

Notes

Chapter 1 Victorian Feminism and the Periodical Press

- 1 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, p. 535.
- 2 For further discussion, see B. Caine, 'Feminism, Journalism and Public Debate.' Another central suffrage figure, the Mancunian Lydia Becker, was also involved in the British Association for the Advancement of Science, advocated for girls' science education, and had aspired herself to a profession in science. She printed *Botany for Novices* privately, though *Star Gazing for Novices* remained unpublished. See J.E. Parker, 'Lydia Becker's "School for Science".' See also A. Kelly, *Lydia Becker and the Cause*.
- 3 S. Collini, *Public Moralists*, p. 53.
- 4 S. Collini, *Public Moralists*, p. 55.
- 5 S. Peacock, *Theological and Ethical Writings*, notes that Froude, editor of *Fraser's Magazine* during Cobbe's time there, tells her that they risk courting controversy over her theist pieces for the magazine, a salutary reminder that what constitutes risk taking has shifted considerably from 1862 to now. See also J.L. Larsen, 'Where is the Woman in this Text?,' who analyses Cobbe's rhetorical style in *Broken Lights* as a form of feminist activism.
- 6 B. Caine, 'Feminism, Journalism and Public Debate,' 110. The three volumes of E.K. Helsinger, R. Sheets Lauterbach and W. Veeder (eds), *The Woman Question* gives a very full sense of how thoroughly the question of 'woman' infused Victorian books, papers, and periodicals.
- 7 For an overview of these points, see W. Houghton, 'Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes' and L. Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges*. For a discussion of the rise of a professional intellectual class see T.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life*.
- 8 Qtd in J. Johnston and H. Fraser, 'The Professionalisation of Women's Writing,' p. 249.
- 9 C.T. Christ, "'The Hero as Man of Letters",' pp. 19–31.
- 10 See B. Onslow, *Women of the Press*.
- 11 See J. Newton, 'Engendering history.'
- 12 See S. Collini, "'From Non-Fiction Prose" to "Cultural Criticism,"' pp. 13–28, for a discussion of the historical and disciplinary origins of the term 'non-fiction' prose and its implications for how we read a range of Victorian material.
- 13 See L. Brake, 'On Print Culture,' for a discussion of the relationship between research tools and possibilities for research in the periodical press.

- 14 See M. Beetham and K. Boardman (eds), *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology*, pp. 1–7. See also M. Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical' and M. Beetham, 'Open and Closed.'
- 15 S. Collini, *Public Moralists*, p. 51.
- 16 B.R. Parkes, 'Review,' 361.
- 17 B.R. Parkes, 'Uses of a Special Periodical,' 258–59.
- 18 See for example M. Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?* and L. Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges*. B. Caine's work on Cobbe is an instructive exception. Her chapter on Cobbe argues that her 'ideas were probably better known than those of almost any other feminist' (*Victorian Feminists*, pp. 104–5). Despite the prominence that Caine has assigned her, however, Cobbe remains a figure marginalised in much nineteenth-century feminist scholarship, appearing in footnotes but rarely occupying the centre of the stage. Writing in 1992, B. Caine suggested that Cobbe's status, and the absence of a definitive biography, can be partially explained by 'the fact that she was not a great feminist activist' (*Victorian Feminists*, 104). Sally Mitchell has recently published her important biography of Cobbe. But I would add that it is feminist definitions of activism that also requires attention, and assert that Cobbe's feminist writing in the established press constitutes a vital form of feminist activism.
- 19 P. Levine, 'Humanizing Influence,' 294.
- 20 P. Levine, 'Humanizing Influence,' 305.
- 21 P. Levine, 'Humanizing Influence,' 300.
- 22 P. Levine, 'Humanizing Influence,' 294. P. Levine's most recent work offers a framework for understanding this emphasis, suggesting that examinations of feminism have gone forward under the rubric of social, rather than political, history, with a consequent focus on the biographical and organisational. Levine et al. argue the need for history of feminism to re-embrace political history's attention to political structures, and an attention to feminism as an international phenomenon. See I.C. Fletcher, L.E. Nym Mayhall, and P. Levine (eds), *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire*, pp. xiii–xxii. See also M. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy*.
- 23 S. Herstein, 'Langham Place,' 25.
- 24 S. Herstein, 'Langham Place,' 24.
- 25 S. Robinson, 'Amazed at Our Success,' 159–72.
- 26 S. Collini, *Public Moralists*, p. 4.
- 27 The suffrage histories S.S. Holton discusses include M. Fawcett, 'England,' C. Biggs, 'Great Britain,' M. Fawcett, *Women's Suffrage*, E. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, S. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette movement*, and C. Pankhurst, *Unshackled*.
- 28 For discussion of the impact of Romantic conception of suffrage history on the broader definitions of politics in contemporary feminist scholarship on suffrage see S.S. Holton, 'The suffragist and the 'average' woman' and J.W. Scott, *Gender and the politics of History*, especially chapter one.

