believed herself that the problem of equal educational advantages for both sexes would never be solved until the principle of mixed schools was fully admitted; and she held it to be of paramount importance that the commissioners should be urged to declare the school, in all places where funds were insufficient to maintain two separate places of education, to be for the instruction of children or youth, and so to permit, not to compel, the inhabitants to use the school for both sons and daughters.

Ibid.: 89.

The Elementary Education Act had made it clear that both sexes were to profit from it. According to the speaker, presumably famous activist and later suffragist Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, perfect equality was only possible if boys and girls were educated together as only then the girls' teachers would not spend more time on domestic subjects. She wanted to create an educational system that raised independent girls who knew they were equal to men in building a new society.

This demand periodically came up, for example in *The Queen's 'Gazette des Dames'* from 10 August 1872. A full article from the *School Board Chronicle* is reprinted, in which a Miss Bethan Edwards explains that 'mixed education is good when boys and girls begin at the beginning with it; but that even a short course of separate training interferes with the benefits. Boys and girls very soon get notions which are adverse to their future harmony and interests' (Anon. Vol. LII. Aug. 10, 1872: 116-117). According to Edwards this means 'habits unfit for society, boys contracting coarse and selfish ones, girls exacting and prudish ones, and many of the worst vices and follies of modern life result[ing] from isolation of the sexes from nursery.' This is an early preemption of the theory that gender characteristics are developed by imitation and do not exist from birth, as later promoted by Judith Butler as performativity. Butler also explains that by citing such norms, they can be 'exposed as nonnatural and nonnecessary when they take place in a context [...] that defies normative expectations' (Butler 2004: 218). According to Edwards the campaigners for co-education were

attempting just that: Taking boys and girls out of their traditional spheres to expose the construction of gender norms and thus reconstruct them. The article condemns the fact that '[h]itherto there has been little except the domestic tie to bring men and women together' (Anon. Vol. LII. Aug. 10, 1872: 116-117). But when a mismatched couple had married it was too late and joint responsibility for the home and family was not enough connection for a happy life together. Here is a longer passage from Edwards' article to understand some of her arguments for and against co-education:

With the primary schools for all classes, the system should undoubtedly begin; and then we may safely proceed to more radical measures. [...] Amongst all classes of life, and especially amongst the lower orders [...] boys evince the greatest contempt for the intellectual and general capacities of their female companions. What an active principle of demoralisation is here! The girl who is to become the working man's wife, his friend, and the mother of his children, is looked upon as a poor frivolous creature fit only to be [...] the minister to his material want. And the effect of such opinion works equally ill for the one as for the other. A woman cannot properly respect a man who entertains a low opinion of her sex; nor can she do justice to herself.

Ibid.

In order to regenerate society men and women had to be treated the same way and as a result treat each other equally. Only then true partnership and responsibility was possible and to 'begin mixed education in all primary schools would [...] prepare the way for other changes equally desirable' (Ibid.). Although the *Women's Suffrage Journal* and *The Queen* were very different magazines, they agreed that co-education from the beginning was the best remedy for inequality. And only absolute gender equality vouchsafed better conditions for future generations.

However, the progressive *Work and Leisure* was surprisingly more concerned about the girls' morality than Miss Edwards and *The Queen*. Break time was especially dangerous and 'the most careful supervision cannot prevent injury in the playground if boys and girls are turned out together' (Anon. Vol. III, No. 7. July 1878: 106-107). In *Work and Leisure's* opinion girls' sense of modesty inevitably

suffers from exposure to boys, betraying an equally pessimistic view on children as *The Queen*, who believed that even a short delay of co-education would have irredeemably bad effects. Despite the six years which had passed between the two articles and the progress for gender roles, *Work and Leisure* were still very conservative with respect to male and female teachers' duties in cases of immorality or immodesty: 'A woman is able to speak to the girls, and to regulate their conduct [...], in a way that it would be most undesirable for a man to do. In fact, were he to try he would be defeating the very end in view, and be sinning against the very modesty he was ostensibly endeavouring to cultivate' (Ibid.). Their solution was the Girls' Friendly Society, which was 'doing much to raise the tone of our working classes upon this subject of female chastity' (Ibid.). Set up in 1874, it originally wanted to protect innocent country girls in service. It 'was a highly conservative, Anglican religious association designed to promote friendships and social harmony across class boundaries; between mistress and maid. Upper-class Lady Associates were to adopt a protective, motherly role towards unmarried, working-girl members.' With time they turned their attention to purity and made virginity a condition for membership in the so-called Snowdrop Bands, which were aimed 'to purify and exalt femininity, to persuade girls that the essence of womanhood lay in innocence, modesty, gentle devotion to duty and domestic tasks' (Dyhouse 1981: 107-110). This article must be placed in this context of social purity feminism, which saw woman as superior to man and the only way to a regenerated society without Sexually Transmitted Diseases and genetic degeneration (cf. Pykett 2001: 83-84). Closely related to such theories were the ideas of eugenics, which also often put the responsibility for positive racial development on women (cf. Bland 1995: 230). Middle-class worries had found their way into working-class homes and playgrounds although suspecting working-class girls of immediately being corrupted by boys does not show great trust in their alleged natural excellence.

However, the periodicals were generally not afraid of moral and genetic contamination, but advocated co-education as a sign of

political equality. An 1891 reprinted article in the *Woman's Herald* on 'Co-Education' is a good summary:

If the world were composed only of men or only of women or if the old foolish notions about the latter sex [...] still obtained, separate education were understandable; but now, when every day we see woman taking her rightful place in the world, standing shoulder to shoulder with man, [...] it is idle to say 'these men and women shall not learn side by side as children [...] but they shall only learn to work together when they have left the school-room.'

Anon. (E. A. Carpenter). No. 147. Aug. 22, 1891: 694.

The original article had appeared in the *Journal of Education*, which had been relaunched in 1879 as the outlet of the the Education Society to promote their child study movement. On its board with prominent presidents like T.H. Huxley were famous educationalists like Dorothea Beale or Emily Shirreff, the president of the Froebelian Society (Shuttleworth 2010: 269). Apart from the *School Board Chronicle* reprint in the 'Gazette des Dames' all other three articles on co-education were published in feminist periodicals, which once again demands a redefinition of *The Queen*. The adoption of co-education would have demonstrated a radical redefinition of childhood. Especially for girls it would have signalled the acceptance as fully responsible citizens, but also boys would have been reconstructed as more than a coarse and negative influence on girls, but equal partners, both necessary for the better nation the progressive periodicals were projecting. But co-education was not to be realised for a long time and in reality curriculum changes in the late century further cemented the separateness of boy- and girlhood, for example Physical Education.

5.1.3. *Mens sana in corpore sano*: Physical Education and Discipline

Debates about the necessity of compulsory sports in schools are recorded for as early as 1871, when Mr Hepworth Dixon 'moved "That means shall be provided for physical training and drill in every public elementary school established under the School Board."'

(Anon. Vol. II, No. 13. March 1, 1871: n.p.). I already mentioned this article in the third chapter in relation to Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, who believed that exercise was much more necessary for ‘young ladies,’ that is protected and housebound middle-class girls. In my corpus there are a total of 14 articles about drill and physical exercises, 12 of which in *The Queen*. This section examines the objectives of physical education for working-class pupils and why *The Queen* put such an emphasis on an education that did not forget about the body: Elementary education’s main focus was not the individual good of the pupils, but their usefulness for national progress. In 1884 Lord Brabazon ‘offered prizes of the value of £200 to teachers and scholars’ of the LSB because he ‘felt that too much attention was being paid to the strictly intellectual portion of education and too little to the physical and practical needs of the scholars [...] taking into consideration the class which usually attends public elementary schools’ (Anon. ‘Gazette des Dames.’ Vol. LXXVI. Aug. 30, 1884: 238). He believed that the working classes had to be in better physical shape to be ‘useful.’ Lord Brabazon’s wording implies the attitude of the mostly middle-class LSB administrators towards elementary school pupils, who were considered as unruly, in danger of further degeneration, and in need of strict discipline. Military-style drill was supposed to give them the necessary physical restraint and the appropriate mental attitudes of self-control and -improvement, or as Davin describes it: ‘Its effects were to be twofold, “physical and educational”: it was to improve the children’s general health, but also make them acquire “habits of discipline and order” and respond “cheerfully and promptly to the word of command”’ (Davin 1996: 125). Lord Brabazon was a military man and his son became an aviation pioneer and associate of Oswald Mosley, whose vision included a physically regenerated British nation, so his offer fits into the family’s general outlook. However, it is wrong to accuse the Education Department and the LSB of pursuing early fascist policies. In the late nineteenth century international competition for empire and economic prowess meant that physical training was just the logical next step after elementary education to make sure Britain kept its place in the world. The LSB

declined his offer anyway as ‘his lordship’s wishes would involve a great disturbance’ (Anon. Vol. LXXVI. Aug. 30, 1884: 238).

However, Davin claims that drill ‘was the only form of exercise in school until the mid-1880s’ (Davin 1996: 125), which is disproved by several *The Queen’s* articles from the late 1870s about the new practice of Swedish gymnastics. This had been introduced by Mrs Westlake and in a long and elaborately illustrated interview it was one of the main points of praise that in 1878 she had brought ‘over from Sweden a highly trained woman, Miss Löfving, and [paid] her expenses while she held classes for mistresses, who were persuaded by Mrs Westlake to qualify themselves to teach the system of exercise in their schools’ (Anon. Vol. LXXXV. n.t. 1889: 288-289). Mrs Westlake did this because it was ‘her principal aim to secure greater efficiency and intelligence in the methods and subjects of teaching, holding that the children of the poor were entitled to have the best education which could be given them’ (Ibid.). In line with *The Queen’s* narrative of women being naturally suitable for philanthropy and social motherhood, Mrs Westlake’s motives for introducing Swedish drill are romanticised as an endeavour to employ the best instructors and perfect elementary education. Swedish gymnastics was ‘much less militaristic, though it had its own discipline; and it was taught by women [...] rather than ex-sergeants’ (Davin 1996: 125). The language itself is very different from the militaristic phrasing of Lord Brabazon’s offer. The militaristic character of state-sanctioned Physical Education irritated many campaigners and gave women an opportunity to become lobbyists. In the 1871 debate about the introduction of ‘physical training and drill’ as reported by the *Women’s Suffrage Journal*, Mr Lucraft wanted the word ‘drill’ to be removed, but failed. The *Women’s Suffrage Journal* author expressed the hope that ‘[t]he participation of girls in the exercise of drill should be looked upon as a proof that the design of the School Board is to promote physical discipline rather than military spirit’ (Anon. Vol. II, No. 13. March 1, 1871. n.p.). In 1885 ‘a small deputation of ladies from the “Women’s Peace and Arbitration Association”’ came to an LSB meeting and

presented a memorial on the subjects of military drill [...] The memorial [...] earnestly protested against a system of military drill in place of calisthenics or elementary gymnastic exercise, and also against the recent proposal to form and train cadet rifle corps. [...] such a course of action would be a flagrant injustice to the ratepayers, to the parents, and to the children themselves.

Anon. Vol. LXXVIII. Oct. 31, 1885: 453.

This note was included in one of *The Queen's* almost-weekly write-ups of LSB meetings because the deputation's concern about the correct and gentle treatment of children and low rates was of interest to their typical reader. It betrays a different attitude to elementary pupils: Rather than as a resource for war, according to which philosophy the formation of para-militaristic units under the aegis of the LSB would have been logical, they saw children as undeveloped and impressionable creatures, who needed to be treated as children and not little adults.

But what is especially important for this study is that girls were at all included in physical training. Mrs Westlake's introduction of Swedish drill in 1878 made sure that the *Women's Suffrage Journal's* euphoric comment from 1871 became a reality: 'From this it appears that all the girls in elementary schools in London are likely to undergo this useful and healthful physical exercise, which is frequently introduced with manifest advantage in young ladies' schools' (Anon. Vol. II, No. 13. March 1, 1871: n.p.). Allowing elementary school girls to also have Physical Education lessons was not just a gender-, but also a class-leveller because some middle-class schools for girls had already introduced gymnastics. That this decision was a departure from tradition is demonstrated by *The Queen's* leader from 13 March 1875, which reacted to the opening of 'The London Schools Swimming Club:'

The title at the head of this article would not, we are aware, under ordinary circumstances, suggest anything specially [*sic*] interesting to women. We are so much in the habit of regarding all physical exercises as 'manly,' that we forget that a good physical development is even more

important to women than to men, though, unfortunately, the means for securing it are not so often within their reach.

Anon. Vol. LVII. March 13, 1875: 171.

This reveals the resigned attitude of women towards physical activity. Even though they might want to get exercise, the difficulty, but also the fear of seeming unfeminine had kept many women away. But now the tide was turning as ‘the pupils of the North London Collegiate School for Girls and of the Camden School for Girls were receiving instruction in the art’ of swimming. North London Collegiate and Camden School were both ran by pioneer Frances Buss, who modelled her day schools on the traditional boys’ schools, which included an emphasis on Physical Education (cf. Holcombe 1973: 27). Her influence trickled down and the London Schools Swimming Club was established in order ‘to promote a knowledge of the art of swimming among the teachers and scholars of the public elementary schools of the metropolis.’ *The Queen’s* leader writer emphasised to the readers ‘the fact that the club is to be open to women teachers as well as to men, and the instruction to be given to girls as well as boys, is a most interesting circumstance’ (Anon. Vol. LVII. March 13, 1875: 171).

Apart from the social motherhood discourse celebrating the introduction of the gentler methods of Swedish gymnastics as opposed to harsh military drill, *The Queen* also used Physical Education for feminist equality propaganda. By the end of the century Swedish drill had become so popular - with help from *The Queen* - that 'School Children's Exercises at the Albert Hall' was a crowd pleasing event (Anon. Vol. XCII. July 9, 1892: 51): 'From floor to floor the Albert Hall was packed with enthusiastic spectators' (Anon. Vol. CII. Dec. 12, 1897: 1137). There were several articles about Physical Drill competitions and in 1895 even a photo, reproduced here, of the 'Practical Drill of the London School Board. Competition at the Albert Hall. The Winning Team, Morning Lane School' (Symmons and Thiele. Vol. XCVIII. July 27, 1895: 162). In a very clean school yard a group of neatly uniformed girls is doing gymnastics under the eyes of a well-dressed instructress. *The Queen* found the issue of Physical Education for elementary pupils, especially for girls, so relevant that it raised its public profile by bringing it to the attention of their readers with these write-ups and comparisons that made working-class drill competitions more accessible for their middle-class readers: 'It is not



Figure 13: Photograph of 'Physical Drill of the London School Board' in *The Queen* (Symmons and Thiele. Vol. XCVIII. July 27, 1895: 162).

only on the ballet stage that graceful movements may be witnessed; for, it was abundantly evident at the Albert Hall last week, that in every London School Board children are being taught to exercise their bodies in a wholesome and beautiful manner'. The children's 'picturesque costumes which had been designed with great taste' were described and who won which prize. 'These awards were bestowed by Princess Beatrice, who, accompanied by Prince Henry of Battenberg, arrived in time to see the mass exercise.' 'Graceful movements' in a ballet, 'great taste' in sartorial matters and royal patronage were familiar to *The Queen* readers and designed to attract their interest even more than simple philanthropy (Anon. Vol. XCII. July 9, 1892: 51). In 1897 the competitive element was removed and yet the Albert Hall LSB Physical Education galas continued to be staged as exciting and popular displays of the working-class's taming into pleasing and cute little performers. The following statement is a fitting closing remark for this subchapter as it links the hopes for an improved populace and more physical expression for girls, which were both attached by *The Queen* to the introduction of Physical Education by the LSB: 'The marked effect which has attended the introduction of systematic exercises in the improved physique, bearing, and discipline of the girls is very encouraging, and it is to be hoped that the London School Board will in time extend the system to all its girls' schools' (Anon. Vol. LXXXVIII. Aug. 9, 1890: 197).

5.1.4. 'Education and Ruffianism:' Character Education

In the 1890s, once Physical Education had been sufficiently established, the magazines' attention turned to its opposite: 'Taught Manners at School' (Anon. Vol. XXIII, No. 1176. July 12, 1902: 643) or 'School Board Courtesy' (Anon. Vol. CII. Dec. 4, 1897: 1044). This might have had to do with the wider adoption of Froebel's methods, who had identified a strong connection between an education of mind and body, believing that vulgarities and rudeness would disappear if bodies were working in harmony with

intellects. According to the Froebellian Herford, for achieving true discipline the body has to obey the mind. Thus for successful character education, physical training as introduced by the LSB is indispensable, because the mind is only truly strong after bodily exertion (1905: 32-33). This section explores how the new objective of character education was discussed and which values were expected of the pupils for a successful nation. In total there are ten articles on character education in my corpus, eight of which are from *The Queen*. The first one was published in 1879, more than ten years before the bulk of the articles, in *Work and Leisure* and was part of a series on 'Young Teachers and Their Responsibilities.' It was addressed to teachers and shall serve as an introduction. The main message is to be as passionate about teaching the children 'Moral Responsibility' as the more tangible three R's: 'We know how tame our lessons are on subjects we do not care for [...]. How will it be then as regards the moral discipline of our children, if this is not with us the first and highest aim of our own lives? [...] For instance, unless we are perfectly true ourselves, we never can awaken a fine instinct of truth in others' (Anon. (A Schoolmistress). Vol. II, No. 4. Nov. 1879: 171-172). Purity and earnestness were identified as the two main values. *Work and Leisure* was edited by Louisa Hubbard, whose strong Anglican convictions might have influenced this emphasis on morality. Her focus on correct behaviour and what Roebuck describes as 'virtues of obedience, temperance, brotherly love, social and personal harmony [...] patient endurance of suffering and hardship [...] to be rewarded in the next world' were typical of contemporary religious attitudes and, in Roebuck's words, 'extremely valuable social cement' (1973: 34). These traditional Victorian values were designed to assure that children stay in their accustomed social place despite better education and professional opportunities. The article displays a very pessimistic opinion of the new childhood when it claims that 'our children are often in a worse position than the savage' and blames adults:

We talk of the innocence of childhood; it is a misnomer altogether. Ignorance of evil is not innocence, and much of what is wrong in our children is partial ignorance, while the coarseness and levity arise from

what they have seen and heard from others who should know better, and who have injured the children by partly unveiling knowledge of evil in the most hurtful manner. [...] We should, therefore, be more patient with children.

