

Women's History

MAGAZINE

*Themed Issue
Women and Culture*

*Issue 55, Spring 2007
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*Alexandra Wilson on
Opera Singers as
Female Role Models*

*Andrea Jacobs,
Joyce Goodman on
The Music Teacher in
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Plus

*Six Books Reviewed
Carol Adams, Obituary
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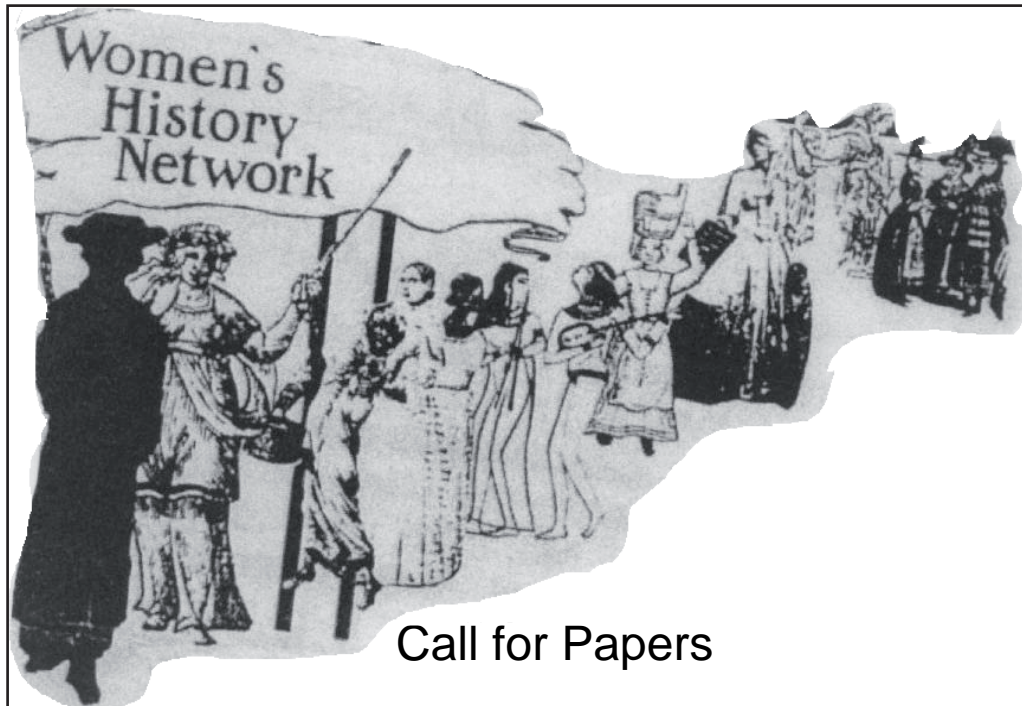
Collecting Women's Lives

16th Annual Conference

7th- 9th September 2007

West Downs Conference Centre, University of Winchester

'Collecting Women's Lives' can be interpreted in a number of ways. It enables us to focus on telling the stories of women and woman in the past and engage with the challenge of using an eclectic mix of documentary sources, visual and material artefacts, and the 'voices' of the women themselves. We can explore the construction of the archive, and those methodologies that have illuminated the experience of women in the past.



Papers are welcomed on the following themes:

Everyday lives

Working lives

Material culture

Oral history

Theory and historiography

For further information please contact one of the organisers (Joyce Goodman, Andrea Jacobs, Zoë Law, Camilla Leach or Stephanie Spencer) at the address below.

Please submit a 200 word synopsis by 4th June (2nd & final call) 2007 to:

The Centre for the History of Women's Education,

Faculty of Education,

University of Winchester,

Hampshire, SO22 4NR, UK

email: chwe@winchester.ac.uk telephone: 01962 841515

The image from the early Women's History Network Newsletters highlights WHN's endeavour to gather like-minded women together in order to collect women who have been 'hidden from history'

Editorial

Welcome to the Spring edition of Women's History Magazine. We hope you like its 'new look'!

This issue highlights women in the arts, specifically in music and literature, all of whom in their different ways pushed the boundaries of convention and public perception.

Luisa Tetrazzini, who graces our cover, is just one of the professional female opera singers that feature in Alexandra Wilson's article 'Prima Donnas or Working Girls?' Highlighting the ways in which their public image was in part constructed by magazines such as *The Girl's Realm* and *The Girl's Own Paper*, Wilson vividly demonstrates how these 'undisputed poster girls of their day' were used by the periodical press 'to negotiate "suitable" models of female behaviour and professionalism in an era in which woman's role in society was evolving with disorientating speed.'

While Wilson focuses on the representations of the performers of music, Andrea Jacobs and Joyce Goodman turn the spotlight on 'The Music Teacher in English Girls' Secondary Schools'. Taking as their case study the Mary Datchelor School in Camberwell, South London, Jacobs and Goodman piece together a fascinating record of developments in the practical teaching and aesthetic appreciation of music. Through their profiles of individual teachers, they also celebrate the achievements of key women educators who had a profound and life-long impact on their pupils.

In "A Deep and Lasting Importance" Teresa Barnard turns our attention from music to literature as she explores Anna Seward's juvenile letters, many of which were, in effect, censored by her literary executor Sir Walter Scott when he published her letters in 1810, a year after her death. The title of Barnard's article is a play on Scott's assessment that there was nothing of 'deep and lasting importance' in the personal anecdotes that peppered Seward's correspondence. Yet Barnard's primary research has allowed the hitherto missing details to 'be pieced back together', providing a window on the world of the intellectually gifted Sewall who had to negotiate the strictures of her parents as well as the conventions of society in order to 'take control of her life' as a writer and as an independent woman.

Our main articles are complemented for the first time by an 'Opinion Piece'. In her conference paper, 'The Memorial to the Women of World War 2', given at Durham last September and reprinted here, Joy Bone raised emotive and pertinent questions about the way in which women's wartime service has been publicly commemorated. Bone, who served with the ATS in the Second World War, reminds us that 'although there are at least *forty* military memorials *alone* commemorating men and their regiments etc., in and around Whitehall and Westminster there are in the same area just *four* statues commemorating women': Boadicea, Florence Nightingale, Emmeline Pankhurst, and Edith Cavell. The Memorial to the Women of World War 2, which now stands in Whitehall

near the Cenotaph is, she argues, 'a grave injustice' in which 'discrimination and (mis)representation have both played a part.' We welcome your views and would like to publish selections in the next issue.

Your Book Reviews Editor has a large batch of lonely books awaiting reviewers, so be sure to have a close look on page 36!

Finally, a reminder that 'Collecting Women's Lives', the 16th Annual Women's History Network Conference, will be held at the University of Winchester on 7-9 September 2007. The second and final call for papers is June 4, so if you have not already submitted your abstracts, please do so. The conference organizers are waiting to hear from you!

The Women's History Magazine Editorial Team:

Gerry Holloway, Claire Jones, Jane Potter and Debbi Simonton.

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Front cover:
Luisa Tetrazzini.
Picture courtesy of Sandy Steiglitz Opera Gallery,
www.cs.princeton.edu/~san/sopranos.html

Prima Donnas or Working Girls? Opera Singers as Female Role Models in Britain, 1900-1925

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Ever since their arrival on the London stage in the eighteenth century, prima donnas have occupied a paradoxical position in British society. Fêted for their onstage performances, they have at the same time been demonised and ridiculed for their offstage antics. Although history provides plentiful anecdotes of opera singers who lived up – often consciously – to the stereotype of the spoiled, capricious and demanding prima donna, there were numerous others whose behaviour did not conform to the cliché. However, male commentators endlessly recycled exaggerated negative depictions of prima donnas, which neglected to acknowledge the arduous training and hard work required to become a professional opera singer, precisely in order to contain these unconventional, self-sufficient women, who posed a threat to the gendered status quo and had the power to exercise considerable emotional power over audience members both female and male. Thus, in nineteenth-century Britain, a less suitable female role model than the prima donna would be hard to imagine, for her lifestyle – at least as commonly depicted – was diametrically at odds with idealised Victorian models of female conduct, which demanded that women be paragons of modesty and self sacrifice.²

The first two decades of the twentieth century, however, witnessed the culmination of the women's emancipation movement, and, with it, changes in attitude towards both female professionalism and 'suitable' female behaviour.³ This article is a preliminary investigation of how these social shifts and changing definitions of femininity affected the ways in which female opera singers were presented to British women. While negative stereotypes of the prima donna continued to be disseminated in male-authored novels,⁴ by the predominantly male music establishment, and in the general press, factual literature aimed specifically at women during this period – women's magazines, advice manuals, souvenir programmes and the like – presents a very different picture. As it became increasingly acceptable for women to enter the workplace and seek financial independence from men, successful women such as opera singers could be portrayed as professional role models in a general, if perhaps not a specific, sense (for, as we shall see, opera singing continued to be depicted as a highly precarious profession). Moreover, the expansion of the mass media around the turn of the twentieth century led opera singers to be packaged as celebrities – and models of positive female behaviour – by the press and publishers in a way that anticipated the 'star discourses' that would later surround Hollywood film stars.

The professionalisation of opera singing

Whereas middle-class Victorian women were expected to remain at home until marriage, their

counterparts during the 1900s and 1910s were largely encouraged to work. An advice manual for teenage girls written in 1913 stated that: 'A generation ago very few girls thought of asking themselves, at fifteen or sixteen years of age, what they were going to do with their lives. The idea of a girl following any business or profession was undreamed of, but it is becoming more and more usual for young girls to decide upon some special line of work, just as if they were boys', and added that 'if you mean to make anything of your life, if you wish to capture happiness, you *must* work'.⁵ Women were now expected to work not only during the newly constructed period of 'girlhood' – the void between childhood and marriage⁶ – but also later in life should their husband die before them. Moreover, there came to be wider public acknowledgement during this period of a previously 'shameful' fact of life: that some women would never marry.⁷ Increasing numbers of young women, whether they ultimately intended to marry or not, left home to share flats with other girls or to live in lodgings, boarding houses, or women's clubs, as female work came to be seen not only as a necessity for the poor but as an experience that could foster useful skills and character traits in more privileged women.

A large range of new employment opportunities opened for women during this period, although girls were often steered towards what were regarded as traditionally 'female' areas of enterprise. Advice manuals on women's work and columns in magazines aimed at younger women, such as *The Girl's Realm*, *The Girl's Own Paper* and *The Young Woman*, highlighted music as a suitable field in which women might seek work, alongside nursing, teaching, domestic and secretarial work. It is unsurprising that music should have been recommended, since it had long been regarded in Britain as a sphere particularly associated with women, at least at the amateur level. Furthermore, music was a field in which many young women already considered themselves to be accomplished, although it is equally clear from contemporary reports that the majority underestimated the standards required to turn professional.

Although genteel young ladies during the nineteenth century were encouraged to study singing, along with perhaps the piano or violin, in order to attract a potential husband, opportunities for middle-class British women to partake in public performance were relatively few. There were openings for singers on the concert platform, performing oratorios, ballads or Lieder, and by the turn of the twentieth century numerous notices appeared in the pages of *The Musical Times* by women offering 'Oratorios, Concerts, At Homes &c.'⁸ However, the vast majority of British singers were barred historically from entering the operatic profession both by inadequate training and reasons of propriety. Performance on stage – where the singer's body was on display as much as her voice – aligned the

opera singer with the actress or the ballerina, regarded in genteel Victorian circles as virtually synonymous with the prostitute.⁹ Indeed, in the mid nineteenth century, Henry Mayhew used the term 'prima donna' to refer to a certain class of 'superior' prostitutes who mixed in fashionable circles.¹⁰ The operatic stage was therefore almost totally dominated, at least in the most prestigious London theatres, by foreign singers who were regarded as exotic novelties and hence occupied a distinctive space set apart from the usual rules of correctness, restraint, and physical and emotional conduct that applied to British middle-class women.

From the 1880s onwards, however, opportunities for training in music increased exponentially, giving British-born women the chance, at least in theory, to compete with foreign singers on the operatic stage. The female periodical press played an important role in encouraging women to seek professional employment in music. The pages of women's magazines regularly carried advertisements for the Royal College of Music, the Royal Academy of Music and the Guildhall School of Music, and they published articles outlining the curricula of the institutions, and providing detailed practical advice about fees, accommodation and living expenses. Such publicity would appear to have been successful, because women far outnumbered men as students at all three conservatoires by the 1910s.¹¹ While female singers were still primarily steered towards a career on the concert platform, opportunities to study opera were on the rise.

The Girl's Realm informed its readers in 1900 that:

the Royal College lays great stress on operatic work by instituting an opera singing class, and giving an annual operatic performance by picked pupils at a prominent London theatre. The Guildhall School has its own theatre, newly opened, perfectly fitted and adapted for the purposes of opera.¹²

Thus, as operatic training became an increasingly attractive proposition for young middle-class women in the 1900s, it also became clear to the female press that the stereotypes surrounding opera singers would have to be challenged.

Constructing the prima donna as role model

The qualities attributed to opera singers by the women's press during this period could not have been further removed from the image of the spoiled, selfish prima donna long perpetuated in other sectors of the media. Private lives were constructed for singers through interviews, biographies, profiles in theatre programmes and photographic images that would distance them from their 'immoral' stage identities and from the popular conception that theatrical performers enjoyed dissolute offstage lifestyles. Interviewers devoted much space to praising their modesty, their calm temperaments, their compassion and their benevolence. The French mezzo soprano Emma Calvé, for instance, was revealed in *The Girl's Realm* to be a paragon of virtue, dedicated to charity work and even running a girls' orphanage from her home,

an endeavour that led the (male) interviewer to remark that 'there seems to be no end to her good deeds'.¹³ Such a description was surely a deliberate ploy to invert Calvé's stage persona, for her most renowned performance was as the cigarette-smoking temptress Carmen – hardly a suitable model of femininity. Such emphasis on good works was doubtless inspired by the example of the nineteenth-century prima donna Jenny Lind, who had established a hospital in Liverpool, raised much money for charities, and was presented as morality and spirituality personified, thereby helping to change the public perception of opera singers and pave their way towards respectability.¹⁴

In allowing herself to be portrayed in this way, Calvé was also following in the tradition of numerous late-nineteenth-century actresses, who had attempted to forge respectable reputations for themselves by using interviews and autobiographies to emphasise their virtuous lives, in some cases with so much distortion or embellishment that such texts became little more than yet another form



Emma Calvé as Carmen (1900).

Picture courtesy of Sandy Steiglitz Opera Gallery,
www.cs.princeton.edu/~san/sopranos.html

of 'performance'.¹⁵ Like these actresses, Calvé had much to conceal, for in private she lived a decidedly 'bohemian' existence, choosing not to marry yet enjoying a number of sexual liaisons. Whereas her contemporary Mary Garden – also unmarried – played up her romantic attachments in the American press as a deliberate publicity strategy,¹⁶ Calvé sought to deflect attention away from her private relationships by constructing for herself a life of self-sacrifice and public duty. She may indeed have been a model of generosity – although the veracity of the orphanage anecdote is somewhat questionable –¹⁷ but in *The Girl's Realm* interview the real Calvé disappeared

behind a mass of biographical cliché.

Indeed, many of the high-profile singers who appeared upon the London stage during this period lived lives that British bourgeois society would have regarded as morally questionable had they only been in possession of all the facts. Thus, private lives were tacitly glossed over, unless a singer presented herself who fitted the contemporary ideal of a loving, faithful wife. A rare example of such a woman was Marie Louise Edvina, a Canadian turned British national, who dazzled Covent Garden audiences during the early 1910s with her interpretations of the roles of Marguerite, Mélisande, Tosca and Louise (a role she created in London). She featured prominently in a souvenir brochure entitled *Stories of the Operas and the Singers*, published annually by the Royal Opera House and profiling the stars appearing on its stage in the current season, which paid as much attention to Edvina's status as 'the mother of two charming little girls'¹⁸ and her modest, unassuming behaviour as to her singing abilities. In so doing, the booklet allowed female members of the audience to feel closer to this 'ordinary wife and mother'. (The fact that this publication was explicitly aimed at female opera-goers is apparent from its advertising content, which was predominantly for flowers, court gowns, shoes, corsets, riding habits, make up, perfume, furs and the like.) But in fact Edvina was far from ordinary, not merely because she had achieved fame as a prima donna, but because she was able to continue singing after childbirth, whereas the majority of singers were virtually forced to abandon the stage upon marriage, and the successful ones often remained unmarried. Furthermore, as *Stories of the Operas and the Singers* admitted, Edvina owed some of her success to her wealth and connections,¹⁹ for she was married to the Hon. Cecil Edwardes, brother of Lord Kensington. Her status as a society lady made her all the more marketable as a role model.

Magazine profiles of prima donnas were also quick to stress that the singers they profiled, whether married or not, had not neglected their domestic duties in favour of professional success. Emmy Destinn, for example, was praised in *The Girl's Realm* for her accomplishment in needlework as much as for her singing abilities.²⁰ Similarly, in an autobiography published in the early 1920s, Maria Jeritza, famed for her interpretation of Richard Strauss's *Salome*, wrote that 'In some ways cooking is quite as great an art as impersonating a horrible character in an ultra-modern opera, and it certainly is far more soothing to the nerves and conducive to comfort and happiness.'²¹ Such anecdotes not only reinforced a domestic ideology that prevented prima donnas from destabilising the gendered status-quo but also served to forge a bond of kinship between these exceptional women and admiring audience members who lived rather more humdrum existences.

Through *Stories of the Operas and the Singers*, the Royal Opera House also sought to distance its singers from the movement for women's independence and suffrage, with which, as independent career women, they might otherwise be assumed to be aligned (and with which some in fact were).²² The booklet referred, for instance, to the German soprano Louise Perard-Petzl as 'a type of what

Wagner calls the "ever womanly", gentle of speech and manner, feminine in her tastes and occupations, and with no sympathy for the fashionable sex-antagonism of the day'.²³ In one fell swoop, Perard-Petzl was thus dissociated both from the New Woman and from the socially and sexually 'dangerous' women portrayed on the operatic stage. She had recently appeared in the scandalous British première of Strauss's *Elektra*, albeit as Chrysothemis, rather than the more offensive title role. In distancing opera singers from the women's emancipation movement, such profiles also played down the determination that had allowed them to build successful careers, ambition still being regarded as an 'unfeminine' quality. In this regard, singer profiles once again resembled the biographies of late-nineteenth-century actresses cited above, in which actresses often depicted their rise to fame as the product of a fortuitous encounter with a powerful male patron rather than of their own efforts.²⁴

If the Royal Opera House had financial motivations for effectively 'selling' its singers in such a way as to appeal to traditionally-minded audience members, an even more explicit commodification of singers was attempted by companies who recognised their potential for endorsing products aimed at the increasingly powerful female market.²⁵ Luisa Tetrazzini wrote in her 1921 autobiography of having been constantly sent gifts in the years that followed her sensational début at Covent Garden in 1907 – throat pastilles, cures for colds, sheet music, face creams, even cigarettes – in the hope that she would endorse the products.²⁶ All requests were turned down, and Tetrazzini retorted with irritation that

A journalist who was in my room at the time when one of these samples arrived urged me to fall in with the firm's suggestion, and argued that it would be very helpful to me as a public singer to obtain the free advertisement which this firm was proposing to give me. To him, apparently, a prima donna was on the same level as a mannequin.²⁷

Tetrazzini's star status is further illustrated by the fact that she was courted by fashion houses, asked to edit the music column of a journal, received constant requests from magazines for her photograph, and was approached about having her life story published in serialised form or turned into a film. Yet a dark side to such apparent idolisation is revealed by her anecdotes about unscrupulous journalists who attempted to put words into her mouth and fabricated lies about her when she refused to comply. If Tetrazzini seems to have demonstrated an unusually acute awareness of the ways in which her reputation was being exploited, it was because she was herself adept at manipulating her own image. Her autobiography was riddled with calculated errors, omissions and exaggerations, and the fact that she demanded extravagantly high royalties for her Gramophone recordings suggests that she was not so disdainful of material enticements as she liked to suggest.²⁸ Nevertheless, Tetrazzini's example testifies to the existence of a mechanics of celebrity – in a very modern sense – that placed the prima donna at its heart

and sought to control her image, whether for reasons of social conditioning or in pursuit of financial gain.

1910 is commonly defined as a key turning point within the film industry, when actors' off-screen lives began to assume equal importance for fans to their on-screen performances and became marketable in their own right.²⁹ However, the concept of celebrity is far older within the theatre, an 'extensive apparatus for disseminating fame' having emerged in Britain as early as the eighteenth century,³⁰ and the physical appearance, personality, marital status and hobbies of opera singers had long been the subject of public scrutiny. The rise of photojournalism around 1890 gave added impetus to the mechanisms of celebrity, allowing readers an ever more intimate insight into the lives of performers, and, in turn, giving artists ever more creative ways of manipulating their public identities. Thus, by 1900, opera singers were the undisputed poster girls of their day, a status they would maintain until the 1920s, when their star began to be eclipsed to some degree by the emergence of more 'modern' types of celebrity – not only film stars, but tennis players, pioneers of aviation and the like.³¹ Numerous singer biographies and autobiographies were published between the turn of the century and the mid 1920s,³² and interviews with prima donnas in women's magazines were invariably given front-page billing.

Such texts presented prima donnas as other-worldly beings who had achieved dazzling fame and a degree of independence unimaginable to ordinary women. Readers learned that opera singers lived a fairy-tale existence – living in castles (as did continental prima donnas Adelina Patti, Emma Calvé, Emmy Destinn and the American Emma Eames amongst others), marrying aristocrats, wearing fabulous wardrobes, and mixing with royalty. Furthermore, prima donnas were among the few women who had the potential to match the earning capacity of men. According to a book on the prima donna written in 1888, top opera singers could earn more than double the salary of the wealthiest ambassadors, and infinitely more than that of a priest, professor or a judge,³³ while a 1910 book on women's position in society estimated that the most successful prima donna could earn £25,000 a year, twenty five times more than a female doctor.³⁴ It is unsurprising, after reading such reports, that numerous young women should have attempted to enter the operatic profession during this period. Realistically, the likelihood of attaining such riches were extremely remote, yet contemporary sources suggest that many young singers were under the delusion that fame and fortune could be theirs. Let us now examine in closer detail the counsel provided to aspiring singers by contemporary magazines and advice manuals.

Encouragement and caution

Between the 1890s and the 1920s a vast literature sprang up to advise the growing number of independent young women, both on how to cope with the practicalities of life as a 'bachelor girl',³⁵ and on the professions that were open to them.³⁶ Many of these publications not only

encouraged their readers to seek training in music, as we have already seen, but also held up as role models girls who had achieved success in the musical sphere. For instance *The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory*, a listings guide that provided information and contacts for working women,³⁷ published the names of female students who had won scholarships and prizes at the London conservatoires. Even more prominently, *The Girl's Realm* – a progressive, proto-feminist, magazine that led the way in offering girls encouragement on education and careers³⁸ – featured a regular column entitled 'What Girls are Doing', celebrating bold and courageous achievements by young women in a variety of fields of endeavour, from the arts to life-saving. Young musicians who had given public performances and received recognition for their talents were the subjects of admiring profiles. The fact that they went on to establish an adoring following among the magazine's readers is illustrated by an article of 1905 about the young violinist Marie Hall, which reported that:

Hall is the heroine of every girl who plays and loves her violin. [...] Go to a Marie Hall concert, and you will observe groups and rows of girls, of all the ages which the word nowadays covers, from the school maiden, girl in every part of her enthusiastic being, to the white-haired lady who will claim that she is a girl at heart still.³⁹

Violinists were featured on a regular basis in *The Girl's Realm*, along with girl pianists, concert singers, composers, and the occasional pioneering female cellist. Violin or piano were the only permissible instruments for women until the late nineteenth century, since the distortion of face or posture brought about by playing wind instruments or the larger stringed instruments respectively was regarded as undesirable and unseemly.⁴⁰ Opera singers appeared less frequently in the 'What Girls are Doing' column, presumably for pragmatic reasons: the magazine focused upon the achievements of girls of a similar age to its target audience, and opera singers' talents typically emerge rather later than those of instrumentalists. Furthermore, most girls featured in the column were British, and there were still few home-grown opera stars to profile, although occasionally emerging foreign singers were featured, such as Geraldine Farrar, 'a young American girl of 21', whose budding success was outlined in the magazine in 1902.⁴¹

However, since music was one of relatively few professions open to women – and ostensibly one of the most glamorous – hopeful performers faced intense competition. As early as 1894, a manual on women's employment stated that 'the musical profession is undoubtedly overstocked, and the increasing numbers of professional students threaten us, in years to come, with more teachers than learners'.⁴² By the turn of the century the situation had become even more grave, leading *The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory* to warn – despite its support for female professionalism – that

Ten years or so ago gifted students on finishing their musical education would become

professional singers or instrumentalists, and find a very lucrative and happy career awaiting them. But now that the various academies are sending out each year such vast numbers of highly qualified musicians, the question of adopting music as a profession has become a serious one.⁴³

Concerns about the number of women attempting to become professional musicians intensified over the next decade. In a study of the employment prospects available to women, published in 1911, M. Mostyn Bird identified music as a particularly 'hazardous' career, arguing that for all but those possessing 'Heaven-born genius', 'to dream of harnessing so great an art to the service of their pocket is almost impious and positively foolish', emphatically stating that 'It may be laid down as certain that they could not and should not make a livelihood out of their talent'.⁴⁴ Although supportive of the arts, she painted a bleak picture of thousands of talented young people pouring through the British and foreign conservatoires, spending vast amounts of time, money and energy upon training, only to be condemned to mediocrity at best and outright failure at worst. The only way to make a modest income, Mostyn Bird pronounced, was to take up private teaching in a provincial cathedral town. Numerous other articles and advice manuals aimed at working women repeated a similar message: music teaching could offer some prospects, but a career as a Patti or a Melba was reserved only for those already endowed with exceptional talent.