- 29 S.S. Holton, 'Making Suffrage History,' 27. Examples of the histories Holton discusses include D.J. Mitchell, *The Fighting Pankhursts* and his *Queen Christabel*. Attempting to bridge the gap between history of feminism's focus on the turn-of-the-century suffragettes and late twentieth-century forms of militant feminism, B. Harrison examines feminist activity in the period between the world wars in *Prudent Revolutionaries*.
- 30 J.W. Scott, 'Fantasy Echo,' 293.
- 31 J.W. Scott, 'Fantasy Echo,' 293.
- 32 J.W. Scott, 'Fantasy Echo,' 293.
- 33 Recent titles on the Pankhursts include A. Rosen, *Rise up, Women!*, T. Larsen, *Christabel Pankhurst*, J. Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst*, and B. Winslow, *Sylvia Pankhurst*. See also M. Pugh, *The March of the Women*.
- 34 For a later example of the ways in which the periodical press is both a site of feminist articulation and a place of feminist struggle, see the *Fortnightly Review's* published exchange between Frederic Harrison (October 1891, 437–52) and Millicent Garrett Fawcett (November 1891, 673–85).
- 35 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, 535.
- 36 See M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law*, M. Doggett, *Marriage, Wife Beating and the Law*, and L. Holcombe, *Wives and Property* for further discussion of the passage of the Matrimonial Causes Act. Cobbe's presentation of her role in the passage of the 1878 act in her 1894 autobiography is itself shaped by changing emphases in the feminist community about the place of suffrage in feminism. See Caine, 'Feminism and Biography,' for a discussion of Cobbe's presentation of suffrage at the centre of her feminism as a result of changes in 1890s feminism.
- 37 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, pp. 186–228.
- 38 M. Warner, 'Publics,' 50.
- 39 M.W. Turner, 'Periodical Time,' 188.
- 40 D. Liddle, 'Who Invented,' 5.
- 41 D. Liddle, 'Who Invented,' 11.
- 42 Greg, 'The Newspaper Press,' qtd in D. Liddle, 'Who Invented,' 12. For a discussion of anonymity in the Victorian newspaper press, see D. Liddle, 'Salesmen, Sportsmen, Mentors.'
- 43 D. Liddle, 'Who Invented,' 13.
- 44 F.P. Cobbe, *Our Policy*, 3.
- 45 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, 67–8.
- 46 See S. Mitchell, *The New Girl*; C. Keep, 'The Cultural Work of the Typewriter Girl.'
- 47 D. Liddle, 'Who Invented,' 15.
- 48 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, 76.

Chapter 2 'She and I have Lived Together'

- 1 Her first article, 'Workhouse Sketches,' had appeared the previous year in *Macmillan's Magazine*.

- 2 See *Wellesley Index*, Vol. 2, 303–19, for a general introduction to the magazine that also captures its flavour and style.
- 3 The petition was presented to Parliament on 7 June 1866.
- 4 Greg's article was reprinted as a pamphlet in 1869. J. Worsnop argues that this reprint is part of a conservative response to contain the feminist call for change to women's legal status in the Married Women's Property agitation. See J. Worsnop, 'A Reevaluation of the 'Problem of Surplus Women.' Greg's essay was collected that same year in his *Literary and Social Judgements*. The fourth edition of that collection appeared in 1877. See Greg, *Literary and Social Judgements*.
- 5 M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' 72.
- 6 *Wellesley Index*, Vol. 3, p. 135.
- 7 For a precise overview of the negotiations following the group's failure to purchase the *Westminster Review* and the set up of what became the *National Review*, see *Wellesley Index*, Vol. 3, 135–46. Cobbe stops writing on the Woman Question in *Fraser's*, but continues to write there on other topics and for the *Theological Review*, generally recognised as the successor to the *National Review* when it folds in 1864.
- 8 Qtd in *Wellesley*, Vol. 3, 137.
- 9 W.R. Greg, 'Why are Women,' 436. Further references will appear in the text.
- 10 Greg's statistical tables, drawn from the 1851 census, identify the 'population' of the North-American and Australian colonies, specifying the numbers of males and females and the 'excess of males.' (Greg, 442). These figures identify only the white population of the English colonies. Greg's analysis of the 'redundant' woman problem begins with the imagined nation of Great Britain, interspersed over its geopolitical territories. As Greg's own numbers indicate, where the question of male-female 'proportion' yields a redundant woman problem in Great Britain, those same figures indicate an 'excess' of men in the colonies. The Victorians did not discuss an 'excess men' question. The terms of the argument Greg sets forth allows us to see the way in which English men's roles include the 'burden' of emigration to the colonies; such work in no way limits the full expression of English manhood. In contrast, emigration is not readily presented in Greg's article as a woman's task. Though Greg's primary 'answer' to the redundant woman problem is the regulated emigration of some 440,000 English women to the North-American and Australian colonies, this answer is fraught with concerns: 'to contrive some plan of taking out such a number of women, especially on a three months' voyage [to Australia], in comfort, in safety, and in honour, is a problem yet to be solved' (Greg, 444).
- 11 For consistency throughout this chapter, page references for Cobbe's periodical articles are to the collected essays published in *Essays on the Pursuits of Women*.
- 12 As L. Merrill notes it was through the extended homosocial world of women artists in Rome that Cobbe met Mary Lloyd. Reminiscing in her