Anon. (A Schoolmistress). Vol. II, No. 4. Nov. 1879: 172.

According to the author, children do not know what is evil and have to be taught or not exposed to it to avoid picking up bad habits. This supposes that children do not have instincts or genetic predispositions and that nurture is more important than nature. Such an opinion was diametrically opposed to the followers of Darwin and Nordau, which might be explained by a religious reluctance to rely on scientific explanations and fears that a post-religious society would lack important values (cf. Roebuck 1973: 35). Shuttleworth uses the example of lying to analyse the phenomenon of this newly lenient approach to childhood morality, which ‘occurred at a time when [...] knowledge had become an aspect of morality.’ If children were not just little adults, they had to be taught what the truth meant. According to Shuttleworth this development was ‘indicative of the transformations which have occurred in attitudes to childhood [...] over the latter half of the nineteenth century [...] as Victorian codes of behaviour weaken and more thought is given to what “lying” might mean in a child.’ Children could no longer just be condemned as morally defective, but the national elementary education system had to be made use of to improve their understanding of what it meant to be ‘good’ (Shuttleworth 2010: 61-75).

The latest article in my selected periodicals on character education - the only other one which is not from *The Queen* - uses an effective anecdote rather than religion to make the connection between a child and an ‘underdeveloped’ nation. In the rubric ‘Varieties’ the *Girl’s Own Paper* reports about ‘a Chinaman [who] took his place among the ambassadors and representatives of foreign nations’ at the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Anon. Vol. XXIII, No. 1176. July 12, 1902: 643). Although he was a carpenter, ‘borrowed for pictorial effect,’ he ‘bore himself with as much dignity and behaved with as much courtesy as the most aristocratic diplomatist.’ His explanation was that “‘Every Chinaman is taught manners at

school as part of his ordinary education.”” The humorous, yet instructive tale closes with the remark that this was ‘a hint for school boards.’ This note is well-designed for the *Girl’s Own Paper*’s audience and effectively encourages the young readers to compare their own manners with that of a ‘savage.’ But for the LSB the sarcastic message was that if even undeveloped nations like China taught manners in elementary school, they should review their own policy. Employing theories of racial hygiene, it claims that character education could raise working-class children above their accustomed station as it had done for the allegedly inferior Chinese handyman, equating racial with social inferiority.

But while these two articles are sympathetic with children and believe in their ability to improve through education, *The Queen* identified a severe crisis in the behaviour of the working classes in the closing years of the nineteenth century. From 1891 on LSB elections were regularly used as occasion to ask for better character education, thereby continuing the tradition, mentioned in Chapter 2, of evaluating LSB elections according to a deeper meaning. But while these election communications often used to be short ‘Gazette des Dames’ articles, now they were considered important enough to be discussed in leading articles. This increased urgency can be explained by the passing of 20 years of LSB education. The teachers alone could no longer be held responsible for the observed decline in morality and respectable behaviour and the LSB was blamed. On 12 December 1891, the leader with the title ‘A Side View of our School Board Education’ questioned whether pupils ‘possess wider sympathies and intelligences, a helpful, cheerful spirit, and a determination to make the best of their lives? In a word, [...] do they promise to be manly and womanly, useful to their parents, and self reliant?’ (Anon. Vol. XC. Dec. 12, 1891: 959). This election review displays that by then there was a holistic approach to education as ‘the opening and expanding of the heart as well as the head’ was expected. But the author believed that this was not successfully provided by the LSB and diagnosed what this did to the newly educated working class:

It is true they have acquired a certain sharpness of mind and glibness of speech in answering questions within their school curriculum. [...] but with all this their general understanding and interests are still poor and narrow, and they seem to have grasped the ‘little knowledge that is a dangerous thing’ without securing the true blessings of education.

Thus, a spirit of discontent with their lot in life, a restless eagerness to ape their superiors, and a determination not to ‘knock under’ to people whom they now consider ‘no better than they are’ are the most observable characteristics of our average School Board children.

Ibid.

Elementary education had not worked as its middle-class supporters had expected, including *The Queen* readers and writers: Improving the pupils’ education so that they were more like the middle-class campaigners themselves, while keeping them in an ancillary and supplicant position.

On the other hand, a certain level of discontent was wished for, as other articles I have discussed called for a spreading of the spirit of self-help and making the best of one’s life as most useful for regenerating the nation. Other poor-law legislation such as the workhouse system openly had the intention to encourage the clients to take action themselves (cf. Pugh 2017: Chapter 1). Calling this once wished-for striving ‘ap[ing] their superiors’ signals a rude awakening and the realisation that with more education automatically came a levelling of classes (Anon. Vol. XC. Dec. 12, 1891: 959). The article also describes what it believed to be ‘true nobility of life’ for the working classes: ‘[C]apable, helpful men and women, healthy in mind and body, who will recognise that life work, well done, is honourable and worth doing, even though it may not rank the highest; that we have all our part to do, and can best bring about the general well-being by doing it well’ (Ibid.). The working-class was to retain their supporting position, but labour better and more contentedly after having been taught that this was their destined place in life and society. Before universal elementary education, manners in the working classes had allegedly been better. Deploring a lack of ‘respect for age, acquirements, or position’ (Anon. Vol. CII. Dec. 4, 1897: 1044) and denying social equality was a revisionist look back to an earlier hierarchy. But the extension

of suffrage, among men, and also tentatively among women for local government and (L)SB elections, shows that working-class members were increasingly recognised as individuals with the same human and political rights as ‘their superiors.’ Gladstone’s Liberal reforms with an emphasis on individual freedom and little state intervention had demanded serious responsibility of all the citizens, but *The Queen’s* leader writer sides more with Conservative Disraeli’s negative assessment of the population’s ability to help themselves (cf. Fröhlich 2004: 129-134). *The Queen’s* leading article for 17 September 1898 voiced what the *Girl’s Own Paper’s* article about the well-mannered Chinese carpenter had only implied and directly linked disease with poverty and crime. The cry for ‘helpful men and women, healthy in mind and body’ (Anon. Vol. XC. Dec. 12, 1891: 959) anchored elementary education in the discourse of eugenics and degeneration:

As we have outbreaks of contagious fevers, such as measles, small-pox, and scarlatina, prevailing amongst the population, so are we afflicted with outbreaks of particular offences, which it is even less easy to account for, and these, like those of disease, can only be stamped out by appropriate remedies. [...] At present we have an outbreak of street ruffianism.

Anon. Vol. CIV. Sept. 17, 1898: 444.

The ‘population’ was a euphemism for the working classes, as opposed to the unproblematic middle and upper classes. This othering made the poor out to be almost like another race (cf. Richardson 2003: 17). They and their dwellings were dangerous for the whole population because of a lack of hygiene and sanitation. The illnesses mentioned in the article regularly spread across the densely populated slums - and now there was the fear of similar epidemics of criminal acts. Diseases need medicine and now the best medicine for the ‘outbreak of street ruffianism’ had to be found. Gangs of ‘ruffians’ on the street, like the ‘Wild Boys of Walsworth’ as described by Charles Morley, were considered a great threat. But while in Morley’s story a strict schoolmaster had tamed them, the leader was not convinced that this was possible because ‘[c]riminals, like the lower animals, are creatures of habit’ (Anon. Vol. CIV. Sept. 17, 1898: 444). One of the possible remedies was litigation, but

recent cases of violence on the street had ‘been dealt with in many instances with absurd leniency by the magistrates.’ After describing several offences, which had only been punished lightly, the leader comes to the conclusion that deterrence through the legal system was not successful. Education was the only other option, but the LSB members allegedly blamed ‘the boys and girls who had left the school’ (Ibid.). If it was the school leavers who corrupted the younger pupils, the system of elementary education obviously did not have a lasting effect and needed reform. In the assessment that not even education was helping against degeneration was again implied that the only other tool for containing the spread of undesirable forces in the working classes was eugenics (cf. Richardson 2003: 24). Eugenics had a wide base in intellectual circles at the end of the nineteenth century, for example the Fabians, the intellectual branch of socialism. They were obliquely mentioned in the leader as ‘those persons who rejoice in the greater prosperity of the proletarians and the greater amount of comfort that they can obtain’ (Anon. Vol. CIV. Sept. 17, 1898: 444). Many feminist women were attracted to the pseudo-science because of the ‘potential of scientific validation and reinforcement of moral purity beliefs’ and because it gave women an increased responsibility as they ‘were the link to the future: as educators of children, as genetic transmitters of their offspring’s qualities, and as “carriers of the race”’ (cf. Bland 1995: 230-231).

For the 1900 elections *The Queen* used the worrying state of social mores to encourage readers to vote (Anon. Vol. CVIII. Dec. 20, 1900: 596). They lobbied against the Progressive Party on the LSB and for the Moderates and their reduced spending promises. According to the leader, the Progressives’ ‘extravagance’ had not led to ‘any real increase in the efficiency of the education.’ The Progressive party is described by Martin as socialist and of ‘all shades of Liberal opinion,’ while the Moderate faction was made up of Conservative Anglicans (Martin 1999: 45). After growing concerns over the quality of secondary education, the LSB had set up evening continuation schools and in 1891 the Education Department devised a separate code for them. Originally they had

been intended for those who were unable to attend regular day schools, for example because of work commitments, but after the introduction of the code they no longer taught elementary subjects and in effect became evening courses of secondary education in reception of government grants. This caused debates about whether this went beyond the remit of the LSB (Holcombe 1973: 30). To remedy this perceived violation of duty, the article tries to convince as many readers as possible ‘to organise their forces in the Moderate interest in order that the Education Acts may be administered for the next three years with a due regard to efficiency and economy.’ As an incentive for prospective voters it blamed the present LSB for rising crime statistics:

In foreign countries, where no Board schools exist, the howling of boys in the street [...] are not manifest to anything like the same extent that prevails amongst the children educated in the Board schools of London, and the question has been asked whether the presence of the gangs of Hooligans, youthful ruffians who have recently committed more than one brutal murder in the streets of the metropolis, is due to inefficient education or the weak kneed repression of crime by the administration of the criminal law.

Anon. Vol. CVIII. Dec. 20, 1900: 596.

This long final sentence melodramatically blames the LSB, or criminal legislation, or possibly both. In essence its message is: Vote or be murdered! In keeping with *The Queen*'s holistic view of education, the LSB was the state's instrument for improving the citizens' morality and controlling their dissent and protest. But the Progressives were not strict enough and the Moderates were hoped to take control of the LSB, as the Conservatives had just done in Westminster.

The Queen suggested Anglican values as one possible solution. In December 1897 a leader writer recommended relying on the ‘the large number of women and a still greater number of ministers’ on the newly elected LSB to oversee ‘the education of the children in the common courtesies of life,’ betraying a very traditional trust in the Church (Anon. Vol. CII. Dec. 4, 1897: 1044). It raises women to the same position as the clergy, with the same duties of charity and character correction, but also implies similar abilities and rights on

the LSB as male and traditionally revered ministers - a typical concern of *The Queen*. In 1896 a *Queen* stand-alone article comes to a conclusion about the benefits of religion for education that is symptomatic of Roebuck's analysis of the 'religious devotion of the age [...] [as being] superficial and cloak[ing] much that was far from being pure and spiritual' (1973: 35).

Instead of quarrelling about creeds, it would be infinitely better if the friends of voluntary and the friends of Board schools would contrive together a system of education in which the children [...] should be taught not merely how to spell correctly and how to cipher quickly, but how to conduct themselves decently and honourably in all relations of life.

Anon. Vol. XCIX. Sept. 1896: 174.

'Quarrelling about creeds' refers to the controversy about religious education and whether Church of England dogmas should be taught on the LSB. In the middle and upper classes the attitude to religion featured a wariness of nonconformists, which manifested itself in a focus on values and good behaviour rather than dogmatic orthodoxy and a hope that religion might help stabilize the more and more divided citizenship. But the *Queen* identified working together despite dogmatic differences as crucial for creating a nation with economic and imperial progress. However, this would have meant imposing middle-class religious values onto the working-class pupils by way of elementary education, a side effect which the original Elementary Education Act had tried to avoid.

5.1.5. 'Rather a Material Heaven:' The Happy Evenings Association and Rational Recreation

Such articles left readers with the consensus that something had to be done in order to make education last after formal schooling ended. Greater social debates have always been fought on the backs of pupils: What it means to be a working-class child, how to be a truly useful citizen and as an extension of all these, what appropriate freetime activities look like for morally outstanding persons. While

the state was still working out the correct level of engagement, *The Queen* and other private philanthropists identified this gap in LSB education to explain their continued involvement in the emerging state-controlled system. They founded after-school and evening clubs to teach LSB pupils the art of ‘rational recreation.’ This was part of a traditional concern with the working classes’ leisure pursuits, as the perceived ‘problem was that workers did not know how to spend their time in purposeful and uplifting ways’ (Cunningham 2014: 135-136). After the professionalisation of work, free time was hoped to be made more efficient. Wastefulness was considered a sin and teaching school children how to use their evenings wisely was yet another attempt to reform the working classes from the bottom up. In 1890 the ‘Happy Evenings Association’ foundation by female philanthropists was announced in the *Women’s Penny Paper* (cf. Anon. No. 71. March 1, 1890: 225). Lady Jeune was the president, proving Martin’s assessment that ‘[e]lected representatives were simply the tip of the iceberg in the predominantly women’s world of school-based social work’ (1999: 132). 30 articles in the corpus of chosen periodicals are about the appropriate use of leisure time and 15 about the Happy Evenings Association. They come from a variety of periodicals, but mostly from elaborate domestic periodicals for affluent middle-class readers, who could donate or volunteer. The *Women’s Penny Paper’s* article reads like a manifesto of the Happy Evenings Association, whose middle-class organisers believed that ‘the way to children’s hearts’ was food and a warm fire:

Give them those and they will fall in heartily with any other plan you like to suggest, and in those crowded East End districts where [...] quarrelling in the street is the principal idea of relaxation [...] the ‘Happy Evenings’ [...] must seem to them like Heaven - which has been described as

‘A nursery full of toys...

Tops that spin for ever - ever-

Dolls that never never break - ’

It is rather a material Heaven, but one a little Poplar boy or girls could easily understand.

Anon. No. 71. March 1, 1890: 225.

The Happy Evenings Association was another form of conditioning, a way of influencing the working classes I have already identified. The article may sound condescending, but in reality poor children from the East End really did need a warm meal more than most other reforming efforts. Quoting the piece of unknown poetry sentimentalises childhood, as was the spirit of the time (cf. Collins 1963: 190-198), but neither a nursery nor abundant toys were attainable for the poor LSB pupils for whom the Happy Evenings were intended.

Following the minute-like write-ups of the Association's Annual General Meetings shows their main objectives and concerns. There are four such articles between 1891 and 1900, all from different magazines. They reveal that the Association used the LSB's official rooms on the Victoria Embankment, signalling that the LSB sanctioned their activities. In 1891, chairman Lord Cadogan explained that they 'aimed at recreation pure and simple' and secretary Miss Heather-Biggs clarified the kind of recreation:

Formerly [...] people thought to amuse children by setting them round a room and giving them a magic lantern entertainment or inferior music. The association acted on different lines; it taught the children to amuse themselves, turning the rich and the grown-ups into spectators, and the children into performers. [...] bringing joy into many young lives.

Anon. No. 122. Feb. 21, 1891: 278.

Magic lanterns and 'inferior music' was equated with the pop culture entertainment of music halls and theatres, cheaply provided by private enterprise and therefore designed for profit and not edification (cf. Cunningham 2014: 136). However, according to Cunningham the 'gospel of leisure' was starting to be preached alongside the 'gospel of work:' 'Leisure must have a serious purpose, to make people fit for more work. Such thinking was the outcome of the deep-rooted Christian and particularly evangelical anxiety that leisure might be a misuse of God's time. Redefined as "recreation," leisure became more legitimate' (Ibid.: 155). In this spirit, the Happy Evenings Association 'taught the children to amuse themselves,' so that they made the most of their free time and afterwards could work better. Leisure was believed to be learned to

improve the working classes' effectiveness (cf. Anon. No. 122. Feb. 21, 1891: 278). The Annual General Meeting report for 1900 hoped for all-around working-class improvement when the LSB chairman Lord Reay 'suggested that it might add to the benefit of the children if they were shown magic lantern slides representing Colonial life, to widen their knowledge' (Doris Vol. XI, No. 1015. Aug. 11, 1900: 179). His suggestion betrays the institutional problem of the Happy Evenings Association, the Horatian *aut prodesse aut delectare*: The original objective was recuperative fun without instruction, but at the same time children were supposed to learn how to make the most of their free time. Teaching children to fulfil their own needs and achieve their full potential was clearly influenced by the reform-pedagogical thought of helping children to help themselves (cf. Herford 1905: 14) - which in turn reminds of Smilesian ideals.

