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# “The Life of a Bachelor Girl in the Big City”: Selling the Single Lifestyle to Readers of *Woman* and the *Young Woman* in the 1890s

EMMA LIGGINS

In her discussion of outraged responses to the New Woman across a range of mainstream journals in the early 1890s, Ann Ardis has identified three serious questions behind the hyperbole: “First, what happens to the New Woman herself as she ventures out into the public world? Second, what happens to the nuclear family when women choose careers other than marriage and motherhood? And finally, what happens to the social system as a whole when women enter the workplace in significant numbers for the first time?”<sup>1</sup> As it gradually became more acceptable for young women to refuse or at least postpone marriage, the late-Victorian periodical press had to cater to a growing number of female readers who were perhaps more interested in work and education than household management and family life. This partly explains the unprecedented launch of a number of new women’s magazines, some with female editors, throughout the 1890s. Such publications helped to shift periodical debates around the figure of the working woman away from virulent attacks on the asexuality and mannishness of the “unnatural” female towards a muted admiration for the modern woman’s greater freedom of movement in public and the choices available to her. In her 1899 article “Why Women are Ceasing to Marry,” the New Woman novelist and editor of *The Englishwoman* (1895–99), Ella Hepworth Dixon, set out the “social liberty” enjoyed by the modern spinster, now permitted “to go to college, to live alone, to travel, to have a profession, to belong to a club, to give parties . . . and to go to theatres without masculine escort,” rather than bowing to the “duties and responsibilities” of maternity.<sup>2</sup> This was the emancipated figure, labelled by some as a bachelor girl, who was dissected in the ongoing discussions about the pros and cons of married and single life popular in the press at the *fin de siècle*.

This article focuses on the coverage of the bachelor girl, or female bachelor, throughout the nineties in *Woman* and the *Young Woman*, two new women's magazines which enjoyed a broad readership and remained popular well into the new century. The penny weekly *Woman* (1890-1912) and the monthly *Young Woman*, priced at 3d (1892-1915), are notable not only for their longevity, but for their mixed format, printing articles favourable to the New Woman alongside more conservative material directly aimed at woman as homemaker and follower of fashion. Unlike the relatively short-lived radical women's journals launched around this time such as the *Women's Penny Paper* (1888-90), *Woman's Signal* (1894-9), and *Shafts* (1892-99), all of which were edited by women, these male-edited magazines appeared to owe their success to their refusal to alienate the homemaker at a time when, according to Margaret Beetham, "addressing the strong-minded woman seemed incompatible with selling copies."<sup>3</sup> Both *did* manage to address the strong-minded single woman, offering careers guidance, interviews with female "breadwinners" and serious articles on living alone and the growth of women's clubs, but they also included the more traditional elements of the domestic magazine, such as recipes, fashion, fiction and advice on child care, servants and marriage. The format of these new periodicals —part domestic magazine, part journal for emancipated women— was therefore instrumental in mediating mixed messages about spinsterhood to their implied readers, both questioning and endorsing the legitimacy of woman's position outside the domestic sphere. I argue that their presentation of the single woman remained contradictory and ambiguous, and that their appeal to what became a split readership may have meant that ultimately "bachelor girl" readers had to struggle to resist being repositioned as housewives.

### The Contradictions of Emancipation in the Woman's Magazine

The fluctuation between the conventions and format of the domestic magazine and advanced journal in both types of publications ensured that contradictory messages about female emancipation emerged in their pages. As a cheap popular paper with a large circulation of about 50,000, *Woman* was perhaps inevitably contradictory. The first editor, Fitzroy Gardner, intent on starting a paper which would go beyond the "fashions, furniture and flummery" style of woman's magazine,<sup>4</sup> set out to appeal to the modern woman in early editorials with the proviso that "we shall avoid pandering to unwholesome appetites or appealing to those who are 'women' in name only."<sup>5</sup> In an 1891 article on "How to Improve 'Woman,'" he acknowledged the difficulties of

catering to a cross-class readership, and pointed out, "were we to adopt the suggestions of some of our more cultured readers we should probably before long cease to exist. The happy medium between high culture and stupid twaddle is what we aim at." He also emphasised that the paper had to remain "fairly light," scoffing at those advanced readers who advised ignoring dress and domestic subjects, and refusing the kind of specialization which may have contributed to the short shelf-life of more radical publications.<sup>6</sup> The magazine's claim "to be all things to all women," as Margaret Beetham has argued, meant that "it exploited to the full the heterogeneity of the magazine formula which allowed different models of the self to sit side by side on the page without interrogating each other."<sup>7</sup> Its heavy reliance on advertising, which some readers complained about as "pervad[ing] more than half the letterpress" and even the editor admitted was "unsightly,"<sup>8</sup> clearly made it stand out amongst its rivals and potentially diminished its impact for emancipated readers. Leading articles addressing more serious issues on the opening pages in a section headed "Woman to Women" appeared opposite advertisements for baby food and dressmaking, so the chubby babies reared on Mellin's Food Biscuits draw the reader's eye away from discussions about modern femininity and remind her of her maternal role. After Arnold Bennett took over as editor from 1896, this section aimed at the more advanced reader tellingly disappeared to be replaced by the tit-bitty "D'You Know," featuring gossip about royals and society entertainment. Bennett's editorship, lasting until 1900, saw the magazine increasingly displaying elements of the sensationalist New Journalism, appealing to the masses with more lavish illustrations, prize competitions, and supplements.<sup>9</sup>

*Woman's* treatment of feminist concerns remained ambiguous. In the Jubilee year of 1897 a series of radical articles on the development of women in the last 60 years appeared by Clementina Black, a well-known agitator for women's rights and trades union activist who had contributed similar pieces to mainstream journals like the *Nineteenth Century*. The articles maintained an earnest tone, and highlighted women's entry into higher education, politics and the professions, as well as their options to remain single: one article on "The Social Development of Women" included discussion of "the respectability of living alone" and defended the modern woman against her critics, though it left the question open of "whether the women who are active in public duties fall obviously short in private ones."<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the New Woman falls prey to the New Journalism in the editorial decision to break up the text with fashion advertisements, for example, encouraging the potentially bored reader of Black's serious account of "The Political and Legal Development of Women" to admire instead

"A Trio of Evening Bodices," also inviting the reader to "see page 22 for descriptions," assuming that they may not wish to read all of the article (fig. 1).<sup>11</sup> Such fashion plates usually only appeared in the "Snuggery Small Talk" section, though I have found other examples of articles on modern femininity which tempt the reader away from New Womanhood back to her appearance or her home (see the Crepe de Chine gown in the middle of an article on "The Professional Girl at Home" a few editions later) (fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> A question mark remained over how much of woman's newness could be acknowledged; as Clotilde de Stasio has noted, under Bennett's editorship of the magazine, "the 'New Woman' tended to be either ignored or considered a 'journalistic myth,'"<sup>13</sup> Articles on working women all carried the message that the only women to be respected and honoured were those "who have carved out independent careers for themselves, which they are living as women."<sup>14</sup> Reminding impressionable readers that they too should be living "*as women*" remained an editorial policy of the magazine across the nineties; the up-to-date girl who enjoys her emancipation can be held up for admiration, but she should not stray too far from the path of domesticity.<sup>15</sup>

The *Young Woman* was more prepared to acknowledge, if not always to celebrate, the existence of the New Woman, not least in its excellent coverage of a wide range of careers for women and how to enter them. Edited by Frederick A. Atkins, who also owned and edited its companion periodical *The Young Man* (1887-1919), *The Young Woman* had a broadly Christian agenda and set out to "prove interesting and useful to the great body of young women who read and think," including a mix of serial fiction, travel notes, topical articles, and advice on both domesticity and employment.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to *Woman*, there were no adverts and few illustrations, the closely printed columns resembling a newspaper or more scholarly journal, though it still had a large circulation, its first volume going into a third edition and selling 80,000 copies.<sup>17</sup> Less critical work has been done on this periodical, which has been overshadowed by other women's magazines of the period, but it clearly deserves attention for its quasi-feminist capacity to develop serious discussions around women's entry into the professions without marginalizing some readers through trivializing, or ignoring, domestic pursuits. As Evelyn March-Phillips pointed out in a discussion of "Women's Newspapers" for the *Fortnightly Review* of 1894, "no section is more really important than that which deals with women's employment, giving descriptions, suggestions, advice."<sup>18</sup> Journalists were still liable to adopt *Woman*'s strategy of ending articles about the new professions with cautionary advice to the reader about "forget[ting] her womanliness" in the labour market, but this was

Woman

April 28, 1897.]

