

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	x
1 Introduction	1
2 Obstacles and Opportunities	17
3 A Fifth Estate	36
4 At our Library Table: Reviewers and Critics	61
5 Something to Say, a Living to Earn: Periodical Contributors	81
6 In the Editor's Chair	103
7 A Niche in the Market	129
8 Handmaids and Decorators	149
9 A Press for a Purpose	159
10 Jill of all Trades: Journalism and the Professional Writer	183
11 Journalism and the Novelist	200
Afterword	211
<i>Select Biographical Appendix</i>	214
<i>Notes</i>	240
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	266
<i>Index</i>	282

1

Introduction

Some nineteenth-century women sought social and political change through activism, social work, public speaking, or fighting for a rôle in professions like medicine. Others chose to influence by writing. One of the most effective channels for their views was the newspaper and periodical press. Yet outside the cohort of specialist scholars women's collective contribution to journalism has largely gone unregarded. Much has been written, in studies of individual periodicals and the press in general, about male journalists. It seems timely to assess women's involvement in this press. Of course many names of these women will be familiar to scholars specializing in nineteenth century feminism, female novelists or periodical reviewing, but more general readers, familiar with, say Florence Nightingale, are often unaware of the work of Harriet Martineau, Geraldine Jewsbury and Margaret Oliphant, let alone Eliza Linton, or Anna Maria Hall.

Women's lack of visibility is not surprising since early studies of the press concentrated primarily upon influential journals, publishers and editors. Newspapers were often linked with party political support and their editors were unlikely to emerge from the disenfranchised. Financing and managing the press required funds and skills few men, with all their educational advantages, could summon. Women, with limited access to finance and little encouragement to engage in business, found it difficult to enter the realms of publishing and editing at national and provincial daily newspaper level. Thus male editorial predominance in the high-profile sectors of the press has clouded women's editorial work elsewhere. So a seminal early study of journalistic history whose very aim was to concentrate on the individual rather than the enterprise virtually ignores the involvement of women. T H S Escott subtitled his book (1911) 'A Study of Personal Forces' but

significantly entitled it *Masters of English Journalism*.¹ The personal forces to him were largely those who founded influential papers and those who dictated their policies. Harriet Martineau, 'the she-Radical', merits less than five lines, yet her achievement was such that she was lobbied to support political causes and approached to edit a political journal. Martineau, too, is the only woman journalist to be accorded a chapter entry in Joseph Hatton's sketches of London's 'pens and papers of the day'² though a thin scattering of names occurs in lists of contributors. Even in the accounts of individual journals a major female contributor can mysteriously disappear. One of the most prolific writers of fiction for *Fraser's* between 1836 and 1850, Selina Bunbury, is simply not mentioned in its history.³

Until recently in the realms of literary reviewing where women – major producers of novels – were clearly an important force, George Eliot apart, their work had little attention from academics. In the 1980s Nigel Cross found standard surveys virtually excluding them from the 'non-imaginative categories', with writers like Eliot and Oliphant 'invariably listed as novelists' – their essays, histories and reviews being considered trivial by comparison.⁴ Of course one must select, but the emphasis bore out only too well Dale Spender's summary of the work of female novelists: 'Once acclaimed, but now denied. This is the problem of women writers.'⁵ During their lifetimes Harriet Martineau, Anne Mozley, Eliza Linton and Frances Cobbe, for instance, all had periodical work republished in volume form. Women themselves certainly celebrated the work of their predecessors. The period saw a flurry of series like the *Englishwoman's* 'Women Writers of the Century' which included the Jewsbury sisters, Lady Blessington and Caroline Norton. Frances Cobbe reminded her readers how many of the books in a lending library were written by women, instancing then household names like Jewsbury, Martineau and Jameson.⁶

Other factors affect women's visibility. Some women acquiesced in a supportive rôle to their journalist husbands so that their informal but very real contribution is masked. Modern feminist scholarship has rescued from obscurity those writers who advocated female suffrage, but less attention has been paid to those on the other side of the debate. Writers like Margaret Oliphant, Eliza Lynn Linton and Mary Ward are only just beginning to receive their due critical attention; Fanny Kortright is virtually unknown; Flora Shaw known but avoided. Why study women's journalism? Arguably their feelings, particularly on women's rights, are more powerful in their fiction. Perhaps. But often their *opinions* on their society are more explicit in

their journalism, and cover a wider frame of reference. Mrs Oliphant uses journalism not fiction to articulate her suspicion of globalization. On almost every issue, from vivisection to the penal system, from fashion to astronomy, women had their say in the press.⁷ If we mine their writings only for opinions on one question – however important – we are getting a very partial intellectual picture. Nor must we forget the centrality of periodicals within the literary market. Our reading of nineteenth-century fiction should be enhanced by an understanding of their operation and a study of reviews. Finally I believe the ways in which women negotiated entry into journalism and the reasons it attracted them, enrich our appreciation of nineteenth-century women's lives.

Early press historians and nineteenth-century pressmen were aware of the existence of women journalists. They were conscious of them as anomalous. 'Miss Mitford, among the earliest of lady journalists' wrote Escott, mentioning her presence at James Perry's dinner-parties. Edward Porritt noting that at the dawn of the nineteenth-century the 'woman journalist was already at work', cited names like Mrs Graham writing for the *Representative* in 1825, Caroline Norton and Hannah More. Leonard Raven-Hill remembered Clotilde Inez Graves, whose career began in the 1880s, as the 'first woman journalist'. The 'first and greatest of women journalists' was Gardiner's tribute to Harriet Martineau at the Jubilee of the *Daily News*.⁸ Such identifications depended upon personal knowledge but also upon one's definition of journalist.

As John Gross succinctly put it, 'The main reason why a satisfactory history of journalism will never be written is that journalism itself is such an elastic term.'⁹ Even today defining the journalist's rôle is not simple. The editors of *The Sun*, *Country Life* and *Exchange and Mart* may share certain functions but their different aims, objectives and target readerships ensure that their day-to-day work has little in common. Journalism had probably greater divergences in the nineteenth-century. There were distinctions, in self-perception and sometimes practice, between the educated gentleman editor who felt he belonged in the exalted echelons of 'higher journalism' and the commercially-minded penny pressman who emerged from the ranks of hacks and printers. Morley, editor of the *Pall Mall*, was accused of treating a newspaper as 'a medium for circulating leading articles' and lacking 'the journalist's *flair* for news – a coming crisis, an interesting personality, a picturesque event...'.¹⁰ There were similar deviations in the interpretation of terms like 'reviewer' or 'sub-editor'. Career patterns were

variable, encompassing the regular contributor to a monthly, the full-scale freelance with a portfolio of varying commissions from different journals, and the staff-man, and (rarer) staff-woman.

With women, whose careers were fragmented, definition is even more difficult. Reference books and listings of women writers characterize them differently. Cobbe appears as 'journalist and feminist' and 'philanthropist, writer', Linton as 'novelist, essayist' and 'novelist, journalist', Meynell as 'poet/journalist' and 'poet and essayist', Geraldine Jewsbury as 'novelist, journalist' and merely 'novelist' and so forth. In 1893 Blowitz defined a journalist as 'any man who lives exclusively by regularly writing in a regularly appearing journal; who is a part – not necessarily a fixture, but a normal part – of a regularly organized sheet, and who treats in one or more such sheets, living questions whatever their nature'. For him 'a man who writes exclusively in reviews is not a journalist, or he has ceased to be one'.¹¹ This definition would not only exclude by its choice of pronoun the subjects of this book, but many nineteenth-century men who operated within the 'higher journalism'. My definition is much broader. I have adopted the more inclusive interpretation of the Society of Women Journalists which admitted that 'a good many' of its Presidents and Vice-Presidents 'can scarcely be called journalists, in the ordinary acceptance of the term although all of them have occasionally been contributors to newspapers or magazines....'¹² Among these officers were Mrs Crawford and Mrs Humphry who were clearly journalists. Mrs Meynell, Mrs Craigie ('John Oliver Hobbes') and Mrs Stannard ('John Strange Winter') were undoubtedly better known for work in other genres, yet journalism played a sufficiently important part in their writing lives for it to be as unreasonable to omit them in this overview as it would be to ignore the journalism of male lawyers and politicians in a study of male journalists.

My subject is a vast one, but I hope the individuals serving as examples in each chapter will bring into sharper focus the different sections of the panoramic picture. Because of the importance of London, this is predominantly a study of women working for nineteenth-century journals published in England, to a lesser extent elsewhere in Britain. But my subjects were by their nature outward-looking and exploratory so this concentration in no way implies an insular approach, and certainly not an exclusively 'English' one. One of the striking things I discovered was the influence of what one journalist called 'the Irishry'. Frances Cobbe, Flora Shaw, Anna Maria Hall, Charlotte Riddell, Mrs Humphry were among the many born and bred in Ireland. Others

were European or American by birth; many were seasoned travellers; many were fascinated by foreign cultures.

Although nineteenth-century periodical material is increasingly available on CD-ROM and via the internet, accessibility is still a problem. Of course the ideal is to go back to the original. Even then it will usually be a bound, possibly rebound, volume shorn of its advertisements and preliminary matter. But for students access even to this can be difficult. I have chosen, therefore, to refer to at least some examples of writing reprinted in modern editions. The somewhat arbitrary demarcation lines of a century are not strictly adhered to. There are references to the later years of the eighteenth century and the opening ones of the twentieth, but a hundred years conveniently allows for the overlapping of different generations. One can have some sense of both constants and change, and this particular hundred years saw change dramatic enough in the press itself, and equally striking cultural shifts. It is something of a constraint upon any tendency towards comfortable generalization to keep meeting small instances that disturb one's complacent judgements.

For example, the social-problem novel of the 1840s so altered the literary landscape that it seems to belong in a real world quite the other side of the watershed from the pastoral idylls of *Our Village*. It comes as something of a shock to find Mary Mitford calling *Mary Barton* a 'charming story', and still herself figuring in 1850 alongside the Howitts and Geraldine Jewsbury in a new weekly.¹³ Here we are on the verge of the early women's rights campaigns and Miss Mitford, she of the charming bonnets, violets and brinded cows in Thomson's illustrations, is still publishing. Though amongst her circle of women friends she numbered pioneers like Harriet Martineau and Anna Jameson, she would surely scarcely have anticipated such a radical shift in women's expectations? Her knowledge of Womens' Rights was her sense of filial duty. And yet – one now recalls – her own life and many of the characters in her sketches, exemplified female creativity, resilience and stamina, those very qualities which fed the successes of the Women's Rights movement. The charming bonnets are but the nostalgia of that decade of the New Woman, the 1890s.