The Association also appears to have been working on reversing class boundaries and giving the children back their agency, which was a positive departure from earlier descriptions of working-class children as not much more than conditionable animals. However, being a 'performer' under the eye of 'the rich and grown-ups' must have been repressive for the children, especially because of the class hierarchy that was still very obviously in place. The Annual General Meeting reports also all feature lists of the attendees, who were mostly very impressive personages, for example 'Mr Herbert Gladstone, M.P., Viscount Morpeth.' The Happy Evenings Association was always looking for 'more workers to come forward to assist in this labour of love' (Anon. Vol. XCIX. May 16, 1896: 857). The word choice of 'workers' and 'labour' connects the rich humanitarians with their indigent clients. Naming those powerful and fashionable patrons was designed to attract similarly well-connected and affluent donors, a well-placed call for volunteers for *The Queen's* upscale readership as in the report for 1893, published in *Lady's World*, 'Captain Sir Alfred Jephson, hon. treasurer, had to announce a deficit of £16' and assured that no 'contribution could be too small to evoke their gratitude, or too large to appal them.' To make up for the loss and to be able to start more branches he even suggested 'to get the children of the better classes to subscribe small

sums' (Anon. Vol. I, No. 3. May 10, 1893: 59). This scheme would have linked the children of the nation in the quest for progress and improvement, raising a new generation of philanthropists. *Lady's World*, even after Oscar Wilde's renaming to *Woman's World*, was a quality periodical and its readers' children would have had enough money to donate small sums of pocket money (cf. Ballaster et al. 1991: 93-97). His suggestion was taken up, not by the Association itself, but by the *Girl's Realm*. In 1903, a cluster of articles in one edition reported in detail about the periodical's 'The Guild's Treat to Over Three Hundred Board School Children and Infants' (Anon. Vol. V. 1903: 7-8). The Guild was a members' club for their juvenile subscribers, who donated a small amount each month and then could decide through letters who the money should be given to. Substantial revenue was generated by asking well-off children for pocket-money donations for their struggling peers, who often lived only a few streets away. True to traditional pursuits, middle-class girls were recruited as philanthropists in their mothers' footsteps.

A common article type, again published mostly in upmarket lady's journals, were reports about specific Happy Evening events. Four such articles promote the Association as a useful form of poor relief. They were all from the closing years of the century and therefore the LSB era. Their layout and illustrations make them true children of New Journalism, appealing to readers and thus clever requests for donations. The two most significant of these articles are

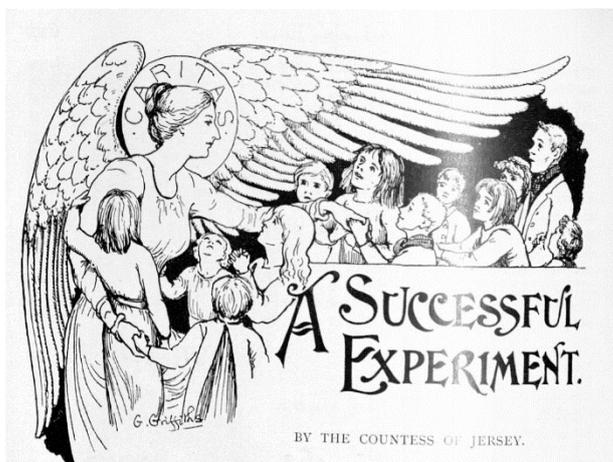


Figure 14: Title illustration from 'A Successful Experiment' in *Lady's Realm* (Jersey Vol. I, No. 6. April 1896: 628-633).

an interview with Miss Edith Heather-Bigg from 1896, who had founded the Happy Evenings Association with her sister Ada. The interview appeared in *Newnes' Woman's Life* in



Figure 15: Illustration from 'A Successful Experiment' in *Lady's Realm* (Jersey Vol. I, No. 6. April 1896: 628-633).

the series 'Chats with Well Known Women' (Anon. Vol. 12, No. 1. Feb. 29, 1896: 519-520) The periodical's huge print run of 200,000 sold copies in 1897 meant the request of more helpers was well-placed. Their readers' economic power is corroborated by two adverts flanking the interview. One was selling French iron pills as 'household remedy,' the second one the 'most useful and lady-like Dress ever offered at so reasonable a price' of 7 shillings. Heather-Bigg boasted that within five years they had expanded to 'no fewer than thirty-one Metropolitan Board Schools' and were 'providing rational amusements for over 6,000 of London's poorest little ones' (Ibid.: 520). In the second article, 'A Successful Experiment,' from which the two illustrations reproduced here are taken to demonstrate *Lady's Realm's* elaborate style, the Countess of Jersey, chair for 1903, explains that for the 'poorest little ones' for playgrounds 'the choice lies for the most part between a crowded, stifling room and a squalid court or narrow pavement of more than doubtful cleanliness' (Jersey Vol. I, No. 6. April 1896: 628-633). Her sentimental assessment of the Happy Evenings as the only option for satisfactory playtime was a contradiction to the ubiquitous complaints about street children. Davin gives plentiful examples of children roaming the streets, with a special emphasis on working-class girls' greater freedom than middle-class girls of the same age (cf. Davin 1996: 63-81). By describing the state of the children when they first started to come to the Happy Evenings Heather-Bigg tries to make her readers see the Association as unavoidable extension of the LSB's work:

'But at first it was fearfully uphill work,' said Miss Edith Heather-Bigg [...]; 'you will, perhaps, scarcely believe me when I tell you that we had actually to teach the children to play. "Hopscotch" and "Tab" they knew all about, but no one child in ten was familiar with "Sally, Sally Walter"

[...] or even the good old English game of “Blind man’s buff.” Of the use of nearly all sorts of toys they were profoundly ignorant.’

Anon. Vol. 12, No. 1. Feb. 29, 1896: 519-520.

In neighbourhoods where toys were hand-made from scraps, hand-me-downs or just not available, children developed other techniques to play and entertain themselves than what the Association accepted as proper and useful. The Countess of Jersey also includes a long example of a little theatrical in which a boy and a girl played husband and wife trying to avoid the district visitor and then beating each other up over the husband’s income, all in coarse dialect. This was judged to be ‘realistic enough, but hardly edifying’ (Jersey Vol. I, No. 6. April 1896: 630). Children learn by imitation and would have played house the way they knew every-day life to be. But in the eyes of the Association, this was not good enough for a truly reformed nation and so it was looking for ladies who knew ‘the amount of training necessary to render the best-disposed child really well behaved’ and who had been ‘dissatisfied with speculation and complaint’ - corresponding with Smilesian ideals. They tried to instil their own effectiveness into the children, although the Countess of Jersey claimed that there was no ‘attempt to insinuate a lesson in disguise’, again highlighting their basic contradiction (Ibid.: 629). The ‘Gazette des Dames’ put their finger on this problematic dichotomy in a sarcastic report about a debate on the LSB:

That vigilant friend of popular virtue, Mr Lucraft, [...] had proposed that billiards, bagatelle, and boxing should be forbidden forms of scholarly recreation. In reference to this, Mrs Ashton Dilke said she was in favour of boxing, billiards, and bagatelle. [...] She had played billiards hundreds of times, but had never lost a farthing over it. That was sufficient, and Mr Lucraft’s motion was lost. But ought our boys to learn billiards if Baron Huddleston decided rightly that skittle pool is gambling?

Anon. Vol. LXXXV. Feb. 9, 1889: 188.

The humorous alliteration stood for games that were simply amusing and might incite betting - the puritan leisure reformers’ worst nightmare. Mr Lucraft himself was working-class and when an

upper-class lady endorsed the activities, he was easily overruled and even ridiculed.

Allegedly the Association left 'it as much as possible to the children themselves to say what form their recreation shall take' (Anon. Vol. 12, No. 1. Feb. 29, 1896: 519-520) but that would have meant leaving the children alone and not gathering them to teach them middle-class games and amusements. Such assertions follow the other Victorian ideal of individualism, which went hand in hand with self-help, and made sure that the state had to intervene as little as possible. This theory was changing, but apparently private philanthropists were still working to the old standard and despite their claim to provide 'amusement pure and simple,' there really was concealed training involved. The Happy Evenings were also used as positive reinforcement for school attendance: 'admittance to the "Evenings" [...] being regulated by attendance, the children have a direct incentive to come regularly. At one school, in the East End, the percentage of attendance has never been so high as since a branch of the "Happy Evenings" was started there' (Ibid.). Free time was reconstructed as rational recreation to lose the threat of unruly, possibly drunk working-class members squandering their usefulness and endangering next day's efficient labour. But too much of it was not good for the working classes either and the Countess of Jersey explains why the Association did not want too many special treats, as for example provided by the *Girls' Realm*:

While gladly welcoming and gratefully accepting such assistance, the Council desires to prevent these occasional treats from overshadowing the real motives and objects of the work, which are to lead the children to prefer rational amusements to unwholesome excitement in daily life, and to substitute sympathetic friends for dangerous companions.

Jersey. Vol. I, No. 6. April 1896: 628-633.

These 'sympathetic friends' were the Association members, from whom the children could learn by example. The aim was to train the children so 'that they can now be trusted to carry out their own ideas' of entertainment without them emulating their parents, as for example in the unedifying reenactment of husband and wife on pay-

day. The important word is ‘trust:’ A trust between the classes that a truly reformed nation was possible, in all aspects of daily life, even after school was finished. The discourse in the articles about the Happy Evenings Association is full of such dichotomies. It pitted work against leisure, entertainment against education and leisure against recreation, the useful against the useless. It demonstrates that although the treatment of working-class pupils slowly was becoming more gentle and sympathetic, probably influenced by reform pedagogical ideas, they were still not considered or ‘trusted’ to be sufficiently educated and reformed to contribute to national progress without guidance.

5.1.6. Board School Jokes: A New Angle of Criticism

But while the Happy Evenings articles were only mildly critical of the LSB pupils and very positive about their potential, the little niche article genre of Board School jokes was harsher. The anonymous jokes were mostly at the cost of the school children and their ignorance, but also the practicality of the LSB education. There are five jokes in my corpus, all published after 1891, but mostly between 1898 and 1900. They were all added to the bottom of a page, to fill the space without apparent link to the other articles. That late in the century, journalism had changed sufficiently from its former undivided columns on a broadsheet to allow for such a quirky mix of article genres and topics (cf. Clarke 2004: 255-257), but also for making fun of growing educational opportunities, which once had been a very serious topic, especially for women. Unlike the other articles, jokes are more like very short prose pieces. I therefore use them in a similar way as the fiction after Chapters Three and Four to explore attitudes towards LSB pupils.

Four out of the five jokes follow the pattern of a teacher asking a boy a question and the boy then answering in a silly, but actually very perceptive way. It is remarkable that although this study’s corpus is made out of magazines for women and girls, it is always a boy, called Bobby or Johnnie, who is singled out. In the first ever

LSB joke from the *Woman's Herald* from 16 May 1891, Bobby's answer proved the gender cliché of passive boys and busy and reliable girls: "Teacher: 'Bobby, what does lazy mean?' Bobby: 'Lazy means always to want your little sister to get it for you.'" (Anon. No. 133. May 16, 1891: 466). This sentiment was typical of the progressive *Woman's Herald*, who was fighting for emancipation on all fronts, even the LSB school benches. But the joke also gendered the stereotypical laziness of the working classes in favour of women, who had to fix their brothers' problems, further passing on the responsibility of national progress to girls and women.

In 1898, after the periodical had changed its name to *Woman's Signal*, this gender bias was no longer as pronounced, although the joke about Johnnie's geography class still has a boy as its subject: "Teacher (in geography class): 'Johnnie, how is the earth divided?' Johnnie (who reads the foreign news): 'Don't know; I haven't read the papers this morning.'" (Anon. No. 246. Sept. 15, 1898: 173). However, this boy is unexpectedly advanced for his age and for his class background. Reading the foreign news and thus misunderstanding the teacher's question was not expected behaviour for a working-class boy. This leads me to conjecture that this joke might not have been set in an LSB context, but considering that all the other jokes were about elementary education this is improbable. The *Signal* was an advocate for all educational progress and a precocious, well-educated child's funny remarks are always appreciated as championing education. It might also have been a criticism of LSB education being too basic and not recognising its pupils' intellectual potential or vice-versa that it was too lofty and ignored the practical skills.

Another pair of jokes, both from *Woman's Life*, focus more on the LSB pupils' difficult financial situation. The periodical regularly published humorous anecdotes and jokes and the first one, from 15 April 1899, followed the announcement of the publication of a new magazine for boys and a long joke about a vain Parisian lady in a painter's atelier:

In the infant department of a London Board School, Johnnie, a boy of seven, was asked: 'What is the principal product of the island of Cuba?' 'I don't know, miss.' 'What! Don't you know where sugar comes from?' 'Yes, miss. We borrows it from the woman next door.'

(Anon. Vol. 175, No. 14. April 15, 1899: 206).

This joke is clearly marked as being set in an LSB school and extra humour is added to Johnnie's droll answer by rendering it in vernacular. The mistress is appalled that her pupil fails at such an easy question, but in his world, his reply is correct. His lack of knowledge about colonial products betrays fears about the working classes' fitness for the imperial project. But the joke only becomes funny through the class differential. Working-class readers would have been offended because for them this was too real to be entertaining. Middle-class readers might have chuckled, then been shocked about Johnnie's poverty - and donated.

The second *Woman's Life* joke, published in July 1900, picked up the same issue of financial instability in the families of LSB pupils (Anon. Vol. 240. July 14, 1900: 356). Here the teacher, maybe one of the 'middle-class gentlewomen' who were encouraged to work as elementary school mistresses, innocently constructed a mathematical problem in the pre-decimal system. But for her working-class pupil £3.50 (i.e. 70 shilling) would have been unimaginable, when a common labourer earned around 4s. per week. The joke writer specified that the boy was one of the worst pupils in the class and probably wanted the reader to understand that this was the reason why he obstinately refused to solve the problem, but instead drew attention to his family's poverty. Apparently there was no place for this in LSB schools, which were supposed to work as an equaliser - and yet it was very much the reality of the children, who probably had never even seen a Pound coin. Again, the apparently slow boy gave a perceptive answer which made the readers laugh, but also think about poverty.

Humour had been proven to be a useful tool for campaigns and criticism in the periodical context as it was not too cruel to the pupils, who were not to blame for the structural problems so using it to reflect on the quality of education was an obvious choice. There were

several points of criticism for the LSB, some quite brutal, for example the reprehensible expenses. But the pupils were arguably the weakest and most innocent part of the system as they were themselves subjected to a system to which they could not contribute. And although the jokes mock the pupils and their silly answers, they not so much openly criticise them, but expose problems to be solved on the way to a reformed and equal society.

5.2. The Professionalisation of Housewives: Domestic Education

The second part of this chapter focuses on domestic education as a specific experience of female LSB pupils. In total there are 61 articles about domestic education in my corpus, amounting to over 12 per cent. This is one of the biggest thematic clusters and shows the importance assigned to such practical skills. In a shift of focus towards hitherto underrepresented working-class women feminist historians did pioneering work about the experience of female LSB pupils in the 1980s and 1990s. Especially June Purvis' *Hard Lessons* (1989), Elizabeth Roberts' *A Woman's Place* (1985), Anna Davin's *Growing Up Poor* (1996) and Carol Dyhouse's *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian Britain and Edwardian England* (1981) feature vivid descriptions of working-class girlhood. They all have in common a focus on the ideal of feminine domesticity, which was transferred from the middle classes, also to maintain social supremacy. As a next step, this study uses this cluster of magazines to trace how the argument of national progress was used to legitimise mundane everyday skills for political and class reasons. In a similar process as teaching was reconstructed as a typically feminine profession, being a housewife was consolidated as a near-professional occupation for working-class girls. A special focus is on the class relations in this process and the controversial role of middle-class women in this reinforcing of domesticity by way of elementary education. In *Victorian Feminism* Philippa Levine discusses whether middle-class women saw this as a positive or negative development for both themselves and the pupils. According to Levine,

feminists were not always wholly disparaging of the virtues of domestic education. Laying the foundation stone for Manchester's fifth board school in 1877, Lydia Becker neatly turned the tables. "She said she did not know why cooking was considered an exclusive subject for girls. If she had her own way every boy in Manchester would be taught to mend his own socks and cook his own chops."

Levine 1990: 138.

Staying within her assigned sphere, Becker extended it to men while being harmless and provocative at the same time. Elsewhere Levine explains how after the introduction of compulsory domestic education for working-class girls the 'situation reversed, with middle-class girls receiving a similar education to their brothers and working-class girls a principally domestic and thus "womanly" training.' Before 1870 'it was the middle-class institutions which had offered a sex-specific curriculum [...] while the children of labourers received a cursory and rudimentary but rarely role-related grounding in basic skills' (Levine 1987: 13).