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with its decisive declaration of legality, the number of women Guardians leapt from 200 to 833. Of the usefulness of women Guardians there is no longer any question; it is hardly too much to say that a Board without women on it now strikes the public mind as inadequate. Women also have been formed into workhouse visiting and boarding-out committees, to the great advantage of the inmates and children under their charge. Women also may and do sit on Technical Education Boards, and of late years various Governments have appointed women as members of different Commissions. About four years ago a few women were made factory inspectors; while many local authorities have female sanitary inspectors, and a very considerable

has been more remarkable in the past sixty years than the formation of numerous and amazingly energetic political associations. Among these may perhaps be reckoned the various suffrage societies; and certainly the Primrose League, founded in 1883, and including men and women, or to speak in the tongue of the League, "knights," "dames," and "associates" of both sexes; the Women's Liberal Federation, founded in 1885, and made up of a large number of local associations; and the Women's Liberal Unionist Association, similarly composed of women of Unionist principles. That party spirit runs high in these societies is unquestionable; that their meetings, small and large, reveal a vast store of intelligence, business capacity and political

A Trio of Evening Bodices. (Designs Nos. 2237, 2238, and 2239.)  
(Cut-to-measure and stock-size patterns supplied. See below. Price of stock-size patterns of bodices, 6d. each. For descriptions see page 22.)

number of qualified women hold medical posts under different authorities in England and the Colonies.

**The Law of Divorce.**

It is, however, in the laws affecting women as individuals, rather than in the laws affecting them as citizens, that the greatest change has taken place. The earnings of a woman, or money left to her, are now her own, in law as well as in justice. Since 1856 a mother has had a legal position as co-guardian of her children and the legal right to appoint a co-guardian; and the Court in appointing a guardian is bound by the Act to "have regard . . . to the wishes of the mother as well as of the father." In the matter of divorce a wife can still only in England obtain it when the unfaithfulness of the husband has been combined with other wrongs such as cruelty or desertion.

In Scotland also the law of divorce which has always been more equal, has undergone no specific change during the sixty years. In 1858 was passed the Matrimonial Causes Act, amended since by the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act of 1895. The substance of this measure is that any wife whose husband has treated her with aggravated, or persistent cruelty, or has wilfully neglected to provide for her or her children, may apply to any court of summary jurisdiction, which court may grant a judicial separation, may order that the legal custody of the children shall belong to the wife, and that a payment shall be made to the wife, either personally or through the court, of a weekly sum not exceeding two pounds. Also the decision in the famous Jackson case has practically abolished the enforced "restitution of conjugal rights," for refusing to comply with which women have, in comparatively recent times, been kept for years in prison.

**The Formation of Political Associations.**

Perhaps nothing in the development of women's activity

understanding, must be well known to all who have had opportunities of attending them; while their usefulness as electoral agencies is abundantly familiar to candidates of all parties.

Politically they are, at present, owing to the fact that their members have after all no votes, condemned to do little more than mark time; but besides serving as an excellent practising ground for their members, they furnish a continual and necessary object lesson of the divergencies of political opinion that exist among women.—

The total tendency—subject to curious waves of reaction—has been, in politics and in law, as in other directions, towards fuller recognition of women as independent persons, possessing rights and duties. There can be little doubt that the constant example for sixty years of a woman filling her post at the head of the State, in a manner conspicuously superior to that of any contemporary fellow Sovereign, has had some share in the change.

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"WOMAN" PAPER PATTERN DEPARTMENT.

Cut-to-Measure Patterns, cut on the best French principle, are supplied of all dress designs appearing in WOMAN, except those taken from London shops. Write for measurement form and price list. In ordering, it will be sufficient to mention the number of the design.

Stock-Size Patterns are also obtainable of all the dress designs. These patterns are cut in one size only, as follows:—  
Bust, 36 inches; Waist, 24 inches.  
Length of skirt, 41 inches.

In ordering, please mention the number of the pattern, and enclose the price (which in every case is given underneath the design) in stamps or postal order.

Address all communications to MANAGERS, PATTERN DEPARTMENT, "WOMAN," 1, CECIL COURT, ST. MARTIN'S-LANE, W.C.

Figure 1: *Woman*, 28 April 1897. Courtesy Manchester Central Library.

Woman

July 28, 1897.

THE PROFESSIONAL GIRL AT HOME.

**A**H! there is the rub. The question is not whether the professional girl is a success in her war with the world, it is whether she contributes happiness in the times of peace, i.e., the hours spent at home.

Every woman on first starting in her professional career is met with the necessity of hardening her heart to some of the usual impulses of unselfishness which have heretofore prompted her to be at the beck and call of every member of the household. It seems to her, at first sight, as difficult to meet the demands of business and home as it is to attempt the service of God and Mammon— which the Great Master tells us is impossible.

Now what is to be done? and how is it that, without a doubt, the professional woman is not, as a rule, the blessing in her home that the purely domestic one was?

The answer to that last question, in my humble opinion, is to be found in the fact that she will try to continue her triumphs in that third side of life which exists in the social world—that side whose calls are so subtle, musical, and insidious that they are answered almost unconsciously, and hours are spent listening to their fascinating notes, when suddenly the two harsh voices of the rival duties of home and business break in upon her, attacking her simultaneously, and putting her to the painful necessity of resigning one or other of them.

"But what a doctrine is this?" I hear you say. "Would you preach sacrifice of all pleasure? All work and no play? You will persuade few to practise your dreary theories."

Are there no pleasures of home then, dear reader, the glorious fruit of the dull, sad self-sacrifice? The woman who has tasted this can really care little in comparison for the fickle flavour of social triumphs. The case is this. There is neither time nor strength in a woman's life for three separate existences. A man attempts but two, leaving the third, the domestic part, to his womankind, being rather a receiver of, than a contributor to, the practical part of domestic joy. Why does foolish woman, with her little hands, try to grasp a burden that the stronger sex does not attempt to lift?

What are the "duties" (as the feminine love of exaggeration expresses them) of Society, after all? To drink our neighbours' tea, demolish their dinners, or to wear out satin slippers to the tune of a waltz on their polished floors.

The married professional woman I grant you has social duties that are a part, and by no means an unimportant one, of those owing to her husband and children. It is necessary that she should attempt the threefold life of home, business, and Society. Some there are who appear to succeed in all. They must be abnormally strong, but even then, what will this success cost? Are you not, in stretching the powers of physical and mental endurance of the mother to the utmost, endangering the physical and mental future of the children? Why are lunatic asylums doing so well?