- autobiography, Cobbe tells us that '[o]ne day when I had been lunching at her house, Miss Cushman asked whether I would drive with her in her brougham to call on a friend ... Then began an acquaintance, which was further improved two years later... and from that time, now more than thirty years ago, she and I have lived together.' (*Life*, 392).
- 13 Lisa Merrill, *When Romeo Was a Woman*, chapter 8.
 - 14 I note that Hosmer is at the centre of Cobbe's 'What Shall We Do?' and that 'What Shall We Do?' is in turn the centrepiece to the continuous series. Structurally, then, Cobbe builds her series to set Hosmer and all she connotes as the lynchpin of her vision of women's lives.
 - 15 See J. Newton, 'Engendering history' on the 'able' article for the established press.
 - 16 The third article in Cobbe's continuous series, 'Female Charity – lay and monastic,' tackles the organisation of women's philanthropy. It is a powerful rebuttal of Greg's view that philanthropy is a misguided response to women's redundancy, perpetuating where it should cure social disease.
 - 17 N.F. Cott, 'Passionlessness.' The most authoritative articulation of the normalcy of romantic friendship is L. Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men*. See also her *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers* and C. Smith-Rosenberg, 'The Female World of Love and Ritual.' See M. Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, for a reconsideration of the 'normalcy' of romantic friendship.
 - 18 Cobbe's autobiography retains the language of friendship as an adequate cover when representing her life with Mary Lloyd.
 - 19 C. Smith-Rosenberg, 'Female World of Live and Ritual.'
 - 20 M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity.'
 - 21 L. Merrill, *When Romeo was a Man*, 59. See also J. D'Emilio and E. Freedman (eds), *Intimate Matters*.
 - 22 For a thorough discussion of the gendered reception of Hosmer's sculpture and her career, see J. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives*.
 - 23 The gendered meaning and circulation of Zenobia has received ample treatment by such writers as J. Kasson and D. Cherry.
 - 24 J. Kasson, p. 144.
 - 25 For a full discussion of Hosmer as/and gender trouble, see J. Kasson.
 - 26 J. Kasson, pp. 155–6.
 - 27 J. Kasson and D. Cherry explore the accusations lodged against Hosmer in full. See Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 105–9; Cherry also notes that charges of plagiarism against Hosmer appear to have circulated for some time before the massive public furore over *Zenobia*.
 - 28 D. Cherry notes that some of the charges against Hosmer, which accuse her of marketing in mass-produced goods, invoke specific class distinctions that deny her the status of artist. The class politics of Cobbe's defense of Hosmer are also well worth pursuing in a piece that explicitly sets out – as indeed does Greg's – the particular dilemmas of the middle-class single woman.
 - 29 D. Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, p. 114.
 - 30 D. Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, p. 114.

- 31 See A. Burton, *Burdens of History* and B. Caine, *English Feminism*.
- 32 D. Cherry, *Beyond the Frame*, 158.
- 33 For more on Faithfull, see W. Fredeman, 'Emily Faithfull and Victoria Press,' J.S. Stone, 'More Light on Emily Faithfull,' and his *Emily Faithfull*, and M. Frawley, 'Feminism, Format, and Emily Faithfull.'
- 34 A. Easley, 'Authorship, Gender, and Power,' 154.
- 35 In other critical ways, Cobbe departs from the pattern Easley establishes. Cobbe's writing in *Fraser's Magazine* is not anonymous; her full signature, Frances Power Cobbe, identifies the work as by a woman. But she quickly packages and claims her signature as a woman writer identified with progressive causes, particularly woman's causes.
- 36 A September 1865 piece for the *Theological Review* includes 'Woman's Work in the Church.' Except for this piece, none of Cobbe's periodical pieces proclaim 'woman' in their title. Her feminist signature seems in suspension. On a separate note, the *Theological Review* is considered to be the successor to the *National Review* (in which Greg's article appears) as the last in the three great Unitarian journals of the period. If Cobbe retreats from feminism and celibacy for a time, her writing in the *Theological Review* (and continuing in *Fraser's Magazine*) tells us that she does not retreat from the power invested in her signature in these early essays.
- 37 M. Vicinus, 'They Wonder to Which Sex I Belong,' 11.
- 38 I am indebted to Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' for my summary of the Codrington divorce case.
- 39 'Codrington v. Codrington and Anderson,' *Times* (30 July 1864), 10. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' 75.
- 40 'Codrington v. Codrington and Anderson,' *Times* (18 November 1864), 8. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' 79.
- 41 'Codrington v. Codrington and Anderson,' *Times* (30 July 1864), 10. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' 81.
- 42 'Codrington v. Codrington and Anderson,' *Times* (23 November 1864), 11. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' 82.
- 43 M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' 86.
- 44 The trial began in July 1864, closed after three days, and quickly reopened in November.
- 45 Joseph Parkes to Bessie Rayner Parkes, August 4, 1864, Girton College, Cambridge. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 'Lesbian Perversity,' 82.
- 46 'But I do know that this year Mrs C & col. a. have been together at the Princess' St. house.' Joseph Parkes to Bessie Rayner Parkes, August 4, 1864, Girton College, Cambridge. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 81.
- 47 Joseph Parkes to Bessie Rayner Parkes, November 23, 1864, Girton College, Cambridge. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 82.
- 48 M. Vicinus, 82.
- 49 M. Vicinus, 82.
- 50 Joseph Parkes to Bessie Rayner Parkes, 2 August 1864, Girton College, Cambridge. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 81. Vicinus traces the resilience of Faithfull's reputation for mannish appearance. In 1898, three years after

