

## CONCLUSION

This book, and the thesis on which it is based, stemmed from a chance reading of an article about ‘Mrs Humphry Ward’ written by Fran Abrams in 2003, entitled ‘Mary Quite Contrary’. The article was part of a section, ‘History of Education’ and the leader stated, ‘[d]espite being a fierce opponent of the Suffrage movement, Mary made remarkable breakthroughs in education for women and children in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century’.<sup>1</sup> On first reading of the article, questions arose as to why such a famous and pioneering woman was opposed to female suffrage. On further perusal of the article, more complex questions arose concerning how and why Mary spent so much of her life educating the public through the reforms she established and to what extent these activities impacted or informed her suffrage views and her writing. My initial investigations into the dynamics between Mary’s writing and reforms highlighted her numerous connections with the philosophy of T. H. Green and this suggested that her life and work merited a fresh analysis. As part of my doctoral thesis, a review of the extensive secondary literature in which Mary has been written about confirmed that she is included in a wide range of biographical studies, literary criticism and works associated with historical evaluation and comment on her social reforms and activism. Mary exemplifies Joan Scott’s observations

<sup>1</sup>Fran Abrams, “Mary Quite Contrary,” *Times Educational Supplement*, October 10, 2003.

concerning the problematical nature of writing women into history.<sup>2</sup> While Scott noted the extent to which feminist studies had been addressing the absence of women from mainstream history, she highlighted the dilemma of scholars in how they approach the category of ‘women’ in their work. Where Mary has been written about within the separate category of women’s history, she has become adjacent to mainstream histories and when she has been incorporated within mainstream histories her significance has been dispersed over a variety of genres. As a result, her remarkable contributions and unique views in relation to British society have become obscured.

The main biographical studies of Mary’s life demonstrate how many of her practical activities were pioneering for a woman of her generation: for example, the leading role she played in establishing higher education for women in Oxford through Somerville Hall, as the first examiner of modern languages at the Taylor Institute in Oxford, in realising Green’s philosophy in her settlements and play centres in London and by supporting the British war effort through the narratives she published from her travels to the Front Line during the First World War.<sup>3</sup> Mary’s most notorious role was to head the campaign against suffrage for women, which, although pioneering, damaged her reputation among later generations of women. The recurring theme to emerge from the secondary literature was the frequency with which Green’s name and religious philosophy are noted in connection with Mary’s religious views, her religious novel *Robert Elsmere* and her activities as a reformer. A review of the main philosophical, biographical, historical and critical commentaries in relation to Green indicated the reversal of the situation; Mary is frequently cited in relation to the significant role her novel *Robert Elsmere* played in bringing his work to the notice of the general public. One of the main aims of this book has been to attempt to re-unite the fragmented and polarised accounts of Mary’s life and work, in order to demonstrate the extent to which she drew on the example of Green’s life and philosophy throughout the remarkable contribution she made to her society; crossing, disrupting and reinforcing religious, social and political boundaries of her society.

<sup>2</sup>Scott, “Women’s History.”

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix 5 for a brief list of notable events in MAW’s life, as discussed in this book.

Mary's early educational experiences predisposed her to the religious, social and political ideas that underpinned Green's life and his philosophy. His belief that Christianity should be inclusive and not approached from a dogmatic perspective enabled Mary to locate herself within the debates and issues concerning religious doubt and 'miracle', which were circulating in Oxford in the 1870s. In this book, I have presented the case that Mary can be considered as an advocate and scholar of Green's work and one of his earliest admirers on the basis that she demonstrated a theoretical knowledge of his philosophy and teachings and conveyed it in practice to the public through her writings and reform activities. There are various reasons why Mary has previously been overlooked as a Greenian but, in the main, they are reducible to her gender. As a woman, Mary remained outside of centrally organised education by the Anglican Church or provided by the state. She was unable to take advantage of the education her male relatives were entitled to due to limitations out of her control: her gender, her father's fluctuating religious convictions and her social class and family finances. As a young girl, Mary did not attend any notable girls' colleges or schools and she did not benefit from the many opportunities open to later generations of middle- and working-class girls resulting from the educational changes led by her uncle, W. E. Forster and the Taunton commission, in which Green was active. Despite her obvious intellect and ability as a scholar, Mary was unable to enter Balliol College or any of the other Oxford Colleges on a formal basis, attain qualifications or follow a career path through civic or state institutions, which Peter Gordon and John White illustrate were the general routes that Greenians were able to follow.<sup>4</sup> Mary remained in close contact with a great number of men and women whom she had known from her earlier days in Oxford, many of whom had connections with Balliol.<sup>5</sup> She also maintained a life-long friendship with Green's wife after he died in 1882. In this sense, Mary moved within the College fraternity as did her male relatives and predecessors and Green, who played such a large part in its history. This is shown in the theoretical exposition of his ideas in her novels, and how she successfully re-created his ideas of the common good through the educational reforms she pioneered and pursued.