With such a time-span how to choose? So many women. So many periodicals. I started with a select few – names one couldn't ignore – and my list grew longer and longer. The final choice was largely governed by the availability of reliable attributions for unsigned work, accessibility of material, and the desire to cover a spread of journalistic genres. Apart from recent work done on women's magazines, the most

'visible' female journalists are largely identified contributors in the quarterlies and more literary monthlies, or those known through their polemical writings in national newspapers and feminist journals. Nevertheless, within these constraints and limited space, I acknowledge women's work in the provincial press, specialist and 'popular' magazines. There are inevitably numerous interesting women, who appear only fleetingly. For quite different reasons Jane Loudon, Camilla Toulmin, Agnes Clerke, Eliza Meteyard, Clotilde Graves, Mrs Humphry, Mrs Cashel Hoey, Florence Marryat, Frances Low, Scottish and Welsh journalists like Mrs Batey of the *Dundee Advertiser* and Sarah Jane Rees, editor of the Welsh women's magazine *Y Frythones*, all deserve attention I cannot give them.

I have drawn upon a range of sources. The nineteenth century was acutely aware of itself as the age of burgeoning literacy and popular literature. Writers, particularly in the second half of the period, had much to say about the processes of writing, newsgathering and the profession of the journalist. By the end of the century the periodical press seems to find its own history an endless source of copy. Looking back from the 1890s journalists like Wemyss Reid describe the dramatic changes over the decades of their own careers. There are articles about the phenomena of periodicals themselves, comparisons between the British and foreign newspaper press, discussions of the relationship between press and parliament, advice to would-be contributors and on careers in journalism, and fictional accounts of the 'Struggle for Fame' to borrow the title of Charlotte Riddell's novel on earning a crust in 'New Grub Street'. Amongst my other contemporary sources are biographies, memoirs, letters and runs of the periodicals themselves. The picture of the conditions in which women journalists operated is a conflicted one, not just because, as one would expect, individual women experienced journalism differently and sectors of the press varied considerably in their organization. Different sources paint different images. Autobiographies structure lives.¹⁴ Journalists' memoirs, can be vague and inaccurate. Editors' letters to authors, as Robert Patten suggests, may be an unreliable guide to proprietorial policies, when editors sheltered behind their publishers in declining work or limiting payment.¹⁵ Recollections may not always be accurate in detail, but do at least reflect later judgement upon experience. At 65, Matilda Betham-Edwards may have mis-remembered seeing her first publication in *Household Words*, but in describing the thrill of Dickens's approbation she betrays her mature astonishment at the good luck her youthful 'audacity' produced.¹⁶

The novels tend to stress the exhaustion of the work and the betrayal of ideals. Fictional protagonists who turn to Fleet Street as a literary apprenticeship find themselves driven remorselessly down-market by the perceived demands of 'the public' and the over-supply of writers to meet it; those who are ambitious as journalists and strive to be honest and influential, like Lady Colin Campbell's Darrell Blake, are corrupted by the machinations of political hostesses. The same writer may often present her experience in contrasting ways. Eliza Lynn Linton's *Sowing the Wind*, in emphasizing the physical and psychological hardships of journalism, masculinizes the heroine in ways she herself painstakingly resisted in her public and private persona. Charlotte Riddell's novel, *The Rich Husband*, gives a much grimmer picture of the apprentice writer hawking her work round the publishers than years later she gave to Helen Black. Now not only Bentley and Charles Street but even Newby and his niece capable 'woman of business' Miss Springett are remembered kindly. 'Everyone was good to me in those days.' Is she more cautious in an interview? Has time dulled the memory? Or was the reality sensationalized for the demands of fiction?¹⁷

By the mid-1890s a depressing, superficial Bohemianism taints the image of journalism in women's novels. Mrs Everard Cotes's 'Daughter of Today' is a small-town American girl out for independence, fame and fortune, who sinks to 'stunt girl.'¹⁸ Ella Hepworth Dixon's 'Modern Woman', Mary Erle, ventures into a sleazier Fleet Street than her creator's memoir tells of. Mary's is one where the divorce case of the day filling columns of print 'like some foul miasma ... poisoned everything' and the supercilious young editor of a new fashion magazine commissions her on the strength of her social connections to write a society column 'smart, you know and just a wee bit malicious' yet where magazine fiction must be '*banal*, the pretty-pretty, the obvious'. Ella's own experiences in the late 1980s on Yates's *The World* seem much jollier – journalism mingling with dancing and dining-out, 'white tulle skirts and natty little laced-up bodices' for the evening instead of 'inky fingers'. She remembers with amusement how her own 'terribly "knowing"' story was considered by one of her young dancing-partners not quite the sort of thing a girl should read.¹⁹ She dismisses her powerful novel as a rather dismal book.

The image of the journalist which emerges from the fiction of the final decades of the century is multi-faceted. *New Grub Street*, the best-known novel, reveals its depressing, sleazy side. But even writers whose professional experience has been not unsimilar to Gissing's can reflect the tough energy of Fleet Street more sympathetically. When Charlotte

Riddell uses a cynical, 'unbelieving' Fleet Street hack as a listener in the narrative frame of one of her best ghost stories, 'Sandy the Tinker', he represents *trustworthy* scepticism.

The main chapters of this study cover writers in various journalistic genres, reviewers, periodical essayists, correspondents and columnists, functions such as editor and reporter, and work in different sectors of the press. In the final three chapters the emphasis shifts, focusing specifically on women's motives and opportunities for getting involved in journalism, illustrated by several different career patterns from the professional author to those for whom the press was primarily a platform. I have tried to reflect their work on different types of publication: newspapers, national and provincial, magazines with differing target readerships. The questions with which I began my researches, and that are raised in these first two chapters, continually surface throughout the book. What kind of women turned to journalism? How did they get started? To what extent did they support each other? What problems did they face and how did they tackle them? How far did they professionalize? To what extent was their work concentrated in the 'quality' market and did women restrict themselves to 'ladylike' subjects? How successfully did they harness the power of the press? Was there a 'Woman's Voice'? There are other books which deal in much more detail with such developments as technological advances, the commodification of the press and the professionalization of journalism, and with such issues as the links between journalism and book-publishing, editorial independence and anonymity.²⁰ Still, given the broad scope of my theme it may be useful for the general reader to have a brief introduction to these topics by way of scene-setting. The outline in these opening chapters has an emphasis on how women's participation in the press was affected by them.

The century was a dynamic and exciting period in terms of experimentation both editorial and technical, an age which saw the establishment of the newspaper press and the profession of the journalist as we understand it today, but also saw its own unique flowering of the literary quarterly and monthly. Walter Houghton persuasively suggests that the great prose writers of the age were, like Arnold, not writers of books, but of periodical literature.²¹ The excitement of newspaper journalism is encapsulated by J M Robertson Scott when he wrote of Stead that his conception of the journalist 'kindled a fire in the hearts of a few young men (and a smaller company of women with, at that time, limited access to education and no votes) who, if they lacked the endowments of the *Pall Mall* editor, had some of his fervour and

conviction. They were minded to enter Journalism as some entered the Church.²²

It was quite acceptable for men to be working in other professions concurrently with being effective journalists.²³ For women this cut two ways. Editors were accustomed to the correspondent journalist delivering or having copy collected but few women could benefit from another professional specialism. On the other hand, those who wanted to work from home, or only sporadically, benefited. The energetic could piece together a viable portfolio just as men like Escott and George Saunders did. Ethel Lloyd helped her sister with her column for the *Globe*, wrote regular fashion and society articles for the *Telegraph*, whilst being a staff member of the *Lady's Pictorial*.²⁴ The openness of journalism could be a mixed blessing. It needed no apprenticeship. Men with no 'previous newspaper drudgery', the smart MP, successful barrister or popular novelist 'may slip into an editorship or be made a principal leader writer in preference to men of long standing in the office, who perhaps have to teach him his duties and correct his blunders'. These drudges easily obtained work as young and eager novices, but often denied promotion, found it a trade easier to enter than abandon. 'The traditions and infirmities of Grub Street [of the eighteenth century] are not extinct.'²⁵ Equally the rise in social status of journalists made it more respectable, thus more appealing to women yet co-incidentally made it harder for them to compete from that 'women's sphere' beyond gentlemen's clubland.²⁶

It was a period of both technological change within the press and of the development of mass readership.²⁷ Fox Bourne, the nineteenth-century press historian, looking back at the turn of the century discerned four stages roughly corresponding to each quarter-century (though the latter two overlap): Press Persecution, Press Liberation, Press Cheapening and Press Widening (by which he understood the development of niche markets and innovatory journals). Or as Hulda Friederichs put it: in the early 1870s 'the extraordinary number and variety of papers offered to-day was not yet thought of'.²⁸ Fox Bourne's chronology may be rough and ready, and too slickly developmental, but he encapsulates well the nineteenth-century press perception of itself. Changes in taxation, together with improved printing technology, had a marked effect on the commercial prosperity of the press, enabling the publishing of the penny newspaper and many more pages – and ads – for your penny.

In the 1830s new and lively journals sprouted up following reductions in the punitive advertisement tax and stamp duties. In 1832

Christian Johnstone's *Tait's*, was complaining that 'The workings of these great enlighteners, the newspapers, might have been increased a hundredfold, but for the short-sighted policy which has landed them with a tax so heavy as to place them far beyond the purchase-price of the majority.' A year after the easing of the advertisement tax in 1834, *Tait's* lowering its price argued that the significantly increased reading public was not a monied public. The market had changed. The new technology and the logistics of fixed and variable costs relative to circulation figures made price cutting inevitable. It was the day of the 'cheap periodicals' – 'a new era in literature'.²⁹ Cheap periodicals could reach very high sales. *Household Words*, even at twopence, achieved a circulation of 40 000, but that was somewhat later. The abolition of the stamp duty in 1855, the expanded, more leisured middle-class and what Wilkie Collins called 'The Unknown Public'³⁰, the newly-literate working-classes, together led to an explosion in periodicals and a new style of fiction publishing. Serialized fiction became a vital weapon in the magazine circulation fight, though it was a two-edged sword. A successful work could trigger a dramatic increase in circulation; a dud one remorseless decline. Still, for fiction writers and editors alike, the serial became essential.

Successful dailies reached not only a wide readership but, equally important for some writers, an influential one. In the early decades of the century sales of tens of thousands were a thing to wonder at. *The Times* in 1817 had a daily circulation of between 6 000 and 7 000 though sensational news could, then as now, have a dramatic impact. (The trial of Queen Caroline in 1820 more than doubled sales.) By 1878 the ordinary circulation of *The Times* was over 60 000; by 1898 Harmsworth's highly successful *Daily Mail* averaged 800 000.³¹ Whilst for a period the stamp acts established publication numbers, establishing actual readership is fraught with difficulty. Class and numbers of readers are difficult to calculate. Readership of magazines was likely to be greater than stamp duty figures indicate. Cheaper papers passed from hand to hand; dearer ones were housed in circulating libraries; the spread of reading-rooms and local libraries continued the trend. Expensive bound volumes were kept long after their publication date. Their contents were not ephemeral but might influence readers months – even years – after their original date of issue. Writers potentially had a much wider area of influence than circulation figures alone indicate. On the other hand the sheer diversity of contents in popular magazines means that – serial fiction excepted – we have little evidence as to how much of any paper was read.³² By the end of the century

readers looked to periodicals for something quick and light. '[T]he day of leisurely reading was gone.'³³ Older journalists may have regretted this, but the new generation accepted it as in the nature of things.