In 1900 *Hearth and Home* announced the opening of the LSB's Paragon Domestic School 'where children are to come half a day every week during their last three years at school to receive instruction in Cookery, Laundry Work, Housewifery and the elements of Home Nursing of the simple and *practical* kind with which every woman ought to have some acquaintance' (Guest. No. 473. June 7, 1900: 224).³⁰ This announcement in the column 'Passing Events' shall serve as an introduction to what domestic education for girls looked like. According to Guest, the Paragon school, an extension of the domestic education centres already in existence under the LSB, was to have a twofold advantage: 'So trained, in the homes of these girls there will be comfort and economy, their children will grow up properly fed, properly washed, in cleanly surroundings. No better plan could be made for the welfare of the working-man, the improvement of his home' (Ibid.). The first benefit of systematic domestic education was improving the nation by ensuring healthy working-class members, confirming Purvis' findings of working-class women's ancillary status for the race.

³⁰ Italics added for emphasis.

Guest identifies men as the main recipients of better domestic training, even if girls did not enter domestic service or left it again because of marriage. Girls are defined as future domestics, whether in their own household or that of an employer, and their training was to serve them like the industrial apprenticeship boys took up after elementary schooling. Remembering the criteria of a profession as discussed in Chapter Four, several can be applied to working-class girls and their assumed destiny as housekeepers:

- (a) Practice is founded upon a base of theoretical, esoteric knowledge.
- (b) The acquisition of knowledge requires a long period of education and socialization.
- (c) Practitioners are motivated by an ideal of altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain.
- (d) Careful control is exercised over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice.
- (e) The colleague group is well organized and has disciplinary powers to enforce a code of ethical practice.

Leggatt 1970: 155-156.

Although before the establishment of the LSB's domestic educational facilities and in the day-to-day experience of most girls, housewifery did not need 'a base of theoretical [...] knowledge.' But in the wake of a general trend of professionalisation and organisation, the LSB applied these rules to domestic education and declared that mastery 'requires a long period of education.' However, it was not the actual 'colleague group' who had the 'disciplinary powers,' but the middle-class organisers.

These were also the second main recipients of domestic education in elementary schools. Edith Guest appears to be sympathetic with middle-class housewives when she opens her article like this: 'Nowadays the word "servant," to the mistress of the average household, is a kind of "Open Sesame" to a sad recital of very real domestic woes' (Guest No. 473. June 7, 1900: 224). Giving working-class girls domestic training was believed to solve this problem of unreliable domestic servants. But despite the usually traditional attitude of *Hearth and Home* and the hope that the Paragon School would solve the servant question, Guest believed that it was

none the less likely to remain - unless Mistresses will, at last, driven by insufferable worry, bring themselves to be wise in time and do two things: firstly, arrange definite hours for domestics [...]; secondly [...], simplify every household arrangement. The more one studies the servant class the more one gets to know it is not the *work* that repels: it is the conditions of life. [...] Consequently, no mere training will work a cure.

Ibid.

By the end of the century the perception of the LSB's approach to domestic education was changing, but it was still part of the official strategy for an improved nation. And while Guest wanted better conditions for domestic servants, she did not question their absolute necessity. Ultimately the class barriers were to be kept up in her and *Hearth and Home's* opinion.

Like many of the other articles, Edith Guest used the word 'practical' to describe a useful elementary education for girls as future mothers of the nation. But a long article by Harriot Stanton Blatch in the *Woman's Signal* from 24 January 1895 about 'Education for Girls' questions the practicality of domestic skills. The American activist, who was living in England at the time and whose well-known name lent the article special authority, quotes the LSB's assertion 'that the child's education, intellectual and manual, must be kept general, so that the pupil will be prepared for *intelligent action wherever it is placed in life*' (Stanton Blatch No. 56. Jan. 24, 1895: 62).³¹ However, Stanton Blatch demonstrates that 'the girls' manual employments are not only not educative, but are, as taught in the Board Schools, the practice of trade.' Under the subheading 'What is practical?' Stanton Blatch explains that the fancy needlework, which girls mainly learned, was not useful 'in her cottage home.' Her critique of the LSB's domestic education is very sarcastic in tone: 'Granting again, that a girl of thirteen goes at once into a situation [...] or becomes the wife of a working man, I deny that it is "practical" to sacrifice the broader future interests of woman herself to the narrow present interest of the work.' Stanton Blatch bolsters this claim with census data and the Report of the Lady

³¹ Original italics.

Commissioners to the Labour Commission from 1893 and proves 'that none of them will become housewives for ten years or more' but will most likely work in factories, where 'women are handicapped by their inefficient training.' She explains that the emphasis on domestic education meant that girls lacked precision and responsibility or

To put it concisely, in Yankee fashion, she lacks *snap*. If the manual employment of sewing could have given her snap, she would have it in abundance, for she's been kept steadily plying the needle since she first showed a desire for knowledge in the Garden of Eden.

Ibid.

After using *Women's Signal's* typical strategy of giving credibility to opinion pieces with hard facts, Stanton Blatch lets her scathing humour shine through to prove domestic education's impracticality before adding another class-based layer of criticism: 'Is our object to educate the girl fully, harmoniously? or is it to train her in employments which we, her "betters," think she will or ought to use on leaving school?' (Ibid.). Her use of quotation marks for 'betters' indicates that Stanton Blatch did not believe that the middle and upper classes should judge what was necessary for a working-class education although that was the educational reality as only middle-class members were educated enough or could afford to be on the LSB. Stanton Blatch exposes her own and the *Women's Signal's* socialist leanings by finishing thus:

But is it, indeed, our nineteenth century experience that if we put children early to the grindstone, we ensure intelligent workers, and a broad-minded, noble race of men? No, no; the time has come when the well-to-do woman should bury her class-bias, and generously work to gain for industrial women what she has achieved for herself, namely an education at least as broad as is given to the men of her class. [...] but alas, for those girls, educated women [...] are in the enemy's camp. The mistress will not strike the shackles from her future servant!

Ibid.

Maybe it was Stanton Blatch's Americanness that allowed her this removed viewpoint of the English elementary system and to point

out its class-bias as a weakness while other magazines were still praising domestic education and the involvement of women as non-negotiable advantages. Although these two voices come from the end of the LSB period, their points are apparent throughout the development of state-funded domestic education in Board Schools, which I divide into three focal points, needlework, cookery and laundry work, as they all address different aspects of the instrumentalisation of domestic education for an improved nation from the foundation up: Needlework for the debate of how domestic subjects should be taught, cookery for supporting girls to be effective mothers of the progressing nation and laundry work for its implications of hygiene. And through it all once again runs the red thread of how middle-class women could be useful, too.

5.2.1. Needlework and Public Exhibitions

Needlework was the only domestic subject that was part of the original LSB curriculum until in 1878 domestic economy became a compulsory, grant-earning subject for girls. 31 articles in the corpus talk about needlework. Again, it was *The Queen* which published the greatest number of those articles, 18 all in all and also the first ones from as early as 1873. I chose these articles because they discuss whether girls should be treated differently than boys in learning needlework rather than academic subjects, making it a subcategory of the debate on how much education women need. I show that the question of which teaching methods were favourable reflects similar developments in academic subjects. As a next step I examine the great focus in domestic magazines on the redefinition of needlework as entry for middle-class women into the administration of elementary education.

Dyhouse provides a comprehensive summary of the development of needlework on the LSB and explains that working-class girls, especially in the country, had always made and mended ‘garments for the neighbouring gentlefolk,’ who were paying for their schools. A strong tradition of fancy needlework developed, but there was criticism by some observers that the ornamental stitching was

useless. Organisations like the National Association for the Promotion of Housewifery successfully promoted sewing to be strengthened and sanctioned by the grants system. After the LSB appointed a woman as 'Lady Needlework Examiner' in 1875, the Education Department soon appointed an HM Directress of Needlework. Mrs Floyer, the LSB's first needlework examiner, considered needlework to be more important than any other subject because it taught 'cleanliness, obedience, caution, concentration and countless other virtues' (cf. Dyhouse 1981: 86-89).³²

In January 1873 *The Queen* published their first of many leading articles about 'Needlework in Board Schools' (Anon. Vol. LIII. Jan. 25, 1873: 85). This was the very first article on needlework in my corpus and the pride of place as the leading article demonstrates the subject's importance. Especially at the beginning of the LSB era women still had to establish their rightful place in public administration and the assertion that '[m]any of our readers are interested in the subject of the teaching of needlework in girls' schools' was a useful strategy for breaking down barriers for women in their own minds. The article is about the LSB's new directions for the teaching of needlework:

4. That in girls' and mixed schools the time devoted to needlework be from 2.15 to 3.15 every afternoon; and that in infant schools the number of lessons per week be limited to three of one hour each.
5. That both managers and parents be specially encouraged to send articles of wearing apparel to school to be made, mended, patched or darned; on condition, however, that every article so sent be scrupulously clean, and labelled with the owner's name.
6. That the upper classes in all girls' and mixed school be taught to cut out, and to make articles of wearing apparel, especially underclothing.
7. That all garments made at the school at the Boards' expense be sold to the parents of the scholars at cost price, and that the money so received be expended in the purchase of a new stock of calico, Holland, flannel, etc.

Ibid.

³² Dyhouse provides a comprehensive summary of the development of needlework on the LSB.

and enthusiastically endorses the subject for girls without recognising the risk this poses for girls' academic education in LSB schools. The excerpt shows some of the most important regulations: All girls spent five hours per week on needlework rather than on academic subjects. But *The Queen* criticised the arrangement of teaching the subject one hour each day instead of one whole afternoon per week, as the few minutes which are lost at the beginning and end of each lesson 'subtract a considerable total from the nominal five hour of work' (Ibid.). *The Queen* agreed that girls should receive as much practical education as possible and supported the loss of time for academic work for girls that came with it. Boys had more time for the 3 R's while the girls were sewing. But this contradicted the Elementary Education Act's premise of equal education for both genders, as Dyhouse and Levine explain (cf. Dyhouse 1981: 88 and Levine 1987: 13), and sparked a debate in the periodicals where even *The Queen* contradicted itself several times. In 1876 their 'Gazette des Dames' featured a note with the following provocative statement: 'We contend that only a moderate proportion of the time of girls in schools should be devoted to instruction in needlework, seeing that they are as much entitled to real school education as boys' (Anon. Vol. LX. Nov. 11, 1876: 388). Three years after their regretful article that daily lessons lost too many precious minutes for needlework, the magazine claimed that sewing was not 'real education.' Six years later, the pendulum swung again and the same periodical printed a short leader on 'Needlework in Board Schools' with this polemic attack: 'The proposals recently made to lessen the importance attached to the due teaching of needlework in girls' shools [*sic*] is one [*sic*] that will not commend itself to the common sense of the majority of women' (Anon. Vol. LXXII. July 29, 1882: 99). This is the only time that I found a *Queen* article with a grammatical and a spelling mistake, demonstrating the emotion the subject evoked:

The art of making and mending clothes is so peculiarly women's work, that any attempt to lower the standard of proficiency in it is certain to be unfavourably received by all except a few strong-minded and unfeminine females, who regard the time devoted to the practice of needlework as

capable of being more usefully devoted to the subjects in which they think the female mind should be trained. Those persons, however, who are practically acquainted with the work of education [...] are of a totally different opinion. The teaching which would enable a girl to talk glibly about moral philosophy, or give off-hand the relative heights of Chimborazo and Mont Blanc [...] will certainly not serve her as well in after life as a competent knowledge of needlework and domestic economy.

Ibid.

This article was unusual for *The Queen* with its aggressive rhetoric, which was normal for anti-feminist discourse, but not for the balanced and pro-woman *Queen*. Describing those in favour of less domestic education as ‘strong-minded and unfeminine females’ on the first page of the magazine was too divisive for the usual spirit of the magazine. Women who wanted academic education for working-class girls were not even deemed worthy of being called women with all gender-specific implications, but were reduced to their sex as ‘females.’ But the author also feared social collapse if the girls forgot their station in life by ‘talk[ing] glibly’ or ‘off-hand’ after having received intellectual rather than practical training.

By 1886, the debate had moved on from questioning whether needlework should be taught towards more differentiated discussions of teaching methods, mirroring developments in academic subjects and putting the pupils’ learning experience into the foreground. *Work and Leisure* contributed a chronological overview of the problems with traditional teaching methods (J.W. Vol. XI, No. 6. n.t. 1886: 157-158), which significantly does not criticise the fact that sewing was given such a big chunk of girls’ time, only the lack of teaching theory: ‘The problem was where to study that method. The Training Colleges, though recognising the advantages of method in arithmetic and other subjects, were slow to welcome it in needlework.’ This speaks of the ambiguous status of domestic education as training Colleges focused on academic subjects and by omission passed judgement on the necessity of domestic education. As the first practical subject to be taught under the LSB, needlework became a testing ground of how to organise and assess such instruction and what being ‘well taught’ meant

remained a moot point in the development of needlework as a case study for the LSB about how to teach domestic subjects.

A strong impetus for improvement was the ratepayers' criticism about what their money was spent on, for example in *Hearth and Home*'s column 'People, Places, and Things' (Anon. No. 65. Aug. 11, 1892: 412). This column was the magazine's space for 'The Cricket' to print 'Society Announcements, and Accounts of Weddings, Balls, Private Theatricals, Concerts, etc.' and the note about 'Mrs. Colborne's complaint concerning Board School sewing' comes straight after reports of the Royals at Cowes and the re-opening of Parliament, revealing that *Hearth and Home*'s interest in more mundane topics. Mrs Colborne complains that the girls only learned fancy stitching and told a story of a girl, apprenticed to a dressmaker, who 'with difficulty can sign her own name' (Ibid.). For Mrs Colborne neither the LSB's academic nor the domestic education was good enough if girls still needed vocational training, but also struggled with the 3 R's. Her assessment of the situation is clear: 'A vast deal of the teaching we pay for is profitless' (Ibid.). *Hearth and Home* readers were well off and it is understandable that criticism of how the LSB rates were spent surfaced in this periodical.

Proposals for improvements appeared in *The Queen* and the progressive *Work and Leisure*, who both published articles in the 1880s with suggestions for better teaching methods. The earlier 'Gazette des Dames' note from September 1882 was a reprint of the reports from the two female LSB inspectors for needlework, taken from the *School Board Chronicle* (Anon. Vol. LXXII. Sept. 23, 1882: 273). Most of their observations were positive: The LSB had recruited assistant teachers for needlework to relieve the mistresses, but according to the second inspector Miss Sempill

[n]eedlework suffers throughout from the incapacity of assistant teachers, many of whom leave college good needlewomen, but have not been taught to teach large classes. Under these circumstances, an otherwise talented teacher is found giving individual instruction to [...] four girls in a class of seventy; the remaining sixty-six may, in many cases, be taken as simply

wasting time and material. To overcome this, I would suggest that simultaneous teaching should be adopted.

Ibid.

Quoting the LSB's experts on needlework confirmed *Hearth and Home's* allegation that 'A vast deal of the teaching [...] is profitless' (Anon. No. 65. Aug. 11, 1892: 412). But *The Queen* was more constructive and in accordance with similar developments I have traced in earlier chapters, the understanding that teachers had to be taught how to teach was also gaining popularity for domestic education. If they had been properly instructed in teaching, there would be no such waste in time and material, which ultimately meant money. *The Queen* readers, although of a similar social make-up as *Hearth and Home's*, had been kept up to date with the latest developments and would have known how to make sense of the inspectors' reports. Readers, who bought *The Queen* rather than *Hearth and Home*, were too much invested in the new forms of philanthropy to just disparagingly condemn the whole system and its pupils. *The Queen* always published many articles on various aspects of the LSB's work and the more their readers knew, the more they became interested in even the most technical aspects. This observation is useful to reconstruct the actual readerships and how two outwardly similar periodicals were cultivating different audiences. Often the readers' interest in needlework went deeper than theoretically debating methods. In December 1873, just after the second LSB election, *The Queen* published another article recommending needlework for women to get involved in elementary education. 'A Work for Women' was not the leading article, but neither just a note in the 'Gazette des Dames,' which was the usual place for stories about the LSB before New Journalism had been fully adopted by magazines for women. The elections are taken as a reminder for women to get involved on all levels of elementary education, even as unelected champions of needlework. (Anon. Vol. LIV. Dec. 27, 1873: 511). The periodical had found yet another solution for women's involvement in helping overwhelmed school mistresses with needlework lessons:

If ladies could be induced to take such pride and interest in neighbouring Board schools as they often do in parish schools, an element of success and influence would be introduced which is now greatly wanted.

In the matter of needlework there is especially a work open to women, for which they are imminently fitted, and to the understanding of which no one can object on the ground of it being unfeminine.

Ibid.

Contrary to the articles propagating elementary education as a profession for middle-class members, here the word 'women' is sometimes used instead of 'ladies.' 'Woman' does not have the same classist implications as 'lady' but includes all females as necessary contributors to elementary education. But aside from this observation, the involvement of women promises them 'an element of success and influence' without being officially elected. Sewing as traditionally a feminine task also avoided the accusation of giving up too much womanliness. Women could continue to help the poor within their area of expertise and enter the public sphere without too much censure.

The lobbyists for needlework founded an official body to further legitimise their involvement in needlework education and influence the LSB:

A number of ladies and schoolmistresses formed themselves into a Society, which began by holding yearly examinations for prizes, but having succeeded in interesting the Education Department in the matter sufficiently to add a new page to the Code, developed into the Institute for the Advancement of Plain Needlework. [...] The Institute sought and obtained hints and advice from all sources of competent authorities, including German and Belgian sources.

J.W. Vol. XI, No. 6. n.t. 1886: 157-158.