<sup>4</sup>Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice*.

<sup>5</sup>See Appendix 2.

Mary's academic acumen, curiosity and tenacity enabled her to access and study the complex philosophical ideas Green conveyed to his students and colleagues. His message was that Christianity could incorporate a broad range of perspectives and that it was resilient enough to withstand the questions being posed by science and historical criticism of the Bible. As a single woman and later as a young married woman, Mary's gender simultaneously excluded and included her in the educational and religious structures within the Oxford community. She had limited access to formal religious training but through her association with male lecturers and the established reputation of her Arnold family connections within the University, she built an extensive knowledge around and through the religious debates concerning doubt and the nature of miracle in Christian theology. With access to J. R. Green, Mark Pattinson, Benjamin Jowett, Walter Pater, Henry Coxe and the Bodleian Librarian, Mary was able to explore, demonstrate and increase her intellectual command of languages, religion and research. Encouraged by these eminent scholars and the support they provided for Mary's early writing, her pamphlet *Unbelief and Sin* showed first, that she was able to identify how to galvanise public opinion using controversial topics in a semi-fictional format, second, that it contained many of the philosophical concepts that Green and his fellow sympathisers in the 'Circle of Doubt' and the Broad Church movement were expressing about the need to embrace all forms of Christianity and move away from dogmatic interpretations of the Bible. These complex philosophical ideas were deciphered and conveyed to the public in her best-selling novel *Robert Elsmere*; spreading Green's message in practice, not only to her readers in Britain but also in America.

As the wife of the Oxford don, Humphry Ward, Mary's expanded social circle came to include many other Oxford University Fellows, lecturers and students. This provided her with additional avenues through which she could express her ideas and pursue her education and ambitions. An examination of the Somerville Hall notebook, minutes and archives consulted in Chapter 5, confirmed that Mary was heavily involved in the administration and fund raising that was required to establish the Hall and that Green's ideas were foremost in their plans. Somerville embodied the sentiments of Green and his philosophy and he and his wife Charlotte were instrumental in the support that the venture attracted. Placing Mary's actions and activities as central to the success of Somerville illustrates the enactment of Green's concept of

the common good. The sources I have examined in this book demonstrate the lengths to which Mary and her associates went, to ensure that middle-class women had access to a non-denominational higher education in her years as part of the Oxford community. Green's concepts of religious inclusivity were also reflected in Mary's subsequent enactment of the common good, through her role in the establishment of University Hall settlement. Mary embraced many of the ideas underpinning what Green understood as the common good; she refused to have 'Unitarian' included as part of her settlement's name. In other ways, as University Hall was never envisaged as a women's settlement, Mary's understanding of the inclusivity of Christianity did not extend to incorporate women as residents.

The address Mary gave to the Students' Guild of University Hall settlement drew largely on Green's lay sermons, *The Witness of God and Faith*, which she had previously quoted in *Robert Elsmere*.<sup>6</sup> The publication of the address in various forms illustrates that over a period of time in Britain and also in America, Mary continued to express Green's ideas of the history of Christianity and how and why the Christian religion should be taught. An examination of the address showed that she made no specific mention of educating women and is comparable with Green's ideas of women and Christianity within his sermons in that he did not specifically question the role or ideas of women within the Anglican Church, only those that related to men. Her subsequent lecture to the Unitarians at Exeter Hall in 1894, replicated these sentiments as again, she did not specifically mention the need to draw attention to the inequality of women within Christianity in expressing her opinions about the threat to the continuance of organised Christian denominations. Although Mary appeared to subscribe to the concept of inclusivity of women within Christianity, she did not always directly convey this to the public as a writer, reformer and public speaker and this appears to mirror the position Green adopted.