Somewhat paradoxically, therefore, over the course of the period from 1880 to 1910, ever increasing numbers of girls took up conservatoire places, thereby making the singing profession more visible and attracting more aspiring singers, with the result that performance opportunities naturally shrank. Thus the self-same publications that endorsed music as a career were also obliged to warn against the potential perils of taking such a course. For example, *The Girl's Realm* published an article in 1900 on careers in music, in which a Mrs Stepney Rawson emphasised the harsh realities of a singer's life and the need for hard work and dedication in order to make even a modest livelihood. She acknowledged that 'in the field of opera lies the richest reward, the greatest triumph' and 'happy [are] the chosen few whom Nature has fitted mentally and vocally for a career of such glory',⁴⁵ but she gave no encouragement for readers to aspire to such heights. Rather, she argued that the best the 'moderately talented' singer might hope for would be taking part in a tour of the provinces, where 'she will not expect to be a "star" of such a tour', and

she will have to face journeys in inclement weather, and on these occasions will have to put up gaily with an exhausting rehearsal immediately before performance, and all the disappointments connected with a "scratch" band of local amateurs lightly peppered with professionals.⁴⁶

The lifestyle of such a provincial singer would be

far removed from that widely perceived to be enjoyed by celebrated foreign prima donnas. As a result, Mrs Stepney Rawson cautioned that 'No artist can really afford to give herself "airs" – a singer least of all – despite the ridiculous cases of this sort of thing', and argued that 'from every executant music demands a life of devotion and abstinence, single-heartedness towards art, rigorous avoidance of anything that distracts attention from the one object'.⁴⁷

Similar words of warning were issued by *The Girl's Own Paper* – another magazine aimed at young middle-class girls, but with a more conservative bent – although here it is interesting to note that the impetus was not merely practical but moral. The magazine had been founded by the Religious Tract Society, and although outwardly secular in content at this time, aimed to inculcate good Christian values in its readers, placing emphasis upon health, decorum and housewifely skills. It made a particular point of discouraging young girls from entering the theatrical profession (and with it what its editors still perceived to be a world of vice) with articles and stories spelling out the dangers of the theatrical world being a recurring theme.⁴⁸ But whereas the progressive *Girl's Realm* used a hard-hitting careers article in order to caution its readers against harbouring unrealistic ambitions, *The Girl's Own Paper* appealed to its readers' emotions by using the medium of fiction to illustrate the dark side of a world that seemed to be all glitter and glamour.

Throughout 1905 and 1906 the magazine serialised an anonymously-penned short story entitled 'Odette, Soprano: A Story Taken from Life'. It recounts the tale of a young woman set upon operatic stardom who travels to Florence in search of a singing teacher, encouraged by the example of a former schoolfriend, Irene, who has forged a successful operatic career. The story is seductively peppered with references to recent popular operas (*La Bohème*, *Pagliacci*) and contemporary singers (Gemma Bellincioni), but the operatic world that Odette enters is revealed to be far from attractive. After an unpleasant journey to Florence she is told by her teacher that her technique is incorrect and is warned of the hardships of a life in music. Later, when her money runs out, she is forced to move (with another aspiring singer, Jemima) to a dingy, rat-infested apartment. By the final installments of the story, Odette is lonely – her suitor Luigi having died and Jemima having departed on a singing tour of Northern Italy – impoverished, and in need of two further years of training before she can make her stage début.

Upon re-encountering Irene, Odette is initially horrified to discover that her friend has abandoned her singing career for marriage, but Irene gradually persuades her of the joys of what Odette considers a more prosaic lifestyle. Eventually, Odette agrees to marry a doctor friend of Irene's, and returns with him to Surrey, abandoning her singing career as 'that other song, the song of love and home, rang in her heart'.⁴⁹ Even Jemima, upon returning from tour, admits that the operatic lifestyle is not all it had been cut out to be, lamenting that 'There's a deal of dirt mixed up with the glory!'⁵⁰ Thus, all of the story's principal characters, even those who have achieved some success

as singers, ultimately realise the attraction of opera to be superficial, as the magazine hammers home its sermon that a life of domesticity is ultimately to be prized more highly than any degree of professional success or personal self-fulfilment.

'Odette, Soprano' seems to our eyes an excessively unsubtle morality tale, highly formulaic in plot structure.⁵¹ However, its claim to be 'a story taken from life' was to some extent true, as increasing numbers of young middle- and upper-class women sought out opportunities to study singing overseas during this period, most often in Italy. In 1907, an advice manual for teenage girls mused that:

It is a remarkable fact that girls seem to desire above all things to go abroad. This desire, with the wish to act as private secretary to someone, seems to compete with that glamour of the footlights about which we are always hearing in a girl's affection as a means of earning a living. Put such desires on one side, or treat them with caution'.⁵²

Those outstanding singers who had achieved international fame offered similar words of advice. A 1909 biography of Nellie Melba, the undisputed queen of the Covent Garden stage throughout the 1900s, included a concluding chapter in which the prima donna expressed her opinions on the 'unwarranted exodus' of young singers to Europe, a phenomenon that she referred to as an 'evil'.⁵³ Melba cautioned against such a course except in those rare cases where the singer was possessed of genuine talent and sufficient financial means to sustain her throughout a prolonged period of training, writing that 'in numerous cases the unfortunate aspirant sinks to a deplorable condition of poverty and despair'.⁵⁴ Melba identified two groups that she blamed for exacerbating the problem: those failed singers who for reasons of pride concealed the reality of their experiences abroad and failed to offer honest advice to other young singers, and those well-intentioned relatives who gave false hope to young singers whose talents were in truth unremarkable. To this group she offered stern words:

The parents and friends of any average amateur of music should well weigh their words before encouraging any such performer to enter into a professional life, either at home or abroad. The satisfactory rendering of a solo at a family *soirée* or local concert is not sufficient indication of qualifications for a career where brains, courage, tact, industry, resolution, and physical vigour are at least as essential to success as a beautiful voice or exceptional technique'.⁵⁵

Despite these words of warning, opera singing was regarded as a highly desirable career path by many women during the first decade of the twentieth century, and for the first time seemed a realisable ambition, thanks to better training opportunities and changes in social mores. However, opera singing undoubtedly remained a perilous career, out of the grasp of most of those who

sought to enter it, and was certainly not the route to instant fame that many young girls evidently perceived it to be.⁵⁶ For the trained singer of talent and dedication there were opportunities to find employment with companies that toured to the provinces (and occasionally performed out of season at Covent Garden), such as the Carl Rosa Company or the Moody-Manners Company, although the majority ended up going into teaching. A handful of ambitious women turned to opera management, such as Florence Von Etlinger, who became a singer after studying Maths and Theology at Oxford, and went on to form her own opera school in 1910 and to stage operas at the Savoy.⁵⁷ Very few British singers performed during the prestigious 'Season' at the Royal Opera House, and even those who did were for the most part able to secure only minor roles. A rare exception was Louise Kirkby-Lunn, born in Manchester and trained at the Royal College, who performed principal roles at Covent Garden throughout the 1900s, although as a contralto she did not technically qualify for 'prima donna' status. During the early 1910s Thomas Beecham began to engage more British singers for his opera seasons at Covent Garden, among them Hampshire-born Cicely Gleeson-White, who took on the principal roles in *Fidelio*, *Don Giovanni*, *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Tannhäuser*, and Wolverhampton-born Maggie Teyte, who was the leading lady in *Faust* and *Pelléas et Mélisande*. But these women remained exceptional, and most British singers failed to reach the degree of international stardom enjoyed by the foreign prima donnas. Indeed, when the press wanted to boast of the success of Britain's native singers, it routinely resorted to appropriating singers from the colonies, such as the Australian Nellie Melba⁵⁸ or the Canadian Emma Albani.⁵⁹ On occasion, even continental singers who exhibited particularly desirable characteristics were 'borrowed' as honorary Brits, such as the Swede Jenny Lind.⁶⁰

If the chances for British women of actually 'making it' as a prima donna of international stature remained slim, prima donnas could still fruitfully be presented by the female periodical press as good professional role models in a general sense. When asked by *The Girl's Realm* in 1906 what advice she could offer to aspiring singers, Emma Calvé reportedly replied that 'the young student must deny herself many pleasures and many delightful experiences',⁶¹ whilst in an earlier interview in *The Girl's Own Paper*, she was cited as saying that 'My life is one of perpetual self-denial and repression. I cannot take part in any of the pursuits that I love. All is sacrificed to my voice'.⁶² Thus, the prima donna's great wealth and glamorous lifestyle were deliberately downplayed, and Calvé's life was depicted as a quasi-religious one of self-sacrifice and devotion. The interviewer for *The Girl's Realm* remarked that 'Surely the career of Mlle. Calvé is sufficient evidence that there is a chance for everyone, even when the sky seems darkest [...] The result of her efforts is an eloquent testimony to the value of persistent, earnest effort'.⁶³ Thus, contrary to the traditional depiction of prima donnas as lazy and over-rated, opera singers were increasingly portrayed in the female press during this period as hard working and dedicated. Susan Rutherford has argued that

this shift of emphasis was both an attempt to discourage mediocre singers from delusions of operatic grandeur and 'an attempt to validate women's work, to demonstrate that behind the diva's glamorous image lay a serious artist engaged in laborious tasks'.⁶⁴ Depicting singers in this manner also served a third useful purpose: it was a way of encouraging a committed work ethic in young female readers, whether they chose to devote themselves to a profession or to the domestic life. Their high-profile status meant that they could be presented as role models for all women, musically-talented or otherwise.

As late as 1922, the prima donna was still the subject of condemnation and ridicule in certain quarters. Francesco Berger reported in *The Monthly Musical Record* that 'It is the fashion with certain "superior" people to sneer at the *prima donna*. To ridicule her status and pretension, to lament her influence, minimize her attainments, and, in every way, endeavour to deprive her of the *éclat* which, for centuries, she has enjoyed'.⁶⁵ However, in the prima donna's defence, he argued that, 'Some of the romantic adventures attributed to the prima donna are nothing more than "tricks of the trade", probably invented to secure for her the advertisement which every public servant, prima donna or prime minister, so eagerly desires'.⁶⁶ As Berger perceptively observed, the prima donna had become a cipher, her image manipulated in order to hammer home whatever moral point a given author wished to make – most often the condemnation of independent women. As this brief survey has demonstrated, the female periodical press and other literature aimed specifically at women during the early decades of the twentieth century also used the prima donna as a cipher, and employed its own 'tricks of the trade' (often with the singers' compliance), this time not so much as a ploy to create notoriety as to promote discipline, integrity and hard work. Rather than maligning opera singers, women's magazines of the 1900s constructed them as objects of adoration for young female readers. The prima donnas, as the most high-profile women of their day bar royalty, were used to negotiate 'suitable' models of female behaviour and professionalism in an era in which woman's role in society was evolving with disorientating speed. Their life-stories offered to female readers ambition, adventure and glamour, yet in a sense the magazines often failed to do the singers justice by dwelling not so much upon their vocal and dramatic abilities as upon their domestic lives and their 'womanly' attributes. The prima donnas may have evolved from pariahs to metaphorical princesses, but their manipulation and commodification at the hands of the female press was in effect yet another means by which to contain their exceptional achievements.

Notes

1. I should like to thank Oxford Brookes University for granting me leave to research this article. I am also grateful to Andreas Giger, Sara James, Katharine Mitchell, Clair Rowden and my anonymous reviewer for their perceptive comments on earlier drafts.

2. On the 'separate spheres' debate in women's history,

see Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London and New York, 1999); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London, 2002); and Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 2003).

3. See, for example, Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot, 1991) and Ellen Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1999).

4. The depiction of prima donnas in novels is discussed in: Susan J. Leonardi and Rebecca A. Pope, *The Diva's Mouth: Body, Voice, Prima Donna Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1996); Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914* (Basingstoke, 2000); Phyllis Weliver, *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900* (Aldershot, 2000); and Susan Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera, 1815-1930* (Cambridge, 2006).

5. Dr Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, *From Girlhood to Womanhood* (London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne, 1913), 77-78, 132.

6. 'Girls' had been defined as a group distinct from children and mature women only in the 1890s, and a wide range of publications sprang up to educate and entertain them in the early 1900s. See Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915* (New York, 1995).

7. On the increasing visibility of the spinster within early-twentieth-century society, see Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880-1930* (London, 1985) and Jane Eldridge Miller, *Rebel Women: Feminism, Modernism and the Edwardian Novel* (London, 1994).

8. *The Musical Times*, 41/683 (January 1 1900), 2. These precise words are those of a Miss Ethel Barnard of East Putney, a Royal Academy of Music-trained soprano offering 'German songs a specialty'.

9. Tracy C. Davis writes of the Victorian actress: 'No matter how consummate the artist, pre-eminent the favourite, and modest the woman, the actress could not supersede the fact that she lived a public life and consented to be "hired" for amusement by all who could command the price. For a large section of society, the similarities between the actress's life and the prostitute's or *demi-mondaine's* were unforgettable, and overruled all other evidence about respectability'. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Britain* (London, 1991), 69. On the association between ballerinas and prostitutes, see Alexandra Carter, *Dance and Dancers in the Victorian and Edwardian Music Hall Ballet* (Aldershot, 2005).

10. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, 1862), Vol. 4, 215.

11. As reported in Marion M. Scott, 'British Women as Instrumentalists', *The Music Student*, 10/9 (May 1918), 337-338.

12. Mrs Stepney Rawson, 'Careers for Girls: Music', *The Girl's Realm*, 2/23 (Sept. 1900), 1089-1094, 1093.

13. Harry Steele Morrison, 'How I Began: Madame Calvé Tells the Story of Her Life and gives Advice to Girls about to Undertake the Study of Music', *The Girl's Realm* 8/92

(June 1906), 635-638, 638.

14. As discussed in Lucie Johnstone, 'The Advent of the Woman Solo-Singer', *The Music Student* 10/9 (May 1918), 339-340, 340. See also Lowell Gallagher, 'Jenny Lind and the Voice of America', in Corinne Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (eds.), *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera* (New York, 1995), 190-215.

15. See Sos Eltis, 'Private Lives and Public Spaces: Reputation, Celebrity and the Late Victorian Actress', in Mary Luckhurst and Jane Moody (eds.), *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain, 1660-2000* (Basingstoke, 2005), 169-188, 171.

16. See John Pennino, 'Mary Garden and the American Press', *The Opera Quarterly* 6/4 (summer 1989), 61-75.

17. In her autobiography Calvé talks simply about opening her castle every summer to groups of young city girls who studied singing with her (Emma Calvé, *My Life*, trans. Rosamond Gilder (New York and London, 1922), 226-7), but there is surely some distance between a summer school – however restorative – and a permanent orphanage.

18. Leonard Rees, *Stories of the Operas and the Singers. Royal Opera, Covent Garden* (London, 1912), 8.

19. Rees, *Stories of the Operas and the Singers* (1914), 14.

20. Jean Victor Bates, 'Destinn: The Great Dramatic Soprano', *The Girl's Realm*, 11/129, July 1909, 717-719, 717.

21. Maria Jeritza, *Sunlight and Song: A Singer's Life* (New York and London, 1924), 181.

22. Singers who appeared at Covent Garden and who were also involved in the women's suffrage movement included Marie Brema, Lillian Nordica, Lydia Lipokowska and Anna Bahr-Mildenberg. Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera*, 83.

23. Rees, *Stories of the Operas and the Singers* (1913), 38.

24. See Thomas Postlewait, 'Autobiography and Theatre History', in Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie (eds.), *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance* (Iowa City, 1989), 248-272, 260.

25. On the rise of female consumer culture in this period, see Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton and Oxford, 2000).

26. Luisa Tetrazzini, *My Life of Song* (London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne, 1921), 212-213.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 213. Other female musicians succumbed to the flattery: *Stories of the Operas and the Singers* ran advertisements for 'Parfum Chaminade', produced by the Morny firm and dedicated 'by special permission' to the composer Cécile Chaminade.

28. Charles Neilson Gattey, *Luisa Tetrazzini: The Florentine Nightingale* (Aldershot, 1995), 2, 150.

29. The process began in America around 1910, and in Europe slightly later. See Jonathan Burrows, '"Our English Mary Pickford": Alma Taylor and ambivalent British stardom in the 1910s', in Bruce Babington (ed.), *British Stars and Stardom from Alma Taylor to Sean Connery* (Manchester, 2001), 29-41, and Christine Gledhill (ed.), *Stardom:*

Industry of Desire (London and New York, 1991).

30. Luckhurst and Moody, *Theatre and Celebrity in Britain*, 3.

31. Ernest Newman, introduction to Herman Klein, *Great Women Singers of My Time* (London, 1931), 2.

32. In addition to the aforementioned autobiographies of Calvé, Tetrazzini and Jeritza, these included: Agnes Murphy, *Melba: An Authorized Biography* (London, 1909); Emma Albani, *Forty Years of Song* (London, 1911); Lilli Lehmann, *My Path Through Life*, trans. Alice Benedict Seligman (New York and London, 1914); Kathleen Howard, *Confessions of an Opera Singer* (London, 1920); Nellie Melba, *Melodies and Memories* (London, 1925).

33. H. Sutherland Edwards, *The Prima Donna: Her History and Surroundings from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1888), Vol. 2, 270.

34. Florence Farr, *Modern Woman: Her Intentions* (London, 1910), 25.

35. See for example Agnes M. Miall, *The Bachelor Girl's Guide to Everything, or The Girl on her Own* (London, 1916). The trend for independent living also led to the publication of novels such as Keble Howard's *The Bachelor Girls* (London, 1907).

36. See for example Mrs H. Coleman Davidson, *What our Daughters can do for Themselves: A Handbook of Women's Employments* (London, 1894); John Leng, *Leng's Careers for Girls* (London, 1909); Miss Savory (ed.), *The Fingerpost: A Guide to the Professions and Occupations of Educated Women* (London, 3rd edn., 1909); M. Mostyn Bird, *Woman at Work: A Study of the Different Ways of Earning a Living Open to Women* (London, 1911).

37. *The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory* also listed foreign conservatoires, British universities where women could study music, details of professional musical associations, agents, concerts and festivals, women's orchestras and chamber ensembles, and literature on music.

38. See Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, *You're a Brick, Angela! A New Look at Girls' Fiction from 1839 to 1975* (London, 1976), 76.

39. E. J., 'Marie Hall: The Triumph of a Girl Violinist', *The Girl's Realm* 13/152 (May 1905), 253-257, 254.

40. Female pioneers of the lower stringed, wind and brass instruments are discussed in Scott, 'British Women as Instrumentalists', although they were evidently still a rarity at that date (1918), and she notes that wind scholarships continued to be closed to women at the Royal College of Music. Musical instruments were also 'gendered' across the Channel, and Adolphe Sax went very much against the grain during the 1860s when he attempted to promote brass instruments as beneficial for women's health. See Katharine Ellis, 'The Fair Sax: Women, Brass-Playing and the Instrument Trade in 1860s Paris', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124/2 (1999), 221-254.

41. Anon., 'What Girls are Doing', *The Girl's Realm* 4/42 (April 1902), 527-529, 528. During the 1910s and 1920s Farrar would attract an even more obsessive group of female fans than those of Marie Hall, known as the 'Gerry-flappers', who waited for her nightly at the stage door of the New York Met. See Terry Castle, 'In Praise of Brigitte

The Music Teacher in English Girls' Secondary Schools before 1939

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Although she notes that there were exceptions, Gillian Avery argues that after what she terms 'the force-feeding of music to everyone, however unsuited', school music fell to its lowest level in the first half of the twentieth century.¹ Dorothy Brock's inter-war contention that much of the pioneering work in developing the music curriculum occurred in girls' secondary schools² suggests that this view invites revision. Two interweaving developments also illustrate that Avery's view may be unduly pessimistic.³ The first relates to an increasing professionalism in all areas within girls' secondary education; the second to an educational philosophy that was moving from utilitarianism towards educational and artistic liberalism in the early part of the twentieth century.⁴ These interweaving developments are discussed in the first part of the paper. They are exemplified in the second part of the paper by a case study of the music teaching and music teachers at

the Mary Datchelor School, Camberwell, London.

The development of music teaching in girls' secondary schools was neither uniform nor steady. McCrone outlines how at schools like the North London Collegiate and Cheltenham Ladies College, there was a shift from the teaching of accomplishments to a more professional approach to the teaching of music.⁵ Histories of girls' schools, including those of the GPDSC/T (Girls' Public Day School Company, later Girls' Public Day School Trust) whose Kensington School had a musical training department for the training of music teachers, also demonstrate the importance that came to be attached to a more professional approach to music teaching within some reformed girls' secondary schools.⁶ Yet, the Bryce Commission (1895) noted that the complaints of the Taunton Commission (1868) about the teaching of 'accomplishments' in girls' schools still obtained. Undue

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Fassbaender: Reflections on Diva-Worship', in Blackmer and Smith, *En Travesti*, 20-58.

42. Coleman Davidson, *What our Daughters can do for Themselves*, 198.

43. Florence Fidler and Rosabel Watson, 'Music as a Profession', in Emily Janes (ed.), *The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory* (London, 1900), 149.

44. Mostyn Bird, *Woman at Work*, 217.

45. Stepney Rawson, 'Careers for Girls: Music', 1094.

46. *Ibid.*, 1090.

47. *Ibid.*, 1090.

48. Cadogan and Craig, *You're a Brick, Angela!*, 75.

49. 'Odette, Soprano: A Story Taken from Life', *The Girl's Own Paper*, 27/1373 (April 21 1906), 451.

50. *Ibid.*, 450.

51. The narrative is very similar to a story about a deluded amateur pianist who embarks upon a concert tour of Europe that appeared in *La France musicale* in 1848. See Katharine Ellis, 'Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50/2-3 (Summer-Fall 1997), 353-385.

52. Mrs George Curnock, *A Girl in Her Teens and What She Ought to Know* (London, Paris, New York and Melbourne, 1907), 108.

53. Agnes Murphy, *Melba: An Authorized Biography* (London, 1909), 313.

54. *Ibid.*, 315.

55. *Ibid.*, 318.

56. French soprano and singing teacher Blanche Marchesi wrote that 'The British woman student is lazy [...] wants the easiest work, the easiest earning', and complained

that her British students were predominantly too lacking in commitment to succeed in opera. Blanche Marchesi, *Singer's Pilgrimage* (London, 1923), 213.