From the journalist's point of view the scale of the changes is illustrated by the image of the mid-century editor of a daily newspaper in Eliza Linton's fictionalized editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, Cook, with the options facing Janet Hogarth's husband, W L Courtney, in the 1890s. Linton's fictional version of Cook was at once 'manager, editor, and part proprietor' and his 'grinding at the daily mill' kept his wife and family 'above the pressures of want, if not lifting them into the airy latitudes of luxury'. Courtney apparently refused the PMG editorship because with his family commitments 'the *Daily Telegraph* offered a safer background and better pension prospects'.³⁴ 'Pressures of want' in such circumstances is a nineteenth-century phrase; 'pension prospects' that of the twentieth.

The technological changes which Christian Johnstone remarked were to accelerate at a rate she could never have envisaged. In the early 1880s the *Daily Telegraph* had ten Hoe's machines together turning out an average of 120 000 copies an hour, utilizing a new 'patent roller composition, which did away with frequent 'cleaning up' and boasted a clear image.³⁵ By 1900 Hoe & Co, whose first small cylinder newspaper press had been constructed in 1833, advertised its latest 'octuple newspaper perfecting press and folder' as the 'Largest Newspaper Machine in the World' capable of producing an eight page paper at the speed of 96 000 copies per hour and even sixteen pages at 48 000. This was double the speed of its machine of seven years earlier. There had also been significant changes in periodical illustration. For the Jubilee even *The Times* 'blossomed out in colour with a supplement – made in Germany' and most dailies were illustrated. Monthlies and weeklies had been illustrated for decades, and even the dailies had for special events inserted large wood-engravings, but as Joseph Pennell, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* pointed out, the printing methods were different. The technical advances in typesetting and speed of printing actually militated against high quality daily newspaper illustration. Monthlies and weeklies were printed on a stop cylinder or flat press. The illustrations for the *Century* went to press three months in advance. Dailies in the 1890s run off rotary presses produced copies at around 20 000 an hour. The monthly therefore needed many presses, operating at a much slower rate, for its production and could easily afford to take one out for experimental purposes. When Pennell had been involved in experimental work on the *Chronicle* the financial risk had been contrastingly high.³⁶

The proliferation of direct competitors and the spread of the cheap magazines posed problems for the finances of periodical publishers. The would-be contributor, however, though facing increased competition of her own as more girls rushed into journalism, enjoyed a widening market for her work. Indeed Florence Fenwick-Miller saw Martineau as a pioneer in an almost inevitable process which linked the emergence of such women directly to technological advances.

The printing-press which multiplies the words of the thinker; the steam-engine, which both feeds the press and rushes off its product, and the electric telegraph, which carries thought around the globe make this an age in which mental force assumes an importance which it never had before in the history of mankind. Mind will be more and more valued and cultivated, and will grow more and more influential; and the condition and status of women must alter accordingly... we can no more prevent it than we can return to hornbooks, or to trial by ordeal...³⁷

It is almost a Whig view of progress and enlightenment.

One of the key features of nineteenth-century journalism which Fox Bourne's broad categorization sweeps over is that of anonymous publication. The practice was of great importance to women. The unsigned article both aided and hindered women. It shielded their sex and gave their press personæ the authority accorded to men. Bessie Parkes saw women's journalism flowering as the periodicals flourished. The two demands, that of the magazines for 'short, graphic papers, observation, wit and moderate learning' and that of the women for paid work they could do at home, met. Yet women's identities were hidden. 'If editors were ever known to disclose the dread secrets of their dens' the public would learn of the women 'whose unsigned names are Legion; of their rolls of manuscripts, which are as the sands of the sea.'³⁸

Barbara Bodichon claimed that two-thirds of the writers in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (*sic*) were female, and that 'Mrs. Johnson'³⁹ of Edinburgh was for years the real editor of the *Inverness Courier*, the principal paper in the north of Scotland. In mentioning Christian Johnstone she hints at one of the difficulties in estimating the amount of journalistic work carried out by women *viz.* that they often worked 'behind' men, doing the work but not receiving the credit for it. Mrs Johnstone chose to remain elusive. The practice, however, was a contested one. Charlotte Tonna thought that an editor ought to be willing to be identified, and in a tough, competitive world

anonymity, Mrs Baron-Wilson suggested, could mask the drudgery of writing for a living.

Do people ... ever ask how are supplied the multitudinous works which issue from the press, unheralded by any sign as to the authors of them? The ... sparkling or profound magazine articles; reviews; leading articles; contributions to our excellent cheap literature such as swarm at the railway termini ... The producers of these riches are ... working authors, often possessed of great talents and erudition.

But they lacked the iron constitution and business sense necessary for fame.⁴⁰

This shield was, for all but the most factual reporting, virtually abolished by the 'New Journalism' of the final decades. The journalist was now promoted above her article. The 'New Journalism', a phrase attributed to Matthew Arnold, was characterized by a popularization that evoked the emotions of its readers, and engaged its expanding public in a commercial enterprise that viewed itself as part of a process of democratization.⁴¹ T P O'Connor argued both that the personal side of public men was intrinsic to 'the history and wisdom of a nation', and that the press was a bastion against fraudsters and conmen. Stylistically it was characterized by its emphasis on 'human interest', what O'Connor called its 'more personal tone', and the narrative format of 'the interview'.⁴²

The concept of 'New Journalism' was both partially created by and contested by the press.⁴³ One of its practitioners, Hulda Friederichs, saw Newnes's 'lighter' papers as supplanting the staple reading matter of the newly literate – the 'mawkish serial story' and 'sporting publications with their pernicious influence' for which the 1870 Education Act had created a market which would last 'while the world stands'.⁴⁴ Other journalists echoed her welcome to expansion and innovation, despite reservations about its excesses. The *Saturday Review* surveying the growth of the British press as the phenomenon of the last half-century remarked the value of advertising and circulation and capitalization to secure 'early intelligence and brilliant contributors'. 'The marvellous inventions of modern science are all in favour of the moneyed journals.' Yet the new distribution and intelligence-gathering mechanisms the railways and telegraph, produced more pressurized working conditions for correspondents and editors alike.⁴⁵ The brash side of 'New Journalism' is seen in *Tit-Bits* with its accompanying sensational modes of advertising – carrying a copy guaranteed £100 insur-

ance in the case of death in a railway accident – and competitions with dramatic prizes. A seven-roomed house was the prize for a short-story competition; £1 000 for a serial produced over 20 000 entries (only to be won by Grant Allen).⁴⁶ But it was not all as feather-brained as Arnold claimed. Stead's investigative journalism was as much a part of it as the flamboyant advertisements for *Tit-Bits*. The interviews, gossip column and format innovations like cross-heads were hall-marks of his work, but Stead, with his reforming instincts, used them to more serious effect than Newnes.⁴⁷

Criticism focused upon the deleterious effects of advertising and intrusion of privacy. The veteran Eliza Linton was shocked by some of the journalistic manifestations, strongly objecting to being asked 'to submit yourself to the inquisitorial acumen of a girl young enough to be your granddaughter'.

The editor of such-and-such a paper [asks] ... you to see a young lady, whom you knew when ... she was a golden-haired child, and to answer her on such topics as she shall see fit to broach. The girl is a good girl, a clever girl, a pretty girl, and one whose literary career you would willingly help. But a certain feeling of self-respect and dignity, as well as regard for the general fitness of things, makes you decline..... you are asked to bare your soul, scarred and seamed and tear-stained as it is with sorrow and experience, to the gaze of a fresh young maid ... With the creation of the interviewer, reticence on the one side is destroyed – on the other, honour goes by the board.

She regretted equally the decline of the scholar editor who knew how to choose his contributors, and the advent of 'young lions ... fatuously credited with literary, scientific, political and artistic omniscience'.⁴⁸

Certain problems seem to have been shared by all female journalists, whether British, mainland European or American, but there were differences dependent upon local political circumstances as well as cultural conditions. The new journalism of America was brassier and more sensational than its English counterparts; it is difficult to imagine the women journalists of London in the 1890s turning themselves into stunt girls. Perhaps because nineteenth-century American society was much less cohesive, and the Civil War itself a great disruption, some early women journalists seem to have been much more adventurous and eccentric than their British counterparts. Yet in other ways they faced the same prejudices that Victorian would-be journalists met.

There are reflections and precursors of Martineau and the Langham Place group in Margaret Fuller, who like early English women journalists was precocious and enjoyed an unusual education from her lawyer and politician father; she could read Latin at six. 'Her vigorous mind struck flint on many of the issues of the day.'⁴⁹ Her first *Tribune* article was a two-and-a-half-column front page analysis of Emerson's essays. Ross considered her articles 'choked with detail ... editorial in tone ... her point of view was advanced and her style was always scholarly'. She apparently shocked the *Tribune* readers by writing sympathetically of prostitutes. Again in the 1850s Jenny June and Fanny Fern's 'tears, fashions, recipes and women's problems out ... [in] the open' were just a little more advanced than their English equivalents. The developments in the later decades, however, particularly the 'yellow press' and the stunt girls had no exact British parallels, although American influences affected the 'New Journalism'.

In one sense American journalists were nearer to their English counterparts than those just across the channel. Though the veteran Paris correspondent, Emily Crawford, found Mme Claude Vignon and 'Séverine', both moulded as journalists by political events, inspirational, she thought the profession 'well-nigh closed' to women in France, because of 'the pest of gallantry' and narrow ideas of a Frenchwoman's place in society.⁵⁰ British society may have been more open in its views than the French, but its womenfolk who successfully entered journalism were still in many ways atypical. Many of them enjoyed a rather cosmopolitan life. Extensive travel abroad was common, and Mrs Gatty and Miss Yonge were unusual in their relatively limited experience of foreign parts. Their personal domestic lives, too, reveal common factors, a high incidence of spinsterhood or equivocal marital status, legal or informal separation or divorce.