Mary encountered many difficulties and had to make significant compromises to maintain and expand her vision of the common good. Invariably, the decisions that she made came down to who was contributing the most amount of money and their religious, social and political standpoint. While Green's vision of the common good relied on

<sup>6</sup>Green, *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons*. Edited with an Introductory Notice by the Late Arnold Toynbee, M.A.

educated Christian citizens putting the interests of others above their own, it is evident that Mary found this problematical on two levels. First, because she did not have the independent means or time to invest in the various educational ventures she established and second, because in having to put her own beliefs concerning the religious content of curriculum to one side, she also had to limit the ways in which she could convey her message about the need for Christianity to embrace all members of society. The local residents were not particularly interested in participating in the religious aspects of University Hall but regardless of the reasons for this or if Mary was prevented by the Duke of Bedford from providing education for local children in her earlier settlement, she agreed to alter the focus of University Hall to incorporate the more successful achievements of Marchmont Hall. This is in tension with Green's views, as he sought to counteract the utilitarian philosophy which advocated that the greatest pleasure should define the actions of the individual in pursuing the ultimate good for society.

Despite all subscribers having their own vested interests in Mary's previous settlements, the 1899 spring programme of events being offered in the Passmore Edwards Settlement (PES) demonstrated that Mary managed to maintain the essential spirit of Green's philosophy within this settlement more easily than in the previous two ventures of University Hall and Marchmont Hall. The PES was open to all the local residents, and it provided a wide range of religious, social and political events, talks and lectures. A third level of interests complicated Mary's pursuit of the common good, illustrated by The Duke of Bedford's tight control over what Mary and the committee were able to offer in the form of education to the residents in the localities of both University Hall and the PES. Both Mary and the Duke of Bedford, in this case, contravene Green's concept of the common good because they both sought to impose their beliefs of what a better society should be and the greater the economic means of the individual, the more power they could exert in pursuing their vision. Ultimately, the local community retained the power not to participate in the settlements. Mary came to realise, however, that organised children's education and care was central to the improvement of her society and that the role of women was a key factor in creating the conditions, environments and activities in the organised playground and evening play centres that she pioneered. Her view of the importance of women's roles as moral agents informed her view of the common good and ultimately, her vision of how society could best be

improved by men and women working together; projecting a gendered view that women's roles in society were defined in relation to men.

Green considered a woman's life was best fulfilled as part of the family unit but he recognised that women had limitations placed on their ability to contribute to society due to their unequal treatment in law in comparison with men. Mary's social position: as a wife, mother, a professional writer, employer and family member underpinned her ability to expand and maintain her position within society. As well as enabling her to build on the success of *Robert Elsmere*, the mutually reinforcing and expanding role of the female members of her household facilitated and sustained her writing and the commitments that arose from pursuing the common good via her settlements and play centres. An examination of Mary's novels, *Lady Rose's Daughter*, *Daphne*, *Eltham House* and *Harvest* in Chapter 8, demonstrated that Mary conveyed a similar message to her readers concerning the important role of women in society as part of the family, to that of Green.

Through her novels, Mary was able to use class differentials and her knowledge and experiences of other countries to explore in detail the future implications of the relaxation of divorce laws for families and the fabric of society but all were within Westernised nations deemed civilised: Belgium, France, Italy, America and Canada. Through her female characters and plots in *Lady Rose's Daughter* and *Eltham House*, Mary demonstrated the reliance the aristocracy had on the unequal divorce laws and the other social and legal restrictions placed on women to maintain their social position and power. Julie and Jacob are made to assume their roles and responsibilities as supporting wife and landowner in the former novel. In the latter novel, Carrie's acrimonious divorce costs her the last moments with her dying son, the parenting of her daughter and eventually her own life but she accepts her fate as the price for her remarriage and love of her second husband. In *Daphne*, the plot revolves around the divorce of an American woman from her husband using American laws. The marriage was based on financial and social gain and its dissolution has tragic consequences for the whole family as their child dies and Roger Barnes is left a broken man. In *Harvest*, Rachel's divorce had taken place in Canada but was kept secret from everyone, until she is forced to reveal it to her intended American husband, whom she meets while running a successful farm jointly owned with her friend Janet. Mary does not allow Rachel to remarry and the character is murdered by her drunken and violent ex-husband. In all of the novels

examined, Mary directly and indirectly draws attention to the lack of education and opportunities for women outside the family and alludes to how this could be made possible to her readers: Julie had wanted to be a writer, Carrie was highly organised and would have made a proficient administrator, Daphne had a wide knowledge of art and Rachel had a talent for business. Mary stopped short of allowing her female characters to succeed in their career aspirations and prioritised, instead, the sanctity of marriage and the family in the upper and middle classes for both men and women. This suggested that Mary used her novels to attempt to persuade the public of the need to maintain the existing structures of society and reflects the Greenian belief that this moral duty was the responsibility of women and more important than the hedonistic motivations of individuals.