However, the questions concern us not, for it is the professional girl not the matron who is the subject of this discussion, the girl who sets up a bachelor establishment with her earnings in order that she may have freedom from her business, and social intercourse with the world, and escape the tiresome lessons that home would teach. This often happens when the youthful beginner is sickened by her attempt to negotiate a compromise between the old and the new order of things.

She finds that she cannot pay the very necessary earnest attention to her business and yet accomplish the willing service of an unselfish daughter and sister, keeping at the same time well in the swing of gaieties.

If it be imperative for financial reasons that the girl should earn her own living, the means thereto are entitled to, and indeed absolutely require, the first and best attention, but if otherwise they should certainly be subservient to the spirit of the Fifth Commandment.

Grant this, and there only remains for consideration the position that social affairs should occupy in the mind and life of the girl who is trying to cultivate her talents of character, as well as intellect, to their best uses.

Certain it is that she can be no gay butterfly of pleasure, flitting between evenings of excitement, but neither can she crush the happy spirit of youth by resisting all its impulses to free enjoyment. The necessary times for exercise, for instance, may always be made an opportunity for invigorating and delightful recreation while there are golf links and tennis courts, and above all bicycles galore.

And bright from among other more tedious duties of the domestic round shines that of hospitality, for the ideal daughter is ever at leisure to grace the post of assistant hostess to her mother.

In fact, there are many duties that the magic voice of an approving conscience turns to pleasures, so that much real happiness is found in the pursuit of them.

Let us in conclusion congratulate ourselves that, if the life of the professional girl puts trivolity, it is exempted from the scathing condemnation of that of our grandmothers', which was given over to the excitement of the dance varied by the monotonous use of the croupie.

LILIAN TOY.

**A Printed Crêpe de Chine Gown.** (Design No. 2345.)  
(Cut-to-measure and stock-size patterns supplied. See page 14.  
Price of stock-size pattern, 1s. od.)

In printed crêpe de chine, patterned with a design in white or black, and trimmed with an écrû Saxony guipure insertion, trills, and black velvet ribbon collar and waistband, the above would be smart. If preferred, the velvet ribbon might match the gown. The straw hat also should accord, and the adornments harmonize with the trimmings of the gown.

of the professional girl puts trivolity, it is exempted from the scathing condemnation of that of our grandmothers', which was given over to the excitement of the dance varied by the monotonous use of the croupie.

LILIAN TOY.

Next Week: "JOYCE," new love-story by  
**MABEL QUILLER-COUCH**

Figure 2: *Woman*, 28 July 1897. Courtesy Manchester Central Library.

balanced against stern reminders about the need for training and education before entering the professions.<sup>19</sup> A feminist tone also surfaced in articles on women's work such as Miss Billington's series "How Can I Earn a Living?" which offered advice on a full range of more well-paid and "honourable" careers such as photography, the Civil Service, medicine, and journalism, as well as less lucrative but more fashionable occupations like clerical and shop work. Clementina Black's politics were more visible, less toned down in contributions calling for remedies for the "evils" of women's work, urging readers to rethink their views of the workplace by reminding them that the professional woman was still "pushing her way through a wall of prejudice."<sup>20</sup>

It is not surprising that the first edition was praised by the feminist and suffragist Florence Fenwick Miller, the editor of the more radical *Woman's Signal* from 1895-99, who classified it as "an original periodical...[which] meets a want for a better class of magazine than we now have for girls of the earnest, self-reliant, and self-respecting order."<sup>21</sup> Fenwick Miller was another famous feminist figure to become a regular contributor to the magazine, writing articles on travel, reading, and marriage between 1893 and 1901.<sup>22</sup> Significantly, one emancipated reader in a correspondence section was directed towards specific issues of the *Woman's Signal* as an alternative source of "matter on the Woman Question," suggesting the magazine's links to its rival journal but also perhaps a recognition of its own limitations in coverage of the New Woman. One regular contributor keen to encourage readers to adopt an American-style independence was the novelist Mrs. Esler, whose "Monthly Chat with the Girls" showcased the social freedoms and the "dignity of labour" now available to the modern woman. A short paragraph on "Woman's Place" urged all women to remember the debt of gratitude they owed to America for "first recognis[ing] woman as an independent creature, with rights apart from her relation to the other sex." Esler also admired "cosmopolitan" American women who walk about freely without chaperons, have more "versatility in conversation" and more energy for intellectual and philanthropic activity, and even dress better than their more "insular" English counterparts.<sup>23</sup> In 1893 she visited the States partly in order to see and study "the much-vaunted American girl" "for the information of the girls at home," noting that one of the chief differences was the greater freedom American girls have "in the choice of a career."<sup>24</sup> Both the Monthly Chats and a regular page of notes on "Our Sisters across the Sea" included details of women's entry into male-dominated professions such as law, medicine, and dentistry, as well as the success stories of high-earning women. Minimising its fashion coverage in order to leave more space for the dissemination of information on women's careers

and earnings which distinguished more radical women's journals, the *Young Woman* nevertheless retained enough of the traditional elements of the domestic magazine, such as interviews, household advice, and romantic fiction, to secure a lasting position in the market.

### The Bachelor Girl in the Periodical Press

Mainstream journals continued to carry articles on single women up to the turn of the century, perhaps in order to retain their hold on female readers who were now turning to magazines aimed specifically at women. An often-quoted early article on the "Glorified Spinster" in *Macmillan's Magazine* of 1888 identified this new social phenomenon, as self-reliant independent women, now "ticketed Not in the marriage market," were seizing the opportunity to live alone in the new lodging houses and to earn their own money.<sup>25</sup> The identity of the female bachelor, a variation on that of the glorified spinster, seems to have been a creation of early 1890s journalism, as both the *Saturday Review* and *Woman* carried articles with the identical title around this time; the term had certainly become familiar to readers later in the decade. The *Saturday* article outlined the impropriety of this "unchaperoned" figure who "claims a man's 'freedom'" to enjoy public entertainments and fulfilling work, and concluded, "she gets no particular excitement or forbidden joy out of her defiance of the ordinary rules which regulate the conduct of well-bred women;" this "improper young woman" is "wast[ing] her life in elaborately worked-out unfemininity."<sup>26</sup> However, by 1898 the *Contemporary Review* was arguing to the contrary that the unprecedented behaviour of bachelor women might "fundamentally modify the nature of woman."<sup>27</sup> The article in *Woman* took a more reactionary line, poking fun at the female bachelor as an "example of too rapid progress," an absurdly over-educated prig, whose "exceeding seriousness" and "aversion" for male company do not denote the right kind of equality for women (fig. 3).<sup>28</sup> Not wishing to project an image of progressiveness, the magazine never fully embraced the single life for women, not least because fallacies about spinsterhood were not sufficiently challenged. A representative article "Does the Old Maid Improve?" on the one hand agreed that unmarried women of a certain age should not be treated as failures but as "proofs of the advance of womankind," but on the other, appealed to readers to share the traditional family values of the married contributor, rather than aligning themselves with "the new" and all it entailed:

We still acknowledge—unless we belong to the newest of the new—that the old maid has not known the fairest joys of life; but so much more remains that she does not think of envying us, nor do we think



### "WOMAN" TO WOMEN.

DURING the past few days we have been hearing much about Theosophy, and a vigorous newspaper warfare has been carried on upon the subject.