- Faithfull had died, Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy – herself a sexual radical amongst Victorian feminists for her refusal to marry when pregnant – defended Faithfull against what she saw was a misrepresentation in the *Woman's Signal*. The editor Florence Fenwick Miller ‘misrepresent[ed] Miss Emily Faithfull, who, she says, was the only one of the early workers who wore cropped hair and dressed in a mannish fashion. This Emily Faithfull never did. I believe for a very short period after an illness she had to wear her hair short till it had grown again.’ Elmy to Harriet McIlquham, 30 November 1898, British Museum, London. Additional MSS 47451, fol.271. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 85. Cobbe presented her own ‘plain’ dress as a matter of economy, noting that she eschewed high fashion in preference for those outfits sewn by her maid. Her attention to this issue suggests that women like Cobbe were under some pressure to ‘explain’ their seemingly unfeminine, because undecorated, appearance. During her time at the *Echo*, Cobbe was offered the opportunity to choose freely from couture dresses, and laughingly recounts how very unsuitable a recipient of such finery she would be.
- 51 ‘The Extraordinary Codrington Case,’ *Reynolds's Newspaper* (27 November 1864), 4. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 84.
- 52 Joseph Parkes to Bessie Rayner Parkes, November 10 1864, Girton College, Cambridge. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 91.
- 53 Emily Davies, ‘Family Chronicle,’ 338, Girton College, Cambridge. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 94.
- 54 Robert Browning to Isa Blagden, 19 January 1865. Qtd in M. Vicinus, 92. Isa Blagden was a member of the community of women at Rome where Cobbe first met Mary Lloyd, and was known in her circle for her romantic friendships with women. Adelaide Proctor, the recipient of Faithfull’s ‘pretty specimen’ of a lie was a Victorian writer, celebrated in her day as an accomplished lyric poet. She was a best-selling poet, second only to Tennyson. She died unmarried, at the age of 38, from tuberculosis.
- 55 M. Vicinus, ‘Lesbian Perversity,’ 87.
- 56 E.K. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, p. 3.
- 57 M. Vicinus, ‘Lesbian Perversity,’ 94.
- 58 E.K. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, p. 3.
- 59 J. Johnston and H. Fraser, ‘The Professionalisation of Women’s Writing,’ 234.

Chapter 3 The ‘force’ of sentiment

- 1 Cobbe published over fifty-nine titles in the years between *Essays on the Pursuits of Women* and the publication of ‘Criminals, Idiots, Women, and Minors,’ including eight books, some of which reprinted her periodical materials. See S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, for a complete listing of Cobbe’s writing in this period.
- 2 J. Rendall, ‘The Citizenship of Women,’ p. 139.

- 3 J. Rendall, 'The Citizenship of Women,' p. 138.
- 4 After challenges in numerous registration courts, the final numbers of women voting in the 1868 election are small. Using the Minutes of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, Rendall reports 'nine voting in Manchester, thirteen in Salford, twelve in Gorton, ten in Levenshulme and scattered individuals elsewhere, including two in Dublin,' ('Citizenship of Women', p. 149).
- 5 9 October 1868, *Englishwoman's Review*, 74. Qtd in J. Rendall, 'Citizenship of Women,' p. 149.
- 6 Qtd in J. Rendall, 'The Citizenship of Women,' p. 152.
- 7 See B. Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain,' pp. 261–95.
- 8 See M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*.
- 9 M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, p. 53.
- 10 Full details on all three acts can be found in L. Holcombe, *Wives and Property*. The reforms of the 1882 and 1893 Acts are detailed in 'After the Acts,' pp. 207–34.
- 11 Using Elizabeth Wolstenholme and Millicent Garrett Fawcett as examples, P. Levine explores mid-century feminists' 'individual and private attempts to live their feminist practices within marriage' (*Feminist Lives*, p. 43). See also P. Levine, "'So Few Prizes and So Many Blanks".'
- 12 P. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, p. 42.
- 13 See L. Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, particularly chapter four.
- 14 D. Riley, *Am I That Name?*, p. 68.
- 15 M.L. Shanley notes that Dickens's *All the Year Round* also published essays on married women's property law that represented working class women as particularly harassed by the Common Law (*Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, p. 60).
- 16 See for example, F.P. Cobbe, *Our Policy, Why Women Desire the Franchise, and The Red Flag in John Bull's Eye*. Cobbe's 'Wife Torture in England' also argues for a specific political change, as do many of her anti-vivisection pieces.
- 17 Portions of Cobbe's 'Criminals, Idiots, Women and Minors,' have been anthologised in C. Bauer and L. Ritt, *Free and Ennobled* and C.A. Lacey's *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon*. The essay is also discussed in B. Caine's *English Feminism*, M.L. Shanley's *Feminism, Marriage and the Law*, and L. Holcombe's *Wives and Property*.
- 18 B. Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group,' 285.
- 19 B. Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group,' 263.
- 20 B. Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group,' 284.
- 21 B. Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group,' 282.
- 22 F.P. Cobbe, 'Criminals,' in S. Hamilton, *Criminals*, p. 108. Further references are to this edition and will appear in parentheses in the text.
- 23 L. Holcombe, *Wives and Property*, p. 144.
- 24 See L. Holcombe, *Wives and Property*, chapter 7, for a discussion of the presentation of reform in the House of Commons.

