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Jolein De Ridder

Balancing Acts in Femininities:

the Ladies' Treasury (1857-1895) and Its Treasury of Literature (1868-1875)

Proefschrift voorgedragen tot het bekomen van de graad van
Doctor in de Letterkunde

2011
Sleeplessness.

‘I cannot sleep at night because my lessons and studies haunt me during the time I should have to sleep. Can you give me a remedy for this?’

Dora.

‘There is no remedy but to find some other occupation, not study. The course it is likely you pursue of continuous thought on one subject will ultimately cause the brain to give way. Walking will not divert the mind from its one strain, but riding, rowing, and gardening will, as these three require effort.’ [sic] (‘Notices to Correspondents,’ LT, July 1880, p.420)

Replace ‘lessons and studies’ by ‘writing a PhD,’ and the name Dora could easily be a contemporary (and fitting) pseudonym for Jolein. Although it was at times quite tempting to indeed try and find ‘some other’ occupation, and stop researching altogether, I am glad I never took the Ladies’ Treasury’s advice at heart to substitute reading and researching entirely for riding, rowing, or gardening. While I did seek salvation in other physical activities like dancing and running, I am very grateful my brain did not ‘give way,’ and that I was able to finish this project that often seemed a never-ending one. However, I could not have succeeded without the help of some lucid souls in my academic and private life. Apart from my supervisor, Prof. Marysa Demoor,

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1 ‘Dora the explorer’ is a modern cartoon figure viewed by many feminist researchers as a positive role model for young girls. She is adventurous, eager to learn, not particularly pretty, and wears appropriate outfits to embark on her trips to discover the world. Unfortunately, the latest commercial changes have pushed her, too, into the role of pretty princess with magically growing hair.
Dr. Kate Macdonald and Dr. Marianne Van Remoortel have been very helpful, especially with their work on Mrs Warren’s life. I am also much obliged to Dr. Kate Macdonald, Prof. Geert Lernout, Birgit Van Puymbroeck, Dr. Koenraad Claes, Dr. Pieter Vermeulen, Dr. Sarah Posman, and Prof. Gert Buelens for their proof-readings and useful comments. Prof. Bart Vervaek also deserves praise for always finding the time to listen, even when I had nothing to say. My immediate colleagues, Koenraad, Sarah, and Debora, for a long time similarly ‘exiled’ from the English Department at Rozier, provided the necessary emotional support. They were there to cheer me up when the going got tough, as were Julie, Birgit, Kwinten, Pieter, Toby, Katrien, and Jasper at a later stage. They are without a doubt the most wonderful colleagues one could wish for. My parents, brother (who designed the cover), partner and closest friends tolerated all mental breakdowns during my four years at Ghent University, and their love and support have been invaluable. Lastly, I want to thank Elizabeth Crowley, librarian at the Bodleian Library. Without her assistance my trips to Oxford would not have been nearly as enjoyable and productive.
## List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAVS</td>
<td>British Association for Victorian Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNCJ</td>
<td>Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDM</td>
<td>Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td>Ladies’ Treasury</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODNB</td>
<td>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</td>
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<tr>
<td>RSVP</td>
<td>Research Society for Victorian Periodicals</td>
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<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>Saturday Review</td>
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<td>T of L</td>
<td>Treasury of Literature</td>
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Introduction

‘We have to accept that the whole notion of historical reconstruction tends to be subjective and arbitrary at base’ (Levine, 1990:4)
Balancing Acts in Femininities

Milicent – A deference to your lover’s taste is the surest way to please him. Do not persist in wearing an abundance of ringlets and trumpery ornaments, when he has advised you to dress your hair in bands, and to wear no trinkets, except in full dress. If you persist in preferring you ringlets and your sham jewellery to him, we should not be surprised were he to marry your cousin, who has heard his opinion, and acted upon it. (‘Answers to Correspondents,’ Ladies’ Treasury, vol.IV, no.11, November 1860, p.360)

Maude – There is a curling fluid sold by Mr. Alexander Ross, of High Holborn, London. Wetting the hair before curling, with a little ale, will make it curl; or melt a bit of white wax, the size of a filbert kernel, add one ounce of palm oil and a few drops of essence of bergamot. (‘Notices to Correspondents,’ Ladies’ Treasury, vol.VII, no.10, October 1863, p.300)

They give me a weird mixture of anticipation and dread, a sort of stirred-up euphoria. Yes! Wow! I can be better starting from right this minute! Look at her! Look at her! But right afterward, I feel like throwing out all my clothes and everything in my refrigerator and telling my boyfriend never to call me again and blowtorching my whole life. I’m ashamed to admit that I read them every month. (‘Young woman,’ cited in Wolf, 1991:62)

Today, scores of women’s magazines are written, issued, and purchased weekly, monthly, or bimonthly all over the (Western) world. Although the women’s press market caters for niches as diverse as cooking, sports, health and marriage, the most popular publications are general women’s glossy magazines such as Cosmopolitan and Glamour which not only dominate the English speaking world, but are issued in various other languages. While it is well-known that at present the consumption of such mainstream magazines aimed at women is a widespread phenomenon, it is not a recent one. Its direct predecessors are to be situated in the nineteenth century, more specifically in the mid-Victorian era when the first cheaper women’s monthly magazines appeared. Apart from some obvious differences (sex, for example, being a very popular topic nowadays), there are many similarities between these modern magazines and their Victorian ancestors. As the two citations from the correspondence column to the Ladies’ Treasury illustrate, beauty, engaging in successful relationships with the opposite sex, and becoming the best possible version of yourself were already a fixed feature. Together with the fractured voice that women’s magazines use to speak

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1 Feminist periodicals and cyber magazines (such as BUST, Off Our Backs, Make/Shift, and the Dutch Opzij) also constitute a niche of the women’s press market, but are not a match for the mainstream glossy magazines that specialize in high fashion and striking photographs.
to their readers, stating and retracting claims (often within the same issue), these are elements that have been part of the genre since its beginning.²

The third quote I started out with is taken from Naomi Wolf’s classic work The Beauty Myth (1991) and stresses another essential aspect of women’s magazines. Wolf states that women’s magazines are habitually studied as textual commodities reflecting historical change (the magazine as a mirror of society), but in her work she foregrounds how, despite their often mitigated position and influence, women’s magazines have been one of the most powerful agents for changing women’s positions and influencing the way women view themselves (64). In other words, magazines also determine change themselves, and therefore should be attributed a more active role. Wolf’s research convincingly claims that a woman’s magazine is more than just a magazine, and that the relationship between the woman reader and her periodical differs vastly when compared with the way a man relates to publications marketed especially for him. According to Wolf, men and women have a completely different relation to the periodical press. ‘A man reading Popular Mechanics or Newsweek is browsing through just one perspective among countless others of general male-oriented culture, which is everywhere. A woman reading Glamour is holding women-oriented mass culture between her two hands’ (1991:70). Women readers themselves believe that these magazines transmit the worst aspects of the beauty myth, and many are often ambivalent about the confusing mix of pleasure and anxiety they provide. “I buy them,” a young woman told me, “as a form of self-abuse. They give me a weird mixture of anticipation and dread, a sort of stirred-up euphoria [...]” (Wolf, 1991:62). As such, women are deeply affected, whether consciously or not, by what their magazines tell them, or at least what women believe they are told by the magazines (ibid.). A potential reason for this is, according to Wolf, that magazines are women’s window on their mass sensibility. General culture almost invariably takes a male standpoint of what is newsworthy and who is worth looking at, whereas women’s magazines are written by and for women, and hence specifically focus on women’s issues and concerns (1991:70-71).³ While men are bombarded with points of view representing their world and their opinions, women’s experiences are generally embodied in a much more limited way, and women’s magazines hence form a very important feature. Many scholars of women’s magazines comment upon the guilty pleasure these supposedly ephemeral

² Gauntlett cites Deirdre McSharry, former editor of Cosmopolitan, who states that the contradictions to be found in women’s magazines are not accidental. Getting the balance right is her job, as a woman is supposed to be so many things (2008:58).

³ Obviously this does not imply that women are only interested in what women’s magazines provide to their women readers.
publications provide, and how they irrefutably leave an impression upon the women who read them. Although Wolf refers to (relatively) modern publications from the 1980s, and the essential role of advertising and other sponsorship, the way in which editors of earlier Victorian magazines interpreted the spirit of the age and the kind of social roles that were demanded of women are of great consequence (1991:64).

When Wolf narrows her scope to Victorian women’s magazines, she claims that these publications in particular cater to ‘a female sex virtually in domestic bondage’ (62); woman as enslaved by the private sphere. As my topical case studies show, in reality women readers are not necessarily shackled by magazines directly aimed at a female readership, but can be offered new ways of understanding themselves and the world: they can discover new aspects of their identity. I agree with Margaret Beetham that a more impelling view would certainly have been familiar to readers in the Victorian age as the enormous power of print to transform individuals and societies was taken as self-evident (2001:63). With my study, I demonstrate that there are a myriad of aspects that define the notion of femininity. Various roles were offered to women, and, more often than not, these roles were ingeniously merged in a single magazine or on a single page. Women were household managers, teachers of their children, alluring beauties to their husbands, as well as independent thinkers. In order to illustrate the multi-layered definition of women propagated in the Victorian women’s magazine, I concentrate on one specific periodical: a fairly traditional, lower-middle-class women’s magazine entitled the Ladies’ Treasury, previously uninvestigated. With its publication dates running from 1857 to 1895, it is one of the most long-lasting illustrated magazines of the Victorian period. It was published in London, was edited by Mrs Warren, and circulated ‘all over the world.’ How the Ladies’ Treasury positioned itself in the social and historical context of the second half of the nineteenth century, how it valued women’s intellectual development and how it took a stance in the Woman Question debate, form the vantage points of my research. Because the Ladies’ Treasury covers such a large time span and has never before been studied, I have adopted a case-study approach and focus on the topics that distinguished the Ladies’ Treasury from its peers. The six chapters

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4 Naomi Wolf (1991), Ross Ballaster et al. (1991), Joke Hermes (1995), and Margaret Beetham (1996) are but a few examples of researchers who describe contemporary publications aimed at women as a unique kind of commodity.

5 It has to be noted, however, that advertising was already very important in the nineteenth-century magazine business (as demonstrated by Terence Nevet in Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society, 1995). Commercial aspects of periodical publishing are discussed in several chapters of this dissertation, such as chapter 3, which discusses the supplement, and chapter 5, which focuses on Mrs Warren’s use of names.

6 In a letter to one of her contributors, Lucy E. Baxter, Mrs Warren writes that ‘A MS has been sent from Hungary – another from Corsica – one from Venice. I believe the Treasury circulates all over the world’ (letter signed E.W. Francis, dated 8 October 1888).
present five separate case studies within the broader context of a chronological narrative. I thus aim to study what Beetham terms the ‘continuities and discontinuities’ in a magazine’s development; the specific and larger tendencies in a magazine over time (1996:6).

The continuities and discontinuities of women’s magazines can be related to the (re-)making of definitions of femininity through time, and in the next six chapters I uncover the fascinating changes in femininity by mapping a middle-class women’s magazines of the Victorian age. Despite its impressive run, the Ladies’ Treasury’s title has been missed in most studies of women’s magazine. It is rarely cited in catalogues and indexes and has never been extensively analysed. My aim is to examine large parts of the Ladies’ Treasury, with a focus on several main topics, such as women’s rights, non-domestic informative features, and beauty. Some aspects such as cookery columns and poetry are not discussed in-depth as they do not differentiate the magazine from its peers. Moreover, giving a full description of a journal in a single-authored dissertation would be over-ambitious, and falls outside the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, the six chapters and five topical case studies provide a first relevant contribution to the field of periodical studies by its mere uncovering of unexplored territory.

My choice of the Ladies’ Treasury for study was influenced by its ‘extra.’ Between 1868 and 1875 the magazine published the Treasury of Literature, a literary supplement which was issued with the main periodical over a period of seven years. This literary addendum, containing fiction and generally informative articles was atypical for a conventional women’s magazine and truly marks the Ladies’ Treasury as unusual in the field of the Victorian periodical press. While the Ladies’ Treasury is a representative Victorian middle-class women’s magazine, with the Treasury of Literature, it also recalls the ‘enlightened’ eighteenth-century ladies’ magazines, as well as resembling the proto-feminist publications of the 1860s. I examine how this supplement challenges its parent periodical’s precarious position as a traditional women’s magazine, and discuss various other aspects that distinguish the Ladies’ Treasury from its peers, such as its stance on the Woman Question and coverage of fashion and beauty. In this way, I demonstrate that a Victorian magazine did not have to be feminist or politically radical in order to be a deviation from what was considered mainstream.

The title of my dissertation, Balancing Acts in Femininities, calls for some preliminary explanation as it describes the connecting thread of my argument. Most dictionaries describe a ‘balancing act’ as a way of trying to deal successfully with two sets of radically different people, groups, situations or views. It is an exercise in carefully weighing opposing matters against each other. ‘Femininity,’ in turn, refers to the

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7 When the magazine is mentioned it is only touched upon very briefly, such as in the Waterloo Directory (1976). I return to this issue in chapter 3.
quality or condition of being female; a characteristic or trait traditionally associated with women. Combining both definitions, I use the phrase to suggest the way in which the Ladies’ Treasury attempts to deal with, or combines, different ways of being feminine, of being a woman. The strategies employed by the magazine, for one, may not always have been in keeping with the normative and prevailing definitions of the middle classes (for instance in the contents of the supplement). Although the gender difference was widely regarded as natural and universal until the fin-de-siècle New Woman debate, womanliness was nevertheless contested in the Victorian age (Ballaster et al., 1991:84).

Paradoxically, ‘women were educated to believe that they were, on the one hand, morally superior to men in their lack of sexual drive and, on the other hand, inferior because of their weaker natures’ (Vicinus, 1972:8). Women were simultaneously seen as pure, and potentially polluting; as dependent, and potentially dangerous to men (Hassan, 1983:26). Despite the idealized, prescriptive quality of many middle-class periodicals, within magazine publications, clear and univocal messages regarding women and femininity were certainly not a universal norm. Hence, the instability of various versions of female selfhood should be accounted for, as the model of femininity presented was fragmentary and multiple. By foregrounding this volatility, the following chapters will add to our understanding of how Victorian women’s magazines functioned, and how they related to their (women) readers. Hence, the chapters present an analysis of the Ladies’ Treasury in its discursive and historical contexts, with special attention to its mediation of femininity.

Chapter one begins by setting out the theoretical boundaries of my research. In a short historical contextualisation I discuss issues concerning the study of history and gender, and their link to the periodical press. The complications that arise from working with ephemeral commodities such as periodicals are also dealt with here, as is the way I position my research in the field of women studies and women’s history. Nevertheless, the theoretical framework and corresponding literature review is not limited to these first pages, which are mostly concerned with studying the periodical press and women’s magazines in particular. As each chapter discusses a specific aspect of the Ladies’ Treasury and its link to diverse aspects of femininity, theory and scholarly work will be drawn upon when discussing the case studies in subsequent chapters. Bourdieu’s concepts are called attention to in chapter two, Genette features prominently in chapter

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I address femininity and gender, especially as performance, in chapter 5.

Such definitions of ‘woman’ also changed over time and are closely linked to social, political and economic issues. The way femininity is constructed at different points in history varies because what is repressed or denied as the dominant culture changes (Michie, 1993:1). A particular model is shaped by the social concerns that are dominant at a given point in time.
three, Foucault and Genette form the theoretical basis of chapter five, while Veblen is used in chapter six. Hence, a theoretical approach underpins several chapters and different aspects. Theory is thus consistently intertwined with practice.

The second chapter centres on the intended readership of the Ladies’ Treasury, and on the woman who edited the magazine. It offers an historical account and focuses on what it meant to be a woman in the lower middle classes of British Victorian society. The Victorian age was very much a class-based society and in order to understand a publication aimed at (lower) middle-class women, it is important to understand the impact of belonging to this class. Central concepts such as domesticity (and its cult), and the often misrepresented way in which middle-class women led their lives are addressed. This section also discusses the life of the hitherto unknown editor of the Ladies’ Treasury, Mrs Warren. Her life story illustrates how a woman could balance and successfully unite various forms of being feminine, thus highlighting the central theme.

In the third chapter, I look at the broader field of women’s periodicals in which the Ladies’ Treasury positioned itself. Since the very beginning of periodical press culture in the eighteenth century, magazines specifically addressing women slowly but steadily gained ground until they were ubiquitous in the nineteenth century (Allbrooke, 1994). From the very start, there were various kinds of publications catering exclusively for women. The earliest versions of ladies’ magazines endeavoured to combine more intellectual matters with entertainment, and by the mid-nineteenth-century niche periodicals including overtly, and sometimes radical, feminist publications appeared: such as Woman’s World (1848), the Englishwoman’s Journal (1858-1864), and the Victoria Magazine (1863-1880). Mainstream magazines for middle-class women which emerged in the early decade of the Victorian era are said to have mainly concentrated on women’s domestic sphere. This domestic sphere became increasingly idealized in the nineteenth century, and the cult of domesticity also surfaced in popular conduct manuals, fiction, and magazines. Such conventional, middle-class periodicals typically provided useful guidance with regard to household management, and offered lighter pieces of fiction, as well as the latest news on fashion, both fashion reports and tips on how to be fashionable. Most importantly, these mainstream middle-class magazines were not supposed to excite women, nor to make them too keen on intellectual

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10 Marriage, education, the sexual sphere and women’s legal rights, however, are discussed in chapter 4, which deals with how the Ladies’ Treasury approached the infamous Woman Question.
11 I use the term ‘feminist’ anachronistically, as does Levine (1990).
12 A magazine such as La Belle Assemblée was intellectually challenging in its first series, with the publication of scientific articles, but by 1821 its articles on science, especially those on botany, had been discontinued and replaced by a new ‘Universal Advertising Sheet’ of 16 pages (Sullivan, 1984:42). The Lady’s Magazine (1770-1847), too, removed most of its introductory material on animals and plants, which had been popular in the first decade of the nineteenth century, later on (Shteir, 2004:6).
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development. They were never meant to abandon their specific role: provide light entertainment and instruction for the leisured housewife (White 1970, Beetham 1996, Shteir 2004).

Amongst the growing number of conventional, middle-class women’s magazines, the *Ladies’ Treasury* can best be regarded in relation to its chief rival: the Beeton’s *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* (1852-1890). Through analysis of the *Ladies’ Treasury’s* content, I demonstrate how the magazine differentiated itself from its direct competitor, often leaning closer to some less obvious publications on the market such as the abovementioned proto-feminist publications. In order to illustrate this difference, I analyse the supplement the *Treasury of Literature*. A discussion of various articles on generally informative matters such as ‘How Synagogues Arose,’ ‘Petroleum and Paraffin, Whence the Source,’ and ‘What is Glass,’ published in the *Treasury of Literature*, forms a second case study. The literary supplement, devoid of fashion, beauty and cookery, was used to concentrate on fiction, poetry, and informative features. It is precisely the explanatory articles in the supplement that distinguish the magazine from other traditional and middle-class publications (which only offered fashion supplements, or seasonal fiction supplements), and turn the *Ladies’ Treasury* into a publication more closely related to late eighteenth-century, enlightened ladies’ magazines, as well as to more successful proto-feminist magazines such as the *Victoria Magazine* (1863-1880) and *Woman’s World* (1887-1890). I focus on several of these generally informative articles, intended to inform readers of the *Ladies’ Treasury* about the most diverse matters ranging from ‘What Has Been Discovered by Spectrum Analysis,’ to ‘Can Death Be Painful?’, and additionally explain the rise and fall of the *Treasury of Literature* supplement from a commercial and ideological point of view.

Chapter four deals with what was generally known to contemporaries as ‘The Woman Question.’ In a third case study, I present a thorough analysis of articles on this subject, which appeared in the *Ladies’ Treasury* and its supplement over seven years.

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13 In practice, women’s lives could be very different from the image presented in the magazine of course. Most middle-class women were not rich enough to simply live off their husbands’ wages, and if they did not have a husband or rich relative, they simply had to work for a living. I return to this issue of the lives of middle-class women in chapters 2 and 4.


15 A second representative balancing act (in addition to Mrs Warren’s own life-course, which combines the job of editor and contributor with the management of a boarding house).

16 These proto-feminist magazines did live a longer life because they realised the importance of combining their political messages with fiction in order to stay popular. See chapter 4 for a more extensive discussion.

demonstrate that the discourse on women’s rights tended to be very inconsistent, generating an ambiguous message. However, this vagueness, complemented with the presentation of a wide range of (contradictory) views may have been intended, and could even be considered one of the reasons for the magazine’s long-lasting success. By balancing positive and negative articles and refusing to take a clear stance, the *Ladies’ Treasury* gave its readers the opportunity to make up their own minds about women and their rights. Furthermore, a greater commercial success was ensured in this way. In my study, I link Victorian feminism to one of the first defenders of women’s rights, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797). Her intellectual legacy and relation to nineteenth-century feminism form a second keynote. An analysis of the favourable articles on the Woman Question in the *Ladies’ Treasury* show them to be infused with Wollstonecraft’s ideas, which are often thought neglected during the Victorian age (Caine 1992).

The examination of the magazine’s house style provides another perspective in an attempt to study the *Ladies’ Treasury*’s balancing act. By means of theoretical concepts such as authorship, anonymity, pseudonymity and branding, chapter five deals with the way in which Mrs Warren’s name, as editor of the magazine, was used and marketed. While in chapter two the first case study focused on her personal life and some of her other publications, an analysis of her work for the *Ladies’ Treasury*, as well as of her fictional writings on household management, provide useful indications that help construct a surprising and complex picture of her reign over one of the most successful mainstream Victorian women’s periodicals. Through a study of Mrs Warren’s editorship and readers’ addresses, along with a close examination of her ‘editorial pieces,’ I offer a more detailed picture of the tactics and methods employed in publishing a trade mark magazine.

In the sixth and final chapter, I return to fashion, beauty, and the beauty myth, in the *Ladies’ Treasury*. I cover the perception of body and beauty in the Victorian Age via an analysis of informative articles and correspondence columns, which can be seen as the precursor of the more modern ‘agony aunt’ features, and help the readers to solve personal problems. They also function as a guiding influence. A study of perceptions of female beauty is included to understand the role of women’s magazines in its appreciation. Marjorie Ferguson asserts that in the nineteenth century ‘a woman’s worth is defined in terms of her appearance’ (1983:42). Here, women’s magazines play an important role, as within that world, all followers of the cult of femininity are potentially beautiful (ibid.). Valerie Steele also emphasizes this notion that the Victorian woman was constantly exhorted to cultivate her personal appearance. As it was her ‘first duty to society to be beautiful,’ her first job was to carefully maintain her

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18 The more sympathetic figure of our modern agony aunt prefigured in Annie Swan’s *Woman at Home* (1893–1920) (Law, 2009:20–21).
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youth and looks (1985:102). The ways in which the Ladies’ Treasury again took a well-balanced position is scrutinized in this chapter, with a particular focus on the corset-controversy.

With the appendices, I offer more than a simple addendum: true to the subject of this research it forms an indispensable supplement to my dissertation. In addition to a first, detailed catalogue of the Treasury of Literature with its contents from 1868 to 1875, I provide a list of women’s rights articles which are of primary importance to chapter four, an overview of Mrs Warren’s published work, as well as a comprehensive list of all articles written by Mrs Warren in one of her many guises (both are essential sources for chapter five). These lists and resources will facilitate further research.

As Buckley and Fawcett remind us, definitions of femininity have fragmented in the twentieth century, and it would be reductionist to view them as a single whole. They claim that, in the twentieth century, the boundaries of gender identities have blurred because of the changes in women’s roles (2002:7). However, as I aim to demonstrate in each chapter in this dissertation, femininity was not necessarily fixed in the nineteenth century either, and its meanings were always mediated. Femininity was constantly tested, challenged and reworked, not only in daily life but also in the imagination and in the products in which it was presented, such as the magazine. Publications aimed at women construct different forms of femininity which vary according to the dominant culture, and the way this dominant culture is approached in the magazine (Michie, 1993:1).

Anne Humpherys has stated that ‘the very number of periodicals in print during the Victorian period is almost beyond comprehension ... [And] even after one has limited the field, located the appropriate periodicals, and spent dozens of blinding hours reading through columns of unrelieved fine print, one is still faced with the problem of what to make of what one has read’ (cited in Hughes, 1989:118). This comment was made twenty-two years ago, and I attest to its continued truth. In my research, I have placed one previously uninvestigated periodical (in the form of almost forty volumes) at the centre of my dissertation, I have spent many hours in the Bodleian and the British Library to study the Ladies’ Treasury, as well as its rival publications, and I have devoted extended periods of time to the analysis of what I had read. All this material urged me to raise questions, attempt to answer them and find potential explanations behind the sometimes abrupt changes in the Ladies’ Treasury. I have endeavoured to produce a coherent picture of the Ladies’ Treasury, but it is a picture that remains personal and inherently incomplete, for, as Philippa Levine has argued: ‘we have to accept that the whole notion of historical reconstruction tends to be subjective and arbitrary at base’ (1990:4). Nevertheless, if magazines have only half as much impact on the lives of ordinary women as Naomi Wolf claims, such an attempted reconstruction is imperative. It enlightens yet another valuable aspect of Victorian women and can only enrich our current picture of them.
Introduction
Chapter 1.
Theorizing Periodical Press Research

‘Of no time and place can it be said that periodicals had greater cultural impact than they had on Victorian Britain’ (Sullivan, 1984:xiii)
As Virginia Berridge explains in her essay ‘Content Analysis and Historical Research on Newspapers,’ newspapers can be studied from two different angles. On the one hand, they can be looked at as ‘organised centres of cultural production,’ outside the control of their readership, while on the other hand, they can be studied as a mirror of cultural practice and cultural opposition (1986:204). According to Berridge, both aspects are strongly intertwined in all types of periodical publications. The press is at the same time ‘a constructor of social reality for its readers, but also part of a process of “reciprocal symbolic interaction” with its audience’ (ibid.206). Studies, including those focusing on publications aimed at women, often privilege one single angle and the practice of mirroring society prevails. In her analysis, Naomi Wolf remarks that while many writers have frequently pointed out women’s magazines’ reflection of historical change, fewer have studied how it is simultaneously the task of these magazines to determine it (1991:64). Fraser et al. state: ‘the periodicals commonly believed they had the potential to be ahead of the times and the potential to make a difference in the political and social lives of their readers’ (2003:79). Ballaster et al. equally note the structural tension in women’s magazines between their self-representation as a ‘voice’ for women and as a ‘leader’ of them (1991:174). I aim to give attention by allowing ‘mirroring’ and ‘shaping’ to receive equal attention in this dissertation. The way periodicals mirror and shape society cannot be studied in a vacuum. Periodicals are essentially ‘commercial enterprises with market forces providing the main guide to conduct’ (Harris and Lee, 1986:108). While Ballaster et al. argue that this angle of considering the magazine as a commodity has often been neglected in research on women’s publications, the authors also challenge the ‘opposition’ between the entertainment and the value of the women’s magazine as a distributor of ideology (1991:4). I will come back to this issue in sections 1.2 and 1.3.

As I hope to have highlighted above, singling out one way to look at a periodical publication inevitably leads to a one-sided and reductive picture of the publication in question, as well as of the society in which it was published and in which it was read. For a richer analysis, various aspects ought to be studied and integrated. In this dissertation, the analysis of the articles and columns in the Ladies’ Treasury will not only enlighten researchers as to what middle-class women wanted to read and were interested in, but it will equally demonstrate what society considered acceptable for this specific audience, and what the editor wanted to present. An analysis of the content of the magazine reveals the shifts in experiences (and expectations) over time of lower-middle-class women and Victorian society, as the magazine existed for a period of almost four decades (from 1857 to 1895). It shows what information, entertainment and

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1 These problems will be addressed in section 1.2 of this chapter.
improvement was deemed fit for them, and what tactics were used to keep the intended public interested. The Ladies’ Treasury, like other women’s magazines at the time, is a vehicle that unites both instruction and opinion, and holds a specific position within the framework of traditional ideology (the middle-class ideology of domesticity) (Harris and Lee, 1986:108). Moreover, the magazine’s own critical reflections (which I demonstrate in later chapters), as well as the way in which readers were given the possibility of resisting what was postulated by the magazine text, must be taken into account (Ballaster et al., 1991:25). With an analysis of the Ladies’ Treasury, I offer a historical recovery of a hitherto neglected women’s magazine by means of a close reading of its contents.

Before I give a detailed presentation of the Ladies’ Treasury and its position in the periodical field, it is necessary to position my own research within the tradition of (Victorian) periodical press studies. I first examine how Victorian scholars have studied the press and what methods they employed, and then provide an overview of research on women’s magazines in particular, and explain how I position my own work in this multifarious tradition. A brief overview of general pioneering studies on the Victorian press (and its readership) that paved the way for numerous in-depth papers on specific publications is attached in appendix 6.²

1.1 Theoretical Perspectives for Analysing Periodicals

As a mixed genre, the periodical constitutes a complicated object of study, borrowing and blending aspects from other fields, and hence it cannot easily be allocated to a specific place. As Mark Turner states, ‘everything about periodicals resists traditional definitions and categories of genre and authorship’ (2000:235). Periodicals are a heterogeneous mix, an amalgam of different kinds of material. Text and illustrations are often combined and, as Beetham asserts, it is precisely the relationship between the two that is crucial to their meaning (1990:24). Even without illustrations, the periodical remains a hybrid genre harbouring a variety of texts (poetry, prose, advice columns, different kinds of articles, etc.). The periodical is a collection of various, single voices; it is ‘seemingly infinite and continuing in time, and it presents numerous ways of reading’ (Turner, 2000:234).

² The first appendices (1 to 5) provide primary material taken from the Ladies’ Treasury.
As Linda Hughes (1989) and Margaret Beetham (1990) point out, a periodical exhibits the careful negotiation between a deep structure of order and an aspect of unpredictability. While it is at once very orderly in its appearance (it appears 'periodically'), the contents of each individual issue are different. Beetham refers to this double bind as the periodical's relationship with time: each number is both an entity on its own, and part of a series; it is different from and yet the same as those which have gone before. Here, material and economic aspects come into play: a periodical must be consistent enough to ensure its readership, while introducing new elements and be surprising or new enough to keep readers interested (Beetham, 1996:12). As we shall see, certain features can be introduced and retracted again, while others may be endlessly combined with new textual and visual elements. This set of material conditions renders the periodical essentially unfinished, yet coherent. It is an unclosed form, at once a snapshot, as well as a serial. The result, as Hughes puts it, 'is a seemingly radical incoherence of each issue's content that makes the task of studying periodicals so difficult' (1989:119).

More than a mix of forms, the periodical is potentially disruptive (also because of the often fractured voice) and offers a variety of different readings, even pointing beyond itself (Beetham, 1990:27). Readers of periodicals are (and were) empowered in various ways. First of all, as Beetham stresses, the intended audience can choose whether or not to buy the publication (1996:12). Secondly, readers can choose how they read their purchase (from cover to cover, or constructing their own unique reading pattern):

Its boundaries are fluid and it mixes genres and authorial voices; all this is a time-extended form and seems to encourage readers to produce their own readings. Yet, in complete opposition to these formal qualities are another set of qualities, which are equally characteristic. Each number of the periodical is a self-contained text and will contain sub-texts which are end-stopped or marked by closure (Beetham, 1990:29).

It is precisely this distinctive form that makes the periodical genre fairly difficult to study. In order to deal with the vast amount of material, as a researcher of periodicals one has to define one's research object, choose a particular method of studying it, and delineate one's research scope. Turner asks how one studies periodical literature in

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3 Yet it must be noted that not all periodicals have a steady frequency.

4 I have encountered this myself when studying the concept of beauty in chapter 6. Columns specifically dealing with beauty and health could be featured in one month, be absent in the next, and reappear after a gap of four publications.
history, and proposes two different approaches: embarking on theoretically based projects or starting with archival research. In practice, it is often impossible to separate both strands: all research is linked to questions and ideas, and specific examples and case studies also illustrate theoretical claims. Additionally, a choice has to be made as to the number of texts studied (one issue, one volume, the entire run, and so on) (Turner, 2000:235). The problem of whether to analyse individual issues as self-contained units, or viewing them as part of an entire run is also raised by Linda Hughes. The latter method is particularly challenging, because periodicals, she asserts, do not always show continuity. They can start and stop, flourish and decline, change format or style without apparent pattern (1989:118). The unpredictable nature of the periodical genre is especially clear in the case presented in this study, that of the Ladies’ Treasury’s supplement, the *Treasury of Literature*. This publication which ran from 1868 to 1875 illustrates the fickleness of periodical publishing (as well as the thorny research process that accompanies it) and will be addressed more thoroughly in chapter three. Bearing in mind Turner’s and Hughes’s remarks, my study of the Ladies’ Treasury can be classified as mostly archival, as it presents a mapping of the entire run (almost forty yearly volumes), by means of five topical investigations (Mrs Warren’s life, the *Treasury of Literature* and informative articles, the Woman Question, Mrs Warren’s use of names, and beauty and appearance).

In one of the panel sessions held in the British Library in London at the launch of the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* on the 8th of December 2009, Mark Turner argued for a closer study of the relationship between gender and the press. Although specific publications on the women’s press, and works such as Fraser, Green and Johnston’s *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (2003) and the recent *The Feminist Periodical Press: Women, Periodical Studies, and Modernity* by Barbara Green (2009) have already remedied the lack, in this dissertation I endeavour to again link gender and press in my study of the Ladies’ Treasury. As Fraser et al. stated, ‘[...] the periodical press was fundamental to both the construction and dismantling of gender in Victorian Britain’ (2003:199).

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3 Linda Hughes also asks ‘Are Victorian periodicals characterized more by chaos than by system?’ for, at times, the Victorian press seems impenetrable and requires that we attempt a systematic and general study (1989:117-118).
1.2 Theoretical Approaches to Studying Women’s Magazines

In her book *Understanding Women’s Magazines* (2003), Anna Gough-Yates describes three ways to study women’s magazines: (1) focusing on the textual level, (2) exploring the way readers used them, and (3) analysing the conditions of production (2003:6). Inevitably, for most nineteenth-century periodical studies textual analysis remains the core approach. First, exploring the reception of magazines is nearly unattainable with Victorian material: Victorian readers of women’s magazines can often not be studied directly. While today, many modern-day empirical studies interview readers, this is impossible for their nineteenth-century predecessors. Andrew King writes: ‘[a] major problem for the cartographer of the nineteenth-century mass-market lies in the dearth of sources for direct qualitative research of readers which might reveal context and decoding strategies’ (2004:11). King emphasizes that ‘what was read is guessable, for circulation figures provide quantitative data (of varying reliability); how readers read or what else they did with the texts they bought is much less certain’ (2004:11). Hence, I, too, can only analyse the articles in the *Ladies’ Treasury* (and how they were presented to the reader), and attempt to find out what the reader made of them. Secondly, because of the anonymity and pseudonymity of many texts, production-based studies are also difficult, as we do not always have the necessary information on the material production of periodicals (such as the costs of distribution and printing). Consequently, my dissertation mainly centres on the analysis of the texts themselves, of their (ideological) content and the way this content interacts with the historical and cultural context. In other words, I study how, as a cultural product, the magazine could circulate and how it accumulated meanings within a social system (Turner, 2000:226-227). Additionally, Gough-Yates points out that the study of a magazine’s content is inevitably linked to questions of production, as commercial issues are bound up with the magazines’ contents (2003:6).

As Margaret Beetham (1996), Anna Gough-Yates (2003) and Rosalind Gill (2007) confirm, numerous studies of women’s magazines and gender in the media have been conducted from a (more) feminist point of view, by gender-sensitive scholars. Because the approaches for examining women’s periodicals have changed considerably over time, I provide a short overview of the various shifts in the field.

In the late 1970s in particular, scholars who depended on Althusser’s 1970 model and understanding of ideology (as ‘something that is carried out by groups and institutions in society’)

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6 In the tradition of structuralist Marxism.
It was believed that the representations of femininity in women’s magazines were ‘naturalizing an ideologically charged image of women and their place in society’ (Gough-Yates, 2003:9). In “The Advice of a Real Friend:” Codes of Intimacy and Oppression in Women’s Magazines 1937-1955,’ for instance, Joy Leman (1980) studies the influence of the Second World War and to what extent ‘women’s magazines as a genre are defined by an attitude to women which is fundamentally oppressive, and caught within the dominant discourse of capitalist society’ (65). She believes that women’s magazines are part of an ideological apparatus, ‘presenting a view of the world which is at most points locked into the economic and political interests of the capital system’ (66).

A few years later in the early 1980s, when Gramsci’s notions of civil society became fashionable, women’s magazines were studied as an arena of political contest; a site where women’s oppression was negotiated. Gramsci’s work, as Rosalind Gill points out, allowed us ‘to attend to the dynamic qualities of ideology – its mobility and fluidity; the fragmented nature of subjectivity; and the significance of winning consent for particular identities through struggle’ (2007:57). Janice Winship's scholarship can be placed in this tradition. She shows that women’s magazines can be read in a variety of ways, for ‘the pleasure we derive from a magazine will also depend on the context in which we are reading it’ (Winship, 1987:52). Nevertheless, despite her more positive approach to magazines, Winship still remains critical of them and is careful not to put this enjoyment, this pleasure, beyond ideology. Pleasure might feel spontaneous and individual, but it is still seen to be embedded in the very limited social space that women inhabit (Gough-Yates, 2003:10).

While the theories of Althusser and Gramsci ignored gender, the ideological mechanisms they analyse were taken up by feminists who claim that gender is a crucial component of ideology (Van Zoonen, 1994:23). As Gill points out, the view that the media are agents of social control conveying stereotypical and ideological values about women and femininity was prominent in the seventies and eighties (2007:11). This view was disrupted from the mid-1980s onwards by postmodern and ethnographic approaches, among which Foucault’s influential writing on discourse, a mode of

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7 While Gough-Yates points out the strength of Althusser’s theory (as a model to move away from earlier obsessions with positive and negative images of femininity), the text was often reduced ‘to little more than an agent in the service of patriarchal capitalism’ (2003:9). The French political theorist Louis Althusser held that a person’s desires, choices, intentions, etc. are the products of social practices. They are ingrained in us by ideological practice, consisting of an assortment of institutions called Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). Together with the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs), the ISAs ‘hail’ the subject who enters them, calling him/her to a certain subject position. In this sense, s/he is ‘interpellated’ as a certain kind of subject through the ideology that informs and reproduces the institution (Smith and Watson, 1998:21).

8 Although these are to be situated before Althussers’s model, in the early twentieth century.
interpretation that stresses the textual and linguistic expression of the social and cultural powers of such formations (Ballaster et al., 1991:25). Texts work and, as Foucault argues, participate in a complex social process, so interpreting them is a historically and culturally specific activity (Poovey, 1989:17). Not linking discourses of the serial and the periodical to discourses in other texts outside the periodical became unthinkable. In this light, the meanings of women’s magazines were seen as ‘dialogical,’ and in conflict with other historically and culturally specific practices and uses of language (Gough-Yates, 2003:11). A study of women’s periodicals therefore became impossible to separate from other structures and discourses connected to institutions which all needed to be taken into account in order to determine the construction of a text (Turner, 2000:236). The central question was remodelled into: how did particular readers make women’s magazines meaningful in particular social and historical contexts?

Within this tradition, Marjorie Ferguson (1983), examines women’s magazines as contributors to the wider cultural processes that define the position of women in a given society at a given point in time (1983:1). Women’s magazines, according to her, function as a social institution: they distinguish their audience, incorporate certain beliefs, foster individual behaviour patterns, decide on the content of the messages they send out, and encourage certain forms of social behaviour among their readers (Ferguson, 1983:4). Susan Bordo and Dorothy Smith similarly study women’s magazines as sites promoting Foucault’s ‘modes of self-surveillance,’ although it remains unclear whether this surveillance is best understood as ‘patriarchal oppression or as offering a potential venue for women-centred pleasure’ (Currie, 2001:260). As both Ballaster (1991) and Gill (2007) point out, this problematic divide between magazines as vehicles of pleasure and ‘purveyors of oppressive ideology’ still remains to be tackled today (2007:195). Both strands, Gill states, should not be treated as entirely unconnected since this would lead to what she terms the ‘guilty preface phenomenon,’ of which Winship, for instance, was culpable in the 1980s. While researchers today acknowledge the enjoyment women’s glossies provide, they split it off from their critical analyses. Gill, however, sees the challenge in ‘integrating an analysis of the pleasurable and the ideological nature of magazines’ (2007:196). In short, women’s magazines were at first predominantly studied solely as conveyers of the dominant ideology (and with a negative impact on women). Later research attempted to integrate the pleasurable experience women could gain from such publications (but still marked it off from the actual research). More recent studies, especially on modern magazines, show that

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9 I have only touched upon the major theoretical approaches of women’s magazines. Specific frameworks, such as queer or postcolonial studies also offer possible approaches, of course. There are many different ways
audience studies can help to solve the ‘pleasure versus oppression’ debate. As Gill explains, such studies ‘show the importance of looking at both simultaneously and also of moving beyond textual analysis to explore how media texts such as magazines are read and enjoyed in everyday life’ (2007:198).

1.3 Studying Victorian Women’s Magazines in Practice

While A Magazine of Her Own? (1996), a key publication on Victorian women's magazines, also starts with Beetham’s confessions of her early explorations in the mid-1980s and the ‘illicit pleasures,’ as well as the ‘hate-love relationship’ she had with these ‘magazines’ ‘endlessly repeated promises of transformation,’ she further explains that she wants to study how women’s magazines came to occupy ‘their crucial place in popular reading and in the contested meanings of our femininity’ (viii). In 1996, she filled in that lacuna. In her book, Beetham gives an overview of historical studies on women's magazines, which took off with Cynthia White’s examinations of women’s magazines from 1693 to 1968 (1970). Since then, useful studies of women’s magazines in general have been published, as well as various studies of particular magazines. Alison Adburgham’s Women in Print: Writing Women and Women’s Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria (1972), Kathryn Shevelow’s Women and Print Culture (1989), Beetham’s own contribution to Ballaster et. al.’s Woman’s Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman’s Magazine (1991) and her one-woman project A Magazine of Her Own? (1996) have all broadened the field. Since the latter publication, Beetham’s collaboration with Kay Boardman has also produced Victorian Women’s Magazines: An Anthology (2001), and many particular case studies on one (or several) of the numerous women’s magazine in the Victorian Age have been presented at conferences of the RSVP and the BAVS.10 Each RSVP conference has had presentations on women’s periodicals or women and the periodical press, and the BAVS, a conference with a wider scope, has also included specific sessions on the topic, such as the 2010 session on ‘Forming Literary Networks: Women Writers and the Periodical Press.’11 In the DNCJ, too, women’s magazines are

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10 Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (RSVP) and the British Association for Victorian Studies (BAVS).
11 The BAVS (2-4 September 2010, Glasgow) conference session accommodated Katie Halsey’s paper on Mary Russell Mitford’s literary networking, Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi’s presentation on George Eliot, Mary Elizabeth
adequately represented. Nevertheless, (theoretical) work on women's periodicals remains limited, and the historical research and writing on women's magazines is anything but complete (Beetham, 1996:viii).

My research on the *Ladies' Treasury* is intended to fill a small part of this gap. Given its popularity, this magazine provides a particularly relevant case for understanding (lower) middle-class women's magazines of the period. Because I examine a Victorian magazine, I personally do not consider the sensitive and complex issue of deriving 'guilty pleasure' from reading such magazines a hazard. Nevertheless, historical research on women's magazines raises other problems that need to be addressed. In her work, Beetham stresses that as a scholar of Victorian periodicals, the researcher functions as a 'historical reader,' whose contemporary knowledge and beliefs inescapably affect the analysis of Victorian women's magazines. As Levine asserted, historical research is always subjective, since there is no clear and single way of analysing the past (1990:4). The way scholars study a specific text does not only depend on the text itself, and on the fields of literature, culture, politics and economics in which it is immersed, but is also influenced by the interests, background, cultural baggage, etc. of the critic. Because there is no biography of the *Ladies' Treasury* or other material on the magazine that could direct my research, this dissertation presents my own experiences and findings as I read my way through almost forty years of virgin territory. Similarly, the issues I address in the topical case studies are marked by my own interests and concerns.

In 1984, historian Joan Kelly stated that feminist historiography had already unsettled the accepted evaluations of historical periods in which the male perspective invariably dominated (3). In what she would later refer to as her ‘Pembroke Essays’ (1988), Joan Scott in turn pointed out that ‘looking at history through a gender lens revises the past and seeks to expand our traditional (and often limited) view of historical changes’ (1999). I subscribe to both views, and comply with most of the aspects Brenda Dervin lists as belonging to feminist scholarship (a focus on the articulations of women, self-reflection on the relationship and responsibility of the researcher to the researched, etc.) and her view that ‘giving a voice to women is the most audible goal of feminist scholarship [...]’ (Dervin, 1987:110). Hence, my dissertation belongs to the field of women’s studies, but although I consider myself a feminist, I do not make use of specific feminist theories, nor inscribe myself in a specific feminist

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Braddon and literary lionism, and David Finkelstein’s ‘A Blackwoodian Female Literary Network.’ The RSVP conference in Canterbury (4-5 July 2008) I attended included Margaret Beetham’s talk on mothers’ magazines, Kathryn Ledbetter on the *Lady’s Realm*, Sarah McNeely on *Eliza Cook’s Journal*, Melissa Harbin on the *Lady’s Newspaper*, and many more. Articles by Kate Macdonald and Marysa Demoor on the *Dorothy* are also indicative of research on women’s periodicals.
Theorizing Periodical Press Research

I draw on a variety of theoretical approaches, depending on the case study, and offer a close reading of particular topics within a historical framework. Following Winship and Beetham, I do not study my research topic as a simple instrument of a pervasive domestic regime of sexual oppression, but I believe that even mainstream women’s magazines have a more radical potential ‘in which it is possible to challenge oppressive and repressive models of the feminine’ (Beetham, 1996:3). Budgeon and Currie’s research on the adolescent magazine Seventeen (1944-present), for instance, shows that a magazine that emphasizes beauty and fashion can still provide a possible feminist subtext (1995:180). Also, femininity is not a stable entity and texts linked to this subject always allow space for the ‘resistant’ reader. Dawn Currie’s own research on Canadian girls’ magazines identifies different reading positions, ranging from accepting the dominant meanings to a critical refusal of the presented judgements (in Gill, 2007:198). Any text can be read as such, and the magazine as a form encourages its readers in specific ways which allow for diverse readings (Beetham, 1996:11). To strike the right balance between a focus on formal qualities and the negotiation of meanings on a textual level is therefore paramount (ibid. 20). As I hope to show with my research on the Ladies’ Treasury, despite being rooted in the dominant ideology (of Victorian domesticity), more subversive messages to women readers can be discerned.12

Although mainstream women’s magazines reflect a society’s dominant view of women and thus reveal how a particular society constructs the ideal femininity, at the same time, women’s magazines play a role as social institution, defining and shaping femininity as they go along (Ferguson, 1983:1). Despite her difference in focus, Tamara Wagner’s research on antifeminism in the Victorian age emphasizes the importance of seemingly ‘reactionary’ movements and texts. In her work, she stresses that antifeminist representations have been marginalised in the past for not responding to ‘an evolutionary model of progressive female self-representation’ (2009:1). While working with different material, I argue that a mainstream women’s magazine, although also not revolutionary, is as valuable in adding to our understanding and a redrawing of our historical perception of women’s lives. It is just as useful in challenging widespread ideas about Victorian women and how these are linked to other discourses, such as politics and class relations.

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12 How the actual readers in turn interpreted the magazine’s messages, remains very difficult to establish.
Chapter 2. Middle-Class Women in Victorian Britain

Case Study No.1: ‘The Long Life and Short Times of Mrs Warren’

‘All honour be to the women who break down the barriers of caste, and set the example of working honestly for bread, being not ashamed of that which they will do, thus giving dignity to the labour which they choose to perform [...]’

2.1 Victorian Middle-Class Women

While Mrs Warren long remained an enigma in Victorian periodical publishing, recent investigation has revealed her fascinating personal life, as well as her very busy professional occupations. Next to her work in journalism, as a contributor to various magazines and as sole editor of the Ladies’ Treasury (1857-1895), she also appears to have been a boarding-house keeper. Moreover, this newly discovered biographical information equally enlightens us about the Ladies’ Treasury and its intended audience. As both Mrs Warren and her intended readership belonged to the lower middle classes, I will first focus on this part of Victorian society. How did women who belonged to this class lead their lives? In the second section, I present Mrs Warren’s turbulent life as a typical (or atypical) case study. Her life story illustrates one of the many ways in which a middle-class woman could lead her life, and was not necessarily enslaved to the strict domestic sphere.

2.1.1 A True Cult of Domesticity?

Although often perceived in this way, social stress on domestic virtues, marriage and family did not originate in the Victorian age. Already in the eighteenth century, established ideas on gender were reworked and both clerical and secular writers such as William Couper and Hannah More published strict views on male and female behaviour, and promoted new social codes (Davidoff and Hall, 1987:155). \(^1\) Ideologies of sexual difference, as well as manners and morals expressing these ideologies, were codified and carried into the nineteenth century by writers such as Sarah Stickney Ellis, Harriet Martineau and John Loudon. \(^2\) With the advances in reading, the abovementioned views that had been put down in texts found fertile soil in the nineteenth-century class society, marked by the Industrial Revolution and the rapid expansion of the middle class.

\(^1\) For instance More’s essay *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society* (1788), and the novel *Coelebs in search of a wife, comprehending observations of domestic habits and manners, religion and morals* (1807) (Davidoff and Hall, 1987:115).

\(^2\) Sarah Stickney Ellis (1799-1872) was a popular writer of Victorian conduct literature, and her most well-known book is *The Women Of England: their social duties and domestic habits* (1839) (Twycross-Martin, 2004, ODNB). Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) was a prolific writer and journalist and John Loudon (1783-1843) a renowned landscape gardener and horticultural writer. In his book on the suburban villa, he provided advice on how to achieve domesticity as a lived reality (with instructions concerning the ideal home and the pleasures of family life) (Davidoff and Hall, 1987:180).
The emergence of these *nouveaux riches* was strongly tied up with the rise of the ideology of domesticity, a ‘political and cultural redefinition of public and private worlds which distinguished the middle classes from the rest in English industrial society’ (Rendall, 1985:213). This changing social and political climate heavily influenced the British middle class, and it was the ideology of domesticity that helped them to form a cohesive identity to separate them from the other classes, as well as to represent and confirm their social superiority in this manner (Poovey, 1995:124). The cultural and political power of the middle classes was increased, and some of their values, norms and qualities were elevated to become characteristic of life (Newton, 1992:2). Concurrently, a new reading public was created, consisting of the middle class man and woman, which harboured its own values in which ideas on domesticity were cultivated.

In the article “‘Middle-Class’ Domesticity Goes Public,’ Dror Wahrman illustrates how the essence of ‘middle classness’ was inextricably linked to the domestic ideology and the gendered separation of the public and private sphere (1993:397). He refers to an essay by novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton who, in the early 1830s, contributed a piece to the *Edinburgh Review* on ‘the spirit of society.’ In the piece Bulwer-Lytton stresses the dichotomy between the public and the private, with an emphasis on the proper sphere of woman. According to Bulwer-Lytton, woman should remain in the realm of the private life, while the masculine, public realm, stays clear of unsettling feminine influence (1993:396). A few years later, in 1833 a second publication by Bulwer-Lytton offered a (slightly) different, class-based analysis. This time he focused on the difference between the sexes, and also linked it strongly to the discrepancy between social classes. By using fashion as a starting point, he claimed that clothing trends not only applied to women, but to both women and men belonging to the middle class. Public opinion was no longer simply the domain of men (gender-based difference) but specifically of middle-class men (class-based categorization), and the home as private place, belonged to middle-class women. While in 1831 the gender differences between men and women were delineated and accounted for the dichotomy between public and private, in 1833, Lytton defined it specifically as ‘the outcome of the social division between classes’ (Wahrman, 1993:397). Gender and class, therefore, became inextricably tied up: by the 1840s, in the middle classes it was assumed that the separation between the sexes had been firmly inscribed, and domesticity had become a lived reality for them (Davidoff and Hall, 1987:181).

The abovementioned account shows that the emergence of the English middle class as a whole was inseparable from gender and gender relations. Because middle-class identities were constructed on the ground(s) of gender difference(s), the domestic ideal tied to it, and its glorification, was crucial in the way the middle class represented its power and legitimized its position (Poovey, 1989:10). A strict binary opposition formed the foundation of domesticity and took two forms that established the separation of the
public and private sphere along gender lines, and was anxiously guarded: that of the masculine breadwinner or the domestic woman, who did not have to work because her husband was able to provide for the entire family (Beetham, 1996:6). Hence, this resulted in a public sphere for work (and men), and a private, domestic sphere (for women) (Boardman, 2000:150; Purchase, 2006:4). Many assumptions about female and male nature were incorporated in this model. Women were thought innately affectionate, loving and religious, as well as naturally self-sacrificing and domestic (Gleadle, 2001:1). Men, on the other hand were described as naturally robust, quick-witted and pragmatic, and perfectly suited ‘to operate in the public sphere, the active and aggressive world of politics, the military and commerce’ (Rowbotham, 1989:5–6). Not only was this demarcation of gender attributes typically mirrored in the Victorians’ separation of the sexes, several laws on property ownership, political representation and other legal rights restricted (married) women’s participation in social activities outside the home; they functioned to augment the already rigid standards of decorum (Poovey, 1995:126).

Many historians have studied this divide between the private and the public sphere, with the relocation of certain so-called ‘feminine’ values to the home, and other (masculine) values to the outside world. The home, with woman at its centre, was a private place, ideally marked by purity (Christ, 1972:146). It was presented as a domestic harbour and an alternative to competition; a prize for the hard-working husband. ‘A prosperous family was the goal represented as desirable and available to every man,’ and crucial in terms of display and showing off (Poovey, 1989:10). As managers of the domestic sphere, middle-class women had a crucial role to perform in this construction. They were to preside over the home like ‘Angels in the House,’ the feminine icon from the well-known poem by Coventry Patmore (Langland, 1995:41). This angelic woman was preferably kept in a home environment ‘that promoted her husband’s and children’s well-being in the world; she also provided a haven from its worst pressures through her sound household management and sweetness of temperament’ (Peterson, 1984:677). On this basis, Victorian society invented the ideal of the ‘angel in the house,’ which provided the basis for the belief that women ‘were the ‘natural’ guardians of morality and standards’ (Rowbotham, 1989:5–6). Paradoxically, this resulted in women being raised to believe that they were morally superior to men in their lack of sexual drive, but simultaneously inferior because of their weaker natures (Vicinus, 1972:8). The tension between a sexless, moralized angel (protecting and

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3 John Tosh’s *A Man’s Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (2007) specifically focuses on men’s role in middle-class domesticity, and warns for a superficial reading of the dichotomies of masculine and feminine character, and the wrong suggestion that ‘the home was entirely given over to female influence’ (47–48).
incarnating virtue) and ‘an aggressive, carnal magdalen’ became written into the domestic ideal as one of its essential characteristics (Poovey, 1989:11).

The question as to whether this image of the angelic woman was merely an ideal or something that was truly lived up to, is already superseded. True ‘angels in the house’ rarely existed, and the idealized separation of the sexes equally proved difficult to maintain. In her 1984 essay, Jeanne M. Peterson shatters the myth of the angelic housewife by taking a look at the Paget family. Her discussion of the Paget women shows that, despite being ‘entirely predictable wives and daughters of the new urban gentry,’ they were well-educated, able to handle money, and led physical lives ‘more vigorous, expansive, and sensual’ than usually associated with Victorian women (1985:706). Peterson rejects the idea that the upper middle class consisted of women who were leisured, superficially accomplished and only occupied with the management of a handful of servants (1984:677 and 683). She additionally presents two opposing strands of historians who view the ideal housewife in a very different light. For one group, the angel in the house is evidence of a sort of golden age of family life wherein men and women had separate roles. For the other group, the angel in the house is a symbol of oppressed women, trapped in the gilded cage of Victorian male domination (1984:678). This was already debated in the nineteenth century as demonstrated in an article by Kate Millet that focuses on the struggle between two opposing camps in the Victorian age (1972:121). These camps were represented by J.S. Mill’s Subjection of Women (1861), which emphasizes the realism of sexual politics and argues for equality between the sexes, and Ruskin’s Of Queen’s Gardens (1865), which addresses the negative sexual myth of the time. Ruskin and Mill are positioned diagonally to each other, with Ruskin believing the true place for women to be the home, while Mill sees the home as the centre of domestic slavery (Millet, 1972:131).

As this dissertation illustrates, the middle-class woman cannot be easily classified as either angelic, or violently oppressed, but often found herself somewhere along the continuum. Mrs Warren’s case study proves to be a case-in-point as will become clear towards the end of this chapter.

As researchers have gained additional knowledge of middle- and upper-class women’s role in consumerism, property-holding, philanthropy and politics, they have begun to question the belief of women’s confinement to a world of childcare and domesticity (Gleadle, 2001:4). Philanthropy, for instance, which could include the distribution of clothes, food and medicine, and visiting of the poor and ill, was very

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4 Similarly, femininity was represented as hidden in the home, but also placed in the field of appearance. Thus, gender difference was located in the natural difference of the body, and the female body, ‘both as the mark of difference and as an erotic surface was always inscribed within the domestic’ (Beetham, 1996:7). I will return to this issue in chapter 6.

5 A family of well-known periodical and book illustrators.
popular with middle-class women throughout the Victorian period. As the century progressed, such roles were increasingly professionalized. Religion, too, offered rewarding work and from the late 1840s, dedicated women were able to fulfill certain vocations. In this light, Kathryn Gleadle pleads for a proper revision of the ‘separate spheres,’ and their historical significance has indeed been problematized in recent years (2001:4). Gleadle’s 2007 study on the *Christian Lady’s Magazine* equally points out women’s activism outside the home, and shows that some (middle-class) women were able to contest and subvert seemingly powerful gender constructs (2001:4). Such reinterpretation of subject and agency complicates traditional analyses of women’s roles in Victorian Britain.

Moreover, previous research has demonstrated that a strict segregation between the public and the private, the masculine and the feminine as two separate and completely different worlds might not have been genuine, and that the private sphere was not that distinct from the public one, but rather formed a mirror to it. In the 1980s, for instance, Deborah Gorham showed that although the cult of domesticity situated family life in a realm detached from economic struggle, in truth the family structure of the middle class was firmly grounded in economic reality (1982:12). This view is affirmed by other studies which stress that a Victorian wife actually performed a more significant and extensive economic and political function than is usually perceived, and often served ‘as a significant adjunct to man’s commercial endeavours’ (Langland, 1995:8; Peterson, 1984:706). Through her focus on the archetype of the Victorian middle-class woman, Elizabeth Langland examines how domestic practices were almost exclusively in the hands of women. Although the prevailing ideology positioned the house as a safe and private haven against the public or commercial sphere, the running of a household formed an excellent example of an exercise in management. Married women often controlled the family budget, managed the household and fulfilled their maternal responsibilities themselves (Rendall, 1985:199). Langland uses Bourdieu’s analysis of symbolic power in order to show how women played a role in generating ‘cultural capital’ by successfully running their households. She argues that middle-class women ought not only to be viewed as ‘victims passively suffering under patriarchal structures’ (1995:9 and 11). Bourgeois women hired, trained, paid and fired their domestic staff and were thus in control over material capital as well (Langland, 1995:48). It was to them that advertisements, new magazines and household manuals were addressed (Rendall, 1985:199).

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1985:211). Judith Newton, too, claims that the separate spheres grant women ‘a compensatory power as “ministers of the interior” [...]’ (1992:11).

### 2.1.2 Lower-Middle-Class Women

While the abovementioned research focuses on upper-middle-class and middle-middle-class women who often transcended the icon of passive angels, women who belonged to the lower middle classes were having a hard time holding up the pervasive image of the perfect and leisured (house)wife. Not only did they have to run a household with less money, they also suffered hardship and had to look for employment outside of the home in case they were unfortunate and lacked male support. A woman’s status was entirely dependent upon the economic position of her father and later, her husband (Vicinus, 1972:3). Margaret Beetham affirms in her key work *A Magazine of Her Own?* (1996) that the image of the middle-class domestic woman, which occupied a central place in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, was as unstable as the self-made man, her counterpart. In the middle classes, men were responsible for keeping their families, and hence the possibility of financial ruin was a continual ideological and material danger. The heroic (fantasy) figure of the ‘self-made man,’ very much connected to the ideal of upward mobility, was always under threat (Beetham, 1996:60). Because a middle-class woman acquired her status through her husband, a man whose wife had to work meant loss of status. Working was frowned upon on account of not being lady-like. As such, the private sphere was less secluded than it seems at first sight, it acted as an effective indication of status in the public sphere. Perception was paramount: ‘the style of family life, the quality of domesticity achieved, was the final determinant of the niche [men] occupied in the social structure’ (Gorham, 1982:8). Women evidently played a crucial role in this functioning of the family as an indicator of social status.

By mid-nineteenth century, around the 1850s, the ideology of domesticity had become incredibly pervasive and permeated ‘literary and visual representational practices at almost every level,’ although the underlying binary model constructed as the foundation of domesticity was very difficult to maintain (Boardman, 2000:150). The very narrow, prescriptive ideology of ‘separate spheres’ proved exceptionally difficult to live up to, especially for women who were struggling economically. In fact, the image of a perfect middle-class wife as a cultured and leisured lady, careful mother and a solicitous wife, was very different from the social reality (ibid.). Women whose

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7 However, she also stresses men’s anxiety over this increase in women’s domestic influence (Newton, 1992:11).
husbands did not make a handsome amount of money, women who did not marry (or did not get the chance to), or women who had lost their husbands or fathers, all fell by the wayside. Under such circumstances, combining the illusionist ideal of decorative and pure angel with the household management that was undoubtedly necessary, proved to be impossible (Vicinus, 1972:5; Perkin, 1994:87; Gleadle, 2001:2). Many lower-middle-class women struggled to balance the creation of a facade of gentility with performing the actual physical work of the household that needed to be done. Few wives were wealthy enough to employ servants for housework and child care and took a large share in these matters. For the majority of middle-class families, the chief caretaker of the children was the mother herself (Perkin, 1994:87; Gorham, 1982:17). Hence, these women played a vital role in the smooth running of their families. Gleadle refers to Patricia Branca’s research to assert that over 40% of the middle classes lived on an income of £100 to £300. She notes that such households, which counted eight children on average, had only one domestic help (2001:52). Running a household on £200 a year, as lower middle-class women were expected to do, was a social reality. Branca’s remark indirectly defines the readers of the Ladies’ Treasury as lower-middle class women, for one of Mrs Warren’s bestsellers precisely carried the title How I Managed my House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year (1864).

Although the majority of middle-class women never worked outside the home, Victorian women thus proved far from idle. They ran the house, undertook domestic chores and took care of the children. Traditionally, they also cared for sick and elderly relatives. Furthermore, much of women’s other works, such as social work, estate management, or the participation in family business was non-contractual and unpaid (Gleadle, 2001:51). Nevertheless, women’s power remained limited, and even the power they had over the domestic environment was restricted by the enormity of housekeeping tasks they had to perform themselves (Poovey, 1995:129). This is not to say that women’s main role, in the household, was unimportant. Davidoff and Hall have discussed the hidden investment of women in marriage, as they created a crucial addition to the family’s worth, for example because ‘their judicious management of household resources could decrease unnecessary expenditures’ (cited in Poovey, 1995:125). As Mrs Warren herself explains in How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year, things could go very wrong if a woman did not have the necessary management skills: ‘I thought my husband’s income an El Dorado of gold, quite sufficient for all needs, and to spare, and wondered very much at the end of the first year of our marriage, that I could not quite make both ends meet.’

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both morally and economically linked to the domestic sphere, and it was their task to make the home run smoothly.

Apart from running a household women’s married lives were not easy, especially when it came to making their own decisions. John Stuart Mill, for one, stressed that married middle-class women were worse off than their working-class sisters, even worse off than slaves. Whereas the lower class ethic of male supremacy might take the form of brutality, Mill claims that men of the middle classes were even worse, tending towards the rankest hypocrisy (Millet, 1972:134). Langland, too, stresses that married life intensified the already rigid standards of respectability and decorum: not only did it restrict women’s participation in social activities outside the home, it also limited their representation in politics that were voted throughout the century in spite of several laws regarding property ownership (1995:126). Although in 1857 the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act enabled women to apply for divorce themselves for the first time in British History, it was only after the Married Woman’s Property Acts of 1870 and 1882 that women were able to retain their own property and money. Before the acts were voted, married women’s possessions were appropriated by their husbands under a system known as coverture (Purchase, 2006:65). Later, the 1891 Court of Appeal ruled that ‘when a wife refuses to live with her husband he is not entitled to keep her in confinement in order to enforce restitution of conjugal rights.’

These Woman’s Property Acts were explicitly addressed in the Ladies’ Treasury as well. In September 1882, ‘A Wife’s Position in Marriage’ explains several aspects of the latest law changes, and includes a section on the ‘disastrous consequences’ arising from English girls marrying Frenchmen in England (503). The following month, the resume given in the September number is referred to, and specifies another Act to come into operation in 1883. Whether the outcome of these Acts, which ensured that ‘the legal rights of a married woman are precisely the same as if she were single’ was always positive, remained uncertain. The editor notes that undoubtedly these Acts will result in some curious law cases, and independence is not necessarily always recommendable. A woman can be perfectly independent, ‘but if he [her husband] is the breadwinner, dependence is preferable; and where love is the law of life, neither dependence nor independence have tangible shape...’ (558).

Nevertheless, not being able to marry at all often proved a worse deal for women, as the alternative of seeking employment in the public sphere entailed insuperable

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9 Purchase, 2006:65
10 Marsh, ‘“The Personal is Political”: Gender in Private and Public Life’ (http://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/periods_styles/19thcentury/gender_health/personal_is_political/index.html)
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difficulties. Middle-class women who needed to earn an independent living encountered considerable hardship, especially because most of them had not been educated in view of actual employment. Additionally, if they suddenly found themselves without support, often enough there simply were no opportunities for paid employment available (Dyhouse, 1978:175). While working as a governess was a popular choice with women from the middle classes, there were too many applicants for such jobs precisely because it was viewed as one of the few respectable positions. Other jobs available to unskilled women were badly paid and more often than not they were carried out in awful conditions (ibid.180). This problem, which created a large group of women who needed work but could not find it, became known as the problem of the ‘surplus woman.’ Francis Power Cobbe’s essay ‘What Shall We Do with Our Old Maids?’ revolted against the various schemes to send such ‘redundant’ women to the colonies and tried to prove that single women often had better lives than married ones (McFadden, 1999:166). Likewise, the terror of being left an ‘old maid’ preoccupied the readers of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine as many wrote to its agony column ‘Cupid’s Letter Bag,’ asking how to avoid it at all costs. In the Ladies’ Treasury, the article ‘Old Maids’ reprints a lecture given by Mrs William Grey, in which she fulminates against calling old maids ‘superfluous:’

But were unmarried women superfluous? In our own country alone they gave us, in literature, Miss Austen, Miss Edgeworth, Joanna Baillie, Harriet Martineau, Frances Power Cobbe. Was Elizabeth Barrett superfluous till she became Mrs. Browning? In science was Miss Herschell superfluous, whose labours were invaluable to her father and brother? Was the devoted sister of the poet Wordsworth superfluous? In philanthropy, could they count as too many Florence Nightingale, Lady Burdett Coutts, Mary Carpenter, Octavia Hill, and the great sisterhood of nurses of every denomination, under every garb? Could we spare Miss Davies and Miss Buss in education? (279).

While women’s search for employment was complicated because very few jobs were deemed respectable enough, their lack of education only aggravated matters. In the early to mid-Victorian period, middle-class girls received an education at home, often provided by the mother. They were taught how to read, how to do basic maths and handle a needle. It was also not uncommon for the eldest girl to be sent off to boarding school in her early teens (not more than a rite-de-passage), so she would be able to

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13 The bourgeois notion of ‘respectability’ was very important to the middle classes. For a more elaborate discussion see chapter 4.


instruct her siblings upon her return. Sometimes, a governess was also employed (Gorham, 1982:20-22). The education of the girls was often limited to ‘showy accomplishments’ (a little French, music and drawing, fancy needlework, …), and subjects like history and geography, or spelling and arithmetic were meagre and inadequate. Although the quality of education always depended on the particular household, ‘most middle-class girls were not educated in a way that would prepare them for the world of gainful employment’ (Gorham, 1982:24). Conservative voices in the Victorian era, like Ruskin, claimed that general (and superficial) study of music, art and literature should suffice, and geography and history were out of the question: there was no need, he argued, to ‘turn the woman into a dictionary’ (Millet, 1972:129). On the other hand, more progressive thinkers such as John Stuart Mill lamented the fact that woman was the product of the system that oppressed her, of ‘an education of the sentiments rather than of the understanding’ (Mill cited in Millet, 1972:128).

Formal education did change over the course of the decade. In the second half of the nineteenth century, from the 1860s onward, there was a considerable transformation in the education of girls and a uniform standard was introduced with clearly defined goals. This, however, did not necessarily change the notion of what it meant to be ‘feminine.’ Rather, the idea that well-educated women make better wives and mothers became predominant (Gorham, 1982:25). It was only in the last quarter of the century that academic achievement became a source of healthy pride among young women. Only then was there a powerful ‘awareness of their potential as human beings, capable of taking an interest in the world outside the home’ (Dyhouse, 1978:179). Although by the turn of the century educational opportunities for women were still very limited, without the progress made in the second half of the Victorian era, in the 1860s, the battles fought in later years would have been long delayed (ibid.). By the 1880s, women increasingly demanded and gained constructive and useful roles in society. Victorian discussions over the nature of woman’s role in society increased, and many articles dealing with the ‘Woman Question’ appeared in the press (Dyhouse, 1978:187). In the 1890s, the New Woman could work and study more freely, and was concerned with her legal and political rights (Vicinus, 1972:3). Limited employment for respectable

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16 I come back to this in chapter 4, when dealing with the Woman Question.
17 The 1870 Education Act, for example, allowed women both to vote and to serve on School Boards.
18 This last remark echoes Mary Wollstonecraft’s ideas, which again will be covered extensively in chapter 4.
19 First named as such in 1894, this ‘New Woman’ emerged from widespread female discontent with the way in which marriage was constituted and signalled the arrival of a newly vocal generation (Marsh). ‘New women expected to travel and live independently, to earn their own living and to choose their own partners; they also paved the way for the militant Suffragettes of the 1900s’ (Marsh, “The Personal is Political”: Gender in Private and Public Life) (http://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/periods_styles/19thcentury/gender_health/personal_is_political/index.html).
women became the centre of a large debate, and, as Jan Marsh stresses, ‘one marker of the end-of-century New Woman was greater independence, symbolised by her own door-key to the family home, so she might come and go as she pleased.’

These advances should be guarded, however. Although important legal, educational, professional and personal changes took place, by 1901 full, unarguable gender equality remained as utopian as in 1800. There was no legislation on equal pay or opportunity, and numerous other inequities remained.

In conclusion, despite its pervasiveness, middle-class ideology was both contested and always under construction in the Victorian age. ‘It was continually in the making, it was always open to revision, dispute, and the emergence of oppositional formulations’ (Poovey, 1989:3). Although the way femininity is constructed at a specific point in history depends on what is repressed or denied by the dominant culture, in reality there are of course many versions of female identity (Michie, 1993:1). Masculinity and femininity were not fixed categories, but constantly tested, challenged, and reworked both in the Victorian imagination and in real life (Davidoff and Hall 1987:450). The historical overview above underlines that the ideology of separate spheres was rather a prescriptive dialogue than a reality, and so does Mrs Warren’s own life story. Mrs Warren’s life as a widowed woman managing a boarding house, in her function as editor of and contributor to the Ladies’ Treasury, and as the author of a wide range of domestic guides, illuminates the multiple roles performed by (middle-class) women in the nineteenth century.

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20 Also, daytime shopping had become a popular female activity (Marsh, Jan, ‘The Personal is Political’: Gender in Private and Public Life’). Women shopping for entertainment was first an urban phenomenon dating back to the Regency period.
2.2 Case Study no.1: Mrs Warren, A(n) (Unusual) Middle-Class Woman

The title page of this chapter indicates that I have named my first case study ‘The Long Life and Short Times of Mrs Warren,’ and apart from a truthful title, it also alludes to a relatively recent book by Kathryn Hughes, ‘The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton’ (2005). This book tells the story of Mrs Isabella Beeton, wife of Samuel Beeton, the editor of the extremely popular Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine (1852-1879), and one of Mrs Warren’s greatest competitors. Isabella Beeton became famous for her domestic instalments in her husband’s periodical from 1859 to 1861, which were collected in what quickly became known as her biggest accomplishment: the domestic bible the Book of Household Management (1861).

