

“WHAT CAN OUR DAUGHTERS DO FOR A LIVING?”
WOMEN’S WRITING ON MUSIC IN THE BRITISH FEMINIST PRESS, 1880–1914

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THESIS

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Abstract

The British feminist press began the foundational work of creating a literary-intellectual space for women in print when Bessie Parkes and Barbara Bodichon began publishing *The English Woman's Journal* (1858). Parkes and Bodichon intended for papers like *Journal* to not only be read by women but to be written and edited by them as well. They recognized that a periodical represented enormous power, and that editorial control of one could create both a sympathetic space and political mouthpiece for their then-radical ideas about women's place and roles in society. By the 1890s, organs of this feminist press spanned the length and breadth of journalism in Britain. They had one feature in common: they centered the concerns and interests of women, who made up the overwhelming majority of their audience.

Music was among the subjects these papers included, and their coverage reveals a depth of engagement and breadth of opinion previously overlooked in British musical scholarship. Drawing on primary sources from the Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs and interdisciplinary secondary scholarship, I examine a collection of items about music printed in these feminist papers. The women writers and editors of these publications represent a neglected demographic of contributors to British music criticism. As Leanne Langley has pointed out, the pool of regularly-cited British music critics is very small, and thus represents a much narrower slice of nineteenth-century musical opinion than it purports to. Reading these women's work back into the historical narrative thus intervenes to reconstruct both Victorian women's musical and intellectual lives and their contributions to a broader musical landscape.

Women were not a monolith in this endeavor, nor did they exist in a social vacuum. Women editors, writers, and readers of such focused publications were not exempt from the

broader social and critical attitudes of men toward their participation in music and society, despite their best efforts. Such chauvinistic attitudes prevented many would-be successful women from crafting high-prestige careers in music criticism, and have helped edge them out of the historical record.

“As solo performers [in the 1890s], women had achieved stellar success in all three areas [violin, piano, and voice], but only a handful of the thousands of music students could entertain realistic hopes for fame on the scale of Wilma Neruda on violin, Teresa Carreño on piano, or Adelena Patti on the opera stage. What employment options did, then, exist for professional women musicians? Where were the opportunities and how could women prepare themselves for them? Would it be possible for women to forge new paths for themselves in the music world, at decent pay? And finally, how did all of these issues connect to efforts by contemporaries outside the field of music to gain recognition for women's talents and end women's infantilizing exclusion from political influence and power?”

– Paula Gillett, “Music as a Profession for Women”
in *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914*, 189–190.

“The criticism of women musicians has been and continues to be anything but objective. Criticism of women musicians has tended to be highly gendered, and to place them in an unequal category to their male colleagues. Critics have tended to trivialize, sexualize, and Other women musicians and their music. Although some women critics have obtained a considerable degree of success, they remain under-represented at the most senior levels of their profession. ... The continued gendering of music criticism is reflective of the deeply-embedded and wide-scale gender bias that remains rampant within the music industries. This is one of the most serious impediments to gender equality that female musicians continue to face.”

– Laura Hamer, “The Gender Paradox”
in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, 290.

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Glossary

Advertisement. Printed item advertising specific material for sale. Often graphic illustrations, but some items are publishers' lists that serve as text advertisements of items available.

Announcement. Short reporting item, before or after an event takes place. Typically announcing a performance of a specific artist and the selections performed. If it is printed after the fact, then it does not typically contain extensive critical review or interpretation, but simply notes the event's occurrence.

Article. Long-form journalism, typically with an author or critic's name attributed. Includes a mix of reporting and opinion.

Essay. Long-form journalism similar to the article, typically with an author or critic's name attributed. Includes a mix of reporting and opinion, but often includes more opinion than an article (with which it is often used synonymously).

Filler. Collective general description for short notices, announcements, and written advertisements that often appear between larger items or are grouped together on a full page. Contains mostly reportage.

Interview. Printing of a conversation between the interviewer and at least one interviewee. The conversation is typically presented as such (as opposed to as an account of a conversation that happened in the past), and the interviewer often recounts an entire visit.

Item. Generic singular term for a piece of printed magazine and/or newsprint material discussed in this thesis, particularly when referring to a specific piece of information in a heterogeneous group on the page.

Notice. Similar to an announcement. Often shorter.

Review. Longer-form account of a performance, event, or publication including critical opinion. Can vary widely in length. Not limited to reporting of artists, repertoire, etc.

Series. Two or more articles or essays that appear in a sequence—often in subsequent issues—concerning an ongoing topic or involved explanation of something.

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Introduction

Britain in the 1890s saw music journalism and criticism expand in ways that few would have predicted near the beginning of the century. By 1859, *Blackwood's* magazine described the British periodicals press in general as becoming increasingly specialized, “[where] Every class has its organ; every topic finds a journal; every interest has a friend in the press.”¹ Changes in taxation and political enfranchisement, literacy and education, social roles for men and women, and industrial lifestyles created a greater market for periodicals, and specifically for ones that catered to specific audiences and viewpoints. The reductions and eventual repeals of the so-called “Taxes on Knowledge” between 1831 and 1861 steadily removed much of the financial burden from publishers of producing these papers; earlier changes in literary and artistic criticism extended in the 1890s to music criticism, which was now deemed to need a basis in expertise as well as a critic’s opinion.² Moreover, the number of music publications expanded dramatically. As Leanne Langley summarizes: “Over the period 1800–1900, some two hundred music journals were brought out in England, Scotland, and Wales, and included every available type from music society annuals to music hall weeklies.”³ Where in the 1850s and 60s there had

¹ “Popular Literature—The Periodical Press,” *Blackwood's*, February 1859, 181; quoted in Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 60.

² For repeals of the “Taxes on Knowledge,” see Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 339–347; see also Edward Royle, *Victorian Infidels: The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791–1866* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), 261. For reforms to criticism, see Paul Watt, *The Regulation and Reform of Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 1.

³ Leanne Langley, “Music,” in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, eds. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 99.

been a generally clear division between publications for amateurs (such as *The Musical Times* and *Singing Class Curricular*) that offered guidance and instruction, and those for professionals (such as the *Musical World*) that offered news, history, and commentary, Langley notes that after about 1870, “any simple two-part division for general interest journals breaks down; more amateurs developed wider and more discriminating interests, and British music professionals—a heterogeneous group anyway—were in turn stimulated by them.”⁴

In the midst of these multi-disciplinary changes to music criticism, women writers and journalists were making both a substantial number of contributions and more contributions of substance to the coverage and discussion of music in the general press. The difficulties they encountered in music, as in most other areas, were largely products of entrenched sexism and social anxieties about women participating in public life. For women working with and around art musics in particular, specific middle-class sensibilities came into play—which meant that they had to negotiate social anxieties about their work in addition to actually doing it. This was all while suffragist campaigns in Britain were in progress. The constantly developing nature of music criticism and journalism as a profession in Britain meant that many methods of gatekeeping women from it were not yet firmly in place. The profusion of new non-music publications, some of which had women editors, contributed to more women readers seeing other women’s writing about music in print. Women journalists also benefited from not being in their fight alone. Related work by women writers in literary journalism helped women writing about music do so from positions of more established professional experience and strength.

⁴ Langley, “Music,” 101.

Scholars in music have already undertaken significant work to examine women's participation in music education and performance in Britain at the turn of the twentieth century; likewise, scholars in literature and in journalism have examined women's contributions to periodicals of all types, as well as their efforts to make careers out of those contributions. However, similar examination of women's contributions to music criticism and journalism has yet to be done.

Much of the scholarship on periodical music criticism has focused on specialized music magazines—*The Musical Times*, the *Harmonicon*, the *Strad*, and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, to name a selection. Leanne Langley was the first to expand the field of periodical sources that musicologists and other scholars consult to include items published in more general reviews, magazines, and institutional newspapers. Of the less specialized publications, the “literary quarterlies” were the most prestigious, and have likewise garnered much attention from music scholars. The *Edinburgh Review*, for example, was regarded through the nineteenth century as a model of quality content and style; likewise the *Westminster Review* and the *British Quarterly Review*.⁵ Particularly in the early century, the *Edinburgh Review* offered “scathing criticism of opponents on any of [its] three fronts [political party, religious belief, and and literary canon] when adherents paid the bills.”⁶ In the 1860s other publications of similar size and content such as *The Cornhill*, *Bentley's Quarterly Review*, *The Nineteenth Century*, and *Temple Bar* made inroads into this territory. Such publications were significantly more expensive than others published more frequently, and they followed a new, more

⁵ E. M. Palmegiano, “Introduction: Reviews and Magazines,” in *Perceptions of the Press in Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals*, (London: Anthem, 2012), 3.

⁶ Palmegiano, “Introduction: Reviews and Magazines,” 3.

evenhanded approach to published criticism—in most subjects generally, though eventually extending to music.⁷ Across music, arts, and literary criticism, essays and articles became lengthy, and their writers assumed high levels of both education and cultural engagement on the part of their readers. The authors of such essays were also often well-known literary personalities themselves, which contributed to future scholars seeking out their work as “legitimate” subjects of study.

Before Langley's trailblazing efforts, scholarship on music criticism was slow to include periodicals—in a marked difference from literary scholars, who had investigated them much sooner. Outside of music scholars who were particularly interested in the press, musicologists looking for a quick or general reference gravitated toward such “legitimate” objects of study, which means that they were usually citing an extremely small number of individual sources and critics. In British music studies, the “legitimacy” of critics has largely followed a process of canon, and scholars of this criticism have responsible for entrenching it: *The Musical Times* was popular as the source of Percy Scholes's material that eventually became the multi-volume *Mirror of Music*; Victorian writers Henry Chorley of the *Athenaeum* (1833–1868) and J. W. Davison of *The Times* (1846–79) and *The Musical World* (1843–1885) gained and kept long attachments to their major papers via their literary connections, which offered them both platforms for their “clear authorial identities in an environment that was predominantly freelance

⁷ Palmegiano, “Introduction: Reviews and Magazines,” 3; see also Paul Watt, “Problems: the New School,” in *The Regulation and Reform of Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2018): 34–37.

and anonymous, strong prejudices, and trenchant language.”⁸ They later reinforced those opinions in their published memoirs. This made them “easy targets for a later generation” when it took an interest in the music criticism of the time.⁹ The problem is not that they were included in such scholarship at all, but that they became the standard for an assessment of critical opinion, which others proceeded to repeat less than critically. This process has created a problem in the historiography in that a few critics with specific audiences and opinions have become overrepresented in studies of British music, criticism, and culture. This has led to a “bookification” heuristic within the field: the work of already-overrepresented (male) critics continues to be cited and explored, while others whose accounts would contribute to a more nuanced understanding have not, on the whole, been investigated in depth. Chorley and Davison are particularly seductive candidates for this process; access to their published memoirs has made and continues to make them much easier and more convenient for scholars to access.

The recent volume *British Music Criticism and Intellectual Thought, 1850–1950*, edited by Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton (Boydell, 2018), stands as one very recent, high-profile example of the narrow limits that scholars of British music criticism continue to uphold. In the index, the word “woman” and variations on the same (including “women,” “girl,” “gender,” etc.) do not appear. Specific names of female critics—literary and musical—including Rosa Newmarch and Harriet Martineau are conspicuous by their absence. Likewise, the only women whose names *do* appear in the Table of Contents are contributing scholars: Karen Arrandale, and

⁸ Leanne Langley, “British Music Criticism” *Grove* v.6 682. See also Peter Horton, “Avoiding ‘Coarse Invective’ and ‘Unseemly Vehemence’: English Music Criticism, 1850–1870,” in *British Musical Criticism and Intellectual Thought, 1850–1950*, ed. Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2018): 9–15.

⁹ Langley, “British Music Criticism,” 682.

Sarah Collins. The critics included as subjects in this volume—Ernest Walker, Ernest Newman, George Bernard Shaw, Donald Francis Tovey, Edward J. Dent, Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock), Cecil Gray, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Constant Lambert, Herbert Howells, T. S. Eliot, and Hans Keller—are all men; they are all associated with a combination of books, literary quarterlies, and prestigious institutions.¹⁰

My approach to women's writing is fairly straightforward. I examine, in the space available to me, a selection of contributions outside of the traditional pool of critics and high-end literary quarterlies and music magazines to which work on British music criticism often limits itself. I do this in a method as contrary to the established canon as possible: where critics have typically been male, I examine the work of female writers; where critics have been largely well-established, I include anonymous contributors; where focus has traditionally been on the critic over the course of an entire career, I instead center the publication; where an audience would have been assumed majority-male or mixed-sex, I prioritize publications and writings with female editors and authors working for an audience understood to be female in majority.¹¹

I take this approach because I believe it can do more than address issues of representation. Few would argue that scholarship on British music critics reflects the wealth of backgrounds, identities, etc. that comprised the music listening public at any point in Britain's history, and this lack of representation needs to be addressed; however, it is not enough to merely add more of the same sort of materials to our supply. Our methods need to expand to include these women writers, readers, and editors without placing them in a hierarchy beneath the critics

¹⁰ Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton, *British Music Criticism and Intellectual Thought, 1850–1950*, eds. Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2018), contents vii; index 365–372.

¹¹ As Ch. 3 will make clear, a number of the publications I will examine had known male subscribers, and periodically acknowledged them in print.

and the writing in literary quarterlies. These women were thinking, working, and engaging with music criticism by themselves and with each other much more broadly than the current historiography suggests, and they were doing so in many more ways than scholars have been investigating. They were also working to professionalize themselves, and performing that professionalism for younger and newer writers rendered their success more visible. In reading and writing for these publications, women developed musical networks connecting each other that would not have been possible in other publications, venues, or intellectual spaces. By investigating these women and their writing through the lens of internalized sexist attitudes, I hope to create new avenues for scholars to examine not only their work, but also their exclusion from the most prestigious levels of criticism. I am also arguing for more investigation of the musical writing that women wrote for other women. It reveals more subtleties and nuances within how they thought about and interacted with feminist agendas in music.

Given the scope of this project, I chose my representative writings from a single database: the Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs, because of its reputation as “the greatest single source for the study of women's history in the world.”¹² In addition to books, Jacobs and her husband, C.V. Gerritsen, collected periodicals and ephemera “reflecting the evolution of a feminist consciousness and the movement for women's rights,” across Europe and the United States.¹³ The collection began to be assembled when Jacobs sold her personal collection of international feminist books, ephemera, magazines, and pamphlets—at the time, nearly 2,000

¹² The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs. Accessed August 13, 2021. <http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/home.do>

¹³ Gerritsen Collection.

volumes—to the John Crerar Library in Chicago.¹⁴ The collection was unavailable to scholars until renewed preservation efforts through the National Archives and Records Administration (c. 1930s) spurred archivists to catalogue the materials and make them more widely available. They also began adding titles in English to the collection, which in its original state had contained mostly texts in Dutch, French, and German. This nearly doubled the size of the collection before 1954, when the University of Kansas purchased it.¹⁵ Curators have since added more titles to the collection and permitted interested publishers to reprint some materials from it for wider sale and circulation. Efforts to create a microfilm version of the collection began in 1974; further efforts to preserve the collection digitally resulted in the online database, which as of this writing is available to subscribers.¹⁶

In addition to having a good reputation, the database was also a practical choice. As a collection that proposed to reflect the growth and changes of feminist consciousness, it both included a wealth of the kinds of materials that I was looking for and made them easy to find—the very difficulties that have typically sent scholars toward more “bookified” candidates. Musicologists, of British music and of women in British music, have been slow to take up the challenge of doing this kind of work, likely because so much of it is so far off the proverbial beaten path. Because of the breadth of the database, I was able to examine publications of

¹⁴ Janet Sharistianian, et. al., “The (Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs) Gerritsen Collection at the University of Kansas,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (Spring/Summer 1976): 200–206. Accessed August 21, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3177737>

¹⁵ Sharistianian, et. al., “The Gerritsen Collection,” 200.

¹⁶ Gail Golderman and Bruce Connolly, “E-reviews: Feminism—The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs,” *Library Journal* 138, No. 1 (Jan., 2013): 110–111. Accessed August 21, 2021.

differing views, sizes, and financial resources. This offered me a much wider selection of these kinds of materials than I originally expected at the onset of the project.

In Chapter 1, I provide some necessary historical context for the publications that I will examine. It includes discussion of relevant portions of the existing research on women in journalism of the period; the changes and reforms made to music criticism during the 1890s; and the problems encountered by women music critics at the time. In Chapter 2 I discuss the wider social and class expectations and realities of the women for whom these periodicals were intended, as well as for many of the writers contributing to them. In Chapters 3, 4, and 5 respectively I examine representative writings from three different types of periodicals that have been notably overlooked in British music criticism: self-styled “radical feminist” papers, temperance papers, and papers labeled as “women’s interest” publications. By including these kinds of women writers and periodicals in the musical record and re-integrating them into our historiography, I aspire to remind scholars of a forgotten aspect of late Victorian musical culture and to elaborate on its rich and long-overlooked materials. While none of these case-studies purports to be comprehensive, I hope that they will serve as a compelling example of the kinds of insights that British music scholarship can gain by including them in future research.

Chapter One: Women and the Press

Women looking to acquire paid work in Britain in the latter part of the nineteenth century increasingly found employment in journalism more appealing than a job as a governess, schoolteacher, seamstress, or nurse in terms of conditions, treatment, hours, and pay. During the 1880s women made significant headway into the professions of criticism and journalism; by the 1890s, women's periodicals and magazines were actively encouraging women to pursue work and careers in journalism, and in 1891 the English census listed 660 women who had identified themselves as an author, an editor, or a journalist—a substantial increase.¹ As Penelope Corfield notes, long before their journalistic ambitions found purchase, “Women were notably involved in many of the occupations that were no more than semi-professionalized in organizational terms. Their abilities were employed . . . where their participation was not overly constrained by social conventions or by the need for formal entry qualifications.”²

It would be impossible for me to investigate women's activities as music critics and journalists in Britain at the end of the nineteenth and into the beginning of the twentieth centuries without also examining the changes—social, political, and economic—that facilitated them.³ A significant body of women were working steadily via political changes and movements between 1880–1914 to gain more legal rights and to reduce their economic and social dependence on

¹ F. Elizabeth Gray, “Introduction,” in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle: Making a Name for Herself*, ed. F. Elizabeth Gray (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 4–6; for census data, see also Martin Conboy, *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (London: Sage, 2011), 79.

² Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700–1850* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 188.

³ It is worth noting that, while the critics and journalists in question were based in London (as was the majority of the national press), the papers that they contributed to circulated more widely than that. “Britain” in this document signifies a more inclusive way of describing this body of contributors and readers.

men. Changes in social norms allowed women to participate more directly in public life and in ways that had previously been closed to them because of restrictive ideals of respectability.

Advances in and expansions of both literacy and periodical journalism—in both of which women participated long before they were recognized as professionals—rendered women much more visible as writers and editors.

One role that women could (and did) take on was that of the music critic. As mentioned earlier, music criticism was experiencing much of the same growth and problems as the wider field of literary journalism. Efforts to professionalize music criticism and to elevate it from its previous role as anonymous and often *very* subjective opinion written were central to its nineteenth-century development.⁴ The older style of criticism relied not on a critic's expertise or lettered status but solely on the self-expression of the writer. As Langley describes in “The Musical Press in Nineteenth-Century England”:

Music journalists were obliged to be neither thorough nor objective; literary recycling and self-borrowing (often without acknowledgement) were common practices; most London music journalists, then as now, were freelancers working for more than one periodical, often anonymously and perhaps shading the tone and content of their writing to suit a given journal's market profile.⁵

While these kinds of opinions certainly contributed to entertaining and sometimes informative writing, the new style of music criticism relied on a critic who was well-spoken (i.e., well-written), knowledgeable to the depth of scholarly interest, and whose opinions showed a judicious application of both. This was also true of the literary press, some of whose engines had

⁴ John F. Runciman, “Concerning Musical Criticism,” *Saturday Review*, 28 January 1899, 108–09; quoted in Paul Watt, *The Regulation and Reform of Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 1.

⁵ Leanne Langley, “The Musical Press in Nineteenth-Century England,” *Notes* 46, No. 3 (March, 1990): 584, footnote 4. Accessed June 27, 2020. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/941425>

been operating since the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the new style influenced and improved writing about music in more frequent and popular publications (e.g., weeklies and monthlies) as they became more numerous.

This chapter explores these changes and explore how they contributed to the specific circumstances that surrounded the women authors, editors, and publications that I investigate in the chapters that follow. First, I discuss women editors and their efforts to create a feminist press at mid-century, showing how those efforts allowed the publications covered in later chapters to survive and thrive. Second, I introduce women as authors and journalists, discussing how they worked to professionalize themselves, and their presence in periodical literature as authors. Third, I discuss changes and reforms to music criticism the 1890s, and the place of women critics within those reforms. Combined, these contexts and social factors allow for a more nuanced consideration of women music critics.

As a field, the study of British music criticism stands to gain a great deal from expanding its view to include publications, editors, authors, and readers like the ones I have included in this study. Most scholarly disciplines have moved very gradually—and often recalcitrantly—from a history without women (as though there ever were such a thing) to one where women's roles, lives, and experiences are treated as important and worthy of study by their own virtues. In her 1984 article, “Interactive Phases of Curricular Re-Vision,” Peggy McIntosh establishes five interactive phases that contribute to rethinking a discipline to include women: Womanless History; Women in History; Women as a Problem, Anomaly, or Absence; Women as History; and History Reconstructed, Redefined, and Transformed.⁶ I aspire to contribute to Women *as* History

⁶ Peggy McIntosh, “Interactive Phases of Curricular Re-Vision,” in *Toward a Balanced Curriculum*, eds. Bonnie Spinner, et. al. (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1984): 26.

—to examine their work, thinking, and discourse with each other as the central focus of my inquiry, and to consciously identify the male gaze (used loosely throughout my paper to illustrate both objectifying visualizations of women and broader chauvinistic attitudes towards them) where it appears. This will help differentiate between women as they existed and the idea of women that was projected onto them.

Editors: The Beginnings of the Feminist Press

In spite of the anxieties, opportunities for women in journalism continued to expand throughout the nineteenth century, and editing was one such possibility. At mid-century—a generation before the writers and publications of this study—Bessie Parkes and Barbara Bodichon had already understood that “a periodical is enormous power,” and that editorial control of one could offer both a sympathetic space and a focused mouthpiece for their then-radical political ideas.⁷ Parkes and Bodichon began laying the foundations of the women’s press movement that would benefit the writers in this study. They believed that by publishing a women’s paper (the *English Woman’s Journal*) they could better advocate for their political agendas, “focus public attention directly on the issue of women’s changing economic status in the emerging Victorian liberal democratic state,” and, “[encourage] the educated, independent, and politically minded woman reader to believe in the power of print to affect social change.”⁸

Quarterly periodicals dominated the early nineteenth-century periodicals market in Britain, and with them came authors’ (who were mostly, but not exclusively, men) increasing

⁷ Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 19.

⁸ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 19–20.

ability to support themselves through writing. The earliest of these were the *Edinburgh Review* (1802), the *Quarterly Review* (1809), the *New Monthly Magazine* (1814), and the *Literary Gazette* (1817). In the 1820s *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1820), the *London and Westminster Review* (1824), the *Athenaeum* (1828), and *Fraser's Magazine* (1830) would join them, creating a category of “gentlemen's periodicals” that paid enough that even writers less famous than Sir Walter Scott or Robert Southey could make a respectable living by writing for or editing such publications.⁹

In her *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market*, Linda H. Peterson contests the long-held assumption that women who pursued professional literary careers in periodical writing were an exception. The professional status of “Letters” was itself ambiguous at the time, and even the idea of what constituted a “professional” writer was unclear. The visual and literary representations that Peterson examines in the opening chapter of her book reflect portraits, “of both individuals and groups, men and women [that] project a particular social ideology, not a transparent representation of authorship.”¹⁰ This is to say that, whatever social uncertainty may have existed about authors’ professionalism or how that status should be translated into a public voice or identity, *Fraser's* portraits “willingly acknowledge[d] women writers and editors as active participants in the London literary scene, [and] they document[ed] the social respectability of literary women and attest[ed] to their rising public prominence.”¹¹

⁹ Linda H. Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 13.

¹⁰ Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 20.

¹¹ Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 20.

Whereas the quarterly reviews had dominated the periodicals market during the first half of the nineteenth century thanks to the so-called “Taxes on Knowledge,” by the 1860s a wealth of weekly and monthly periodicals were appearing regularly alongside them.¹² *Mitchell’s Newspaper Press* listed 537 such publications in 1864; the number had increased to 1,752 in 1890.¹³ The feminist and women’s press, of which the *English Woman’s Journal* (hereafter *EWJ*) was one early member, grew up as part of this larger independent press. The “unstamped” nature of the publications meant that once the various duties were successively repealed in the 1850s, the market became regulated by readers, advertising revenues, and paper sales instead of by government policies—that is to say, it became a completely different animal.¹⁴

The repeals also allowed radical, feminist, and women’s papers to expand their political coverage. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, the *Women’s Penny Paper* was one example of a paper “written by and for women” that aspired to provide its readers with engaging and relevant political content through original reporting and not strictly through syndicating other materials. The previous, more regulated market had treated women as a featured audience—that is, as a marginalized readership that purportedly only consumed certain types of content set aside for them (i.e., “women’s interest” content) and that took little or no interest in content earmarked for

¹² Marianne Van Remoortel, *Women, Work, and the Victorian Periodical: Living By The Press* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1–2; see also Tusan, *Women Making News*, 23. Various taxes on paper, advertising, news, and a Stamp Duty had all been imposed on smaller, independent papers in the early nineteenth century, specifically for restricting the resources of papers printing radical political materials.

¹³ Van Remoortel, *Women, Work, and the Victorian Periodical*, 1–2. *Mitchell’s Newspaper Press* was a press directory, active from 1846–1907. It aimed to provide a reliable record of newspapers in Britain that would serve as a guide to advertisers and proprietors. By 1861, the Post Office regarded it as the leading authority on London and Provincial papers. See Susan Gliserman, “Mitchell’s *Newspaper Press Directory: 1846–1907*,” *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* 2, No. 1 (April, 1969): 10.

¹⁴ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 23.

men, such as politics. Parker and Bodichon recognized the need for an alternative, woman-centered publication where they could choose to produce specific content that “address[ed] the issues that had caused them to start their own journal in the first place,” instead of cultivating wider popularity and “higher circulations figures at any cost.”¹⁵ Janice Schroeder illustrates in her article “Better Arguments” how the editors made a name for the *EWJ* as both a legitimate publication and one that did better than treat women as “features”: it fearlessly printed responses to criticism about it in its own pages.

Schroeder describes the first confrontation: “In October 1859, an article by William Caldwell Roscoe entitled ‘Woman’ appeared in the *National Review* criticizing the aims and individuals associated with then six-month-old *English Woman’s Journal* . . . Roscoe’s ‘attack’ prompted Joseph Parkes, father of *EWJ* editor Bessie Rayner Parkes, to write to her . . . [saying that] ‘If you unwisely provoke the opposition of other & more popular Periodicals [sic] than the *National Review* you will speedily *smash* your journal.’”¹⁶ He assured her that the *EWJ* would be “silly” if it replied to any of its criticism directly, and advised his daughter to allow the *Westminster Review* or other more prestigious periodical to come to the *EWJ*’s defense. Fortunately, Parkes did not take her father’s advice. In publishing a rejoinder to the *National Review* in January of the following year—one that criticized both the content of the original essay and the logical fallacies the author committed while writing it—she risked her own reputation as a public feminist and a working editor, as well as the reputation of the *EWJ*. What

¹⁵ Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2003), 80–81.

¹⁶ Janice Schroeder, “Better Arguments: The *English Woman’s Journal* and the Game of Public Opinion.” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 35, no. 3 (Fall, 2002): 243. Accessed February 12, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20083888>

she won, in the end, was public assurance that a journal “for women, by women” could stand its own ideological and political ground. Schroeder theorizes that this particular debate and others that swiftly followed it helped cement the mid-century feminist press as the “mouthpiece of an ‘emergent public’ that was never entirely separate from the established, male-dominated public press, a formation that was itself neither stable nor unified.”¹⁷

This type of political discussion and debate became one of the many uses to which the feminist press put periodicals of varying sizes and scopes in the ensuing years. After the *EWJ*, the *Woman’s Herald* (which I discuss at length in Chapter 4) considered itself “a weekly record of the Women’s movement”; others such as the *Women’s Suffrage Journal* and the *Shield* were organs of official organizations or political campaigns (these of the National Society of Women’s Suffrage and the Contagious Diseases Act repeal campaign, respectively.)¹⁸ The debate also signified the separateness of the women’s cause, even as the papers were sometimes cooperative with other organizations or ideas. In short, every issue was in one way or another a women’s issue.

Editors and publications in the feminist press insisted on centering women, both as their principal audience and as their most important topic of discussion. This remained a common factor of all the publications. Discussions of issues of gendered injustice naturally often overlapped with other causes and spread the different publications of the feminist press out into a spectrum delineated by politics and other alignments. Papers that followed the *EWJ* (including many of the ones in this study) helped build the social infrastructure that facilitated women’s

¹⁷ Schroeder, “Better Arguments,” 243–44.

¹⁸ Levine, ““Five O’Clock Tea,”” 293.

greater participation in all the aspects of public life that they covered. They included not only substantial coverage of and debate on important women's issues, but they also offered direct, concrete encouragement to political action.¹⁹

The *EWJ* and other similar “unstamped” papers at mid-century were largely funded by the independent incomes of their editors; many of the independent women-run papers of the 1880s and 90s followed a similar model.²⁰ The appeal of editorial control, whatever the cost, was likely too enticing to refuse. The editors of these publications were producing their work to meet the demands of a newly-educated reading public. As the authors of *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* have observed, “In the 1830s . . . reading was the grand new skill, providing a ready market [for periodicals] and yet simultaneously promoted and discounted by the press *strictly along class lines* [emphasis mine].”²¹ National literacy was no longer an upper-class monopoly with middle-class readers hungry for new materials, though the skill was far from democratically available; it would be at least forty years before literacy in the working classes would follow on.²² In 1870 the Forster Education Act began addressing the literacy gap by introducing compulsory elementary education for children aged five to thirteen, which contributed substantially to building an emerging reading public, but it likewise took time to be implemented and for the children being taught to gradually acquire the skill.²³ As Michelle Tusan writes,

¹⁹ Levine, ““Five O’Clock Tea,”” 295.

²⁰ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 22.

²¹ Fraser, Green, and Johnson, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, 77.

²² See Chapter 5, “Willingly to School,” in Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 151–186.

²³ Though the Forster Act began addressing the literacy gap in 1870, school attendance did not become fully compulsory until 1902. See W. B. Stephens, *Education in Britain* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); Altick, *The English Common Reader* (1957); Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001).

“Women's literacy had risen considerably by the end of the nineteenth century. The percentage of women able to sign their names, often used as an indicator for literacy, increased from 50.5 percent in 1839 to 74.6 percent in 1873 and to 94.3 percent in 1893.”²⁴ For upper- and middle-class women, this also meant improved and increased educational opportunities, plus alternative social spaces—whether in brick and mortar buildings or the printed and circulated intellectual spaces of discourse, including such periodicals as these I am presenting— outside of the home. These opportunities and spaces regularly afforded women editors the organization and skills they needed to begin independent publications, and they contributed to the developing independent political culture that kept such organs running.

Writers and Contributors: Women as Critics and Journalists

In addition to participating in journalism as editors, women were also making a living as writers. The idea of women as journalists and authors was nothing new in the 1890s; it already had a substantial basis in literature, and a number of women who went on to become authors of books got their respective starts in journalism. The expanding nature of the press created more opportunities for women in criticism and made women journalists more visible; however, this by no means meant that conditions for women were easy. They still had to contend with changes to idealized definitions and constructions of femininity and its attendant respectability. The intersectional impacts of age, class, education, money and resources, the social constraints

²⁴ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 61.

surrounding marriage and motherhood, sexuality, politics, and eventually war bound them, just as many of those features of life continue to bind contemporary women.²⁵

The creative, productive, and continuously-growing cohort of women journalists generated much social anxiety and criticism. These concerns took the form of everything from doubts as to whether women were physically, mentally, or morally strong enough to cope with the pressures of the industry—a perennial and today threadbare question, in any field—to criticisms of their writing and work habits as “unreliable as a class,” “slipshod,” and somehow lowered from a previous higher standard set by a few exceptional women journalists.²⁶

Women in Criticism

One of the most important effects of a woman-centered press was that it helped create a new sphere for public discourse—one where not only were women's issues the primary subject of conversation, but women themselves got to do most of the conversing. Tusan writes that:

Historians have found evidence of numerous thriving public spheres that survived the rise of mass commercial media during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, further challenging [Jürgen] Habermas’s historical model of the public sphere as a late eighteenth-century phenomenon. The emergence, or rather continuation, of what Nancy Fraser calls these ‘subaltern counterpublics’ despite the ride of a mass commercial press medium provided an entry point for women in the already existing cultural dialogue over political, economic, and social issues.²⁷

²⁵ Laura Seddon, *British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 1. Seddon discusses these social influences specifically in the context of women composers, but it is clear that they play similar roles in nearly all aspects of all middle-class women’s lives in this era.

²⁶ F. Elizabeth Gray, “Introduction,” 5.

²⁷ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 108.

Producing an alternative public space for women in print meant providing an intellectual space outside of Parliament for women's political issues and a new medium for their discussion. Many mainstream editors of larger papers with more comprehensive ambitions took the more specialized "women's papers" seriously, and quoted or reprinted their material. By creating this space, the women's press was also creating more professional opportunities—that is, opportunities by which women might earn part or all of their living by writing—outside of the typical "women's interest" material.

With the growth of the industry and of the women's press, journalists and press workers began to professionalize. The National Association of Journalists, which was presumably all-male, was formally founded in 1884 (and was both re-named and re-chartered in 1886), later becoming the National Union of Journalists (1907), by which time it had already become a much more institutional profession, where individuals had previously participated in a more ad-hoc fashion.²⁸ Women had their own professional association—the Society of Women Journalists, likewise founded in 1894.²⁹ Women writers got to flex their creative and rhetorical muscles producing multiple kinds of content as well—columns, interviews, poetry, short stories, notices, essays, and commentaries, to name the most common. By August of 1894, the Sixth Annual Conference of the British Institute of Journalists in Norwich had invited Catherine Drew to give an address on the subject of "Women as Journalists."³⁰ Drew was a prominent feminist, assistant editor of the *Irish Builder*, and member of the Institute of Journalists—she would be elevated to

²⁸ Gray, *Women in Journalism*, 39; Tusan, *Women Making News*, 99–101.

²⁹ Fraser, Green, and Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, 41.

³⁰ Gray, *Women in Journalism*, 39.

vice president the following year.³¹ The main thrust of her address was not only to answer criticism against women's contributions to journalism but to prove that women "contributed to the improvement and high status of the journalistic profession" in a high-profile professional environment.³² She insisted diplomatically that her doubters should examine women journalists' work for themselves if they persisted in calling them "insufficiently rigorous," and extolled their virtues in mastery of all-around knowledge, observation and appreciation, shrewd criticism, and a willingness to adapt to their circumstances.³³

Drew's address—re-printed for wider circulation in the *Englishwoman's Review* on October 15, 1894—was important because it gave women journalists some long-overdue appreciation, but also because it could be read against the narratives of "exceptional" and tokenized women who made a living in the press. Harriet Martineau, Frances Power Cobbe, and Caroline Norton, to name a few, were favorite examples of women who surpassed most journalistic standards; they remain worthy of the praise they received, but they did not represent the profession as a whole or the circumstances typical for women in it. In Drew's address they represented the greater shift happening in journalism toward a future where women's contributions were substantive and valued. The address itself highlighted the success of the women's press in creating a public space for women and the movements and ideas they supported.

³¹ Sally Mitchell, "Careers for Girls: Writing Trash," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25, no. 3 (Fall, 1992): 109. Accessed February 1, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20082606>; see also Susan Hamilton, "Her Usual Daring Style: Feminist New Journalism, Pioneering Women, and Traces of Frances Power Cobbe," in Gray, *Women in Journalism*, 39.

³² Gray, *Women in Journalism*, 39.

³³ Gray, *Women and Journalism*, 40–41.

That Drew's address should appear in print in the mid-90s shows that, far from being emergent in journalism, the prevalence and skill of women journalists was at that point difficult to ignore. However, while the number of women professionals in journalism was rising, the number considered "women of letters" did not. As Peterson writes in *Becoming a Woman of Letters*: "Literary historians as methodologically diverse as Elaine Showalter, Lyn Pyckett, Talia Schaffer, Gaye Tuchman, and Nina Fortin have analyzed the professional erasure and discussed the diverse challenges that the 1890s presented to *all* women writers [emphasis mine]." ³⁴ The fall of the triple-decker novel ³⁵ to a new "high culture" and "masculine" novel; the omission of women figures of the aesthetic movement, largely by male writers focusing on themselves and their friends; the failure of subsequent histories to write women back in; and the immediacy of the issues and politics of "New Women" writers that, in many critics' estimation, make the triple-decker novels feel dated and not "classic." ³⁶ All of these factors combined to see most women edged out of either a living, a legacy, or both. ³⁷

³⁴ Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 207–08.