57. See H. Saxe Wyndham, *Who's Who in Music: A Biographical Record of Contemporary Musicians* (London, 1913), 218.

58. '[Melba] was the first singer of British race to reach the pinnacle of operatic fame and her triumph and her influence have done much to remove the old-time prejudice against the native singer.' Rees, *Stories of the Operas and the Singers* (1912) 20.

59. 'It might naturally be assumed that an artist of [Albani's] rank must be of foreign birth; but Canada can claim her as a favoured child of its Dominion. Therefore, Madame Albani is a British subject, and, to the honour of Great Britain be it said, the fair songstress is a Colonial product.' Anon, 'Madame Albani', *The Musical Times* 40/673 (1 March 1899), 153-8, 153.

60. '[Lind] belonged to the whole world. The fact, however, that she loved England and the English people, English songs and English festivals, and that she chose England for her home after world-wide travel, makes us feel she should take her place amongst our singers'. Johnstone, 'The Advent of the Woman Solo-Singer', 340.

61. Steele Morrison, 'How I Began', 637.

62. A Foxton Ferguson, 'Music as a Profession for Girls, Part I: The Outer Glamour and the Inward Truth', *The Girl's Own Paper* 25/1244 (31 Oct 1903), 69.

63. Steele Morrison, 'How I Began', 638.

64. Rutherford, *The Prima Donna and Opera*, 109-110.

65. Franceso Berger, 'The Prima Donna', *The Monthly Musical Record* 52/617 (1 May 1922), 101-102, 101.

66. *Ibid.*, 102.

time was still given to the teaching of these and they were taught neither intelligently nor in any scientific manner.⁷ The Assistant Commissioner for Lancashire to the Bryce Commission, Mrs Kitchener, found that even in some of the more 'enlightened' schools girls were spending 'nine hours a week on music, regardless of whether they had musical ability to give themselves or their friends the faintest pleasure'.⁸ At its best, however, music teaching in girls' secondary schools before the Second World War was carried out by professionals who not only provided opportunities for girls 'suited' to music to improve their performance and composition skills but recognised the value of music as a curriculum subject and a means of nurturing the aesthetic faculties, even for those Avery terms the 'unsuited'.

Professionalisation and the music teacher

Music teachers in girls' secondary schools were located in the professionalising processes that increasingly characterised the reformed secondary schools for girls during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁹ Alison Oram defines the process of professionalisation as one of acquiring 'an increasing number of markers of professional status'.¹⁰ Three such markers are considered here. The first of these relates to a requirement for training, examination and certification which would guarantee intellectual ability, competence, efficiency and modernity and which would in time exclude those without qualifications. In relation to the schoolteacher and as a mark of his or her professionalism, this also extends to them being able to exhibit the examination success of their pupils. The second refers to the formation of associations that integrate individual members into an occupational group possessing and sharing a body of knowledge; the most influential, in this period, being the Association of Headmistresses (AHM) which will be referred to again later. The last highlights the relevance of adherence to an ethical code based on working in the interests of those served, such recognition and accompanying prestige giving the group some decision-making autonomy.

The development of music examinations were part of the more general mid-nineteenth century 'invention' of examinations in England and Wales, which promoted a more competent and competitive culture characterised by achievement and qualification and connected to the first marker of professional status. The first music theory examinations were established in 1850 by the Society of Arts. Trinity College of Music began theory exams in 1877 and practical exams in piano, organ and singing in 1878. The Royal Academy of Music instituted local and metropolitan (diploma examinations) in 1881. By the end of the decade the Royal Academy agreed to merge its examinations with those of the Royal College of Music (also established in the 1880s), and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) was born.¹¹ The work of the ABRSM commenced as a crusade against mediocrity and 'sham achievement'.¹² In the first year, examinations were held at 46 examination centres in Britain when 1141 candidates offered themselves in two grades.¹³ There were many failures and in response two

additional lower grades were introduced so that younger and less advanced pupils might persevere towards the higher grades. It was these four grades, laid down in the syllabus of 1890-1891, that were the foundation for today's eight grades of examination. These were first introduced in 1933.¹⁴

Paula Gillet demonstrates how certification and professionalisation intertwined as it became increasingly important for music teachers' standing to demonstrate that their students had passed with high grades and that they themselves possessed multiple certification in the form of diplomas. Beyond the opportunities to pass the examinations of the different examination boards, women were offered considerable opportunities for professional training by the various music conservatoires that proliferated towards the end of the nineteenth century. Particularly valuable were the qualifications offered by the two Royal Schools of Music, the Licentiate of the Royal Academy of Music (LRAM) and the Associate of the Royal College of Music (ARCM).¹⁵ In 1911, Marion Scott, one of the founders of the Society of Women Musicians, which had been established that year to redress the exclusion of women from spheres of musical life and work,¹⁶ advised in 'Music as a profession':

A girl can either try for private teaching or else take a post in a school. Many of these are resident posts and the mistress is expected to teach piano, class singing, theory and perhaps the violin. The salaries vary from £50 to over £150 a year in good schools, and competition is keen the tuition in England is now fully equal to what can be obtained abroad, in some cases it is better and while it is always open to train privately the advantages from joining one of the great music schools are so real that a girl will do well to avail herself of them.¹⁷

Gillett argues that these unprecedented opportunities led to an overproduction of aspiring entrants to an already competitive and overcrowded profession.¹⁸ Feminist scholars have argued that factors particular to women's experience - career-marriage relationship, mothering, role models and access to training and to audiences - all proved to make women's relationship to the performance and creation of music different to that of men's.¹⁹ They have unpacked the gendering of musical language,²⁰ performance and composition,²¹ and have argued that women's restricted opportunities to careers in performing and composing meant that many women who sought to make a career in music looked to teaching.²² Positions for music teachers in the new girls' secondary schools became very desirable and following the closures characteristic of professionalisation,²³ schools were able to choose the most well qualified applicants and exclude those without qualifications.²⁴

Women music teachers were among some of the most enthusiastic attendees of training courses. As Katharine Eggar, another founder of the Society of Women Musicians, stated: 'It is the women who flock to the Vacation Conferences on Musical Education and the

various Training Courses for Teachers.²⁵ From 1919 the Royal College of Music also provided opportunities for music teachers to attend annual training courses arranged by the Board of Education. These courses embraced the study of 'singing, school orchestras, pianoforte teaching and musical appreciation'.²⁶ Attendance at these and other vacation courses enabled teachers to share a body of knowledge and examples of good practice, which worked to integrate individual members into an occupational group through the acquisition of a shared body of knowledge.

More specifically and more formally, and also connected to the second marker of professionalism, there were opportunities to join associations related to school music,²⁷ the most influential for female teachers in girls' secondary schools being the Girls' School Music Union (GSMU). Established in 1904 against a background of feeling that music was not treated educationally, its principle objective was 'the advancement of music in Secondary schools for girls and the discussion of matters connected therewith'.²⁸ Arthur Somervell,²⁹ Inspector to the Board of Education and a later president of the GSMU, complained that the object of schools seemed to be to turn out as many performers as possible, the majority of them quite indifferent. He suggested instead:

We should turn out young men and women with a knowledge of what music was, and with the ability and intelligence to understand it. In other words we should turn out intelligent musical audiences. The average person attending a concert could not say whether he had been listening to a symphony, a concerto or a sonata; and as to the understanding the key in which a piece was written he gave that up as a bad job.³⁰

At the first GSMU meeting and conference, held at the Francis Holland School, Baker Street, Lady Mary Lygon expressed the wish that through the Union the musical education of the country might be improved. Such improvement was not to be only related to standards of performance but should extend to the raising of musical taste and powers of musical appreciation.³¹

Music as a curriculum subject in the inter-war period

Arthur Somervell's view of the 'intelligent' understanding of music, and Lady Mary Lygon's view of the desirability of raising musical taste demonstrate shifts in early twentieth century cultural understandings of music teaching, in which school music came to be regarded as 'a great civilising and humanising force'.³² The ability 'to awaken the imagination and widen the capacity for emotion, while subjecting its expression to artistic restraint' was also attributed to music teaching.³³ This shift was not only evident in the girls' independent schools which are the subject of this paper. Evidence suggests that the value of music in educating the aesthetic faculties had already been taken on board at some of the country's elite boys' public schools. At a meeting of the Music Teachers' Association, Mr. E. E. Cooper, from the Royal Academy of

Music, observed that he was glad to see that the heads of schools and colleges from Winchester and Eton downwards were giving more and more encouragement to students to study music.³⁴ Tonbridge School was also taking a lead in this respect, as Stephanie Pitts acknowledges.³⁵ Within the elementary schools John Curwen's tonic solfa system,³⁶ the 'Maidstone' scheme for string teaching,³⁷ and children's concerts³⁸ all flourished.

The 1923 *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Differentiation of Curricula for Boys and Girls in Secondary Schools* stressed the importance of nurturing the aesthetic faculties. It recommended that a more prominent and established place should be assigned to the fine arts in the curriculum for both boys and girls. This was to include music and other forms of aesthetic training.³⁹ A report of the Consultative Committee's findings in the *School Music Review* paid tribute to the educative value of music in the school curriculum: 'The study of music, rightly undertaken can be of the highest educational value. We are in error if we dismiss it as a recreation or seclude it as a remote and technical study which is out of relation to the rest of our intellectual life'.⁴⁰

The same year, Cyril Norwood, head of Marlborough School, speaking to the Union of Directors of Music in Secondary Schools, stressed the spiritual value of an aesthetic education. He argued that the object of education was not to teach subjects in themselves but to open up opportunities for pupils to appreciate the three spiritual values of Goodness, Truth and Beauty. He considered that while schools were generally successful in creating an appreciation of the first two but complained of their failure to teach aesthetic values to the same degree. As an exception to this complaint and as an example of how the problem had been successfully overcome, he cited the work of the Mary Datchelor School in Camberwell.

I have called special attention to this because it is the only considered course of musical education applied to a whole school, and leading on to advanced work inside the school, of which I know, it has therefore been the subject of one of the educational pamphlets of the Board of Education.⁴¹

The AHM also pointed to the importance of music education. In 1927 they recommended to the Board of Education that the status of music as a school subject should be improved. They contended that music was one of the most valuable subjects 'both as a hobby, and for general mind training' but complained that with 'examination regulations as they are,' which required specialisation too early, it was often dropped after the junior forms.⁴² By way of example of a school where the difficulties had been overcome, they, too, cited the Mary Datchelor School.

Both the references from Cyril Norwood and from the AHM illustrate that the Mary Datchelor School became a key centre for the development of the music curriculum.⁴³ Its music teaching was not typical of other girls' secondary schools but it was the type of music to which the AHM aspired and which the Board of Education

endorsed. The extent of the school's reputation as a locus for music education is illustrated by a letter written in 1929 by a former pupil who was travelling with her husband in Australia:

The day before yesterday I was at a garden party. The talk had turned to ideals and I heard a voice say, 'I have just one ideal – to bring our music to the standard of the Mary Datchelor School in London.' I made one frantic dive across the lawn to her and we froze on to each other. She is Australian and head Music Mistress at a large Girls' College in the Western district. She had a year's training in England and there learned of the excellence of the Datchelor music.⁴⁴

Music teaching at the Mary Datchelor School under Caroline Rigg and Charlotte Fitch

The Mary Datchelor School was established in 1877 under the Endowed Schools' Commission with funds derived from the bequest of Mistress Mary Datchelor who died in 1795. In the earliest days Church wardens of St Andrew Undershaft in St. Mary Axe, the Datchelor family church, were the trustees and granted £20,000 to found a girls' school. In 1894, the trustees passed the management of the school to the Clothworkers Company. The two interweaving developments of increasing professionalism within girls' secondary education and the educational philosophy relating to the importance of educating the aesthetic faculties are particularly highlighted in relation to the headship of Dorothy Brock in the interwar period when the school's reputation for music was at its peak. However, the secure base on which she was to build, and which ensured music played an important part in the school curriculum, was established by the first head, Caroline Rigg, who remained in post for forty one years. The following analysis of her work, as well as highlighting the value she attached to aesthetic education, draws attention in particular to the first and third markers of professionalism, which clustered around training, examination and certification, and issues of professional autonomy. While the second marker is not specifically mentioned, it should be stated, at this point, that Caroline Rigg was an active member of the AHM having been invited to join, in 1883, by 'pioneer' headmistress and founder of the Association, Frances Buss.

Under Caroline Rigg the second of the two buildings that housed the school was very soon converted and its use devoted entirely to the study of music. From 1881 until 1912 the music department was run by Charlotte Fitch LRAM. By 1900 she had been joined by four other assistant mistresses⁴⁵ who held either the same or similar qualifications to her, a singing mistress and two mistresses teaching stringed instruments, who had been appointed in the 1890s.⁴⁶ Evidence from the School Magazine indicates the importance the school attached to the qualifications of the staff. As early as 1888, writing of Miss Taylor, an assistant professor of singing, it was noted that she had, 'Recently passed at the Guildhall School of

Music an examination so difficult that, though candidates of both sexes have offered themselves for it for several years past, Miss Taylor is the only one who has as yet succeeded in satisfying the examiners'.⁴⁷

It was possible for girls to learn music throughout their school careers alongside the rest of the curriculum and also to attend what were termed 'advanced classes'. These 'advanced classes' were first introduced in 1882⁴⁸ and were held apart from the ordinary school-classes. They were intended for students who wished to take lessons in music only without taking the whole school course; and for ex-pupils who had passed through the school but wished to continue their musical studies. Although there were no doubt economic reasons for introducing these courses, Caroline Rigg displayed in particular the third marker of professionalism, relating to decision making autonomy, by pre-empting one of the recommendations of the 1923 Report on Curricular Differentiation. This suggested, 'that the curricula and timetables of schools should be modified in order to allow boys and girls, but more especially the senior girls, more free time in which to develop their own individual interest'.⁴⁹ Following gendered patterns of musical performance, piano playing and singing were important parts of the music curriculum but these were taught alongside other instruments and harmony and musical theory, which were integral parts of the curriculum. By 1897 it was reported that: 'Our Advanced Classes are running up very much in numbers. Miss McDowall's solo singing pupils are growing quite numerous and bid fair to rival in numbers Miss Fitch's for pianoforte. The harmony and violin classes are also well attended'.⁵⁰

As historians have shown, in the Victorian age public performance was still regarded to some extent as inappropriate for women except for entertaining friends or for philanthropic purposes.⁵¹ Within such restrictions the Datchelor pupils were encouraged to exhibit their skills at concerts and on special occasions such as the school reunion and speech day. The school magazine provides detailed descriptions of many such occasions where solos, duets, quartettes and cantatas were performed; the level of variety and ambition increasing over time. The 1899 school magazine reported the establishment of the school orchestra, which had taken part in a concert for the first time: 'The first part of the concert was begun with Haydn's symphony No 2 played by the orchestra. This was the first appearance of the Datchelor orchestra and we must congratulate the conductor, Miss Werge, and the members very heartily on their success'.⁵²

The concerts were not limited to the pupils attending the advanced classes. Younger girls also took part and by the end of the nineteenth century, class recitals had been established in which girls were required to play or sing in front of their contemporaries to help their technique and to give them confidence. The school's concerts were often supported by former pupils, who had distinguished themselves as musicians, and also by members of staff. In 1897 at a meeting of the Old Girls' Club, 'the soloists played as only Miss Fitch's girls can play', while Miss Marion White, a former pupil who was by now a sub-professor at the Royal Academy of Music, played 'with all

her own vigour and ability'.⁵³

Musical philanthropy provided an outlet for performance for middle-class women during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Within this tradition, Datchelor girls were also encouraged to use their skills to support charities favoured by the school, particularly to help finance the 'Datchelor Cot'.⁵⁴ In 1898 the school magazine reported 'Fancy Costume Entertainment' to support the Datchelor Cot where four of the music teachers appeared as Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, each 'dressed in character', 'favoured us with music suited to the season she represented'.⁵⁵

While the school magazine for this period places great emphasis on musical performance, it devotes at least equal emphasis to the school's musical successes in terms of competitions, theoretical and practical external examinations and inspections.

Every year there are detailed reports of the examinations passed by the pupils which attested to the professionalism of those who taught them. These include the examinations of the Royal Academy of Music (later part of the ABRSM), Trinity College, the Guildhall School of Music, the Society of Arts, the Incorporated Society of Musicians and the Incorporated Staff Sight Singing College. By the end of the decade girls were entering for examinations in piano playing, singing, violin, harmony and the elements of music. Out of 57 entries in 1899, 56 were successful and ten girls obtained distinction.⁵⁶ A long list of girls followed the example set by Grace Keeble,⁵⁷ in 1889, by obtaining their LRAM qualification whilst still at school. The school magazine proudly reported this first success: 'Grace Keeble well known to us all as one of our 'advanced class' music pupils has become an LRAM or Licentiate of the Royal Academy of Music, a distinction of which both she and her teacher, Miss Fitch, have every reason to be proud, especially as Grace is only eighteen years old'.⁵⁸

The most significant of the competitions was that endowed in 1911, in perpetuity, by the Master of the Clothworkers' Company, Mr. F.G. Fitch, for an annual prize for proficiency in music, 'preferably in theory rather than in the practice of it'. Significantly by awarding a prize for theory which became known as The Fitch Prize for Musical Composition, more than a decade in advance of efforts of the Board of Education to bring composing into the classroom,⁵⁹ Fitch encouraged 'generations of Datchelor girls to make their own music'.⁶⁰

The interweaving of the professional and the aesthetic began to play a more explicit role from early in the twentieth century, when staff of the school attended a series of lectures given by a member of The Cambridge Teachers' Training Syndicate. In one lecture they were reminded of the importance of the aesthetic elements of the curriculum. The lecturer highlighted the importance of cultivating a rational enjoyment of beautiful things and suggested that the work of the teacher was to first excite feeling, then to strengthen, deepen and direct it.⁶¹ The school subsequently introduced afternoons of musical appreciation, where a particular composer's work was performed.⁶²

The school was no stranger to regular inspection of all its departments. Inspection of the music department was usually undertaken by a professor from one of the conservatoires who was nearly always full of praise for the work being undertaken. In 1894, Caroline Rigg reported on a particularly favourable inspection carried out by Professor Barnett of the Royal College of Music, suggesting that she had left it until last probably because it is usually of the nature of a 'bonne bouche', and, like children 'we save the best till the last'.⁶³

The success of various pupils in their musical careers was increasingly reported in the school magazine, with more girls proceeding to music colleges and then taking up careers as professional performers, or as teachers, often returning to teach at Mary Datchelor. As early as 1887, sixteen-year old Grace Henshaw, who had been a pupil at the school for eight years, won the first Liszt Scholarship at the Royal Academy of Music.⁶⁴ Four years later the school magazine was able to celebrate her professional debut before 'the critical Berlin public, which ratified the high opinion entertained of her skill as a pianist by her masters both here and in England'.⁶⁵ Marion Snowden achieved her LRAM while studying with Charlotte Fitch. She became a teacher at the school but left after a short while to pursue a professional career and also taught at Streatham Hill High School.⁶⁶ In addition to playing at many of the school concerts, Doris Shopland won one of the first Fitch prizes for composition,⁶⁷ as well as certificates for piano playing and composition at the South London Music Festival.⁶⁸ The Clothworkers' Company awarded her a Hitchins Scholarship of £50 a year for three years to enable her to study at the Royal Academy of Music.⁶⁹ While there she became the second of the Mary Datchelor girls to win the Liszt Scholarship. She studied piano under Tobias Matthay, famed for his development of piano technique,⁷⁰ and composition under Sir Frederick Corder. In the School Magazine it was reported that: 'Doris Shopland has composed a trio for pianoforte, violin, and violincello. Her composition was performed at the first recital given on July 12th by some of Professor Tobias Matthay's pupils at the Aeolian Hall, new Bond Street, in aid of the Belgian Red Cross Society'.⁷¹ Like Marion Snowden, she also taught at Streatham Hill High School, where head, Reta Oldham, stressed aesthetic education.⁷²

In 1912 Charlotte Fitch retired and tribute was paid to her 'great qualities as a teacher' and her ability to 'influence upon her pupils for good in every way' and 'to bring out the best in a girl's character and to make an earnest, whole-hearted, duty loving woman of her'.⁷³ The work she had started continued under her successor Miss Hailstone, who had been working alongside her for some years. In 1914 a former pupil of the school, who in her schooldays was known as Mabel, but who, as an adult preferred to be known as Margaret Donington, joined the music staff, an appointment that was to prove significant for the future development of the music curriculum at Mary Datchelor. Like all the staff employed in the department she held a recognised qualification, in her case, LRAM. She was described as an 'experienced

and highly successful teacher of both pianoforte and class singing'.⁷⁴ In 1917, Caroline Rigg retired. Reflecting her love of music, her expressed wish was that a memorial of her time as headmistress of the school should take the form of an organ to be erected in the Great Hall. This was presented to the school in 1922.⁷⁵

Music under Dorothy Brock and Margaret Donington

Caroline Rigg's successor, Madeleine Dorothy Brock, was a graduate of Girton, who also held a D.Litt from Trinity College Dublin and had qualifications for special studies in Divinity, Social Work and Music.⁷⁶ She had previously taught at King Edward VI High School in Birmingham where she was well remembered for her musical performances at hymns and prayers, for the march back to the classrooms, for gymnastic displays and, 'Best of all was her brilliant performance at the piano when on two different occasions the Staff enacted their own burlesque on the silent films ... She played suitable music throughout and made each show an unforgettable experience.'⁷⁷

Dorothy Brock was described by Olive Shapley, an ex-pupil, who was later to become a pioneering figure in the history of radio, as having the 'charisma of a Miss Jean Brodie and the warmth of a Mr Chips'.⁷⁸ In appointing Dorothy Brock, the governors chose someone whose deep personal interest in Music was to not only retain the reputation for the subject that had been built up under Caroline Rigg but would enhance it further. Her philosophy of education placed great importance on culture of spirit, mind and body.⁷⁹ For her, Music was an important aspect of culture and, as a subject on the school timetable, it could hold its own as an intellectual as well as an aesthetic discipline. Its value was not in the production of specialised musicians but as an important factor in the development of the whole person.⁸⁰

As her Presidential address to the AHM in 1935 demonstrated, Dorothy Brock believed strongly in a head's professional autonomy in respect of her school.⁸¹ She used her professional autonomy to facilitate a broad view of the role of education at Mary Datchelor, one which found space to develop the aesthetic faculties. Many of the traditions established under Caroline Rigg and Charlotte Fitch continued but, under Dorothy Brock, the music staff introduced new aspects to ensure that the whole school participated in the study of music. Innovations included regular lectures on musical appreciation from Professor Stewart Macpherson of the Royal Academy of Music, a key figure in this field.⁸² A comment in the School Magazine recorded, 'We feel we are being taught to hear music as it should be heard and many of us are astonished to discover how much we should have missed without his help.'⁸³ Other innovations included the introduction of a house system with regular inter house music competitions which required both original compositions from the girls and for the senior girls to train the house choir; the award of music colours; the founding of a music club and the beginning of a tradition of the singing of the Messiah by the whole school as a finale to the Christmas term. With the

appointment of Florence Mukle, one of a family of musical sisters,⁸⁴ girls were able to study the flute from 1928. Lessons in clarinet and oboe soon followed, unsettling the tradition of wind instruments being regarded as unseemly for 'distorting' the female body.⁸⁵

Margaret Donington, who had become a full time member of the music staff in March, 1919⁸⁶ shared Dorothy Brock's philosophy relating to the value of music in the curriculum in educating the aesthetic faculties. Her particular contribution to the musical life of the school was the formulation of the complete music course referred to by Cyril Norwood in 1923. The course could be studied from kindergarten onwards. It was built on a structured approach to the acquisition of musical knowledge and skills that emphasized progression and repetition.⁸⁷ For those who wanted to specialise, it led to the sixth form course as the pinnacle, where the girls received very specialised teaching. Dorothy Brock recalled the establishment of the course:

More than twenty years ago my Senior Music Mistress put another question to me. Why could not girls who wanted to make Music their chief subject in the Sixth Form have an Advanced Course in Music on the same lines as the Advanced Courses which were then in being in Classics and Arts and Science instead of being segregated at the age of 16 with other musical people at a School of Music and missing all the experience and all the fun of Sixth Form life and work? Once again, I couldn't find a satisfactory answer, so we planned and launched such a course—and that, too, has gone on ever since.⁸⁸