Until today, both this guide and Mrs Beeton’s life are thought so intriguing that the BBC devoted a TV series to it, and that the granddaughter of another famous writer, Sophie Dahl, is planning on trying out Isabella Beeton’s recipes for BBC2. Although Isabella Beeton’s life was cut short at the age of 28, her legacy and reputation have clearly lived on to the present day. Eliza Warren, however, is barely known to contemporary historians and Victorianists, even though she lived to become 89 years old. Despite her respectable age, Mrs Warren does not have several biographies dedicated to her, and no-one has ever decided to write a screenplay based on her fascinating life. Until recent discoveries made by Kate

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21 The initial searches for Mrs Warren’s life were conducted by Dr. Kate Macdonald and made use of British Census data. Through additional searches and analyses of personal letters, Dr. Marianne Van Remoortel was able to collect extra information on Mrs Warren and her family relations. I have conducted research on her contributions to other Victorian magazines, her books, and her work for the Ladies’ Treasury. The case study of Mrs Warren’s personal life I present here is based on two articles that resulted from these investigations: ‘Mrs Warren’s Professions: Eliza Warren Francis (c.1810-1900), editor of The Ladies’ Treasury (1857-1895) and London boarding-house keeper’ (Macdonald and De Ridder, Publishing History 2009, pp.49-62), and ‘Not ‘Simply Mrs. Warren’: Eliza Warren Francis (1811-1900) and the Ladies’ Treasury’ (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, VPR, forthcoming 2011).


24 Strangely enough, some of her books are reprinted up until today, such as Comfort for Small Incomes, which was printed in paperback version by Nabu Press in 2010. With the wider public, however, Mrs Warren is not well-known.
Macdonald, Marianne Van Remoortel, and myself, she was a mystery to Victorian publishing and journalism history, as next to nothing was known about either her career or her private life. Her Victorian celebrity status as the author of numerous household books did not survive the ravages of time. Nonetheless, Mrs Warren was incredibly industrious and published around twenty-five works, sharing tips with her readers on issues as diverse as how to economize when cooking, and how to pretend you know how to paint, despite a lack of talent.25 Her most popular titles such as How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year (1864), How I Managed My Children from Infancy to Marriage (1865) and Comfort For Small Incomes (1866) all went through several reprints, selling thousands of copies in Britain and across the Atlantic, and assuring her undeniable popularity among Victorian households.

In this case study, I present Mrs Warren’s life story as a detailed investigation of a (lower) middle-class woman in the Victorian age. Apart from her personal life, I discuss some of her earlier work for other middle-class magazines, as well as some of the books she wrote throughout her career. Her work as editor of the Ladies’ Treasury will be elaborated on in chapter 5, as it deals with her intriguing use of the many names she acquired during her lifetime.

2.2.1 Private Life

Eliza Jervis was born on 23 December 1810 and christened on 19 June 1811 at St Cuthbert, Wells, Somerset. She was the first child of John Jervis (b. 1785) and his wife Jane, née Honiball (1787-1838).26 Nine more children were born to the couple in the next decade, three of whom died before their first birthday.27 The Jervises were a typical lower-middle-class family of traders. They lived in relative comfort but the family income was nonetheless unstable and one could easily imagine them to have practiced the prudent budget management that Eliza later advocated in her household writings

25 The Economical Cookery Book (1858) and The Art of Imitating Oil Paintings without a Knowledge of Drawing (1869). A full list of all works by Mrs Warren is provided in appendix no.1.
26 Unless indicated otherwise, all consulted pre-1837 birth, christening, marriage and death records can be found in the International Genealogical Index, FamilySearch (Record Search Pilot), http://pilot.familysearch.org/recordsearch/start.html (consulted May-June 2010). All BMD records (1837 onwards) can be found online at FreeBMD, http://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/search.pl (consulted May-June 2010).
27 Eliza’s siblings were Henry (20 February 1813), Edward (ca. 1815), John Honiball, named after his uncle (4 February 1816), James Appleyard (22 October 1817 – 8 May 1818), Catharine (9 July 1819), Jane (27 August 1820), Arabella, named after her maternal grandmother Arabella Buffett (10 February 1822–March 1905), Mary Ann (16 April 1823 – 6 June 1823) and Frederick (28 May 1824–16 July 1824). All dates are either christening or burial dates (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011).
Eliza’s father pursued careers as a cloth dealer and grocer. Her uncles on her father’s side were a corn dealer and a tallow chandler, her brother Henry grew up to be a tea dealer and her sister Jane joined her father’s draper’s business (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, 2011). On 30 June 1836, at her home parish church, 25-year-old Eliza married Walter Warren, a young man from the nearby village of Blagdon with whom her father briefly ventured into brush making. Two years later, the two men announced the dissolution of the partnership by mutual consent, and although financial considerations could have been at stake, it is likely that the decision was taken in direct consequence of the death of John Jervis’s wife, Eliza’s mother, barely two weeks earlier. Eliza’s father set up a new business as a draper, but was declared bankrupt in 1841. Meanwhile, the newlyweds had moved out of Somerset to 2, Church Road, near Beauvoir Square, Hackney, a street described by Charles Booth as ‘Middle Class. Well-to-do’ with 2-1/2 storied semi-detached yellow-brick, slate roofed houses with long gardens behind. The Warrens employed one servant and provided lodgings to Walter’s 15-year-old nephew Augustus Warren. Their closest neighbours were a tailor, a gardener with three children under six, a clerk with two little boys and, living next door, a man of independent means named William Wheeler, his wife Louisa and her sister Mary Bagshaw. When Mary married in 1843, her brother-in-law William and Eliza Warren acted as witnesses (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, 2011). On 25 March 1844, Walter Warren suddenly died at a coaching inn in Leeds while working as a commercial traveler for a London firm of Russia merchants, leaving Eliza widowed at the mere age of 33. Quite possibly, this unfortunate turn of events compelled Mrs Warren to pursue writing as a professional career in a direction that came natural to her. She must have been quite dexterous and skilful at needlework, as she published three fancywork manuals, *The Point-Lace Crochet Collar Book, The Court*.  

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29 Somerset Marriages (post-1754), Somerset & Dorset Family History Society, online at www.findmypast.co.uk (consulted 17 May 2010).
31 London Gazette, 23 November 1838, p.2993.
34 Leeds Mercury, 30 March 1844, p. 5.
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_Crochet Doyley Book_ and _The Court Crochet Collar and Cuff Book_ between 1846 and 1847. Her earliest known involvement with the periodical press also dates from this period. As I examine in the next section on her publications (2.2.2), she contributed fancywork to the _Drawing-Room Magazine_, and collected patterns in a short-lived illustrated series of _Books of the Boudoir_. Advertisements in the _Ladies’ Newspaper_ invited readers to come to ‘Mrs. Warren’s Needlework Showrooms’ in Fleet Street, where lessons were given and designs could be ‘viewed eight days prior to their publication.’ In 1849, the newspapers announced that ‘the celebrated Artiste in Fancy Needlework ha[d] undertaken the superintendence of the Work-Table Department’ of the popular monthly _Family Friend_. Two years later, Mrs Warren launched her own magazine, _Timethrift; or All Hours Turned to Good Account_. It was published by Longmans, sold at six shillings and offered literary entertainment, household tips and fancywork designs to middle-class women, but ceased publication after six issues.

By the 1850s, Eliza Warren had left Church Road and taken up more humble lodgings. Again, being a widow must have left its marks, and without anyone else to rely on, she had to provide her own income. The 1851 census lists her as living in St Mary Lambeth at 15, Dorset Place North, the house of solicitor Thomas Overend. Her profession is given as ‘Authoress,’ the only instance in which census records mention her literary activities. At 75, Sydney Place in the same parish lived a 40-year-old landing-waiter by the name of Frederic Francis, son of Great Marlow schoolmaster and land-surveyor William Francis and his wife Elizabeth, born in the Buckinghamshire village of Taplow. When he and Eliza Warren crossed paths around 1850, both their lives bore a striking resemblance. Like Eliza’s, Frederic’s wedded life had been cut short after a mere seven years. His wife Helen, whom he had married in February 1837, passed away in January 1844, aged 33, only three months before the untimely death of Eliza’s husband. (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011). On 13 September 1851, Frederic and Eliza married at St Michael’s, Stockwell. Becoming Mrs Francis must have improved Eliza’s financial status, and living circumstances, considerably. The couple left Lambeth

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35 Published by Ackermann.
36 _The Lady’s Newspaper_, 24 June 1848-13 January 1849, p.1.
37 _Northern Star, and National Trades’ Journal_, 24 February 1849, p.4.
38 1851 census record for Eliza Warren (HO107/1573 f. 322 p. 10). These census records for Eliza Warren (1851) and Eliza Francis (1861–91) were first located by Dr. Kate Macdonald.
39 1851 census record for Frederick Francis (HO107/1573 f. 528 p. 24).
40 Marriage of Frederic Francis and Helen Francis on 19 February 1837, Guildhall, St Botolph Aldersgate, Register of marriages, 1830-1837, P69/BOT1/A/01/Ms 3857/4. Burial of Helen Francis on 16 January 1844, London Metropolitan Archives, Highgate Cemetery of Saint James, Swains Lane, Saint Pancras, Transcript of Burials, 1844 Jan-1844 Dec, DL/t Item, 063/005.
41 _Bristol Mercury_, 22 November 1851, p. 8.
for the rapidly urbanizing area of Deptford New Town, where they occupied a generously proportioned semi-detached house at 4, Brunswick Place.\textsuperscript{42} Retaining the name under which she had started to build her reputation in the 1840s, ‘Mrs Warren’ continued to publish throughout the next decade. \textit{The Short-way Crochet Edging Book} appeared in 1850. The gift book entitled \textit{Timethrift; or, Leisure hours for ladies}, based on her first periodical attempt, was issued by Ward and Lock in 1854, followed by a 450-page collection of \textit{Treasures in Needlework} (1855), co-written with colleague expert on the subject, Mrs Pullan.

With the autumn of 1856 came Mrs Warren’s \textit{Cookery for Maids of All Work}, the first of a long line of domestic management manuals. Much like her turn to authorship after the death of her first husband, the timing of this turn to manual writing seems significant. Although still in his forties, Frederic Francis must have realized earlier that year that his life was nearing its end. On 12 April 1856 he drew up a will naming his ‘truly beloved and affectionate wife Eliza Francis’ as executor and sole beneficiary, while expressing the wish that she would take care of his sister Sarah Ann and niece Ann Amelia if ever they needed help as well as continue to devote her ‘motherlike’ love to a ‘dear talented boy’ named Walter Wheeler.\textsuperscript{43} Francis died less than two months later and was buried at Nunhead Cemetery.\textsuperscript{44} Left to provide for herself yet again after losing a husband for the second time in little over a decade, Eliza Warren Francis quit Brunswick Place to set up a boarding house at Tudor Road in the parish of Penge, Surrey (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011).

If the first half of her life was marked by movement and change, the final half was spent in relative stability: all census records from 1861 through 1891 list ‘Eliza Francis’ as living as a ‘Boarding’ or ‘Lodging House Keeper’ at Tudor Road with a varying number of boarders.\textsuperscript{45} In her boarding house, she was assisted by her brother Henry’s daughter, Ada, and employed just one servant. Many lower-class families were limited to a single

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\textsuperscript{42} Will of Frederic Francis, Searcher Landing Waiter of Customs of No 4 Brunswick Place Lewisham Road New Cross, Kent, TNA, PROB 11/2238, quire 651-700, f. 318. Brunswick Place was a development off Lewisham Way consisting of ‘three pairs of semi-detached houses with long sloping roofs’ built in 1806 (‘Special Case Study: St John’s, Deptford New Town,’ \textit{Ideal Homes: Suburbia in Focus}, University of Greenwich (http://www.ideal-homes.org.uk/lewisham/main/st-johns-deptford-new-town-case-study.htm) (consulted 15 May 2010). The houses still exist, but the space between each pair was filled up by four-storey brick buildings in the second half of the nineteenth century (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011).

\textsuperscript{43} Will of Frederic Francis, TNA, PROB 11/2238, quire 651-700, f. 318

\textsuperscript{44} Burial of Frederic Francis on 5 June 1856, London Metropolitan Archives, Nunhead Cemetery, Linden Grove, Camberwell, Transcript of Burials, 1856, DW/T Item 0525. See also \textit{Morning Chronicle}, 3 June 1856, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{45} Census records for Eliza Francis (1861, RG9/451 f. 156 p. 8; 1871, RG10/850 f. 23. p. 39; 1881, RG11/822 f. 103 p. 48; 1891, RG12/598 f. 16 p. 25).
\end{flushright}
Balancing Acts in Femininities

household help, but, as Mrs Warren herself so avidly argued in an instalment of 'Household Management,' this should not invoke any negative connotations.\(^{46}\)

Of course every one does as convenient and proper in the matter of keeping servants. It is assumed by many people the number kept shows either respectability of poverty. This is not so, however \(^{550}\).

Mrs Warren’s niece, Ada Jervis,\(^{47}\) seems to have been an ardent reader of periodicals, her aunt’s included. In 1882–88, a ‘Miss J.’ living at ‘1, Cambridge Villa, Tudor Road, Upper Norwood’ placed several advertisements in the Ladies’ Treasury seeking to exchange the Treasury, Argosy, Aunt Judy’s Magazine, Girls’ Own Paper for other magazines such as Chambers’ Journal, Good Words, Temple Bar and Leisure Hour.\(^{48}\)

In the census for 3 April 1881 Eliza Francis was listed as the head of the household of 1 Cambridge Villas, Tudor Road (Census 1881).\(^{49}\) The information provided confirms that she was a widow aged 60, born in Wells, Somerset, with her profession given as a Boarding House Keeper. Her immediate neighbours were also widows, one living with a daughter, the other running another boarding house. Two doors away lived a civil servant with his wife and seven daughters, four of whom were teachers. In the four households recorded on that page, all but two of the inhabitants were women. The area was a typical Victorian lower middle-class suburb, close to the City of London by train, and convenient for the Crystal Palace and other pleasure spots.\(^{50}\) In her own magazine, Mrs Warren viewed boarding houses very positively as well. In the ‘Notices to Correspondents, &C.’ of March 1882, she recommends to ‘a friend’ who wants to ‘get into society’ spending some time in a boarding house; an excellent place to reside.

\(^{46}\) ‘Household Management,’ Mrs. Warren, LT, September 1889, pp.550-552.
\(^{47}\) The census records register Ada Jervis as her niece and mention four lodgers and a servant. These were Sarah Kidd, a widow of 65 from Brighton, and an annuitant; a W A Ockenham, an unmarried person of 34, with no profession given; Mary W Sabor, also unmarried, aged 43 and living on interest of Money; and Matilda Filches, an unmarried girl of 18 from Suffolk, with no profession given. She may have been another servant, as the household also included Julia Sweeting, a girl from Suffolk aged 16, listed as a servant. Data from 1881 Census.
\(^{48}\) See for example The Ladies’ Treasury, December 1882, p.716; April 1883, p.240; May 1883, p.300; 1 November 1884, p.659; December 1884, p.715; February 1885, p.119; March 1885, p.179; March 1886, p.179; December 1887, p.760; January 1888, p.64. From 1887 onwards, the advertisements are signed ‘Miss Jervis’ or ‘A.E.J.,’ ‘6, Tudor Road, Upper Norwood.’
\(^{49}\) The census recorder gives the address as ‘Camb. Villas’, which we assume stood for ‘Cambridge Villas.’ There are two Tudor Roads in this area of London, one in Upper Norwood (SE19), and the other further south, in Croydon (SE25).
\(^{50}\) Mrs Warren wrote three articles on the Crystal Palace under different variations of her name. These will be discussed in chapter 5, section 5.2.3.
In these days one must have either name, wealth, or fame, to succeed with “society,” hollow and false as it is. If your means will permit, give up your home and travel, or retain your house, let it furnished, and travel. Go into a first-class boarding house and you will see enough of society there, people of good births but limited means. It is wonderful how soon acquaintances are made, and how often friendships formed by these means are lasting (180).

In July 1890, ‘Side Lights on Pension Life’ also paints a fascinating and favorable picture of life at a continental boarding-house.51

The census for 5 April 1891 shows that Eliza Francis was now living at 6 Tudor Road, still in the same trade though listed as a Lodging House Keeper rather than of a Boarding House, and still living with her niece (now listed as Ada Eliza Jervis), two other women boarders and a servant (Census 1891). Cambridge Villas may have been given a street number as the area developed, or Eliza Francis may have moved house, but she did not move out of the street. Her neighbours were still of the middle classes: a married police constable; a maiden lady and her sister, and two widows, all living on their own means; and two other lodging house keepers (Macdonald and De Ridder, 2009:50). Again, this portion of Tudor Road was predominantly inhabited at the time by women who needed to provide their own income. Mrs Warren knew this situation all too well herself, and commented upon this problem in the correspondence pages of her own magazine. In October 1892, she notes that ‘it is just possible that women who have no prospect of future provision but in marrying must perforce live single.’ In order to do so, ‘it is best to learn something or other by which money may be made’(640).52

In 1901, Eliza Francis did not appear in the census because she had died on the fifth of January 1900 at her house in Tudor Road, aged 89.53 The record for her death lists her full name: Eliza Warren Francis. The cause of death on her death certificate is given as ‘Morbus Cordis many years Senility,’ indicating that no direct cause had been found besides the infirmities of old age.54 That it was not Ada Jervis,55 but Ada’s older sister Alice who reported the death could mean that the latter had moved in some time before to help Ada take care of their aging aunt.56

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51 Sheila, ‘Side Lights on Pension Life,’ LT, July 1890, pp.411-413.
52 ‘Notices to Correspondents’, LT, October 1892, p.640.
53 In Croydon, the registration district for her parish of Penge (Index of Deaths).
54 Certificate of Registration of Death for Eliza Warren Francis, General Register Office, DYC 737933.
55 After Warren Francis’s death, Ada left Penge to assist Alice in running a boarding house in Bournemouth, where she lived until her death in 1931. 1911 census record for Ada Eliza Jervis (RG14/5849 95/2/18/132).
56 An important issue I have not tackled is Mrs Warren remaining childless. I discuss this in more detail in chapter 5, as many of her books refer to the management, and support, of a family.
2.2.2 Mrs Warren’s Life in Books

As mentioned before, Eliza Warren’s works on cookery, needlework and household management were very successful during her lifetime, several running to many editions and sales in the thousands. Her last known book came out in 1887, when she would have been around 70 years old, apparently still in charge of The Ladies’ Treasury (her name graces each cover until the very last issue of 1895), and still running the boarding house, though undoubtedly with the help of her niece. The number of books she wrote during her lifetime is most impressive, especially bearing in mind that she was also editor of the Ladies’ Treasury for more than thirty-five years. The combination of all these tasks seems almost impossible. Hence, her writing skills, as well as her talent for entrepreneurship, should not be underestimated.

After her first publications on needlework, The Point Lace Crochet Collar Book, London (1846), The Court Crochet Doyley Book (1847), and The Court Crochet Collar and Cuff Book (1847), Mrs Warren must have been successful enough to be asked to contribute to needlework columns in periodicals. In 1847-48, she attended to the needlework patterns and accompanying instructions of the Drawing-Room Magazine: Ladies Book of Fancy Needlework and Choice Literature (published by Houlston and Stoneman). She not only provided clothing patterns (such as a ‘Knitted Opera Cap with Netted Border’ or a ‘Gentlemen’s Comforter in Crochet’), but also designed many decorative items for the house. The ‘Knitted Shell Mat,’ ‘Toilet Cushion, Oak Leaf Pattern,’ ‘Music Stool Covering in Crochet,’ and ‘Pen Wiper’ were all her creations. One year later, the Family Friend (1849-1921) also appealed to Mrs Warren for their needlework patterns, arranged in the series ‘The Work-Table Friend.’ She kept providing the patterns until at least 1861, when she was already busy editing her own Ladies’ Treasury. From 1849 to 1861, Mrs Warren’s name adorned the descriptions of the needlework patterns, at times joined by Mrs Pullan, as the table of contents for 1856 lists both their names for the work-table, and in January 1856, a collar in Spanish rose is said to be ‘designed by Mrs. Pullan and Mrs Warren’.

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57 I return to a thorough examination of the content of Mrs Warren’s book in chapter 5, section 5.2.4.
58 The Economical Cookery Book, with Hints to the Mistress and Servant (1858), was reprinted in 1875 and 1881. On the cover of How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year (1864), the book claims to have achieved at least 6000 sales by 1865.
59 Although this also raises the question whether she did it all by herself, or rather cooperated with other, unknown, authors (Macdonald and De Ridder, 2009:57).
60 The magazine was discontinued after two volumes.
62 Established by R.K. Philp.
worked for the Universal Paris Exhibition.’ In the February address in 1856, an important announcement is made:

The needlework department of the “Family Friend” will be henceforth conducted with a view to encourage the Art of Designing Patterns as well as assisting those who aim at the Execution of the very beautiful and useful designs that grace our pages. Measures, therefore, will be taken to award appropriate acknowledgements of merit to all expert Lady Needleworkers who either Design Patterns or work out those that we publish (77).

Oddly enough, for March and April, none of the needlework patterns are explicitly attributed to any of these ‘Lady Needleworkers.’ In other months, however, Mrs Warren’s name is linked to the needlework patterns. In 1862 and 1863, ‘The Work-Table Friend’ remains faceless, leading us to assume that Mrs Warren left to take care of her own magazine. The table of contents of 1864 announces a new series, entitled ‘Ladies’ Department’ that was conducted by Madame Rosalie. This possible replacement for ‘The Work-Table Friend’ comprised all needlework and ‘Hints for the Toilet.’

While she provided the needlework patterns to other magazines, Mrs Warren also made a first attempt at publishing her own magazine. *Timethrift*, launched in 1851, was sold at sixpence and flaunted her name on the cover. The magazine’s motto “All is the gift of industry; whate’er exalts, embellishes, and renders life delightful” emphasized Mrs Warren’s passion for needlework, a skill in which she probably had reached near perfection by then. This is illustrated by another publication in the field, *The Short-way Crochet Edging Book* (1850). The way *Timethrift* arranged its articles seems largely inspired by the *Drawing-Room Magazine*, as the former equally starts with two pages of illustrations (of items such as watch-pockets, toilet covers, baskets, and collars), followed by detailed explanations of how to fabricate these items yourself. The additional articles, in turn, form a preview of what the *Ladies’ Treasury* would look like. Apart from needlework, fiction, poetry, ‘Useful Knowledge,’ and other general articles (including a series entitled ‘Anecdotes’) are published, as is a series of cookery columns ‘The Epicure.’ A series with this title was also printed in the *Ladies’ Treasury* from 1861 to 1866. At the very end of the *Ladies’ Treasury*’s run, in 1895, the series was taken up again and a book was planned. The last instalment in December 1895 mentions that ‘it is purposed to continue this article in book form by Mrs. Warren’ (841). Nevertheless, the book was either never written, or never launched. In the last issue of *Timethrift*

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64 The work-table was clearly a general name given to needlework departments, as the ‘Ladies’ Department’ inside the magazine itself still carried the name ‘the work-table.’
65 From James Thomson, eighteenth-century Scottish poet and playwright.
subscribers are equally informed about a book version that may be obtained from the publishers. Mrs Warren wrote,

> [t]he volume, forming as it does a suitable ornament for the drawing-room, a phasing companion for a studious hour, and a useful and domestic work (the needlework designs affording amusement as well as profit), I peculiarly adapted for recommendation to persons of any age, and is exceedingly appropriate as an elegant souvenir.'

This 1854 book version appeared to be an almost exact copy of the magazine, unedited and hence not really resembling a book. Adjustments can only be found on the cover which indicates what the book comprises: domestic economy, the work-table, historical notes of ancient places, poetry, fiction, essays, and chess. Also, its subtitle was changed from ‘or, all hours to good account’ to ‘or, leisure hours for ladies: including instructions in crochet, Berlin work, &c., &c.’ It was sold at eighteen pence and was published by Ward and Lock, the house that would publish the *Ladies’ Treasury* three years later.

The 1860s and 70s proved to be the most fertile decades of Mrs Warren’s writing career, with household, fancywork and other manuals appearing at a steady pace: *Elegant Work for Delicate Fingers* (1861), co-authored with Mrs Pullan and Madame Girardin of the *Family Treasury*, *A Scheme for the Education of the Daughters of Working Men* (1862), *How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year* (1864), *How I Managed My Children from Infancy to Marriage* (1865), *Comfort for Small Incomes* (1866), *A House and Its Furnishings* (1869), and *The Art of Imitating Oil Paintings Without a Knowledge of Drawing* (1869). Many of these books would first find a place as monthly installments in the *Ladies’ Treasury*, her most successful endeavour. Launched in April 1857, the *Ladies’ Treasury* became one of the most successful publications of its genre, only rivaled by the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*.

In the late 1870s, Mrs Warren turned her attention again from budget management to cookery and to the importance of good servants in *My Lady-Help, and What She Taught Me* (1877) and *How the Lady-Help Taught Girls to Cook and Be Useful* (1879). In *The Way It Is Done* (1878), she provided practical tips on hygiene and domestic economy. Despite her continued productivity, she must have gone through some financial hardship as she attempted to sell several valuable books. Five signed letters which can now be attributed to Mrs Warren are stored at the Bodleian Library, inside a wrapper with a copy of the privately printed first edition of *Queen Mab*. When Frederic Francis died in 1856, his wife inherited the copy, which Shelley himself had given to Francis’s father while living at Marlow in the mid-1810s. The copy of *Queen Mab* was not the only book

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66 *Timethrift*, December 1851, p.192.
67 Part of the Shelley Collection: Shelley adds. e. 4/2, fols. 1r-12r.
Mrs Warren was trying to sell in 1879-80. The first letter in the Bodleian set is incomplete, but offers a list of titles up for sale, including a 1726 edition of Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras* and the first volume of Goldsmith’s *Poetical Works* (1784) (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011).

It is probable that Mrs Warren’s financial trouble had multiple causes. Despite the success of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, producing an illustrated periodical with such a large readership was a costly undertaking, relying heavily on advertising revenues. As a consequence, her income must have been highly capricious. Census records also show that over the past decade she had reduced the number of boarders from four to two, a decision no doubt necessitated by her advancing age. For a widow in her position, without the benefit of a life insurance, annuity or any other significant sum of money left to her by her late husband, such a cut in income would have been immediately felt. Moreover, if Mrs Warren had sold the copyright to her popular household manuals to her publishers, like Samuel Beeton had done after his wife’s death, she would not have been able to claim a share in the profits.

In the following decade, Mrs Warren’s publication rhythm slackened: the only two books published in the 1880s, *A Young Wife’s Perplexities* (1886), about the training of servants, and *Cookery for an income of £200 a year* (1887), would turn out to be her last. Her final known letter is a bifolium recently put up for sale by an antiquarian bookseller in London. It was written on 8 October 1888, signed ‘EWFrancis’ and addressed to Lucy E. Baxter (1837-1902), art critic and foreign correspondent of the *Magazine of Art* in Florence. From the 1860s onwards, Baxter had been a regular contributor of serial fiction to the *Ladies’ Treasury* under her usual pseudonym of ‘Leader Scott.’ The new submissions discussed in the letter are a ‘tale on Temperance,’ which although ‘a good one’ according to Mrs Warren ‘will not do for the L Treasury,’ and a story about the queen of Italy, for which she offers Baxter a guinea. As the rejection of Baxter’s first submission already suggests, the *Ladies’ Treasury* was by no means pressed for new material in the late 1880s. ‘Upwards of 300 MSS came in reply to one Advt. for tales,’ Warren boasts, informing Baxter that ‘A MS has been sent from Hungary – another from Corsica – one from Venice. I believe the Treasury circulates all over the world.’ That Mrs Warren had become something of a celebrity herself is evident from the fact that the

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68 If there were any such financial endowment, we can assume that Frederic Francis would have mentioned it in his will. The fact that Francis does not include his sister and niece ‘because they are both otherwise provided for’ also suggests the modest size of his estate (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011).

69 Beeton was forced to sell to Ward, Locke and Tyler, that kept him on as editor and writer after Isabella’s death in 1866.

70 There are two versions of this title: either ‘£200’ or ‘Two Hundred Pounds’ was used.

71 “The Domestic Life of Margherita, Queen of Italy” by ‘Leader Scott’ was published in the *Ladies’ Treasury* for February 1889, pp.67-74.
letter was later sent by Lucy Baxter to her niece, a Miss Scofield, in reply to a request for autographs, together with specimens by William Allingham and Jessie Fothergill (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011).

By the end of her life, Mrs Warren had become a brand name in English and American households as well as in the publishing world, inspiring admiration and respect as well as satirical commentary and mild ridicule. The Ladies’ Treasury was advertised as 'the best of all the household magazines' throughout the press, and reviews were generally positive, praising its ‘well-selected admixture’ of articles, ‘literary excellence’ and ‘superior specimens of wood engraving.’ Mrs Warren’s advice on budget management also attracted attention. The London Society and the Churchman’s Shilling Magazine both printed fictional accounts of young adults who, after reading Mrs Warren’s books, rise to the challenge of living on limited incomes. The Girl’s Own Paper published offshoots entitled ‘How I Managed My Picnic’ and ‘My ‘At Home’ and How I Managed It,’ while the Girl of the Period Miscellany through satire exposed the inadequacies of the budget scheme in How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year. Already in 1857, Punch had mocked Mrs Warren in a page-long piece entitled ‘All Work and Some Play’ for the occasional double entendre in Cookery for Maids of All Work: “‘A table-spoonful of Browning to the calf’s-head soup’ (51) may be tried, but we never found that gentleman’s writings at all suited to a calf’s head.” Nevertheless, her household and needlework books were not only poked fun at. In The Practical Housewife: A Complete Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy, the preface mentions that, although it is not properly within the scope and aim of this book to make needlework a part of it,

it will not be out of place to call the attention of those ladies interested in the subject – and what lady is not? – to a volume entitled “Treasures in Needlework,” by Mrs. Warren and Mrs. Pullan. This book, which teems with illustrations and information, is well worthy to be the companion to the “Practical Housewife” (London, October 1855).

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74 ‘All Work and Some Play,’ Punch, 1 August 1857, p.48.
75 A book published by Ward & Lock and edited by the editors of the Family Friend.
In 1895, the *Ladies’ Treasury* ceased to exist after nearly four decades of continuous publication. The final years of Eliza Warren Francis were spent in quiet retirement. Now in her eighties, she was no longer able to maintain the busy professional life that she had been leading for so long. Her last public appearance was by proxy in 1896, when Ellen T. Masters, a young colleague in fancywork instruction, set up the Eliza Warren Fund, urging readers in the columns of Walter Besant’s *Author* to donate. The initiative was quickly picked up by other journals. *Heart and Home* deplored her being ‘in indigent circumstances after a lifetime of toil with her pen’ and the *Athenaeum* commented:

We are sorry to hear that Mrs. Eliza Warren, one of the pioneers of women’s journalism, whose writings on cookery and domestic management are well known, has become – owing to the discontinuance of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, which she edited, in spite of her eighty-three years, till the end of 1895, and other circumstances over which she has no control – sadly pressed by money troubles. She has passed her long life in working for others, who are now unable to help her, and, owing to the infirmities of advanced age, she can no longer support herself by her pen as she has hitherto done.

Despite donations by Besant, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Warren’s former publisher Bemrose and Leopold de Rothschild of the famous banking family, only £60 was raised. ‘It would be best, perhaps,’ the *National Observer* somewhat bitterly pondered, ‘if the literary class were to form a sustentation fund of its own, and no longer be indebted to the Civil List, the Royal Literary Fund, or any other such eleemosynary institution.’ In 1898, she indeed applied to the Royal Literary Fund in October, stating that she was ‘entirely dependent upon the kindness of friends owing to my great age, now quite unable to continue writing. I am bedridden and helpless’ (Macdonald and De Ridder, 2009:57).

In *Uneven Developments*, Mary Poovey focuses on the example of Florence Nightingale to show how women could use the contradictory nature of the domestic ideal to authorize ambitions that took them out of the domestic sphere. Nightingale occupied the border between the ‘normal’ (domestic) and the ‘abnormal’ (working) woman and represented a compromise between a series of normative oppositions in her role as caring nurse (1989:12-14). Mrs Warren’s life story also represents a seemingly perfect

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76 The end of the *Ladies’ Treasury* is not foretold in the magazine itself. It could simply be linked to Mrs Warren’s old age.


79 Mrs Warren is listed as Francis, E.W. Her case number is 2525.
compromise between both worlds. Although, as a middle-class woman, the paternalistic and prescriptive ideals of her time, and the conviction that women were supposed to be private beings, could have restricted her, the book publications and contributions to periodicals did turn her into a public figure. The balance between private and public, however, was meticulously preserved and her activities were still closely linked to the domestic. Although Mrs Warren was engaged in the commercial business of writing (and later in editing), she only concerned herself with domestic issues and household expertise with the authority of a ‘Mrs.’ Her topics never ventured towards anything but idealized representations of a woman’s task. The magazine itself was aimed at middle-class women, and all her books, too, had domesticity as their main theme. Additionally, the act of running a boarding house equally implies taking care of others. Nevertheless, although one can downplay her careful way of entering certain domains of the public sphere, it is impossible to deny that the acts of editing and writing in se made her cross boundaries. How such boundaries were crossed, and multiple discourses were balanced, forms the centre of my analysis of her life’s work, the Ladies’ Treasury.

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80 In chapter 5, however, I will show that Mrs Warren did write about non-domestic issues, but made use of variations on her own name to do so.
Chapter 3. The Ladies’ Treasury (1857-1895)

Case Study no.2: The Ladies’ Treasury and its Supplement the Treasury of Literature (1868-1875)

‘The success of a magazine is, in these days, so singular a proof of intrinsic merit and popular appreciation, that we confess to being a little elated, or what is commonly called in high spirits’ (‘Preface,’ LT, vol.I, no.1, April 1857)
In the previous chapter, I attempted to present a nuanced outline of the lives of middle-class women in Victorian Britain, as the accompanying case study illustrated precisely the precariousness of making all too generalizing and rigid claims in such short historical overviews. Despite the dangers of sweeping assumptions, I argued that ‘middle-classness’ was a genuine phenomenon that arose in the early nineteenth century and was closely tied up with notions of gender (and the strict divide between masculinity and femininity). With the cult of domesticity at its centre, ‘middle-classness’ permeated all aspects of everyday life, including reading material such as periodical publications. Periodicals did not merely function as commodities but were ‘simultaneously linked up with gendered discourses about the public and private spheres’ (Turner, 2000:236). Consequently, magazines specifically aimed at middle-class women also incorporated these discourses. Women’s magazines themselves played an important part in the discursive construction of the middle-class ideology of domesticity, and influenced larger cultural formations which defined women’s position in society (Boardman, 2000:162).

In her book *Forever Feminine: Women’s Magazines and the Cult of Femininity* (1983), Marjorie Ferguson lists several indispensable questions in order to establish the role of women’s magazines as social institutions. How do women’s magazines define their audiences (by means of titles, subjects, contents, etc.); who decides the content of the messages; what beliefs and values are presented; and what social behaviour is fostered among the readers? (4). Because this chapter constitutes the very first attempt to map the *Ladies’ Treasury*, not all questions are dealt with immediately, but they will be addressed in the course of my dissertation. Before centring on the *Ladies’ Treasury* in particular, I first historicise (Victorian) women’s magazines. I discuss the magazines that targeted middle-class women and position the *Ladies’ Treasury* in the booming periodical press market of the 1850s. The characterization and concise discussion of the *Ladies’ Treasury’s* features also find a place in this section (3.2.), and in the consecutive case studies I elaborately focus on how the magazine distinguished itself from other publications in the field. As a case study to this chapter, I present the *Treasury of Literature*, the literary supplement which came to define the *Ladies’ Treasury* from 1868 to 1875 (3.3).
3.1 Women’s Magazines

3.1.1 Marking the Boundaries

The ideology of domesticity influenced social institutions and practices, and materially affected reality. Statements about natural differences between masculine men and feminine women determined social roles and infused mid-Victorian culture in sermons, conduct manuals, and popular literature (Poovey, 1989:6). Within the cultural field, middle-class periodicals could not possibly remain unaffected. Due to the sudden growth of the periodical market, magazines became a crucial site where meanings of gender were negotiated and contested rather than taken for granted or imposed. The instability and diversified portrayals of female and male selfhood became apparent in the various periodicals, as each periodical presented a distinct cultural formation with its own particularities, including definitions and understandings of gender difference (Turner, 2000:238). According to Ros Ballaster et al., even contradictions within one and the same magazine were often a matter of course (1991:10).

Mainstream middle-class women’s magazines in particular became a vital cog in the wheel of the ideology of domesticity: these publications focused on women and constructed, as well as presented, certain ideals women were to embody. As social institutions, they defined and shaped the role of women and of femininity, and in each issue they posited a collective yet multivalent female subject which they simultaneously (re)constructed and addressed (Ballaster et al., 1999:173). As chapter two illustrated, this model often proved socially constructed and frequently a gap could be discerned between the reader’s social and economic reality and the ideals projected by the texts in the publication. This paradox and difficulty for women to live up to the narrow definition of the ‘ideal woman’ became central to the discourse of middle-class women’s magazines. Precisely because of its slippery meaning, the naturalness of this complex identity had to be insisted upon again and again, and the magazine which came out regularly embodied the ideal form. The ‘same’ elements had to be constantly reworked, their meanings being ‘radically unstable’ (Beetham, 1996:4).

It was precisely this instability that allowed women’s magazines to offer a unique opportunity for debate and focus on the possibilities of female agency. They could aid each individual woman to shape a view of herself, and provided a view of how she was perceived by society (Ballaster et al., 1991:12). There were wide variations in emphases and approaches of domesticity, for instance, although it played an important role in

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almost all women’s magazines in the Victorian era. Proto-feminist publications, too, shared an interest in maintaining the division between work and home with woman as centre of that home, but they targeted different issues (Boardman, 2000:152). Similarly, even in mainstream magazines the ideology of domesticity was not necessarily narrow and restrictive. An examination of specific areas of women’s experiences, reflected and presented in such magazines, could lay bare the processes through which women were able to contest and subvert gender constructs which seemed very powerful across a range of socio-cultural contexts (Gleadle, 2001:4). The Ladies’ Treasury forms a perfect illustration. While the magazine reflects the tension between the (prescribed) role of middle-class women and their everyday reality, the publication of a literary supplement, the Treasury of Literature, demonstrates that even mainstream women’s magazines could negotiate the definitions and understandings of femininity instead of taking them for granted.

3.1.2 Historicizing Victorian Women’s Magazines

Before it becomes possible to grasp the significance of the Ladies’ Treasury, it is vital to understand what the periodical field for women in the Victorian era looked like. While women’s magazines began to become popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, it was the nineteenth century that truly marked the arrival of women as major consumers of magazines. Women were especially targeted as a group. Within a few decades, these periodical publications had become a fixed part of daily life, with an increasing number of women of all classes buying magazines, or having them bought for them (Ballaster et al., 1991:78). The earliest periodical publications for women emerged at the very end of the seventeenth century with the Ladies’ Mercury (begun in 1693) as one of the first ventures in the field (Robinson, 2008). Initial progress in the number of publications was steady, but already in the second half of the eighteenth century a greater expansion of these early magazines for women can be noted, although its readership was confined to the upper classes until well into the middle of the following century. In these early years, the two most common forms of women’s magazines were the pocket-books, published annually, and the ancestors of our modern women’s magazines, providing instruction and entertainment (Allbrooke, 1994). By the late eighteenth century, this last category notably expanded, a shift marked off by the launch of several monthly and weekly magazines for women of the upper classes which aimed at providing learning as well as entertainment, such as the

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2 In chapter 4, I address how proto-feminist journals acted within the framework of domesticity.
Lady’s Magazine (1770-1832) and the Lady’s Monthly Museum (1798-1832). Both were expensive, contained steel engravings, and they were explicitly promoted as ‘ladies’ magazines.’ The former was a monthly publication, written ‘by ladies for ladies,’ and prided itself on offering its public a wealth of reading materials. The Lady’s Magazine aimed to ‘[...] blend entertainment and instruction in such a manner that it would suit “the housewife and the peeress”’ (White, 1970:31). It held on to the principles of cultivating the mind and upholding virtue, without neglecting the importance of women’s appearance, but men also frequently contributed to the magazine ‘to air their views [...] concerning the female sex’ (ibid.). From the beginning, the Lady’s Magazine offered readers a varied and stimulating diet and encouraged women’s access to knowledge, outlined by an editorial approach that was sturdy and realistic. The editors stressed that women preferred to read about science rather than read ‘superficial and frivolous’ materials which could ‘convey no information, nor even afford entertainment, but to an uncultivated or a vitiated taste’ (Shteir, 2004:5). Natural history thus figured prominently in the magazine, and informative essays taught readers about animals and plants (ibid.). The Lady’s Magazine already harboured several of the elements that would define the women’s magazine for the next century: it contained fashion, articles, poetry, music, exemplary biographies, dress and fashion, but was devoid of domestic advice.

The Lady’s Monthly Museum, for its part, was also ‘carefully compiled to remain consistent with this view of female improvement’ and supplemented informative features with fiction (White, 1970:33). Although, for lighter amusement, it recommended the study of music, poetry and painting, together with geography, chemistry and electricity, botany, animals and gardening, the magazine also published articles on the acquisition of languages, simple mathematics, astronomy, natural and experimental philosophy, history and criticism. ‘[These] may be cultivated by the sex with propriety and advantage’ (ibid.). Next to travel stories and attention paid to education and women, scientific articles formed a prominent part of its staple diet.

3 In 1832, both magazines merged and formed the Lady’s Magazine and Museum of the Belles Lettres, Fine Arts, Music, Drama, Fashions, Etc. Until 1847 (Beetham, 2009:342).
4 This again emphasises the strong link between gender and class. From the 1850s, ‘ladies’ was replaced by ‘women’ as term of address. Oscar Wilde, for instance, when taking over the Ladies’ World wanted its name changed into Woman’s World under his editorship from 1887 to 1889 (Clayworth, 2009:342-343). Why the Ladies’ Treasury insisted on including ‘ladies’ in its title can be connected to the fact that the publication harked back to these eighteenth-century publications. I will discuss this issue in case study no.2 (section 3.3).
5 Nevertheless, in its ‘preface’, the LT specifically addresses ‘our countrywomen’ (April 1857, pp.iii-iv)
6 This is not all that surprising, for an upper-class magazine. All other topics would become characteristic for its nineteenth-century daughters (Beetham, ‘Lady’s Magazine,’ 2009:342).
7 With titles such as ‘Travels in upper and lower Egypt; undertaken by the Order of the Old Government in France,’ January 1800, pp.67-70; ‘On the moral and intellectual excellence of the fair sex,’ E.T., April 1800,
Publications entitled ‘On the Pleasures and Uses Arising from the Study of Natural History,’ the series ‘Sketches of Natural History,’ ‘Anecdotes of Mr. Hutchinson, Founder of the System of Philosophy Called After his Name,’ and treatises on ‘There is no Part of Knowledge Which is not an Object Worthy of Our Attention’ most clearly illustrate the magazine’s regard for knowledge. Launched at a slightly later date, yet another periodical for upper-class women, La Belle Assemblée (1806-1832), was first published in February 1806 and has been described as ‘a magazine without intellectual pretensions.’ However, this characterization overlooks the frequent mathematical and scientific articles, as well as the serious reviews of contemporary literature. La Belle Assemblée is said to have remained frank, vigorous and mentally stimulating until at least 1825 (Sullivan, 1984:40).

In the early 1800s, magazines such as the Lady’s Magazine, the Lady’s Monthly Museum, and La Belle Assemblée committed themselves to the improvement of the female mind justifying this on the grounds that women were ‘being endowed with reason and consequently capable of the highest degree of intellectual improvement’ (White, 1970:36). There was a general desire to educate women to an even higher level so that they might be more stimulating companions, and also occupy their time more fruitfully. The beginning of the Victorian age, however, is said to have been marked by a sudden reversal of this trend which had secured women wider participation in the social sphere. As women’s participation was downgraded, their gradual withdrawal into the home became established, a development of crucial importance in the evolution of the

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7 'On the Pleasures and Uses Arising from the Study of Natural History,’ W.E., May 1805, pp.196-200; ‘Sketches of Natural History,’ (series in 1822); ‘Anecdotes of Mr. Hutchinson, Founder of the System of Philosophy Called After his Name,’ August 1810, pp.71-72; ‘There is no Part of Knowledge Which is not an Object Worthy of Our Attention,’ March 1814, p.156.

9 In ‘The Female Lecturer: to the Editor of La Belle Assemblée’ (September 1806, pp.431-433), a woman writes to the editor to provide a number of lectures on ‘general knowledge science and literature’ (431). She believes the style and content to be ‘as concise and familiar as the memory or capacity of any of your readers can require. You will perceive, that to prevent the orderly details of principles and their results being interrupted, I have given in the form of note, such matter as is merely curious or entertaining, without offering a necessary illustration of any fact or rule. My little introduction to, or grammar of, philosophy, embraces the following subjects: -Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Astronomy, Electricity, and Optics’ (431).

9 As first stated by Cynthia White (1970) and later acknowledged by others such as Adburgham (1972), Braithwaite and Barrel (1978), Shovel (1989) and Beetham (1996). Nevertheless, in chapter two, I have already referred to recent scholarship that has focused on the possibilities for female agency and the complex construction of nineteenth-century femininities, such as Kathryn Gleadle’s work (2001, 2007). My own analysis of Mrs Warren’s life in the first case study is another example.
women’s press. Social attitudes to women changed considerably as the century progressed, and the belief in their inherent mental inferiority became more widespread (White, 1970:34-35). In the 1820s already, significant alterations in the contents and tone of mainstream ladies’ magazines occurred, consistent with the narrower view of the role and status proper to women fiercely proclaimed by the ideology of domesticity. The Lady’s Magazine, for instance, removed most of its introductory material on animals and plants which had been popular in the first decade of the nineteenth century (Shteir, 2004:6). Conventional women’s magazines were apparently no longer required to contribute to the intellectual improvement and advancement of women, but merely to provide innocent and amusing reading matter as an alternative to the daily newspapers (White, 1970:39). Regular (political) news was removed from publications aimed at women, thus distinguishing them from the newspapers. As the ideology of domesticity became more pervasive, omission of ‘news’ from women’s magazines became institutional, along with the definition of femininity as incompatible with engagement in public affairs (Beetham, 1996:26). Altered gender values influenced the content of these magazines, and new boundaries to the appropriate levels of knowledge for women were established. While activities for women became more limited, ‘scientific teaching and learning moved away from general interest magazines into specialist publications’ (Shteir, 2004:6-7). In the wake of these changes, the early Victorian mainstream women’s magazine, for the first time addressing middle-class women, offered both amusement and instruction, and aimed to fulfill the role of the conduct manual. Women’s domestic duties were stressed, and they were already established as a central element in women’s reading. Like the nineteenth-century middle-class home, the women’s magazine was put forward as a ‘feminised’ space. The latter came to be defined by the woman who was at its centre and by its difference from the masculine world of politics and economics (Beetham, 1996:3). The strong link between entertainment and instruction, tailor-made for women, was to typify these mainstream periodicals for the next two centuries, simultaneously forming a continual reminder of the instability of ‘ideal’ femininity (Beetham, 1996:24).

In the 1850s, cheap periodicals for the middle-class woman flourished, and in 1852 Samuel Beeton and his wife Isabella pioneered the genre with the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine (hereafter the EDM). The publication came to occupy the niche between the more exclusive ladies’ magazines and the popular domestic journals for the

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11 Newspapers were seen as the male domain, with politics and news. Although newspapers for women existed, such as the Ladies’ Newspaper or the Queen, they did not include real news.
lower classes.\textsuperscript{12} On its pages, the \textit{EDM} combined elements of these earlier aristocratic lady’s journals with those of the new middle-class press (Beetham, 2009:205-206). Other publications specifically for middle-class women saw the light in that decade, offering articles on topics such as women’s suffrage and women’s rights. Two of such journals, the proto-feminist \textit{English Woman’s Journal} (1858-1864) and the \textit{Englishwoman’s Review} (1857-1859) targeted the same class and sex but were not rivals to the more conventional magazines because of the difference of their projects. Moreover, periodicals principally dealing with women’s suffrage were generally short-lived. Even in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth-century financing was a major problem (Caine, 1997:262). Proto-feminist reform journals equally devoted space to coverage of domestic issues, although with a focus on the middle-class woman’s responsibility to her domestic staff. As Boardman points out, and I assert in chapter four, although publications such as the \textit{Englishwoman’s Journal} (1858-1864), the \textit{Alexandra Magazine} (1864-1865), the \textit{Victoria Magazine} (1863-80) and, later, \textit{Woman’s World} (1887-1890) all actively engaged with the Woman Question by offering their readers alternative constructions of middle-class femininity,\textsuperscript{13} they often redefined this femininity in reference to the model of domestic life offered by the dominant ideology (2000:151 and 161).

Offering a less subversive support of the ideology of domesticity compared to the proto-feminist magazines, Beeton’s publication of the \textit{EDM} would provide the pattern for most middle-class women’s magazines for the next century and for all post-1895 commercial women’s magazines (Ballaster et al., 1991:98). Its publisher-editor, Samuel Beeton, was one of the many independent entrepreneurs characteristic of the Victorian era: an archetype of the middle-class publisher who marketed a commodity very different from the elitist publications of his forebears. In his magazine, Beeton offered his audience, consisting of the wives and daughters from the aspiring middle classes, guidance about the right purchases, clothes and social competences. The \textit{EDM} provided fashion and fiction, and its correspondence column ‘the Englishwoman’s Conversazione’ (and ‘Cupid’s Letterbag,’ later united with the ‘Conversazione’) was a very popular feature. The magazine was based on the successful formula of a mixture of domestic advice, fashion, fiction, a consistently lively correspondence column and a liberal stance on women’s suffrage (Beetham, 2009:205-206).\textsuperscript{14} Its cheap price (originally 2d monthly), and its extras such as the popular needlework patterns and fashion plates, contributed

\textsuperscript{12} For example the \textit{Mother’s Magazine} (1834-1862), \textit{the Mother’s Treasury} (1864-1889), and \textit{The British Workwoman} (1863-1896). Such publications were usually cheap and aimed at the artisan section of the working class. Not uncommonly, they were financed by religious organizations (Boardman, 2000:151).

\textsuperscript{13} Based on such controversial issues as education, social participation, health, employment, suffrage and legal equity.

\textsuperscript{14} This liberal stance on women’s suffrage will be discussed in the by now famous chapter 4.
to its immediate popularity (ibid). In 1857, a mere five years after its launch, the magazine’s instantaneous success was confirmed: Samuel Beeton claimed to have a readership of 50,000, and by 1860, the magazine was said to have reached 60,000 (Beetham, 1996:59 and 62). This success should of course also be placed in a wider context. Women’s access to print was a vital aspect: with the rise of the middle classes, and the middle-class woman as a new target audience, the EDM was able to flourish in this time of intellectual, social, and economic prosperity; the so-called ‘age of capital’ (ibid. 60). In the early 1860s, Samuel Beeton had not only transformed the middle-class women’s magazine, but he had also changed the conventions of the expensive ladies’ illustrated paper with his publication the Queen (1861-1867). He pioneered once more, now with a magazine for young women, appropriately titled the Young Englishwoman (Beetham, 1996:60). Altogether, Samuel and his wife Isabella published three magazines for women and two for boys, and compiled various Beeton dictionaries and guides.

Five years after its initial publication, the EDM’s most important competitor entered the market. As Beetham notes, at ninepence the Ladies’ Treasury was a formidable rival, especially with its supplement the Treasury of Literature, and its similar aspiration to illustrate virtue (1996:73). This presumed rivalry between both magazines could explain why Samuel Beeton transformed the EDM in the 1860s, less than three years after the establishment of the Ladies’ Treasury in April 1857. The changing position of middle-class women readers in the market-place, and the attempt to maintain readership, as well to extend it upwards in class terms were also important (Onslow, 2000:143). Moreover, advances in printing, particularly for illustrations, enabled the expansion of fashion papers, and with the EDM and the Ladies’ Treasury, which also published fashion plates and needlework patterns, the market for middle-class women’s magazines became very competitive. The EDM’s new format highlighted this: its larger, noticeably thicker and more attractive appearance, with better paper quality and more illustrations, turned it into a luxurious commodity.

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15 The Age of Capital (1848-1875), described as such by Eric Hobsbaum.
16 The Queen was intended as an up-market weekly newspaper. It reported on employment opportunities, social events, artistic and cultural matters. The name also indicates contemporary public interest in Queen Victoria as a role model for women. In 1862 already, Samuel Beeton sold it to William Cox, ‘who aimed at a more precise market (upper-class)’ (Doughan, 2009:523-524).
17 The Boy’s Own Magazine was launched in 1858. The first attempt at a magazine for boys, the penny weekly the Boy’s Own Journal failed to survive longer than a year. In 1863, the Boy’s Penny Magazine was launched, which after a year turned into the Boy’s Monthly Magazine (it was more expensive, reached a wealthier audience, and survived another 4 years). The Beetons published many other guides, such as Beeton’s Book of Birds (1964), Beeton’s Book of Football (1865), and Beeton’s Book of Chemistry (1865), etc. (Hughes, 2005).
18 The Waterloo Directory states that the EDM was issued at 2d in 1859, and for 1s in 1874 (later also 6d). Despite this confusion about the price, both publications were aimed at a similar target audience, and it is likely the price changes occurred because of this competition. I discuss this in section 3.3.4.
By the mid-1870s, the magazine press was well-established as an economic sector: it became more diverse, and many publications now targeted specific subgroups. At least fifty new and often specialised titles appeared between 1870 and 1900 (Ballaster et al., 1991:75). The expansion of niche women’s magazines exclusively devoted to fashion news or the interests of either young girls or mature women marked the second half of the Victorian Age (Allbrooke, 1994:60). By the end of the nineteenth century, women had become consumers of magazines on a large scale, and by the 1880s and 1890s the bulk of the working class, too, had access to a range of magazines and daily newspapers. This growing group of women consumers, many breaking free from ‘cloistered domesticity,’ formed a new market for publishers who sought to broaden the appeal of their journals to accommodate these wider interests (Ferguson, 1983:16). Although by the end of the nineteenth century, periodical publishers increasingly differentiated between kinds of women readers, women (as a group) were still seen as separate from the reading public at large.

As the above shows, and the many uninvestigated publications illustrate, the Victorian periodical press market was a very large pond. With hundreds of periodicals printed in less than a century, the pond also proved difficult to survive in. Many titles were short-lived or were continuously passed on from one publisher to another. While the EDM folded in 1879, the Ladies’ Treasury almost witnessed the dawn of the twentieth century. But what made a publication like the Ladies’ Treasury manage a successful run of nearly four decades? What did it print on its pages and offer to its readers that set it apart from its peers?

### 3.2 The Ladies’ Treasury

At first sight, the Ladies’ Treasury seems a conventional and unadventurous monthly magazine aimed at middle-class women. It was launched in 1857 and remained in print until 1895. This very long run makes it one of the longest running general illustrated magazines of the Victorian period. I describe the Ladies’ Treasury as a mainstream

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19 After Isabella Beeton’s death in 1865, Matilda Brown took over her role as editor. Not long after, Samuel Beeton’s bankruptcy forced the sale of the Beeton name and all its titles to Ward, Lock & co (Beetham, 2009:205).
The Ladies' Treasury (1857-1895)

magazine for women,\(^{20}\) because apart from addressing a middle-class audience, it does not belong to any subcategory (such as the feminist or religious press), nor is it a specifically addressed to mothers or young girls. Additionally, given its content and the time of publication, it inscribes itself in the tradition of the domestic journal. Together with the EDM and the weekly Ladies’ Companion (1849-1870), the Ladies’ Treasury was a product of its time. This mid-century boom of titles that targeted middle-class women eclipsed the older ladies’ journals: they were cheaper, with a commitment to domestic management, fashion, and fiction, and incorporated the advice and answers to readers’ letters as an important feature.\(^{21}\)

Few studies of nineteenth-century British periodicals take note of the Ladies’ Treasury, and those that do acknowledge it often fail to characterize it accurately. Other than the length of its run and the names of some of its contributors, little information on the Ladies’ Treasury is provided in secondary literature. E.M. Palmegiano’s ‘Women and British Periodicals 1832-1867’ (1876) is vague about the price and other details, while Reginald Tye’s Periodicals of the Nineties (1974) makes a note of the Ladies’ Treasury (run by Mrs Warren) but does not provide any additional information. Other large reference works such as the Poole’s Index, the Wellesley Index, and the Waterloo Directory are equally limited in their descriptions. The Waterloo Directory, for one, mentions the various departments of the Ladies’ Treasury, but although it notices the existence of a supplement, the Treasury of Literature, the latter’s exact publication is not specified. Moreover, the histories on which the Waterloo Directory has based its entry provide meagre data themselves. These histories include White’s Women’s Magazines 1698-1968 (1970), Beethams’ A Magazine of Her Own (1996), and Boardman’s article ‘The Ideology of Domesticity: the Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women’s Magazines’ (VPR, 33.2., Summer 2000). All these works only mention the Ladies’ Treasury briefly as the key rival of Samuel Beeton’s EDM. Although ostensibly similar, as articles on dressmaking, etiquette, household management and other topics deemed fitting for Victorian women were included, both magazines distinguished themselves in their own way (an issue I address in my discussion of the supplement, section 3.3.). Before I can call attention to what discerned the Ladies’ Treasury from the EDM,\(^{22}\) it will be necessary to address the sparse accounting of the value of the Ladies’ Treasury that misrepresents its overall goals and accomplishments. Therefore, the following pages outline a short

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\(^{20}\) I describe it as a magazine rather than a newspaper because it did not carry news. The magazine flourished during the 1840s and 1850s, with the shilling monthly, for example, which was aimed at the middle classes and offered quality serial fiction and generally refused to engage with politics or religion (Tilley, 2009:573-574).


\(^{22}\) Incorrect information about this topic circulates. Helen C. Long’s The Edwardian House: the Middle-Class Home in Britain, 1880-1914 (1993) describes the Ladies’ Treasury as more expensive than the EDM, retaining a high-class readership (23). For a correct account, see my section 3.3.4.
history of the development of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, and provide an overview of its fixed content and features.

### 3.2.1 The *Ladies’ Treasury*: A Characterization

#### Titles and Publishers

The *Ladies’ Treasury* began its run in 1857 with the wordy subtitle of *An Illustrated Magazine of Entertaining Literature, Poetry, Fine Art, Education, Domestic Economy, Needlework and Fashion*. In 1867 this was shortened to the *Ladies’ Treasury of Literature, Occupation and Amusement*, and another ten years later, in 1876, it was changed for the last time into the more digestible *A Household Magazine*. Next to the title alterations, the *Ladies’ Treasury* repeatedly changed publishers. In the first years of the magazine’s existence, it was published by Ward, Lock & Co, the publishing house of most of the Beeton’s periodicals. In 1861, when Mrs Warren officially took charge as editor and her name appeared on the cover, the magazine had moved to Cassell, Petter and Galpin. However, according to Nowell-Smith, ‘Cassell’s had never had a success with women, as distinct from families, as a constituency. The *Ladies’ Treasury* in the sixties had languished for a year or two over the Belle Sauvage imprint before flourishing for thirty over another’ (1958:180). Indeed, already in December of 1861, a new series was announced, this time to be published by Houlston and Wright (65 Paternoster Row). In 1867, the magazine found its final publisher in Bemrose and sons (who themselves moved house several times).

Size and page numbers are discussed in the *Waterloo Directory*: the magazine started out at 32 pages, and at 26 cm, while by 1882, it had already enlarged to 60 pages (on 25 cm) (6:556).

#### Contributors

In the *Waterloo Directory*, the list of contributors is very short. It makes note of only two names, (Mrs) Yorick Smythies and Harriette Maria Gordon, both referring to the same popular and prolific Victorian novelist. With several successful novels (*Fitzherbert* in 1838, *Cousin Geoffrey* in 1840, and *The Married Man* in 1841) and half a dozen romances

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23 Amon Corner (in 1867), Paternoster Row (1868), Paternoster Buildings (1877), 23 Old Bailey (1890). The address changes are not unusual, as most publishers did their utmost to save money and find cheaper offices.

24 More specificities about page numbers, lay-out, binding, as well as the price changes, are discussed in the case study as they can be connected to the *Treasury of Literature* supplement.

25 Summers, 1945.
more, Hariette Smythies earned herself the title ‘Queen of the Domestic Novel’ (Sutherland, 1989:591). It is not entirely clear why she, of all contributors, is specifically listed for supplying articles to the Ladies’ Treasury. Next to the articles on female etiquette Sutherland mentions, I have traced very few contributions to her apart from a poem titled ‘Unveiled’ and a short story ‘The Young Widow.’

To draw up a detailed and organized list of contributors to the Ladies’ Treasury is not straightforward, however. Next to the frequent publication of anonymous articles, and the use of pseudonyms (recipes in the cooking section of the Ladies’ Treasury were drawn up by ‘Aunt Deborah,’ for instance), many named contributors remain figures difficult to trace (such as Mme Vevay and E. and M. de Brion in the fashion department). Additionally, it is hard to decide when to define an author as a ‘contributor.’ Articles in the Ladies’ Treasury were often reprinted from other sources and as such, these authors (such as F.P. Cobbe) did not directly contribute to the magazine. British copyright law was very shady until the end of the nineteenth century, and simply ‘lifting’ entire articles from other periodicals with acknowledgement but without authorization is said to have continued well into mid-nineteenth-century (Law, 2009:143). Fiction (both series and short-stories) was usually attributed, however, and I will discuss some of the authors (interestingly enough, many of them American women) who regularly supplied stories and novels to the Ladies’ Treasury. As American authoresses appear well-represented in the Ladies’ Treasury, I would like to take a closer look at the non-fiction contributions by two very well-known American women contemporaries who both supplied essays: Margaret Fuller and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Both authors were published in the Treasury of Literature supplement and their pieces confirm the fact that varied and in-depth articles were printed.

Although Margaret Fuller (1810-1850) is best known as a defender of women’s rights, and hence often studied as the vital element in the American movement for women’s emancipation, her contributions to the Ladies’ Treasury are of a different kind. In 1868, the magazine published a series of articles entitled ‘Nine Poets,’ signed by M. Fuller. Despite this elusive signature, we can almost be certain that the author is Margaret

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27 For the Ladies’ Treasury in particular, the use of names gets a rather interesting additional twist with the many variations and initials linked to the editor herself (as I will show in chapter 5).

28 Her article ‘The Defects of Women and How to Remedy them,’ which I discuss in chapter 4, is stated to have been ‘written and published in Putnam’s Magazine (American)’ but reprinted in vol.VIII, no.1, New Series, January 1870, pp.12-17.

Balancing Acts in Femininities

Fuller: she also wrote the essay ‘Modern British Poets’ (1846), in which she discussed the nine poets she considered to be part of the English romantic movement: Campbell, Moore, Walter Scott, Crabbe, Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth (Showalter, 2009:53). Although this particular article cannot link her to a women’s rights discourse, in her other work, she often lamented the lack of freedom for women and the limited boundaries within which women could move, and defended those brave women who did stand up for themselves and took part in public affairs, be it writing or lecturing (Rendall, 1985:282). In her best known work, Women in the Nineteenth Century (1845), she focused on women’s rights, and her views on the role of women in society were infused with philosophical and spiritual ideas (Showalter, 2009:54). As an educated woman herself, taking care of the family after her father died in 1835, Fuller is a fine example for the magazine’s women readers.

In her articles for the Ladies’ Treasury, Harriet Beecher Stowe does touch upon women’s (and more generally human) rights. Two of her contributions treat very controversial issues: one partly deals with the anti-slavery debate, and the other equally deals with slavery, but also broaches the issue of women’s suffrage. By the time these articles were published in the magazine, Beecher Stowe was already well-known for her novel Uncle Tom’s Cabin (1852), the opening scene of which is still much discussed in feminist criticism. Although the first article of her hand, in the March 1869 issue of the Ladies’ Treasury, entitled ‘Tribute of a Loving Friend in the Memory of a Noble Woman (by Mrs Harriet Beecher Stowe),’ is in memory of one specific woman, the larger subject is the liberty of all people. The tribute starts out with a description of an engraving of the Duchess of Sutherland, bought by an old Quaker at an anti-slavery fair. Stowe then sketches the historical account of the Duchess’s descent, but quickly returns to how the duchess herself opened Stafford House for an anti-slavery meeting of the women of England (99). The Duchess of Sutherland, described as a liberal democrat, always manifested the deepest sympathy ‘with those in America who were struggling to bring the same reform which had already been wrought in England’ (98). Although the article itself hardly encourages a revolution in order to free all people, the fact that the Ladies’ Treasury printed such articles forecasts its preoccupation with social issues.

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30 She was at the heart of Transcendentalism (a movement which counted Peabody, Emerson, Parker and Alcott among its members) (Showalter, 2009:54). Margaret Fuller is also discussed together with Mary Wollstonecraft in the famous essay by George Eliot, which will figure more prominently in the next chapter on the Woman Question.
31 The issue of women and work is discussed in chapter 4.
32 Vol.VI, no.3, New Series, March 1869, pp.96-103 (T of L).
33 McFadden, 1999:18.
34 McFadden notes that Stowe operated in most respects as a deeply conventional upper-class female (1999:73).
35 Chapter 4 further elaborates on the oblique way in which the magazine broached controversial topics.
The second article is as engaging as the first: ‘Sojourner Truth, the Negro lecturer,’ narrates Harriet Beecher Stowe’s very first encounter with the African-American abolitionist, the latter being described as a ‘tall, spare form,’ and ‘evidently a full-blooded African’ (57). Stowe immediately acknowledges that she does not recollect ‘ever to have been conversant with any one who had more of that silent and subtle power which we call personal presence, than this woman’ (57). At a certain moment in the account, Stowe asks what Sojourner thinks of women’s rights, and Sojourner’s answer is in keeping with the way she has responded earlier on in the conversation: very straightforward and honest. ‘Well, honey, I’s ben to der meetins, an’ harked a good deal. Dey wanted me fur to speak. So I got up. Says I, - ‘Sisters, I a’nt clear what you’d be after. Ef women want any rights move’n dey’s got, why don’t dey jest take ’em, an’not be talkin about it?’ (61). She then proceeds to give her views of the relative capacity of the sexes, in a manner that would come to typify her: ‘S’pose a man’s mind holds a quart, an’ a woman’s don’t hold but a pint; ef her pint is full, it’s as good as his quart’ (61). Although her interviewer Harriet Beecher Stowe was not a fervent champion of women’s rights, she nevertheless contributed to that cause, and the way this article covertly speaks up for women’s rights (by presenting Sojourner Truth’s views without criticizing them) again sets the tone for the Ladies’ Treasury’s own debates on women’s suffrage.

Circulation and Opinion of the Press

As Christopher Breward acutely observes in his essay on nineteenth-century femininity and consumption, it is extremely complex to acquire a clear insight into established readership patterns and aspirations. Often, individual magazine archives and audience profiles are non-existent for Victorian publications and evidence must hence be gathered from editorial sources in the magazines themselves, which are always possibly biased in an attempt ‘to promote a certain self-image’ (1994:72). Seeing that, unlike for the EDM, the Waterloo Directory does not hold any numbers on the Ladies’ Treasury’s circulation, and Palmegiano’s research from 1976 is also deficient, we are compelled to turn to the magazine’s own claims. In its own advertisement columns, the magazine calls itself ‘essentially a Family Magazine of the highest character,’ with ‘a large and increasing circulation among the clergy and high class families of the United Kingdom.’ The editor claims distribution in Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, and Christiansand, in Gibraltar,

37 Mcfadden, 1999:73.
38 I have been unable to obtain additional, secondary information on the distribution of the Ladies’ Treasury.
Oporto, and Florence, in the Indian Presidencies, and Australia.\(^{39}\) In an address of October 1865, the Ladies’ Treasury once again boasts about its circulation among the upper classes. It is claimed that

the Magazine has a large circulation among the clergy and the upper classes, which it is hoped will be increased by the forthcoming novelties. The Editress would feel greatly and personally obliged to her friends, the present subscribers, if they would kindly interest themselves by introducing it to their circle (319).

I would rather propose that the Ladies’ Treasury addressed lower-middle-class women, given the nature of the published articles such as ‘How I Managed my House on £200 a Year’ and ‘Economical Cookery.’ The audience was not demarcated in terms of age, and women of all ages were spoken to, as opposed to the EDM’s audience, which included a majority of ‘young and single’ girls. In the correspondence columns, Samuel Beeton functioned as a model of a senior masculine figure, teasing and instructing his girls. In those readers, youth and inexperience were strongly identified with femininity so that they almost became synonyms (Beetham, 1996:70).

Next to boasting about its circulation, the Ladies’ Treasury also received praise for its contents in a wide variety of magazines, from the Eclectic Review and the Illustrated Review over the Athenaeum to the Academy. The reviews that were published in these magazines were compiled and printed in advertisement sheets ‘Opinions of the Press’ of the Ladies’ Treasury, thus flaunting how highly other periodicals thought them. Such a page, published in the August issue of 1886, includes over ten short comments from diverse magazines. In these comments, the Ladies’ Treasury is dubbed an excellent family magazine with charming illustrations. It is said to contain very good essays written in a taking style, and it is commended for the portion devoted to literature and ‘ladies’ matters.’ In the Hackney Gazette, Mrs Warren’s house style is complimented, for ‘as an experienced editress [she] compiles a pleasant and useful quantity of reading and pictorial matter in the department of literature, education and fashion’ (iv). In another advertisement page in February 1888, the Boston Independent speaks of well-deserved popularity and also alludes to good leadership: the magazine has been ‘for more than a quarter of a century under the able editorial direction of Mrs. Warren’ (v).

The Ladies’ Treasury was also regularly reviewed by a myriad of different journals in advertisements sheets added to other publications, such as Time, a cultural monthly.\(^{40}\)

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\(^{39}\) This was claimed in a promotional paragraph on the back cover of Comfort For Small Incomes (1866). The variety and specificity of cities (for instance Christiansand, a city, as well as regional capital in southern Norway) does suggest that the Ladies’ Treasury was not simply inventing random cities in which they circulated.

\(^{40}\) Law, 2009:398
The *Brighton Economiser* describes the magazine as follows: ‘The Ladies’ Treasury is a very acceptable addition to household literature, for not only is it a reliable guide to the changes of fashion, and an excellent instructor on work and household management, but its stories are entertaining, and its articles generally of high literary and practical excellence’ (4). The *Pertshire Advertiser*, in turn, more enthusiastically claims that ‘this is the best household magazine among the many good ones.’ In December 1886, the *Aberdeen Free Press* also agrees that ‘it is the best and cheapest magazine for the family that is published’ (iv). The *Darwen Post* particularly notices the fiction and writes that ‘the purely literary department is of the highest quality,’ while the *Stirling Observer* specifies that ‘the feature of the Treasury is the variety which is to be found in its pages, as it is one of the few ladies’ magazines which a gentleman can peruse with pleasure and profit apart from any interest he may have in the feminine matters with which it abounds’. This is confirmed by the *Leeds Mercury*, which mentions ‘general topics of interest are not neglected’ (June 1894:vii).

The comments the *Ladies’ Treasury* received at the very end of its run (and published in its magazine) reveal that it remained a central publication for the Victorian middle classes until 1895. In the February issue of 1891, the *School Board Chronicle* labels Mrs Warren’s monthly magazine ‘a well-recognized institution in our social and domestic life,’ and praises it as an ideal seasonal gift book (as an annual, bound-in volume) (iii). Later, in the June issue of 1894, the chronicle again comments on its usefulness and topicality, for ‘the editor keeps an eye on legislation and public movement especially interesting to women’ (vii). Other publications such as the *English Mail* are equally affirmative in their comments, describing ‘the household magazine edited by Mrs. Warren [as] one of the oldest, and [it continues to be] one of the best in its kind,’ and the *Whitehaven Free Press*, too, describes it as ‘one of the best domestic magazines.’ Such raving reviews make one wonder what exactly the *Ladies’ Treasury* shared with its readers on a monthly basis, what ideas it accommodated and the kind of features it provided.