- 25 Like Caroline Norton before here, Cobbe renders an obvious point memorable. Norton wrote, in *English Laws for Women in the Nineteenth Century* (1854), 'ALL cases requiring legal interference, are exceptional cases; and it will scarcely be argued that a balance must first be struck in numbers, and instances of wrongs be reckoned by the dozen or the gross, before justice will condescend to weigh the scales' (2).
- 26 S.S. Holton, 'Free Love and Victorian Feminism,' 209.
- 27 Qtd in Holton, *Suffrage Days*, p. 80.
- 28 M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, p. 62.
- 29 Shanley's evidence is drawn from writings that feminists such as Josephine Butler, Julia Wedgwood and Priscilla Bright McLaren circulated as part of larger debates on women's suffrage and women's place in English society. Some of those writings too, like Bright McLaren's are from a much later date (1880 – in the lead-up to the passage of the second Married Women's Property bill), and were published under the auspices of groups readily identified as progressive. The National Association for the Promotion of the Social Sciences, for example, whose *Transactions* for 1880 contain Bright McLaren's remarks on the power question in marriage, provided the legal expertise that helped to draft the legislation on property law reform first debated in the House of Commons. Its sub-committee on Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law produced the bill, drafted by Richard Pankhurst. Similarly, Butler's *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture* (1869) was, like Cobbe's own *Essays on the Pursuits of Women*, published explicitly as a contribution to the Woman Question. The Butler collection included Wedgwood's article on 'Female Suffrage, Considered Chiefly with Regard to Its Indirect Results' and Cobbe's own 'The Final Cause of Woman.'
- 30 M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, p. 48.
- 31 M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, p. 68.
- 32 P. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, p. 47.
- 33 P. Levine, *Feminist Lives*, p. 47.
- 34 See S.S. Holton, 'Free Love and Victorian Feminism.' See also Holton, *Suffrage Days*.
- 35 Faderman points out that the jobs available to working class women in this period were unlikely to allow them to be self-supporting in the way that Cobbe imagines in 'Criminals.' Moreover, she suggests that it is not until the late nineteenth-century that the increase in employment opportunities for middle-class women would make such households more common. See L. Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, p. 18.
- 36 Levine, *Feminist Lives*, 46.
- 37 See the introduction to C. Hall, K. McClelland and J. Rendall (eds), *Defining the Victorian Nation*, particularly 25–6.

Chapter 4 'Speaking in Fleet Street'

- 1 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, pp. 186–228.