³⁵ On the triple-decker novel: novels in the nineteenth century were often published in three volumes. Also called "Library novels" because their price of 31s. 6d. (one and a half guineas) for the set often limited their sale to circulating or private libraries. (See Basset, 61–2.) Before 1840, the majority of novelists were women (or publishing pseudonymously "By a Lady," where sometimes a man was affecting a female persona), as novel-writing lacked sufficient prestige to be attractive to men seeking careers in letters. See Tuchman and Fortim, Chapter 4, "Edging Women Out." 65–92.

³⁶ Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortim, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). *Passim*. See also Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 208; Troy J. Bassett, "The Production of Three-Volume Novels in Britain," *The Papers of the Biographical Society of America* 102, No. 1 (March, 2008): 61–75. *Passim*.

³⁷ On edging women out: by the turn of the twentieth century, men had appropriated the form, re-branded it as "great literature," and installed themselves as culture brokers men's writing, contracts, and livelihoods of those of women. See Tuchman and Fortim, 45; see also Chapter 3 "Novel Writing as an Empty Field," for women as novelists; Chapter 4, "Edging Women Out" for the high-culture novel; Chapter 6, "The Invasion, or How Women Wrote More for Less," on appropriation of the art form and women's second-class status.

This is not to say that there were no exceptions—Alice Meynell, Margaret Oliphant, and George Eliot, for example—but the majority of women would have been forced to choose between fame and more financial security, and would likely have chosen the obscurity and financial stability that came with writing more popular materials. The women who did make names for themselves as “women of letters” typically made their reputations by publishing in the literary quarterlies. Those quarterlies that had dominated the market in the first half of the nineteenth century offered a lot of prestige, but even more recent additions such as *Temple Bar* (1860), the *Scots Observer* (1888), and the *Yellow Book* (1894) provided women with both literary exposure and pay. While many made their novelistic debuts in those pages, women were also publishing lengthy criticism (including occasional music criticism) there. As an early example, George Eliot’s “Liszt, Wagner, and Weimar” appeared in *Fraser’s* magazine in July 1855. Having a consistent place in a literary periodical, as Eliot did, helped a writer develop both her writing and her reputation; while a lack of one did not always guarantee failure, it left an aspiring writer without an established career path to follow.³⁸

Scholars’ efforts to write women back into the history of journalists and authors have produced some remarkable results. They have particularly shown how widely published some of these freelance professionals were, and how well-known they were in their own lifetimes. Sarah Tooley—whose work appears in this writing in the *Woman’s Signal*—wrote sought-after interviews of varied and famous subjects.³⁹ At the same time, hierarchies of “men’s work” and

³⁸ Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters*, 221–22. Peterson specifically had in mind Mary Cholmondeley, a New Woman writer re-written into history via her work.

³⁹ Terri Doughty, “Representing the Professional Woman: The Celebrity Interviewing of Sarah Tooley,” in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. F. Elizabeth Gray (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 165–66.

“women's work” in journalism were rapidly forming, and interviewing came under the heading of “women's work.” Much of this labor was published anonymously, as were a number of the pieces included in this thesis, or pseudonymously, which naturally has made their re-addition to the historical record more difficult.

Professional networks were particularly useful to men who were attempting to make a living in letters, and such networks contributed to the kinds of literary and cultural gatekeeping that helped edge women out of publishing and literary prestige.⁴⁰ During the late nineteenth century women began building the infrastructure to support those kinds of networks for themselves. Some of it was a matter of individuals’ employment—the more women who had jobs in writing and publishing, the more contacts were available and the easier it was to help more women get into the field; professional organization and education also contributed. In addition, these networks, according to Laurel Brake and Julie Codell, contribute to a heuristic of “encounters,” which, “mediates periodicals’ social functions, [and] offsets another tendency: a journal title promises a false unity, appearing to present, despite its many articles, topics, and illustrations, a unified policy, or set of beliefs, as if the journal itself were a single author.”⁴¹

The kinds of encounters that women writers, editors, and readers had with each other via the press impacted women’s music journalism too, and illustrates to us the heterogenous, multi-layered, and interlocking musical and professional worlds that they inhabited. Likewise, the idea of a professional network of women undermines the authority vested in the proverbial assumed-male critic. That authority and its attendant assumption that a critic is default-male has serious

⁴⁰ Gaye Tuchman and Nina E. Fortim, *Edging Women Out: Victorian Novelists, Publishers, and Social Change*, 45.

⁴¹ Laurel Brake and Julie Codell, “Introduction: Encountering the Victorian Press,” in *Encounters in the Victorian Press*, eds. Laurel Brake and Julie Codell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1.

consequences for women performers, as Marcia Citron points out; those types of consequences extend to women composers, critics, and authors as well.⁴²

In addition to personal networks, opportunities for individual professional development in the 1890s appeared in the form of advice volumes. These were short books, aimed specifically at women who aspired to enter letters as a profession. Two that F. Elizabeth Gray and Alexis Easley specifically mention in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle* are Arnold Bennett's 1898 *Journalism for Women* and Frances Low's 1904 *Press Work for Women*. Bennett's volume had, in Gray's description, "as much spleen as guidance," and only seemed to contain unqualified praise for one women journalist—Alice Meynell—with whose work Bennett cannot seem to find fault.⁴³ Frances Low's volume from six years later is also pessimistic, but she aims her pessimism at the working conditions under which women journalists found themselves (herself included) instead of at the women doing the work. Alexis Easley writes that, "While Low's handbook is undeniably pessimistic—and perhaps appropriately so given the working conditions most women journalists faced at the *fin de siècle*—it is also a decidedly progressive text that aims to demystify the profession for single women."⁴⁴ Unlike Bennett's volume, which seems intent on preserving the status quo of women as inferior writers and critics to men, Low's *Press Work for Women* offers an unvarnished account of what an aspiring women critic or journalist would need to do to make a profession in letters a reality.

⁴² Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 182.

⁴³ F. Elizabeth Gray, "Alice Meynell, Literary Reviewing, and the Cultivation of Scorn," in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle: Making a Name for Herself* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 71–72.

⁴⁴ Alexis Easley, "Anti/Feminism: Frances Low and the issue of Women's Work at the *Fin de Siècle*," in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle: Making a Name for Herself* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 225–226.

Music Criticism in the 1890s

As Leanne Langley writes, “Nineteenth century periodical publishing took place on a prodigious scale, more than a hundred times greater than that of book production, and music was far from trivial in the content of thousands of titles: the very presence of music discussion helped to sell many of them.”⁴⁵ Indeed, the practices prevalent in journalism more generally applied specifically to writing about music, particularly after reforms in music criticism introduced more reporting with pretensions to objectivity, justified argument, and informed opinion, and moved it away from being strictly—and often intentionally polarizing—“sounding off” opinions. The “new criticism” made great efforts to supplant the “imperious, dogmatic, and impressionist criticism of old,” and relied on an educated, judiciously opinionated, and thoughtful critic to do so. The *Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900* estimates that its most recent listing will reach 125,000 total publications, putting further evidence forward to the ubiquity of periodicals and rendering “the old cliché,” that Langley describes, “about a few backward critics controlling taste in this environment . . . as unlikely as it is naïve.”⁴⁶ Langley’s writing cites 200 music titles present in *Waterloo* of the 50,000 totaled in 2003 (series 3); this likely expanded proportionally within the 125,000 expected to be included in series 5, but does not even begin to account for publications that were not exclusively music-focused but regularly included music content.

Langley describes as “tempers” of music criticism—mindsets coloring intellectual thought—from 1810–1914: Scottish Enlightenment, romanticism, evangelicalism, and

⁴⁵ Leanne Langley, “Gatekeeping, Advocacy, Reflection: Overlapping Voices in Nineteenth-Century British Music Criticism,” in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, ed. Christopher Dingle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 147.

⁴⁶ Langley, “Gatekeeping, Advocacy, Reflection,” 147.

liberalism.⁴⁷ Any of these is less a limit of the thinking of the time and more a pattern discernible across the thoughts of many different critics and intellectuals across the discipline. Romanticism, for example, contributed to the opinionated and self-expressive criticism of the early century. Evangelicalism experienced a surge at mid-century, and contributed to the idea that music meant moral improvement: “While the tone behind such projects [as rational recreation] could be patronizing, sentimental, even smug—and the ultimate objects were rarely purely charitable—it often sprang from sincere conviction: experiencing beauty was believed to make people better.”⁴⁸ By the 1890s (which which this writing is most concerned) liberalism was blending ideas put forth by the earlier three to create a more multifaceted way of thinking that still promoted the improvement of both society and the individual.

As Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton point out, “While we may have a more thorough understanding of the period [1850–1950] . . . indeed a more complete picture of British artistic trends stylist influences and prevailing aesthetic characteristics—we lack a proper contemporary perspective of the world of criticism and intellectual thought which fruitfully coexisted alongside its creators and music-makers.”⁴⁹ As early as 1844, critics were already calling for changes to music criticism, specifically to remove “coarse invective” and “unseemly vehemence.”⁵⁰ By the 1890s, the reforms called for were well under way, and prominent critics could be found in many

⁴⁷ Langley, “Gatekeeping, Advocacy, Reflection,” 150.

⁴⁸ Langley, “Gatekeeping, Advocacy, Reflection,” 153.

⁴⁹ Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton, “Introduction: Trends in British Musical Thought, 1850–1950,” in *British Musical Criticism and Intellectual Thought, 1850–1950*, eds. Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton (Woodbridge, UK Boydell Press, 2018): 1.

⁵⁰ Dibble and Horton, “Introduction,” 9; see also J. W. Davison, “Enlargement of the Musical World,” *The Musical World* 20 (1845).

of the major journals and quarterlies. According to Leanne Langley, the *Examiner* (1808–1881), the *Atlas* (1826–1861), the *Athenaeum* (1828–1921), and the *Spectator* (1828–) all offered critical and well-informed coverage of music events, and newer general monthly magazines were offering music content as well.⁵¹ The monthlies were offering music content less frequently (as they were printing content in multiple subject areas), but “such music articles as do appear are colorful, entertaining, edifying, sometimes eccentric,” and their writers came from all types of artistic backgrounds.⁵² Notable among the monthlies were *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817–1905), the *New Monthly Magazine* (1821–1836), and *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* (1830–1869); among the quarterlies were the *Edinburgh Review* (1802–1929), *The Westminster Review* (1824–1914), the *British Quarterly Review* (1845–1886), with *Macmillan's Magazine* (1859–1907) and the *Fortnightly Review* (1865–1934) coming into play at mid-century.⁵³ There were, during the same time, publications that specialized in musical content, including: the *Quarterly Musical Register* (1812), the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1818–1828), and the *Musical World* (1836–1890), as well as the *Musical Times and Singing Class Curricular* (1844–1900)—the last of which supplied music in addition to writing, and was aimed at users of the Tonic Sol-Fa system. In the late nineteenth century specialized music periodicals proliferated even more, becoming more specialized as they catered to more specific and discerning audiences: *The Musical Review* (1883), *The Magazine of Music and Journal of the Music Reform Association* (1884), the *British Orchestral Times and Bandsman* (under

⁵¹ Leanne Langley, “The Musical Press in Nineteenth-Century England,” *Notes* 46, No. 3 (March, 1990): 586.

⁵² Langley, “The Musical Press,” 586.

⁵³ Langley, “The Musical Press,” 586.

various incarnations from 1891), the *Meister* (1888), the *Strad* (1890/91), the *Musical Observer* (1891), the *Musical News* (1891), and the *Music Hall* (1899).⁵⁴

Critics established themselves both by publishing a high volume of criticism consistently and by finding consistent work with a specific publication. They also chose specific personas for their writing—sometimes at odds with their own opinions, or even approaching caricatures of personalities—that were entertaining to read, regardless of any fiction that may have been involved in them. As I have previously highlighted, Henry Chorley and J.W. Davison were two of a small collection of critics whose careers and reputations benefitted immensely from this process.

Women as Music Critics

Women critics at this time were up-and-comers in the newly reforming field that was not yet fully professionalized, and so they typically found work in music criticism as one part of a portfolio career. The sexist barriers and questions about their competence were no different than in any other area of print or journalism. Women's previous successes in literary journalism and criticism helped women break into music criticism from its beginnings. Apart from the substantial number of them who double-dipped in both literary and music criticism (e.g., George Eliot), as criticism became more about expertise women found that they had the necessary background in music to write it.

⁵⁴ Imogen Fellinger, et. al., "Periodicals: Great Britain," *Oxford Music Online*. Accessed October 27, 2021. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21338>

Music criticism is, to no surprise, a highly specialized type of journalism that requires an equally-specialized knowledge of the subject. Particularly post-1900, social restrictions on opportunities in music for women lowered remarkably, along with specific restrictions on “respectable” ways to participate in it; the insider knowledge necessary to succeed as a critic, accordingly, also opened. Unfortunately, this did not make access to opportunities suddenly equitable. Having an independent income was still paramount for women’s success in creative endeavors during the Edwardian period, whether that success was in composing, performing, or criticism. Laura Hamer endorses Marcia Citron's observations that “the critical canon has been overwhelmingly male,” and that this exclusion has meant an absence of women’s perspectives, ideas, and places as role models and mentors in the profession.⁵⁵ Citron further argues that this has meant not only the absence of women's intellectual contributions but also an absence of the tradition of knowledge that those contributions accumulate to form. “Male modes of discourse have formed the basis of professional music criticism,” Citron writes, “[not to mean] some essentialist traits but rather patterns that grow out of ideology and acculturation in Western society. It is also important to remember that male critics internalized musical values from male predecessors and contemporaries, and that conditions of response formed a pre-evaluative context for the structuring of their discourse.”⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000): 181; see also Laura Hamer, “The Gender Paradox: Criticism of Women and Women as Critic,” in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, ed. Christopher Dingle (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 2019), 274.

⁵⁶ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 181. It is worth noting that Citron's book often appears to be centered on theory and philosophy (befitting a classic text of both Gender Studies and Music), but its focus on the music and legacy of Cecile Chaminade is often obscured.

This inheritance of male modes of discourse collides with the fact that the particular critics who institutionalized it were a minority writing for the larger, more prestigious literary publications. Langley writes that, especially from the late 1880s onwards, “For all their perceived social and institutional eminence, those particular writers were still a minority compared with the number of slightly ‘lower’ critics working at the ‘coalface’ [i.e., writing for smaller and less prestigious publications that printed a wider variety of musical criticism] who had to absorb and interpret a frenetic range of music and musical activity in the nation's concert halls, theaters, schools and churches, music colleges, town halls, music halls, festivals, and publishing houses.”⁵⁷ This was the rank in which the majority of critics were working; Langley cites that eleven critics of the 170 attributed authors were known to be women, and names eight: “Constance Blanche, Amelia B. Edwards, Annie E. Keaton, Margery Kennedy-Fraser, Louise Liebich, Florence Marshall, Rosa Newmarch, and Violet Paget (signing as ‘Vernon Lee.’)”⁵⁸ Both Langley and Philip Ross Bullock point up the various distances between the academic institutions promoting German “absolute music,” the critics reviewing them (some of whom, like G.B. Shaw, had personal and nationalist agendas against reviewing it favorably), and the concert venues catering toward popular tastes.⁵⁹ Critics (mostly male, but including women) working at Langley’s ‘coalface,’ on the other hand, were more dependent on writing to make a living than their fellows working in the literary press; they were a more heterogenous group of writers in terms of style, form, and assignments than those writing for more prestigious publications; and

⁵⁷ Langley, “Gatekeeping, Advocacy, and Reflection,” 154.

⁵⁸ Langley, “Gatekeeping, Advocacy, and Reflection,” 156.

⁵⁹ Langley, “Gatekeeping, Advocacy, and Reflection,” 154; see also Phillip Ross Bullock, “Tsar’s Hall: Russian Music in London, 1895–1926,” in *Russia in Britain, 1880–1940: From Melodrama to Modernism*, eds. Rebecca Beasley and Phillip Ross Bullock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

they were more invested in debates outside of the high liberal sphere—and notably less interested in dismissing contemporary music. This continues to illustrate not only how women were “edged out” of the most lucrative and prestigious work as critics and journalists, but also how much expanding the pool of publications to include women’s magazines stands to reveal to us.

Larger, more pervasive issues and anxieties of society and class made women working as music critics even more ideological outsiders than they already were, because they were non-males operating in a profession designed to exclude them. Ideas of creativity and genius as exclusively masculine traits abounded. Laws, political disenfranchisement, and social conventions effectively debarred upper- and middle-class women from participating in public and professional life; also, while it was common, and usually necessary, for working-class women to work, they were unlikely to have the kind of highly specialized education necessary for writing criticism.

Women as active professionals—as critics, as performers, as composers—in music were confronting complex and multi-layered gendered expectations and paradoxes on every front. This, more than the hours, education, experience, and evidence of their creative work, created the difficulties they encountered. These restrictive ideas were not limited to performers: women composers and women writers also faced similar opposition for the same reasons. Performing in public risked stereotypes of sexual availability—not exclusively for women musicians, but for actresses as well. Earning money through performing, composing, or writing subverted the idea that a woman's place was in the home. Displaying musical prowess through composing, performing, or writing criticism detracted from the ideal that a woman learned music for the

purpose of domestic ornament.⁶⁰ For women writing criticism in particular, their forays into public intellectual life as "women of letters" garnered a double standard of criticism: when women imitated men they were called "unfeminine" and therefore considered out of place in the intellectual spaces that men had claimed; when women maintained the status quo and catered to the male gaze, they were often called "weak" and "inferior."

Women Readers

Concluding their analysis of women as both a gendered writing subject and a gendered reading subject, Fraser, Green, and Johnston observe: "The true power of the press resides, at the end of the Victorian period as at its beginning, in its readers."⁶¹ Even before the beginning of the twentieth century, women were reading in unprecedented numbers. What many male writers and editors failed to understand—including press baron Lord Norcliffe, who famously said in 1903 that "Women can't write and don't want to read,"—is that the women's papers that they were issuing could not merely present news to women. They had to frame it in such a way as to give women a stake in the outcome, and to do so at a time when their target audience could not legally claim the basic tenets of citizenship.⁶² Publishers were likewise beginning to wake up to the idea that women were a profitable demographic of readers to target, particularly as more of them became wage-earners and primary purchasers of household goods.

The feminist advocacy papers were content to keep their publications on-message and not to concern themselves with the broadness of their readership. What they sacrificed in circulation

⁶⁰ Hamer, "The Gender Paradox," 279.

⁶¹ Fraser, Green, and Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, 47.

⁶² Tusan, *Women Making News*, 99-100.

they made up for in cultural authority over the issues they promoted, including women's issues. More general and less political papers—both those intended specifically for women readers and those directed toward a wider audience—could appeal to them for authority when needed, while at the same time printing other materials that they found worthy. Each paper knew and sought to please its own audience, however general or specialized, and tailored its content accordingly. The readers of each paper influenced its content and made their own opinions known, both by subscription and purchase and through letters to the editor.

Chapter Two: Interlude – Women’s Journalism in Cultural Context

Understanding the ideological context that bound all of the women editors, writers, and readers in this study is crucial to examining the complexities of their respective attempts to both participate in public musical and intellectual life and to have their contributions recognized and legitimized. The class and social privileges that these women lived with and the restrictions that those privileges imposed were not distributed evenly, and women dealt with their positionalities in different ways. Furthermore, each woman’s positionality did not exist in a social vacuum; it was influenced by such variables as personal experience, interpersonal relationships, personal and family politics, and quality of education (to name a few.)

Perhaps predictably, and in spite of this wide variation within the class of people called “women,” the intersecting ideologies of the time treat them as a monolith, insisting that what is true for one hypothetical and idealized woman must, naturally, be true of all women in all times and places. These ideologies buttressed plenty of sexist stereotypes, which insisted women conform to visual, aural, and intellectual ideals. Resisting such a two-dimensional characterization was (and remains) a polythetic and multi-character enterprise. I am laying these ideologies and characterizations out explicitly here that they may shine a light on the complexities of the case studies that follow.

Domesticity

Victorian ideas of domesticity, particularly concerning women, were still alive and well during the 1890s, but were seeing more resistance on several fronts. Much of this resistance was visible and legible in the press, both through writings (by both men and women) and through

visual depiction in cartoons, illustrations, and photographs. The ideals undergirding the social expectations—that women of middle and upper classes’s highest aspirations both ought to be and were to be married, mothers, and housekeepers without earning a wage for their labor—were understandably out of reach for large numbers of the population. As will quickly become apparent, the construction and social negotiation of domesticity and its attendant gender roles in the 1890s was merely the latest installment in the ongoing debate about the place of women in society.

The majority of readers, writers, and editors in my study were women of undeniable class and financial privilege. My analysis requires illustration of them because they were visibly benefiting from the increases in literacy, the relaxation of prescribed social roles, and the fights for rights and political representation—causes for which many of them also fought. Almost invariably, these women were from a combination of upper-class and upper-middle-class backgrounds; to my knowledge, none were working-class or remotely close to it.

Much of the discourse surrounding upper- and middle-class women’s participation in art music, in journalism or criticism, and indeed in public life more generally, relied on idealized constructions of femininity, domesticity, and respectability. These ideals were not unique to the Victorian era; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue in their influential volume *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* that the gendered division between home and work (and, by extension, private and public space) was a historical process as much as it was an ideology, and that it was essential to the formation of the English middle class during the end of the eighteenth century and into the first half of the nineteenth.¹ The “separate

¹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, “Separate Spheres,” In *The Victorian Studies Reader*, eds. Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam (New York: Routledge, 2007), 307.

but complimentary” household that combined work and leisure in one space that had been envisioned during the late eighteenth century became irrelevant in the 1830s under two central social changes: those people who could afford to do so physically separated their work and home spaces as industry became more prevalent, and the evangelical religious fervor that had inspired More, Cowper, and other writers to advocate for such gender roles in the 1790s had died down.²

The ideological changes surrounding gender roles that began in the 1830s followed nothing like a linear trajectory. As Kathryn Ledbetter describes, “Debate continues in gender discourse about whether [and how] nineteenth-century separate spheres ideology was oppressive for women . . . Gender constructions are uneven throughout the nineteenth century because of the evolutionary and contradictory nature of ideology and [of] women’s lives during the period.”³ The difficulty in examining such an ideology more than a century after it was considered “current” is that it becomes easy to think of it as a definable, unified whole instead of as a patchwork of ideas and contradictions that were regularly (re)negotiated. When considering the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, understanding that gender ideology, class, and social expectations all intersected is essential. “Gender and class were linked for the mid-Victorian middle classes,” writes Nana H. Dreher, “and definitions of gender roles stressed the separate

² During the 1830s and 40s when Sarah Stickney Ellis and Harriet Martineau “propagandized for the family as a repository of stability in firm values,” in their respective writings, they were picking up threads from late eighteenth-century ideas, but without the enthusiasm that accompanied the previous generation’s religious conversion as adults. “Religion,” Davidoff and Hall note, “was a given part of their intellectual framework but no longer occupied centre [*sic*] stage.” By extension, constructions of public and private life were no longer being framed in strictly religious (i.e., Christian) terms. This would continue from the 1830s into the twentieth century.

³ Kathryn Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women’s Periodicals: Beauty, Civilization, and Poetry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 19–20.

public (male) and private (female) spheres so familiar to historians.”⁴

The image of the “Angel in the House” depicted in Coventry Patmore’s 1854 poem of the same name has become shorthand for the ideal of middle-class femininity of the mid-Victorian period.⁵ Deborah Gorham’s less sentimental image of the ideal depicts it in terms of the respectability that so fueled the dreams of the middle class:

The ideal woman was willing to be dependent on men and subservient to them, and she would have a preference for a life restricted to the confines of home. She would be innocent, pure, gentle, and self-sacrificing. Possessing no ambitious strivings, she would be free of any trace of anger or hostility. More emotional than man, she was also more capable of self-renunciation. . . . The characteristics of the ideal Victorian woman can be summed up in one word: she was *feminine*.⁶

Both the cult of domesticity and the ideals of the middle class were exactly that: *ideals*. Mary Poovey maintains that it would be unfair to measure all women of the time against an ideal that was as much an ideology as it was an aspiration. She notes that, “the middle-class ideology we most often associate with the Victorian period was both contested and always under construction; because it was always in the making, it was always open to revision, dispute, and the emergence of opposite formulations.”⁷ I would add that it is unfair to measure women of a given class in a

⁴ Nan H. Dreher, “Redundancy and Emigration: The ‘Woman Question’ in Mid-Victorian Britain,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 26, no.1 (1993): 4. See also Davidoff and Hall, “Separate Spheres,” In *The Victorian Studies Reader*, eds. Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam (New York: Routledge, 2007): 307–317.

⁵ Elaine Showalter, “Killing the Angel in the House: The Autonomy of Women Writers,” *The Antioch Review* 50, no. 1 (1992): 207. Though Coventry Patmore’s poem received less attention in 1854 than its influence might indicate, he revised it between 1854 and 1862. The image became increasingly popular through the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In 1931 Virginia Woolf used “the Angel in the House” to describe the specter of Victorian respectability that she felt she had needed to cast aside in order to claim ownership of her own creative abilities.

⁶ Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982): 5; quoted in Ledbetter, *British Women’s Periodicals*, 19.

⁷ Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988): 3; quoted in Ledbetter, *British Women’s Periodicals*, 19–20.

similar way. Ideology paints with a broad brush by necessity, and does not accommodate the circumstances of women's individual lives and beliefs.

Class and Society

As with ideals of domesticity, a discussion of class and society is necessary to understand the life circumstances of the women whose work appears in this thesis, the social forces that they were resisting in order to do the work that was important to them—for their intellectual and personal enrichment, and sometimes for their livelihoods—and the contradictions of the ideologies that they contended with as they fought for a place in public musical and intellectual life.

Social problems, in particular, put the ideal of the middle-class household at obvious odds with reality: in the 1850s and 60s, the ideal that a household where Woman played the roles of Wife and Mother directly conflicted with the abundance of single women in Britain. Essayist and social thinker W.R. Greg, in particular, took a dim outlook of the social reality that there were many more women than could be the wives and mothers that social ideals demanded. His idea that an existence outside of the ideal was “incomplete” and something that women only settled for will likely sound familiar:

“There are hundreds of thousands of women . . . who have to earn their own living,” he wrote in the *National Review* in 1862, “[women] who, not having the natural duties and labors of wives and mothers, have to carve out artificial and painfully-sought occupations for themselves; who, in place of completing,

sweetening, and embellishing the existence of others are compelled to lead an independent and incomplete existence of their own.”⁸

This is an idea that has, as yet, refused to be wholly discounted in our own time; nor was Greg an anomaly in his concerns. Nan H. Dreher writes in her 1993 article on social redundancy and emigrations that, “Redundancy, the social and economic marginalization of middle-class single women, was one of the ‘social evils’ addressed by mid-Victorian reformers and highlighted by the periodicals.”⁹ Dreher cites *The English Woman’s Journal (EWJ)*, the *National Review*, and *The Times* as sites of the debate, particularly concerning women’s emigration to the colonies, as well as the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS). The two causes that she cites for redundancy were (1) an excess of 500,000 women in Britain, as counted in the 1851 census—a number that puts some of Greg’s concern into perspective, though it reflected only 2–3% of the British population of 20 million, and within that only the small fraction who were middle-class—and (2) the middle-class cultural ideology that I have been describing that forbade women from seeking paid employment to support themselves if they wished to maintain their respectability and position in their society.¹⁰

The social reality of “redundant” single women threatened the ideals of domesticity and separate spheres because it offered measurable data contradicting them. A new idea—the figure of the “New Woman”—threatened them by depicting female characters who actively sought to

⁸ William Rathbone Greg, “Why Are Women Redundant?” *National Review* 28 (April 1862): 436. Greg (1809–1881) was an English essayist, known for his writings against the African slave trade (“Efforts for the Extinction of the African Slave Trade,” 1840) and against the unpopular Corn Laws (which were repealed in 1846) before his 1862 article, “Why Are Women Redundant?” He later published the article as an essay in 1869.

⁹ Dreher, “Redundancy and Emigration,” 3.

¹⁰ Dreher, “Redundancy and Emigration,” 3–4.

change the roles that their society afforded them.¹¹ Though much credit goes to Irish writer Sarah Grand for coining the term in 1894, variations on this character had been present in literature for most of the century. They became more relevant and well-known as the social realities of “redundant” middle-class women became more visible. For example, Maria Edgeworth began exploring how social roles for women in England might expand in her novel *Belinda* (1801); other authors engaged with the idea as the century progressed.¹²

Woman also saw depictions of the New Woman in the press. The magazine *Punch* was “responsible for assembling the abiding influential pictorial representation of the body of the New Woman,” between 1885 and 1900; while it was not the only publication circulating such images, it did so much more than its contemporaries.¹³ Such depictions were intended as parody. The editors of *Punch* wasted no opportunities to depict the New Woman as young, athletic, middle-class, unmarried, and financially independent (via inherited wealth or earnings). She was often bicycling, smoking, or traveling unescorted. These depictions actually did much more to further the normalization of these activities for women in the long term than their authors had ever intended.

¹¹ Tracy J.R. Collins, “Athletic Fashion, ‘Punch,’ and the Creation of the New Woman,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, No. 3 (Fall 2010): 309–310. Accessed February 1, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41038818> Sally Ledger argues that the New Woman was a largely discursive phenomenon, and one that readers ideated largely through descriptions in novels and periodicals; Collins argues that analysis of non-discursive representations of the New Woman is crucial to understanding her.

¹² These included (but were certainly not limited to) Elizabeth Barrett, George Bernard Shaw, Bram Stoker, Henrik Ibsen, Charles Reade, Elie Hepworth Dixon, Ella D’Arcy, Emma Wolf, Henry James, and Winnifred Harper Cooley.

¹³ Collins, “Athletic Fashion, ‘Punch,’ and the Creation of the New Woman,” 310.

Perhaps predictably, women did not universally adopt or enjoy the term “New Woman” or the various satirical and parody depictions of them. In one instance, Emma Wolf remarked in her 1896 novel, “The Joy of Life” that:

I hate that phrase ‘New Woman.’ Of all the tawdry, run-to-heel phrases that strikes me the most disagreeably. When you mean, by the term, the women who believe in and ask for the right to advance in education, the arts, and professions with their fellow-men, you are speaking of a phase in civilisation which has come gradually and naturally, and is here to stay. There is nothing new or abnormal in such a woman. But when you confound her with the extremists who wantonly disown the obligations and offices with which nature has honored them, you do the earnest, progressive women great wrong.¹⁴

It is worth noting that the extremes of both ideologies—the middle-class “Angel in the House” and the New Woman—overwhelmingly homogenized the women that they were meant to represent. Such a caricature as the New Woman often conflated the desires of women who had no objection to being wives or mothers but who also wanted the legal and intellectual benefits granted to men with those of women who had more radical ideas about the autonomy of women in society.

The New Woman was an idea—regardless of being a caricatured one—that resonated most with the middle-class women at whom the ideology of the “Angel in the House” was also specifically aimed. The fact that she was a caricature separates her from depictions of real women; however, women were also seeing the traits and activities that the parodies made fun of in printed photographs of real women performers. During the 1890s, women readers of the journal *The Music Hall and Theater Review* could see sensational pictures of women performers popular in music-hall venues around Britain printed in its pages. Many of these women posed

¹⁴ Emma Wolf, *The Joy of Life* (N. P.: A.C. McClurg, 1896).

provocatively and regularly violated the codes of femininity that the middle-class ideology prescribed, but they would never have been described as depicting the New Woman.¹⁵ Patricia O’Hara writes that, “*The Music Hall and Theater Review’s* visual representations and its accompanying discursive profiles of women illuminate the complications of gender and class politics of the commercial enterprise of the music hall in the late nineteenth century.”¹⁶ This observation should not be limited to the music hall; the music hall and its advertisements merely represent a place where the class dictates and contradictions of the ideology are more difficult to ignore because they were happening simultaneously. In addition, thinking that all women of the period experienced the conflicting ideologies of their society in the same way does them a great disservice.

The cult of domesticity could at times be framed to make women's societal role seem empowering, though it very obviously was not. An anonymous essay titled “Woman’s Influence” that appeared in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* in 1854 characterized a woman’s successful influence thus: “Many a husband has been thus reclaimed to his better self, and owed his higher position in society to the loving and gentle wife, whose guardian influence was *felt*, not *seen*.”¹⁷ Ledbetter describes how, from the perspective of many feminists (then and now), the lack of choice on the part of the woman to take on such a role is a foundational problem of this ideology, and constitutes a portion of the oppression that women experience in such roles. At the

¹⁵ Patricia O’Hara, “‘The Woman of To-Day’: The ‘Fin-de-Siècle’ Women of ‘The Music Hall and Theater Review,’” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 30, no. 2 (1997): 141. Accessed February 1, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20082980>

¹⁶ O’Hara, “‘The Woman of To-Day,’” 141.

¹⁷ “Woman’s Influence.” *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*. 6 (October 1854): 174. Quoted in Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women’s Periodicals*, 22. See also Mrs. S. Stickney Ellis, *The Daughters of England. Their Position in Society, Character, and Responsibilities* (n.d.): 223.

same time, she notes that, “Moral superiority is a heady drug, especially when prescribed by a society with growing pains. The heroic female savior role also offers a degree of engagement with the world outside of the home.”¹⁸

The moral superiority that Ledbetter describes assuredly appealed to some of the women who were expected to conform to this ideal. It also allowed the middle-class moral ideology to expand to the colonies, and helped the ideology to perpetuate itself. Dreher cites a popular view that “redundant women” who emigrated to the colonies would, “humanize and elevate [colonial] tone and manners.”¹⁹ Both Dreher and Angelique Richardson hasten to discuss the conflicting interests tied to this thinking. Dreher notes that encouraging “redundant women” of the middle classes to emigrate to the colonies was notably an attempt to keep them in the place that society had designed for them, but also to propagate the ideas of respectability and domesticity that created demand for such a role in the first place. She argues that the move to encourage emigration made for some strange political bedfellows—conservative politicians and feminists. In Greg’s essay, “Why are Women Redundant?,” the author was ready to place the blame on men. “So many women are single because so many men are profligate,” he wrote in 1862. He elaborated further that once emigration had “done its work” and women were no longer redundant (in England), then men would have to, “bid higher for the possession of them,”—effectively implying that the marriage market would regulate itself under emigration’s quick and efficient influence.²⁰ Most feminists who were promoting emigration did so as a means for improving women’s lives, and they were willing to adopt or exploit conservative rhetoric and the

¹⁸ Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women’s Periodicals*, 22–23.

¹⁹ Dreher, “Redundancy and Emigration,” 5.

²⁰ Dreher, “Redundancy and Emigration,” 4.

status quo to achieve this end. “Male virtues like rationality, self-reliance, and industriousness were applied to women, and, by stressing their moral superiority to ‘civilise’ [sic] the colonies, female emigrants were billed as potential contributors to Empire.”²¹

This is where studies such as mine run into some ideological difficulty. The women examined in this thesis could not and did not mobilize their agency *only* to serve feminist purposes. To pretend that they did would be to willfully overlook the racial and class biases so intimately entwined with ideas and discourses of gender and power. Angelique Richardson makes it very clear that, “[i]t is an uncomfortable but irrefutable fact that in some cases these ideas [of women’s ‘civilising power and influence’] were appealing *because of* rather than *in spite of* the fact that they served racialist [and class-based] ends.”²²

What Dreher, Ledbetter, Richardson, and Seddon have all acknowledged is that women’s ideas and writings were as varied as their individual experiences of oppression in a patriarchal society. Seddon in particular notes that, “many of the initial feminist musicological studies have taken for granted dichotomies such as male/female, public/private, and equality/difference.”²³ I would suggest adding “liberal/conservative” to this list. Each of these dichotomies was much more complex than a two-sided debate, and the women of the time could be found at all levels of it. Part of my aim in describing the complex situation of women at the time is to lend support to this conversation; a more specific aim is to make sure that it enters this corner of musicological

²¹ Dreher, “Redundancy and Emigration,” 5.

²² Angelique Richardson, “The Birth of National Hygiene and Efficiency: Woman and Eugenics in Britain and America 1865–1915,” in *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism, and International Consumer Culture, 1880–1930*, eds. Ann Heilman and Margaret Beetham (London: Routledge, 2004), 245; quoted in Ledbetter, *British Victorian Women’s Periodicals*, 23.