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41 April 1888, p.xi.
42 May 1894, p.ii.
43 May 1894, p.ii.
44 The articles on such generally, informative topics form the topic of discussion in the second case study.
45 ‘Opinions of the Press,’ LT, February 1891, p.iii
46 ‘Opinions of the Press,’ LT, June 1894, p.vi.
47 May 1894, p.ii.
Preface

While the ladies' magazines of the early- and mid-Victorian age presented themselves as leisurely entertainment, already having removed all intellectually stimulating reading from their pages and now focusing on light fiction, poetry, travelogues, and lengthy descriptions of fashion plates, the Ladies' Treasury became one of the earliest imitators, but with a formatted look that included the education, fine art, domestic economy, and needlework it referred to in its title (Ward, 2008:251). Like the EDM originally, the Ladies' Treasury aimed to privilege the domestic sphere in pursuit of (traditional) explorations of what it meant to be a woman at home, and carefully avoided to shock the intended audience of women belonging to the more leisured ranks in society. From the middle decades of the nineteenth century onwards, Mrs Warren's Ladies' Treasury became known for reflecting the prevailing tone of middle-class respectability, and as White already remarked, like the EDM, the Ladies' Treasury provided 'some measure of the popular tastes and the daily routine of young women [...]. The values it projected indicate the strengthening hold of Victorian morality which demanded from women the utmost in purity and piety' (1970:47).

The editorial preface to the inaugural volume underwrote this objective to illustrate and uphold 'Each dear domestic virtue/Child of home,' through which the Ladies' Treasury immediately complied to the domestic ideal that was viewed central to women readers. Conservative values seemed to have been preferred in various features, as was the poetry it published, 'intended to enoble and strengthen, not to enervate and bewilder the mind.' The practical directions to paint flowers and landscapes, and instructions for fancy needlework and the creation of wax and paper flowers were intended to provide innocent and amusing occupations to fill the 'interminable leisure

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48 All references to the articles in the Ladies' Treasury hold information about the month, year and page numbers. The first series ran from 1857 to 1865, the second series started in 1866 and ended in 1875 (these are indicated by 'New Series'). From 1876 onwards, the front page does not make note of any series or volume numbers. An anomaly in the first volume (1857) is also important: the first issue is dated 'April 1857' and the volume ends with the month of December, but there are 10 months bound in. The online resource (19th C UK Periodicals) mentions the month 'March 1857' for certain articles, but I could not trace this month in the paper version. As, apart from the first issue in 1857, the other issues do not carry a date, my reference to a specific month in 1857 can be incorrect. I indicated this problem with a question mark: (?). Volume 1858 is problematic in the same manner.

49 Yet without instructions to reproduce the outfit.

50 I address this issue in chapter 6 and demonstrate that the EDM quickly abandoned domesticity in favour of fashion.

51 Barbara Onslow, 2000:141. Moral respectability was an important ideology of feminine behaviour, and the 'feminine sphere of duties' was characterized by an insistence on the virtues of self-sacrifice (Dyhouse,1978:174).

52 Preface, first volume of the Ladies' Treasury, April 1857, pp.iii-iv.
hours’ of young Victorian women. This leisured state was of course a mere aspiration: as I already noted, the topics presented in the magazines and the correspondence pages corroborate that the magazine readers belonged to the lower middle classes and often had to earn a living. Moreover, contributions of fancy work, landscape painting and the like are said to ‘be even added to,’ as it is the ‘the safeguard of the young female mind’ (iii). Although fashion also received a fair amount of attention, for ‘the good and gifted do not now disdain the Graces,’ it is stressed that useful domestic employment is paramount and ‘industry is the sworn foe to folly and vanity’ (iii–iv). Next to such standard components, the Ladies’ Treasury also introduced more specialized features. It offered progressive lessons in French and German, of which the editor theatrically exclaimed: ‘Napoleon, at Moscow, was stopped by “the elements;” but our progressive lessons will enable the young to conquer, and older readers to reconquer them’ (iii–iv). In chapter four, I argue that these lessons were indeed quite challenging.

**Regular Features and Fiction**

Because it was a child of its time, a very characteristic element of the Ladies’ Treasury was the domestic column through which Mrs Warren established herself as one of the best-known Victorian experts in domestic economy. Chapter two has discussed her fruitful career as a writer of domestic books, many of which were also serialized in the magazine. Next to these instalments, the Ladies’ Treasury offered other lengthy features on such basic domestic issues as ‘Breakfast and its Accompaniments’ and ‘The Dinner Table,’ a monthly gardening column, and many handiwork designs. This hands-on domestic work was added to with many features typical for most general monthly periodical publications. For instance, the illustrated biographical article, usually accompanied by an engraving, had been characteristic of the drawing-room journal before the Victorian period and the genre was carried forward into a range of magazines. In the EDM, prominent women were most frequently the subjects of such articles, although this type of illustrated biography tended more towards hagiography and was used to provide positive role models (Beetham and Boardman, 2001:2). The Ladies’ Treasury, especially during its supplement years, often opened each monthly addendum with such an illustration and accompanying article. Next to biographies, a painting or drawing could also be printed on the opening page, together with a description of what was portrayed. Engravings and biographies of Count Bismarck, Alexander Dumas junior and Christina Nilsson were alternated with an informative piece on ‘The Eruptions of Mount Vesuvius’ or a reflection on ‘The Allegory of the

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53 ‘Gardening for [month]’ as well as specific pieces such as ‘The Flower Garden,’ vol.1, no.2., New Series, February 1866, pp.118-119.
Travel narratives were also a perennial favourite of periodical publications, from its distinctive status in the drawing-room journal, to its presence in the ladies’ papers. The Ladies’ Treasury, too, offered its readers this often amply illustrated feature. ‘Two Days at Ravenna: A Few Pages from a Tourist Dairy,’ ‘A Summer Trip to the Pacific Railway,’ and ‘Crossing the descent of Islay, Peru’ all exemplify tales that would have made the readers long for foreign lands.

Advice columns and readers’ letters quickly became a fixed feature of nineteenth-century women’s magazines, and encompassed a range of different constructions of femininity. Beetham and Boardman perceive these columns as central elements in a woman’s magazine and as ‘an important element of the magazines’ general discursive prose’ (2001:166). In the Ladies’ Treasury, the feature was covered by the ‘Notices to Correspondents’ and ‘Notes and Queries’ sections, and both the beauty column (‘The Toilet’) and the ‘Notes on Dressmaking’ also partly consisted of readers’ input. If we compare the letters and notices to correspondents of the Ladies’ Treasury to the Englishwoman’s Conversazione the difference in tone is striking. Samuel Beeton was in charge of the answers offered to his readers and he assumed the persona of a schoolmaster, patronising, and sometimes even mocking his readers. His answers were also infused with flirtatious comments (Beetham, 1996). When compared to Mrs Warren’s style of address, his tone is more light-hearted, while she is very much to the point and does not embellish the truth in any way. Mrs Warren is straightforward, direct, and more severe, sometimes even unfriendly. This also resembles the sturdy and realistic editorial approach of eighteenth-century women’s journals. While Samuel Beeton, in reply to a young and single girl, is teasing, Mrs Warren’s answer to an anonymous reader’s poetry is of a completely different nature.

“Evangeline wishes to know – and the face of Evangeline is marked with deepest interest as she asks the question – Can a young gentleman of the present day look long at a young lady without putting his handkerchief to his face, and if by doing so he means anything? It is a terrible question [...]” (EDM, April 1866, p.128).


56 ‘The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,’ EDM, issue 16, April 1866, p.128. ‘Terrible’ here is used as an expression of sympathy, not a value judgment on the question itself.
Short poetic expressions found a place in the Ladies’ Treasury’s ‘Young Author’s Page,’ while ‘Literary Notices’ provided short notes on books, (art) exhibitions, and theatre. In general, such reviewing formed an integral part of the periodical press and thus equally featured in publications aimed at women, but in the latter it tended to consist of short reviews, emphasizing primarily information rather than critical assessments (Beetham and Boardman, 2001:180). The Ladies’ Treasury also provided ‘Literary Notices,’ a column which included references to, for instance, the Practical Teacher, an educational journal termed ‘desirous for self-education.’ Work and Leisure, a new series of the Woman’s Gazette, is also described favourably. The latter, as a useful publication on women’s employment, is especially recommended, as the Ladies’ Treasury states: ‘We wish that every girl or woman who must work for their bread would regularly take this serial.’

Next to general amusement and exchange columns, the ‘On dits and facts of the month’ chronicled noteworthy events. Here, the reader could find out more about recent aristocratic marriages and other important society events that had taken place, or were about to. Thus it was reported that ‘the health of the Princess Louise is now completely restored,’ and readers were informed ‘there [had] been a heavy snow fall all over Cyprus, a thing before unknown,’ and that ‘the exhibition at Brussels this year is notable for its lace. M. Sacre [...] is at present at work on the veil and train of the Princess Stephanie, and [...] three hundred women have already been four months employed upon it, and it will be more than three yards wide by five long.’ Shocking gossip was also included, as illustrated by the following horror story:

A young English lady at Dinan, who had been cleaning her gloves with petroleum, held her gloved hand near a candle to burn an end of cotton, when the glove caught fire, and on her instinctively trying to extinguish the flame with the other, that also took fire. Both hands were frightfully burnt that amputation would have been necessary; but the unfortunate victim expired prior to the operation [sic] (119).
Unfortunately, such deaths occurred rather frequently. Rowbotham and Clayton assert that death from burns ‘was an important cause of death among women, due largely to a combination of open hearth cooking and fashions in dress’ (2008:456).

More prominently, the Ladies’ Treasury published fiction, most often in the form of serialized novels and short stories. In the Victorian age, reading became explicitly linked to middle-class women, an activity carried out in the privacy of the home, and most Victorian women’s magazines demonstrated this. The middle-class woman found herself at the hub of the domestic world, and her leisure, the signifier of her gender, ‘was the necessary condition for the emergence not only of the novel but also of other forms of print such as the family magazine’ (Beetham, 1996:10). Hence, until the later part of the nineteenth century, the themes addressed in this fiction for women’s middle-class magazines were chosen to fit what was deemed appropriate for them (Ballaster et al., 1991:77). Women were expected to read in a different manner compared to the (middle-class) male norm, and there was much anxiety over what was appropriate reading material for them.

Generally, fiction features were printed to attract more readers and retain those already buying the magazine, but the quality and length of the pieces varied enormously from title to title (Beetham and Boardman, 2001:122). The Ladies’ Treasury provided a mixed range of fiction, by some termed bland, pious, and said to celebrate the ‘triumph of principle over passion,’ while others described the tales as interesting, though often with a domestic undertone (Boardman, 2000:152). In the contemporary press reviews, however, literary contributions were often reviewed favourably. Literary World, among others, states that ‘one of the most marked features of the Ladies’ Treasury is the interesting characters of its short, complete stories, ‘The Cavalier’s Treasure,’ ‘Her Real Revenge,’ and ‘Max Trevor’s Bicycle’ are good specimens of the class. The new serial, ‘In Military Uniform,’ cannot fail to attract. The Ladies’ Treasury provided a wide range in its fiction, from more adventurous tales like the aforementioned ‘A summer trip by the pacific railway’ to rather didactic short stories on the virtues of hearth and home, such as ‘How a wife kept her husband’s love’ by S. Holm, or Ella Wheeler’s ‘Women’s Tongues,’ a story about a self-educated young girl whose father passed away and who has been left to care for her maternal grandfather and two maiden aunts. At this house, the rector’s, she often visits the library and is said

\[\text{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{62} It was also reinforced that women preferred ‘light’ reading (Flint, 1993:13).}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{63} Hassan, 1983:31.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{64} As discussed previously in ‘circulation and the press.’}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{65} Advertiser, Time, 1879, iv.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{66} Fictionalised accounts of household management also formed a part of the magazine’s staple diet. This type of fiction is addressed in chapter 5.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{67} Vol.XII, no.4, New Series, April 1872, pp.171-181.}\]
to have laid ‘the foundation of a solid education; while she retained the remarkable purity and sweetness of disposition which nature had given her as a dower.’ However, when in time she becomes prettier and more accomplished, she attracts the attention of men, becomes the envy of all girls, and, due to a misunderstanding, loses her one love and dies of grief.

As it would be impossible to focus in detail on all features of the Ladies’ Treasury, in this brief characterization I have given an overview of various columns. In the remainder of this dissertation, however, I focus more closely on specific features within the case studies. Women’s rights essays are discussed in chapter four, domestic fiction is analysed in chapter five, and beauty columns receive attention in chapter six. Nevertheless, a specific range of fiction that was published in the Ladies’ Treasury merits a more elaborate discussion here. Next to the abovementioned Ella Wheeler, Astell Curtis, Augusta J. Evans, and Anne S. Stephens were all American women authors whose fiction was frequently published in instalments. This undeniable presence of American women’s fiction also set the Ladies’ Treasury apart from the EDM, which did not publish these names. Astell Curtis’s novel Lady Heathcote’s Plot was serialized in the volume of 1868, two of Augusta J. Evans’s most popular works, St. Elmo and Until Death, were printed in the Treasury of Literature (between 1868 and 1875), as were three of Anne S. Stephens’s writings: The Governor’s Wife, The Countess of Clare and The Marriage Certificate. Significantly, the abovementioned authors were female writers who did not stop at moralizing domestic fiction, but also debated women’s rights and education. While Astell Curtis seems to have disappeared from the archive, both Augusta Jane Evans and Anne S. Stephens are still well-known novelists, as witnesses their inclusion in Elaine Showalter’s A Jury of Her Peers: American Writers from Anne Bradstreet to Annie Proulx (2009).

Anne Stephens is recognized as a writer of short stories, as well as the editor of several magazines. She held a job as the editor of Portland Magazine (1835) and the Ladies’ Companion (1837), was associate-editor for Graham’s Magazine in 1842 and for the Ladies’ World in 1843. In 1856, Anne Stephens founded her own magazine, Mrs Stephens’ Illustrated New Monthly, published by her husband. Although her fiction that was published in the Ladies’ Treasury did not shy away from sentimental and crushing scenes,

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68 April 1882, pp.206-212. Ella Wheeler (Wilcox) (1850-1919), was a celebrated American author and poet. Next to this short story, ‘Her Lost Kingdom’ was also printed in the Ladies’ Treasury (July 1887, pp.403-408).

69 St. Elmo was published in the Treasury of Literature from April 1868 until December 1869, Until Death appeared in instalments from November 1870 until December 1871. The conclusion of this tale was given as a supplement with the January number, 1872. Anne S. Stephens’s writings also appeared monthly: The Governor’s Wife (January 1872 – December 1872), The Countess of Clare (January 1873 – February 1874) and The Marriage Certificate (February 1874 – January 1875).

70 I was unable to locate any biographical information on her, nor are her novels listed in the British Library or the Bodleian Library catalogues.
and remained fairly conventional, Anne Stephens is an interesting figure because she bears a strong resemblance to Mrs Warren. One could even describe her as Mrs Warren’s American counterpart. In 1834, Stephens arrogated certain kinds of writing as belonging to women, and stated that ‘poetry, fiction and the lighter branches of the sciences are woman’s appropriate sphere, as much as the flower-garden, the drawing-room and the nursery’ (Showalter, 2009:34). Apart from her editorialship and fiction writing, Anne Stephens published works that reminds one even more of Mrs Warren. The Ladies' Complete Guide to Crochet, Fancy Knitting and Needlework (1854) and Portfolio of Fancy Needlework (1855) could just as well have been by Mrs Warren’s hand. The fifty books Anne Stephens wrote during her lifetime illustrate how she put her belief of combining household management and a literary career into practice. In her essay ‘Women of Genius’ (1839) Stephens showed more pragmatically how even busy housewives and devoted mothers could juggle their domestic duties efficiently enough to allow time for literary production (Showalter, 2009:34). Although Mrs Warren’s writings were restricted to fancywork books and domestic guides, she, too, forms a perfect example of a working woman (as a periodical contributor and life-long editor) who also performed domestic duties (which included taking care of her niece and running a boarding-house).

Augusta Jane Evans, the last author I want to draw attention to, thought of writing as a noble activity for unmarried women, something Mrs Warren would certainly have agreed upon. She originated from the ‘Deep South,’ revered Charlotte Brontë, and made many of her heroines women of genius (Showalter, 2009:95). Evans wrote her first novel entitled Inez, A Tale of the Alamo (1855) when she was fifteen years old, and already in her second novel Beulah (1859) she presented a strong, female protagonist who rejects the conventional notions of feminine beauty and dependence. Beulah writes a prizewinning essay, ‘Female Heroism,’ in which she argues that ‘the female intellect was capable of the most exalted attainments,’ and she later draws up an article ‘designed to prove that a woman’s happiness was not necessarily dependent on marriage. That a single life might be more useful, more tranquil, more unselfish’ (Showalter, 2009:96-97). St. Elmo (1866), the tale published in the Ladies’ Treasury, features another female genius, Edna...
Earl, who meets her suitor, the St. Elmo of the title, typified by Showalter as ‘both a glamorous roué, like Byron or Mr. Rochester, and a pendant’ (2009:155). While St. Elmo is ‘freighted with sermons against intellectual women writers,’ Bradley Johnson (2001) states that Evans uses the rhetoric of the sentimental mode to criticize the complicity of men in power structures. Duelling, for instance, is used to indicate the relationship between patriarchy and sexual predation (15). St. Elmo illustrates that southern women employed varied critiques of patriarchy as well as varied methods of presenting these critiques. Johnson stresses that Evans ‘does not reject patriarchy categorically; she rejects only those elements that prevent women from being fulfilled within the domestic sphere [...]’ and condemns the form of patriarchy that approves of ‘violent and sexual transgression of moral law’ (2001:16 and 18). He also remarks that ‘[Evan’s] heroine, Edna Earl, resists the temptation to use marriage as an escape from toil and instead struggles to gain intellectual equality, and its accompanying moral strength, with men,’ despite the ambiguous message at the end, for Edna does marry (ibid.18). Even when Edna marries St. Elmo, she (or rather the text) has proven that women can become very powerful intellectuals (Harris, 1991:50). In her work, Evans argues for a definition of women that is less restrictive, one that could allow them ‘to descend a bit from the pedestal of purity on which southern men had placed them’ (Johnson, 2001:16). Because of her education, Edna speaks various languages, is well-informed about world history and science, and is presented as a model of female achievement to the readers. In view of my discussion of the Treasury of Literature, which, next to this kind of fiction, was most renowned for its informative and intellectually stimulating articles, it is interesting to note that Augusta Jane Evans herself was often ridiculed for presenting encyclopaedic knowledge to her readers (Showalter, 2009:155).

numerous proposals (and, as Johnson states, hereby ‘rejects the theory that marriage is a justifiable strategy for gaining financial security,’ 2001:7). Eventually, St. Elmo and Edna get married, but only after St. Elmo reconciles with the Reverend and becomes a minister himself.

3.3 Case Study no.2: the *Treasury of Literature* (1868-1875)

Although the *Ladies’ Treasury* promoted and subscribed to the domestic ideal that had become so pervasive in everyday life and most mainstream publications, it differentiated itself from other conventional women’s magazines with the publication of its literary supplement. Little more than ten years after its first issue, in January 1868, the magazine advertised this pioneering novelty to its reading public. In the December number of 1867, a short announcement in its ‘Notices to Correspondents’ read that

> The *Ladies’ Treasury* for 1868 will be combined with the *Treasury of Literature*, the whole enlarged to 56 pages, and be so arranged and paged as to form, optionally, at the end of the year two volumes: the one being purely literary, and the other containing the Fashions, Needlework and all subjects of domestic interest for occupation and amusement (December 2, 1867, 571).

By way of the *Treasury of Literature*, the *Ladies’ Treasury* offered a very different product to its woman readers. The parent periodical, with its typical household preoccupations and instructions, now became complemented with a publication that focused exclusively on non-domestic issues. Its fiction and instructive articles, marked by an emphasis on knowledge and intellectual development, made it hark back to the enlightened women’s periodicals of the eighteenth century, while its lack of domesticity also closely related it to the new proto-feminist magazines of the mid-Victorian age. Because both publications were offered together, but could be bound in separately, the *Ladies’ Treasury* ‘merged’ the intellectual world of thought and ideas with the domestic world of fashion, cookery and gardening, while at the same time detaching these fields by presenting them in distinct publications. Both in form and in content, the *Ladies’ Treasury* and the *Treasury of Literature* had a distinct profile. Before I am able to show how the *Treasury of Literature* was influential in the history of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, it is necessary to elaborate on what exactly the Victorian supplement entailed. How are Victorian supplements to be defined and why do they merit a more central position in periodical research?

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74 A detailed catalogue consisting of the table of contents for all seven years of the *Treasury of Literature* can be found in appendix 3.
3.3.1 Supplements in Theory

A mere five years ago, supplements to Victorian periodicals received only passing attention, or were ignored in favour of detailed analyses of the main publication. Today, however, an increasing number of researchers of the nineteenth century have come to recognize that careful study of supplements is not without its benefits. Not only do supplements allow us to get a better understanding of the creation and reception of the magazines and periodicals they were attached to, they also challenge our notion of what constitutes a periodical. With the publication of a supplement, the relationship between the magazine and its addendum is constantly redefined, shaping and reshaping the periodical’s socio-cultural identity. In short, supplements (at times compellingly) force us to adjust some of our most ingrained assumptions about certain ideological policies and commercial objectives of periodical publishing in the nineteenth century.

While, despite recent studies, methodical inquiries into the origins, nature and functions of periodical supplements are still wanting, scholars of Victorian periodicals should not be blamed. The prior overall disregard for the supplement cannot merely be attributed to a lack of interest. Throughout its history, a classification of the supplement has proven to be both materially and conceptually elusive, which renders a detailed study of it a complex and at times highly frustrating undertaking. Just like periodicals themselves, supplements form a hybrid genre and do not seem to occupy a fixed place. More often than not, supplements are difficult to trace in the vast periodical collections in research libraries, either because their preservation and cataloguing was not meticulous, or not considered a priority by the collecting institution, or because, presumably, they had been separated from their respective magazines much earlier, before they arrived in the library. As Laurel Brake explains in Print in Transition (2001), few wrappers or advertising supplements have survived as the binding of magazines often included stripping off this ‘surplus’ from the actual periodical (29).

Even when they did survive the ravages of time, supplements were not retained in a consistent manner. Depending on the magazine, the appointed publisher, or the binder in charge, they could be randomly inserted between the pages of each issue, added at the very end of the annual volume, or collected in separate bindings. As far as the mainstream middle-class women’s magazines I focus on are concerned, the British Library, for instance, holds several bound sets of paper dress patterns and needlework

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75 The special issue of Victorian Periodicals Research, 43.2 (Summer 2010) to some extent resulted from a study day on the supplement, organized by the English Department of Ghent University in Brussels on 10 March 2007. Koenraad Claes’ dissertation ‘Towards the Total Work of Art: Supplements and other Paratext to Little Magazines of the 1890s’ (Ghent University 2011) forms a first attempt at defining the supplement in depth.
diagrams that were once issued as individual supplements to the EDM. In all probability, this was not the way in which these patterns were distributed at the time, as each pattern belonged to a specific monthly issue. The fashion plates accompanying the Ladies’ Treasury, on the other hand, were each bound with the corresponding magazine issue and assigned a page number in the table of contents prefixed to the volume. Next to fashion plates, advertising supplements are equally difficult to track down. Although advertisement sheets must have been inserted long before in order to fund the Ladies’ Treasury’s publication, the volume of 1884 is the first in which advertisements can be discovered, bound in at the back and front (with 23 pages in total). In 1886, advertisements are even found inside the magazine itself. This does not necessarily indicate a change in customs, but could equally be due to the personal preferences of the binder (or the bindery’s archiving practices).

Next to the difficulty of tracing a supplement, another impediment to its study proves to be defining the genre as such because of the conceptually elusive state I referred to earlier. In the 1980s, the issue of supplementarity was given a more pragmatic impetus when Gérard Genette coined the term paratext to designate all textual extensions that do not strictly belong to the actual body of a text, but are related to it in varying degrees of proximity. Although Genette’s theory is limited to books, it seems perfectly transferable to the study of periodicals, classifying the supplement of a magazine as part of this paratext.76 Mediating between the text and the world outside it, paratext as such ideally opens a unique window into both the socio-historical reality that produced the text and the various ways in which meaning is projected onto and extracted from the text. As Laurel Brake asserts, contributions to periodicals are ‘instantly and always contextualized, embedded in a matrix of other pieces which make up the issue in which it appears, and extend to the issues before and after’ (1997:54). Similarly, the ‘text’ of a periodical includes more than the items listed in the table of contents. Inextricably bound up with material culture, it also consists of ‘coloured wrappers, customised advertisers, titles pages, indices, illustrations, and juxtaposed and sequential editorial matter’ (Brake, 2001:27).

If we take the material evidence as a starting point, the term ‘supplement’ displays a breadth of identities and meanings. Although it is usually distinctive from the parent periodical, it is a structural element of the journal, even though sometimes its content can simply be ‘more of the same’ or completely different. It is both an economic and an editorial entity, as it sustains the survival of titles, contributes to the formal...
organization and enhances the editorial contents (Brake, 2009: 114 and 116). In practice, the relation between finding a supplement and defining it proves to be frustrating, to say the least: supplements cannot be traced without a clear definition of what is being looked for, yet it is equally impossible to define a supplement before one is detected. In order to resolve this problem, Koenraad Claes proposes a working definition that is threefold: A supplement is (1) a document issued in clear association with a periodical, (2) dependent for its meaning on the association with this parent periodical, (3) yet ‘conspicuously demarcated’ from it (2009:197). Nevertheless, despite Claes’s useful definition, critics eager to behold the paratextual wealth of the periodical supplement will most likely still find their vision hopelessly distorted by the strange logic of supplement research. Again, Genette’s work on *paratext* sheds light on the matter, stating that it is not a clear-cut, unequivocal concept, but rather a *threshold*, or [...] a “vestibule” that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back. It is an “undefined zone” between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world’s discourse about the text (2001:2).

Whether we like it or not, supplements often resist all pigeonholing and remain ‘undefined zones,’ as a study of the *Treasury of Literature* unmistakably reveals.

In a recent article, James Mussell (2009) argues that, although the process of digitization involves a reimagining of periodicals and newspapers, their material forms should not be lost. Form, ‘produced and reproduced with every issue, is an integral part of what constitutes the genre of serials’ (94). Despite persuasive arguments for the importance of research on the forms of serials, Mussell laments that ‘the dominant critical approach to the nineteenth-century press still treats it an archive of content, waiting to be found’ (93). A study of the supplement proves ideal to meet Mussell’s concerns: it illustrates perfectly how form and content are inextricably linked. The true challenge of periodical supplement research is not to mark out clear (formal) boundaries between a magazine and its supplement or to determine the exact limits of the supplement’s paratextual range, but rather to examine how, throughout the course of a magazine’s publication history, the relationship between magazine and supplement is being constantly moulded. The supplement ought to be positioned as an essential part of periodical research, for it is often published as part of a conscious strategy to position the actual magazine in the vast landscape of periodical publications. Hence, once a supplement is detected, the study of a particular magazine without considering

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77 The digitalization of periodicals and newspapers often radically alters their materiality. ‘The feeling of paper, colour, the smell and [...] the ease of navigating around a format we know so well’ is lost (93).
its supplement(s) is fatally incomplete. With the Treasury of Literature, the Ladies’ Treasury changed its own outlook as a commodity, complicating its previous classification as simply a mainstream domestic magazine. Because of its atypical form and content, the short life of the Treasury of Literature (1868-1875) merits a place in the history of the periodical supplement and of Victorian periodical publishing in general, and is important for a better understanding of the Ladies’ Treasury.

### 3.3.2 Form and Contents of the Treasury of Literature

From the very start the publication appearance, or form, of the Treasury of Literature shows how a paratextual extension is not always easily distinguishable from the parent periodical. Not only does the change in contents pages over seven years muddle the distinction between the supplement and the main body, its particularity is further increased by the fact that the Treasury of Literature consists of 38 to 40 pages, more than double the length of the Ladies’ Treasury itself (a mere 16 pages). This formal manifestation alone suggests that although the Treasury of Literature is described as a supplement in bibliographies, it does not correspond to our default expectation of something that is short and separate.78

First, a rather unusual relationship characterizes the organization of the tables of content of the Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature, which is altered during the latter’s seven-year run.79 The early volumes give two entirely separate tables of contents, the banner heading (or masthead, sometimes in the left hand corner, sometimes in the right) of each page indicating whether the page belongs to the Treasury of Literature or to the Ladies’ Treasury. This clear-cut divide disappears in 1872, after three years of publication, when all pages (including the title page) give both parent and supplement titles. Additionally, the tables of contents for both publications are merged. The title page continues to give both titles, as do all pages in the Ladies’

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78 Although the Waterloo Directory lists the Treasury of Literature as a supplement, we might be tempted not to consider it as such. Today, our definition of supplement is expanded, as supplements can range from literary, political or sports addenda to newspapers to beach bags, chocolate and novels offered with women’s magazines. Nevertheless, although it is possible for a textual supplement to be lengthier than the main body, this rarely occurs on a periodical basis.

79 Additionally, although less significant because it could simply be indicative of the binder’s choice (and not of the editor), there are various forms in which the Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature were bound. In 1871, for instance, the first 232 pages all belong to the T of L, running from January till June, followed by the same monthly issues of the LT (from January till June, pages 1 to 92). In 1872, the LT and the T of L are printed back to back, and the page numbers run through, while from 1873 to 1875, all 6 issues of the LT (January-June, or July-September) follow up each other.
The Ladies’ Treasury (1857-1895)

Treasury and the supplement. The distinction, in print, between both parts remains the same with the Treasury of Literature still containing between 36 and 40 pages, and the Ladies’ Treasury about 16. After 1872, articles belonging to the Treasury of Literature are listed under the heading ‘Tales, Narratives and Essays.’ None of these alterations are announced explicitly, and the editorial address of December 1871 simply declares that ‘the approved features of the Magazine, in its Pure Literature of Tales and Essays, will be retained, together with all else that has been found so beneficial.’ Novelettes and regular features such as the Young Author’s Page, the Useful Book, Gardening, Amusing Columns and Dressmaking also continue. After 1875, the year to mark the end of the Treasury of Literature, the explicit formal separation between domestic matters and articles of general interest, previously indicated by the use of two titles, disappears completely. Within each issue of the Ladies’ Treasury itself, however, the distinction is preserved tacitly, as the order of the articles remains the same. First come the informative articles and fiction, and then the Young Author’s Page (which used to indicate the beginning of Ladies’ Treasury section) introduces the domestic part of the magazine.

With respect to the changes to the presentation of the supplement and its ambiguous relationship to the parent periodical, it is my conviction that the Treasury supplement existed as disparate elements within the parent periodical from the very beginning of the Ladies’ Treasury’s publication. All ‘supplementary’ material was present from the start in the parent magazine. Rather than existing as evidence of a ‘surplus’ of material for print, the Treasury of Literature adds astonishingly little that was not already being printed. The first issues of the Ladies’ Treasury already offered reading material in keeping with the late eighteenth-century models of women’s magazines (apart from the domestic issues), alternating articles on fashion with fiction such as Mrs Burbury’s story ‘Chateaux en Espagne, or, The Luckless Flirt,’ and informative pieces on ‘Her Majesty Queen Victoria,’ ‘Domestic Life in Pompeii’ and notes on the social employment of women. The Ladies’ Treasury printed this mix of informative essays and fiction, next to domestic articles, but as the tables of contents clearly illustrate, both categories (of stimulating reading and handiwork) were not segregated. I discuss what was printed in the supplement, why it was printed and why the publication ended in sections 3.3.3 and 3.3.4.

80 Now without a reference to the Treasury of Literature.
81 Appendix 2a and 2b provide a visualization of these changes.
3.3.3 The Informative Aspects of the Treasury of Literature: What? How? Why?

In the short overview of the Ladies' Treasury's main content, I have already considered the publication of fiction in the form of serialized novels and short stories. These fiction instalments were one of the two elements temporarily relocated to the Treasury of Literature in the period between 1868 and 1875. The second component of the supplement was the general article, again an item borrowed from the drawing-room journals, where it functioned as the main medium for conveying general education, sometimes with extra illustrations (Beetham and Boardman, 2001:40). The isolation of fiction, and especially of informative articles, marks the Ladies' Treasury as distinct from other mainstream middle-class women's magazines. Although the Ladies' Treasury can be described as rather typical in its nineteenth-century mix of genres, offering both entertainment and (domestic) instruction, the choice of supplementary material proved rather different. With the launch of the Treasury of Literature in 1868, all the non-domestic material from the Ladies' Treasury was simply transferred to the supplement, leaving the main body of the magazine to be preoccupied with household subjects. A 'Notice to Correspondents' from 1868 indicates that this was an explicit policy:

the same division of “The Treasury of Literature” from “The Ladies’ Treasury” will be continued. The latter will stay an essentially Domestic Magazine, while in the “Treasury of Literature” will be found interesting papers on various subjects, Educational and Amusing, Tales of the Purest Literature, and Two Serial Novels (November 2, 1868, 80).

It was precisely in its provision of non-domestic knowledge that the Treasury of Literature distinguished itself from other Victorian supplements to women’s magazines. A lot of additions to nineteenth-century mainstream women’s magazines were limited to fashion plates, needlework patterns or other domestic extras. The EDM, for instance, published a fashion supplement from 1865 to 1866 in A3 format, edited by Madame Adolphe Goubard, in addition to the many paper dress patterns and needlework diagrams that were issued with the fashion section of the individual numbers. Supplements strictly containing fiction did exist, but usually formed a seasonal extra such as a Christmas special. ‘Virgin Snow,’ for instance, was the Christmas number issued with the Girl's Own Paper in December 1890.

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83 The drawing-room journals exemplified a tradition which pre-dated Victoria's accession although some titles, such as the Ladies' Cabinet, continued into her reign. By the mid 1880s, these more old-fashioned journals had been replaced by the general illustrated magazines (Beetham and Boardman, 2001:21).

84 A feature that is discussed in chapter 6.
Whereas the *Ladies’ Treasury*, too, provided fashion plates and patterns as monthly extras, for seven years, the *Treasury of Literature* offered a content that was specifically detached from the prevailing ideology of domesticity. Although the fiction instalments which were rearranged in the supplement, with such titles as ‘Lady Heathcote’s Plot’ and ‘A Woman’s Revenge and Its Reward,’ do seem to cater to a female audience looking for escapist romance, there are also numerous contributions of general interest on topics as diverse as ‘Nice,’ ‘The Recent Revolt in Paris,’ ‘The Origin of Negro Minstrelsy,’ ‘How to Acquire a Retentive Memory,’ ‘What Has Been Discovered by Spectrum Analysis,’ and ‘Petroleum and Paraffin, Whence the Source?’ which give the supplement a different appearance. Additionally, many articles were reprinted from other, allegedly gender-neutral, sources such as *The Times*, the *Saturday Review* or the *Examiner*, or signed by well-known men such as Justin McCarthy, politician and writer, and C.J. Sprague, a New England Naturalist. While the *Ladies’ Treasury* explicitly addressed a female readership, the *Treasury of Literature* does not strictly mark off its audience, nor is its contents devoted to women's concerns.

To substantiate the claim that the *Treasury of Literature* was very different from other women’s supplements, I have made a close examination of those general articles which offered what had become absent in mainstream mid-Victorian women’s magazines: the acquisition of knowledge. In the years of the *Treasury of Literature*, numerous articles cover a wide array of subjects which are gender neutral, if not decidedly ‘unfeminine’ for Victorian times. In order to narrow my scope, I researched the articles which carried an interrogative word in their title: ‘What,’ ‘How,’ ‘Why’ articles. It is possible to further differentiate various subtopics within this range: the arts (‘Hints upon Literature and How to Write’), historical events (‘How Synagogues Arose’), scientific explanations (‘What is Glass’), women’s (legal) issues and the acquisition of property and

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85 Astell Curtis, ‘Lady Heathcote’s Plot,’ vol. IV and V, New Series (January 1868 to December 1868), January (pp.2-9), February (pp.41-49) March (pp.83-90), April (pp.121-129), May (pp.160-169), June (pp.197-204), July (pp.4-11), August (pp.45-53), September (pp.79-87), October (pp.118-126), November (pp.159-166), December (pp.199-206) (all in the *T of L*); ‘A Woman’s Revenge and Its Reward,’ ‘A.I.,’ vol.VII, no.1, New Series, July 1869, pp.4-14 (*T of L*).


Balancing Acts in Femininities

marital rights (‘The Higher Education of Women: What Does the Term Mean?’) are all covered.88

Generally informative articles figure prominently in the first years of the supplement. In 1868, the February article on ‘Petroleum and Paraffin, whence the source?’ gives the reader a detailed and educational description of the origin of both products.89 Petroleum ‘had been found for ages in nearly all the countries of the globe’ and the uses of it are legion (‘as an inexpensive light, it has taken the place of sperm, or other whale oil, and lard’), while paraffin is explained to be

an artificial production, manufactured from petroleum or from coal of a highly bituminous character, the residuum being excellent coke, or an aluminous ash, which renders it worthless for fuel. Paraffin possesses a peculiar substance capable of crystallization, and it is used instead of sperm in the manufacture of candles, as well as for lamps [...] (59-60).

The definition and information provided is encyclopaedic and cannot immediately be linked to any domestic task. ‘Vegetation on the Waters of the Lower Amazon (How Coal is Formed)’ is written in a similar way.90 As explained by Professor Phillips, ‘coal, one of the most ancient remains of the primeval world, is acknowledged to be of vegetable origin, and to have been formed at a period anterior to the advent of man. This useful mineralized vegetable production consists of four elementary bodies – carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen – and these produce nearly fifty other substances’ (71).

The opinions of professors and scientific experts are invoked regularly. In ‘What has been Discovered by Spectrum Analysis,’ the author elaborates on how ‘for ages have the laws of the planetary motions been the main source of scientific distinction; and only of late years are astronomical results beginning to pale before discoveries in other directions, and the great intellects of the world to find worthy employment in new-born sciences’ (22).91 Later on, s/he expands on what is termed a brief résumé of this newest of the sciences. Further information on Isaac Newton, M. Kirchoff, William Huggins and all of their discoveries is provided, as well as a detailed account of the spectroscope and the telescope. ‘How to Acquire a Retentive Memory,’ also scientific in nature, was printed in the same monthly issue which included another article on the matter by

Samuel H. Dickson, an American Medical Doctor. The first article starts out with a historical overview of the idea of memory, and regularly refers to 'leading gentlemen' and 'numbers of young men.' The anonymous author ends with the advice that 'any one can cultivate a quick memory without using a system of mnemonics, or any system except the simple habit of carefully studying a certain quantity of matter every day' (206). Although women readers are not specifically identified as the target audience, they are offered all the information on the subject.

Historical accounts were just as intricately detailed. This is illustrated by the article 'How Synagogues Arose,' which describes how 'the modern service opens with a hymn of praise or doxology. It is said that a section of the Mosaic law is then read in Hebrew, the reader having on his head the Tallith, a kind of veil commemorative of that which covered the face of Moses after his descent from Mount Sinai' (158). Again, a purely informative explanation is given. 'How the English Lived Five Hundred Years ago,' describes the daily lives in the different classes of society, a topic infrequently discussed as 'the military history of the reign of the third Edward of England is illuminated with such a blaze of glory, that the dazzled eye can with difficulty distinguish the dark background of its domestic life' (58). The last lines are as dramatic:

But the seed of political and religious freedom had been sown. It had been watered with the blood of martyrs, and although the tender shoots had been trodden down with an iron heel as soon as they appeared, they gathered additional strength and vigour from the repression, and soon sprang up with a vitality that defied all efforts to crush them (63).

The account is one of bloodshed and repression, not solely of domestic habits.

Artistically infused articles on matters which were normally not part of the traditional domestic, private sphere to which the middle-class woman was exiled, are equally discussed, such as 'Hints Upon Literature and How to Write' and 'Music and What It Does For Us.' In the first article, 'J.W.H.' deals with the various aspects of literary art. S/he then goes on to discuss a range of structures, linking those to three

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92 'How to Acquire a Rentetive Memory,' [unsigned], vol.VII, no.6, New Series, December 1869, pp. 204-206, and the second article entitled 'The Phenomena of Memory,' by Samuel H. Dickson, from pages 218 to 222.
93 Vol.V, no.5, New Series, November 1868, p.158.
95 Parts of this article are copied from the Atlantic Monthly of November 1866 ('Five Hundred Years ago,' vol.18, no.109, pp.545-558).
96 'Hints Upon Literature and How to Write,' J.W.H., vol.V, no.4, New Series, October 1868, pp.126-129; 'Music and What It Does For Us,' Louis M. Gotscholk, vol.V, no.6, New Series, December 1868, pp. 210-211. The latter author was possibly also known as Louis Moreau Gottschalk, a contemporary American pianist and composer (1820-1869).
particular books, ‘all belonging to the intermediate ground between science and art:’ Buckele’s *History of Civilisation*, Darwin’s *Origins of Species* and Huxley’s *Lectures* (127). The other article is written by Louis M. Gotscholk, who touches upon the ‘phenomenon of music in its action on the body and the mind’ by referring to various pieces of music (210):

Music being a **physical agent** – that is to say, acting on the individual without the aid of his intelligence; a **moral agent** – that is to say, reviving his memory, exciting his imagination, developing his sentiment; and a **complex agent** – that is to say, having a physiological action on the instinct, the organism, the forces, of man – I deduce from this that it is one of the most powerful means for ennobling the mind, elevating the morals, and, above all, refining the manners (211).

These articles are in stark contrast with the usual pieces filling the pages of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, in which topics of domesticity dominate. In the main body of the magazine, lengthy articles range from pages on how to make tea and coffee, and the etiquette or conduct at the breakfast table, over meticulous descriptions of the additional fashion plates to shorter notices on needlework and their patterns. Such articles were often as detailed, but ‘useful,’ and instructional in tone. In ‘Breakfast and Its Accompaniments,’ for instance, the reader is told that ‘food to refresh and invigorate should be simple yet appetising, and easily digested. [...] Bearing this in mind, we shall give some hints for attaining this object’ (2). This introduction is, as is often the case, followed by a fictional dialogue in which the reader is taught domestic tasks.

With a short aside, I would like to note that the correspondence pages of the *Ladies’ Treasury* also shed light on the issues that occupied the readers’ minds. Next to answers, given to questions on scone-baking, making perfumed spills for candle lighters and the cleaning of lamp-globes, the general enquiries made by the readers of the *Ladies’ Treasury* also encompassed rather different questions. ‘What is meant by the infallibility of the pope?’, ‘Why do the ancient statues of Minerva differ so much one from the other?’, and ‘What is the meaning of the Spanish word hidalgo?’, are but a few examples of the queries that were sent in on a monthly basis, and the *Ladies’ Treasury* responded to them in detail. In March 1868, Enquirer no.2 is answered: ‘- yes, there is a “winged reptile”, the *pterodactyl*, which is found in the chalk. You cannot do better than get a little geological guide called the “Earth’s Crust,” by David Page.’

Significantly, the ‘gender-neutral’ articles discussed above expect a high level of understanding, and are not simplified as to suit the woman reader with less or no

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98 ‘Notices to Correspondents,’ vol.IV, no.3, New Series, March 1868, p.47.
education in such matters. The articles on the acquisition and use of petroleum and paraffin, and on spectrum analysis, for instance, are written as if for an encyclopaedia (and are probably often lifted from such a source). The publication of such articles in a women’s magazine, otherwise occupied with domestic topics, once more challenges the prevailing view that Victorian women had restricted roles and were ‘wither[ing]’ away in drawing rooms’ (Gleadle, 2001:2). Although I have shown that this ideology of separate spheres did not necessarily reflect the reality of nineteenth-century women’s lives, such rhetoric was a common prescriptive dialogue, especially in conventional magazines for women. Hence, distancing oneself from it can be seen as a statement.

This is not to say that topics such as science, understood in its broadest sense were absent from nineteenth-century society. Rather, they had permeated it, and also reached the world of women, making it impossible to argue that nineteenth-century women lived largely in cultural isolation from the world of science, as this would perpetuate one of the most misleading myths of the Victorian age (Shuttleworth et al., 2001:70). Nevertheless, especially where monthly middle-class publications were concerned, scientific articles focused on how women could tackle domestic tasks. This is demonstrated by the EDM, which presented basic medical knowledge useful for mothers (for example how to nurse children when ill), and an elementary understanding of chemistry had value in managing household stain removal (Shuttleworth et al., 2001:62). By the second series, however, there was already a marked reduction in such instructive articles. The approach to science continued to be tied to femininity, with specific series such as ‘Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, or Domestic Science from an old text’ and ‘A Surgeon’s Advice to Mothers on the Rearing, Management and Diseases of Children,’ another series of instalments, as well as articles such as ‘Some Curiosities of Materia Medica.’ The first article on water states that ‘we confidently hope the result [of this series] may be the amassing of a large amount of

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99 In the mid-Victorian era, shilling monthlies such as the Cornhill Magazine tried to attract a diversity of readers and combined the publication of non-fiction (often for a male audience) with novels, stories and poems, which were aimed at women. Non-fiction often included articles on scientific subjects, as science as a topic was on the rise. The aim was to provide the target audience with useful knowledge, previously on offer from cheap journals such as the Penny Magazine (Dawson, 2004:127).

100 Regular features and articles in the EDM include ‘The Sick Room and the Nursery,’ ‘Things Worth Knowing,’ and ‘Fifteen Rules for the Preservation of Health’ (Shuttleworth et al., 2001:62). Only on occasion, a small article was devoted to natural history lessons, or ‘Studies in Botany’ (J.C.B., September 1861, issue 17, p.253).

101 Issue 37, January 1868, pp.9-11. This first chapter focuses on ‘What the World is Made of,’ before elaborating in further instalments (into 1869) on ‘Boiling water and its uses,’ and ‘Boiling water and its uses, continued.’

102 St. Swithin, January 1868, 26–28. Although this method does not qualify as the most reliable one, it is also possible to find a quantitative difference between scientific articles in the Ladies’ Treasury (with more than 800 hits when entering ‘science’ as a keyword in the 19th C Periodical Database) and the EDM (with 447 hits).
useful information on domestic matters, which our readers may resort to as to a storehouse’ (11). Generally, articles printed in the EDM represent Beeton’s aim to improve readers’ ‘intellectual, moral, and domestic abilities,’ but often with a focus on the female sphere, for instance the publication of biographies of important women (such as Mrs Gaskell and Madame Roland), and some more challenging articles on women’s rights. Even relatively neutral articles remained slightly gendered, with titles such as ‘German Spas,’ about the pursuit of health, and ‘Life in Paris,’ which deals with fashion.

Other women’s monthlies, although with a different intended audience, also included science but either linked it to domesticity or removed the features fairly quickly. Charlotte Yonge’s Monthly Packet (1851-1899), a religious monthly aimed at teenage girls and young women, had the ambition to inform the minds of young middle-class women at home. Articles on how to take part in examinations were published, and in 1873 a distance learning stream, ‘Cobwebs,’ was created (Walton, 2010). Nevertheless, although Cobwebs featured algebra problems and answered other mathematical queries, these were often linked to household and domestic chores. The Ladies’ Companion at Home and Abroad (1849-1870), in turn, was more focused on science as instruction. Jane Loudon, the first editor of this Saturday weekly, had had a career as a popular writer of books on scientific and horticultural subjects herself and thought of science as part of general education (Shteir, 2004:9). Her magazine ‘combined scientific content with firm attention to women’s domestic roles’ (ibid.). Even so, after Loudon’s departure as editor in 1850, the editorial policy shifted and popular science articles disappeared. Similarly, I have already demonstrated how the older periodical La Belle Assemblée, as an eighteenth-century enlightenment magazine for ladies, can be compared to the Treasury of Literature, although only in its first series. It published scientific articles such as ‘Familiar Lecture on Useful Science,’ ‘Botany,’ and ‘Curious Research into the Natural History of Grasshoppers.’ By 1821, however, its articles on science, especially those on botany, had been discontinued and replaced by a new ‘Universal Advertising Sheet’ of 16 pages, and by the 1830s, its content had

103 Cantor, 2004:19.
104 Although Samuel Beeton at times printed pieces on suffrage which would have been controversial when viewed in isolation, he was always careful ‘to neutralize any suggestion that any of it represented a slippery slide towards systematic reform’ (Hughes, 2005:173).
105 ‘German Spas,’ October 1871, issue 82, p.239; ‘Life in Paris,’ by D’E., August 1871, issue 80, p.123
106 For a short while, La Belle Assemblée even issued a literary supplement, containing abstracts from recently published novels, poems, histories and the like (Doughan, 2008:47-48).
108 Sullivan, 1984:42.
permanently changed to a diet of fashion, amusement, fiction and poetry, while general interest articles were suddenly absent.\textsuperscript{109}

In essence, the \textit{Treasury of Literature} proved exceptional within the genre of supplements to middle-class women’s magazines in the mid-Victorian period, not akin to anything else published as an addendum for a female, middle-class, traditional audience at the time.\textsuperscript{110} It constituted a platform for gender-neutral and intellectually challenging articles, completely unrelated to the idealised femininity or domestic work which was a key feature in the parent periodical. This was also observed in press opinions, as in 1866, the \textit{Coleraine Observer} remarks that the \textit{Ladies’ Treasury} is ‘the most useful as it is now one of the most elegant of serials devoted to a specific purpose: in this instance a most laudable one – the intellectual culture, mental recreation, and physical improvement of the women of our various households.’\textsuperscript{111}

\subsection*{3.3.4 Ideology or Business? Reasons for the Publication of the \textit{Treasury of Literature}}

As Demoor and Macdonald remind us in the \textit{Victorian Periodicals Review} special issue, in the Victorian age, periodical supplements were brought into existence for different reasons.\textsuperscript{112} Supplements could create a new desire in existing consumers (and hence make this group more closely connected to the publication), or they could supply an extra readership (one that was usually not interested in the parent periodical) (2010:104). In the latter case, they were often used in the short term, for example to create a niche market (Brake, 2010:116). Because both business aspects as well as possible ideological reasoning colour such decisions, I will propose both strands as possible reasons for the emergence of the \textit{Treasury of Literature}.

Given the little variation in contents compared to the previous issues, it is not immediately obvious why the \textit{Treasury of Literature} was called into existence in the first place and suddenly discontinued a mere seven years later. In order to understand its launch, it is useful to take a look at its rival magazine once more. In \textit{A Magazine of Her Own} (1996), Margaret Beetham described the EDM’s pioneering endeavour to unite two opposite images of the Ideal Woman: one founded on physical beauty, and one centred

\textsuperscript{109} In the \textit{Ladies’ Treasury}, informative articles would remain prominent until the 1870s. This will be given more thought in chapter 6.

\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Woman} provided a literary supplement to its readers, but it does not form suitable material to draw a comparison as it was a penny weekly and published in the fin de siècle, from 1890-1915 (Liggins, 2007:229).

\textsuperscript{111} ‘Opinions of the Press,’ \textit{LT}, December 1866, p.355.

\textsuperscript{112} Vol.43, no.2, Summer 2010.
Balancing Acts in Femininities

around domestic duty (1996:79). The Beetons succeeded in this union by accompanying each fashion plate with a comprehensive description, specifically intended to help the reader recreate the outfit. This device, aimed at bridging the gap between the woman reader’s responsibility for the household, as well as her need to be fashionably dressed, is named ‘the Practical Dressmaker’ by Beetham (1996:79). In a comparable but slightly expanded way, the editor of the Ladies’ Treasury uses the Treasury of Literature to show that there are more facets to the Ideal Woman in addition to beauty and domesticity. While Ballaster et al. have noted that the Victorian women’s magazine was presented as a conduct manual, and emphasized her domestic duties,\footnote{Ballaster et al., 1991:86.} the Treasury of Literature can be seen as having a different, and partly opposing, function: it showed women that there was more to life than cooking and cleaning and stressed the possible division between household work and intellectual stimulation. For middle-class women, home was a complex notion. It was both a site of work and a denial of that very work.\footnote{Ballaster et al., 1991:89 and Boardman, 2000:154. Most work was done by working-class women or servants and if the work was done by the housewife herself, it was to be rendered invisible.} The work-leisure divide was thus often difficult to retain, and a (temporary) division of domestic work and self-improvement by means of two separate magazine publications could have facilitated it. The differences between the Treasury of Literature and the Ladies’ Treasury provided a great freedom to its readers: at the time when the Treasury of Literature was printed separately, its readers could, in theory, completely disregard the ‘real’ women’s magazine. Both titles were sold together, but it was possible to collect and arrange them separately. The Notice I referred to earlier states that the magazine itself presents ‘all subjects of domestic interest for occupation and amusement,’ whereas the Treasury of Literature only contains things ‘literary.’ They are ‘so arranged and paged as to form, optionally, at the end of the year two volumes: the one being purely literary, and the other containing the Fashions, Needlework [...]’ (December 1867:571). The Treasury of Literature might thus be considered as an experiment to offer its women readers a distinct informative complement to their monthly reading, meant to enlighten without the distractions of fashion, needlework and cookery, infused by a desire to foster intellectual growth and knowledge. This strategic method with deliberate division between the parent publication and its supplement supports James Mussell’s interpretation of periodical press publishing and how the use of departments, or sections, determines the way in which the world was represented to the readers (2009:99).

Moreover, the issue of separately binding both parts links such an ideologically infused raison d’être to practical and commercial concerns which are likely to have influenced the inception of the Treasury of Literature. As periodicals are a mixed form...
published to please the intended audience and gain subscriptions, its mantra being to ‘always [...] pay attention to the needs, desires, hopes, fears and aspirations of “the reader,”’ supplements can be studied as the ‘experimental zones’ in which such affects are tested (Macdonald and Demoor, 2007:75). From an economic perspective, by means of publishing a supplement with a notably different content from other additions to mainstream middle-class women’s magazines, the Ladies’ Treasury possibly aimed to attract a broader readership, not by altering its content, but by repackaging it in part as a ‘new’ section. This balance between the consistency and new elements is essential to ensure a secure readership and is a classic strategy in publishing (Beetham, 1996:12). As the EDM was a direct competitor to the Ladies’ Treasury, the launch of the Treasury supplement in 1868 might be interpreted as a (belated) reaction to Samuel Beeton’s new series in 1860 to keep or expand the Ladies’ Treasury’s own readership and, more plausibly, to establish itself more firmly on the periodical press market. The large folio format supplement of the EDM, launched in 1863, could also have spurred Mrs Warren to offer something extra to her readers.

In the EDM note to volume 7, no.13, it is announced that this supplement will henceforth be doubled in size, counting 16 large folio pages, ‘fully illustrated with Engravings of the newest fashions in dress and for the toilet generally, of pretty and practical needlework patterns, and of all articles relating to the household.’ Notably, it is added that

besides these matters, interesting to all who would look well and live well, the supplement will contain papers of social topics, reviews of Modern English and Foreign literature, Criticisms upon New Music, Essays upon Scientific and Artistic subjects, with letters of pleasant gossip from various continental cities and seaside and watering places, and a series of tales by eminent Authors.

The January supplement issue of 1864 contains the newest fashion and engraving, but combines this with other (feminine) topics such as ‘musical entertainments,’ ‘Fashions for Boys and Young Men,’ the account of ‘Proserpine; or striking a Match: a classical extravaganza,’ and a historical account on teeth. Despite this enlargement, the supplement remains incomparable to the Treasury of Literature. While the EDM concentrated on fashion, large illustrations, and descriptions of the toilet in its

116 A readership that could include men, for instance.
117 ‘Folio format’ as described in the British Library catalogue.
118 The price is stated as 6d (or with the magazine, 1s). See ‘The Supplement,’ EDM, issue 46, February 1864, p.191.
119 ‘La Mode’ (p.236), ‘Operas, Oratorios, and musical entertainments,’ (p.237) ‘Fashions for Boys and Young Men,’ (pp.245-246), ‘Proserpine; or striking a Match: a classical extravaganza,’ (pp.248-249), ‘Teeth’ (p.245).
additional pages, the *Ladies’ Treasury* seems to have chosen to leave typically feminine subjects behind, and concentrate on information, education and fiction.

A closer look at the price changes of the *Ladies’ Treasury* also helps to shed light on the short publication span of the literary supplement. Mrs Warren might have endeavoured to alter the appearance of her magazine to keep up with the *EDM*, and, when it did not have the anticipated effect, dropped the supplement altogether in 1875. Because Victorian magazine prices are often difficult to trace (due to missing front pages in bound issues), it is not known how much the *Ladies’ Treasury* cost during the years in which the *Treasury of Literature* was published. Beetham writes that the *Ladies’ Treasury* and the *EDM* were similarly priced ‘at ninepence’ (1996:73), while a bound-in cover sheet of the *Ladies’ Treasury* for January 1895 gives us the price of sevenpence. This price had already been negotiated at an earlier date, for a *Time* advertising sheet announces the *Ladies’ Treasury* at the price of ‘7d’ in 1888.\(^\text{120}\) However, earlier still, an ‘announcement for 1876’ published at the end of the December issue of 1875 informs the readers that the *Ladies’ Treasury* would be re-issued ‘in its original size and at the old price of sixpence.’ If in 1875 the price was to be changed to the ‘old’ price of sixpence, it is probable that the combined publication of the *Ladies’ Treasury* and the *Treasury of Literature* was sold at a higher price and, again taking note of the abrupt ending of this enlarged publication, the price rise appears not to have been a success.\(^\text{121}\) In conclusion, the *Ladies’ Treasury* either had a fall in subscribers, or an expected increase of new subscribers failed to materialize.

### 3.4 Informative about the Woman Question?

I have given an outline of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, what it offered to its readers and how it fitted into the contemporary periodical press market, and I have focused in more detail on one of the features that made it a noteworthy publication. Using the *Treasury of Literature*, I have emphasized that supplements ought not to be neglected in periodical press studies, for they provide a wealth of information on the parent magazine’s ethos,

\(^{120}\) April 1888, p.xi.

\(^{121}\) This higher price for the *Ladies’ Treasury* and the *Treasury of Literature* supposedly was no more than ninepence, as indicate by the notice in the December 1867 issue: ‘it is not intended to raise the price of “The Ladies’ Treasury” beyond that now charged, namely NINEPENCE’ (572).
values, and commercial undertakings. Supplements, sometimes considered to be shadowy paratextual elements, allow for a wider scope and further enable the discussion of both magazine and supplement. In this specific case, the publication of scientific and instructive articles, unrelated to useful domestic knowledge (in the supplement), juxtaposed with household tips, fashion and entertainment (in the parent magazine), positioned the Ladies’ Treasury in a distinctive way: it harked back to the ladies’ periodicals of the late eighteenth century in its provision of intellectual articles, but it can also be said to have found alliance with the proto-feminist periodicals of the mid-Victorian age. The proto-feminist Woman’s World (1848), for instance, a general sixpenny women’s magazine with mildly feminist inclinations,122 combined articles on women’s rights with general articles and fiction, a mix equally found in the Treasury of Literature. The January issue in 1848 contained precisely this fiction (‘Murielle Pevensey, A Serial story’ by Miss Janet Gordon, ‘The Gitana, A Romance’ [unsigned]), general features (‘The Prussian Exhibition,’ ‘Workhouse Notes’), poems, and strong articles on women (‘Female Suffrage: An answer to the Pall Mall Gazette’ and ‘Our Place,’ by a Strong-Minded Woman’).123

The English Woman’s Journal (1858-1864), a publication that preceded the Victoria Magazine, was conducted by Emily Davies and Emily Faithfull and equally presented itself as a feminist magazine with some literary contributions. As such, next to articles, reviews, and letters and notes on current events, it also published fiction and poetry to keep its readership and sponsors interested (Doughan, 2009:216). Women’s issues such as women’s education, their employment, property acts, and rights were also amply discussed.124 Its successor, the Victoria Magazine, provided a similar blend of both literary matters and women rights’ articles. It offered a forum for discussion to debate the Woman Question, but it was also very keen on a mixed-sex environment, counting both male and female contributors in equal numbers. This way it tried to compete with mainstream literary periodicals precisely by drawing in male readers and discussing broader social issues (Tusan, 2005:54). In the May 1863 issue, for instance, ‘Lindisfarne Chase’ (by T.A. Trollope) is followed by the poem ‘L.E.L’ by Christina Rossetti, while ‘The Career of Englishwomen in India’ is discussed in the same month, as is the column ‘Social Science,’ in which news is presented about women’s rights’ associations and new

122 Its motto ‘Dux Foemina Facti’ specifically referred to women leading the action.
bills. Michelle E. Tusan points out that, with these attempts to make it popular, Emily Faithfull ended up largely following the model of other women’s periodicals. Nevertheless, ‘despite its failure as a profitable political magazine, Victoria continued for seventeen years as a women’s advocacy publication that brought further attention to the Woman Question in its broadest social, cultural, and political context’ (2005:53). It balanced women’s rights with a more popular fiction-based approach (Palmer, 2011:43). Consequently, compared to the English Woman’s Journal and the Englishwoman’s Review, the Victoria Magazine achieved the broadest circulation and the best financial success (Robinson, 1996:169).

Feminist publications that militantly supported the women’s movement without addressing other topics generally stayed in print for less than a year (Caine 1997). They knew that in order to secure funding and reach a broader audience, the publication of fiction and mild entertainment had to be included. Such insight in publishing strategies was of course not a prerogative of feminist journals. The mainstream women’s press equally realised that paying some attention to the Woman Question was a way to address more serious questions than fashion and social gossip (Onslow, 2000:98). Hence, next to the specialised niche of women’s rights journals, the larger women’s press also provided a (limited) arena for the debate over Women’s Rights, extending it from law court, Parliament and public meeting into the home. How the Ladies’ Treasury approached the Woman Question forms the subject of my next chapter.

126 The Englishwoman’s Review (1866-1910) was the only exception, with a very limited but faithful readership despite its refusal to print literary or popular features (Palmer, 2009:206).
Chapter 4. The Woman Question

Case Study no.3: The Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature on Women’s Rights

“What is the Woman Question?”
– “Is he rich?”
As I have argued in the previous chapter, with the publication of the *Treasury of Literature*, the *Ladies’ Treasury* harked back to the enlightened eighteenth-century ladies’ journals, while additionally enabling a comparison to be made with mid-Victorian proto-feminist publications, such as *Woman’s World* (1848) and the *Victoria Magazine* (1863-1880). Both the literary supplement and the reform journals contained fiction, poetry and informative articles, and barely touched upon the domestic. While the *Treasury of Literature* hence shows a possible resemblance to the aforementioned *Woman’s World* and *Victoria Magazine*, these proto-feminist magazines published an additional category of material: strong-minded essays on women’s rights. To straightforwardly position the *Ladies’ Treasury* and its supplement with regard to the Woman Question is more difficult, however.

The Woman Question, a phrase used by contemporaries to denote the complex questions about women’s nature and role, was widely debated in the periodical press of mid-Victorian Britain. While at first women’s nature and suitable occupations had been topics of discussion, the issues gradually became more wide-ranging: next to work, questions about women’s political and legal rights, the need for reform of the marriage laws and of girls’ education gained importance (Caine, 2001:102). Although feminist journals which reported on these topics reached a regular yet small audience, they were not the major arena for the feminist debate as their budgets were too limited to afford contributions by prolific writers (ibid.101). The Woman Question thus became a staple issue in the nineteenth-century serious journal. It was in the *Westminster Review* (1824-1914), *Fraser’s Magazine* (1830-1882), the *Nineteenth Century* (1877-1901) and in the *Fortnightly Review* (1865-1954) that the most significant discussions occurred (Caine, 2001:102). It has been claimed that the ‘respectable’ women’s press, with publications aimed at the middle classes, did its utmost to avoid controversial issues and covered women’s rights only in a limited way: the *Lady’s Review* (1860) was the first women’s magazine to challenge the norm in incorporating any discussion of the social changes affecting women. It ceased publication within a year (Hassan, 1983:32-33). In this chapter I want to contest that view by analysing articles in the *Ladies’ Treasury* and the *Treasury of Literature* that dealt with the Woman Question. The publication of both negative and positive (or ‘feminist’) views forms the centre of my research.

Before I present my case study, I contextualise the opinions that were expressed in these debates about Victorian suffrage and women’s rights, as they evolved out of eighteenth-century enlightenment thinking and can be rooted in Mary Wollstonecraft’s ideas and ideals.¹ Although Wollstonecraft was cautiously evaded in the Victorian age,

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¹ Although Mary Wollstonecraft (1749-1797) should not be viewed as the sole inspiration for Victorian feminism, thinkers like Harriet Martineau, Harriet Mill and John Stuart Mill, who helped shape nineteenth-
closer studies show the frequency with which she is mentioned in memoirs and private correspondence (Shattock, 2001:16). In the analyses, I first discuss women’s education as the main condition in order to excel in various domains. A solid education proves paramount to be a good mother, an intelligent partner, or to find suitable employment. Education is also described as a sine qua non for women’s intellectual self-development. In all these domains, education is inextricably linked to Wollstonecraft’s discourse. Secondly, I aim to illustrate that the respectable women’s press, including the EDM and the Ladies’ Treasury, considered and reviewed women’s rights issues often enough, but did this in a fairly equivocal manner. I argue that the presentation of conflicting articles, resulting in an overall ambiguity, was a frequently employed strategy of women’s magazines (which are said always to have communicated in a fractured voice). With a focus on the Ladies’ Treasury, I believe that this strategy was infused by two strands of reasoning. From a business perspective, the Ladies’ Treasury distanced itself from the conservative press that avoided controversy, as well as from the truly radical feminist press, which was often unprofitable and mostly unable to produce a significant impact. The publication of fundamentally different and opposing views on women’s suffrage could be one of the reasons why the Ladies’ Treasury remained in print for almost four decades. By offering a range of opinions, but also by indirectly airing its views, the Ladies’ Treasury was able to attract a broader audience without immediately scaring off current readers as well as potential subscribers who could disapprove of a feminist image. Confronted with a heterogeneous range of views (sometimes more progressive than they were used to), women readers were given the information to enable them to make up their own minds about issues directly important to them (such as education and respectable employment). A second reason for the seeming lack of coherence in the Ladies’ Treasury’s coverage, was the complex situation of ‘feminism’ itself and the lack of an unambiguous definition. I discuss both reasons in the section on conflicting views (4.2.2).

The use of the term ‘feminism’ here might be thought questionable, because it is usually applied to the post-women’s suffrage era. Karen Offen (1988), for instance, points out that ‘feminism’ was not used in Great Britain until 1894-1895. However, as Levine (1990) suggests, it is acceptable to use the term anachronistically when discussing the roots of the movement, and Beetham and Boardman, too, employ the phrase ‘feminist press’ to denote Victorian publications that attempted ‘to provide a century feminism, had mostly read Wollstonecraft’s A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792) as well (Botting, 2004:7).

2 According to Ballaster et al., this is because women’s lives in patriarchal societies are contradictory, and women’s magazines simply reflect this (cited in Gill, 2007:193).

3 Ballaster et al., 1991:85.
critique of contemporary culture and women’s place in it’ (2001:61). More generally, I will make use of the term ‘women’s rights’ and refer to the ‘Woman Question.’

4.1 Middle-Class Victorian Feminism

While nineteenth-century feminism had many faces, which brought out disagreement over the basis and nature of women’s oppression and how it should be modified, the underlying structures of Victorian feminism transcending these different strands should be recognized. Barbara Caine notes that personal experiences, for instance, assumed a central place in the mid-century campaigns, and the overall ‘middle-classness’ of the movement is also impossible to ignore (1992:8). This middle-class character which was dominant by the 1850s has been lamented, as well as its accompanying conservatism and roots in domestic ideology (Rendall, 1985:323). Nevertheless, such a focal point ought not to surprise us and seems a straightforward continuation of eighteenth-century debates on suffrage. In Mary Wollstonecraft’s writings, for example, middle-class women are described as being in need of most urgent aid. While women from the upper classes benefited from a more extensive upbringing and enjoyed a lot of freedom, those belonging to the middle classes simply copied their richer counterparts without sharing their necessary intellectual opportunities or training. ‘[...] [T]hose of the superior class, by catching, at least, a smattering of literature, and conversing more with men, on general topics, acquire more knowledge than the women who ape their fashion and faults without sharing their advantages’ (1999:148). In short, although in the ‘middle rank,’ talents thrive best, this observation does not extend to women (ibid.). Her contemporary, Hannah More (1745-1833), can be neither described as a feminist nor anti-feminist but also states that middle-class women are affected by the upper classes: ‘the middle orders have caught the contagion, and it rages downward with increasing and destructive violence, from the elegantly dressed but tenderly portioned curate’s daughter, to the equally

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4 Which is reminiscent of ‘the personal is political’ campaigns in the 1960s and 70s.
5 Women were also better off in the lower classes, where a strong system of matriarchy ruled.
fashionable daughter of the little tradesman, and of the more opulent but not more judicious farmer (More, 1800:74).  

As I have argued in chapter two, domesticity was situated at the core of the Victorian middle class, and it was precisely in this class that feminism further developed. It is far from astonishing that these first Victorian feminist articulations of frustration surfaced in a middle-class environment: their class ‘was both the originator and the focus of the domesticity entrapping women,’ and they had the necessary leisure hours to explore such ideas, unlike their working-class sisters (Levine, 1990:127). Within the ideology of domesticity, the only framework available to them, Victorian feminists reformulated the ideal of what a woman should be and ‘in using it to rethink both the domestic and the public sphere,’ they invented and reformulated this predominant ideology (Caine, 1992:43 and 53). The proto-feminists of the 1860s and 1870s ‘thus chose to change the practices of their society without directly challenging its ideology’ (Jordan, 1991:461). Taking domesticity as a starting point, mid-Victorian feminism highlighted the physical differences between men and women, their intellectual capacities, and their distinct social roles. ‘Domestic servitude’ and sexual hierarchy were condemned, and it was argued that women were more than wives and mothers (Caine, 1992:43 and 53).

Despite this shared concern for the middle-class woman, the differences in intellectual approach between eighteenth-century (Wollstonecraft in particular) and mid-Victorian feminists were nevertheless significant. To begin with, Wollstonecraft theorized instead of explicitly calling for action, while Victorian feminism, as Mary Maynard emphasizes, ‘appears as doing rather than as developing ideas.’ It was anything but ‘constrained within the covers of books’ (cited in Levine, 1990:10). While Wollstonecraft was concerned with natural rights and tended to philosophical radicalism, the feminist movement in the nineteenth century stressed the importance of legal rights and was more preoccupied with the procurement of property rights and marriage laws (Caine, 1992:23). All the same, it would be a mistake to reduce the nineteenth-century suffrage movement to a mere struggle for equality, restricted by ‘a seeming attachment to formal liberalism and bourgeois theory’ (Levine, 1990:10). Extracts from the Ladies’ Treasury written by feminists, as well as articles on women’s issues in general, demonstrate a focus on broader ideas about women and femininity.

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7 Hannah More was familiar with Wollstonecraft’s work. She does not mention her by name in her Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education, but refers to ‘the Female Werter, as she is styled by her biographer’ and cites ‘a work intitled [sic] “The Wrongs of Woman”’ (More, 1800:51). ‘A female Werther’ was how Wollstonecraft was described by William Godwin in his Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1798), and which heavily influenced the (negative) reception of Wollstonecraft’s work in the nineteenth century (Caine, 1997:264).

8 As Caine claims, the supremacy of ‘a particular notion of submissive, domesticated womanhood’ throughout the nineteenth century is now widely accepted (1992:43).
The intellectual capacities of women, women's role as mother and wife, and women's employment (all issues related to education), were tackled by feminists and anti-feminists.