Through private enterprise this Institute achieved that needlework was given an official code with recommended teaching methods. While the Elementary Education Act created new political opportunities for women, it also meant restrictions for others, who were not able or willing to go the official route of candidacy or visitorship, and had to find new ways to keep up their philanthropic involvement. Having the 'eminently feminine accomplishment of

plain needlework,' as it was described by the same article's opening sentence, featured in the Code and preserving it by improving its teaching methods was a great opportunity for women, created by themselves with the argument of social motherhood. The article describes the Institute, one of whose graduates was even appointed Lady Superintendent of Needlework by the Education Department. Its graduates went on to train elementary and high school mistresses, sometimes also pupil teachers at the training colleges (cf. *ibid.*). The final sentences of the article reveal it to be an advertisement for readers to qualify at the Institute and become lecturers in needlework teaching: 'To be successful in this work it is necessary to be fairly strong, able to go long distances, and to stand and lecture without fatigue. [...] It is certainly desirable that any one in this profession should be well bred, and what is known as "a real lady"' (*Ibid.*). Lecturing for the Institute for the Advancement of Plain Needlework is framed as a good opportunity especially for middle-class women. It is described as especially desirable because of being embedded in traditionally feminine pursuits, but cites the same physical conditions as the articles for middle-class women as elementary teachers.

Although women had won a permanent place for needlework on the curriculum and thereby created opportunities for themselves, their involvement was not immune to criticism. On 19 September 1885 Fenwick Miller raised her authoritative voice in the long-running column 'Woman' in the *Lady's Pictorial* to question the involvement of middle-class women. Between 1885 and 1900 three of the 24 instalments of the column with a mention of the LSB focused on domestic education. The *Lady's Pictorial's* content, which was founded in November 1880 as a 1d. weekly, but soon cost 6d., was true to its by-line *A Newspaper for the Home*. But in 1885 Florence Fenwick Miller started the column 'Woman: Her position and her prospects, her duties and her doings.' She was introduced as 'Member of the London School Board, author of "Life of Harriet Martineau," "Solicitudes," "Readings in Social Economy"' to give her the necessary feminist credentials to conduct such a column

(Fenwick Miller Vol. IX, No. 213. March 28, 1885: 300). It is the only article with a focus on the mistresses, who had

to cut out and prepare the needlework for their schools. Each mistress in a Board School has sixty girls under her individual care. [...] Mistresses have repeatedly assured me that the whole of their evenings are absorbed in this uninteresting duty. [...] When the male teacher has finished his day's work in school, he has ended his task. [...] It is not fair to the women teachers that they should be so heavily burdened with this extra work

Fenwick Miller Vol. X, No. 238. Sept. 19, 1885: 258.

Fenwick Miller discusses the unfairness for needlework teachers by providing the exact numbers the LSB spent on needlework inspectresses, often Institute-trained, who 'literally do nothing but look at the work, and enter complaints [...] which answers no purpose but to harass the teachers.' This cost the Board £630 and Fenwick Miller thought that it would be more useful to instead employ 'special workwomen for [...] relieving the mistresses of this evening labour' (Ibid.). As a campaigner for women's political rights Fenwick Miller was only interested in domestic education as far as it impeded women or as far as it could be instrumentalised to propagate more female LSB members, as her final remark shows: 'My object has been to show [...] how many matters there are [...] in which the interests of girls and women teachers require special guardianship from women members' (Ibid.).

In an attempt to promote the subject to the public and appease critics, the LSB introduced exhibitions for all practical subjects, which mostly meant domestic education and needlework. There are eight articles in the corpus about these annual exhibitions, all published between 1876 and 1895 and in *The Queen* - apart from the very first one in *Work and Leisure*, which has already been analysed about its ideas on female managers (Anon. ('A Lady School Manager') Vol. 1, No. 5. Feb. 1876: 75-76). These exhibitions were open to the public in order to enable the rate payers to convince themselves that the money was spent well and that the working-class girls were industriously working on their own improvement. Some articles about these exhibitions serve me as a review of the ideas of this subchapter. The anonymous 'Lady School Manager' described

the first exhibition in great detail: 50 schools had sent work and ‘[n]early all came from regions almost unknown to the dwellers in well-to-do London - districts where in narrow streets and back slums the new board schools overtop the squalid homes around, looking like beneficent giants holding aloft the beacon of religion and civilization’ (Ibid.). Needlework was chosen as more effective for demonstrating the civilising effects of elementary education than ephemeral skills like the three R’s as it produced visible specimens. The venue of the exhibition in the LSB rooms on the Victoria Embankment meant that attendees did not even have to enter slum London.

The articles vary in length, but all include the numbers of schools which took part. In 1895

the exhibition was larger than any of the previous displays. Work had been sent by six classes of deaf children, and twenty-six special classes of physically and mentally defective children; 175 schools were represented by needlework exhibits, fifty-five by kindergarten work, 150 by laundry work, fifty-two by various occupations, 100 by drawings and designs, eighteen by clay models; and there are fifty-three centres showing woodwork, and eight evening continuation schools a variety of articles.

Anon. Vol. XCVIII. July 27, 1895: 183.

The exhibitions were also a first attempt at including children with special education needs as the ‘special classes’ were allowed to contribute. In 1893 the exhibition had outgrown the LSB rooms and ‘was fortunate enough in being accorded the use of the spacious Hall of the Fishmongers’ Company for its prize distribution’ (Anon. Vol. XCIII. May 13, 1893: 795). The LSB exhibition, which remind of the simultaneous PE displays in the Royal Albert Hall, had become a society event and on this occasion the prizes for the best handiwork were handed out by celebrities: ‘Mr Diggle [the Chairman of the School Board] presided, having on one side of him the Lord Mayor and on the other the Lady Mayoress’ (Ibid.). The Lady Mayoress impersonated the old ideal of Lady Bountiful, only that in this instance the children had proved with their good work that they would be able to maintain themselves after school and would not have to rely on further philanthropy. The presence of political

leaders lent the event respectability and might have induced other middle-class women to get involved, for whom the encouragement from magazine articles had not been enough. But taking part in the glamorous ceremony was also a useful incentive for the children.

5.2.2. Cookery Lessons and National Progress

In 1882 Cookery was made a grant-earning subject, too (cf. Dyhouse 1981: 89). In my corpus there are 23 articles on Cookery lessons, 13 of which come from *The Queen*. Despite the fact that grants for Cookery were only introduced a decade after needlework, the magazines started to discuss the usefulness of Cookery classes in 1873. I show how the debate about cookery instruction was utilised as a vehicle and remedy for several problems that were perceived in the working classes. These articles contributed to the wider debate by advocating cookery as the ultimate civiliser and supporter of a healthy nation. Since mostly women cooked for the families, this turned them into racial guardians. Cookery was also used as a tool for poor relief without pauperisation. The subject was also promoted as a good professional opportunity for women and in a feminist theoretical role-reversal it was suggested that boys should to learn to cook, too. A leading article, which *The Queen* ran in June 1874 was entitled ‘The Encouragement of Cookery’ (Anon. Vol. LV. June 20, 1874: 523) and started with an appraisal of ‘the art of cookery:’

The cause of cookery seems to be looking up in the world. [...] Each nation has produced special dishes [...] which are looked upon as their characteristic meats [...] There are also some nations [...] who have developed a particular capacity for cooking, and to whom it seems to come by intuition.

Others again, as we ourselves, seem to have reached a certain point, and there to stand still. Undoubtedly, as has been said, there is always good cooking to be found in England - among some classes perhaps too much good cooking. But it is not to be denied that cookery is not what it ought to be among the middle and lower classes of our population.

Masterful cookery is stylised as a civilising skill and contributor to national progress. It was also a demarcation line for the classes. Without good cooks, food became bare nutrition and nothing like the sociable and socialising experience a well-cooked, cozy family dinner can be. This assessment made clear why Cookery lessons fell into the purview of the LSB as beacons of civilisation. Elementary education had to provide more than academic training, but also more than the practical drill needlework required with its focus on detail. Educating girls to be skilful cooks was hoped to spread the culture of enjoyable hot family meals from the higher echelons. Girls' role as social unifiers and civilisers began in elementary school. The leader explains that, as with needlework, the first beginnings of cookery instruction were made by private persons: 'One lady [...] has made an attempt to influence the poor women of her neighbourhood by having demonstrations given in her own house by her own cook to a number of women' (Ibid.). Women again were at the forefront of bringing this particular element of civilisation to the masses, but for cookery there was a harder backlash against such a self-confident assertion of female power: 'A contemporary has recently reminded us that the greatest cooks have been men, and adduces this fact as an indisputable proof of the inferiority of women. [...] He asserted roundly that as long as man had to do with food [...] all was done well; but that, as soon as it came [...] under woman's power, all went badly' (Ibid.). In the case of needlework, women were allowed to take ownership, but cookery, especially sophisticated cuisine, was a male domain and some men did not want to give this up. But in the *fin-de-siècle* debates about national progress, the kind of cookery that fed the family every day was increasingly attributed to women as 'guardians of racial progress. It was women's responsibility to build homes and breed children' and they were blamed for perceived dangers to racial superiority like infant mortality and low birth rates. Although the overall standards of well-being were rising, in the centres of the large towns the conditions were still bad. This was attributed to neglect and a lack of attention to nutrition and child care, which was believed to be a result of 'unsuitable' elementary education. Domestic education and especially cookery lessons were

supposed to better equip women for their role (Dyhouse 1981: 90). Taking away women's chore of preparing food for the family would on the one hand have meant relieving them of the burden of a great responsibility. But on the other hand, this was not just a duty, but also a right, deeply ingrained in public consciousness. In times of very limited public opportunities for women, cooking for the family was one of the only ways to be needed. Near the end of the century there were even recommendations for older school girls to drop the 3 R's for cookery lessons. According to Dyhouse, making the lessons more useful would have been a better step, because, as in the debate on fancy versus plain needlework, 'teachers often focused on teaching "saleable" foods like toffee or other sweets rather than the nutritious and cheap dishes that were important for the working classes' (cf. *ibid.*: 91-94).

Charles Morley's *School Board Studies* confirm another effect expected of cookery classes. In 'The Little Cooks' he starts with the premise that 'housewifery is the birthright of the children of the poor' and that they often had to assume household duties like food shopping, from an early age.

But it is one thing to buy meat, and quite another to cook it. How many grown-up mothers know even the elements of that wonderful art? What woeful waste there is, as well as woeful want! What extravagance! What prejudices! Soups they look askance at, and yet what more fragrant than a bowl of *bouillon*? And how cheap! In a thousand cunning ways the humblest vegetables could be served up. But no; better meat once a week, and six days of uninviting scraps, than any of your new-fangled notions.

Morley 1897: 121-122.

Morley's description of the diet of the working classes corresponds with the prejudices of many other middle-class commentators, who believed that working-class women were not good enough housewives to cook nutritious, yet inexpensive meals to feed efficient citizens. *The Queen* for example reprinted a harsh endorsement by Fanny L. Calder, originally from *Household Words*, of 'The Importance of Cookery Classes in Schools,' which

alarmingly blamed ‘the want of proper food’ and the accompanying ‘loss of home life’ for a descent into misery:

This loss is to be met with [...] in the homes of otherwise decent working men, where want, dirt, and drink almost necessarily prevail. And why almost necessarily? Because the wife and mother knows little or nothing of thrift, of sanitary laws, or of the art of providing and the methods of preparing wholesome food. And knowing nothing, she finds her ignorant efforts so unsatisfactory that she discontinues them, and ends in driving her husband to the public-house, and in bringing up her own girls with an equal distaste to the unknown joys of good housewifery. She herself probably becomes the afternoon loungee on the doorsteps, ready for any temptation that may present itself.

Calder Vol. LXXV. March 8, 1884:143.

Apart from a wrong appreciation of the free time of employed working-class women, this was a sobering and pessimistic view of the working classes, who would inevitably end up as burdens to society without proper instruction. Deciding to reprint this grim article was meant to scare the rate payers and LSB officials enough to help. But Calder is particular in her demands: ‘And if, instead of philanthropy helping to pauperise by *giving* food to poorly-fed children [...], its efforts are directed to teach the people to help themselves, we may hope [...] [for] results in the better-fed condition of the brains and bodies’ (cf. *ibid.*).

Calder’s article was published at the same time as the debate about free school meals was delayed by fears of pauperisation by such direct relief. Cookery classes were hoped to be another remedy, but did not take into consideration the fact that many families simply were too poor to afford enough nutritious food rather than being too slovenly to prepare it properly. The mid-1880s were also the period of the discussions about over-pressure, which some critics hoped to alleviate with a more suitable diet for better physical and mental development. It was becoming more and more apparent that feeding the nation was inevitable. Education was important, but malnutrition could not be tackled with the 3 R’s alone. But while there were still such reservations against ‘pauperising’ school meals, cookery lessons with a focus on thrift were the LSB’s solution. Needlework

had been the testing ground for the teaching of domestic education, and while new methods were developed, not much actual preparation or equipment was necessary. Cookery lessons, however, need a functioning kitchen. Because of cookery's special importance for future generations, the LSB built Cookery Centres for all girls between 10 and 14. Sometimes these were set up like artisans' houses to make them especially practical for practicing the tasks of the future housewives of their class. By 1890, 168 LSB Cookery Centres for 470 contributing schools had been established (cf. Dyhouse 1981: 90). Charles Morley describes one such Cookery Centre. Although he is rather condescending in his description of the present-day housewives, he is convinced of the quality of domestic education and believes that the next generation would only have to take advantage of the education offered to them by the middle class:

Well, let these women have their way, for they know no better; but their daughters will have only themselves to blame if they do not become really good housewives. [...] If they are good little girls they will be worth much more than their salt when they are thirteen or fourteen [...] they will be all the more likely to make home - sweet home. And many a home is broken up by bad housekeeping.

Morley 1897: 122.

This was a great responsibility for young girls - to know that on their shoulders alone allegedly rested the happiness of their families and therefore the nation. But Morley's story was more than a reiteration of Calder's pessimistic foreshadowing, because he was reassuring the readers that girls were not left alone with this burden, as their lessons in the Cookery Centres prepared them well.

In his usual style, Morley pretends that the reader was following him around such a Centre to convince themselves of the superior quality of the teaching. To him, the 'real beauty of this lesson [...] was that everything was real and practical.' The practicality of the lessons, supposed to make the pupils able to reproduce them later at home, was paramount according to Morley, although there were many critics who doubted that. Morley himself also criticises the set-up of Cookery lessons as practised by the LSB: 'There was just one draw-back to all this reality - namely, the pale and hungry faces of

many of the little cooks' (Ibid.: 124). Although the children had made the food themselves, they were not allowed to eat the final products, but 'may buy the delicacy which [they] helped to prepare, either by the halfpennyworth or the pennyworth.' This was meant to prevent waste, but mostly to teach the pupils self-reliance. The LSB was not there to dispense charity, but to help the girls to help themselves and their families. But in order to alleviate their worst hunger the prices for buying the food were not high. Morley's observation hit the nerve of the time as a compromise between fears of pauperisation and providing at least some nourishment.

But like needlework, Cookery lessons were propagated as beneficial for all women, not just the future working-class housewives or the abstract nation. In the *Lady Pictorial's* column 'Woman' Emily Faithful announced another measure to assure her readers that domestic education was useful: 'The appointment of Mrs Harrison as HM Inspectress of Cookery Schools is likely to result in better training of teachers, and greater general efficiency in the work done in the Board and other elementary schools' (Faithfull Vol. XVI, No. 560. May 16, 1891: 859). At the same time stricter rules for training as a teacher for Cookery were set out: A license had to be obtained, which then had to 'be renewed every three years.' More lessons in specialised feminine subjects meant more professional opportunities and training for women. However, the salary span was low for cookery teachers and the progressive *Women's Union Journal* reported about the fight to make the profession more profitable and reprinted a minuted LSB debate about the salary of Cookery teachers from the *Times*. Even though she lost, Mrs Westlake's valiant attempt to increase the salary of Cookery instructors from £60 to £100 was interesting to the *Women's Union Journal's* readers as small part of the feminist effort. She argued 'that no competent teacher could be obtained for a less sum than £100 a year.' A smaller salary would mean cheapening the workforce and lessening its public image. The winning argument by a Mr Richardson, was that 'the Board might obtain the services for £60 of a married woman, who would not be dependent on her earnings' (Anon. No. 31. Aug. 1, 1878: 50-51). A

woman's salary was not considered to be of equal importance as a man's, exemplifying the female members' great struggle against prejudice against women working in the public sphere.