²³ Seddon, *British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century*, 3.

discourse. “Women,” “Women composers,” and “Women performers,” for example, have often been treated like unified categories when they are taught, researched, and theorized; I intend to disabuse anyone of the notion that women critics, writers, editors, and readers were any such thing.

In addition to acknowledging the widely diverse field of women’s opinions, it would also be foolish to assume that all women were unaware of the ideologies that society was foisting on them. Especially after the turn of the twentieth century, images of alternative futures to the “Angel in the House” become increasingly available to a middle-class woman or young lady, particularly with movements like the suffragists and the suffragettes, and media caricatures like the New Woman appearing in the press. Ruth Solie observes in her essay, “Girling at the Piano,” that many girls of the time were also aware of the hoops of socialization that they were being forced to jump through, and wrote so in their diaries. While some seemed to take the processes of social formation for granted, others “exhibit forms of resistance or manage to co-opt the whole endeavor and turn it to their own ends. For most girls, the “girling” experience was an ambivalent combination of all those reactions; in real life there were few Elsie Dinsmores.”²⁴

²⁴ Ruth Solie, “Girling at the Piano,” in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 98.

Solie cites Elsie Dinsmore, the titular character of Martha Finley’s 1898 novel, as an example of the situation in which young middle-class girls often found themselves at home. In an impossible position where her father demands that she play the piano for the family on a Sunday—violating the Christian admonition to rest on the Sabbath—she refuses, is forced to remain at the piano without supper until she complies, and faints as a result. Miss Dinsmore, at eight years old, does not yet show the awareness of the forces of social formation at work on her that Solie later describes.

Summary: Researching Musical Women and the Press

This discussion has begun to scratch the surface of the intersecting pressures facing many of the readers and contributors to the publications in this study. Thanks in particular to scholars of women's intellectual history in literature and journalism, and to archivists who have preserved the primary sources and kept them in circulation, the primary and secondary materials available to investigate for this study are almost embarrassingly rich. In the following three chapters, I have attempted to offer a "slice" of the feminist musical material that was written and published by women in each publication, with the addition of a few notable exceptions of male or unidentifiable authors speaking on specifically relevant topics.

What I hope will become apparent is how much studies of British music and criticism of this era stand to gain by including these women writers, editors, and readers in their pool of *fin de siècle* and early twentieth-century sources. One irony is that the circumstances and social pressures of the period affected the women who managed to write music criticism for the literary press—the George Eliots and the Harriet Martineaus—in addition to the women who were edged out; working for the prestigious literary press and the professional music publications that British music criticism so often turns to for source materials offered no means of escape from those expectations. More importantly, focusing on these authors and sources offers opportunities to unapologetically affirm women's intellectual and musical work as a class.

Such affirmation of women's contributions to public music and intellectual life must begin in their own public intellectual spaces. These Barbara Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes kicked off by founding the *English Woman's Review* and the mid-century feminist press; by the 1890s, other women authors and editors had expanded them considerably. Publications

specializing in advocacy for feminist causes and ideas were central to this collective of public intellectual space, and it is with them that I will begin to examine my sources.

Chapter Three: The Radical Feminist Press

The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions and Shafts

Within the larger community of organizations and journalists that produced publications and content aimed at female audiences, there was a collection of papers that eschewed publishing “women’s interest” content in favor of political advocacy.¹ Depending on the publication, this advocacy took different forms including temperance, political coverage of both women’s issues and more general issues such as anti-vivisection and vegetarianism, and advice for seeking employment. The publications discussed in this chapter and the next—*The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* (hereafter the *Review*),² *Shafts*, the *Women's Penny Paper* (later the *Woman's Herald* and the *Woman's Signal*)—were all invested in this particular kind of advocacy, and independently run by all-women or majority-women editorial staffs and pools of contributors.³

Though their circulation was modest compared to more mainstream counterparts, during the 1890s these papers were recognized nationally as *advocacy* publications. The women editors of these publications (and others like them) understood that advocacy journalism’s traditional methods of writing for a smaller, more niche audience were much more effective at building and

¹ See Chapter 5 of this document for women’s interest content.

² This title is not to be confused with *The Englishwoman's Review and Home Newspaper* (1857–59); *The Englishwoman's Review of Literature* (1859); *The Englishwoman's Review and Drawing Room Journal of Social Progress, Literature, and Art* (1857). The publication *The Englishwoman's Review: a Journal of Women's Work* (1866–1869) was a direct predecessor to it. For further disambiguation, see “The Englishwoman's Review” in *The Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800–1900*.

³ Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 100–101; see also title entries in *The Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800–1900*.

keeping a loyal subscription base of women in support of their causes than publishing material in a major daily paper with more general appeal. Michelle Tusan writes that, “Piquing women’s interest in domestic politics and foreign news during a period when women lacked the basic tenets of citizenship, as [Northcliffe] discovered, proved a failure when cast as a moneymaking enterprise.”⁴ These advocacy publications, then, continued to publicize opportunities for education and employment for women, and to report on the legal disenfranchisement that women continued to face. Doing so collected these issues into one place (i.e., a regular publication), established ongoing dialogue(s) between the editors and readers, and greatly increased the visibility of women who were engaging in public and semi-public discourse.

Music criticism and journalism appeared in all of the publications listed, but did so in the *Woman’s Signal* the most frequently (as it was a weekly paper). It was able to expand its coverage because the *Women’s Penny Paper* (its antecedent) had previously criticized the “conservative and timid nature of the weeklies and monthlies targeted at women.”⁵ The *Signal* did not treat music as a “women’s interest” topic limited to domestic or marriage-market applications. To the editors of the *Review*, *Shafts*, and the *Woman’s Signal*, music was a legitimate interest with great potential for social reform, economic advantage, and political consciousness for readers.

⁴ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 99–100. Tusan describes here the failed enterprises of Lord Northcliffe, a “press baron” who had made his reputation running *The Times* and creating daily papers with very wide (i.e., million-plus) circulations. He owned two papers designed specifically to appeal to women, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Women’s Times*, but both were unsuccessful and fueled his belief that “Women can’t write, and don’t want to read.” Neither was strictly true; women simply did not consume the publications in which Northcliffe had invested in the numbers that he had imagined.

⁵ Maria DiCenzo, “Pressing the Public: Nineteenth-Century Feminist Periodicals and ‘the Press,’” *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 6.2 (Summer 2010): 6.

The Radical Feminist Press

Establishing a constitutive definition of “the feminist press” or even “a feminist press” from 1880–1914 is much less straightforward than it would seem. As Barbara Caine describes, “The word ‘feminist’ only entered the language in the course of the 1890s, hence few of those nineteenth-century individuals now commonly described as ‘feminist’ used the term to describe themselves or their views. As a result of this, there is no functioning feminist tradition or universally-accepted group of people that one can turn to in order to explore or analyse [sic.] nineteenth-century feminist thought.”⁶ Likewise, there was no single, unified tradition of “feminist thought,” and thus no equally-unified, attendant body of “feminist writing” to accompany it. “The Woman Question” was debated in the press throughout the century, but describing the idea with a singular term obscures the plurality of the problems that it stood for. *The Woman Question*—as though there were only *one*—“encompassed a range of issues including the intellectual and physical capacities, the moral characteristics, the maternal and familial duties, and the proper social role of women.”⁷

While novels, particularly realist novels, were a major site for characters (fictionally) acting out arguments for and against the range of issues that “the Woman Question” indicated in the early 1800s, by mid-century literary journals also saw regular debate of all sides of the question. The *Edinburgh Review*, the *Fortnightly Review*, *Fraser’s Magazine*, *The Nineteenth Century*, and the *Westminster Review* all published pieces on discussions of marriage, the right of

⁶ Barbara Caine, “British Feminist Thought,” in *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. W.J. Mander (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2014): 383. Accessed October 9, 2020. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199594474.013.010

⁷ Caine, “British Feminist Thought,” 383. See also Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

women to education and political rights, women's perceived social, moral, and martial duties, literature, and work. Even the ridicule of publications like the *Saturday Review* and the ever-conservative *Punch* kept the debate fresh in the public intellectual space that was the press.

Yet an attempt must be made to define the radical feminist press if there is to remain any hope of talking about it, imperfect though such a definition might be. As I have established, "feminist" as a term was only coined at the end of the nineteenth century, and was therefore used flexibly to illustrate a number of different bodies of thought and political alignment, include a wide range of issues, and to articulate all of these in various forms. What it did consistently indicate, however, was the presence of women and their political and social concerns at its center. Likewise, "radical" indicated an association with radical politics and social movements, but these categories were as heterogenous as the feminist ones.

As Barbara Caine describes, there were three larger movements at various points in the nineteenth century that contribute to what we now think of as "first-wave feminism": some were more radical than others and in different ways, and all overlapped with each other in their activities and ideologies. Early nineteenth-century radical feminism grew out of the radical social and religious views of figures like Robert Owen (Welsh philanthropist, social reformer, and utopian socialist) and W. J. Fox (Unitarian religious and political orator), but had largely ended by the 1830s. The subsequent movement at mid-century had its core basis in liberal ideals, and focused on reforming laws that deprived women of legal identity, property, and rights. Caine notes that:

Although there were some links through the continuation of a radical Unitarian tradition and preoccupation with abolitionism, this feminism of the mid-nineteenth century came from a different social and economic milieu and had a

number of concerns very different from those of the radical feminists of the earlier decades. While this form of moderate feminism linked to specific political and social goals continued into the twentieth century, it was accompanied and sometimes came into conflict with other feminist ideas in the 1880s and 1890s.⁸

The third movement, which arose in the 80s and 90s, was a resurgence of the early century's radical thinking that was rooted in socialism, and it focused on women's work, job conditions, and pay more than political enfranchisement. Simultaneously, radical feminist rejections of all-encompassing family duty and domestic existence, sexual repression, and feminists' general resistance to ideas of conventional feminine propriety were also rising in conjunction with social change.⁹ These traits and ideas were often parodied or satirized in portrayals of the New Woman—showing their obvious threat to the supremacy of the male gaze.

Though their coverage and monikers differ, the *Review*, *Shafts*, and the *Woman's Signal* all best fit the category of “radical feminist press.” The *Woman's Signal* and its preceding publications (the *Woman's Penny Paper* and the *Woman's Herald*) are discussed separately in Chapter 4 on the temperance press, as this distinction marks them apart from the other two. While the politics and purposes of the *Woman's Signal* came to align much more closely with those of *Shafts*, the *Review*, and other radical feminist papers by the end of the century, its roots in the temperance press and its attendant organizations meant that its editors had other priorities over the course of its circulation.

⁸ Barbara Caine, “British Feminist Thought,” 388.

⁹ This use of the term “radical feminist” is separate from the radical feminist and consciousness-raising movements of the 1960s, to which the term is also frequently applied. While some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century individuals might overlap with them in terms of ideas or attitudes, these are not equivalent terms.

The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions

The *Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* began publication under this name in January 1866. It had originated as the *English Woman's Journal*, which circulated monthly from March 1858 until August 1864, when it was incorporated into Bessie Raynor Parkes's *Alexandra Magazine*; Jessie Boucherett "revived" it as the *Review* in 1866 after the *Alexandra Magazine* folded in 1865.¹⁰ It continued in quarterly circulation from 1870 until July 1910.¹¹ In 1891, it sold for 1s 6d quarterly.¹² It published articles in various departments, including: women's education, essays, discussions of social questions concerning women (especially as far as public opinion was concerned), politics & economics, correspondence, debates on suffrage (including opinions for and against), lists & reviews of books, and information for women seeking employment.¹³ It described its own orientation as radical feminist.

One notable feature of the first page of the *Review* (Figure 3.1) is that its only purpose seems to be to communicate the title and issue number. Other papers in this study such as the *Woman's Herald* and the *Woman's Signal* printed their titles on decorative mastheads, and included both writing and advertisements on the initial page. By visually de-emphasizing advertisements without completely removing them, the editors were emulating the aesthetic of

¹⁰ Janet Horowitz Murray and Anna K. Clark, eds. *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions: An Index* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985), vii.

¹¹ Janet Horowitz Murray, "Class vs. Gender Identification in the *Englishwoman's Review* of the 1880s," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 18, No. 4 (Winter 1985): 138. See also Waterloo Dictionary, online, *EW*R.

¹² "The Englishwoman's Review" in *The Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800–1900*. Accessed November 1, 2020.

¹³ "The Englishwoman's Review" in *The Waterloo Dictionary*.

the literary quarterlies and publications that aspired to appeal to a higher-class readership while still profiting from the ads they printed.

Figure 3.1: *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions*, January 15, 1897

[ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW, January 15th, 1897.]

THE
ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW
 (NEW SERIES.)

No. CCXXXII.—JANUARY 15TH, 1897.

ART. I.—CONGRESSES OF WOMEN IN 1896.

§ 1. GENEVA. § 2 BERLIN. § 3 MANCHESTER.

“THE collective interests of women have passed from the domain of theory to that of definite questions in education, law and economics,” such are the opening words of the circular issued by the Committee for the Congress on the interests of women in Switzerland which took place in Geneva in September. The words go far to explain one of the outcomes of an age of easy locomotion, the national and international conferences amongst women workers. The Conference in Paris in April presents no marked features, but the International Conference in Geneva and the International Conference in Berlin seem both to mark definite epochs in the movement in their respective countries.

§ 1.—The Conference which took place between September 8 and 12 in Geneva, indicated a growing sense of women's needs throughout Switzerland. Its conclusions were all of a very moderate and practical character. The opening speech of M. Richard, a

The *Review* also benefitted from resources available to a larger paper. Unlike *Shafts*—which had both one sole editor and one source of funding—the *Review* enjoyed sources of revenue in addition to subscriptions (e.g., advertisement income, gifts from multiple wealthy contributors) and a collaborative team of editors throughout its publication. The gap between the demise of the *English Women's Journal* in 1864 and the beginning of the *Review* in 1866 showed the need for “a periodical which would address the broad subject of women's emancipation and record the efforts of reformers at home and overseas.”¹⁴ Jessie Emilia Boucherett became editor of the publication in 1866 and established it as a revival of the *English Women's Journal*. She remained editor until 1870, and a contributor until 1882.¹⁵ Caroline Ashurst Biggs succeeded her in 1871, and remained editor until 1889. The *Waterloo Directory* names Helen Blackburn and Antoinette Mackenzie as co-editors from 1889, with Blackburn's co-editorship ending in January 1903 and Mackenzie's sole editorship lasting from April 1903–July 1910. It also names Dr. Elisabeth Garrett Anderson, Barbara Bodichon, and Emily Davies as editorial contributors—not as chief editors—and with no dates of tenure.¹⁶ Janet Horowitz Murray writes that:

The ideal of the magazine was that of the emerging emancipated middle-class woman: economic independence from men; choice of occupation; participation in the male enterprises of commerce and government; access to higher education; admittance to the male professions, particularly medicine; and, of course, the power of suffrage equal to that of men. The *Englishwoman's Review* had for its purpose the commitment to provide “a durable history of women's progress in

¹⁴ “(Emilia) Jessie Boucherett,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online. UIUC Databases. Updated 2004. Accessed March 11, 2021.

¹⁵ “The Englishwoman's Review” in *The Waterloo Dictionary*. Editors and contributors list. Sources disagree on whether she left the editorship in 1870 or 1871; it's possible that she and Caroline Ashurst Biggs had an unofficial or unrecorded co-editorship for a short time, or that the transfer of editorship was gradual.

¹⁶ “The Englishwoman's Review” in *The Waterloo Dictionary*.

social and industrial questions in all parts of the world.”¹⁷

One of the primary reasons that the *Review* was so successful was that its editors all came from backgrounds of economic and educational privilege. Murray cites Boucherett as the daughter of landed gentry in Lincolnshire, Caroline Ashurst Biggs as the daughter of a lawyer, and Antoinette Mackenzie as the daughter of the bishop of Nottingham.¹⁸ All three were of sufficient means to contribute to the financing of the paper from their personal (independent) incomes, as well as to do the work of editing and publishing it unpaid. Its circulation, Murray notes, was “small, but influential” and was read by women of similar background and class to the editors—women connected with Girton College, Cambridge; women pioneers in medicine (connected via Dr. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson); social reform workers; suffragists; early Poor Law Guardians; and members of both conservative and liberal women’s associations.¹⁹

The *Review* was, as Murray and others have described, “the longest-lived feminist publication in England” of its time.²⁰ Given the fluid nature and status of terms and ideas like “radical” and “feminist” at the turn of the twentieth century in addition to the elevated and financially independent class status of its editorship, Murray acknowledges that “[the *Review*] [presents] some inconsistencies in terms of class and gender when dealing with specific feminist

¹⁷ Janet Horowitz Murray, “Class vs. Gender Identification in the *Englishwoman’s Review* of the 1880s,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 18, No. 4 (Winter 1985): 138. Accessed February 1, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20082172>

¹⁸ Murray, “Class vs. Gender Identification,” 138.

¹⁹ Murray, “Class vs. Gender Identification,” 138.

²⁰ Murray, “Class vs. Gender Identification” 138; see also, Janet Horowitz Murray and Myra Stark, *The Englishwoman’s Review of Social and Industrial Questions, 1855-1910*, 41 Vols. (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1980–85), 1.

issues.”²¹ It would. “It appears” she writes, “that the women of the *Review* could be counted on to support working class women only when that support coincided with their own broader principles.” While they [the editors and contributors] may have felt sympathy and an abstract solidarity with women of lower classes than they, they had no real experience with their circumstances; they seemed largely unable to abandon the ideas of class and the maternalistic attitudes toward working-class women that they had been taught from youth and that they shared with men of their own social status. Thus, while they campaigned for the rights of women to work, to be financially independent of men, and to enter the professions, their activism and advocacy often fell short of creating meaningful material change for women who were not already members of the middle classes.

The *Review*'s “overt primary goal was to record the progress of the Victorian women's movement (focusing during its first two decades on the married women's property act, suffrage, and expanding employment opportunities for women)[.] ... [It] also participated actively in the Victorian battle over the epideictic textual representation of women.”²² This fight for textual representation raged on two fronts—fictional and non-fictional—and the *Review* sent contributors to both. Where music criticism and journalism were concerned, the *Review* and its editors included them as they fit its larger agendas of women's suffrage and emancipation. Most of the writing about music that appeared served the purposes of epideictic rhetoric, which the *Review* used to further its agendas. Kathryn Summers chronicles the *Review*'s use of epideictic rhetoric at length in her 2001 article, “Epideictic Rhetoric in the *Englishwoman's Review*,”

²¹ Likewise, it does not consider race or take it into account. Most of these women's politics could be described as “gender-first” or “gender-exclusive.”

²² Kathryn Summers, “Epideictic Rhetoric in the *Englishwoman's Review*,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34, No. 4 (Fall 2001): 264. Accessed February 12, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20083809>

describing it as “the persuasive use of praise or blame” and outlining how it is used to “define acceptable and unacceptable ways of acting, speaking, or thinking within a culture.”²³ Her opening description shows not only why such rhetoric was influential, but why the editors of the *Review* relied on it so regularly:

Praise and blame are frequently used to define acceptable and unacceptable ways of acting, speaking, or thinking within a culture. Epideictic discourse can intensify the audience’s adherence to selected values, fostering the adoption of an attitude (which Kenneth Burke calls an “incipient act”) and increasing the audience’s disposition to act in accordance with those values. Thus, examples of epideictic rhetoric are a primary discursive site for negotiating the values that inform decision-making and orient actions within a culture; they are also involved in constructing both individual subjectivity and social attitudes and beliefs. At the same time, epideictic rhetoric attempts to reduce opportunities for opposition or debate by masking itself as simple praise or blame and by assuming that the rhetor and the audience are already agreement.²⁴

Given the changes in acting, speaking, and thinking about women, their rights, and their place in society that the suffragists were trying to make, this rhetoric seems like a natural fit for a publication promoting those causes and values. The *Review’s* contributors spent no ink on apologetic tropes of femininity, but presented people, ideas, and subjects that they found worthy of more praise than criticism. They also maintained the “reduced opportunities for opposition or debate” by writing in a way that took the fitness and capability of women as a given.

Including music criticism and journalism in this endeavor meant that women doing (what the editors considered) praiseworthy work in music were presented to the *Review’s* readership as exactly that: women doing quality work in music. While there are examples of music appearing

²³ Summers, “Epideictic Rhetoric,” 263.

²⁴ Summers, “Epideictic Rhetoric,” 263.

in narratives about fictional women, most of the items in the *Review* that focus on music are non-fiction and focus on biographical representations of women making music in real life.

Musical Coverage

Articles on music in the *Review* were most prevalent between 1886 and 1900, with 1890 being the single year where the most items appeared. Some of these items resembled the kinds of notices that would also appear in *The Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory*, while others were in longer form and were closer to the essays expected in the literary quarterlies (e.g., *The Contemporary Review*, *Fraser's*, etc.) Here, I include seven individual items of music journalism and criticism that appeared in the *Review* between 1892–1899. Of these, five items are anonymous—a publication announcement and short review of the cantata *Women at Work*; a notice of the re-print of *Music in Elementary Schools*, authored by Mrs. Frederick Inman; an announcement of honors in music for women; a review of Oliveria Prescott's *Form or Design in Music*; and a short summary of a discussion of “Women in Music” that occurred as part of the fifteenth annual conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians.²⁵ The two remaining items have authors' names appended: a letter to the editor signed “HMS,” and Mrs. James S. Baily's poem, “Singers! For Music!”

The first item appeared in the July 15th issue of 1886 in the New Music section of “Notices of Books, &c.” It was a publication notice and short summary of the cantata *Women at Work* by composer T. Mee Pattison and librettist A.J. Foxwell, published by [J.] Curwen & Sons. It appears alongside notices for other items, including a pamphlet by Emma Marshall entitled

²⁵ Anonymous, “Music,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought*, 2, no. 11 (January 1894): 197.

“Thoughts of Women’s Suffrage” and a compilation of original testimonies “from men and women of note” called *New Pearls* and edited by Arthur Reade.²⁶

This initial writing is textbook epideictic rhetoric, and meta-rhetoric at that. Not only does the review itself present the cantata in a uniformly-positive light, but cantata is itself framed as a positive presentation of women’s work and emancipation to a presumed-sympathetic audience: “The words well adapt the cantata for performance in schools, in families where there are three or four female voices, or for drawing room representations.”²⁷ The “women’s work” depicted by various singers includes: telegraphist, clerk, “sorter and counter-woman in the post office,” book-keeper, governess, kindergarten teacher, hospital nurse (who also sings about women becoming doctors), cook, housemaid, children’s nurse, pottery girl, and six artists of various media.²⁸ The only male character mentioned is a straw-man. He complains that he is out of work, and that women take all of the jobs available to him. After very little persuading—the employed women around him effectively say, “You poor thing,”; Mrs. Guardem (their supervisor) reminds him that there will always be jobs for which men are suited better, and that “it is better for the nation that its women should be active, clever, and occupied than frivolous and idle”—he concedes. The final chorus, “That each will do his part” closes the cantata.

Women at Work takes very little analysis to see why promotional writing for it was published in the *Review*—it is actively promoting the ideas of middle-class employment and independence that the editors had in mind for lower-middle class women. The idea that it would

²⁶ Anonymous, “New Music,” *The Englishwoman’s Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 17, no. 159 (1886): 307.

²⁷ Anonymous, “New Music,” 307–08.

²⁸ Anonymous, “New Music,” 308.

be performed in schools and in “drawing room representations,” both indicate that it was written for performers and an audience of means: it needed a drawing room for a “drawing room representation,” and the money available to fund such a production. As Erin Johnson-Williams writes in her essay, “Musical Discipline and Victorian Liberal Reform”:

The growth of state school education after the passing of the Education acts of 1870 and 1880 reveals that these initiatives were not always well-received, nor were their aims consistent with the modes of pedagogy employed at middle and upper-class educational institutions. For example, as Hinder’s pamphlet [*The Schoolmaster in the Gutter, or, A Plea for the Middle Classes*, 1883] laments, many middle-class families could not afford boarding schools, and, if other options such as grammar or private venture schools were not possible, found themselves in the position of sending their children to state-funded institutions that had been set up for working-class (rather than middle-class) education, reinforcing the widespread belief that the educational quality of state schools was not suitable for middle-class children.²⁹

The idea that *Women at Work* would be performed in schools meant middle-class schools in particular, because they would have given the pupils actual instruction in music. “For the bourgeoisie” writes Johnson-Williams, “social betterment also entailed a privileging of the aesthetic as part of the educative project,”; working-class schools, funded by the state, had a very different agenda for their students, one which emphasized physical health and strength, musical drills, and militarism over aesthetic contemplation and basic competency in reading music.³⁰ The entire life-cycle of the cantata, from its purchase from the publisher to its final performance, was insular and seems intended to be so.

²⁹ Erin Johnson-Williams, “Musical Discipline and Victorian Liberal Reform,” *Music and Victorian Liberalism: Composing the Liberal Subject*, ed. Sarah Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 17–18. Johnson-Williams also cites Richard Aldrich, *School and Society in Victorian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2012) on the development of various types of Victorian schools.

³⁰ Johnson-Williams, “Musical Discipline,” 18–19.

The second item is a notice of the re-printing of the pamphlet *Music in Elementary Schools* by Mrs. Frederick Inman. The pamphlet originally appeared in the *Journal of Education*, presumably in 1884. It reads: “We are glad to see that Mrs. Frederick Inman has reprinted the above, which appeared in the *Journal of Education* as a pamphlet. Mrs. Inman pleads for more care and better training, particularly for the infant school teachers, and points out how large a field is open for women’s work. The census of 1884 recorded 11,376 women musicians and singers in England.”³¹ Without explicitly stating the connection, the contributor seems to draw on a utilitarian argument: the nation has a known body of workers and an obvious need for them, and it should train these workers *well* to meet the demand.

Three items appeared in 1890—two in the February 15 issue and one in the April 15 issue. The first item is a letter to the editor, signed “HMS.” This letter is somewhat similar in sentiment to an opinion piece of comparable length that Virginie Linders contributed to *Shafts* in January of 1894.³² “It is often remarked, with too much truth,” writes HMS, “that women have never yet distinguished themselves as composers of music.” (Yes, this opening gambit, *again*.) Where Linders and HMS agree is that women have not, at the times of their respective writings, had time to reap the benefits of hundreds of years of institutional education in music. HMS in particular notes that “a woman distinguished in literature was rare until within the last hundred years, and that there were still greater obstacles to be overcome by women musicians is evident from the story of Fanny Mendelssohn, whose father told her that music could never be a serious

³¹ Anonymous, “Music in Elementary Schools,” *The Englishwoman’s Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 20, no. 189 (Feb. 15, 1889): 72.

³² Anonymous, “Music,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought*, 2, no. 11 (January 1894), 197.

pursuit with her because of her sex, and who was obliged to publish her compositions with those of her brother and under his name”³³

Following this is where their perspectives diverge. HMS describes Felix Mendelssohn’s anxiety “that his favourite sister should commit so grave an impropriety,” and expresses a belief that such barriers as Fanny Mendelssohn faced “are happily removed.” HMS does note that at the “Ladies’ Night” of the Bristol Madrigal Society on 16th January, “two madrigals written by ladies were performed—one by Miss Rosiland F. Ellicott . . . and the other by Miss Lilian Blair-Oliphant.”³⁴ Both, according to the letter, were well-received, and the two composers cited as young professionals. Ellicott had already had several public performances of both her choral and instrumental compositions, and Blair-Oliphant was at the time a student at the Royal College of Music. As I will discuss later, Linders took a much more active approach to envisioning the remedy of the lack of visible women composers than did HMS, who seems to have been content to hope for the distinction of more women as composers and musicians. This also marks the difference between the two publications—the *Review* and *Shafts*—where these respective items were printed. Both self-identified as “radical feminist” publications, yet one (*Shafts*) had a much more radical attitude when it came to discussing women in music.

The second item from 1890 is an announcement of women who had gained honors in music. They include women who had passed the Associate Examination of the College of Organists and the Higher Examinations of Trinity College, or had become Associates of Music (Piano, Voice, Harp, Harmony, and Counterpoint): Mrs. E Bartlett (Exeter), Miss E. Nalder

³³ HMS, “Women and music,” *The Englishwoman’s Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 21, no. 201 (Feb. 15, 1890): 77.

³⁴ HMS, “Women and music,” 77.

(RCM), and Miss E Walbank (Keighley) gained diplomas from the College of Organists; Miss Mary E. Cooper achieved both honors and Further Arts in the Higher Examinations of Trinity College (three other unnamed women matriculated); five pianists (unnamed), one vocalist (Eveline Warren, Devonport), and one harpist (Annie E.M. Carnes, Taunton) made the Pass List for Associates in music (presumably two more women passed as well, though their names and affiliations were not printed); thirty-one women pianists achieved the Certified Pianist distinction; three unnamed women took Harmony Certificates and four Counterpoint Certificates, of which Maud Elizabeth Cater (Trinity College) also took honors and was the only named recipient.³⁵

This announcement is similar to items appearing in *The Englishwoman's Year Book & Directory* and other contemporary publications advocating for women's work and education. They offer evidence that women were, in fact, achieving the gains that the editors and the emancipatory movements they were part of had been fighting for. The *Review* also presents individually *only* the women who achieved honors or were otherwise singular in their achievements (e.g., the only Associate Harpist). This seems intended to highlight the women doing the best-quality work; at the time, it might have seemed counter-productive to show women doing any less, which still holds true over one hundred years later.

The third, and only truly signed, item from 1890 is a short poem by Mrs. James S. Baily. I mention it here because it is one example of music appearing in some of the imaginative writing that appeared in the *Review*, and because it is signed. There are two items that are not completely anonymous in this category of writing, but the letter signed HMS is the most

³⁵ Anonymous, "Honours in Music for Women," *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 21, no. 201 (Feb. 15, 1890): 94.

relevant. Mrs. Baily's poem, while evocative, does not contribute directly to narratives of women in music. Music appears in her poem (bird singing), and one could read feminine imagery into the birds if one so chose. This item, to me, indicates that there was a demand for small items intended for entertainment or literary enjoyment in most publications—not only those that relied on a subscriptions for funding.

In January of 1895 the *Review* printed a lengthy review attached to the publication notice of *Form, or Design in Music* by Oliveria Prescott. "This admirable manual" writes the anonymous reviewer "which originally appeared in the *Musical World* under Mr. T. W. [sic.] Davison's editorship," was revised by its author Oliveria Prescott, a composer, teacher, scholar, and former student of the late Professor G.A. Macfarren.³⁶ The volume was a collection of her early *Musical World* articles, and the reviewer describes it as "one of the most complete compendiums of the subject that a student could use."³⁷ It includes discussion of "the main factors of musical form ... just balance of keys, just balance of rhythm, and occasionally ... recurrence of ideas."³⁸ The forms are limited to canonic forms—canon, fugue, minuet, rondo, and sonata—and "have been accepted as classical, or best."³⁹ This is, the reviewer notes, a manual for students or those who are otherwise already familiar with music and "musical

³⁶ Sophie Fuller, "Women Musicians and Professionalism in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries," in *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780–1920: New Perspectives on Status and Identity* ed. Rosemary Golding (London: Routledge, 2018), 153-54. "T.W. Davison" is a misprint in the primary source of J.W. Davison, who was at the time editor of the *Musical World*.

³⁷ Fuller, "Oliveria Prescott," *The Music Profession in Britain*, 156; Anonymous, "Form, or Design in Music," *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 26, no. 224 (Jan. 15, 1895): 63.

³⁸ Anonymous, "Form, or Design in Music," 63.

³⁹ Anonymous, "Form, or Design in Music," 64.

phraseology”—there is no section on the rudiments of music, or anything to make it comprehensible to an outside audience.

Though the review is, in the end positive, it takes a strange path of humor to reach this conclusion. This indicates, perhaps, that even reviews of publications by women, printed for a majority-woman audience, in a publication that wished to be pro-woman and pro-women’s achievements, were not immune to the attitudes of other papers, even in subtle terms. Though the reviewer gladly receives her attentions to Beethoven with pleasure, they clearly disagree about both the musical value of Wagner and Prescott’s treatment of his work:

Like many a musician erudite in musical history, the writer [meaning Prescott] is half-hearted in appreciation of modern development, even when not absolutely scornful. . . . Miss Prescott, with more smartness than justice, compares the ‘leit motiv’ [sic] of the Wagnerian drama to the twinkling of street lamps. Indeed, she goes farther than this, as she deprecates even the application of the word ‘motive’ to what she is pleased to call ‘little more than a theatrical gag without the fun!’ For less offense than this men have been mortally assailed, and it is evident that the Wagnerian disciples must be a harmless folk, exhausting their rancour in wordy warfare, or Miss Oliveria Prescott would ere now have been summarily dispatched into another world, perhaps there to have this subject out with—who knows?—the master of Bayreuth himself.⁴⁰

The review rings strangely. The book is clearly excellent, and the review makes that clear from its description in the beginning to its commendation of the index (which, as a scholar, I greatly appreciate). Why, then, present Prescott in the review as though she has gotten something wrong without directly saying that she has done so? It is possible that this was an editorial decision, to continue to present women doing excellent work without taking them to task on issues of taste and judgement; it is possible that there was little wrong with the content, but that the reviewer

⁴⁰ Anonymous, “Form, or Design in Music,” *The Englishwoman’s Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 26, no. 224, 64–65.

was more of a Wagnerite; it is possible that the reviewer was simply more conservative, and did not relish the idea of Prescott challenging “the master of Bayreuth.”

It is difficult to say whether Prescott was so well-known that the reviewer might have tempered her opinion, or if she was the kind of woman in music that the *Review* wanted to represent well.⁴¹ At the time the revised essay was published, Prescott had recently left her position teaching at a Church of England High School for Girls, but was writing, composing, giving lectures, and hearing her music performed with some of the musical societies in London.⁴² In her essay on professionalism for women musicians in *The Music Profession in Britain*, Sophie Fuller notes that Prescott was not moving in the circles of salon culture that would have gotten her music played at the most prestigious concerts or festivals in London or in the country, but in smaller communities. “As the daughter of a civil servant,” Fuller writes, “she was not part of the aristocracy and . . . she does not seem to have found her way on to the fringes of these circles and a place for herself at their musical parties.”⁴³ Prescott was also the kind of singular figure that the *Review* liked to promote—she was unusual in that she had a presence in *so many* professional musical organizations and societies, and was often the first-ranking woman member of those organizations (including the Council of the Musical Artists’ Society, the Society of Professional Musicians, and the Society of British Composers).⁴⁴ At any rate, the humor seems to be used to temper the praise of Prescott in the review.

⁴¹ While the Waterloo dictionary does not list any male contributors to the *Review*, it is impossible to know whether the reviewer is female, because the writing in question is anonymous.

⁴² Fuller, “Oliveria Prescott,” 156.

⁴³ Fuller, “Oliveria Prescott,” 156.

⁴⁴ Fuller, “Oliveria Prescott,” 156–57.

The final item in the *Review* appears in the “Notes and Incidents” section, and reports on a lecture on Women in Music given by Dr. Harding of Bedford at the fifteenth annual conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians in Scarborough. The lecture was given on January 2, 1890, and reported in the January 15 issue. Dr. Harding read “an admirable paper on ‘Woman as Musician,’ in the course of which he said the share which woman had taken in the development of the art of music, and her present position in the musical profession were deserving of the highest consideration.”⁴⁵ Past prejudices, by his estimation, were being swept away, and women would soon take their fair share of and due credit for musical progress.

The summary of the discussion that followed is almost universally congratulatory. While there is some speculation as to *why* women had not been so represented in music in the past—including, but not limited to: a lack of stimulation from their early training, and a lack of patience to train their musical powers for seven to ten years—most agreed that women were regularly disproving the stereotypes brought against them. The Chairman, Dr. William Hayman Cummings (unnamed in the article until the very end), noted that “as Principal of the Guildhall School of Music, with 3,600 students, his experience had been that it was the parents themselves who objected to ladies as teachers for their children” for the reason that, “in boarding schools it had been the custom ... for boys to have a [presumably male] teacher who could teach some particular subject particularly well, and was able to throw in music.”⁴⁶ As Paula Gillett has ably

⁴⁵ Anonymous, “Women in Music,” *The Englishwoman’s Review of Social and Industrial Questions* 31, no. 244 (Jan. 15, 1900): 47.