In encouraging the establishment of this special course, Dorothy Brock had, like her predecessor, Caroline Rigg, pre-empted one of the recommendations of the *Report on Curricular Differentiation* which advocated that arrangements for advanced courses be made more flexible in order to provide a wider field of choice.⁸⁹

The Datchelor music course was supported financially by a grant of £150 per annum from the Board of Education subject to an annual report.⁹⁰ Its report on the course for 1922-1923 noted that the aim of the course was to provide for the girls:

Opportunities for further study in the language and literature of Music along the lines of their own bent, similar to the opportunities which already exist for girls who specialise in Arts or in Science. The course is a continuation on more advanced lines of the work done in Music throughout the school.⁹¹

Such was the recognition of Margaret Donington's professional status and influence outside her own school, that between September 1928 and November 1929 her ideas for a music curriculum throughout the school were published in *The Music Teacher*, with successive editions covering a different phase of a child's musical development. The work was published in its entirety in

book form in 1932.⁹² Donnington was also a member of the Cambridgeshire Council of Music Education, which advocated musical composition and the systematic training of 'voice, ear and eye'. Pitts describes the Cambridgeshire Council as 'a distinguished group of music educators'.⁹³

The list of musical successes of the course participants is a prominent feature of the school magazine. They are too numerous to list individually but particular highlights include several girls who won awards at music colleges, including Margaret Good, who won the Macfaren Gold Medal at the Royal Academy of Music,⁹⁴ and others who were awarded Turle Scholarships (at that time the only open scholarship for music offered by a women's college) to study at Girton. The first of these scholarship holders, Dorothy Ling, was also awarded a Stueart of Rannoch Scholarship in Sacred Music. She was the first woman to win one of these scholarships on the first occasion that the award was open for women to compete alongside men.⁹⁵ She became Director of the Faculty of Arts at Tucuman University, Argentina, and a writer on music education.⁹⁶ Other girls became teachers in girls' secondary schools. Commenting on this Olive Shapley recalled the respectful awe that the other students had for the girls in the 'Music Sixth', 'not knowing that we were going to meet them again caring for musical standards in schools all over England in later years'.⁹⁷

Not only were the skills of the girls welcomed in secondary schools. In congratulating the head mistress and the music staff upon the success of the 'experiment', the 1923 *School Music Review* also noted, with pleasure, that many of 'these specially trained people are coming on to the primary school where they should be given every opportunity of using their special training'.⁹⁸ One student who followed this path was Marjorie Porter, who published her autobiography in 2005. Eighty years after completing the music course in 1925, she recalled: 'How can I really describe these two years? No-one who has not studied the Music Course under 'Don' can possibly begin to understand what it gave us: the happy camaraderie that existed between Staff and Students which induced hard and concentrated but totally enjoyable work.'⁹⁹

Besides practical music, the course included musical appreciation, harmony and composition. She later used the musical skills that she had acquired whenever possible to the benefit of her pupils. In 1957 she became Head of the Johanna Junior and Mixed Infants School in Waterloo. Recalling her time there and commenting on current Government education policy, she writes: 'October 14th 2004. I hear the Government is recommending that every child should play a musical instrument. Wow! In my Johanna School, every child *did* play a musical instrument, even if only a triangle and some more than one. That was over forty years ago'.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

Music teaching at Mary Datchelor was the model to which the Association of Headmistresses aspired for girls' secondary schools. In contrast to Avery's view of music teaching being 'at its lowest level' in girls' schools during the

interwar period, it demonstrates that discussion of music education and development of the music curriculum was ongoing and elicited interest among the head mistresses of girls' secondary schools during the twentieth century. The development of music teaching under the headships of Caroline Rigg and Dorothy Brock, and under the musical leadership of Charlotte Fitch and Margaret Donington, supported by their professional teams, demonstrates that the increasing professionalism of the music teacher and the autonomy of heads interwoven with an appreciation of the importance of nurturing the aesthetic faculties of all pupils. This was particularly the case in the inter-war period, with its increasing stress on the aesthetic and the spiritual in education.

The development of the music curriculum enhanced professional prestige and facilitated career paths in music. Women, like the Muckle sisters who taught at Mary Datchelor and were members of the Society for Women Musicians, were integrated through the Society with other women who performed and composed, illustrating the second marker of professionalisation. Both the music staff at Mary Datchelor and the Society for Women Musicians exhibited the musical successes of its pupils and of its women members through the performances it arranged and the prizes for compositions it awarded, exemplifying the first marker of professionalisation. Some teachers, like Jane Joseph, music mistress at Caterham School,¹⁰¹ saw their compositions performed, suggesting that professional patterns of the composer-teacher deserve examination by historians.¹⁰²

Yet, the music teacher would remain a contradictory figure. Professionalisation processes in music teaching also related to the legitimisation of particular forms of knowledge as cultural capital that reinforced a class-based, European, and masculinist musical canon that was exclusionary where women were concerned. This located the music teacher in a contradictory position and also framed the struggle for access, recognition and reward with which the Society for Women Musicians was engaged.

Notes

1. Gillian Avery, *The Best Type of Girl* (London, 1991), 252.
2. Dorothy Brock in Margaret Donington, *Music Throughout the Secondary School* (London, 1932), Foreword.
3. It is suggested that the view is not only pessimistic in relation to the independent girls' schools about which she is writing but also in respect of the state elementary and secondary schools as Gordon Cox's work attests. Cox suggests that the period between 1872 and 1928 witnessed a tremendous growth in the teaching of music in schools. The focus of his work is schools covered by the Board of Education rather than Independent Schools. See Gordon Cox, *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928* (Aldershot, 1993).
4. In particular see Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, *The Education of the Adolescent* (London, 1927), The Hadow Report. Elsewhere we have also linked

this development to the resurgence of Arnoldian notions of culture. See Andrea Jacobs and Joyce Goodman, 'Music in the 'Common' Life of the School: Towards an Aesthetic Education for all in English Girls' Secondary Schools in the Interwar Period', *History of Education Journal* (November 2006), 669-687.

5. Kathleen E. McCrone, "Playing the Game" and "Playing the Piano": Physical Culture and Culture at Girls' Public Schools, c1850-1914', ed. Geoffrey Walford, *The Private Schooling of Girls Past and Present* (London, 1993), 33-55.

6. Eds. Janet Sondheimer and P. R. Bodington, *GPDS 1872-1972, A Centenary Review* (London, 1972), 52, 83, 91, 94 and 101; Josephine Kamm, *Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of the Girls' Public Day School Trust* (London, 1971), 53, 130-132; Laurie Magnus, *The Jubilee Book of the Girls' Public Day School Trust 1823-1923* (Cambridge, 1923) vi, 56, 134, 221; Nigel Watson, *In Hortis Reginae: A History of Queenswood School 1894-1994* (Bournemouth, 1994), 69-70, 221-224; Beatrix Dunning, ed. (1931) *Graham Street Memories* (London, 1931), 52-61, 81, 106, 123, 137-148.

7. Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, Report, Volume 1, 1868, 548-9.

8. Royal Commission on Secondary Education (The Bryce Commission) (1895), Volume VI, 257.

9. Alison Oram, *Women Teachers and Feminist Politics* (Manchester, 1996), 101. The work of Christina de Bellaigue is also pertinent here; see de Bellaigue, 'The Development of Teaching as a Profession for Women before 1870', *The Historical Journal* (2001), 963-988.

10. Oram, 101.

11. Neville Osborne, 'A History of the Local Examinations of the Royal Schools of Music (The Associated Board) 1880-1980', Unpublished M.Phil. thesis (London, 1981), 40.

12. Osborne, 44.

13. Robert Jones, 'The Pianoforte Examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music', Unpublished M.Phil thesis (Sussex, 1981).

14. This is not a full list of all the music examinations available but it reflects those held in the highest esteem.

15. As the universities were opened to women, it was also possible to study for a degree in music.

16. See Jacobs and Goodman (2006).

17. Marion Scott, *Music as a Profession*, Newspaper cutting in archives of Society of Women Musicians, precise date unclear.

18. Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England 1870-1914: 'Encroaching on all man's privileges'* (Basingstoke, 2000), 189.

19. Marcia J Citron, 'European Composers and Musicians, 1800-1918', in *Women and Music: A History* (Bloomington: 1991), 41.

20. Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Mineapolis, 2002).

21. Sophie Fuller, *Pandora Guide to Women Composers* (London, 1994); Gillett.

22. Gillett, 207.

23. Frank Parkin, *Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois*

Critique (New York, 1979).

24. In the early part of the twentieth century a further attempt was made to require music teachers to be registered; a requirement of registration was evidence of knowledge of music. This was qualified as being Mus Doc, Mus Bac, LRAM, ARCM and FRCO (Fellow of the Royal College of Organists).

25. 'The Creative Spirit in Women's Music', *The Music Student*, X (May 1918), 335.

26. *The School Music Review* (hereafter SMR) (October 1919), 72.

27. There was a Union of Music Directors in Secondary Schools but this may have been more applicable to the masters in the boys' public schools.

28. School Government Chronicle (hereafter SGC) (April, 9th 1904), 34.

29. Later Sir Arthur Somervell, see Cox (1993), 82.

30. SGC (January, 19th 1904), 30.

31. SGC (April, 9th 1904), 34.

32. Cox, 101.

33. Cox, 102.

34. SGC (November, 26th 1910) 440.

35. Stephanie Pitts, *A Century of Change in Music Education* (Aldershot, 2000), 21. See also Jacobs and Goodman (2006).

36. SGC (June 1st 1912), 455.

37. *The School Guardian* (November 19th 1904), 1017.

38. SGC (June 1st 1912), 455.

39. SMR March 15th 1923, 206.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, p.753.

42. 'The Advance of Music in Secondary Schools' in *The Music Teacher*, XX (January 1928), 25.

43. See Cox, 10.

44. Letter from Mrs A.N.Wilson quoted in *The Datchelor School Magazine* (hereafter DSM) March 1929, 212.

45. At least two of these Grace Keeble and Helen Choisy, both appointed in 1897, had previously been taught by Miss Fitch at the school.

46. These were Gertrude Werge who taught violin and Kate Ould teaching the cello; see Mary Datchelor Minutes of Committees 1897-1902, 31st January 1900, 161.

47. DSM (July 1888), 179.

48. Pearse, *The Story of the Mary Datchelor School*, 31.

49. Quoted in Felicity Hunt, *Gender and Policy in English Education: Schooling for Girls 1902-1944* (London and New York, 1991), Appendix 1, 154.

50. DSM (March 1897), 71.

51. Gillett devotes one chapter to the practice of women's philanthropy and traces the difficulties that women faced in gaining access to orchestras, and in particular as wind and brass players, resulting in the establishment of all women's orchestras.

52. DSM (June 1899), 208; it seems likely that the 'orchestra' was a stringed orchestra only at this stage and many of the members were members of staff rather than students.

53. DSM (March 1897), 139.

54. For maintenance of a cot(s) in the All Saints Convalescent Home for children at Highgate

55. DSM (March 1898), 127.
56. DSM (November 1898), 182-183.
57. Grace Keeble joined the staff of the school in 1897.
58. DSM (November 1890), 55.
59. From 'A tribute to Dame Dorothy Brock Head Mistress of the Mary Datchelor Girls' School 1918 -1950,' 13 in Mary Datchelor School Archive; Pitts dates the earliest efforts of the Board of Education to bring composing into the classroom to 1927, 20.
60. DSM (December 1950), 13.
61. DSM (June 1901), 218.
62. See Pitts, 19. Also (William) Henry Hadow, *Music [Home University Library: Vol 112]* (London, 1924), 10. For 'intelligent listening and 'the good ear' see Joyce Goodman and Andrea Jacobs (2008) 'Musical Literacies in the Secondary School Classroom in the Interwar Period', *Paedagogica Historica*, 44 (1-2), forthcoming.
63. DSM (November 1894), 108.
64. Pearse, 31.
65. DSM (November 1891), 44.
66. DSM (March 1911), 155.
67. DSM (November 1912), 18.
68. DSM (June 1913), 235.
69. DSM (November 1913), 9.
70. Tobias Matthay, *The Act of Touch in All Its Diversity* (London, 1903).
71. DSM (November 1916), p.88.
72. Jacobs and Goodman (2006).
73. DSM (November 1912), 34.
74. DSM (November 1914), 38.
75. Pearse, 87.
76. Mary Datchelor Girls' School Minutes of Sub-Committee of Managers 1911-1923 (hereafter Minutes) 9th July 1917, 176.
77. From 'A Tribute to Dame Dorothy Brock', 9.
78. Olive Shapley, *Broadcasting a Life* (London, 1996), 18-19.
79. Curriculum and Life in the Secondary School - 'A Right Judgement in all Things', Address given by Dame Dorothy Brock, DBE, MA Litt D., Head Mistress of Mary Datchelor Girls' School, Camberwell, June 13th 1947, 12.
80. Brock, in Donington (1932), Foreword.
81. Presidential Address delivered by Dr. M.D. Brock, O.B.E.. Head Mistress of Mary Datchelor School, Camberwell, at the 61st Annual conference of the Association of Head Mistresses held at Cambridge, 22nd June, 1935, 11.
82. Stewart Macpherson, *The Appreciation Class: A Guide for the Music Teacher and the Student* (London, 1923).
83. DSM (November 1921), 71.
84. Two of the sisters were founder members of the Society of Women Musicians.
85. Gillett, 78.
86. Minutes (25th March 1919, 215.
87. Pitts 25; Goodman and Jacobs (2008).
88. Curriculum and Life in the Secondary School – 'A Right Judgment in all Things', 8.
89. Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, *Differentiation of the Curriculum for Boys and Girls Respectively in Secondary Schools* (London, 1923), 138-140.
90. The Report of the Board of Education 1918-1919, 44.
91. *Ibid.*, 1922-1923, 78.
92. Donington,
93. Pitts, 21. Cambridgeshire Council of Music Education, *Music and the Community: The Cambridgeshire Report on the Teaching of Music* (Cambridge, 1933). The Committee was formed in 1924. Besides Donington, members included Sir Arthur Somervell and Sir Henry Hadow, an advocate of music education and chair of the Board of Education's Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent. With Somervell, Hadow contributed the appendix on music education to the 1923 Consultative Committee Report on the Differentiation of the Curriculum. The Cambridgeshire 1933 report focused on creating links between effective school teaching and provision for adult education and music making. The Cambridgeshire Group did not advocate sight singing, which was at variance with Donington's practice. See Goodman and Jacobs, 'Music Literacies'.
94. DSM (July 1928), 93. Margaret Good later became a professional pianist.
95. *Ibid.*, 118-9.
96. J.T. Butler and H.L. McMorran, *Girton College Register, 1869-1946* (Cambridge, 1946), 279.
97. From 'A Tribute to Dame Dorothy Brock', 12.
98. SMR (July 15th 1923), 31-32.
99. Marjorie Porter, *I Was Different: A Long Life in Education* (London: 2005), 62.
100. Porter, 204.
101. Jane Joseph composed *Bergamasque* in 1919, while in post as music mistress at Caterham School for Girls, where she taught from 1917 until her death in 1929. *Bergamasque* was selected as the most successful composition at a recital of new music at the RCM and was later performed at the Coliseum, London. Joseph was educated at St Paul's Girls School during the period when Holst was musical director. Holst was appointed to St Paul's in 1905 and is reputed to have tried out parts of the Planets Suite at the St Paul's, for whom he composed the 'Hymn of Praise to God'. Joseph published compositions in a variety of genres: piano pieces for children, unison songs, part songs for female voices and for mixed voices, wrote for full chorus and orchestra, for female voice choir and strings, a string quartet, and a hymn included in *Songs of Praise* and a school song, as well as an article on Gustav Holst. Phyllis Hard (Mrs D Carew Robinson), ed. *St Paul's Girls' School Book* (London, 1925), 13; *Girton College Register*, 246.
102. This follows the insights into the performer-teacher provided by Janet Mills, 'Working in Music: becoming a Performer-Teacher' *Music Education Research* 6 (3 2004), 245-261.

“A deep and lasting importance” : Anna Seward’s Juvenile Letters

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Anna Seward’s last will and testament includes the directions for her executors to seek out a blue hair trunk which was located in her residence, the Bishop’s Palace at Lichfield in Staffordshire. A maid led the executors to the trunk where they found a compilation of Seward’s letters, poems and prose writings, bound together with a coloured silk braid. This was Seward’s posthumous anthology. She had bequeathed the exclusive copyright for the prodigious letter books recording her life between the years 1784 and 1807 to the Edinburgh publisher, Archibald Constable. All else was left to Walter Scott, a trusted friend of many years.

Scott’s literary inheritance was a carefully ordered miscellany of published and unpublished poems, a persuasive critical dissertation, four radical sermons and a small bundle of juvenile letters. Added to these was a selection of other writers’ works, comprising poems by her father, Thomas, and several encomiums by literary admirers of her poetry. The chronologically organised anthology was efficiently laid out and indexed, and it provided Scott with the detailed instructions of precisely how and when it was to be published. Unmarried and with no close relatives, Seward’s customary practice was to control her own publications, negotiate her own copyrights and handle her own taxes and revenues. This posthumous edition left nothing to chance. With such a concise arrangement of manuscripts and instructions, there remained the minimum of organisation for her editor and publisher.

Although she fully intended to publish her poetry and her letter books whilst living, Seward had instigated the extensive preparations for an optional posthumous publication when she became seriously ill around the year 1807. In order to maintain her sound literary reputation and to ensure an enduring, distinguished iconography, she wanted to retain full control of her writings for as long as possible. She chose Walter Scott as her literary editor because they had corresponded for a number of years and on more than one occasion he had stated his desire to publish an edition of her poems. ‘They are uncommonly striking’,¹ was his enthusiastic response when she sent him some of her verse that had been published in the *Poetical Register*. To smooth the progress of the publication of a collection of her works, Scott offered to act as an intermediary with Archibald Constable, his recommended choice of book seller. Scott’s considerable network of Edinburgh publishing connections must also have influenced her decision and of equal sway, when he first visited Seward at Lichfield in 1808, he had just completed a comprehensive eight-volume edition of the life and works of the poet, John Dryden. When Scott agreed in principle to become her posthumous editor, she no doubt anticipated a similar, equally rigorous treatment

of her own works. At this stage her will was written, signed and witnessed but she still remained wary of completely relinquishing control.

Walter Scott lost interest in the publication, however, and Archibald Constable stalled, delaying the copyright negotiations. Anna Seward died in March 1809 without realising the publication of her works. Constable duly took charge of the letter books which he edited down to six volumes and published in 1811. When Seward’s lawyer, Charles Simpson, apprised Scott of the extent of his bequest and of his singular responsibility for, ‘the fame of a lady who has placed the rank she is destined to hold in poetry under your care and protection’,² he immediately requested that no one should see the contents of the blue hair trunk until he could make his way to Lichfield to examine them for himself.

Collectively, the works that Seward bequeathed to Scott offer as much a personal narrative as one of literary merit. They trace her progress through her formative years, by means of the juvenile letters, and then through to the culmination of her successful career, by means of her poetry. The small collection of juvenile letters has a particular significance to Seward’s self-representation. This is the narrative which exposes the struggle for independence and authorship that she experienced in her youth. Seward uses the epistolary form to voice the anxieties she encountered during her negotiations with convention. The intimate tone of her personal letters constructs an anecdotally-framed self-portrait, and she depicts herself as an intellectual and sensitive young woman who views Lichfield society from a position on the periphery, standing apart from the fashionable, self-absorbed and flirtatious ‘smart Misses’.

Unlike the better known adult letters, which illuminate the lives of a network of eminent correspondents from all aspects of literature, the arts and the sciences, the juvenile letters are addressed simply to ‘Emma’. To justify the chronicling of the seemingly trivial fragments of life that usually pass unrecorded, Seward apprises Emma of the value she places on the anecdotal form for youthful self-expression. As a self-taught young writer of remarkable talent, she was certainly aware of the dictates of ‘important’ literature and acknowledges that her anecdotes might seem insignificant to the ‘wise, middle-aged Gentry’ who would want to read only serious accounts of weighty events. Yet she believed that little anecdotes have an immediate and evocative importance to the young. ‘The quick sensibilities of youth’ she asserts, ‘often give to the most trivial incidents a deep and lasting importance’.³

Walter Scott, however, found nothing of ‘deep and lasting importance’ in the anecdotes and he removed the majority of them from the collection of letters prior to publication. His dislike of the popular trend for the

anecdotal form is evident in his forthright remarks in the 'Biographical Preface' to the eventual edition of Seward's poems:

In publishing the correspondence, every thing is retrenched which has reference to personal anecdote. I am aware that I have not consulted the taste of the age; but nothing less important than the ascertainment of historical fact justifies withdrawing the veil from incidents of private life.⁴

Much later in a letter he sent to his friend Joanna Baillie, he was to complain that he found Seward's correspondence generally sentimental, stating dismissively that he had, 'a particular aversion at perpetuating that sort of gossip'.⁵ By discarding almost two thirds of the text of the juvenile letters, he left a mass of intellectual literary debate and philosophical musings, broken only by the occasional vibrant anecdote. Some of the published letters are so fragmented that they make little sense as when intact the narrative has, to a great extent, continuous themes that link together to give a rounded picture. It is also now exceedingly difficult to engage with the serious and somewhat unnatural character that remains at the forefront of the narrative.

Most of the censored letter extracts still exist, however, and can be pieced back together. When restored they document Seward's life from the age of nineteen to twenty-five, providing an edifying history of the formation of her literary talent, subjectivity and independence. When the Derbyshire writer Anna Rogers Stokes suggested that Seward should publish her autobiography, she referred her to the prodigious letter books that represented her adult life, saying that she intended these for eventual publication. To write a formal autobiography would amount to a 'task of egotism' whereas her letters, she deliberated:

... will faithfully reflect the unimportant events of my life, rendered in some degree interesting, from being animated by the present-time sentiments and feelings of my heart—at least more interesting than a narrative of past occurrences could possibly prove.⁶

The collection of thirty-nine juvenile letters which are dated from October 1762 to June 1768, with a break of the two years when Emma was supposedly resident in Lichfield, are also clearly autobiographical and they dip into Seward's early days as she incorporates the conventionally formal elements of life writing. She examines, for instance, the impact of family history and childhood on the adult psyche, as well as the influences of friends, of education and of the cultural pressures in attendance during her youth. Not all of her life writing techniques sit comfortably with the epistolary form and to introduce the subjects of her childhood and self-education, Seward frequently resorts to answering seemingly hypothetical questions. 'Your request that I wou'd minutely describe to you the situation of my native Village, amidst the Peak sublimities, is too flattering to be forgotten or neglected',⁷ she writes,

and similarly, 'you ask...', 'you express a desire to know...' and 'you enquire about...' are phrases which surface with regularity.

The main body of published adult letters is written with an elaborate, poetic formality that allows for clarity and a precision of articulation. The letters to Emma are different. These have less formality, more intimacy and humour; in style an epistolary and at times almost novelistic journal. Frances Burney wrote in 1768 that a journal needs to be addressed to the 'most intimate of friends' in whom she could take a delight in confiding her innermost secrets. Deciding that nobody amongst her friends or family fulfilled this ideal, she addressed her diary to 'Nobody': 'to Nobody can I reveal every thought'.⁸ There is no substantial evidence to prove that Emma actually existed and she may well have been a construction from Seward's favourite literary characters and from her contemporary friends. Her closest correspondent at this time, Mary Powys, was a good friend with whom she could share secrets, but Mary was not at all literary and, much to Seward's irritation, she moved in 'polite circles where only folly and senseless etiquette are to be found'.⁹

In some of the letters, Seward appears to be in doubt about the name of her correspondent, referring to her as 'Anna', and then striking this through to replace it with the usual 'Emma'. It is possible that Seward contemplated using the name 'Anna' for her friend in homage to Samuel Richardson's character Anna Howe, who was Clarissa Harlowe's loyal confidante. Like many of her contemporaries, Seward was deeply influenced by Richardson's novels, which she considered to be the finest of their genre, and she claimed that they were such a forceful inspiration when she was very young that she was unable to enjoy any novel that did not meet similar standards.