In 1897, a note in the *Lady's Pictorial's* column 'Woman' reported about the most recent LSB meeting, where an extension of Cookery lessons to boys was discussed. After Florence Fenwick Miller and her successor Emily Faithfull resigned, 'Doris' took over and the tone changed. This pseudonym probably concealed several authors and Doris also invited correspondence 'from women at home and abroad on all subjects of interest to their sex' ('Doris' Vol. XXXVI, No. 930. Dec. 1898: 930). By 1897, the column was no longer a coherent text, but a selection of announcements that might interest women, with a similarly broad range as *The Queen's* 'Gazette des Dames.' In this specific edition there was a note about the scandalously low wages of waitresses employed in the Houses of Parliament, but also a notice about arctic explorer Fridtjof Nansen's wife. Doris reported that Mrs Maitland had moved that "an experiment should be tried of giving the boys attending the school a course of lessons in cookery." Mrs Maitland maintained that a knowledge of "how to cook" would be most useful to all boys, and more especially to those who joined either the army or the navy' ('Doris' Vol. XXXIII, No. 838. Feb. 6, 1897: n.p.). Thinking back to the 1874 *Queen* leader, which had defended women against the accusation that only men were effective cooks, this was an almost ironic turn of events. Women had succeeded at claiming the right to be acknowledged as their families' cooks and now they were trying to be relieved again by men of some of the duty of providing for the nation. This had ideological implications as some feminists still used the argument that women alone were able to be mothers, in the real and the social sense of the word. But a purely feminine domestic sphere had become too restrictive and Cookery lessons were a practical strategy for relaxing gender roles. However, while in 1874 the argument of male cooks had been used to keep women out, now the same idea was considered an assault on manliness and chairman Diggle called it a "mischievous fad" (Ibid.). Mr Diggle was usually on the side of tradition and his assessment of extending domestic

education to boys was typical of his reactionary understanding of women's rights and duties. The column defended the motion with the argument that 'the want of such knowledge has made life most unpleasant to many a poor fellow in the Far West,' i.e. the West End's middle class (Ibid.). Like Mrs Maitland herself, 'Doris' was cautious to not go too far in their claims for equal domestic educational opportunities for both genders and pretended to only be talking about army life, where some rudimentary cooking skills would be useful. Especially in the otherwise traditional *Lady's Pictorial* this precaution was wise and justified the publication of Mrs Maitland's liberal proposal. But it is interesting that it was 'Doris,' who chose to print Maitland's attempt at pushing gender boundaries, and not a more progressive periodical. This motion was a useful effort to further open the Overton Window of social acceptance (cf. Lehman). If it became acceptable for boys, who needed a smattering of domestic education for their army or navy careers, to learn cookery, then one day this could be broadened to include all boys. In abstraction this meant that one day domesticity would no longer be only women's domain, shattering the separate spheres ideology. Mrs Maitland introduced this motion at the end of the century, almost 30 years after the introduction of the LSB and its extension of opportunities for women. The motion also reminds of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's campaigns, which ostensibly were about the children, but really more about the extension of women's rights. The same can be said for the public debate about cookery, which was a useful vehicle for discussing the equalising of gender roles and legitimising the mundane for politics, while ensuring the best education for girls.

5.2.3. Laundry Work and National Hygiene

A last step for understanding why domestic education became such an important part of elementary education is laundry work and its focus on cleanliness. There are five articles in the corpus which explicitly mention laundry work as a separate subject and not just as

a part of domestic education, of which there are many more. They are all from *The Queen*, which confirms that this was mainly a middle- or even upper-class concern. Charles Morley's *School Board Studies* is a supporting source. This subchapter demonstrates how laundry lessons were inextricably linked with fear for national hygiene, although the articles pose the question whether laundry work lessons were more useful for the future working-class homes or middle-class employers of domestic servants. This ties in with the general finding of this study that elementary and specifically domestic education was imposed onto the working classes by the middle class for their own benefit. As explained in connection with Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's first motion (cf. 3.1), hygiene was important in large cities like London, where the houses of the affluent were in close proximity to the overcrowded slums without appropriate drainage. Outbreaks of diseases like cholera or typhus regularly ravaged large parts of the city before in the second half of the century adequate sewage and water supply and better, less crowded housing were provided - not just for the benefit of the urban poor (Cf. Roebuck 1973: 51-53). For women there was the double bind of being inextricably linked to hygiene. Apart from more ideological links between the female reproductive system with the city's soiled drainage system, especially working-class women were held responsible for cleanliness on a very practical level (cf. Shuttleworth 1996: 73-82). They did not just have to keep their own household and children clean, but also their employers' if they were working in domestic service. If there were any hygienic problems, they often were blamed. And since nineteenth-century London was a notoriously unclean city with many dirty children on the streets, working-class women received a lot of criticism. Seemingly in contrast, many of Roberts' respondents reported women's preoccupation with cleanliness in the household, especially for what could be seen from the outside like the stoop or the door handle. But often middle-class concerns were confirmed as ubiquitous 'sanitary inadequacies all militated strongly against the housewives' best efforts, and were of course beyond her powers of remedy' (Roberts 1985: 135). This resulted in a mechanism, where, often without

‘first-hand knowledge of the actual realities,’ in middle-class discourse

[s]elected characteristics of working-class life - poverty, squalor, poor housing, conditions, lack of hygiene, intermittent patterns of work - became the characteristics of the individuals themselves. For the middle class therefore, the working-class woman was someone who was [...] ignorant, dirty, incompetent in domestic matters and potentially a source of moral pollution. The assumed vulgarity [...] of the working-class woman derived mainly from the fact that most working-class females were engaged in paid work

Purvis 1989: 63-64.

This insightful analysis of the creation of a stereotype explains why elementary education was discovered as an instrument to make the next generation of working-class women cleaner, more effective housekeepers and simultaneously less of a moral danger.

In 1889 laundry work was introduced as a subject and ‘centres were set up where older girls were taught techniques of washing and ironing along with “some simple facts of chemistry”’ (Davin 1996: 148). One year later it became a grant-earning subject (cf. Dyhouse 1981: 89). The basic introduction to chemistry, which was piggybacked onto laundry lessons, was a concession to those critics who condemned domestic education as yet another attempt to hold girls back because it ‘pressed them into a narrow mould’ of female domesticity (cf. Roberts 1985: 31). Teaching girls practical chemistry was designed to bridge the gap between the practical and academic education the two opposing parties demanded for girls. Again Charles Morley’s *School Board Studies* is a good source for how such laundry centres were set up. ‘The House with Four Rooms’ is set in ‘that gray wilderness of bricks and mortar we call Bethnal Green (it *was* green, perhaps, in remote ages)’ (1897: 135-147). Morley is taken around the ‘model dwelling’ with a ‘cosy parlour, nicely furnished, which is swept and dusted twice daily for five days a week’ and ‘four bedrooms, in which the beds are made with equal frequency.’ It also has a ‘kitchen (with the usual appurtenances), which is also faithfully dealt with by numerous zealous little women’ (Ibid.: 135). These laundry and cookery centres were set up as an

artisan's house with 'a real laundry downstairs' (Ibid.: 143-144). 30 girls practiced their future duties as housewives of that class and also learned general cleanliness to counteract the stereotypical working-class squalor (cf. Dyhouse 1981: 89). The walls were covered with instructional posters. Morley cursorily goes over what laundry lessons were like and quotes from exam papers, closing with a satisfied assessment: 'Yes, surely work such as this will be of service to Society in the time to come!' (Morley 1897: 147). Once again, the wilderness of East London had been tamed.

But Roberts' respondents mostly were not as impressed with laundry teaching as this middle-class observer. A Mrs Hewitson doubted its use: 'You went to the laundry and the first thing you took was a collar of your brother's. It had to be clean when you took it, so what good was that? [...] M'mother washed them when I took them home.' As Roberts states, this 'oral evidence is another reminder of the different perceptions and experiences between those providing services and those receiving them' (Roberts 1985: 32-33). However, a house as well appointed as these 'model dwellings' was not affordable for most LSB pupils and their usefulness was questionable. In Morley's story, Selina Littlechild, who is 'in a neat mob cap and a nice print pinafore,' illustrating the fact that she is tamed and cleaned and therefore a desirable member of the working classes, 'blushed and smiled prettily' when asked about owning her own house (Morley 1897: 136). Ownership of decent housing was apparently the objective of young girls, but out of easy reach. But especially the extensive listing of the tasks considered necessary for a truly clean home proved the 'model dwelling' to be utopian, as few working-class houses would have had all those features:

- Place the furniture in the middle of the room or the passage.
- Remove the ornaments.
- Pin up the curtains.
- Cover the furniture with a dust sheet.
- Open the windows top and bottom.
- Sprinkle the carpet with tea leaves.
- Sweep gently with a long-handled stiff broom.
- Use a short stiff brush to finish sweeping, and take up the dust on a dust-pan.

Ibid.: 139.

Middle-class standards were superimposed on the elementary pupils, who were at the same time accused of not knowing how to keep their own homes clean, but also made painfully aware that their own homes were not up to the standard of what their teachers considered adequate, yet underprivileged housing. The poorer elementary pupils would not have had carpets or curtains in their homes, let alone a steady supply of leftover tea leaves. But Morley's rhetorical question 'Could the most critical mistress ask for more?' hints at the fact that the girls were actually learning how to take care of such a house for what was considered their best alternative - domestic service. And yet, when one of the girls in the story wants a career as a domestic servant, he makes it very clear that 'this four-roomed house is not intended as a manufactory for the production of servants. It is a school for the raising of the standard of the workers' homes' (Ibid.: 137). But later he contradicts himself when he praises Mary Roxbury for earning twopence for cleaning steps: '[H]ad it not been for these practical housewifery lessons I dare say Mary would have drifted into the charing profession, which, as we all know, is very low down in the social scale' (Ibid.: 138). So housewifery centres after all ensured girls got better positions in the domestic service and were not just effectively improving private home life.

Although this section ostensibly is about the girls who received domestic education, the subject was also significant for the female LSB members. 1891 was an election year and in August *The Queen* started to gather support for the female members. It was also the year of the introduction of laundry centres, and two articles in *The Queen* praise 'The Work of Women on the London School Board' (Anon. Vol. XC. Aug. 15, 1891: 261). According to the short, but stand-alone article, the female members' contribution to domestic education 'can scarcely be over-valued. They have made the style of teaching far more practical and attractive.' The article does not even question whether domestic education was a necessary subject but describes all the incumbent female members' areas of interest as their greatest recommendation: Miss Davenport Hill was 'chairman of the committee of cooking classes. Mrs Ashton Dilke [...] chairman of the committee on needlework.' And Mrs Besant, 'whose

retirement from public life is regretted,' introduced laundry work (Ibid.). This article ignores the fourth female member, Mrs Maitland, but three months later *The Queen* introduced the six candidates for the new board in 'Women and the London School Boards: Chats with Candidates.' When asked about her opinion on laundry work, Mrs Maitland answered that 'the London School Board has already done a good deal [...], but more might yet be done. [...] We have found laundry work a very popular subject - more so than cooking - for it appeals directly to the fathers, who are delighted to have their linen well got up at home' (Anon. Vol. XC. Nov. 21, 1891: 833). Although her assessment of laundry work's popularity might not have been accurate, her explanation for the first time mentions the fathers. The reason for the men's approval was because it improved their home: Housework had to be done for the husbands and fathers so that they were not driven to drunkenness, violence and ineffective labour.

The *Lady's Pictorial's* 'Doris' from the column 'Woman' shall have the last word about the perceived effects of domestic education on girls before they themselves will be heard. In December 1889 'Doris' reported on a paper read by a Mrs A. W. Karr in front of the Edinburgh Local Association ('Doris' Vol. XXXVI, No. 930. Dec. 1898: n.p.). While in the last section Fenwick Miller's focus had been on the problems domestic education was creating for women teachers, 'Doris' was concerned with the 'burning question whether such extensive systems of education are really benefiting the employers of labour. Though girls are taught cooking and laundry work we do not find any plethora of either cooks or laundrymaids' (Ibid.). The inefficiency of domestic education as bestowed by the School Boards is demonstrated by two examples. A 'girl of fifteen,' who 'was a well educated, good girl, and had passed all her standards well, taking prizes as she went,' was not able to take over the household after her mother's death. On the other hand 'the daughter of a gentleman - who had not been drilled in any school for housewifery - was at the age of twelve little mother to her younger brother and sister' (Ibid.). These examples, supposedly taken from real life, were very flimsy and not actually real arguments for or

against domestic subjects in elementary schools, but typical of the 'Woman' columns' chatty and informal tone. 'Doris' then reveals her real worry: '[O]ur experience of over-educated servants and workpeople goes far to prove that [...] the elaborate School Board code of education does *not* fit children [...] for the work they have to do in life' (Ibid.). After almost 30 years of the LSB and several generations of working class members with a good standard of education, changes must have been noticeable. 'Doris' and Mrs Karr feared for the accustomed social order to shift irredeemably as academic education had already changed the working classes from soulless labourers to thinking members of society. For some members of the old ruling classes this must have been unsettling and resulted in such outbursts as the following, which is taken from another one of 'Doris'' columns, this time from 30 June 1900:

It is all very well for girls to have a certain amount of education, but to my mind it is being greatly over done - hence the difficulty we now experience of getting good servants. How can we expect girls to subject themselves to manual labour for the rest of their days, when from their earliest years they are taught to think more of music, singing, French, and Latin than of how to mend, darn, and cook, which latter qualifications are required of them as soon as their schooldays are over? A friend was telling me the other day that when engaging a housemaid, she was asked by that lady, "Might she have an hour every Thursday afternoon in order to take a lesson on the violin?" Imagine that from a menial a few years back! But we must expect to put up with that kind of thing while the schools for the lower classes provide musical instruments for the use of the pupils.

'Doris' Vol. XI, No. 1009. June 30, 1900: 1150.

For some middle-class women elementary education was a nuisance and a threat. They had expected the 1870 Elementary Education Act to be a help for them. The philanthropy that had been necessary to keep the working classes in acceptable conditions had become too much to manage, so calls for the state to help had been answered. Throughout the study it has become clear that the true objective of the Education Act was not to educate the working classes for their own sake, but to make them more effective workers, soldiers and parents for an improved nation. But this also had repercussions for the middle and upper classes because as a knock-on effect they

wanted more out of life. But it was exactly that increased expectancy that the writers behind ‘Doris’ found hard to reconcile themselves with. Servants, who had once been little more than domestic slaves, now wanted time off to play an instrument for pleasure. The bitterly sarcastic use of ‘lady’ for the maid who wanted to take violin lessons tells us that it was their own ladyship they feared for. Despite all the changes and liberalising currents I have demonstrated throughout the study, the collapse of the class system was something the better-off classes were not prepared for. They still expected ‘submission’ and found it impossible to ‘put up with’ what had come with education: the wish to be one’s own person, to exist not just for the work that was needed to pay for the upper classes’ dominance, to have time for hobbies.

5.3. Board School Memoirs: Some Pupils’ Point of View

But although this last chapter was supposed to be about the children and the new concept of childhood elementary education was hoped to provide, there are hardly any articles in my corpus which talk about the pupils. Throughout the chapter I have shown strategies of how elementary education was utilised to make the nation ready for the modern world. This argument was used by middle-class women to justify their involvement and also create opportunities for themselves in the newly officialised field of elementary education. In these articles, written by middle-class authors, we mainly find their own hopes and aspirations, which were transferred to the working-class pupils. A big part of these theories were either revileing or romanticising the pupils and their families as most middle-class commentators, however well-meaning, were unfamiliar with the living situations of the LSB’s clients. Morley’s *Studies in Board Schools*, despite leaving a vivid image, were also only a report through a middle-class lens. For reports about what life in Board Schools was like for the children I therefore chose the rare genre of working-class memoirs. In contrast to fictionalised accounts of elementary schooling, middle-class school stories were very

productive for the construction of ideal female pupils and teachers in well-off establishments. Girls could read a seemingly endless supply of similar stories to learn about middle-class schools. By providing romanticised views, these were certainly escapist, but also inspirational. Elementary schools could not provide such encouraging narratives, which might be one reason for their absence. The readership of periodicals is a second element. None of the magazines for girls I found appeared to only be addressed to the working classes, which would have made stories about (L)SB schools attractive. Some working-class girls would have read the corpus magazines, for example in circulating libraries like *Mudies'* (cf. Thompson 1996: 121), but they preferred inspiring settings in a more affluent context.

So in order to see the pupils' side of elementary education, I refer to several working-class memoirs. The first one is Hannah Cullwick's diary, which provides a view of pre-LSB elementary education in the country in order to be able to assess the changes effected by the Elementary Education Act. Cullwick started writing down her life at the wish of her employer and later husband A. J. Munby, who had an almost obsessive passion for observing and collecting information on working-class women. He was from a comfortably-off middle-class family and lived for most of his life in the Inns of Court in London, partly supported by his father, partly earning his living as a civil servant. His 'rural nostalgia' and fascination with robust working women often made him escape the city to accost girls and women. While this was not strictly out of the ordinary and, as Davidoff explains, paralleled by other middle-class anthropological studies like Booth's or Rowntree's, Munby's research was not sanctioned by a public body, but purely for his own pleasure (cf. Davidoff 1983: 31-33). What makes his studies unique is that they include Hannah's own voice and not just a middle-class observer's. Hannah Cullwick was born in 1833 in Shropshire, but had been living in London since her late teens. In 1854 she and Munby met on the streets of London and '[f]rom then on she was the centre of his emotional life as he was for hers' (Ibid.: 38). Her intelligence made her a fascinating object for his observations, but

also a willing partner for role-plays with which he further explored class differences. They for example acted out his fantasies of himself as the ‘massa’ and her as the lowly servant, despite their loving relationship. She also dressed up and had her photo taken, in roles ranging from poor milkmaid, African slave and rich lady. In 1873 they were married, but Cullwick remained his servant and housekeeper, which she recorded in her diaries (Ibid.: 41). The 17 volumes cover almost 50 years from the 1850s till the late second half of the century.³³ These extraordinary circumstances of her life make her diary an invaluable source for a working-class woman’s life in the second half of the nineteenth century. I am not going to focus on the couple’s relationship and what Hannah’s diaries tell us about class-relations, but the fact that she also was an ordinary working-class woman with the typical education of a country girl before the introduction of SB schools. Cullwick received her elementary education before state-controlled elementary education was introduced, and not in London, but in Shifnal, Shropshire, but although this is a study about the LSB, her experience would not have been too different from poor girls in London. These are her memories

from her leaving the Charity school in Shifnal, which was at eight year old & after she’d done her yellow sampler, her mother meaning her to do a white one for framing at a better school, but what her never could afford. Instead o’ that a friend of Mother’s (Mrs Phillips) took me to work at her house off & on (not hired) from 1841 to 43. [...]