⁴⁶ Anonymous, “Women in Music,” 48.

documented, the ability to “throw in music” became a standard for women teachers as well, though the preference for male teachers in schools remained.⁴⁷

The two women present for this panel, Mrs. Morris (South Wales) and Miss Hovey (Sheffield), seem to have been limited in their comments. Either the reviewer neglected to remember and recount them, or the majority-male panel did most of the talking. Mrs. Morris put forward the opinion that, “taken all round, a woman was decidedly a better teacher than a man.”⁴⁸ The reviewer notes no specific response to this. Miss Hovey seconded the proposal by Mr. Hiles that, “of late years, in all branches of study in which they had been able to compete, women had distinguished themselves as highly as men.”⁴⁹

While it comes as no surprise to find a conversation about women dominated by men (whatever their opinions), the presentation of this panel in the *Review* raises a few questions. Did the reviewer, perhaps, intend for the readers to find the congratulatory tone of the discussion and the general positive opinion of women in music surprising, compared to similar discussions by other societies? Or as an affirmation of progress made? The content of the panel fits well the epideictic techniques of the *Review*—there seems to be no argument about the fitness of women for the highest levels of musicianship. Is the reviewer trying to present these particular men as allies in the cause through this?

⁴⁷ Paula Gillett, “Music as a Profession for Women,” in *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914: Encroaching on All Man’s Privileges.* (New York: St. Martin’s 2000), 189–227.

⁴⁸ Anonymous, “Women in Music,” 48.

⁴⁹ Anonymous, “Women in Music,” 48.

The Review: Music as Political Instrument

Of the publications examined for this study, the *Review* illustrates a specific clash of class and gender politics. Though its editors, collaborators, and presumably readers, came from liberal and conservative circles, their class solidarity narrowed their visions of women's suffrage and “radical feminism” to exclude women of the working classes.

Musical content in the *Review* was an instrument of the editors’ larger political and social ambitions, and used to further other extra-musical ends. The *Review* in particular favored epideictic rhetoric—that is, rhetoric chosen to be persuasive via either praise or blame, and chosen to “define acceptable and unacceptable ways of acting, speaking, or thinking within a culture”⁵⁰—as a technique to normalize women’s suffrage, the idea of emancipation, and women’s excellence in different fields, including music. This discourse was specifically aimed at other women (i.e., the primary readers of the *Review*). Epideictic discourse praising women’s achievements in music did not only accustom the *Review*’s readership to seeing women succeed as music professionals. It ran deeper than normalizing behavior; it helped construct a subjectivity for women in which they could imagine themselves being similarly successful in music. The rhetoric “masking itself as simple praise or blame” made an important compromise: it was neutral enough to not offend more conservative readers, but neither was it trafficking in tropes of women’s music achievements being second class to men’s that more radical readers wanted to avoid.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Summers, “Epideictic Rhetoric,” 263.

⁵¹ Summers, “Epideictic Rhetoric,” 263.

Shafts

Shafts stands out among radical feminist publications, partly because it included so many different offerings with a wealth of strong opinions, but also because it was funded and edited for its entire run by one woman. *Shafts* was first published on November 3, 1892 under the editorship of Margaret Shurmer Sibthorpe and ran until 1899, when she discontinued its publication. Before beginning her own paper, Sibthorpe had learned the practicalities of the newspaper business when working for the *Women's Herald*; she eventually left the paper after then-editor Somerset decided to associate the paper with the Liberal Party.⁵²

Shafts began as a weekly paper that cost one penny (1d), and continued in this way until 1893, when Sibthorpe had to reduce it to monthly, then later to bi-monthly circulation to try to keep the paper solvent. Its subtitles were, variously: “a quarterly magazine of progressive thought” and “a paper for Women and the Working Classes”; its mottoes were: “Light comes to those who dare to think. Oh, swiftly speed, ye shafts of light, while hosts of darkened fly fair breaks the dawn; fast rolls the night from woman’s darkened sky,” hence the paper’s name, and “Shoot thine own arrow right through the earthly tissue / Bravely; and leave the Gods to find the issue” attributed to Goethe.⁵³ “Shafts of light” in particular evokes the kind of publication that *Shafts* was hoping to be. It aspired to be a journal of free opinions and “unfettered human thought.” It set this forth in “What the Editor Means” in its tenth issue (January 7, 1893):

Shafts strives humbly yet determinedly to help the cause of freedom, progress and unfettered human thought. In this work it invites each its readers to take part; it

⁵² Tusan, *Women Making News*, 128.

⁵³ “Shafts” in *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900*. Online; see also Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, “Inventing the New Woman: Print Culture and Identity Politics During the *Fin de Siècle*.” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31:2 (Summer 1998): 171. Accessed February 1, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20083064>

begs each carefully to note that all honestly entertained, openly stated opinions upon any subject whatever will have place in its pages, but that such must be moderately, purely, and undogmatically expressed the expression, that is to say, as of one who is a seeker after truth, a learner, not a teacher. All who differ from opinions as they appear are invited to answer through the paper, not in private letters to the Editor.

Shafts is the organ of no party, no creed, no class; it is not connected with any other paper; it does not uphold exclusively the interests of either sex. Its arrows are sent forth from a height, where the holder of the bow overlooks: This Great roundabout/The World with all its motley rout/ Class, Party, Creed, Sex/or any other of the lines mistaken, which divide human beings, hindering progress where no such division or hindrance need be. *SHAFTS CARES FOR NONE OF THESE.*⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Anonymous, "What the Editor Means" and "Credits," *Shafts : a magazine of progressive thought* 1, no. 10 (1893): 152. Additionally quoted in full in *Shafts*' entry in the *Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900*.

Figure 3.2: *Shafts*, "What the Editor Means," January 7 1893

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SHAFTS.

[January 7, 1893.]

Shafts.

EDITED BY MARGARET SHURMER SIBTHORP.
A Paper for Women and the Working Classes.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 7th, 1893.

WHAT THE EDITOR MEANS.

Mere DEMOCRACY cannot solve the social question. An element of ARISTOCRACY must be introduced into our life. Of course I do not mean the aristocracy of birth, or of the purse, or even the aristocracy of intellect. I mean the aristocracy of character, of will, of mind. That only can free us.

From two groups will this aristocracy I hope for come to our people: from our WOMEN and our WORKMEN. The revolution in the social condition now preparing in Europe is chiefly concerned with the future of the WORKERS and the WOMEN. In this I place all my hopes and expectations, for this I will work all my life and with all my strength.—INSEX.

"SHAFTS" strives humbly yet determinedly to help the cause of freedom, progress, and unfettered human thought. In this work it invites each of its readers to take part; it begs each carefully to note that all honestly entertained, openly stated opinions upon any subject whatever will have place in its pages, but that such must be moderately, purely, and undogmatically expressed—the expression, that is to say, as of one who is a seeker after truth, a learner, not a teacher. All who differ from opinions as they appear are invited to answer through the paper, not in private letters to the Editor.

"SHAFTS" is the organ of no party, no creed, no class; it is not connected with any other paper; it does not uphold exclusively the interests of either sex. Its arrows are sent forth from a height, where the holder of the bow overlooks:—

This great roundabout,
The World, with all its motley rout,
Class, Party, Creed, Sex,

or any other of the lines mistaken, which divide human beings, hindering progress where no such division or hindrance need be.

"SHAFTS" CARES FOR NONE OF THESE.

ATTENTION is now being directed to the condition of the aged poor in workhouses; and the subject is earnestly taken up by dailies, weeklies, and different periodicals. When the strong search-light of determined inquiry is brought to bear upon existing institutions many abuses are discovered; neglect and even cruelty, which are surely unnecessary and certainly ought not to exist in the present age of greater discernment and greater humanity. The miserable conditions of workhouse life are generally considered to be the product of two causes—the carelessness and ignorance of those who administer the law, and the blameworthy apathy of the public. It is a matter of the most serious and vital interest to all that persons located in our workhouses as aged non-workers should be reasonably comfortable. Many of them have been active workers while young, strong, and healthy; they have contributed their quota to the country's wealth in produce; they have contributed also their share of the influence which a good moral life of steady industry exercises upon the spiritual and intellectual growth of the commonwealth. Now that they are disabled by age, it is their right to live at the expense of those who are still able to run life's race. We do this part of our social duty at present in workhouses; and while this is so it becomes an imperative duty that such workhouses should be made not only decently comfortable but interesting to the extent of making the existence of the inmates for the remainder of their days as pleasant as is consistent with the expenditure possible.

These aged poor, thus compelled to become members of a Union, are, many of them, parents of workers in the hive; they do not cease to be human beings with natural desires, and such, in moderation, should be supplied in the shape of books, newspapers, pictures, games, with tea, tobacco, &c. Such things by skilful management might be easily obtained. Many plans could, and will be, suggested. There are in every household many things thrown away which might be utilised for our workhouses. Such assistance is not charity.

WOMANHOOD FROM THE THEOSOPHICAL POINT OF VIEW.

By "LIBRA"

PART II.

BEFORE entering upon the question of race-production which is so intimately associated with the present and the future condition of womanhood, perhaps we may be permitted to say a few words on the subject of that philosophy of re-embodiment which unlocks the first door towards the knowledge of ourselves. *Know thyself* is the first and last motto of the individual who desires to penetrate beyond the phenomena presented to a few very limited senses. For the "Kingdom of God," as Jesus of Nazareth, the Sage and Seer whose work and utterances have never been fully understood, truly observed, is "neither here nor there, but within us." This is why the freedom of woman can never be created by laws or institutions, or exterior methods, but by a mental attitude, a ripeness of spirit, which extends fraternity to her, sees its necessity and justice, and thence naturally expresses itself on the external plane. The reason why womanhood has been misunderstood and degraded is due to the action of human passion during the period in which our race has strayed like lost sheep from the divine light of wisdom, and sought its happiness in sensations and selfish and personal gratifications of all kinds. The law of duality having once given place to the differentiation of sex, the feminine became obscured by the development, and, finally, the terrible abuse of functions, which in higher phases become exalted powers. The lowest phase of this differentiation on our planet has been that which has regarded woman only as a sexual being, enslaved by the desires and feelings of her ignorant companion—man. That we are still low down in the scale of our human life is evidenced by the ideas and customs of almost all the savage races, and the laws, institutions, conceptions of morality, and religious errors which stain the most civilised. But in view of the law of re-embodiment, the degradation of the idea of womanhood is more apparent than real. All souls have contributed to it alike, and all alike are guilty, if such a term can at all be legitimately employed, of producing this darkness and wrong. The sex which possessed motherhood, which bore the burden of child-bearing, and which suffered physically by so doing, was naturally placed at a disadvantage with the sex which found paternity to mean a passing enjoyment, and created no other disability than the necessity to work to sustain the offspring produced. And that work tended, after a while, to develop muscles, brains, and inventions of all kinds, including arts and sciences. While the more domestic the other sex became, the more purely occupied by maternity and the concerns connected with the management of the family, the more negative did it grow in its relation towards the outside world. But for the unceasing readjustment of exchange of sex, the human being as *woman* would have been almost destroyed, and the destruction of man, it is needless to say, would have speedily followed. The reason why the woman's movement, as it is called, has made itself felt in the leading nations of the world is because a certain number of both sexes have at last reached a point in which, if we may so express it, the unconscious knowledge of this law is making itself felt, and many men are awakening to the truth that it is disastrous to limit woman to a sphere dictated by selfish passions; while women in still larger numbers—for they are the *inspirers* of feelings and ideas on the part of the other sex, and must be the first to lead upwards—have begun to recognise that liberty must control and even precede maternity, and that pure domesticity is an experience which they have lived out and done with.

Those who quarrel with this law of re-embodiment are those, therefore, who refuse to accept the only justification on the part of Nature for what is called the subordination of womanhood, due to the necessity of experiences born of human desires, passions, and ignorant materialism. Humanity is divine in its origin, and its descent thus into matter is redemptive in character, and productive of glorious results. These very passions, which have thus enslaved all alike, are the bases of Knowledge, Wisdom and Power. The root in the mud shoots upward at last with irresistible force towards the light, and becomes a thing of beauty, of leaf, of blossom, of fruit, something fair and free and fragrant, and the life-story of the flowers of the field, which "toil not, neither spin," is repeated with a hundredfold force in the history of suffering Humanity. It is degraded, as it were, outcast, crucified; it dies to awake to a greater life. It has been well said that "a perfect Man must have experienced every type of earthly relation and duty, every phase of desire, affection and passion, every form of temptation, and every variety of conflict." No one life can possibly furnish the material for more than a minute section of such experience; and "some of the richest soul-acquirements come only through contact with human relations and through suffering from ills, of which sympathy, toleration, patience,

Sibthorpe envisioned *Shafts* as a public and public-facing intellectual space with an eye toward openly discussing ideas and differing opinions. Its declaration in the masthead as “A Paper for Women and the working Classes” also made it the first advocacy periodical to explicitly include the working classes in its idea of readership.⁵⁵ Considering the topics she included—vegetarianism, antivivisection, theosophy, women’s rights and suffrage, parenting, sex education for children, and social purity movements—she clearly expected lively debate.⁵⁶ She did not, as the statement suggests, want to entertain dissenting opinions in private letters to the editor, but wanted conversation about these issues and others to happen within the pages of the paper.

In 1898 Sibthorpe was forced to reduce *Shafts*’ frequency of publication from monthly to bi-monthly, and in 1899, following an announcement that it would henceforth become quarterly, *Shafts* ceased publication altogether. Some historians relate the magazine's decline to Sibthorpe's refusal to follow the trend and aesthetic of “New Journalism's formula of information, gossip and entertainment.” This likely left her readership in search of other publications that included such material.⁵⁷

In their 1987 compendium of feminist periodicals, Denise Sanchez and David Doughan describe *Shafts* as a:

Lively but slightly odd feminist, 'progressive', radical paper, becoming increasingly involved with 'higher thought' and a degree of mysticism. Considerable support for anti-vivisection and vegetarian viewpoints. Reported in detail the activities of the Pioneer Club, the Grosvenor Crescent Club, and the

⁵⁵ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 128.

⁵⁶ “Shafts” in *Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900*.

⁵⁷ Matthew Beaumont, “Influential Force: *Shafts* and the Diffusion of Knowledge at the *Fin de Siècle*,” in *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 3 (2006): 6. Accessed January 19, 2020. www.19.bbk.ac.uk

Women's Institute (not 'jam and Jerusalem', but a more academic and political predecessor).⁵⁸

The paper identified itself as “neutral” and as “radical feminist,” and was aimed at a multi-class audience—one that was specifically supportive of women’s rights and suffrage.⁵⁹ In her book, *Invisible Men: Fatherhood in Victorian Periodicals, 1850-1910*, Claudia Nelson looks at length into the issues that *Shafts* regularly contributed to discussing, specifically: education of children, heredity, law, parenting, and sexual education.⁶⁰ She writes that: “*Shafts* [in the 1890s] appeared at the right time both to inherit a tradition of debate about sex education for children and to participate in a previously unparalleled amount of discussion on the issue on the part of periodicals.”⁶¹ The figure of the New Woman also appeared, though in *Shafts* her devotion to causes like the feminist movement and utopian ideals was presented as a point of pride and not of ridicule.⁶² Michelle Tusan describes her as, “not the mannish and overly-sexualized New Woman popularized in novels and mainstream periodicals of the 1890s [such as *Punch*] but a symbol of a new female political identity that promised to improve and reform English society.”⁶³

⁵⁸ David Doughan and Denise Sanchez, *Feminist Periodicals 1855-1984. An Annotated Critical Bibliography of British, Irish, Commonwealth and International Titles* (Brighton, U.K: The Harvester Press, Ltd, 1987), 16; See also Claudia Nelson, *Invisible Men: Fatherhood in Victorian Periodicals, 1850-1910* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 7 on the paper’s intended audience.

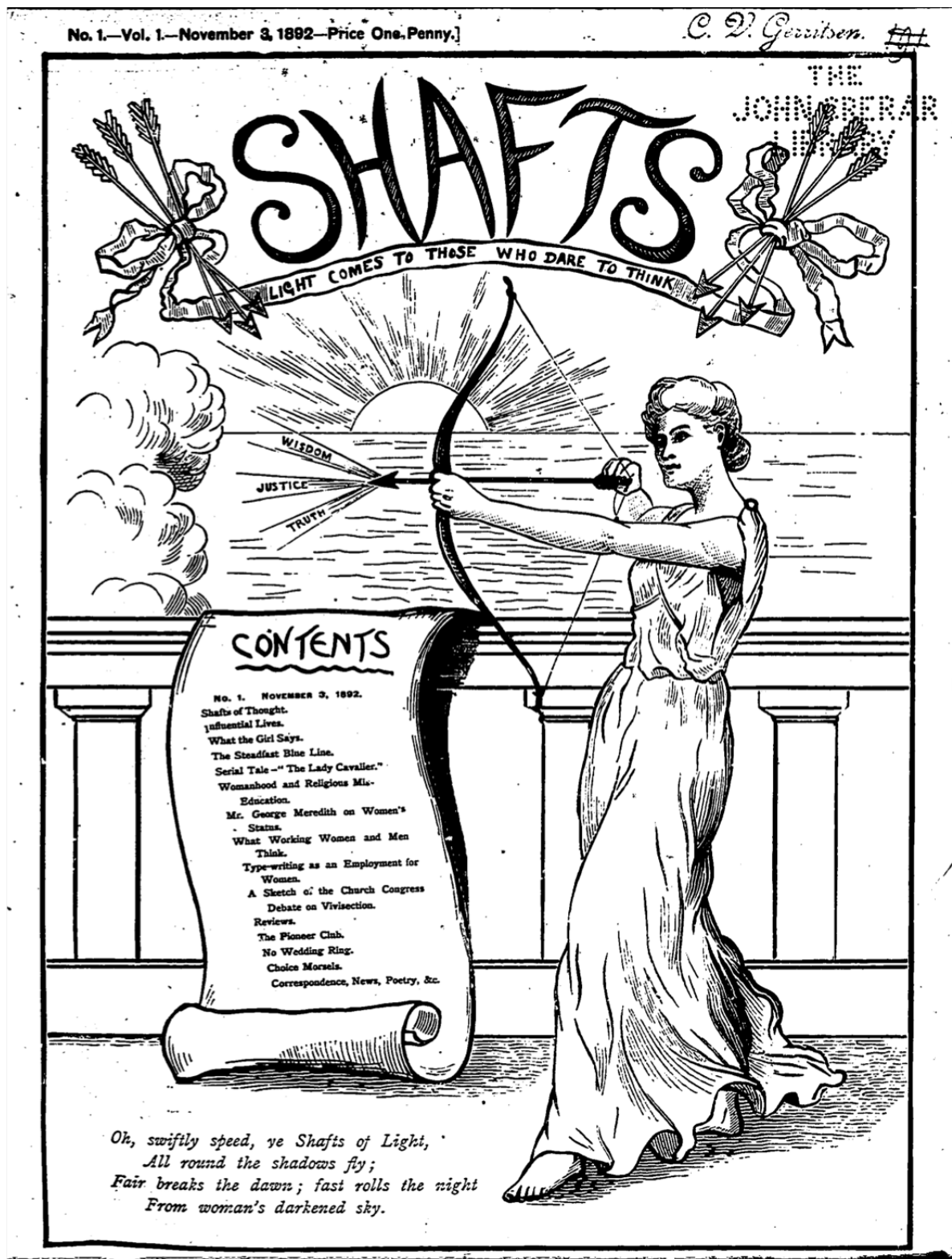
⁵⁹ “*Shafts*” in *Waterloo Dictionary of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900*.

⁶⁰ Nelson, *Invisible Men*, 7.

⁶¹ Nelson, *Invisible Men*, 49. Also, on social purity as a central concern for contributors and readers, 30.

⁶² Tusan, “Inventing the New Woman: Print Culture and Identity Politics During the *Fin de siècle*,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31, no. 2 (Summer, 1998): 171.

⁶³ Tusan, “Inventing the New Woman,” 169. Given the importance of “social purity” causes (i.e., sexual reform movements) to the contributors of *Shafts*, an unwillingness to present an overly-sexualized New Woman seems consistent with their purpose.

Figure 3.3: *Shafts* cover, November 3, 1892

The presence of the new female political identity that Tusan describes is evident in the illustration of the woman on the cover of *Shafts*, November 3, 1892 (Figure 3.3). Her dress resembles a Greek chiton—both alluding to antiquity and allowing her the freedom of movement she needs to participate in archery. The accoutrements for archery are not only present but in her hands, the bow drawn and her arms taking the full strain of the draw-weight. Far from being a depiction of a woman as a passive object of male desire, the woman in the cover illustration is active, a subject in her own experience.

Amid its discussion of divisive issues, Nelson notes that *Shafts* also featured “capsule biographies of notable women” and that these biographies often featured accounts of fathers taking an interest in their daughters’ education, and even instructing them directly.⁶⁴ While its articles and announcements on music regularly reference notable female composers and performers of the day, *Shafts* does not seem to have run biographies or interviews of this nature on women in music.⁶⁵ Why this is so is entirely a matter of conjecture. I find it unlikely that it was intentional erasure, but more likely that it was a combination of the material available, the publication’s limited resources, and the editor’s and contributors’ collective choice of issues to prioritize. As previously discussed, many of the self-identified radical feminist publications chose to focus solely on political action and legal change.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Nelson, *Invisible Men*, 52.

⁶⁵ Whether or not items containing musical content benefited from placement near these narratives on the page, and thus promoted fathers taking an interest in their daughters’ musical education by association, is beyond the scope of this study. It is one among many that I hope to be able to work on in the future.

⁶⁶ See Tusan, “Inventing the New Woman,” 171; see Levine, “The Humanising Influences of the Five O’Clock Tea,” 293–306; and Rendall, “A Moral Engine?: Feminism, Liberalism, and the English Woman’s Journal,” 112–138.

When *Shafts* did print features on music and musical topics, especially in its early years, it did so in terms of pro-women's rights and pro-suffragist rhetoric. This indicates that Sibthorpe and her contributors treated musical content as a tool in the suffragist arsenal: as one way among several of modeling a mindset of equality and competence, and of working against other voices in the press that doubted women's capacities for musical work. Like many other periodicals at the time, in 1896 and 1897 *Shafts* ran a series of articles focused on professional development. The length, breadth, and style of these articles marked a significant change from the publication's previous musical content. It was consistent in its views that women were as capable of making music of all varieties as men, but the writing was notably longer and more technical in the publication than it had been previously. No longer did its writing stop at recommending, as Virginie Linders had in 1892, that women should, "study the books that men have written for themselves" and read them; it progressed to women writing advice to each other in terms of their own professional expertise, not limited to the writing and experiences of their male peers.⁶⁷

Musical Coverage

In this section, I include fifteen individual items of music journalism and criticism that appeared in *Shafts* between 1892 and 1899. Of these, only one item is truly anonymous—a list of then-recent sheet music offerings and musical publications by the Messers. Ascherberg under the title "Music."⁶⁸ All of the other items have authors' names appended, though some are pseudonyms.

⁶⁷ V. Linders, "Women and Music," *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 5, no. 1 (1892), 68

⁶⁸ Anonymous, "Music," *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 2, no. 11 (January 1894), 197.

The first two items, published December 3 and December 24 respectively, constitute a single article in two parts. “Women and Music” by Virginie Linders appeared in the “Musical Notes” column. The first followed a series of announcements of various current musical events, including some involving notable women: Miss Adelina de Lara’s “refined and artistic” interpretation of Beethoven’s “Emperor” Concerto and Signorina Giulia Ravogli’s performance of Gluck and Mozart at the Crystal Palace concert on November 26; Lady Hallé’s violin performance in the Schumann F Major quartet and Brahms’ piano trio in B major on the same concert; Ethel Smyth’s (listed as “Miss Ethel Smith”) “excellent concert at Chichester on the 12th inst.”; plus a short appeal to *Shafts*’ readership to attend the Crystal Palace popular concerts.

Linders wrote her article in response “to the contention in an earlier letter in the *Daily Chronicle* which had asserted that men were vastly better musicians than women.”⁶⁹ The first part makes it no secret that she thinks women have not reached the same musical level as men because they have not been given the opportunity to do so:

“The writer states,” she writes, “that man is a vastly better musician than woman. Indisputably true! But why? We will take the composers first. The six great genius-composers (Bach, Handel, Hadyn [sic], Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven), and of course all the modern men, were the final result of four thousand years of musical training. The final great efflorescence has taken four thousand years of teaching to reach its present high development. Now, in all that time we only find the names of three women who were *allowed to learn* anything of composition—Sappho, who resolutely defied all the conventionalities of her age; Madame Gluck’s adopted daughter, who unfortunately died in very early youth; and the pioneer, Maria Antonia, of Saxony, pupil of Porpora, and of whose compositions Dr. Burney spoke with much enthusiasm. Women have not had the opportunity of learning the musical grammar with which to express their art ideas.”⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Amanda Harris, “Composing Women and Feminism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century in England, France, and Germany,” (Ph.D. diss., University of New South Wales, 2008), 228–29, accessed December 27, 2020. ProQuest.

⁷⁰ V. Linders, “Women and music,” 68.

She foregrounds “Miss Temple, Miss Dora Bright, and Miss Ethel Smith [sic]” as serious composers within the preceding fifty years, plus “over fifty female composers of dance music and songs in the British Isles,” as evidence that women are doing the work that they were previously gate-kept out of. “We will look forward to four thousand years of of development,” she writes, “[and] at the end of that time, men will be entitled to sneer if female Beethovens, Glucks, &c. are not forthcoming.”⁷¹ She also cites well-known performers as women who have come nearer to equality with men in music, including Jenny Lind, Thérèse Titiens, Clara Novello, Aloysia Weber, “and thousands of others are too well-known to need comment.”⁷²

Marriage, she concludes, has been “the cause of women’s inferiority” because of the demands that it places on women’s time and resources. “Artistic duties demand the whole strength and devotion of a lifetime: women have given up these duties for the sake of personal gratification: their genius and talent have been recklessly stifled.”⁷³ Even in this, Linders cannot resist listing examples of married women who also had fulfilling artistic lives and careers. Collectively, seeing so many women in music inspires her to hope, and she says that she remains confident music will continue its progressive development toward equality for the men and women who make it.

The second installment, “Women in Music (continued)” begins: “‘Woman’s attitude towards music generally is one of exasperating frivolity.’ A man’s utterance!”⁷⁴ Linders argues

⁷¹ V. Linders, “Women and music,” 68.

⁷² V. Linders, “Women and music,” 68.

⁷³ V. Linders, “Women and music,” 68.

⁷⁴ V. Linders, “Women and music,” *Shafts : a magazine of progressive thought*, 8/1 (December 24, 1892): 126.

that the majority of men outside the profession also regard music as something frivolous—merely an object for amusement, and not something serious. When a woman *does* want to take it seriously, she is gate-kept out of her “educational rights.”⁷⁵ She offers four pieces of advice to young women who would study music:

“First, choose a thoroughly competent master; one whose pupils have been successful. A middle-aged man is best, he has had experience, but is still ‘in the swim.’”

*Second, decide exactly how much time should be devoted to your daily practise; never allow yourself to miss. Keep a practicing record. Prepare your work well; devote much time to *technique*; but not so much that you are too tired to accomplish your lighter tasks. Try to make all you can out of your pieces, in the way of contrasts, different kinds of touch and good phrasing.*

Third, at the lesson, ask about about all you do not understand; insist on learning all the master has to teach. Find out what good music really means, and never play what is bad; if you are given ‘Sparkling Cascades,’ etc., ask the master to change them; the great musicians have all written music as simple as it is good. Pay attention to all your teacher’s remarks, however slight they seem, and always remember.

*Fourth, study the books which men have written for themselves: counterpoint, fugue, harmony, instrumentation. Women can learn all these as well as men.”*⁷⁶

This advice, similar in attitude to what Lucie Heaton Armstrong would publish in the *Woman’s Signal* in 1897, shows that women were well-prepared to pass unfiltered, practical advice to other women through the publication. Nothing in either of Linders’ writings suggests that she believes women should censor themselves in the slightest, or soften their ambitions to appear feminine. Indeed, she displays a refreshing contempt in the second installment for women’s treatment at the hands of men in music across the field. “The great musicians have all written music as simple as it is good”—effectively saying, “Do not settle for ‘practice’ or ‘test’ pieces just because they are assigned.” Hers is remarkably contemporary advice. The fourth item is

⁷⁵ V. Linders, “Women and music,” 126.

⁷⁶ V. Linders, “Women and music,” 126.

perhaps the most radical: “study the books which men have written for themselves,” which comes to, “If they refuse to let you in, then remove the door.” If women do this, she says, and are serious about their musical pursuits, then “men will be forced to drop their present sneering attitude.”⁷⁷

The moment where the male gaze peeks through is in her first point, where she advises that a middle-aged man is the best candidate for a private music teacher, both as a competent master and as a teacher who has had successful students. The tension in the recommendations is difficult: in the opening point she advises leveraging the experience and prestige of male teachers to benefit female students, but by the end perhaps they ought to be opportunities for women to mentor other younger female students. It also speaks to the lingering view of women as amateurs and men as professionals, and to the idea that a male professional on an otherwise-equal comparison of credentials, training, etc. should always be preferred to a female one.

Between Linders’ two articles at the close of 1892 and the next series of articles by E.L. Young in 1896, *Shafts* did not print many music-specific features. A short piece, “Home Music” by E.J. Temple appeared in 1893, and a list of then-recent musical publications by the Messers. Ascherberg appeared in 1894. Temple’s short article might be summed up as, “Amateurs should not overlook playing simple music that they can play well,” and that playing for private parties should be making work for young music students instead of showcasing amateurs. She criticizes the music chosen by such amateur performers, imagining them playing “some fashionable fantasia, performed a break-neck speed, with chords that remind one of a clap of thunder, followed by a rushing dash over all the keys from one end of the instrument to the other, and a

⁷⁷ V. Linders, “Women and music,” 126.

continuous rumble in the bass.”⁷⁸ Temple notes that, instead of the kind of piece described, a simple melody by a composer such as Beethoven or Schumann, or a ballad hailing from England, Scotland, or Ireland “would be sure to please,” and concludes by saying that, “[h]ome performers, unless skilled, should attempt only simple melodies and songs without aiming to rival and possibly injure the struggling artists who have to depend on music for a living.”⁷⁹

Far from a completely democratic idea of women entering music, Temple advocates for more meritocratic treatment of women in music by other women. This can be read in two ways, and they are not mutually exclusive: the first, that amateurs and young students ought to leave the difficult pieces to the accomplished and the professional, and the second, that amateurs and young or less advanced students should not be ashamed or embarrassed for choosing simpler repertoire that they can execute well, as it will create a much more enjoyable experience for their audience. The former can seem exclusionary, and the latter like very sound advice. Temple might have been more explicit, if given the space, and said that the more difficult works ought to be attempted when the student or amateur has developed the necessary skill to play it well.

The 1894 listing of some of the then-recent publications by the Messrs. Ascherberg describes them: “all of which are pretty, some well worthy of mention.”⁸⁰ The list of composers includes one woman—Daisy Sopwith, who composed “a very pretty waltz ... harmonious and inspiring throughout”—and two women performers, Madame Marie Rose and Miss Florence St.

⁷⁸ E. J. Temple, “Home music,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 13, no. 1 (January 28, 1893), 201.

⁷⁹ E. J. Temple, “Home music,” 201.

⁸⁰ Anonymous, “Messrs. Ascherberg,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 2, no. 11 (January 1894), 197.

John, as having performed the “Bolero” by Raymond Roze and “Two Songs” by Ruggiero Leoncavallo, respectively.⁸¹ The short advertisement does not explicitly connect the pieces to the previous longer writings about amateur, students, and home music-making by Linders and Temple; however, they seem to fit well the recommendations that both authors had for repertoire for this demographic. Many are described as “charming songs,” “pretty and suggestive” (here I take this to mean “evocative”), “short sketches,” “pleasing,” and “harmonious and inspiring.”⁸² Apart from their feminine names, nothing is made of these three women being included on the list; that is, their status as composer or performer in the writing is not gendered. Given *Shafts*’ readership and self-identified radical feminist orientation, this suggests that Sibthorpe was interested in actively normalizing women’s work appearing in these kinds of advertisements, and not merely in publishing affirmative opinions about it.

Beginning in the May issue of 1896 (Vol. 4 Issue 5), *Shafts* began printing a three-part article by E. L. Young entitled “A Great and Feasible Reform: Music Notation.” The three parts of the series appeared in subsequent issues of the magazine, and each installment focused on the difficulties students had with conventional music notation and Young’s suggested reforms. Part One addresses “Musical Difficulties,” Part Two “Keyboard Music,” and Part Three “The Music of the Future.” Unfortunately, Young’s series does not contain a major contribution to musical practice. The “Keyboard Notation” that she goes to great pains to illustrate and promote did not become as ubiquitous as she hoped, and is a topic of relative obscurity in our own time. It does, however, represent the kind of reformist thinking, teaching, and writing about music that women

⁸¹ Anonymous, “Messrs. Ascherberg,” 197.

⁸² Anonymous, “Messrs. Ascherberg,” 197.

were doing and publishing at the time. Perhaps obviously, this is the source of my own interest in the material.

Part One, “Musical Difficulties,” describes—with the author’s sympathy—the difficulty of satisfying music-lovers’ desire for artistic fulfillment strictly through listening and concert-going, and the compounded difficulty of learning conventional music notation in order to realize their creative aspirations. It also offers a lamentable portrait of the imagined neighbor of a student pianist, who “suffers for every wrong note, every repetition of a theme that was never meant to be repeated, without sharing any of the player’s joy at a difficulty overcome.”⁸³ The composer, she imagines, is likewise afflicted, needing silence to compose but having practicing pianists living to the left and right; for the piano student, even a short piece takes many hours of practice to learn, and that does not include the additional hours of scales and exercises necessary to maintain proficiency on the instrument.⁸⁴ “While we live on the musical food prepared for us by our forefathers,” she writes, “we are poisoning the stock for our progeny. Every victory gained by the learner is gained at the expense of his [sic] fellows, while every failure is also paid for by them.”⁸⁵

The picture of contemporary musical life that Young paints is frustrating and bleak, but she has a culprit in mind—music notation. She is unwilling to blame the piano, because it “responds at once to the least touch of the most unskilled, even to baby’s fists, or baby’s feet.”⁸⁶

⁸³ E. L. Young, “A Great and Feasible Reform: Music Notation,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 4, no. 5 (1896): 52.

⁸⁴ Young, “Music Notation,” 52.

⁸⁵ Young, “Music Notation,” 52–3.

⁸⁶ Young, “Music Notation,” 53.

She is likewise unwilling to condemn the dexterity of the human hand, the “unjustly-blamed stupidity of the learner,” or the “more frequently real incompetence of the teacher.”⁸⁷ Notation, she argues, has remained ill-fitted for the purpose of communicating the composer’s intentions to the performer or listener, and she recounts its deficiencies in detail.

Her solution is an alternative notation system called Keyboard Notation. She cites “Mr. A.D. Tyssen” as the only publisher who has printed “a body of music by which it [keyboard notation] can be brought into practical use.”⁸⁸ Instead of the traditional stave notation of European art music, Keyboard notation turns the stave into a diagram of the piano:

Lines are arranged in sets of two and three alternately, to represent the black notes of the piano: the spaces between them represent the white notes, a double space being left where two white notes come together. Thus, D, being a white note between two black notes, is shown as a white space between two black lines: B-flat, being the upper of three black notes, is shown as the upper of three black lines, etc. Every octave is the same, every key equally easy. In five minutes this diagram is mastered, and thenceforward the aspirant has only to play: he [sic] has no new staves to worry over, no sharps or flats to remember.

While Keyboard Notation may have contributed to the legibility of music notation to new students, it was by no means the panacea that Young described. Reading notation was, and still can be, a barrier to musical proficiency in traditions that require it, but it is not the *only* barrier. A lack of dexterity or a teacher who does not competently teach the student (to reference Young’s earlier examples) can contribute to the frustration of *any* music student, even those who have no difficulty in reading traditional western notation. Furthermore, reading Keyboard Notation could not itself confer technical ability on the student—practice was, is, and will likely always be required to gain proficiency on any instrument. What it *could* do was remove a barrier to

⁸⁷ Young, “Music Notation,” 53.

⁸⁸ Young, “Music Notation,” 53.

practicing by making music easier or more intuitive for students to read. This, I imagine, was the source of much of Young's enthusiasm for it.

While she does note that this proposed notation reform strictly benefits keyboard players, she assures anyone reading: "how the notation applies to instruments other than the piano, and how it will relieve the sorrows not only of the player and teacher, but even of the next-door neighbor will appear later."⁸⁹ She concludes that this change in notation is "not only a great, but a feasible reform," because its usefulness and virtues can be recognized at all levels from beginner to expert and because it can be promoted by a small number of convinced teachers—that is, it does not require a critical mass of adherents before it can be useful.⁹⁰ "All that is wanted," she says, "is a few pioneers, willing to take the road of improvement without waiting for the majority to keep them in countenance."⁹¹

On page eighty-two of the June issue (Volume 4 Issue 6, in which also appeared the second installment of the series) there was a separate and shorter notice about music notation, written by Young as a follow-up to her first writing, and a response to the first installment of her article by a reader named Rebecca Wicksteed.⁹² Both Young and Wicksteed offer their experiences with using Keyboard Notation as music teachers as testament to its virtues. Wicksteed compares "my own laborious and unsuccessful efforts to read at sight on the old

⁸⁹ Young, "Music Notation," 53.