In the Victorian era, emancipation rested fundamentally on two politically linked objectives: education and employment. This was agreed upon by well-known women’s rights activists who had significant connections across the range of feminist activities, such as Josephine Butler (1828–1906), Emily Davies (1830–1921), Barbara Bodichon (1827–1891) and Bessie Parkes (1829–1925).9 They argued that, without access to education and training, women were, effectively and in the long term, excluded from any equality of opportunity (Levine, 1990:129). Again, such views were very much in line with Wollstonecraft’s ideals. While Emily Davies’ biographer, Barbara Stephen, maintains that Davies did not read Wollstonecraft, but formed her own feminist views as a result of her own experience and observations, and Francis Power Cobbe also never mentions Wollstonecraft’s name, traces of Wollstonecraft’s ideas are perceptible in mid-Victorian feminism. In her study on Wollstonecraft’s influence on American feminists, Eileen Botting (2004) has argued exactly this. She claims that despite the difficulty to establish links between nineteenth-century feminists and Wollstonecraft, it is nevertheless possible to study parallels in philosophical terms and in argumentation. Although such parallels still do not provide concluding evidence, they can indicate ‘shared philosophical concerns’ (2004:8). Both in England, and across the Atlantic in particular, social movements developed around ideas that were explicitly Wollstonecraft’s,10 for example around Wollstonecraft’s argument that to be an adequate mother, a woman must be educated (Jordan, 1991:448). Scholars such as Ralph Wardle suggest that despite being a pioneer, her work had ‘little traceable influences on the course of female emancipation,’11 but the avoidance of her name seems directly linked to the fact that many Victorian feminists wished for role models that were beyond reproach (Cain, 1997:266).12 Fraser et al. also state that the members of the Langham Place group13

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9 Josephine Butler was a social reformer and women’s rights campaigner who contributed to many periodicals such as the feminist Woman's World and the Kettle drum (Law, 2009:88). Emily Davies is known for her educational reform and editorship of the English Woman’s Journal, a feminist journal co-edited with Bessie Parkes (Doughan, 2009:481). Barbara Bodichon is still thought of as a key figure in the emergence of the feminist press in Britain from the mid 1850s (Dillane, 2009:63).


12 Hence only in the 1890s she was rehabilitated, at a time when the New Woman dealt with the prevailing ideals of chastity, and put women’s sexuality on the agenda (Caine, 1997:263). However, this was also when suffrage became central, and on this point ‘Wollstonecraft failed utterly’ (Caine, 1997:271).

13 The Married Women’s Property Committee was the first organized feminist group in England, established in 1855 and chaired by Barbara Bodichon (Leigh Smith). The organization came to be known as the Langham Place group, and counted Mary Howitt, Anna Mary Howitt (her daughter), Anna Jameson, Bessie Parkes, Maria
drew in part on developments in human rights discourse as this had emerged from the American and French Revolutionary periods of the late eighteenth century. Most obviously it was Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* that eloquently adapted the revolutionary principles of freedom and equality to the position of women*’*(2003:149).

Next to members of the Langham Place group, Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), who remains one of the most important woman journalist and did not evade political issues, agreed with many of Wollstonecraft’s views but was ‘repelled by her scandalous public persona’ (Easley, 1999:81). Alexis Easeley notes that Martineau’s view of the perfect woman activist was mixed because she had to ‘[...] do the impossible, validate the patriarchal ideology of separate spheres, while at the same time challenging its underlying assumptions about women’s “natural” roles and abilities’ (Easley, 1999:93). Both in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, views on women’s education indeed simultaneously validated and challenged women’s roles.

### 4.1.1 Mary Wollstonecraft’s Influence

In a *Ladies’ Treasury* article entitled ‘The Education of Women’ (1874), the eighteenth-century legacy is explicitly acknowledged. The article by ‘D.B.’ revisits the French Revolution, and recognizes ‘[...] that one solitary voice, strong and clear, and passionate, though often harsh and sometimes raving, fell on the startled oar of society as it proclaimed “the rights of woman”’ (46). The author continues that, alas,
[f]or Mary Wolstonecraft [sic], the soil was not ready for the seed which she had scattered abroad. All classes joined in denouncing the doctrines of her book as very horrible [...]. But for all that, her labours were not lost. Nay, they have borne, and are still bearing, an abundant crop. Elizabeth Hamilton, Hannah More, and many others [...] have taken up and ably carried on her work [...] and did they but know it’ (46) (emphasis added).\footnote{I could not find anything about ‘D.B.’, nor was I able to trace readers’ responses to this article.}

Moreover, the author is adamant about her impact on Victorian women: ‘[…] there is not a woman in this nineteenth century who does not owe a debt of deepest gratitude to this oftentimes most erring, and yet always fearless champion of their rights [...]’ (46). Moreover, ‘[t]he effect of what she did is to be seen on every side [...]’ (46).

Although this article by ‘D.B.’ is important to once more validate Wollstonecraft’s influence on Victorian feminism, a conventional, mid-Victorian women’s magazine like the Ladies’ Treasury would generally not openly admire Wollstonecraft. The Ladies’ Treasury only published four articles (in almost four decades) that mention the name of Wollstonecraft.\footnote{Next to this article by ‘D.B.,’ in December 1888, her name is mentioned in an article entitled ‘A Trio of Celebrated Novelists’ by J. Cuthbert Hadden (pp.721-725). She is also mentioned in the ‘On-Dits and Facts of the Month’ feature in which Miss Florence Balgarnie’s recent address in Manchester on ‘The Emancipation of Women’ is discussed. Wollstonecraft is referred to as she was ‘the first to strike a blow for the emancipation of her sex’ (November 1890, p.703). A positive review of the reprinting of A Vindication is also published (‘Literary Notices,’ November 1890, p.700).} In comparison, the EDM only mentions her once, and not even in connection to the philosophy she upheld. In the EDM, Wollstonecraft is referred to in ‘the Englishwoman’s Exchange,’ a column designed for readers to swap commodities with each other. In the July 1871 column, a reader is in search of the book Elements of Morality, and further specifies it is ‘translated from the German by Mary Wollstonecraft’ (39). For mid-Victorian feminists, too, Wollstonecraft’s heritage was a difficult one. Most feminists did not mention her, and those who did were often scorned. Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy (1833-1918), an important British champion for the improvement of women’s education, openly admired Wollstonecraft’s ideas and was condemned for it (Caine, 1992:24).\footnote{With Josephine Butler, she established the North of England Council for the Higher Education of Women in 1867, and she equally belonged to the London Kensington Society (Holton, 2004).} Mary Hays (1759-1843), a transitory figure between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, looked at Mary Wollstonecraft as a mentor, but she felt so intimidated and pressured that she eventually decided to exclude Wollstonecraft from her five-volume Female Biography in 1803 (Taylor, 2003:247). Other well-known individuals who were concerned with women’s rights presented a nuanced picture of Wollstonecraft when discussing her influence, to avoid criticism. George Eliot’s essay ‘Margaret Fuller and Mary Wollstonecraft’ in the Leader (October 1855) tries to show the
connection between Wollstonecraft’s life and the conflicts a number of mid-Victorian women had to face (Caine 1997:267). Eliot points out ‘there is in some quarters a vague prejudice against the Rights of Woman [...], but readers who go to it with this impression will be surprised to find it eminently serious, severely moral, and withal rather heavy - the true reason, perhaps, that no edition has been published since 1796, and that it is now rather scarce’ (1990:333). Although Eliot insists that Mary Wollstonecraft is nothing if not rational, she refrains from being overall positive.

In November 1890, the Ladies’ Treasury published a positive review of the latest edition of Mary Wollstonecraft’s A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792), published by T. Fisher Unwin.

A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN: WITH STRUCTURES ON POLITICAL AND MORAL SUBJECTS, by Mary Wollstonecraft.
A new edition; with an introduction by Mrs. Henry Fawcett.
‘Mary Wollstonecraft’s argument is true that “if women be not prepared by education to become the companion of men, they will stop the progress of knowledge.’ ‘The more understanding women acquire the more they will be attached to their duty - comprehending it - for unless they comprehend it, no authority can make them discharge it in a virtuous manner.’ This opinion of a woman who died nearly a century since, and who bore the name of Mrs. Godwin as well as Wollstonecraft is decidedly sensible and admits of no dispute; but culture, and not education in one direction only, is what is needed for women, and this should begin in almost babyhood, and by the mother as a teacher. Consequently, if the mothers are not well informed, the children will be ignorant of even common things. In bringing forward a new edition of a work written by a remarkable woman, Mrs. Fawcett has done good service to women as regards their culture and manners, her own clever introduction adding value to the book’ (700).

Millicent Fawcett’s introductory note to the reprint is another example of Mary Wollstonecraft’s careful rehabilitation in the fin de siècle. Although Fawcett had

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20 During the first five years, it sold 1500 to 3000 copies but after that the sales decreased considerably. Around mid-century, in the 1840s, the book was published in cheap paperback editions but did not receive much response. Nevertheless, her work continued to be stocked in libraries (Todd, 2000:185). The first wholehearted effort to revive Mary Wollstonecraft’s reputation was delayed to the 1870s, to the publication of Kegan Paul’s new edition of her Letters to Imlay (Caine, 1997:269).

21 While she describes both Fuller and Wollstonecraft as truthful, Fuller is more of a literary woman while ‘Mary Wollstonecraft, we imagine, wrote not at all for writing’s sake, but from the pressure of other motives’ (Eliot, 1990:333). Nevertheless, Wollstonecraft is said to speak ‘with the most decision’ on the relative moral excellence of men and women’ (337).

22 'Literary Notices,' November 1890, p.700.
earlier accredited Wollstonecraft’s *Vindication* as the original text in modern feminism, her 1890 introduction was her first written acknowledgement (Caine, 1997:270). While Wollstonecraft’s text was praised, and Fawcett ‘honoured her demand for female education and occupation,’ she clearly regarded Wollstonecraft’s moral and intellectual importance as compromised because of her lifestyle (Caine, 1992:26).²⁴ Fawcett attempted quite clearly to sanitise Wollstonecraft, and attempted to minimize Wollstonecraft’s legacy to later generations (Caine, 1997:271). Fawcett described Mary Wollstonecraft as a creature of her time, pointing out that (for late Victorian women) the discussion of whether women were morally inferior was already dated (ibid.). However, despite this reluctant acknowledgement, some of her own articles were accompanied by echoes from Wollstonecraft herself. Fawcett stated that ‘the principal reform, therefore, which it is desirable to carry out in women’s education is their admittance to all the sources of mental and moral development from which they have hitherto been excluded. Let all, both men and women, have equal chances of mastering such intellect as God has given them.’²⁵ In her discussions of women’s emancipation Fawcett defended her views precisely by referring to Wollstonecraft and Martineau, who ‘had always held in the highest esteem the value of women’s work in the home. The fact that the mother in many classes is consigned the training of children in their most impressionable years is in itself one of the strongest claims that has been made for the emancipation of women’ (Fawcett cited in Caine, 1992:50). Eliot’s 1855 essay and Fawcett’s 1890 introduction both suggest that throughout the nineteenth century, Wollstonecraft remained relevant to the feminist intelligentsia. Linda Shires also argues that the influence of revolutionary politics on the nineteenth-century writers and activists was invaluable for the developments in the women’s movement during the 1850s and 1860s (1992:148). Wollstonecraft was not forgotten, even though she was only really unhesitatingly written about in the fin de siècle, when new editions of the *Vindication* were published and serialized in journals such as *Woman’s Signal* (Caine, 1997:269). It was only at the end of the century that feminist critics such as Elizabeth Pennell and Florence Fenwick Miller praised Wollstonecraft’s work openly, thus making

²³ Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847-1929) was a prominent activist and leader of the women’s suffrage movement in the nineteenth century. ‘Her articles on political, economic and social emancipation of women embraced the equal moral standard, marriage, divorce and equal pay campaigns [...]’ (Law, 2009:216).
²⁴ For instance the ‘disgraceful’ revelations such as her affair with Imlay, the American author and businessman (Shattock, 2001:13).
it ‘increasingly impossible for even the most moderate wing of the women’s movement to ignore her’ (ibid. 270).26

### 4.2 Case Study no.3: The Woman Question in the Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature

Generally, the dominant discourse of a periodical on a specific subject corresponds to how that particular periodical wishes to present itself to the public. ‘At a very literal level then, a periodical’s house style is indeed its formally constructed voice, its dominant discourse, and that same style inflects every topic the periodical addresses’ (Fraser et al., 2003:79). However, as I have mentioned, women’s periodicals are notorious for their fractured voice and their inconsistent approaches to various topics. This also holds truth for the way they handled women’s suffrage. In the Ladies’ Treasury, too, women’s rights could be approached favourably one month and completely rejected the next. Even in one and the same issue, different opinions were voiced. While one could argue that, subsequently, the mix of various standpoints becomes in itself the typical ‘house style’ of the magazine, the Ladies’ Treasury’s own voice often shines through (despite the eclectic views presented to the audience).

I have limited my case study to the period during which the supplement of the Ladies’ Treasury, the Treasury of Literature, was printed: the seven years between 1868 and 1875. This period follows the first attempts of suffrage campaigns to demand equal rights for women (in the 1850s and 1860s) and ends before the introduction of the well-known Divorce Acts of the 1880s.27 Of this period Irene Dancyger notes that Wollstonecraft ‘might have wept, could she have foreseen those [futile pursuit(s)] of [her] descendants [...] in 1871’ (1978:76).

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26 Elizabeth Pennell (1855-1936) was an American author. She wrote a biographical study on Wollstonecraft, entitled Life of Mary Wollstonecraft (1884). Florence Fenwick Miller (1854-1935) is best known for her feminist ideas and her work as a successful journalist (Onslow, 2009:413-144).

27 These Divorce Acts are were also discussed in the Ladies’ Treasury, see chapter 2, section 2.1.2.
In an age rife with poverty, disease and social injustice, readers of the *Young Englishwoman* were enjoined to devote their energies to creating a plethora of useless objects. Watch-pockets shaped like beetles. Ornamental album covers. Crocheted garters (Dancyger, 1978:76).

It was in this period that the *Treasury of Literature* appeared. In appendix 4, I assembled twenty-eight articles from this particular period that explicitly deal with the Woman Question, written by men and women, in favour of and against women’s rights. The articles I selected bear a strong focus on education, with regard to motherly duties, employment, and marriage, precisely because of the prime importance of these issues at the time. Longer articles on women’s rights tended to appear in the supplement, while the parent magazine only printed small reference articles or notes on developments in the field of education. Consequently, most of my analyses focus on the more substantial pieces that appeared in the supplement, as I did not incorporate short book and periodical reviews. My article selection also includes two editorials which are important to the editorial position of the magazine on the Woman Question. Coincidentally, these editorials mark the beginning and end of the *Treasury of Literature*’s run. Additionally, like other mainstream magazines such as the *EDM*, the *Ladies’ Treasury* printed articles on topics dealing with women and femininity but displacing the discussion over time and place. Domestic habits in previous centuries or in other countries were the subjects of articles such as ‘The Ladies’ War: an Amazonian Princess,’ ‘Women in Japan,’ and ‘Education and Manners of English Women in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century.’ While such articles are revealing about society, I chose to concentrate on issues that dominated Victorian feminism in particular. In the following subsections, I will focus on the education of women as a prerequisite to become an excellent mother, to be a perfect companion to one’s husband, and to find a suitable job. The development of women’s *per se*, is also a recurring theme. These arguments for a decent education feature both in specific articles by feminists, as in the

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28 The *Young Englishwoman* was another one of Samuel Beeton’s projects.
29 I also indicate whether an article I discuss belonged to the *LT* (parent magazine) or the *T of L* (supplement). As explained in chapter 3, from 1872 until 1875, the supplement still existed but the boundaries between parent and supplement were blurred. I refer to articles taken from this later time frame as ‘former *LT*’ or ‘former *T of L*.’
31 An article in the *LT* entitled ‘Women in Japan’ stresses the importance of respectability for wives and mistresses. In Japan, a husband is said to have several mistresses who reside in the same house with the wife, and the *LT* asserts that these women ‘who in England and elsewhere constitute the “social evil” are in Japan highly educated and accomplished’ (94).
Throughout the nineteenth century, the causes that women’s right’s activists fought for, and women philosophers reflected upon, shifted their focus. Before the 1850s, it was generally acknowledged that the basic education available to the female sex was of substandard quality, whereas middle-class women were stimulated into developing showy accomplishments (Rendall, 1985:70). While at first motherhood was seen as central, the grounds of the debate were displaced. Both within and outside of the home, Victorian feminists began to urge thorough education of the female mind. The view that women should be trained for employment gained ground, but most professions, such as governessing and teaching, still closely mimicked a mother’s nurturing and instructive role (Rendall, 1985:125).

The campaigns of the early 1850s and 1860s have been termed ‘early bourgeois’ by historians, as they focused on the expansion of genteel employment suitable for well-connected women (Levine, 1990:83). Nevertheless, the problems encountered by middle-class women, who often had to be independent because they had no other choice, gained importance and soon dominated the movement in the 1860s and 1870s (Levine, 1990:83 and 148). Despite the middle-class character of both campaigns, Levine maintains that this does not imply that feminist activists were working in a vacuum. ‘They were not ignorant of the sheer volume of the problems they tackled but they were forced to work within the parameters of their experience precisely because of the magnitude of the problems they faced’ (1990:153). For this reason, issues of education, the quest for respectable employment, and the general targeting of ‘the injustice of a system which regarded marriage as the ultimate and indeed sole ambition appropriate for women,’ were key (ibid.154).

### 4.2.1 Education

#### 4.2.1.1 Being a Good Mother and Valuable Partner

In the *Ladies' Treasury*, one of the first prominent articles that deals with the importance of women’s education, was printed in the supplement in September 1868, and signed by ‘G. Hamilton.’ Although it is impossible to be conclusive, it is highly likely that this is Gail Hamilton, the *nom de plume* of Mary Abigail Dodge (1833-1896), an American

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32 For instance because they did not have a male figure who could pay for their maintenance (no father, brother, or husband).
Balancing Acts in Femininities

journalist. She was the author of the books *Country Living and Country Thinking* (1862) and *The Battle of the Books* (1870), and ‘a feisty advocate of women’s rights’ (Showalter, 2009:8). “‘I belong to the women's rights women. I belong to all - to those who suffer, and those who, however clumsily, are trying to mitigate suffering. The brawniest Amazon that ever stalked over the pavement, the vilest harlot that ever crouched in the cellars beneath it - I belong to them all’” (in Showalter, 2009:8). By printing an article by such an overt supporter of women’s rights, the *Ladies’ Treasury* seems to be clearly positioning itself in the debate. In Hamilton’s article it becomes very apparent how strongly the debate of the education of middle-class women was linked to the importance of motherhood.

In ‘About the Married Life of Educated Women,’ Hamilton focuses on the essential role that women play inside a household. She wants a mother to be exemplary to her children:

> let them see that she is familiar with all the conditions of their life – that her vision is at once broader and keener than theirs – that her feet have travelled along the paths they are just beginning to explore – that she know all the phases, alike of their strength and their weakness – and her influence over them is unbounded (87).

This is precisely what Wollstonecraft argued for in 1792. Eighty years earlier, she stressed that early education has a decisive effect upon later character. Wollstonecraft asked: how can a mother be expected to raise her children adequately if she has not been taught herself how to think? (1999:74). Similar contradictions prevailed in the Victorian age. While women were the ones who had to form the ‘moral character of their children, with the home as centre of improving discourse, and a guide for their husbands,’ they were simultaneously pushed to accept their intellectual inferiority, and the lack of legal and social rights tied to this status (Caine, 1992:44). However, as Ellen Jordan states, linking femininity to intellectual education helped advocates of women’s education to justify their demands. As such, they could link them to ‘the domestic ideology’s definition of femininity as living in a supportive relationship to some man’ (1991:445). It is exactly this point which is highlighted further on in Hamilton’s article: ‘if women would only not be quite so afraid of being thought unwomanly, they would be a great deal more womanly than they are. To be brave, and single-minded, and

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33 In which she discusses American country life, as well as the place men and women occupy in society. She states that man is independent, but woman is not. ‘Alas for a woman! She can never do a thing except gregariously. She has no solitude except in the home, which is no solitude at all. She is always at the mercy of others’ whims, caprices, tastes, business engagements or headaches’ (87).
discriminating, and judicious, and clear-sighted, and self-reliant, and decisive, that is pure womanly’ (89). Woman, Hamilton argues, should, if she wants to be a valuable friend to her husband, ‘read, and observe, and think’ (89). Although men, in general, want women to be domestic, she claims that this is because men are ‘blockeads, - dear and affectionate, and generous blockheads, [...] but stupid where women are concerned’ [sic] (89). Men like being cared for, but women domesticate themselves to death already. What men really want is cultivation: ‘[women] need to be stimulated to develop a large, comprehensive life, in which their domestic duties shall have an appropriate niche, and not dwindle down to a narrow and servile one, over which those duties shall spread and occupy the whole space’ (89).

In 1870, a similarly encouraging article on women not needing to be afraid of being unwomanly is provocatively signed by ‘A Girl of the Period.’ ‘What Men Say of Women/What Women Say of Men’ addresses the misconceptions about women’s intellect. The article begins: ‘[m]en have lately proclaimed aloud, through the medium of the public papers, that women are guilty of a thousand delinquencies against the majesty of men's intellect. Is the complaint true? Possibly, in individual cases; but in the majority, No’ (27). However, ‘as long as men encourage women in their fanciful flights, so long will women find pleasure in being what they are’ (28). Wollstonecraft, too, blamed men for being more anxious to make women alluring mistresses than affectionate wives and rational mothers (Poovey,1984:70). She criticized men for making women act so foolishly: ‘would men but generously snap our chains, and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience, they would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers – in a word, better citizens’ (1999:231). Hannah More also dedicated several chapters to women’s education in her Strictures on the Modern System of Education (1799), and although she is termed a more conservative and religious writer, she uttered a similar critique. The acquisition of showy accomplishments, and the evils of vanity, direct women into ‘[...] either to make their fortune by marriage, or if that fails, to

35 A phrase coined by the contradictory figure Eliza Lynn Linton. She is critical of women who do not keep to the domestic sphere, but as a journalist, she herself occupies a position in the public sphere (Fraser et al., 2003:10-11). In 1868, her controversial Saturday Review article on ‘the faults and follies of modern girls’ determined her career and established her as the scourge of the ‘Girl of the Period’ (Onslow, 2009:364). The article, first anonymously published, was quickly reissued as a signed pamphlet and became a popular catchphrase (Hamilton, 2009:40). Here, the name ‘A Girl of the Period’ is not explicitly linked to Eliza Lynn Linton.


37 Much of A Vindication is devoted to how the conduct and manners of women show that their minds are in an unhealthy state. Having been taught that their chief aim in life is to marry, and preferably to marry well, they sacrifice everything to beauty. Their limited education has made them utterly dependent on masculine opinion. ‘Fragile in every sense of the word, they are obliged to look up to man for every comfort’ (1999:132).
qualify them to become teachers of others: hence the abundant multiplication of superficial wives, and of incompetent and illiterate governesses’ (1800:76). In the article, the ‘Girl of the Period’ concludes with a last Wollstonecraftian echo: ‘better that all women were mannish, than that men should descend from their place of pride in creation and become weaker than the weakest women’ (28). In a parallel gesture, Wollstonecraft herself asked to be pardoned ‘for endeavouring to persuade [women] to become more masculine and respectable’ (75).

Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904), a nineteenth-century writer and suffragist who was known for promoting social, legal or religious reform in her articles, equally broaches the issue of female weakness in an article, taken from the American Putnam’s Magazine. In ‘The Defects of Women, and How to Remedy Them [From an English Point of View],’ reprinted in the Treasury of Literature in 1870, she argues how women should develop strength, both morally and physically. Although, as I have already indicated, Cobbe insisted that her opinions were formed as a result of own experiences and observations, her views on education very much remind us of Wollstonecraft’s laments in A Vindication. Cobbe foregrounds motherhood and woman’s domestic role, including the education of her children (Caine, 1992:50).

Education, according to Cobbe, ought to have two ends: ‘it ought to develop strength and to supplement weakness’ (12). Although these principles are applied to the education of boys, in the education of girls, only one of these two ends of education is commonly pursued. ‘It is taken for granted, it would appear, that while every defect in man is more or less curable, in a woman it is hopeless of remedy’ (12). Apparently, the ordinary defects of women usually remain at the end of even the most extensive female education. As Wollstonecraft writes: ‘the whole tenour of female education (the education of society) tends to render the best disposed romantic and inconstant; and the remainder vain and mean’ (1999:146). According to Cobbe, this is partly the fault of men, because they seem to ‘love the weakness of a woman rather more than her strength’ (12). Cobbe is in favour of an education that strengthens the body and forms the heart. The (physical) inferiority of women is partly man’s own creation, and might thus be remedied to a certain extent. Cobbe wants children to learn from experience and advocates a joint education of the sexes. Mary Wollstonecraft also wanted children

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38 The ‘Girl of the Period’ also cites an article ‘Arguing With Women’ which appeared in the conservative Saturday Review and, according to the authoress, it is ‘intense bitterness against women which inspired the writer’s pen’ (28). This remark shows that the signature ‘A Girl of the Period’ was certainly not supportive of Lynn Linton’s contributions to the SR.


41 Vol.VIII, no.1, New Series, January 1870, pp.12-17 (T of L).

to be educated without reference to class distinction, and they ought to be brought up together. In her chapter ‘On National Education,’ she uttered the wish that ‘to enforce the necessity of educating the sexes together, to perfect both [...] they should be sent to school to mix with a number of equals, for only by the jostlings of equality can we form a just opinion of ourselves’ (259). ‘Girls and boys, in short, would play harmlessly together, if the distinction of sex was not inculcated long before nature makes a difference’ (Wollstonecraft, 1999:110). As Cobbe puts it,

> real exercise, especially in youth, must be joyous exercise spontaneously taken, not as a medicine, but with the eagerness of natural appetite. [...] come hunt the hare, and hide-and-seek, and hoop, and ball, and cricket, and kite-flying, and above all that last blessed things, ‘playing in the hay.’ Are these all ‘dreadfully unladylike,’ and calculated for the production of tomboys? Never believe a word of it! The most high-bred of women have been the most free and joyous of children (14).

In addition to the importance of girls and boys playing games, Cobbe again reminds of Wollstonecraft by exclaiming that ‘the failings of both sexes are, of course, aggravated by the common system of educating them entirely apart’ and most classes of study calculated to train the use of reason, will ‘with the usual perversity’ have been left out of the ordinary female curriculum altogether.’ ‘[...] Girls are commonly taught French, German, and Italian in a way very serviceable for foreign travel, but of no use at all as a mental training’ (14).

The role of women as mothers is another important issue to Cobbe. In her article, she urges to ‘tackle the most fortunate wife and mother, and suppose her to be ignorant, mean, silly, and full of pitiful vanities and ambitions [...] and take, on the other hand, a simple and solitary woman, with the qualities of head and heart of which we have spoken - a truly educated human being. Can any rational creature doubt which one of these is the one which most nearly fulfils the Creator's purpose?” (12). *A Vindication* describes an astonishingly similar comparison and then goes on to tell the reader that the first woman would be in deep trouble if her husband were to die. In that case, ‘a double duty devolves on her; to educate them in the character of both father and mother; to form their principles and secure their property. But, alas! she has never thought, much less acted for herself. She has only learnt to please men, to depend gracefully on them’ (Wollstonecraft, 1999:116). Worse, ‘the mother will be lost in the coquette, and, instead of making friends with her daughters, view them with eyes askance, for they are rivals’ (1999:117).

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For Cobbe, reason is paramount as ‘the one gift which is worth all others together, is the power of conversation, the power which is the sum of good sense, good nature, and a well-cultivated mind’ (17). This is something Wollstonecraft held high as well in the claim that, to run a household, the same kind of rationality is needed as for political citizenship. In her preface, Wollstonecraft states: ‘if she [woman] be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue’ (1999:66). Cobbe then concludes with thoughts on how this moral weakness of girls should be cured. Although, in civilised countries, women are not slaves, they remain minors all their lives ‘[...] and when the youth emerges into the freedom of manhood, the girl passes into a condition wherein it depends on the character of her husband whether she be not more completely in pupilage than ever she was in her school-room’ (17).

The Ladies’ Treasury already indicates how it feels about the Woman Question by publishing articles of Cobbe, Hamilton, and the like, and the magazine confirms this position by ending the reprint of Cobbe’s article with the regret that ‘space is not available to give this very excellent chapter in its entirety’ (17). Nevertheless, in an instalment of ‘Cookery for £200 a Year,’ Mrs Warren refers to Francis Power Cobbe’s recent contribution to ‘Woman’s Work and Woman’s Culture,’ a series of essays.44 In these essays, she is said to ‘descant very powerfully on the theory of woman’s life as exhibited in her domestic relations’ (50) Although Cobbe is called a ‘very talented lady,’ Mrs Warren does not agree entirely with Cobbe’s view. Cobbe is in favour of higher education for women but insists that a woman who is nothing but a domestic being ‘has failed to be truly domestic’ (50). Mrs Warren retorts, however: ‘who in the world ever supposed that a woman was to be nothing but a domestic drudge in order to make her husband and children happy? No man certainly did, or woman either. But, we would ask, is ever a home made happy or comfortable where a wife knows nothing of domestic affairs, or knows them only partially?’ (50). ‘By all means let a girl be as book-learned as she likes, but let her think also; without this, much reading or learning impoverishes’ (50). In other words, a balance between intellectual and domestic knowledge is paramount. This message is also communicated in the Ladies’ Treasury’s history conversations, portraying a mother who meets up regularly with her daughters as to perfect their education.

44 ‘Cookery for £200 a Year,’ Mrs. Warren, vol.V, no.4, New Series, October 1868, pp.50-55 (LT). The issue of naming will be discussed extensively in chapter 5. As ‘Mrs. Warren,’ she airs different views than as ‘the Editor.’
‘An Hour with Mamma’

In her article, Cobbe reflects on the way young girls are taught foreign languages, which is unsatisfactory. It is ‘in a way very suitable for foreign travel, but of no use at all as a mental training’ (14). Indeed, the Ladies’ Treasury must have agreed with Cobbe, as their lessons of the French, Italian and German language,\(^45\) entailed a little more than ‘Est-ce que je peux avoir un café, s’il vous plaît?’ or ‘Piacere di fare conoscenza!’ Although admittedly, exercises on the preceding rules in French, for instance, are taught with regard to subjects such as ‘visiting friends’ (instead of providing ‘sentences from classical authors to turn into French’),\(^46\) some lectures also contain the discussion of French authors, and reading lessons include serious subjects like ‘Napoleon Buonaparte’s Justification.’\(^47\) German exercises also make use of high culture, as a translation of a fragment from Friedrich von Schiller’s drama “William Tell” illustrates.\(^48\)

While it was not unusual to offer these language lessons to middle-class girls and women, the other educational articles do position the Ladies’ Treasury within a framework that is again very much focused on acquiring knowledge. Apart from ‘Chapters for Boys,’ ‘Historical Chapters for the Home Tuition of Boys and Girls,’ and the series ‘Our Public Schools,’ ‘An Hour with Mamma’ most significantly manifest the magazine’s belief in the importance of a mother’s educational role.\(^49\) The notion of women’s domesticity is expanded from her function of housewife to a widely-read, intelligent, and interested mother who would be able to run her family independently on all fields, if required.\(^50\)

Whereas the educational lectures for boys are presented as chapters from a history book, for instance with a section on ‘The Decline of the Empire of Peru – Its Causes, and the Invasions of the Spaniards,’\(^51\) the educational method employed in ‘An Hour with Mamma’ is distinctly different. In this series, conversations of a mother with her children are staged, in which girls, exclusively, are instructed on various matters.\(^52\) For


\(^{46}\) ‘The French Language,’ vol.IV, no.1, January 1860, pp.5-6.


\(^{49}\) ‘A Chapter for Boys’ or ‘Chapters for Boys’ was irregularly published in 1863 (vol.VII); ‘Historical Chapters for the Home Tuition of Boys and Girls,’ vols.XII-XIX, April 1872 – July 1875; the series ‘Our Public Schools,’ vols.IV-V, July 1860 – November 1861; ‘An Hour with Mamma,’ vols.III-VI, January 1859 – July 1863.

\(^{50}\) A series entitled ‘Discourses on Astronomy, by Professor Mitchell’ (May 1861- December 1862) also highlights the importance of intellectual development in the Ladies’ Treasury.

\(^{51}\) ‘Chapters for Boys,’ vol.VII, no.6, December 1863, pp.346-348.

\(^{52}\) Even though ‘An Hour With Mamma’ was not published during the years of the supplement, the series provides valuable information about the Ladies’ Treasury’s outlook on women’s education in general.
an hour, Lady Lisburne teaches her four daughters about history. Like the ‘Chapters for Boys,’ domestic issues are never addressed, and important historical facts (i.e. the Magna Charta and the reign of Charles the Second) very often forms the topic of conversation. This transmission of knowledge from one female generation to another is vital, especially because here, it entails intellectual subjects rather than domestic wisdom. In February 1860, the supposed mother Lady L. explains why she is so adamant in her refusal to let men partake in her lectures: ‘this meeting is strictly private; if we admit Edgar, then why not papa and the boys, and then the character of our meeting would be quite changed’(38). The historical conversazione (as it is called) is said to give great ‘intellectual pleasure’ to the daughters, and one of them, Isabel, states that

I can safely say that I am a thousand times more interested in this historical conversation than I am at any fashionable party; there are few things discussed but dress, beauty, the opera, the last ball, or some odious scandal. How much more interesting is it to talk of the greater events and people of former times than of the shape of Miss de Vere’s nose, the colour of Lady Clara’s hair, the last new fashions, and the flirtations of a few butterflies at the last grand ball (211).

Later on in the series, as the daughters get married one by one, they keep attending the conversazione and are often encouraged by their husbands to do so. Edgar, Geraldine’s husband, for instance, ‘would not for the world have lost the opportunity of increasing [her] store of such interesting and available knowledge’ (19-20). And knowledge does not only prove an asset to keep one’s husband interested. Miss Adele has attracted the attention of the young Marquis of Tiverton. She believes it is because of some historical information she shared with him. Lady Lisburne agrees and concludes this informal chat (preceding the actual ‘lecture’):

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54 ‘An Hour with Mamma,’ vol.IV, no.2, February 1860, pp.38-42.  
56 ‘An Hour with Mamma,’ vol.IV, no.1, January 1860, pp.19-23.  
57 It must be noted, however, that here, knowledge is not promoted as an asset in the public sphere (in order to find employment).
Come, then, let us proceed with our reminiscences at once. Some ladies win hearts by their siren voice; some by the execution they display on the ivory keys; some try the brush; some the needle; but I own, were I a “marrying man;” I should be more attracted by the evidence of a well-stored, thinking mind (modestly revealed), than by the most scientific cantata, elaborate sonata, or complicated Berlin wool piece. And if mothers and daughters knew how much more a good and sensible man delights in a well-informed, than in a showily accomplished girl, history, geography, biography and literature, would be more cultivated, and what a girl can say would supersede what she can do (187).58

She continues this thought in the conversazione in August: ‘[…] not that I despise accomplishments as the ornaments of education, but, like a rich embroidery on a worthless material, they are of little avail, unless a highly-cultivated mind adds solidity to all this brilliancy’ (250).59 Here, too, it is argued that an educated woman makes the most companionable wife, for educated men must have educated wives (Jordan, 1991:447). Although this association of femininity with intellectual education was not universally accepted, Jordan states ‘it did, in fact, provide a new, acceptable, type of femininity, the accomplished married woman’ (1991:448).

In the conversations with Mamma, feminist messages on women’s education are repeated in a different guise, and in her editorials, too, Mrs Warren makes similar statements. In a first, personal editorial entitled ‘The Education of Girls,’60 education is suggested as a means to an end, but ‘the cultivation of intellect is not all that is needful. There is grace of manner and speech to be acquired […]’ (5). A woman of ‘generally cultivated intellect’ is a blessing in every house. Or, as Wollstonecraft asserted, a woman ‘should be equally intent to manage her family, educate her children, and assist her neighbours’ (1999:227). However, the editor stresses that ‘a woman possessing only one accomplishment, or one who deems attention to home comforts and to the welfare of others a matter of indifference; or, another, who insists upon “Woman’s Rights” to the exclusion of the domestic “rights” of home needs – is a nuisance’ (6). The importance of a woman’s role in the household is emphasized. This stance is continued with the second editorial piece,61 which specifically deals with the issue of education and the importance of the acquisition of knowledge. Mrs Warren stresses the importance of learning for ‘it is certainly necessary for a woman who claims her freedom to vote (the franchise) that she shall know the meaning of the word which expresses the form and

58 ‘An Hour with Mamma,’ vol.IV, no.6, June 1860, pp.186-188.
59 ‘An Hour with Mamma,’ vol.IV, no.8, August 1860, pp.250-254.
60 Vol.V., no.1, New Series, July 1868, pp.4-6 (LT)
manner of government to which she wishes to add her influence’ (194). Much more strongly than in her first feature, she now claims that

the higher or more extended development of the faculties, only accomplished by increased intelligence, makes men and women more useful, more helpful, more forbearing, pitiful, and kind; more eager to bear one another’s burdens and to help each other’s ignorance (194).

She wants both men and women to acquire knowledge, as ‘the greater the knowledge acquired, the humbler the mind; for pride is dethroned in knowing how extensive is knowledge, how finite man’s abilities’ (194). Victorian women belonging to the lower middle classes were forced to participate in housework and childcare, and in the Victorian women’s rights milieu, too, it was believed that, although women’s mission began in the home, it did not end there. Through their domestic role, feminists believed women were to educate their children and even reform the entire society. Mrs Warren’s last editorial stance above is in keeping with Victorian feminist thought, such as Emily Davies’ envisioning of why women should be educated. According to Davies, women should be educated like men and would hence ‘be better company for their husbands than under the present system which produced only empty-headed gossip’ (Jordan, 1991:459). Moreover, they would also be useful to society, as learning would strengthen the human spirit (ibid. 441).

Notwithstanding these pleas for a thorough education, many middle-class women remained trapped within their homes, not only physically but also ideologically. Though education campaigns were high on the feminist agenda, advances in women’s learning were not their prerogative, and Levine even mentions historians who view the new girls’ schools as only confirming traditional role patterns and Victorian ideas on gender, and education as the key to improved wifehood (Levine, 1990:127). Despite educating an ever-growing number of girls, state schools still focused too much on domestic tasks and motherhood. This was not the case in private (feminist) institutions, where domestic classes on needlework, cookery and laundry were deemed of little importance. With the emphasis on knowledge, however, these schools also had to bow to male criteria of scholarship and importance (ibid.137). Although a belief in

62 A view comparable to Wollstonecraft’s notion of good citizenship, central to A Vindication: ‘Women, I allow, may have different duties to fulfil; but they are human duties, and the principles that should regulate the discharge of them, I sturdily maintain, must be the same’ (1999:119).
63 Emily Davies (1830-1921) is best known for the organization of the first women’s employment society, in Gateshead. She was also part of the women’s discussion group, the Kensington Society (Levine, 1987:87).
64 Like the contradiction of women as moral angels and yet intellectually inferior, such ‘domestic education’ also went against the claim that gender roles were innate. ‘Schooling girls in their “natural” attributes suggests some degree of anxiety on the part of the status quo’ (Levine, 1990:141).
the existing academic standards prevailed, the oppressive cruelty present in boy's schools was lacking in the new institutions, and seemingly old-fashioned virtues such as obedience, plainness, thrift, and virtue were held high (Levine, 1990:140). To some extent, these virtues also symbolised Victorian feminists and their rejection of idleness and frivolity as a determining characteristic of womanhood, while at the same time they were an appropriation of the values of Victorian ideology (ibid).

4.2.1.2 Finding Employment

The importance of education in view of future employment was also stressed in the Ladies’ Treasury by the printing (and reprinting) of letters devoted to the topic. Emily Faithfull (1835-1895), for instance, frequently joined the debate, writing letters to The Times in which she argued for equal educational opportunities (Levine, 1990:138). Faithfull was the co-founder of the Victoria Press, an all-women law-copying office that became the most important feminist printing house in mid-Victorian Britain, and published the Alexandra Magazine (1864-1865) and the Victoria Magazine (1863-1880) (Levine, 1987:88). In the article ‘Employment for Women (Home Employment for Ladies),’ two letters by Faithfull are reprinted from The Times, for their publications, as stated by the Ladies’ Treasury, ‘[do] not always reach far-off nooks, where a humbler magazine finds its way, and for this reason we give the letters as addressed to the editor...’ (267). In both letters, reproduced in their entirety and commented upon by the Ladies’ Treasury, Faithfull states that, ‘after sixteen years of work to promote the educational and industrial interests of women, I do not hesitate to say that “work at home” is an impossibility, unless a woman has some special gift’ (267). ‘Until a woman ceases to be a “Jack of all Trades” she will never be master of one’ (267). Faithfull stresses the responsibility of the parents: ‘I am thankful for an opportunity of saying, through the Times, that parents are neglecting a great duty if they do not adapt the education and pursuits of their daughters to the exigency of the times they live in’ (268).

As the letters of Emily Faithfull point out, an inadequate education could have serious consequences. Hence, the problematic inactivity of middle-class women, especially unmarried ones, formed another focus of the early feminists. Most changes in the field were prompted by this large proportion of middle-class women who found themselves in trouble if they did not have a husband or other male family member to take care of them financially. Taking control of their own lives often proved difficult. First, it was not deemed respectable for a middle-class woman to work outside the home, and the

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65 Its full title was the Alexandra Magazine and Women’s Social and Industrial Advocate.
few jobs that were available to them, such as becoming a governess or taking up the occupation of schoolmistress, increasingly gained in popularity. This quickly resulted in a small and overcrowded segment of the job market, and the first women who started work within this niche frequently had no training for their chosen employment (Levine, 1990:134). Moreover, while changes in English economy lead to the non-manual sector offering new occupation opportunities for women (with clerical, commercial and service jobs), they were often unable to fill these positions as they demanded new abilities and a thorough education (ibid.126). As a result, feminist educational campaigns focused on establishing women’s secondary and tertiary institutions of learning, rather than promoting basic schooling, and the subsequent campaigns to broaden women’s employment were also class-specific, situated in the so-called ‘white blouse’ sector (Levine, 1990:127). Various campaigns were being set up, for better work, for improved working conditions, and for more varied openings. The feminist campaigns of the period tried to broaden women’s education and contest the prejudices that barred women from other interesting paths of work. In other words, they were primarily concerned only with ‘ladies,’ with Genteel women, whose respectability was crucially at stake in the search for paid employment (Levine, 1987: 84).

Like many other magazines, the Ladies’ Treasury dealt with the issue of respectable employment in its own way. As already illustrated in the previous section, the magazine’s most frequent approach was the reprinting of letters by women activists or working women, but it also frequently referenced feminist journals that dealt with the specific problems. First, the reprinting of letters from The Times was quite common in the Ladies’ Treasury, especially in the column dedicated to educational matters. Thus, a letter by Mrs Grey to The Times on female education was reprinted in the Ladies’ Treasury of July 1873, and an anonymous contribution on Elementary School Mistresses was reprinted in the Ladies’ Treasury of November 1873. The latter article discusses the pros and cons of the profession in question. It is said that good health and energy are indispensable for there is a good deal of standing up during morning school, and ‘very simple things are taught, but they have to be drummed into very dense little brains with a good deal of exertion’ (269). The courses are mentioned, as is the required training and the yearly fee. In “Two Views on One Subject,” female employment and the

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68 Women from the lower classes were not absent from the paid work-force, as the earliest generations of industrialists had already frequently relied on large armies of cheap female labour. However, the early feminist campaigns were primarily concerned with opportunities in the non-manual sector (Levine, 1990:127).


70 ‘Letters sent to The Times: Two Views on One Subject (ladies and elementary schoolmistresses),’ vol.XV, no.4, New Series, October 1873, pp.213-215 (former T of L).
The Woman Question

occupation as elementary schoolmistresses are foregrounded. In the first letter, a Lady School Manager writes to stress ‘the great demand for schoolmistresses in elementary schools since the passing of the Education Act, and the advantages this branch of the teaching profession offers to gentlewomen who must earn their own bread’ (213). The benefits of being a schoolmistress are summed up, which comprise the salary, the holidays, the hours of work and the independence (in comparison to governesses). The second letter, sent in by ‘A Certified Mistress,’ points out the shortcomings of the job which were left out in first letter. By considering both sides of the matter, a very balanced view is thus provided to the magazine readers.

Apart from reprinting letters by women’s rights activists, the Ladies’ Treasury frequently referred to other specialist feminist publications. From the late 1850s onwards, these feminist journals had become a crucial component in the employment campaigns. While the more general feminist journals presented a broad perspective on women’s issues, campaign journals specifically committed entire issues to single topics such as new trades for women, or current campaigns (Beetham and Boardman, 2001:61).71 The Women’s Gazette, or news about work (1875-1879), for instance, which would later change its name to Work and Leisure (1880-1893), published articles and advice about employment issues. The journal specifically spotlighted openings for middle-class women who sought respectable employment. It carried practical information ‘on possible employment avenues and job application procedures, training and educational opportunities, funding assistance, employment legislation, book reviews and reassuring editorials,’72 and it was recommended in many of the middle-class magazines at the time, such as the Ladies’ Treasury.

Although the early nineteenth century saw publications like Eliza Sharples’s Isis (1832) and Eliza Cook’s Journal (1849-1854), ‘true feminist publishing’ only really began with the monthly English Woman’s Journal (1858-1864), edited by Bessie Rayner Parkes and Barbara Bodichon (both members of the Langham Place group). This magazine became known as a general feminist publication, offering an amalgam of articles on topics of general interest, short stories and poetry, but with an emphasis on feminist issues such as the ubiquitous education and employment (Doughan, 2009:216). Its successor, the Englishwoman’s Review (1866-1910), was much more concentrated on the women’s movement than the previous publication, and refused to print articles that would make it commercially successful. In the ‘Literature’ section of December 1866,

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71 As certain campaigns and claims to the vote became increasingly important, other specific magazines were launched. The Shield (1870), for example, only centred on the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. At the end of the nineteenth century, new feminist journals such as Young Woman (1892 ff ) saw the light (Doughan, 2009:216).

the *Ladies’ Treasury* reflected on this publication, and noted that five out of seven chapters in this journal are worth reading.

Respecting the extension of the franchise to female householders, the writer thus concludes an excellently written chapter, which should be read by women interested, or non-interested, in the question: “One of the effects of admitting women to the suffrage will be to lead them to read and think more about public events. The study of history and political economy will become more prevalent among them, so that twenty years hence women who possess what is called the education of a lady, will be very superior in mental acquirements to the same class at the present day” (345).73

Both the ‘Literature,’ and ‘Notes and Queries’ sections, the latter enriched with the subsection ‘Educational Matters,’ contained regular reviews of, references to, or entire paragraphs reprinted from these proto-feminist magazines. Broader feminist issues were addressed by Emily Faithfull’s *Victoria Magazine* (1863-1880)74 and later on in her *Women and Work* (1874-1876), a weekly.75 While the *Victoria Magazine* covered the women’s movement, but also printed serialized fiction, poetry and short stories, *Women and Work*, specifically focused on openings for middle-class women who sought respectable employment. *Women and Work* was frequently mentioned in the *Ladies’ Treasury*. A first note in June 1874 adverts the launch of *Women and Work*, and within a few months, the journal is frequently cited in ‘Educational Matters.’ In January 1875, ‘American Notes: by our special commissioner, A Domestic Training School’ is said to be taken from *Women and Work*: ‘[i]t is a paper admirably adapted for the times. Families and young people seeking employment could expend a penny weekly to no better advantage.’76 In May, *Women and Work* is again described as a ‘valuable penny paper, published weekly, and should be taken in by every household, rich or poor […]’77

The column ‘Educational Matters’ also reprinted articles from mainstream magazines, next to letters from and references to proto-feminist journals. The *Saturday Review* (SR)78 was often quoted and as with other articles ‘borrowed’ from this

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73 ‘Literature,’ vol.II, no.6, New Series, December 1866, pp.344-345 (*LT*).
74 Launched in co-operation with Emily Davies.
75 It used the figure of the Queen ‘to endorse feminine domesticity at the same time that it emphasized her position in the public sphere as a monarch’ (Moruzi, 2009:652).
76 ‘Educational Matters,’ vol.XVIII, no.1, New Series, January 1875, pp.44-4 (former *LT*).
77 ‘Literature,’ vol.XVIII, no.5, New Series, May 1875, pp.225-227 (former *LT*).
78 The *Saturday Review* is well-known for its anti-women’s rights discourse, such as Lynn Linton’s series on ‘Modern Women’ (Caine, 2001:102).
publication, the *SR* is made fun of, and incorrect information is put straight. In the September 1874 column a question is reprinted about how and where women can study medicine. The journalist of the *Ladies’ Treasury* triumphantly quotes:

The *Saturday Review*, which recently stated that “it does not appear to be true that women generally desire to be treated by women,” has been replied to by “A Surgeon,” who in contradiction to this assertion says: “In the only hospital in London where women can be attended by female physicians – the new Hospital for Women, Seymour Place, Bryanstone Square – the influx of patients is so great that to prevent the work from becoming altogether overwhelming to the staff and resources of the hospital it has been necessary [...] to enlarge the premises [...]’ (157);

The same doctor also shares his view on women studying medicine, and states that, like his colleagues, Professor Huxley and Dr. Wilks, ‘there is nothing in such studies injurious to their health or destructive of their delicacy of mind. On the contrary, the study and the practice of medicine subserve the most complete and highest education of mind and body’ (158). Furthermore, the doctor continues that ‘it is a strange kind of justice which on the plea of kindness to the sex prohibits them from any profession in which they can possibly exercise their intelligence so as to earn a handsome living’ (158).

Notably, this kind of articles clearly attempt at widening the sectors in which ‘respectable’ women could hold a job, an important part of the women’s rights campaigns in the 1860s and 1870s. Although measuring the effectiveness of these first education and employment campaigns and journals is very difficult, Levine states that the employment areas which saw an increase of the number of women hired were precisely those targeted by organisations such as the Society for the Promotion of the Employment of Women (1990:130). While the actual differences the campaigns made in women’s lives was still relatively small, the campaigns supported and nurtured important alterations in various areas of work (both professional and skilled) (Levine,

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79 In the feature ‘The Fashions,’ the following is stated: ‘A writer in the *Saturday Review* on the question of servants, says: - “their airs and their graces, their shortcomings and their und tidiness, their crinolines and their bonnets are much what the same things are in other women – that is to say, they are in general, offences offered by all womankind to all mankind.” Such is one writer’s opinion of crinolines, and woman’s dress in general, which he boldly asserts as the opinion of mankind. If this be so, there is an end to courtship and matrimony, for no sober man will marry a heap of offences, although he take a pretty woman with them’ (‘The Fashions,’ vol.VIII, no.3, March 1864, pp.92-93, *LT*).

80 Quoted from *Woman and Work* by E. Faithfull, vol.XVII, no.3, New Series, September 1874, pp.157-159, (former *LT*).

81 Founded in 1859 by Jessie Boucherett and Adelaide Procter, both members of the Langham Place Group (Rendall, 2007).
Both the education and employment campaigns served the main aim of the contemporary feminist movement, namely the self-development of women 'through knowledge, through work, through the politics and the culture of feminism moving away from the constraining and stifling orthodoxy of the dominant ideology' (Levine, 1990:156). For instance, as early as the 1860s, Frances Buss's North London Collegiate School had introduced science subjects into its curriculum (Levine, 1990:136). At a theoretical level, too, a positive change was offered with regard to women's labour, and work outside the home was presented as a worthy activity next to the domestic role. Moreover, it was precisely the feminist input which determined the accession into the public sphere. Levine stresses that the issue of identity was very important to women of the middle classes. Employment issues were connected to claims of independence, and a share of the public realm (Levine, 1987:82). It was clearly necessary for women to move into areas of professional employment as a means not simply of finding paid labour, but as a statement of purpose and of proof of competence (ibid.99). Next to the essay on woman doctors, other articles in the Ladies' Treasury also put forward less obvious career choices, such as stock broking, although the anonymous author stresses that women 'have as great business aptitude as men, but they fail in the essentials – the application of the perceptive and the reasoning faculties – which bring success in most industries' (162). Still the article ends with a salute to all women who break down the barriers of caste, 'and set the example of working honestly for bread, being not ashamed of that which they will do, thus giving dignity to the labour which they choose to perform [...]' (162). In turn, a reprint from Women and Work addresses the position of 'law copyists,' and concludes: 'does not the prosperity of this law-copying office prove the assertion we have often made, that women, when trained, can be in every respect as business-like as men' (159). This belief is indeed consistent with the demand of women's rights activists that more occupations would become available to women. Emily Davies's demands for a university education for women (so they could become physicians, barristers and politicians) should be viewed in this light (Jordan, 1991:456). Mary Wollstonecraft had already foreseen the need for better instruction for women so they could take up employment as teachers, but also as physicians, nurses, midwives, or could set up 'businesses of various kinds,' if only they were educated in a more orderly manner (1999:229). With a decent education and the prospect of a good education and the prospect of a good

\[82\] Especially compared to working-class women.
\[84\] Mary Wollstonecraft had already foreseen the need for better instruction for women so they could take up employment as teachers (whether governessing, or teaching at the public schools she envisaged) (Rendall, 1985:125).
\[85\] Rendall, 1985:125.
job, ‘women would not then marry for a support, as men accept of places under
government, and neglect the implied duties; nor would an attempt to earn their own
subsistence, a most laudable one! sink them almost to the level of those poor abandoned
creatures who live by prostitution’ (Wollstonecraft, 1999:229).

**Employment and/or Marriage**

Even though the emphasis in the English women’s movement appeared to be primarily
(or even exclusively) concerned with women gaining access to the public sphere,
Barbara Caine notes an ‘ever-increasing recognition of the extent of Victorian feminist
concern with the oppression of women in domestic life, in marriage, and in all forms of
sexual relations’ (1992:2). As I have argued before, the most pressing point made by the
feminist campaigns (centring on women and marriage) was that a considerable minority
of women would fall short of the option to get married, and had little choice other than
to pursue paid employment (Levine, 1990:149). The issue of the employment of married
women was not immediately essential, although it was reflected upon whether, if
women were financially independent, they would be less inclined to get married in the
first place.86

For those women who had married, matrimony itself could either be a blessing or a
curse, and the *Ladies’ Treasury* shed light on both possibilities. In the article ‘Catechism
Before Marriage,’ for instance, Francis Power Cobbe is cited as she explains that several
of her married friends suffer from a peculiar headache, which she terms ‘Bad-Husband
Headaches.’87 They often feel quite unwell and have to stay in bed, but ‘a singular
immunity from the seizures seemed to be enjoyed when any pleasant society was
expected, or when their husbands happened to be in a different part of the country’
(612).88 On the other end of the spectrum, views are offered on how a good marriage is
to be sustained. In 1871, Gail Hamilton once again ponders the institution of marriage,
more particularly the relationship between husband and wife. She stresses that
‘strength and individuality,’ rather than clingingness, are essential. A married woman
‘ought to have a sturdy independence [...]. She ought to hold herself a distinct human
being. To have oneness in marriage there must first be a twoness. There can be no
union where there is no separation’ (146).89 In the 1860s, the view that women were
simply ‘appendages to men’ was strongly opposed by the women’s movement (Jordan,

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86 The early campaigns of the 1850s and 1860s crucially focused on the difficulties of single women finding
suitable employment. There was little speculation on what married middle-class women’s work should entail.
87 ‘Catechism Before Marriage,’ the Rev. E. Hardy, November 1882, pp.611-613.
88 A remark which puts the image of fragile Victorian woman into a different light..
1991:455). Hamilton’s piece also echoes Wollstonecraft’s ideas that marriage should be a social contract between two equals. ‘The woman who strengthens her body and exercises her mind will [...] become the friend, and not the humble dependent of her husband [...]’ (Wollstonecraft, 1999:95). In ‘How to Manage a Husband,’ the author ‘Celebs,’ equally stresses the precondition of having an independent and wise woman as a wife. ‘A well-informed woman who does not parade her knowledge, whatever it is, has a great charm for a man [...]’ (18). ‘Does not the husband desire to have an intelligent companion, the children a mother who can teach them, and the servants an unexacting, considerate, and reasoning mistress?,’ the author asks.91

### 4.2.2 Conflicting Views

Although the articles I have analysed up to this point overall encourage women’s rights, the nature of the pieces proved neither explicitly feminist, nor overly conservative. At times the magazine veered towards more conventional points of view, while at others it veered towards feminist ideas. Again, while it may be tempting to label the Ladies’ Treasury as a periodical simply aspiring to commercial success without the willingness to take risks about controversial issues, I believe the Ladies’ Treasury merits attention for its editor’s attempt to put these various views before a broader audience. Readers were guarded not to be immediately put off by a radical content and a wider audience could be reached; an audience which included women who perhaps would not dream of touching a blatanty feminist publication. To sustain this balancing act, negative opinions were printed as well. I first discuss this rationale, and then return to the difficulty of defining feminism in the Victorian period.

One of those more negative views aired in the Ladies’ Treasury was an article by Justin McCarthy, politician and writer, in the February 1871 issue of the Treasury of Literature.92 His article ‘The Influence of Women in the Politics of England’ begins with a quotation from Madame Emile de Girardin,93 who once said that ‘every man was governed by his

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91 This is also what Wollstonecraft advocated: a marriage of rational love, based on friendship and respect (Mellor, 1993:34). A marriage becomes a social contract between two equals. The reality, however, often proved very different: ‘[...] the only way women can rise in the world, - by marriage. And this desire making mere animals of them, when they marry they act as such children may be expected to act [...]’ (1999:74).
93 Delphine de Girardin (née Gay) (1804-1855) was a French authoress. She was the wife of the French journalist, publicist and politician Emile de Girardin.
wife except one, and he was governed by another man's wife' (51). Although the author immediately admits that this statement might be a bit exaggerated, he nonetheless claims 'it is certain that the soft, low voice of woman has long governed the politics of England to a degree whereof probably most people have but little notion' (51). In his account, McCarthy states he does not intend to discuss women's suffrage, but 'rather [wants] to speak of that kind of influence which women have long exercised in politics [...] often a corrupting influence' (51). Although he does not aim to shock anyone, especially not the supporters of woman's suffrage, of which he claims to be 'one of its sincere and candid advocates,' he does refer to times in which universal suffrage will be demanded for England. The time is not yet, however, and '[m]eanwhile, woman will be allowed to ascend by gradual elevation towards what Mr. Mill considers her legitimate sphere, or be permitted, if you prefer to look at the subject with Mr. Carlyle's eyes, to descend an inclined plane towards that bottomless pit whither womanhood suffrage is to be followed by doghood suffrage' (51). In the article, the politician goes on to argue that despite not being able to vote themselves, English women have always had their share in the practical rule of the country. Their influence has been 'far too great, because it has been irresponsible and illegitimate [...]. There is not an injustice known to the political system of England which has not been favoured, abetted, struggled for, begged for, wheedled for, intrigued for, by women' (55). McCarthy was certainly not alone in holding that view. From the 1830s onwards, several pamphlets and sermons raged against excessive influence claimed by or on behalf of women (Caine 1992:46). In Sarah Ellis's The Trials of Everyday Married Life, for example, women are accused of imposing their wills 'by the sheer force of personality, by manipulative charm, by plain meanness or by claiming to be ill - invalid or hysterical women could yield formidable powers' (Perkin, 1994:88). In contrast, in the June 1868 issue of Woman's World, the anonymous author of an article entitled 'Woman's Protest' discusses several arguments that opposers of female suffrage use. The unwarranted influence of women forms one example. The author of the piece, however, disavows this view entirely:
Another class of objectors say that “women have quite enough influence privately,” and the men, by dint of soft words, succeed in persuading some women that this is the case, and then the dutiful woman accepts her husband’s or lover’s words, and thinks that this is her own real opinion. Nothing of the sort! On probing to the bottom of these reasons we only see a reflex of the man’s opinion, and in his turn the man repeats again his own aphorism, and says, forsooth, that “the women of England would rather hold votes!” Now if it depended upon the publicly declared desire of the women of England, and they could once be allowed to say exactly what they wished without thought or fear of men, we would have Women’s suffrage to-morrow [...] (87).

McCarthy ends his article on a more positive note, with the words that he ‘cannot refrain from saying a few words in praise of the ability, moderation, discretion and gracefulness with which the English women of a very different class – the English women like Helen Taylor [John Stuart Mill’s stepdaughter] demand the vote for their sex [...]’ (55). Nevertheless, he does not necessarily agree with them.

Unfavourable views on women’s emancipation were certainly not limited to contributions by men such as McCarthy, and some critiques by women can hardly be termed ‘friendly’ towards members of their own sex. In an article published in the Treasury of Literature in 1868, ‘A Woman’ addresses the question of whether her sex should be permitted to vote. According to the author, ‘much has been said for and against women being permitted to have a voice in the government of the country, but the argument on each side, like a proverb, cuts both ways. Women who own property because of the fruits of their labour should be recognised as true individuals and in their hands, surely suffrage would not be misused’ (171). However, ‘money-getting’ women, whether as farmers or traders, are in the minority. Weak women, then, form the majority and the author strongly feels that the franchise should not be extended to this part of her sex (174). She goes on to argue (and eventually concludes) that ‘the safety of the country is better lodged in men’s hands than in women’s, by reason of sex and education. There is no equality between the sexes, mentally or physically and not all the training in the world will make men and women equal’ (174). Although she does not explicitly mention Wollstonecraft, ‘A Woman’ notes that in the French Revolution,

95 ‘Woman’s Protest,’ Woman’s World, June 1868, pp.87-88.
96 There were significant antifeminist representations by women writers as well. Although until recently such authors were marginalised, scholarship by Valerie Saunders (1996) and Tamara S. Wagner (2009) focuses on individual cases and deals with writers such as Linton, Yonge, Humphry-Ward and Oliphant.
97 ‘Should Women be Permitted to Vote,’ vol.V, no.5, New Series, November 1868, pp.171-174. We cannot be certain, of course, that the author is indeed of the female sex.
women lost their feminine attributes in their desire for political power, and ‘became a blot on the noble name of ‘woman.’ In conclusion, in all ages, the interference of women in the legislature has proved ‘either ridiculous, useless, or fatal’ (174). With this last sentence she firmly rejects earlier attempts of emancipated women in the past.

Although the article above was printed in its entirety, the same November issue accommodates a note on Mrs E.C. Stanton. She is described by the Ladies’ Treasury as ‘one of the most prominent promoters of "The Equal Rights Association," of dignified manner and simple attire,’ and ‘earnest in her desire to benefit women, and render them self-reliant, if not independent’ (72). E. Stanton was most famous for her ‘Declaration of Sentiments’ in which she demanded ‘an equal voice for women in government, law, education, in the professions, and in the church,’ in keeping with the language of the Declaration of Independence (Showalter, 2009:57). By signing the Declaration, signatories committed themselves to ‘use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object,’ despite ‘misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule’ (ibid.58). It is undoubtedly surprising to find an article which refuses to see women as political citizens, printed only a few pages before a raving piece about Stanton, who emerged as one of the dominant personalities of the American feminist movement of the 1850s, holding radical views (Rendall, 1985:301).98

The publication of very different articles in the same month illustrates the magazine’s refusal to adopt one specific point of view. A reprint from the Saturday Review on ‘The Latest Movement for the Better Education of Girls’ is as confusing.” The article starts out with an account of the last annual meeting of the University of London about the admission of women to degrees in the university. It is explained that the senate was fully alive to the importance of improving the general education of women, but that the majority felt that women ‘should not be allowed to compete with the opposite sex’ (146). The Ladies’ Treasury then refers to the SR’s own commentary, quoting its conservative view of women: ‘The Saturday Review, as if in opposition to the preceding educational course of study, remarks: - “Men do not care for brains in excess in women”’ (147). The Ladies’ Treasury also copies that ‘the true domain of women is the home’, and ‘if […] women are clever, they are too commonly blue-stockings, and let the whole household go by the board for the sake of fruitless studies […]’ (147). The compiler of the article in the Treasury of Literature, however, is keen to point out the

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98 E.C. Stanton was definitely influenced by Wollstonecraft. She had read A Vindication, discussed Wollstonecraft at length at the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and published articles on her (Botting, 2004:26-27). Both Stanton’s speeches and letters contain substantial parallels to the arguments of A Vindication, and in the History of Women’s Suffrage (published in six vols. between 1881 and 1922), too, Wollstonecraft’s name is mentioned prominently.

inconsistency of the SR, stating that, in a later article ‘the writer’s ire is excited at the non-culture of women’s intellects exemplified in a bride’s inanity and ignorance, and the result – a bridegroom’s disenchantment.’ The compiler then goes on to quote the particular contradictory second piece in the SR that claims ‘conversation is difficult in the case of a refined creature who is as ignorant as a Hottentot’ (147). As with the subtle location of the article on Elizabeth C. Stanton, once more the Ladies’ Treasury carefully positions itself as a defender of women’s rights.

Presenting conflicting articles was not exclusively characteristic of the Ladies’ Treasury. Within the same publication niche, its rival the EDM also showed a vacillation between articles in favour of and against women’s rights. Beth Palmer notes that in the EDM, the opinions in articles, reviews and the Englishwoman’s Conversazione, were varied and often contradictory (2011:33). Samuel Beeton’s editorial stance, for instance, had always been cautiously pro-divorce, but spelling out this proposition as an option in a mainstream magazine was nevertheless still too radical (Hughes, 2005:260). Although Beeton ran compassionate articles on campaigns to give married women more control over their own property, he remained very careful ‘to neutralize any suggestion that any of it represented a slippery slide towards systematic reform’ (ibid. 173). Hence, while the EDM sometimes printed pieces that would be controversial when standing on their own (or when surrounded by similar articles, as was the case in overtly feminist publications), its more daring pro-women articles were carefully embedded in a safer, domestic context. Additionally, most of the articles supportive of women’s rights were composed in an analogous manner: broadly supportive, but ‘stopping short of any radical declarations that might upset a general readership’ (ibid.260-261).

Like the Ladies’ Treasury, the EDM discussed issues of women’s education and employment. In ‘About Women – To Women,’ the question of whether barriers in the way of women’s work exist, is termed ‘a serious one, and should be put seriously.’ It is stated that middle-class girls are taught ‘accomplishments,’ but these are forgotten over time, or what remains of it proves fairly useless. Part of the problem, another article on ‘Teachers and Teaching’ states, is that ‘the instruction given to a girl during her schooldays is the same, whether she is likely to spend her life in the quiet round of household employment, or [...] obliged to earn her own living in any calling open to female competition [...]’ (18). Women are not trained to do proper work, and the little they are taught is often inadequate. ‘When the education of a “young lady” of the middle class in England commences, the first thing is to divest her of all responsibility’ (19). In ‘Woman’s Rights,’ women’s suffrage is defined as an important issue, although many women ‘care nothing at all about this question,’ mainly because ‘the agitators in

100 ‘About Women – To Women,’ EDM, March 1873, issue 99, pp.127-129.
101 ‘Teachers and Teaching,’ EDM, January 1865, pp.18-20.
this movement have so often forgotten their womanliness [...] it is no wonder that tender, sensitive women shrive from the question’ (95). Nevertheless, the EDM’s stance on responsibilities is developed within the argument that the home was the appointed scene of women’s labour. The articles on female education and women’s work mentioned above acknowledge that women must be educated in more than accomplishments, but the EDM unmistakably stressed that the cultivation of the heart was paramount (Beetham, 1996:65).

When looking at other niche magazines for women outside of mainstream periodicals, conflicting messages can be detected in very different ones, from the religious women’s press to overtly feminist journals. As an example of the former, the Christian Lady’s Magazine (1834-1849), for instance, did not clearly posit itself either when it came to female political engagement, and Kathryn Gleadle also stresses the magazine’s desire to remain sensitive to the social conservatism of its potential readership, as well as ‘the multifariousness of contemporary discourses concerning the female politician’ (2007:104). At the other end of the spectrum, even more proto-feminist magazines were not always very straightforward. Although the Woman Question is discussed often enough, the tone in most articles printed in Woman’s World (1868), for instance, is careful. This is illustrated by the editor’s stance in answer to the a received reader’s letter: ‘The result is that, although personally neutral, I am far from being indifferent; that I cannot but feel, despite of early prejudice and feminine scruples, that this Woman Question is winning its way, and that it is based on reason and justice.’ In the same month, a letter to this Editor, signed by ‘Your Butterfly,’ takes a stronger stand. In it, Butterfly states:

As for the women’s questions – the suffrage, increased education, and the married women’s bill, I have pondered lightly on them all, and find little of real reason to urge against such changes. Anything would be better than being classed as silly and frivolous; blamed for looking after husbands, and found fault with for not electing for the happiness of home; told to get married, and make our happiness in the magic circle, when every one knows that there are not enough homes and husbands for the women of England. I do not want to vote myself; but if other Butterflies do I hope they will get it [...] (45).

The same Butterfly also attacks the EDM. Although she calls it a popular and respectable magazine, she ‘should like to light up the November bonfires with some of its pages’

102 ‘Woman’s Rights,’ A Woman, issue 86, February 1872, p.95.
103 ‘On the Woman Question,’ Woman’s World, November 1868, pp.26-29.
104 ‘Our Special Butterfly,’ November 1868, pp.44-47.
(45), for the printed experiences and confidences found there.  The ‘heart of the mischief’ is defined as ‘the whole literary, or rather unliterary and lowering tone of this class of provision for certain feminine tastes.’ Butterfly insists ‘on magazines being magazines, fashion books, and the advantage of personal opinions and interchanges of advice being kept for family discussion’ (46).

It seems quite straightforward why the presentation of mixed messages to the public is an intelligent move. From a commercial angle, covering both ‘advanced’ and more conservative stances attracts two kinds of readership, and keeps both interested. Even fin-de-siècle magazines were known for their mixed format. In her article, Emma Liggins discusses Woman (1890-1912) and Young Woman (1892-1915), both of which printed articles supportive of the New Woman, as well as more conservative material directly aimed at woman as homemaker and fashion lover (2007:217). Fin-de-siècle editors’ and publishers’ strategies included a coverage of both issues that concerned the ‘New Woman’ reader, ‘without alienating those who wished to take up the “dominant position” of reading as housewives or wives-to-be’ (2007:229). Young Woman, for instance ‘retained enough of the traditional element of the domestic magazine, such as interviews, household advice, and romantic fiction, to secure a lasting position in the market’ (Liggins, 2007:223). The same conclusion holds true for the Ladies’ Treasury: by presenting both views, sometimes only separated by a page, several ‘kinds’ of women readers could be re-assured. Offering discrepant views can thus be viewed as part of that strategy. Additionally, as even feminist discourse was strongly entangled with domesticity, it could be difficult to think outside the dominant views.

Next to the ideological explanation (leaving middle-class women the choice to make up their own minds) and commercial reasoning (not ‘picking sides’), the presentation of opposing views should also be viewed in the light of the confusing landscape of Victorian feminism. In reality, ‘feminism’ was often quite diverse and complex. A suitable definition of what it meant to belong to this group was yet to be devised, and drawing up a delineated list of who was a feminist and who was not a complicated task. Not only were many proclaimed feminists entangled in the web of predominant domestic ideology, also some women (and men) who were said to belong to the anti-feminist side were strongly involved in women’s rights (Levine, 1990:10). Feminist discourse often focused on practical and political initiatives that were linked to ‘assumptions and principles that [feminist] opponents accepted’ (Jordan, 1991:443).

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105 Supposedly ‘Butterfly’ is a woman, although this is never certain.
106 In Eve’s Renegades, Valerie Saunders equally argues that we way we define antifeminism is naturally linked to our perception of feminism itself (Eve’s 3), and existence of a large grey zone between the two extremes is not to be overlooked either (Wagner, 2009:4).
need to change certain reforms in education and law might even be supported by exactly those people who were the determined *opponents* of women’s suffrage altogether (Caine, 1992:5-6). This is once more a consequence of the feminist movement’s domestic roots. Some figures who are still viewed as famous supporters of women’s domesticity, reveal to be less conventional upon closer inspection. Sarah Stickney Ellis forms a perfect illustration. Always cited as the author of well-known conduct books, her work as a missionary activist is equally important. It was a framework she drew on to place women in a key role in the creation of a Christian and civilized society, and which she used to propose a worldly and self-determining femininity (Twells, 2006:267). Her participation in the movements for abolition of slavery, working-class education and temperance is also understated (ibid.). It is important to remember that Sarah Ellis produced her anti-feminist writing of the 1830s and 1840s in the context of her missionary philanthropic commitments. She campaigned on behalf of women but also struggled with the meaning of the public/private divide and its application to women’s lives (Caine, 1992:52). Home comforts were the result of active domesticity: being good wives and useful daughters and mothers required that women had a knowledge of national affairs and were involved in missionary philanthropy (Twells, 2006:277). Mrs Ellis’s plans for daughters were also expansive in scope, for in *Daughters of England* (1842) she urged young women to acquire ‘a general knowledge of the political and social state of the country in which we live, and indeed of all countries.’ Knowledge of social issues such as slavery, temperance, and cruelty to animals was essential to girls’ education (ibid.278).