Mary conveyed a broad range of liberal and conservative political views to her readers through her novels *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady*. These novels, discussed in Chapter 12, showed that Mary was in agreement, in theory, with Green's view of a united society being formed from a set of shared interests subscribed to by the rich and the poor. Both novels conveyed the hope expressed in Green's vision for the future, as outlined in Chapter 11, through his view of 'positive' freedom and the freedom to choose actions as opposed to being free from restrictions and actions. The endings of *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady* reinforced the notion that progress in society required the intervention of the state to secure the measures of freedom and equality that would allow citizens to help themselves for the future benefit of all members of their communities. He believed that the growth in freedom indicated the progression of society, which he summarised as 'the greater power on the part of the citizens as a body to make the most and best of themselves'.<sup>7</sup> Through a comparison of ways in which she ascribed political roles to the main male and female protagonists in *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady*, Mary constructed women's roles as moralisers and supplementary but integral to the unity of society within the existing structures. The power that she invested in Marcella over her husband, her friends, and Sir George in the two novels portrays women's power to be significant but indirect and not political. Mary upheld the view that women's different but equal qualities were central to the moral progression of society, but her views and activities have been obscured and fallen between the boundaries of what has been considered social and political activity.

<sup>7</sup> "Lecture on 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract'."



The later views that Mary conveyed to the public concerning women's political roles in society to the public, as a commissioned War reporter by the British Government, support the argument that Mary's views on the 'woman question' were resolute. Through her works of propaganda, *England's Effort* and *Towards the Goal*, Mary told the public what the Government allowed her to tell them. A few of the comments in her letters indicate that she believed that the knowledge and experience gained in the War would alter the structure of society substantially. This highlights the difficulty Green's idealist political philosophy presents for his followers in times of crisis. First, because the demographics of British society changed so rapidly as a result of the War, notions that women would be content to play the supportive role that the existing patriarchal structure required were irreparably disbanded and, second, that as a combined force, women would have a much greater say in the future state and society. Mary hoped that her society would be able to move forward in unison after the War. This mirrors the emphasis of Green's moral philosophy: that educated Christian people had to have faith and belief that society could be better and work towards an unknowable future. Mary created frictions in maintaining her opposition to women being given the vote while simultaneously being engaged in a political role by reporting on the British war effort. In Chapter 13, I argued that these anomalies could be accounted for within Green's views that women could best pursue the common good as supplementary and supportive of men, uniting society through shared interests and enabling progression towards a better society. Similarly, Green also occupied contradictory positions in his role as a Liberal councillor who believed that the state had a right, and was justified to intervene in the interests of preserving the unity of society for the benefit and progress of all citizens. He spoke frequently to local groups and organisations in his community of his view of 'positive' freedom; that to combat oppression men had to be self-reliant and unite against their oppressors in order to help themselves but within the boundaries of the law. The problematical issue for Green and his followers remains constant; the masses always pose a threat to the stability and unity of a democratic society, as they have the greatest capacity to impact the direction society follows. Both Green and Mary pursued life-long courses of raising awareness in how education could avert this, but the outbreak of War redefined the nature and purpose of a suitable education which could meet the needs of society, beyond what either of them could have envisaged.