⁹⁰ Young, "Music Notation," 53.

⁹¹ Young, "Music Notation," 54.

⁹² E. L. Young and Rebecca Wicksteed, "A Response to 'A Great and Feasible Reform,'" *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 4, no. 6 (1896), 82–83. It is through Wicksteed's response that we may assume that E. L. Young is either a woman writing pseudonymously or that Young's journalist persona is female, as Rebecca Wicksteed refers to her in her response as "Miss Young."

notation,” with, “my pupils’ easy and fluent reading on the Keyboard Notation” and remarks that she found her students’ ease with the new system encouraging.⁹³ She, like Young, seems to think that the chief advantage of the system is that it enables students to keep up their enthusiasm for the music by not getting them bogged down in notation. She prefaces her glowing assessment of the new system by admitting that she has never attempted to teach students using the traditional system of notation. “Although I had studied it for many years,” she writes, “I did not feel competent to teach it.”⁹⁴

Young, on the other hand, writes at length about students benefiting from Keyboard Notation who previously struggled with traditional notation under her tutelage—clearly she was comfortable teaching both forms of notation, but preferred the new version. She also offers an example of one of her own students who, as she describes in detail, has benefited immensely from the instruction—“a housemaid, a girl of low class, and previously utterly ignorant of music, who has never had a piano to practise on.”⁹⁵ Though Young describes this as an extreme case, she offers it as an example the potential that this kind of access has to elevate those she understands to be “poor unfortunates” for whom a modest middle-class lifestyle is still aspirational.

For the purposes of this paper, the second installment in this series “Part II — Keyboard Music” is primarily useful for its illustrations. (See Figure 3.4 and 3.5) These appear at the

⁹³ Young, “Music Notation,” 54.

⁹⁴ Young, “Music Notation,” 54.

⁹⁵ E. L. Young and Rebecca Wicksteed, “A Response to ‘A Great and Feasible Reform,’” 84. For some additional material on music as mass education, see Rosemary Golding’s contribution, “Music and Mass Education: Cultivation or Control?” in *Music and Victorian Liberalism*, ed. Sarah Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 60–80.

beginning of the article underneath the title heading, and show what Young proceeds to then explain in detail:

Figure 3.4: Keyboard Notation 1

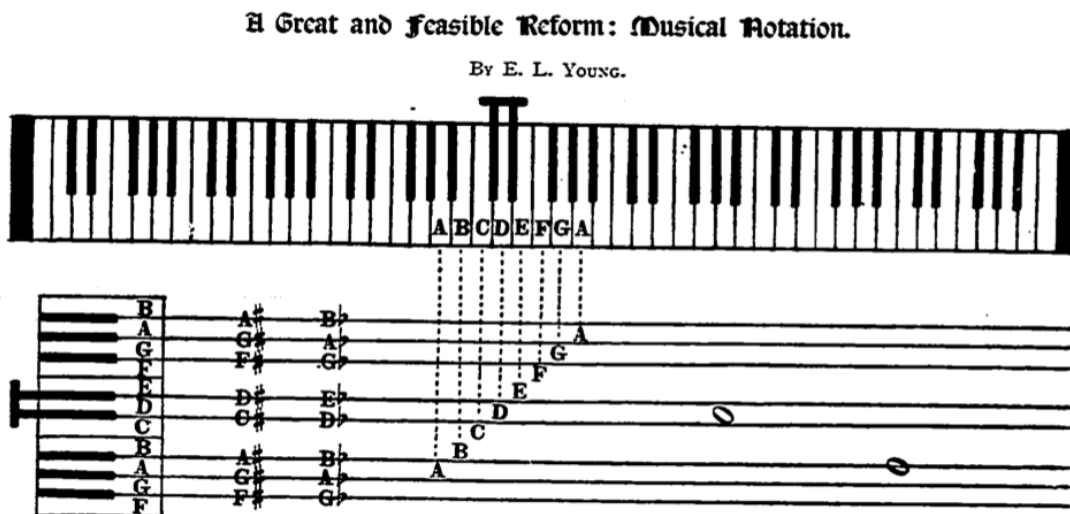


Figure 3.5: Keyboard Notation 2



This portion of her series seems, to me, intended directly for the potential teachers she regularly calls for at the end of all three installments in the series. Whereas in the first installment Young outlines the problems that Keyboard Notation would (ideally) solve, in the second she provides instruction in its specifics.

Her third installment, "Part III — Music of the Future" then concludes the series. In many ways, it mirrors the first installment in content and in her attempts to persuade her fellow teachers that her prescribed reforms are, in fact, the future of music notation. It seems likely that the series was originally written as one long piece: it has a three-part organizational structure that is still familiar to anyone who has given a persuasive presentation—"I told you what I'm going to tell you, I told you, and then I reviewed the merits of what I just told you."

It is in the third installment, however, that Young turns her appeal to advanced musicians. "This is the answer," she writes, "to those who say that though the system does a great deal for beginners, it does nothing for the advanced musician."⁹⁶ She argues first that the "improved symbolism" will benefit advanced musicians, though she comes to it by a long-winded way of historical references to Roman alphabets and to algebra. She also cites saving nerve tension; and saving the composer's time, trouble, and temper for not having to write sharps or flats; she also suggests that "more genius" will be able to come forth because it will not be stymied by the current notation system.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, her writing lacks the examples and testimonials of her first installment or of other professionals.

⁹⁶ E. L. Young, "Music of the Future," *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 4, no. 7 (1896), 112.

⁹⁷ Young, "Music of the Future," 113.

Following her series on Keyboard Notation and notation reforms in 1896, Young continued writing in four subsequent articles in 1897 about reforms and the learning and teaching of keyboard music. The first article, entitled, “Progress in Relation to Music,” appeared in the January issue, and it functions almost a manifesto for Young’s vision for Keyboard Notation. It is in this writing that she pivots from speaking primarily to professional teachers of music to other who might either teach children or teach themselves (as will become clear in her subsequent writings). Though she does not completely discount teachers and method books, she does describe the hand-wringing: “In my experience, the teachers all say they would be delighted if parents would consent to their teaching it [Keyboard Notation], while the parents say they can do nothing until the teachers take it up. Each party is waiting for the other.”⁹⁸ Ultimately, she dismisses both teachers and method books in favor of study at home.

Her next writing, “How to Learn Keyboard Music: A Paper of Practical Advice” appeared in the April issue of the magazine, and the second and third installments—“How to Teach Keyboard Music: A Paper for Mothers and Nursery Governesses,” published with the same title in two parts—appeared in the June and July/August issues, respectively. Within the first paragraph, it becomes clear to anyone who has read Young’s previous series that this one will also likely promote reforms in notation, though she does not directly reference her previous series, nor does she refer to the system of Keyboard Notation; she merely describes “the old notation” and “the old system,” referring to traditional staff notation. Perhaps her January writing was considered enough of a comprehensive explanation that she felt she could dispense with using the term Keyboard Notation. From this point, she seems to assume that anyone reading

⁹⁸ E. L. Young, “Progress in Relation to Music,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 5, no. 1 (January, 1897): 12.

will know which system she is promoting, because the brand Keyboard Notation does not appear as such again. This also presumes a steady readership that will have read her earlier work, and suggests that she decided or was asked to take a more accessible approach with her material—one presented in the form of a lesson. Indeed, “How to Learn Keyboard Music” takes a very similar instructional tone to Linders’ writings from 1892.

Young offers two lists that constitute the majority of her writing. The first, “The most important facts,” is about large-scale concepts (i.e., how notes on the piano are distributed) and scales: that the twelve pitches of the piano keys repeat, that the composer does not select notes for a piece indiscriminately (and the pieces contain changes of key to accommodate this), that it is important that students are familiar with the importance of scales, and that key changes common to each key are systematic. She follows it with the second, more specific, “Study of Chords”: that a chord is comprised of a chain of notes, that it is considered the same regardless of the order in which the notes are arranged, that it includes notes played simultaneously in any clef or range, that the most common chord is the “key-chord” (i.e., root position tonic, though she does not describe it as such), and that the notes of a given chord are not always played together.⁹⁹

In her conclusion, she asks, “To those who have already learned the old system [of written notation] I would only urge that their trial of the keyboard should be a full and fair trial. This means that they should study the system regularly for a short time, setting aside the old notation altogether, until the eye has become accustomed to the different range of intervals.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ E. L. Young, “How to Learn Keyboard Music,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 5, no. 4 (April, 1897), 127–128.

¹⁰⁰ Young, “How to Learn Keyboard Music,” 129.

This indicates that she seems to still be referencing Keyboard Notation, by alluding to the “different range of intervals” (see Figure 3.5 on page 93 of this writing). The purpose of this writing seems to be to get potential students and musicians away from thinking in terms of traditional notation without making explicit references to Keyboard Notation. Perhaps the system itself was badly received, considered too radical of a change, or Young herself had decided to try a different approach.

The subsequent installments, “How to Teach Keyboard Music: A Paper for Mothers and Nursery Governesses,” in the June and July/August issues, lend further credence to Young’s difficulties in finding an audience for Keyboard Notation. They contain both similar mentions of “the old notation” and “the old system,” and a lack of references to Keyboard Notation. Much of the advice (also in the form of lists) applies much more generally to teaching children and less specifically to promoting alternative forms of notation. All of the advice is, as the title indicates, aimed at mothers and “nursery governesses”—women presumed to have some musical experience even if they lacked high-level training. The children Young imagines also seem to be young children, who would likely have been pre-school-age or otherwise too young for more formal instruction outside the home.

Beyond the change in Young’s writing as a potential indicator of her struggle with finding an audience for her notational reforms, the 1897 writing suggests that *Shafts* was changing its material in an attempt to appeal to a wider audience. As previously discussed, editor Sibthorpe refused to allow *Shafts* to follow popular trends from New Journalism (e.g., entertainment, gossip, etc.), and she may have requested that Young expand her writing to include a wider—that

is, less exclusively radical—portion of the magazine’s readership.¹⁰¹ In no way was *Shafts* in danger of losing its radical moniker, but Young’s obvious change of audience in her 1897 writings indicates a wider change in the readership as well. Moreover, she and editor Sibthorpe still found *Shafts* an appropriate place to publish her calls for reform.

The December 1897 issue contains a short, pseudonymous item: “Music in the Drawing Room,” signed “Apis Mellifica.”¹⁰² In this article, the author begins: “Do you not think that one of the customs of society ‘more honoured in the breach than in the observance’ is that of beginning a general conversation so soon as the sound of the piano commences?”¹⁰³ The author notes that no other instrument or voice is treated in the same way, and that in addition to music recitations of poetry are also afforded more respect than music from the piano. She writes that there are, predictably, conflicting problems in treating this discourtesy: more popular or dance musics would not be suited to the time and place; not all pianists who love their art can afford to turn down drawing-room performances; and no pianist would want to compensate for being ignored by playing inferior music. The author concludes by saying that, “Those who cannot distinguish between one class of music and another can give the music the benefit of the doubt, and give to the pianiste [sic.] the same courtesy they would accord to anyone else.”¹⁰⁴ Mellifica concludes by saying that: if music is not wanted *for listening*, then it should not be provided; and

¹⁰¹ Beaumont, “*Shafts* and the Diffusion of Knowledge,” 6.

¹⁰² Apis Mellifica, “Music in the Drawing Room,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 5, no. 12 (December, 1897): 355–356.

¹⁰³ Mellifica, “Music in the Drawing Room,” 355.

¹⁰⁴ Mellifica, “Music in the Drawing Room,” 356.

that there are already drawing rooms where such open ignorance of music being played would never be permitted, which should serve as an example to everyone.

Apis Mellifica's writing, while only presenting one side of the argument, aligns well with the changes previously seen in E. L. Young's audience. The drawing room, both a respectable and feminized space, appeared more frequently in the pages of *Shafts* as the publication ran. Though editor Sibthorpe notably did not want to appeal to her readers in the same ways that more mainstream publications did, at this point in *Shafts*' history she may have had little choice in the wake of the paper's declining finances. *Shafts* and its writers maintained the elevated tone, regardless; there is resonance between Apis Mellifica's and Virginie Linders' 1892 writings where both writers describe things as they believe that they ought to be in an ideal musical world.

The final item of this survey in *Shafts* is a letter to the editor by Florence G. Fidler, penned in Newbury in August 1899 and published in the October–December issue (shortly before the magazine was discontinued). Fidler requests that the “Editress of *Shafts*” include her letter because it has plans to publish an in-depth report of the Women's Congress, and she wishes to register a formal protest as a musician. The Congress engaged a band of foreign male (Hungarian) musicians for its programmed entertainment and for social events surrounding it, and Fidler felt that a a band of “some of our own women musicians” would have been more appropriate choice for the *Women's* Congress. It would have been an excellent opportunity, she reasons, to showcase some home-grown talent to foreign guests, as well as, “to prove ... that English women as a whole are in advance musically of the women of any other nation.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Florence G. Fidler, “Letter to the Editor: Music at the Women's Congress,” *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 7, no. 3 (Oct.–Dec. 1899): 122.

Shafts: Music as a Radical Act

In this very radical publication, women were not only fighting for women's legitimate presence in music as a field but also advancing how seriously they were taking their own and each others' contributions to it. In spite of prevailing stereotypes in other media about women's place in music, E. L. Young and other contributors to *Shafts* apparently refused to cater to them. In *Shafts*, Young in particular modeled for readers what contributing substantial written work to criticism and journalism in music and music education at the time could look like, regardless of its eventual staying power. Virginie Linders in 1892 explicitly stated the attitude that would be necessary to do the kinds of work in music that women were fighting to do: "Study the books which men have written for themselves: counterpoint, fugue, harmony, instrumentation. Women can learn all these as well as men."¹⁰⁶

By including music among the topics of radical discussion in *Shafts*' pages, editor Sibthorpe promoted both of these perspectives, and thus encouraged her women readers to take an interest in and responsibility for their own musical education. This is, I contend, the true value of *Shafts*' material: it wholly rejected mainstream opinions and depictions of women in music, and made no apologies for doing so. It assumed that its women readers—at various levels of musical proficiency—were intelligent, capable, and eager to learn, and that they could be trusted with this responsibility themselves.

¹⁰⁶ V. Linders, "Women and music," *Shafts : a magazine of progressive thought* 8, no. 1 (December 24, 1892): 126.

The Radical Presses: Overview

Feminist magazines whose editors had radical tendencies offered an important contribution to the public intellectual space that Parkes and Bodichon had begun building with the *English Woman's Journal*. In terms of music content, the writers who published in their papers had a space in which to disregard the male opinions completely (if they so chose), and could do so with less censure than they would have in a more conventional publication. Even with this freedom, however, a consciousness of male attitudes did not immediately or completely disappear. These publications made contending with them more achievable, offered ways for women to begin to see them as products of ideology, and for them to interact with the roles that it relegated them to as roles. They could then choose how much they were willing to play them. In addition, the radical publications openly acknowledged women's full inner and intellectual lives—a fact often unacknowledged by both the male gaze and the “Angel in the House” ideology—and gave them a space to give voice to their experiences.

Moving in the next chapter from the radical press to the temperance press, we will see a number of similarities. Many of the temperance publications considered themselves adjacent to the feminist press, or else overlapping with them in terms of their stances and the kinds of materials they printed. Many had editors who were sympathetic to feminist causes, and who would in our own time have called themselves “allies.” Generally speaking, however, their feminism was less radical and more allied to the moderate feminist ideals popularized at mid-century that focused on liberal political ideas. The centering of women and women's issues in their publications remained the same—confirming them as overlapping with the feminist press; however, they were first and foremost *temperance* publications, advocating for abstinence from

alcohol and the social improvements that they believed it would usher in. Such improvements stood to benefit women immensely, but were not strictly a “women’s issue.”

Chapter Four: The Women's Temperance Press
The Women's Penny Paper, The Women's Herald, and The Woman's Signal

As discussed in Chapter 1, many of the self-described feminist and radical newspapers focused exclusively on women-centered content—their political engagement, enfranchising them with the vote and legal identity, resisting social expectations that prevented them from living independent lives—and did not include items of other interest. The temperance press was, generally, an exception to the “by and for women” intentions of the original feminist press because it promoted its own agenda that did not necessarily center women.

The *Woman's Signal*, which was published weekly from 4 January 1894 until 23 March 1899, was unusual within the feminist press because it was affiliated with temperance organizations, and so promoted reforms that did not necessarily center women as a core focus; it was also an exception in the temperance press in that it included feminist material outside of the temperance agenda and helped to illustrate why temperance was a feminist concern. Its “additional content” included New Woman fiction (particularly in the earlier issues), interviews, and accounts of successful professional women. It and its antecedents are the focus of this chapter.

Like the cover of *Shafts* (Figure 3.3), the woman depicted on the cover of the *Woman's Signal* (Figure 4.1) wears a chiton that alludes to statues of women and goddesses of classical antiquity; however, the figure stands still and not in an active posture as does the woman archer in the illustration from *Shafts*. In the *Woman's Signal* she is also depicted as a statue—the pupils of her eyes are invisible, and she strikes an appropriate pose. The angel in the masthead of the *Woman's Herald* (see Figure 4.3, page 105) looks less like a statue than does the woman in the

Signal, but her pose is less active than the archer in *Shafts* and her angelic status alludes obliquely to tropes of idealized femininity. These serve as subtle indicators that, while the *Woman's Signal* avoids portraying women as wives, mothers, and objects of male sexual desire, its content is not as radical as that of *Shafts* or of the *Review*.

Figure 4.1: *The Woman's Signal*, November 18, 1897

THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL, NOVEMBER 18, 1897.

ANOTHER
COCKBURN TEMPERANCE HOTEL,
13, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, BEDFORD ST., STRAND, LONDON.
100 Rooms. New Passenger Elevator. Electric Light. Telephone. Very Moderate.
Telegrams: "PROMISER," LONDON. Mrs. A. D. PHILP, Proprietress.

THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL
A Weekly Record and Review devoted to the interests of Women in the Home and in the Wider World.

Edited by
MRS. FENWICK MILLER.

No. 203, VOL. VIII. REGISTERED AS A NEWSPAPER. NOVEMBER 18TH, 1897. Every Thursday, ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

Principal Contents of this Issue.

Women Workers' Conference at Croydon: Conclusion of Report.
"The Better Organization of the Nursing Profession." By Mrs. Bedford Fenwick.
"The Nursing of the Insane." By Miss Honour Morton.
"The Women's Co-operative Guild." By Mrs. Greene.
"The Pain of the World." By Miss Clifford.
"Power in Work." By Emma Marie Caillard.
Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Women." (Continued).
Signals from our Watch Tower:
Treatment of Lady Speakers at Political Meetings; Tactics of the so-called "Parliamentary Committee for Women's Suffrage"; Proposed Anti-Vivisection Hospital; the Appointment of a Woman Relieving Officer for Outwetry; Women Sanitary Inspectors; the Report of the Inspectors of Factories; a new "Feminist" Paper for Paris; a Lady's Presentation to the Lady Mayoress of Leeds; Miss Willard on the Indian Parity Question; Letter from the late Duchess of Teck to the Greenock Needlework Guild.
Our Short Story: Betty's Story. By Ellen Macpherson.
Economic Cookery: Cookery for Convalescents (continued). By Katie Oulton.
What to Wear.
Elementary Teaching as a Profession. By An Old Teacher.
Current News for and about Women.
Our Open Columns. &c., &c., &c.

As Supplied to Members of the Royal Family.

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CONSOMMÉ differs in important essentials from any preparation that is being offered to the public. Meat extracts merely supply a basis for making soups and gravies. Maggi's Consommé is itself a perfectly made clear soup of the best quality, instantly prepared by the simple addition of boiling water, and requiring no other addition or seasoning whatever. In Continental families, Maggi is a "household word," because it represents results equal to the best achievements of the skilled cook. The Consommé is put up in gelatine tubes, which protect it from the air and ensure its keeping in any climate. This portability and keeping property, combined with the ease and quickness of preparation, make it invaluable for travellers. In the sick-room it is not only more palatable and more quickly prepared than beef-tea, but its food value is of high order. The *Lancet* testifies to its "real nutrient as well as stimulating properties." It is put up in boxes containing ten tubes or capsules, each of which will make ½-pint of strong soup, at the price of 1s. 8d. per box (post free 1s. 9d.). It can be obtained of all grocers, Italian warehousemen and chemists in town and country, or of the Sole Agents for Great Britain and the Colonies, COSENZA & CO., 95, Wigmore Street, London, W.

Paris Kid, 2/11, 3/6, 3/11, 4-Button. Paris Suede, 2/11, 3/6, 3/11, 4-Button.
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Emma Liggins notes that, “The image [of a mother and child on the cover of supplementary issues of the *Woman's Signal*] . . . linked the suffrage and temperance movements to child-rearing,” and that, “Motherhood is specifically linked to temperance through the idea of citizenship, which empowers women to protect their children from the denigrating effects of alcoholism.”¹ However, the illustrations were not always of women as mothers. Issues of both the earlier *Women's Penny Paper* (Figure 4.2) and the *Woman's Herald* (Figure 4.3) included pictures of women appearing in fashionable dress, but in no way attempting to look sexually alluring. Thus, while the *Signal* was overlapping with ideas from more radical publications in the feminist press, as the statuesque woman on its primary cover indicates, it often framed those ideas in ways that diluted them or that maintained the male-dominant status quo—particularly when motherhood was elevated as the noblest vocation and essential to the cause in temperance rhetoric. Even as the *Signal* moved away from being a strictly temperance engine in its later years, specifically under the editorship of Florence Fenwick Miller, it remained aligned with the moderate feminist thinking and liberal political ideas that were popular at mid-century. While this did much to advance the political enfranchisement of women, it put them at odds with their more radical counterparts.

¹ Emma Liggins, “Not an Ordinary 'Ladies' Paper': Work, Motherhood, and Temperance Rhetoric in the *Woman's Signal*, 1894–1899,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 616–17.

Figure 4.2: *The Women's Penny Paper*, December 8, 1888

WOMEN'S PENNY PAPER

The only Paper in the World Conducted, Written, Printed and
Published by Women.

No. 7. Vol. I.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1888.

[Price One Penny.]

Interview.



MRS. JOPLING-ROWE.

When you go to visit Mrs. Jopling-Rowe on an ordinary working day, she is almost certain to ask you to come into the studio and let her go on working while she talks. For she is one of the few artists who can work as easily with others in her studio, and who is unruffled even when interrupted at her work. She is an untiring worker and never seems more entirely content than when at her easel. She scarcely ever goes out by daylight; and it is such a habit with her to paint from morn till night that her intimate friends were glad when her art school out-grew the limits of her studio and had to be located elsewhere, for she must visit it once or twice a day and thus get some change from the air of her studio. But anything in the shape of sympathy for this close confinement is entirely lost on the artist herself. "I love work and I love London," she said once to someone who had nothing to do and was "babbling of green fields." She is as keen an appreciator of green fields as anyone else, and in the brief holidays she gives herself can be happily idle. But in London she is in a stimulating atmosphere, in the midst of a crowd of friends and acquaintances. As she paints a great many portraits it is only natural that she likes to be among people. One of her special characteristics is a great gift for making friends and she has an enormous circle of acquaintances, people who are interested in her and her work.

The length of her visiting list is a matter of interest because, to use her own words, "I have never paid a call in my life." A woman of native charm, who does really good work, has no necessity to run after the world—it does not forget her. Mrs. Jopling-Rowe's personal charm is that of extreme naturalness; she talks easily and readily, sympathises quickly, and—whether or no she is bored or pleased—makes everyone feel at home.

When I went to see her she had just come in from her art school and took me straight into her studio, which looked most delightful, with a bright fire and brilliant light.

"What are you doing now?" was my first question as I went in. "Portraits," was the answer, "and chiefly in pastels."

So I saw, at a glance. There was no large canvas, as there generally is at this time of year, in the studio, but a number of heads, some of them strikingly clever. Mrs. Jopling has the gift of catching a likeness to perfection. Her pastels are excellent; the heads stand out so boldly from the back-ground, and have such a look of freshness.

"Do you like the work?" I asked her, referring to the pastels. "Oh, yes, it is very interesting," was the reply. "One has to be so very careful; every touch must remain as it is first placed, there is no painting out and painting in again."

One of her oil portraits, which will be exhibited next year, is of a little girl with the most wonderful, large, limpid blue eyes, holding in her hands a bowl of violets; it is a most charming picture. Possibly she may yet begin a large piece of work for exhibition and finish it in time, as she is a very rapid painter. One of the attractions of pastel-work to her is that it is done so quickly. This seems curious, to one who is not an artist, remembering the extreme accuracy required. But Mrs. Jopling-Rowe's work has become even more accurate and careful of late years, as those who go to the smaller exhibitions and have noticed some of her studies to be seen in them, are well aware. Hers is a case to which Mrs. Fawcett's remark about the inconvenience of a woman changing her name applies; it was as Mrs. Jopling that she painted the two pictures which made her famous, "Five o'clock Tea," and the splendid portrait of Ellen Terry which now hangs in the supper room at the Lyceum Theatre. To the art world she remains Mrs. Jopling, although she is now Mrs. Jopling-Rowe.

On Monday Mr. David Murray inspected the month's work, and tickets of merit were given to the students signed by him and by Mrs. Jopling. She has always had a monthly visitor to inspect the work since she started the school in its own studio, and has found the plan a success. Different artists perform this office, so that the students hear criticisms on their work from various standpoints. Last month it was Mr. Boughton. She gives the students plenty to do. She shewed me her book, in which she writes out her plan of work for the month, and I made some notes of what was done in November. Each month she gives them a special painter to study; in November it was Raphael. Not only have they to study such of his pictures as we possess, but a drawing must be made from one of them, and, further, his life has to be read up and studied. Sketches of male and female dress have to be made from the period of the painter chosen. Then a composition has to be produced each month.

Then there are "memory" studies, in which a head is drawn by the school entirely from recollection, and "time" studies, which have to be finished within a limited time, &c.

Mrs. Jopling-Rowe, apart from her own artistic career, is doing excellent work at her school in teaching women-students to work in earnest. Her own example is one which they would do well to follow.

It is curious that the art-school studio is one which she herself built originally, at the bottom of the garden of the house she was then living in. The students give an afternoon tea on the last Monday in the month, when the certificates of merit have been given, and they and Mrs. Jopling-Rowe welcome anyone who is interested in the work, on that day.

I Thought I Stood.

PART I.

BY RALPH IRON (OLIVE SCHREINER).

I thought I stood in Heaven before God's throne; and God asked me what I had come for. I said I had come to arraign my brother, Man.

God said, "What has he done?"

I said, "He has taken my sister. Woman, and has stricken her, and wounded her, and thrust her out into the streets; she lies there prostrate. His hands are red with her blood. I am here to arraign him; that the kingdom be taken from him, because he is not worthy, and given unto me. My hands are pure."

I showed them.

God said, "Thy hands are pure.—Lift up thy robe."—

I raised it; my feet were red, blood-red, as if I had trodden in wine.

God said, "How is this?"

I said, "Dear Lord, the streets on earth are full of mire. If I should walk straight on in them my outer robe might be bespotted, you see how white it is! Therefore I pick my way."—

God said, "On what?"

I was silent, and I let my robe fall. I wrapped my mantle about my head. I went out softly. I was afraid the angels would see me.

Figure 4.3: The Woman's Herald, July 27, 1893



The Woman's Herald

FOR GOD and HOME and EVERY LAND

Edited by LADY HENRY SOMERSET and EDWIN H. STOUT.

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 (ESTABLISHED 1854. INCORPORATED 1875.)
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 MORTGAGE ASSET AT CLOSE OF 1892 - £904,000
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 WHEAT PHOSPHATES FORM BONE, TEETH, and MUSCLE.
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is made of the
 "FRAME FOOD" EXTRACT of WHEAT PHOSPHATES
 and pure Cane Sugar, and is a
MOST NOURISHING
 SUBSTITUTE for MALT EXTRACT.
 "FRAME FOOD" JELLY costs only 7d. per pound; MALT EXTRACT costs 3s.
 DELICIOUS eaten as Jam on bread, or in puddings.
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FRAME FOOD CO., LTD., LOMBARD ROAD, BATTERSEA,
 LONDON, S.W.

JOHN NOBLE'S HALF-GUINEA COSTUMES
 Direct from the Manufacturer to the public by means of the Parcel Post, at less than half the ordinary prices. A perfect revolution in the cost of garments for Ladies' and Children's wear, and value that has never before been considered possible is now offered to every reader of THE WOMAN'S HERALD for a short time only. Please note the following:-
HOLLAND COSTUMES for Ladies 10/6
 Quite the leading fashion, the material being a pure Lince Holland, in its natural drab shade, and almost everlasting in wear. Each costume is trimmed with rows of narrow White Braid, and thus forms an exceedingly neat and becoming garment for wear at any time, the price being only 10/6.
ZEPHYR COSTUMES for Ladies 10/6
 Pretty and effective Costumes are those made in the Princess Zephyr, a very fine cotton fabric that washes beautifully and looks so neat in its woven check effects of Navy, Slate, Sky, or Pink. Really dainty Costumes, trimmed White Braid, and costing only 10/6 complete.
MATELASSE COSTUMES for Ladies 10/6
 Made in Victoria and Cotton Matalasse Cloth, a pretty basket-work cloth, well adapted for the hardest wear, and washes beautifully. The colours are Pink, Sky, Navy, Fawn, or Grey, and each Costume is neatly trimmed with rows of narrow White Braid. Price only 10/6.
SERGE COSTUMES for Ladies, 10/6
 Made in John Noble's world-famed Cheviot Serge, guaranteed for durability, appearance, and sterling value. Colours—Navy, Brown, Myrtle, Green, Beesda, or Black. Each Costume trimmed Black Russia Braid, and supplied complete for the remarkably low price of 10/6. Any of these costumes packed in box and sent carriage paid for 9d. extra.
KNOCKABOUT FROCKS FOR GIRLS, 1/6
 Made in a loose-fitting style, with saddle top, long full sleeves, belt and pocket, and also supplied in any of the above named fabrics at prices quoted below. Every Frock is carefully made and properly finished, all slop-work being conspicuously absent. Nothing could be better for sea-side, school, or regular wear, and if the frock fails to please cash will be promptly refunded. Please consider these prices:-
 Lengths 21 24 27 30 33 36 39 42 45 inches.
 Price 1/6 2/- 2/6 3/- 3/6 4/- 4/6 5/- 5/6 each.
 Postage 1d. extra. The lengths stated are from top of neckband to bottom of skirt in front.
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 A WARNING.—There are now so many bogus companies and self-styled manufacturers endeavouring to trade upon the good name and reputation of reliable and old established firms that John Noble cannot too strongly caution his clients against misleading imitations, and therefore warns all readers that his Model Costumes and Knockabout, Frocks made in the above mentioned fabrics, can only be obtained direct from his Warehouse.
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"The name Cadbury on any packet of cocoa is a guarantee of purity."
 —Medical Annual.

"Cadbury's"

"The Typical Cocoa of English Manufacture. Absolutely Pure." — The Analyst.

NO CHEMICALS USED (As in the so-called Pure Foreign Cocoas).

Lineage of *The Woman's Signal*

As a publication, the *Woman's Signal* was directly descended from the progressive women's paper the *Women's Penny Paper*, founded in October 1888. It was published under that title until 27 December 1890, was then, from 3 January 1891 until 28 December 1893, published as *The Woman's Herald*, and was subsequently published as the *Women's Signal*—a title that in itself suggested awakening or call to action—beginning 4 January 1894 until 23 March 1899.² As the *Woman's Signal* it became the mouthpiece of one of the two largest temperance organizations in the UK that were female-exclusive: the National British Women's Temperance Union (NBWTA)—the other being the Women's Total Abstinence Union (WTAU) and its paper *Wings*.³

Gemma Outen writes that, preceding these two organizations and their publications, “[m]eaningful reform work in this male-dominated field [i.e., temperance] was often difficult and thus the British Women's Temperance Society (BWTS) was formed in 1876 as the first national, female-only banner for the undertaking of temperance work. Their journal, the *British Women's Temperance Journal* (1883–92), was “launched in co-operation with the male proprietors and editors of *The Crusade*.”⁴ Even though the BWTS was intended to be a female-only space, the *British Women's Temperance Journal* was still subject to male editorial control, both while *The Crusade* was in print and after it was discontinued in 1884.⁵

² Gemma Outen, “*Wings* and the *Woman's Signal*: Reputation and Respectability in Women's Temperance Periodicals, 1892–1899,” in *Women, Periodicals, and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s–1900s*, eds. Alexis Easley, Clare Gill, and Beth Rodgers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019): 566–67.

³ Outen, “*Wings* and the *Woman's Signal*,” 555.

⁴ Outen, “*Wings* and the *Woman's Signal*,” 555; see also Olwen C. Neissen, “Temperance,” in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, eds. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Aldershot: Scolar Press): 272.

⁵ “The *Woman's Signal*.” *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800–1900*.

It is worth remarking on the strong divide between middle-class ideas and the facts of working-class life that the temperance movement made clear. Advocates for temperance were overwhelmingly middle-class, and very often middle-class *women* because the movement's ideals aligned very well with the image of a woman at home exerting a steadfast-yet-gentle influence on her husband and children. It also extolled virtues of the Victorian middle-class ideas more generally (i.e., not limited to women): self-control, self-denial, thrift, rationality, and independence, shaped by evangelicalism and utilitarianism.⁶ Their ultimate goal was to control drinking, and specifically to control it in the working-class population as a means of “improving” people. This overlapped with some of the goals of the Chartist movement—a working-class political movement begun in 1836 and most active from 1838–1848, with which the temperance movement had been closely associated. Advocates wanted to show that working-class people were respectable when measured against middle-class standards.⁷ Perhaps predictably, a performative respectability cropped up around the issue. Middle-class advocates performed a middle-class respectability by doing temperance work; working-class teetotalers performed a working-class respectability, or else resisted the efforts advocates made which they understood as unwelcome social control. In many ways the temperance advocates were putting one proverbial social cart before a horse, in that they were doubling down on controlling one aspect of working-class life (alcohol consumption and sale) without addressing the larger systemic problems of poverty, crime, and miserable living and working conditions. One Victorian journalist wrote that “To speak of poverty and crime as the results of the consumption of alcohol is to betray not only

⁶ Joseph Kidd, “Temperance and Its Boundaries,” *Contemporary Review*, 34 (January 1879): 353.

⁷ Charles Graham, “Beer and the Temperance Problem,” *Contemporary Review*, 30 (June 1877): 73.

an unphilosophical habit of mind, but an ignorance or prejudice which is inexcusable.”⁸ The temperance papers, therefore, had an obvious reason to keep the price-per-issue low, even if they were aiming at a middle-class readership; a lower price meant the better distribution of their materials, and it performed an idea of acceptance and equality.

An important publication that preceded the *Signal* was *Wings*, the press organ of the WTAU and which was the first of the two women’s temperance organizations’ papers. It was launched in 1892 and by example effectively ended the male domination of the editorship of the BWTS’s mouthpiece. It continued to be a weekly temperance newspaper and to report temperance news, but it expanded to include “Bible readings, serial fiction, competitions, advertisements, and news from local branches.”⁹ Lady Henry Somerset, then-president of the NBWTA and who would go on to edit the *Signal*, sought to likewise develop its activities after expanding the content of its publication to include all types of social reform. Those on the executive committee who disagreed founded the WTAU and took *Wings* with them; Lady Somerset remained, and the BWTS was rechristened the NBWTA.¹⁰

Self-evidently, the price for the *Signal*’s predecessor, the weekly *Women’s Penny Paper* was one penny (1d). It maintained this price after it became *The Woman’s Herald* and also after it became *The Woman’s Signal*. The monthly budget edition sold at newsstands between 1894 and 1895 was also priced the same. A subscriber would pay 1 shilling sixpence (1s 6d) annually. The low issue price suggests an attempt at reaching a larger readership, and one that specifically attempted to include more working-class readers than other similar papers; given that the

⁸ Charles Walker, "The Veto Bill," *The Fortnightly Review* 59 (May 1883): 737.

⁹ Outen, “*Wings* and the *Woman’s Signal*,” 556.

¹⁰ Outen, “*Wings* and the *Woman’s Signal*,” 556–57.

Woman's Herald is where Margaret Sibthorpe learned the newspaper trade before founding *Shafts*, that experience may have inspired her to have her own feminist publication aspire to a larger audience as well.