And mighty glad I was for going to Mrs Phillips, for the living which was good & strengthen’d me [...] ’cause Mrs P. was so very kind to me & teach’d me how to do everything properly - to wait at tables, to wash up...

Cullwick 1984: 35.

Cullwick only had primary schooling until the age of eight. The school was a Charity School, probably established and funded by a religious organisation. Its main emphasis seems to have been on needlework and she stayed long enough to finish an embroidery

³³ While Stanley, editor of the diaries, mentions the years between 1854 and 1873, Davidoff even extends the time span from 1859 to 1898.

sampler. This pre-SB focus on needlework still echoed in the corpus after 1870. Her mother had aspirations for her to go on to another school - in order to do another, better sampler, that means more domestic rather than academic education. But as the fees for the first school had been paid for by a rich family friend, a lack of funds forced her to work as a servant on a casual basis for another friend of her mother's (cf. Davidoff 1983: 36). Cullwick's gratefulness to Mrs Phillips, who 'teach'd me how to do everything properly' - 'everything' meaning household chores - makes it obvious that for Cullwick a good level of such skills was more important than academic subjects. However, she did know how to write well enough to compose long and coherent volumes of diaries. But her grammar is indicative of her very few years of elementary education with a focus on domestic subjects. While Cullwick did not actually comment on her experiences at school, it becomes obvious that the practical education she received on the job was actually more valuable to her than the formal subjects. This was a pre-SB perspective, as Cullwick left school in 1841, but it was probably still true after 1870. The 'Gazette des Dames' article from September 1875, which contended that 'in many cases they [...] are obstinately determined not to learn' talked about working-class pupils whose parents needed them to help at home, rather than wasting time on domestic education lessons, which could have been spent learning the necessary tasks by doing them in the home (Anon. Vol. LVIII. Sept. 11, 1875: 186). But the same article also claimed that the pupils were 'ignorant' in household matters, an allegation which betrays high expectations for elementary school girls, who could and should not have learned enough to be an effective housekeeper. Cullwick started her domestic apprenticeship before the age of eight with needlework and moved on to cleaning, laundry and cooking soon after. For her a legal extension of the school age would indeed have meant an extension of childhood.

Chronologically the next autobiographical voice is from Elizabeth Andrews, who was born in 1882 in Hirwaen, Breconshire, as the daughter of a miner. At that time the Elementary Education Act had been in place for over a decade. What makes Andrews a

useful contributor to this study is that she became a suffragist, socialist and political activist and gave women from local Welsh mining communities a voice in her office as Labour Party Woman Organiser for Wales, which she held for 29 years. She was a family politician and relentlessly campaigned for the rights and health of women and children (cf. Kinnock 1957: xi-xvi). Her political convictions colour her memoirs and make them a useful analysis of what it meant to be a child in industrial South Wales at the end of the nineteenth century. Therefore her autobiography is a very different record than Hannah Cullwick's naive diary. Like Cullwick, she also did not receive her elementary education in London, but in rural South Wales. But the industrialisation of the area made her experiences comparable to that in metropolitan London. The elementary school she attended was already run by a school board, which makes her autobiography an important source for a child's experience of the Elementary Education Act. Elizabeth Andrews was one of eleven children and her father's early death from silicosis, also known as 'miners' asthma,' meant extreme poverty for the family (cf. Andrews 1957: 8). But despite the hardship, she 'commenced school when [she] was about four years old and [she] remember[ed] taking [her] two pennies every Monday to pay for it. Small children paid 2d. or 1/- for a family. [She] loved school from an early age' (Ibid.: 9). In London elementary education was made free of charge in 1890 and provincial school boards followed suit after that (Lewis 1990: 292), so Andrews' family was one of the last families who had to shoulder this financial burden, as she started school in 1886. But Andrews writes in a very cheerful tone about the school pence and immediately follows it up with her early love of education. Being trusted with money at a young age made her proud and had positive connotations. And yet the fact that she mentions the monetary side of elementary education at all implies that it was a consideration in the family and that the children were aware of potential difficulties. The following observation was also affected by Andrews' later political theories:

Looking back at those days under the old School Board when conditions were appalling - bad sanitary arrangements, poor ventilation, no provision

for drying clothes, and poor water supply - one can make a comparison with today's modern Schools and modern methods of teaching, and realise the revolution that has taken place in our educational system.

Ibid.

So while in the magazines from the study's main part middle-class campaigners were discussing how much comfort and hygiene was needed, the elementary pupils were suffering from insufficient sanitation in the Board Schools. Although Andrews mentions this in retrospect, the fact that she still remembered those conditions many years later meant that they made a truly lasting impression on the children. But the remark also demonstrates that campaigners like Elizabeth Garrett Anderson had been right to fight for more hygienic arrangements and that they were ultimately successful.

Andrews' love for school meant that she would have liked to become a teacher and even headmistress. Despite not formally being a pupil teacher she 'was often sent to help in the Infant School when [she] was in the upper standards' (Ibid.). Like several of the trainee teachers Copelman discussed (cf. Copelman 1986: 180), Andrews had to abandon her plans for teaching training because of family reasons: 'I had to leave school at twelve owing to our large family and the coming ninth baby. My sister died and I had a chance to return to school for another year. My school career ended at thirteen when I had passed the seventh standard' (Andrews 1957: 9). A few years later Andrews was able to attend 'the first evening classes held in the village' and 'carried away two first prizes for the best essay and the best pie.' The evening classes' curriculum demonstrates that for girls academic subjects were being supplemented with housekeeping even in secondary educational facilities. Her prize essay attracted the interest of the Inspector, who once again brought up the option of teacher training. But her 'parents could not afford the train fare to travel to Aberdare for higher education. They also needed my help at home with three miners at work and six children attending school' (Ibid.: 10). Her experience was typical for working-class girls who had to be a replacement mother for their siblings (cf. Davin 1996: 215). She would have been a beneficiary of LSB initiatives to attach crèches to girls' schools to enable older

sisters to deposit their siblings there and attend lessons themselves had they been viable for poorer and smaller rural boards such as her local Rhondda School Board. Andrews' report confirms that the Inspector was indeed the formidable figure of authority Beale's 'The Pupil Teacher' had made him out to be in her fictional account: 'School examinations took place once a year when the Inspectors and members of the School Board attended, and it was a day of all days for us children. We were turned out in our Sunday-best frocks with white embroidered pinafores. The school was spick and span for the occasion' (Andrews 1957: 10). Demonstrating that the school and children were clean and well-kempt despite the pervading poverty was very important in order to not confirm the worst middle-class prejudices of unhygienic and dangerous working classes. But like Roberts' informants (1985: 27), Andrews' autobiography nowhere raises the suspicion of dangerous filth, but rather shows a pride in cleanliness.

My next account is chronologically very close to Andrews' school memories, but comes from London: Annie Barnes was born in 1887, five years after Elizabeth Andrews. There is more biographical similarity as Annie Barnes also became a member of the Labour Party and even represented them on Stepney Council from 1934 to 1949. Like Andrews', her political awareness was awakened by the Suffragettes' activities and especially Sylvia Pankhurst's presence in the East End (cf. Barnes 1980: 3-4). This also reveals the greatest difference between the two accounts: Annie Barnes' memoirs are the first and only report about elementary education under the LSB I found. They are actually the transcript of conversations two local Stepney women recorded with Barnes when she was 92 and had long moved to East Ham. Her political activism and interesting memories of nearly a century of London history made her a fascinating interview partner.

Barnes' father's successful fruiterer and confectioner's shop in Stepney granted a certain level of prosperity for the family and servants helped with the household. With her mother's private income the family was even able to go to Brighton for a month in the summer. Hers was an upper-working- or lower-middle-class family,

who had to work, but could afford a certain level of luxury that was unattainable to many others. But despite this relative affluence, Barnes was not sent to a private, but an LSB school. Like Andrews, she enjoyed education: 'I went to Ben Jonson School and I loved every minute. I liked all my teachers and the discipline was such that we never wanted to be naughty' (cf. *Ibid.*: 7). Ben Johnson was the school where Mrs Harris, as interviewed by Sarah Tooley for *Woman at Home* in 1894, was headmistress. It was the 'Board's largest girls' school' and despite its location in rough Whitechapel Tooley admired this good discipline - confirming Barnes' childish impression, who might very well have been present at the journalist's visit. Tooley approved that

the children looked so bright, happy and intelligent. Surely, I thought, these girls with their well-trained hands and heads will never get drafted into a sweeter's den. There must be a good time in store for the future working girls of the East End, and we shall yet see that the cultivated brain, whether resident in the skull of a man or a woman, will command the 'living wage' - and more.

Tooley No. 14. April 5, 1894: 221.

This spirit of intelligent industry and hope for progress can be traced as inspiration for Barnes' future career as representative of the people. It made her believe that education for women would bring social change. As she 'did quite well in exams' (Barnes 1980:8), the head mistress suggested teacher-pupilage to her. A visit by the Inspector was arranged and Barnes was to teach a lesson in geography. Despite some interruptions she did well and would have been allowed to become a pupil teacher. But like for Andrews this dream quickly became impossible:

Unfortunately I had to leave school in 1902, which was my sixteenth year, because my mother was taken ill. She wouldn't have anyone else to look after her. It was a great blow to me. I was very interested in teaching and was really keen to stay on, but there was a lot for me to do at home. There were all the children and the meals to see to and, of course, I had to help in the shop.

Ibid.: 9.

A career as a teacher was a popular choice for intelligent and progressive girls like Andrews and Barnes and the common ground that bridged their dramatically different lives - as was the fact that these dreams were thwarted by their filial obligations. But neither of the two allowed the closing-off of the first and obvious choice to hold them back, and they took an even more difficult path by becoming politicians in a climate that was still hostile to female activists. Both schools under (L)SB governance are described as successful places of learning and encouragement. Despite material poverty, both at home and in the school building, elementary education as administered in accordance with the Elementary Education Act was a positive experience for girls, who were often inspired to become teachers themselves and pass on their own educational opportunities. The experience of elementary education was also similar for girls under the LSB and provincial Boards.

A perspective from after the school board-period, again not from London, but the remote Cornwall town of Mevagissey, shows another relatively positive experience of elementary education, on which the school boards had made a lasting mark, although by that time they would have been superseded by a Local Education Authority. In her memoir *Early Tide - A Mevagissey Childhood* Mary Lakeman reminisces about growing up in a fishing community in the first half of the twentieth century. From her first chapter on 'The Community,' we can deduct that she was born in 1911, 9 years after the educational reform in 1902 (cf. Lakeman 1978: 9). But the innovations in the daily running of elementary schools were not radical, since the reform was more about the organisation and the responsible administrative bodies and even these changes took a while to reach such isolated places as Mevagissey (cf. K. Evans 1985: 79-81). Lakeman herself attests to her hometown's remoteness and explains how this influenced herself and her contemporaries:

Growing up in isolation we knew nothing of subservience or patronage, being versed from the beginning in a sturdy independence and respect for our fellow creatures as individuals. I see now that it was a strange mixture of humility and audacity that our training engendered, safe enough when

practised at home, but useless abroad where humility looks like weakness, and audacity bad form.

Lakeman 1978: 9.

Lakeman's comment tells of the importance of where elementary education was dispensed. In Mevagissey, class consciousness was not as pronounced as we have seen to be the case in London. Lakeman was from a modest fishing family, but appears to have been not especially conscious of belonging to the working classes as opposed to her 'betters.' Hannah Cullwick had been proud to be a working woman and saw this as the part of her identity which differentiated her from her master and husband Munby (cf. Davidoff 1983: 27). However, she was raised before the national elementary education scheme gave working-class pupils a sense of self-respect and confidence. Andrews and Barnes, despite the financial differences in their upbringing, made their working-class membership part of their political identity by joining the Labour Party and campaigning for the rights of their class-companions. This also makes it apparent again that the articles in the study were mostly written by observers from the other side, who were often very vigilant to maintain the class bias for their own good by describing elementary school pupils and their families as dirty and uncultured. Lakeman only learned about class and its relative importance after leaving school and Mevagissey. But the individualism she describes has often been mentioned as an outcome of Victorian educational and self-improving programs, which makes it interesting that Lakeman, without training as a historian or sociologist, remarks on it from her own memory.

One later chapter is even entitled 'School' (Chapter III). We witness her first day at the Infant School and here, her experiences sound rather different from her opening remarks of an idyllically liberal and equal childhood:

We began on the day we were four: the older ones had started at three. [...] It was 8th February 1915 for me [...] and I swallowed hard as I relinquished father's hand.

The inside was dense with children all subdued, and the long badly-lit room had a gallery made up of steeply ascending forms without backs for

support. Wedged in an inside corner of the top form you were quite securely imprisoned, tied down as firmly as any Gulliver, a thousand psychological pins fastening you to a regimen rigid and implacable. You were conditioned to an uncomplaining obedience, to a kind of infant serfdom where learning was the work due to an overlord.

Lakeman 1978: 51.

In general her memories are more detailed than the preceding accounts, but they are not as unreservedly positive. After a naive childhood without class consciousness, the first day at school destroyed this innocence. Lakeman felt daunted by the dark and ominous interior of the school house, which was designed to create division and discipline. The old function of elementary schools to instil a sense of owing their betters respect and 'unquestioning obedience' and thus upholding traditional class boundaries was still obvious, even in the hitherto apparently class-less Mevagissey.

To bring about such transformations from 'wild Cornish' into tamed Board School pupil teachers with a talent for this 'regimen rigid and implacable' were necessary. About a headmistress in the senior department, whose 'name still spells TERROR for us all,' Lakeman says that '[s]he was sick and misguided no doubt [...] It is the sadder that she should have been so wretched, and caused such misery in so beautiful a place where many of the girls were gifted and ready to respond to loving treatment' (Ibid.: 56). Between teachers and pupils there was a great cultural divide. The national system's one size fits all mentality was not completely useful: 'Where or how they found our school mistresses I can't think. They came from afar, and reacted to the Cornish mentality with complete lack of comprehension' (Ibid.: 51). Not just the pupils were given an education, but also the teachers learned about adapting their methods. These methods had apparently become more pupil-oriented than the rote learning so typical of the nineteenth century: 'We used to do a lot of oral spelling, and when the correct version was arrived at, up it went on the board writ large. The word was "fruit". Hands up. Yes, you. "FRUTE," I ventured eagerly. "FRUIT," murmured Jack Farran. [...] I had met with a masculine challenge!' (Ibid.: 52). Cooperative trial and error would have

guaranteed a better retention rate than just being presented with the correct spelling. But the anecdote also tells us that Lakeman was eager to do well in school, probably a prerequisite for a later interest in biography writing and historical record keeping.

After moving up to the junior department, the genders were separated: ‘One building, it had separate boys’ and girls’ departments, single sex education then being the fashion’ (Ibid.: 56). Single-sex education, as introduced by the school boards, maintained the traditional division of gender which saw the girls as future housewives and mothers and educated them accordingly. While the methods might have changed since the early school board days, the subjects had stayed the same. Apart from spelling the girls also still had Physical Education and did similar forms of gentle exercise as described in the articles about LSB competitions in the Albert Hall:

We danced the maypole in that small room. The ribbons were a patriotic Red, White, and Blue. [...] The ribbons were smooth and strong, and it was exciting at first weaving the plait around the pole, [...] but the novelty passed and interest declined. It became a bit of a chore. This is the trouble with physical exercises [...] One gets bored with them [...] unless competition, that vexatious element, is introduced.

Ibid.: 52.

Lakeman’s account confirms that the LSB introduced the competitions to keep up interest and engagement. During the First World War the nationalistic colour choice seems obvious and adequate. Lakeman’s memoir also shows that almost 20 years after the reform, the old terminology still stuck: ‘At seven we graduated to the junior department of the Board School. It used to puzzle me why it should be called Board, and I decided it derived [...] perhaps [from] the blackboard. Education acts and boards of governors had not yet appeared on our historical horizon’ (Ibid.: 55). The School Boards had been abolished, but the building still retained its name. But for the children this name, which had remained in use like the old building, no longer made sense and so they made up their own explanations. Towards the end of her chapter on ‘School’ Lakeman repeats the negative impression elementary education had made on her because ‘the overriding emotion of us all at school was anxiety,

and that long passages of time passed in joylessness' (Ibid.: 57). Despite many reorganisations, elementary education still meant 'a kind of infant serfdom' and regular canings from humourless teachers who religiously stuck to the rules, redolent of the early LSB days and apparently immune to reform. This is a bleak last word about children's experience of early state-controlled elementary education, but the fact that Lakeman did go on to write an autobiography suggests that her drive to record a dying system was not 'subdued' by school.