The numbers of women in journalism almost certainly increased over the century, but we have no exact figures. Census returns provide a rough guide, but many freelance women contributors, particularly in the earlier decades, may not be entered as such.⁵¹ Journalism was never an easy option, and by the end of the century when girls found it peculiarly attractive there was a widespread perception among their elders that it was overglamorized and overcrowded. Janet Hogarth and Frances Low, both from a journalistic background, considered the requisite educational level well below that of the new breed of Girton girls. One woman's magazine reader added the attractions of journalism to the standard reasons why even at good rates needlewomen were impossible to find. 'Our girls will rush into journalism, teaching or the

stage, three professions already overstocked, and neglect really useful branches of employment, by which they might earn a steady, if not luxurious livelihood.⁵² A decade earlier *The Girl's Own Paper*, remarking journalism's attractions to the young of both sexes, warned that it was overcrowded and 'likely to prove a very precarious enterprise' for any girl needing to earn her own living.⁵³

Yet for those who took up the challenge journalism had much to offer, giving opportunities for writers with no talent or inclination for fiction. It provided an arena to debate directly those social and political issues from which women were excluded at all levels of government, a vehicle to promote political and religious beliefs, a channel to educate or influence other women. In the absence of higher education it gave a formal outlet for sustained consideration of their informal studies. It offered, if precariously, a source of earnings from work which could in many instances be done from home, and 'fitted round', albeit with ingenuity, effort and strain, domestic commitments. Those who edited or published even engaged in business. Collectively these women made a distinct contribution to the development of journalism in the nineteenth century, so influencing their culture and society. One can trace through their work and the divergence of female streams of thought on the 'Sex' question, the struggle for women's rights to education, employment, property and the vote. Norton, Blessington, Howitt, Martineau, Lynn Linton, Oliphant, Bodichon, Cobbe – their names interconnect and part company as the decades roll on. One can read in their critical debates ideas that helped to shape literary genres and public responses to the arts. Whether editing a religious paper or writing an etiquette column women shared in that dynamic interaction of press and reader which was such an important factor in the shaping of their society. Their work should not be underestimated.

Index

For ease of reference the definite article has been omitted from the titles of periodicals. References in **bold** are entries in the Biographical Appendix.

- A Day's Ride*, 110
A Struggle for Fame, 205
A Tale of Two Cities, 207
A Troubled Stream, 68
abolitionists, 176
Academy, 57, 76, 78, 97, 127, 185
Acton, Eliza, 141
Adam Bede, 69, 74
Adam Graeme, 120
Adams, WE, 41
Adonais, 77
advertisements, publishers', 61, 71
advertising, 17, 22, 24, 125, 145, 146, 154, 172, 179
advertorial, 143, 154
advice *See* column
aesthetes, female, 57, 109
Aguilar, Grace, 116
Ainsworth's 90, 186, 202
Alexandra Magazine, 174, 179
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, 131
All The Year Round, 110, 192, 202, 206, 207
Allen, Grant, 14, 72
Allingham, Helen, 157, **214**
Allingham, William, 28, 38, 157
American journalism, 14–15, 21, 55, 112, 171
Amulet, 104
'An Accursed Race', 209
Andersen, Hans, 131
Anderson, David, 32
Anne Sherwood, 124
'Annie Orme', 120
annuals, 114–18, 140
anonymity, 12, 61, 66–7, 70, 162, 202
Anti-Corn Law League, 176
Anti-Suffrage Review, xii, 151
Antigone, 75, 77
Argent, Isaac, 137
Argosy, 125, 128, 157, 202
Aria, Mrs, 144, 146, 147, **214**
Armstrong, Lucie H, 136
Arnold, Arthur, 47
Arnold, Matthew, 13
Arnold, Sir Edwin, 22, 187
Art Journal, 79, 90, 118
Art Union Monthly Journal, 29
art criticism, 64, 72, 76, 79, 95, 96, 97
art history, 78
Association for Promoting the Employment of Women, 174
Astor, William Waldorf, 55
astronomy, 85, 98
Atalanta, 59, 133, 164
Athenæum, 22, 28, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 70, 77, 78, 79, 90, 93 192, 206
Atlantic Monthly, 22
Aunt Judy's Magazine, 26, 130, 131–2, 157
Austen, Jane, 32, 71
Austin, Sarah, 77, **214**
Australia, dispatches from, 52
Author's Syndicate, 190
'Authoresses', 66
Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland, 186, 190, 191
Avenir des Femmes, 171
Azeth the Egyptian, 183, 186
Authors and Authority, 61

Bagehot, Walter, 65
Baldwin's Magazine, 87
Ballin, Ada S, 173
Banks, Elizabeth, 21, 24, 33, 54, 56, 107, 184
Banks, Isabella, 202, 205
Baring, Sir E, 52, 53
Barker, Lady, 64
Barnacle, 26, 165

- Baron-Wilson, Margaret (Cornwell),
 13, 139, 140, **214–5**
 Barrett Browning, Elizabeth, 27, 91,
 94, 115
 Bartley, Mr, 170
 Bateson, Margaret, 148
 Batey, Mrs, 6
 Beale, Dorothy, 148
 Beardsley, Aubrey, 153
 beauty *See* column
 Becker, Lydia, **170, 215**
 Bedford Square Ladies' College, 23
 Beer, Rachel, 20, 113, **215**
 Beeton, Isabella, 104, 128, 136, 137,
 142–3, **215**
 Beeton, Sam, 83, 136, 141–2, 144
Belfast Newsletter, 108
Belgravia, 75, 83, 100, 107, 121, 128,
 152, 157
 Bell, Moberly, 53–4
 'Belle', 146
 Belloc, Bessie Rayner (Parkes), 12, 18,
 23, 26, 30, 34, 174–80, **215**
 Belloc, Hilaire, 128
 Belloc-Lowndes, Marie, 146, **215**
 Bennett, Arnold, 32, 84, 86, 106, 145,
 159
 Bennett, Maud, 137, 145
 Bentham, Jeremy, 176
 Bentley (publisher), 190, 195, 204
Bentley's Miscellany, 25, 93, 94, 185,
 202, 203
Bentley's Quarterly, 86
 Bentley, George, 27, 67, 71, 75, 189
 Bentley, Richard, 185
 Besant, Annie, 41, **216**
 Betham-Edwards, Matilda, 6, 23, 27,
 97, 102, **216**
 Billington, Mary, 19, 20, 37, 49, 55,
 106, 113, 137, 147, 157, 172, **216**
 biography, 96, 185
Birds of Prey, 122, 157
 Black, Clementina, 23, 148, 170, **216**
 Black, Helen, 7, 41, 107, 204, 157,
 217
 Blackburn, Helen, **217**
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 40,
 62, 63, 67, 68, 71, 77, 87, 86,
 95–6, 97, 184, 185, 186, 190, 202
 Blackwood, John, 27, 193, 195, 210
 Blackwood, William, 27, 195, 196,
 198
 Blackwoods (publisher), 204
 Blanchard, Sidney, 82
 Blandford Edwards, Amelia *See*
 Edwards
 Blessington, Countess of 2, 12, 18, 20,
 29, 58, 89, 104, 116, **217**
 Blount, Margaret, 110
 Bly, Nellie, 56
 Bodichon, Barbara 12, 23, 26, 27, 30,
 174–9, **217**
 Bodley Head (publisher), 153
 'Bogey's of Provincial Life', 128
Bolton Evening News, 197
 Bonheur, Rosa, 29
Book of Beauty, 116
Bookseller, 157
 Boucherett, Emilia, **217**
 Bowers, Miss, 157
Boys' Own Magazine, 143
 Bradbury & Evans, (publisher) 192
 Braddon, Mary, 27, 54, 66, 71, 74, 83,
 89, 109, 121–4, 149, 152, 157,
 184, 201, 202, 206, **218**
 Bradlaugh, Charles 41
 Bremer, Frederika, 75, 119, 136
 British Library, 23, 98
 British Museum, 98
British Quarterly, 62, 86, 151
 Brontë, Charlotte, 74
 Brookfield, Mrs, 207
 Broome, Frederick Napier, 64
 Brougham, Lord, 68
 Broughton, Rhoda, 68, 70, 203
 Brown, Curtis, 201
 Browne, Matilda, 99, 136, 143, 144,
 218
Bruno's Revenge, 132
 Brussels Conference, 53
 Buckle, George, 103
Budget, 113
 Bulwer-Lytton, Sir Edward, 27
 Bunbury, Selina, 2
 Burnett, Frances Hodges, 133
 Busk, Mary Margaret, 21, 62, 66, 67,
 77, **218**
 Butler, Lady, 128, 157

- Byron, Lord, 77
- Caird, Mona, 70, 101, 148, 170, **218**
Cambridge Chronicle, 111
 'Cameos', 166
 Campbell, Lady Colin, 7, 79, **218**
 Campbell, Thomas, 89
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry 54
Can Right Be Wrong?, 120
 Canning, George 29
 Carey, Rosa Nouchette, 9, 204
 Carlyle, Jane, 32, 90
 Carlyle, Thomas, 38, 65, 90
 Carpenter, Susan, 51, **219**
 Cashel Hoey *See* Hoey
 Cassell's (publisher), 205, 206
 Castlereagh, Viscount, 29, 116
 Chamber of Commerce, 173
Chambers'(s) Edinburgh Journal, 12, 90,
 97, 204
 Chapman, Frederic, 153
 Chapman, John, 18, 21, 69, 151, 209,
 210, 151
 character sketches, 92
 cheap periodicals *See* periodicals
Chelmsford Chronicle, 41
 Chenery, Thomas, 105
 children's books, 78
 children's columns, 135–6
 children's magazines, 26, 130–5, 157,
 166, 204
 children's pastimes, 163
 Chorley, Henry Fothergill, 27, 28, 142
Christian Lady's Magazine, 161–4
Christian World Magazine, 37, 160,
 167
Christian's Mistake, 75
 'Christopher North' (John Wilson),
 65, 114
Chronicle, 16
 Churchill, Lady Randolph, 107
Churchman's Companion, 160
 circulation *See* periodicals
 Clarke, James, 160, 161, 167
Claverings, 121, 157
 Claxton sisters, 158
 Claxton, Adelaide, **219**
 Claxton, Florence, 157, **219**
 Clay, Hannah, 136
- Clemenceau, 51
 Clement Pietra Santa, Father, 162
 Clerke, Agnes, 6, 90, 98, **219**
 Clerke, Ellen, **219**
 'Clever Women', 86
 clippings books, 149
 Cobbe, Frances Power, 2, 4, 31, 36,
 37, 44, 46–9, 50, 60, 67, 99, 171,
 174, 176, 180, **220**
 Coghill, Annie, 196
 Coke, Mrs Talbot, 145, 147, **220**
 Colburn, 67, 87, 89, 108
 Coleridge, Christabel R, 133, 164, 165
 Colles, William, 190
 Collett, Clara, 101
 Collins, Wilkie, 10
 column, advice, 146, 173
 beauty, 154
 fashion, 144, 157
 gossip, 57–9, 141, 147; (literary),
 119
 shopping, 143, 146, 154
 See also children's, readers',
 women's,
 columnists, 146, 56–8, 97, 196
Cometh Up as a Flower, 68, 70
Comic Offering, 116, 156
 'Company Manners', 209
 competitions *See* magazine,
 newspaper 83
 Comyns, Mrs, 129
Coningsby, 200
Constance Herbert, 75
 consumer magazines, 129, 138
 consumerism, 144, 145, 146, 154, 170
 Contagious Diseases Acts, 170
Contemporary Review, 99, 148, 174
 contributors
 advice to, 25, 140–1
 problems with, 151
Conversations, 166
 convicts, treatment of, 45
 Cook, Douglas, 189
 Cook, Eliza, xii, 107, 168, 171, **220**
 Cook, John Douglas, 11, 42–3,
 Cook, Rachel, 23, 64, 153
 cookery, 137, 141, 146
 Cooper, Charles, 33
 copy-editing, 152

