

scenes and character on the New Woman her literary production her fiction with her family and equating personal struggle for ketch, with celebrity Hall where her early es from personal ex- it is less imaginative a writer sees around popular but inevitably

o escaping the binary 'masculine sphere. But ly in the Victorian pe- tinueau argued:

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ors, but also artists, professional workers— life writing. By the end blic proved to be more

CHAPTER SIX

Education and Work:  
Women and the Education  
Acts

FLORENCE S. BOOS

When the political scientist Morton Grodzins introduced the notion of a *tipping point* in 1958 in a book devoted to *The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem*, he had a relatively clear phenomenon in mind: a threshold-number or percentage of black families in a neighborhood that generated “white flight” en masse. Historically, certain phase shifts of *enlightenment* (rather than bigotry) and *social justice* (rather than social injustice) have been subject to much greater forces of inertia, and their tipping points have been less inevitable in their course than hindsight seems to suggest.

Put somewhat differently—in the literary-Marxist language of Frederic Jameson’s *Political Unconscious*—“every social formation or historically existing society has in fact consisted in the overlay and structural coexistence of *several* modes of production all at once, including vestiges and survivals of older [forms] . . . as well as anticipatory tendencies which are potentially inconsistent with the existing system.”<sup>1</sup> If one substitutes “education” for “production”—plausibly enough, for those who might consider education a form of (national) “capital”—Jameson’s remarks about “vestiges and survival” apply well to the tortuous provision of universal *primary* (not *secondary*) education in Victoria’s reign.

Beyond the means of subsistence, it is difficult to think of anything more important to the well-being and self-worth of most nineteenth-century Britons than education. The Education Act of 1870, which acknowledged and codified for the first time a Crown responsibility for elementary education, was indeed a watershed in the provision of universal instruction, and working-class women's memoirs trace something of the rivers' flow.

England, the world's most advanced industrial economy, was nonetheless remarkably backward in this regard. In *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe*, David Vincent followed rates of literacy—as recorded on census forms or manifested in the ability to sign a marriage register—in several European countries through the century and observed that by this standard about 60 percent of women and 40 percent of men were illiterate at the beginning of the century.<sup>2</sup> By 1895, when the effects of the Acts of 1870 and 1880 had affected an entire generation, the rate of literacy in Britain finally surpassed 90 percent.

Rates of literacy in the Netherlands, Scotland, and much of Scandinavia, by contrast, were noticeably higher throughout the century, and by the 1870s, Prussia was well on its way to universal education, a fact to which some have attributed its success in the Franco-Prussian War. France's rates lagged slightly behind Britain's until the "radical" Jules Ferry laws introduced free, secular, universal, and mandatory education at secondary as well as primary levels, a standard reached in fits and starts by Britain and only achieved in 1944.

Middle- and upper-class education took place in private schools, which were much better—whatever their social atmosphere—than the "voluntary" or "adventure" schools available to working-class children. More tellingly, care was taken at such schools to set fees sufficiently high to avoid unwanted "mixing of the classes." According to the Newcastle Commission Report of 1862, only one-seventh of the population belonged to the upper and middle classes, who expected to pay for their children's education.<sup>3</sup> Two predominantly sectarian organizations—the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England and the British and Foreign School Society, its nondenominational (Dissenting) counterpart—offered more than 90 percent of the school places available in this period to everyone else.<sup>4</sup> In 1833, the Crown began to offer grants to these schools and depute officials to inspect them.

Nevertheless, the general level of instruction in small government-aided

not spell, and [only] a few can cast up a simple sum. They have no knowledge of needlework, [and] cannot cut out or even mend."<sup>5</sup> Also pernicious was a tendency to relegate pupils whose parents paid lower fees to segregated classes, as observed by H.M. Du Port at Holy Trinity Church in Marylebone in the early 1860s:

I was behind the scenes as a curate-manager of large and highly esteemed schools in London, teaching in them daily; . . . the lower two-thirds fraction of the school was little better than an unorganised mass of children of all ages; of teaching properly so called they had none.<sup>6</sup>

Another influential view was bluntly and concisely expressed even by the Newcastle commissioners:

Independence is of more importance than education; and if the wages of the child's labour are necessary . . . it is far better that it should go to work at the earliest age at which it can bear the physical exertion rather than it should remain at school.<sup>7</sup>

June Purvis, author of the sole book-length study of Victorian working-class women's education, notes that schools of the aforementioned societies enrolled more boys than girls and, in some cases, set the age of entry two years later for girls than for boys.<sup>8</sup> As suggested by the one of the passages just quoted, girls' curricula were heavily weighted toward needlework,<sup>9</sup> and even that was often neglected. In *Hope Deferred*, Josephine Kamm reports that the managers of one local school submitted the same garment for inspection year after year, made not by pupils, as claimed, but by an old woman in the village.<sup>10</sup>

Less evident to us now is the fact that even *these* inspected schools mainly served lower-middle-class children and rejected the poor, who attended—if they were lucky—a poorly stocked "adventure" or "Dame" school. Phil Garner, a rare defender of these institutions, has argued that they were at least more informal, less concerned with teaching morals and "decorum" (for which read "subordination"), and more tolerant of parents' desires for children to help out at home.<sup>11</sup> In addition, a few aptly named "Ragged Schools" existed in which instructors taught the rudiments of reading to destitute children of (part of) the urban proletariat. And they, in a sense, were the lucky ones. Historians have been unable to determine how many British children were untouched by any of these forms of elementary instruction. One has set the estimate at

one-third,<sup>12</sup> but an 1851 survey found that fewer than half the children of Manchester and Birmingham had benefited from any form of current education.

Obviously, then, the need for more systematic educational provision of the sort advocated by the Newcastle Commission report was apparent to all reflective observers. The Second Reform Bill of 1867, for example (the Representation of the People Bill), effectively enfranchised workers who could already afford to educate their children, a limitation that tacitly acknowledged the disgrace of a shadow populace kept in ignorance as well as destitution.<sup>13</sup>

The Education Act of 1870 finally established a minimal system of national primary education that *permitted* counties to set up school boards and levy taxes for schools for children ages five through thirteen. Establishment of such boards was not mandatory, however; cumulative voting for board members favored defenders of an essentially sectarian status quo, and once elected, members were free to brush aside any alternatives.