Since the introduction of compulsory elementary education, childhood has been shaped by school. It was taken as a given by all of the four accounts by women who had attended elementary school in or around the (L)SB era and neither protested against going. Two even complained that they could not remain in school for longer and praised the positive experience. This might be skewed by their personal love of learning and writing, which their later career attests. Lakeman's report is a great plea for a more child-centred pedagogy, as was already starting to be developed by teachers and in the public discourse analysed in this study. Elementary education extended and reformed childhood, and in some cases even created a place where working-class girls could be children and behave in a way that was appropriate to their age in contrast to what was asked of them at home where they often had to fulfil the roles of adults. Despite the fact that elementary education and the LSB was often used by middle-class reformers as a tool for what they believed was necessary for an improved nation and professional and political opportunities for women, this did not completely detract from the positive experience children had in school. Some sort of schooling was better than no schooling and all the diary-writing girls would have profited from compulsory, but free elementary education. Although the assessment of what the working classes needed was self-interested and often inaccurate, reforms had to start somewhere and with experience and time became more and more child-focused. It brought not just opportunities for women, but also for the children - the next generation.

6. Conclusion: Building a New Nation

With a view to the historical functions of the London School Board, I hope to have shed more light on both of these two basic premises: First, that the LSB implemented the Elementary Education Act's ideological programme of reforming and disciplining working-class pupils in the hope of generating an improved nation and contributing to a successful future of the nation amidst *fin-de-siècle* fears of decay. And second, that this new departure generated many opportunities for women in the election campaigns, LSB administration and the teaching profession itself. All this was discussed on the print platform provided by contemporary magazines by and for women. My extensive bibliography of pertinent articles featured by a large number of women's magazines demonstrates what an important topic the Elementary Education Act was and how women took charge of the public debate surrounding the LSB, which was revolutionary in so many ways: For the political emancipation of women, for working-class education, but also for the development of local government and state control. Women were not passive observers and recipients of new rights, but cultivated existing opportunities and created new ones.

Rather than focusing on a historiographic retelling of the intricate details of institutional and administrative history or biographical survey of the women involved in administering elementary education, my study has examined how the LSB was both instrumentalised to express, and on its own terms, as an institution propelled wider cultural discursive strands of the day, both mirroring and shaping social and cultural shifts – all of this, I have argued, in the pages of the women's and feminist periodical press. The first result was that the LSB elections, especially at the beginning, indeed constituted a great opportunity for women to find their voice for the production of electoral and general feminist journalism.

When considering the medial shift of the debate into the realm of late-Victorian magazines, we observe how techniques from the so-called New Journalism (cf. Salmon 1997: 42-43), on the rise at about this time, took hold quickly especially in political

periodicals like the *Women's Suffrage Journal*. One of those techniques, agreed upon by a range of magazines, was the singling out of a model character representative of the new social development, in order to give a more personal touch to the reporting on LSB-related matters. At the beginning of the LSB period this was for example Elizabeth Garrett Anderson because of what was seen as her perfect mixture of feminine and feminist qualities. Angela Burdett Coutts was publicised as her counterexample, because she refused to become an LSB candidate in spite of her relevant experience and thus damaged women's attempt to win as many suitable female members as possible and so prove them capable of organised political work. The most obvious strategy for this promotion of 'poster girls' for the LSB was the popular genre of the interview. In a period of increasing politicisation of the press for women, when a host of often short-lived periodicals on all aspects of the Woman Question was started (cf. Tusan 2005: 57), this adoption of attractive techniques for progressive magazines helped consolidate their survival. In return, the more mainstream periodicals, which also increasingly popularised ideas on feminist emancipation (cf. Onslow 2000: 99), could look towards radical periodicals as inspiration for political campaigning. The periodicals represent a widening of the public sphere because they allowed an increasing amount of readers to be informed and participate in the (re-)construction of Feminist New Journalism.

A second result from this study is a survey of the practical opportunities the LSB generated for women, in terms of elected positions on the Board, but also salaried jobs in the administration, which were created by the female Board members. Women did not just benefit from the opportunities allocated to them, but developed new ones, again with the help of the periodicals. They argued for more women to be elected and employed by framing the necessary enforcement of attendance as a fundamental, even shocking, issue and thus creating public interest in a problem which, as they argued, only women could solve. It has to be noted that nowhere in the corpus of LSB-related debate in late-nineteenth-century periodicals was a woman singled out as an object of criticism or as part of the

social and cultural problems the articles addressed: women were always presented as the solution. One of the most important professional opportunities created for women and to a certain extent by women was the extensive hiring of elementary school mistresses for girls' and infants' schools. On the platform of the periodicals elementary school teaching was constructed into a specifically and fully accepted female profession. A campaign for middle-class women to teach in elementary schools to improve the social standing of the profession was as important for the process as the establishment of teachers' unions for the creation of professional self-confidence and the development of reform pedagogics as feminine teaching methods.

But despite all those hidden or not so hidden agendas revolving around the emancipation of women, the Elementary Education Act also did improve the education of the working-class pupils. Although initiatives for a better aesthetic, physical or domestic education also included the objective of elevating the nation, the Board Schools contributed to better opportunities for working-class girls with their organised and codified curriculum. Fears of pauperisation which had previously been answered with traditional charity measures or institutions were now addressed via a programme of assistance to self-help, installed at the core of the schools' curricula. Towards the end of the century, pessimistic assessments of especially the daughters of the working classes as harbingers of degeneration gave way to hopes that education would be able to halt otherwise inevitable degenerative tendencies, indicating a slow levelling of class boundaries.

Throughout this study the apparent usefulness and ubiquity of the argument of 'social motherhood,' as employed in the late-nineteenth-century debate about women's active role in school boards, has been demonstrated. In 1897, Queen Victoria presented herself as the epitome of all maternalist philanthropists. During Jubilee Week, *The Queen* reported on its namesake's 'The Queen's Review of the School Children on Constitution Hill' (Anon. Vol. CII. July 3, 1897: 35). The anonymous author sentimentally reassures the readers that 'the children (so aptly described as

“Earth’s Flowerlets”) have not been forgotten in the general happiness. [...] Her Majesty has many times shown her love for the children of the land, and it was her special desire that this review on Constitution Hill took place.’ The article describes in great detail the proceedings of the day, where pupils from LSB and voluntary schools were entertained with music and ‘buns, milk, and sweets’ in Green Park, granting the LSB the ultimate royal support.

The ‘little ones had an opportunity of seeing the kind, motherly face, full of affection and love, the children’s friend, our Queen-Empress Victoria.’ Queen Victoria herself, as has been demonstrated in the extensive literature about the formation and controlling mechanisms around her public (multi-medial) image (cf. Plunkett 2003: 13-67) considered the strategy of emphasising motherhood as the ultimate – and only apparently paradoxical – female resource in order to validate her position of power (cf. Helsinger et al. 1983: 73).³⁴ Although she was famously opposed to women’s rights and wrote colourful letters condemning ‘this mad, wicked folly [...] with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety’ (Ibid.: 67), the fact that the monarch was a woman must have been encouraging for other women intent on braving the public world while using similar methods, at least implicitly, in order to endorse their visibility and justify public service (e.g., as teachers or school board members), referencing an ideology of social or national ‘motherhood.’

The gentle treatment and the epithet ‘Earth’s Flowerlets’ speak of the changed appreciation of children. They were now the romanticised future of the Empire, and no longer the ‘wild, dirty, ragged girls’ of previous articles. This mirrors the ‘Cult of Childhood’ of the late Victorian and Edwardian age, when children were idealised, in what was on the one hand carried over, as a cultural discourse, from Romantic idealisations of the child figure,

³⁴ Her diaries and private letters reveal that she did not like being pregnant or having babies. Especially her assessment of marriage as ‘such a lottery [where] the poor woman is bodily and morally the husband’s slave’ shows that in private she did not actually approve of the ideal she impersonated in public.

and on the other corresponded to the fact that, in the context of the new 'child science' (cf. Shuttleworth 2010: 221ff) gradually the mid-Victorian 'frame of reference [...] [was] overlaid by another view: the essential difference between the child and the adult [wa]s the former's freedom from social obligations and his amoral [*sic*] status' (Petzold 1992: 33). Shuttleworth corroborates this in her overview of Victorian childhood studies, which at the end of the century established the consensus that babies and children, considered with respect to the ontogenetic replication of phylogenetic evolutionary development, were closer to animals (i.e. apes) than humans. This meant, perhaps at first sight paradoxically, more indulgence with children and less moral training than the strict mid-Victorians had advocated, as children were now, at least in part, 'allowed to exist in their early years in their true animal state' (Shuttleworth 2010: 276-8). Although this was mainly a middle- and upper-class phenomenon, it was extended to working-class children to some degree, and the view of the "essential difference between the child and the adult" (Petzold 1992: 33) now also made educational interventions in the working-class sphere ideologically more operable - taking them out of what was considered their homes' 'corrupting' circumstances for elementary schooling was seen as a viable and promising option in order to improve not only children's knowledge but also their morality.

Apart from a changed perception of children, these later developments might also have been due to the simple fact that since its establishment in 1870 the LSB had been operating for 27 years by then and that the current cohort would have been the second or even third generation of LSB pupils. The inspection of the school children as a highly publicised part of the many celebrations to mark Queen Victoria's seventy-fifth year on the throne was meant as royal endorsement and proof of the LSB's efficiency. The parade was a carefully curated event and 'the merry, healthy-looking young folks, with their little faces all ablaze with excitement and pleasure [...] had been selected by reason of extra good attendance at school and general good behaviour' (Anon. Vol. CII. July 3, 1897: 35). The Queen was shown the elite of elementary pupils, those whose parents

could afford to send them to school and not have them work and contribute to the family income, so that their attendance registers were good. This deliberate selection of intelligent and obedient children was meant to function as positive propaganda for public elementary education and showcase its effectiveness against the dangers of social degeneration, but also as a reinforcement of, and reward for, good behaviour and regular attendance. International visitors of the Jubilee festivities could thus see the finest future workers and soldiers Great Britain had to offer, through whom national progress was being ensured, a valuable side-effect during the heyday of Empire (albeit continually imperilled and contested). And if there was still any doubt on the national level on whether rates were spent constructively on elementary education, the poorest children were presented as vastly improved.

For women the 1870 Elementary Education Act and the ensuing founding of the LSB meant a general increase of freedom and demonstrative self-confidence. Women were gaining new voices and roles: By having better access to education from an early age and by contributing directly and actively to the work of education themselves – as teachers, on the school boards, as contributors to periodicals, by shaping the curriculum and the ways it was taught. Women members' and voters' constructive work for these new education authorities was interpreted by some as an 'apprenticeship for Parliament' (Hollis 1987: 6) and hopes arose that universal suffrage would be granted soon. But after the LSB was abolished it took 14 more years, a war, and militant and non-militant campaigns to achieve suffrage for women on the same terms as men.

Over a hundred years later, when heckled about the suffragettes' law-breaking at a lecture at the London School of Economics on the occasion of the 1918 centenary, Helen Pankhurst, great-granddaughter of Emmeline Pankhurst and granddaughter of Sylvia Pankhurst, expressed her pride in her ancestors and what they achieved for the agency of women. Importantly, she insisted that the right to vote was only one element of these new achievements and enlarged spheres of women's activity (2018). In a similar vein Sophia van Wingerden claims that the suffrage campaign has to be

viewed, from historical hindsight, in the larger context of how women's entry into the public and political sphere was often a matter not of spectacular militant operations but of small, practical steps - because '[w]hatever the effect of the thousands of meetings, tens of thousands of pamphlets, and millions of signatures, practical politics were what mattered' (1999: 26-27).³⁵ The London School Board allowed women to do just that: to enter practical politics as a vital step towards female emancipation.

³⁵ Italics mine for emphasis.

7. Appendix

7.1 List of Abbreviations

CofE	Church of England
COS	Charity Organisation Society
<i>DNCJ</i>	<i>Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism</i>
HM	Her Majesty's
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
LCC	London County Council
LSB	London School Board
LSE	London School of Economics
MBTA	Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association
MP	Member of Parliament
SPCC	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
SB	School Board (used for the regional SBs as opposed to the LSB)
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
SPEW	Society for the Employment of Women
TUC	Trades Union Congress
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

7.2 List of Illustrations

- Figure 1: Engraved portrait of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson in *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. (Anon. Vol. 73. Jan. 1, 1871: 61.)..... p. 118.
- Figure 2: Engraved portrait of Mrs Ashton Dilke in *The Women's Penny Paper* (Anon. No. 3. Nov. 10, 1888: 1)..... p. 128.
- Figure 3: Engraved portrait of Mrs. Annie Besant in *The Women's Penny Paper* (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1).....p. 130.
- Figure 4: Engraved portrait of Mrs. Amie Hicks in *The Women's Penny Paper* (Anon. No. 4. Nov. 17, 1888: 1)..... p. 131.
- Figure 5: Engraved portrait of Mrs Westlake in *The Women's Penny Paper* (Anon. Vol. LXXXV n.t. 1889: 277)..... p. 133.
- Figure 6: Photograph of Mrs Ruth Homan in *The Woman's Signal* (M.B. Vol. XCVI. Aug. 18, 1894: 299)..... p. 136.
- Figure 7: Photograph of Miss R. A. Munday, L.L.A. in *The Queen* (M.B. Vol. XCIX. Feb. 15, 1896: 291)..... p. 179.
- Figure 8: Photograph of Miss S. Willis, L.L.A. in *The Queen* (M.B. Vol. XCIX. Feb. 15, 1896: 291)..... p. 179.
- Figure 9: Caricature in *Judy* (Anon. June 20, 1877: 93)..... p. 204.
- Figure 10: Engraved illustration of 'A Board School Nursery' in *The Queen* (Malmesbury Vol. XLI. Jan. 9, 1892: 51)..... p. 217.
- Figure 11: Photograph from 'Illustrated Chat about Nature Study' in *Girl's Realm* (Hedger Wallace n.p. 1903: 902-906)..... p. 289.
- Figure 12: Reprint of 'School-Time' by Augusta Hancock in *Girl's Own Paper* (Vol. XII, No. 632. Feb. 6, 1892: 292)..... p. 328.
- Figure 13: Potograph of 'Physical Drill of the London School Board' in *The Queen* (Symmons and Thiele. Vol. XCVIII. July 27, 1895: 162)..... p. 347.

Figure 14: Title illustration from 'A Successful Experiment' in *Lady's Realm* (Jersey Vol. I, No. 6. April 1896: 628-633)..... p. 360.

Figure 15: Illustration from 'A Successful Experiment' in *Lady's Realm* (Jersey Vol. I, No. 6. April 1896: 628-633)..... p. 361.

7.3 List of Female Members of the LSB

1870-1885: 49 members

1870-73: Emily Davies (Greenwich)
Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (Marylebone)

1873-76: Alice Cowell (Marylebone)
Jane Agnes Chessar (Marylebone)

1876-79: Elizabeth Surr (Finsbury)
Florence Fenwick Miller (Hackney)
Alice Westlake (Marylebone)
Helen Taylor (Southwark)

1879-82: Rosamond Davenport Hill (City of London)
Julia August Webster (Chelsea)
Elizabeth Surr (Finsbury)
Florence Fenwick Miller (Hackney)
Henrietta Müller (Lambeth)
Alice Westlake (Marylebone)
Helen Taylor (Southwark)
Mary E. Richardson (Southwark)
Edith Jemima Simcox (Westminster)

1882-85: Rosamond Davenport Hill (City of London)
Florence Fenwick Miller (Hackney)
Henrietta Müller (Lambeth)
Alice Westlake (Marylebone)
Mary E. Richardson (Southwark)
Frances Hastings (Tower Hamlets)

1885-1904: 55 members (Lambeth divided into East and West)

- 1885-88: Rosamond Davenport Hill (City of London)
Augusta Webster (Chelsea)
Alice Westlake (Marylebone)
- 1888-91: Rosamond Davenport Hill (City of London)
Margaret Mary Dilke (Lambeth West)
Emma Knox Maitland (Marylebone)
Annie Besant (Tower Hamlets)
- 1891-94: Rosamond Davenport Hill (City of London)
Margaret Anne Eve (Finsbury)
Ruth Homan (Tower Hamlets)
Alice Mary Wright (Westminster; co-opted
after a retirement)
- 1894-97: Rosamond Davenport Hill (City of London)
Emma Knox Maitland (Chelsea)
Margaret Anne Eve (Finsbury)
Ruth Homan (Tower Hamlets)
- 1897-1900: Emma Knox Maitland (Chelsea)
Eugenie Dibdin (Finsbury)
Margaret Anne Eve (Finsbury)
Mary Bridges Adams (Greenwich)
Violet Honnor Morten (Hackney)
Ruth Homan (Tower Hamlets)
Constance Elder (Westminster, resigned June
1899)
Hon. Agnes Maude Lawrence (by-elected for
Westminster)
- 1900-04: Emma Knox Maitland (Chelsea, resigned
January 1903)
Edith H. Glover (co-opted for Chelsea)
Eugenie Dibdin (Finsbury)
Margaret Anne Eve (Finsbury)

Mary Bridges Adams (Greenwich)
Susan Lawrence (Marylebone)
Hilda Caroline Miall Smith (Marylebone)
Violet Honnor Morten (Southwark, resigned
June 1902)
Ruth Homan (Tower Hamlets)
Hon. Agnes Maude Lawrence (Westminster)

7.4 Bibliography

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This bibliography contains all 495 articles I found in my corpus of selected periodicals. However, although I provide bibliographic evidence for the complete set of texts to aid further scholarship, only some of them are discussed in my study. In order to differentiate the two categories, the articles I mention in my study are printed in bold.

For some articles no page numbers could be established because the original sources were only partly legible or important pages had been lost. This is indicated with “n.p.”

For some articles no date of publication could be established. This is indicated with “n.t.”

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