Although underlying ideas would differ, statements about women’s knowledge and education can hence be found in conservative and protofeminist circles alike (Jordan, 1991:439). While education was increasingly viewed as the best preparation for marriage and maternity in conservative circles, as mentioned earlier, Emily Davies and others rather saw women’s education as a way of ‘strengthening the human spirit’ (Jordan, 1991:441). Easley illuminates the difficult position that Victorian feminists occupied by summarizing Harriet Martineau’s essay ‘On Female Education’ (1822, the *Monthly Repository*): ‘[Martineau] both placates conservative readers (women’s role was a domestic companion to her husband), and, interspersed with this essentializing discourse, is a defence of women’s rights to equal education’ (Easley, 1999:82-83). Hence, as Easley continues, ‘instead of imagining feminism as an either/or preposition

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108 She also attacked marriage and the destiny of married women very harshly. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Ellis did see women’s subordinate position as a result of their intellectual inferiority, while activists such as Emily Davies stressed the conventions and social arrangements as the true cause (Caine 1992:52).
Balancing Acts in Femininities

(that women must choose between domesticity and public life), [Martineau] demonstrated how women could achieve both simultaneously through subversive forms of writing and seeing’ (1999:94).

Although I have focused on the seven-year-period of the *Treasury of Literature*, the *Ladies’ Treasury*’s ambiguous approach to women’s rights proves not to be typical for a particular stretch of time in the magazine’s run. Feminist views can be detected in earlier years, while in the fin de siècle, backwards views about women are printed. A comparison between two articles, one from the very last year of the *Ladies’ Treasury*’s existence (in the fin-de-siècle period) and one from the 1860s immediately underline this. In 1895, an article entitled ‘The Difference Existing in the Mental and Physical Powers of Men and Women’ shows that, despite the advancement of the age, the presentation of contradictory voices about emancipation remained apparent.109 The article quite prominently states that ‘in general, women’s thought is less methodical and less deep. The arts, sciences, and philosophy owe their progress more to man than to woman [...] and even in the arts of cooking and dressmaking, when men undertake them they often excel’ (515). In the second instalment of the article, it is said that ‘various forms of abnormal mental conditions, closely connected with emotions, such as hysteria, are more frequent in women,’ and that their ‘appetites are not so strong, and [...] passions less intense’ (615) Clearly, although debates about the Woman Question were often approached from a different angle, the magazine’s dubious attitude had not vanished.

In July 1862,110 more than thirty years earlier, the *Ladies’ Treasury* issued a much more vehement article, though completely different in subject. The article discussed ‘The Power of the Husband over the Wife’, an abridged and translated version of Ernest Legouvé’s *Moral History of Woman* (1849).111 Legouvé, a well-known French feminist, advocated a wide range of legal reforms to improve the status of women. His main stance was the argument for ‘equality in difference,’ in which he insisted on the necessity for separate but equal spheres for men and women (Offen, 1986:454). In the article he addresses the property question throughout history:

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Since the government of the family is the true women’s realm, it is just that she should be queen in it. Now, putting what can hardly be called an extreme case. Over whom does she reign with any individual power? Over the children the father alone exercises parental authority in the eye of the law. Over the husband? The husband alone is sole master of the household. Over herself? No. The wife owes obedience to her husband. Over the servants? The master of the house can dismiss or engage them as he pleases. Over the real estate? The wife cannot even touch it. Over the personal property? Her own, unless by arrangement previous to marriage, does not even belong to her. Now what is a wife who is without control over her husband, children, servants, furniture of real estate? (202).

Legouvé stresses women’s vital biological and social role as mothers, and education, he argues, must be improved so that women can take care of the upbringing of their children (Offen, 1986:472). Because mothers usually spend more time with their children, they effectively supplement the worldly expertise of the father, especially what schooling and marriage is concerned (ibid.471).  

### 4.3 Conclusion

I have attempted to show that, despite not being a feminist journal, to disregard the Ladies’ Treasury (and other mainstream women’s magazines, for that matter) in a study of the Woman Question in Victorian England would be a mistake. The selected articles enlighten us on the issue of women’s rights and function as an essential resource towards a better comprehension of middle-class issues of femininity, and their treatment in the magazine. The reasons for stressing the importance of women’s education (as a prerequisite for being a good mother, enjoying a good marriage, and finding suitable employment) appear in all articles that deal positively with the Woman Question. This should not surprise us, as Victorian feminism evolved out of eighteenth-century thinking. Despite important changes, the legacy of that previous age was still very much present. Mary Wollstonecraft’s pleas for women’s education precisely focus

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112 Legouvé’s ideas are very Wollstonecraftian as he offers a concrete programme for his claims and insists on the radical restructuring of institutional arrangements and women’s social roles. Another detail that renders Legouvé very much akin to Mary Wollstonecraft is how he equally (and explicitly) took issue with Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s ideas on female education, put forth in the latter’s *Emile, ou L’éducation* (1762).
on their roles as mothers, partners, and valuable members of society, and can (indirectly) be traced in the articles.

In the second part of this chapter, I have discussed the presentation of conflicting views in the magazine. The *Ladies’ Treasury* published both negative, as well as very positive (or feminist) articles, and its own editorial stance (and its comments on more negative articles) are tied in with more progressive views. The printing of diverse articles hence sheds light on the business aspect of magazine publishing and the often dual approach that was necessary in order to stay on the market. Additionally, publishing seemingly opposing views should also be linked to the complexity of Victorian feminism, and its connection to middle-class domesticity.
Chapter 5.
Naming in the *Ladies’ Treasury*: Would a Rose by Any Other Name Smell as Sweet?

*Case Study No.4: The Many Names of Mrs Warren*

‘It is necessary sometimes to establish one’s identity. I am led to this remark in consequence of being so often in letters addressed as ‘Sir.’ I have not, however, the least pretension to the intellectual superiority of man. I am simply Mrs. Warren’ (*Editor’s New Year’s Address,* LT, January 1886)
‘In the periodical press of Europe anonymous writing is the rule, pseudonymous common, and (except in France) avowed authorship is rare.’ (Anonymous in 1871, cited in Griffin, 1999:884)

‘And if a text should be discovered in a state of anonymity – whether as a consequence of an accident or the author’s explicit wish – the game becomes one of rediscovering the author.’ [...] ‘Since literary anonymity is not tolerable, we can accept it only in the guise of an enigma.’ (Foucault, 2006:285)

According to Cheyne Brady, one of the editors of the Dublin University Magazine (1833-1877),¹ ‘half the pleasure of periodical reading consists in deciphering the style, and detecting the hidden under the editorial We [...]’ (Liddle, 1997). Eileen M. Curran has recently repeated that it is in our natural instincts to want to discover the concealed authors of particular articles.² Such a quest becomes even more attractive when that task is difficult, let alone when we try to identify the editor of a leading magazine. As I have discussed in chapter two, Mrs Warren is scarcely mentioned in reference works and scholarly publications, notwithstanding her additional occupation as the authoress of numerous domestic guides, which assured her undeniable popularity in Victorian households.³ While my first case study remedied the lack of biographical information, it proved more than an intriguing addition to the Victorian archive. This research also provided conclusive proof for a hypothesis I had posed earlier when first starting on this chapter: that ‘E.W. Francis’ and ‘Mrs. Eliza Warren’ are one and the same person. The census record for her death gives her name as Eliza Warren Francis, née Jervis, simultaneously revealing that she was married twice: Walter Warren was her husband until 1844, and in 1851 she married Frederic Francis.

In this chapter, I will attempt to determine the house style of the Ladies’ Treasury as well as to gain an understanding of Mrs Warren’s continuous command as sole editor. The seemingly easy task of collecting all the articles signed by the editor, published during the magazine’s run of nearly four decades, immediately revealed the complexity of the matter. Apart from the rather small number of articles (or leaders) signed by ‘the Editor’ or ‘the Editress,’ there appeared to be a myriad of articles published under ‘Eliza Warren’ and ‘Mrs. Warren,’ as well as numerous writings with comparable signatures.⁴

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¹ It changed its name to University Magazine in 1878 and ceased publication in 1880 (Tilley, 2009:183).
³ Corroborated by the number of books she wrote (see appendix 1) and the numerous reprints and new editions that were promoted (see chapter 2, section 2.2.2).
⁴ A full list of these signatures can be found in appendix 5.
These abbreviations ranged from a simple ‘E. Warren’ to ‘Warren Francis,’ ‘E.W. Francis,’ W.F. Jervis,’ ‘E.W.,’ ‘E.W.F,’ ‘E.J.W.F.,” ‘E.F.,’ ‘E.,’ and ‘W.’. A particular slip-up in the publication history of the magazine, in which an article from a series usually signed by ‘Mrs. Warren’ (accidentally) appeared under the signature of ‘E.W.F.’ aroused my curiosity. The discovery of this inconsistency, complemented with a closer study of all articles signed with these variations and the knowledge of her private life, confirmed my assumption that most of the initials referred to the same person, Mrs Warren, editor.5

In this chapter, by unravelling her editorial pieces and readers’ addresses in the Ladies’ Treasury, combined with a study of her household books, I construct a remarkable picture of Mrs Warren’s reign as editor of one of the most successful Victorian women’s periodicals. As Foster rightfully points out in the final paragraphs of his essay ‘In the Name of the Author’ (2002),

a literary attribution, whether accurate, or disputed, or phony, or omitted altogether, is no less essential to the work of criticism than is true of other parts of the literary text. Without considering the various ways in which the speaker of the text, as well as the speaker(s) in the text, may be constituted, attribution becomes a pointless game of pin the tale on the donkey (394-395).

Indeed, although the practice of attribution is primarily engaged with discovering the identity behind anonymous or pseudonymous texts, I believe it is essential to consider other elements connected to the authorial identities Mrs Warren adopted. I analyse the commercial as well as ideological motives, strategies and methods employed in nineteenth-century periodical press marketing, and draw upon different theories on authorship, the use of signatures, and branding. In order to gain a better understanding of the use of Mrs Warren’s names, I focus on her calculated use of four core signatures: ‘the Editor,’ ‘the Editress,’ ‘Eliza Warren,’ and ‘Mrs. Warren.’6 I am particularly interested in the way in which variations upon a name within a single publication are used to attract specific readership, as well as the impetus behind such acts. Who speaks in the text, and to whom does the author (or the character) direct her- or himself? By means of this case study, insights on the concealed ways of the magazine and publishing business in general are provided, with a focus on the tactics involved. However, before I

5 Both ‘editress’ and ‘editor’ are Mrs Warren’s terms. It will become clear that I am aware of the gender issues involved (see section 5.2.1).
6 From now on, I will use Mrs Warren as basic name reference to avoid confusion. I choose Mrs Warren as a reference, and not Eliza Jervis (her maiden name), or Eliza Warren Francis (both her husbands’ names), because she was known by most Victorians as ‘Mrs. Warren.’
discuss the rationale of Mrs Warren’s multiple signatures, and construe a detailed analysis of the articles in question, I position my research in an appropriate framework.

5.1 Authorship: The Use of Names

One of the most important theorists in defining authorship is without a doubt the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault. Like Roland Barthes’s influential essay ‘Death of the Author’ in 1968, Foucault’s work is indispensable (or rather incontournable) in any discussion of authors and texts. Although Foucault’s oeuvre is extensive within a wider cultural and intellectual context, in this dissertation I actively engage only with ‘What is an author?’ (1969). In this essay he describes the author’s name as being more than merely an element of discourse: ‘it performs a certain role with regard to narrative discourse, assuring a classificatory function’ (Foucault, 2006:284). The author’s name allows us to group a certain number of texts. As such, it is possible to differentiate texts, contrast them to other texts, and establish a relationship among different texts by one author.

The idea that an author’s name determines ‘the status of the discourse within a society and culture’ was devised by Foucault and famously termed the author-function (2006:284). This author-function denotes the various ways in which the name of the author functions in the discourse: an author exists only as a function of a written work, as a part of its structure, but not necessarily of the interpretive process. By ascribing an oeuvre to a name, Foucault suggests that it is ensured that the oeuvre ‘operates according to certain conventions, that it is allowed certain privileges, and that it carries a particular status’ (Bennett, 2005:23). King and Plunkett point out that using Foucault’s concept is helpful when considering nineteenth-century authorship: ‘different author-functions were the product of the contrary publishing practices employed by distinct sectors of the literary marketplace; they also entailed different psychological relations between text and reader’ (2005:291). With regard to the press, the heterogeneity and blurred boundaries of the periodical genre are apparent in terms of the producers of the

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1 In which he states that biographical information of the author should not be linked to his/her work, and that literary criticism should not be concerned with authorial intention.
periodical. Margaret Beetham pinpoints the problematic concept of authorship in this context, mainly because of the number of people involved in the process (1990:25). For magazines, collective enterprises that almost never consisted of a single author as the sole producer of meaning, Turner proposes an adapted version of Foucault’s term, the ‘editor-function’ (2000:238). As with the supplement and the discussion of women’s rights, the Ladies’ Treasury once more proves challenging material, as its ‘editor-function’ is blurred from the very beginning. It is, for instance, impossible to argue that the editorial identity of Mrs Warren was intended to be understood as female, for she used both ‘the Editor’ and ‘the Editress’ (and many more variations).

In my research on the Ladies’ Treasury, I am particularly interested in another perspective of the author-function that Foucault theorized: how the act of writing itself produced multiple selves (Griffin, 1999:890). I return to this idea in my case study and in the discussion of the gendered use of Mrs Warren’s main variations on her own name. Although Foucault warns against keeping the author’s name in mind during interpretation, for readers tend to link the title of the author to the work in question and assign particular standards to it, this practice is the one in the Ladies’ Treasury. Mrs Warren created four key variations on her editorial ‘self’ under which she published various, and very different kinds of articles. This practice specifically invites readers to consciously link one variation of the author’s work to a certain type of writing; each name presents certain boundaries and limitations.

Foucault distinguishes between the proper name and the author’s name. Although the name of an author does not necessarily invoke the real, physical writer, it signals the status of a certain kind of writing. While a proper name designates a particular person, an author’s name does more. It works as a principal classification, and establishes a relationship of homogeneity and filiation between texts. Griffin argues that this difference between the proper name and the author’s name even exists when the author of a work remains unknown. The phrase ‘by the author of,’ for instance, creates the relation of filiation without needing a name to do so. In that case, ‘the author-function describes precisely a function, which may be fulfilled by a name but does not require one. It is first of all an empty function, a structural blank space, which may be signed or unsigned depending on the circumstances’ (Griffin, 1999:882). This, too, is appropriate with regard to the Ladies’ Treasury, as several instalments were not signed by Mrs Warren as editor, but ‘by the author of How I Managed My House’ or ‘by the mother of a family.’

Other variations can also be related to the author-function, such as the use of pseudonyms by the author of a work. Depending on the circumstances of publication, for instance, single pseudonyms could be read as a collective signature.

* See appendix 5, section [miscellaneous].
Similarly, the lack of any authorial name could refer to the presence of a hidden but singular hand, but might just as well imply the corporate authority of a magazine. As Eileen Curran stresses, ‘one of the justifications for anonymous publication was that each article spoke with the authority of the journal [...]’ Accepting that argument would mean that we need only a “biography” of the journal [...]’\textsuperscript{10} Before presenting Mrs Warren’s names in a case study and comparing her editorial style to that of other women editors, I want to focus on the theoretical angles provided by Gerard Genette. The reasons for authors (or editors of a magazine) not to sign a work, signing it with a dubious signature, or even ‘straightforwardly’ with their own name, form the subject of the next paragraphs.

5.1.1 Anonymity

While, as Genette states in his Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation (2001),\textsuperscript{11} nowadays we record the name (either authentic or fictive) of the author in the peritext,\textsuperscript{12} this has not always been the case. Not signing a text, or signing it with ‘anonymous,’ is much more than an exclusive characteristic of manuscript culture, and was still very much en vogue during a long period of the Victorian age. Broadly, anonymity can be defined as ‘the absence of reference to the legal name of the writer on the title page,’ which is the case for a very large number of books published in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Griffin, 1999:882). During this period, Griffin argues, the practice was as common as signed authorship (ibid.). Anonymity was characteristic for the book market, but was also the dominant convention in the monthly and quarterly periodical press until well into the Victorian age (at least until the 1860s and 1870s). Only in the second half of the period did anonymity gradually disappear (a development usually linked to the rise of New Journalism). In the decades before, however, the impersonality of the unsigned article was continued from the eighteenth-century periodical and remained the rule: weekly reviews and established daily newspapers in particular long upheld the tradition of anonymity, and, as such, of unity (Law, 2008). For this ‘old journalism,’ the making of a newspaper was considered a collective endeavour, and staged a unified persona.

\textsuperscript{10} Curran, Summer 2002 (http://victorianresearch.org/Obscure_contributors.html) (consulted 23.9.2010).
\textsuperscript{11} Originally published in French as Seuils in 1987.
\textsuperscript{12} In chapter 3 I showed how Genette divides the ‘paratext’ of a book, containing all the information we can gather about the mediation between a text and the various institutions it comes to deal with, into two categories. At the level of the ‘peritext,’ all aspects of the published text that pertain to its physical appearance are situated, while the ‘epitext’ level contains what would commonly be referred to as the context of this appearance (reviews, sales, canonisation, etc.) (2001:37).
Often, the use of the plural ‘we’ maintained and reinforced collaborative authority (Nash, 2010:60). The New Journalism, by contrast, advocated signature and the ‘disruption of the monolithic authority of a periodical,’ of fictional ‘unity’ (Brake, 1986, 4-5).

Before this gradual change from prevalent anonymity to signature was completed, the motivations for publishing anonymously varied. In his discussion of texts and signatures, Genette starts out with the concept of anonymity and states that, although anonymity seems intrinsically absolute, gradations are nevertheless possible. He mentions false anonymities, or cryptic onymities, de facto anonymities (derived not from any decision but rather from an absence of information), and anonymities of convenience (2001:42). Some authors opted for anonymity if they felt that their authorial persona conflicted with their daily one. This allowed them to ventriloquize the required viewpoints without literally subscribing to them (Genette, 2001:44). It was often a way to preserve contributions which, without the protection of formal anonymity, would no longer have been permitted to appear freely as they had covertly (Griffin, 1999:885). Similarly, less eminent and more impoverished contributors could undertake work for different periodicals and draw on analogous material for a variety of journals (Brake, 1986:5).

Foster, too, despite his focus on the Early Modern period, emphasizes that although some authors did consciously choose anonymity, they did not necessarily share the same underlying motivations. In this period, anonymous publication had less to do with fear of censure, punishment, or shame, than with the ordinary gratifications of artistic performance. ‘Anonymous publication was a fundamentally democratic activity that allowed writers from every social rank to publish and to seek recognition for their work […]’ (Foster, 2002:376-379). Nevertheless, other reasons for anonymity, such as aristocratic or gendered reticence, religious self-effacement, and anxiety over public exposure should also be included (Griffin, 2003:7). Genette adds hope of an unprejudiced reception, and the desire to deceive (2001:43).

In the Victorian age, the anonymity of convenience was quite common, but frequently, instead of the author’s name, the phrase ‘by the author of’ would be employed. This formulaic turn became relatively common after Austen and Scott. This

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13 Nevertheless, signature per se was not a form of personalizing that newspapers would readily adopt (although an increasing emphasis on the individual was a characteristic that later became associated with the New Journalism) (Brake, 1986:8).

14 Onymity is the signing of a work with one’s legal name (see section 5.1.3).

15 Although the act of choosing should also be treated with some care, as authors were not necessarily in control of such matters.

16 Although Genette points out that anonymity could be used as a precautionary measure in the face of persecution by state of church (2001:43).
type of anonymity generally had nothing to do with a fiercely protected incognito, and more often than not, the public was well aware of the identity of the author (and, subsequently not in the least surprised to find no mention of the name on the title page) (Genette, 2001:43). Moreover, as Rachel Buurma asserts, precisely because the public at the time was confronted with a broader range of possibilities for understanding the attribution of discourse to an authorizing and authorial agent, they ‘employed a more active understanding of the process by which this attribution occurred than we do today’ (2007:26). In itself, the phrase ‘by the author of’ constitutes a highly devious form, for it is a statement of identity precisely between two anonymities, ‘explicitly putting at the service of a new book the success of a previous one and, above all, managing to constitute an authorial entity without having recourse to any name, authentic or fiction’ (Genette, 2001:45). Genette cites Philippe Lejeune who claims that ‘someone doesn’t become an author until his second publication, when his name can appear at the head not only of his book but also of a list of works “By the same author’’’ (ibid.). This particular form of anonymity can be detected in many instances in the Ladies’ Treasury. Mrs Warren uses the descriptive signatures ‘by the author of,’ ‘by a mother,’ and ‘by the mother of a family’ to sign the serialized instalments of her work in the Ladies’ Treasury. While some of these texts initially appeared ‘covertly,’ later instalments would proudly flag the author’s name. Hence, Mrs Warren’s name is unlikely to have been a secret to the attentive magazine reader, and the phrases rather function as an advertisement for other publications (previous, or still to come). ‘A Series of Family Dinners and How to Carve Them,’17 introduces Mrs Warren at the beginning of the chapter as ‘Editor of The Ladies’ Treasury and Treasury of Literature; Author of “Cookery Cards for the Kitchen,” “How to Furnish a House at Small Expense,” “How I Managed my House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,” etc. etc.’ (2). The series ‘Cookery for All Incomes’18 is also preceded by a reference to Mrs Warren’s earlier writings (‘by the author of’). ‘Janet’s Experience in Housekeeping’ is written ‘by the author of ‘How I Managed My Home,’19 as is ‘Comfort for Small Incomes,’ while an instalment of ‘Cookery for Two Hundred Pounds a Year and for Greater and Lesser Incomes’ is openly signed by ‘Mrs. Warren, author of [...].’ Even more explicitly referring to female expertise, ‘How I Managed my House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year’ flaunts the signature ‘by the mother of a family’ while ‘How I Managed my

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18 In the January issue of 1870, vol.VIII, no.1, New Series, pp.4-7.
19 This particular case is explained in detail in section 5.2.4, as ‘Janet Winter’ is one of Mrs Warren’s characters.
Naming in the Ladies' Treasury

Children from Infancy to Marriage’ is signed by the slightly shorter ‘by a mother.’ I elaborate on such phrases in section 5.2.2.

If for a moment we return to Foucault’s concept of the author-function, it becomes clear that such shrewd employment of, or reference to, the author’s name is characteristic of the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within a society (Foucault, 2006:284). The way in which the name of the author is used is often telling, but when it is not used, the reasoning behind this omission can be vital too. Subsequently, ‘if a text should be discovered in a state of anonymity – whether as a consequence of an accident or the author’s explicit wish – the game becomes one of rediscovering the author’ (Foucault, 2006:285). The most pressing problem with many anonymous Victorian periodical contributors, however, is that they are still unknown to us after we learn their names. For a very long time, this applied to Mrs Warren, and the many variations on her name.

5.1.2 Pseudonymity

While anonymity can be defined broadly as the absence of reference to the legal name of the writer on the title page, pseudonymity is at once different and yet related to the practice of anonymity (Griffin, 1999:882). In her article ‘Anonymity, Corporate Authority, and the Archive: The production of Authorship in Late-Victorian England’ (2007), Buurma ponders this duality and states that ‘very much like anonymity, pseudonymity functions similarly: by flagging itself as false, it refuses to reveal the “true” authorial name for which it substitutes’ (2007:23). However, it enables the reading audience to forget the possibility that the text might not be seamlessly attached to a name signifying an individual author (24). Halkett and Laing’s Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publications in the English Language, 1475–1640 (1980) considers a work pseudonymous ‘if it bears an indication of authorship which is either fictitious, intended to conceal or mislead, or which may reasonably be thought to call for interpretation’ (1980:XXV). A large group of non-anonymous publications is that in which authorship is concealed, or partly revealed, by quasi-pseudonyms that are names either in abbreviated form or represented by initials (XXVI). Pseudonymity, then, should be placed within the larger set of practices that consist of attributing a book to

someone else than the author (Genette, 2001:47). Genette identifies several subcategories, ranging from the complete omission of a name (anonymity) to the case in which ‘a real author attributes a work to an imaginary author but does not produce any information about the latter, except the name (and there is no paratextual apparatus to substantiate).’

The use of fictive names, or pseudonyms, has long fascinated readers and inconvenienced academic researchers because the discovery of the underlying reason for the employment of a particular (fictive) signature produces revelations about author and text (Genette, 2001:46). Marie Maclean stresses that the use of pseudonyms is ‘endlessly instructive, whether they represent an attempt to acquire auctoritas and gravitas, or an attempt to shed them […]’ (1991:276). For instance, by discarding the identity that reveals the author’s social and genealogical place in society, and opting for a pseudonym, the chosen signature can offer a space in which to experiment with alternative cultural, social and gender identities, and forms of affiliation (Calé, 2006:5). Victorian editors and periodical contributors did not always know with great certainty who their readers were (Wiener, 1990:60). Even though the Ladies’ Treasury was aiming to attract a female readership by defining itself as a magazine for ‘ladies’ and by addressing the readers as ‘our countrywomen,’ the magazine did count men amongst its readers. The ‘Notice to Correspondents’ of May 1890, for instance, clearly states that they have ‘many enquiries from men, who seem to read the Ladies’ Treasury as much as women do, and frequently ask for information on some topics’ (320).

Interpreting the employment of pseudonyms is essential. As with anonymous signatures the reasons for employing pseudonyms can vary. Authors do not have to sign their works pseudonymously: they can, for example, ‘sign’ some of the works with their legal name and can sign others with a pseudonym. Genette cautions us about various ‘unsophisticated’ interpretations, as he terms them. He claims that texts signed with the patronymic are more acknowledged, or admitted to, because the author is,

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\textsuperscript{21} In between both extremities, he defines five other possible subtypes. The real author of a text can deceptively attribute a text to a known author (apocrypha), and this apocrypha can also be with permission of the other author (if a real author does not want to be identified, he finds another author who is willing to sign in his place). A reverse of the false attribution of a text is also thinkable: when someone ‘fallaciously attributes to himself, and thus “signs” with his own name, another person’s work,’ a procedure which is called plagiarism. Plagiarism with permission is equally an option, and is called ghost writing. A last option is when the real author attributes a work to an author who, this time, is imaginary but provided with some attributes (referred to as ‘imagining the author’).

\textsuperscript{22} In nineteenth-century England, a male pseudonym could aid women to write more freely, as novelists Mary Anne Evans (George Eliot), and Charlotte Brontë (Currer Bell) illustrate. Men also made use of the freedom a fictional name could grant them. Arnold Bennet, for one, was assistant editor (and later editor-in-chief) of the magazine Woman, and wrote the column ‘Book Chats’ under the pseudonym ‘Barbara’ (Easley, 2009:49).

\textsuperscript{23} Vol. I, no. 1, April 1857, iii-iv.
supposedly, more himself ‘for reasons of personal preference or literary dignity’ (2001:51). But this is not always true. For social reasons, an author may furthermore recognize serious and professional works and employ a pseudonym to conceal the novelistic or poetic work s/he feels more affinity with (Genette, 2001:51). These uses of pseudonyms pose methodological problems for pseudonymous (as well as anonymous) texts as they reveal no extra-textual information about the author. Because meaning is often constructed through this additional knowledge, a lack thereof is often a disadvantage for the reader. The author’s name, whether real or pseudonymous, incites connotations from readers, which in turn affects these readers’ perception of the work under discussion.25

Genette regards the effect of a pseudonym, as a paratexual element, on the reader as key. This effect itself is twofold: on the one hand, there is the impact of a given pseudonym (which possibly coincides with the reader’s total ignorance of the fact that it is a pseudonym), while on the other hand, the ‘pseudonym-effect’ can be found, which depends on the reader having information about the fact that s/he is confronted with a case of pseudonymity (2001:48). Genette believes that it is the mixture between motive and manner that produces the calculated effect. As Graham Law points out, with both literary matter and popular periodicals, gender, class, and calling could all be concealed or counterfeited by the imaginative use of initials, pseudonyms, and the like (2009:18). While strongly partisan magazines, for example, were much more likely to enforce anonymity, the lighter monthly miscellanies, as well as family weeklies, were quicker to notice the advantages linked to named contributions (ibid.). The way the editor of the Ladies’ Treasury employs the various variations on her name possibly influences the reading public in a specific way. This effect is created by why she uses coded references, and how she uses them.

5.1.3 Onymity

In his discussion of signature, Genette coins the term ‘onymity,’ or the signing of a work with one’s legal name, to contrast with the aforementioned cases of anonymity and pseudonymity. He depicts the paratextual site of the author’s name, or what serves as such, as both very variable and very circumscribed. The site of signature is erratic: while the author’s name is often frequent in the epitext (in advertisements, in

24 Polyonymity, or polypseudonymity, can also be employed and occurs when an author signs exclusively with various pseudonyms. The author’s various signatures may be simultaneous (or successive) (Genette, 2001:52).
25 Harking back to the author-function.
26 The possibility also exists that one’s legal name functions as a pseudonym in print (Griffin, 2003:14).
interviews, etc.), it is simultaneously restricted, because ‘the canonical and official site of the author’s name is in practice limited to the title page and the cover’ (Genette, 2001:38). In the peritext, the author’s name does not appear anywhere. An author does not sign a work, as s/he would might sign a letter (ibid.). Although Genette explains the use of signature with regard to books, which does make a difference, as periodical press journalists at times do ‘sign’ their pieces as they would sign a letter (at the bottom of the piece), in both instances the underlying reason for using a signature is as crucial and telling as not using one. To sign a work with one’s real name is a choice like any other, and nothing authorizes us to regard this choice as insignificant (Griffin, 2003:10). The author’s name fulfils a contractual function whose importance varies greatly depending on genre. In referential writing, for instance, the credibility of the testimony, or of its transmission, rests largely on the identity of the witness or the person reporting it. Therefore, pseudonyms or anonymes among authors of historical or documentary works are very few, even more so when the witness himself plays a part in his narrative (Genette, 2001:41).

At times, onymity is prompted by something stronger, or at least less neutral, than the absence of a desire to give oneself a pseudonym. For example when someone famous produces a book, in which case ‘the name is no longer a straightforward statement of identity, it is instead the way to put an identity, or rather a “personality,” (as the media call it), at the service of the book’ (Genette, 2001:40). The creation of such a personality is particularly important in the case of ‘Mrs. Warren,’ whose name bears the implication of her domestic works. Her name is used as a brand and directly linked to the product: her household guides. However, the possible indirect consequences of onymity are not limited to cases of previous fame. The name of a completely unknown person may indicate various other features of the author’s identity. The author’s sex is revealed (which may have crucial thematic relevance), and sometimes also nationality, social class or kinship are disclosed (Genette, 2001:40). Mrs Warren’s usage of four, slightly altered editorial signatures makes use of this method. She does not revert to definite pseudonyms, or anonymous autographs, but takes her own name and moulds it into various forms in order to present and brand her personae. Her name variations are created as a means to construct several identities for the journal, with difference in gender and status. Each name has a slightly different function and relation to the house

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27 The surname of a woman is not a simple matter, however. A married woman chooses either her father’s name or her husband’s name, and can sign with either of them, in our society (Genette, 2001:40).
28 In this case, as opposed to pseudonymous cases, the information revealed is true. Nevertheless, it is always the effect on the reader that remains paramount.
29 Although it is possible to argue that her initials are quasi-pseudonyms, as I discuss in the subsection on initials (5.2.3).
style of the magazine; diverse parts of her identities are put forward, expressed, or revealed to the intended public.

### 5.2 Case Study no.4: The Many Names of Mrs Warren

As mentioned above, within the semiotics of the text, the author’s name is a signifier that can be manipulated strategically. To sign one’s name is part of a strategy for associating only certain pieces with a projected persona and again, both legal and fictional names can function as masks and furthermore imply various projected personalities (Griffin, 2003:10). As the specific case of the *Ladies’ Treasury* floats between forms of anonymity, pseudonymity, and onymity, it is the strategic use of multiple authorial personalities that forms the next case study. I will attempt to show that authorship practices like pseudonymity and onymity reveal a number of possible, sometimes conflicting, but often meaningful narratives about literary authority.

Although the name of an author does not necessarily invoke the ‘real,’ ‘physical’ writer, it signals the status of a certain kind of writing (Griffin, 2003:9).

In the case of Mrs Warren’s names, the deliberate usage of four signatures shows to be very well thought-through. The effect which a given name, as signature, can produce on the intended audience is clearly taken into account, and it is of crucial importance whether a male, female, or neutral voice is invoked. ‘The Management of House and Servants,’ for instance, is an article signed by ‘Mrs. Warren’ and deals with how a woman should run her house; how she ought to relate to her servants. Mrs Warren stresses that the mistress ‘should not be too exacting, too particular, too assertive; indeed no diplomatist has more difficult service than a mistress has with one serving-maid, bearing in mind that we ourselves, in many cases, being failures, must not expect too much from servants’ (425). In this role of an experienced household manager (a Mrs), she explains to her readers how they should interact with their personnel. Not only was ‘Mrs. Warren’ already an established author of household books by that time, the article immediately gains in authenticity (and authority) because it is signed by a woman, someone who knows about running a family (something which ‘the Editor’ or ‘Warren Francis’ might not be familiar with).

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30 Instalment of July, 1890, p.425.
In this discussion, it might be interesting to foreground the notion of performance. In her article on the editorial style of Florence Marryat, Beth Palmer suggests that in the periodical press the cultural space of editorship could be contested through a series of gendered performances (2009a:140). Although Palmer does not use Judith Butler’s theory of gender as performance extensively in her text(s), she touches upon the concept and how it further analyses the ways in which ‘the subject is formed within gendered power structures’ (2009b:1). Palmer employs the notion of performance and shows that it is also valid in a different field and specific cultural setting: Victorian publishing and the different roles of a female editor in a masculine, public sphere. With Palmer, I do not contest the idea of a ‘true’ identity behind this performance. After all, Eliza Francis Warren (née Jervis) was a real person. In her periodical publishing, however, she acted out certain roles, and, as I hope to show in my analyses, adapted her subject and tone in accordance with the articles. In the case of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, I furthermore want to link this performance and the acting out of different roles to commercial aspects.

According to Marysa Demoor in *Marketing the Author: Authorial Persona, Narrative Selves and Self-Fashioning, 1880-1930* (2004), the end of the nineteenth century was marked by agents’ increasing efforts to sell the authors first, and their books second: ‘the personality of the author, whether real or fictional was what mattered’ (5-6). Novelists, but also periodical contributors and editors, gained importance. The name of the author became a factor not to be underestimated in the attraction and maintenance of magazine readership. Although this chapter, as opposed to Demoor’s book, is concerned with magazines, and pinpoints the specific use of identity of a journalist/editor in a slightly earlier time frame, the importance of the author’s image (*any* author) has already proven to be paramount. The name of the author assumes a pivotal role, it becomes a kind of brand name, ‘a recognizable sign that the cultural commodity will be of a certain kind and quality’ (Rose, 1993:1). Mrs Warren can be seen as belonging to the category of the celebrity author-editor on the rise in the periodical press during the 1860s and 70s, when both men and women authors marketed themselves and their novels through magazine editorship. While ‘Mrs. Warren’ was a household name, she overtly linked this name to the magazine she edited, and promoted her guides in the *Ladies’ Treasury*. Although this was (as I will show) not an uncommon practice, her various personae do distinguish her from other editors who used their magazines as a site from which to promote their own work, such as Ellen Wood and Mary Elizabeth Braddon.
5.2.1 Mrs Warren’s Four Editorial Personae

Magazines are promoted as cultural products and like books, they market themselves as coherent texts ‘fastened together as to compose a material whole,’ conforming to one distinct authorial profile (Patten, 2006:355). Newspapers and periodicals develop their own distinctive personality, or ‘house style,’ with editors, designers, writers, and artists who all direct their effort toward that end (ibid. 354). Although Fraser et al. claim that once a journal is established, its survival is far more contingent upon an effective maintenance of this ingrained house style than on the presence of a particular ‘name’ as editor, it cannot be denied that linking Mrs Warren’s name to the magazine was a very clever move. Using her various male and female signatures, she created a divided self-image through which she exemplified the potential breadth of a woman’s interests and expertise and could promote both the different articles in the magazine.

In order to clarify Mrs Warren’s practice as editor, I study the multiple editorial identities and the orchestrated performance of her selves and focus on the revealing alternations between ‘the Editor,’ ‘the Editress,’ ‘Mrs. Warren,’ and ‘Eliza Warren.’ However, I want to clearly state that I do not suggest the model of personae I offer below is the only possible interpretation. It is not always easy to establish why a certain signature is used, and sometimes the signatures are used seemingly arbitrarily. Moreover, there is no strict dichotomy between all personae, and hiding her ‘true’ identity never appears an issue. In a Notice of October 1864, ‘The Editress to her Friends’ begins with the bit of news that How I Managed my House on Two Hundred a Year is being reprinted in book form, and will be published in November’ (320). This is a clear reference to her persona of ‘Mrs. Warren.’ Likewise, the series ‘Stories about Things Around Us’ (by the Editor), betrays many similarities with the series ‘Marvellous but True Tales of Some Interesting Lives’, signed ‘E.W. Francis.’ Notwithstanding these examples, I do want to argue that all four (gendered) identities are used strategically, and that this is the case more often than not. I believe they offer a way to perform several presences in the magazine, both mediated by commercial and ideological issues. At the end of this chapter, I equally open up to the use of her very similar, and hence confusing initials.

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31 Fraser et al., 2003:86.
The Editress

In the first few years of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, from 1857 to 1860, Mrs Warren is not referred to as editor or editress. Neither the ‘addresses to the public,’ nor the front cover mention an editor, although during these first years many poems are signed by ‘the Editor.’ Mrs Warren is only mentioned as the person in charge of the feature of ‘Fancy Work for the Ladies.’ Only on the cover of the first issue of 1861, in January, is Mrs Warren introduced as editress and from that instant her name uninterruptedly adorns every single front cover of the *Ladies’ Treasury* until the very last issue of 1895, still ‘edited by Mrs. Warren.’ In the last yearly address of 1861, it is said that ‘the Editress, at close of this, the first year of her sole management, and of the FIFTH VOLUME of the “LADIES’ TREASURY,” would say a few words’ (379). Despite her new responsibility from 1861 onwards, Mrs Warren remains in charge of other features in the magazine, such as ‘Gleanings in Fancy Needlework.’ An address to the public in February 1861 confirms her role as editor with the statement that ‘all communication for the *Ladies’ Treasury* [...] to be addressed to Mrs. Warren, care of Messrs. Cassell, Petter and Galpin, Bell-sauvage Yard, Ludgate Hill, E.C.(publishers)’ (64).

Over the thirty-eight years of the *Ladies’ Treasury*’s existence, references to ‘the Editress,’ used as the overtly female variation on the title, are sparse. This editorial persona is first employed in the December 1861 address, and also in small notes such as in June 1861, when a notice to correspondents on the practice of crystal paintings mentions that ‘any difficulties which may arise, and which have not been provided for in the directions, the Editress will feel happy in explaining’ (192). In October 1864, another notice appears under the title “The Editress to her friends” (320). Mrs Warren

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32 This would usually constitute a note in which the editor thanked the readers for their interest in the magazine, or to notify them of any changes.
34 Stipulated as such in the address ‘To Our Subscribers and the Public’ (vol.III, 1859 [page not specified]) in a letter by the proprietors of the *Ladies’ Treasury*.
35 She again confirms this in ‘The Editor’s New Year’s Address’ (January 1886), where she states that ‘for twenty-five [years] I have been its sole editor’ (36). Interestingly, from the very beginning of Mrs Warren’s editorship no poems by ‘the Editor’ are published.
36 In the month of December 1861, p.379 (vol.V, no.12).
37 ‘Fancy Work for Ladies’ (a series that started in the very first issue of April 1857, vol.I, no.1), and ‘Design for Piano Candlestick Mat’ (April 1857, vol.I, no.1, p.61). Her domestic instalments on household matters will be discussed in the section ‘Mrs. Warren.’
38 This is slightly odd, for in January 1861, all communications must already be addressed to the Editress, but care of Messrs. Houlston and Wright, 65, Paternoster Row. By February, the *Ladies’ Treasury* must have changed publishers.
is explicitly being referred to as ‘the Editress,’ as well as being credited for writing *How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year*, one of her immensely popular household works.\(^{39}\) Here, the reasons for signing certain addresses with a female suffix seem fairly straightforward. In the last editorial address I mentioned, for instance, the notice opens with a reference to her own book on household management, and stresses how ‘in 1865, the January number of the *Ladies’ Treasury* will offer new features of interest to our young lady readers’ (320). Furthermore, it is said that one column will be devoted to the service of young ladies seeking situations as governesses, companions, translators, etc.\(^{40}\) In both cases, women are explicitly addressed, as magazine readers and as women who enjoy handiwork.

The only occasion on which a generally informative article is signed by ‘the Editress,’ the suffix –ess once again explicitly insisting on her femininity, is with the article ‘Female Emigration to New Zealand.’\(^{41}\) This article reprints a letter to *The Times* by Miss Maria Rye, and is followed by an account of the editress. Rye was the well-known founder of the Female Middle Class Emigration Society in May 1862,\(^{42}\) and her views were also published in a separate pamphlet and appeared in the *English Women’s Journal*. The publication of this pamphlet encouraged a popular debate in *The Times* and, as the *Ladies’ Treasury’s* article demonstrates, the debate was continued in other periodical publications.

In her letter, Rye foregrounds that, although the town of Dunedin is ‘fully developed’ (181), she is ‘bound to confess that the worst fears of the worst wishers to female emigration are fully realized at the Dunedin Immigrants’ Barracks’ (182). Young immigrant girls are left to themselves for hours together, which is highly unsuitable.\(^{43}\) Nevertheless, Rye also points out that the fashion is fully followed, for the *Magazin des\(^{39}\) The opportunity is also seized to mention that the title is available ‘through any bookseller or newsvendor. Price 1s’ (320).

\(^{40}\) It is not always straightforward, however. The Needlework column in January 1864, for instance, states that ‘any lady requiring the conclusions of the Oval Tidy, given in the December Number, previous to the publication of the February Number, will kindly write to the Editress for it’ (27). Nevertheless, this was not a constant reference, for in April 1867 the same column is ended with ‘all of these patterns can be lent if desired, upon the Editor receiving a stamped and addressed envelope’ (185).


\(^{42}\) As explained in chapters three and four, the unmarried middle-class woman was seen as a moral problem of Victorian society. In the late 1850s, feminists campaigned for the widening of employment opportunities, but many ill-educated women were in need of immediate work (Hammerton, 1977:53). Despite new opportunities such as office work, the basic emigration idea entailed that distressed gentlewomen were sent to the colonies. Rye’s society specifically promoted the emigration of women of all social classes, as most colonial schemes strictly excluded all women above the working class (ibid.).

\(^{43}\) This was not unusual. Private letters from young women overseas reported that often, governesses’ positions were scarce and ill-paid, and many girls experienced difficulty in adjusting (Hammerton, 1977:59).
Modes arrives from Paris regularly every month (182). Moreover, she advertises the men. Although the gold fields do attract villains, ‘the miners themselves are a particularly fine, athletic body – men and brethren, and not brutes’ (181). The conclusion is fairly positive: there are great opportunities and the assertion is repeated that there is plenty of work for women who know how to do it. Domestic preparation and adaptability on the part of the female emigrants remain highly necessary.

In her reaction as ‘Editress,’ Mrs Warren remarks that although she sympathizes with Miss Rye (who would like to limit emigration to motivated women who know how to work), ‘she can never materially alter the quality of the materials’ (182). English girls from a decent background will never ‘expatriate themselves for the sake of getting on in the world and meeting with an unknown partner at the Antipodes’ (ibid.). In England, there will always be employment for those who are not afraid of getting their hands dirty, ‘those who are generally self-helpful, who, whether they wash a tea-cup, make a pudding, or mend a stocking, perform their work in that most perfect manner which will have no room for improvement, consequently there can be no fault-finding’ (183). The great social problem, however, are the ill-taught governesses and daughters who are ignorant and idle, ‘unprovided widows, unskilled servants of all kinds, [...] careless seamstresses,...’ all obstructing moral progress (183).

Both in the article and in the notices it becomes clear that female readers are the main addressees, and a supportive and encouraging tone is used. Women readers seeking employment are informed, and are presented with the view of a trustworthy person: their own ‘Editress,’ as opposed to a male figure who would not be able to sympathize.

The Editor

A closer examination of the questions posed in the ‘Answers to Correspondents’ column shows that both ‘Editor’ and ‘Editress’ are used to address Mrs Warren. When she herself addresses her readers, she does not always seem to make a distinction between both signatures. In the December 1866 Address, the plural ‘we’ is used and there is talk of ‘the Editor.’ In more personal addresses, however, she often uses her full name (in which she reveals her gender), and combines this with her masculine title: the December address of 1871 is signed ‘Eliza Warren, Editor of the Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature.’ Similarly, ‘The Editor’s New Year’s Address’ in 1886 is

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44 Nevertheless, Rye categorically rejects the claim that the Society is no more than a marriage bureau. She stresses that the aim is to find decent employment for skilled women (Hammerton, 1977:57).

45 This problem of the ‘surplus woman’ was addressed in chapter four (section 4.2.1.2).
announced as such, but signed ‘Eliza Warren.’ In the address, she stresses her matrimonial bond with the magazine and notes that

it is often customary in married life, after twenty-five years of union, to celebrate the epoch as “A Silver Wedding.” For twenty-seven years my connection with THE LADIES’ TREASURY has been unsevered. For Twenty-five I have been its sole editor, therefore I would consecrate this term of years as A Silver, nay, Golden Memory, for the employment has been a labour of love, dispersing troubles into “thin air.”

This note, although formally announced as an address by the editor, is signed with an overtly feminine signature, and the imagery of a wedding anniversary projects the idea that the editor is a woman, married to her magazine.

If we take a look at individual articles, apart from the single note on emigration above, all other informative articles published by the Ladies’ Treasury’s leading lady, and signed explicitly performing the editorial role, carry the subscription of the unmistakably masculine ‘the Editor.’ In these articles, the editor embodies a figure of professional and masculine status, discernible when considering the tone, general style and content of the pieces. The articles come across as much more gender-neutral, more descriptive, and less personal in tone. ‘To Ventilate Rooms,’ ‘The Poets of the Seventeenth Century,’ ‘The Fire at the Crystal Palace,’ and ‘What is Glass’ are but a few examples. While a manifest masculinity and male perspective is more noteworthy in some articles than in others, I discuss both the dubious and the more straightforward cases in which I believe the signature of a male persona is invoked in order to fit the topic.

‘A storm in the Alps,’ is an example of an article which is not clear-cut. It accompanies a frontispiece in the March 1870 issue and could possibly have been written from a male perspective (and read as such), although this remains debatable. The piece describes the frontispiece as a tableau in which one of the characters is explicitly studied: ‘the landlord has his sympathies aroused by one of the arrivals, to

46 When I use the term ‘gender-neutral,’ I refer to articles that do not specifically address women readers, and do not simplify explanations for a female public. This is in contrast with other informative articles on domestic chores (see section on ‘Mrs. Warren’).
47 ‘To Ventilate Rooms’ (June 1864, Vol.VIII, no.6, pp.181-182), ‘The Poets of the Seventeenth Century’ (June 1866, Vol.I, no.6, New Series, p.317), ‘The Fire at the Crystal Palace’ (February 1867, Vol.III, no.2, New Series, p.85) and ‘What is Glass’ (September 1875, Vol.XIV, no.3, New Series, pp. 128-131). A complete list of these articles signed by the editor can be found in appendix 5. Although also signed by ‘the Editor,’ I do not discuss ‘The Education of Girls,’ (July 1868) and ‘The Higher Education of Women’ (April 1875) here, as I have already analysed them in chapter 4 (section 4.2.1.1).
whom he has evidently taken a fancy, and is in the act of removing the strap-bound roll, which the traveller carries. We almost fancy we can hear him say, “I can give you a corner somewhere, but for all these people – no” (70). The supposedly male voice which is invoked here, through the eyes of the landlord, only has eyes for a pretty lady, and not for the other travellers. More convincingly, next to many biblical references to rain, a scientific explanation is also provided, sustained by writings of Mr. Espy, Sir Archibald Alison’s ‘History of Europe,’ Johnston’s Physical Atlas, etc. Again, this can be seen as a foregrounding of ‘masculine’ knowledge.

Three other articles signed by the editor are similarly factual, and a gender-neutral voice provides dry and accurate, almost encyclopaedic descriptions. ‘The Burning of the Dead,’ for instance, offers a historical overview of the practice of the burning of bodies (for instance, in the Bible, in Jewish culture, among the Greeks, the Romans, and the Goths), and of burying. The Egyptians, ‘who are the earliest people of whom we have a record, always buried their dead in tombs and hollow recesses’ (83). In ‘Our Noble Crystal Palace,’ the palace is said to be a palace of intellectual treasures, although a commercial failure (212). Again, the importance of history is stressed. Lastly, the article ‘What is Glass?’ discusses the materials of its composition, which are simple enough: ‘silex, alkali, and oxides: these are all’ (128). All of the three components are thoroughly explained, and different forms of glassblowing are touched upon (130).

While in the four articles mentioned above, the gendered persona of the narrative voice is still contestable, articles with a male perspective are much more intriguing. A first article which I believe to be constructed in this way is ‘To Ventilate Rooms.’ The piece starts in a very serious manner: ‘[m]uch has been said and written about this very important necessity of human life – ventilation; and yet there is a general need for some simple means, not alone to bring fresh air into our rooms, but to keep up a constant supply of it, and in such a manner that draughts shall be avoided’ (181). Subsequently, two authorities on the subject of ventilation, Dr. Arnott and Dr. Reid are extensively cited. Dr. Reid, for one, constructed his own apartment in such a way that, though illuminated by gas, the ill effects of its combustion are removed by a concealed ventilating tube over each light. Nothing was noticed of this by any of the members who only just attended a dinner party at the apartment. The caterer for the dinner, however, proved that ‘three times the quantity of wine had been drunk than under ordinary circumstances by the same persons without ill effect’ (ibid.). No-one suffered from headaches or other illnesses, and it was concluded ‘that they owned this impunity
to the benefit derived from free and perfect ventilation’ (ibid.). Furthermore, the article also gives a detailed (and technical) explanation of ventilating devices.

Let there be an inch-pipe, or even one larger, introduced from the outer air (not carried up to the top of the house), and fitted inside the same as the gas-pipes are fitted, with taps, to turn the air on or off. The pipe in the room should bend upwards and terminate in a funnel-shape at the top, about a foot above the head, or about the height of an ordinary gas branch usually inserted in a wall, the funnel to be concealed in a gas globe as the gas-burner is in ordinary lamp-glass (181).

The editor ‘himself’ also contemplates several practices, but decides in favour of these (seemingly) complicated devices.

It may be said that having the windows open a little at the top is the readiest method of ventilation. So it is; but it is not the safest. The air on coming in meets with obstructions from the surroundings of the window, and is thus propelled somewhat violently downwards on the victims beneath; while a pipe which comes into the room, and is bent upwards, the cold air goes to the top of the room first, and mingles with some portion of the warm air before it descends (182).

First, the situation which is described, a dinner party hosted by a male doctor, is marked by excessive drinking. Hence, it does not imply many female guests (if any). Secondly, the article itself is very detailed and factual, and, thirdly, although seemingly oriented at actual usage in real life, there are no references housemaids or housekeepers to be taught how to properly ventilate a house. Ventilation is explained in a theoretical way, and while detailed enough to be put into practice, the explanation is presented differently from other DIY chores in the magazine.53 ‘A sharp lad’ is needed for the fitting of ventilation pipes (182).

‘Stories About Things Around Us’ is drawn up in a similar manner.54 The article starts out with a question posed by Lucy, a young child, about manna. She asks ‘Papa, is the manna which is sold for puddings the same kind of manna which God gave the Israelites to eat?’ In response, the father provides detailed explanation about manna and the Bible. Significantly, the conversation takes place between a father and his daughter, although a feminine point of view could easily have been chosen (a mother educating her daughter, for instance, was not an uncommon situation). When comparing this with the articles by Mrs Warren, that also present fictional accounts with questions and answers, the explanations provided for household matters are always given by female

53 This is the case with instalments by ‘Mrs. Warren,’ in which practical advice is either given, or presented by fictional characters in conversation (see 5.2.1. ‘Mrs. Warren’).
characters in the story. It is possible to argue that, in this article, a male character is chosen because information about worldly and spiritual matters is passed on.

Less obviously significant is an article on ‘Authors and Publishers,’ which deals with the payment of authors. ‘The Editor’ addresses women writers as well, such as Charlotte Brontë, whose Jane Eyre was rejected by several publishers. This information strikes the editor as rather doubtful. ‘We believe the manuscript was sent to Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co., in Cornhill, and there it remained for a long time, till a daughter of one of the publishers read it, and recommended her father to publish. The result is well known: it brought the author fame and money’ (30). The example of this article becomes important, however, when comparing it to an article on arts and literature signed by ‘Eliza Warren.’ As opposed to the article I discuss in the next section, Charlotte Brontë is here referred to as ‘author,’ and not ‘woman writer,’ ‘lady’ or ‘authoress,’ and there is a distinct difference in the choice of register (as to possibly better suit the signature of editor).

A last article, ‘A School in Lorraine, Germany,’ addresses the ignorance and lack of discipline in children. It is said that ‘the efforts now made by the Government to raise the burden and the shame of ignorance from the masses of the people, must sooner or later bear fruits “meet for acceptance”’ (663, sic). Because this is a factual account, it can be argued that it is not written from the perspective of a mother or a governess, although both were very much foregrounded by society as the ones responsible for the education of children.

On the particular usage of ‘Editor’ and ‘Editress,’ Mrs Warren herself makes an important observation. In one of the very last ‘Friendly Chats,’ before the magazine ceased publication, an enquiry from ‘several correspondents’ was answered by the following:


See ‘The Queen as Maiden, Wife and Widow: Literature, Art, and Science, since 1837’ (October, 1887, pp.575-578). This article is discussed in the subsection on ‘Eliza Warren.’

December 1879, pp.662-663.

Similarly, in the poem ‘The Dying Year’ (vol.I, no.9, December 1857, p.342), a young lady of fashion is addressed in a reprimanding way (by a mother-figure who knows best), and also in ‘The Coquette’ (July 1857, vol.I, no.3, p.142), the editor writes: ‘See what thy guilty vanity has done; thy friends desert thee, and thy lovers shun,’ a critique which seems more likely to be voiced from a female perspective.
the question was settled at the accession of her Majesty, when it was proposed incidentally that the Queen should be termed “Our Queen and Governess,” in accordance with her sex. “Our Queen and Governor” was quickly substituted. There is no intention of fraud in using the word “Editor” instead of “Editress,” but only compliance with custom, of which our kind correspondents are not quite aware’ (356).

As I have argued, signing articles with a masculine or feminine name is indeed not necessarily deceptive, but may be a way of adjusting article topic and signature.

An important question is why and when these variations were employed. The carefully selected signatures and the deliberate use in certain articles of the masculine voice of ‘the Editor,’ as opposed to her feminine signature in other cases, could have been essential in attracting and maintaining a readership. After all, it was in the interest of a conventional middle-class women’s magazine to come across as genuine, with the right name under the right article. Hence, a gender-neutral signature such as ‘the Editor’ seems better suited for certain articles, while other pieces could benefit from having a more feminine autograph.

Even in a women’s magazine, some subjects are preferably addressed by a gender-neutral voice (or even a male one), as opposed to other topics specifically aimed at a female audience. The decision for publishing under a female name implies that the author knew (s)he had to perform a certain role. Despite an often exclusively female audience, and an unusually high proportion of female editors, women’s magazines were still operating within a paternalistic society (and were pressured to be obedient to that system) (Breward, 1994:81). Research on the Dorothy, for instance, shows that the editorial identity was intended to be inferred as female. The contributors used female names such as ‘Kathleen,’ ‘Annie,’ and ‘Jeanette.’ In particular in the Dorothy’s fashion supplement, an overtly feminine identity was adopted (Macdonald and Demoor, 2007:80). Gender restraints were characteristic of many journals, for example family journals, in which some subjects were not discussed because they were deemed inappropriate (Fraser et al., 2003:80). The impact of gender on issues of private concern in different historical periods should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, as Solveig Robinson points out, when women editors constructed their own niches and venues for their projects, they could be empowered: ‘as editors, they defined and controlled the forum in which they spoke out, intentionally reaching out to an audience that (for the

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59 May 1895, p.356.
60 Authors and editors of nineteenth-century magazines were predominantly male. Even family magazines, attracting a primarily female readership, and many nineteenth-century women’s magazines were edited by literary men (for example the periodical Woman or Wilde’s Woman’s World) (Melynky, 1996:133).
most part) shared their experiences and sympathies’ (1996:160). Because Mrs Warren edited a mainstream women’s magazine for the middle classes, her freedom might have been limited nonetheless, driving her to more inventive approaches to the act of signing and creating her own niche.

Additionally, I believe it can be useful to return to the supposed rivalry between the Ladies’ Treasury and the EDM as mentioned in chapter three. By May 1860, the EDM was relaunched as a luxury commodity, while at the same time, Isabella Beeton became the Editress (Hughes, 2005:179). Although Samuel Beeton was still the editor, Kathryn Hughes notes that his wife’s new role was more than a term of convenience. ‘Isabella’s remit at the magazine was expanded, for as well as continuing to work on cookery and household content, she was now in charge of the radically overhauled fashion coverage’ (267). Because the EDM was led by two people, it is not unthinkable that Mrs Warren’s use of both ‘the Editor’ and ‘the Editress’ was also a way to foreground two voices, another way to compete with the Beetons. While in the EDM the editor(s) did not use different surnames, the magazine’s format nevertheless allowed several voices to exist side by side, ‘catering for readers who one month might feel extravagant and the next need to tighten up their belts’ (Hughes, 2005:275). In the Ladies’ Treasury, different readers (or different facets of the same readers) were addressed, but instead of introducing another contributor, Mrs Warren’s own name provided plenty of room for variation to speak to her readership in a fitting manner, time and time again.

**Eliza Warren**

An excellent fit between a female name and more gendered articles can be found in the third usage of the editor’s signature, her full name Eliza Warren.\(^61\) This signature, without the ‘Mrs,’ is used with articles and stories of a more feminine character. ‘A Romance of the Olden Days,’ ‘The Queen as Maiden, Wife and Mother,’ ‘A Halfpenny A Day,’ and ‘The Wedding of the Bride of the Sea in Olympia’ are all by Eliza Warren.\(^62\) Although the first article does not unmistakably benefit from a feminine signature,\(^63\) the other three choices are more revealing.

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\(^{61}\) A combination of her first name, and the last name of her first husband. It is unclear why she never uses Eliza Francis, the name of her second husband. Both husbands were dead when she began her work for the Ladies’ Treasury (see chapter two, case study no.1). She does refer to her second husband in some of the combinations of her initials.


\(^{63}\) ‘A Romance of the Olden Days’ simply deals with the difference between a Romance, which, according to the author, is beyond the bounds of probability, and a Novel (defined as a new treatment of an old incident).
‘The Queen as Maiden, Wife and Widow: Literature, Art, and Science, since 1837’ provides an interesting case. In the article which, as the title suggests, discusses literature, art, as well as science, Eliza Warren focuses on literature and novel-writing. She mentions the work of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (mentioned first), and that of her husband. Next to discussions of popular and esteemed writers (such as Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope), it is also remarked that ‘a few years previously to Her Majesty’s reign, and for a long time after the accession, there were a number of women writers, as excellent as any that have appeared since, George Eliot excepted’ (576). An example is miss Ferrier, who died in 1854, and whose Scottish novels gave the impetus to Sir Walter Scott, and induced him to say that her works *The Inheritance, Marriage,* and *Destiny* had inspired him (576). Other women writers like Mrs Bray, Miss Costello, Charlotte Brontë and her sisters are spoken of highly. Eliza Warren continues that ‘other women writers of the present era are numberless; they embody well-known names famous for their intellectual and mental powers, for their enlarged views of life, and earnest to make women’s work creations of happiness to themselves and others’ (576). George Eliot, Mrs Lynn Linton, Miss M.B. Edwards, and Miss Frances Power Cobbe are all ‘deep thinkers, who present subjects to our view in a different way from that of men. As women, they are said to understand women in both higher and lower aspects of life; their writings are truthful, without sophism’ (577). As foretold, in this article Eliza Warren refers to ‘women writers,’ in contrast to the gender-neutral term ‘authors,’ employed in the article on ‘Authors and Editors’ (by ‘the Editor’). Furthermore, Eliza Warren does not feel the need to expand on male novelists, for ‘we say little about [them]; their names are legion, and the bright stars of this galaxy are familiar to all’ (577).64

The last two articles are both interesting for different reasons. While ‘A Halfpenny a Day’ is noteworthy for its topic, ‘The Wedding of the Bride of the Sea in Olympia’ is interesting because of the tone and language used. The former article discusses the more unfortunate members of society, the poor, and how little effort would be needed from the wealthier magazine readers to make a difference: they would only need to donate one halfpenny a day! A moral tale of kindness to other people is told, and Eliza Warren concludes the article with a message that should be the incentive for charity: ‘if each of a family of girls and boys subscribed either of these sums [threepence or sixpence] weekly to one or other of the numerous charities asking for funds, what God-like help would be given to the sufferers!’ (418). In terms of topic, sympathy for the

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64 The rest of the article focuses on science, and remains quite neutral. Nevertheless Queen Victoria’s name remains central in the article, and her reign is said to ‘reach a high mark in history.’ From the time of her accession Her Majesty has preserved the neutrality of the Crown. The article even poses the question ‘As a widow, what has the Queen not been?’ (578).
poor and the weak was very much seen as an admired feminine quality. As Gleadle asserts, women were thought innately affectionate, modest, loving and religious, as well as naturally self-sacrificing and domestic (2001:1). Philanthropy was held high at the time, and it was felt a womanly duty to be preoccupied with such topics. This article thus fits perfectly into the prevailing image of the Victorian middle-class woman.

The second article, ‘The Wedding of the Bride of the Sea in Olympia,’ deals with the representation of the Modern Venice exhibition in London. There is said to be

a glamour of refinement about “Venice in London” that has never yet been seen in any exhibition – each visitor is, on payment of the entrance fee, entitled to a chair to witness the merry fête. [...] All is quiet save the ripple of the water as the gondolas flash past, and the mind is wrapped in a reverie of the past in Venice when she was the resplendent Queen of the Sea – the centre figure in a romance of history apart from every other country (422).

The tone of the article, and the vocabulary employed, are more elated. There is talk of glamour, and reveries, and Venice is referred to as the ultimate ‘Queen of the Seas,’ the ultimate strong, female figure.

Mrs. Warren

The fourth and most familiar persona worth discussing is the much used variation ‘Mrs. Warren.’ This less personal reference, the more distant honorific Mrs replacing her first name, is the signature most strategically employed and profitably exploited. In the magazine itself, ‘Mrs. Warren’ is frequently presented as a brand or product name: as a signature for articles, and as a celebrity signature in the Ladies’ Treasury’s advertisement columns. The pen name ‘Mrs. Warren’ is used only to refer to the author of domestic handbooks, or articles that formed the basis of these books, or were derived from these. These popular guides were extensively praised in the Ladies’ Treasury’s own pages, and many were serialized in the magazine. How I Managed My Children from Infancy to Marriage (1865), Comfort For Small Incomes (1866), My Lady-Help and What She Taught Me (1877), and Cookery For An Income of Two Hundred Pounds a Year (1887) are only a few of her fictional accounts of domestic life. The honorific title of ‘Mrs’ turned her into a convincing and

65 Not only gender, but class are important in this article. Although the Ladies’ Treasury is a magazine for lower- middle-class women, they are treated as ‘wealthier’ citizens, able to help the poor.

66 But at the same time, it is not ‘distant’ at all, as she is made out to be a successful mother and wife, running a household in the best way possible. Readers are invited to relate to her and view her as an exemplary wife.

67 Not all of Mrs Warren’s serialized books necessarily carried the same title in the instalments. The series ‘Cookery For All Incomes,’ published over several months (from January to September 1870, vol.VIII and VIX,
trustworthy expert on household management, emphasising her status as a matron, and simultaneously made her easily recognizable because of the link to her successful books. Other articles on crafts, such as ‘Needlework’ and ‘Fancy Work for the Ladies’ were equally by her hand.

In articles by ‘Mrs. Warren,’ the reader is either directly addressed, or a fictional form is used in which characters discuss (or are taught) domestic chores. As a plain Mrs and ‘hands-on’ expert Mrs Warren discusses cookery and household management. She is a woman directly addressing other women. Isabella Beeton also used this practice of presenting herself as an ‘expert,’ as Kathryn Hughes emphasizes that her comments in the EDM are ‘shot through not with the approximating gush of a lady of Fashion but with the understanding of someone who has grown up feeling fabric between her fingers’ (2005:29). Similarly, in view of her life story, Mrs Warren could easily have drawn upon her own experiences when writing about how to economize on one’s household budget. In the following paragraphs, I discuss articles concerning cookery, household chores and the efficient management of a house in order to demonstrate how Mrs Warren manipulated this part of her periodical identity. Moreover, the intelligent and sometimes even cunning way in which she educates her readers, not necessarily restricted to the field of the domestic, is particularly rewarding.

An instalment of ‘The Useful Book’ from November 1871 exemplifies the non-fictional articles on household subjects. The instalment is subdivided in small chapters, entitled ‘Matters about children,’ ‘Domestic matters,’ ‘Earth as a disinfectant,’ and ‘The toilet.’ Each chapter has its own topic, and recurs on a monthly basis. Nevertheless, there was no strict blueprint for these divisions and unexpected variations were a matter of course. The 1871 January issue, for example, also contained ‘Facts worth remembering’ and ‘Ready remedies and preventives.’ The first section, ‘Matters about children,’ deals with small problems such as a cut finger, a bruise, a bleeding nose, bow legs and warts. Toilet matters, for their part, range from how to make cold cream for hands, to the preparation of walnut stain for the hair. Domestic matters with a focus on general

New Series), for example, probably draws upon several of her earlier books such as Economical Cookery Book (1858) and Comfort for Small Incomes (1866). (See appendix 1).

68 ‘Needlework’ (e.g. vol.VI, no.3, March 1862, p.92), ‘Fancy Work for Ladies’ (series from March 1857-December 1860, vols.I-IV).


71 Similar series can be found in the EDM entitled ‘The Sick Room and the Nursery,’ and ‘Things Worth Knowing.’ Both provide practical domestic matters to the readers (Shuttleworth, Dawson and Noakes, 2001:62). Although very similar in title, the Ladies’ Treasury’s ‘Letters to a Lady on Things She Ought to Know’ is a series by Pertinax Dearlove, M.D. (March 1857-February 1859, vols.I-V). These columns also enlighten the women readers, and domestic issues, such as bread-making, and caring for a garden, are expounded on in the form of letter-writing (answers given by an expert, an ‘M.D.’ or medical doctor).
information and tricks, such as how to test the wholesomeness of drinking water, are presented in a lucid and understandable way. For instance, a test is provided to discover whether there is any pollution or organic taint.

This is very easy. All that is necessary is to add a tumblerful, one or two drops of Coudy's (crimson) Fluid, which will give it a very faint pink hue. If, after standing half an hour, the pink colour has gone or turned to yellowish, the water is tainted, and cannot be used safely in the state in which it is. If, on the contrary, the pink hue maintains itself, the water may be used in safety' (65).

Unlike the article on ventilation by ‘the Editor,’ very direct and practical directions are provided to the domestic woman (with references to children and ‘the toilet’).

In contrast to these articles, ‘A Young Wife’s Perplexities,’ also published in instalments, employs the fictional form. In February 1884, Mrs Warren presents conversations between two women, Mrs Hall and Mrs Harris, and nonchalantly weaves in informative hints. In this particular instalment, it is Mrs Harris who teaches Mrs Hall how to bleach cotton and linen, and wash clothes:

""I can see its utility. But then, I can’t wash."
"Your husband’s income is larger than mine, and articles can be sent to wash that may cost a shilling a week; and you can have a girl from the country to train her to her work who will wash the remaining portion of the clothes."
"But I don’t know how to train a girl. Is there any mystery in the art of washing linen?"
"Yes, there certainly is. For instance, under ignorant management, clothes will become yellow and muddy [...]" (154).

Here, a woman expert presents two other women who discuss typical feminine activities of training servants and washing clothes. Next to such activities of cleaning, washing, and taking care of the children, jobs most lower-middle-class women had to do themselves, cooking was an essential part of domestic life. Hence, articles on cookery equally formed a prominent feature in the Ladies’ Treasury and could take various guises. In ‘The “Why” in Cookery,’ yet another writing style is employed. Here, Mrs Warren answers self-posed questions in a clear and simple manner (comparable to a Q&A).

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February 1884, pp.152-154.
Why should celery for sauce or for stewing be boiled in a little milk, butter, and salt, and with sufficient water to very little more than cover it? Because it requires soft water to cook it in, and the milk and water in which it is cooked will, after the celery is dressed, serve for the sauce if it be thickened with one or two tablespoonfuls of cornflour mixed with a little milk, and adding it to the celery and liquor it is in (212).

In ‘The Lady-Help Teaching the Little Maidens How to Cook and Be Useful,’ fictional characters once more figure prominently, and Miss Severn, who also appears in other stories, is presented as the central character. In this fifth chapter the children are with their governess, Miss Severn, who is preparing dinner. While she cooks, she explains her actions to the children (Polly, Mary Davis, and Minnie Sparkler).

“You said just now, Miss Severn, something about putting mutton and beef into a saucepan to boil; what was it you were going to say?” asked Mary Davis.

Miss Severn paused to think for a moment. “Yes, I remember now, the bones of meat, such as neck of mutton or brisket of beef, should be placed upwards in a saucepan – the meat downwards; then the meat is sure to be kept under the water and will be well cooked; and if any scum rises, or soot fall into the saucepan, it will not settle on the meat, but on the bones; whereas if the meat is on the top of the water, the water boils away and the meat becomes hard and dry” (511).

While these articles about household management illustrate the expert advice of Mrs Warren’s persona, they become even more interesting when Mrs Warren makes her characters comment upon certain situations. As mentioned, women contributors had to conform to certain expectations, but using fictional characters to touch upon certain social issues allowed women more freedom (and this without having to resort to pseudonymous or anonymous signatures). A fictional account, such as ‘My Lady-Help, and What She Taught Me,’ introduces us to a Mr. Herbert Newton and his wife Lottie, who have an argument about their housemaids. The cooking is not good, but, as

73 Instalment of April 1872 (vol. XII, no.4, New Series, pp.212-213).
74 Taken from the instalment of October 1878, pp.510-512.
75 ‘My Lady-Help and What She Taught Me’ (March 1867-December 1876), ‘Mrs. Severn’s School’ (February 1879 - November 1879), ‘Mrs. Severn’s Conversazione’ (January 1880 - December 1880). ‘The Lady-Help Teaching the Little Maidens How to Cook and Be Useful’ (February 1878 – December 1878). See appendix 5, ‘Mrs. Warren.’
76 Minnie Sparkler is not a family member, which becomes clear when she refers to ‘our cook’ and states that she ‘wants to go home.’
77 Instalment of February, 1876, pp.99-105.
Herbert stresses, the girls seem well-behaved for their class (though they lie late in bed). However, despite their negative traits, he refuses to hire a true ‘lady-help,’ as requested by his wife. One night, however, a policeman rings at the door and informs the couple that their girl servants are out dancing. In what follows, Herbert and the policeman discuss the difficulty of finding good servants. The latter convincingly argues that servants are not brought up well. ‘[…] Instead of learning to make good wives and mothers, they are learning to play the piano, and go to dancing places, and to write letters, when they should be at work […]’ (101). The importance of a good education is raised, indirectly revealing the ideas the Ladies’ Treasury projects about morals and manners, and the way women (of a certain class) should be educated.