Board schools, once in place, could also charge tuition, condone full-day labor for children over eight (not until 1918 was labor restricted to three hours a day for children up to fourteen),<sup>14</sup> and, until 1891, impose a surcharge for the two highest grades.<sup>15</sup> An 1880 amendment exempted or partially exempted children who had already reached standard IV (at about age ten), as well as older children who worked and all children who lived more than two miles from a school.<sup>16</sup> Such evasions finally disappeared in 1918, when Parliament abolished fees and raised the school-leaving age to fourteen,<sup>17</sup> and the age rose gradually to fifteen in 1944 and sixteen in 1973. Efforts to provide meals to children too hungry to do their lessons met with resistance for some time, even after the Provision of Meals Act in 1915 provided for committees to investigate such needs.<sup>18</sup>

Board school classes themselves were large, in classrooms designed for as many as eighty students. Pay for teachers was set each year on the basis of examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic alone, which may have led to the teaching of arithmetic to girls for the first time,<sup>19</sup> but ensured that writing from dictation, oral reading of short passages, and simple arithmetic would constitute most of the curriculum. Observers noted that children were seldom

highest grade could neither "take up a pen to make up their own sentences" nor "read a passage from one of Shakespeare's historical plays, or . . . a history of England."<sup>21</sup> The Education Act of 1902 established a fee-based system of secondary education; but 1 in 14 boys and 1 in 20 girls entered a "maintained secondary school" before World War II, and 1 in 100 boys and 1 in 300 girls made it to a university.<sup>22</sup>

Against the background of this institutional narrative, in what follows I will bring together five working-class women's often quite intense recollections of their encounters with formal education before and after the Education Acts of 1870 and 1880.

### BEFORE THE "ACT"

School attendance for women born early in the century was a precarious privilege, carefully negotiated with the help of impoverished parents.

For example, Janet Greenfield Bathgate (1806–98), the author of *Aunt Janet's Legacy to Her Nieces: Recollections of Humble Life in Yarrow in the Beginning of the Century* (1892),<sup>23</sup> was born into the devoutly Cameronian family of a farm laborer, John Greenfield, and his wife, Tibbie. Writing in a narrative present tense at age eighty-six, Bathgate described her mother's wary response to a neighbor's offer to employ little Janet as a servant:

she's just a bairn, no eight years old till the fourth of June; and more than that, she has got no schooling to speak of; we are so afar from any school here, and I am just giving her a bit lesson at odd times mysel'. Her gang to service! it would be nonsense to think about it. Na, na, that'll no dae.<sup>24</sup>

But a neighbor falsely promised to give the child some tutelage, and her father sent her into service over his wife's strong objections ("she just looks like a bit innocent lamb gamboling with its companions on the green hill-side, all unconscious of the butcher's knife").<sup>25</sup>

Back home six months later, Janet learned to read more individual words from her mother and was entranced one day when she discovered she could decipher whole chapters of the family Bible. But another "opportunity" forced itself on her a few months later. While tending sheep for her new employers, Janet struggled with some threads and a piece of cloth to send a little map of her surroundings to her parents. Frustrated that she could not convey her description more effectively, she studied a letter her father had written to her employer:

She takes it out of her pocket and reads it for the twentieth time or more. She considers the letters, and thinks she could copy them, but then she has neither paper, pen, nor ink; and more than that, though she could make out the sense of her father's writing, there were some of the letters she was not very sure about. For instance, she could not distinguish very well E from F. At last she notices that there is a little bit of blank paper on her father's letter, This she cuts off, takes out the Question book, looks carefully how the letters in it are formed, then takes a pin, and on the blank piece of paper pricks with the point of the pin their form, and thus "writes" a letter to her father.<sup>26</sup>

Unable to decipher this "piece of paper . . . [on which they] thought she had been trying to make some flowers,"<sup>27</sup> her parents showed it to neighbors who decoded it and insisted that she be sent to school. More than seventy years later, Janet remembered the result:

[Janet] is put into a class of boys and girls somewhat in advance of her in years and also in knowledge, but none are more attentive to their lessons. On the Saturday they have each to repeat a question out of the "Shorter Catechism," also each get a portion from a psalm to learn on the coming Sabbath, which they are to repeat on Monday morning ere they commence their lessons.<sup>28</sup>

Her short-lived happiness lasted six weeks, after which her father found employment elsewhere. In her new home, she was sent to a newly established "seminary" "for teaching little girls reading, writing, and sewing,"<sup>29</sup> where she was "not long in gaining the kindly notice of the superintendent—a widow lady of kindly disposition, but very delicate in health,"<sup>30</sup> who became bedridden and died shortly thereafter. "Here," the elderly memoirist remarked, "end[ed] Janet's schooldays."<sup>31</sup>

As a young adult, when Janet's husband died young, she refused to return to service and opened instead her own little "infants' school." Here she found her calling, and for many years offered religious homilies and instruction in

the twentieth time or more. I had copy them, but then she had more than that, though she could not read. There were some of the letters she could not distinguish very well. I had a little bit of blank paper on which I wrote the Question book, looks like a pin, and on the other side of the pin their form, and thus

[on which they] thought she had more than that. More than seventy years

somewhat in advance of her time. They are more attentive to their questions. I repeat a question out of the Bible from a psalm to learn on it. I read it on Monday morning ere

after which her father found her. She was sent to a newly established school, where she learned reading, writing, and sewing,<sup>29</sup> where she had a superintendent—a widow lady who became bedridden. Her memoirist remarked, “end[ed]

and young, she refused to return to the dissenters’ school.” Here she found as homilies and instruction in

her soul, also began her working as a seamstress. Her father, a maker and devout Dissenter, had a stepmother who “looked like a species of idleness,” and she had an “ordinary book” when she was

She could not remember “any lesson or tuition at all” at her first Dame school, and recalled her second as a place “where I learned to knit and sew, the sole object for which I attended.”<sup>34</sup> Her schoolmistress, sadly, may have been someone no more educated than Janet Bathgate:

[The teacher’s] knowledge was very small. The girls had a lesson once a day in the New Testament, and the little ones read out of the “Reading Made Easy.” But knitting and sewing occupied nearly the whole time of the girls, who perhaps might average from nine to ten. I was a diviner of spirits even then, and did not admire the mistress. . . . I do not remember to have had any lessons there.<sup>35</sup>

The child of Dissenters, she “omit[ed] the profound curtsies which the village children never dared to miss giving, when any of the vicar’s family came into the school,”<sup>36</sup> and remembered the discrimination she faced even though her answers were the best in the school:

The mistress told them my father’s name, and the significant exclamation was, “But he does not attend church!” Hence it followed that I had no commendation . . . it was evident I was looked on as an alien.<sup>37</sup>

At her next institution, a Methodist day school,<sup>38</sup> two ladies inculcated sewing, more sewing, and “lady-like manners”:

A girl’s education at that time consisted principally of needlework of various descriptions, . . . including muslin and net, on which we worked on flowered squares for the shoulders, veils, caps, collars, and borders; likewise a multitude of things not in wear now, but then considered very necessary. Parents were prouder then of their daughters’ pieces of needlework than of their scholarship.<sup>39</sup>

Only at her father’s express request was she given some instruction in basic arithmetic.

She reserved her harshest criticism, however, for the mean-spirited punishments the “Dames” meted out:

Punishments were then different in ladies’ schools, as in the one I attended for example. To stand erect in a corner for an hour; to wear a frightfully ugly dunce’s cap, standing on a stool; and similar chastisements were constantly occurring.<sup>40</sup>

She considered such petty chastisements “a hateful ordeal, robbing a child of its self-respect, which should always be kept inviolate, if at all possible,”<sup>41</sup> and she banned them in later life during her lifelong career as a teacher.

Marianne Farningham (1834–1909), born Marianne Herne in Farningham, Kent, was the eldest of five children of a “small tradesman” and papermaker’s daughter, both Primitive Baptists. Known in later life for her authorship of hymns such as “Just as I Am, Without One Plea” and editorship of the half-penny *Sunday School Times* and mildly ecumenical *Christian World*, which at its peak reached more than 130,000 readers,<sup>42</sup> Herne published poetry, fiction,



Very Sincerely Yours  
Marianne Farningham

FIGURE 6.1: Marianne Farningham, portrait, frontispiece, *A Working Woman's Life: An Autobiography*, 1907. Author's personal copy.



essays, and an autobiography, *A Working Woman's Life* (1907);<sup>43</sup> became a popular lecturer; and was the first woman to serve on the Northampton school board.

As a small child, Herne's hopes were constrained by the fact that

there was no day school to which we could go. A young ladies' boarding establishment existed, to which, quite early in my life, I turned longing eyes, but the charges were too high for my father's means. There was also the national school connected with the Church of England, but we were never allowed to go there. It was then, as now, a Nonconformist principle not to allow Chapel children to learn the Church Catechism, and [my father's] fellow-members considered it a far greater sin to send children to the National school than to let them remain uneducated.<sup>44</sup>

Taught in any event by her mother at home, Marianne became an avid reader and composed verses from earliest childhood after a neighbor taught her to write. Once again, an ardent young girl longed for escape from the tyranny of the needle:

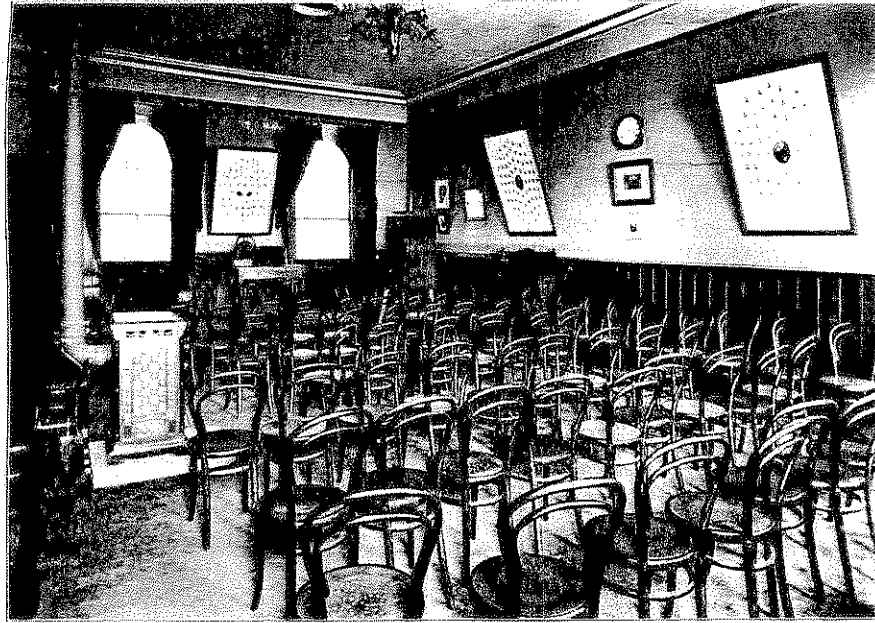
Dear mother! she did not like my always having a book in my hand or pocket, and would have been better pleased if I had been equally fond of the brush or the needle; [and] she did her best to keep me at work all day, only letting me have books and magazines when my tasks were done.<sup>45</sup>

Her formal education finally began

between nine and ten when there was a grand achievement by the Nonconformists of our villages, and I had my heart's desire, and went to school! . . . The necessity of educating the children was felt more and more, and therefore, under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society, a building was erected at Eynsford. One the day of the opening of the school . . . we were among the first scholars enrolled.<sup>46</sup>

Like Smith, she chafed under the sanctions visited on her and others for such sins as letting a bucket and clothing be carried downstream while she played by the brook. She considered herself "plenteously punished at school for my general naughtiness, and at home for my lack of reverence for the solemn subject of baptism. . . . [Even so] I loved both the day and the Sunday school, being passionately eager to learn, and I really wanted to be good."<sup>47</sup>

In old age, this believing Christian wryly recalled the religious warp of all her early instruction:



AN END OF OUR CLASS ROOM.

FIGURE 6.2: "An End of Our Classroom," *A Working Woman's Life: An Autobiography*, 1907, facing p. 124. Author's personal copy.