The choice of the name 'Emma' for her confidante probably evolved, in a convoluted way, from Alexander Pope's 'Eloisa to Abelard', which was based on the letters of the unfortunate twelfth-century lovers, and which was one of her favourite poems. According to Samuel Johnson, Pope's inspiration for his poem arose from a reading of Matthew Prior's 'Nutbrown Maid', which was also known as 'Henry and Emma' and was another work to which Seward frequently refers in her writings.¹⁰ As she specifically noted Prior's preference to rework established literary characters to suit his own poetic purposes, it is not difficult to imagine her adopting a similar practice in the creation of an imaginary friend.¹¹ Certainly Emma does take on a life of her own. The parallels with Prior's literary characters and with the life history given by Seward to her own Emma can be seen in the loss of a mother, a doomed love affair and the constant, comforting presence of letters. Later, after Seward had become an established writer, rather than negotiate a literary *cul-de-sac* when she no longer needed the single confidante, she appeared to 'kill off' Emma, who receives just one mention in the adult letters, and that is as a friend long dead.

In addition to the constructed correspondent there is, undeniably, a prevailing literary influence to her juvenile letters. The fiction writers to whom Seward best related in her

youth wrote in the epistolary novel genre which dominated the eighteenth-century European literary canon. Among these, the cross-gendered writings of Samuel Richardson and Jean-Jacques Rousseau and, later, the novels of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Frances Brooke (who was a friend), were her own favourites and her response to this style is unmistakable. Letters were deemed to be the appropriate form for articulation for young women and thus became the natural vehicle for the self-expression of women writers, with the ideal model being Richardson's *Clarissa*, a novel which set the standard for literary and for real epistolary writing. There were hazards. If the letter was aligned to a female literary tradition, notions of female virtue demanded modesty. The double standard, described by Ann Jones as 'the tension between public accessibility and private chastity',¹² caused difficulties by, on one hand, approving of women's epistolary writing, and on the other, criticising its lack of modesty if published.

When she first began to write her juvenilia, she was fresh from reading Rousseau's *Julie, or the New Héloïse* and, confirming that Emma was also reading the book, she advised her to 'throw it aside'.¹³ She saw the book as an instructional work, a most appropriate model of sensibility for young women and equally so for the modern male youth who was drawn to sensuality, she believed, rather than to 'tender attachment' and upon whom, 'a little enthusiasm might be of infinite use in checking the fashionable prevalence of Epicurean love'.¹⁴ She was concerned, however, that her friend would suffer from an over-indulgence in sensibility.

Through her literary observations, she aligns herself with the university-educated masculine intellect, capable of an objective reading and analysis of Rousseau and Richardson. At the same time, she affirms herself a 'woman of sensibility', able to understand and to convey through her own writing an emotional response to sights and situations, the former being most conspicuous in her picturesque descriptions of the Derbyshire countryside where she was born and the latter in her anecdotes of life in Lichfield. Rousseau's novel helped her to review her moral values and to set her own conception of love. Emma becomes the pupil to Seward's teachings. She advises against reading a book abounding with such 'lavish fuel to a kindling attachment'¹⁵ at the time when Emma was recovering from a broken love affair. Taking the notion of letters as her own system for the expression of inner feelings and using Rousseau's *Julie* and Richardson's *Clarissa* as her templates, the story of her youth progresses through her letters and naturally she needed the empathic female friend, the perfect reader, the intimate confidante and counterpart, to whom she could confess her anxieties whilst establishing her own persona.

With an awareness of the future publishing potential, Seward naturally subjected all of her later correspondence to revision during her process of transcribing it into the letter books. It is possible to evaluate a few surviving original letters against the letter book versions, although as these were heavily edited they can be misleading. In many cases, however, they have considerably more detailed descriptions and literary annotations, while still

conserving the same central themes and events. Again, the letters to Emma are different. There is evidence that Seward subjected these to two revised versions rather than one single process; the first at the time or shortly after a letter was written to Emma and the second most probably when Seward prepared the letters for publication at a much later date, towards the end of her life.

There is a remaining copy letter of unknown provenance which confirms this. Seward's classification for this little letter is written across the top margin, 'To the same Lady—letter the 7th' and she dates it 1st February with the year scribbled through and indecipherable. A comparison with the final version intended for publication reveals a systematic rewriting, in fact a major restructuring into two separate and exceptionally lengthy letters. The importance of 'letter the 7th' is to reveal an early unpublished and unsent letter which is either a transcript or possibly even the first draft of a 'journal' entry. In it there is a reference to Emma's unfaithful lover, Captain L., whom she had hoped to marry but had been persuaded otherwise. Seward also recollects a poem her mother recited to her when she was a child and she closes with a few simple observations on the merits of placing the



interests of the mind above those of the heart, unlike the other, less intellectual, 'smart Misses, who can think and talk of nothing but themselves, their Caps, their Laces, and their Lovers'.¹⁶ In the letters prepared for publication, however, this draft has shifted and changed from a short note into 'letter the 10th' and 'letter the 11th': two intricately detailed letters containing, amongst other material, the full text and a literary critique of the childhood poem and a rigorous hypothesis on poetry that centres on Samuel Johnson's writings.

The existence of 'letter the 7th' supports a rereading of the juvenile letters, with the censored anecdotes reinstated. If Seward's double revision procedures obscure the historical root of the letters and leave the narratives floating in an unspecified time and place, their blend of genres offers the complex premise of a camouflaged journal and a retrospective memoirs. Although they present what is clearly a self-constructed representation, they open up to scrutiny the conventional readings of Seward's life and particularly of her character. When Walter Scott stripped the letters of the majority of their anecdotes, he attached his own version of Seward's life and works in his short 'Biographical Preface'. As he focuses on her female virtues more than her intellect and her ambition, the image that has come down to us through history is not an accurate representation. Which of the anecdotes are the product of the 'quick sensibilities of youth' and which of mature reflection? No doubt the juvenile letters are the autobiographical narrative of Anna Seward's formative years, begun as letters or a journal, revised over a period of time and finally shifted into a major life writing venture.

Seward understood the value of the enlightening testimony of fragments of life expressed through anecdotes. She dramatises events and tells glamorised tales of romantic elopement and tragedy, reckless duels, genteel card parties, libertine scoundrels, eccentric local characters and the grand balls attended by elegant aristocrats and rowdy fox-hunters. Alternating narrative threads run novelistically through the anecdotes, with accounts of her own and her friends' love affairs. Seward dissects eighteenth-century manners, morals, conventions and formalities. She reveals the constant pressure of attempting to suppress an instinct for rebellion in order to conform to domestic duties. She expresses the pleasure found in escaping from the social round to be with like-minded friends, reading, listening to music and song, discussing books in her candle-lit blue dressing room. She tells Emma of her aspirations:

I love Music, Dancing & Theatric Representation ... But indeed high-Life has no charms for me, the restraints of its *parade* wou'd form an heavy *counterpoise* to all its *pleasures*. I have no ostentation, & am too genuinely proud to waste my ambition upon Equipage, or personal Precedence. Genius and Virtue, are the only human distinctions to which I look *up*. Health, Competence, Friendship & Leisure, form the boundaries of my desires.¹⁷

Tensions spark across the anecdotes when Seward turns to forceful themes of the protocols relating to parental control, which ignited her own self-conflict between independence and obedience. Her exposition of the marriage market shows up the powerlessness of young women facing a marital partnership of ruthless inequalities. For most of her friends, there was little free choice. It was frequently the case that a man would enhance his own prospects through marriage, so that love and physical attraction must take equal precedence with financial matters, and parents or benefactors often had the final word. At the age of sixteen, Seward was beginning to understand the strictures imposed on literary women when her parents insisted that she stop writing. They believed that the expression of her intellect would limit her prospects of marriage and although she was known for her 'lively spirits', her 'warm poetic imagination' was problematic. Provincial life also produced bigoted animosity towards any challenge to received authority. Mary Cobb, a somewhat outspoken friend of Seward's mother and a very familiar figure around Lichfield who was loved by Samuel Johnson for her 'impudence', expressed the commonly felt disapproval of Seward's writing ambitions, warning her that it would be difficult to, 'enter that pale, which Poetesses have not often an opportunity of entering'.¹⁸ That is, of course, marriage.

Seward's mother, Elizabeth, had never approved of her daughter's literary ambitions and wanted her to concentrate on the more conventionally acceptable pursuits for young ladies, such as music and needlework. Elizabeth's own childhood experiences of education were tainted by the violence her father, John Hunter, showed to his pupils, including the unforgiving Samuel Johnson. Thomas Seward, had spotted a bright intelligence when Seward was just an infant. Her brother had died at birth, her sister Sarah was close to her mother and contented in her domesticity, so Thomas introduced his eldest daughter to the English classics.

Like Samuel Johnson, but apparently more willingly, she was made to recite complex poetry as a small child for the amusement of visitors. Thomas had tutored her in poetry from her infancy and what she absorbed then remained with her, setting her reading criteria and sowing the seeds of her literary ambition. Starting with the Psalms and Milton, he gave her Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, Prior, Gray and Mason to read. Thomas's attitude to his eldest daughter's education was ambivalent, however. Though initially enthusiastic, he was gradually overtaken with an anxiety about her intellect when he could not draw rein to the literary ambition which he had set in motion. He now saw what Walter Scott cruelly described as 'that dreaded phenomenon, a learned lady'.¹⁹ It was more than Lichfield gossip about her unmarriageability that troubled him, he was an amateur poet himself and the bluff, outspoken Erasmus Darwin, who was a family friend, had told him that his daughter's poetry was better than his (Thomas's) own.

When Thomas left her to her own devices, she read, wrote and talked about poetry and literature at every possible opportunity. There is no evidence to suggest that she read the abundant conduct material, moral guides

or women's journals, such as Charlotte Lennox's *Ladies Museum*, a typical example of one of the more informative miscellany magazines that helped shape the lives of young women. Preferring literary journals, she sent her later essays, letters, poems, critical reviews, strictures and articles directly to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. She took absolutely no interest in fashion or beauty, she gently mocked those who did. She had no desire to read about domestic concerns or wifely duties, using either her preferred fictional characters from poems and classic literature as her moral model or following the example set by strong female acquaintances, such as Anne Mompesson, a cheerful, energetic and feisty world traveller who was one of her closest friends and mentors.

During these years, she valued Erasmus Darwin's friendship and advice. The poetry-writing physician regularly joined her coterie of literary minded friends, who met in her blue dressing room while her parents held their interminable card parties. He encouraged her to write and the group critiqued and revised each other's work. Years later, Seward told Walter Scott that she had a remarkable retentive memory for poetry and that she could memorise epics on a single reading.²⁰ She even taught herself ancient Scottish dialect in order to read the dialect verse of Allan Ramsay. Scott notes that she complied with her parents' wishes by sacrificing her writing for embroidery, yet the poetry index that she provided for the publisher clearly indicates that this was not the case and that she was writing throughout her teen years. It appears that she attempted to balance the domestic skills imposed on her with a remarkable programme of self-education and writing, managing to succeed at both.

In her juvenile letters Seward sought to express the spiritual notion of friendship having stronger bonds than marital love, a notion which echoed Samuel Richardson's observations of the familiar letter as the means of 'displaying the force of friendship'.²¹ She set out her own rules for this by dominating the epistolary relationship with a didactic narrative, informing Emma that she wanted from her a mutual respect, 'more lasting bands of union', which would centre on a shared, albeit disproportionate, intellect. What she rejected was a relationship approximating the shallow 'first-sight friendship' that resulted from 'the giddy violence' of the 'novel-reading misses'.²² To establish the intimacy of her relationship with Emma, the first letter opens with a lengthy monologue on ideal friendship, which allows Seward to openly express her private thoughts and feelings on this subject.

By contemporary accounts, Seward was a great beauty, tall and elegant with fiery red-gold hair and eyes of exactly the same colour. The testimony of her love affairs with a young soldier, Captain Temple, and with a middle-aged Derbyshire gentleman, Major John Wright, is withheld from the published version of the letters. She reveals how her father rejected both men as not suitably wealthy, using emotional intimidation with a threat of financial punishment if she disobeyed him. She was heiress to a vast portfolio of shares in Derbyshire lead mines, in the new canals and turnpike trusts, and of government bonds, as well as family monies. Thomas specifically warned Wright that,

if she married without his consent, he would adopt and educate his nephew and consider him his heir. And she was most pragmatic on the subject of money, knowing that she had sufficient means to lead an independent single life if she so chose, yet aware that without her fortune she would be in the same situation as, 'those young Women, whom the vain indiscretion of their Parents have educated elegantly without the power of leaving them a fortune to support habitual elegance'.²³ In 1763 she was informing Emma that if faced with poverty she would be prepared to marry any respectable man, young or old, who could accept 'grateful duty' in place of love, although this hardly appears to be probable as it was not in her nature to be either docile, domesticated or compliant.

The code of behaviour governing courtship and marriage caused endless confusion and frustration to Seward as love, duty and misunderstanding came into play. If the epistolary form was a little unwieldy for the descriptions of Seward's childhood and education, it was ideally suited for the self-portrait of a young woman. As the heroine of her own drama, her self-expression through the letters to Emma gave her a means to articulate her inner turmoil and to convey the anxieties she forced herself to stifle when the practicalities of life demanded conciliatory behaviour. She tells Emma how she first met Captain Temple when his regiment was stationed in Lichfield. Their meetings revolved around the rules of etiquette; their encounters were chaperoned and communication between them was difficult and often replete with misapprehensions. They were, she writes, 'Partners in the Dance, and [conversed] chiefly with each other on the public Walk, & in the Playhouse',²⁴ and it was presumed by all that they were in love. Yet, she writes, she was initially merely offering him consolation for his love of Georgiana Chadwick, a wealthy London heiress who was beyond his 'humble hopes'.

By the time the regiment left town, consolation had turned into love but Temple's behaviour was irresolute and Seward was left unsure of his intentions. At this time, she likened the condition of love to a feverish disease, 'nor is my scarlet fever entirely past an epaulet on the shoulder, and a black ribbon in the hat, have not yet lost all their power over the heart of your Friend',²⁵ she tells Emma. Two years later she met Temple by chance in London. Away from Lichfield's parochial atmosphere, they were able to speak more honestly about their feelings and to affirm their love for each other. They became engaged but Temple's fortune had been mismanaged by his guardians, leaving him without money and Thomas Seward refused to give his consent.

In the case of Major Wright, who was a family friend from Seward's birthplace in Derbyshire, communication was once more hindered by protocol and she had to negotiate the conventions of the marriage market to extricate herself from a difficult situation. Her sister Sarah had died suddenly, a few days before her own marriage to the middle-aged Joseph Porter, and Wright was sympathetically attentive to the grieving Seward. Although greatly flattered by his obvious devotion, she writes, 'I was soothed, I was comforted, I was grateful; but

my heart was not *deeply* impressed'.²⁶ The forty-year-old bachelor appeared not to notice her reticence and hinted that he would ask her father to consent to their marriage. Without speaking plainly to her of his love, he made it virtually impossible for Seward to completely rebuff him, 'Not declaring any particular motive, there cou'd be no advising him not think of it',²⁷ she confirms. She did nothing to prevent him speaking to her father, knowing full well that he would be turned down on financial grounds. She confessed to Emma, 'I am not enough in love to urge his consent; nor, were I to do so, shou'd I prevail'.²⁸ The Major, she wrote, was dispassionately waiting for the deaths of a sickly old man of eighty and his heir, a weak, deformed and consumptive boy of thirteen who, he claimed, were the only obstacles between him and an estate of a thousand pounds a year.

Unsurprisingly, Seward's parents had completely misread the situation, evidently incapable of observing Wright's sighs, tears and yearning looks, as they were, according to Seward, 'no Physiognomists', and they were also completely unaware of an exchange of secret letters. Seward describes their myopic view of life:

Different in every *other* respect, each have a peculiar singleness of heart, an earnest simplicity of attention. One always occupied by the desire of narrating something, w^h he fancies will entertain; the other, by that of explaining some circumstance of domestic management, or needle-work ingenuity, w^h she thinks will instruct. And thus they pay little attention to the operations of *Mind* in their Companions.²⁹

Wright took his opportunity to speak to the unwary Thomas while on a visit to the Bishop's Palace. Seward's story recounts how her parents reacted with histrionic shock and anger at the prospect of a clandestine affair and as Wright's fortune was not guaranteed, he was not considered to be a suitable match. Seward describes the 'horribly gloomy repast' that took place that evening; her parents' reluctant civility and forced conversation, the Major's dignity and obvious anger at their insulting conduct, and her own distress at her father's ferocious temper, 'I felt sick at heart & alarmed by the consciousness of those violent passions, to w^h my Father is subject when any thing displeases him'.³⁰ Later, when her parents summoned her and harangued her about the relationship with Wright, she explained the situation and handed over his secret letters and copies of her own replies. She begged her father to deal with Wright on her behalf, which he willingly did. Interestingly, the family history of Major John Wright is vastly at odds with Seward's version, which was enhanced for dramatic effect. Major John was a wealthy man. The existence of an openly-acknowledged illegitimate son is probably the reason for Thomas Seward's objections.

As she found Temple a rather uncommunicative and passionless young man and was merely flattered by Wright's obsessive infatuation with her, she recovered from her initial disillusionment in due time. Both episodes hardened her resolve to take control of her life. Ultimately

preferring independence, she refused to be married off to any of the prospective husbands put forward by her parents. Just as she remained financially secure on condition that she did not marry against her father's wishes, she still needed a role that would allow her to live and write without male intervention. The binding contract of the 'irrevocable ceremony' had to be evaluated against the social stigma, dependency and prospective loneliness of the state of 'spinsterhood', which would inevitably become 'old maid'. With a young woman's sense of apprehension, she comments on the unalterable, claustrophobic nature of a loveless marriage and its unthinkable alternative, 'Yet O! dearest Emma, that word "irrevocable"! - Well! However plentiful the numbers I wonder there are not yet more old maids, ambling and bridling over the dim, unvaried plains of Celibacy'.³¹

There were other young women of Lichfield who were not as fortunate in their circumstances, whose relationships were governed by finances, social conventions or by the inability to challenge parental authority. One anecdote with a central metaphor of the objectification of women encapsulates disturbing traits of degradation within the marriage market, emphasising the notion of the vulnerability of the female participants. Seward relates how a 'Mr B.', an art collector who had begun a romantic relationship with her sister Sarah, had inherited a reproduction of the statue of the Venus d' Medici, which came to represent his paradigm of perfect womanhood. Once in possession of the statue, B. no longer considered the slightly-built, gentle little fifteen-year-old Sarah to be suitable wife material.

Seward discloses B.'s notion of marital possession which manifests in his perception and treatment of a new prospective wife:

It has been asserted to me by one who knew this Gentleman well, and who saw the whole progress of the Courtship, that his beautiful Wife had *not strongly* captivated his *heart*, but that he married her because she was the most exact resemblance of that Statue he had ever seen.

There is an anecdote circulated, whether true, or false, I know not, that this fair Nymph, having dined, with much other Company, at the house of Mr. B. a short time before the Courtship commenced, he persuaded her to suffer her waist, throat and ancles to be measured, with those of the Venus; and that the proportions of each, allowing for the superior *height* of the lady, proved exactly the same. The Connoisseur paid his addresses a short time after, and obtained the *breathing* statue.³²

Once Sarah had recovered from her rejection Seward teased her about her, 'slender legs and arms' that had lost her a suitor but, notwithstanding the truth of the anecdote, the notion of the 'breathing statue', the passive and silent perfect woman, darkly suggests the marital

subordination that sickened Seward.

When Elizabeth Seward's concerns for her daughter's conformity became a pressing matter, Seward drew on her experience of reluctantly submerging her literary skills in order to work hard at the domestic duties and female accomplishments expected of her in an attempt to find an appeasing balance. Her uneasy, complicated relationship with her mother symbolises her relationship with her literary talents in the following anecdote concerning the judgemental Mary Cobb. She writes to Emma complaining that although she was loved by her friends and indeed many of her neighbours in Lichfield, most had little concept of her intellect:

there is a lady, a Mrs. Cobb, considered, let me tell you, the Belle-Esprit of our city, who from her intimacy with my Mother, has daily opportunities of sounding my abilities, from their 'lowest note to the top of their compass', pronounces my understanding rather below than above the common standard. You know I am allow'd to have ingenuity in my needle-works; that I invented upon catgut [a type of gauze used for embroidery] a nearer imitation of fine-point lace than has yet been seen. Lately in a crowded company, of which this personage was one, somebody observed that Dr. Darwin said Miss Seward had genius. "Genius!" exclaimed the Belle-Esprit, "why yes, she is a *catgut* genius that's the sum total, I fancy."³³

There is an underlying tone of grinding frustration when acknowledging her own proficiencies yet, at the same time, being unable to convince her mother that she was capable of creativity in both writing and embroidery. From within the boundaries of obedience and modesty, a confused and angry young woman in conflict with parents and with cultural demands had at least an outlet in her anecdotal correspondence. She continues:

The Lichfieldians listened to their oracle, and had implicit faith in its decree. Nor ought you to wonder at this faith, beneath the force of your own different convictions, when you reflect how few have the power of judging for themselves in the estimation of talent; and that my Mother, who with a benevolent heart has a naturally strong understanding, tho' wholly without imagination, and apt to be a little too pompous about trifles; who thinks herself, and has persuaded her neighbours to think her a pattern of economy, without practicing any of its most useful exertions; when you reflect that this, my Mother, upon the strength of my having committed the sin of *rhyming*, chuses to suppose me wholly incompetent to domestic economy, and has never discovered any thing about me to balance deficiencies, which yet I have the vanity to believe imaginary.³⁴

In maturity and with independence, Seward was able to build on the strength that developed out of her conflicts and to reject the compromising balance between duty and personal preference that she had no choice but to endure in her youth. Her eventual love for John Saville, a married man with two children, provided the final impulse to defy her parents and convention by remaining single. Her freedom to publish her works eventually arrived when she was in her late thirties, when her mother died. The same year, her father became incapacitated by the first of a series of strokes and gave her the power of attorney over his financial portfolio. She rejected, too, any notion of literary modesty and of obedience to the masculine rules of publishing, fighting her corner alone to become one of the most commercially successful women writers of her time. For a brief, shining time in the 1780s and 1790s, she was a leader in a generation of poets. Where her parents, and indeed society in general, had made it difficult for her to realise her potential, she did not let literature slip away from her, neither did she lose faith in her writing ability. Throughout her time of conflict she sought to justify her intellect in letters to Emma by emphasising her perception of self-worth through learning, as opposed to self-interest through the more conventional pursuits available to the young women of Lichfield. She writes:

... may we always strive to encourage and cultivate [understanding] lest [interests of the heart] confine us to the merely selfish circle, and so depress the dignity, and narrow the extents of minds, which nature has, I trust, caste in a superior mould.³⁵

Particularly to assert her right to literature and, in the process, to perpetuate that same right for others, her carefully planned tactics for controlling her posthumous status were necessary, if eventually unproductive. The remarkable success she achieved during her life was devalued on her death despite her carefully laid plans. Anna Seward's juvenile letters to Emma relate the tensions and conflicts of her formative years and as the evidence of the personal experience of a writing woman they are worth restoring and re-reading. They convey a narrative of 'deep and lasting importance' to literary history.

Notes

1. Walter Scott, 'Letter to Anna Seward' (May 1808) (National Library of Scotland. MS. 854).
2. Charles Simpson, 'Letter to Walter Scott' (9 April 1809) (NLS. MS. 865).
3. Anna Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (August 1763) (NLS. MSS.877-885).
4. Walter Scott (ed.) *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, Volume I (Edinburgh: John Ballantyne and Co, 1810).
5. J. G. Lockhart (ed.) *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* Volume II (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837).
6. Archibald Constable (ed.) *The Letters of Anna Seward*, Volume IV (Edinburgh: Constable, 1811).
7. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (February 1765).
8. Frances Burney, quoted in Claire Harman, *Fanny*

OPINION: The Memorial to the Women of World War 2

Miss Joy Bone¹

Designed and created by John Mills, this memorial was erected in London in 2005 as a 'tribute' to the thousands of women who were engaged in war work during WW2. But, looking at the hats and coats featured thereon, one is prompted to ask: Is it a fitting tribute? Does it do justice to the women it purports to honour?