- 2 See B. Onslow, *Women of the Press*, for invaluable documentation of women's work in the Victorian press. Both Eliza Lynn Linton and Harriet Martineau, among others, wrote for the newspaper press. Martineau's work in the *Daily News*, writing on women's education, political rights, health, marriage laws, etc., comes closest to the kind of work that Cobbe did. It is important to mark the key differences between them. B. Caine has noted the ways in which Martineau's autobiography 'reveals the power structures which brought such suffering in her life, and at the same time refuses in any overt way to see her life as in itself making a case for feminist rebellion' (*English Feminism*, p. 71). She also points out, along with S. Hoecker-Drysdale, that most of Martineau's newspaper work was written under a male pseudonym. Caine reads Martineau's use of the pseudonym as emphasising 'her disinclination to see herself or her own position as illustrative of the broader situation of women' (*English Feminism*, p. 70), comparing this 'lack' to Josephine Butler's upfront and 'signed' call to all women to join each other in the fight against sexual oppression. In comparison, Cobbe's work on the *Echo* was anonymous, as were all leader-writers, whilst her work in the periodical press was variously signed, unsigned, and initialled as the value and meaning of 'signature' shifted over the great changes in the press during the period she worked. It is also important to stress that Cobbe's autobiography includes a chapter, 'The claims of women,' that indicates her investment in representing her life, at least in part, as a 'woman's life' and even, as the term 'claims' suggests, as a feminist life. My point is not to claim Cobbe as a more self-identified feminist than Martineau, though this may in fact be the case. Rather I would suggest that this range of writing practices by Victorian women engaged in the analysis of women's lives indicates a need to be careful in claiming an absolute meaning for the significance of signed and unsigned work in the newspaper press.
- 3 There are valuable case study approaches to the place of gender in the serial press. See L. Brake, 'The Westminster and Gender at Mid-Century.'
- 4 P. Levine, *Victorian Feminism*, p. 1.
- 5 Though the sample explored here is small, it is based on reading all of Cobbe's leaders from 1868–1875.
- 6 See M. Doggett, A.J. Hammerton, L. Holcombe, and M.L. Shanley.
- 7 Anne Humpherys, 'Coming Apart.'
- 8 See also M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law*, pp. 22–48 and L. Holcombe, *Wives and Property*, pp. 88–109.
- 9 Qtd in B. Leckie, *Culture and Adultery*, p. 64.
- 10 Qtd in B. Leckie, *Culture and Adultery*, p. 64.
- 11 For a thorough account of divorce law before 1857, see Holcombe. For a study of divorces obtained by private act of Parliament, see S. Wolfram, 'Divorce in England, 1700–1857.'
- 12 See B. Leckie, A.J. Hammerton, and G. Savage.
- 13 Cobbe's unsigned leaders have been identified by a combination of stylistic analysis and cross-checking with Cobbe's *Echo* scrapbook, dis-

covered by Sally Mitchell (who has shared her work on them so generously with me) and now lodged in the National Library of Wales. The scrapbook, in which Cobbe kept her accounts of *Echo* earnings, presents a good, though not exhaustive, checklist for Cobbe's leader writing. Since many pages are missing, the scrapbook has not been my sole guide for ascertaining authorship. As important has been stylistic analysis of the leaders, which combines looking for distinctive or 'signature' constructions, allusions to Cobbe's known published work, and cross-references between the leaders themselves. Other items in the newspaper, particularly the Notes and Letters sections, have provided occasional clues to leader authorship.

- 14 L. Brake, 'Star Turn,' 210.
- 15 Holcombe, *Wives and Property*, p. 179. Holcombe offers an exhaustive account of the bill's passage through Parliament.
- 16 B. Onslow, 'The Inside Story.'
- 17 The columns thus participate in what Philippa Levine has identified as Victorian feminism's characteristic holistic orientation. See *Feminist Lives in Victorian England*.

Chapter 5 Making History with Frances Power Cobbe

- 1 F.P. Cobbe, 'Wife Torture in England,' in S. Hamilton (ed.), *Criminals, Idiots, Women and Minors*, p. 137. References to Cobbe's essays discussed in this chapter are to this edition and appear in parentheses in the text.
- 2 See, for example, C. Gallagher's discussion of Yorkshire industrial reformer, Richard Oastler, in *Industrial Reformation of English Fiction*.
- 3 M. Ferguson, *First Feminists*, defines all British anti-slavery writing as 'intermittent feminist polemic,' p. 27.
- 4 A. Burton, *Burdens of History*, pp. 63–4.
- 5 A. Burton, *Burdens of History*, p. 100.
- 6 A. Burton, *Burdens of History*, pp. 63–74.
- 7 Cobbe's article, like most of her writing in the established press, was signed. See D. Liddle, 'Salesmen, Sportsmen, Mentors,' on the Victorian debate about anonymity and signature.
- 8 See M. Ferguson, *Subject to Others*. M. Ferguson traces the meaning of Wollstonecraft's use of slavery metaphors in 'Mary Wollstonecraft and the Problematic of Slavery.' See also J. Zonana, 'The Sultan and the Slave,' on feminist orientalism in the earlier Victorian period.
- 9 Qtd in S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 257.
- 10 S. Mitchell, p. 257.
- 11 M.L. Shanley's discussion of the movement of the draft bill through parliament is important here. Shanley argues that Cobbe's focus on working-class men and women is part of a deliberate strategy appealing to Parliamentary bias. It is not Shanley's task to explore the relation between Cobbe and other feminist activists, and so she does not analyse the differences in representations of domestic violence in