- copyright, 3, 31, 46, 119, 205, 206
 Corkran, Frazer, 43
Cornhill Magazine, 85, 87, 90, 97, 103, 121, 157, 192, 203
 Cornwall, Barry, 116
 correspondent *See* foreign, journalist
 Costello, Dudley, 82, 94
 Costello, Louisa, 77, 87, 90, 93, 220
 Cotes, Sara, Mrs Everard, 7, 64, 146
Country Life, 4
 'Country Pictures', 92
 country sketch, 92
Court Journal, 125
Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée, 139, 108
Court Suburb Magazine, 99, 100, 124
 Courtney, Janet, xii, 15, 38, 52, 150, 151, 170, 221
 Courtney, WL, 11
 Couvreur, Jessie Catherine, 221
Coventry Herald, 202
 Cowden Clarke, Mary, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 128, 129, 133, 148, 221
 Cowslade, Marianne, 112, 237
 Craft, Mabel, 21
 Craig, Isa, 125, 155, 174, 175
 Craigie, Pearl ('John Oliver Hobbes'), 4, 79, 202, 221
 Craik, Dinah, 75, 106, 107, 120, 184, 203
 Craik, George 191
Cranford, 208, 209
 Crawford, Emily, 4, 15, 20, 33, 37, 38, 49–52, 54, 60, 80, 147, 222
 Crawford, Virginia, xi, 170
 creationist position *See* religious debate
 crime, 46
 Crimean war, 45
 criticism, 185
 abuses of, 67
 art, 64, 72, 76, 79, 95, 96, 97
 debates on, 65
 drama, 64, 72, 96
 influence of, 61
 music, 64, 79
 specialist, 77
 See also fiction, reviewing
 Cromer, Lord *See* Baring Sir E
 'Cumberland Sheep-shearers', 209
 Cust, Harry, 56
 Cust, Mrs, 57
 D'Arcy, Ella, 1, 149, 152–3, 222
 D'Orsay, Count, 29
Daily British Whig, 125
Daily Chronicle, 39, 144
Daily Mail, 10, 50, 108
Daily Mirror, 104, 108
Daily News, 3, 44, 45, 47, 51–2, 58, 64, 79, 107
Daily Telegraph, 9, 11, 22, 32, 170
 Darrell Blake, 105
 David, Jule, 142
 Davies, Emily, 28, 69, 109, 174–80, 222
Dawn, 170
 De Witt, Mrs, 171
 de Courcy, Beatrice, 139
 de Courcy, Margaret, 138, 139
 de Grey, Lord, 45
 de la Blanchardière, Mme, 129
 de la Ramée, Marie, 205
 de Mattos, Catherine, 70
 'Deaf Mutes', 99
Dear Faustina, 70
 'Defence' of the 'Wild Women', 101
 Delane, 103, 105
 descriptive sketch, 91
 Dew-Smith, Mrs, 57
 Dickens, Charles, 27, 29, 68, 69, 74, 83, 84, 87, 89, 105, 107, 110, 167, 168, 186, 192, 202, 205, 207, 208
 Dilke, Emilia (Lady), 23, 29, 30, 62, 76, 77, 78, 223
 Dilke, Sir Charles, 63, 77, 206
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 200
 Dixie, Lady Florence, 52, 108, 223
 Dixon, Ella Hepworth, 7, 29, 30, 65, 88, 105, 145, 147, 150, 223
 doctrinal debate *See* religious
 Dodd, George, 87
 Dodge, Mary Mapes, 132
 Domestic History of England, 83
 domestic circumstances, responsibilities *See* women
 Doudney Sarah, 127
 Dowie, Muriel, 72

- drama criticism, 64, 72, 96
Drawing Room Scrap-Book, 117
 Drawing Room, Queen's 58
Drawing-Room Album, 115
Dred, 80
 dress, problems of, 50
 Drew, Catherine, 30, 37, 41, 50, 138, 150, 154, 223
 Drewry, Ellen, 174
Dublin University Magazine, 123, 203
 Duncan, Sara *See* Cotes
Dundee Advertiser, 6
 Dunton, John, 98
 Dyer, Miss, 64
- Eashope, John, 115
East Lynne, 74, 122
 Eastlake, Elizabeth (Lady), 21, 27, 34, 62, 63, 68, 72–3, 77–8, 84, 90, 95, 223
 Eccles *See* O'Conor
Echo, 46, 47, 48, 49
 Edgeworth, Maria, 28
Edinburgh Review, 45, 62, 63, 80, 98, 99 105, 174
 editing, 129ff,
 editors, 1, 88, 89, 129–46, 150, 151, 159–80
 assistant, 150, 152
 dealing with, 24, 195
 disputes with proprietors, 107, 120
 duties of, 105, 180
 problems of, 109, 122, 151, 179
 qualities of, 106
 views on, 88, 194
 editorship, 18, 103–28, 129–47, 188, 210
 success in, 105
 types of, 104
 Edwards, Amelia Blandford, 6, 4, 76, 26, 27 90, 97, 126, 177, 185, 224
 Edwards, Mary Ellen, 134, 157, 223–4
 Egyptology, 97
 Electric Telegraph Company, 187
 'Elegies', 77
 Elford, Sir William, 27
 Eliot, George, xi, 2, 21, 29, 45, 61, 65, 66, 68, 69, 74, 75–6, 77, 80, 100, 109, 115, 147, 150, 149, 150, 151, 153, 177, 179, 184, 186, 200, 202, 209–10, 224
 Eliot, M, 79
Eliza Cook's Journal, xii, 17, 86, 168–70
 Ellis, Sarah Stickney, 117
English Men of Letters, 61
English Republic, 90
English Woman's Journal, 99 109, 137, 157, 159, 161, 174–80, 210
Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, 26, 35, 83, 99, 128, 138, 141, 142–4, 148
Englishwoman's Review (of Social and Industrial Questions), 50, 52, 171, 174, 178, 180, 181
Englishwoman's Review and Home Newspaper, 137
Englishwoman, 2, 136, 146, 181
Erechtheus, 76
 Escott, THS, 1–2, 3, 9, 43, 123
 etiquette, 147
 Evans, Marian *See* Eliot, George,
 Ewing, Juliana, 26, 132, 134, 157, 224
Examiner, 48, 77
Exchange and Mart, 3
- Fairlie, Louisa, 116
 Faithfull, Emily, 54, 121, 137, 155, 174, 179–80, 224–5
Falkner Lyle, 71
Family Herald, 25, 202
 family networks *See* networks
 family responsibilities *See* women
 fancy-work, 141
 'Fanny Fern', 15
Far From the Madding Crowd, 157
 fashion, 57, 139, 144–5, 146, 147;
 illustration, 138, 140, 142–3, 158
 journalism, 79
 magazines, 139ff
 See also columns, dress
 Fawcett, Millicent, 133
Feathered World, 129
 'Female Industry', 174
 Female Middle Class Emigration Society, 174
 female *See* networks, persona, reticence, suffrage, women

- Feminist Companion*, 62
 feminism, foreign, xi, 171
 press, 159, 168–82
 Fenwick-Miller, Florence, xi, 12, 35,
 44, 58, 60, 83, 170, 172, 225
 fiction, 183–4
 gothic, 75
 in newspapers, 204
 influence of, 201
 journalism in, 7–8, 111, 130, 135
 191, 203; (women critics), 64
 marketing, 204
 publishing, 186,
 realism in, 74
 sensation, 73, 74, 122, 126, 207;
 (bigamy-novel), 74
 See also reviewing, serialization, pay
Field, 125
Finden's Tableaux, 115
 Finlaison, Miss, 165
Five Great Painters, 78
 Fleet Street, social life, 41
 Fleming, Miss, 57
 'Flying Coaches', 98
 Forbes, Alexander Penrose, 160
Foreign Quarterly, 62, 77
 'Foreign Table Talk', 202
 foreign correspondence, conditions
 of, 51–2
 foreign correspondent, 22, 39, 43, 47,
 51–4, 55, 77, 196
 foreign languages, value of, 23, 77
 See also translation
 foreign literature, 202
 See also reviewing
 Forster, John, 29, 68
Fortnightly Review, 67, 76, 87, 89, 90,
 148, 150, 170, 205
Fountain, 202
 Fox Talbot, 119
 Fox-Bourne, 9, 37, 51
Fraser's Magazine, 2, 17, 67, 87, 88,
 90, 93, 97, 107, 118, 119, 148,
 203
 French journalism, 15
 'French Life', 209
 Friederichs, Hulda, 9, 13, 27, 55, 56,
 107, 112, 150, 225
Friendship's Offering, 150
 Fuller, Beata Jane, 135
 Fuller, Margaret, 151
 Gambetta, 51
 Gardiner, AG, 3, 41
 Garibaldi, 52, 85
 Gaskell, Elizabeth, 28, 66, 82, 83, 87,
 200, 202, 205–6, 208–9
 Gatty Mrs, 167
 Gatty, Horatia, 132, 135
 Gatty, Margaret, 15, 85, 131, 132,
 134, 225
Gazette, 170
Gems of Beauty, 116
 gender constructs, 192
 See also persona
Gentleman's Magazine, 196
Gentlewoman, 79, 136, 147
George Geith, 71, 106
 Gerard, Emily, 64, 77
 'German Wit', 75
 Gilbert, WS, 123
 'Girl of the Period', xi, 84, 90, 95,
 99–102
Girl's Own Paper, 16, 26, 130, 204
 Girton College, 174
 See also Hitchin
 Gissing, George, 7, 135
Globe, 10, 190
Good Words for the Young, 131
Good Words, 9, 90, 110, 157, 174, 204
 Gordon, Charles George, 53
 Gordon-Cumming, Constance, 97,
 226
 Gore, Catherine, 71, 203
 gossip *See* column
 gothic *See* fiction
 Goubaud, Adolphe, 142
 Goubaud, Mme, 142
 Governesses' Benevolent Institution,
 63
 governesses, 17, 63
 Gow, Mary L, 157, 226
 'Grace Greenwood', 29
 Graham, Miss, 89
 Graham, Mrs, 3
 Grand, Sarah, 72, 102
Graphic, 49, 59, 157, 190, 206
Grasp Your Nettle, 71