Sixty years ago the elementary education of the British schools was carried on by very different methods from those of the Council schools of the present day. The great book of the school was the Bible. The teachers were not obliged to pass government examinations, but they were required to be members of some Christian Church, and to love, revere, and teach the Book of books. The first hour of every morning was devoted to religious instruction. We sang a hymn, and our teacher prayed with us, after which we repeated a prayer ourselves. Then we had a long Bible-lesson. . . . Not content with the morning scripture-lesson, the Friday afternoon of each week was given to religious instruction. . . . what would school managers say to such a teacher now?<sup>48</sup>

She particularly disapproved of the punitive cast of such instruction (replete, like Joyce's Jesuit institution, with threats of hellfire<sup>49</sup>), and also objected to Christian literature's rampant sexism:

Reading was my chief consolation, and I had not much time for that. My father gave us two monthly magazines published by the Sunday School

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Union. . . . In one of these was a series of descriptive articles on men who had been poor boys, and risen to be rich and great. Every month I hoped to find the story of some poor ignorant girl, who, beginning life as handicapped as I, had yet been able by her own efforts and the blessing of God upon them to live a life of usefulness, if not of greatness. But I believe there was not a woman in the whole series. I was very bitter and naughty at that time. I did not pray, and was not anxious to be good.<sup>50</sup>

Like many nineteenth-century girls, Marianne had to leave school when her mother died; at home, at the age of twelve, she confronted her father's prohibition of her reading: "He said it was not honourable of me to say 'Good night' to him at the door and pretend I was going to bed, and then wait up to read."<sup>51</sup> He finally agreed grudgingly to let her return to school for two more years if she would pay her way as a part-time shoe binder:

One of my greatest regrets, even now, is that my attendance at the Eynsford British school was so perfunctory and intermittent. It was all the schooling that I had, and it can well be imagined that it has been exceedingly difficult to follow out the various pursuits of my life without any learning worth the name. I am so glad that compulsory education has been secured for the children of these happier days.<sup>52</sup>

Among the memoirists who wrote recollections of their unrequited yearning for education before 1870, therefore, only Farningham was affected in any way by government provisions for the rudiments of elementary education. The others were either homeschooled (Farningham, Bathgate) or attended Sunday schools (Smith, Farningham) and/or Dame schools (Bathgate and Smith), private denominational schools (Smith), or, in instances not discussed here, parish schools, which charged a small fee (Christian Watt and perhaps Elizabeth Campbell).<sup>53</sup>

#### AFTER THE "ACT"

*The Hard Way Up: The Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell, Suffragette and Rebel* was published posthumously after its author's death.<sup>54</sup> Mitchell (1871–1946), a lifelong socialist and Labour Party activist,<sup>55</sup> was born Hannah Maria Webster in 1871 in the rural Peak district of Derbyshire, as one of six children of a farm laborer and his wife. As Hannah describes it, her mother's "temper was so uncertain that we lived in constant fear of an outbreak which often lasted several days,"<sup>56</sup> and she was insistent in her demands that her daughter learn housewifery rather than book learning, but Hannah could not "remember

a time when I could not read. I was passionately fond of books, which as events turned out were to be almost my only source of learning."<sup>57</sup>

For several years, her education was postponed, for

the nearest school was five miles away by the shortest cut over the hill, which made daily attendance impossible. So my parents decided we should attend school in turn as we grew old enough to go into lodgings. The two elder boys went first, living in the school house during the week.<sup>58</sup>

In exchange for her performance of their chores, her brothers brought a book for her to read each Friday. Unlike Bathgate, who fondly remembered the modest loan of two books from her benefactors,<sup>59</sup> Hannah was able to borrow



FIGURE 6.3: Hannah Mitchell photograph in 1924, frontispiece, *The Hard Way Up*, 1968. Author's personal copy.

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 fondly remembered the mod-  
 Hannah was able to borrow

books such as *Kenilworth* and *Cranford* freely from her neighbors. She recalled her grief when her parents reneged on their willingness to permit her to follow her brothers to school. She had loved her family's garden, but remembered

one bright day in early spring when even these lovely flowers failed to console me for a bitter disappointment. Standing among them weeping, I told my uncle that my sister was to start school the following week. I had expected to go with her but my mother said she needed one of us at home, and I must wait until Ellen had finished her "schoolin." We never spoke of education at home but only of a "bit of schoolin." Perhaps, indeed, it was no more than that, but to me it seemed the magic key which would admit me to the treasure-house of learning.<sup>60</sup>

When her uncle's protests brought a brief respite in which she was allowed to attend school with her sister,

I was very happy, for the schoolmaster was so pleased with my proficiency in reading, writing and spelling, and was so kind and patient that I have no doubt he would in time have revealed the mystery of figures to me. But my luck did not last. It was winter and the journey was too long and rough for girls. The school was badly heated and [w]e both fell ill, and were kept at home for the rest of the winter.<sup>61</sup>

When her sister returned to school, Hannah, "almost heartbroken,"<sup>62</sup> was again confined to her parents' house.

Her dogged efforts to study and ask the local parson questions about her books were suppressed by "my mother [who] thought this was a reflection on her, and it usually earned me a beating."<sup>63</sup> A passing traveler—in a scene reminiscent of the visit of Lyndall's stranger in *The Story of the African Farm*—gave her an inscribed copy of Wordsworth's poems, but Hannah's mother ruthlessly imposed her hostility to "book learning" and insisted once again that she "leave books alone . . . and settle down to work."<sup>64</sup>

"Work" at home was a sixteen-hour day of domestic chores and more abuse when her mother "strove to enforce her will by nagging, ravings and beatings,"<sup>65</sup> and Hannah, apprehensive that she was "ill-equipped for the battle of life,"<sup>66</sup> resolved at length to leave. She found service for four shillings a week in a schoolmaster's home where she enjoyed access to his books, then worked as a seamstress and burned the midnight oil reading poetry, history, and fiction. Among other things, Mitchell's story reveals that even in the 1880s

h in 1924, frontis-  
 's personal copy.

it was possible for an ambitious woman to begin life with only six weeks of formal education.