The Women's Penny Paper and The Women's Herald

The *Women's Penny Paper's* editorship changed several times. When it was founded in 1888, Henrietta Müller was the editor (listed pseudonymously as Helena B. Temple); Mrs. Frank Morrison took over the editorship in 1892 after it had become *The Woman's Herald* in January 1891.¹¹ She was followed by Christina Bremner, who was followed by the team of Annie E. Holdsworth and Lady Henry Somerset. In 1893 Lady Somerset purchased the paper and shifted its emphasis significantly to focus on temperance issues; this caused the *Herald* to lose readership and revenue, and it folded in December 1893.¹² Rosemary Van Arsdel writes that, “Simultaneously with the decline and failure of the *Women's Herald* Lady Henry began [a new] *Journal*, published June to December 1893, which became the *Woman's Signal*, 4 January 1894.”¹³ She remained its editor until October of 1895, when Florence Fenwick-Miller took over her duties. Miller eventually purchased the paper, and was both editor and sole proprietor until she discontinued it in 1899.¹⁴

¹¹ Michaëlle Elizabeth Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 100–101.

¹² Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, “Mrs. Florence Fenwick-Miller and *The Woman's Signal*, 1895–1899,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 15, no. 3 (Fall, 1982): 109. Accessed November 26, 2020. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20082038>

¹³ Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, “Mrs. Florence Fenwick-Miller,” 109.

¹⁴ Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, “Mrs. Florence Fenwick-Miller,” 109.

The *Women's Penny Paper* (and its related descendants) was unique: it described itself as, "The only paper in the world conducted, written, printed and published by women."¹⁵ Where *Wings* had maintained its original branding as a temperance paper that included some auxiliary items of interest, the *Woman's Signal* took the "do everything" vision of its editor, Lady Somerset, to heart. Maria DiCenzo describes the paper as, "committed to broad coverage of news and events both in general terms and as they pertained more specifically to the advancement of women (emphasis mine)."¹⁶ She writes that:

It announced its policy on its first front page as 'progressive,' its goal, 'to supply our readers with general English and Foreign News in such a way as to place before them the leading questions of the day in plain and concise language, so that those busy women who have not the leisure to read the daily papers may so far acquaint themselves with the important events of the day, as to be able to form and express their opinion upon them.'¹⁷

The paper aspired to a near-universal female readership, and its price (1d) reflected this, though its content indicated that the majority of its readership was middle-class. Its policy described its reach as appealing "to the working woman as freely as to the educated lady; to the conservative and the radical, to the Englishwoman and the foreigner" (albeit an Anglophone foreigner.)¹⁸ The "working woman" in this case was much more likely to be a New Woman typist or store assistant than it was to be a woman in domestic service or working in a factory.

The *Woman's Signal* further hoped to break from traditions of "ladies' papers" by taking the interests of its diverse female audience seriously. It eschewed the sensationalism of tabloid

¹⁵ Maria DiCenzo, "Pressing the Public: Nineteenth-Century Feminist Periodicals and 'the Press,'" *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 6, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 2.

¹⁶ DiCenzo, "Pressing the Public," 2.

¹⁷ "Our Policy" *Woman's Signal*, (4 January, 1894): 1; quoted in DiCenzo, "Pressing the Public" 2.

¹⁸ "Our Policy," DiCenzo, "Pressing the Public" 2.

journalism as well as the conservatism and attitudes associated with “women’s interest journalism.” As DiCenzo further describes, “In these ways, it set out to be bold in tone, inclusive in appeal, and comprehensive in subject matter.”¹⁹ This aspiration was in relation to and, it could be argued, against the so-called Public Press. DiCenzo writes:

Much has been made of the proliferation of the periodical press in the [Victorian] period, namely the growing numbers of publications assumed to be serving the interests on increasingly specialized and narrow readerships...[D]iversification did not imply disengagement from public discourse; new publications situated themselves in relations to the wider press and public in deliberate and reflexive ways. While the feminist or campaign-based publications [including temperance] often defined their relationship to the established press in antagonistic terms, they nevertheless seized on [the established press’s] favorable coverage as a measure of the efficacy of their work.²⁰

The *Women’s Penny Paper* is one such example of a specialized paper that boldly made use of the mainstream journalistic conventions and the marketplace of the press. The paper requested entry to the reporters’ gallery in Parliament, specifically so that it could print original, reliable coverage of issues affecting women. This request was initially refused by the sergent-at-arms, who insisted that his refusal was based on his lack of authority to admit women to the gallery and his belief that the male journalists already present would resent the women’s intrusion.²¹

Coverage of the incident, as DiCenzo describes, took up much more space in the editorials, features, and opinion columns of other papers in the ensuing weeks than it would have if the reporters from the *Women’s Penny Paper* had simply been allowed entry.

This anecdote illustrates the overlap in aspirations between political and radical feminist publications for women and the temperance publications very tidily. It also shows what kind of

¹⁹ DiCenzo, “Pressing the Public,” 3.

²⁰ DiCenzo, “Pressing the Public,” 1.

²¹ DiCenzo, “Pressing the Public,” 3.

niche the latter were trying to carve out for themselves: a paper with a readership who appreciated their persistence in providing reliable coverage and information, one that did not chide them for “unladylike” behavior, and yet one that toed the line of moderate feminist ideals. As Emma Liggins points out, “Despite overturning the conventions of the ‘ordinary ladies’ paper,’ however, neither Somerset nor Fenwick-Miller could afford to entirely reject the crucial identity of “the lady” and the leisured domestic femininity it presupposed.”²² The different editors, but particularly Lady Isabel Somerset (also referred to as Lady Henry Somerset) and Florence Fenwick-Miller, had to ensure that the broader coverage of issues and topics of interest did not contradict their ambitions for social and political reform. At the same time, they had to balance overturning conventions of the “ordinary ladies’ paper” with maintaining their readership. As the following discussion of the paper’s publications in music will illustrate, they were remarkably successful.

The Woman’s Signal

Musical coverage in the *Women’s Penny Paper* fell squarely into Lady Somerset’s vision that the paper would “do everything,” but it was not until the *Woman’s Signal* came under the editorship of Florence Fenwick-Miller in 1895 that it would reach its aspirations. Contributions to the *Women’s Penny Paper*, later *The Woman’s Herald*, and eventually *The Woman’s Signal* were both signed and anonymous. All titles furthered work in (what seems to have been the goal of) presenting women’s successes in music to their readers.

²² Liggins, “Not an Ordinary ‘Ladies’ Paper,” 626.

During Lady Somerset's joint editorship with Annie E. Holdsworth of the *Woman's Herald*, and then her subsequent solo editorship of the *Woman's Signal* (1894-5), short notices and filler pieces describing women's musical accomplishments and praising the work of living women artists and composers regularly went to press amid the standard temperance fare. Though it was not until it printed Lucie Heaton Armstrong's two pieces in 1897 that the *Woman's Signal* began offering women advice on the professional development needed to realize their musical ambitions, earlier items kept readers aware of successful musical women and their activities.

Musical Coverage

Three anonymous musical items appear in the *Women's Penny Paper* (two from June 8 and November 30, 1889) and the *Woman's Herald* (September 7, 1893). The first, "Women in the World of Music" contained short accounts and announcements of both recent and forthcoming work and performances by nine major, internationally known women pianists (some also composers) and one vocalist: Dora Bright, Augusta Holmès, Jeanne Douste, Hanna Marie Hansen, Natalia Janotha, [Helen] Rootham, Marian Davis, Christine Nilsson, Adelina Juana Maria Patti (prima donna), and [Hermine] Spies.²³ Of these, Dora Bright's is by far the longest and most involved:

Miss Dora Bright's Pianoforte Concerto in A Minor was a particularly interesting feature in the program of the last concert of the Westminster Orchestral Society. The composer played the pianoforte part with great *aplomb* and was enthusiastically recalled. We quite agree with the query of *The Musical Standard*, 'Why do we not hear more often the Pianoforte Concerto by Miss Dora Bright, which was performed last winter at the Promenade Concerts with great effect?'

²³ Laura Seddon, "Members of the Society of Women Musicians," in *British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013): 184. Helen Rootham appears on the roster of members of the Society of Women Composers.

Surely such a musicianly composition should get a hearing before many of the chaotic works we from time to time hear at those concerts which profess to lead public opinion.’²⁴

Following this is Augusta Holmès:

Mdlle. Holmes [sic.] is not only a distinguished composer, but her own poet, for she never sets any words to music that she had not herself written. The first performance of her new work, ‘Lutèce, a Dramatic Symphony,’ took place in Paris, and was very successful. It is for three solo voices and chorus, and the choral portions show especial [sic] talent.²⁵

The remaining eight women accounted for are pianists (Douste, Hansen, and Janotha), songwriter-pianists (Davis), singers (Nilsson, Patti, and Spies), and one scholar (Rootham) who “was singled out by Sir George Grove as one of the most promising and hard-working scholars at the Royal College of Music.”²⁶

There is no mention of temperance or temperance societies in any of the announcements, though the advertised events do conform to the standards of wholesome recreation that the organizations wished to promote. The individual announcements, both brief and involved, mirror the kinds of advance notice of performances and compositions that appeared in professional and special-interest publications. The practice of referencing other publications and criticism (specifically the *Musical Standard* in the account of Dora Bright’s performance) is also visible. This suggests that the editors of the *Woman’s Signal* knew that readers often took other papers based on their interests. Column syndications such as this created editorial incentives to make a smaller paper’s content attractive to a larger one. Syndicating a column from the *Musical Standard* created a chance that the *Standard* would later reciprocate by re-printing a column from

²⁴ Anonymous, “Women in the World of Music,” *Women’s Penny Paper* 33, no. 1, (June 8, 1889.): 3

²⁵ Anonymous, “Women in the World of Music,” 3.

²⁶ Anonymous, “Women in the World of Music,” 3.

the *Signal*. Having a column or article re-printed in a larger, more prestigious paper could be good for both readership and prestige.

Similar short items appeared in the November 30, 1889 “Literature, Art, and Music,” announcements and notices of musical events happening in London. Among them were: the début of Joseph Joachim’s daughter as Elsa in *Lohengrin* under her stage name Marie Linder, the opening of Miss Agnes Bartlett’s series of four historical piano recitals in London, Miss Matilda Wurm’s successful piano recital at Prince’s Hall in London, Frau Wagner’s direction of the Bayreuth Theater as her eldest son came of age, Miss Dora Charles of Lancashire’s receipt of a scholarship in violin to the Paris Conservatoire, and the final concert in a series at the Albert Institute by the all-woman Shinner String Quartet.²⁷

These kinds of announcement and notice items within the paper were grouped as necessity and space dictated. In an issue where there were enough music announcements for them to be presented as one stand-alone article, they were; where there were not, then they were grouped with literature and art. While they regularly featured domestic talent, they also covered activities from the Continent (e.g., Frau Wagner, Miss Dora Child’s acceptance at the Paris Conservatoire). All of these items—musical and otherwise— vary widely in their scope, and are related inasmuch as they were all considered “notable events.” These were, however, mostly reporting the facts pertaining to musical events. They did not contain enough opinion, analysis, or criticism to be considered “reviews.”

The 1893 “Music in the Magazines” column in the *Woman’s Herald*—also anonymous—hinted at the kind of longer items that the future *Woman’s Signal* would print more regularly. It

²⁷ Anonymous, “Literature, Art, and Music,” *Women’s Penny Paper* 58, no. 2 (November 30, 1889): 70.

continues the practice of discussing content from other papers and magazines, specifically to highlight articles that would appeal to its readership. It makes reference to a paper titled “Woman in Song” read for the American Musical Congress by Lilian Nordica, and to an article in *Westermann* by A.C. Kalischer called “Beethoven’s Circle of Women.”²⁸ “Woman in Song” specifically praises the compositional efforts of “living ... women composers of great originality—Rosalind Ellicott, Ethel Smyth, Maude Valérie White, Augusta Holmès, Cécile Chaminade, Helen Hopekirk, and many more.”²⁹

Though brief and anonymous, these early bulletins show that women were interested in writing about music in more depth than what appeared in the “women’s interest” sections of major daily papers, and that they were interested in showing how women were advancing in musical fields.³⁰ The *Women’s Penny Paper* and the *Woman’s Herald* both had reason to promote these kinds of musical activity, since they conformed to temperance ideals for alcohol-free entertainment, but they specifically went out of their way throughout their respective publication runs to draw attention to women’s achievements in music to their largely-female readership.

Following Lady Somerset’s investiture as sole editor of the *Woman’s Signal*, featured articles on music and temperance became standard fare for the paper. Signed articles also became much more prevalent. Four such items appear in the *Woman’s Signal* in 1894: Isabel Somerset’s

²⁸ Anonymous, “Music in the Magazines,” *The Woman’s Herald* 29, no. 8 (September 7, 1893): 462.

²⁹ Anonymous, “Music in the Magazines,” 462.

³⁰ “Women’s interest,” which I discuss at length in Chapter 5, indicates a collection of topics considered to be of particular (and possibly exclusive) interest to women. They were gathered into a section, in the case of a major daily, or sometimes into a separate publication. They included, but were certainly not limited to: women's parliament, care of pets, children, health & beauty, successful professional or business women, women's ailments, women's sports, women's clubs, and advertisements.

(signed) censure of the “time-honored alliance of heavy liquor and light songs,” (January 25),³¹ Emma Cons’s (signed) call for the establishment of more temperance music halls (October 1894), Sarah Tooley’s (signed) interview with [the known socialite?] Mrs. Ormiston Chant on the removal of vice from entertainment and her opposition to the Empire Theater in London (November 1), and an unsigned review of Mrs. Chant’s speech at the Playgoers’ Club at St. James’s Hall (November 22). These four articles continued the alliance of the *Woman’s Signal* with temperance even as Lady Somerset set her sights as editor on “do[ing] everything.”³² The Empire Theater was part of a national chain and, though the article does not specify it, was likely the Moss/Stoll Empire Theater in London. Chant’s speech and protest work against the music hall more generally reflected the continuing influence of Victorian middle-class ideas of moral purity and the “rational” virtues on recreation. Music halls stood in opposition to the entire ideology, offering and even celebrating, “the pleasures of drink, gambling, and other features which were distasteful to reform lobbies.”³³

Music and the music-hall were favorite topics for all of these writers’ arguments for temperance. Isabel Somerset’s January critique aims specifically at “the current controversy about a music-hall singer, Charles Coburn by name.”³⁴ She cites Coburn’s then-recent

³¹ Isabel Somerset, “A Music-hall Song,” *Woman’s Signal* 1, no. 4 (January 5, 1894): 1. It is worth noting that her editorial credits read “Lady Henry Somerset,” but her writing and journalism credits are typically signed “Isabel Somerset.” See Tusan, “Humanitarian Journalism: The Career of Lady Isabella Somerset,” in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle*, 96.

³² DiCenzo, “Pressing the Public,” 2. Laura Ormiston Dibbin Chant was a women’s rights activist, social reformer for temperance and social purity, and writer. She was famous for her condemnation of music halls as sites of vice in 1894.

³³ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997): 125.

³⁴ Isabel Somerset, “A music-hall song,” 1.

performance at a music hall where he was hissed while performing a song “in which he acted the part of a drunkard ‘out on a spree.’”³⁵ She opens by saying that “the revolt against drunkenness is largely based upon the growing increase of individual self-respect,” but means to show through reference to Coburn’s performance that music-hall songs and similar entertainments depicting drunkenness humorously were normalizing these vices instead of helping to render them socially deviant. She offers an example from one text sung by the “Coburn chorus”: “Come where the booze is cheaper, / Come where the pots hold more, / Come where the boss is a bit of a joss, / Come to the Pub next door.”³⁶ She argues that the only way the “time-honored alliance of heavy liquor and light song” will be broken is if it ceases to be lucrative, and if those in the industry stop making money-making their primary goal.

Emma Cons’s call in October of the same year for more temperance music halls is in response to a previous unsigned item, titled “A Lover of Good Music,” in which the writer had called for more temperance music-halls in London. “The writer proposes ‘the formation of a company for opening temperance music halls, places where no strong drink or smoking will be allowed, where the entertainment will be refined and ennobling, but not goody-goody ...’”³⁷ She follows by describing a previous venture—the Coffee Music Halls Company (Limited)—that was “a *financial* failure but a *moral* success” [emphasis original] from 1880–1885. The Royal Victorian Hall on Waterloo Road, she describes, did similar work after the Coffee Music Halls Company closed, though it did not prohibit smoking as the original writer suggests. Their

³⁵ Isabel Somerset, “A music-hall song,” 1.

³⁶ Isabel Somerset, “A music-hall song,” 1.

³⁷ Emma Cons, “Temperance Music Halls” *Woman’s Signal* 42, no. 2 (October 1894): 252.

collective experience, Cons concludes, was costly, and she hopes that someone else can profit from it.

The first large item—Sarah Tooley’s three-column interview of Mrs. Ormiston Chant, printed in the November 1, 1894 edition—combines Lady Somerset’s editorial ambitions of furthering the temperance cause while providing items of political and social interest. Tooley’s interview necessarily centers Mrs. Chant’s work in the causes of purity and public decency, and she writes that, “Her [Mrs. Chant’s] womanly eloquence, supported by the manly attitude of John Burns, has won this great victory for purging of our places of public amusement from vice.”³⁸ As in both Cons’s and Somerset’s critiques, the music-hall functions as a site of the vices that the temperance movement is hoping to conquer. Mrs. Ormiston Chant makes it clear, however, in her critique of the Empire Theater that she does not regard *all* music halls this way, nor does she think that they should be closed or banned. She says:

My idea is that the music hall is the best form of entertainment on the whole for tired and hard-worked people, from the fact that the great variety of its entertainment prevents it from being an intellectual strain in the way that many stage plays are. There is not the least need for music halls to be deprived of refreshments any more than are the large popular concerts in Boston, America, where ice cream and chicken salad can be had as easily as tea and coffee, cake, and bread and butter. I never saw any refreshments provided at the Empire.³⁹

Her criticism of the Empire Theater’s music offerings is not that it *is* a music hall or that it offers light entertainment, but that it offers its patrons no opportunity to choose more wholesome forms

³⁸ Sarah Tooley, “The Empire Theater: An Interview with Mrs. Ormiston Chant,” *Woman’s Signal* 44, no. 2 (November 1, 1894): 273. It should be noted that Mrs. Chant’s primary objection to the entertainments at the Empire Theater was the promenade and not music hall entertainment. She describes the former as “an open market for vice.” Much of the non-musical portion of the interview concerns her views on prostitution and its connections with vice.

³⁹ Tooley, “The Empire Theater,” 274.

of refreshment than smoking and drinking alcohol on the premises (which is in line with more general efforts to clean up the content on the stages of the Moss/Stoll enterprise and make it more respectable). “The outcry from those who support the license,” she says, “has come from all sorts and conditions of the people, who are afraid that this is a covert endeavour to put down music halls.”⁴⁰ She believes wholeheartedly that it is not and should not be, but proposes a large place of amusement “in a prominent district like Bloomsbury” that could be designated as a place free from “mammon speculation” and safeguarded from being a “place of temptation.”⁴¹ *How* this would be achieved, she does not say. The interview concludes with a notice that “On the 11th of this month [November] Mrs. Chant has promised to address the Playgoers’ Club at St. James’s Hall. No doubt she will have much to say on the purification of the stage.”⁴²

The title of her lecture, printed in the anonymous review in the November 22 issue, was “The Modern Music Hall: Its Use and Abuse.”⁴³ The summary describes her speaking “for about half an hour on public recreations for all classes of people” to an audience of “ladies and gentlemen connected professionally with the entertainment of the people.”⁴⁴ Though she spoke about recreation more generally, the majority of the talk concerned her opinions on the recent refusal of the London County Council to renew the Empire Theater’s license, and reflected wider middle-class efforts toward social control. The talk was billed as the opening of a forum for Mrs. Chant’s views, following which they would be discussed. Her position in both Tooley’s interview

⁴⁰ Tooley, “The Empire Theater,” 274.

⁴¹ Tooley, “The Empire Theater,” 274.

⁴² Tooley, “The Empire Theater,” 274.

⁴³ Anonymous, “Mrs Chant at the Playgoers Club: By a Puritan and Fervent Lover of Art,” *Woman’s Signal*. 47, No. 2 (November 22, 1894): 329.

⁴⁴ Anonymous, “Mrs Chant at the Playgoers Club,” 329.

and the subsequent address were much the same, and echoed Somerset's description of the "alliance" between light music and heavy drink: the alliance needed to be broken by separating the entertainment (which she did not regard as inherently evil or prone to vice) from the drinking, smoking, and prostitution that accompany it. A spirited debate followed, ranging from a complaint that Mrs. Chant was the only one who seemed to be championing this matter, to the influence of Puritans and Christian moralists (with whom Mrs. Chant identified herself), to the material conditions that the Empire's previous *modus operandi* created.

Taken at face value, the temperance protests of music halls might not seem like a women's issue. Women were participating in the efforts as an extension of their temperance work, which would seem to be removed from the other issues that feminist papers were concerned with. However, music halls were often a site of prostitution (of both women and girls), and this changes the nature of the advocacy considerably.⁴⁵ The halls also ran counter to the middle-class ideas of moral purity and respectability that so many temperance advocates were striving for, particularly for women. Dave Russell has written at length on the depiction of women on the music hall stage, and he argues very soundly that the ideas of women that the musical hall presented were mixed. Performers had the potential to earn enough money to be financially independent, and often depicted women onstage who had a certain amount of sexual experience and liberation—not ideas valued by the moral purists. Russell argues that:

There can be no doubt that women were glamorized and commodified by some elements of the music-hall performance. This had always been the case to an extent, but the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw an acceleration of the process as managements sought to construct new styles which attracted the middle-class audience by cloaking a fairly sexually explicit product in the guise of

⁴⁵ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, 134.

refinement and art.⁴⁶

As though the portrayal of promiscuous women were not enough to offend the sensibilities of the protestors, the music-halls' late-century attempts to appeal to a middle-class audience only fueled the fire.

In 1895 three anonymous bulletins appeared. A feature article on "Dublin Ladies" that devoted half its space to Annie Patterson as "the First Lady Doctor of Music in the United Kingdom," appeared in the November 14 issue, and two short notices were placed/run in the September 5 issue: one reprinted from the *Daily Chronicle* about Madame Patti singing Wagner, and another about the collaboration of Rosalind Ellicott (composer) and Sybil Palliser (pianist) in presenting the composer's work in recital at the Gloucester Festival.⁴⁷ The *Woman's Signal* also printed a full-page interview of Agnes S. Buck signed by Sarah Tooley (January 10, 1895). The notices, perhaps predictably, are short, but maintain the same attitude as those discussed from 1894. The consistency in all of the *Woman's Signal's* announcements of this kind, regardless of editor, is that they present all of their subjects as advancing the cause of music by, for, or about women.

The article and the interview merit closer inspection, as they show how the *Women's Signal* presented features on women doing notable work in music under two different editors. Sarah Tooley's interview with Buck appeared in the January 10 issue under the Lady Somerset/Annie Holdsworth editorial team, and the feature that included Annie Patterson appeared in the

⁴⁶ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, 134.

⁴⁷ Anonymous, "Dublin Ladies," *Woman's Signal* 4, no. 88 (November 14, 1895): 151.

November 14 issue, shortly after Mrs. Florence Fenwick-Miller had taken over sole editorship of the paper.⁴⁸

One journalist in particular was closely tied to the *Woman's Signal*: Sarah Tooley. Tooley's legacy, as Terri Doughty describes it in her essay, "Representing the Professional Woman: The Celebrity Interviewing of Sarah Tooley," was entirely tied up with establishing other women's names, work, and professional standing. In the 1890s, however, she was a respected journalist in Britain, and made her career conducting professional interviews of notable celebrities.⁴⁹ Most of her work from the 1890s was bought for and printed by women's magazines and newspapers. The editors of the *Woman's Signal* were particularly interested in printing her profiles of successful women, which served both their purposes of presenting aspirational models to their readers and of offering counterarguments to people who said that women could not be successful in various professions. Her profiles offer glimpses into the social backgrounds, lives, and work of the women that she interviewed, but Doughty remarks that they also allow for meta-examination of "the production of the woman professional."⁵⁰

Tooley was herself one of these women professionals in "production" at the time, but because of the *Woman's Signal's* desire to present profiles of successful professional women to its readers she contributed to that presentation as well—to quote an expression oft-used during the COVID-19 quarantine, she was, "building the ship while she sailed it." Her professional life

⁴⁸ Van Arsdel, "Mrs. Florence Fenwick-Miller and *The Woman's Signal*, 1895–1899," 109-110. Miller took over the editorship in October, 1895.

⁴⁹ Terri Doughty, "Sarah Tooley," 165.

⁵⁰ Terri Doughty, "Sarah Tooley," 165.

was, in many ways, an excellent example of the kind of work to which a woman with serious critical or journalistic aspirations would aspire.

Tooley's interview of Buck in the *Woman's Signal* maintains the style and breadth of her previous work. Though it is titled "A Woman Composer: An Interview with Mrs. Agnes S. Buck," Tooley presents a picture of a woman with a very full, active musical life in Bedford who also happens to be a composer, though neither woman specifies how much of this work was professional and how much was amateur (i.e., unpaid). In full, Buck was a composer, conductor, pianist, and founder of both the Bedford Ladies' Orchestra (BLO) and the Bedford Ladies' Art Club (the latter included music among other arts), and none of these activities were separable from the others. As came to be expected in Tooley's interviews, the two women talked about specific subjects: Buck's devotion to musical activity throughout her life, the popularity of barrel organs, and the women's societies that she helped to start. Around these chosen topics (all of which have headings—another feature of Tooley's style) their additional ideas congregate.

Overshadowing the whole interview is the Buck family's impending departure for Barbados, where Buck's husband had been appointed headmaster of the Lodge School. Her worry that she would not be able to continue the kind of musical life she enjoyed in Bedford is present throughout, but both she and Tooley assure each other that opportunities in Barbados will present themselves, especially to a woman of her abilities and ambition, and that creating similar communities of women in art will be a matter of organization.⁵¹

⁵¹ Tooley, "A Woman Composer," *Woman's Signal* 3, no. 54 (Jan. 10, 1895): 18.

The BLO, more than any other single venture, seems to have contributed the most to Buck's diverse portfolio of musical work and talent. In addition to her position as its conductor, she describes its collaborative opportunities for composing and arranging as excellent practice:

I have learned to write for the different instruments. The piano is my special instrument, but that did not give me sufficient experience for writing band music; I needed to know about the violin, the cello, and the others. Now I am able to score for nearly all the instruments in an orchestra.⁵²

At the time of the interview, the BLO had thirty members, having increased steadily from the twelve members they had begun with in 1881. Buck cites Miss Mary Cheetham “the leader—a gold medallist of the Royal Academy” as her concertmaster, and describes “meet[ing] with a young lady who was a good violinist and who would train with me as a ‘leader,’” as her first task toward founding a similar orchestra in Barbados.

Tooley rounds out the interview by describing Buck's other accomplishments:

Not only is Mrs. Buck a talented musician and composer, but she has great intellectual ability and took high honours in the Cambridge examinations. Zoology is her favorite science. She is also fond of outdoor sports, especially tennis, golf, and rowing. Around her drawing room hang pictures which show her skilling painting. She is also in full sympathy with the various progressive movements of the day and anxious to see women able to develop the best talent which is in them.⁵³

Her aim in the conclusion seems to be to present Buck's musical life as one piece of a vital existence that happens to be a woman's life. She is presenting her like a professional, but one in the context of a life that many women readers could resonate with. It is worth noting that the *Signal* does not emphasize where Buck's financial resources came from—likely she was financially independent or had a rich husband. Likewise, she does not list her professional status

⁵² Tooley, “A Woman Composer,” 18.

⁵³ Tooley, “A Woman Composer,” 18.

as “composer” in the 1891 census.⁵⁴ It would be impossible to tell from this writing whether she was consistently paid for her work. Leaving this point unacknowledged allows Tooley to write in favor of Buck's achievements while glossing over the fact that her wealth and husband's support are what allow her to pursue them.

The portion of “Dublin Ladies: Dr. Annie Patterson and Others,” devoted to Patterson presents her very differently. Where Tooley chose a more intimate, conversational style for her interviews, this article could easily stand in as a professional bio for Dr. Patterson. While it mentions some early-life interests in painting and poetry, it focuses strictly on Patterson's musical ambitions and the monument of her achievement as “the first woman to win the same degree [as HRH Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, honorary Doctor of Music] by her own musical attainments,” from the Royal Irish Academy of Music in Dublin⁵⁵ The author spells those attainments out in detail, emphasizing that Patterson's degree is the first to be won exclusively on merit by a woman. For the prerequisite Bachelor of Music (which she received alongside a B.A. in literary studies, both with honors, in 1887), Patterson had to submit “a month previous to the examination, a score of an original musical composition, and unless this exercise [was] approved by the examiners, the candidate [was] ineligible for examination.”⁵⁶ A similar composition is described as required for the doctorate in music. For these degrees, she submitted *The Raising of Lazarus*, a sacred drama for soloists, chorus, and organ accompaniment, and *Finola*, an Irish cantata based on the legend *The Children of Lir*, for which she supplied both an original score and libretto.

⁵⁴ “Agnes Buck,” 1891. UK census. <https://ukcensusonline.com/>

⁵⁵ Anonymous, “Dr. Annie Patterson, and Others,” *Woman's Signal* 4, no. 98 (November 14, 1895): 305.

⁵⁶ Anonymous, “Dr. Annie Patterson,” 305.

The difference between these two profiles shows both the priorities of the editors and the ongoing changes in the climate for how women working in music could be presented. Though the gains may appear small from year to year, they show that women's work in music was steadily being taken more seriously and that the male gaze and associated sexism, under which women performers' participation in public musical life had been represented, was beginning to lose influence.

Tooley's interviews could never be called unprofessional—she went to great lengths to make her work appear as steady, unassuming, and objective as possible.⁵⁷ This was alongside the reputation of the interview as an initially controversial form of journalism, one often considered impertinent and obnoxiously intrusive.⁵⁸ In an interview with Eliza Lynn Linton, one outspoken critic of the interview as journalism, Tooley rebuts its detractors by saying that, “improved communications make the world a less isolated and insular place, a positive sign for human development,” and that it has very serious cultural, educational, and social potential.⁵⁹ However, to call her interviews “objective” is misleading. They were designed to be inspirational, even aspirational. As Michelle Tusan remarks, women's papers were very interested in promoting “heroic narratives of women who acted in very public ways against inequality.”⁶⁰ Doing so not only advanced the material causes that they were campaigning for (e.g., women entering the professions, gaining the vote, etc.) but it also worked to combat conservative images of women in the wider press. The radical presses in particular were interested in tearing down the “freakish

⁵⁷ Doughty, “Representing the Professional Woman,” 170.

⁵⁸ Doughty, “Representing the Professional Woman,” 168–9.

⁵⁹ Doughty, “Representing the Professional Woman,” 169.

⁶⁰ Tusan, *Women Making News*, 131; 104.

creation of the mainstream press's parodies," specifically of the New Woman, but also of the equally unattainable Angel in the House.⁶¹

1897 was indisputably the strongest year for writings about the music profession as a career for women in the *Woman's Signal*. While there is no provable causation between the profile on Dr. Patterson and this notable increase in coverage—i.e., no one specifically wrote, “In light of Dr. Patterson’s achievements, we are going to discuss professional development”—the correlation, to me, seems clear. The article featuring Patterson, while not nearly as intimate as either of Tooley’s interviews, suggests that such narratives as interviews offered *were* intended to be inspirational, and that women seeing other women succeed encouraged them to do likewise. To this end, the paper offered articles with practical advice on professional development. This meant not only that women could be inspired by the successful women that they saw, but that they could also learn what they would need to do if they wanted to imitate them.

Lucie Heaton Armstrong published two separate series features on professional development for women in music: “Music as a Profession” (published in two parts on July 22 and August 5, 1897) and “Music as a Profession for Women” (published in four parts on August 12, 19, and 26, and September 9), plus one stand-alone article on stage deportment and platform manners (September 16). These are perfect indications of the use to which Florence Fenwick-Miller planned to put the *Woman's Signal* under her editorship. Each installment not only gave sound, practical advice for women’s professional development in music, but it did so on specific topics. She begins the first of the articles on July 22 with a no-nonsense disclaimer that would carry throughout the series:

⁶¹ Doughty, “Representing the Professional Woman,” 169.

No one should enter the musical profession without first counting the cost. The man who planned the lofty tower without sufficient means to complete it was sensible in comparison with the person who begins music lacking the patience and energy which are necessary before any one can become proficient. ... And how hard a professional student works! What long passages she commits to memory, how she wrestles with every difficulty, repeating the troublesome phrase again and again.⁶²

Armstrong leaves no one reading in any doubt of the high standards that must be met, or of the sacrifices that the aspiring musician is expected to make:

The work of the singer is exhausting, but the hours are not so long as those which are required of the pianoforte student. It is easy to overwork the voice, but the pianoforte student can hardly work too much; the life must be given up to study, and society and recreation but very sparingly indulged in. The strain on the physique is great: body and mind are alike weary after long hours of continuous practice required by this exacting instrument.⁶³

When she gets past her descriptions of the rigor and conditions of the music student to giving advice, she immediately proposes that the student should “[join] one of the excellent institutions which exist both in London and abroad for the cultivation of music.” She advises this for the enhancement of the student’s “‘all-round’ musical life,” for which solitary study can never be exclusively fulfilling. The substance of the July 22 installment concerns the inner life of the student and how to conduct oneself upon entering music school.

The second installment in “Music as a Profession” was printed in the August 5 issue, and in it Armstrong focuses on sight-singing and sight-reading as an essential skill for aspiring young musicians. “[I]n English academies,” she writes, “it is very rare for a pianist to find any opportunity of reading at sight; only those who play with the orchestra get any practice of this

⁶² Lucie Heaton Armstrong, “Music as a Profession,” *Woman’s Signal* 8, no. 186 (July 22, 1897): 58.

⁶³ Lucie Heaton Armstrong, “Music as a Profession,” 58.

kind, and these, of course, are the pick of the whole institution.”⁶⁴ Armstrong particularly laments the lack of training in sight-reading in English music conservatories because “No one could become an accompanist who could not read at sight, and we must remember that a good accompanist is always wanted though there is comparatively little scope for solo players.”⁶⁵ She then writes at length and in great detail about the process of sight-reading, as though she were instructing a student in a private lesson, and assures them that “Courage and industry are the only means for acquisition of this gift, but it is worth any trouble to acquire.”⁶⁶

The following series in four parts, “Music as a Profession for Women,” concerns four subjects: “Where to Study” (in two installments; I: The Royal Academy of Music, II: The Royal College of Music, The London Academy of Music, and the Guildhall School of Music), “The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” “Pianoforte Teaching and Accompanying,” and the final item in the series, though not indicated as such, “Platform Manners for Musical Performers.”⁶⁷ The London-centric nature of the advice is, at this point, taken for granted by the author, the editors, and the readers.

Both installments of “Where to Study” give an abundance of practical information for each institution. The Royal Academy of Music (RAM) is accorded an installment to itself, and Armstrong makes much of the institution’s historical significance, saying that:

However many new institutions may arise, the old Academy student will feel as if the Royal Academy was the only possible place. . . . An indolent girl could

⁶⁴ Lucie Armstrong, “Music as a Profession [Part 2],” *Woman’s Signal*, 8, no. 188 (August 5, 1897): 91.

⁶⁵ Lucie Armstrong, “Music as a Profession [Part 2],” 91.

⁶⁶ Lucie Armstrong, “Music as a Profession [Part 2],” 92. Her advice sounds remarkably contemporary.

⁶⁷ Lucie Armstrong, “Platform Manners for Musical Performers,” *Woman’s Signal* 8, no. 194 (Sept. 16, 1897): 183.

scarcely fail to be aroused by the feeling of all the hard work which was going on around her; whilst an ambitious one would naturally feel a genuine pride in thinking that she was helping to keep up the fine old traditions of the place.⁶⁸

She then proceeds to chronicle as much practical information as possible—indeed, much of the article sounds like a prose version of a program catalogue in a contemporary student handbook. Information about the cost of attendance (per term), timing of examinations, recommended and allowed curriculum and courses of study, awards, competitions, student living arrangements, scholarship opportunities, names of notable female students and current female faculty are all included. The same information is included for each of the institutions in Part II, though Armstrong emphasizes their more moderate fees and effectively casts them as more affordable alternatives to the RAM.⁶⁹ Though she says nothing disparaging about any of the institutions that she reviews, the Royal Academy was her clear favorite—itsself suggestive of the social positioning of both herself and her expected readers. Attending the RAM was an enormous investment, and the awarding of scholarships was relatively recent (particularly anything approaching a full scholarship). Other schools were not as class-exclusive, though still had clientele from socially elite backgrounds. The Royal College of Music (RCM) in particular was ahead of its time in terms of making scholarships available to working-class students.⁷⁰

The practical advice in the third installment, “The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” like much of Armstrong’s recommendations, sounds remarkably contemporary. After some throat-

⁶⁸ Lucie Armstrong, “Music as a Profession for Women, Where to Study, I,” *Woman’s Signal* 8, no. 189 (Aug. 12, 1897): 122–123.