In so far as Theosophy is a protest against materialism, it no doubt deserves the respect due to any spiritual philosophy. In any case, where Theosophy is a creed held seriously and earnestly, we have nothing to say against it. Its adherents have a right to their own opinion, and so have we to ours. But, unfortunately, our nineteenth-century civilisation, with its strained and overwrought life, and its craving for nervous excitement, is one which lays itself out for the encouragement of quacks more than any, perhaps, that has ever been in the world. It is the half-believers who do the mischief. The yearning for something weird and out of the common is as much an incurable vice as dram-drinking, and in those sections of society which pretend to culture and intelligence it is, perhaps, as common. If all the pranks that have been played in London houses under the name of Spiritualism were brought to light, we should have an awful revelation of human folly. People begin by dabbling with what they conceive to be beyond the reach of human ken because they are half-sceptical, half-inclined to believe, and wholly enjoy being in a mysterious twilight, a borderland between science and unreason. They begin by deceiving themselves, and in the end they become utterly unreal. And it is all done for the sake of a "new shudder"! There is no need to speak of the time wasted in the vainest of all pursuits. The worst feature of the case is that perpetual commerce with these things ends in the degradation of the intellect itself. Persons once given up to such matters become a standing temptation to every impostor whose trade it is to make money out of other people's follies. Then having done all in their power to corrupt their fellows, the effect of the "manifestations" which they cause to be evoked is to render them nervous, bag-ridden, and periodically unfit for any rational converse. When the history of Quackery comes to be written, what an instructive book it will be! Though these reflections may have been suggested in a manner by the discussion which has lately taken place on the miracles ascribed to Madame Blavatsky, it is necessary for us to remind our readers that Spiritualism is not to be confounded with Theosophy. Whatever we may think about the latter as a whole, we can never forget that it has the adhesion of so candid and acute a thinker as Mrs. Besant, who regards it as a source of rest and peace. Some time before last starting for America, Mrs. Besant gave a lecture on "The Problems of Life and Death" before a cultured and deeply-interested audience. So far as our recollection goes, she put forward no principles on that occasion different from those which form the basis of all noble-thinking. From Mrs. Besant, if from anyone, we might look for some lucid and succinct statement of what the principles of Theosophy are, about which the outside world is greatly dark.

### CAMEOS.

#### THE FEMALE BACHELOR.

It is now some years since the "glorified spinster" became a distinct social type, and she has now gone beyond middle age. What she will be as an old woman it is difficult to predict. We cannot imagine her taking to the domesticity of the maiden aunt, nor is it easy to picture her in the gentler aspect of a knitting elderness. But she appears almost antiquated, and even ostentatiously feminine, beside the order ably allied female bachelors by a well-known Radical politician. Both ladies are examples of too rapid progress, and appear now in something the same positions as railway trolleys which have run down to the end of an unfinished mountain-side line, beyond which they cannot, for the present, go. Moreover, they will have to be removed as obstacles before further real advance can be made.

The original class were content to teach, or to paint. The newer ones cannot be said to belong completely to their definition unless they have struck out in a more unconventional line. The true female bachelor has been educated at a high school. Now, theoretically, high schools are excellent institutions. In practice it depends what a girl's tastes are, whether she learns music-hall slang and much corrupt rubbish from the showy daughters of the publican or the butcher, or forms one of a small circle of mutual admirationists. This last form of companionship, it need hardly be said, is the finest training in the world to qualify as a full-blown prigress. Having elected her society in these surroundings, the next step will be to go in for some examination which will allow her to write the same letters after her name as are used in the case of a man. The absurdity of being "Jane Brown, Master of Arts," never strikes her, but the smallest sense of humour is denied her, or she would be saved some of her most comic exhibitions. The degree obtained, she passes through a phase of *"la femme incomprise."* Her parents, weak worthy souls, begin to think that she would be better making puddings than discoursing to Ethelinda Cheggs, D.Sc., on the Hyllo-Phenomenal theorem of existence. She feels herself altogether wasted in such un congenial surroundings, and at last declares she must leave them. She has not been so entirely lovable at home that this decision causes any very intense sorrow; and with a small allowance from the paternal purse, a slender lectureship at a centre of culture, and boundless belief in the powers of her pen, she comes to town and assumes the habits of masculinity so far as they can possibly be feminised.

She goes into "chambers"; it would be something like an insult to her to call them lodgings or rooms. She lays great stress, indeed, always on the fact that she lives in the "Wolstonecraft" or "Martineau" Chambers, and makes another great point of informing ordinary persons that she has read, or will see, such and such a paper "at the club." The club is, however, something of a fraud as far as the comforts of such an institution are understood by the mere male. It generally consists of two or three rooms, and, unhappily, among them there is not one pointedly set apart for smoking. Its resources in providing refreshments seldom go beyond the tea and buns which Mrs. Fawcett once declared to be the greatest of all obstacles to

Figure 3: *Woman*, 27 May 1891. Courtesy Manchester Central Library.

of sneering at her as a cumberer of the ground. Occasionally she glories in her freedom; and then perhaps we, who are weak enough to prefer the chains of little arms about our necks, may chance to smile, knowing that the price of absolute freedom is a high one.<sup>29</sup> Such sentiments were typical of *Woman's* anti-feminist tendency to remind readers that the single life was incomplete and that the costly price of the bachelor girl's freedom was the forfeiting of the duty and pleasure of mothering.

The advantages and disadvantages of ladies' lodging houses, which were just becoming acceptable spaces for single women in cities, was another important element of periodical debate around the female bachelor. In her study of independent women between 1850 and 1920, Martha Vicinus has noted that working women pioneered "new living conditions," benefiting from subsidised urban housing such as the flats provided by the newly established Ladies' Dwellings Company in the late 1880s.<sup>30</sup> The feminist journal *The Englishwoman's Review* ran a number of articles recommending these new dwellings to its emancipated readers, but other girls' magazines, such as the popular *Girl's Own Paper*, also offered advice to the less informed about accommodation and safety in the city.<sup>31</sup> Josephine Crane's cautionary article on "Living in Lodgings" in 1895 begins by dismissing myths about "the young and unprotected female" alone in the city, advising "sensible girl" readers to continue to eat and dress well if living alone. Revealing the paper's slight nervousness about emancipation, she then goes on to point out that girls who wish to enjoy the liberty of living alone should be seen as "by no means fast, or advanced, as to the position of women," though they must beware of gentlemen lodgers, collapsing an image of the New Woman into that of the fast, or promiscuous, girl.<sup>32</sup> *The Young Woman*, less alarmist and more welcoming of the advanced woman, concentrated on the practical difficulties faced by single women trying to divide their small incomes between rent, leisure activities and food.<sup>33</sup> Dora M. Jones's balanced account of the "full" and "varied" "Life of a Bachelor Girl in the Big City" underlined the loneliness and financial struggles of many of the new professional workers who lived in cubicles rather than the fashionable new flats, whilst suggesting that those pursuing a happy independent life should "try house-keeping with a 'chum' or a sister" as "the joint income goes so much further."<sup>34</sup> The economic precariousness of the modern woman was reiterated in the questions from readers of the *Young Woman* asking for advice about societies which would help distressed ladies or establishments which would not underpay their female staff, where the knowledgeable answers helped to align the

magazine with the new employment manuals for working women produced in response to the changing labour market.