In *Manchester Fourteen Miles*,<sup>67</sup> published in 1947 as the first of a three-volume autobiographical novel, Margaret Penn described the early life of her fictional persona Hilda Winstanley, an orphan whose father was unknown. Conceived by her mother in a brief encounter with an unnamed "gentleman," Hilda was raised after her mother died in Moss Ferry near Manchester by Joseph and Lizzie Winstanley, who received a five-shilling weekly stipend from her grandmother.<sup>68</sup>

At three, Hilda was sent to St. Margaret's, a National Church school in her village that had two rooms, one for "infants" and the other for all other grades. The infants had their own teacher, and standards I and II were taught by an "uncertificated" pupil teacher, standards III and IV by an accredited one, and the upper standards V-VII by the headmaster, Mr. Woodville. Contrary to the general practice of the period, she was also encouraged to write essays:

For Miss Holroyd [the standard III and IV teacher], perceiving her natural quickness at all lessons but arithmetic, made much of her and took extra pains to get her forward with her sums. . . . More than once, when the class had been set an essay to write, Miss Holroyd had taken Hilda's effort in to Mr Woodville. And Mr Woodville had come in with it and smiled at Hilda and said: "Now children. I want you to listen to Hilda Winstanley's essay on 'The Trip to Llandudno,' and next time try to do as well. Hilda uses her imagination. And that's what Miss Holroyd wants all of you to do. Now pay attention while I read it."<sup>69</sup>

She was also proud that her presence was considered necessary for standards III and IV to pass the annual inspection. When on one occasion she was taken ill the day before the examination, Miss Holroyd personally begged Hilda's doctor to let her attend school for the hours of the inspection. When she arrived in woolen wraps, she did well except for a misspelling in her essay "The Royal Family," and cried with relief when the examination was over.

Unfortunately, Mr. Woodville sometimes took out his apparently rather severe domestic problems on his higher-standard students. After one such violent family quarrel, he

caned savagely right and left for the smallest fault, and Hilda, failing to get one of her sums right, was unjustly caned on both hands and went

crying back to her place, emptied of St. Margaret's, and wishing passion for a proper school like Manchester Hill that was always with her.<sup>70</sup>

In his introduction to a 1979 reprint of that "an educational provision of 1901 system at 11+ to grammar school, [but] penetrated to Moss Ferry."<sup>71</sup>

Hilda later incurred her stepmother's wrath over a week cooperative library, "causing her mother" until the vicar interceded on her behalf in school and Sunday school, winning her mother when she announced that she would

"Learn French, our 'Ilda! Reckon you want to do a thing like that for? . . . I What's to be gained by it, any road? where'll you get t'books to learn it v

Undeterred, Hilda asked the Sunday school for her prizes a volume from which she could learn with a French-English dictionary, "the best she had ever awarded."<sup>74</sup>

After she completed standard VII, she was expected and instead apprenticed herself to her relations between her and her hurt and because the offer came, she made the somewhat of a deceased biological father's family in I

In *Lark Rise to Candleford*, the first of a triple-decker, Flora Timms Thompson described the life of a stonemason and his wife, offered her a post-Education Acts school. The National School was a one-room schoolhouse. Thompson described the curriculum:

Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the main things. Scripture lesson every morning, and singing. There was no assistant mistress

crying back to her place, emptied of all desire for further education at St. Margaret's, and wishing passionately that she could afford to go to a proper school like Manchester High School, a hopeless, lovely dream that was always with her.<sup>70</sup>

In his introduction to a 1979 reprint of Penn's book, John Burnett observed that "an educational provision of 1907 had introduced the 'scholarship' system at 11+ to grammar school, [but] no word of it had apparently . . . penetrated to Moss Ferry."<sup>71</sup>

Hilda later incurred her stepmother's wrath when she joined a two-penny-a-week cooperative library, "causing many scenes between herself and her mother" until the vicar interceded on her behalf.<sup>72</sup> She nevertheless persevered in school and Sunday school, winning several prize books, and amazed her mother when she announced that she wanted to learn French:

"Learn French, our 'Ilda! Reckon you've gone clean daft. What do you want to do a thing like that for? . . . Nay—Ah never 'eard anything like it. What's to be gained by it, any road? Tell me that! Learning French! And where'll you get t'books to learn it with? Out of t'Co-op?"<sup>73</sup>

Undeterred, Hilda asked the Sunday school superintendent to give her for one of her prizes a volume from which she could learn French, and he obliged her with a French-English dictionary, "the most expensive book the Sunday School had ever awarded."<sup>74</sup>

After she completed standard VII, Hilda refused to become a servant as expected and instead apprenticed herself as a seamstress in Manchester. Tensions between her and her hurt and baffled stepparents worsened,<sup>75</sup> and when the offer came, she made the somewhat Dickensian decision to leave for her deceased biological father's family in London.

In *Lark Rise to Candleford*, the first volume of another autobiographical triple-decker, Flora Timms Thompson (1876–1947), the second of six children of a stonemason and his wife, offered one of the most detailed accounts we have of a post-Education Acts school.<sup>76</sup> Sponsored by Anglicans, Fordlow National School was a one-room schoolhouse that enrolled forty-five children. As Thompson described the curriculum:

Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the principal subjects, with a Scripture lesson every morning, and needlework every afternoon for the girls. There was no assistant mistress; the Governess taught all the classes



FIGURE 6.4: *Flora Thompson*, from the Flora Thompson World Collection, Buckingham Heritage Trust. Reproduced by permission of Henry Westbury and Tony Webster.

simultaneously, assisted only by two monitors—ex-scholars, aged about twelve, who were paid a shilling a week each for their services.

Every morning at ten o'clock the Rector arrived to take the older children for Scripture. . . . His lesson consisted of Bible reading, turn and turn about round the class, of reciting from memory the names of the kings of Israel and repeating the Church Catechism. After that, he would deliver a little lecture on morals and behavior. . . .