A memorial to commemorate women which shows only a row of nondescript garments does seem somewhat odd, as does the ambiguous inscription carved on its sides: 'The Women of WWII'. If passers-by on the day of its unveiling in Whitehall found it 'bizarre' and 'weird', and had difficulty in understanding its message, what will future generations make of it?

At the beginning of the twenty first century, after a lapse of over 70 years, when the last monument to a woman – Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst – was erected in Westminster, a golden opportunity arose for women to be given, at last, a high profile in what until then had been strictly a zone for military achievements and heroes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, opinions vary as to whether the charity set up to produce the memorial successfully met the challenge.

The size of the monument is certainly impressive;

it is a massive (one might say 'masculine') bronze structure, twenty two feet high, but the symbolism of the design surely leaves much to be desired. Hats and coats to *represent* over seven million women, including 640,000 service women? To what extent, one wonders, did sex discrimination and political correctness play a part in the decision to amalgamate these two distinct groups, civilian and military? There should, of course, have been *two* memorials, so that both groups, equally deserving of recognition, were each commemorated appropriately.

Particularly galling to many British ex-service women is the fact that this memorial started life as a tribute *primarily* to WW2 service women. Two hundred and eighty Members of Parliament gave their support to a motion (No. 315), tabled in the House on 27th October 1997, which specifically called '.... on the Government to do everything possible to locate a suitable and prominent position for a World War Two United Kingdom service women's Memorial'. And it further specifically stated that the valuable contribution made by women employed on other forms of war work would also be acknowledged.

Parliamentary backing ensured that a suitable site on one of London's main processional routes was

Teresa Barnard, continued from page 27

Burney: *A Biography* (London & New York, 2001).

9. Seward, 'Letter to Mary Powys' (17 August 1782) The Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum. MS. 38/11.

10. Samuel Johnson, *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, to the Works of the English Poets*, Volume VII: 43. Lion. Chadwick.co.uk. (accessed 05/10/04).

11. Seward, 'Letter to Henry Cary' (21 January 1790). In A. Constable (ed.) *Letters of Anna Seward*, Volume II. Seward notes in her letter that Prior omits 'the tender apostrophe of Emma to her mother, which we find in the original'. Although this omission was subject to critical disapproval, writes Seward, she believed that it demonstrated the poet's 'great judgement' as 'it would not have heightened our sympathy with her distress'.

12. Ann Jones, cited in Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature* (Boston, 1989), ix.

13. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (October 1762). In Scott (ed.) *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, Volume I.

14. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (November 1762). In Scott (ed.) *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, Volume I.

15. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (November 1762). In Scott (ed.) *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, Volume I.

16. Seward, 'Letter the 7th' (Lichfield Record Office. MS. D262/1/4) The letters and sections of letters edited by Scott are held in one collection at the National Library of Scotland. 'Letter the 7th' is in a collection of Seward family letters at the Lichfield Record Office.

17. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (January 1763).

18. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (August 1767).

19. Walter Scott, 'Biographical Preface', *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, Volume I, vii.

20. Seward, Letter to Walter Scott. 25 April 1802. National Library of Scotland. MS. 3874.

21. Samuel Richardson, quoted in James Carson, "Narrative Cross-Dressing and the Critique of Authorship in the Novels of Richardson" in Goldsmith (ed.), *Writing the Female Voice*.

22. Seward, Letter to Emma. October 1762. In Scott (ed.) *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, Volume I.

23. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (June 1763).

24. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (November 1762).

25. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (October 1762).

26. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (August 1762).

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (June 1763).

32. *Ibid.*

33. Seward, 'Letter to Emma' (February 1763).

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*



*The Memorial to the Women of World War 2,
Whitehall*

very soon identified for this important memorial; but an 'all-inclusive' women's monument now occupies it, and I would suggest that only the sculptor knows which of the many garments festooning the structure are supposed to represent military uniforms. Thus, the Memorial Charity Committee (MCC), in promoting their own aims and ambitions, have effectively air-brushed out of history an identifiable body of 640,000 WW2 British service women – women who, on military establishments all over the United Kingdom, as well as abroad, played their own recognisable part in helping to win the war. They have been allowed, by the Committee and by officialdom also, to vanish without trace. In vain will you look in London for a sign of national recognition that they ever existed. Neither will you find in any public place in London a Memorial Roll recording the 1,486 casualties suffered by the women's services during the war. How can they be remembered when there is nothing to remember them by? How, therefore, will they be 'represented' in history?

It is perhaps worth noting here that although there are at least *forty* military memorials *alone* commemorating men and their regiments etc., in and around Whitehall and Westminster (including a soldier of the Imperial Camel Corps aloft on his beautifully crafted camel), there are in the same area just *four* statues commemorating women. These are Mrs Pankhurst, as previously noted, Queen Boadicea, nurse Edith Cavell and Florence Nightingale, the latter – a proud and dignified female figure – given all due honour on the Guards monument erected in 1859

to commemorate the 22,162 guardsmen who fell in the Crimean war.

And then in 2005, space was made available on two of the most prestigious sites in London to 'show case' two new pieces of art work dedicated to women. One was John Mills' Memorial to women in Whitehall, and the other was Marc Quinn's larger-than-life statue of a nude, pregnant, disabled woman chosen for display on the 'empty' plinth in Trafalgar Square. In that exalted position, she gazes out at the statues of at least seven gentlemen, three of them 'royals', the others 'military'. All are shown fully clad in robes and uniforms befitting their status. Admirable and praiseworthy though the underlying spirit of both new pieces may be, one may well ask how representative either is of women, *per se*?

As far as I know, there is nowhere on display in a public place in Central London, either a statue of a nude male or a commemorative monument decorated solely with items of men's clothing, so why should such forms of artistic licence be considered by many to be an acceptable way of representing women in a public place? Who, in Britain's cultural and heritage circles is responsible for such decisions?

In this category, it is perhaps worth mentioning the *first* model to be chosen in 2001/02 by the MCC for this memorial: viz: a group consisting of a female Air Raid Precaution (ARP) warden with two small children. The lady herself was virtually extinguished beneath her all-enveloping uniform. Commenting on this with admiration, the (male) Chairman of the MCC said:

The symbolism of this is here is a woman in a man's clothes, doing a man's job (war), not only shielding the children with her body, but protecting the future of our Nation with her life.²

Below, around the plinth, was a rack of clothes.

However, the Chairman of Westminster City Council (WCC)'s Planning and Development Committee thought 'the design' was 'unsatisfactory' and 'the composition unresolved' – and so it was rejected.³ Diplomatically asked to produce a new model, the MCC responded by enhancing the design on the plinth. Hence, the memorial you see today. Of this second model, which now featured only outsize hats and coats, the MCC Chairman was equally enthusiastic with his comments:

Now the war is over they (the women) have hung up their war garments and returned from whence they came.⁴

A rash statement indeed coming from someone born in 1944! That was what a good many women – and especially service women – did *not* do.

The architect (male) commissioned by the MCC to 'pull it all together', after the 'top sculpture' had been removed, wrote approvingly that the 'shape and design of the memorial is (now) more abstract and universal'.⁵ So much for a man's thoughts on a memorial to women. In fact, as many men as women, if not more, were involved in one way or another in the project. Among them Professor Philip King, then President of the Royal Academy, and Ken Livingstone, the Mayor of London, as well as James

Butler, described as 'an eminent sculptor', and Robert Crawford, CBE, a vice-patron of the charity. The merits of this 'more abstract and universal' design – to *represent* women – can best be gauged against the designs chosen by Britain's wartime Allies for memorials to *their* service women.

Canada has a striking larger-than-life, four-figure group of women in uniform representing the Army, Navy, Air Force and Nursing Services. This was erected after WW1 but added to and rededicated after WW2. *Australia* has a beautiful and most imaginative assemblage of coloured stones and pieces of quartz on a mound, to represent symbolically every corner of that continent from which her women came to enlist. On *New Zealand's* National War Memorial in Wellington, the contribution of women is represented, along with that of the men.

The esteem with which America holds all its servicewomen is revealed clearly in the magnificent Memorial dedicated to them in October 1997. Set in the grounds of Arlington Cemetery, a central arch, flanked by curved walls, constitutes the monument itself. But the Memorial also includes a Hall of Honour, museums and a theatre, plus a computerised database of registered service of all women who have requested inclusion. In addition, a library is planned. The Dedication celebrations lasted four days.

The Russians have also remembered the women who fought heroically to defend their country, especially at Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) and at Stalingrad (now Volgograd) in WW2. No symbolism for them! On their War Memorials the women are shown alongside the men unmistakably – and with pride – as *women*.

The contrast between all these meaningful memorials and Britain's 'all inclusive' one – the last to be sponsored and erected – could not be greater. Unveiled by HM the Queen on 9 July 2005, the ceremony – as originally planned - including a reception hosted by the MOD, lasted less than two hours. Her Majesty, I believe, performed the Unveiling without comment. It was left to Baroness Boothroyd, the Patron of the Memorial Charity, to make a complimentary speech. Perhaps that sums up the level of importance given by the Government to this Memorial to Women! The MOD, whom one might have thought would be ready to support the demand of the ex-service women that their own memorial be reinstated, sheltered behind 'long-standing rules'. They were forbidden, they said, to become directly involved in any memorial projects which were launched by private charities, for it would be 'invidious' for them to support some and not others.

Strong and valid arguments as to why they *should* offer support were set out in scores of letters, accompanied by hundreds of signatures, from angry service women – but in vain. That was in 2003.

Yet, in 2005, quite by chance, I discovered that the Government, via the MOD, had agreed to take over and fund a project to carry out restoration work on war graves and memorials in South Africa – a project which had been launched by a *private charity* which had already raised £80,000. The graves are mainly those of soldiers who died in the Boer War between 1898 and 1902. I have a copy of a press statement, issued in September 2005, confirming

this, but it would seem that publicity has been kept to a minimum since then.

Both groups are identifiable branches of the Armed Forces – in the first all-female, and the second all-male. But rules that could not be broken for one sex have clearly been bent for the other. The new Defence Secretary, Des Browne, has pledged recently to change 'the age-old culture of sexism in Britain's Armed Forces'.⁶ That would certainly appear to apply to the restoration of the South African graves – although I do not wish in any way to belittle the worthiness of that work.

Given that the Government did not hesitate to sponsor the Peace Garden in Grosvenor Square in London to commemorate the 67 British victims of the Twin Towers attack in New York, or to announce plans for a memorial to the victims of the London bombings, their refusal to acknowledge the service women's legitimate claims for national recognition, in their own right, is particularly galling. Hundreds of British service women, many of them volunteers, died for their country. (See Table 1). They were victims too. And they should also be remembered.

But, in as much as the MOD refused to bend their rules to help the ex-service women, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) were only too ready to assist the Memorial Charity obtain the bulk of the funding it required to complete its project. This was done through one of its agencies – the National Memorial Heritage Fund - following discussions between the three most-senior female officials involved: the Secretary of State for culture, Ms Tessa Jowell, MP; the Patron of the Memorial Charity, Baroness (Betty) Boothroyd of Sandwell; and the Chairman of the Fund, Ms Liz Forman. According to a press release, the fund decided to 'break with their tradition' of saving 'important heritage under threat' in order, 'exceptionally to support the creation of a new memorial', to the tune of nearly £1 million.

All three ladies were well aware of the fact that the proposed memorial had started life *primarily* as a memorial to WW2 service women. So, if indeed sex discrimination has played a part in the final choice of design, etc, are there grounds for thinking that *same-sex* indifference might well be responsible too?

To wit: Officials of an all-female, post WW2 Service Association, which had seemingly completely distanced itself from the project from the start, were, however, present at the Unveiling Ceremony, and, ironically, a military guard of honour was provided by members of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) wearing their traditional khaki uniform. A female official at Westminster City Council (WCC), whilst dismissing the Hats and Coats sculpture as unsuitable for Whitehall when wearing her Arts Committee hat, bowed to pressure and accepted it as Chair of the Council's Planning and Development Committee. Words of sympathy were forthcoming from several well-known female journalists and broadcasters but, alas, no action.

And, most regrettably, the then Director of the Fawcett Society declared in 2003 that the ex-service women's campaign was, unfortunately, like many others, 'outwith our remit for reasons of resources and so on'.⁸

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Millicent Fawcett cried 'Votes for Women'. Would *she* I wonder

approve of the Memorial Charity's cry, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, of 'Coats for Women'?

Conclusion

In conclusion, to bring all this into perspective, I leave the following facts and figures to speak for themselves.

The United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials estimates that there are over 70,000 war memorials in the UK (56,000 of which have already been recorded).⁹ Of that number, only a handful – if that – specifically commemorate women. And *not* numbered among them (because none exist) is a National Memorial dedicated primarily to the 640,000 women who served in the British Armed Forces during WW2, or to the thousands of women who served in WW1 (apart from a WW1 plaque in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, which is dedicated specifically to Scottish service women). Neither is there anywhere in the UK a national memorial recording the names of the 1,486 British service women who were reported killed, wounded or missing in WW2.

Shamefully, within the Memorial to the Women of WW2 in Whitehall, these war time service women – far from being *represented* – have been buried without trace. Officialdom, in effect, has allowed them to be air-brushed out of history.

Table 1: Service Women Figures: Imperial War Museum

Killed:	624
Missing:	98
Wounded:	744
POWs:	20
Total:	1486

Notes

1. I served in the ATS in the last war, hence my personal interest in this memorial. My aim is to throw a spotlight on what I – and many of my colleagues – consider to be a grave injustice done to women who served in the British Armed Forces during WW2 by the creators of this monument. In my view, discrimination and (mis)representation have both played a part.
2. *Lioness*, 1, (2002), 34.
3. Letter, WCC, 12 August 2002.
4. *Lioness*, 1, (2002), 34.
5. Letter, Chartered Architects, 30 May 2003.
6. *Daily Mail*, 26 May 2006.
7. *Lioness*, 1, 2006, 40.
8. The Fawcett Society, April 23, 2003.
9. The United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials, located at the Imperial War Museum.

This is an occasional feature. If you would like to comment, please send your letter to

magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org

If there is anything connected with women's history about which you have an opinion that you would like to share, email an article to

editor@womenshistorynetwork.org

Book Reviews

Karen Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England: The Local Courts in Kent, 1460-1560*

The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2006. £50, 1-84383-216-X (hardback), pp. x + 241

Reviewed by Anne Logan
University of Kent

Karen Jones' carefully researched study of crime in Kent during the 15th and 16th centuries is a useful contribution to debates on crime and on gender relations during the period. Based on evidence drawn from both church and secular court records covering the towns of Sandwich, Fordwich, New Romney and Queenbury and the city of Canterbury, the book argues that male and female

deviance were constructed quite differently in the period in question. For example, while men were charged in the courts with a specific offence such as an assault, women were more likely to be accused of 'being' something, for example a scold, a harlot or a bawd (p. 206). Whereas honesty was the most highly prized virtue in men, chastity was the most important for women. Jones therefore suggests that 'perceptions of gender differences influenced what was reported to the courts, and how it was reported' (p. 205). She also argues that whereas men were



subjected to many different and apparently irreconcilable standards of masculinity, women were treated more as a single group (p. 3). Therefore status was much more of a factor in the treatment of men by the judicial authorities than it was where women were concerned.

The book contains many fascinating examples drawn from the carefully researched evidence. However, the fragmentary nature of the source material can be frustrating for both author and reader as the outcome of the court proceedings was not always recorded. Nevertheless, Jones is able to give the reader many interesting insights into methods of punishment in use in late medieval Kent. For example, Canterbury in the early sixteenth century was equipped with a Cage, cucking-stool and stocks although the shaming punishments the apparatus was used for were seldom recorded (p. 125). Jones points to gender differences in punishment: shaming punishments were more likely to be applied to women, and when they were fined, the amounts were generally lower than those paid by men.

Separate chapters deal with offences against property, physical violence, verbal violence and sexual misbehaviour. Anyone familiar with nineteenth and twentieth century debates over sexual crime will not be surprised to learn that 'where prostitution, brothel-keeping and procuring are concerned, a sexual double standard seems to have operated, with prostitutes' clients rarely prosecuted' (p. 129). A further chapter is devoted to miscellaneous gendered crimes including witchcraft, Sabbath breaking, unlawful games and vagabondage. While the latter three were mostly masculine misdemeanours, Jones argues that harmful witchcraft was attributed mainly to women (p.173).

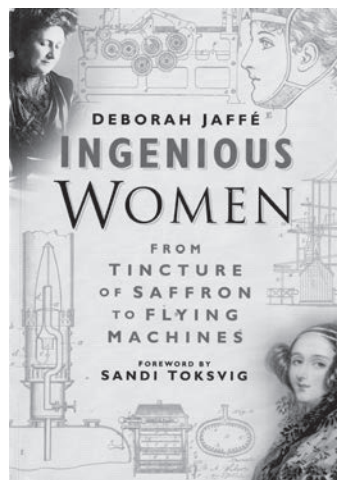
Throughout the book Jones compares her Kentish findings with other relevant studies, including some covering a similar period but based on evidence from other parts of England and some which deal with different periods ranging from the 14th to the 18th centuries. The book's own period seems to be in many ways a pivotal one, covering as it does a time of many political, social, economic and religious upheavals from the 'Wars of the Roses' to the early part of Elizabeth I's reign. However, Jones does not appear to be convinced that there was a 'crisis in gender relations' accompanying all these other upheavals. For those not familiar with Kent, the introduction provides a brief description of the county and points out some of its administrative peculiarities, such as the large number of 'liberties' or areas that were outside the county's jurisdiction, for example the Cinque Ports.

Overall, the book is full of human interest and provides many insights into late medieval society as well as contributing to the debates over gender, crime and social control. It provides thorough and thoughtful evaluations of the extant evidence and deserves to be read by anyone interested in gender and crime generally, as well as specialists on the period. However, I feel that the inclusion of a glossary of some of the more archaic legal terms for non-specialists to refer to would have been helpful.

Deborah Jaffé, with foreword by Sandi Toksvig, *Ingenious Women: From Tincture of Saffron to Flying Machines*

Sutton Publishing, 2004. £9.99, ISBN 0-7509-3031-4 (Paperback), pp 210

Reviewed by Claire Jones
University of Liverpool



In the foreword to this diverting book, comedian Sandi Toksvig writes that in 1712 Sybilla Masters 'is said to have invented a new corn mill but she couldn't patent it because women weren't allowed to register. Three years later a patent was successfully filed in her husband's name'. This kind of story will not surprise most readers of *Women's History Magazine*, yet even to a specialist audience

this book manages to reveal information that is often as delightful and entertaining as it is unexpected.

In *Ingenious Women*, Deborah Jaffé has set herself the ambitious task of uncovering women inventors by examining patent records stretching from 1637 to the outbreak of World War One. Her focus is predominantly on Britain, although she does include women from America, Europe and elsewhere when they have interesting stories to tell. A problem with 'recovery' based on patent records is, as the author acknowledges, that until the 1882 Married Women's Property Act British women had little control over any financial proceeds resulting from their inventions and this could be a strong disincentive to register patents. Nevertheless, this book is not short of inventive women; its contents are necessarily eclectic, reflecting the diversity of feminine ingenuity that Jaffé seeks to celebrate.

Organising such an expanse of information and presenting it in a coherent way is a problem when the material falls into no natural categories. Jaffé's solution is to mix chronological and subject-based classifications with chapters such as 'Early Ladies', 'Appearances: Bonnets, Corsets and Umbrellas', 'Amusement and Instruction': Designs for the Children', 'Transport, Travel and Technology' and 'Queens of Science and Medicine'. Any oddities in pigeon-holing disparate inventions together, such as 'self-regulating inkwells for use on a rolling ship' with Mary Anderson's patent in 1903 of the windscreen wiper ('a simple mechanism for removing snow, rain and sleet from the glass in front of the motorman') serve to highlight both the breadth of feminine achievement and the gaps that we still have in our knowledge of it. Jaffé certainly adds to the latter, reminding us for example

that the familiar brand name *Melitta* belongs to Melitta Benze, the German woman who, after experimenting with blotting paper, patented a new method of brewing coffee with cone-shaped filters in 1908; that the dishwasher was invented by Josephine Cochran of Chicago in 1886; and that the innovative, ceramic-based coadestone used to decorate the facades of palaces and villas in the 18th and early 19th centuries was the invention of Mrs Eleonor Coade, who ran her own factory producing the 'stone' in Lambeth, South London.

Ingenious Women owes much of its ambition and style to the ground-breaking work by Autumn Stanley, *Mothers and Daughters of Invention: Notes for a Revised History of Technology* (New Brunswick N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1995). Jaffé references Stanley in the text and in many ways her book is the same subject researched and presented for a British rather than an American audience (although Stanley's huge work is international in scope and stretches from prehistory to the modern computer).

Ingenious Women is a book to dip into rather than to read in any systematic way. This can sometimes be frustrating, especially when there promises so much more to discover, in particular about women who held patents in 'masculine' areas. For instance, what motivated Elizabeth Barnston Parnell, metallurgist, who took out patents in 1889 and 1891 for methods to extract metal from ore and for improvements in calcining furnaces? And just how did Mary Hill end up devising the 'Acetylene Gas Generating Apparatus'? We glimpse only vaguely how these women constructed their identities. But, of course, such speculation was not Jaffé's intention and it is testimony to the breadth of her research that she has brought these female inventors into the light. For anyone moved to delve further, a chronological list of women's patents is provided as an appendix.

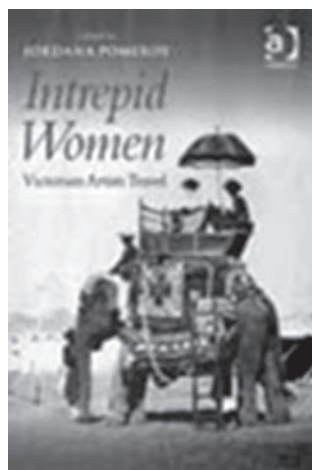
Jaffé is to be applauded for attempting to provide context and situate women inventors into the society of their time. However in a popular text such as this she can only present broad generalisations and these are often a little simplistic. We are told, for example, that at the end of the nineteenth century 'more than ever women were in sole charge of their lives', yet this is challenged on the following pages by a description of women's efforts to ride a bicycle in divided skirts 'so as not to reveal their ankles' and by a contemporary illustration of suffragettes chained to railings at 10 Downing Street.

Nevertheless, *Ingenious Women* is an engaging read, very accessible and with a wealth of illustrations that break up the text. It is a book outstanding for its breadth rather than its depth, but that is no criticism given that Jaffé's aim was to present an overview of the wealth of ingenuity exhibited by women. That she has certainly achieved.

Jordana Pomeroy, ed. *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel*

Ashgate Publishing: Aldershot, 2005. £45. ISBN 0-7546-5072 3 (hardback), pp. XV +144

Reviewed Dr Anne Anderson FSA
Southampton Solent University



This collection, which had its origins in an exhibition idea, contains essays by a galaxy of well-known scholars, including the editor Jordana Pomeroy, Curator of Painting and Sculpture before 1900 the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, DC. Dianne Sachko Macleod, best known for her work on Victorian Middle Class collectors, now Professor of Art History at the University of California,

Davis, provides the Introduction, which foregrounds the 'usual suspects'—Marianne North, Lady Charlotte Canning, Julia Margaret Cameron and Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon—clearly 'stellar' examples of the intrepid tourist. Marianne North was the archetypal independent woman traveller, who embarked on a solo around-the-world journey in 1876, intent on illustrating botanical sites for the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. Two essays in the volume track her accomplishments. Other names will not be as familiar, Emma Macpherson, a Scottish artist who toured New South Wales and Louisa Anne Meredith, a British writer and painter living in Tasmania. Susan P. Casteras, formerly curator of paintings at the Yale Centre for British Art and now Professor of Art History at the University of Washington, Seattle, provides an overview of the travelling women artist, who traversed the Empire 'with palettes, pencils, and parasols'.