‘In the Way It is Done’ is announced as a tale of ‘Mrs. Warren’ and offers an even more compelling example. The instalment starts out with setting the scene: in an old church town, two young people are getting married. We are informed that the bride was educated in London and the groom was originally from Sunley, a small fishing town. They are to live in a house overlooking the Church Avenue Gardens. The house itself becomes a topic of discussion for the villagers when Mr. Lincoln, a doctor, enquires whether the house is ‘healthy’ to live in. He believes it is not ideally situated, is not drained well, and might be damp. People who are accustomed to living in such housing might feel no immediate negative impact, but others certainly will. Later on, Mr. Lincoln also advises an old woman with rheumatism to drain the water from her back door, to sleep with blankets instead of cotton counterpanes (as ‘cotton keeps the sour heat and perspiration from the body in the bed, and so you breathe poisoned air all night’) and drink potash before every meal (99). This practical advice is communicated to the reader in detail. Moreover, at the end of this first chapter, a comment on the education of women is inserted, although in a more indirect, covert way: At this moment in the narrative, Mr. Lincoln is familiar to the reader, and he points out that

“a clever, well-educated father, having a weak-minded woman for his wife, rarely ever can show us a son equally gifted with himself.”
“I have heard that remark before,” said Mr. Cameron.
“Yes, it is not mine. It is said, however, to be founded on fact, and, if so, is a truth which cannot be too often repeated, if only for the reason that the education of women should be equal in degree, if not in subject, with that of man” (102)

78 At the end of the story, Mr. and Mrs. Norton do find a good ‘help’ to manage the house, a governess who possesses the necessary qualities.
79 Instalment of February, 1877, pp.96-102. Simultaneously, this forms the first chapter of the book (1878).
The character of Mr. Lincoln is artfully put to use. Mrs Warren first presents Mr. Lincoln as a wise man, who advises the villagers on various (health) matters, and is invariably proven right. After his reputation is established, she has him argue that women should be as highly educated as men. Moreover, she makes him add that this wisdom is not his own, but ‘to be founded on fact’ and thus carrying even more weight. In this way, within a fictional form, Mrs Warren is able to expose her views on women’s rights, woven into household-related matters. She does not have to write a polemic tract upon the subject, nor does she need to resort to complete anonymity, or (masculine) pseudonymity. Next to manipulating her own name, Mrs Warren plays with gender boundaries by attributing certain statements to (male) characters. Their revelations and expressions are hence not immediately to be traced back to her own. While some women writers directly confronted the dominant view on domestic life and ingrained assumptions about women, and hence crossed the boundaries between separate and private sphere, Mrs Warren’s approach in this article is much more circumspect. This is in line with the magazine’s careful discussion of the Woman Question, as illustrated in chapter four.

5.2.2 A Woman in a Man’s World

Although more than 1,500 women are known to have contributed to the press during the Victorian era, the majority of this number remains anonymous (Easley, 2004:2). At the time, women’s diminished place in society led to their public lives rarely being important to contemporary bibliographers, nor their work deemed worthy enough for detailed study (Palmegiano, 1976:3). As editors their names are more widespread, but nevertheless women exercising editorial power and authority almost never became editors of key periodicals like Blackwood’s or Westminster, and generally had to construct their own platforms (Trela, 1996:90). This did not necessarily imply that they could easily tear down gender boundaries. Even in these more personal women projects, the way editors took charge varied. Some explicitly played out their feminine side, while others took on a more masculine persona. At times a (fictional) identity was staged, or the identity was authentic but could either be hidden or flaunted. In order to situate Mrs Warren’s practice, I take a closer look at several other female editors of fairly mainstream publications. While creating more than one authorial identity was common in journalism, I demonstrate how the case of the Ladies’ Treasury’s editor is particularly interesting. Once more the commercial angle proves paramount in this study.

First, it might be useful to return to the issues raised at the beginning of this chapter and reflect on phrases such as ‘by a Lady.’ As I have shown earlier, the phrase ‘by the author of’ does not specifically refer to a person but functions as a kind of advertisement to a previous performance. Similarly, ‘by a mother’ or ‘by the mother of
a family' is used as a promotional device and can serve a specific purpose (Griffin, 1999:880). While it does suppress the name of the author, it implies other information such as gender and (social) position. It can prove very useful to analyse what the feminine signified and how it could be manipulated commercially (and linked to the value of female authorship). Instead of being suppressed, it could rather be promoted as a certain model of femininity (Raven, 2003:12). Margaret Ezell, too, in her study of early modern writers, addresses the habit in literary criticism to claim that women shared a need for anonymity and developed authorial strategies to protect their reputations as socially acceptable females. She points out that such interpretations invariably study the practice of anonymity as being imposed, and linked to the gender conflicts present within a culture (2003:63). In her article ‘By a Lady: the Mask of the Feminine in Restoration, Early Eighteenth-Century Print Culture,’ she acknowledges that ‘by a Lady’ was a popular solution in Restoration England, but refuses to assert that it was used solely as a protective measure. On the contrary, Ezell looks at it as a costume rather than as a disguise. ‘It serves the purpose of a certain type of role that is being performed, a type of personality that is being staged’ (ibid. 64).

In contrast to ‘the Editor,’ using a female description (whether it is ‘the Editress,’ ‘Eliza Warren,’ or ‘Mrs. Warren’), indicates (in the words of Ezell) ‘a female presence, and female voice from behind the feminine mask.’ Such measures were a means of engaging the desired consumers of the texts (women), and appealed to a clearly delineated female community of readers as having shared interests. ‘By a Lady’ signified that behind the work was an authoritative woman, speaking to women (2003:74). Hence, Ezell proposes that the feminine mask can also act as ‘an amplification device as well as a cloaking one, an attractive advertisement rather than a humble excuse’ (ibid. 74). In the same way, in the case of the Ladies’ Treasury, Mrs Warren presents herself as a woman writing to other women when convenient. She does not disguise her gender but rather makes it the central feature of appeal to her readership. She uses it as an appeal to a shared femininity, to shared concerns. Likewise, when using a male persona, she draws on ingrained assumptions about masculinity and knowledge.

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80 Although ‘by a lady’ can also be employed by a middle-class, male periodical contributor, of course. Nevertheless, the intended effect on the audience remains the most important factor.
81 James Raven, too, acknowledges this, and in his article ‘The Anonymous Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1830,’ he shows that the great majority of the 44% named works published in this period were by female authors (2003).
82 The Feminist Companion to Literature, for instance, characterizes the use as being a ‘discreet, conciliating’ choice. This implicates that the woman writer, recognizing the social forces arrayed against her, simultaneously acknowledged their power by adopting one of their code words for appropriate feminine utterance, ‘lady’ (Ezell, 2003:67).
With her persona of ‘Mrs. Warren,’ editor of the *Ladies’ Treasury* (as stated on the cover page), she elicits a comparison with other female editors.\(^3\) While some made femininity central to their editorial style, others were more experimental. As a first example, the *EDM* provides a straightforward case of flaunting femininity on its pages. In the glory days of the magazine, Isabella Beeton was the domestic expert, clearly feminine, and Samuel Beeton acted out the role of a flirtatious yet stern headmaster. After Isabella Beeton died and Samuel Beeton had to sell his magazine, Mrs Matilda Brown (‘Myra,’ or ‘Silkworm’) became editoress. Beetham describes her role in the magazine as the readers’ alter ego or friend: ‘in constructing a feminine identity around shopping and in creating a sympathetic public persona for herself as a woman writer, “Myra” re-worked existing traditions of a women’s place’ (1996:81). In her function as editor, then, Matilda Brown did not conceal her gender but made it central to her persona. She made the female presence in the *EDM* much more overt from 1865 onwards (Palmer, 2011:33).\(^4\) Likewise, as ‘Silkworm’ in the magazine’s fashion pages, Brown identified what was new and fashionable and informed the readers of where to buy it. In both cases, femininity is used as a mode of display. Although the *EDM* is the best example for a comparison because of its very similar audience as a middle-class women’s magazine (and its role as most important competitor), a brief discussion of the female editors of several other publication with a middle-class audience, but not limited to women, may be useful.

Eliza Cook of the *Eliza Cook’s Journal* (1849–1854), forms a different example. Her weekly periodical is probably one of the best-known endeavours of a woman in the nineteenth century, and with a focus on women (addressing both domestic and work issues) it was aimed at the lower middle classes (Johnston, 2009:140). Despite the journal’s name, and obviously female editor, Johnston notes that Cook’s articles evinced a lively, humorous style suggesting a male persona (ibid.). Cook’s columns also employed the plural ‘we,’ an editorial style mostly associated with a male voice (Fraser et al., 2003:98). In her appearance as well, Cook was notorious for adopting masculine dress and short hair (ibid. 95). Nevertheless, she did not actively manipulate her own name (her name appeared under each editorial), and despite the masculine style and appearance, Eliza Cook was still clearly a woman.

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\(^3\) Or female author-editors like Marrayt, Braddon and Wood, discussed by Beth Palmer (2011). Mrs Warren may not have promoted sensational fiction in the *Ladies’ Treasury*, but she did advertise her own work within its pages.

\(^4\) Both in Isabella Beeton’s and Matilda Brown’s case, Joan Rivière’s concept of ‘womanliness as a masquerade’ is useful. As Fraser et al. state, this concept can be connected to the Victorian age. Female editors and contributors strategically adopted a mask of femininity and tried to compensate for their appropriation of masculinity by excessively performing femininity (2003:43).
Ellen Wood’s editorship of *Argosy* (1865-1901) and Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s management of *Belgravia* (1867-1899) are two other interesting examples of female editors. *Argosy* and *Belgravia* were shilling monthlies with a focus on (light) literature, and both Wood and Braddon used their respective ventures to promote their fiction.\footnote{As did Mrs Warren, although her work cannot be classified as truly ‘literary.’} Ellen Wood,\footnote{Also known as Mrs Henry Wood.} for one, was known as the author of many short-stories and the serial novel *East Lynne* (1861) and with her image as a private, domestic woman, her editorship restored the propriety of *Argosy* (Turner, 2009:687). Wood presented herself as a hobbyist, emphasizing her roles as a proper wife and mother, but although she clearly played up her womanliness, she used the *Argosy* to promote her work in a very professional way (Phegley, 2005:181). As Jennifer Phegley argues, Wood craftily employed her gentlewomanly demeanour ‘to establish her career and obtain a position as editor of her own family literary magazine which she then used to forge a new public image as a respectable professional woman writer’ (2005:181). Like Wood, Mary Elizabeth Braddon also used her feminine image in her management of *Belgravia*, next to creating a forum that was friendly to low-status popular literary forms such as sensation fiction (Robinson, 1995:109). On the cover of her books, Braddon at times employed two pseudonyms. She sometimes wrote under ‘Babington White’ (her mother’s maiden name), and also published the novel *The Good Hermione* (1886) as ‘Aunt Belinda’ (Phegley, 2009:24). In her magazine, she used her own name, but actively handled the publication to overtly engage in critical debates as a woman (Robinson, 1995:111).

While the women editors above are characterized by their (sometimes domestic) femininity, and keenly displayed if not exploited it, Florence Marryat, editor of *London Society* magazine (1872-1876),\footnote{The magazine itself ran from 1862 to 1898.} is described by Beth Palmer as a woman who moves away from the domestic model of editorship (particularly embodied by the likes of Charlotte Yonge of the *Monthly Packet* (1851-1899). Marryat demonstrates how editorship could also be imagined to draw on the performance of female strengths (2009b:140). In her discussion of Marryat’s editorial persona, Palmer argues that ‘manipulation and multiplication of identity results in the possibility of alternate selves for the readers.’ She also notes how the employment of various editorial constructions illuminates how the nineteenth-century press operated (Palmer, 2009a:149-150). In the course of her career, Marryat adjusts her various identities in order to establish herself on the literary market place: she pretends to be clueless about the commercial publishing world, performs the role of the ‘amenable’ young writer, acts literary humility, and plays both the innocently victimized woman and the dutiful daughter of Captain Fredrick Marryat
Here, the performance of gender reveals how ‘gendered identities at work in the nineteenth-century press could be assumed or removed in response to various demands from diverse parts of the network of production’ (Palmer, 2009a:136). With regard to this case study of the Ladies’ Treasury, one can argue that the employment of the gendered signatures unites the periodical’s readers along gender lines. The articles signed by the editor can be ‘safely’ read by male readers too, while this would be less likely the case with issues addressed by ‘Mrs. Warren.’ Nevertheless, Marryat’s case does not compare to Mrs Warren’s identities. First, the former’s different performances still carry a feminine connotation (the innocent and naive young woman writer) and secondly, they are mostly situated in the letters to and from contributors. ‘Chieftaness,’ ‘Great Duchess,’ ‘Editress! Mysterious Being!,’ do vary in social status and exotic value, but they are clearly linked to the identity of a woman.

This permanent link to femininity can be said to have more than one interpretation. In the public as well as the private sphere, women’s work demanded a balance between self-display and self-withdrawal within a series of possible roles. Because the house style of a magazine was linked to the general practice of editing, the kind of identities attributed to the contributors or the editor (including their gender) needed to be considered. Depending on the ideology the magazine wanted to project, the editorship could then work fully to maintain the separation of the spheres, or fully attempt to breach it (Fraser et al., 2003:81). Wood and Braddon wanted to reach a female audience to promote their novels, the EDM and Eliza Cook also had a female audience in mind, and London Society, too, was an illustrated magazine with a focus on the lighter themes such as ‘holidays and travel, the arts, and the pursuits of high society: hunting, balls, dinner parties, the marriage market and London life’ (Palmer, DNCJ, 2009:377).

In the Ladies’ Treasury, Mrs Warren does not obviously breach the separate spheres (as was sometimes the case in feminist publications), nor does she clearly want to maintain them. She balances between different forms of femininity, as well as masculinity, possibly a technique for constructing and maintaining a large readership. By using several forms of identity, she at once embraces the domestic model of editorship (with ‘the Editress’ and ‘Mrs. Warren’) while simultaneously breaking away from it (‘the Editor’ and ‘E.Warren’ bear male and gender-neutral connotations). On the cover of a mainstream, middle-class, women’s magazine, ‘Mrs. Warren’ is quite appropriate, but her other names, in association with specifically chosen articles, stress the importance of identity construction. The signatures she uses designate a particular male or female mode, suitable for the article, and diverse alterations (and variations) trigger surprising identity-effects. This can either imply the need to appear genuine to the magazine’s

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88 Her father was popular for his nautical tales and the novel Peter Simple (1834), and as Palmer points out, Florence was unafraid to shamelessly trade on his fame (2009A:1).
female readers, or, as I have already suggested, hint at a way of attracting a broader readership (including men). Instead of publishing certain articles anonymously, using a more gender neutral or male signature enables Mrs Warren to address a broader audience and subject matter. The cover grants her to explore a range of conventionally 'masculine' issues, and hence allows her to evade what we now perceive as essentialist notions of 'feminine' voice and identity. Moreover, she uses a range of female identities ('Mrs. Warren,' ‘Eliza Warren,’ ‘the Editress’). The polyvalence of 'femininity' as idea or ideal is once more stressed by such acts, as three different forms of the feminine are employed.

Additionally, combinations of the four personae occur, in which 'the Editor' or ‘the Editress’ are combined with ‘Eliza Warren,’ or ‘Mrs. Warren.’ Although it is not always clear why two such labels are linked, the tone of the article is often adjusted to fit the name. ‘The Influenza and its Treatments’ is signed by ‘Eliza Warren, editor.’ Her gender is already revealed by her first name, and emphasising this by using ‘Editress’ may have seemed redundant. Although the article is quite factual about medical aspects, a more personal touch is added: ‘the instructions for administering a steam-bath I have followed several times during a rather long life, always with success, and have given it when the patient could not be removed from the bed’ (122). Also, the act of nursing is invoked, a feminine activity. Similarly, in the advertisement columns, ‘Cookery Cards for the Kitchen’ and ‘A Series of Family Dinners and How to Carve Them’ are attributed to ‘Mrs. Warren, Editor of the Ladies' Treasury.’ Here, too, there is no need to insist twice on her femininity. ‘The Story of the Obelisk as Told by Itself’ is signed by E.Warren, but a supplementary note on bibliographical material states that 'the editor of the LADIES’ TREASURY' is indebted for information to these books. Both 'the Editor' and 'E. Warren' sound masculine or at least gender-neutral.

5.2.3 Initials

As the last example illustrates, Mrs Warren’s four pen names are only the tip of the iceberg. Other signatures with comparable initials such as ‘E. Warren,’ ‘Warren Francis,’ ‘E.W.,’ ‘E.W.F.,’ and ‘E.J.W.F.’ can also be accredited to her and render her editorial identity even more muddled. Nevertheless, the use of these initials cannot be ignored as they occur very frequently in the magazine. Foucault’s claims that a text always

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90 February 1892, p.122.
91 A series from January 1879 to April 1879.
92 A similar example is the column ‘Information’ in November 1887, which is unsigned, but where a footnote again reveals the editor’s signature.
contains a number of signs referring to the author, such as a certain use of adverbs, verb conjugations and personal pronouns: an awareness of that author’s characteristics need to be known before the signs can be identified. Establishing the identity of the author of various articles in the Ladies’ Treasury by means of a set of signs in the form of the different pseudonyms also relies on an identification of the association between signs and content. Although I have not used them in this study, I have explored recently developed computer techniques for assigning identity to anonymous or pseudonymous texts, such as the Burrows method. While it is impossible to attribute all of the abbreviations to the editor (especially the very vague initials ‘E.’ and the ‘W.’), the recent genealogical research conducted on Mrs Warren has made it possible to link most other initials to her person without having to rely on ingenious computer software designed to identify authors.

The most convincing evidence which first validated my suspicion of Mrs Warren’s many names is a slip-up in the January issue of 1878. In this issue, a chapter of The Useful Book, an instalment customarily signed by ‘Mrs. Warren’ is signed by ‘E.W.F.’ This aroused my interest, and next to suggesting that ‘Mrs. Warren’ and ‘E.W.F’ are one and the same person, it equally strengthened the possibility that many other similar initials refer to Mrs Warren. Also, an instalment ‘On the Training of Servants’ is published without a signature, but previously appeared under ‘E. Warren.’ In this informative article discussed earlier, younger girls are preferred as servants. Similarly, in the account by Mrs Warren on her Lady-Help, girls of twenty-five are also said to be too old and less reliable than younger ones. We read that ‘a lady who will not take servants of the usual description, trains girls of sixteen to work in a methodical and intelligent manner; she will not take them older, says they are not “trainable,” but permeated with bad advice and slovenly ideas’ (92). Moreover, a thorough look at the topics of certain magazine articles sometimes proves helpful: pieces such as ‘A Useful Employment for Competent Women’ and ‘On the Training of Servants’ were almost certainly written by Eliza Warren.

The other articles signed by ‘E. Warren,’ a fairly neutral name lacking straightforward gender indication, are diverse: from historical explanations such as ‘Alchemy and Chemistry’ to various forms of fiction like ‘Grandmother’s Furniture’ and ‘The

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92 Foucault, 2006:287.
93 Jordan et al., 2006.
94 February 1885, pp.92-94.
97 “E. Warren,” 1885, A series from February 1885 to August 1885.
98 Not in the least because both signatures start with the exact same letters.
This last fictional account discusses the teaching of governesses, and also touches upon the importance of women's education and training. In the story, Mrs Reedham is lecturing two young girls:

Don't either of you imagine that I am decrying proper education for women. On the contrary, I will tell you what women should know that they may teach whatever children are committed to their care, whether their own or those of strangers [...] A woman should know something of history, ancient and modern, and a little about the chief literature of her country' (435-436).

She also goes on about the importance of astronomy and ethnology, when Lettie Clayton, one of the girls, exclaims: ‘But surely you don’t mean that women should not be taught domestic life?’ (436), but Mrs Reedham quickly assures her that domestic knowledge is of course pivotal to a woman’s education as well. In contrast to Mrs Warren’s ‘In the Way It Is Done,’ the roles are reversed. Here, a specific view on women’s education is voiced by a female character, while the account itself is presented to the reader by ‘E. Warren’ (a name which could be male or female). This example possibly underlines that the Ladies' Treasury, even in the 1880s, was still very wary of explicitly voicing its editor’s opinion and explored various ways of articulating opinions on topics that were less ‘safe.’ A strict balance between intellectual cultivation and domestic excellence remained the aim of middle-class women.

Three additional articles on the same topic enrich our knowledge of the network around the editor’s names. ‘The Crystal Palace (from an educational point of view),’ is written by ‘Warren Francis,’ and despite its different persona, the piece displays similarities with the article entitled ‘The Fire at the Crystal Palace’ in the February 1867 issue, and with ‘Our Noble Crystal Palace’ (April 1887), both signed by ‘the Editor.’ All articles discuss education and knowledge, refer to history and the bible, discuss music, and are factual and informative. There is a particular resemblance between the first article by ‘Warren Francis,’ and the second article by ‘the Editor,’ published more than ten years later. ‘Warren Francis’ describes how ‘music was then thought of little importance, as the only portion of the vast pile appropriated to music was that very exquisitely decorated room, both in its exterior and interior, which is now known as the “Bohemian Glass Court”’ (306). The depiction of the rooms in the article by ‘the Editor’ is very similar.

100 Vol.XIII, no.6, New Series, June 1872, pp.306-308.
When the Palace was first erected, and for some time afterwards, music of any character formed no part of the programme. The small space now occupied by the china and the glass, at the south end of the Palace, a beautifully decorated room certainly, was all that was appropriated to a band of very few performers, the vacant spaces filled with an exhibition of pianos for sale (213).

Analysing and speculating about the hidden identities that lurk behind such abbreviations, and relating them to one and the same person, Mrs Warren, editor of the magazine, is interesting in its own right. Such investigation can help us understand author- and editorship. Pinpointing exactly why she would have wanted to use so many variations and abbreviations of her own name, however, remains fairly mysterious. Nevertheless, it is clear that, despite the many guises, she wanted her identity to be discovered. If she had preferred to be anonymous, simply inventing numerous other initials and abbreviations would have been the easy option. Again, in comparison to Marryat’s editorial identity, she also sought to foster ‘a conscious awareness of the state of performance from a readership or audience’ (Palmer, 2009A:3). In the Ladies’ Treasury’s case, this conscious awareness of the public is indisputable if one takes a closer look at the initials. These all contain only the first letter of one, two, or more of the last names Eliza Warren carried. Here too, the signatures used, each with only very slight alterations, prove to be contested sites of meaning. They are too obvious to function as true pseudonyms, and always contain at least a vague reference to the editor. As with the four main editorial personae, their multiplicity provides the possibility to at once invoke the presence of a large number of various contributors, while simultaneously denouncing it. All signatures are too alike to be truly deceptive, and there is only a (limited) use of name plays and initials: only the letters E, W, F, and J occur as signatures in different combinations.

5.2.4 Naming in Mrs Warren’s Books

Interestingly, the issue of naming also figures prominently in Mrs Warren’s fictional best-sellers. A small aside on her publications outside the magazine might help view the use of the various name variations in the Ladies’ Treasury in a different light. Although it was probably not a secret that Mrs Warren’s accounts were fictional (in each book, the main character, her husband, and children have different names), the writings in each novel are nevertheless presented as truthful and confessional. The titles flaunt the

101 Another possibility is that, with the variations on her own name, she wanted to boast about how much of the articles she wrote herself to the avid magazine readers (the insiders).
personal pronoun ‘I’: in 1863, Mrs Warren published a series of nine monthly contributions on ‘How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,’ followed by a longer sequence of fourteen contributions on ‘How I Managed My Children’ in 1864-1865.  Both feature widowed narrators who have lost one or more children.

In the first narrative, Milly Allison marries her husband Frederick ‘very young,’ and they lose their baby daughter at an early stage.  They subsequently move to a semi-detached house ‘only three miles from London,’ where two more children are born.  Part of the reason for moving is the debts they are in.  ‘[...] I thought my husband's income an El Dorado of gold, quite sufficient for all needs, and to spare, and wondered very much at the end of the first year of our marriage, that I could not quite make both ends meet.’  The couple lives in their new house until Frederick’s death forces Milly to leave the house and seek a position as a housekeeper.  In the last instalment, Milly deplores the fact that she did not know anything about running a household.  ‘Even had I been brought up to have known the prices of food before I entered upon marriage, we should not have made a false start in the world.’  ‘A woman who means to play her part well,’ the series concludes, must be

a good manager, so that every duty shall have its allotted time [...] a good financier, so as to make not only every penny do its work, but occasionally the work of twopence [...] and [...] a good diplomatist, for concord, and comfort, and pleasant results should be the result of her management.’

Mrs Warren’s series in her magazine already disclosed how much she knew about this topic of house management.

Mary, the narrator of ‘How I Managed My Children,’ is a widowed mother whose two eldest children die of consumption in adolescence.  Her youngest children are two boys called Walter and Frank, and she also had three daughters, Alice, Mary and Janet.  Alice is useful, quiet and observant.  She is ‘adept at her needle’ and helps the dressmaker.  For daughter Mary, however, home duties do not suffice.  She does have a particular talent for drawing and, after sending illustrations to magazine editors and book

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102 It has to be noted that this is not a strict month-to-month publication.  Once in a while, a month is skipped. For instance in March 1864, no instalment is published.
103 ‘How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,’ vol.VII, no.1, February 1863, p.38.
104 ‘How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,’ vol.VII, no.2, March 1863, p.70.
105 ‘How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,’ vol.VII, no.1, February 1863, p.38.
106 ‘How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,’ vol.VII, no.9, September 1863, p.255.
107 ‘How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,’ vol.VII, no.9, LT, September 1863, p.257.
108 The title of the series is ‘How I Managed My Children,’ a shortened version of the complete title How I Managed My Children From Infancy to Marriage (1865).
publishers, eventually finds work as a wood engraver for children’s books. Through her characters, Mrs Warren emphasizes the importance of a good employment for girls. Because Mary is said to have a mathematical turn of mind, the job of capital engraver would be ideal for her. Mary’s mother states that both she and her husband ‘[…] think it better that girls should have something to interest them – something to render them independent of marriage, if a suitable union cannot be attained.’ Janet marries a surgeon with whom she has seven children and lives in perfect happiness ‘until death [comes] and remove[s] the bread-winner of the flock.’ Luckily, her mother explains, Janet’s husband had designated his wife as the beneficiary of his life insurance, thus allowing her and the children to stay in the family home and lead a relatively comfortable life after his death. Janet discharges her servants and takes the management of the household into her own hands. When her mother asks her why she always gets up two hours before the rest of the family, she confesses:

Well, if you must know, dear mamma, I am turning author. You remember that Pope says, “Trifles make the sum of human life,” and indeed they make the sum and comfort of a home, and although I thought I knew everything when I was married, experience showed me how little I knew of the importance of trifles. Great doors turn on small hinges, and great comforts hinge on little matters. And so, mamma, being willing and desirous, and so forth, to help others by removing certain sharp pebbles which sometimes unawares pull one up, I have written down my experiences in a book, which I mean to call “The Book of Home Comforts for Small Incomes,” and you must not see till it is printed [sic] (112).

Despite her mother’s remonstrance that ‘it is an awful thing to appear in print, Janet; and how will you get it published?’ Janet is confident that her sister Mary in London will help her to succeed. The narrator’s task as a mother ends here. She has ‘managed [her] children to set them out in life, and they in turn are doing their best to train theirs in every good and useful work, having no unseemly ignorant pride, but a very high notion of the ‘DIGNITY OF LABOUR.’ This vision can be connected to Mrs Warren’s own take on the subject of work and employment. In chapter four I have already demonstrated her views, and of course her own job as editor and author links her to the story.

111 ‘How I Managed My Children,’ vol.IV, no.5, May 1865, p.139; and p.99 in the book version of 1865.
112 ‘How I Managed My Children,’ vol.IV, no.5, May 1865, p.139.
113 ‘How I Managed My Children,’ vol.IV, no.5, May 1865, p.139, and page 100 in the book version of 1865.
Hence, notwithstanding the ever-changing characters, it is tempting to read parts of her fictional accounts as autobiographical. Unlike Isabella Beeton, whose *Book of Household Management* used the conventional prescriptive mode, Mrs Warren adopted a number of authorial personae which, when mapped onto the details of her life, reveal a blurring of the boundaries between this fiction and reality. But there are discrepancies, however. The issue of motherhood which figures prominently in her domestic tales is certainly worth discussing. The practical details in her books are presented as if based on personal experience, but the census data do not mention any children of Mrs Warren being registered, and her application to the Royal Literary Fund, too, states that she had no children.\(^{114}\) Nevertheless, even though Mrs Warren never experienced motherhood herself, the need to invent a family on which loosely to base her domestic guides was paramount. In the Victorian period, motherhood was perceived as central to what defined a woman. Hence, without children of her own, Mrs Warren would have been unable to embody convincingly the role that society would demand of her as a female journalist, editor and successful author of household books. The acquisition of authority in such matters might have been considered impossible without some personal experience, as her fame was based on her status of respectable wife and mother.\(^{115}\) Sally Shuttleworth emphasizes that motherhood was set at the ideological centre of the bourgeois ideal. Even with the beginnings of the Women’s Movement in the 1860s, female reformers were reluctant to voice a challenge to the sacred ideals of motherhood (1992:31). Without successfully experiencing maternity, a woman, it was believed, was incomplete – a state which was also threatened by the competing demands of wifehood (ibid. 35). As Mrs Warren (or at least her main character) reminds the reader in *How I Managed My Children*, within family life, the husband and children should be equally looked after. She warns women not to neglect their husbands: ‘home will be no home to him; he will become irritable and seek comfort elsewhere’ (1865:42).

Moreover, Mrs Warren herself invites a comparison between herself and the characters she writes about by deliberately causing confusion about the fictional character of her works. On the cover of *How I Managed My Children From Infancy to Marriage* (1865), Mrs Warren is said to be the writer, as well as ‘Editress of the “Ladies’ Treasury”’ and ‘author of “How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year.”’ The preface additionally does not mention that it is a fictional account (or an account that is not her own). Like the title page, the preface draws attention to Mrs Warren’s previous work:

\(^{114}\) Royal Literary Fund, case file 2525.

\(^{115}\) Mrs Warren probably gained experience in childcare as an aunt to Ada.
The Authoress begs to express her grateful acknowledgements for the favourable reception which her previous work, “How I Managed my House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,” has been received, many thousands having been sold. She indulges the hope that “How I Managed my Children from Infancy to Marriage” may be found to service to all mothers and daughters, but more especially to those of the middle class life, for whose use and benefit it has been written (IV).

However, in the first instalment of ‘How I Managed my Children’ (By a mother), the account is introduced differently. The article starts with the following:

Having read the article running through several numbers of the Ladies’ Treasury in 1863, “How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,” and knowing that in more than one instance the good counsel therein conveyed has been a benefit, with the kind permission of the editress I am induced to give the incidents, with reference to my children, of a past life, now perhaps drawing to its close (22).

While in the instalments, Mrs Warren pretends that someone else sent in this life story, which is then published in the magazine ‘with the kind permission of the editress,’ in the book she acknowledges that it is her own work.

A similarly confusing example is brought about by the book Janet is said to have written. Janet tells us that she has ‘written down (her) experiences in a book’ she means to call The Book of Home Comfort for Small Incomes. To the title of the book Janet has written in ‘How I Managed My Children,’ a footnote is added stating: “This book will be published shortly, of which due notice will be given in the Correspondence column of the Ladies’ Treasury.” In the book version, the footnote is formulated slightly differently: ‘The first chapter of this book commenced in the June number of the Ladies’ Treasury, 1865’ (100). These instalments, serialized indeed in the Ladies’ Treasury from the June issue onwards in 1865, are as announced signed by ‘Mrs. Janet Wynter’s Experiences in Housekeeping.’ In the instalment of June 1865, however, the story is said to be written ‘by the author of How I managed my House’ (179), which readers knew was a handbook by Mrs Warren. Moreover, the book version of the serialized instalments of ‘Mrs. Janet Wynter’s Experiences in Housekeeping,’ was entitled Comfort for Small Incomes (1866), by ‘Mrs. Warren.’

116 Vol.VIII, no.1, January 1864, p.22.
117 Janet, who is introduced to us as Mary’s daughter.
118 ‘How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year,’ vol.IX, no.5, May 1865, p.139, Book version, 1865, page 100.
119 LT, vol.IX, no.5, May 1865, p.139.
120 Published in the LT, vol IX (June - December 1865).
Additionally, Mrs Warren also inserts a passage in the book edition of How I Managed My Children in which Mary and her daughter decide to call their cookery book The Epicure, ‘because the word signified all that was excellent but not luxurious or extravagant.’

‘The Epicure,’ however, was a cooking column that ran intermittently between February 1861 and May 1865 in the Ladies’ Treasury and appears to have been recovered by Warren Francis from Timethrift. The book version by ‘Mrs Warren’ is advertised on the dust jacket of How I Managed My Children but it is unclear whether it was ever published. Also announced is a series of six Cards for the Kitchen explaining the basic rules of cooking. In ‘Comfort for Small Incomes’ itself, however, it is aspiring author Jane who comes up with this plan, and a footnote promises that the cards “will be ready in February 1866.” Similarly, in her capacity of editor of the Ladies’ Treasury, Mrs Warren announces in a footnote to an unsigned three-part series on the ‘Education of Daughters of Working Men’ in 1862 that she had ‘made arrangements with the author […] to supply in the column of the Epicure […] copious information’ on the art of cooking.

That same year, however, Houlston and Wright published A Scheme for the Education of Daughters of Working Men by E. Warren Francis, thereby revealing perhaps not to Victorian readers, but certainly to us now, that she had been once more staging a performance, this time in the shape of a conversation with herself in the role of external contributor to her own magazine.

5.3 Conclusion

Editing a magazine meant participation in the public sphere, a far from obvious choice for the Victorian woman. Editing was seen as a very public and demanding job, therefore often labelled as ‘distinctly masculine’ as it entailed dealing with authors, publishers, and artists (Hunt, 1996:109). With the increase in the number of

121 Mrs. Warren, How I Managed My Children from Infancy to Marriage, book version 1865, p.60.
122 Mrs Warren discontinued the column in the Ladies’ Treasury after discovering that her recipes had been copied by American women’s magazines. In and instalment of ‘Cookery on an Income of Two Hundred Pounds a year,’ Mrs Warren warned other pirates that ‘the reproduction in print of any portion of this subject is interdicted’ (vol.VII, no.1, January 1869, New Series, p.2) (De Ridder and Van Remoortel, forthcoming 2011).
123 ‘Comfort for Small Incomes, or Mrs. Janet Winter’s Experience in Housekeeping,’ vol.IX, no.12, December 1865, p.368 (LT)
124 ‘A Scheme for the Education of Daughters of Working Men,’ the Editor, vol.VI, no.4, April 1862, p.111.
publications in the 1830s, it was also a highly competitive endeavour. By mid-century, the role of editor had become ‘an exalted position, dominated by powerful literary personalities,’ and if women were to compete in such a male arena, this might have seemed to challenge the ‘natural order’ of society (Hunt, 1996:109). Hence, analysing why Mrs Warren played with the gendered meanings of her own identity is significant, especially with a focus on the way in which she employed stereotypical ideas on masculinity and femininity in order to sell her magazine. Her guises relate ‘the circumstances of production to [...] the family, and to society, with its fashion and ideologies’ (Maclean, 1991:276). Although she claimed to be ‘simply Mrs. Warren,’ she did establish her identity in a variety of ways.

Both as contributors and (overtly) female editors, women in journalism faced many challenges. ‘Female authorship’ was very much limited to certain subject choices, and, as writers and editors, women had to perform a certain role. As editors, they either displayed their femininity and made it central to their editorial style, like ‘Myra’ (Matilda Brown) or Charlotte Yonge, or they took on a more masculine persona, such as Eliza Cook. As I have demonstrated, Mrs Warren’s use of various name variations and initials, all (overtly) referring to her own true name, is of a different category. Commercially, like Ellen Wood and Mary Braddon, her name on the title page was used both to promote the magazine as well as the books she wrote, but the promotional angle and the provision of a perfect fit between article, signature and intended audience was taken even further. The use of her full name, ‘Eliza Warren,’ was clearly limited to various articles on feminine topics (though not necessarily domestic), whereas articles specifically targeting the middle-class housewife were published under the authority of a ‘Mrs.’ When discussing ‘The Burning of the Dead at Back Bay,’ or the ‘Our Noble Crystal Palace,’ the articles were signed by a more appropriate gender-neutral pen.

While Mrs Warren never published completely anonymously or pseudonymously, and her initials were the only examples of quasi-pseudonymity, her many signatures reveal that the issue of gender plays a very important role in a more traditional women’s magazine. The use of a specific variation of her name immediately entailed certain boundaries and limitations, mostly gendered and social ones. The way she presented herself to her readers was never straightforward: as Mrs Warren she could also make a male character air certain views, while as ‘E. Warren,’ she could again choose a female character to voice her opinion. Once more, this juggling of authorial personae is very much in keeping with the idea of the Ladies’ Treasury’s balancing acts.

Chapter 6. The Cult of Beauty

Case Study no.5: Beauty, Appearance, and Fashion in the Ladies’ Treasury

‘Morbid anatomy has long enough served as a type of feminine loveliness. Health is coming into fashion’ (‘The Health and Physical Development of Girls,’ LT, vol.VIII, no.11, November 1864, p.345)
In her book *Forever Feminine: Women’s Magazines and the Cult of Femininity* (1983), Marjorie Ferguson asks why one should analyse the beauty pages (42). While her work focuses on modern-day magazines, and thus easily allows her to pose such a question (because of the sheer quantity of beauty pages), beauty pages as such were not as ubiquitous in Victorian women’s magazines as they were in the 1980s or today. The women’s magazines we are familiar with display numerous tips on what make-up to buy and how to apply it, but beauty products only received fairly limited coverage until the fin de siècle (when advertising in general soared). However, it would be naive to think that beauty and appearance were not present in the press before that date. A beautiful and attractive appearance has always been indispensable for women and in the nineteenth century it became prominently linked with fashion, a quickly growing feature of middle-class women’s magazines. In their pages, beauty and dress prove to have been inextricably bound up with domestic ideology, economics, and publishing strategies.

In this final chapter, I look at three major paradoxes in Victorian perceptions of beauty and appearance, and discuss these in relation to the *Ladies’ Treasury* by analysing both articles and correspondence columns. First, beauty is on the one hand presented as a very natural asset, while on the other hand plenty of means are termed indispensable to enhance this ‘natural’ perfection (a paradox still valid nowadays). Secondly, the image of the dutiful, domestic woman is contrasted with the ideal of the extraordinarily beautiful wife. Nevertheless, the perfect woman ought to embody both. Finally, an analysis of corsets and tight-lacing reveals the discordant image of the Victorian woman who had to wear a corset in order to be respectable and pure, while the garment itself shaped her body in such a manner that it inevitably induced a sexual connotation. In the discussion of how the *Ladies’ Treasury* relates to this seeming contradiction of tight-lacing, and performed its balancing acts, I show how the magazine once more proved different from its rival the *EDM*. While the *EDM* published very positive correspondence on the matter, the *Ladies’ Treasury* condemned the practice for various, sometimes surprising reasons.

According to Naomi Wolf, ‘most of our assumptions about the way women have thought about “beauty” date from no earlier than the 1830s, when the cult of domesticity was first consolidated and the beauty index invented’ (1991:15). The magazines produced for the middle classes contributed to this new take on beauty, while novel printing techniques helped reproduce ‘the ideal woman’ on a large scale. As a result, fashion plates and advertisements, using images of what were perceived as

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1. The abolition of advertisement and stamp duty in 1855 stimulated the growth in advertising activity, but real creative breakthrough did not come until the end of the century (Nevett, 1995:224).

2. As Naomi Wolf asserts: ‘though there has, of course, been a beauty myth in some form for as long as there has been patriarchy, the beauty myth in its modern form is a fairly recent invention’ (1991:14).
beautiful women, first appeared in mid-century and flooded the middle-class sphere (Wolf, 1991:15). While the EDM played the card of the visual, and integrated more images, the Ladies’ Treasury, that had always focused more on domestic knowledge (and on informative articles),³ resisted the rise of the ‘beauty myth’ for much longer. This does not imply that the magazine was revolutionary and did not consider beauty to be an important feminine quality. On the contrary, in its inaugural editorial the Ladies’ Treasury specifically stated that ‘the good and gifted do not now disdain the Graces.’⁴ However, by stressing other topics and taking a strong stand on issues such as tight-lacing, the Ladies’ Treasury opposed the EDM, refuting the argument that it was merely a ‘lacklustre’ copy-cat.⁵ Its contrasting focus that centred on the domestic rather than on the fashionable, and its recurring emphasis on health, body and mind, indicate a different approach and hence a distinct publication strategy. In the comparative sections, I mainly focus on the years between 1857 and 1879, as the EDM had ceased publication in 1879, and the Ladies’ Treasury was launched five years after the EDM. The analysis of the articles in the Ladies’ Treasury, however, extends to its final year of publication, 1895.

Before I present my analysis, I want to comment on my methodological approach in this chapter, and specifically on my decision to refrain from analysing visual material. As a literary scholar, I am wary of getting caught up in the for me at times obscure discipline of visual sociology. Although I have read research on the subject, I am often unconvinced by discussions of fashion plates and their ‘hidden’ meaning. Sharon Marcus’s article ‘Reflections on Victorian Fashion Plates’ (2003), for instance, discusses the erotic tension between women in fashion plates. Nevertheless, I repeatedly felt unable to distinguish such concealed ‘sexual’ friction in the images offered. I would like to guard myself from such and other ‘fanciful interpretations,’⁶ as I am not a visual sociologist, and text is what I know. This does not form an impediment to my study of the Ladies’ Treasury as the magazine itself uses relatively few visual images linked to fashion and appearance. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge how Margaret Beetham problematizes the analysis of nineteenth-century correspondence columns, and ‘reading’ female desire in a different time frame than our own. Articles are not necessarily written by the person who signs them, and readers’ letters are open to possible misinterpretations. Although this remark applies to all of the chapters, and

³ As argued in chapter 3.
⁵ As stated by Hughes, 2005:179. I cite Hughes because she is one of the few scholars to offer evaluative comments about the Ladies’ Treasury.
indeed to any study that analyses aspects of life in an age or culture that is not our own, I feel it is especially relevant for the topics discussed in this section.

6.1 Case Study no.5: Beauty and Fashion in the Ladies’ Treasury:

Wolf’s comments on the ‘beauty myth’ illustrate that the preoccupation with appearance was very much linked to the rise of the middle class. Ferguson sees women’s magazines aimed at this new class as fostering and maintaining a cult of femininity in which ‘the goddess worshipped is the Self’ (1983:42). With the narcissistic rituals to a mirror, a duty to beauty is staged (ibid.). Fashion columns, dress plates, and good illustrations in the magazines all emphasize how beauty gained in importance. The visual became a central aspect of the Victorian periodical (Ballaster et al., 1991:80). This does not mean that physical beauty is presented as simply a goal in its own right: it symbolizes a separate structure, not only within female society but within society at large. Among women, there is a difference between the ones who are beautiful, and the ones who are not (Ferguson calls this the difference between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’). Within the world of women’s magazines, all followers of the cult (or myth) are potentially beautiful, ‘sharing both the rights and the obligations of that state’ (Ferguson, 1983:42). In the nineteenth century, socioeconomic factors became closely connected to beauty. Since the lives of many middle-class women depended on marriage, in exchange for which beauty was common currency, it was understandable that their mothers and grandmothers wanted to augment their daughters’ beauty at all costs (Steele, 2001:51). Next to these social and economic factors, another economic aspect should be mentioned. Women’s periodicals also made money from beauty as a publishing category, and as the century advanced, advertisement earnings from cosmetics, hair care and other products formed an increasing percentage of magazine income (Ballaster et. al, 1991:80). Advertisements gained importance, and ‘puffing’ had become a fixed feature of many women’s publications. In the next section, I discuss the Victorian beauty myth, and how it was presented to the reading public of the Ladies’

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7 Cult as referring to both a social group and a set of practices and beliefs.
8 ‘Puffing,’ or giving excessive praise to a work, is here appropriate with regard to products. The products of Mme Vevay, for instance, would be recommended in her own column.
Ideal bodily beauty will be connected to fashion by offering an analysis of the aforementioned economic and social aspects of fashion.

### 6.1.1 Beauty Columns and Advertising

The Victorian woman was constantly encouraged to cultivate her personal appearance, as her first duty to society was to be beautiful. In the nineteenth century, Ferguson argues, ‘a woman's worth is defined in terms of her appearance’ (1983:42). To maintain youth and looks carefully was considered paramount for women, and even a women’s rights advocate like J.S. Mill maintained in a letter to Harriet Taylor that “[t]he great occupation of women” should be to “adorn & beautify” the family home” & to diffuse beauty, elegance, & grace everywhere” (cited in Steele, 1985:102). The very idea of beauty was tightly bound up with femininity, and the traditional idea that a woman’s beauty compensated for her weakness persisted (Steele, 1985:103). To be as beautiful as possible was crucial for the Victorian woman, and clearly related to the doctrine of separate spheres and the idealization of domesticity. By means of her appearance a woman was to win the admiration and affection of her (potential) husband. Furthermore, it was one of the few arenas that allowed women’s creativity to flourish. Standards of women’s dress were paramount for demonstrating family position (Davidoff and Hall, 1987:413). The importance of looking good could therefore scarcely be exaggerated. Middle-class girls had to make themselves as captivating as possible, for this enabled them to reach a very important goal: marriage. In a sense, women had to be beautiful, to please, and to marry (Steele, 1985:105).

Like fashion, beauty seems not to have preoccupied the Ladies’ Treasury and its audience. In the magazine’s early years, neither the articles nor the correspondence columns discuss the subject in much depth. While a column entitled ‘The Toilet’ was printed in 1862, it continued to appear only sporadically and never became a fixed monthly feature. In ‘The Toilet,’ readers could pose questions on topics related to beauty and health matters: ‘What can be done to prevent a red nose?’, ‘Is the usage of hair-dye dangerous?’, and ‘How can I treat acne?’ are common worries. That the column was never turned into a fixed feature may indicate that the readers of the Ladies’ Treasury were not overly concerned by these matters, or that the editor felt that her readers preferred to read about other matters. In the 1860s and 1870s, other correspondence columns made note of specific beauty products such as Mme Vevay’s.

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9 Vol. VIII, nos 5 and 6: May 1864, pp.158-159 and June 1864, p.233.
No-Danger Hairwash, but the simple tips and tricks that did not require special purchases remained a feature. In order to get rid of frozen fingers, ‘Lizzie’ is informed that ‘there is no remedy but vigorously rubbing the hands with horsehair gloves several times a day. This will most probably restore the sluggish circulation, which causes cold and chilblains […]’ (120). ‘Estremadara,’ is told that ‘nothing is better for the skin to render it soft than washing with warm water (not too warm), using curd soap, and when the skin is wiped dry powder it with violet powder.’

Beauty was regarded at its best when natural, and not artificial. Facial beauty in particular was a gift from nature, and there was little to be done if mother nature had not been very generous. Make-up was not advertised until the end of the century, and was associated with loose women before that date. However, as the century progressed, more specific facial products, such as powders, were recommended and advertised. The first ‘Beauty Column’ appeared in November 1876. Readers could send in questions about the problems they encountered, and the column seems to have functioned as a continuation of ‘The Toilet.’ ‘Regina’ wants to know what to do about ‘black specks on the face,’ ‘Mary’ worries about ‘weak eyesight,’ ‘B.B.’ suffers from ‘unpleasant odour from the skin,’ and two ‘sufferers’ complain about toothache and fetid breath. Beauty-related terms are also explained in this column: ‘depilatories,’ for instance, is explained to the magazine’s readers as originating from the Latin word ‘depilo,’ or ‘to pull out the hair.’ Like ‘The Toilet,’ the beauty column continues to answer questions on skin care, hair, and teeth but does not return on a monthly basis.

In 1877, a new feature appears that seems to be purely advertorial. Under the title ‘Specialities’ it is printed on the next to last page of the magazine. In addition to this new column, that advertised products and indicated where they could be bought, suggestions about specific products and direct references to advertisements gradually find their way into the regular features ‘Notices to Correspondents’ and ‘Notes on Dressmaking.’ In 1885, for instance, ‘Macgregor’ is told that ‘[f]reckles cannot be destroyed, but to a great extent they can be concealed; try Madame Vevay’s Anti-Rosseur. See advertisement.’ This reply directly links the query to the advertisement pages elsewhere in the magazine. In 1887, ‘Distressed’ is told that ‘there is no better

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10 Mme Vevay was the Ladies’ Treasury’s fashion expert, but also sold shampoo and face powder, as indicated on the ‘Notices to Correspondents’ pages, for instance in February 1880, p.120.
11 ‘Notices to Correspondents,’ February 1880, p.120.
12 ‘Notices to Correspondents,’ vol.XVIII, no.1, New Series, January 1875, pp.55-56.
13 November 1876, p.679.
14 ‘Beauty Column,’ January 1878, p.58.
15 The ‘Specialities’ in June 1877, for instance, advertise Messrs. Adams and Co embroderies and Baron Liebig’s Malted Food Extract of Infants and for Adults and Invalids (p.365).
16 July 1885, p.419.
medium for fastening loose teeth than Jewsbury and Brown’s oriental toothpaste (...) 1/6, of all chemists, or 113, Market Street, Manchester’ (746). Products specifically aimed at women were now advertised on a regular basis, stimulating Madame Vevay’s own trade in products. ‘There is nothing better for the hair, to give it a good tint of chestnut brown, than the Amberine to be had of Madame Vevay, by letter only (see Advert.). It does not stain the skin, but it does thicken the hair.’ 18 ‘Milly’ is told to resort to Madame Vevay as well: ‘Try Madame Vevay’s Anti-Rousseur, it makes the hands beautifully soft and white.’ This anti-rousseur is the most commonly recommended product, and ‘Alix B.,’ too, is advised to turn to the product for salvation: ‘We know of nothing better than Madame Vevay’s “Anti-Rousseur.” It is valuable for the hands, and cures eczema or erruptions without medicine. The address is 23, Old Bailey’ (the Ladies’ Treasury’s official correspondence address). 19 These changes in the use of advertising in the Ladies’ Treasury, i.e. the product recommendations in specific columns, notices and adverts, accompanied the shifts in the Victorian publishing business. At the very beginning of the century, advertisements had been limited to the covers and wrappers of periodicals, meaning that library binders could remove them when the yearly and half-yearly volumes were produced. By the beginning of the fin de siècle, in the 1880s, advertising space had increased to be equal in square inches to the editorial material. Less than ten years later, editorial material and advertisements were put on the same page (Ballaster et al., 1991:80). Displaying advertisements had become an attraction of the magazine in general, and this shift can also be noted in the Ladies’ Treasury. Only in 1884 were advertisements bound in with the parent magazine. This does not indicate that the Ladies’ Treasury did not publish adverts before this date, but could simply suggest changed practice by the binder (who could have removed such material when binding the yearly volumes). The commodities advertised in the 1880s, at the front and the back of the magazine, as well as on the cover and on the content page, included kitchen utensils (‘patent potato steamer’), luxury products (‘new orient diamonds’), fashion items (‘skinner’s tournures, crinolettes, and crinoline,’ ‘cashmere,’ ‘high-class underclothing’), and beauty products (‘hair remover,’ ‘nurse Lilly’s royal female pills,’ ‘white hands’). In 1889, more advertisements for beauty were added, with remedies for premature hair loss, ‘glove-fitting corsets,’ and ‘Restauro health powders.’

17 Strangely enough the query is printed in ‘Notes on Dressmaking’ (by Madame Vevay), December 1887.
18 ‘Notices to Correspondents,’ April 1888, p.256.
19 ‘Notices to Correspondents,’ August 1888, p.512.
20 ‘Notices to Correspondents,’ October 1889, p.640.
21 The advertisements for beauty were not put together, but presented next to, for instance, ‘Lovely Homes’ (poems by C. Adley) and a promotion for ‘An Arithmetical Class-Book’ (by Rev. T. Mitcheson, Assistant Master in the City of London School).
Natural Beauty

In the early Victorian age, cosmetics were not considered appropriate for the respectable woman. ‘Natural’ good breeding, daintiness and delicacy were highly desirable, and artificial aids to beauty went against this ethos (Buckley and Fawcett, 2002:19). As the advertisement columns suggested, by the 1890s cosmetics and hair colorants had become more acceptable (ibid. 31). With advertisements and fashion representations, a woman’s beauty was seen as natural but was, much like her health, ‘always threatened and dependent on the constant work of construction and artifice’ (Beetham, 1996:151). Publicity for corsets, hair dyes, and cosmetics opened up a world in which constructing a (natural) femininity by means of beauty products became a female duty (Buckley and Fawcett, 2002:32). In the Ladies’ Treasury’s advertisement pages, an example of this trend can be found in an advertisement for Bridal Bouquet Bloom, a cosmetic for the complexion.22 Not only is beauty measured by ‘a beautiful, smooth complexion,’ indicating health and exciting the admiration of others, but more importantly, it is ‘utterly impossible to detect in the Beauty [the product] any artificial character’ (X). The product suggests a discreet way of beautifying oneself, and fits in with the preference for unaided beauty. In ‘Constructing the Gendered Body: Girls, Health, Advice, and the Girl’s Best Friend, 1898–99,’ Alisa Webb (2006) points out that this presence of advertisements and illustrations in women’s magazines reflected not only changes in the fashion industry, but also the commodification of beauty, and the true emergence of a beauty standard (265).

While facial beauty was seen as important, it was more valuable if it was accidental or inherited. The woman’s figure, on the other hand, could be altered, and concealed. Dress (and fashion) were essential, for it was the dress that made a woman really pretty. Although an organization such as the Dress Reform Movement insisted that ‘the unnatural can never be beautiful,’ it reluctantly admitted that ‘deformity has through long custom become to us beauty’ [sic.] (in Steele, 2001:53). The articles on fashion in the Ladies’ Treasury also emphasize the natural. In ‘The Tyranny of Fashion’ the anonymous author points out that ladies today ‘seem to have taken singular pains to hide all their charms by the adoption of outré fashions; and, so far as it was possible, to defeat the beneficence of Mother Nature’ (119).23 Natural graces are stressed and are not to be sacrificed to artificial ugliness, for ‘nature when unadorned adorned the most’ (119). Similarly, in ‘General Remarks on the Fashions,’24 an article in Echo is invoked as it

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22 Advertisements, January 1884, p.X.
‘offers some particularly good advice’ (on dress). While the Ladies’ Treasury finds it unfortunate that it can only provide space for some of the useful remarks, from what it does copy, the magazine clearly opposes following fashion slavishly: ‘the truth seems to be that women too often miss the Beautiful in pursuit of the Fashionable [...]. Nature has made all women different, but Fashion says they are all to be attired as nearly as possible in the same manner’ (163).

The above indicates that next to correspondence columns and advertising, the face and body of women were also a source of discussion in more general articles printed in the Ladies’ Treasury. Despite regularly promoting natural beauty, the following piece demonstrates that some critics were rather difficult to please. In ‘Notes on English Girls and Women,’ (1872) the author, M. Taine, discusses the women of England, and is highly critical in so doing. While he praises their figure and health, their well-developed bust and shoulders, and their blooming cheeks, he also warns against quick deterioration. A woman’s fair complexion is spoiled by taking long walks, and giving birth to too many children ruins her figure:

You marry a blond, slender, and clear-complexioned woman; ten years afterwards you will perhaps have at your side a housekeeper, a nurse, a sitting hen; I have in my mind two or three of these matrons, broad, stiff, and destitute of ideas; red face, eyes the colour of blue china, huge white teeth – forming the tricolour flag (66).

While the author clearly favours a fair complexion, too much of a good thing can easily become faulty. ‘Yesterday, I was placed beside a young lady whose neck and shoulders resembled snow, or rather mother-of-pearl; this extraordinary white is so powerful that, to my eyes, it is not life-like’ (67). Other girls who had been so unfortunate as to have caught his eye were either ‘too rosy,’ had a waist resembling ‘a log in a sack,’ or were in the unfortunate possession of ‘full jaws and large feet’ (68).

Not all flaws were dismissed by the Ladies’ Treasury and its journalists, however. As G. Hamilton writes in her article about married and educated women (in 1868), if men grow handsomer with age, there is no reason why women should not do so too. Growing old does not necessarily equate with a loss of one’s looks. ‘They [women] will

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25 Echo ran from 1868 until 1905 and was London’s first ½ daily evening paper (Wood, 2009:188).
26 M. Taine probably stands for ‘Monsieur Taine,’ or Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), a French philosopher, historian and writer. He was famous for his Notes on England (translated by E. Hyams, London 1957). Part of these ‘Notes on England’ were also published in the Ladies’ Treasury (vol.XI, no.6, New Series, December 1871, pp.212-214).
28 The colours in the flag he describes in the next quotation also refer to the fact that he is French.
have a different kind of beauty, but it will be just as truly beauty and more impressive and attractive than the beauty of sixteen. It is absurd to suppose that God has made women so that their glory passes away in a dozen years’ (88). All things women experienced are worn on the face, ‘they can but leave a mark upon it, and the mark of good is good’ (88). The lines are fine lines, and such beauty ‘is made, not born’ (ibid.). Interestingly, here beauty is seen as something that is created over time (and hence ‘made’), while it is anything but artificial. However, without being too critical, the Ladies’ Treasury does warn about other aspects of growing older. ‘Jin Jin,’ who appears to be sporting silver hair, is told that ‘many ladies are wearing their grey hair, but it is not attractive unless the face is tolerably young, the colour fresh, and the eyes sparkling and of a dark grey, almost a black’ (304).³⁰ The reader is reminded that often grey hair makes an elderly lady look older, not to be recommended ‘if the bread depends upon looking young’ (304). In Parisian Gossip, grey hair is said to be possibly fashionable, ‘but unless the complexion be bright and almost rosy, it gives an additional touch of age to all of dingy hue and pallid skin’ (495).³¹ Grey hair is not considered beautiful in itself, and because beauty is linked to the economic value of a woman, grey hair is only permitted if the wearer has a young face, indicating that youth is next in value to beauty. Youth is needed to catch a husband or to be considered employable.³² Moreover, next to looking young and beautiful, looking healthy was paramount.

**The Healthy Body**

The physical ideal that mid-Victorian women had to live up to has appeared repeatedly in fashion history.³³ A perfect figure combined a tiny waist with a large bosom and wide hips. The arms were liked best if not too thin (and rounded), with soft shoulders. Hands and feet had to be slender. A woman was to possess desirable contours while remaining slender. There was a fine balance between being too thin and too stout, and body fat had to be only in the right places. As my discussion of the corset will illustrate, the slender waist in particular was popularly associated with youth and beauty, and thus desired by women (Steele, 2001:65). In the fin-de-siècle period, women’s bodies became significantly larger: the emphasis came to lie on breasts and buttocks, compared to the more ‘delicate femininity that represented refinement and breeding in mid-century’ (Buckley and Fawcett, 2002:35 and 36).

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³⁰ ‘Notes on Dressmaking’ (by Madame Vevay), May 1887, p.304.
³¹ ‘Parisian Gossip,’ M. de B., August 1887, p.495.
³² As discussed in chapters 2 and 4, this was the case for many women who could (or would) not rely on a man to provide for them.
³³ The mid-Victorian ideal can best be described as a slightly more padded version of Barbie.
As will become apparent in section 6.2., fashion received less attention in the *Ladies’ Treasury* than in the *EDM*. Discussions of the body and the way women dressed were more often linked to the domestic setting than to extravagant social settings women attended in order to show off, or to a growing celebrity culture. Similarly, in the *Ladies’ Treasury* a beautiful body was characterized by its health (and its ability to function properly in a domestic setting) than by perfect proportions. The articles ‘Good Health: On the True Notion to Be Attached to Nutrition’ and ‘The Health and Physical Development of Girls’ provide two interesting discussions. The first article is less relevant in the light of this dissertation, as it seems to be addressing a male audience. Detailed information is given about the muscular system, and the account reads like a piece from *Men’s Health* (1987-present). The article ‘The Health and Physical Development of Girls’ touches on very different issues. It starts with the strong claim that in the lower animals there is no difference between the sexes, and among humans, ‘the woman shows no extreme deficiency of endurance or strength’ (342). On the contrary, ‘the sedentary philosopher, turning from his demonstration of the hopeless inferiority of woman, finds with dismay that his Irish handmaiden can lift a heavy coal-scuttle more easily than he’ (342). Although strength is linked to the peasant classes, and their habits of exercise and fresh air, English girls in general are said to have a strong nervous system, and seem to represent ‘vigorous womanhood.’ The article stresses that being healthy and strong is not the opposite of elegance, for ‘lightness and grace are not incompatible with vigour, but are its crowning illustration’ (343). However, the author of the article does not encourage specific sports, apart from walking. Girls can get red cheeks from brisk walks and ‘young ladies who wish for a pair [should] seek them where the roses get them, out-of-doors’ (344). Unfortunately, the author laments, walking is a rare habit among young women, especially in cities. When they do, however, they do it very well, and ‘a special object will always operate as a strong allurement. A confectioner’s shop, for instance’ (344). While such exercise is said to brighten the eyes and purify the complexion, women in cities, with less opportunities to enjoy the fresh air, can also become examples of blooming health through fitting tasks for middle-class women, such as cooking, cleaning, and raising children.

Bread-making in well-ventilated kitchens, and sweeping in open-windowed rooms are calisthenics so bracing that one grudges them to the Irish maidens, whose round and comely arms betray much less need of their tonic influence than the shrunken muscles exhibited so freely at parties by our short-sleeved belles (345).

Additionally, dancing girls and pregnant women show that ‘the female frame contains muscular power [...] for certainly there is nothing in the gymnasium more amazing than the mother’s left arm’ (344). The article concludes by stressing that ‘morbid anatomy has long enough served as a type of feminine loveliness. Health is coming into fashion’ (345). This emphasis on the strong body, able to perform physical labour when necessary, as well as the link to the domestic typifies the Ladies’ Treasury.

Previous studies including White (1970)\(^{35}\) have noted how women’s magazines create ‘a world of women’ and that the images of women ‘help’ women readers to become an improved version of themselves (Craik, 1994:50). Wolf also stresses how women’s magazines have always pressured women to make contact with their ‘ideal selves.’ They have aimed to show that it is possible to attain near perfection, though certainly not without the necessary effort (1991:15). In the Ladies’ Treasury’s case, a healthy woman did not necessarily have to be blessed with a perfect body in order to be the best version of herself. The magazine’s advice to fatter women remained realistic, and at times very kind. Although the puffing pages and advertisements praised products such as ‘Allan’s Anti-Fat’ and ‘Dr. Carter Hoffat’s feather-weight electric body belt,’\(^{36}\) the fashion pages simply recommended that larger women wear neutral colours.\(^{37}\) Taking drastic measures such as wearing tight corsets (tight-lacing) were explicitly advised against. Luckily for ‘FAT, FAIR, AND FORTY,’ ‘the present arrangement of dress conceals much of the contour.’\(^{38}\) A normal bodice is meant to keep stout figures within bounds but actual tight-lacing, however, can only do more damage. ‘Miss Murfin,’ for instance, is told that while tight-lacing does reduce the waist, it unfortunately makes other lumps bulge, and reddens the face.\(^{39}\) Restricting the natural body too much was seen as something negative, as will become apparent in section 6.1.3.

Although a healthy body was slender, with the right kind of curves, excess fat in undesired places was strongly warned against. The Ladies’ Treasury, however, did not shame heavy ladies into exercise and dieting. Fat is to be combated by drinking less water, moderate physical activity, bathing, and sticking to a simple diet. The consumption of meat and eggs is also recommended (the Atkins diet avant la lettre?), and alcohol can be beneficial, although this advice comes with a warning, as ‘the stoutest man [the LT] ever saw drank spirits to excess.’\(^{40}\) Apart from some stark differences (the advice against drinking water, and encouraging the intake of alcohol), most suggestions

\(^{36}\) Advertisements, August 1890, p.455.
\(^{38}\) ‘Notes on Dressmaking,’ March 1885, p.166.
\(^{39}\) ‘Answers to Correspondents,’ vol.III, no.10, October 1859, p.319.
\(^{40}\) ‘Enquiries,’ vol.XV, no.1, New Series, July 1873, p.56.
still hold true today. As Judith Rowbotham and Paul Clayton (2008) demonstrate, the average mid-Victorian diet enjoyed high standards of nutrition and transcended ‘in many respects, the contemporary Mediterranean diet’ (457 and 459).41 ‘A Grievous Burden,’ for instance, deals with ‘the burden of fat’ and suggests the same nutritional and physical advice doctors give their patients at present.42 Brown bread is said to be better than white; peas, broad beans and potatoes are to be avoided, and one of the greatest enemies is farinaceous food (fancy bread, biscuits, macaroni ‘paste,’ sugar, ...) (15-16). Eating little (two meals a day) is also advised against, and a certain amount of fat is a requisite of sound health, but ‘[i]t is the habitual indulgence in it which brings the punishment of fat’ (18).43 Reducing fat in one place on the body is also said to be impossible, and ‘Amy,’ who suffers from a double chin, should simply take more walks and watch her diet. If all this fails, she can also simply get bigger, for ‘as you get stouter the chin will not be noticed.’44 ‘Miss Murfin,’ again, who claims that she has come to look like a ‘middle-aged married woman of large dimensions’ is given a similar kind of advice. She ought to eat more healthily, but if it is in her nature to be fat, she is told to submit with a good grace, and console herself with the thought that ‘Rubens (one of the greatest masters) always made his beauties the fattest of the fat’ (319). How women should dress in order to look more slender, was also discussed in the Ladies’ Treasury, but never became a principal feature.

6.1.2 Fashionable Domesticity?

As said before I argue that, in contrast to the EDM’s approach, the Ladies’ Treasury devoted considerably less attention to fashion and beauty. The EDM’s relaunch in 1860 indicated a move away from practical domesticity and ‘towards visual pleasure,’45 with fashion and appearance as its central features. In the Ladies’ Treasury, however, interest in fashion only began to grow from the late 1870s onwards. In my analysis, I focus on the different approaches in both magazines. The Ladies’ Treasury’s persistent attention to domesticity and its focus on informative articles (precisely during the years the EDM flaunted its magnificent fashion plates and discussed tight-lacing in its correspondence columns), indicate a distinctive ideological and business approach.

41 It must be noted that their series analyses the habits of working-class Victorians, however.
43 The very last sentence of this article, however, contradicts almost all of its previous advice: ‘when fat people dance as a remedy for fat they render themselves simply ridiculous’ (18).
44 ‘Notices to Correspondents,’ June 1892, p.384.
45 Beetham, 1996:73.
While I argued in the previous section (6.1.1) that naturalness was preferred to artificiality in appearance, it quickly becomes clear that this did not imply that women should not care about their appearance and simply let their natural beauty radiate. Preferably, women had to combine domestic perfection with the (natural) looks of a goddess. In a Ladies’ Treasury reprint from an article on ‘Feminine Affectations’ by the Saturday Review, the mannish woman of the 1860s, though probably very natural in her own way, is portrayed as disgusting. This kind of woman ‘wears a double-breasted coat with big buttons, of which she flings back the lapels with an air, understanding the suggestiveness of a wide chest and the need of unchecked breathing; who wears unmistakable shirtfronts, linen collars, vests, and plain ties, like a man [...]’ (6). The mannish woman is affected in her breadth and roughness, she adores dogs and horses, which ‘she places far above children of all ages.’ She also drinks like a man, and loves bitter beer and cheeses (as opposed to sweets and wines) (6). The opposite of the mannish woman, however, is also perceived as too much of a good thing. The excessively womanly woman is affected in her sickly sweetness, and is said to be too obsessed with her appearance. Such women are said to be extremely self-conscious: ‘they live before a moral mirror, and pass their time in attitudinising to what they think the best advantage. They can do nothing simply, nothing spontaneously and without the fullest consciousness as to how they do it, and how they look while they are doing it (6). The ideal woman, then, has to be a perfect mix between these two ‘extremes.’ Another piece from 1868, reprinted in ‘The Latest Movement for the Better Education of Girls,’ and compiling two articles from the SR also attacks the overly self-conscious woman:

The pretty fool who spends half her time in trying on new dresses and studying the effect of colours, and who knows nothing beyond the last new novel and the latest plate of fashions, is not a more disastrous wife than the woman of profound learning whose education has taught her nothing practical. They stand at the opposite ends of the same stick, and neither end gives the true position of women (147).

Again, neither end of the spectrum is described very positively. This is acknowledged in yet another reprint from the SR, in which the prettiest woman is she who has neither

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46 ‘Feminine Affectations,’ (› SR), unsigned, vol.V, no.5, New Series, July 1868, pp.6-7. Although this article is unattributed, it belongs to a series of articles on ‘Modern Women,’ written by Eliza Lynn Linton. While I have argued in chapter 4 that the articles of the SR were usually printed and criticized, in this case, the Ladies’ Treasury seems to share the views that are presented.

vanity, nor hardness, and who knows her place: ‘She knows that part of her natural mission is to please and be charming, and she knows that dress sets her off, and that men feel more enthusiastically towards her when she is looking fresh and pretty than when she is a dowdy and a fright’ (36).\(^4\) Denouncing all these versions of womanhood, and promoting another, fits into the Ladies’ Treasury’s ideal of what a woman should be. Clearly, she should be pretty and fashionable, but not too self-obsessed, and she should be healthy in order to run a household, excelling in domestic tasks. As I have argued in chapter three, it was desirable for her to be stimulated intellectually as well.

**Fashion in the Ladies’ Treasury**

The concepts of ‘beauty’ and ‘fashion’ are complex and ambiguous. There are many variations on both, as well as several interactions with other social ideals and aesthetic tastes (Steele, 1985:47). As I have demonstrated in chapter two, the middle-class woman and her femininity were idealized as something hidden in the privacy of home and hearth. However, this divide between private and public was a difficult one to retain and almost invariably caused tension (Beetham, 1996:7). Apart from the tension between natural and artificial beauty, a second paradox is situated in the middle-class home: the ideal woman is maternal and domestic (and her inner beauty is paramount), but also attractive and beautiful (on the outside) (Ballaster et al., 1991:84). This tension between domesticity and a beautiful appearance is also present in middle-class women’s magazines and their advertisement pages, which praise household goods as well as beauty products. As Beetham showed, a magazine such as the EDM merged both ideals by providing fashion plates, and instructions on how to imitate garments (a concept she termed the Practical Dressmaker) (Beetham, 1996:79). A woman could thus be productive within the house, while creating her own adornments. The Ladies’ Treasury did not try to unite these two prototypes, but, as I have argued in chapter three, merged the domestic woman with a flair for handiwork (less for fashion) with the woman who was intellectually stimulated (by means of the Treasury of Literature).

In the Ladies’ Treasury’s early days, fashion was anything but a prominent feature. Until 1870, each monthly issue contained one page dedicated to fashion, two at the most, though always illustrated. In the January 1860 issue, for instance, novelties are described, including when garments should be worn, what tissue they should be made of, and how they should be fabricated. The actual descriptions to reproduce the outfits, however, are lacking. The correspondence columns, too, remain quite devoid of fashion questions in the early years of publications. If any related questions are posed, the quality and material of the dresses are discussed, rather than what is fashionable. The

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\(^4\) ‘Womanliness,’ (> SR) vol.IX, no.3, New Series, September 1870, pp.35-36.
lack of instructions is particularly interesting because precisely in this year, in 1860, the EDM underwent its transformation and chose to make fashion plates and illustrations, combined with the actual patterns, its central feature. In the EDM, the focus on the visual became prominent: more illustrations, pull-out patterns in colour, and fashion engravings. A shilling version of the magazine was issued regularly, and combined with a ‘supplement’ including first-hand illustrations of Parisian dresses, more fashion illustrations, patterns for dresses and needlework designs and other engravings (Beetham, 1996:75). The practical information on domestic chores was down-graded (with the exception of needlework patterns) (ibid.73). Beetham describes this change as a shift away from practical domesticity and towards visual pleasure, with fashion and appearance as specialities in the New Series (1996:73). A similar shift did not occur in the Ladies’ Treasury until the 1880s, and even then, the change was very gradual. Whereas in the Ladies’ Treasury, domestic knowledge remained of the utmost importance, and was supplemented with informative, gender-neutral articles in 1868, the EDM almost completely removed features on material and practical knowledge. Domestic management largely disappeared and was only occasionally touched upon in ‘Answers to Correspondents’ (Beetham, 1996:75).

In the Ladies’ Treasury, needlework occupied a more important place than fashion, comprising two to five pages from the very start. In contrast to the fashion pages, detailed patterns and instructions of the needlework are provided. The column ‘Fancy Work for the Ladies’ contains minute information on the material, and a step-by-step description of how to produce items such as a ‘mat for a crocus glass or flower vase.’ The column remained a constant feature and probably drew upon earlier book publications by Mrs Warren such as The Point Lace Collar Crochet Collar Book (1846), The Court Crochet Collar and Cuff Book (1847), The Short-way Crochet Edging Book (1850), and Irish Point-Lace Crochet Book Collars (1854). Her own magazine Timethrift (1851) had also highlighted needlework in its pages.