The writing lesson consisted of the copying of copper-plate maxims: "A fool and his money are soon parted"; "Waste not, want not" . . . and so on. Once a week composition would be set, usually in the form of writing a letter describing some recent event. This was regarded chiefly as a spelling test.<sup>77</sup>



This was exactly the curriculum prescribed by the Education Acts of 1870 and succeeding years. Thompson's critique of its narrow emphasis on basic literacy had been shared by other observers at the time:

It is easy to imagine the education authorities of that day, when drawing up the scheme for that simple but sound education, saying, "Once teach them to read and they will hold the key to all knowledge." But the scheme did not work out. If the children, by the time they left school, could read well enough to read the newspaper and perhaps an occasional book for amusement, and write well enough to write their own letters, they had no wish to go farther. Their interest was not in books, but in life, and especially the life that lay immediately about them. At school they worked unwillingly, upon compulsion, and the life of the schoolmistress was a hard one.<sup>78</sup>

The caning that Smith, Farningham, and Penn described was still the principal instrument of discipline, and Thompson, like Hilda in *Manchester Fourteen Miles*, also recalled the mandatory school inspections, for one of which she was awarded a calf-bound *Book of Common Prayer*. Like Smith, Farningham, and Penn, Thompson criticized the failures of instruction:

When the papers arrived and the examination results were read out it was surprising to find what a number had passed. The standard must have been very low, for the children had never been taught some of the work set, and in what they had learned nervous dread had prevented them from reaching their usual poor level.<sup>79</sup>

Rather predictably, the highest level of attainment was in "Christianity," "for Scripture was the one subject they were thoroughly taught; even the dullest knew most of the Church Catechism by heart."<sup>80</sup>

She did, however, remember fondly the boys' and girls' own stories she and her older brother memorized:

As often as she could do so without being detected, she would turn over and peep between the pages of her own *Royal Reader*. . . . There was plenty there to enthrall any child: "The Skater Chased by Wolves"; "The Siege of Torquilstone," from *Ivanhoe*; Fenimore Cooper's *Prairie on Fire*; and Washington Irving's *Capture of Wild Horses*. . . . Interspersed between the prose readings were poems: "The Slave's Dream"; "Young

Lochinvar"; "The Parting of Douglas and Marmion"; Tennyson's "Brook" and "Ring Out, Wild Bells"; Byron's "Shipwreck"; Hogg's "Skylark," and many more.<sup>81</sup>

For all her many successes in school, Thompson also had no hope of attending high school and accepted that she would begin work at thirteen. Her training did offer her access to respectable office work, however, and after marrying John Thompson, a fellow postal worker, she became a successful writer of fiction, reminiscences, nature observations, and guidebooks to her local region.

An extreme case of the tenacity of "older formations" was that of Peig Sayers of Great Blasket Island, off the western tip of Ireland, whose Gaelic account of her youth in the late 1870s through 1890s, transcribed and translated by her son Michael O. Guithin, appeared in 1936.<sup>82</sup> One of four surviving children of thirteen born to her father Tomás Sayers and mother Peig Brosnan, Sayers was born in County Kerry in 1873 where "all the land [my parents] possessed was the grass of two cows."<sup>83</sup> In several scenes of her narrative, she remembered her eagerness to attend school and understand what was said there. Animated by a

turn for books and . . . the beautiful pictures they contained . . . I'd be delighted if I had a small book of my own—one in which I could look at the pictures any time I liked. [One day] I had a great desire to go home that night and tell my mother that I intended going to school the next day . . . .

"Do you know that I'm off to school on Monday?" I said.

"School, is it?" she said with a laugh.

"Yes, indeed, a-girl! I'm off to school with Cait-Jim" [her friend].

"Whisha," said she, "I'm not saying I don't believe you, but isn't it early you have the mind for schooling? Aren't you too young yet to go to school?"<sup>84</sup>

She was, in fact, only four, but her mother supported her request, and in a new dress made by her older sister Maire she "went buck-jumping down the road."<sup>85</sup> At school the teacher asked:

"And what name have they on you?":

"Peig Sayers, Master," I said again.

"I have it now," he said and then he entered my name in the roll-book. He turned round and presented me with a little book with a red cover.

I was as delighted as if I had been presented with a cow.<sup>86</sup>

She enjoyed her schooling, though she too noted that discipline was firm:

There's no doubt whatsoever but that Master Daly was a good man, a clever teacher and a great warrant to solve every problem. . . . He was quick and lively and young and courageous—and cross enough he was too when he failed to get anything that was right or proper into our skulls! Honest, it was often I got a clatter of the palm of the hand from him that made me see visions galore! . . . [Yet he could supply material not in the text.] I had no fault whatsoever to find with him! Even though I'm an old woman now I am very proud to have it to say that Sean Daly was my schoolteacher.<sup>87</sup>

The first obstacle was language. A fellow student offered to translate the teacher's English for her, and when Master Daly left for further training in Dublin, the new teacher

began to call out the names and, man dear, we were amazed, for if we didn't know that it was rolls he was calling we wouldn't have understood him! He had such a foreign accent on his speech that he could have been a big bucko of an Englishman over from the city of London! He hadn't one tittle of Irish in his beak!<sup>88</sup>

At nine or ten, she was forced to leave her now-invalid mother to begin work as a servant, and the rest of her oral narrative focused on her employment and move to Great Blasket Island, and the deaths of her husband and six of her ten children.<sup>89</sup> Blindness overtook her before the end (she died at eighty-five in 1958), but she had become known by that point as a teller of Gaelic folktales, and she was proud that “[a]ll my life . . . I did my . . . small share for the Irish language.”<sup>90</sup>

## CONCLUSION

It is hard to disagree with David Vincent's bleak assessment in *The Rise of Mass Literacy* of nineteenth-century gains in working-class literacy for members of the working classes:

For most boys and almost all girls, the first encounters with the written word had no perceptible relevance to their occupational futures, and as

adults, a determined programme of reading and writing was usually an escape from, rather than an encounter with, their struggle to maintain their family economies.<sup>91</sup>

For most, yes, but not for all. For some the “escape” became, in the words of William Morris’s John Ball, their passion and their life.

Incomplete as they are, these scattered testimonies reflected the uneven progress of elementary education in Britain in the last half of the nineteenth century. Early in the century, daughters of relatively skilled laborers could hope for a few years of instruction focused on religion and domestic skills before they were put to work, but children of the rural poor, especially girls, faced formidable barriers.