Travel abroad allowed some women to pursue interests and aspirations more freely than remaining at home; 'they potentially had greater freedom to indulge their inquisitiveness and to write or make art about alien lands and sights' (p.11). The essays make no distinction between amateurs and professionals, nor are the writers concerned with 'quality' and uneven artistic merits per se, as the motivation for studying such a large body of art has been to see how these 'visual legacies' amplify the building of the British Empire. Through such works of art the Empire was 'made more understandable, knowable, and controllable by those at home', especially those who never travelled to such far flung reaches.

Intrepid Women addresses themes that are currently at the forefront of scholarship, including tourism and the extended Grand Tour, travel writing, imperialism and colonialism, home and displacement and cross-cultural experiences. Jeff Rosen's essay on Julia

Margaret Cameron in Ceylon touches on 'primitivism' and the 'return to origins', the search for an authentic past. Yet Ceylon was being transformed at the time from a land of 'primitive simplicity' to an economic and political asset of 'British Asia'. Such tensions were bound to arise given the 'colonial agenda' was at odds with the search for an unspoiled earthly paradise. The other contributors track similar stories: Maria H. Frawley considers travel writing; Jordana Pomeroy focuses on the medium of watercolours; Romita Ray looks at Marianne North's picturesque view of the Taj Mahal and how English pictorial conventions were applied to a Mughal garden, Ann S. Shteir assesses the development of interest in natural history and botany at home; Barbara T. Gates considers Louisa Anne Meredith, George Meredith's niece, who began her career as a British artist and writer but eventually became a colonist in Tasmania with 'special insights into antipodean species'; and Caroline Jordan tackles Emma Macpherson's written and pictorial descriptions of Aborigines.

These essays encapsulate the longing for home and the familiar by those displaced, the fragile character of imperial identity and the 'slippages between the familiar and the unfamiliar'. They also demonstrate the industrious nature of female travellers, who catalogued the outposts of the British Empire with their collecting, writing and illustrations, and who wrote for a 'home audience', primarily the British, who were fascinated by the exotics—plants, animals, places and peoples of the imperial domains, from India and Ceylon to the world 'Down Under'. The diversity of these essays and the wider issues they touch on make for a stimulating read.

Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, eds. *Women in Italy, 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities, A Sourcebook*

Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 2006. £16.00, ISBN 0-7190-7209-3 (paperback), pp. xii + 372

Katherine A. McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520-1580: Negotiating Power*

Ashgate: Aldershot, 2006. £50.00, 0-7546-5411-7 (hardback), pp. xiii + 282

Reviewed by Antonella Cagnolati
University of Bologna

In their book Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli offer us a wide selection of fascinating sources concerning women in Renaissance Italy. The work is focused on different interesting aspects of women's lives and it is divided into three distinct areas: ideals (part I), life cycles (part II), and roles (part III). Such a division emphasizes the fundamental questions discussed by the main Italian writers over three centuries. Part I offers us an understanding of how deeply theological and biological arguments succeeded in developing a particular notion of women's nature which

underlines their inferiority, and consequently, the necessity for individual and social control of their moral behaviour.

In the first part the two authors have collected significant extracts in order to show the setting up of the Renaissance idea of women, linking together the different indications coming from theoretical ideals of beauty and the literary development of *amor cortese* (courtly love). Furthermore, a crucial

contribution to women's identity comes from the *exempla*, such as the bright icon of the Virgin Mary, the female saints and Old Testament holy women. Other notable paragons are taken from the masterpieces of classical literature, revealing the moral strength of famous women from ancient times, such as Penelope, Dido, Semiramis, and the Amazon queens.

The sources selected in part II give us an insight into the various stages of women's lives as daughters, wives, mothers and widows. The concept of gender is clearly fundamental in the upbringing and the education of girls; thus a veritable flood of words in treatises, manuals, and sermons are focused on communicating strict rules to young women, to direct their social conduct in every single moment of everyday life. Particular attention is paid to outward appearance, which must be simple and modest, and to the necessary skills for running a household. The aim of a married woman is to give birth to children, so many sources underline the value of pregnancy and childbirth for the prosperity of the family and the increase of society, giving advice about the best way to conceive a baby.

Part III shows us a variegated landscape, built up from the different roles performed by women in Renaissance society. Various extracts show us the monastic way of life or the complicated social relations established by court ladies. Of great relevance is women's work: selling goods, making textiles, working as servants or wet-nurses, women of the lower classes always try to earn money in order to support themselves and their families.

Finally, the volume is completed by twenty black and white plates representing portraits of notable women, illustrations from treatises, and title pages.

This book cleverly fills in some of the lack of sources in English and aptly testifies to the depth and liveliness of the cultural debate about women in Renaissance Italy between the 14th and 17th centuries.

Katherine A. McIver adopts an alternative viewpoint in her book to investigate the role of women in Renaissance patronage. First, the author chooses as the privileged geographic area of her research Parma and Piacenza, little feudal courts in Northern Italy, leaving behind traditional centres such as Florence or Venice. Secondly, the analysis is focused on underlining the importance





of the domestic world and the large amount of material goods such as wall panels, tapestries, bed hangings, jewelry, rather than fine arts (painting and sculpture). In spite of the widespread legal concept of *mundualdus*, that established the inferiority of women and the necessity of a man as a guarantor to sign contracts or legacies, we realize how noble

ladies found a personal way to dispose of their money, buying fine objects to decorate rooms or commissioning buildings like *palazzi*, convents, and funerary chapels.

In the opening pages, we find three circumstantial and noteworthy biographies, highlighting the personal condition of Pallavicini women, and the social and political context in which they lived; highly educated and clever women, able to read and write, they actively corresponded with poets, artists, politicians, and even with the Pope.

McIver describes in detail the palaces owned by the ladies of the Pallavicini family in Piacenza, in particular Ippolita Pallavicina-Sanseverina's residence. The prestigious building, located in a significant area of the town near the original cathedral church of Piacenza, showed the wealth of the owner and her power inside the social hierarchy. During the long period taken for the construction, the fundamental apportion of Ippolita Pallavicini was directed to different aims: first, she often disposed of the whole project according to the up-to-date architectural rules of the age (especially L.B. Alberti's), and she also had a relevant influence on the partition of the outward spaces as the courtyard, the garden, and the *loggia*.

Moreover, as the documents clearly suggest, it is significant for the development of a new theory about 'negotiating power', that women used to select personally both agents and architects, and they knew how to find and hire the best workers and artisans.

As the project of the buildings changed adding new spaces for the increasing privacy of the individuals, also the interiors grew in number, in comfort, and in decoration. Single private rooms were added to the original bedrooms in order to put a distance from the public activities of the residence. In the *camerini*, the *studioli*, and the *sala* the Renaissance taste for art was openly displayed by Pallavicini women. So the ceilings were sumptuously decorated with beautiful scenes from the classical iconography, and the walls were painted with fresco cycles narrating the holy stories taken from the Scripture.

For the most part the book deals with fresh archival documents, of which an interesting selection is given with accuracy in Appendix I (pp. 207-250). The superb peculiarity of McIver's work consists in giving a new historical perspective on women's power, displayed in different manners and strategies in order to maintain and increase family properties, or even to advance their social status.

Lucy Noakes, *Women in the British Army: War and the Gentle Sex, 1907-1948*, Routledge: London and New York, 2006. £18.99, 0-415-39057-5 (paperback), pp. xii + 209.

Reviewed by Angela K. Smith
University of Plymouth



Women in the British Army is an exciting volume that brings together many strands of the history of women in warfare, placing them within the last stronghold of masculine identity: the British Army. Although she does consider the traditional role of women as 'camp followers' Lucy Noakes chooses to locate her study firmly in the twentieth century when the devastating experiences of global war forced Britain to reconsider and

restructure many aspects of society, including the military institutions at the forefront of combatant life.

Noakes sets out the intentions of the book in a clear introduction, 'gendering war', reminding us of the foundations upon which the new relationships between women and the military were to be built. This is supported by a more detailed look, in Chapter Two, at the development of quasi-military women's services in the years leading up to the First World War, including the FANY and the various organisations for girl scouts. Noakes is careful here to draw out the connections between these burgeoning women's organisations and the Women's Suffrage Movement. The great acceleration of the activity intended to win women the vote, inspired by the Pankhurst's formation of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903, interlaced with the growth of these new women's organisations. Women were intent on proving that they could do their bit in wartime, thus earning equal citizenship, as national fear of a war in Europe grew.

Noakes continues with the suffrage thread as she addresses women's involvement in the First World War. Many of the women's volunteer and reserve organisations had their roots in the militaristic structures of many of the suffrage societies. In some ways, Noakes suggests, Britain already had a women's army. But in her exploration of the movement of women into uniform during the First World War, Noakes uncovers the layers of prejudice and discrimination that restricted women's activities to the domestic sphere from which they had come. Chapter Four focuses on the formation of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), seemingly an important advancement, but there is little sense of liberation for the women involved. They remained trapped within the conventional structures of social class and tainted by suggestions of sexual immorality. It comes as no surprise to learn of the significant efforts made by the British government to return

women to the home and to domestic service in 1919.

Much of this active class and gender prejudice seems to have continued throughout the inter-war years, although as the threat of another conflict loomed, the British military finally began to understand that women's services would be necessary in the event of another major war. Noakes concentrates here on the development of the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) from its formation in 1938, through its involvement in the Second World War, to its establishment as a permanent part of the British military machine after 1945. Despite conscription, it remained an unpopular branch of the services, hindered by uncomfortable and unflattering uniforms, and still tarnished with the impressions of sexual immorality that lingered from the First World War. The title of Chapter Six, 'The Gentle Sex', borrowed from the 1943 film, perfectly sums up Noakes' developing argument. Despite a range of opportunities provided, often reluctantly, by the British Army, old prejudices remained and women were continually cast in roles that echoed their domestic past and did not threaten their feminine identity. Where women did have the opportunity to work with their male colleagues, for example at anti-aircraft sites, it was clearly identified as for the duration only and with non-combatant status.

In her conclusion, Noakes examines the fate of women's services in the years following the Second World War, discovering similar trends to re-label women as homemakers. Despite some progress, the army, it seems, has remained the domain of men throughout the twentieth century. The argument is convincing, if a little disheartening and, perhaps, predictable. While much of the background material in the book can be found elsewhere, the reworking of these ideas with significant original research gives a much broader picture of this important topic. The focus, primarily on the WAAC and the ATS is interesting and detailed, but the reader is occasionally left wanting more information about some of the smaller services. At the same time, however, there is an interesting discussion of race and gender in the army that runs throughout the chapters. As a whole the book is scholarly and very readable. It constitutes a valuable

resource with so much useful material brought together in one volume.

Books Received

Anne Cova, ed. *Comparative Women's History: New Approaches* (Columbia University Press, 2006)

Sheryllyne Haggerty, *The British-Atlantic Trading Community 1760-1810: Men, Women and the Distribution of Goods* (Brill, 2006)

Judith Jennings, *Gender, Religion, and Radicalism in the Long Eighteenth Century: The 'Ingenious Quaker' and Her Connections* (Ashgate, 2006)

Helen M. Jewell, *Women in Late Medieval and Reformation Europe 1200-1550* (Palgrave, 2007)

Helen M. Jewell, *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe c.500-1200* (Palgrave, 2007)

Dr Sonya Leff, *Yes, Health Minister: 40 Years Inside the NHS Working for Children* (Book Guild, 2006)

Yvonne McKenna, *Made Holy: Irish Women Religious at Home and Abroad* (Irish Academic Press, 2006)

Margaret Ó hÓgartigh, *Kathleen Lynn: Irishwoman, Patriot, Doctor* (Irish Academic Press, 2006)

Deirdre Palk, *Gender, Crime and Judicial Discretion: 1780-1830* (Royal

Historical Society's Studies in History Series) (Boydell & Brewer, 2006)

Annette F. Timm and Joshua A. Sanborn, *Gender, Sex and the Shaping of Modern Europe: A History from the French Revolution to the Present Day* (Berg, 2007)

Moira von Knorring, *Women of Ice and Fire* (Serendipity, 2006)

Call for Reviewers

If you would like to review any of the above for *Women's History Magazine*, please contact Jane Potter, email: bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org

Obituary: Carol Adams (1948-2007)

Carol Adams died on Thursday 11th January 2007 after a prolonged struggle with cancer. She had just retired from being the first Chief Executive of the General Teaching Council, an organization set up by the Labour Party to promote a professional body for teachers. However, Carol was no tame appointee but a woman who, albeit charmingly, forged the GTC for the benefit of teachers rather than for Government. Her refreshing pragmatism, inspired by a genuine concern for the right of every child to a high-grade education, contrasted with the often meaningless rhetoric currently in vogue.

Under Carol's indefatigable leadership the GTC grew into a mature independent organization with a register of 500,000 qualified teachers, a strong research base and a Teacher Learning Academy.

Carol's levelheaded approach to educational

development may be traced to her childhood. She was born in Hackney to working-class parents who were proud of their clever daughter. They encouraged her to apply for a scholarship to Christs Hospital School, a boarding school set up in the 16th century to educate bright children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. As a post-war baby Carol benefited from the 1960s expansion of higher education, studying History at the newly established University of Warwick. Here the radical side of her character emerged as she questioned the absence of women from courses on revolutionary uprisings. Equality was to be a major theme of her life.

Career opportunities for women were still limited when Carol graduated so she, like so many talented women of her generation, took up teaching. When Carol first taught (at a tough London comprehensive) there



were not enough positive role models for girls in school text books - so she wrote some. Her first books, written in the mid 1970s, were co-authored and formed part of a series of three, *The Gender Trap*, and encouraged young teenagers to question the prevalent stereotypes of women. All aspects of life were covered: *Education and Work*; *Sex and Marriage*; *Messages and Images*. The first book, *Education and Work*, examined the ways in which girls' lives were limited from an early age, by the books they read, by the ways in which schools were organized, by the exam system and so on. Her next book *Ordinary Lives* (1982), again targeted at teenagers, was delightful, capturing the spirit of late Victorian and Edwardian England through the voices of those who lived through it. History, in Carol's view, should not feature rich and famous men to the exclusion of everyone else.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s women's history rarely existed. In academia it was hardly visible and in schools completely absent excepting for a few queens and women worthies. Carol was determined to help change this and pioneered women's history in schools. When she was appointed Manager of the ILEA History and Social Science Centre she ran courses on how teachers could include 50% of the world in History; she helped form a group called Women In the Teaching of Classroom History (the acronym was WITCH - it was after all the 1980s). This group, which initially consisted of Carol, Cathy Loxton and myself, prepared a poster exhibition on 19th century homemaking, a slide programme on Renaissance women and a document pack on working in a 19th century factory, all of which were available to London teachers. Long evenings and most weekends were spent researching, preparing and discussing how to present these various topics in a way that might appeal to London pupils. Cathy and I wearied more quickly than Carol but her dynamic sense of fun, extraordinary energy and enthusiasm, kept

us awake and more or less on task.

This innovative work was written up in the *Times Educational Supplement*. As a result, Carol was invited to edit a series on women in history for Cambridge University Press. The ever-generous Carol, however, made sure that Cathy Loxton and I were joint editors too. Such was the collective spirit of the time that one of the small books we produced had three editors and four authors. Ten books were ultimately published ranging from medieval women through to the lives of women in India. Carol tried, in the spirit of Women's History Network today, to link academics with school teachers: Diane Atkinson, Hilary Bourdillon, Angela V John, Judy Lown, Cathy Porter, Rosina Visram were among those who wrote for the series. These were days before any Research Assessment Exercise put paid to this kind of collaborative work. I remember banging out book proposals on Carol's old typewriter and the three of us collapsing with laughter as we tried to think of reasons to reject a book proposal by a man who dared to believe he might write for 'our' series.

Curriculum innovation was important to Carol but she also believed that organizations could play a part in effecting change. The women's liberation movement had begun to make some impact on public thinking and this led to the Inner London Education Authority realising that girl pupils needed special attention. In the 1980s Carol was appointed the first Equal Opportunities inspector in London with the aim of raising teachers' awareness of gender inequality among London pupils. Her managerial talents were exceptional and soon she was appointed Assistant Chief Education Officer for Haringey followed by, Chief Education Officer for Wolverhampton, and later Chief Education Officer for Shropshire. Throughout her life Carol was driven to improve the educational achievements of all pupils regardless of their class, ethnicity, race or gender. As an ex-Hackney girl she was only too conscious of the need for good teaching and held resolutely to the principle that the right sort of education could be a force for the right sort of change. In 2006, not surprisingly given her success at promoting educational equality, she was appointed to serve on the Commission for Racial Equality.

In between running the ILEA Equal Opportunities team, writing school books and studying for an MA at the University of London Carol had her first child, Joe, followed by Amy. Carol's children are now beautiful, talented and compassionate young adults, a tribute to a mother who loved them unconditionally. In addition to her work and her children Carol loved having a good time: meeting up with friends, traveling and shopping all delighted her and if the latter three could be linked, more the pleasure. In the last few months of her life she was still playing the saxophone in a band and she found the time and energy to visit Georgia, Canada, Slovenia, Venice and was planning more trips. Carol's high spirits, her compassion, her courage and unflagging commitment to improving standards in education were breath-taking. We have all lost an exceptional woman whose groundbreaking early work in women's history was an inspiration to a great many younger historians.

Paula Bartley

Women's Library News

Awards

We are delighted to announce that The Women's Library has recently received two major landmarks. Firstly, the Library collections have been formally recognised by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) through its Designation Scheme. Having met the rigorous criteria, the collections have been acknowledged as being of "outstanding national and international importance". The panel considered the history and significance of the collections to be "unquestionable" and commended "the Library's professionalism, commitment to involving new audiences and contribution to its social and cultural environment".

Antonia Byatt, Director, commented that this recognition "is a vindication for all the women who have fought for equality over the last 200 years, whose campaigns, from suffrage to equal pay, form our collections".

In addition, our exhibition *Prostitution: What's Going On?* and the supporting programme of events and educational activities has been long-listed for the Gulbenkian Prize 2007 for museums and galleries. The prize is given annually to one museum or gallery anywhere in the UK, and is open to a wide range of projects, both large and small. The long-list also includes the Jameel Gallery of Islamic Art at the V&A, the Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, Glasgow, the new aquarium at the Horniman Museum and Kew Palace. You can find out more about the prize and the full long-list at www.thegulbenkianprize.org.uk and vote for The Women's Library on The People's Vote at www.24hourmuseum.org.uk/nwh/ART43382.html

Newly catalogued material

A number of archive collections have recently been made available for consultation at The Women's Library. These include the records of Hackney Women's Aid (5HWA) dating from the 1970's and 1980's and the papers of Betty Heathfield (7BEH), which include transcripts of interviews with members of Women Against Pit Closures, 1984-1985. We have also received and catalogued additional material relating to Vera (Jack) Holme (7VJH), covering her activities as a suffragette, her work with the Women's Volunteer Reserve and the Scottish Women's Hospital Unit during the First World War and her personal life and friendships.

Records for three of The Library's important visual collections have now been added to the catalogue and can be searched online. These include the postcard collection documenting women's campaigns, activists and propaganda across the 20th century; the poster collection, 1877-2000, consisting of suffrage posters and newspaper bills as well as late 20th century campaigning posters and our collection of 51 banners representing suffrage organisations and women's trade unions. Further information about these holdings can be found at www.thewomenslibrary.ac.uk/archivemuseumcatalogue

Forthcoming events

The Library's spring programme includes a welcome return of our exhibition *What women want: stories from The Women's Library* showcasing a range of material drawn from across the collections and featuring new work made by the Blackfriars Settlement and Stitches in Time.

Guided walks around Whitechapel and Spitalfields, talks by Lynne Segal and Sarah Waters, study days on women's role and experiences of the slave trade, a symposium on sexualisation of culture in the 21st century and a series of reading group sessions are all available for current booking. We will be running a free zine fest on Saturday 12 May, including a creative workshop, zine stalls and a chance to meet women zine producers. A two-day writing festival will take place, in partnership with Spread the Word and Mslexia magazine, on 20 and 21 April, and includes writing workshops, author readings, interviews and a small press fair.

Further information about The Women's Library exhibitions and events can be found on our website at www.londonmet.ac.uk/thewomenslibrary/whats-on/events/events_home.cfm.

Events can be booked in advance by emailing moreinfo@thewomenslibrary.ac.uk, or by calling us on 020 7320 2222.

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Publishing Opportunities

Minerva Journal of Women and War

Minerva Journal of Women and War is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal which welcomes submissions pertaining to the relationship of women to war and the role of gender in the armed services around the world.

The first issue of *Minerva Journal of Women and War* is scheduled for publication in April 2007. This new journal replaces *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military* which suspended publication in 2002. The Founding Editor-in-Chief is Linda Grant De Pauw, now Professor Emeritus of The George Washington University, who will act in a consultative capacity. The journal's editorial team consists of: Jennifer G. Mathers (University of Wales, Aberystwyth), Reina Pennington (Norwich University, Vermont), and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe (Sheffield University). The book review editor is Lance Janda (Cameron University, Oklahoma).

For additional information about subscriptions and the submission of articles, please visit the website of The Minerva Center: www.minervacenter.com or McFarland & Company, Publishers: www.mcfarlandpub.com

Members of the Minerva Society for the Study of Women and War (MSSWW) will receive the journal as part of their dues. Reduced rates are available to the military, students and veterans.

Calls for Papers

West of England and South Wales History Network Study Day University of Exeter Saturday 5 May 2007

Papers are invited for this study day; proposals from postgraduate students and independent researchers working in **any discipline**, not just history, are particularly welcomed, and ideas for panels or workshops may also be submitted.

There is no specific theme for the day and we invite proposals for papers from any historical context or period.

For further information or to discuss a proposal please email as below. Abstracts, of not more than 300 words, outlining your topic, with a title if possible, should be sent to: Sarah Toulalan, Department of History, Amory Building, University of Exeter, EX4 4RJ. Email: S.D.Toulalan@exeter.ac.uk

Deadline: Thursday 5 April 2007

Lesbian Existence and the Lesbian Continuum 3-Day International Interdisciplinary Conference University College, Dublin 14-16 June 2007

To be held at the Women's Education, Research and Resource Centre (WERRC), School of Social Justice, University College Dublin, Ireland. Keynote Speakers: Adrienne Rich and Ruth Vanita. Proposals (for individual papers, sessions, round table discussions and workshops) are welcomed on (though are by no means limited to) the following:

- Literature, biographies, histories, lesbian activisms, alliances and ruptures, radical feminisms, identities, ethnicities, historical literature
- Motherhood
- Worldwide Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movements, Community and Social Activisms, Histories of Sexualities, Queer Readings of Literature And Histories

For more details email lesbian.lives@ucd.ie or visit www.ucd.ie/werrc Dr. Mary McAuliffe, Women's Education, Research and Resource Centre (WERRC) School of Social Justice, Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington Building, University College Dublin Belfield, Dublin 4 Ireland. Tel: +353 1 7168572 Fax: +353-1-7161195

Deadline: 27 April 2007

Glasgow Graduate School of Arts and Humanities The Cultural Value of Oral History University of Glasgow 24-26 July 2007

This event is intended to establish a cross-disciplinary forum in which to assess the evidential significance of orality and oral history. The aim is to encourage academic excellence and an exchange of knowledge between experienced academics, postgraduates and professionals in the field.

We welcome proposals from all disciplines and subject areas. Topics addressed might include the following:

- How does the theory and practice of oral history relate to orality, aurality and oral cultures?
- How does the practice of oral history interact with cultural taboos?
- Is there a case for logocentrism?
- What is the future of oral history in the digital world?
- How has orality and aurality shaped past and present societies?
- History - Herstory: Does oral history redress the gender balance?

- Giving voice to the voiceless - is oral history the key to marginalized sectors of society?
- What are the cultural and evidential values of the oral record?
- How do we deal with 'silences' in oral history?
- Is oral history 'politically correct'? What is its role within the educational agenda?
- How are individual and collective memories configured?

Papers should be 20 minutes in length and may include audio and visual elements within this timescale. Proposals from postgraduates are particularly welcomed.

Abstracts of no more than 250 words should be sent by email as MS Word or PDF attachment, with a brief biography, to the conference organizers at the email address below. Poster and exhibition proposals, and any requests for further information, should be sent to the same address.