Although some of the advice doled out in both magazines and manuals was far from encouraging to the woman worker, such publications did recognise the single life for women as a reality, even a necessity, whereas popular novels of this period by women tended to represent the life of the professional woman as short-lived and temporary, a stop-gap before marriage. Ethel M. Heddle's *Three Girls in a Flat* (1896) whose title was presumably meant to attract the same modern female readers who bought the more advanced magazines, painted a gloomy picture of such a life, with the ill-fed and badly paid girls willingly abandoning their bachelor status by the end of the novel. Whilst initially relishing the refreshing Bohemianism and "the glorious privilege of being independent" in their Chelsea flat, the sisters are ultimately unable to overcome "the sordid, matter-of-fact worries incident on having very little money."<sup>35</sup> Amy Levy's earlier novel, *The Romance of a Shop* (1888), which similarly records the struggles of sisters to earn their own living whilst creating a niche for the independent woman within urban culture, ends with its emancipated heroine Gertrude Lorimer gratefully reconsidering the marriage proposal which will rescue her from a life of failure, loneliness, nervous collapse, and an uncertain future. In a despairing scene before she accepts her suitor, she feels herself to be "paying the penalty, which her sex always pays one way or another, for her struggles for strength and independence," unable to cast off the part of "strong-minded woman" which she must now "go through with."<sup>36</sup> The epilogue positions her as a fulfilled wife and mother with few regrets. The professional heroine then tends to abandon her foray into journalism, typing, photography or teaching with some relief, as marriage proves more attractive than a career, a point made by Ann Ardis who has argued that women authors' narratives of working women tend to "delegitimize women's ambitions."<sup>37</sup> In his 1898 discussion of such novels as Evelyn Sharp's *The Making of a Prig* (1896) about a teacher lodging in a home for gentlewomen in Marylebone, Stephen Gwynn noted that bachelor heroines "depend on [men] very largely for their success in life, very largely for their pleasures." Rather than advocating the benefits of self-reliance, in his view such plots are propelled by the heroine's desire to get out of the world of work, "the bachelor woman has either to grow old in her virtuous Bohemia – and it is not wholly a cheerful fate – or to marry and go into ordinary society."<sup>38</sup> Other novels of the nineties including George Paston's *A Modern Amazon* (1894) and George Gissing's *The Odd Women* (1893) depict the inadequacies of lodgings for working women on meagre incomes, often using the pitiful figure of

the older unemployed spinster, more old maid than bachelor girl, to highlight the uncertain futures which lay ahead for those who choose not to marry.

The difficulties of negotiating the city as a single woman became a key element of an ongoing debate across periodicals about the proliferation of mixed and women's clubs in late-Victorian London, with the more advanced articles welcoming such establishments as necessary spaces for networking and meeting other single and/or professional women. Amy Levy's 1888 forward-thinking article on "Women and Club Life" in the first edition of the rechristened *Woman's World* edited by Oscar Wilde celebrated the female club as "the natural outcome of the spirit of an age which demands excellence in work from women no less than from men," broadly in line with Dora Jones's thinking in its emphasis on clubs as necessary to combat the "practical disadvantages" and "isolated position" of the professional woman.<sup>39</sup> Whilst *Woman* did also comment on "the significance of the growth of clubs" in relation to the improvement of women's citizenship, the contributor Cérisé seemed less informed about the variety of clubs open to female members than other contemporary journals and warned readers away from the Pioneer Club, which included such members as New Woman novelist Sarah Grand and feminist journalist Mona Caird, because of its "progressive" reputation and the masculine women who may act as a deterrent. The writer preferred mixed clubs, seeing the female-only environment as threatening, and had to confess ignorance about the Green Park Club and the Alexandra, other well-known women's clubs of the period.<sup>40</sup> In her study of the coverage of women's clubs in the popular press of the 1890s, Patricia Marks argues that parodies in *Punch* and the American *Life* reflected men's fears about the "clubbiness" of women and the threat to gender lines it foretold, with illustrations emphasising the unsexed club-woman in her rational dress smoking and drinking like a man.<sup>41</sup> Although the illustration printed in "Ladies' Clubs" in *Woman* depicted a lone fashionably dressed woman drinking tea, in contrast to the potentially politicised groups of women reading, writing, or in conversation shown in Levy's "Women and Club Life," the article significantly appeared on the same page as "Does the Old Maid Improve?" discussed earlier. This juxtaposition served to emphasise the unsexing of the Pioneer woman, with her "masculine and determined personality" noted by Cérisé, as the illustration selected for the adjacent article, in keeping with its negative labelling of spinsterhood, was of the stereotypical unsmiling bluestocking, plainly attired with pince-nez and notebook. The "endearing qualities of the old maid" listed below her, including her "enviable career" and "busi[ness] with public duties," ring rather hollow when accompanied by this image.<sup>42</sup>

Such damaging stereotypes did appear in some articles on ladies' clubs in the *Young Woman*, but others recommended specific institutions geared towards supporting working women, and offered detailed practical advice about organisations such as the newly formed Women's Institute. Jones, who had earlier pointed out that the majority of bachelor girls could not afford even the modest subscriptions to the Somerville or the Pioneer, ends her 1900 article on ladies' clubs with the caution against complacency, as the feminist aim of the "solidarity of women-workers" is still "a long way ahead."<sup>43</sup> These gestures towards female solidarity and sisterhood on the part of certain contributors marked the *Young Woman* out as more progressive in its outlook than other women's magazines of the era. Erika Diane Rappaport has argued that the women's press of the *fin de siècle* "supplanted the inherently and explicitly threatening images of self-supporting, all-female urban institutions with a benign portrait of luxurious urban homes populated by apolitical and asexual ladies of fashion," playing down their feminist elements as the English club movement lost its political edge.<sup>44</sup> However, the *Young Woman* did also make informed comparisons with the more advanced clublife available in America, in keeping with the journal's sustained admiration for the emancipation of American women in its early numbers. It was more forward-looking in its welcoming of the development of clubs such as the Pioneer and endorsing of the "clubbability" of women, which remained under question in articles in mainstream journals up to the turn of the century: Eva Anstruther's 1899 article in the *Nineteenth Century*, despite some progressive views on male visitors and the possibility of *crèches*, still concludes with the view that "woman is not clubbable and never will be," as her "lack of [comradeship]" sometimes gives ladies' clubs "the impression of empty shells."<sup>45</sup> By reiterating the importance of both women-only and mixed institutions for social interaction, and the need for membership costs to be adjusted, the *Young Woman* therefore helped to reinforce the bachelor girl's need for affordable and safe space within the city.

### Reading as a Bachelor Girl

It is also interesting to speculate about the ways in which readers were then positioned by such contradictory texts, as the age and marital status of the implied reader(s) can be seen to condition the magazines' interventions in the marriage debate. In her discussion of the ways in which periodicals were able to maintain a regular readership, Beetham has argued that the periodical... may offer its readers scope to construct their own version of the text by selective reading, but against that

flexibility has to be put the tendency in the form to close off alternative readings by creating a dominant position from which to read, a position which is maintained with more or less consistency across the single number and between numbers.<sup>46</sup>

How, then, could editors capitalise on some readers' desire for coverage of the advanced woman without alienating those who wished to take up the "dominant position" of reading as housewives or wives-to-be? In a bid to maximise readership and sales, *Woman* carried the proviso, "For Women and Girls," opposite its slogan, "Forward! But not too Fast" on the title page, a strategy later adopted by Flora Klickmann, the new female editor of the *Girl's Own Paper* (1880–1927), which was retitled the *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine* in 1908. However, according to Beetham, it was more characteristic of the New Journalism to aim for a "diversified target group" by separating girls from women readers.<sup>47</sup> In her excellent discussions of the evolving readership of the *Girl's Own Paper*, Terri Doughty has noted that "the new girl culture... was both a market response to and the producer of a newly self-conscious class of young females who inhabited an evolving period of adolescent opportunity, neither children nor wives and mothers."<sup>48</sup> The *Young Woman*, bracketed by feminist critics with periodicals for girls such as the *GOP* and L.T. Meade's *Atalanta* (1887–98), which were well established by the mid-1890s, was also considered by some contributors to be aimed at "girls who think," aligning its readership with that of the feminist press. Rather than working from the assumption that such magazines were primarily aimed at a young female poised between childhood and marriage whose lifestyle might include paid work to be given up once a husband appeared, perhaps it is more productive to examine the degrees of flexibility they had to allow readers opportunities to read outside this dominant position, partly by breaking down the view of marriage as a girl's higher destiny.