Returning to fashion, the second volume of the Ladies’ Treasury already illuminates the magazine’s stance on fashion through an article entitled ‘How Far Should the Fashions be Followed?’ During its first years the fashion column stays much the same, with a description of the latest styles (‘the general style of make of dress remains the same as last month’) or references to what the royals wore at parties:

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50 Vol.II, no.1, January 1858, p.25. The answer to that question is: not too far.
We have been favoured with a description of the Empress’s dress at the first dinner party given to her by the Queen of Spain. The robe was of rich blue silk, garlanded round with three rows of ostrich feather trimming, blue. The tunic was of silver lama, encircled at the border with a band of blue velvet spotted with diamonds (29-30).

In that same year, in 1867, a new column entitled ‘Scientific’ is added, which is as large as ‘The Fashions.’ Again, this positions the content of the Ladies’ Treasury against the EDM’s pages and its stress on the visual (and appearance). In 1870, advice on dressmaking figures more prominently (while the number of pages for needlework remains the same). Now, next to the usual two pages for fashion, the column ‘The Fashions’ (by Mme Vevay) is added, an extra two pages. In 1873, another fashion column appears in the form of ‘Our Paris letter,’ by M. De Brion. In 1874 and 1875, fashion fills five pages, including illustrations, descriptions of fashion plates, general remarks on the current fashions, and the abovementioned Paris letter. Also, the 1875 ‘The Fashions’ introduces a new feature called ‘Answers to Inquiries Respecting Dresses’ (by Mme. Vevay). In such an instalment, ‘Mrs. S.S.’ is answered that ‘being stout and short you must of all things avoid flounces, or any trimming at the bottom of a dress which would apparently diminish the appearance of your height’ (50).

Fashion news and plates keep expanding, as in 1876, there are already eight pages of ‘The Fashions,’ and two pages of Parisian dress by ‘our correspondent E. de Brion.’ The number of pages continues to increase, and in 1877 and 1878, the fashion counts eleven pages in some issues, excluding the notes on dressmaking. Only in 1880, however, needlework features transform from simple embroideries to actual dressmaking. Before that date, patterns for dressmaking were being sent to readers who paid for them (Mme Vevay’s list of prices for paper patterns was communicated on a regular basis), but were not immediately distributed with the magazine. The fashion plates did carry references to the designer and revealed the price of the pattern, to be obtained via the post. In January 1880, for instance, the ‘Pattern of Polonaise’ costs 2s.7d, and we are informed that under this dress ‘is worn a leather garment which fits close to the figure and repels the cold. These garments are specially prepared by Mr. R. Allin, 73, Upper Street, Islington.’ Other changes are minor. In 1880, the fashion pages stay the same, but four pages are dedicated to ‘Parisian Gossip.’ In 1895, the column is renamed

52 Which formed a part of ‘the Fashions.’ Vol.XIX, no.1, New Series, July 1875, p.50.
53 It is unclear whether E. and M. De Brion are related, or whether they are the same person. It is also possible that, as family members, they alternately wrote the Letter for the Ladies’ Treasury on Parisian fashion and lifestyle.
54 For instance in March 1873 (vol.XIV, no.3, New Series) on page 164.
55 Madame Vevay, ‘Notes on Dressmaking,’ January 1880, p.38.
‘Causerie de Paris’ and still informs magazine readers about the latest dress changes in the French capital.

The above illustrates that in the fin de siècle fashion gained more space in most women’s magazines, and a beauty standard emerged. Nevertheless, Oscar Wilde’s famous article on women’s dress critically attacks all the fuss about dress, even though it was published in 1886, a time when the Ladies’ Treasury itself already printed a lot of fashion material. In this article, Wilde refers to beauty as a matter of proportion, and draws on the Greeks and their artistic laws. Although Wilde demonstrates that he holds distinct ideas about dress (he comments that the waist is worn too low in England, that horizontal lines should be avoided, and fabric patterns should be small), he also remarks that it is ludicrous to speak of colours that are ‘fashionable.’ As the Ladies’ Treasury reports: ‘what, he asked, could be thought of an announcement that B flat would be the favourite note in music?’ (53). It is equally absurd to make one colour more fashionable than another. He famously adds that fashion is ‘merely a form of ugliness, so unbearable that we have to alter it every six months’ (53).

6.1.3 Corsets and Tight-Lacing: Respectable, Sexual or Simply Unhealthy?

The corset and tight-lacing debate is a complex one. In the Victorian era the practice had both strong opponents and supporters, and even in the twentieth century, research on the topic is much divided. While issues of maternal and social respectability, as well as eroticism can be distinguished in Victorian debates, current research either primarily focuses on women’s bodies as oppressed, or stresses the importance of the sexual pleasure women could have gained from controlling their bodies in this way. In order to present a more balanced view, I want to elucidate all of these aspects and discuss various facets of the practice of tight-lacing itself. Before I am able to do so, I look at the garment in which tight-lacing was an extreme expression: the ubiquitous corset. After an analysis of the current and Victorian debates on tight-lacing, I will focus on the Ladies’ Treasury and the EDM. Both magazines represented opposite views: while the Ladies’ Treasury was a strong opponent, the EDM became notorious for its Corset Controversy correspondence, in which readers often promoted the practice both for reasons of attractiveness and sexual indulgence. Additionally, I argue that the Ladies’ Treasury did not necessarily oppose tight-lacing because of the harm it could inflict on the reproductive system (and hence the maternal body), as was most often suggested in

56 ‘Oscar Wilde on Women’s Dress,’ January 1886, pp.52-53.
conservative magazines, but mainly because of other health reasons (both physical and mental).

The Corset

‘There is little reason to doubt the corset’s ubiquity in late nineteenth-century England,’ Casey Finch asserts in her article “‘Hooked and Buttoned Together’: Victorian Underwear and Representations of the Female Body’ (1991:345). From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the corset gained in importance as more structured Victorian fashions developed from high-waisted loose-gowned Regency styles. Gradually the corset became ‘an imperative signifier of fashionableness in middle- and upper-middle-class women’ (ibid.343). As the Ladies’ Treasury stated, it became a necessity, for ‘without a corset of some kind it is totally impossible to have a dress fitted as it should be. Consequently the make of a corset is of paramount importance in a lady’s toilet’ (173).57 As aforementioned, the Victorian ideal required ‘exaggerated breasts, thighs, posteriors, and relatively diminutive waists and bellies’ (Finch, 1991:341). While the Victorian period was not the first age in which the hourglass figure was preferred,58 it did foster an extreme variety of that shape (ibid.). From the 1820s the waist became an important feature and by the 1830s, with the introduction of the metal eyelet in 1828 and the commercialization of vulcanized India rubber in 1830, corsets could be pulled tighter and the era of tight-lacing began (Davies, 1982:618; Steele, 2001:43; Pearsell, 2003:115). Throughout the Victorian age, the corset subtly changed in shape, with a higher waistline diminished, the crinoline expanded to accentuate the contrast in curve and volume between waist and lower half of the body. The crinoline had become popular in the 1850s and was an exaggerated version of the beehive-shaped hoop skirt which had been in fashion for some decades. In the 1850s this new version, a vast crinoline, was created: ‘a bell-shaped series of horizontal, concentric hoops hanging from the waist and held together by vertical bands of tape’ (Finch, 1991:345). In the 1870s, the crinoline dominated women’s fashions and was accompanied by tighter skirts and lower corsets (Steele, 2001:46).59 In addition to the corset and the crinoline, the bustle, a ‘complicated piece of padding tied around the waist,’ enhanced the posterior and appeared first at the end of the 1860s and early 1870s (Finch, 1991:346). The waist was not the only area

57 ‘Specialities,’ March 1879, p.173.
58 This figure can be traced back to the fourth century B.C., with the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles (Finch, 1991:341).
59 The history of changes in Victorian fashion is at times difficult to reconstruct due to contradictory accounts. Pearsell, for instance, claims that the crinoline was relatively short-lived, and replaced by the ‘tournure’ in 1868 already (2003:112).
of the female body that became restricted until the late 1890s under the edict of fashion. By the 1840s, women’s full sleeves became much narrower, an evolution that accompanied the elongation of the boned bodice. All these changes restricted women’s arm movements. In the second half of the Victorian age, the stylized ‘S-curve’ became popular for women, forcing an unnatural forward lean for the top half of the body, and requiring a tighter corset than ever before (Bordo, 1993:162). This stance and shape would remain stylish until 1900, despite efforts by feminists and health reformers. Only in the 1890s did clothing start to become more masculine, by becoming looser and less structured, and women were allowed to be active and engage in sports (Roberts, 1977:567). In the Ladies’ Treasury, too, it is stated that women look more elegant and move more gracefully without ‘being confined by corset, or distorted by high heels’ (432). The corsets that are recommended in the magazine in the 1890s had added health benefits, such as Harness ‘Electro Corset’ (5s. 6d.) which is said to be ‘very healthy and tonic’ (192) and the ‘Invigorator Corset’ which gives support to the figure but prevents tight-lacing (378).

Respectability was crucial to the middle classes, and wearing a corset was seen as a moral imperative: an uncorseted woman could be accused of loose morals (Roberts, 1977:565). Hence, as an instrument of social control, the corset carried a set of meanings which were unrelated to beauty, but strongly tied to society and decorum. Beetham summarizes: ‘the corseted body was the social body, controlled and regulated; the uncorseted body was a social disgrace’ (1996:85). Paradoxically, the corset and its exaggeration of the shape of a woman’s body became eroticized, and respectable femininity came to be inextricably linked to the sexuality it sought to repress (ibid.86).

To acquire a ‘natural femininity,’ training was necessary, and the trained figure (often by means of the corset) was ‘a symbol of the social restraint which marked off mature sexuality from girlhood’ (Beetham, 1996:86). This transition to sexual maturity again stresses how Victorian women were caught between the conflicting demands to be both physically desirable and morally proper, and the corset was the ‘embodiment’ of this paradox (Steele, 1985:89).

On the one hand, a woman’s body had to be corseted in order to be hidden. The feminine was considered a site of self-control. This goes back to the age-old idea that the female can be too sexually powerful and overwhelming, and must therefore be hidden (Orbach, 2009:116). ‘Since the dawn of time,’ Edward Shorter proclaims in his History of Women’s Bodies (1982), women’s physiques have been considered sexually dangerous, and men have feared ‘the demonic “feminine” qualities’ (286). In the

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60 Davies, 1982:618.


Victorian age, unrestricted and large waists were seen as a sign of carnal desires, while a small waist indicated respectability and youth (with youthfulness as the sign of societal beauty). Apart from respectability, womanliness and the feminine sphere of duties have often been said to be characterized by an insistence on the virtues of self-sacrifice. It was assumed that a woman was born to suffer, and this idea penetrated into different aspects of a woman’s life. A woman, for instance, was not to be educated for her own self-development, but for self-renunciation (Dyhouse, 1978:174). While it symbolized respectability, the corset simultaneously drew attention to the female figure. The corset not only binds in the female body (and regulates it), but also creates an ultra-feminine shape at the same time. The body can thus be linked to the ideology of domesticity in two ways: it was something to be hidden in the home, because it was at once too frail and too dangerous.

The need to control this danger, for instance by making use of corsets, is read in different ways, and whether or not women’s dress severely restricted women’s movements has been widely debated. According to Ronald Pearsell, the crinolines and bustles made that ‘the mere act of sitting down was an operation of some magnitude’ (2003:112). In her well-known essay “The Exquisite Slave:” The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian Woman’ (1977), Helene Roberts also acknowledges that wearing a corset and excessive and heavy clothing played its part in forming the image of the weak and submissive Victorian wife (1977:565). In her discussion, Roberts considers the corset and other restrictions as a means of communication. It exaggerated the (social) difference between the sexes. Hence, dress was not a simple signifier of status and femininity, but a complex language, a means of communication (ibid. 554). Class, wealth, age, marital position, season and time of day were all significant. The corset in particular was not an item of clothing that was simply fashionable for the sake of being fashionable. While it at first encouraged better posture, it ‘ultimately caused a further weakening of muscles which soon rendered girls totally dependent on their corsets’ (Roberts, 1977:560). Not only did it debilitate and inhibit active movement, it was literally a physical manifestation of women’s forced submission and dependence upon the male. The extremely status-conscious middle class is said to have used the corset as a token of marital success and ability of the husband to maintain his wife’s idleness (Davies, 1982:616). Susan Bordo views the corset as a means of self-control, and compares it to the way women diet today (1993:162). In her book Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body (1993), she contrasts the bodies of Victorian

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63 As stated in Genesis 3:16. ‘Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrows and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire [shall be] to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee’ (King James Bible) (http://bible.cc/genesis/3-16.htm) (consulted 25.04.2011).

64 Also asserted by Margaret Beetham, 1996:104.
middle-class men and women, both meant to externalize social status and wealth. While the well-rounded stomachs of businessmen functioned as an outward manifestation of accumulated wealth, their slender wives became the show pieces of their husbands’ success (191-192). The corset, which debilitated and inhibited active movement, was a physical manifestation of women’s forced submission and dependence upon men.

This theory was first demonstrated by the American economist Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). In this work, Veblen links female dress of the leisure class to his notion of Conspicuous Leisure, or the ‘abstention from labor,’ which becomes ‘the conventional mark of superior pecuniary achievement and the conventional index of reputability’ (Veblen, 1922:43). Dress is not only an obvious indication of standing, noticeable at first glance, but is also ‘the insignia for leisure’ (ibid.119-121). Productive labour was considered not proper for respectable women, and the corset is said to lower her vitality and to render her visibly unfit for work. The aim, according to Veblen, was to make the beholder believe that the wearer did not and could not engage in useful work (although this was often only an ideal) (ibid.126). With their clothes middle-class women were supposed to make a show of leisure:

> It grates painfully on our nerves to contemplate the necessity of any well-bred woman’s earning a livelihood by useful work. It is not “woman’s sphere.” Her sphere is within the household, which she should “beautify,” and of which she should be the “chief ornament” (Veblen, 1922:126).

In short, all elements of women’s clothing, from high heels, narrow sleeves and heavy skirts, emphasize her dependency on her husband; ‘[...] – that, perhaps, in a highly idealized sense, she still is the man’s chattel’ (Veblen, 1922:127).

While Ronald Pearsell subscribes to Veblen’s theory and the implications of the corset, rendering a woman incapable of doing work,65 Valerie Steele argues that Veblen’s theory is flawed. Corsets, she argues, did not prevent women from working and moving, as many working-class women wore them too. ‘The corset did function as a sign of gentility and respectability but, as such, it was a sign that laboring women appropriated themselves’ (2001:49). Whether corsets really did constrain women remains debatable when looking at the evidence in the *Ladies’ Treasury*. Mr. Thompsons’ ‘Glove–fitting Corsets’ were recommended, for instance. These ‘are certainly of a very superior cut, make and finish. They are resilient, yet sufficiently supporting [...]’ (187).66 Corsets should also not be too stiff, as ‘the loosest corset thus stiffened is hard and

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unpleasant to wear’ (44). Old-fashioned corset bodies from the reign of George II were, as the *Ladies’ Treasury* tells us, reintroduced in the 1870s, and the author of an article in ‘The Fashions’ warns very much against such restrictive garments. ‘It argues for the future disfigurement to the form. It whispers of compressed waists and consequent illness [...]. If only maidens would not be led by the fancies of a set of women [...] who invariably adopt outré costumes [...] it would be better for society’ (120).

**Tight-Lacing**

While tight-lacing was a hot topic in Victorian times, the current debate remains unresolved. The question as to how tightly corsets were truly laced, for instance, is still puzzling since there is no agreement about the precise definition of tight-lacing (Steele, 2001:87). Although one should make a distinction between wearing the ‘normal’ corset and tight-lacing, there was always a certain amount of pressure put on the woman’s body: the corset was intended to shape the body, not to simply fit it (Davies, 1982:619). Some historicists view the corset, and tight-lacing in particular, as concerned with the ‘containment and regulation of the female body’ (Roberts 1977; Bordo 1993; Buckley and Fawcett, 2002:37; Dorré 2002) and carrying severe health implications (Davies, 1982; Summers 2001; Pearsell, 2003), while others such as Valerie Steele (1985) emphasizes the erotic qualities of it. Sharlene Hesse-Biber (1997), too, stresses that we should not automatically view all women as victims, and proposes that the corset can also studied as an expression of sexuality (30).

Not only the effects of and reasons for tight-lacing are debated, but also its social acceptability. In his well-known article ‘Dress Reform as Antifeminism’ (1977), a response to Roberts’s article on the role of Victorian dress, David Kunzle calls tight-lacing a marginal practice, only followed by the lower middle class. He also denies that young children were tight-laced. This is refuted by Mel Davies, who insists that tight-lacing remained a practice until the end of the century in all layers of the middle class, and that girls were placed in training corsets from the age of four years. About the age of seven, ‘lacing of a more constrictive nature was adopted’ (Davies, 1982:626). Kunzle’s reply created an avalanche of responses, by Roberts and others, who discussed the importance (and difficulty) of historicizing such a practice. In her own reaction, Joanna Russ situates both Roberts’ and Kunzle’s articles in the debate about feminist issues popular in the late 1970s. She distinguishes three positions: first, what she terms the ‘common feminist position’ to identify an erotic perversion with ordinary social behaviour in order to damn the latter (Roberts), secondly, the counterposition

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68 ‘The Fashions,’ *LT*, February 1876, pp.120-123.
distinguishing between normal and abnormal in order to prove ordinary social behaviour is innocent (Kunzle), and a third position, which is absent from this particular debate, but which identifies an erotic perversion with ordinary social behaviour in order to clear both. All of these positions ‘mystify the subject’ (1977:520). According to Russ, tight-lacing was an erotic socialization. While she stresses that Roberts’s argument mostly applies to ordinary social behaviour, she supports Kunzle in his right to insist that we should not confuse erotic interest with common social behaviour, but that it would be more productive to fuse the two. Instead of simply studying tight-lacing as either a tool of women’s oppression or a sexual deviant act, it is more helpful to explore its history, and ask the ‘right’ questions. What is the difference between wearing corsets and tight-lacing? Was it an erotic or oppressive tool? How does tight-lacing relate to submissiveness, docility, fragility, etc.? (1977:521). I investigate these questions by looking at the Ladies’ Treasury’s and the EDM’s discussion of the subject. Contemporary researchers do not agree about the definition of tight-lacing, but this tension was also present in the Victorian age, and found its way to the pages of middle-class magazines. Both the EDM and the Ladies’ Treasury debated the practice, although they propagated completely different views on the matter.

**Against Tight-Lacing: the Ladies’ Treasury**

Historians have argued that tight-lacing harmed the female body and internal organs. In her article, Mel Davies considers the many complaints attributed to tight-lacing, but her main point is that the tightly laced corset contributed to a decline in nineteenth-century middle-class fertility in the Western world. Linked to these complaints, she states that ‘the allegations of frigidity and lack of libido among middle-class Victorian women can be taken seriously’ (1982:630). Other historians, such as Shorter, remain unsure whether the corset can really be held responsible for these symptoms. Shorter refers to the case of anemia, and to doctors who often blamed it on the corset, while ‘the majority of anemic women almost certainly never wore them’ (30). He also denies much of the physical evidence such as the ‘crushed rib cases’ and mangled intestines, and states that they often ‘turn out to be fanciful or improbable in light of our current

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69 Ranging from nervous disorders, hysterical fits, insomnia, constipation, headache, indigestion, respiratory problems, apathy, stupidity, to soured temper, lack of appetite and starvation, displacement of the liver, genital diseases, etc.

70 Although she is very careful not to dismiss other social cultural and economic changes causing demographic transformation (1982:638).

71 Undernourishment caused by tight-lacing has also been related to chlorosis, or the ‘virgin’s disease,’ associated with asexuality and delicate femininity. It produced extreme lassitude and a dampening of the sexual appetite in women (Davies, 1982:633).
knowledge of anatomy’ (ibid.). Steele, too, admits that reduced lung capacity and weakened back and abdominal muscles were indeed consequences, but ‘there is very little evidence that tight-lacing produced other diseases like gallstones and congestion of the blood’ (2001:70-75). Victorian medical reports are not always to be trusted, and there is a lack of objective accounts and autopsy data. Also, most corsets were produced in sizes 18 to 30, with larger sizes readily available, and contemporary accounts reveal that middle-class women tended to lace differently depending on the occasion: they laced comfortably at home in order to manage their household, and laced tighter to go out (and tightest to attend a ball) (Steele, 2001:109).

In the nineteenth century, the controversy about the corset and tight-lacing was an integral part of the debate on feminine beauty. Although a small waist was preferred, the waspish waist was seen by some as taking the ideal too far. It was a trend, dictated by fashion, and admonished by many for its oppression of women and (supposedly) negative health implications. Feminists saw the tight-laced corset as a practice obstructing women’s social, sexual, and political emancipation. The Victorian woman’s wardrobe was seen as physically and mentally oppressive. The Rational Dress Society condemned it for its potential ill-effects on women’s health, while other non-feminists criticized the corset for its vulgarity. They interpreted the emphasis on full hips and bosoms as scandalous, and the wasp waist as a threat to reproductive potential (Dorré, 2002:165). Attacks from medical practitioners, the Rational Dress Society, or feminist groups were ineffective, however, as tight-lacing remained a practice until the end of the century (Davies, 1982:626).

The Ladies’ Treasury was one of the magazines that took a very overtly negative stance on the practice, and referred to doctors and personal testimonies in order to discourage its readers. In all the articles and correspondence regarding tight-lacing, there is not one whole-heartedly positive remark. On the subject of ‘normal’ corsets and crinolines, the Ladies’ Treasury held a typical view proclaimed by many (fashion) magazines for women. The corset is said to ‘give elegance,’ and in many of its columns a variety of corsets in all shapes and colours are advertised. In the fashion correspondence column, ‘Notes on Dressmaking,’ too, ‘BEE’ is answered by Mme Vevay that ‘the best corset for a stout figure is the Swanhill corset.’ A Ladies’ Treasury article on ‘The Waist,’ expands on this very important part of a woman’s body. The waist of healthy, symmetrically-formed women,

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73 ‘Notes on Dressmaking,’ November 1876, pp.678-681.
not exceeding the middle stature, when this part of the human body has not been injudiciously interfered with, is found to measure twenty-eight to twenty-nine inches. In no case with women of graceful figure and vigorous health does it, as a rule, fall below twenty-seven inches. Any decrease in the measurement below this point is either indicative of imperfect natural development, or of its growth having been artificially arrested by compression during youth and early maturity.\textsuperscript{73}

A reply to a query of an ‘anxious mother’ is equally strict: ‘Young girls should not wear corsets. A band five or six inches wide is, however, necessary, and is advantageous for keeping the figure in place.’\textsuperscript{75}

Tight-lacing, clearly, was a very different matter. In an article, reproduced from the \textit{Examiner}, the ‘wasp waist’ is discussed in detail.\textsuperscript{76} Although the article starts out with the claim that men ought not to interfere in women’s fashion, ‘somewhere about two years ago, a magazine which is chiefly addressed to girls, started, for its own purposes, doubtless, this subject, and endeavoured to combat the notion that tight-lacing was injurious to the frame’ (70-71). This is an explicit reference to the corset-controversy that had started in the \textit{EDM} around that time, and it seems not unreasonable that the \textit{Ladies’ Treasury} would reprint such an article that attacked its competitor. In the article, it is proclaimed that ‘the abomination of tight lacing must not be allowed to spread amongst us’ (71). Although a small waist is pleasing to the eye, the ‘cultivation’ of a figure (through tight-lacing), is merely a ‘gentle euphemism by which they describe the squeezing in of the ribs- with impunity from physical injury’ (71). According to the article, these injuries produced by tight-lacing must be apparent to every one.

The article ‘The Use and Misuse of Stays’ refers to health matters.\textsuperscript{77}

English women sometimes marvel at the strange Indian custom of compressing the infant head between boards, or at the Chinese association of beauty with crippled and distorted feet, but they can find nothing reprehensible in their own caprice of tight lacing, which is equally productive of deformity, and much more injurious to health, whether of mind or body (346).

English women are said to seek specific bodily forms by unnatural compression, but they should not assume that beauty is inseparable from health. ‘The undulatory curves of the female form should uninterruptedly flow into, and harmoniously blend with, each other’ (346). Science, it is stated, proves the correctness of this theory, by showing us

\textsuperscript{73} ‘The Waist,’ anonymous, December 1876, p.737.
\textsuperscript{75} ‘Notes on Dressmaking,’ September 1883, p.468.
\textsuperscript{76} ‘The Wasp Waist’ (\textit{Examiner}), vol.VII, no.5, New Series, November 1869, pp.70-71.
\textsuperscript{77} ‘The Use and Misuse of Stays,’ vol.III, no.11, November 1859, pp.346-347.
that everything which impedes the circulation, or full and deep respiration, engenders disease. Not only the spine and the ribs, but also the performance of heart and lungs are put in danger. If, however, women do want to change their bodily form, the article gives them tips on how to do so without negative impact. Stays, for instance, which are only laced in the waist and are worn not too tight (as to avoid redness of eyes and nose), are said to be very effective.

The redness caused by tight-lacing is referred to on a regular basis. Tight-lacing is said to give ‘a rush of blood to the head,’78 and ‘Virginia needs to avoid tight lacing if she really wants to get rid of the redness in the face.’79 In October 1859, ‘Miss Murfin’ (who claims to have become very stout in her teens) says that she tried tight-lacing but that this makes her very red.80 The Ladies’ Treasury once more advises against the practice, because it is said to diminish ‘stoutness in one part to augment it in another: thus, when the waist is compressed, the bust, shoulders, and hips bulge out. [...] Tight lacing reddens the face, but does not improve the figure’ (319). ‘The Fashions,’ also states that tight-lacing destroys health and beauty.81

Despite its condemnation of the practice, the Ladies’ Treasury does not simply publish any article that shares its viewpoint. ‘BALLIRE,’ for instance, is told in November 1865 that her/his ‘statements relative to the ill effects of tight lacing must be accompanied by your name and address, as a guarantee of good faith. It would not be published’ (351). ‘GLASGOW’ is told the same in January 1866.82 ‘BALLIRE’ and ‘GLASGOW’ turn out to be the same person, and in March 1886 the LT writes the following:

> We have been favoured by the following letter from a lady, whose name and address we possess, respecting tight lacing. The subject is of such vital importance to the present health and future comfort and well-being of England’s young daughters, that we are disposed to give the communications in its entirety (174).83

The ‘young lady’ explains that she has just finished her education at ‘a large and fashionable school in the neighbourhood of London,’ where her lady principal delivered a lecture on the cultivation of female beauty. The lady principal urged upon the absolute necessity of securing a sylph-like figure while young, and ‘used every argument she could bring forward to reconcile us to the state of bondage, and finished by giving

78 ‘Answers to Correspondents,’ vol.IV, no.3, March 1860, pp. 94-95.
79 ‘Answers to Correspondents,’ vol.IV, no.11, November 1860, p.360.
notice that prizes would be given at the end of the year for the most assiduous attention to the figure [...]' (174). The girl continues that ‘none of us were in a very merry mood, pinched and tortured as we were by tyrant fashion’ (174). She concludes

I venture to ask you to lay these facts before your readers, either by publishing this letter, or in the form of a narrative, in order that ladies may be warned from sending their daughters to schools where this practice is enforced. I am, madam, yours truly, Glasgow 1866, BALLIRE (175).

This must have been a recurring practice as Davies’ research refers to a fashionable school in London which, in 1867, proclaimed that ‘it was policy to reduce waists by an inch a month in an attempt to bring them to an ideal size’ (1982:626). Night-stays were worn, as the removal of corsets became very painful (because the back and stomach muscles were weakened). This is also corroborated by the letters the Ladies’ Treasury received on the subject.

When reviewing books, the Ladies’ Treasury reiterates this point. In ‘Domestic Gatherings,’ a book is reviewed entitled Torture in the Nineteenth Century: Fashion in Tight Lacing.84 A Doctor says that ‘every mother who tortures her child by tight lacing is a MURDERESS [...]’. Tight-lacing is also referred to as ‘the black deed.’ The doctor presents a case of a girl who suffered terribly from it. She had a fierce pain in the chest, could not eat breakfast (and a very light lunch), and got but little sleep. ‘It has been found that the liver, the lungs, and the powers of the stomach have been brought to a diseased state by this most pernicious habit. [...] If Nature has not made the Waist small, compression cannot mend her work’ (264). In the literature section, tight-lacing is again focused on.85 A review of The Toilet and Cosmetic Arts in Ancient and Modern Times (by Arnold J. Cooley) cites one paragraph on tight-lacing that ‘should be read by all mothers of young girls [...]. Corsets, stays, and belts are always more or less injurious to the wearer’ (168). Again, diseases are mentioned and it is stressed that ‘the most beautiful, fascinating, and healthy women in the world are those who are innocent of their use’ (168). In the rest of the article, tips on beauty (especially hair and skin) are shared. In July 1868, again it is noted that

a book has been recently published advocating the system of tight-lacing. There certainly is no limit to folly. We have read treatises advocating the swallowing of a deadly poison in minute doses to improve the complexion. Tight-lacing and poisons are near kin. [...] At no point of time have English girls ever looked more lovely than now, but this beauty has been acquired by healthy habits – not by insidious practice’ (8).

‘Literary Notices’87 quotes the Phrenological Magazine,88 which describes tight-lacing as a phenomenon: ‘the craze for tight-lacing, always powerful during the past fifty years, has grown with its growth, and strengthened with its strength, until we find now that women will suffer any torture rather than appear stout, or, for the matter of that, properly developed’ (536).

For years the chief desire among our womankind has been to emulate a lamp-post – with just this difference, that the lamp-post is what it professes to be, and is presumably the shape that a lamp-post should be; while the woman, as found at the majority of fashionable gatherings, is anything but womanly in figure’ (536).

In ‘On-dits and Facts of the Month,’89 the Graphic is quoted on rational dress and is all for making ladies sensible.90 ‘On the question of tight-lacing there is not much to be said beyond this, that no woman who cramps her breathing and digestive apparatus can look pretty for long, and Nature as a rule asserts her right so unpleasantly that perhaps the offence of tight-lacing is less common than dress reformers suppose!’(659). In ‘The Fashions,’91 a correspondent writes that ‘without desiring to interfere with the mysterious orders of fashion, which ladies alone can understand, it is with regret we notice a return to the custom of tight lacing’ (42). Ladies are warned that to emulate the form of a wasp brings on consumption, crooked shoulders, a red nose, and a train of other evils. One month later, ‘The Fashions’92 returns to the subject and quotes the Daily Telegraph, which states that tight-lacing was supposed to have gone out of fashion long since; but it is come upon us again, and more than ever (57). ‘Young ladies! Your fuzzy heads and preposterous chignons were and are absurd enough. A girl with two heads is a monster.[...] For the tight-lacing there is not a word to be said. How can a stopping,
braced-up girl be graceful?’ (57). With such critical reprints, the *Ladies’ Treasury* makes its own opinion abundantly clear.

A very straightforward article in October 1888 is entitled ‘Should Women Wear Corsets or Not?’. It is the only article in the *Ladies’ Treasury* that also includes a less disapproving remark (610). At the British Association this subject is said to have been discussed with some vigour. Professor Ray advocated the wearing of stays and waist-belts, saying that reasonable tight-lacing was good physically and mentally. It ‘oddly’ gives a generous supply to the brain and creates a better blood flow to the heart by ‘a slight increase of abdominal pressure’ (610). The article is in favour of (limited) tight-lacing: ‘everyone admits that a well-knit frame is a sign of health and elasticity, and that the spreading of the body is as detrimental to physical and mental activity as to beauty. Without leaning to either side of the vexed question, it would be interesting carefully to note if the slender-waisted ones really suffer in any way more than the loose, the clumsy, and the obese’ (694).

In conclusion, it is obvious that the main reason for the *Ladies’ Treasury* to protest against tight-lacing is health. While the magazine does seem to want to abolish tight-lacing, it wants to do so not because binding in the waist restricts and oppresses women, but because of health reasons. Additionally, it comments on how tight-lacing does not make women more elegant. Women who lace themselves too tightly do not walk in a graceful manner. They are less dignified than the housewives who swiftly clean up their own kitchens, broom in hand. Although, as Valerie Steele asserts, attacks on the corset were often linked to a campaign in favour of motherhood and the maternal body, this is not the *Ladies’ Treasury*’s main concern. The magazine time and again refers to the importance of physical and mental health (a woman’s body should be in a natural state). Only once, in a short note in ‘The Fashions,’ a doctor is quoted who states that, should a girl who was laced very tight live (which he doubts), ‘she will be an invalid wife, and no children will ever call her mother.’

**In Favour of Tight-Lacing: the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine***

As mentioned, several historians studying the corset emphasize the eroticism of tight-lacing in their studies. Valerie Steele, for one, has pointed out that Veblen’s theory ignores the sexual elements of these middle-class woman’s uselessness and expensiveness (1985:19). Casey Finch, too, stresses how the new approach to undergarments in the Victorian age reconfigured women from purely reproductive

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93 ‘Should Women Wear Corsets or Not?’, October 1888, p.610.
94 ‘Facts and Caprices of the Month,’ November 1888, pp.693-694.

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sources to the erotic field (1991:346). Although feminists have argued that the ‘erotic connotations’ of the corset were intimately linked to feelings of pain, and were probably ‘more appreciated by men than by women,’

Steele claims that many nineteenth-century men and women found corsets in some way an adjunct to feminine erotic beauty’ (2001:120). Women too, were able to gaze at themselves in the mirror, and could enjoy what they saw. In the EDM’s ‘corset controversy,’ as the correspondence columns that appeared in 1867 were baptized, the practice was explicitly linked to this visual and erotic pleasure (ibid).

From 1867 to 1875, the EDM printed more than 150 letters on corsetry in ‘the Englishwoman’s Conversazione’ (the showpiece of the New Series), some of them astonishingly explicit. However, Steele warns against a naive reading. The EDM’s letters might not all have been genuine, and were not necessarily typical (2001:89).

David Kunzle (1977) views the letters as authentic, but writes them off as written by sexually assertive female ‘fetishists’ who were themselves erotically stimulated by tight corsets, while Jessica Needle (2007) suggests we should look at the conversations as chat rooms avant la lettre, where fictional identities could be adopted, and fantasies shared. Needle thus endorses Steele, who also analyses the letters primarily as sexual fantasies, although they simultaneously reveal the existence of sexual subcultures (Steele, 2001:90). Additionally, the publication of such letters should be read in the context of a widespread anxiety about women and their sexuality (ibid. 109).

Although negative reactions were also printed in the EDM, its tone was overall very positive. One of its readers’ comments shows that the debate remained fairly one-sided: ‘controversy’ is hardly a suitable term for the correspondence, the reader noted, ‘where such a preponderating weight of evidence is in its favour.’

In my analysis, I do not as much focus on the sexual connotations of tight-lacing, but rather look at the other motivations readers quote in their arguments in favour of tight-lacing. Additionally, the reason why the EDM published the letters is strongly infused by economic aspects, as shown by the books that were published in the wake of this correspondence. The Controversy became so popular that soon after the correspondence had started in 1867, a collection of the letters, along with engravings, was published as a book under the name The Corset and the Crinoline. This book is promoted in the EDM in June 1868. It was also republished several times under different names, such as The Freaks of Fashion (1870) and Figure Training; Art the Handmaid of Nature (1871) (Beetham, 1996:83-84).

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97 Mainstream periodicals as diverse as the SR, Punch and the Lancet heaped scorn on the EDM letters (Steele, 2001:89).
98 ‘BENEDICT,’ April 1868, issue 40, p.221.
99 June 1868, issue 42, p.324.
The two letters that initiated the notorious ‘corset controversies’ appeared in two subsequent issues in the 1867 series. One is a letter by a shocked mother who complains about her daughter’s wasp waist after returning home from boarding school, and the other is a response to the first letter by ‘STAYLACE,’ who advocates the practice and praises the lovely sensation she gets from tight-lacing. This early letter and reply resulted in a flood of messages that continued into the next year. Many correspondents were in favour of tight-lacing for various reasons, ranging from the demands of fashion, comfort, the fear of getting fat, and the erotic connotations it carried. Adversaries of tight-lacing are regularly scorned to speak their mind on issues they know very little about, and have never tried themselves. In support of ‘STAYLACE,’ ‘FAIR LADY’ fulminates in July 1867 against the fact that doctors, when they see a tiny waist, immediately think of abuse. She claims it gives her very little trouble: ‘all the rest of the waist is composed of yielding materials, which accommodate themselves readily to any position if gradually trained to do so, and that too, as several of your correspondents have shown, without injury to the health.’ ‘An Old Subscriber,’ in turn, claims that suffering is often due to a wrong and injudicious use of the corset, and the ideas doctors hold are described as nonsensical. Instead of declaring that the practice is bad for internal organs and general health, some readers even claim the opposite, stating that tight-lacing is good for you. ‘Edina,’ for instance, asserts that tight-lacing is very necessary when riding on horseback: ‘here, the corset is invaluable and the support it gives to the figure when properly fitted and tightly-laced.’

Women who did not tight-lace in early youth (so the EDM claims) regret it, and others, who are still not doing it, write in order to get more information about trying it themselves. Jezebel writes that she was not tight-laced at first, because her father was against the practice. However, one night after a party, that same father remarked that her figure, and that of her sister, looked rather clumsy. ‘Fortunately, it was not too late. Mamma immediately had well-fitted corsets made for us.’ The curiosity of other readers is satisfied by responses such as the one by ‘A.I.,” who asks where she can find such corsets: ‘I am anxious to try them myself, so as to discover whether the process of tight-lacing is as disagreeable as some ladies have described it to be, or so pleasant as

100 Margaret Beetham notes that the sometimes sado-masochistic tone which ran as an undercurrent in some of the letters, was heightened by a parallel EDM correspondence on the use of whipping to control female servants and girls (initiated around the same time) (1996:83).
101 FAIR LADY, July 1867, issue 31, p.389.
103 ‘The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,’ November 1867, issue 35, p.613.
104 ‘Edina,’ January 1868, issue 37, p.53.
105 ‘Jezebel,’ January 1868, issue 37, p.53.
others say they have found it.’

‘An Inveterate Tight-Lacer’ could not be more supportive: ‘for many years I have been in the habit of lacing extremely tight, I trust that you will allow me, by inserting this or part of it, to make known that I have never suffered any pain or illness from it. [...] I quite agree with STAYLACE in saying that to be tightly laced in a pair of very tight-fitting stays is a most superb sensation.’

Male attitudes also found their ways to the pages of the correspondence, and, as opposed to the negative reactions printed in the Ladies’ Treasury, the men who sent in their opinions to the EDM were of a very different opinion. ‘M.C.’ states that ‘compression of the female waist will never cease just because a slender waist always has been and always will be considered a great beauty by the opposite sex.’

This is corroborated by a male correspondent, who finds that ‘a waist that two hands can easily clasp is certainly a marvel.’ ‘PICCADILLY’ also adds to the testimony that ‘a clumsy figure is to the great majority of gentlemen absolutely repulsive.’ A male correspondent concurs:

Men, I admit, do not marry girls because they have small waists any more than they do because they possess a pretty face or a good fortune, but who being in love with a girl, possessed of these qualities, would wish her to be without them? I only hope my wife, when I am fortunate enough to get one, will have a waist that I can span round.

In turn, ‘La Gène’ whole-heartedly agrees ‘with the widower who writes in your June number in his admiration of tight-lacing in young ladies. [...] I will even go so far as to say that if a young lady has a pretty face and figure, there is no excess of tight-lacing in which she may please herself to indulge that is not an increase to her beauty.’ In short, a tiny waist is described as beautiful and tight-lacing as the easiest way to achieve one. Dangers to a woman’s physical health are laughed off or dismissed as nonsense, or the result of misuse.

106 ‘A.I.,’ September 1868, issue 45, p.165.
108 ‘M.C.,’ April 1868, issue 40, p.221.
110 ‘PICCADILLY,’ April 1868, issue 40, p.221.
111 ‘A CORRESPONDENT,’ April 1868, issue 40, p.221.
112 ‘La Gène,’ September 1868, issue 45, p.165.
6.1.4. Conclusion

Fashion itself, often moulding the body and emphasizing the ‘natural’ differences between the sexes, interacted with a larger set of negotiations about the meaning of the natural and the cultivated (Beetham, 1996:79). The attention paid to appearance in the nineteenth century, and to fashion in particular, clearly linked the female body to the role that women were supposed to play: the respectable woman, the housewife, the pure and innocent angel. The body functioned as a canvas on which the dominant feminine ideal could be mapped out, and rules were established by which the feminine had to be shaped. Femininity was not simply located in the realm of discourse. The female body was shaped materially (and disciplined) by corsets, medicines and hairstyles which the magazines recommended, the latter themselves products of ideological and economic imperatives (Beetham, 1996:64).

The meaning of femininity was thus fractured and unstable, and its relation to the female body (and to sexuality) had to be constantly reworked. Even in two mainstream magazines with a similar intended public, important differences in opinions and subject matter are discernable. In this chapter, I have shown that the Ladies’ Treasury and the EDM had different ideological and economical approaches. The Ladies’ Treasury’s focus on domesticity influenced the way it approached beauty and appearance, paying less attention to outer beauty and clothes, and emphasizing a healthy mental and physical state. In contrast, the EDM did play the card of fashion and appearance, and, with the corset controversy, capitalized on the extreme reactions two initial letters provoked. It deemphasized the domestic and fully embraced new visual techniques by publishing numerous fashion illustrations and plates. With the Treasury of Literature, and its continuous attention to informative articles, the Ladies’ Treasury did not cover fashion extensively until the 1880s. In 1885 there was a marked disappearance of informative articles and the magazine also succumbed to the pressure of magazine publishing. Although fiction remained a fixed feature, fashion and dressmaking were the only columns that gain ground.
Conclusion

‘Want of space, as the editors call it, prevented me, in my last [letter], from saying all that I intended to say’ (‘Aunt Deborah’s Receipt Book,’ LT, vol. II no. 10, October 1858, p. 318)
My Dear Niece,
When you say that “chops, steaks, and cutlets are very handy things,” you are far from doing them full justice. They are not only “handy,” serving to “fill up a gap,” but a capital meal may be made of them; while their juiciness, their flavour, and their “nourishingness,” as old Nurse used to style it, render them, when properly cooked, universally welcome.

(‘Aunt Deborah’s Receipt Book,’ *LT*, vol.II, no.1, January 1858, p.27)

In this letter to her niece which begins with a tribute to meat, Aunt Deborah lists nine recipes for its preparation (ranging from mutton kindneys to veal chops), and ends with the instructions on how to prepare ‘Fried Liver and Bacon.’ Despite her obvious joy in cooking, she adds a concluding remark: '[r]eminding you that broiling and frying are not the most healthy occupations in which a lady can engage, I again subscribe myself, Your affectionate aunt, Deborah' (27). This last observation perfectly illustrates yet another balancing act: cooking is a worthy activity, but one must remain careful because some of its aspects are not lady-like. Although Aunt Deborah insists that ‘next [...] to the goodness of the meat, much depends on the cooking [sic],’ I, as a vegetarian, am not tempted to try any of her detailed recipes in the instalment. Her other, more mouthwatering letters on bread pudding, tapioca pudding (with lemon peel, cinnamon, and butter), and rice pudding,¹ however, do more than stimulate my appetite. They also kindle my interest in the cookery columns of the *Ladies’ Treasury*, and the use of a fictional, intimate correspondence between two women as a way of passing on knowledge about the noble art of preparing food. Just a brief look at these columns already incites ideas for a brand new research article. For instance, Aunt Deborah’s correspondence reveals that women had to juggle many tasks that were expected of them. Her letters often (though not always explicitly) allude to other obligations: she announces ‘but must break off now,’ states that she is ‘compelled to conclude abruptly,’ explains that she has ‘English concerns to attend to’ (when writing about American recipes), or specifies that she ‘must now leave these kitchen concerns, as company is waiting for me in the parlour.’² Additionally, the letters are not devoid of humour. Aunt Deborah repeatedly uses word plays to end her letter. An account on how to prepare game ends with ‘I must conclude my gamesque, saucy letter,’³ and after she has explained how to make jam, she states she has given some ‘very sweet advice’, and hopes her niece

² Instalments of May (?) 1857, p.95; September (?) 1858, p.287; November 1859, p.351 and March 1859, p.95.
‘may be preserved, not jammed.’ She is also unafraid to share a humorous story, as this quotation illustrates:

According to your desire, I send you a few more receipts which may prove useful “down in the kitchen.” I am glad to find that your new servant has pronounced what I sent you last to be quite understandable. This is not always the case with receipts and directions given to servants. One of the writers in a contemporary ridicules the practice of giving fine Latin and Greek names to several articles in common use; and he furnishes an illustration in the following receipt for making an apple pie: “Decorticate the pomarian fruits; incise them vertically and transversely: deposit them in a partira; superinduce a layer of saccharine matter; asperse them with minute portions of aqueous fluid, and cover them with a crustaceous integument composed of farinaceous particles.” I suspect that your wag of a brother had been reading this before his last visit to us; for he teased our little waiting maid sadly by asking her to try and get him some chloride of sodium to eat with an egg! and inquiring if the pepper was properly decorticated?

(Aunt Deborah’s Receipt Book,’ LT, vol.III, no.3, March 1859, p.95)

As the above makes abundantly clear, my dissertation does not offer an analysis of every single feature that adorned the pages of this women’s magazine. In the six chapters that precede this final note, I focused on what I consider to be the Ladies’ Treasury’s most prominent aspects, and hence painted a first detailed picture of one of the many extant Victorian periodicals that have not yet been specifically analysed by scholars in the field. I have placed the Ladies’ Treasury in the context of the nineteenth-century press, highlighted its stance on several issues, and often read it in dialogue with the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine. My research shows that even a mainstream magazine like the Ladies’ Treasury is worthy of study because it informs us about middle-class women’s lives in the Victorian age, and Victorian publishing strategies. It highlights the interconnectedness of ideological and commercial motives as illustrated by each case study.

In the first case study, Mrs Warren’s own life story illuminates one of the various paths middle-class women could walk. Although she did not fully breach the constrictions posed by ‘ideal femininity’ (as she wrote about needlework, cookery, and managing a household), her role as editor as well as keeper of a boarding house placed her firmly in the public sphere. Her book publications and her involvement in the periodical press turned her into a (female) public figure and ran counter to the patriarchic and prescriptive ideals of her time (including the conviction that women

were supposed to keep to the private sphere). In her magazine, too, Mrs Warren combined different forms of femininity. As my second case study clarifies, the *Treasury of Literature* helped the *Ladies’ Treasury* to merge the stereotypical idea of a woman as a domestic goddess with a woman hungry for knowledge. With its informative articles, it continued the tradition of the ladies’ periodicals of the late eighteenth century, and announced the proto-feminist periodicals of the mid-Victorian age. As a literary supplement that included informative, gender-neutral articles, but was devoid of domestic tricks and chores (which were then placed in the parent magazine), the *Treasury of Literature* functioned as an ideal vehicle to distinguish between two of the many aspects of a middle-class woman’s self: to be domestic and well-informed. Despite the magazine’s possible ideologically concerns, I did not disregard commercial issues. By offering readers an extra publication (seemingly free of charge), faithful readers could feel rewarded, and new ones could also be attracted. A detailed study of the *Treasury of Literature* also demonstrated the crucial importance of supplements in periodical press studies. Supplements provide a wealth of information on the parent magazine’s values, as well as on how the magazine functions commercially. In order to discuss the way in which the *Treasury of Literature* interacted with the main magazine, the analysis was preceded by a short characterization of the *Ladies’ Treasury*. I discussed its titles and publishers, contributors, circulation and opinions of the press, as well as its regular features and its fiction.

The third and fourth case studies investigate respectively the Woman Question and the many names of Mrs Warren. These studies foreground the duality and balancing acts of the magazine in an even more obvious manner. My analysis of selected articles in the third case study functions as a resource towards a better comprehension of middle-class issues of femininity, and of how these were dealt with in the nineteenth-century periodical press. In its monthly issues, the *Ladies’ Treasury* did not ‘pick sides’ in the debates about women’s rights, neither did it present its views in an unequivocal or explicit way. Although my study focuses on the years in which the supplement was printed, I demonstrate that the magazine published contradictory views on the subject throughout its entire run. As I suggest, this approach was both ideologically and commercially inspired: the magazine encouraged (women) readers to make up their own minds by presenting them with a wide range of different opinions, which had the business advantage of including its more personal views in a covert way so as not to scare away more conservative readers. It also demonstrates once more how inherently fractured women’s magazines are. In addition to the presentation of opposite views, ‘feminism’ also proved a complex issue. Women’s education, for example, was

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5 As discussed in 3.3.4, the *LT* combined with the *T of L* was more expensive than the earlier version of the *LT*.
promoted as the prerequisite for the advancement of women in various domains: motherhood, marriage and employment, thus combining seemingly conservative and progressive points of view. These domains also figured in eighteenth-century feminism, which enabled me to trace the roots of Victorian feminism in the *Ladies’ Treasury*. I specifically discussed Mary Wollstonecraft’s heritage, and started out with an analysis of the articles in the *Ladies’ Treasury* in which her name was overtly mentioned. I then proceeded to trace her views in the positive articles on women’s rights that the magazine printed. I highlighted the series ‘An Hour with Mamma,’ in which a mother educates her daughters about history. The conversations about key events of the past emphasize the importance that the *Ladies’ Treasury* ascribed to a thorough education.

The fourth case study scrutinizes the role of the editor. As has previously been shown, editing was perceived as a masculine job, and competing in such a ‘male arena’ often proved to be challenging for women. My study of Mrs Warren’s many names as an editor can thus be linked to the gender anxiety of Victorian society and to commercial motives of the press. In her articles for the *Ladies’ Treasury*, Mrs Warren ingeniously employs several variations on her own name in order to fit the article under which the name appears. She uses masculine abbreviations of her name for detailed informative accounts, and feminine signatures for domestic instalments. The use of both masculine and feminine autographs sheds light upon the importance of these gender norms in the commercial field, and although Mrs Warren seemingly does not challenge the norms in an overt manner, at times she does explore the gender ideology of the period, for instance by having a male character express ‘feminist’ ideas. A comparison with other female editors indicates that Mrs Warren’s use of name variations and initials was quite unusual at that time, and once more attests to the *Ladies’ Treasury*’s careful balancing. In particular I discussed Mrs Warren’s editorial style by means of looking at Samuel and Isabella Beeton’s editorship, and the use her variety of names was illustrated in juxtaposition with women editors Eliza Cook, Ellen Wood, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and Florence Marryat.

Similar to the study of the *Treasury of Literature*, the sixth case study again shows that, despite its mainstream image, the *Ladies’ Treasury* did not always conform to the norm. The healthy body was considered an essential counterpart to the healthy mind, and domestic chores were recommended as a perfect way to keep fit. Vanity and an exaggerated fondness for fashionable dress was never explicitly encouraged. While the *EDM* combined the need to be fashionable with the manual task of reproducing the desired piece of clothing, I have already pointed out that the *Ladies’ Treasury* stressed two other compatible aspects: being a good housewife and an interesting companion. The *Ladies’ Treasury* thus downplayed fashion in favour of needlework (and informative, non-domestic articles), and its different treatment of the corset controversy in comparison with the *EDM*, as well as its emphasis on both bodily and mental health of
women, shows that one does not need to analyse a feminist publication in order to encounter different attitudes on women’s appearance.

I hope that this study will pave the way for further research on other neglected (women’s) magazines, which are only mentioned in comparison with the more popular publications in the genre. Mainstream magazines are as valuable to research as revolutionary publications. Every new periodical title that is mapped adds to our insight into a particular aspect of nineteenth-century society, and enriches our knowledge of the Victorian Age. Although I tried to cover as much of the Ladies’ Treasury as one dissertation would allow me, the topics that I had to leave untouched during my research (such as poetry pages and cookery columns) do beg for additional studies. The Ladies’ Treasury is more than a ‘plodding copy-cat’ of the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine and deserves its share of critical attention.

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6 Hughes, 2005:344.
Appendix
Appendix 1: Mrs Warren’s Books

This list of publications is based on several editions of Allibone’s Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, first edition of 1859, and the edition of 1871 (3 volumes) (Philadelphia, Lippincott & co.). Two supplement volumes were added in 1891 by John Forster Kirk (Philadelphia, Lippincott & co.). Additional titles are taken from the British Library Online Catalogue and the Bodleian Library Catalogue. All books are published in London, but the publisher is not always stated.

- A House and Its Furnishings: How to Choose a House and Furnish It at a Small Expense (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1869)
- A Scheme for the Education of the Daughters of Working Men (London: Houlston and Wright, 1862)
- A Young Wife’s Perplexities, with Hints on the Training and Instruction of Young Servants (1886)
- The Art of Imitating Oil Paintings without a Knowledge of Drawing (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1869) (1871)
- The Book of Boudoir (1848) (published at the office, 12 Ave Maria Row)
- Comfort for Small Incomes (1866)
- Cookery Cards for the Kitchen, and modes of cooking eighty dinners, including eighty puddings; new ed. (1871)
- Cookery for an Income of Two Hundred Pounds a Year (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1887)
- Cookery for Maids of All Work (1856)
- The Court Crochet Collar and Cuff Book (1847)
- The Court Crochet Doyley Book (1847)

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1 1871 edition (vol III, p.2586) and 1891 supplement (vol II, p.1490).
2 Signed by E. Warren Francis, and not ‘Mrs. Warren.’
3 I was not able to trace a surviving copy, but it is advertised in the Lady’s Newspaper in August, September and October 1848.
4 As stated, both this book and the series (as well as other titles containing a certain sum of money) could be spelled either as ‘two hundred pounds’ or as ‘£200.’
5 A series from January 1871 till December 1875.
- *Economical Cookery Book* (London: Ward and Lock, 1858)\(^5\)
- *Elegant Work for Delicate Fingers* (with Marie Girardin and Mrs. Pullan)\(^6\) (1861)
- *How I Managed My Children from Infancy to Marriage* (London: Houlston and Wright, 1865)
- *How I Managed My House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year* (London: Houlston and Wright, 1864)
- *How the Lady-Help Taught the Girls to Cook and Be Useful* (1879)\(^7\)
- *Irish Point-Lace Crochet Book Collars* (1854)
- *My Lady-Help and What She Taught Me* (London: Houlston and Sons, 1877)
- *The Point Lace Crochet Collar Book* (1846, 1847)
- *The Short-way Crochet Edging Book* (1850)
- *Six Designs in Pitchomanie* (with full instructions) (1857)
- *Sixteen Fancy-Work Designs for Sofa and Chair Tidies, in Crochet, Netting, etc.* (1869)
- *Timethrift, or, Leisure Hours for Ladies* (London: Longmans, 1854) (book version of the 1851 magazine)
- *Treasures in Needlework* (with Mrs. Pullan) (1855, 3rd edition 1863)
- *The Way It Is Done* (1878)

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\(^5\) In 1875 and 1881 new versions of it were reprinted, and the title changed to *The Sixpenny Economical Cookery Book*.

\(^6\) Under the superintendence of the editor of ‘Enquire Within Upon Everything’ (a domestic guide, published by Houlston and Sons, 1856).

\(^7\) In an instalment in the *LT* in March 1889 (p.171), the book *The Lady Help: Her Duties* is referred to, but I was unable to discover a copy.
Appendix 2: Visual Changes in the LT and T of L

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(2a) Table of Contents before 1872, with the distinction between the Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature (Table of Contents, 1871).
Before the changes in 1872, the top of each page would carry an indication showing to which part of the magazine the page belonged (in this case: "Ladies' Treasury," January 2, 1871).
Similarly, this page belonged to the Treasury of Literature (January 2, 1871).
The distinction between the ‘Ladies’ Treasury’ and the ‘Treasury of Literature’ was removed.
In 1872, the top of each page mentioned both titles of the magazine.
Appendix 3: A Complete Catalogue of the *Treasury of Literature*: 1868-1875

**The Treasury of Literature in 1868:**

**January 1868 (vol.IV, no.1):**
- Frontispiece + Count Bismarck (1-2)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (2-9) (Astell Curtis)
- Stories of Marvellous Lives (on spiders) (10-12) (E.W. Francis)
- The Origin of Negro Minstrelsy (12-17) (R.P. Nevin)
- The Gods of Antiquity (17-18) (W.F. Jervis)
- Nice + ill. (21-23)
- Seeing the Old Year Out (24-30) (G. Lee)
- My Adventure (31-35) (by Banneret)
- Literature (35-37)
- Literari-ana (how poets studied) (37-38)
- The Supposed Origin of the First Red Rose (38) (C.H.N.) P

**February 1868 (vol.IV, no.2):**
- Frontispiece + Alexander Dumas, Jun. (40-41)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (41-49) (Astell Curtis)
- The House (49) (by the rev. W. Barnes, B.D.)
- The Gods of Antiquity (49-51) (by E.W. Jervis)
- My Adventure: Story of the Mysterious Knell (51-58) (Banneret)
- Petroleum and Paraffin, Whence the Source? (59-61) (E.W.F)
- The Defile of the Usses, in Savoy + ill. (61-63)
- Retribution (64) P
- The Great Snow: a New England Tale (64-72) (F. Sheldon)
- Literature (72-78)

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1 I arranged the table of contents in the order of appearance of the articles, stating the title, page numbers, and author (if known). I also indicated whether a feature is a poem (p), fiction (f) or non-fiction (nf) when the title does not reveal this. With 'frontispiece + ...' I refer to a frontispiece illustration, accompanied by a text that addresses the issue illustrated on the previous page. 'Frontispiece: ...' simply indicates an illustration without an explanatory text. 'Randomly inserted fashion plates' are simply put in between certain pages and do not carry page numbers.
March 1868 (vol.IV, no.3):
- Frontispiece + The Eruptions of Mount Vesuvius (80-82)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (83-90) (Astell Curtis)
- Mr. Martin’s Mistakes (92-94) (C.S.)
- Love and Marriage (95-96) (G.H.)
- A Life Story (97) (Florence Marie S. West) P
- Agnus Dei (97) (T.W.H.) P
- The Gods of Antiquity (97-99) (E.W. Jervis)
- Shadows (99) (Ursula) P
- The Vale of Cashmere and its Productions (99-101)
- Treachery + ill. (101-103) P
- Stories of Marvellous Lives (silks and the silkworms) (104-107) (E.W. Francis)
- Odd Papers (107) (P.E. Gibbons)
- The Old Maid (108) (F. Percy) P
- On the Suggestive Literature of the Day (108) (E.W.)
- My Adventure (109-113) (Banneret)
- Literature (113-115)
- Literari-ana (the habit of authors) (116-117)
- Compressed Forage for the Abyssinian Expedition (117-118) (> Mechanics Magazine)

April 1868 (vol.IV, no.4):
- Frontispiece + Sir Moses Montefiore (120-121)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (121-129) (Astell Curtis)
- Nine Poets (129-135) (by M. Fuller)
- Grandmama’s Love (135-141) (M.C.)
- Steering and Sailing Rules (141) (Thomas Gray) P
- The Disentombment of Pompeii + ill. (142-149)
- Stories About the Things Around Us (flowers of the crystal world) (149-150) (E.W. Francis)
- St. Elmo (151-157) (by Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (157-158)

May 1868 (vol.IV, no.5):
- Frontispiece + Herr Richard Wagner (160)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (160-169) (Astell Curtis)
- Stories of Marvellous Lives (171-173) (E.W. Francis)
- Nine Poets (173-178) (M. Fuller)
- Peter Doughty’s Proposal (179-183) (S.M.)
- A Chapter for Artists: Old and Modern Art in Painting (183-187) (E. Benson)
- St. Elmo (187-193) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (193-194)

June 1868 (vol.IV, no.6):
- Frontispiece + M. Athanase Coquerel (196)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (197-204) (Astell Curtis)
- The Gods of Antiquity (204-206) (E.W. Jervis)
- Nine Poets (206-210) (M. Fuller)
- Venice + ill. (211-212)
- In Russia a Century Ago (212-229) (by B. Taylor)
- St. Elmo (229-233) (Augusta J. Evans)
Appendix

July 1868 (vol.V, no.1):
- Frontispiece + The Vintage in the Claret Districts of France (gathering the grapes) (3)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (4-11) (Astell Curtis)
- Honest Heart and Willing Hand (11) (G.B.)
- Stories of Marvellous Lives (bees and their manufactures) (12-13) (E.W. Francis)
- Ploughing and Planting in a Vineyard (13-14)
- Pressing the Grapes for Wine + ill. (15-17)
- The Gods of Antiquity (18-20) (E.W. Jervis)
- A Visit to an American Watering Place (20-22) (G. Hamilton)
- A True Story and its Sequel (23-30) (L.C. Davis)
- Desolation (30) P
- St. Elmo (31-39) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (39-40)

August 1868 (vol.V, no.2):
- Frontispiece + The Fairies’ Grotto (la grotte des demoiselles, south of France) (42-45)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (45-53) (Astell Curtis)
- Negro Senators in Congress at Washington + ill. (53-57)
- Sojourner Truth, the Negro Lecturer (57-62) (Mrs. Beecher Stowe)
- Truffles, and How To Grow Them (62-64) (E.W.)
- The God’s of Antiquity (64-66) (E.W. Jervis)
- St. Elmo (66-74) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (75-76)

September 1868 (vol.V, no.3):
- Frontispiece + During a Sitting of the French Legislative Body (78-79) + extra ill. on p.93
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (79-87) (Astell Curtis)
- About the Married Life of Educated Women (87-90) (G. Hamilton)
- Stories of Marvellous Lives (bees and their manufactures) (90-92) (E.W. Francis)
- A Tale of the Past (94-101) (L.M. Child)
- The Gods of Antiquity (101-103) (E.W. Jervis)
- Sunset (103) P
- Bernard Palissy (104-108) (L.M.C.)
- St. Elmo (108-115) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (116)

October 1868 (vol.V, no.4):
- Frontispiece + View of the Interior of the Aquarium at Havre, France (118)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (118-126) (Astell Curtis)
- Hints upon Literature and How to Write (126-129) (J.W.H.)
- How Metal is Plated with Silver and Gold (129-130) (J. Parton)
- The Death of the Flowers (130) (W.B.) P
- The Gods of Antiquity (131-134) (E.W. Jervis)
- Her Majesty’s Bedroom (at the Villa Wallis, Lucerne) + ill. (133-134)
- Sensational (134-142) (H. James)
- Stories of Marvellous Lives (the bee-tamers etc.) (142-141) (E.W. Francis)
- Summer in Labrador (141-146) (D.A.W.)
- The Latest Movement for the Better Education of Girls (146-148)
- Dead Inez (148) (Florence Marie S. West) P
- St. Elmo (149-155) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (155-156)

**November 1868 (vol.V, no.5):**
- Frontispiece + How Synagogues Arose (158)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (159-166) (Astell Curtis)
- On the Acclimatisation in England of Parrots and Cockatoos (166-169) (Charles Buxton, Esq., M.P.)
- Moths (169-171)
- Should Women be Permitted to Vote + ill. (171-174) (by a woman)
- The Nepenthes Rafflesiana (175)
- The Gods of Antiquity (175-177) (E.W. Jervis)
- The Palimpsest (177-182) (L.M.C.)
- A Russian Fair (182-189)
- St. Elmo (189-195) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (195-196)

**December 1868 (vol.V, no.6):**
- A Moorish Lady Applying Kohol (198)
- Lady Heathcote’s Plot (199-206) (Astell Curtis)
- Countess Laura (206-209) P
- Music and What it Does for Us (210-211) (Louis M. Gotscholk)
- In the Hornets’ Nest + ill. (212-213)
- Five-sister Court of Christmas Eve (212-225) (T.W. Higginson)
- St. Elmo (225-235) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (235)

**The Treasury of Literature in 1869**

**January 1869 (vol.VI, no.1):**
- Frontispiece + The New Doctor (3-12)
- The Birth of the River (12-13) (Leader Scott) P
- Society in the Sea + ill. (13-18) (G.W.M)
- A Legend of the Rhine (18) P
- Winter-life in St. Petersburg (19-26) (B. Taylor)
- A Biography (27-30) (R.C.W.)
- The Ghost – a Retribution (30-33)
- St. Elmo (33-39) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (39-40)

**February 1869 (vol.VI, no.2):**
- Frontispiece of a Chinese fair + After Twenty Years (42-53) F
- A Tragic Story (53-55) (J.B. Aldrich) P
- The Last Days of Atabalipa (the conquest of Peru) + ill. (55-58)
- How the English Lived Five Hundred Years Ago (58-63) (J.H.A. Bone)
- Two Royal Tombs (63-66) (E.W. Francis)
- Cause of Consumption in England and America (66-72) (H.I. Bowditch, M.D.)
- St. Elmo (72-79) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (80)
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March 1869 (vol.VI, no.3):
- Frontispiece (the Spanish muleteer’s courtship) + What They Did with Them (82-92) F
- The True Church (92-93) (T. Tilton) P
- A Persian Poet (94-96)
- Tribute of a Loving Friend in the Memory of a Noble Woman (96-103) (by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe)
- About Serpents + ill. (p97) (103-104)
- Calico-printing in France (104-112)
- My Aristocratic Ancestors (113-115) ('A Queen’s Counsel')
- Consumption (115-116) (Dr. Bowditch, part II)
- St. Elmo (116-120) (Augusta J. Evans)

April 1869 (vol.VI, no.4):
- Frontispiece + The Allegory of the Cave (122-123)
- What I Found in My Glove (123-130) F
- The Times Newspaper (131-132)
- Origin of Nautical Terms (132-136)
- The Sangreal (136-138) P
- The llama + ill. (137-139)
- In the Days of St. John (139-145) (E.B.H.) F
- The Golden Tongue (145-148)
- St. Elmo (148-158) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (159-160)

May 1869 (vol.VI, no.5):
- Frontispiece + M. De Lamartine (162-165)
- The Ladies’ War: an Amazonian Princess (166-175) (E.P.) F
- The Foundling Hospital in London (175-179) (A.H.)
- A Mystery (179-186) (J.C.B.) F
- The Sanitary Influence of Coffee and Tea (186-192)
- St Elmo (192-200) (Augusta J. Evans)
- The May Queen (200) (E.H.B.) P

June 1869 (vol.VI, no.6):
- Frontispiece + Retrospection (the life and age of man) (202) P
- The Story of a Diamond (202-216) (M.M.) F
- Travellers’ Tales (216-221) (W.W. Crane)
- A Journey with the Mad Horse (221-227)
- Prevention and Curability of Consumption (227-230) (by Dr. Bowditch from Boston, U.S.)
- St. Elmo (230-239) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (239-240)

July 1869 (vol.VII, no.1):
- Frontispiece + Gainsborough’s Pictures in the National Gallery (4)
- A Woman’s Revenge and Its Reward (a story found in an oaken cabinet) (4-14) (A.I.)
- About Some Rare Jewels (15-22) (B.I.)
- What Has Been Discovered by Spectrum Analysis (22-26) (C.M.)
- St. Elmo (27-35) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Literature (35-36)
Balancing Acts in Femininities

**August 1869 (vol.VII, no.2):**
- Frontispiece + The Russian Empire (38-44)
- The Mystery (44-51) (by E. Marlitt) F
- Preachers and Their Sermons (51-55) (H.G.)
- Changing and Changeless (55) (A. Besant) P
- About Some of George Eliot’s Works (56-63) (H. James)
- Who Will Set an Example? (64-67)
- St. Elmo (67-75) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Maud (75) (Florence H.S. West) P
- Literature (75-76)

**September 1869 (vol.VII, no.3):**
- Frontispiece + Dancing Pigs: Exhibiting before Louis XI of France (78-79)
- Selfishness (79-84) F
- Who Will Set an Example? (84-86) (E. Drayton)
- Mrs. Mary Somerville, Author of “Molecular Science” &c. (87-89)
- First Letter from Mary to Julia (89-90) (Mary) P
- The Greenlander Reaching King-Ducks in Greenland (90-91)
- The Mystery (91-99) (E. Marlitt)
- Cause of Consumption (99-104) (Dr. Bowditch, of Boston, United States)
- Lines on a Plaster Cast (104) (Banneret)
- St. Elmo (105-116) (Augusta J. Evans)

**October 1869 (vol.VII, no.4):**
- Frontispiece + Chameleons (118-119)
- The Young Wife (119-127) F
- About Kleptomania (127-131) (by an American)
- Avenue of Palms in Rio Janeiro (131-132)
- A Pen and Ink Portrait of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (132-136) (M.B.S.)
- The Mystery (136-145) (E. Marlitt)
- St. Elmo (145-156) (Augusta J. Evans)
- Preliminaries of a Hindu Wedding (156)

**November 1869 (vol.VII, no.5):**
- Frontispiece + The Girls of Every Period (158-160)
- The Soul’s Sanctuary (160) (M.H. Smith) P
- The Little Old Shoe (160-170) F
- The Oldest and Largest Empire in the World (China) (170-174)
- Mont St. Michel, in Auvergne, France (175-176)
- The “Gipsy” Maiden (from the German) (167-183) (E. Marlitt)
- St. Elmo (183-192) (Augusta J. Evans)

**December 1869 (vol.VII, no.6):**
- Frontispiece + Oases and Lakes (194-195)
- Ungoverned Love (196-204) F
- How to Acquire a Retentive Memory (204-206)
- My Father and I (206-207) (M.D.) P
- The “Gipsy” Maiden (207-216) (E. Marlitt)
- Philosophy of Absurdity (216-218) (W.E. McCann)
- The Phenomena of Memory (218-222) (Samuel H. Dickson)
- St. Elmo (end) (222-228) (Augusta J. Evans)
The Treasury of Literature in 1870

January 1870 (vol.VIII, no.1):
- Frontispiece + Mosque in the Small District of Simla, in British India (3)
- On the Influence of Alcoholic Liquors on Healthy Persons (3-6)
- An Incident in the Backwoods of America (7-12) F + in between: fold-out on 'A Georgette in Brussels Point’ – lace supplement (9)
- The Defects of Women and How to Remedy Them (12-17) (Francis Power Cobbe)
- The Prime Ministers Step Daughter (E. John) (17-27) F
- What Men say of Women – What Women Say of Men (27-28) (A girl of the Period)
- The ‘Gipsy’ Maiden – from the German (29-34) (E. Marlitt) F
- Mr. Tennyson’s New Poems (34)

February 1870 (vol.VIII, no.2):
- Frontispiece: The Young Recruit
- About Dogs (36-37) (linked to previous ill.)
- A True Story (37-41) (Edmund Kirke) F
- On the Influence of Alcoholic Liquors on Sick Persons (42-49)
- The Cathedrals of France (43-49) (E. Benson)
- The Echo of Grief (49) (M.H. Smith) P
- Small Feet in China (49-50)
- Head-dresses of Ladies from 1500 to 1550 + ill. (50-52)
- The Haunted House (52-55) F
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (55-68) (E. John) + in between pages 58 and 59: supplement of a needlework pattern
- The Daughter of Toil (68) (E.M. Johnson) P

March 1870 (vol.VIII, no.3):
- Frontispiece + A Storm in the Alps – Auberge Full
- A storm in the Alps: Jottings about Rain (70-71) (the Editor)
- The Catacombs of Rome (72-77)
- The Painter of Repellent Subjects (77-82)
- Sir Francis Drake (82-84) + ill. p.85 (full page)
- An Introduction for an Album (by the late Wm. Leighton) (84) P
- Water-lilies (86-88)
- A Century Ago (88-94) (J. Farrer)
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (94-106) (E. John)

April 1870 (vol.VIII, no.4):
- Frontispiece: Street Amusement in Japan + On the Utility of Amusement (108)
- Hair Ghosts (108-113) (Aunt Pattie)
- The Catacombs of Rome (113-120)
- Rear-Admiral Sir John Hawkins (120-121)
- The story of Our Daily Drink (121-127) (W.T.) + in between design supplement of ancient point lace (123-124) + full-page ill. of John Hawkins
- The Silver Candlestick (127) P
- The Schools Enquiry Commission on the Education of Girls (127-130)
- The Veil (130-134) F
- England’s Santa Filomena (134) (Longfellow)
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (135-144) (E. John)
Balancing Acts in Femininities

June 1870 (vol.VIII, no.5):²
- Frontispiece + Mdlle. Christina Nilsson (184-186)
- Mien-Yaun: a Story Applicable to Any Country (186-194)
- May-month – Joy-Month (194) P
- How I Became a Pagan (195-197) (C.A. Halbert)
- Alexander Dumas Senior (198-200) + p.199 full-page ill.
- The Catacombs of Rome (200-206)
- The Prime Minister's Stepdaughter (206-218)