⁶⁹ Lucie Armstrong, “Music as a Profession for Women, Where to Study, I,” 122–123.

⁷⁰ David C. H. Wright, *The Royal College of Music and Its Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 55. Wright notes later on that, though scholarships were available, woodwind and brass scholarships were closed to women until after the First World War.

clearing about how amateurs might rush to play a piece in public ill-prepared, she claims that the Academy student will not do this, because she has the credit of the Academy and of her professor to consider. Then she begins her straightforward advice:

The student should enter the Academy with a definite idea as to her future career; it may not be carried out—and, indeed, it often turns out perfectly different from what had been planned—but it is well to have some definite aim at the commencement, and work up to it as far as possible.⁷¹

Her refrain—that work strictly as a piano soloist is in short supply at the best of times, and that only a *very* few achieve fame or fortune by it—repeats throughout the series, but she is happy to suggest alternatives for those who are willing to investigate alternatives to the traditional solo career. She recommends teaching and playing for private events or in private houses. For the latter, she recommends going through an agent whenever possible so that there is an advocate in the process for negotiating a fee: “Having an agent saves either pianist or singer from appearing ill-natured when she refuses to play at parties without fee, she can simply say her agent won’t allow it, and this saves her from making herself cheap.”⁷² She advises those students who are early-career and still donating their services to charities or playing for very modest fees that they should keep things on a “business footing” and charge a modest fee to avoid getting stuck in a situation of playing for nothing. Where an organization’s concert-giver cannot give a fee, Armstrong suggests playing “for expenses” (e.g., a guinea for gloves and cab fare) because, “it is much better for her to ask it, as people will think more of her than if she came for nothing.”⁷³

She elaborates that playing in public always costs the student *something*—be it physical or

⁷¹ Lucie Armstrong, “Music as a Profession for Women, The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” *Woman’s Signal* 8, no. 191 (Aug. 26, 1897): 138–39.

⁷² Armstrong, “The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” 138.

⁷³ Armstrong, “The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” 138.

mental taxation, cab fare, new gloves, flowers, sheet music, or other professional paraphernalia—and that, “If ‘expenses’ were supposed to include a correct proportion of the money spent on the musical education, and the wear and tear of mind and body consequent in getting up a piece well enough to perform it in public a very much heavier bill would go in to the entertainer.”⁷⁴

Sophie Fuller’s outline of the career of Rosabel Watson suggests a kind of portfolio career for which women might have welcomed Armstrong’s advice. Watson originally came from a working-class family, and had to find many ways to put her musical training toward making ends meet. Fuller writes that, “in the early 1890s she founded the Aeolian Ladies’ Orchestra, an ensemble in various incarnations that she was to manage and direct into the 1920s . . . in February 1894 . . . Watson conducted an unnamed orchestra at the Theatre Royal in Cambridge for the first performance of Shakespeare by an all-female cast.”⁷⁵ Demanding a fair wage was one of the principles that Armstrong insisted on in a world where situations like Watson’s were commonplace for women who wanted to make a living.

Armstrong’s original article not only offers practical, straightforward advice, but it treats as fact certain shared ideas between the author and her readers: that women can and should be paid for the work that they do in music, that they have a right to decline engagements for which they are *not* paid, that women making music engage in physical and intellectual rigor to do so, and that a woman must be enterprising and business-minded about her career if she is serious. There is no dithering or questions about whether women *ought* to be doing any of these things, or about the perceived femininity of such pursuits. As for business acumen, she writes: “I often

⁷⁴ Armstrong, “The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” 138.

⁷⁵ Sophie Fuller, “Women Musicians and Professionalism in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries,” in *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780–1920: New Perspectives on Status and Identity*, ed. Rosemary Golding (London: Routledge, 2018), 162-163.

wonder that more pianists do not emigrate—there are out-of-the-way places (such as the Bahamas, for example) where there are no pianists yet many music lovers, where an enterprising person might get up a good connection.”⁷⁶ She cites “artistic temperament” as at odds with business sensibilities, and advises that having an honest agent for faithful friend to help manage the business part of one’s career is likely the best way forward.

As a parting note, she says:

I am glad to see that women musicians are beginning to recognize the benefits of co-operation, and there are several companies of lady glee singers, lady mandolin players, and ladies’ orchestras, which get a good many engagements during the season at concerts, parties, and bazaars. . . . Women are no longer content to run in the old grooves, but are showing much more enterprise than of old, and much more appreciation of the value of co-operation, so it is to be hoped that there will be far more openings for lady musicians in the future than there has been in the past.⁷⁷

This single paragraph, as much as anything else Armstrong contributed to the *Woman’s Signal*, indicates how much editor Florence Fenwick-Miller had expanded the publications’ content beyond its original temperance intent to appeal to more liberal feminist readers. None of the moderate feminist material is directly at odds with temperance or suffragist values, but specific mention of temperance is nowhere to be seen.

The fourth installment in this series, “Pianoforte Teaching and Accompanying,” continues Armstrong’s theme from Part III that the student may end up musically in a very different career than she imagined when she first began. “Whatever ideas the pianoforte student may set out with,” she writes, “she generally ends by teaching.”⁷⁸ To this end, but also to making a career as

⁷⁶ Armstrong, “The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” 138.

⁷⁷ Armstrong, “The Chances for the Solo Pianist,” 139.

⁷⁸ Lucie Armstrong. “Pianoforte Teaching and Accompanying,” *Woman’s Signal* 8, no. 193 (Sept. 9, 1897): 171.

a pianist more generally, she argues that skill in accompanying is crucial. Her attitude is that soloists may come and go, but an accompanist who is known to be good and reliable can get steady work. “Good accompanists are very rare, and once people get used to them they like to keep to them.”⁷⁹ She takes a similar attitude toward teaching, whether as a supplement to other playing work or as a second phase following a performing or accompanying career. Private teaching, she notes, is the most common way of teaching, though she recommends getting a position at a school if one can be found. She recommends earning a professional qualification as well, specifically Fellow or Associate of the Royal Academy of Music, as a way for female students to distinguish themselves in an already-saturated market.

While not specifically included in the series “Music as a Profession for Women,” Armstrong’s final installment in the *Woman’s Signal*, “Platform Manners for Musical Performers,” continues her advice on professional development. She offers advice on concert comportment and “presenting well” because amateurs very often do not do it well, and insists that it is necessary for a professional to distinguish herself by looking like one. “When the great Mrs. Siddons was asked the secret of her stage success, she replied that it was ‘*taking time*.’ Hurry is usually the prominent characteristic of of an amateur’s manner, and there is nothing that has such bad effect upon an audience.”⁸⁰

In addition to taking one’s time, Armstrong strongly advises practicing even the smallest details of stage deportment before a concert: “It is better to practise your curtsy beforehand, or you will not do it nicely at the time. Be sure not to wear any bracelets that are likely to rattle

⁷⁹ Armstrong. “Pianoforte Teaching and Accompanying,” 171.

⁸⁰ Armstrong, “Platform Manners for Musical Performers,” *Woman’s Signal* 8, no.194 (Sept., 16, 1897): 183.

while you play, it is better to have your wrists as free as possible.”⁸¹ She is equally frank about manners:

Affectations of all kinds are unbearable on the platform, either for singers or players; simplicity, combined with dignity and a pleasant expression, are the best passports to the heart of an audience. Study the manner of the best players and singers, those that you see at the Monday [P]opular [C]oncerts for example, and you will find that they are all extremely quiet and unpretentious.⁸²

As with her advice on the business of negotiating a fee for playing, Armstrong continues to treat as fact a certain assumption: women performers desire to be good musicians, not good “women musicians.” Nowhere in her discussion is there any explicit mention of appearing ladylike or feminine. Gracious, dignified, pleasant, unpretentious—all of these virtues apply to performers equally.

The *Woman's Signal*: Negotiating a Feminist Middle Ground

Below Armstrong’s final article is an advertisement that, while not musical, indicates some of the editorial work going on to balance the perceived radical tone of some of the writing appearing in the *Woman's Signal*. The ad is for Liebig Company’s Extract of Beef, and it includes an image of a well-dressed woman wearing an apron and preparing some of the advertised product. Emma Liggins noted this tendency in her article, “Not an Ordinary ‘Ladies’ Paper’: Work, Motherhood, and Temperance Rhetoric in the *Woman's Signal*, 1894–1899,” and its ability to negotiate domestic and radical femininities:

⁸¹ Armstrong, “Platform Manners for Musical Performers,” 183.

⁸² Armstrong, “Platform Manners for Musical Performers,” 183. This refers to the famous Monday Popular Concerts, run by music publisher Chappell at St. James's Hall.

In such negotiations ... the *Woman's Signal* was successful in appealing to a heterogeneous readership, including housewives, mothers, working ladies, 'total abstainers,' and suffrage activists. The strategies of the New Journalism—printing chats about middle-class cookery alongside reports of suffrage demonstrations and temperance meetings—helped to maximize this appeal. ... Despite overturning the conventions of the 'ordinary ladies' paper,' however, neither Somerset nor Fenwick-Miller could afford to entirely reject the crucial identity of "the lady" and the leisured domestic femininity it presupposed. By making strategic decisions about where to place adverts, Fenwick-Miller mitigated the *Signal's* radical messages about female professionalism and political reform, heralding a new kind of feminist periodical.⁸³

Liggins's observation that the placement of the advertisements softened the radical messages of some of the printed writing is crucial to the series. It likely allowed Armstrong to keep her non-nonsense articles free of admonitions to aspiring musical women to be feminine and ladylike. However, she does not, as V. Linders does in the short bulletin in the December 3 issue of *Shafts* in 1892, open by saying that, "The chief cause of women's inferiority has been—marriage," or in the December 24 issue of the same year that women must, "study the books which men have written for themselves; counterpoint fugue, harmony, instrumentation. Women can learn all these as well as men."⁸⁴ These statements might have seemed too radical in tone, if not in spirit, for the *Woman's Signal*. Admittedly, Linders' contributions to *Shafts* preceded Armstrong's in the *Woman's Signal* by approximately five years: the writer or her editors may have felt that such statements were common knowledge and did not bear repeating.

An additional contribution featured in the July 8 issue in the regular column "What Can Our Daughters Do For A Living?" by the Reverend W. Wynn Robinson and was entitled "A New

⁸³ Emma Liggins, "Not an Ordinary 'Ladies' Paper': Work, Motherhood, and Temperance Rhetoric in the *Woman's Signal*, 1894–1899," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47, no. 4 (Winter 2014): 626.

⁸⁴ V. Linders, "Women and Music," *Shafts* 1, no. 5 (Dec. 3, 1892): 68; V. Linders, "Women and Music [continued]," *Shafts* 1, no. 8 (December 24, 1892): 126.

Opening for Girls in Music.” He describes very favorably the Handel Festival and his pleasure that under the new conductor—Mr. [August] Manns—the number of women in the orchestra has risen considerably. He wrote in response to a short announcement in a recurring section called “Signals from Our Watchtower” in the June 17 issue of 1897:

At the Great Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace a considerable number of ladies have played in the band. They were quite numerous in the string department, two even playing the great double bass-viol, [i.e., double bass], two others appeared as flutists. There are none at present in the Handel orchestra playing on wind instruments, in view of the great success of the Park Sisters with their cornets at Queen’s Hall, at the British Women’s Temperance Association public meeting, it is quite possible that the next Handel Festival may find some women among the instrumentalists in brass.⁸⁵

Reverend Robinson, while skeptical of “expecting to see a large accession of ladies in the brass instrument department of the orchestra,” thinks that, “there is a section of the band to which I think ladies might with great advantage turn their attention, and that is the wood wind [sic].”⁸⁶ Though his writing conforms to all of the professional advice and development writing that has been shown by other authors, (e.g., describing the cost of instruments, advantages over stringed instruments, and the histories of some of the more common ones), he does take a paragraph to address the presumed objection that these instruments are not ladylike. He cites against it that “the father of a now eminent violin player was most strongly dissuaded from letting his daughter learn that instrument,” both for its unsuitability as an “unladylike” instrument and that it would not pay.⁸⁷ He, naturally, paid no heed, and his daughter was able to be successful on an

⁸⁵ Anonymous, “Signals from Our Watch Tower,” *Woman’s Signal* 7, no. 181 (June 17, 1897): 376-378. Contemporary readers of *The New Yorker* might see a resemblance to the “Talk of the Town” section.

⁸⁶ Rev. W. Wynn Robinson, “A new opening for girls in music,” *Woman’s Signal* 8, no. 184 (July 8, 1897): 27–28.

⁸⁷ Robinson, “A new opening for girls in music,” 27.

instrument that once would have been denied her on the basis of sex. Undoubtedly, Robinson's refusal to lend the imagined objection any real merit is why the *Woman's Signal* was willing to print the article.

Between its less-than-radical portrayals of women in both illustrations and in text, the temperance press generally fell short of the aspirations for women's empowerment that the feminist press had originally espoused. This put their feminist work on a middle ground between more radical papers with targeted audiences and the more general "women's interest" papers that had wider readerships that I will discuss in the next chapter. The organs of the temperance press also had more than one cause for which they were fighting, where other more radical papers did not. While the ideals and ends of feminist causes often aligned with those of temperance organizations, the two movements were not synonymous. The temperance movement did not always center women in its considerations; likewise, feminist movements were not always in compliance with temperance ideals. When the two sets of ideas did converge, publications like the *Woman's Signal* became possible.

Chapter Five: The Women's Interest Press
Woman's Life, Womanhood, and The Englishwoman

As periodicals became more specialized in the late nineteenth century, a substantial portion of editors devoted specific content and even entire publications to women and their perceived interests. Literature and literary journalism were the first to open some of this intellectual territory, once women gained reputations as authors; music journalism followed suit. These publications took many different sizes and stances, and published writing by an equally varied pool of contributors. The titles included the publications discussed in this chapter: *Woman's Life, Womanhood, and The Englishwoman*.

The history of women's interest magazines requires some quick introduction. The successive repeals of the advertisement, newspaper stamp, and paper duties in 1853, 1855, and 1861 respectively created a favorable market for both sales and readership. Hitherto, the taxes on publications printing “news” in newspapers and periodicals had made including domestic news, politics, and public affairs into a financial burden for small publishers.¹ To avoid this, “women’s interest” publications in the early and mid-century tended to focus on “dress, consumer goods, and manners,” content intended to be “innocent and amusing reading material as an alternative to the daily newspapers.”² During the 1850s they began to include more practical advice for women's lives, and some began including more political content beyond the “women’s

¹ See also Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 340–41; 357.

² Jeffrey Auerbach, “What They Read: Mid-Nineteenth Century Women’s Magazines and the Emergence of a Consumer Culture,” *Victorian Periodical Review* 30, no. 2 (Summer, 1997): 121, 135. Accessed December 2, 2020. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20082979>

parliament” news reporting section.³ Even the women’s publications that aimed at an audience of all women, such as *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*—which ran weekly from 1858–1864 and was famous for both its practical homemaking advice and for Mrs. Beeton’s recipes—were influenced by the more politically-vocal publications like *The English Woman’s Journal*.⁴ Many such general publications relied on advertising in addition to sales revenue to much larger extents than many of the smaller, more targeted papers, and so made efforts to keep their respective circulations up, their advertisers happy, and their costs manageable into the turn of the century. After the so-called “taxes on knowledge” were repealed and printing news no longer came at additional cost, such publications often added columns about news, politics, and women’s employment while retaining practical living and entertainment items.

What Constituted the Women's Interest Press?

Unlike some smaller papers that styled themselves as a combination of feminist and radical thought, publications providing “women’s interest” materials aimed their content at a much broader audience. The writers and editors largely assumed that women constituted the majority of their respective audiences, and that women’s perspectives were of intrinsic interest. They centered their magazines accordingly. Within those assumptions, they accommodated a range of political opinions and viewpoints. Some of these publications (and others similar to them) included information and advice about women’s work and employment, but steered away

³ Auerbach, “What They Read,” 122.

⁴ Such titles as these were quite common, and perhaps underscore my need to disambiguate *The Englishwoman*, which I discuss on pages 54 (note 2) and 161 of this writing.

from other more controversial subjects (e.g., vivisection, vegetarianism, some women’s political rights considered “radical”, etc.) that papers like *Shafts* and *The Englishwoman’s Review* printed more regularly. At the same time, they were more than willing to print announcements of women’s successes in various fields, and interviews with women who were gaining access to the professions. Doing so served to endorse women’s career successes, even if the writers and editors were not promoting political and social equality in so many words.

This chapter explores three examples of publications that printed items that they self-described as “women’s interest” at the turn of the century: *Woman’s Life*, *Womanhood*, and *The Englishwoman*. Many such topics continue to be staples of self-styled “women’s interest” magazines today. Together, the three titles offer a general picture of musical content then thought to be widely appealing to upper- and middle-class women, and which upheld the kinds of sensibility and respectability expected of their audiences. Compared to some of the previous self-styled feminist content—particularly what appeared in *Shafts* and the *Review*—the music writing in *Woman’s Life*, *Womanhood*, and *The Englishwoman* did not openly challenge the status quo of gender roles in music, though it did include reporting on women’s successes. These three publications vary widely in scope and cost from penny papers to aspiring literary quarterlies.

Woman’s Life

Woman’s Life began publication in December, 1895 and ran until September 1934. For this thesis I include content printed from 1896 to 1905. The magazine ran weekly, with forty-eight pages of material plus the cover, for 1 penny (1d).⁵ Its departments covered a wide variety

⁵ “Woman’s Life” in the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers, 1800–1900*.

of topics: health and beauty, “women who are talked about,” fashion and millinery, chats and interviews with well-known women, “the working woman’s cookery column,” “how women may earn a living,” household management, society gossip, and “hints from our music master.”⁶ This publication also had a wide circulation—noted at 200,000 in 1896.⁷

Figure 5.1: *Woman’s Life*, January 28, 1899

WOMAN'S LIFE. No 164. Jan. 28th, 1899.

FREE PAPER PATTERN GIVEN AWAY WITH EVERY COPY.

WOMAN'S LIFE



**GIVEN AWAY
TO EVERY READER**

**THIS WEEK:
PAPER PATTERN
OF
LITTLE
GIRL'S COAT.**

Self-explanatory Pattern of Tailor-made Costume, 1/1 post free.

No. 164. Vol. XIII. ONE PENNY. Jan. 28, 1899.

**PAPER PATTERN OF LITTLE GIRL'S COAT PRESENTED FREE
TO EVERY READER.**

⁶ “Woman’s Life” in the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers, 1800–1900*.

⁷ “Woman’s Life” in the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers, 1800–1900*.

The cover from 1899 (Figure 5.1) gives an excellent idea of how publications in the “women's interest press” approached their intended readership. The woman depicted is walking with her daughter, who may be wearing a coat similar to the pattern advertised. The woman is fashionably dressed, but not sexually alluring or provocative—women as mothers is the illustration's focus, and judging by their dress, the woman's daughter is being brought up under the same ideas and restrictions.

I examined seventeen items related to women's interest in music from *Woman's Life* between 1896 and 1905, in various departments. Of these, three are related to musical techniques and practical skills for amateurs, and appear in or near the “Hints from Our Music Master” column; three are titled as “chats” or interviews with musical professionals; eleven are anonymous items (including one poem).

The three items that specifically cover musical skills all appeared between 1896 and 1898. “Music for Dances” appeared first in the “Hints from Our Music Master” column in the March 7, 1896 issue, and extols the virtues of good music for dancing. The anonymous “Music Master” gives a list of specific piece recommendations, sorted by style, and offers advice for individuals wanting to engage professional performers, as well as for amateurs who may wish to play for less grand occasions (or who cannot afford to hire a band). Whatever the occasion, the writer optimistically encourages the purchase of “good” scores, and states that the proper execution of them is what makes a performance successful and not the prestige of the event or the price of the score. There is no mention of any women composers in the list of works recommended.

The second item, “To Read Music at Sight,” appeared in the April 4, 1896 issue. It does not appear under the heading “Hints from Our Music Master,” but the topic seems to have been treated similarly. Though the title does not specify, this essay is specifically directed at sight-reading for piano. The techniques that the author describes will likely sound familiar to anyone with musical training—and much of it has merit: to begin with accessible material, to read music both fluently and easily, to play as accurately as possible, and to be disciplined about practicing—but the writer’s tone is noticeably more pedantic than in the previous column. On the one hand, the author “maintain[s] the positive fact that a girl could teach herself from the beginning and play, if not professionally, at least sympathetically and fluently,” but on the other describes, “the slipshod, feminine way” of rolling chords instead of “striking all the notes of the chords together . . . full and clear.”⁸ It is likewise prescriptive, recommending that beginners practice out of “a large edition of ‘Hymns Ancient and Modern’ . . . for the time is slow and grave, the print very clear, and if you are beyond reproach in your church-going, the tunes well-known.”⁹

The third essay, “How to Commit Music to Memory,” is similarly instructive, but directed specifically at violinists—itsself an indication of women’s advancement in music. The violin had been considered unsuitable for women up to and even after the 1870s; by the 1890s there were only pockets of adherence to the old ideology. The essay also makes no mention of “slipshod, feminine” anything, but the instructions are written as they would be spoken in a lesson. “When you do this,” and, “An excellent way to help you,” are common phrases.¹⁰ As with the previous essay, the techniques and advice are practical and useful, and probably sound

⁸ Anonymous, “To Read Music at Sight,” *Woman’s Life* 2, no. 17 (April 4, 1896): 173.

⁹ Anonymous, “To Read Music at Sight,” 173.

¹⁰ Anonymous, “How to Commit Music to Memory,” *Woman’s Life* 10, no. 120 (March 26, 1898): 159.

familiar to anyone who has tried to memorize music. Devoting a page-long article to the subject with no digs at feminine *anything* does more work more than it says: in addition to teaching a musical skill, it takes for granted that women are both intellectually capable of memorizing music and that they are interested in doing so. “To Read Music at Sight,” make similar gestures toward education, but it does not express the same kind of confidence in women’s abilities as “How to Commit Music to Memory.”

The three “chats” and interviews (variously titled as such) appeared between 1897 and 1903. Of these, three concern notable women composers and performers, one treats a male composer, and one a woman who was employed as the matron in the Guildhall School of Music. All of these interviews are illustrated with professional photographs—that is, photographs that both depict them as professionals, and were of professional quality. They illustrate a significant change from writings offering advice to women musicians to showcasing the achievements of women in the field.

The first interview was printed in the column “Chats with Well-Known Women” in the February 27, 1897 issue. The interviewee was Mrs. Charles P. Smith, then-matron (in-text, “superintendent”) of the Guildhall School of Music.¹¹ The anonymous interviewer was most interested in the close relationship that Mrs. Smith has with the female pupils. In her estimation, Smith’s female students are in very good and capable hands—which ought to reassure their mothers—and the female students are being professionalized. Students are instructed in how to

¹¹ Hugh Barty-King, *Guildhall School of Music and Drama: A Hundred Years’ Performance* (London: Stainer and Bell, Ltd., 1980): 24. “Superintendent,” or in Barty-King’s description “Lady Superintendent,” lacks the contemporary associations with administration. Based on the interview, her duties were similar to a matron’s, looking after the students’ health and well-being. Her husband was the GSMD’s Secretary (a significant administrative position in an important conservatoire).

manage both the logistics of performing tours and the money earned from them, including making promises to Smith that they will regularly set earnings aside so that a tour culminates in a “nest egg.”¹² At this point, a male gaze (or an internalized one, if the anonymous interviewer is female) is still quite strong: Smith is a member of staff in the Guildhall School of Music and professionalizing her young women students, and her work is framed in the interview as “mothering.”¹³ While this information likely has a basis in fact (especially since Smith related it to the interviewer), it also caters to the status quo and the ideal of woman-as-mother and woman-as-homemaker. This likely made Smith’s position more palatable to parents sending their daughters to music school and to the broader readership of the interview.

In the August 24, 1901 issue, Lena Guilbert published a collective interview with two women composers—Liza Lehmann and Florence Gilbert—with brief mention and a photo of Alice Eaty, under the title “Some Famous Music-Makers.” At the end of the article is also a short mention of a young male vocalist, Harold Garstie, but it is a report of some of his recent success in Germany without any interview. The tone of Guilbert’s piece is remarkably different from the previous items, both the instructional piece and the interview with Mrs. Charles P. Smith, but mirrors descriptions seen in interviews with prominent women in music in other publications. Guilbert writes of Lehman that, “[She] is delightfully feminine, combining superior force of character with that extreme modesty and retirement which is often, happily, allied with true

¹² Anonymous, “Chats with Well-Known Women: Mrs. Charles P. Smith,” *Woman’s Life* 5, no. 64 (1897): 65.

¹³ Anonymous, “Mrs. Charles P. Smith,” 64.

genius.”¹⁴ She stands as an example to the *Englishwoman's* readership of a married woman who is also a composer, having studied in Rome, Wiesbaden, and London.¹⁵ Both she and Florence Gilbert (“Miss Florence Gilbert,” in Guilbert’s writing) take pride in being excellent “all-round musicians,” and both indicate that they have persisted in multiple lines of musical work. Gilbert was a student of both Jenny Lind (for voice) and Arthur Sullivan and John Stainer (for composition and counterpoint). At the close of her interview, Guilbert makes a show of how well-traveled Florence Gilbert is, and how the townhouse that she and her sister share is “replete with attractive souvenirs collected during their various visits to foreign climes.”¹⁶ This suggests that the status of “famous music-maker” is still one very much reserved for women of ample or independent means.

In 1902, an anonymous interview with Caroline Lowthian (the *nom de plume* of Mrs. Cyril Prescott) appeared in the column “Chats with Some of the Foremost Composers of the Day.”¹⁷ Of all the interviews with women composers, hers is the most like a professional’s. She discusses her compositional process at length, which the previous interviewees did not, and she discusses her opinion of writing on commission (negative). The interview also gives the company—Messrs. Cramer & Co.—where her new waltzes were available for purchase. In addition to Lowthian’s interview was one with “another very successful lady composer of dance

¹⁴ Lena Guilbert, “Some Famous Music-Makers,” *Woman's Life* 23, no. 298 (1901): 461. At hearing this description, I wondered whether I had ever heard Beethoven or Liszt described as possessing “extreme modesty.”

¹⁵ Guilbert, “Some Famous Music-Makers,” 462.

¹⁶ Guilbert, “Some Famous Music-Makers,” 462.

¹⁷ Anonymous, “How I Write My Dance Music,” *Woman's Life* 25, no. 317 (1902): 202, 204.

music” (her name not appearing in the article’s title): Mrs. F. Harrison Blyth, who published under the name “Agritte.”¹⁸

In these two interviews, *Woman’s Life’s* support for women’s professionalization grows progressively stronger and more obvious; this may also have had something to do with the interviewers as well. The approach from interview to interview puts the male gaze in a weaker position each time: the interviewees go from “mothering” to “feminine” to “successful lady composer.”

The eleven anonymous items (nine short, plus two longer) are intended for a *very* general readership. The format of these items—short, general, not referential to specific times or events, and not reporting “news”—seems likely to be a holdover from when government stamp duties were still charged on publications printing news items. Of all the items in any of the publications I examined, these are where sexist attitudes are the easiest to see. The titles, which include “Choosing a Wife By Music,” “Music and Matrimony,” “Music in the Kitchen,” and “The Sweetest Music,” are mostly anonymous, prescriptive, and reductive. “Music and Matrimony” (December 26, 1896) advises young men to choose a wife based on what music she plays and how she plays it: Strauss [presumably Johann] indicates frivolity, Beethoven impracticality, Liszt too much ambition, Verdi sentimentality, etc.¹⁹ The items that appear in “Choosing a Wife By Music” (1901 and 1903) follow a similar pattern. “The Sweetest Music” (1905) admonishes readers to “acquire the right tone in speaking,” (i.e., in a general speaking voice) and to “take care that the tone in which you speak’ is gentle and sweet.”²⁰

¹⁸ Anonymous, “How I Write My Dance Music,” 204.

¹⁹ Anonymous, “Music and Matrimony,” *Woman’s Life* 5, no. 55 (1896): 133.

²⁰ Anonymous, “The Sweetest Music,” *Woman’s Life* 38, no. 486 (1905): 62.

The very fact that these general items are addressed to men while being printed in this women's magazine places the male gaze front and center. Not only does it prioritize men's pleasure (visual and auditory) over women's artistry, but it also encourages women to cater to specific male fantasies when they are deciding what to play for particular suitors or romantic prospects. This is a visual as well as an auditory catering, since specific kinds of music are supposed by the anonymous writer to indicate specific feelings or passions in the player, and there is an assertion that different styles of music (in this case, piano music) make different demands of the player's body and movement, which the listener will presumably be watching.

The anonymous nature of much of the writing makes it difficult to tell for certain whether the contributing writers of these kinds of items to *Woman's Life* were female or male.²¹ Small details like the name of the column "Hints from Our Music Master" (as opposed to "Our Music Mistress"), comments like "in the slipshod feminine way," and the prescriptive tone of a number of the smaller items leads me to believe that if the contributors to *Woman's Life* were female, they suffered from an internalized male gaze more obviously than did the writers for other periodicals in this study.²² This also does not rule out that fact that some of the anonymous writers discussed across this thesis may have been men. Whatever the case, in *Woman's Life* the male gaze is the most obvious—and the most catered-to—compared to the other publications previously discussed. In *Shafts*, for example, Virginie Linders openly defies it; in most of the

²¹ These kinds of "women's interest" materials represent the departure from my original principles for collecting materials: writing by women, from publications edited by women, intended for women readers. It became instructive to include materials by male or possibly-male authors when they were writing about women working in music *and* when their articles would have appeared alongside content intended for women. As previously stated, it is impossible to know whether the authors of the anonymous items were men or women writing through a particularly thick lens of the male gaze.

²² See both "Music for Dances" *Woman's Life* 1, no. 13 (March 7, 1896): 555; and "To Read Music at Sight," *Woman's Life* 2, no. 17 (April 4, 1896): 173.

other publications there is general disregard of it; in *Woman's Life* it seems to be driving much of the conversation.²³

Womanhood

Womanhood: the Magazine of Women's Progress (hereafter *Womanhood*) began publication in December 1898 and ran monthly until June 1907.²⁴ Doughan and Sanchez describe it in *Feminist Periodicals 1855-1984* as an "'improving' magazine" and one containing "very little feminism."²⁵ In the opening issue, editor Ada S. Ballin remarked that:

I venture to think that there is plenty of room for the present publication, as it is intended for a class of women whose intellectual and physical needs have not been extensively catered for. I intend to devote the pages of *Womanhood* to subjects which appeal more especially to intellectual and highly-educated women, and to supply them with a more solid literary diet than other papers offer. At the same time, the political interests of women will be by no means neglected. One of the most important features will be the advice on hygiene, personal health and beauty culture.²⁶

Its sections included "women's parliament" (i.e., parliamentary news pertaining to women's interests), materials focused on successful professional and business women, and more niche content focused on health and beauty, care of pets, women's ailments, women's clubs, and women's sports, among others. Each issue contained both engravings and photographs, with

²³ For Virginie Linders' views, see V. Linders, "Women and music," *Shafts: a magazine of progressive thought* 8, no. 1 (December 24, 1892): 126.

²⁴ "Womanhood" in the *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers, 1800-1900*.

²⁵ David Dougan and Denise Sanchez, *Feminist Periodicals 1855-1984. An Annotated Critical Bibliography of British, Irish, Commonwealth and International Titles* (Brighton, U.K: The Harvester Press, Ltd, 1987), 21.

²⁶ Dougan and Sanchez, *Feminist Periodicals 1855-1984*, 21; quoted in "Womanhood" in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900*.

seventy-eight pages of content and thirty of advertising per issue, and it sold for sixpence (6d).²⁷ “Very little feminism” in this case likely signifies a lack of suffragist propaganda printed in its pages. The editor and contributors seem to have had no qualms about printing substantial content on, or stories about, successful women, but they seem to have been reluctant to proselytize. “Successful” also seems to have had a flexible definition. As seen on the cover of the June 1899 issue (Figure 5.2), women braving the harsh climate of the Klondike were described in terms like “courageous,” “determined,” and “skillful.” Likewise, with thirty pages of advertisements in a given issue, the magazine did not aspire to the status of a high-level literary title and may have tempered some of its material to suit. Like *Shafts*, *Womanhood* appears to have had one editor (Ada S. Ballin) throughout its existence, though many female contributors’ names appear on record. Thus the content of the paper likely reflected the editor’s tastes and politics as well.

²⁷ “Womanhood” in *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900*.

Figure 5.2: *Womanhood*, June 1899

VOL. II.—No. 7.

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JUNE, 1899.

WOMEN IN KLONDIKE.

By PEGGY WEBLING.

WHILE Spring has slowly come to us in "the old country," with its wealth of primroses and carpets of violets, the prison doors of snow and ice that divide the daring gold hunters in the Klondike district from the outer world are drifting open under the breath of warm Chinook winds and grey-blue Western skies.

The city of Vancouver, British Columbia, the key of this modern Canadian Eldorado, is already busy with a steady throng of people going northwards, and in the miscellaneous crowd—composed of mining experts, "hustling" Canadians, "tough" customers from the United States, and adventurers from the East and West—there are many dauntless women, ready to face the long journeys and rough fare—to quote the slang of the boom, "the whole outfit" of hardship and work with unflagging energy and courage.

There is a great rush this year for Atlin Lake, because it is not half so difficult to reach as the now famous Dawson City, and there are glowing reports as to the quantity of gold to be found there.

It is a four days' trip by steamer from Vancouver to Skagway; then it is seventy-five

miles on the rail to Atlin, to be accomplished in three days with a good team of dogs—and thereby hangs a tale. A few weeks ago there was a most exciting race from Atlin to Skagway, between two Canadian ladies who were equally courageous, determined and skilful with "the lines."

The bet between them was a thousand dollars, and they both started at the same hour from Atlin, Miss Smith travelling by herself in her little sleigh, and Mrs. Bronson accompanied by her husband. So the chances of winning



A DAWSON FAMILY.

Three items of musical interest appeared in *Womanhood* between 1899 and 1905: an announcement of the conferral of Annie Patterson's degree of Doctor of Music by the Royal Irish Academy of Music (Volume 2 Issue 7, 1899), a poem by Constance M. Lowe titled "Music" (Volume 13, Issue 76, 1905), and an interview by Ethel Lion with "A Popular Lady Harpist" named Edith Martin (Volume 2, Issue 12, 1899). These three items are typical of the coverage that *Womanhood* gave its subjects.

The announcement of Patterson's achievement of Doctor of Music noted that she was the "only woman in the United Kingdom who has earned the distinction Doctor of Music . . . through her own exertions" (instead of as an honorary degree).²⁸ In addition to listing her preceding degrees and accomplishments, the announcement notes that she "has written many musical compositions and shown her ability as a teacher of the pianoforte, conductor, and organist."²⁹ This announcement appears in the second of two columns alongside others, including an account of the ninth annual meeting of the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union (where the practicality of hats and long skirts was debated) and a report that American women in Illinois were protesting the use of nude women's images on advertising posters.³⁰ While the Patterson announcement is, by nature, short and offers information instead of opinion, what information it offers is uniformly positive and credits Patterson with achieving the degree on her own merits. There is no mention of what she looks like or what her family connections are, apart from the fact that she is Irish; indeed, it would be easy to imagine the announcement being written about a male musician of similar achievement.

²⁸ Anonymous, "Miss Annie Patterson is the only woman . . .," *Womanhood* 2, no. 7 (1899): 24.

²⁹ Anonymous, "Miss Annie Patterson," 24.

³⁰ Anonymous, "Miss Annie Patterson," 24.

Constance M. Lowe's 1905 poem "Music" is more conservative in its content and represents a literary contribution that happens to have a musical subject. In five stanzas it conveys much sentimentality—music "mak[es] discords sweet," music is soothing and comforting, and there are references to birds singing, children laughing, Orpheus, and the voice of God—but none of it is openly gendered. While not openly supporting advancement in music or anything similar, the poem's focus seems to be on intensity of feeling rather than on to whom (i.e., men or women) those feelings should belong.