By the end of the century, by contrast, their daughters and granddaughters could hope to defer that removal to early labor, although family heads who begrudged the loss of income or domestic service their children could bring still faced no legal sanctions.

Among children of the early century, Janet Hamilton published three books and became a Glaswegian working-class hero. Janet Bathgate became a teacher in her own modest private school. Mary Smith founded and guided a more ambitious educational establishment, wrote several books, campaigned tirelessly for dissident reformist causes, and left more than 1,400 pounds to various charities at her death.<sup>92</sup> Marianne Farningham edited a religious journal, wrote several volumes of poetry and prose, and journeyed to Europe in search of background for her stories. Elizabeth Campbell and Christian Watt struggled with poverty and ill health before they found a measure of resignation and contentment in their old age.

Among the women who benefited from a few more years of schooling in the latter half of the century, of our sample one became a city councilor and two wrote novels. Peig Sayers buried four children and endured a life of poverty, presciently writing that “people will yet walk above our heads . . . but people like us will never again be there. We’ll be stretched out quietly—and the old world will have vanished.”<sup>93</sup>

Vincent’s bleak assessment, then, was largely accurate, for the prospects of full and nearly equal education for people at the margins of the market economy were deferred into the twentieth century and beyond. But the accounts I have sketched—exceptional, or we would not have them—marked the first time in British history in which large numbers of women could begin to glimpse the world of letters at the horizon of a darkling plain.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
72. Oliphant, *Autobiography*, p. 24. On Oliphant's conception of authorship as a family business, see Linda H. Peterson, "Margaret Oliphant's *Autobiography* as Professional Artist's Life," *Women's Writing* 6 (1999), pp. 261–77.
73. Oliphant, *Autobiography*, p. 75.
74. Martineau, *Autobiography*, pp. 111–12.
75. Cobbe, *Life*, vol. 1, pp. 98–100.
76. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 68–69.
77. Martineau, *Autobiography*, p. 485.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
79. Deborah Logan, *The Hour and the Woman* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002). Two examples of Martineau's needlework are reproduced on the back cover.
80. See Ana Parejo Vadillo, "Alice Meynell: An Impressionist in Kensington," in *Women Poets and Urban Aestheticism: Passengers of Modernity* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 78–116, for a discussion of Meynell's use of her Kensington houses, the last at Palace Court designed and owned by the Meynells, to advance her career.
81. Mrs. Roscoe Mullins, *Sylvia's Journal*, (n.s.) 1 (October 1893), p. 550.
82. The portrait of Mary Russell Mitford appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* 3 (May 1832), p. 410.
83. Martineau's portrait appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* 8 (November 1833), p. 576, at the height of her fame.
84. *Punch's Fancy Portraits*, no. 45. The caption reads, "O fie! 'tis an unweeded garden" (*Hamlet*, act 1, scene 2).
85. Mrs. J. H. Riddell, *A Struggle for Fame*, 3 vols. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1883), vol. 1, p. 103.
86. Quoted in J. Badeni, *A Slender Tree: A Life of Alice Meynell* (Padstow, Cornwall: Tabb House, 1981), p. 100.
87. J. E. Hodder Williams, "The Reader: Mary Cholmondeley," *Bookman* 18 (May 1900), p. 41.
88. Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (London: Sanders & Otley, 1837), vol. 1, p. 153.

#### Chapter 6

1. Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1981); chap. 1, "On Interpretation: Literature as a Socially Symbolic Act," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. Vincent Leitch (New York: Norton, 2001), pp. 1954–55.
2. David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Oxford: Polity, 2000), pp. 9–10. He notes that "children educated in the 1830s and 1840s were on average twenty points more literate than their parents' generation when they came to be married in early adulthood, and in turn lagged behind their own children by a similar amount a quarter of a century later" (p. 14).

3. John Hurt, *Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
5. Josephine Kamm, *Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History* (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 158.
6. Hurt, *Elementary Schooling*, p. 9.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
8. June Purvis, *Hard Lessons: The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Victorian England* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 76, 88. Purvis notes that infants and girls were often crowded together, as reported by a Church of England inspector in 1870: "The chief defect I have to regret in the organization of school is, that schools for boys and girls are too much crowded with infants. This is especially the case in some girls' schools, and the evil is rather on the increase I fear" (p. 89).
9. Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, p. 89. She notes that inspectors of the 1840s and 1850s advocated teaching girls domestic tasks; "arithmetic, it was argued, could be taught by adding up shopping bills and calculating the amount of material necessary for dressmaking." Moreover, the educational standard seems to have been lower for girls' schools; the Rev. Allington reported that in the Church of England schools he inspected in Suffolk, the failure rate for girls was much higher.
10. Kamm, *Hope Deferred*, p. 59.
11. Phil Gardner, *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).
12. Hurt, *Elementary Schooling*, p. 54. Hurt reports that R. Webb estimates that at least two-thirds of the working classes could read, though Hurt adds, "one may legitimately wonder just what they could read and with what fluency" (p. 22).
13. Hurt, *Elementary Schooling*, pp. 16-17, 22.
14. Hurt, *Elementary Schooling*, p. 188. "The Education Act of [1918] finally closed a series of loopholes that had allowed roughly half the children in elementary schools to leave between the ages of 12 and 14 in the years just before the First World War" (p. 188).
15. Hurt, *Elementary Schooling*, p. 161.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
18. Hurt, *Elementary Schooling*, pp. 114-16, 122-24, 143-52. Hygiene was also a problem, as unbathed children brought lice into the schools (pp. 102-3).
19. Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, p. 93. This practice ended in 1890.
20. David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 90.
21. Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, p. 90. Fewer than 1 child in 600 attempted the newly introduced seventh standard. And despite the fact that additional subjects such as geography, grammar, history, and plain needlework were added to the topics that could be examined, "the three Rs examination, combined with average attendances, formed the main basis of state grants" (Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, p. 93).