- Graves, Clotilde Inez, 3, 6, 21, 226
 Green, Fanny, 49, 52, 106, 103, 137, 151, 172
 Greenaway, Kate, 134, 157, 226
 Greg, William Rathbone, 79
 Greville, Lady, 59, 226
 Grey, Maria, 19, 148
 Grote, George, 65, 176
 Grote, Mrs, 42
Groundwork of Economics, 76
 Guild of Literature and Art, 140
Golden Gates, 107
 Gunning, Mr, 180
 Guthrie, Dr Thomas, 89
- Hall, Anna Maria, 4, 18, 28, 30, 89, 91, 93, 109, 116, 118–21, 136, 152, 203, 226–7
 Hall, Carter Samuel, 91, 118, 125
 Halls, Carter, 27, 29
 handwriting, 33
 Harcourt, Vernon, 54, 189
 Hardy, Thomas, 71, 72
 Hargrave, Mary, 136
 Harland, 152
 Harmsworth, Alfred 107, 108
Harper's Bazaar, 204
 Harraden, Beatrice, 23
 Harrison, Janet, 111
 Hasell, Elizabeth, 76–7, 227
 Hastings, George, 175
 Hatton, Joseph, 2, 22, 37, 39
 Hawkes, Emily, 150
 Haydon, Benjamin, 27
 Hays, Matilda, 177
 Hayward, Abraham, 43
 Hearne, Mary Anne, 161
Hearth & Home, 145, 147
Heath's Annual, 116
 Hector, Annie, 27, 202
 Heine, 75
 Heinemann, William, 30
Helen Lyndsey, 119, 120
 Hemans, Felicia, 27
 Henley, William Ernest, 89
 Hepworth Dixon, Ella *See* Dixon
Hertha, 75
 Hervey, Mrs TK, 82
 Hetherington, Miss, 149
Hidden Depths, 69, 161
 Higginson, Col, 171
 'Hints on Reading', 167
 history, 183
 Hitchin College, 153
 Hoey, Frances Cashel, 6, 66, 92, 123, 227
 Hofland, Thomas and Barbara 27
 Hogarth, Janet *See* Courtney
 Holdsworth, Annie, 172, 227
Home Notes, 137, 145
Homes of the New World, 119
Hood's Magazine, 108, 109
 Hood, Thomas, 67, 108
 Hood, Tom junior, 120, 203
 Hosmer, Harriet, 177
 hospital cots, 132, 134, 136
Household Words, x, 10, 28, 43, 82, 83, 85, 87, 93, 94, 98, 99, 101, 105, 110, 168, 196, 205, 208
 Howarth, Mary, 104, 108
Howitt's Journal, 118, 202
 Howitt, Anna, 28, 83, 87
 Howitt family, 29, 176
 Howitt, Mary, 18, 19–20, 24, 28, 29, 83, 91, 104, 107, 114, 115, 117–8, 136, 168, 175, 193, 206, 227
 Howitt, William, 117, 119
 Hubbard, Louisa, 28, 38, 158, 170, 171
 'Hugger-mugger', 86
 Hughes, Tom, 109
 Hugo, Victor, 51, 76
 Humphry, Mrs, xi, 4, 6, 30, 59, 146, 147, 228
 Hunt, James Henry Leigh, 129, 130
 Hunt, Robert, 120
 Hunt, Violet, 57, 146
 Hutton, RH, 65, 131
- Idylls of the King*, 62
Illustrated London News, 58, 88, 170
Illustrated Times, 157
 illustrators, 134, 156–8
See also fashion
Independent, 212
 Ingelow, Jean, 26, 29, 108, 126
 Innes, Mr, 165
 Institute of Journalists, 30, 138

- International Conference of the Press, 30
- interviewing, 14, 43, 54–5, 148
- Inverness Courier*, 12, 112
- Inverness Journal*, 112
- Ion*, 76
- Irish famine, 92
- 'Irish Sketches', 93
- Irish Times*, 111
- Irving, Dr Edward, 196
- Irving, Henry, 72
- Isis*, 168
- James, Henry, 71
- Jameson raid, Select Committee inquiry, 54
- Jameson, Anna, 2, 5, 28, 67, 70, 79, 176, 177, 178, 193, 208
- Jane Austen, 194
- Jane Eyre*, 63, 68, 72–3
- Janes, Miss, 172
- Jenkin, Mrs, 83
- 'Jenny June', 15
- Jerrold, Blanchard, 82
- Jerrold, Douglas, 70, 90
- Jewsbury, Geraldine, 2, 4, 18, 32, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68–71, 73, 75, 83, 90, 212, 228
- Jewsbury, Maria, 3, 21, 28, 61, 70, 91, 228–9
- Johnson, Mrs Jack ('Levana'), 79, 136
- Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, 114
- Johnstone, Christian, xi, 10, 12, 41, 80, 90, 112, 114, 168, 229
- Johnstone, John, 112
- Jollivet, M, 50
- Journal of the Women's Education Union*, 170
- journalism, 41
- See also* under American, editing, fiction, French, pay, women, and under genres such as interviewing, society
- journalism
- attractions and disadvantages of 36–8, 49, 153
- correspondent, 49; *See also* foreign correspondent
- definitions of, 3–4,
- drudgery of, 9, 18, 84, 152
- entry into, 9, 24–7, 82, 185, 189, 212
- influence of, 35, 175
- intrusion, 14
- professionalization, 22, 31, 138
- provincial, 41
- qualities needed, 37–8, 41–2
- staffing levels, 41
- strains of, 18, 37–8, 191, 197
- training for, 32
- working conditions, 43, 44, 45, 47, 91; (1950s), 211
- Jude the Obscure*, 68, 72
- Juvenile Forget-Me-Not*, 118
- Kansas crisis, 80
- Katie Stewart*, 120, 186
- Kavanagh, Julia, 77, 127
- Keats, John, 129
- Keepsake*, 115, 116, 150
- Kerns, Miriam, 157
- King, Alice, 127, 204
- Kingsley, Charles 109
- Kitchin, Harcourt, 53
- Klickman, Flora, 130
- Knox, Mrs, 111, 229
- Kortright, Fanny Aikin, 2, 41, 100, 124, 181, 229
- Labouchere, 54
- Ladies' Cabinet*, 82, 93, 136, 138, 139, 144, 203
- Ladies' Companion*, 28, 140, 141, 148
- Ladies' Home Journal*, 201
- Ladies' Magazine of Gardening*, 129
- Ladies' Newspaper*, 143
- Ladies' Sanitary Association, 174
- Ladies' Treasury*, 141, 205
- 'Lady Travellers', 95
- Lady's Magazine*, 91, 138
- Lady's Museum*, 138
- Lady's Pictorial*, 9, 147
- Lady's Realm*, 86
- Lady*, 51
- Lamb, Mary, 129
- Lamp*, 160
- Landon, Letitia, 29, 30, 94, 114, 117

- Landor, Walter Savage 27, 29, 68, 116, 189
- Lane, John, 153
- Langham Place Group, 173, 174
- Lankester, Phebe, 136, 170, 176, 213
- Law Engrossing Office, 174
- law copying, 25, 175, 187
- Lawrance, Hannah, 62, 67, 79, 85, 98, 229
- Layard, George Somes, 19, 185
- Le Fanu, Sheridan, 64, 203
- le Noir, Elizabeth, 112
- Leader*, 43, 75, 196
- leader-writing, 36, 43–8
- Leigh Smith, Benjamin, 176
- Leigh, Blanch, 173
- Leigh, Lord, 116
- Leitch, Ritchie, 150
- Leith-Adams, Bertha, 202
- Lemon, Mark, 71
- Letters from South Africa*, 52
- Lever, Charles, 110
- Lewes, GH, 177, 195, 210
- Lewis, Sir G Cornewall, 45
- Life and Letters of Macaulay*, 68
- Life of Charlotte Brontë*, 62
- Life of George Eliot*, 63
- Linton, Eliza Lynn, xi, 2, 7, 14, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 82, 84, 89, 90, 95, 99, 100–2, 114, 128, 148, 149, 160, 183, 210, 230
- Linton, William James, 188
- Literary Fund, 204
- Literary Gazette*, 93, 192
- Little Folks*, 134
- Little Wide-Awake*, 134, 157
- Livermore, Mrs, 171
- Lloyd, Ethel, 9
- Loaden, Mr (early patron of Eliza Linton), 190
- Lockhart, John, 34, 95, 105, 148
- Lois the Witch*, 205–6, 208
- London Journal*, 205, 206
- London News*, 125
- London Quarterly*, 97
- London School Board, 172
- London School of Journalism, 32
- London Society*, 90, 123, 132, 192
- Longman's Magazine*, 170, 203
- Longmans (publishers), 107
- Loudon, Jane, 6, 15, 129, 141
- Low family, 27
- Low, Florence, 27
- Low, Frances, 6, 27, 37, 59, 63, 79, 106, 137, 154, 204, 229
- Low, Sidney, 27, 30
- Lucas, EV, 57
- Luttrell, Henry, 29
- Lycidas*, 77
- Lytton, Bulwer, 27, 89, 116, 122, 152
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington (Lord) 77
- Macdonald, Frederika, 20
- Mackay, Alexander, 108
- Mackay, Mary, 109
- Macmillan (publisher), 107, 196
- Macmillan's Magazine*, 77, 87, 89, 90, 97, 148, 165, 179, 202, 203
- Macpherson, 'Geddie', 67
- Magasin des Mauvaises Idées*, 99
- Magazine for the Young*, 86
- Magazine of Art*, 90
- magazine
- classes of, 86
 - competitions, 26, 83, 134, 172
 - financing, 165
 - sub-editing, 150–1
- Maginn, William, 119
- Maine, Sir H S, 189
- Makers of Venice*, 77
- male persona *See* persona
- Manchester Courier*, 70
- Manchester Guardian*, 41, 53, 64, 105, 150, 202
- Manners, Lord John, 116
- March-Phillipps, Evelyn, 59, 136, 138, 146, 148
- marriage settlements, 35
- Married Women's Property Committee, 174
- Marriott Watson, Rosamund (Tomson), 57, 109, 145
- Marryat, Florence, 6, 123
- Marshall, Emily Hawkes, 41
- Martineau, Harriet, 2, 3, 5, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20–1, 23, 25, 27, 31, 37, 40,