Taken together, the arguments presented in this book illustrate three main distinctive elements and qualities that Mary brought to society as a Greenian idealist: her gender, her Arnoldian connections and her

position as a famous writer. Mary developed alternative strategies of drawing on people, books and her experiences to educate herself and to educate the public about the need for Christianity to broaden its appeal and its practices within society, if it were to continue to remain relevant. As a result of the public interest in Green's ideas, generated by *Robert Elsmere*, Mary recognised that fiction was a valuable tool that could be used to evaluate and explore how or if theory could be translated into practice. This mirrors Green's view that '[i]t is the twofold characteristic of universal intelligibility and indiscriminate adoption of materials, that gives the novel its place as the great reformer and leveller of our time'.<sup>8</sup> On the basis of the financial rewards, social and critical acclaim that Mary received as a result of *Robert Elsmere*, her career as a novelist took shape and she used her informal social gatherings and observations to replenish and research ideas for her novels. The social and political relationships she forged enabled her to realise Green's theory in practice by establishing herself within the settlement movement in Bloomsbury, in London. She demonstrated that women were equally able to follow Green's example as an enlightened Christian citizen, whom he asserted could find God by pursuing the common good through active charity. Mary taught, lectured, wrote and campaigned on behalf of the settlements she pioneered, conveying Green's message and teachings that faith and belief in Christianity would enable individuals and society to progress towards a higher good. As Mary's reputation grew, she turned her ability as a writer and social commentator to expressing her views on political issues and debates, in Britain and in America. The sources I have examined in this book demonstrate that Mary continued to transmit Green's idealist vision that through their shared interests, Christian men and women must to work together to pursue a better society where all can benefit freely, without preventing the freedom of others to do likewise. Mary also subscribed to the view that the state was responsible for maintaining the conditions under which individuals were free to improve their own lives. In pursuing the common good in terms of what Green outlined as an educated Christian citizen, Mary simultaneously disrupted, reinforced and reproduced cultural constructions of women as a Greenian radical. Greenian ideas of knowledge and progress were integral and inseparable elements within Mary's vision of society. Quite possibly, Green might have considered her 'an exceptional individual' but she certainly

<sup>8</sup>"An Estimate of the Value and Influence of Works of Fiction in Modern Times," p. 41.

displayed what he described as true faith.<sup>9</sup> Her faith and belief that progress was possible through individual and joint endeavour as a society is illustrated in her reflection as a writer:

For progress surely, whether in men or nations, means only a richer knowledge; the more impressions therefore on the human intelligence that we can seize and record, the more sensitive becomes that intelligence itself.<sup>10</sup>

## ARCHIVE SOURCES

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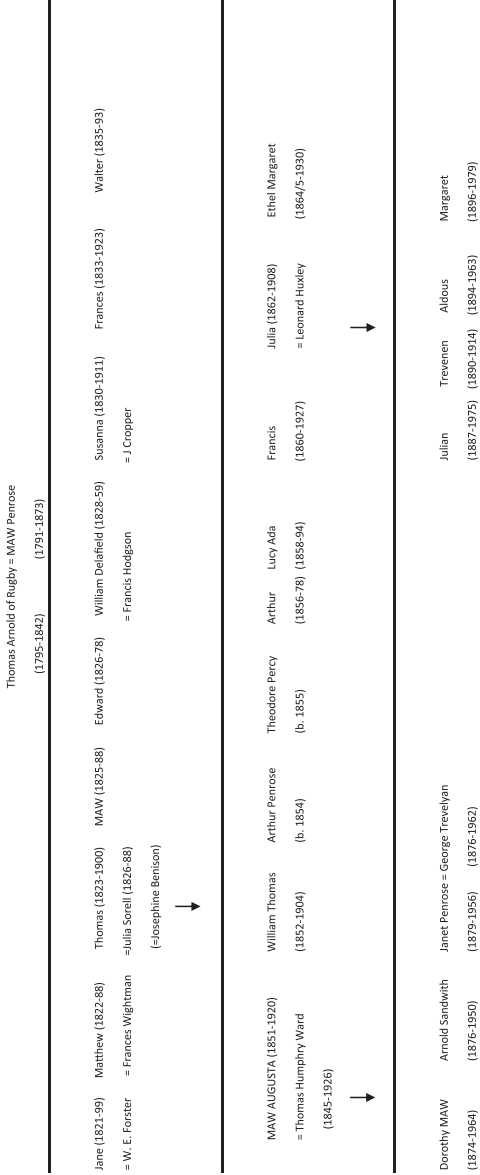
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<sup>9</sup>"Faith (1878)," p. 64.

<sup>10</sup>Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 2.