Definitions of girlhood were contested at this time, as Sally Mitchell has claimed in her discussion of the differences between "ladies" and "girls," the latter being a term popularised towards the end of the nineteenth century. Whereas a "young lady" is on the marriage market, "a 'girl' is not husband-hunting. The ascription of immaturity and transition gives her permission to behave in ways that might not be appropriate for a woman. At the same time, the understanding that girls could – indeed should – earn their own livelihood released them from an obligation to remain childish."<sup>49</sup> At a time when girls were marrying later, prolonging the transitional period of girlhood, and potentially selecting a career over marriage, their status remained ambiguous, a fact of which editors remained well aware. The uncertain girlhood, and

indeed age range, of implied readers of young women's magazines tended to underpin discussions about marriage, at a time when, according to Anne Varty, "the waywardness of girls [could be] represented as progress or threat" in the periodical press.<sup>50</sup> Some magazines made more of the phenomenon of the girl than others, directly addressing and printing responses from young single women, though the voices of more matronly older readers and contributors dominated a publication like *Woman*. One article in the *GOP* of 1904, significantly titled "To Girls in their 'Teens,'" began by advising the "sensible girls" who bought the paper to consider their futures, as for them "the world of womanhood will come, when she may be a wife and a mother, or at all events have the care of a household."<sup>51</sup> The idea that girls may go on to manage their own households without husbands and children is undercut later in the article, however, as the concept of the unchaperoned and tomboyish "New Girl" is introduced only to be dismissed in strong terms: "Heaven forbid that you, dear reader, should be one of them."<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, the juvenile readership of the magazine has been questioned by Hilary Skelding, whose research reveals "a vast cross-section of ages in the correspondents," including married housewives and women in their fifties, as "the tone of fiction and features" often actually targeted an older, more diverse audience.<sup>53</sup> The kinds of knowledge assumed by contributors varied across single issues and between volumes, so that the behaviour of girls, whether in the workplace or the household, could certainly be classified as both progressive *and* threatening within the same issue, or indeed within the same contradictory article.

These variations in the addresses to readers in the women's magazines under examination here actually work to reduce the differences between the two in their direct commentaries on the choice between marriage and the single life. The world of womanhood imagined by the *Young Woman* is more accepting of the female bachelor, as from the beginning certain series and articles are addressed to readers who are single, working and potentially living outside the family home, and, what is more significant, not necessarily accepting marriage as their next life stage. Indeed, in one of the first of her "Monthly Chats with the Girls," Mrs. Esler deplores the current position where "girls were everywhere advised to prepare for wifehood, to regard wifehood as their destiny," and denounces as "trash" the view that "luckless" spinsters are "doomed" to make themselves useful to "the fortunate matrons of their acquaintance." Under the heading "Is Marriage Always a Duty?" she more emphatically reiterates, "My dear girls, never listen to any one who tells you to prepare for being wives...the woman who is calculated to make a good wife would have made a good spinster

just as well."<sup>54</sup> *Woman* maintained a more moderate line on the single life by admitting that although some women would remain unmarried, this might raise problems in terms of domestic arrangements. The matronly Eliza Lynn Linton, a regular and popular contributor, in a front-page article of 1891, "How to be Happy though Single," acknowledged that superfluous daughters unable to find space or duties enough to occupy them in the home were justified in leaving, although she favoured the unselfishness of philanthropy or home study rather than entering into competition with "real breadwinners."<sup>55</sup> A spirited rejoinder, apparently by a more clued-up reader in a subsequent issue, acted as a corrective to such a conservative view, pointing out that not all women could attain this feminine unselfishness and that "in these non-marrying days," was it not better to train girls either to support themselves or their disabled husbands if necessity dictated? Endorsing the possible futures of spinsterhood for readers, she explains, "If her lot should be cast amongst the single maidens, she may at least not feel that she is among that number which has been so cruelly characterised as the 'superfluous excess.'"<sup>56</sup> Linton's outdated admiration for the domestic woman also clashes with the series outlining the advantages of new professions for ladies entitled "The World of Breadwinners," which ran in early numbers. The female breadwinner was given more credence in the *Young Woman*, as the first volume reported that 250,000 of the female inhabitants of New York City were breadwinners, having "no male protectors, and no means of support other than their own efforts," though another contributor detailing the benefits of living "In a New York boarding house" was markedly worried that the statistics about the women without male protection in New York would invoke pity, rather than admiration, in readers.<sup>57</sup> The latter periodical remained the most progressive in its defusing of the threat posed by the new girl's potential single status with serious and well-informed advice on negotiating professional life, but only just; the "useful" work women could do in the world had to be seen as part of her duties to society, and the breadwinning aspects of the bachelor girl's identity were not wholly embraced.

Moreover, the interviews with famous female figures in both periodicals tended to impress upon readers that the single status was not desirable or conducive to work or good health. Quickly becoming a staple of 1890s women's magazines, informal and "chatty" interviews were usually conducted in the home of the subject, inviting discussions on domesticity and home furnishings, and were often well illustrated.<sup>58</sup> The "series of brightly written interviews with eminent women" in the *Young Woman* often appeared with a rare illustration on the opening pages. The high-achieving women selected for interviews were often

novelists like Sarah Grand, L.T. Meade, Mary Braddon, and Ethel Heddle, but also included women active in politics, female journalists and other professionals. Almost all seemed to combine work with motherhood, or at least a fulfilling married life, so that few models of the successful female bachelor emerged. An interview with Mrs Gladstone, reprinted in *Woman* from the American *Ladies' Home Journal*, briefly mentions her public speeches, but only after her single-handedly rearing and educating her seven children, concluding in the style of conduct-book writer Sarah Ellis that "there are women married to great men who may have made greater marks on the social world, but...that woman did the best work who was a good wife, a good mother, and a good home-maker; who set a fine example for the women of England to follow."<sup>59</sup> It was also significantly printed adjacent to an article on "What Girls are Nowadays," which ridiculed the "curious specimen of youthful womanhood," "Miss Fin de Siècle."<sup>60</sup> When Sarah Grand was interviewed for *Woman's Literary Supplement* shortly after the publication of her controversial New Woman novel *The Heavenly Twins*, the male journalist remarks on his hostess's "pretty blue and white drawing room" before he starts to question her about her views on men and marriage. In response to a direct question about whether she sympathised with the bachelor girl, her answers all validate marriage as "the ideal state." She professes an interest in the glorified spinster but also plays to the magazine's conservatism by claiming to "love domesticity" (linked to her "excellent tea" by the interviewer) and not to believe in "the emancipation of women from womanliness and the natural ties of wedlock."<sup>61</sup> Interviews in the *Young Woman* tended to stress the difficulties of getting into the professions, perhaps because professional women wished to be seen as pioneers: Emily Crawford, a famous journalist, advised readers not to follow in her footsteps unless they possessed "dauntless courage, exceptional health and powers of physical endurance and a considerable amount of reserve force," and Meade's description of her gruelling working day and lack of holidays was hardly encouraging to aspiring writers.<sup>62</sup>