In *Womanhood's* pages, it is Ethel Lion's 1899 interview with Edith Martin, a popular harpist, that showed the most support for women succeeding in music. As Lion notes, Martin was an American harpist (born in Boston), who seemed to like life in London as an expatriate enough to make it permanent. Lion presents the interview like a drawing-room conversation, complete with narrative about securing the interview and arriving at Martin's house. The conversation she relates is mostly about Martin's beginnings on the harp (for which she credited her mother) and her instruction with specific teachers, both in Boston and later at the Vienna Conservatory.³¹ Between her extensive instruction and the private at-homes for which she had played that season (including "Mrs. Ronald's, Madame Guy d'Hardelot's, and Signor Ducci's, where such great artistes [sic] as Melba, Plançon, Ancona, and Hollman appears"), Martin is a textbook example of the kind of professional-level artistry that the women of *Womanhood's* readership were aspiring to.³² She had the distinction of gaining favorable reviews from the trenchant Viennese critic Edouard Hanslick. Lion wrote that, "However severe Mr. Hanslick may have been on some

³¹ Ethel Lion, "A Popular Lady Harpist," *Womanhood* 2, no. 12 (1899): 460–61.

³² Lion, "A Popular Lady Harpist," 460.

artistes [sic], Miss Martin can have nothing to complain of, for he is a great admirer of her playing and has written several flattering things about her.”³³ She had also played a very successful concert at Salle Erard in June of that year, where “the audience was unusually demonstrative.”³⁴

For a “magazine of progress,” as it styled itself, *Womanhood* was not in the vanguard of women’s advancement in music. Between its intended audience, its reliance on advertisements to remain solvent, and its lack of political or organizational affiliation, this is not a surprise. The musical coverage largely supports the status quo, and catering to idealized social stereotypes of women is evident. Ethel Lion makes sure that her readers know that Edith Martin gained Edouard Hanslick’s approval—propping up the idea that famous professional men can confer status on women who pursue validation from them, and thus that musical and intellectual value is a gift that men benevolently bestow on women instead of a thing that women achieve on their own merits. The announcement of Patterson’s earning her doctorate conveys mostly information, though it does present her achievement in a positive light. As with the *Woman’s Signal*, the editors could not afford to alienate less radical members of their readership, nor to avoid considering them when they chose their content.

³³ Lion, “A Popular Lady Harpist,” 460.

³⁴ Lion, “A Popular Lady Harpist,” 460.

The Englishwoman

The Englishwoman (1909–21) bears a title that requires significant disambiguation. The first publication of this name ran from November 1834 to June 1835 as “a continuation of *The Ladies Gazette and Penny Novelist* or a mirror of fashion and miscellany of instruction and amusement” in weekly (2d) and eventually monthly (1s) issues.³⁵ A second one—independent of the first—ran monthly (6d) from March 1895 to December 1899, and was edited by Ella Nora Hepworth Dixon.³⁶ Each issue was between 84–96 pages (more similar to the length of literary quarterlies), and toward the end of her life Dixon was a militant feminist; both of these factors, as we shall shortly see, may have contributed to some of the confusion that scholars have encountered in disambiguating the Dixon publication and the later one of 1909–21 that was associated with the NUWSS.

A third publication ran monthly (6d) from 1890–1911, billing itself as “an illustrated monthly magazine; the front page of the January 1899 issue read:

The Englishwoman Registration Department, for educated Ladies seeking employment as Private Secretaries, Governesses, Amanuenses, French and German Correspondents, Typists, Shorthand Writers, Commercial Clerks, &c. No fees. No commission. Absolutely free. In order to remove some of the difficulties which thousands of ladies encounter in their endeavours to find employment in the various vocations now open to women, the Editor of *The Englishwoman* has instituted a Registration Department, open free of cost to the readers of this magazine. It is believed that this will be an invaluable means for bringing Applicants and Employers into communication with one another, and supplying a want keenly felt by a large number of Englishwomen.³⁷

³⁵ “The Englishwoman” in *The Waterloo Directory*.

³⁶ “The Englishwoman” in *The Waterloo Directory*.

³⁷ “The Englishwoman” in *The Waterloo Directory*.

From 1900, it included the Registration Department in its subtitle. Its major coverage included: “stories, women's work, women writers, articles on women and their careers, advertisements, [and] list of jobs.”³⁸

The Englishwoman that I will discuss here—a fourth such title—began publication in 1909 and ran monthly (1s) until 1921 (14/6 annual subscription, post-free), and is very notably a different type of women's interest paper from those that I have previously examined.³⁹ It regularly published issues exceeding ninety pages—in some cases up to 140—which might help explain some of the confusion with Dixon's publication. The breadth of authors that *The Englishwoman's* editors employed for its music writing speaks to the larger audience that they were trying to reach. As Doughan and Sanchez have described, it was, “[e]ffectively a NUWSS [National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies] attempt to provide a woman-oriented equivalent of such ‘mainstream’ literary-intellectual magazines as the *Nineteenth Century*, *Contemporary Review*, etc. It acted as a forum for serious feminist discussion at greater length and higher intellectual level than was possible in the suffrage campaign papers,” while also positioning itself as a more generalist review compared to other suffragist mouthpieces.⁴⁰ As Ryan and DiCenzo have noted, *The Englishwoman's* affiliation with the NUWSS was not openly advertised (to the point that its relationship to the same organization is often overlooked).⁴¹ Considering the literary

³⁸ “The Englishwoman” in *The Waterloo Directory*.

³⁹ Ryan and DiCenzo, “*The Englishwoman: ‘Twelve Years of Brilliant Life,’*” in Maria DiCenzo, et. al. *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals, and the Public Sphere* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 131.

⁴⁰ Doughan and Sanchez, *Feminist Periodicals 1855-1984*, 28; see also Ryan and DiCenzo, *Feminist Media History*, 122.

⁴¹ Ryan and DiCenzo, “*‘Twelve Years of Brilliant Life,’*” 122–23.

company it was keeping—which was remarkable in its difference from some other suffrage publications that tended toward propaganda—this lack of open association was likely intentional.

In addition to the hidden association with the NUWSS, Ryan and DiCenzo describe *The Englishwoman* as, “differ[ing] from the official organs . . . in important ways, occupying a peculiar position as both a ‘suffrage magazine’ and a more generalist monthly review devoted to politics and culture. In a campaign that often struggled to defend its social inclusiveness, this journal addressed itself unapologetically to the ‘cultured public’ and included ‘The Lady Frances Balfour’ and Lady Strachey on its editorial committee.”⁴² The imagined typical reader of *The Englishwoman* was thus likely female (the title probably assisting this understanding), politically informed and engaged, educated, and committed to social justice for women across class boundaries. Though the publication wrote in favor of women’s rights regardless of class, the cost alone would likely have restricted its readership to those comfortably middle-class or richer.

⁴² Ryan and DiCenzo, “‘Twelve Years of Brilliant Life,’” 121.

Figure 5.3: *The Englishwoman*, June 1910

THE
ENGLISHWOMAN

No. 17.—June 1910

KING EDWARD VII

THE death of King Edward may be said to end the Victorian age. The greater part of his life was lived while his mother reigned as Queen and Empress, and the heir-apparent was destined through many years to watch the Empire growing in greatness, while a woman held the sceptre and reigned for sixty years, seeing the rise and fall of successive ministries.

It was a long apprenticeship, and when, with the best of his life behind him, the subject so long known as the popular Prince of Wales, became the Sovereign in succession to his mother and the Queen, the world hardly knew how to take the great change. It had been no easy task to live so near the fierce light which beats on a throne, to know of affairs of State, and yet to have no voice in shaping the destinies of a nation. King Edward inherited from both sides energy of enterprise and the love of dutiful work. It might have been wiser and better to give him a place and permit him to share in the burden of State knowledge, but in his case 'the Powers that be' ordained it otherwise. The Prince was left to carve out his own place and position, and had it not been that he lived in the shadow of his

The opening pages of *The Englishwoman* follow credits and a Table of Contents. Similar to *The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions*, it was working to emulate the higher-end literary quarterly publications that commanded a wealthy and well-educated readership as evidenced by the opening page (Figure 5.3). Few if any advertisements or illustrations grace its pages.

I have selected six of the items appearing in *The Englishwoman* relating broadly to “women in music” topics between 1910 and 1918. Of these, three are confirmed as authored by women: an essay titled “Music” by C.M. Verschoyle in 1916, a contribution to a co-authored essay titled “Women and Orchestral Players” by Ethel Smyth, and an essay titled “Woman’s future in Music” by Annie Patterson in 1918. Of the remaining three, two were authored by men —“The Renaissance of Music in England” by S. L. Bensusan in 1910, and “Serenity in Music” by Francis Perkins in 1911. The author of the remaining essay is unclear. “George Sand and Music” by D. C. Parker appeared in 1910.⁴³ I will treat the male-authored material first.

S. L. Bensusan’s “The Renaissance of Music in England,” appeared in Volume 5, Issue 14 in March, 1910.⁴⁴ Of the fifteen pages of his essay, two toward the end are devoted to the work of Ethel Smyth, whom he calls “a pioneer of the Renaissance movement.”⁴⁵ She is included among what we would now call the canon of English composers. Bensusan begins by describing Parry and Stanford as luminaries in an otherwise perfunctory Victorian soundscape, and from

⁴³ My efforts to determine the sex of this author are ongoing.

⁴⁴ S. L. Bensusan: English author, critic, and playwright, known for contributions to *Vanity Fair* and the *Daily Sketch*, and for eventually becoming editor of the *Jewish World* in 1897. His interests in Essex and East Anglian dialects regularly appear in his fiction and in his literary connections.

⁴⁵ S. L. Bensusan, “The Renaissance of English Music,” *The Englishwoman* 5, no. 14 (1910): 146–160; Ethel Smyth discussed 157–58.

there offers a “highlights reel” of English musical history from that point to his present. Many familiar laments are present: for example, that English composers do not get enough time for their music onstage compared to continental ones, and that commercially-popular music is a necessary evil if venues are to remain solvent.⁴⁶

D. C. Parker’s essay “George Sand and Music,” appeared in Volume 8, Issue 23 in December 1910. “George Sand is one of the few figures in literary history whose interest in music was real and sincere,” begins the author’s account of Sand’s appreciation of music, both in her criticism and as it appears in her novels.⁴⁷ The author then goes on to describe her as “an ardent feminist, [who] poured forth such a prodigious amount of literary work that it might well stagger the most hard-working man,” and that, though History has provided examples of interesting women, “few compare with George Sand for interest, specially [sic] from the emotional point of view.”⁴⁸ That this might be the fault of historians and not of historical women, however “interesting” they may have been, is not offered as an explanation.

Parker’s descriptions of Sand herself and her work are both uniformly positive and without disclaimers about her being a woman; she is, however, being presented as an exception to the “rule” of single-subject artists (that is, that those who paint do not necessarily appreciate music, etc.)⁴⁹ Her novels discussed include *Lucrezia Floriani*, *La dernière Aldini*, *Consuelo*, and *Les Maîtres Mosaïstes*, all of which have artists and musicians—women and men—in their casts

⁴⁶ For excellent commentary on the historiography of these complaints, see Nicholas Temperley, “Xenophilia in British Musical History,” in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Volume 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999): 3–22. *Passim*.

⁴⁷ D.C. Parker, “George Sand and Music,” *The Englishwoman* 8, no. 23 (1910): 194.

⁴⁸ Parker, “George Sand and Music,” 194.

⁴⁹ Parker, “George Sand and Music,” 198.

of principals, and which Parker praises for “good character-drawing.”⁵⁰ In the conclusion, the author is pleased to note that:

In the writing and experiences of one whose mental activity and emotional temperament made her life one long romance, whose enthusiasm caused her to enlist as the champion of many causes, and don the uniform of not a few new rôles, it is interesting to find that she had time to nurture her natural taste for music.⁵¹

In Parker’s description, Sand is being presented as an aspirational figure, albeit presented in a “not like other historical girls” frame. This suggests that historical women were being “re-claimed” and re-written into history and into accounts that women consumed, and that the previously-discussed independence of the New Woman was finding depiction outside of caricature. While Sand is presented here as an exception that proves the rule, she is still presented as a positive exception, which illustrates the continued de-centering of the male gaze.

Francis Perkins’s “Serenity in Music” appeared in Volume 10, Issue 28 in April, 1911.⁵² Like Bensusan’s essay from the previous year, Perkins’s focuses on the canon of classical music, plus some generalized “folk music” mentioned for “national characteristics.”⁵³ He concludes that “serenity in music owes itself to many causes, individuality of the writer and of the nation having their inevitable influence.”⁵⁴ The composer is, perhaps predictably, “he,” and all those mentioned

⁵⁰ Parker, “George Sand and Music,” 197.

⁵¹ Parker, “George Sand and Music,” 198.

⁵² “Francis Perkins, Music Critic, 72,” *The New York Times* (October 10, 1970): 25. The closest I came to identifying the author was as the American music critic Francis Perkins (1897–1970). The *Times* cites him as being educated at the New England Conservatory, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Harvard University, with a graduation date from the latter in 1918. Though it would require additional investigation to prove, this does put him at Trinity College as a student at the time of this essay’s publication.

⁵³ Francis Perkins, “Serenity in Music,” *The Englishwoman* 10, no. 28 (1911): 64.

⁵⁴ Perkins, “Serenity in Music,” 65.

by name are famous men, even those that he lists while apologizing that he lacks the space in writing to discuss them detail.

For Bensusan and Perkins, the value of their contributions to contemporary scholars comes less from their respective content (which could have been published in a wide variety of literary-intellectual or musical publications) and more from their inclusion in *The Englishwoman* in the first place. It indicates that *The Englishwoman* was succeeding in its ambitions to become a publication with literary and intellectual merit. It also contributes, albeit obliquely, to some understanding of the expectations of the educations and interests of women readers.⁵⁵ While plenty of homage is paid to now-canon composers, and the only woman included among them is Ethel Smyth, the writing itself takes the reader seriously. There is no throat-clearing about “women’s place in music” or “delicate sensibilities.” The authors’ tones lack the patronizing oratory that one comes to expect when reading much commentary on “women in music” from this period, and this progressiveness is in keeping with the publication's feminist agenda.

Parker’s contribution is something different. While it likewise supports the publication’s ambitions to be literary, it does so by centering a woman celebrity’s varied literary and musical activities. The tone is much more neutral, which supports the proposition that this may be a woman writing, because male pronouns are not the default as they are in Bensusan’s and Perkins’s work. If Bensusan’s writing indicates that the contributors to *The Englishwoman* believed their audience to be culturally conscious and musically literate, then Parker’s writing shows that he or she also believed that readers were capable of cultivating rich inner lives. At the

⁵⁵ E. M. Palmegiano, “Introduction: Readers,” in *Perceptions of the Press in Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals* (London: Anthem, 2012), 5. Palmegiano notes that profiling readership was particularly hard to do; to present hard evidence, or indeed to do more than speculate, about it before audience surveys was nearly impossible.

same time—particularly in the event that Parker is a woman—the piece specifically shows an *internalized* male gaze. Sand is portrayed both as “not like other girls” in history and evaluated positively on her appreciation of men’s music.⁵⁶ The use of “girl” is infantilizing; the fact that she is described as looking up to men’s music and accomplishments reinforcing the hierarchy. While there may have been male artists and musicians whose music and work she looked up to, Parker’s depiction suggests that she looked up to them *because they were men*.

The remaining two items selected for discussion show that changes in women’s work and professionalization in music were making it into newsprint, and into the longer-form essays that the literary-intellectual publications were printing. C. M. Verschoyle’s essay “Music,” appeared in Volume 29, Issue 86 in February, 1916, and instead of lauding a canon of male composers (living and dead) and placing them in a hierarchy of “serenity,” her subject is an appreciation of music and musicians who were both men and women.⁵⁷ Though it is formatted and reads as an essay, it could very easily be interpreted as a prose poem.⁵⁸ She adopts a Romantic attitude toward the profession, describing musicians as, “those who have learned to listen to a silent but insistent music of the soul” and “who . . . have heard the reflection of cosmic harmony beating upon earthly portals.” She also states that music is “the essential wine of life,” and “the authentic undercurrent of the beauty [musicians] transmit.”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Parker, “George Sand and Music,” 194.

⁵⁷ C.M. Verschoyle: Catherine Mildred Verschoyle (1873–1951), poet and novelist, famous for her anthologized “Crucifixion on the Mountain,” and “The Deliverer,” from her collection *Some Adventures of the Soul and the Deliverer* (London: John M. Watkins, 1913). See also *Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse* (Oxford University Press, 1917).

⁵⁸ Verschoyle, “Music,” *The Englishwoman* 29, no. 86 (1916): 139–143.

⁵⁹ Verschoyle, “Music,” 139–140.

Verschoyle has a mixed gaze, in this instance. On the one hand, she quotes Plato and speaks in universalizing terms, with no sexual distinction and no differently than Perkins or Bensusan would have been expected to; on the other, she is imitating the references and referential practices—to Greek philosophers, to mankind—that male critics have established before her. She is catering to the male gaze by imitating the references male critics make in writing and turning the male gaze on history. She cites Plato, not Margaret Cavendish, because citing Plato appeals to a male-universalist history.⁶⁰

1918 appears to have been a banner year for pro-women's music content in *The Englishwoman*. An appeal by Ethel Smyth for "Women as Orchestral Players" appeared in Volume 38, Issue 111 in April 1918 as part of a larger essay titled "Verba Sapientle," co-authored by Mary Scharlier, Ethel Smyth, A. E. F. Horniman, and Hugh B. Chapman.⁶¹ Smyth writes that a request came from "the Committee of *The Englishwoman* that I would write a few words as a musician on the subject of woman's emancipation," and that, "The thing I chiefly look to is the admission of women, as a matter of course, to orchestras on the same terms as men."⁶² In the few bands where men and women had parity that she was able to have heard at the time of her writing, "their presence [was] a gain all round."⁶³ She argues that when women's only outlet for

⁶⁰ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623–73) was a prolific English writer and thinker who has been regularly characterized as unprecedented and maverick in her literary work by such authors as Samuel Pepys, Dorothy Osborne, Charles Lamb, and Virginia Woolf. She is particularly well-known for her authorial fame during her own time (when women overwhelmingly published anonymously), and for subverting patriarchal codes of femininity.

⁶¹ Gerritsen Collection, Periodical Issue Page. (38, no. 111)

⁶² Ethel Smyth, "Women Orchestral Players," *The Englishwoman* 38, no. 111 (1918): 170.

⁶³ For discussions of women's gains in orchestral participation and employment, see Sophie Fuller, "Women Musicians and Professionalism in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries," in *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780–1920*, ed. Rosemary Golding (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 149–169.

musical creativity is teaching, any contact they have with “the living stream of music within” dries up, and that orchestral playing will prevent them from having to endure this. Moreover, she says that any conductor who had led women players knows what excellent sight-readers they are, and what “extraordinary effects on the tone and temperature” their presence in the orchestra has.⁶⁴

Two items appeared in the following issue, Volume 38, Issue 112 in April, 1918: Annie Patterson’s essay “Woman’s Future in Music” was positioned alongside a short account by David Lee of a lecture recital about setting poetry to music, presented by Gervase Elwes at Aeolian Hall on March 7, 1918, entitled “Some Women Song-Writers: An Appreciation.” The performers at the lecture recital were the composers of the respective pieces they performed, and they included Florence Farr (illustrating Elwes’s lecture on piano; also in her song *The Happy Townland*), Rebecca Clarke (playing her setting of *The Cloths of Heaven*), Kate Coate (singing her setting of three poems by John Millington Synge), and Alice Crompton (singing her setting of Synge’s *Autumn*); each was presenting settings of poetry by Synge and W.B. Yeats. Lee’s praise is uniform, concluding that “Women are slowly advancing over the musical field,” and “we may yet find them sharing equally with me the honours to be gathered there.”⁶⁵

Of all the items on music that *The Englishwoman* printed, the one most obviously geared toward furthering women’s work and professionalization is Annie Patterson’s essay “Woman’s Future in Music.” Patterson includes a brief survey of women’s participation in music throughout history, making references to women of antiquity and biblical fame; she cites an unnamed

⁶⁴ Fuller, “Women Musicians and Professionalism in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries,” 171.

⁶⁵ David Lee, “Some Women Song-Writers,” *The Englishwoman* 38, no. 112 (1918): 49–50.

“august Father of the Church,” who advised that “a Christian maid should not even know the sound of a flute” was the source of women’s entire exclusion from choral singing in religious worship, and subsequently from religious music at all.⁶⁶ “This we may take it,” she describes, “as the beginning of that prohibition which, through succeeding centuries, debarred women and girls from taking active part in cathedral choirs, the main training schools of the greater composers. This was all the more remarkable as one of the canticles of the Church is the ‘Magnificat’ perhaps the finest triumph song ever sung by a woman.”⁶⁷ The organ and instrumental departments were, likewise, closed to women. She acknowledges that one of the few musical professions dominated by women has been that of the operatic *prima donna*, and that this knowledge should serve to encourage women to follow in all parts of the musical profession for which they have ability.

Patterson writes at length of systemic barriers to women playing the organ—she cites everything from the belief in women’s physical inability to cope with the instrument to open hiring discrimination, which she describes from both personal and professional experience. Even in teaching, where she suggests men have become more comfortable with have women joining them professionally, the “fashionable belief in ‘finishing lessons’ from a music master” who is typically male persists, to the detriment of women's employment.⁶⁸ She concludes with the hope that “[we will] give musically-gifted women as fair and even a chance as similarly endowed men, so that they may be free to enter in open competition, the best channels of activity as

⁶⁶ Annie Patterson, “Woman’s Future in Music,” *The Englishwoman* 38, no. 112 (1918): 16.

⁶⁷ Patterson, “Woman’s Future in Music,” 17.

⁶⁸ Patterson, “Woman’s Future in Music,” 18.

theorist, teacher, performer, conductor, or composer, as the case may be.”⁶⁹ If there is a moment in this writing where someone stares back at the male gaze, then Patterson’s essay might be it.

When *The Englishwoman* ceased publication in 1921, the *Woman’s Leader* publicized its regret that a publication “indeed greatly needed, even as it was in the hottest days of the suffrage campaign, when its work was so wonderfully useful and its reputation so deservedly high,” should be driven out of existence by “the too high and ever-increasing cost of printing, of paper, and of everything else concerned with book production.”⁷⁰ Between its ambitions to be a literary review for women and its support of women’s rights and advancement—to say nothing of its prolific output—it covered a lot of material in a short twelve years. Music benefitted most during its later years, particularly with the publication of Annie Patterson’s “Woman’s Future in Music.”

Women’s Interest Publications: A Gradual Change

“Women’s interest” publications prove that, though “women in music” were and often still are treated as a unified category, in truth they were anything but that. The three publications discussed in this chapter show how diverse women audiences for music criticism and journalism were at the turn of the century, and the many different ways of participating in music they had. What differences in readership can be seen are drawn along political and class lines.

Of all the types of publications I have examined for this writing, idealized social stereotypes of women and their writing are the most present in these “women’s interest” publications. Over the course of these respective papers’ lives, more authors chose to contribute

⁶⁹ Patterson, “Woman’s Future in Music,” 23.

⁷⁰ Ryan and DiCenzo, “*The Englishwoman: ‘Twelve Years of Brilliant Life,’*” 120–122.

writing that showed improved acceptance of women working in music and that generally pandered *less openly* to chauvinist male attitudes. Unlike in the *Review*, where the editors actively employed positive epideictic rhetoric to normalize and promote women's musical achievements *as* excellent musical achievements that happened to be by women, women's interest publications that aimed to reach a wider general readership did not. However the writings and publications that appeared later openly acknowledged and praised woman's advances in music, the depictions of women they included in their pages catered to a status quo set by men—one that says not only that women should be beautiful to look at and passive consumers of male activity in music and the other arts, but also that women should do what men tell them and cater to their desires.

Conclusion

Many women writers contributed writing about music to the feminist press in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—from the relatively progressive content in the women's interest publications to the openly radical writing in self-described radical feminist papers. This indicated a sea change in the place of women in music. These literary and musical women were showing that they were thinking and acting beyond the social stereotypes that were being projected onto them, and they were doing so in public places where other women could see and hear them do it. They were also taking more intellectual ownership of music as a thing that women *do*, going beyond the playing that women were seen and heard doing by men.

As the covers of the different publications included in this thesis show, many of the organs of the feminist press included illustrations of women that were not catering to male sexual fantasies. When women *were* idealized in these pictures, such as the archer on the cover of *Shafts* (Figure 3.3, page 80), they were portrayed as strong or active, shooting an arrow, carrying a banner, or blowing a trumpet. Other times, as in the *Woman's Signal* (Figure 4.1, page 102), they were more contemplative, but not attired in sexually provocative clothing—chitons alluding to statues of classical women figures abound. However women appear in these publications—as fashionable people leading their lives, as contemplative classical figures, or as active sportswomen—they do not invite a sexual or alluring interpretation. These women are uniformly subjects, not objects.

If women appeared united in these illustrations, then the contents of these papers showed otherwise. The paradoxes and contradictions within feminist discourses, between women's individual responses to the chauvinistic attitudes that they chose to resist, and their collective

actions to improve women's situations on different levels of society, all complicate a prevailing narrative of women's intellectual lives and social participation that is often simplified into a narrative of progress—toward political enfranchisement, social equality, educational equity, and intellectual legitimation. While these ends may have united many women across other social divides, women's methods and means for achieving them were much less homogeneous, and even contradictory. These complications read against the grain of how women have been positioned and treated in the historiography of British music criticism. When women are present in this scholarship, they are often presented as an exception to an otherwise-male rule, and when women *are* present they are often deemed to imitate or are framed to resemble the prestigious male critics and journalists who constitute a de-facto canon of British music criticism.

Such limited positionality is due in part to British music scholarship's tendency to limit itself to examining a very small circle of critics who wrote for an equally small circle of publications. This limited pool of materials has contributed to misleading representations of British musical life at the end of the nineteenth century. As Leanne Langley has illustrated so well throughout years of research, the limits of our current pool “[stem] from over-emphasis on the two most self-conscious ‘tastemakers’ working in London at midcentury, Henry Chorley and J.W. Davison.”¹ These two men stand out as particularly salient examples in Langley's writing because “[a]lthough neither had much musical training, they managed through literary connections to get and keep long attachments to major papers . . . [and] their clear authorial identities (in an environment that was predominantly freelance and anonymous), strong prejudices, and trenchant language (confirmed and repeated in their published memoirs) simply

¹ Leanne Langley, “Criticism, §II, 3(i): Britain: To 1890,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, Inc., 2001): 682.

made them easy targets for a later generation.”² Expanding the field of critics and sources that British music criticism examines stands to both read women critics and journalists back into the historical narrative—not as exceptions to a rule but as vital contributors to intellectual life—and to reduce the influences of specific critics and publications to their proper proportions.

This thesis set out to illustrate a forgotten aspect of late Victorian musical culture: the writing of women critics and journalists that appeared in the feminist press. By examining representative writings from three different types of periodicals that have been regularly overlooked in “newsy” British women's writing about music—self-styled “radical feminist” papers, temperance papers, and papers labeled as “women’s interest” publications—I have labored to contribute to the “Woman as a Problem, Anomaly, or Absence” trope in which the authors, editors, and readers of the past found themselves, by writing them back into the historical record *as* history.³

My contribution highlights our understanding of how women continue to be systemically excluded from historical narratives of music journalism, even as they were, in their own day, edged out of writing and authorship in mainstream periodicals more generally. Their ideas, ambitions, and narratives disagreed within themselves and with each other. This approach resists the narratives that men have tried to write them into. Making women's writing, thinking, and discourse about music with each other the central focus of my inquiry helped me to begin to examine the wealth of material that I found; further, consciously identifying the male gaze and

² Langley, “Criticism, §II, 3(i): Britain: To 1890,” 682.

³ Peggy McIntosh, “Interactive Phases of Curricular Re-Vision,” in *Toward a Balanced Curriculum*, eds. Bonnie Spinner, et. al. (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1984): 26. The historiography of British music criticism frequently gets caught in a cul-de-sac between “Women in History” and “Women as Problem,” (Phases 2–3).

associated objectifying values where it appears helped me begin to understand the inner lives of the women whose work I was reading.

My straightforward approach to their work was a practical choice, allowing me to find as many instances as I could of women speaking to each other. I chose to examine a selection of contributions outside of the traditional pool of (mostly male) critics and high-end literary quarterlies or music magazines to which work on British music criticism often limits itself, and in a way as contrary to canon as possible, so as to deliberately read against the grain. I looked for female writers, sometimes named and sometimes writing anonymously. I focused on publications from or adjacent to the feminist press—a designation of periodicals so far overlooked by music scholars—that had female editors and authors working for an audience understood to be female in majority. I did so partly in keeping with Barbara Bodichon and Bessie Parkes's 1858 idea that women needed a public intellectual space (in the form of a publication) that centered them and their concerns, be they political, social, musical, or otherwise. In addition, examining an often-internalized male gaze proved a fruitful lens for understanding how contradictory the social and gendered ideologies that women were confronting could be, and how even these intellectual spaces intended for them were not completely free from its influence.

Based on Peggy McIntosh's 1984 framework, this thesis does more than address issues of representation. It takes these women's intellectual work seriously *as* history and as a piece of the history of nineteenth-century music in Britain that we are still trying to make out. British music criticism stands to gain much from this effort, particularly from the types of publications that I have examined. Bringing these feminist and general-audience (i.e., assumed-female general audience) publications into our awareness means that treating music as a discipline separate from

all others becomes more difficult—the content is not set apart, but appears alongside all manner of other subjects. Victorian Studies stands to gain similar benefits in that it will be harder to ignore music content interspersed with other, more frequently-discussed subjects.

For British music criticism in particular, this thesis offers what I hope is the first of many opportunities to contend with the problem and legacy that Leanne Langley regularly and eloquently emphasizes (and that I have discussed at length in this thesis) of over-citing a few specific critics whose work is easy to find and to cite, and allowing their specific opinions to stand in for the much more diverse pool of opinions of music critics in the 1890s. The “over-emphasis on the two most self-conscious ‘tastemakers’ working in London at midcentury, Henry Chorley and J.W. Davison” that Leanne Langley articulated in 2001 is still hanging on, in spite of a wealth of new enthusiasm and attendant scholarship in British music criticism.⁴ The clear authorial identities that both Davison and Chorley established through literary connections and consistent associations with specific papers not only helped to secure their legacies but also influenced how scholars would conduct future research. One glance at the table of contents for *British Music Criticism and Intellectual Thought, 1850–1950* (Boydell, 2018) will reveal the names of specific critics in all but a few of the chapters, and in each is a reference to *his* associated journal(s) or mouthpiece(s). No women critics appear in the contents or the index.

By creating scholarship that aspires to meet the higher “Phases” (4 and 5) of McIntosh's framework for making a field hospitable to women, British music criticism can contribute to a greater understanding of aspects of Victorian musical and intellectual life—not only for women,

⁴ Langley, “Criticism, §II, 3(i): Britain: To 1890,” 682.

but for anyone participating in the public intellectual spaces that the press created. Where women were once “edged out,” the time has come to bring them back in.

Appendix: Table of Authors and Publications

Publication	Author	Title	Date
<i>The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions</i> , 1870–1910			
	Anon.	“New Music: <i>Women at Work</i> ”	July 15, 1886
	Anon.	“Music in Elementary Schools”	Feb. 15, 1889
	HMS	“Women and Music”	Feb. 15, 1890
	Anon.	"Honours in Music for Women”	Feb. 15, 1890
	Mrs. James S. Baily	“Singers! For Music!” (Poem)	April 15, 1890
	Anon.	"Review: O Prescott, <i>Form, or Design in Music</i> ”	Jan. 15, 1895
	Anon.	“Women in Music”	Jan. 15, 1900
<i>Women's Penny Paper</i> , 1888–1890			
	Anon.	"Women in the World of Music”	June 8, 1889
	Anon.	“Literature, Art, and Music”	Nov. 30, 1889
<i>Woman's Herald</i> , 1891–1899			
	Anon.	“Music in the Magazines”	Sept. 7, 1893
<i>Shafts</i> , 1892–1900			
	V[irginie] Linders	“Women and Music" Part 1	Dec. 3, 1892
	V[irginie] Linders	“Women and Music" Part 2	Dec. 24, 1892
	E J Temple	“Home Music”	Jan. 24, 1893
	Anon.	“Music” (Messrs. Ascherberg)	Jan. 1894
	E. L. Young	“A Great and Feasible Reform: Music Notation - Musical Difficulties” Part 1	May, 1896
	E. L. Young / Rebecca Wickstead	“Musical Notation” (Letter to Editor)	June, 1896

Publication	Author	Title	Date
<i>(Shafts, continued)</i>			
	E. L. Young	"A Great and Feasible Reform: Music Notation - Keyboard Notation" Part 2	June, 1896
	E. L. Young	"A Great and Feasible Reform: Music Notation - Music of the Future" Part 3	July, 1896
	E. L. Young	"Progress in Relation to Music"	Jan., 1897
	E. L. Young	"How to Learn Keyboard Music"	April, 1897
	E. L. Young	"How to Teach Keyboard Music" Part 1	June, 1897
	E. L. Young	"How to Teach Keyboard Music" Part 2	July & Aug., 1897
	Apis Mellifica	"Music in the Drawing Room"	Dec., 1897
	Florence G. Fidler	"Correspondence: Music at the Women's Congress"	Oct. – Dec., 1899
<i>Woman's Signal, 1894–1899</i>			
	Isabel Somerset	"A Music-Hall Song"	Jan. 25, 1894
	Emma Cons	"Temperance Music-Halls"	Oct., 1894
	Sarah Tooley	"The Empire Theater: An Interview with Mrs. Ormiston Chant"	Nov. 1, 1894
	Anon.	"Mrs. Chant at the Playgoers' Club"	Nov. 22, 1894
	Sarah Tooley	"A Woman Composer: An Interview with Mrs. Agnes S. Buck"	Jan. 10, 1895
	Anon.	"Notes"	Sept. 5, 1895
	Anon.	"An Irishwoman, Dr. Annie Patterson, and Others"	Nov. 14, 1895
	Lucie Heaton Armstrong	"What Can Our Daughters Do for a Living?: Music as a Profession" Part 1	July 22, 1897
	Lucie Heaton Armstrong	"What Can Our Daughters Do for a Living?: Music as a Profession" Part 2	Aug. 5, 1897
	Lucie Heaton Armstrong	"What Can Our Daughters Do for a Living?: Music as a Profession for Women" Part 1	Aug. 12, 1897

Publication	Author	Title	Date
<i>(Woman's Signal, continued)</i>			
	Lucie Heaton Armstrong	"What Can Our Daughters Do for a Living?: Music as a Profession for Women" Part 2	Aug. 19, 1897
	Lucie Heaton Armstrong	"What Can Our Daughters Do for a Living?: Music as a Profession for Women" Part 3	Aug. 26, 1897
	Lucie Heaton Armstrong	"What Can Our Daughters Do for a Living?: Music as a Profession for Women" Part 4	Sept. 9, 1897
	Lucie Heaton Armstrong	"Platform Manners for Musical Performers"	Sept. 16, 1897
<i>Woman's Life, 1895–1934</i>			
	Anon.	"Hints from Our Music Master: Music for Dances"	March 7, 1896
	Anon.	"To Read Music at Sight"	April 4, 1896
	Anon.	"Music and Matrimony"	Dec. 26, 1896
	Anon.	"Courting by Music"	Jan. 2, 1897
	Anon.	"When Should Children Learn Music?"	Nov. 20, 1897
	Anon.	"Chats with Well-Known Women: Mrs. Charles P. Smith, Lady Superintendent of the Guildhall School of Music"	Feb. 27, 1897
	Anon.	"How to Commit Music to Memory"	March 26, 1898
	Anon.	"Music in the Kitchen"	Jan. 14, 1899
	Anon.	"Music in Everything"	March 18, 1899
	Lena Guilbert	"Some Famous Music-Makers"	Aug. 24, 1901
	Caroline Lothian (pseud.)	"How I Write My Dance Music"	Jan. 4, 1902
	Anon.	"Choosing a Wife by Music"	March 21, 1903
	Anon.	"Dinner Bell Music"	March 26, 1904
	Anon.	"Concerning Music" (Exhibition)	Sept. 17, 1904
	Anon.	"The Music that Carries"	Sept. 28, 1905

Publication	Author	Title	Date
	Anon.	"The Sweetest Music"	April 1, 1905
<i>Womanhood, 1898–1907</i>			
	Ethel Lion	"A Popular Lady Harpist"	1899
	Anon.	"Miss Annie Patterson..."	1899
	C M Lowe	"Music" (poem)	1905
<i>The Englishwoman, 1909–1921</i>			
	S L Bensusan	"Renaissance of Music in England"	March, 1910
	D C Parker	"George Sand and Music"	Dec., 1910
	Francis Perkins	"Serenity in Music"	April, 1911
	C M Verschoyle	"Music"	Feb., 1916
	Ethel Smyth	"Women as Orchestral Players"	April, 1918
	David Lee	"Some Women Song-Writers: An Appreciation"	April, 1918
	Annie Patterson	"Woman's Future in Music"	April, 1918

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Woman's Signal, 1894–1899

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