## APPENDIX 1: FAMILY TREE OF MAW

(Compiled with reference to Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and, with kind permission, the work of John Sutherland)



## APPENDIX 2: LIST OF HISTORICAL PEOPLE WHO FEATURE IN THE LIVES OF MAW AND THG

Name	Dates of birth and death	Brief notes
Addams, Jane	1860–1935	American social reformer
Arnold, Ethel	1865–1930	Journalist, writer and lecturer on suffrage, sister of MAW
Arnold, Mary	1791–1883	Wife of Dr. Arnold and grandmother of MAW
Arnold, Matthew	1822–1888	Poet and Uncle of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Arnold, Thomas	1842–1895	Educational reformer and grandfather of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Arnold, Thomas	1823–1900	Historian and academic, father of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Arnold, William Thomas	1852–1904	Historian and journalist, brother of MAW
Ball, Sidney	1857–1918	Socialist and educational reformer (Oriental College, Oxford)
Barnett, Henrietta	1851–1936	Social reformer and author, established Toynbee Hall
Barnett, Samuel	1844–1913	Anglican cleric and social reformer, established Toynbee Hall, Canon and Sub-Dean of Westminster
11th Duke of Bedford (Herbrand Russell)	1858–1940	Agriculturalist and philanthropist

Name	Dates of birth and death	Brief notes
Blundell, Grace	Not traced	Secretary to MAW and the evening play centre movement in London
Bright, John	1811–1889	Quaker and radical Liberal statesman
Brooke, Stopford	1832–1916	Irish Churchman and writer
Choate, Joseph E.	1832–1917	American diplomat and lawyer
Churcher, Bessie	Not traced	Personal assistant, charity worker and employee of MAW family
Clarke, Fred	1880–1952	Educationalist
Clough, Jemima Anne	1820–1892	Head of Newham College, Cambridge and former teacher of MAW, associate of THG
Cobbe, Francis Power	1822–1904	Writer and campaigner for women's rights, Associate of THG and MAW
Creighton, Louise	1850–1936	Social activist and writer and closest friend of MAW and THG
Creighton, Mandell	1843–1901	Bishop, husband of Louise, close friend of MAW and THG (Merton College, Oxford)
Cromer (Lord) (Evelyn Baring)	1841–1917	Imperialist diplomat and Government administrator
Curzon (Lord) 1st Marquess of Kedleston	1859–1925	Politician and Viceroy of India (Balliol College, Oxford)
Dilke, Emilia	1840–1904	(formerly Mrs. Pattinson) art critic, first wife of Mark Pattinson and mentor to MAW)
Forster, Jane	1821–1899	Daughter of Dr. and Mary Arnold, wife of W. E. Forster and aunt of MAW
Forster, W. E.	1818–1886	Ex-Quaker, politician, famous for the 1870 education act and killed in the Irish Reform and uncle to MAW through marriage to Jane Arnold
Gladstone, W. E.	1809–1898	Liberal politician and British Prime Minister on four occasions (1868–1874, 1880–1885, February–July 1886 and 1892–1894)
Green, Alice	1847–1929	J. R. Green's wife and friend of MAW
Green, J. R.	1837–1883	Mentor and friend of MAW and THW (Jesus College, Oxford)
Green, Charlotte	1842–1929	Wife and custodian of THG's work, close friend of MAW
Harrison, Frederic	1823–1926	Positivist and author (Wadham College, Oxford)
Huxley, Aldous	1894–1963	Writer and nephew of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Huxley, Julia	1862–1908	Founder of Prior's Field School, Surrey, mother of Aldous and sister of MAW

Name	Dates of birth and death	Brief notes
James, Henry	1916–1943	American novelist, critic and close friend to MAW
Johnson, Bertha	1846–1927	Campaigner for women's higher education, friend to MAW
Johnson, Reverend Arthur	1845–1927	Chaplain of All Souls Church Oxford and History Lecturer
Jowett, Benjamin	1817–1893	Master of Balliol College, Oxford, mentor and tutor to THG
King, MacKenzie	1874–1950	Resident of University Hall, politician and Prime Minister of Canada between 1921 and 1926, associate of MAW
Knowles, James	1831–1908	Editor of Contemporary <i>Review</i> and founded <i>Nineteenth Century</i>
Lee, Vernon (Violet Paget)	1935–1956	Novelist and acquaintance of MAW
Lloyd George, David	1863–1945	Liberal politician and British Prime Minister between 1916 and 1922
Locke, John	1632–1704	Philosopher and empiricist
Lyttelton, Laura	1862–1886	Member of the Souls group, friend and much admired by MAW
Martineau, Dr. James	1805–1900	Unitarian minister and close family friend of the Arnold family (Manchester New College, Oxford)
Maurice, Frederick Denison	1805–1872	Christian Socialist and reformer, admired by THG (Trinity College, Cambridge and Exeter College, Oxford)
Mill, J. S.	1806–1873	Philosopher, utilitarian
Müller, Georgina	c1834/5–1916	Writer and close friend of MAW
Müller, Max	1823–1900	Classical linguist (Taylor institute, Oxford), friend and mentor to MAW, friend of THG
Neal, Mary	1860–1944	Journalist, suffragette, radical arts practitioner, magistrate and awarded CBE, organiser of MAW children's evening play centres
Nettleship, R. L.	1846–1892	Pupil and biographer of THG (Balliol College, Oxford)
Newman, John Henry	1801–1890	Cardinal and theologian
Oakley, Hilda	1867–1960	Educationalist and philosopher
Pater, Clara	1841–1910	Sister to Walter, campaigner for women's higher education and tutor, friend and neighbour to MAW (lecturer at Somerville College, Oxford)