22. Vincent, *Rise of Mass Literacy*, p. 80. He notes that at the time of the Fisher Act of 1918, 95 percent of pupils in state elementary schools were able to advance to some form of secondary education.
23. Janet Bathgate, *Aunt Janet's Legacy to Her Nieces: Recollections of Humble Life in Yarrow in the Beginning of the Century* (Selkirk: George Lewis and Sons, 1894). This went through three editions and was followed by a sequel by an admirer, George Lewis's *The Life Story of Aunt Janet* (Selkirk: James Lewis, 1902).
24. Bathgate, *Aunt Janet's Legacy*, p. 53.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 113–14.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
31. *Ibid.*
32. According to George Lewis, she conducted a school for young children in Dalkeith, Scotland, from 1836 to 1838, then moved to take charge of a school for the children of millworkers in Kirkhill, Scotland (p. 10).
33. Mary Smith, *The Autobiography of Mary Smith, Schoolmistress and Nonconformist: A Fragment of a Life* (London/Carlisle: Bemrose and Sons/Wordsworth Press, 1892), pp. 26, 17. All quotations are from this edition.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
38. Smith does not mention the school's denomination, merely that it was taught by two ladies "at the Cropredy wharf"; the fact that it was Methodist is cited in Kathryn Gleadle, "Mary Smith," in *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 51, p. 250, col. 2.
39. Smith, *Autobiography*, p. 30.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
42. *Christian World*, London, 1857–present; also, *Christian World Annual*, London, 1875–96, and *Literary World: A Monthly Supplement* (1868–1919), *Waterloo Directory of Victorian Periodicals* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2004).
43. Marianne Farningham, *A Working Woman's Life: An Autobiography* (London: James Clarke, 1907). Quotations are from this edition.
44. Farningham, *Working Woman's Life*, p. 17.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.
49. Farningham, *Working Woman's Life*, p. 29: "Much of the religious teaching of the day was far more somber than it should have been, and I rejoice to think that only the happier side of Christian life and theology is presented to the children of to-day."

50. Farningham, *Working Woman's Life*, p. 44.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
53. *The Christian Watt Papers*, ed. David Fraser (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1983); Elizabeth Campbell, *Songs of My Pilgrimage* (Edinburgh: Elliot, 1875).
54. Hannah Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up: The Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell, Suffragette and Rebel*, ed. George Mitchell (London: Virago, 1977).
55. She became a militant suffragette (1905–18), an ILP Manchester city councilor (1924–35), and Manchester magistrate (1926–46).
56. Mitchell, *Hard Way*, p. 39.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
58. *Ibid.*
59. The Miss Pringles had lent Bathgate John Galt's *The Annals of the Poor* and Legh Richmond's *The Young Cottager*. Her family's library had included Thomas Boston's *Works*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, *Robinson Crusoe*, "Jack o' the Beanstalk," and a few ballads (Bathgate, *Legacy*, p. 48).
60. Mitchell, *Hard Way*, pp. 48–49.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–53.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
66. Mitchell, *Hard Way*, p. 64. She adds, "In my desire for education I was both determined and ruthless, rating my own intelligence probably much higher than it really was" (p. 63).
67. Margaret Penn, *Manchester Fourteen Miles* (Seaford, Sussex: Caliban Books, 1947/1979). Quotations are from the 1979 edition.
68. Penn, *Fourteen Miles*, p. 7. When her mother had become pregnant by someone described as a "gentleman," she married George Huntley, and when she died in Hannah's infancy, George had departed for Canada.
69. Penn, *Fourteen Miles*, p. 119.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
71. John Burnett, introduction to Penn, *Fourteen Miles*, p. xxv.
72. Penn, *Fourteen Miles*, p. 190. She includes her mother's response to the vicar: "What dost want to get and give t'Co-op tuppence a week for wi' all them prizes in't'house?" she asked resentfully. 'It ud be different if you got a divi on it—but to go and give tuppence every week just for the lend of a book seems downright idleness, and no good'll come of it'" (p. 191).
73. Penn, *Fourteen Miles*, p. 194.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
75. Penn, *Fourteen Miles*, pp. 229–30. She gives a sad account of her failed attempt to teach her parents to read.
76. Among Thompson's other publications were *Still Glides the Stream* (1948), *Heatherley* (1998), and *The Peverel Papers* (1986). The school was in Cottisford, Oxfordshire (<http://www.johnowensmith.co.uk/flora/history.htm>, accessed January 20, 2012).



77. Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 172–74. All quotations are from this edition.
78. Thompson, *Lark Rise*, p. 176.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
81. Thompson, *Lark Rise*, pp. 174–75. She goes on: “But long before their schooldays were over they knew every piece in the books by heart and it was one of their greatest pleasures in life to recite them to each other. . . . The selection in the *Royal Readers*, then, was an education in itself for those who took to it kindly; but the majority of the children would have none of it; saying that the prose was ‘dry old stuff’ and that they hated ‘portry’” (p. 175).
82. Peig Sayers, *Peig: The Autobiography of Peig Sayers of the Great Blasket Island* (Dublin: Criterion Press Printing for the Government of Ireland, 1936/1944). Her folklore and other stories were gathered on Ediphone by Dr. Robin Flower, keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, and twenty years later by Seosamh O. Dalaigh. Sayers’s tales are recorded in *Machnamh Seanmhna/An Old Woman’s Reflections*, trans. Séamus Ennis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
83. Sayers, *Peig*, p. 13.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
89. For the deaths of her children, see Sayers, *Peig*, pp. 173, 176, 210.
90. Sayers, *Peig*, p. 210.
91. Vincent, *Rise of Mass Literacy*, p. 147.
92. Smith’s estate was probated on March 6, 1889, at a value of 1,463 pounds, 19 shillings (Gleadle, “Mary Smith,” p. 252).
93. Sayers, *Peig*, p. 212.

#### Chapter 7

1. Flora Annie Steel and Grace Gardiner, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1888/2010), p. 195.
2. The International Woman Suffrage Timeline continues this tracking today: [http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrage/a/intl\\_timeline.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrage/a/intl_timeline.htm) (accessed January 5, 2012).
3. One of the key essays on nineteenth-century femininity is Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood,” *American Quarterly* 18.2, pt. 1 (1966), pp. 151–74.
4. For a history of Butler’s work and the Contagious Diseases Acts in Britain, see Judith Walkowitz’s *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); on India, see Philippa Levine’s *Prostitution, Race and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2003). For a fascinating analysis of Butler’s political rhetoric, see Elaine Hadley’s *Melodramatic Tactics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).