- Victorian feminist circles. She notes simply that Cobbe 'brought the feminist interpretation before the general public' (*Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, p. 165).
- 12 Titles and dates of these *Contemporary Review* pieces are: 'Mr Lowe and the Vivisection Act' (February 1877); 'The Little Health of Ladies' (January 1878); and, 'Reply to Criticism' (March 1878).
 - 13 Cobbe regularly earned in the region of £300 a year through her newspaper and periodical writing. The sum was roughly the equivalent of the patrimony paid out yearly from her father's estate. See F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, p. 364.
 - 14 Cobbe publishes *Duties of Women* in 1881 when she is nearing sixty, arguably her last substantial contribution to the cause.
 - 15 The *Wellesley Index* indicates that Cobbe published only seven of a total of one hundred and four articles after 1884. The *Wellesley Index* remains the best indicator thus far of where women published their work, despite its somewhat narrow range.
 - 16 The bulk of this substantial estate was left to the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection.
 - 17 L. Brake, *Subjugated Knowledge*, p. 51.
 - 18 The best source for information on the *Contemporary Review* remains P. Srebrnik's *Alexander Strahan*. See also P. Metcalf, *James Knowles*.
 - 19 Qtd in P. Srebrnik, *Alexander Strahan*, p. 119.
 - 20 P. Srebrnik, *Alexander Strahan*, p. 154.
 - 21 S. Mitchell points out that despite all of Cobbe's accomplishments, she could not fully share in London's intellectual life. A good friend of many of the members of the Metaphysical Society, including J.A. Froude, William Carpenter, James Martineau, and Richard Holt Hutton, Cobbe was deeply interested in precisely the subjects the group set itself to address, including the nature of conscience, the existence of God, and the logic of science. One member later wrote, '[I]f it was once resolved to admit ladies, I am sure that Miss Cobbe wd be elected by acclamation' (S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, pp. 190–1).
 - 22 P. Srebrnik, *Alexander Strahan*, p. 153.
 - 23 P. Srebrnik, *Alexander Strahan*, p. 160.
 - 24 For an example of Cobbe's engagement with evolutionary theory, see her *Darwinism in Morals*. The chapter 'London in the Sixties and Seventies' in her *Life* recounts some of her frequent encounters, spirited skirmishes, and gracious respect for such eminent scientific figures as Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and John Tyndall, despite their very real, and for Cobbe painful, differences. See *Life*, pp. 440–4.
 - 25 We should not construe Cobbe's rejection of scientific materialism as acceptance of religious orthodoxy. She was an 'outspoken critic of established religion and believed that the 'divine right' of husbands and fathers should follow the divine right of kings – out of the realm of current belief' (B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 127).
 - 26 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, p. 534.
 - 27 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, p. 540.

- 28 The letter-writer is likely Arabella Shore, poet and activist, who had provided Cobbe with statistical information for her wife-torture article.
- 29 See C. Bauer and L. Ritt, 'A Husband is a Beating Animal,' 114.
- 30 A. Burton, *Burdens of History*, p. 73.
- 31 Caine's contention that Manchester feminists were both a less decorous lot, and more committed to a feminist political campaign that explicitly yoked together the various disabilities of women, suggests that the *Women's Suffrage Journal* may well have been more open to a graphic style than other feminist journals in the period. See B. Caine, *English Feminism*, p. 118.
- 32 In a note to the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, Cobbe makes explicit feminist concern with sexual intimacy as a component in domestic violence. 'Why are these particularly revolting murders always committed against women – women who have invariably borne to their cruel assassins those intimate relations on which are supposed to be founded so much of the tenderness of men for their sex?' Qtd in B. Caine, *English Feminisms*, p. 111.
- 33 K. Sanchez-Eppler, 'Bodily Bonds,' 29–34.
- 34 See C. Midgley, *Women Against Slavery* on the importance of enslaved women's physical and sexual abuse to women's abolitionist writing.
- 35 See M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law* on the push to make marital rape recognised in law, which gains momentum in the late 1880s.
- 36 See A.J. Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship*, chapter 4.
- 37 See M.L. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law*, L. Holcombe, *Wives and Property* and M. Doggett, *Marriage, Wife-Beating and the Law in Victorian England*.
- 38 The unease surrounding Mary Wollstonecraft within Victorian feminist circles points to the difficult negotiations around sexual autonomy and expression. See B. Caine 'Victorian Feminism and the Ghost of Mary Wollstonecraft.'
- 39 B. Caine, *English Feminism*, pp. 115–23.
- 40 S. Holton, *Suffrage Days*, identifies Elmy as a 'radical suffragist' for whom the dissolution of coverture was as important a feminist goal as the achievement of the vote. The phrase 'embodied citizenship' is Holton's (*Suffrage Days*, p. 28).
- 41 S. Holton's work in *Suffrage Days* on the Married Women's Property campaign and the debates over married women's right to vote is illuminating.

Chapter 6 'A Crisis in Woman's History'

- 1 F.P. Cobbe, *Duties of Women*, Authorised Edn (London: Williams & Norgate, 1881), p. 11. Further references are to this edition and appear in parentheses in the text.
- 2 Management of the 'public face of feminism' is not limited to 'mainstream' spaces, though it is important to heed the shifting contours of