Name	Dates of birth and death	Brief notes
Pater, Walter	1839–1894	Brother to Clara, scholar, friend and neighbour to MAW (Queen’s College, Brasenose College, Oxford)
Pattinson, Mark	1813–1884	Scholar and mentor to MAW (Lincoln College, Oxford)
Ritchie, David G.	1853–1903	Civil Servant, student of THG (Balliol College, Oxford)
Roosevelt, Theodore	1858–1919	American politician, President between 1901 and 1909 and friend of MAW
Russell, Bertrand, Earl Russell the Third	1872–1970	Philosopher, journalist and political campaigner
Sidgwick, Charlotte	1853–1924	Friend of MAW and sister-in-law of Henry Sidgwick
Sidgwick, Henry	1838–1900	Utilitarian philosopher and economist, friend to THG (Rugby School)
Smith, Lizzie	Not traced	Secretary, maid and personal assistant to MAW
Stubbs, William	1825–1901	Bishop of Oxford, scholar of medieval history (Christ Church College, Oxford)
Talbot, Edward	1844–1934	Bishop of Winchester, first warden of Keble College, Oxford
Talbot, Lavina	1849–1939	Supporter and campaigner of women’s higher education in Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, colleague and friend of MAW
Tawney, R. H.	1880–1962	Pupil of THG (Balliol College, Oxford)
Toynbee, Arnold	1852–1883	Social reformer and political economist, student of THG (Balliol College, Oxford)
Toynbee, Charlotte	1841–1931	Social reformer, custodian of her husband Arnold Toynbee’s works and friend of MAW
Traubman, Gertrude/ Eleanor	Not traced	Play centre co-ordinator and secretary to MAW and the evening play centre movement in London
Trevelyan, Janet	1879–1956	Writer, social reformer and elder daughter of MAW
Wallas, Graham	1858–1932	Political psychologist, educationist and early member of Fabian Society, associate of MAW (Corpus Christi College, Oxford)
Ward, Arnold	1876–1950	MP and son of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Ward, Dorothy	1874–1964	Social reformer, personal assistant and daughter of MAW
Ward, Gertrude	Not traced	Christian missionary nurse, personal assistant and sister-in-law to MAW
Ward, Julia	1826–1888	Mother of MAW

Name	Dates of birth and death	Brief notes
Ward, Thomas Humphry	1845–1926	Art critic, literary historian and husband of MAW (Brasenose College, Oxford)
Webb, Beatrice	1858–1943	Fabian and acquaintance of MAW
Webb, Sidney	1859–1947	Fabian and acquaintance of MAW
Wordsworth, DameElizabeth	1830–1942	Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford
Wordsworth, Reverend John	1843–1911	Bishop of Salisbury, supporter of High Church and brother of Elizabeth Wordsworth. (Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford)

# APPENDIX 3: MAW MAIN WORKS (FICTION AND NON-FICTION), ARRANGED THEMATICALLY

(Texts examined in the book are in bold and American titles of novels in brackets)