- 42, 44–6, 60, 79–80, 82, 83, 85,
99, 100, 114, 148, 149, 160, 174,
175, 230–1
- Martineau, James, 151
- Mary Barton*, 5
- Marylebone Mercury*, 111
- Masson, David, 151
- Masters of English Journalism*, 2
- Mathers, Helen, 83
- Maxwell, John, 107, 120, 152
- Mayhew, Henry, 42
- Mayne, Ethel Colburn, 153
- Mayne, Fanny, 168
- Mayo, Isabella Fyvie, 12, 17, 18, 20,
21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 62, 89,
110, 118, 125, 127, 148, 154, 156,
175, 187, 203, 204, 205, 231
- Meade, LT, 133, 204, 231
- Meredith, George, 53
- Merrifield, Mary, 79, 119, 120
- Merry England*, 127–8
- messengers, 149
- Meteyard, Eliza, 6, 86, 231–2
- Metropolitan*, 87
- Meynell, Alice, 5, 6, 32, 57, 64, 84, 88,
89, 90, 94–5, 127–8, 144, 147, 232
- Middlemarch*, 76, 110
- Mill, James, 63
- Mill, John Stuart, 23, 151, 176
- Millais, John Everett, 78, 131
- Mirror Group*, 212
- Miscellany*, 195
- Miss Angel*, 73
- Miss Bretherton*, 201
- Mitford, Mary Russell, 3, 5, 12, 23, 27,
44, 62, 66, 82, 83, 87, 88, 90–3,
95, 114, 115, 117, 232
- Modern Painters*, 62, 78
- Month*, 160
- Monthly Magazine*, 87
- Monthly Packet*, 25, 26, 131, 133,
164–7
- Monthly Paper of Sunday Teaching*, 165
- Monthly Repository*, 83
- Moore, Thomas, 29
- More, Sir Thomas, 77
- More, Hannah, 3
- Morgan, Sidney (Lady), 28, 63, 66, 77,
91, 206, 232–3
- Morley, Charles, 112
- Morley, Henry, 82, 85
- Morley, John, 3, 61, 105, 202
- Morning Chronicle*, 11, 40, 42–4, 63,
64, 115, 189, 196
- Morning Herald*, 43
- Morning Post*, 64, 97, 185
- Morning Star*, 125
- Morpeth, Viscount, 116
- Morris, William, 76
- Morton, Honor, 130
- Mothers in Council*, 165
- Mozley, Anne, 2, 84, 86, 147, 166,
233
- ‘Mr Sandford’ 191
- Mrs Ellis’s Morning Call*, 116
- Müller, Henrietta (‘Miss Temple’) 137,
172, 233
- Murray, Clarissa, 107
- Murray, John, 27
- ‘Music among the Poets’, 129
- music criticism, 64, 79
- Musical Times*, 129
- My Love!*, 197
- Myra’s Journal*, 144
- Nation*, 52
- National Association for the
Promotion of Social Science, 125
- National Observer*, 89
- National Reformer*, 41
- National Review*, 90, 170, 178
- Naylor, Charles Wharton, 111
- Naylor, Miss, AT, 111
- Needle, A Magazine of Ornamental
Work*, 129
- needlework, 187
- Nelly Deane: A Story of Everyday Life*, 75
- Nesbit, EE, 57, 202
- networks, 123, 176, 203
family, 176
male, 189
- New British*, 90
- New Grub Street*, 7, 201
- ‘New Journalism’, 13–14, 43, 50, 56,
84, 145, 172, 173
- New Monthly Belle Assemblée*, 140
- New Monthly*, 67, 87, 89, 90, 93, 108,
195

- 'New Woman', 71, 102, 181, 184
New York Times, 21
Newbury, 164
 Newby, George 7, 186
 Newman, John Henry, 79
 Newnes, George, 20, 55, 112, 113, 150
 News, 48
 newspaper
 competitions, 14
 influence of, 36, 111
 journalism, 36–60, 189–90;
 conditions, 36, 149; *See also*
 editor, sub-editor etc.
 office, 39, 150; (1950), 211
 provincial, 41, 110
 staffing, 149
 Newton-Crosland, Mrs (Toulmin, Camilla), 6, 150
 Nightingale, Florence, 45, 160
Nineteenth Century, 11, 87, 90, 101, 203, 205
 Norris, Maria, 82
North and South, 73, 205, 208
North British, 68
Northern Echo, 41, 103, 104
 Norton, Hon. Caroline, 3, 37, 42, 64, 101, 108, 138, 139, 233
Not Wisely but Too Well, 203
 novel *See* fiction, reviewing, serialization
 novelists, 200–10
 Novello, Mary *See* Cowden Clarke
- O'Connor, TP, 13, 21, 59
 O'Connor Eccles, Charlotte, 21, 24, 30, 37, 50, 154, 233–4
 O'Hara, Elizabeth, 136
Observer, 113
Occupations of a Retired Life, 205
 'Ode to Wellington', 77
 Office for Employment of Women, 187
 'Old Saloon', 195
 Oliphant, Cyril, 193
 Oliphant, Francis, 188
 Oliphant, Margaret, 2, 17, 19, 21, 27, 29, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71–5, 77, 82, 90, 93, 96, 98, 100, 102, 106, 107, 120, 133, 149, 158, 181, 183, 200, 207, 234
- Oliver Twist*, 74
 'Olla Podrida', 57
 'On Little Martyrs', 124
 'On Shooting People Down', 124
 'On the Use of Dancing', 163
 'On the Use of Music', 163
Once a Week, 192
 Opie, Amelia, 119
 Orme, Eliza, 44, 234
Our Mutual Friend, 186
Our Village, 5, 91, 92, 94, 95
Outward Bound, 172
Oxford Chronicle, 202
- Pall Mall Gazette*, 11, 53, 55, 56, 64, 84, 89, 108, 130, 149
 Palmerston, Lord, 29
 Pardoe, Julia, 82, 100, 203
 Parkes, Bessie Rayner *See* Belloc
 Parkes, Bessie's father, 176
 parliamentary reporters, conditions of, 39
 Parr, Harriet, 82
Passages in the Life of Mrs Margaret Maitland, 184
 Pater, Walter, 79
 Paterson, Helen *See* Allingham
 Patmore, Coventry, 128
 patterns
 dress, 142
 embroidery, 142
 Patterson, Robert, 81
 Pattison, Mark, 78
 pay
 problems over, 88, 154
 rates of, 42, 44, 49, 50, 51, 56, 58, 87, 88, 103, 104, 115, 153, 154, 155, 160, 179, 180, 186, 187, 204; (fiction), 186, 187
 Payne, John, 119
Pearson's Magazine, 86, 137
 Pearson, Arthur, 137
 penal reform, 45
 Pennell, Elizabeth, 57, 79, 133, 147
 Pennell, Joseph, 11, 133
Penny Magazine, 79, 94, 157
 penny press; *See* periodicals
 pension, 11
 authors', 190, 204

- 'People Who Do Not Like Poetry', 169
- periodical essays, scope of, 85
- periodical
 illustration, 16
 writing, 81
- periodicals
 cheap, 10, 114, 130–5, 160; penny press, 168
 circulation, 10, 121, 142, 160, 179
 fiction in, 203
 influence of, 201
- Perry, James, 3
- persona, 198
 female, 137
 male, 21, 73, 94, 95, 97, 202
- Peters, Charles, 130
- Petrarch, 77
- Pfeiffer, Emily, 148, 234
- Phillimore, Catherine, 77
- photography, 84, 95
- Pictorial World*, 157
- Platell, Amanda, 212
- poetry, 169
- politics, 44, 110, 111, 159, 170
 French 52
- Polonaise Lace Book*, 145
- popularization, scientific, 85
- Porritt, Edward, 3
- Porter, Mrs Gerald, 185
- Portman School, 174
- Power, Marguerite, 116, 150, 258, 234–5
- Powerscourt, Viscount, 116
- Press Fund, 38
- Press Gallery, 39, 110, 172
- press
 agencies, 50
 influence, 174
See also feminist, religious
- Priestley, Joseph, 176
- printing, 151
 jobs 155
- Printing House Square offices, 40
- printing-press, 12
See also technological change
- Procter, Adelaide, 27, 28, 120, 127, 176
- Proctor, Richard, 85
- professionalism, 198
- proof-reading, 149, 150, 151
- proprietors, 107
- prostitution, 161, 178
- Public Opinion*, 125
- Publishers' Circular*, 207
- publishing costs, 179
- Pugin, Augustus Welby, 96, 188, 193
- Punch*, 198
- Quarterly Review*, 34, 62, 63, 77, 89, 96, 105, 148, 164
- Queen Mary*, 77
- Queen*, 90, 105, 106, 137, 142, 147, 148, 157, 196, 197
- Raven-Hill, Leonard, 4
- Reader* 179
- readers'
 column, 132, 163
 debates, 173
 letters, 173
- readership, 10, 122, 132, 134, 145, 204
- Reading Mercury*, 111–2
- Realities*, 43, 69
- Rees, Sarah Jane, 6
- Reeve, Clara, 73
- Reid, Wemyss, 6
- Religious Tract Society, 160
- religious debate, 48, 160, 162–4
 creationist position, 162–3
- religious press, 130, 159, 160–8
- reporting, 49
- Representative*, 3
- reticence, female, 25–6, 91, 127
- Review of Reviews*, 77, 108, 172
- reviewers, women, 61–80
- reviewing, 2, 190, 195, 206
 fiction, 68–9, 70–6
 foreign literature 77
 influence of, 65
 newspaper, 64
 non-fiction, 76
 specialist, 78–9
 styles of, 63
- Rhodes, Cecil, 53, 54
- Riddell, Charlotte, 4, 6–8, 17, 71, 106, 204, 235
- Rigby, Elizabeth Eastlake
- 'Rights and Wrongs of Women', 101

- Rights of Women*, 178
Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters, 61
 Ritchie, Anne (Lady), 73, 91, 92, 94, 106, 179, 203
 Robertson Scott, JM, 8, 147
 Robinson, Sybil, 157
Romance and Reality, 30
 'Rome in 1877', 196
Romola, 187
 Rossetti, Christina, 125, 176
 Royal Geographical Society, 57
 royalty payment system, 190
Rugby Advertiser, 41
 rural conditions, 92
 rural themes, 93
 Ruskin, John, 62, 78, 79, 209
 Russell, 29
Ruth, 210
 Rye, Maria, 23, 25, 83, 98, 148, 155, 174, 175, 235

 'Saint May', 124
Saint Paul's, 76, 90, 157, 203
Sala's Journal, 181
 Sala, George Augustus, 54, 83, 103, 123, 152
 Sale-Barker, Lilian, 135
 Sale-Barker, Lucy, 134–5, 235
 Sale-Barker, Maurice, 135
 salons, 29
 French, 78, 79
Sara Crewe, 133
Saturday Night, 110
Saturday Review, 13, 63, 66, 86, 88, 90, 100, 178, 188, 189, 196, 197
 Saunders, George, 9
 'Scandal', 128
 'Scenes', 86
 Schiller, 76
 scientific journalism, 6, 98, 131–2, 136, 141
Scots Observer, 90
Scotsman, 125, 175
 Scott, CP, 5, 105, 149, 153
 Scott, Sir Walter, 23, 73, 115
 Searing, Laura, 21
Second Mrs Tanqueray, 71
 secretarial work, 154, 187