Perhaps because they feared to be seen as unfeminine, even the more radical of the journalists who wrote for or were interviewed in the *Young Woman* appeared tentative in their support for the single life. In a series of articles on the modern woman's choice between marriage and spinsterhood in 1899, well-known contributors remained divided. Sarah Grand espoused the same views on marriage as ideal, in contrast to the beliefs of others such as L.T. Meade and Fenwick Miller that unmarried women enjoyed a better social position. Typically, these views seem to be weighted towards matrimony; one respondent, after noting the evolution of the old maid into the bachelor girl, claimed,

"even so, the married woman has the best of it; she has a status and a dignity – and very rightly, too – that no unmarried woman ever gets."<sup>63</sup> As Rosemary T. VanArsdel has shown, Fenwick Miller specialized in interviews with high achieving women in the *Woman's Signal* as part of her attempts "to revitalize and invigorate" the magazine, but even in this more politically oriented space the subjects selected tended to reinforce the married working woman as role model.<sup>64</sup> Despite the views she espoused in the press, she had herself made the decision to marry in 1877 to consolidate her own position on the London School Board, and in her later career juggled political commitments with care of her two daughters.<sup>65</sup> The political activist Josephine Butler was similarly reluctant to fully endorse the single life. The *Young Woman* journalist who interviewed her seemed anxious to forestall her message to "the girls of Great Britain" about the preservation of "the sense of womanhood," and tried to steer her onto more advanced ground by prompting her into commenting on the need for girls to earn their own living. Despite these good intentions, her contradictory message to readers became "never...look to marriage as a necessity...the more independent young women are, the more will they be able to find real happiness in marriage."<sup>66</sup> This bears out the split in readership between wives and single girls, career women and mothers, but suggests that even in the more progressive magazine, unmarried readers were taught to foster their independence in order to make a happier marriage or to protect themselves against widowhood rather than to pursue paid work and avoid it altogether.

The bachelor girl reader had to engage in a struggle to read against the grain of marriage as woman's destiny in the woman's magazines of the 1890s, even if the greater coverage of work opportunities, women's clubs and the single lifestyle reassured her that she was certainly part of a significant and growing social group. The contradictory nature of these periodicals became part of their winning formula; only by retaining enough of the conservatism of the domestic magazine could the editors also allow space for commentaries on female emancipation. Equally, editors sensed the potential of appealing to advanced women as well as housewives so that catering for women of a wide age range and a spectrum of views on femininity became a canny marketing strategy. The range of responses of readers to the marriage debate is typified in a prize competition for letters in *Woman* on "Is a Husband Worth Having?": the majority of selected letters predictably agreed "with a decided and most emphatic 'Yes,'" though a significant number warned of the dangers of unhappy marriages or noted the choices now available to the woman of today. Readers of *Woman* could still exercise the choice to resist being prepared for wifehood by embracing the

counter messages about the satisfactions of work and independent living, but the greater coverage of the usefulness of the spinster's lifestyle and the stronger anti-marriage stance of some of the contributors in its rival publication meant that readers of the *Young Woman* were given more encouragement to remain single. However, whilst both magazines were prepared to welcome the demise of the old maid, "a woman *minus* something," according to the *Macmillan's* journalist,<sup>67</sup> they remained reluctant to follow the line of more feminist journals in accepting the rise of the glorified spinster, falling back on the comforting maxim that marriage was the "higher state" for women. This is perhaps part of the process of achieving womanhood which the magazines offer: it was hard to think outside the dominant views of the editors that to make the transition from girl to woman (or the in-between status of young woman) was inevitably to move towards marriage.

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#### NOTES

- 1 Ann Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 21.
- 2 Ella Hepworth Dixon, "Why Women are Ceasing to Marry," *Humanitarian* 14 (1899), 391-6 (p. 394).
- 3 Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Their Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), 174, 177. The *Woman's Penny Paper*, edited by Helena B. Temple, later to become *Women's Herald* (1891-3) under the same editor, ultimately became *The Woman's Signal*, first edited by Mrs. Henry Somerset and Annie Holdsworth before Florence Fenwick Miller was asked to take over in 1895. The more radical *Shafts* was edited by Margaret Sibthorpe.
- 4 Fitzroy Gardner, *Days and Ways of an Old Bohemian* (London: John Murray, 1921), 100. Quoted in Clotilde de Stasio, "Arnold Bennett and late-Victorian Woman," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 28:1 (1995), 40-53 (p. 40).
- 5 *Woman*, 11 January 1890, 2.
- 6 "How to Improve 'Woman,'" *Woman*, 9 April 1891, 14.
- 7 Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own?*, 183. As the writing of Arnold Bennett later confirmed, the magazine "never explored its ideological agenda." It is interesting that it also had very little space for romantic fiction, unlike contemporary periodicals.
- 8 "How to Improve "Woman,'" 14. This is certainly true for some editions I have examined.

- 9 For definitions and discussions of New Journalism, see Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 92–7, 149.
- 10 Clementina Black, “The Social Development of Women,” *Woman*, 21 April 1897, 10–11. The series, “Women under Victoria,” which included five articles all by Black, ran from the beginning of April 1897.
- 11 Clementina Black, “The Political and Legal Development of Women,” *Woman*, 28 April 1897, 11. The earlier article on “The Social Development of Women” includes an advert for “A Gown at Madame Esme’s,” a favourite London store familiar to regular readers, though the first two articles are illustrated with pictures of modern women and begin with Beardsleyesque illustrated capital letters.
- 12 Lilian Toy, “The Professional Girl at Home,” *Woman*, 28 July 1897, 13. This page also advertised a new love story by Mabel Quiller-Couch in the next issue, detracting from the message of the article that “the life of the professional girl puts a veto on much fascinating frivolity.” There is also advice in the Home Embroidery section of an edition in November 1897 on how to make a New Woman cushion (which even the magazine itself found “bizarre”!).
- 13 de Stasio, p. 42. She sees this as part of a process whereby the magazine became more markedly domestic by the turn of the century.
- 14 “The Female Bachelor,” 4.
- 15 A snippet on the up to date girl appears sandwiched in the middle of notice of society entertainments and royal gossip in the section of tit-bits “D’You Know?” on 6 January 1897, p. 5.
- 16 “To Our Readers,” *Young Woman* 1 (1892–3), 24.
- 17 Rosemary T. VanArsdel, *Florence Fenwick Miller: Victorian Feminist, Journalist and Educator* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 173.
- 18 Evelyn March-Phillips, “Women’s Newspapers.” *Fortnightly Review* 62 (1894), 661–70 (p. 666). This lists the number of women’s newspapers begun since 1860.
- 19 Miss Billington, “How Can I Earn a Living?” *Young Woman* 2 (1893–4), 415.
- 20 Clementina Black, “The Condition of Working Women,” *Young Woman* 2 (1893–4), 265–7 (p. 267).
- 21 *Young Woman* 1 (1892–3), 72. This article quoted admiring letters from eminent readers and press notices from a range of other publications, many of them religious in orientation. The *Christian Commonwealth* noted, “Just such a magazine is needed. Many of our papers for young woman have little in them except fashionable gossip. We are glad to see a magazine started which has permeating it a healthy religious tone.” The *Christian Million* agreed, “The YOUNG WOMAN despairs fashion-plates, and provides, exclusively, pure, high-toned, and invigorating literature.”