- established and 'feminist' spaces as the press undergoes rapid expansion in the latter part of the century, when Cobbe publishes *Duties of Women*. See for example, L. Delap, 'Philosophical vacuity and polite ineptitude.'
- 3 Other suffrage publications by F.P. Cobbe include 'Municipal Woman Suffrage in England', and 'Woman Suffrage.'
 - 4 B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 133.
 - 5 See, for example, J. Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism*.
 - 6 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 274.
 - 7 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 274.
 - 8 B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 113.
 - 9 Mitchell found that, when she brought *Duties of Women* to Clifton in 1880, Cobbe explicitly linked her Bristol experiences with Mary Carpenter to her conversion to the suffrage, as she would do in her 1894 *Life*. Tying together her earliest philanthropic work and the claims of feminism, then, the lecture series rehearses a connection between Bristol and suffrage that Caine rejects. Clifton is located just outside of Bristol. The linkage is an appeal to the local predilections of her audience, which registers Cobbe's professional competence and, of course, her plain common courtesy.
 - 10 B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 114.
 - 11 Qtd in F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, 217.
 - 12 S.S. Holton, 'The Making of Suffrage History,' p. 28.
 - 13 S.S. Holton, 'The Suffragist and the "Average Woman."'
 - 14 S.S. Holton, 'The Suffragist and the "Average Woman,"' 13.
 - 15 For a discussion of women's involvement in local government prior to the granting of the national franchise, see P. Hollis, *Ladies Elect*.
 - 16 See F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, p. 549 for Cobbe's minimal account of the event.
 - 17 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 272. On Clifton see J. Rendall, 'The Citizenship of Women,' p. 124.
 - 18 Qtd in S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, pp. 268–9.
 - 19 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 269.
 - 20 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 269.
 - 21 B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 127, notes that the letter came from Hengwrt, Mary Lloyd's family home in North Wales, where Cobbe moved in 1884.
 - 22 J. Rendall, 'The Citizenship of Women,' discusses the ideas of history shaping feminist discourse in this period.
 - 23 Cobbe's concern for the family pet must be placed within the larger context of her involvement in the nineteenth-century anti-vivisection movement (of which she was the acknowledged leader) and her animal welfare work more broadly. In particular, this 'practical caution' addresses late nineteenth-century concerns about 'hydrophobia,' the rabid animal's aversion to water. Women's domestic work is, in this context, politically vital at the most mundane level.
 - 24 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 269.
 - 25 B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 109.

- 26 Cobbe's 'philanthropic feminism,' in which privileged women speak on behalf of their oppressed sisters, utilises a strategy widespread in the mid-Victorian movement. See B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 106.
- 27 Cobbe made something of a career grappling with Eliza Lynn Linton's 'Girl of the Period' essays, gleefully rewriting Linton's anti-feminist caricature of an emancipated woman as the figure of woman disfigured by narrow domestic concerns. Cobbe's previous exchanges with Linton form a vital part of the background to her strategies in *Duties of Women*, though that exchange is too large for the scope of the present chapter. For a discussion of Linton's journalistic strategies, which oppose Cobbe's in actively rejecting consensus-building, see A.L. Broomfield, 'Much more than an Antifeminist.'
- 28 On Eliza Lynn Linton see, N.F. Anderson, *Woman Against Woman* and A.L. Broomfield, 'Eliza Lynn Linton, Sarah Grand, and the Spectacle of the Victorian Woman Question.' On Mona Caird, whose articles on marriage generated both great excitement and fears about a new ferociousness in England's 'revolting daughters,' see, A. Heilmann, *New Woman Strategies* and A. Richardson and C. Willis (eds), *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact*. The literature on the New Woman of the 1890s grows steadily. See, in particular, A.L. Ardis, *New Women, New Novels* and T. Mangum, *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant*.
- 29 B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 140.
- 30 See B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, chapter 2, for a discussion of the productive relationship between Victorian feminisms and Victorian domestic ideology.
- 31 F.P. Cobbe, *Duties of Women*. Eighth American Edition. Introduction by Frances Willard, p. 6.
- 32 F. Willard, 'Introduction,' p. 6.
- 33 F. Willard, 'Introduction,' pp. 7–8.
- 34 See M. Joannou, 'The Angel of Freedom.'
- 35 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 270.
- 36 Caine argues that Cobbe's self-identity as a philosopher meant that she saw herself as able to write in very broad terms about women's nature, their social roles and responsibilities. She also notes that some contemporaries saw Cobbe as a feminist thinker too: 'excepting John Stuart Mill, she has done more than anyone else to give the dignity of principle to the women's movement' (Walter Lewin, 'Life of Frances Power Cobbe,' *Academy* 46 (1894), 321. Qtd in B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 105.
- 37 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*.
- 38 S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 270.
- 39 15 January 1881 *Spectator*. Qtd in S. Mitchell, *Frances Power Cobbe*, p. 271.
- 40 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, Vol. 2, 515–16.
- 41 F.P. Cobbe, *Life*, Vol. 2, 516.
- 42 Angela John, "'Behind the Locked Door'" reminds us that the space on the threshold between feminist and non-feminist communities under-

goes profound shifts in political and cultural meaning in the period from 1863, when Cobbe first starts writing, to Sharp's own journalism for *The Nation* and the *Manchester Guardian* and other papers in the first decade of the twentieth-century.

43 Rendall, 'Citizenship of Women,' 129.

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