 'Sensation Novels', 63
 sensation fiction *See* fiction
 'Sensationalism in Science', 124
 Sergeant, Adeline, 74
 serial fiction, 168, 178
 serialization, 110, 122, 207
 'Séverine', 15
 Sewell, Sarah Missing, 148
 Shah, 49, 50
 Shakespeare, 76
Sharpe's Magazine, 86, 109, 118, 120, 135
 Sharples, Eliza, 168
 Shaw, Flora, 2, 4, 27, 49, 52–4, 60, 235–6
Sheffield Register, 41
 Sheridan, Louisa Henrietta, 116, 156
Shield, 170
 'Shirking', 86
Shirley, 23, 74
 Shirreff, Emily, 170
 shopping *See under* column, consumerism
 shorthand, 33, 39
 'Should Clever Women Marry?', 173
 'Shrieking Sisterhood', 99, 101, 102
 Sibley, Clara, 107
 Sichel, Beatrice, 193
Signal, 173
 Simcox, Edith, 19, 24, 30, 31, 62, 75–6, 77, 127, 236
 Sinclair, May, 30
 Sinnett, Mrs, 152
 Skene, Felicia, 69, 160, 236
 sketch-writing, 49, 54, 92
 sketch, rural, 91
 'Sketches of Legendary Cities', 94
 Skillicorn, Elizabeth Bennett, 137
 slavery, 80, 99
 Smart, Anna Maria, 111–2, 236–7
 Smith Elder (publisher), 187
 Smith, Charlotte, 23
 Smith, Julia, 176
 Smith, Sidney, 65
 Smythies, Mrs, 204, 206
 social
 column *See* column, gossip criticism, 42

- issues, 42, 45–8, 78, 95, 144, 161, 162, 169, 170, 174, 177, 179, 189
 reporting, 157
 ‘Season’, 48, 96
 Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, 28
 Society for Women’s Suffrage, 170
 Society of Authors, 30, 184
 Society of Women Journalists, 4, 31, 49, 147
 society journalism, 58–60
 Solly, Edward, 141
 Somerset, Lady Henry, 172
 Somerville, Mary, 19, 27, 33, 36, 90, 99
Sowing the Wind, 7, 187, 191, 196
Specimens of the Early Poetry of France, 94
Spectator, 9, 62, 88, 90, 170
 Springett, Miss, 7
St James Budget, 198
St James’s Magazine, 74, 106, 120, 136, 152
St Nicholas, 132, 133
 Stannard, Henrietta (‘John Strange Winter’), 4, 106, 146, 237
 starvation, 47
 Stead, WT 8, 14, 22, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 53, 59, 103, 104, 107, 149, 154, 172
 Stephen, Leslie, 103
 Stepney, Lady, 116
 Stevenson, RL, 133
 Stiff (publisher), 206
Storm Bell, 170
Story of a Modern Woman, 30
Story of Elizabeth, 179, 203
 Stott, Mary, 211
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 74, 80
 Strahan, Alexander, 21, 105, 110, 125, 157, 205
 Straight, Sir Douglas, 57, 130
Strand, 86, 88
 Stretton, Hesba, 127
 Strickland, Agnes, 117
 Stuart, Grace, 30
 Stuart-Wortley, Lady Emmeline, 116
 stunt girl, 14, 56
 sub-editor, 149, 150, 165
 suffrage debate, 99, 101, 102, 172, 178, 181
 Suffragist Women’s Liberal Association, 172
 Sullivan, Margaret, 20
Sun, 3
Sunday at Home, 160
Sunday Magazine, 202
Sunday Reader, 160
Sunday School Times and Home Educator, 161
Sunday Times, 113
Sunderland Times, 178
 Sutherland, Millicent, Duchess of, 29
 Sutton, Sarah, 137
 Swanwick, Helena, 88, 237
 Swinburne, Algernon, 76
Sylvia’s Journal, 89, 109, 145
Table Book, 26
Table Talk, 101
Tablet, 90
Tait’s, 13, 80, 99, 128, 203
 Tait, William, 114
 Tait, EM, 41
 Talfourd, Thomas Noon, 76, 89
 Taylor, Frances, 160, 237–8
 technological change, 11, 39, 44, 51, 104, 138, 142, 155
 Telegraph School, 155
 telegraph operators, 155
 telegraph transmission, 51
 temperance, 172
Temple Bar, 63, 90, 152, 170, 192, 198, 103, 123
 Temple, Miss, *See* Müller
 Tennyson, Alfred (Lord), 76, 77
 Thackeray, Anne *See* Ritchie
 Thackeray, William Makepeace, 42, 66, 71, 87, 103
The ‘Athenaeum’ Exposed, 67
 ‘The Anti-Marriage League’, 72
 ‘The Evolution of Economics’, 88
 ‘The Female Industrial Schools of Cork’, 119
 ‘The Grievances of Women’, 100
 The Ladies’ Petition, 174
The Lady’s Mile, 71

- 'The Last Generation in England', 209
 'The Literature of the Last Fifty Years', 63
 'The Looker-On', 97, 196
The Makers of Florence, 196
 'The Minstrel of Provence', 115
The New Republic, 64
 The New Toys (Club), 30
The One Too Many, 197
The Rich Husband, 7, 203
The Story of a Modern Woman, 145
 The Vagabonds (Club), 30
The Woman in White, 72, 207
 'The Words of a Believer', 198
 Thelwall, Mr, 88
 Thompson, Henry Yates, 55
 Thomson, Hugh, 94
 Thomson, Katherine, 94
Threefold Cord, 172
 Tillotson, Mrs William Frederic, 111
 Tilt, Mr, 115
Times, 10, 11, 22, 40, 44, 52, 53–4, 64, 79, 80, 97, 103, 105, 107, 155, 170, 185, 202
Tinsley's Magazine, 90
 Tinsley (publisher), 184
Tit-Bits, 13–14
 'Tom Cordery', 92
 Tomson *See* Marriot Watson
 Tonna, Charlotte, 12, 160–4, 238
 topography *See* travel-writing
 Toulmin, Camilla (Mrs Newton-Crosland) 6, 150, 238
 training, technical, 155, 158
 See also under journalism
Transcript (Boston), 112
 translation, 76, 77, 202
 transportation, 45
 travel, 13, 22, 192, 193, 196, 197
 books, 78
 writing, 94, 95, 97, 124, 159
Tribune, 15
 Trollope, Antony, 157, 109, 120, 121, 191
 Trollope, Frances, 82
 truck system, Parliamentary Commission on, 42
True Briton, 168
Truth, xi, 51, 59
 Tulloch, John, 197
 Tulloch, Mrs, 193
 Turner, JM, 196
 Tweedie, Mrs, 43, 194
Twilight, 160
 Tynan, Katherine, 57, 128
 typewriting, 33, 39

Uncle Tom's Cabin, 80, 119, 168
Universal Review, 90

 Valpy, Mr, 87
Vanity Fair, 63
Victoria Magazine, 69, 106, 109, 121, 128, 137, 174, 180
 Victoria Printing Press, 156, 174
 Victoria, Queen, 112, 141, 185
 Birthday review, 49
 coronation of, 94
 Vignon, Mme Claude, 151
Villette, 210
Vindication of the Rights of Woman, 100
 'Violeting', 92

Waiting for the Verdict, 125
 Wakeman, Annie, 55
 Wales, Prince of, 54, 112
 Walker, Miss, 149
 Walter, Cornelia, 112
 Walter, John, 54
 Ward Howe, Julia, 171
 Ward, Henrietta, 126
 Ward, Mary, 2, 12, 25, 27, 64, 66, 77, 79, 89, 151, 201, 205, 238–9
 'Wares of Autolykus', 38, 57, 60, 84
 Warren, Mrs, 141, 144
Washington Post, 146
Watch Tower, 90, 192
 Watts, Alaric, 29, 70
Waverley Journal, 28, 174, 175, 177
 Weekes, Charlotte, 157
Weekly Register, 127
Wellesley Index, 82, 197
 Wellesley, Lord, 116
 Wells, Mrs HG, 30
 Werner, Alice, 24, 77
Westminster Budget, 112

- Westminster Gazette*, 52, 55
Westminster Review, 18, 69, 75, 78, 87, 151, 150, 202, 209, 210
 'What Shall We Do With Our Old Maids?', 99
 Whistler, James McNeil 78, 79
 White, Jessie Meriton, 52, 60, 238–9
 White, Mrs, 82
Whitehall Review, 205
 'Wife Torture', 174
 'Wild Women', 70, 99, 101
 Wilde, Oscar, 88
 Wills, WH, 87, 105, 206,
Windsor Magazine, 86, 130
 Winslow, Helen M, 21
Winter Wreath, 117
Wives and Daughters, 139, 208
 Wolfe, Major-General James, 77
 Wollstonecraft, Mary, 100
Woman's Gazette, 170
Woman's Herald, 137
Woman's Journal, 171
Woman's Signal, 172
Woman's Penny Paper, 172
Woman's World, 88
Woman, 26, 137
Womanhood, 173
 women
 domestic circumstances of, 126, 127, 193; *See also* work
 domestic responsibilities of, 19–20, 91, 180, 188, 192, 193
 education of, 22–3, 169, 192
 employment of, 17–18, 172, 181, 187
 limitations on, 21–22, 37–38, 106, 107; (1950s), 212
 'Women and their Work', 181
 'Women and Work', 174
 women journalists
 criticism of, 146
 nationalities, 4–5,
 numbers of, 15, 31
 views on, 31, 43
 visibility of 1–2
 'Women Writers of the Century', 2
 women's clubs, 30
 Women's Herald, 172
 women's magazines, 130, 136, 158, 173
 Women's Press Agency, 50
 Women's Printing Society, 172
 women's rights, 99, 100
 Women's Suffrage Journal, 170
 Wood, Charles, 68, 122
 Wood, Ellen, 74, 75, 109, 120, 125, 157, 187, 202, 239
 wood-engraving, 158
 woodcuts, 156
 Woods, Helen, 173
 Worboise, Emma, 167, 239
 work
 at home, 126, 127, 151, 165
 conditions, 19, 193, 194;
 telegraphy, 24, 156
 hazards of, 154
 obtaining, 154
 Work and Leisure, 171
 working methods, 196
 World: A Journal for Men and Women, 7, 44, 59, 79, 90, 123, 146
 World's Work, 113
 Wreford, Henry, 22
 Wreford, Miss, 22
 Writers' Club, 30, 49
 writing, entry to, 202

 Y Frythones, 6
 Yates, Edmund, 59
 Year-book of Women's Work, 38, 158
 Yeats, WB, 30
 Yellow Book, 71, 152
 'Yellow Journalism', 15, 56
 Yellowplush Papers, 87
 Yonge, Charlotte, 15, 25, 26, 65, 66, 91, 96, 109, 131, 133, 160, 164–7, 171, 239
 Yorkshire Daily Observer, 150
 Young Englishwoman, 143
 Youth's Magazine, 26, 108

 Zebehr, 53
 Zimmern, Helen, 77