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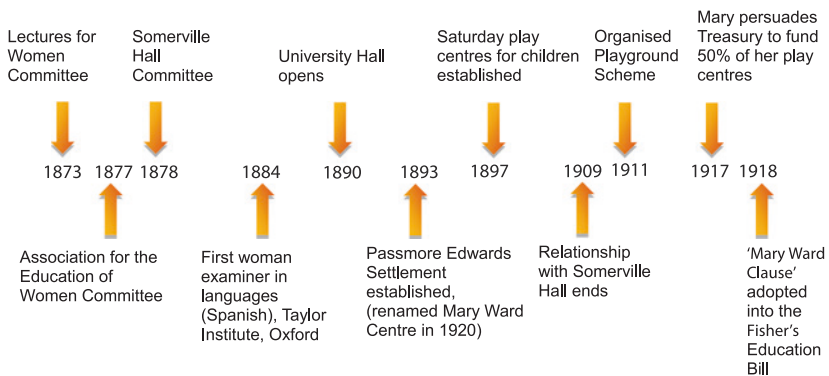
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# APPENDIX 4: MAW MAIN EDUCATIONAL REFORM ACTIVITY TIME LINE

## Mary Ward's Involvement in Educational Reforms



## APPENDIX 5: NOTABLE DATES IN THE LIFE OF MAW

- 1851 Born MAW Augusta Ward (née Arnold)
- 1856 Leaves Van Diemen's Land for England
- 1858 Sent to Anne Jemima Clough's school in Ambleside
- 1861 Boards at Rock Terrace School for Young Ladies
- 1865 Boards at Miss May's school in Bristol and her family moves to Oxford
- 1867 MAW joins her family in Oxford
- 1871 First articles, 'The Poem of the Cid' and 'Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile' are published in *Macmillan's Magazine*; 'A Morning in the Bodleian' is published privately
- 1872 Marries Thomas Humphry Ward (1845–1926)
- 1873 Forms Lectures for Women Committee with Georgina Müller, Charlotte Green and Louise Creighton
- 1877 Forms Association for the Education of Women Committee
- 1878 Forms Somerville Hall Committee
- 1881 *Unbelief and Sin* published, moves to Russell Square, London
- 1884 First woman examiner in languages—Taylor Institute, Oxford
- 1884 Meets Laura Lyttelton (née Tennant) and first novel published
- 1888 *Robert Elsmere* is published
- 1889 MAW's petition against Suffrage is published
- 1890 University Hall opens

- 1891 Gertrude Ward leaves the Wards' employment to become a district nurse
- 1893 Passmore Edwards Settlement established, combining the most successful elements of University Hall and Marchmont Hall and Renamed Mary Ward Centre in 1920
- 1896 Bessie Churcher starts to work for MAW
- 1897 Dorothy and Janet Ward, Mary Neal and Bessie Churcher arrange the first Saturday play centre
- 1908 MAW tours America and Canada with Humphry and Dorothy; accepts position of Leader of Women's Anti-suffrage League
- 1909 Men and Women's anti-suffrage amalgamate to form Anti-Suffrage League; MAW's relationship with Somerville College ends.
- 1910 Arnold Ward elected as an MP and campaigns to the members of the London County Council on behalf of her play centres
- 1911 Confronts Asquith's pledge to introduce Women's Suffrage, as a political mistake
- 1912 Active in her Local Government Advancement Committee but is forced off the NUWW committee
- 1913 Wards sell Stocks' property and assets to pay Arnold's debts Arnold's move to oppose the Suffrage Bill succeeds
- 1914 War is declared against Germany and Wards move to Scotland to economise; MAW starts her own Joint Advisory Committee.
- 1915 Arnold's debts abroad mount again; Dorothy takes charge of Stocks to farm the land with the Land Army for the war effort; T. Roosevelt writes to MAW about producing articles about the British war effort for American readers
- 1916 Visits the munitions factories and is granted permission to visit the Front in France; *England's Effort* is published and is very successful; Arnold Ward agrees to resign his seat in Parliament
- 1917 Persuades Treasury to fund 50% of her play centres; *Towards the Goal* is published and hugely successful in America; *Missing* is published in London and New York
- 1918 The 'Mary Ward Clause' concerning crippled children's education is adopted into the Education Bill; *Writer's Recollections* and *The War and Elizabeth* published; women's suffrage clause is passed; financial pressures move the Wards to start selling Humphry's art collection



- 1919 Returns to the Battlegrounds in France and Belgium with Dorothy; MAW campaigns against the limitations of the Church Assembly Act; further property and assets are sold
- 1920 Invited to be a magistrate and Edinburgh University confers an honorary degree before her death on 24th March; MAW was buried on 27th March, Aldbury, England

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