Fiona M Stewart, Italian Section School of Modern Languages & Cultures, Hetherington Building, Bute Gardens, University of Glasgow G12 8RS UK Email: oralhistory@gla.ac.uk

Deadline: 4 May 2007

Waged Domestic Work and the Making of the Modern World

University of Warwick
May 2008 (dates to be confirmed)

This international conference is planned to explore the role of waged domestic work in the making of modern economic, social, and cultural formations. We will address the absence from most national histories of the workers who performed domestic labour, whether they were called servants or something else, and the full implications of the convention of not including housework in measures of national income, past and present. New work on the globalized market for domestic employment provides one of our most important perspectives.

The absence of the largest category of working people, domestic servants, from historical accounts of class and state formation has inflected research on waged domestic work, in sociology, political science and anthropology. The Conference will explore the full implications of understanding servants as workers, and the service relationship as a social relationship. The perspective of the Conference is historical, but its focus is modern understandings of domestic labour in a global perspective. Contributions are particularly and warmly invited from scholars of the social and human sciences in general, and of literature.

Proposals for papers (max. 250 words) should be e-mailed to either Kate.E.Smith@warwick.ac.uk or to C.K.Steedman@warwick.ac.uk

Deadline: 1 June 2007

History of Education Society (UK) Annual Conference: Education and Globalization

University of Birmingham
7-9 December 2007

Keynote Speakers: Dr Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt University); Professor Catherine Hall (University College London) and Professor Pablo Pineau (University of Buenos Aires and University of Lujan.

Education has a long and complex relationship with the process of globalization. The development of global trade, finance and communications over a period of five centuries also witnessed exchanges in educational ideas, images, practices and personnel. This conference will explore the historical development of education and globalization and it does so during the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire. Papers on the role of education in the abolition of the slave trade are particularly welcome. The organisers of the conference welcome papers on:

- Education and Social Justice
- Empire, imperialism and education
- International geographies of knowledge
- Migrants, migration and education
- Science, technology and 'modernisation'

Proposals for papers (250 words) should be sent to Dr Kevin Myers, School of Education, University of Birmingham, Weoley Park Road, Birmingham B29 6LL. Email: k.p.myers@bham.ac.uk

Please note that a limited number of bursaries (£200 each) are available to support unwaged conference delegates. Applications and enquiries should be made to Professor Ruth Watts, School of Education, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, B15 2TT. Email: r.e.watts@bham.ac.uk

For further details and booking form visit: www.historyofeducation.org.uk

Deadline: 2 July 2007 (first) 3 September 2007 (final).

WHN £1000 BOOK PRIZE

The WHN £1000 Book Prize is awarded for an author's first book which makes a significant contribution to women's history or gender history and is written in an accessible style that is rewarding to the general reader of history. The book must be written in English and be published the year prior to the award being made.

The 2007 competition closed on March 15th and the winner will be announced at the WHN Annual Conference at the University of Winchester in September 2007.

For further information please contact June Purvis, chair of the panel of judges, email: bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org

Conferences/Events

Harriet Martineau: Subjects and Subjectivities One-day Conference

Institute of English Studies, London
21 April 2007

This interdisciplinary one-day conference considers the making of political, imperial and individual identities in the work of Harriet Martineau (1802-1876). Confirmed speakers include the leading scholars Catherine Hall (UCL), Cora Kaplan (Queen Mary), Deborah Anna Logan (Western Kentucky), Linda Peterson (Yale) and Valerie Sanders (Hull). Panels are on Economics and Globalization: Cultural Encounters; Mind and Body; Language and Translation. Provisional programme and registration details can be found at: ies.sas.ac.uk/events/conferences/2007/Martineau/index.htm

For further details, contact Jon Millington (Events Officer): jon.millington@sas.ac.uk (+ 44) (0)20 7664 4859; Institute of English Studies, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.

West of England and South Wales Women's History Network

Women on the Margins in 19th Century Bristol

University of the West of England
21 April 2007 10.am-1pm

A study day open to all members of the network and any one interested in women's or gender history, to be held at St Matthias Campus, Fishponds, Bristol. Speakers:

Gillian James: (UWE) *The Bristol Mission Society 1859-1884: Prevention or Cure.*

Christine Crabbe (UWE) *Women and Temperance Reform in Bristol 1853 -1910.*

To be followed by a round-table discussion on the general theme of the conference.

All contributions and thoughts relating to your own or other people's research will be very welcome. For further information email Katherine.Holden@uwe.ac.uk

Women's History Scotland and Shetland Museum & Archives

A Woman's Island? Women in Shetland-Past, Present and Future

Hays Dock, Lerwick, Shetland
20 - 22 April 2007

Shetland's history has a powerful influence on the ways in which the islands' inhabitants perceive themselves and their identity. The combination of a wealth of scholarly studies on Shetland and the local interest in the past, as well as the development of a £10 million centre for

Shetland Museum and Archives presents an unrivalled opportunity to consider the dominant representations of Shetland's past. In particular we aim to investigate the connections between the idea of Shetland as a female dominated society in the past and present-day gender relations as they are manifested in a variety of contexts: work, art, literature and poetry, textiles, music and so on.

For more details contact: Lynn Abrams, Department of History, University of Glasgow, 2 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ or by email: L.Abrams@history.arts.gla.ac.uk

Women, Religion and Education Seminar Series

University of Winchester

Wednesday 2 May 2007 at 4.15 pm

Janet Howarth, Oxford University 'Dorothy Beale's vision of the place of religion in the higher education of women

Sandy Kennedy, Institute of Education, University of London 'Pragmatism and Prejudice: The story of Catholicism in nineteenth century Brighton'.

Venue: King Alfred Campus, Tom Atkinson Building, University of Winchester.

Women's History Network (Midlands Region)

Conference 9am-1pm

University of Worcester
12 May 2007

To be held in Room M.B.89, Department of AHSS, University of Worcester, Henwick Grove, worcester WR2 6AJ. Programme:

- Brian Griffin, Bath Spa University '**Women and the Cycling Boom in Victorian Ireland: Image and Reality.**'
- Catherine Hunt, Coventry University '**Picnics, Dances and Whist Drives: Bringing Women in the Union in early 20th century Britain.**'
- Carol Osborne, St Martin's College, Lancaster '**Presumptuous Pinnacle Ladies: The Development of Independent Climbing for Women during the Inter War Years**
- Fiona Skillen, University of Glasgow '**The Women's Tug-of-War was a more Spectacular Affair than that of the Men's: Women's Participation in work-based Sport in Scotland between the Wars.**

Prices: (including coffee/tea) £ 5.50 (students and concessions £ 3.50). Please make cheques payable to: Women's History Network Midlands Region and send to: Sue Johnson at the address above. Email: s.johnson@worc.ac.uk

**West of England and South Wales Women's
History Network
Women on the move: Refugees, migration and
Exile**

University of the West of England, Bristol
Saturday 23 June 23rd

13th Annual Conference. The plight of refugees and the impact of migration currently excites much popular and political interest. Yet these movements are not new and there are long, albeit neglected histories of migration, forced migration and exile.

Contact: Fiona Reid, HLaSS, University of Glamorgan, Wales, CF37 1DL. Email: freid1@glam.ac.uk

Winifred Holtby (1898-1935): a Colloquium
Anglia Ruskin University (Cambridge Campus)
Saturday 6 October 2007

Winifred Holtby is remembered for her posthumously published novel, *South Riding* (1936) and for her friendship with the writer, Vera Brittain. She wrote poetry and drama, as well as other novels and numerous short stories, before her death in 1935 at the age of thirty-seven. Holtby was a Director of the periodical, *Time and Tide*, the author of the first critical study of Virginia Woolf (1932), and of *Women in a Changing Civilisation* (1934).

For more details please contact the convenors:

Dr Mary Joannou, Department of English, Communication, Film and Media, Anglia Ruskin University, East Road, Cambridge, CB1 1PT. Email: m.joannou@anglia.ac.uk

Professor Marion Shaw, Department of English and Drama, Loughborough University, Loughborough, Leics, LE11 3TU Email: m.shaw@lboro.ac.uk

**Museum of Brands, Packaging and Advertising
Living with the Edwardians: 1901-1910**

London W11
28 March – 31 August

This exhibition looks back at life a hundred years ago, captured through over a thousand contemporary items of the age. Song sheets, souvenirs, posters, products, magazines, comics, toys and games, all come together to conjure up the flavour of this forgotten era. A new monarch at the dawn of the 20th century now witnessed a succession of changes and progress.

This era saw a growing use of motor cars and the birth of aviation, the arrival of the vacuum cleaner and affordable camera, the Boy Scout movement and milk chocolate. But it was the innovation of the picture postcard that caught the mood of the moment – the saucy seaside scene, the humour of motoring accidents, the craze for ping-pong, diabolos and roller-skating.

Social attitudes were changing. Women's liberation and the right to vote was the focus of the suffragette movement, and at the seaside mixed bathing was allowed for the first time.

Newspapers arrived with photographs on the front page. *The Daily Mirror* (1903) and *Daily Sketch* (1909) reported on the big events, from the Entente Cordial (1904) and Franco-British exhibition four years later, to the first Olympic games held in Britain (1908).

Along with the flamboyant fashions of the period, the exhibition plays the popular music that resonated from the elegant horns of the gramophone, 'the machine with the human voice'.



Museum Opening Hours Tues-Sat 10am-6pm, Sunday 11am-5pm, closed Mondays. The Museum of Brands, Packaging and Advertising, 2 Colville Mews, Lonsdale Road, Notting Hill, London W11 2AR.

Careers and Courses

**UNIVERSITY
of GUELPH**

**Post-doctoral Scholar
in the History of Women, Gender and Ulster-
Presbyterian Identity**

The Institute of Ulster-Scots Studies at the University of Ulster and the Department of History, College of Arts, University of Guelph are co-sponsoring this post.

The successful candidate will be expected to contribute to research into the key themes of Women, Gender and Ulster-Presbyterian Identity, and to teach courses in the Department of History. The Post-doctoral Scholar will play a key role in the Ulster-Scots International Research Network, and will also be eligible for affiliation with the Celtic Studies Program at the University of St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto.

The annual stipend for this position is (CDN\$40,000), including a research allowance. An appointment will be made for one year in the first instance, with the possibility

of renewal for a second year.

Successful completion of a PhD is a requirement for this position, as is evidence of scholarly attainment in the form of publications.

Please submit two letters of reference, along with a c.v., a letter outlining qualifications and a research programme, by 30 April 2007 to: Dr. Kevin J. James, Post-doctoral Scholar Selection Committee, Department of History, University of Guelph, Guelph, ON, N1G 2W1.

All qualified candidates are encouraged to apply; however, Canadians and permanent residents will be given priority. The University of Guelph is committed to an employment equity program that includes special measures to achieve diversity among its faculty and staff. We therefore particularly encourage applications from qualified aboriginal Canadians, persons with disabilities, members of visible minorities and women.



University of Sussex

MA in Life History Research: Oral History and Life Story Documents

The University of Sussex is a leading international centre for life history research and teaching. This MA has close links with regional oral history projects and the Mass-Observation Archive - a major international resource and the base for an ongoing research project in autobiographical and documentary writing - which is housed in the University Library. MA students take a public history placement in an archive, museum or other public history workplace. This degree is taught both full and part-time, with core courses taught via Friday day schools so that students can travel from a distance and fit classes around work and care responsibilities. Students from recent years have found employment in oral history projects and museum, archive or media work, or have progressed into doctoral research. Core courses include:

- Life History Research: Source, Context and Interpretation
- Critical Approaches to Mass-Observation
- The Theory and Practice of Oral History
- Public History Placement

For more information contact Al Thomson (Convenor) on 01273 873585 or by email: a.s.thomson@sussex.ac.uk (till July 2007 – after that date email Gerry Holloway on g.holloway@sussex.ac.uk). Also check the Centre for Life History Research website www.sussex.ac.uk/clhr which includes further details about the MA and accounts by former students about what they are doing now.

Conference Report

Life Histories/Women's Histories
Centre for Life History Research, Centre for Continuing Education, University of Sussex in partnership with the Southern Region of the Women's History Network
17 February 2007

This conference blossomed from a small day school for students at the Centre for Continuing Education to an international conference with 16 speakers from as far afield as the United States and Finland and was attended by around a hundred people most of them new to the Women's History Network. Thus demonstrating the increasing popularity of the use of life history methodologies in the construction of women's history. The subjects spanned from 'Reading the Lives of Early Modern Women Artists to Perzines in the late 20th/early 21st century. A wide range of life documents were the focus of the day from the more common oral history and diaries and letters to photo albums and recipe collections.

At the end of the conference we had a book launch for one of our former MA students, Jenna Bailey. Her book *Can Any Mother Help Me?* [Faber and Faber] demonstrates how women's life history can be found in the most unexpected places. When working on her MA dissertation, Jenna found an unusual collection in the Mass-Observation Archive at the University of Sussex. It was a collection of old magazines dating back to the first half of the 20th century. What made this collection unusual was that it was a private magazine written by a group of women called the Co-operative Correspondence Club. The magazine lasted 55 years and only ceased when the correspondents grew to old and frail to continue. Jenna interviewed some of the surviving members and meticulously put together the magazine in order to tell the story of this extraordinary group of ordinary housewives.

The conference was a great success and demonstrated how useful it is for the network to work in partnership with a university. The Centre for Continuing Education thanks the network for the support it gave the university in enabling it to offer this conference free to the delegates.



Jenna Bailey (right) at the launch of her book 'Can Any Mother Help Me?'

CLARE EVANS PRIZE

for a new essay in the field of
GENDER AND HISTORY



In memory of Dr Clare Evans, a national prize worth **£500** is awarded annually for an original essay in the field of women's history or gender and history. The essays will be considered by a panel of judges set up by the Women's History Network and the Trustees of the Clare Evans Memorial Fund. The closing date is **31st May 2007** and the prize will be presented by Clare's daughter at the Women's History Network Annual Conference at Winchester in September.

Clare Evans was an outstanding woman who tragically died of cervical cancer on 30 November 1997, aged 37. Born in Bath, she read history at the University of Manchester, graduating in 1982. She continued her studies, registering for a PhD at the University whilst preparing and delivering seminars on feminist history, creating the first feminist historiography course in collaboration with Kersten England and Ann Hughes. By examining census material gathered by Quakers, Clare saw how the changing attitudes to women's participation in the workplace were revealed through the responses to major subsistence crises in the early to mid-nineteenth century. As part of this work, Clare showed how men were constructed as sole wage-earners yet women offered sewing schools to create a new Victorian model following mass unemployment in the cotton mills (a result of the American Civil War). Focusing on textile workers in the Nelson and Colne

districts of Lancashire, she uncovered the reality of women's lives to free them from contemporary ideas as dependents within family wage ideology. Clare would have approved of an award which helped women to publish for the first time, giving them the confidence to further develop their ideas.

To be eligible for the award, the candidate must be a) a woman who has not yet had a publication in a major academic journal, b) not in a permanent academic position, c) normally resident in the UK.

The article should be in English, of 6,000 to 8,000 words in length including footnotes. We welcome submissions from any area of women's history or gender and history. It is anticipated that the winning essay will be published in the Women's History Review (subject to the normal refereeing criteria). The completed essay should be sent to Ann Hughes by **31st May 2007**. Please also include brief biographical details (education, current job or other circumstances) and include a cover sheet with title only (not name) to facilitate anonymous judging.

Those wishing to apply for the prize should first e-mail, or write for further details to, Ann Hughes (hia21@keele.ac.uk), Department of History and Classics, University of Keele, Keele, Staffs, ST5 5BG.

Committee News

The Steering Committee met on March 10 and the following highlights the main issues that we discussed.

Conference 2007

Our main discussion focused on the next conference, *Collecting Women's Lives*, which takes place in Winchester on 7-9 September. We have received over forty offers of papers from the first call, but it is not too late to send an abstract as the second and final call ends on June 4. The conference has some interesting features lined up (not divulged here but we hope your curiosity has been roused). We also started thinking about where to hold future conferences watch this space for news!

Vacancies on Steering Committee

Another issue we discussed was the election of next year's Committee. There will be some vacancies and more details will appear in the next edition of the Magazine. If you would like to find out more about what the role involves please contact Mary Joannou, our Convenor, for details (convenor@womenshistorynetwork.org).

Charity Status

One thing to celebrate – we have now received charitable status. Many thanks to Elizabeth Foyster, our treasurer, for all the hard work she has put in to achieve this. So far we have 70 people who have completed Gift Aid forms. Please consider doing this when you next renew your membership as it allows the Network to receive more funds for bursaries and other activities that support women's history.

Carol Adams

We are saddened to learn of the death of Carol Adams. Her obituary appears elsewhere in the Magazine, but it made us reflect on other women historians who have died recently and we have decided to put up a memorial page on the WHN website. Do let Kath Holden (**webadmin@womenshistorynetwork.org**) know if there is anyone who has died recently whom you think should be remembered on the site.

Membership

There are now 329 members of the Network. Thirty-eight of these joined us since September. Welcome to you all! Moira Martin, our Membership Secretary, has been ill recently and I am sure you will all join me in wishing her a speedy recovery.

Website

Kath Holden is holding the fort for the website while Zilan Wang is doing fieldwork in China, miles away from any internet café. Kath has updated the site, but we still need to replace the Committee photograph. We have been warned that our photo will be taken at the next meeting so I guess there will be a rush to the hairdressers before we next meet !

In addition, we have decided to post the minutes of our meetings on the website in future so that all members can stay fully informed about their Committee's activities.

Banner competition

We also considered the entries for the WHN banner competition. Unfortunately, there were not many and we could not find one that we felt represented the WHN adequately. We have therefore withdrawn the competition and will rethink what we should do about commissioning the banner.

Steering Committee Meeting

All WHN members are very welcome as observers at meetings of the national steering committee. The next meeting will take place on Saturday, June 16 at 12 noon at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London, Malet Street, London WC1. If you intend to join us, please email **enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org** first – just to ensure that there have been no last minute changes of plan.

Letters Forum

We plan to introduce a letters page in *Women's History Magazine* and would like to encourage members to write to us about any issue relating to women's history. If there is anything you feel strongly about, or think would be of interest to our members, or if you want to comment on the Network or the Magazine, please email your letter to us at



magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org

Space may be limited and the editors reserve the right to choose and edit letters.

Moves and News

Professorship

Perry Willson, Historian of twentieth-century Italian women, Edinburgh University European Languages and Cultures group, has just gained a Professorship in History at the University of Dundee. She is the author of *Peasant Women and Politics in Fascist Italy: The Massaia Rurali* (London: Routledge, 2002) and *The Clockwork Factory: Women and Work in Fascist Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), as well as numerous articles.

Railwaywomen receives book prize



It has just been announced that Helena Wojtczak's *Railwaywomen: Exploitation, Betrayal and Triumph in the Workplace* (Hastings Press, 2005) is the 2007 winner of the prestigious Writers' News David St John Thomas Charitable Trust book prize for the best self-published book in the non-fiction

section. Congratulations to Helena, who will be presented with the prize at the awards ceremony in Harrogate in May.

Women's History Magazine Back issues

Back issues of *Women's History Magazine* are available to buy for

£4.00 inc postage (UK)

£4.50 inc. postage (Overseas)

Most issues are available, from Spring 2002 to the present. To discover the contents of each issue please visit

www.magazine.womenshistorynetwork.org

To order your copies please email

magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org



Publishing in Women's History Magazine

Women's History Magazine welcomes contributions from experienced scholars and those at an earlier stage in their research careers. We aim to be inclusive and fully recognise that women's history is not only lodged in the academy. All submissions are subject to the usual peer review process.

Articles should be 3000-8000 words in length, style guidelines are available at

www.magazine.womenshistorynetwork.org

Please email your submission, as a word attachment, to the editors at

editor@womenshistorynetwork.org



What is the Women's History Network?

The WHN was founded in July 1991. It is a national association concerned with promoting women's history and encouraging women interested in history. WHN business is carried out by the National Steering Committee, which is elected by the membership and meets regularly several times each year. It organises the annual conference, manages the finance and membership, and co-ordinates activities in pursuit of the aims of the WHN.

Aims of the WHN

1. To encourage contact between all people interested in women's history — in education, the media or in private research
2. To collect and publish information relating to women's history
3. To identify and comment upon all issues relating to women's history
4. To promote research into all areas of women's history

What does the WHN do?

Annual Conference

Each year the WHN holds a national conference for WHN members and others. The conference provides everyone interested in women's history with a chance to meet and it has become an exciting forum where new research can be aired and recent developments in the field can be shared. The Annual General Meeting of the Network takes place at the conference. The AGM discusses issues of policy and elects the National Steering Committee.

WHN Publications

WHN members receive three copies per year of the Women's History Magazine, which contains: articles discussing research, sources and applications of women's history; reviews of books, conferences, meetings and exhibitions; and information on calls for papers, prizes and competitions, and publication opportunities.

Joining the WHN

Annual Membership Rates

Student/unwaged	£10	Overseas minimum	£30
Low income (*under £16,000 pa)	£15	UK Institutions	£35
High income	£30	Institutions overseas	£40

Membership application/renewal, Gift Aid Declaration and Banker's Order forms are available on the back cover.

Women's History Network Contacts:

Steering Committee officers:

Membership, subscriptions, Dr Moira Martin:
membership@womenshistorynetwork.org
or write to
Membership Secretary, HLSS, University of the West
of England, Bristol BS16 2JP.

Finance, bursaries, Dr Elizabeth Foyster:
treasurer@womenshistorynetwork.org

Committee Convenor, Dr Mary Joannou:
convenor@womenshistorynetwork.org

Web Officer, Dr Katherine Holden:
webadmin@womenshistorynetwork.org

WHN Book Prize, Chair, Professor June Purvis:
bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org

UK Representative for International Federation for
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Book Reviews, Dr Jane Potter:
bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org
or send books to her at Oxford International Centre
for Publishing Studies, The Richard Hamilton Building,
Headington Hill Campus, Oxford OX3 0BP.

Advertising, conference notices, calls for papers, Dr
Gerry Holloway:
advertising@womenshistorynetwork.org

WHN Administrator

All other queries, including back issues of magazine,
please email:
magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org
or write to Dr Claire Jones, WHN Administrator, 7 Penkett
Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH45 7QE.

Membership Application

I would like to *join / renew my subscription to the Women's History Network. I */ enclose a cheque payable to Women's History Network / have filled out & returned to my bank the Banker's Order Form / for £ _____. (* delete as applicable)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Postcode: _____

Email: _____ Tel (work): _____

Tick this box if you DO NOT want your name made available to publishers/conference organisers for publicity: ☐

Detach and return this form with, if applicable, your cheque to Dr Moira Martin, HLSS, University of the West of England, Bristol, BS16 2JP. Email: membership@womenshistorynetwork.org

----- Gift aid declaration

Name of Charity: Women's History Network

Name :

Address:

..... Post Code:

I am a UK taxpayer and I want the charity to treat all donations (including membership subscriptions) I have made since 6 April 2000, and all donations I make from the date of this declaration until I notify you otherwise, as Gift Aid donations.

Signature: _____ Date/...../.....

Notes

1. If your declaration covers donations you may make in the future:
 - Please notify the charity if you change your name or address while the declaration is still in force
 - You can cancel the declaration at any time by notifying the charity – it will then not apply to donations you make on or after the date of cancellation or such later date as you specify.
2. You must pay an amount of income tax and/or capital gains tax at least equal to the tax that the charity reclaims on your donations in the tax year (currently 28p for each £1 you give).
3. If in the future your circumstances change and you no longer pay tax on your income and capital gains equal to the tax that the charity reclaims, you can cancel your declaration (see note 1).
4. If you pay tax at the higher rate you can claim further tax relief in your Self Assessment tax return. If you are unsure whether your donations qualify for Gift Aid tax relief, ask the charity. Or you can ask your local tax office for leaflet IR113 Gift Aid.

----- Banker's Order

To (bank) _____

Address _____

Account no.: _____

Pay to the account of the Women's History Network, Account No. 91325692 at the National Westminster Bank, Stuckeys Branch, Bath (sort code 60-02-05), on _____ 200_, and annually thereafter, on 1 September, the sum of

(in figures) £ _____ (in words) _____.

Signature: _____