May 1870 (vol.VIII, no.6):
- Frontispiece + About Squirrels (146-147)
- Woman's Love (148-151) (J. Jasmin) F
- Deaths from Wild Beasts in India (151-152) (> Allen's Indian Mail)
- Aunt Linny’s Romance (152-160) (M.W.) F
- Sir Walter Raleigh (160-166) + p.161 full-page ill.
- The Catacombs of Rome (167-172)
- What is Said About Women – Three Classes of Popular Women (172-174) (> Jewish Messenger)
- The Prime Minister's Stepdaughter (174-182)

July 1870 (vol.IX, no.1):
- Frontispiece: Dining Saloon in an American Railway Train
- The Story of the Bible (3-8)
- The Catacombs of Rome (8-14) (O.W.H.) + in between pages 8 and 9: needlework pattern:
  flounce of point lace supplement
- A Grievous Burden (15-18) (E.W.F.) NF
- Full-page ill.: “O would the gods the giftie gif us – to see oursels as others see us” (17)
- A Maiden’s Holiday: a New England Tale (18-26)
- Full-page ill.: The Grass Gum-Tree of Australia (25) (linked to article on p.36)
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (27-36)
- Xanthorrhoea (grass gum tree) of Australia (36)

August 1870 (vol.IX, no.2):
- Frontispiece + a Case “of Sudden Departure” – What Is to Be Done? (38-43) NF
- Sold: a Love Story (43-46)
- Divided (46) (M.H. Smith) P
- A Summer Trip by the Pacific Railway (46-49)
- The Legend of Monte del Diabolo (49-53) (F.B. Hart)
- Full-page ill.: Barbara Uttman, the Inventor of Cushion Lace (53)
- How Cushion Lace Was Invented (54-55)
- The Ghosts (55-60) (T. Norris)
- Our Strength – Its Injury and Its Proper Culture (60-66) (Walter Wells) NF
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (66-76)

² June is bound in before May in this volume.
September 1870 (vol.IX, no.3):
- Frontispiece + a Wedding Procession in Spreewalde Prussia (78)
- Negro Superstitions (78-82) (T. Norris)
- Our New Housemaid (82-89) (H.S.)
- Friar Jerome’s Beautiful Book (89-91) (T.B. Aldrich) P
- The Child of the Period (91-93)
- Full-page ill.: Verdi (93)
- The Pope and His Cardinals (93-100) (G.W. Greene)
- The Domestic Canker-Worm (100-104) (E. El Court) F
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (104-116)

October 1870 (vol.IX, no.4):
- Frontispiece + The Fortress and Palace of the Alhambra, in Granada, Spain (117)
- The Alhambra (118-120) (Washington Irving)
- A Fatality (120-135) (H. James) F
- Full-page ill.: Sir Humphrey Gilbert (133) (see article on p.135)
- Sir Humphrey Gilbert (135-136)
- The Wife: an Idyl (137-139) (J.C. Whittier) P
- The Pope and His Cardinals (139-143) (G.W. Greene)
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (143-156)

November 1870 (vol.IX, no.5):
- Frontispiece + Dr. Livingstone (the celebrated African traveller): David Livingstone, LL.D., D.C.L. (158)
- The Sapphire Ring (158-164) (Lucy H. Hooper) F
- About Some American Dogs (164-167) (Donn Piatt)
- The Education of Jesus: the Talmud (167-172) (C.E. Stow)
- Full-page ill.: Sir Martin Frobisher (173)
- Sir Martin Frobisher: the First Englishman Who Fitted Out an Expedition to Seek for the Ore of Gold (174-175)
- Until Death (175-179) (by Miss Evans, author of “St. Elmo”)
- Le Livre des Parfums (180-181) (Eugene Rimmel) + ill. on p.180 of “la poudre” and “chignons”
- Samuel Johnson, LL.D., and David Garrick: How Garrick Became an Actor (181-187) (J. Winsor)
- The Prime Minister’s Stepdaughter (the end) (187-196)

December 1870 (vol.IX, no.6):
- Frontispiece: Fountains in the Labyrinth in the Gardens of Versailles, The fountains at Versailles (198)
- The Old Academy: a Real Ghost Story (198-202)
- Four Months with Charles Dickens (during his visit to America in 1842) (202-206) (by his secretary, Mr. W. Fields)
- The Verge of Disaster (206-212) (Jane G. Austin) F
- Wilhelmshöe, the Present Residence of the Ex-Emperor, Napoleon III (113 * full-page ill. on p.114)
- The Ruby Heart (214-221) (J.C. Austin)
- The Arctic Winter – the Aurora Borealis (221-223)
- Until Death (223-232) + the Education of Jesus on p.231 (misprint! Page numbers are correct, but articles are not printed in a logical order)
The *Treasury of Literature* in 1871

**January 1871 (vol.X, no.1):**
- Frontispiece: The Pitahaya, or Gigantic Cactus of Tropical America. Agave and Various Forms of Cacti (2-3)
- The Cactus and Its Varieties (4-5)
- The Lonely Ones (5-15) (from the German of Paul Heyse) F
- Work and Rest (C.T.) (15) P
- Camden Palace, Chisel-Hurst: the Present Residence of the Empress of the French (16)
- The Joys of Poverty (16-19) (P. Thorne) + full-page ill.: Camden palace (17)
- Four Months with Charles Dickens (19-25)
- Man in Past Ages (25-32) (Charles Morris)
- Until Death (33-40)

**February 1871 (vol.X, no.2):**
- Frontispiece + Rouget de Liste, the Composer of the 'Marseillaise' (42)
- My Cousin Richard's Love Chase (42-51) (T.A. Janvier)
- The Influence of Women on the Politics of England (51-55) (Justin McCarthy)
- The Ex-Empress Charlotte of Mexico (56) + full-page ill. on p.57
- The Philosophy of Self Importance (56-63) (Edward Spencer)
- Photographs – Thackeray (63-71) (J.T. Fields)
- Until Death (71-80)

**March 1871 (vol.X, no.3):**
- Frontispiece + Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise (82)
- Love (S.T. Bolton) (82) P
- Mrs. Sutherland’s Tale (83-91) (S.P.King)
- An American View of Mr. Disraeli as Statesman and Novelist – from Puntam’s magazine (91-96)
- Full-page ill.: the Marquis of Lorne (97)
- The Marquis of Lorne (98)
- In Compatible Tempers (98-104) (A.W. Howard)
- The Channel Islands (105-109) (L.L.)
- Until Death (110-120)

**April 1871 (vol.X, no.4):**
- Frontispiece + Her Grace the Duchess of Argyll (122)
- The Overton’s Luck (122-125) (M.E. Stockton) F
- The Washington Season (125-127) (Eugene Lemoine Didier)
- The Philosophy of Cheerfulness (127-130) (L.L.)
- Mr. Disraeli’s Remarks upon His Own Novels (130-134)(D.)
- Goethe’s Werther (134-136) (G. Greenwood)
- His Grace the Duke of Argyll (136) + full-page ill. on p.137
- Photographs, no.II: Nathaniel Hawthorne (138-145) (J.T. Fields)
- A Word to Whom It May Concern (146) (G. Hamilton)
- My Aquarium (147-150) (M.A.H.)
- My Calamity (150-152) (Bruto H.) + ill. on p.151
- Until Death (153-160)
May 1871 (vol.X, no.5):
- Frontispiece: Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull; Mrs. T.C. Claffin, Stockbrokers of New York
- The Employment for Women (162)
- My Mission and What Came of It (162-172) (A.D.D.)
- Hans Holbeim and the Dance of Death (172-176) (B.H.)
- Full-page ill.: Lady Jane Grey (177)
- The Lady Jane Grey (178)
- Interpretations of War (178-179) (Leader Scott) P
- My Two Lovers (179-185) (W.A. Thompson)
- The Gymnasium as a Health Restorer (186-191)
- Chilhood’s Faith (Sunday at home) P
- Until Death (192-200)

June 1871 (vol.X, no.6):
- Frontispiece + Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (202-203)
- Hyacinths and Their Doings (203-213) (H.P.S.)
- A Bundle of Bones! (213-215) (C.J. Sprague)
- The Salmon in Puget Sound, North America (215-218) (S. Wilkeson)
  + full-page ill. on p.217: Travelling in the Interior of Spain
- A Great Genius (218-223) (F.A. Durivage)
- A Sailor’s Story (223-228) (W.W. Reade)
- “Old Dick” (229-232) (Dr. S.)
- Until Death (232)

July 1871 (vol.XI, no.1):
- Frontispiece + the Countess Waldegrave (3)
- A Sailor’s Story (4-9) (W.W. Reade)
- Daniel Gray (9-10) (J.H.) P
- The Geyser of California (10-14) (J.F. Manning)
- Good Servants Are Often Poor Housekeepers (14-16) (Mrs. H.W. Beecher)
- The Shrine of the Sacred Bull at Seringapatam, India (16-18) + full-page ill. on p.17
- The Red Fox: an American Tale (19-26)
- The Recent Revolt in Paris (26-28) (> The Times)
- Fish in Puget Sound, North America (28-29) (S. Wilkeson)
- True Story of a Dog (29-30) (M.J.C.)
- Ancient and Modern Modes of Living (30-32) (Mrs. H.W. Beecher)
- Until Death (32-40)

August 1871 (vol.XI, no.2):
- Frontispiece + Mikao, a Japanese City with Its Singular Bridges (42-43)
- Memories of Charles Dickens (43-49) (J.C. Fields)
- The Elopement (50-56) (Lucy Hamilton Hooper)
- Sights and Thoughts in England (by an American) (56-58) (T.K.B.)
- Full-page ill.: Funeral Ceremonies in Japan (57)
- Gossip for the Dog Days (58-65) (B.B.) + between pages 62 and 63: supplementary needlework pattern
- Ghosts (65-69) (B.T.)
- Until Death (70-78)
September 1871 (vol.XI, no.3):
- Frontispiece + Interior of a Buddhist temple in Japan (80-81)
- Mr. Fanshawe’s Daughter (82-88) F
- Robert Chambers (88-94) (James Grant Wilson)
- Women in Japan (94-96)
- Full-page ill.: Japanese ladies and gentlemen crossing a lagoon (95) + needlework supplement in between
- The Dramatic Element in the Bible (96-106) (E.L.D.)
- Until Death (107-116)

October 1871 (vol.XI, no.4):
- Frontispiece: Singular Mode of Crossing a Ravine in Japan
- A True Narrative (118-125) (H.J.)
- Rock, Tree, and Man (125-132) (M.H.B.)
- A Plea for Xanthippe (132-136) (J.L.)
- Full-page ill.: Japanese interpreter in his official costume (133) + a coloured fashion plate in between
- The Haunted Widow of Old Point (136-141) (T.W.H.)
- Lord Shaftesburg upon Penny Juvenile Literature (address delivered in Glasgow) (142-143)
- The Two Introductions (143) (M.J.C.)
- Until Death (144-156)
  + randomly inserted: purple-coloured needlework pattern supplement

November 1871 (vol.XI, no.5):
- Frontispiece + a Grove of the Common Mangrove Fig Tree (158)
- Uncle John (158-166) (H.H.) F
- The Dead Wife’s Portrait (166-167) (A.) P
- What We Found on the Sea-Shore and Where It Was Placed (167-171) (A.A.)
- The Story of the Spire of Strasburg Cathedral (171-174) (W.M.)
- Full-page ill.: the Lemming, or Migratory Rat of the North of Russia (173) + coloured fashion plate placed in between
- A Visit to Mary Russel Mitford, at Three-Mile Cross (175-179) (R.W. Emerson)
- Golden Youth (179-182) (B.B.) NF
- Until Death (182-198)
  + in between: fashion plate and needlework pattern + extra needlework patterns at the end of the issue
- Address (because the LT is entering its 15th year of publication), signed by Eliza Warren, “Editor of the Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature, December 1871, p.199

December 1871 (vol.XI, no.6):
- (No frontispiece)
- The Explosion of a Torpedo (200-202)
- A Sea-Wave (202)
- Animal Magnetism Shown in Twin Love (202-208) (Bayard Taylor)
- Why Are the Dead Buried with Their Head towards the East? (208-210) (N.L.F.)
- Was Blue-Beard Guilty? (211-212) (C.C.H.)
- The Living Temple (214) (Oliver Wendell Holmes) P
- Alfred Tennyson, D.C.L., Poet Laureate (214-215) + fashion plate inserted in between
- Character Told by the Form of the Hands and Fingers (216-218) (H.B.)
- Is it True? (on religion) (219)
Appendix

- Until Death (219-234) + note: the conclusion of this tale will be given as a supplement with the January number, 1872

The Treasury of Literature in 1872

January 1872 (vol.XII, no.1):
- (No frontispiece)
- England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (3-8) (Warren Francis)
- The Old Year and the New (8) (Frank W. Clarke) P
- An Odd Story (8-18) (Leonard K.)
- Two Days at Ravenna: a Few Pages from a Tourist Diary (19-23)
- The Intermingling of Religions (23-29) (L. Maria Child)
- The Early Days of Charles Dickens (29-33) (W.F.)
- The Governor’s Wife (33-42) (a story of the Puritan days, by A.S. Stephens)

February 1872 (vol.XII, no.2):
- Frontispiece + Indians Attacking the United States Mail: on the Texan Prairies and En Route for Kansas (58)
- Frightened into It (58-66) (J.W. de F.)
- A Procession to the Temple of Sannoo, in Yedo Japan (70-71)
- The Octopus, or Eight-Footed Cuttle-Fish (71-75) (Warren Francis)
- Two Days at Ravenna... (75-78) (L.B.)
- English Customs in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century (78-81)
- The Hair, the Moustache, and the Beard (81-87) (G.D. Shanley)
- The Governor’s Wife (87-98)
+ randomly inserted fashion supplement and needlework pattern

March 1872 (vol.XII, no.3):
- Frontispiece + Japanese Balancers (114)
- Lota Page’s Destiny (a phase of American life) (114-120) (L.B.A.)
- Our Household Companions (120-125) (Caroline Halbert)
- The Next Deluge (125-126) (+ Christian union)
- The Fanthine, or Floating Snail of Florida (126-127)
- The Butterfly of the Sea (127)
- The Bygale, or Bird-Catching Spider (127)
- Sensational Preachers of Former Days (127-132) (J.V. Blake)
- Education and Manners of English Women in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth century (132-136)
- Fret-Cutting (136-137) (by 'Fret-saw')
- John Maxwell and His Fortunes (138-143) (E.F.)
- The Governor’s Wife (143-152)

April 1872 (vol.XII, no.4):
- Frontispiece + the Leap of the Salmon (170)
- How a Wife Kept Her Husband’s Love (171-181) (S. Holm) F
- An Alpine Home (181-186) (A.T.)
Balancing Acts in Femininities

- Spanish Planters Travelling in Cuba + a Mexican Lady and Gentleman Descending the Mountains (186-187)
- A Living "Man in the Moon" (195-196) (Professor S. de Vere)
- The House of Prayer (195-196) (J.G. Whittier)
- Nature's Teachings (196-198)
- The Governor’s Wife (198-208)

May 1872 (vol.XII, no.5):
- Frontispiece + Links in Nature (226-227)
- How I Found My Wife (227-231) (H.H.)
- The Bards or “Scalds” of Scandinavia (231-237) (H.W. Ellsworth)
- How Shall We Pray (238-239) (Henry Ward Beecher in the Christian Union)
- A Mountain of Monkeys (239-241)
- The Fortunes of Ahmed (241-252) (J.W. Morris)
- Fret-Cutting (252-254)
- The Governor’s Wife (254-264)

June 1872 (vol.XII, no.6):
- Frontispiece + Dancing for Life (282-283)
- Only a Leaf in the Storm (283-294) (Ouida)
- Man’s Twofold Nature (294-298) (A.W.) + ill. on p.297: the peak of Contemara in Peru
- The Peak of Contemara in Peru (298-299)
- The Bank Robbery (299-305) F
- The Crystal Palace from an Educational Point of View (306-308) (Warren Francis)
- The Governor’s Wife (308-316)

July 1872 (vol.XIII, no.1):
- Frontispiece + the Spectre of the Brocken (3-7)
- The Value of Accident (> Atlantic monthly) (7-12) (Charles Collins)
- The Taxidermist’s Story (12-23) (F.H. Ludlow)
- Full-page ill.: the Brocker (15)
- The ‘Times’ Newspaper of 1788 and of 1872 (23-28) (Warren Francis)
- The Governor’s Wife (29-40)

August 1872 (vol.XIII, no.2):
- Frontispiece + the Hippopotamus (58-59)
- A Mormon Wife’s Story (59-66) (A.F.R.)
- Colour-Blindness (> Atlantic monthly) (66-69)
- An Apology from an Ancient Worthy: the Sluggard (69-71) (C.C.H.)
- The Story of a Statue (71-73)
- The Mississippi and Its Steamers (73-74)
- The Victoria Water-Lily (74)
- Poetry and Charles Dickens (75)
- Cross Purposes (75-83)
- The Difference between Genius and Talent (83-88) (F. Hedge)
- The Governor’s Wife (88-96)

September 1872 (vol.XIII, no.3):
- Frontispiece: the Giant’s Causeway, Country Antrim, Ireland
- Basaltic Formation near Bengore Head, County Antim (114-115) (Warren Francis)
- A Husband’s Plot (115-123)
The Treasury of Literature in 1873

January 1873 (vol.XIV, no.1):
- Frontispiece: Aurora and her Grandmother Papita
- Our Drive to Volterra and the Laponi (3-10) (by the author of “Two Days at Ravenna”)
- A Glimpse of San Francisco (10-14) (A.M.)
- An American Girl Abroad (14-18)
- The Mikado, Sole Emperor of Japan (18-20) (Warren Francis)
- The Winner of the Race (20-29) (E.H.)
Balancing Acts in Femininities

- Mrs. Sommerville (29-31)
- The Countess of Clare (31-40) (Mrs. A.S. Stephens) + ill.: the rock dwellings of the gipsies (32)

**February 1873 (vol.XIV, no.2):**
- Frontispiece: the first steamboat on the western shores of America (58-59) (A.D.K.)
- Like a Ghost (59-66) (W.A. Thompson)
- Gifted Voices (66-71) (L.H. Hooper)
- Vegetation on the Waters of the Lower Amazons (how coal is formed) (71-72) (Warren Francis)
- An English Art Reformer (73-76) (J. Stillman)
- An American Girl Abroad (76-79)
- A Good Deed (79-81)
- The Shadow on the Curtain (81-85) (T.W. Higginson)
- The Countess of Clare (86-96)

**March 1873 (vol.XIV, no.3):**
- Frontispiece + Dwelling of a Native Chief in New Caledonia – the French penal settlement (114-115)
- A Prodigal in Tahiti (115-122) (Charles Warren Stoddard)
- Little Captain Trolt (122-125) (G. Hamilton)
- Old Jedwort (125-133) (M.H.H.)
- Full-page ill.: the Kapou (male and female) of New Caledonia (129)
- The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's Church (133-139) (H.J.)
- An American Girl Abroad (139-143)
- The Countess of Clare (143-152)

**April 1873 (vol.XIV, no.4):**
- Frontispiece + the Pope Giving the Benediction at Easter; Easter Sunday in Rome (170-172) (Warren Francis)
- A Russian Easter (172-178) (Eugene Schuyler)
- L’ora, the Slave of a Siamese Queen (178-183) (Mrs. Leonowens)
- Aconcagua (183-185) (E.W.F.)
- What We Do for Amusement (186-188) (G.H.)
- A Ghost Story: the Christmas Club (188-196) (E. Egglestone)
- An American Girl Abroad (196-199)
- The Countess of Clare (199-208)

**May 1873 (vol.XIV, no.5):**
- Frontispiece: Entrance to the Palace of the Duque Del Infantado, Guadalaraja
- A Week’s Rambler among Old Tuscan Cities (226-232) (by the author of “Two Days at Ravenna”)
- Horna’s Reverie (233-239) (M.V.V.)
- Entrance to the Palace of the Infantado in Guadalaraha, Spain (239-240)
- The Facade of the Alcazar in Seville, Andalusia, Spain (241-244)
- Our Novel: How We Set about Novel-Writing (245-251) (S.A. Frost)
- An American Girl Abroad (251-256)
- The Countess of Clare (256-264)
- Old Time Poems (264) (Robert Southwell)
Appendix

June 1873 (vol.XIV, no.6):
- Frontispiece + the Escurial palace and church in Escurial, Old Castille, Spain (282-294)
- Why Spain Was Betrayed to the Arabs in the Eight Century (284-292)
- Nothing New under the Sun (292-298) (B.W. Ball)
- Full-page ill.: the Great Eastern
  The Great Harry and the Great Eastern (298-300) (E. Francis)
- Modern Astrology (300-304) (William L. Stone)
- An American Girl Abroad (304-308)
- The Countess of Clare (309-316)
  + ill.: children going to witness the stoning of Aurora (312)

July 1873 (vol.XV, no.1):
- Frontispiece + the West Front of the cathedral at Ratisbon, Bavaria (3)
- Martin Lea's Story (3-12) (Norman Holm)
- Some of the Wonders of Modern Surgery (12-16) (W.T. Helmuth)
- A Few Words about Chess (16-20) (A.A.B.)
- Full-page ill.: the Church of Santa Maria de la Incarnacion; Malaga, Spain (17)
- Malaga (21-23) (E.W.F.)
- A Lady Teacher and Poet Two Thousand Years Ago (24-30) (T.W.H.)
- Mephistopheles (30-32) (C.J.S.)
- The Countess of Clare (32-40)

August 1873 (vol.XV, no.2):
- Frontispiece: the Lake of Fire in the Crater of Moku-Weo-Weo, on the summit of Mauna Loa
- The Original Significance of Old Names (werewolves and swan-maidens) (59-67) (John Fiske)
- Unasked Love (67-70) (Helen Peyton)
- Mauna Loa, the Hawaii Volcano (70-73)
- A Week's Ramble through Old Tuscan Cities (73-76) (L.B.)
- Ancient and Modern Persia: “the king of kings” (77-81) (Warren Francis)
- An American Girl Abroad (81-85)
- The Countess of Clare (85-96)

September 1873 (vol.XV, no.3):
- (No frontispiece)
- My Companions in an Omnibus (113-120) (Florence Hodgkinson)
- My Ideal (G.H.N.) (120) P
- An Egyptian God (121-124) (E.W.F.)
- An American Girl Abroad (124-127)
- Over the Falls, and Shooting the Rapids (127-132) + two ill. of falls (128-129)
- Ancient and Modern Persia (132-140) (Warren Francis)
- The Countess of Clare (140-152)

October 1873 (vol.XV, no.4):
- Frontispiece + Flatdale, in Norway (170)
- Margaret's Life (170-181) F
- Mount Shasta (181-186) + ill. of the cone of mount Shasta (185)
- The Fisher-Wife's Story (186-190) (E. Pierce)
- Ancient and Modern Persia: the Sassanidae Dynasty (190-197) (Warren Francis)
- The Countess of Clare (197-208)
Balancing Acts in Femininities

**November 1873 (vol.XV, no.5):**
- Frontispiece + a Swarm of Dragon Flies (226)
- Faithful unto the End (227-237) (M.H. Grant)
- Praise (237) P
- Telling Character by the Hand (238-244) (Warren Francis)
- Full-page ill.: Fortune Telling in Spain (241)
- A Week’s Ramble through Old Tuscan Cities (244-249)
- Ancient and Modern Persia (249-252) (Warren Francis)
- The Countess of Clare (252-264)

**December 1873 (vol.XV, no.6):**
- Frontispiece: the Island of Capri
- A Week on Capri (282-290) (Bayard Taylor)
- Thirty Years Ago (291-295) (Heygate Chelmslee)
- Castle and Fortress of Hohenzoltern, Sigmaringen (295-297) + ill. on p.296
- Fortune-Telling by Cards (297-300) (the Norwood Gipsy)
- Christian Games (300-306)
- The Countess of Clare (306-316)

**The Treasury of Literature in 1874**

**January 1874 (vol.XVI, no.1):**
- Frontispiece + the Doum Palm of Egypt (3-4)
- Our Patchwork Novel (by 7 authors, ed. by Leader Scott) (4-14)
- Legend of the Formation of the Lakes of Killarney (14) (Heygate Chelmsbee)
- About Ivory (15-16)
- An Object in View (16-27)
- Full-page ill.: Ivory, and Where Found (17)
- Chiromancy: or, Fortune-Telling by the Lines of the Hand (27-30) (the Norwood Gipsy)
- The Countess of Clare (30-40)

**February 1874 (vol.XVI, no.2):**
- Frontispiece + Tomb of Theodoric, in Ravenna (Italy) (58-59)
- Our Patchwork Novel (59-68)
- The Story of Our Lives: Hidden Truths (on religion) (68-70) (the Editor)
- Singular Stones, probably druidical in Chinese Tartary (70-72) (Warren Francis)
- The Concealed Truth (73-79) (K.P.O.)
- An American Picnic (79-86) (Mrs. Agassiz)
- The Countess of Clare (86-95)
- The Marriage Certificate (95-96) (Mrs. Anne S. Stephens)

**March 1874 (vol.XVI, no.3):**
- Frontispiece + an Imaginary Restoration of a Ninevite Palace (114-116) (Warren Francis)
- Our Patchwork Novel (116-125)
- Improvisation (125) (Bayard Taylor) P
- The Story of the Rothschilds (126-136)
- Kissing by Proxy (136-141) (E. Rodman Church)
- The Marriage Certificate (141-152)
April 1874 (vol.XVI, no.4):
- Frontispiece + About Corals (170-172) (Warren Francis)
- Our Patchwork Novel (172-178)
- Charles Frederick Worth, the Paris Dressmaker (179-182) (H.B.)
- A Sea Waif (182-184) (Heygate Chelmsbee)
- The Cactus, or Indian Fig-Tree + ill. (185-186)
- Her Imperial Highness Marie, Duchess of Edinburgh (186-188)
- Historical Chapters (adapted for the home tuition of boys and girls) (188-191) (Warren Francis)
- Our Stepmother, Agony Among “the Friends” (191-199) (J. Churchill)
- The Darwinian Theory (199-203)
- The Marriage Certificate (204-208)

May 1874 (vol.XVI, no.5):
- Frontispiece + Beavers Constructing a Dam to Stem the Water; About Beavers (226-227)
- The Marriage Certificate (227-233)
- An American Girl Abroad (233-237)
- The Darwinian Theory (237-238) (C.J. Sprague)
- Italian Peasant Women Carrying Their Infants (238-239)
- A Bride in the Backwoods (239-249) (E.D.)
- Our Patchwork Novel (249-255)
- My Father’s Agent (255-261) (by J.S. De Mille)
- Historical Chapters (262-264) (Warren Francis)
- A May Day (264) (M. Mordaunt) P

June 1874 (vol.XVI, no.6):
- Frontispiece: the Summer Residence of a High-Class Chinese Mandarin
- About China and the Chinese (282-284) (Warren Francis)
- The Marriage Certificate (284-291)
- Historical Chapters (292-295) (Warren Francis)
- The Salt Mines of Wieliczka (295-297) + ill. on p.296
- Grandma’s Story (297-301) (M.E. Neale)
- My Father’s Agent (301-310)
- An American Girl Abroad (310-312)
- Our Patchwork Novel (312-316)

July 1874 (vol.XVII, no.1):
- Frontispiece: Grandmamma’s Pets
- At Last (3-6) (Heygate Chelmsbee)
- Slave-Hunting in Central Africa (6-12)
- Parted (Florence Hodgekinson) (13-16) F
- Among the Ice: Preparing for Winter Quarters (16-19) + ill.(17)
- Our Patchwork Novel (19-25)
- Historical Chapters (25-26)
- My Father’s Agent (26-33)
- The Marriage Certificate (34-40)

August 1874 (vol.XVII, no.2):
- Frontispiece + Wilkie Collins (57)
- Our Patchwork Novel (58-65)
- An American Girl Abroad (65-71)
Balancing Acts in Femininities

- About Seals and Their Skins (72-77) (H.N.M.M.)
- Historical Chapters (77-80)
- My Father’s Agent (80-89)
- The Marriage Certificate (90-96)

**September 1874 (vol.XVII, no.3):**
- An American Girl Abroad (117-123)
- Our Patchwork Novel (123-130)
- Full-page ill.: Costume of a Maiden of the Thuringian Forest (129)
- Costume of a Maiden of the Thuringian Forest (130-131)
- My Father’s Agent (131-142)
- Historical Chapters (143-146) (Warren Francis)
- The Marriage Certificate (146-152)

**October 1874 (vol.XVII, no.4):**
- Frontispiece + the Schoolmaster’s Pay-Day (170)
- Two Oddities (170-178) (F.L. Benedict)
- Our Patchwork Novel (178-186)
- Full-page ill.: a Napolitan bride (185)
- Historical Chapters (on the Reign of Henry II) (186-189)
- My Father’s Agent (189-201)
- The Marriage Certificate (201-208)

**November 1874 (vol.XVII, no.5):**
- Frontispiece + the First Bringing in of the Grapes for the Wine-Press on the Rhine; the First Ingathering of the Grapes (226)
- The Husband’s Sister (226-232) (F.L. Benedict)
- Donizetti (233-235) (R.G. White) F
- Historical Chapters (Twelfth Century) (236-237)
- Robert Schumann (237-239)
- Our Patchwork Novel (239-248)
- My Father’s Agent (249-257)
- The Marriage Certificate (258-264)

**December 1874 (vol.XVII, no.6):**
- Frontispiece + Bessie Linton’s Fortune (282-286) (E.W.F.) F
- The Well in the Desert (286-289) (O.W.H.) P
- A New Method of Decorating the Dinner Table (289-291)
- Decorative Art as an Employment for Ladies (291-298) (= Harper’s monthly)
- Full-page ill.: a New Method of Decorating the Dinner Table (297)
- The Hibernation of Insects (298-299) (Warren Francis)
- My Father’s Agent (299-310)
- The Marriage Certificate (310-316)
The Treasury of Literature in 1875

January 1875 (vol.XVIII, no.1):
- Frontispiece: a Problem in Algebra Solved – A Given Number Reduced to Fractions
- A Tale as It Was Told to Me (1-4) (L.H.)
- My Hindoo Bhearer (5-12) (J.W. Palmer)
- How to Manage a Husband (12-15) (Caelebs)
- The Ultramontane International League (15-16) + ill. on p.17
- My Father’s Agent (16-28)
- Historical Chapters (Twelfth Century) (28-32)
- The Process of Sculpture (32-34) (Harriet Hosmer)
- The Marriage Certificate (34-40)

February 1875 (vol.XVIII, no.2):
- Frontispiece + the Tamandua, or Banner Ant–Eater of the Brazils (58-59)
- Fishing for a Dragon (59-67)
- The Art of Procuring Sleep (67-69) (George F.)
- A Mesmeric–Telegraphic Discovery (69-74) (Mesmer)
- Let Me Hear from You Soon (74-77) (A.M.)
- Historical Chapters (Thirteenth Century) (77-81)
- Of the Costume of Middle–Aged and Old Ladies (82-84) (Caelebs)
- The Pearl of Innocence (84-85) (C.S. Wettenhall)
- My Father’s Agent (85-96)

March 1875 (vol.XVIII, no.3):
- Frontispiece + Odd Fish (114-115)
- Expediency versus Right (115-119) (F.T.)
- The Management of Parrots (119-122) (the Prisoner’s Friend)
- Historical Chapters (122-125)
- A Perfect Woman (125) (Chapman)
- A Woman’s Success in the Pulpit (by the author of “The Gates Ajar”) (125-135) (Elizabeth Stuart Phelps)
- The Edelweiss + ill. (128)
- Marble Bust in Bas–Relief of the Princess Louise Marie Amélie, Princesse Royal of Belgium (129) + ill.
- Some Notes on Sculpture (135-139) (A.N.N.)
- My Father’s Agent (139-152)

April 1875 (vol.XVIII, no.4):
- Frontispiece + a Bedouin bivouac in the Khivan desert in central Africa (170)
- A Ghostly Story (170-183)
- The Two Daniels (183-190) (A.M.)
- Odd fish (191-192) (E.W.F.)
- The Higher Education of Women: What Does the Term Mean? (192-194) (the Editor)
- Palmistry (194) (H.P.S.)
- The Gold work and Scarabai of the Etrusians (195-198) (W.J. Stillman)

The frontispiece shows a maid who has broken something.
Balancing Acts in Femininities

- My Father's Agent (199-208)

**May 1875 (vol.XVIII, no.5):**
- Frontispiece + Guano islands, with penguins, gannets, and man-of-war hawks; Guano, What Is It? (226-228)
- A Ghostly Story (228-244)
- A Medical Experiment (244-248)
- Society in the Ant Dominium (248-251) + ill. on p.249
- Historical Chapters (251-253)
- My Father's Agent (253-294)

**June 1875 (vol.XVIII, no.6):**
- (No frontispiece)
- The Giant's Cheesewring, near Liskeard, Cornwall (281-282)
- How Our American Cousins Manage It (283-287)
- Insanity in Constantinopel (287-299) (W. Goodell)
- Duty (299) (Robert Leighton) P
- Historical Chapters (299-301)
- The Sugar-Cane and Sugar (301-304) + ill. on p.302
- My Father's Agent (305-307)
- Ruth Jessup Married (the sequel to the “Marriage Certificate,” by Mrs. A.S. Stephens) (307-316)

**July 1875 (vol.XIX, no.1):**
- Frontispiece + authentic portrait of Marie de Medicis; Marie de Medicis, Mother of the queen of Charles I of England (1-3)
- Ernestine Harrington: Her Diary and Her Lovers (3-11) (H. Vickery D.)
- A Chapter of Facts: for Boys and Girls (11-14)
- The Bessemer Saloon Steamer (14-15) + ill. on p.16
- A Lady-Help (15-21)
- Historical Chapters (Thirteenth Century) (21-25)
- Ruth Jessup Married (25-40)

**August 1875 (vol.XIX, no.2):**
- Frontispiece + the Wandering Minstrel from a Painting by David Teniers the Younger (58)
- The True Wife (58-61) (A.L.M.) F
- The Convulsionists of St. Medard (as recorded by M. de Montgeron) (62-70) (Robert Dale Owen)
- Insect and Beef-Eating Plants, and the Man-Eating Tree of Madagascar (70-77)
- The Resistency of a Client: an American Story (77-85)
- Ruth Jessup Married (85-96)

**September 1875 (vol.XIX, no.3):**
- Frontispiece + the Milk Service of Antwerp (114-116)
- The Ruling Vice: a Story of 1776 (116-126)
- Hans Christian Andersen (126-128)
- What is Glass (128-131) + full-page ill. on p.129 (the Editor)
- Robin Hood, Who Was He? (131-138) (A.N.)
- English and Native Baby Life in India (138-142) (M.A.)
- Ruth Jessop Married (112-142)
Appendix

October 1875 (vol.XIX, no.4):
- Frontispiece + Francis Bret Harte (170-175)
- Obeying the Captain (175-181) (M.A. Denison)
- Turning or Dancing Derwishes (182-184) + full-page ill. on p.185
- Through the Market (184-190) (B.W. Ball)
- The Convulsionists of St. Medard (190-195)
- Ruth Jessop Married (195-208)

November 1875 (vol.XIX, no.5):
- (No frontispiece)
- Baron Justus Von Liebeg, Professor of Chemistry (225-227)
- In Sweden: the Bear-Hunt (227-234) (S.M.)
- A Day’s Travelling in Siberia (234-236) (G. Kennan)
- Waste No Time (236) (Merrick) P
- Can Death Be Painful? (237-240) (E.P. Buffett)
- Hair Dressing in the Oceanic Islands (Pacific Ocean) (241-242)
- William Barents and His Arctic Voyages (242-246) (E.W.)
- The Old Maid of the Family (246-250) (M.C.) F
- Tom’s Baby (250-251) (J.V. Eames) F
- The Bridal (252-253) P
- Ruth Jessop Married (253-264)
- Love Flown Never Returns (264) (U.) P

December 1875 (vol.XIX, no.6):
- (No frontispiece)
- The City of Madrid (281-286) (P.M.)
- How It Happened (286-291) (M.A. Denison) F
- Impromptu Cooking (292-295) (Agnes Irwin)
- The Family Ghost (295-300) (Julia Mcnair Wright)
- Full-page ill.: Peasant’s Dance in Galicia (297)
- Ruth Jessop Married (301-316)
- A Wild Adventure on the Prairie (317-320) (A.M.)
- The Origin of Pansies or Hearts-Ease (Herrick, 1630) (320) P
Appendix 4: List of Articles Addressing the Woman Question between 1868 and 1875 in the Ladies’ Treasury and the Treasury of Literature

‘A Woman,’ ‘Should Women be Permitted to Vote,’ vol.V, no.5, New Series, November 1868, pp.171-174 (T of L)
Celebs, ‘How to Manage a Husband,’ vol.XVIII, no.1, New Series, January 1875, pp.12-15
(Cobbe, Frances Power, ‘The Defects of Women, and How to Remedy Them [From an English Point of View],’ vol.VIII, no.1, New Series, January 1870, pp.12-17 (T of L)
Editor, the, ‘The Education of Girls,’ vol.V, no.1, New Series, July 1868, pp.4-6 (LT)
Editor, the, ‘The Higher Education of Women: What does the Term Mean?,’ vol.XVIII, no.4, New Series, April 1875, pp.192-194 (former LT)
‘The Education of Girls’ (>School Board Chronicle), vol.XI, no.1, New series, July 1871, pp.6-7 (LT)
‘Educational Matters: American notes by our special commissioner: A Domestic Training School,’ vol.VXIII, no.1, New Series, January 1875, pp.44-46 (former LT)
‘Educational Matters’ (> reprinted letter written to The Times on Elementary School Mistresses), vol.XV, no.5, New Series, November 1873, pp.268-270 (former LT)
‘Educational Matters’ (quoted from Woman and Work by E. Faithfull), vol.XVII, no.3, September 1874, pp.157-159 (former LT)
‘The Employment for Women,’ vol.X, no.5, New Series, May 1871, p.162 (T of L)
Faithull, E., ‘Employment for Women (Home Employment for Ladies),’ vol. XVI., no 5, New Series, May 1874, pp.267-269 (former LT)
‘Feminine Affectations’ (> SR), vol.V, no.1, New Series, July 1868, pp.6-7 (LT)
Grey, Mrs. ‘Letter on Female Education (written by Mrs. Grey to The Times),’ vol.XV, no.1, New Series, July 1873, pp.45-46 (former LT)
Hamilton, G., ‘A Word to Those Whom It May Concern,’ vol.X, no.4, New Series, April 1871, p.146 (T of L)

1 Articles that are published in the supplement after 1871 are no longer differentiated from the articles in the LT (as explained in appendix 2). Nevertheless, both parts of the magazine are still inherently kept separate (see chapter 3, section 3.3.2). I appointed the articles to the ‘former LT’ or ‘former T of L.’
In total, I selected twenty-eight articles that were published in the seven years of the Treasury of Literature supplement. In order to make this selection, I mainly focused on issues of education, employment, marriage, and politics. Articles with a focus on women and health, for instance a feature on ‘The Wasp Waist’ (reprinted from the Examiner, November 1869, pp.70-71, LT), was not included. Fictional accounts were disregarded too, as was the column ‘Educational Matters,’ a monthly column of the Ladies’ Treasury dealing with education and book reviews (in very short notes).

\[^{2}\text{I discuss such articles in chapter six, section 6.1.3.}\]
Appendix 5: The Case of the Mysterious Mrs Warren

THE EDITOR

- 'A New Year's Address: or "Hope Deferred"' (poem) (January 1858, p.12)
- 'A School in Lorraine, Germany' (December 1879, pp.662-663)
- 'A Sister's Bridal' (poem) (September (?) 1857, p.236)
- 'A Storm in the Alps: Jottings about Rain' (March 1870, pp.70-71)
- 'At a Christening' (poem) (September (?) 1857, p.232)
- 'Authors and Publishers' (January 1876, pp.28-30)
- 'The Burning of the Dead at Back Bay, Sonapore, near Bombay' (February 1876, pp.80-84)
- 'The Coquette' (poem) (June (?) 1857, p.142)
- 'Devotion' (poem translated from the German by the Editor) (November (?) 1857, p.272)
- 'The Dying Year,' addressed to a young lady of fashion (poem) (December 1857, p.342)
- 'The Education of Girls' (July 1868, pp.4-6)
- 'The Fire at the Crystal Palace' (February 1867, p.85)
- 'Fraternal Love' (poem) (February 1858, p.38)
- 'The Higher Education of Women' (April 1875, pp.192-194)
- 'The Indian Bride' (poem) (May (?) 1857, p.71)
- 'Mated, not Matched' (poem) (June (?) 1857, p.115)
- 'Mors Janua Ditae' (poem) (November (?) 1857, p.286)
- 'The Mother and Daughter' (poem) (December 1857, p.300)
- 'Our Noble Crystal Palace' (April 1887, pp.212-214)
- 'The Poets of the Seventeenth Century' (February 1886, pp.93-97)
- 'Stories About the Things Around Us, in 12 chapters' (January 1866, pp.36-37)

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1 My pagination is based on the volumes available at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and on the “19th C Periodicals Database” (GALE). Pagination may be slightly different in other volumes. I refrain from adding volumes and numbers in this appendix, as the month, year, and page number already provide sufficient information for further research. Also, the appendix would become very bloated. All lists are exhaustive, unless indicated otherwise.

2 March 1866, pp.167-171; April 1866, pp.210-214; May 1866, pp.273-276; June 1866, pp.317-321; August 1866, pp.72-76; September 1866, pp.159-161; October 1866, pp.212-214; November 1866, pp.272-275; December 1866, pp.317-318.

3 February 1866, pp.104-105; March 1866, pp.146-148; April 1866, p.222-223; May 1866, pp.284-286; June 1866, pp.344-346; July 1866, pp.38-39; August 1866, pp.79-81; September 1866, pp.130-131; October 1866, pp.214-215. There are no instalments in November and December, but the two last chapters are published in the new year,
Balancing Acts in Femininities

- ‘The Story of Our Lives: Hidden Truths’ (February 1874, pp.68-70)
- ‘To Ventilate Rooms’ (June 1864, pp.181-182)
- ‘What is Glass?’ (September 1875, pp.128-131)
- ‘Where are Our Servants to Come from?’ (August 1874, pp.100-102)
- ‘The Widow’ (poem) (October (?) 1857, p.239)

THE EDITRESS

- ‘Female Emigration to New Zealand’ (July 1863, pp.180-183)

ELIZA WARREN

- ‘A Halfpenny a Day’ (July 1892, pp.417-418)
- ‘A Romance of the Olden Days’ (January 1891, pp.3-5)
- ‘The Influenza and its Treatments’ (February 1892, pp.122) (Eliza Warren, editor)
- ‘The Queen as Maiden, Wife and Widow: Literature, Art, and Science, since 1837’ (October 1887, pp.575-578)
- ‘The Wedding of the Bride of the Sea in Olympia’ (July 1892, pp.421-422)

MRS. WARREN

- ‘A Series of Family Dinners and How to Carve Them’ (January 1871, pp.2-4)\(^4\)
- ‘A Young Wife’s Perplexities’ (February 1884, pp.152-154) – by\(^5\)
- ‘Cookery for All Incomes’ (January 1870, pp.4-7)\(^6\)
- ‘Cookery for Two Hundred Pounds a Year, and for Greater and Lesser Incomes’ (January 1869, pp.2-5)\(^7\)
- ‘Domestic Matters’ (July 1874, pp.43-44) – by\(^8\)

\(^4\) March 1871, pp.34-35; April 1871, pp.50-51; May 1871, pp.66-68; July 1871, pp.2-4.
\(^5\) February 1884, pp.89-93; March 1884, pp.152-154; April 1884, pp.213-215; May 1884, pp.271-273; June 1884, pp.332-334; July 1884, pp.387-388; August 1884, pp.452-453; September 1884, pp.510-512; October 1884, pp.571-574; November 1884, pp.630-634; December 1884, p.689.
\(^6\) February 1870, pp.22-24; March 1870, pp.40-43; April 1870, pp.56-57; May 1870, pp.74-77; June 1870, pp.88-90; July 1870, pp.2-5; August 1870, pp.18-21; September 1870, pp.34-35; October 1870, pp.50-52; November 1870, pp.66-68; December 1870, pp.82-86.
\(^7\) February 1869, pp.18-21; March 1869, pp.34-37; April 1869, pp.50-54; May 1869, pp.66-70; June 1869, pp.82-86; July 1869, pp.2-6; August 1869, pp.18-21; September 1869, pp.34-38; October 1869, pp.50-54; November 1869, pp.66-69; December 1869, pp.82-86. Book version 1887.
\(^8\) A series from January 1871 till December 1875.
- 'Fancy work for Ladies' (Painting to Imitate the Finest Oil Painting on Copper) (June (?)) 1857, pp.122-123)
- 'Household Management' (March 1889, p.171) – by
- 'In the Way It Is Done' (February 1877, pp.96-102) – a tale by
- ‘The Lady-Help Teaching the Little Maidens How to Cook and to be Useful’ (February 1878, pp.88-95) – by
- 'The Management of House and Servants' (July 1890, p.425) – by
- 'Miss Severn's Conversazione,' No 1 (January 1880, pp.33-36) - by
- 'Miss Severn's School' (February 1879, pp.91-93) – by
- 'My Lady-Help, and What She Taught Me' (February 1876, pp.99-105) – by
- 'The Old Order Changeth' (March 1893, pp.166-167) - by
- 'Thrift in Cookery' (July 1872, pp.44-45)
- 'Thrift in Cookery and Domestic Appliances' (June 1873, pp.320-321)

9 The first instalment of this series dates back to April 1857, pp.60-61. The series continues with a monthly column until December 1861. In 1862, fancy work is still published, but simply under the heading 'Fancy Work,' or 'Gleanings in Fancy Needlework.'

10 February 1889, p.107; March 1889, p.171; April 1889, pp.232-234; May 1889, pp.298-299; June 1889, p.361; July 1889, pp.424-426; August 1889, p.489; September 1889, pp.550-552; October 1889, p.616; November 1889, pp.680-681; December 1889, p.741; January 1890, p.41; February 1890, p.150; March 1890, pp.165-166; April 1890, p.233; May 1890, pp.296-298; June 1890, p.361.

11 March 1877, pp.163-165; April 1877, pp.213-219; May 1877, pp.279-281; June 1877, pp.343-345; July 1877, pp.400-402; August 1877, pp.459-463; September 1877, pp.519-523; October 1877, pp.581-583; November 1877, pp.635-640; December 1877, pp.696-699. Book version 1878.


13 August 1890, p.489; September 1890, p.553; October 1890, p.617; November 1890, p.681; December 1890, p.741; February 1891, p.105; April 1891, pp.229-230; June 1891, p.361; August 1891, p.488; October 1891, p.617; November 1891, p.681; February 1892, pp.96-97; March 1892, p.168; April 1892, p.231.


15 February 1879, p.91; March 1879, pp.153-156; April 1879, pp.212-216; May 1879, pp.272-275; June 1879, pp.332-335; July 1879, pp.392-397; August 1879, pp.451-456; September 1879, pp.512-516; October 1879, pp.571-574; November 1879, pp.633-636; December 1879, pp.686-692. In the last chapter, Miss Severn ends with 'next year, I hope to see you all again.' This is a reference to the series 'Miss Severn's Conversazione,' a follow-up.

16 March 1876, pp.155-157; April 1876, pp.219-225; May 1876, pp.281-288; June 1876, pp.344-351; July 1876, pp.410-411; August 1876, pp.465-471; September 1876, pp.530-535; October 1876, pp.597-599; November 1876, pp.651-659; December 1876, pp.714-720. Book version 1877


18 August 1872, p.100; September 1872, p.156; October 1872, pp.211-213; November 1872, pp.268-269; January 1873, pp.43-45; February 1873, pp.99-101; March 1873, pp.155-156; April 1873, pp.211-212; May 1873, pp.266-268.

19 July 1873, pp.43-44; August 1873, pp.100-101; September 1873, pp.156-157; October 1873, pp.211-212; January 1874, pp.43-44. In November 1873, pp.267-268, there is an article entitled 'Thrift in the Use of Gas.'
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- ‘The Useful Book’ (January 1871, pp.4-6) - by
- ‘The “Why” in Cookery’ (April 1872, pp.212-213)

[MISCELLANEOUS] (but written by Mrs. Warren)

- ‘A House and its Furnishings’ (by the author of Comforts for All Means) (February 1867, pp.68-71)
- ‘Cookery for Two Hundred Pounds a Year and for Greater and Lesser Incomes’ (by Mrs. Warren Author of How I managed my house) (1869)
- ‘How I Managed my Children from Infancy to Marriage’ (by a mother) (January 1864, pp.22-23)
- ‘How I Managed my House on Two Hundred Pounds a Year’ (by the mother of a family) (February 1863, pp.38-40)
- ‘Comforts for Small Incomes; or Janet Winter’s Experience in Housekeeping’ (by the author of How I Managed my House…) (June 1865, pp.179-181)

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- ‘Alchemy and Chemistry’ (October 1881, pp.541-543)
- ‘A Valuable Remedy in All Households’ (March 1882, pp.148-150)
- ‘Domestic Appliances For Preventing Smoke’ (February 1882, pp.86-88)
- ‘The Grandfather’ (February 1882, pp.60-62)
- ‘Grandmother’s Furniture’ (July 1881, pp.389-391)
- ‘On the Training of Servants’ (February, 1885, pp.92-94)

1874, pp.99-100; March 1874, pp.158-159; April 1874, pp.214-215; May 1874, pp.266-267; June 1874, pp.319-320 all published ‘Thrift in Domestic Matters.’ In July 1874 (pp.43-44), this column changes into ‘Domestic Matters,’ still signed by ‘Mrs. Warren.’

20 A series of instalments running monthly from January 1871 till September 1880.


23 February 1864, pp.45-48; April 1864, pp.114-116; May 1864, pp.142-144; June 1864, pp.169-172, July 1864, pp.199-201; August 1864, pp.233-235; September 1864, pp.276-280; October 1864, pp.308-310; December 1864, pp.366-369; January 1865, pp.12-16; February 1865, pp.48-50; April 1865, pp.113-118; May 1865, pp.138-140. Book version 1865


25 July 1865, pp.210-213; August 1865, pp.244-246; September 1865, pp.277-279; November 1865, pp.341-345; December 1865, pp.366-372.

26 March 1885, pp.153-154; April 1885, pp.211-213; May 1885, p.272; June 1885, p.334; July 1885, p.394; August 1885, pp.453-454.
Appendix

- ‘The Power and the Poverty of Words’ (August 1881, pp.432-436)
- ‘The Story of the Obelisk as Told by Itself’ (January 1879, pp.28-33)²⁷

E.W.²⁸

- ‘A Check to the Dinner’ (October, 1878, pp.537)
- ‘A Hindoo Princess’ (March 1882, p.136)
- ‘A Sudden Catastrophe’ (August 1891, p.467)
- ‘A Useful Employment for Competent Women’ (December 1889, p.738)
- ‘About China and the Chinese’ (June 1874, pp.282-284)
- ‘An Artist’s Model’ (February 1884, pp.79-81)
- ‘An Occult Science’ (January 1884, pp.31-33)
- ‘Bits from History: King James II and Queen Mary in France’ (April 1886, pp.196-198)²⁹
- ‘Fortune-Telling’ (February 1880, pp.61-62)
- ‘Gone to Paris’ (September, 1878, pp.417-419)
- ‘Historic Notes’ (September 1889, pp.546-548)³⁰
- ‘Insects Resembling Flowers’ (January 1891, pp.28-29)
- ‘In the Merry Month of May/May Lore’ (May 1886, pp.240-241)³¹
- ‘The King and Queen of Spain’ (October 1881, pp.561-563)
- ‘Mary Queen of Scots’ (November 1887, pp.653-657)
- ‘Midsummer Eve in Westphalia’ (June 1877, pp.309-311)
- ‘Native African Method of Grinding Sesame Seeds’ (December 1882, p.662)
- ‘On the Suggestive Literature of the Day’ (March 1868, p.108)
- ‘Summer Flowers’ (June 1884, p.30)
- ‘The Treasures of Cyprus’ (February 1878, pp.61-64)
- ‘Truffles and How We Grow Them’ (August 1868, pp.62-64)
- ‘The Two Sons of Sir Peter Paul Rubens and His Wife, Isabella Brandt’ (August 1884, pp.421-423)
- ‘Waiting for the Lost’ (poem) (October 1882, p.541)
- ‘Wall-Flowers’ (April 1883, p.181)
- ‘William Barents and his Arctic Voyages’ (November 1875, pp.242-246)
- ‘Women’s Will is the Wind’s Will’/ ‘The Will of A Maiden – Its Result’ (December 1893, pp.706-707)

²⁷ February 1879, pp.73-77; March 1879, pp.140-144; April 1879, pp.208-212. Although it is signed by E. Warren, the note under the last instalments does mention the following: ‘The Editor of the Ladies’ Treasury is indebted to the information in “The Story of the Obelisk,” to Osburn’s “Monumental Egypt,” to Herodotus Layard’s “Nineveh,” and the “Two Babylons,” by the Rev. A. Hishop.

²⁸ This list is not exhaustive. The signature was often used under the text that accompanied the frontispiece. These texts could also be unsigned, however.

²⁹ May 1886, pp.266-269; January 1887, pp.22-23; February 1887, pp.78-79; March 1887, pp.149-151; April 1887, pp.202-204.

³⁰ October 1889, pp.606-608; November 1889, pp.679-680.

³¹ In view of the footnote no.29: a similar article in March, entitled ‘March Lore’ (pp.133-134) remained unsigned, for instance.
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- ‘About Coral’ (April 1974, pp.170-172)
- ‘The Almannagja Pass in Iceland’ (October, 1872, pp.170-171)
- ‘Ancient and Modern Persia’ (August 1873, pp.77-81)32
- ‘Basaltic Formation Near Bengore Head, County Antrim’ (September 1872, pp.114-115)
- ‘The Crystal Palace from an Educational Point of View’ (June 1872, pp.306-308)
- ‘Easter Sunday in Rome’ (April 1873, pp.170-172)
- ‘England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century’ (January 1872, pp.3-8)
- ‘The Hibernation of Insects’ (December, 1874, pp.298-299)
- ‘Historical Chapters Adapted for the Home Tuition of Boys and Girls’ (April 1874, pp.188-191)33
- ‘Is the Use of Tobacco Injurious?’ (December 1872, pp.289-291)
- ‘Mauna Loa, the Hawaiian Volcano’ (August 1873, pp.67-70)
- ‘“Meriah” Maidens, Sacrifices to the Sun-God’ (December 1872, pp.293-296)
- ‘The Mikado, Sole Emperor of Japan’ (January 1873, pp.17-20)
- ‘The Octopus, or Eight-Footed Cuttle-Fish’ (February 1872, pp.67-71)
- ‘Singular Stones, Probably Druidical in Chinese Tartary’ (February 1874, pp.68-70)
- ‘Telling Character by the Hand’ (November 1873, pp.230-238)
- ‘The “Times” Newspaper of 1788 and of 1872’ (July, 1872, pp.23-28)
- ‘Vegetation on the Waters of the Lower Amazons’ (February 1873, pp.70-71)

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- ‘Marvellous but True Tales of Some Interesting Lives’ (February 1867, pp.67-68)34
- ‘Short Notes on Lord Byron’s “Pilgrimage of Childe Harold’ (March 1886, pp.150-152)
- ‘Stories of Marvellous Lives’ (November 1867, pp.509-511)35
- ‘Stories of Things Around Us’ (October 1867, pp.447-450)36
- ‘Two Royal Tombs’ (February 1869, pp.60-63)

32 September 1873, pp.124-132; October 1873, pp.183-190; November 1873, pp.249-252.
33 May 1872, pp.260-262; June 1874, pp.289-292; September 1874, pp.143-146; October 1874, pp.186-189;
November 1874, pp.236-237; January 1875, pp.28-32; February 1755, pp.77-81; March 1875, pp.122-125;
May 1875, pp.251-153; June 1875, pp.299-301; July 1875, pp.21-25.
34 March 1867, pp.114-116; May 1867, pp.215-216; July 1867, pp.302-303; September 1867, pp.395-402. The fact
that some months were skipped may be linked to the similar series ‘Stories of Things Around Us’ and ‘Stories
of Marvellous Lives.’
35 No instalments again until March 1868, pp.105-107; May 1868, pp.171-173; September 1868, pp.90-92;
October 1868, pp.142-144. Again, the diffuse publication of articles may be linked to the similar series ‘Stories
of Things Around Us’ and ‘Marvellous but True Tales of Some Interesting Lives’ which discussed similar
subjects.
36 December 1867, pp.549-551; April 1868, pp.149-150) (normally signed by ‘the Editor’, here by ‘E.W.F’).
E.W.F.

- 'A Grievous Burden' (July 1870, pp.15-18)
- 'A State Council in Western Africa' (April 1876, pp.204)
- 'Aconcagua' (April 1873, pp.183-185)
- 'The Curiosity Room at the Grange, Manufacture of China, Earthenware, and Pottery' (September 1861, pp.274-278)\(^37\)
- 'Malaga' (July 1873, pp.21-23)
- 'The New Act and its Influence on the Property of Women' (October 1882, pp.556-558)
- 'Pisa; its Baptistery, Cathedral, and Leaning Tower' (March 1876, pp.141-143)
- 'The Story of Martha’s Vineyard' (January 1877, pp.17-19)
- 'The Telescope Fish, natural size' (June 1876, pp.328-331)
- 'Thomas Bates, the Naturalist: How He Sought to Marry' (September 1874, pp.114-117)
- 'The Useful Book' (January 1878, pp.38-39)

E.F.

- 'John Maxwell and His Fortunes' (March 1872, pp.138-143)
- 'More Ways than One to Make Love' (August 1882, pp.421-422)
- 'The Mother’s Home-Care' (July 1882, pp.361-362)

W.F. Jervis/ E.W. Jervis\(^38\)

- 'The Gods of Antiquity' (May 1868, pp.169-171)\(^39\)


\(^38\) The variations E.J.W.F and J.W.F are absent.

\(^39\) June 1868, pp.204-206; July 1868, pp.18-20; August 1868, pp.64-66; September 1868, pp.101-103; October 1868, pp.131-134; November 1868, pp.175-176.
Appendix 6: Studies of the Nineteenth-Century Press in Britain

In their influential study from 1986, Harris and Lee point out that nineteenth-century press publications form an autonomous area of inquiry, if only because the scale and range of the material published in comparison with the seventeenth and eighteenth century is ‘almost frightening’ (107). In the Victorian age, Britain became a journalizing society: the market counted over 50,000 individual titles of periodicals and covered the widest spectrum of taste and education (Sullivan, 1984:xiii). The sudden growth of the press can be seen as a response to changes in British society, affecting all areas of economic activity. Technological innovations, new press systems like the Moe printing press from America and expanding mobility networks, such as railways in the 1840s, vastly facilitated periodical distribution (Beetham, 1996:61). Additionally, the fast population growth, the subsequent urbanization, as well as the increase of literacy and educational opportunities (also for women) had considerable impact on Victorian society (Lerner, 1978:51-52).

Many studies of the British press take 1855 as a turning point: this year was marked by the repeal of the Stamp Tax and the start of the removal of other taxes on advertising and paper (Harris and Lee, 1986:107). The original taxes had been devised to control ‘dangerous and irreligious publications,’ or at least publications identified as such by the government (Beetham, 2001:64). Finally, in 1861, the last of these taxes was lifted, signalling an enormous expansion in the free trade press. These developments accelerated the changes in subsequent decades and assured a continued expansion, both in titles and readership. From the 1850s, the decade in which the Ladies’ Treasury was first published, the search for a delineated readership began and readers were increasingly subdivided by age, sex, interest and class. In the later nineteenth century the emergence of specialized publications (such as girls’ magazines and mothers’ magazines) completed the evolution (Allbrooke, 1994).

Richard Altick’s The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 was published in 1957 and is still regarded today as the pioneering work in Victorian press studies. His statement ‘great as was the increase in book production between 1800 and 1900, the expansion of the periodical industry was greater still’ (318) which marks the beginning of his fourteenth chapter on periodicals and newspapers, has given impetus to numerous research conducted in the area. In the same year, Walter E. Houghton brought out the leading book The Victorian Frame of Mind which
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provided the basis of his greatest scholarly achievement, *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* (1966-1989). In five volumes, Houghton revolutionized the study of periodical literature by identifying the authors of articles within forty-five key Victorian periodicals. The field quickly expanded through other studies such as William Frederick Poole’s *Index to Periodical Literature, 1802-1906* (originally published in six volumes between 1882 and 1908), and John North’s *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800-1900* (1976), which identified more than 125,000 items in 20 volumes. In 1986, North published a *Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals* in two volumes, followed in 1989 by another one for the Scottish press. In a similar spirit, Alvin Sullivan’s discussion of British *Literary Magazines*, consisting of four volumes covering the Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson (1698-1788) until the Modern Age (1914-1984), was published from 1983 onwards and added to previous recording with a volume on the Victorian and Edwardian age, 1837-1913 (1983).

Apart from general indexes such as the aforementioned *Wellesley Index*, the *Waterloo Directory* and *Poole’s Index*, and Lionel Madden and Diana Dixon’s ‘The Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press in Britain’ (1975), there were also general reflections such as Michael Wolff’s essay ‘Charting the Golden Stream’ (1967) in which the author presents his personal account of exploring the vast landscape of unrecorded periodicals. J. Don Vann and Rosemary VanArsdel’s *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research* (two volumes, 1978 and 1989), and their *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (1994), in which eighteen bibliographical essays explore Victorian society from the vantage point of the press, further contributed to a thorough mapping of the area, together with specialist studies such as Josef Altholz’ *The Religious Press in Britain 1760-1900* (1989), the first systematic approach to Victorian British religious journalism. In the 1990s, Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, Lionel Madden and others published *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (1990), and in 1996, Jones’s *Powers of the Press* was issued, a study which remains one of the most important contributions to our understanding of the central position of newspapers in the nineteenth century. The twenty-first century has already produced many more specialist studies. While in the first chapter I discuss several of the ones focusing on women’s periodicals, I limit myself here by suggesting as a representative example the anthology by Andrew King and John Plunkett’s. *Victorian Print Media: A

1 Eileen Curran’s Index also added and corrected the Wellesley Index and up until today, new information about hitherto unknown contributors is added.


3 The first volume was written with Scott Bennett.
Reader (2005), consists of numerous extracts on the production and circulation of print media, proof of the seemingly infinite nineteenth-century periodical field.

The first titles mentioned laid the foundations of Victorian periodical press studies, and they confirm that the study of Victorian periodicals as a subgenre of Victorian studies is a relatively new phenomenon that has been growing ever since the 1950s (Boardman, 2006:505). In her review article, Kay Boardman reminds us of this important scholarship that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, and she singles out the launch of a specific research society for this subject area: the RSVP (the Research Society for Victorian periodicals) and its journal VPN, today better known as Victorian Periodicals Review (VPR) (Boardman, 2006). But despite these significant efforts, with more than 50,000 periodical titles to study and analyse, the field is far from completely covered. My own exploration of the Ladies’ Treasury, which is the first extensive study of this magazine, once more illustrates this.

In addition to the papers that appear quarterly in the VPR, and the (more recent) digitalization projects such as the pioneering Internet Library of Early Journals, The Times Digital Archive, 19thC UK periodicals Online, ProQuest and NCSE, it has become a lot easier to study these ephemeral publications. The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism (DNCJ, 2009) is one of the most recent contributions to the field. As a reference work, it aims to add to extant publications by extending their coverage and bringing together various aspects of nineteenth-century journalism. Like all researchers of the Victorian press, the editors are aware of the limitations of a project in paper form, and they effectively deal with these by publishing new lemmas and providing yearly updates in an online version.

Although all studies pursued in the wake of 1950s research have asserted that it is indeed true that ‘of no time and place can it be said that periodicals had greater cultural impact than they had on Victorian Britain,’ one wonders why the periodical press does not occupy a more central position in literary and historical studies of the period. As contemporary Victorian periodical scholars such as Laurel Brake, Mark Turner and

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I do not claim to have provided an exhaustive list of all major studies in Victorian periodical research, but offered key titles that form the basis for all scholars of the Victorian press. As pointed out by Kay Boardman (2006), studies by Louis James (Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850, 1963) and Margaret Dalziel (Popular Fiction One Hundred Years Ago, 1957) should not be forgotten either.

The Nineteenth-Century Serials Editions, an online scholarly edition of six nineteenth-century periodicals and newspapers: the Monthly Repository, the Northern Star, the Leader, the English Woman’s Journal, the Tomahawk, and the Publishers’ Circular. Birkbeck, University of London, King’s College London, the British Library, and Olive Software collaborated on. (http://www.ncse.ac.uk).

(http://www.dncj.ugent.be/).

Sullivan, 1984, xiii.
Brian Maidment have repeatedly lamented, when reading across the fields of English literature, history, and cultural studies, too little attention is paid to Victorian periodicals as such. In his 1990 article ‘Victorian Periodicals and Academic Discourse,’ Brian Maidment stressed that often enough, periodicals from the nineteenth century form the evidence through which claims are reinforced and on which arguments are built, but seldom are they studied in their own right. This issue has been remediated in recent years, both by research societies such as the RSVP and its journal, and the many monographs on a single periodical, such as King’s The London Journal, 1845-1883 (2004) and Altick’s Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841-1851 (1997).
Primary Sources (1a):

Periodical Volumes

Atlantic Monthly, the (vol. 1866)
Belle Assemblée, La (1806-1832)
Bristol Mercury, the (vol. 1851)
Churchman’s Shilling Magazine, the (vol. 1868)
Drawing-Room Magazine: Ladies Book of Fancy Needlework and Choice Literature, the (vol. 1848)
Eclectic Review, the (vol. 1860)
Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine, the (1852-1879)
Family Friend, the (vols. 1849-1865)
Fraser’s Magazine (vol. LXVI, 1862)
Girl’s Own Paper, the (vol. 1880)
Hearth and Home (vol. 1896)
Illustrated Review, the (vol. 1872)
Ladies’ Treasury, the (1857-1895)
Lady’s Magazine, the (1770-1847)
Lady’s Monthly Museum, the (1798-1832)
Lady’s Newspaper, the (1848 and 1849)
Leader, the (vol. 1855)
Leeds Mercury, the (vol. 1844)
London Gazette, the (vols. 1838 and 1841)
London Society (vol. 1865)
Mechanics Magazine, Museum, Register Journal and Gazette, the (vol. 1849)
Morning Chronicle (vol. 1856)
Northern Star, and National Trades’ Journal, the (vol. 1849)
Time (vols. 1886-1894)
Woman’s World (vol. 1868)

1 The list indicates the specific volumes I studied of an individual magazine. Only in very few cases I looked at the entire run.
Books
Hamilton, Gail, *Country Living and Country Thinking* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1862)
(London: Ward & Lock, 1855)
Warren, Eliza, *How I Managed my Children from Infancy to Marriage* (London, 1865)
Warren, Eliza, *How I Managed My House On Two Hundred Pouns a Year* (London, 1865)

Letters
'E.W. Francis,' Letter to Lucy E. Baxter, 8 October 1888

Individual Articles, Columns, Poems, etc. (1b)

Note: As discussed in chapter five and illustrated in appendix five, Mrs Warren used many variations on her own name. To avoid confusion, her articles are listed alphabetically under the first letter of her pseudonym signature. For instance, ‘Mrs. Warren’ is listed under M. and ‘Eliza Warren’ and ‘E. Warren’ under E. ‘Madame Vevay’ is also listed under M. ‘The Editor’ and ‘The Editress’ are listed under E as I disregard the definite articles. Regular columns are simply listed alphabetically. ‘The Fashions,’ for instance, is ranged under ‘F.’ Also, issue and volume numbers are only stated when available.

‘A.I.,’ ‘A Woman’s Revenge and Its Reward,’ *LT*, vol.VII, no.1, New Series, July 1869, pp.4-14  
*T of L*

‘A.I.,’ ‘The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,’ *EDM*, issue 45, September 1868, p.165
‘A CORRESPONDENT,’ ‘The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,’ *EDM*, issue 40, April 1868, p.221
*T of L*

‘A Strong-Minded Woman,’ ‘Our Place,’ *Woman’s World*, January 1868, pp.26-27
‘A Summer Trip to the Pacific Railway,’ *LT*, vol.IX, no.2, New Series, August 1870, pp.46-49
‘A Wife’s Position in Marriage,’ *LT*, September 1882, pp.502-505
‘A Woman,’ ‘Should Women be Permitted to Vote?’, *LT*, vol.V, no.5, New Series, November 1868, pp.171-174  
*T of L*

‘A Woman,’ ‘Woman’s Rights,’ *EDM*, issue 86, February 1872, p.95
‘About Women – To Women,’ *EDM*, issue 99, March 1873, pp.127-129
‘Address,’ the *Family Friend*, February 1856, p.77
‘Address,’ *LT*, vol.V, no.12, December 1861, p.379
‘Address,’ *LT*, vol.II, no.6, New Series, December 1866 [page not specified]
‘Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, or Domestic Science from an old text,’ EDM, issue 37, January 1868, pp.9-11

‘Edina,’ ‘The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,’ EDM, issue 37, January 1868, p.53

Eclectic Review, [Review of the Ladies’ Treasury, unsigned], November 1860, p.550

‘Educational Matters,’ LT, vol.XVIII, no.1, New Series, January 1875, pp.44-4 (former LT)

Editor, the, ‘A New Year’s Address: or Hope Deferred,’ LT, vol.II, no.1, January 1858, p.12

Editor, the, ‘A Scheme for the Education of Daughters of Working Men,’ LT, vol.VI, no.4, April 1862, p.111

Editor, the, ‘A School in Lorraine, Germany,’ LT, December 1879, pp.662-663

Editor, the, ‘A Storm in the Alps,’ LT, vol.VIII, no.3, New Series, March 1870, pp.70-71

Editor, the, ‘At a Christening,’ LT, vol.I, September (?) 1857, p.232

Editor, the, ‘Authors and Publishers,’ LT, vol.III, no.1, New Series, January 1867, pp.28-30

Editor, the, ‘The Dying Year,’ LT, February 1876, pp.80-84

Editor, the, ‘The Coquette,’ LT, vol.I, June (?) 1857, p.142

Editor, the, ‘The Coquette,’ LT, vol.I, December 1857, p.342

Editor, the, ‘The Editor’s New Year’s Address,’ LT, January 1886

Editor, the, ‘The Education of Girls,’ LT, vol. V, no.1, New series, July 1868, pp.4-6


Editor, the, ‘Fraternal Love,’ LT, vol.II, no.2, February 1858, p.38

Editor, the, ‘The Higher Education of Women: What Does the Term Mean?’, LT, vol.XVIII, no.4, New Series, April 1875, pp.192-194

Editor, the, ‘Our Noble Crystal Palace,’ LT, April 1887, pp.212-214

Editor, the, ‘The Poets of the Seventeenth Century,’ LT, vol.I, no.6, New Series, June 1866, p.317

Editor, the, ‘Stories About Things Around us,’ LT, vol.III, no.1, New Series, January 1867, pp.15-16

Editor, the, ‘To Ventilate Rooms,’ LT, June 1864, vol.VIII, no.6, pp.181-182

Editor, the, ‘What is Glass,’ LT, vol.XIX, no.3, New Series, September 1875, pp.128-13

Editress, the, ‘The Editress to her Friends,’ LT, vol.VIII, no.10, October 1864, p.320

Editress, the, ‘Female Emigration to New Zealand,’ LT, vol.VII, no.7, July 1863, p.180


‘Educational Matters: American Notes by Our Special Commissioner,’ LT, vol.XVIII, no.1, New Series, January 1875, pp.44-46 (former LT)

Eliot, George, ‘Margaret Fuller and Mary Wollstonecraft,’ the Leader, October 1855, pp.988-989


Eliza Warren, ‘The Editor’s New Year’s Address,’ LT, January 1886 [page not specified]

Eliza Warren, (Editor), ‘The Influenza and Its Treatments,’ LT, February 1892, p.122

Eliza Warren, ‘The Queen as Maiden, Wife and Widow: Literature, Art, and Science, Since 1837,’ LT, October 1887, pp.575-578


, ‘The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,’ EDM, July 1871, p.39

, ‘The Englishwoman’s Conversazione,’ EDM, issue 16, April 1866, p.128

, ‘Enquiries,’ LT, vol.XV, no.1, New Series, July 1873, p.56


Evans, Augusta J., ‘St. Elmo,’ LT, April 1868 until December 1869 (T of L)

Evans, Augusta J., ‘Until Death,’ LT, November 1870 until December 1871 (+ conclusion January 1872) (T of L)

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