- 22 VanArsdel, *Florence Fenwick Miller*, 173, 230-1. Her articles on marriage include "The Ideal Husband" (February 1895) and "Twentieth Century Wife and Mother" (1901-02).
- 23 Mrs. Esler, "My Monthly Chat with the Girls," *Young Woman* 1 (1892-3), 141. A later longer article on "The American Girl" pointed out that, "it is a great mistake to suppose that all America is New York. The New York young lady is hardly the true American at all...for she is cosmopolitan, like the *habituees* of every big town." See Mrs H.R. Haweis, "The American Girl," *Young Woman* 2 (1893-4), 153-4.
- 24 Mrs. Esler, "My Monthly Chat with the Girls," 141.
- 25 "The Glorified Spinster," *Macmillan's Magazine* 58 (1888), 371-6 (p.374). The Glorified Spinster is defined as a woman who embraces single life wholeheartedly, not therefore including those who live with relations or who "are looking forward to marriage as their ultimate destiny."
- 26 "The Female Bachelor," *Saturday Review*, 2 June 1894, p. 582.
- 27 Stephen Gwynn, "Bachelor Women," *Contemporary Review* 73 (1898), 866-75 (p. 874).
- 28 "The Female Bachelor," *Woman*, 17 May 1891, 3, 4.
- 29 Mrs. H.H. Penrose, "Does the Old Maid Improve?" *Woman*, 9 June 1897, 14.
- 30 Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 31. For a more detailed discussion of periodical debates about new living conditions for women in relation to *fin-de-siècle* fiction, see Emma Liggins, *George Gissing, the Working Woman and Urban Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 81-9.
- 31 See for example "The Ladies' Dwelling Company," *Englishwoman's Review* 19 (1888), 334-7 and "Homes for Working Girls," *EWR* 16 (1885), 331-2.
- 32 Josepha Crane, "Living in Lodgings," *Girl's Own Paper*, 8 June 1895, 562.
- 33 "Our Sisters across the Sea," *Young Woman* 1 (1892), 36. Nora C. Usher, "In A New York Boarding House," *Young Woman* 1 (1893), 349.
- 34 Dora M. Jones, "The Life of a Bachelor Girl in the Big City," *Young Woman* 8 (1900), 131-3 (pp. 131, 133).
- 35 Ethel F. Heddle, *Three Girls in a Flat* (London: Gardner, Darton & Co, 1896), 14.
- 36 Amy Levy, *The Romance of a Shop*, Susan David Bernstein, ed. (1888; Ontario: Broadview Press, 2006), 191-2.
- 37 Ardis, *New Women, New Novels*, 98.
- 38 Gwynn, "Bachelor Women," 870, 873.
- 39 Amy Levy, "Women and Club Life," *Woman's World* 1 (1888), 364-7 (p. 364). The *Saturday Review* of 1874 had previously declared that women are not "clubbable," and that mixed clubs, which invite flirting, are part of

- "the revolt against privacy and domesticity." See "The Last New Club," *Saturday Review*, 20 June 1874, 774, 775.
- 40 Cérisé, "Ladies' Clubs" [appears under the title "In the Smart World"], *Woman*, 9 June 1897, 14. We are told that the Pioneer is "of course the stronghold of the New Woman and her advanced opinions, and though the latter meet with the present writer's approval and sympathy, yet their embodiment in many a masculine and determined personality may be a deterrent to joining so progressive an association."
- 41 Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 124, 126-7. Her illustrations are taken from "In a Twentieth Century Club," *Life*, 13 June 1895, 395 and "Girls will be Girls," *Life*, 8 July 1897, 30-31.
- 42 "Does the Old Maid Improve?" 14.
- 43 Dora M. Jones, "The Ladies' Clubs of London," *Young Woman* 7 (1899), 409-13 (p. 413). Jones refers specifically to popular misconceptions about the Pioneer Club as "the resort of alarming beings with short hair, strident voices, and unbecoming garments of a masculine cut" (p. 410). See also Hilda Friedrichs, "A Peep at the Pioneer Club," *Young Woman* 4 (1895-6), 304.
- 44 Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 98. Rappaport uses Friedrichs's article on the Pioneer in the *Young Woman* as evidence of this trend. The article begins with the journalist's fears that she will encounter 'mannish-dressed man-haters' which turns to relief when she sees the club's luxurious interior. See p. 96.
- 45 Eva Anstruther, "Ladies' Clubs," *Nineteenth Century* 45 (1899), 598-611 (pp. 609, 610, 611). She goes on to note women's antagonism to each other, "the difficulty found in getting women to co-operate and combine together," which obviously ignores the rising suffrage and women's trades union movements of the time.
- 46 Margaret Beetham, "Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre" in Laurel Brake, Aled Jones & Lionel Madden, eds., *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 28.
- 47 Beetham, *A Magazine of their Own?*, 138.
- 48 Terri Doughty, introduction to *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper, 1880-1907* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), 8. She points out "As the Answers to Correspondents section...attests, many of the self-identified 'girl' readers were hungry for information on education, work, and independent living."
- 49 Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 25.
- 50 Anne Varty, ed., *Eve's Century: A Sourcebook of Writing on Women and Journalism* (London: Routledge, 2000), 202.

- 51 "Medicus" (Gordon Stables), "To Girls in Their 'Teens," *Girl's Own Paper*, 5 November 1904, 106.
- 52 "To Girls in their 'Teens," 107.
- 53 Hilary Skelding, "Every Girl's Best Friend?: *The Girl's Own Paper* and Its Readers" in Emma Liggins & Daniel Duffy, eds., *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 40-1. Skelding points out the importance of the cross-class audience to the contradictory nature of the paper, claiming that it was "attempting to be a type of 'universal' women's magazine by catering to the real, or supposed, wants of a broad spectrum of women of all ages and classes" (p. 43).
- 54 Mrs. Esler, "The Matrimonial Question" and "Is Marriage Always a Duty?" in "My Monthly Chat with the Girls," *Young Woman* 1 (1892-3), 62.
- 55 Eliza Lynn Linton, "How to Be Happy, Though Single," *Woman*, 19 March 1891, 4. Linton was voted a favourite contributor amongst readers of the magazine in a competition to name the most popular articles in January 1891.
- 56 Celia Carew, "How to Be Happy, Though Single: A Rejoinder," *Woman*, 9 April 1891, 14.
- 57 "In a New York Boarding House," 349.
- 58 Margaret Beetham & Kay Boardman, eds., *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 212.
- 59 "Mrs. Gladstone As She Is," *Woman*, 12 March 1891, 14.
- 60 Lucy H. Hooper, "What Girls are Nowadays," *Woman*, 12 March 1891, 4.
- 61 Jim's Wife's Husband, "A Chat with Mme. Sarah Grand," *Woman*, 21 May 1894, Literary Supplement, p. i.
- 62 "A Famous Lady Journalist: A Chat with Mrs. Emily Crawford," *Young Woman* 2 (1893-4), 183; "How I Write my Books: An Interview with L.T. Meade," *Young Woman* 1 (1892-3), 122-3.
- 63 Sarah Grand, "At What Age Should Girls Marry?," *Young Woman* 7 (1899), 161-4; responses in next number, pp. 207-10.
- 64 VanArsdel, *Florence Fenwick Miller*, 198-201. Some of the famous women interviewed were Millicent Garrett Fawcett, the American Mrs. Frank Leslie, the novelist John Strange Winter (Henrietta Stannard), and Mrs. Marie Hilton, who first established creches in the East End.
- 65 VanArsdel, *Florence Fenwick Miller*, 82-4, 102-03. She did, however, choose to retain her maiden name after becoming "Mrs" which was seen as unprecedented in the 1870s. For an interesting interview with Fenwick Miller herself, see *Women's Penny Paper* 1 (1889), p. 1, reprinted in Beetham & Boardman, pp. 212-14. Unusually, in this interview a positive view of journalism as a profession for women is given.
- 66 Interview with Josephine Butler, *Young Woman* 1 (1892-3), 363-7.
- 67 "The Glorified Spinster," 374.