Women's Words, Women's Bodies: Late Nineteenth Century English Feminisms in the 'Interview' column of the *Women's Penny Paper*/*Woman's Herald* (Oct. 27, 1888 - Apr. 23, 1892).

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Abstract

Historians have written extensively on early twentieth-century British women's suffrage, and late nineteenth-century feminisms. Nevertheless, there is still an insufficiency in studies that pay attention to the textual and visual contents of feminist periodicals published during the 1880s and 1890s. Non-mainstream periodicals produced by women for women allow us to explore distinctive hybrid modes of gender. They also offer us exclusive access into the everyday experiences, and individual thoughts of actual late nineteenth century women. In order to expand our collective archaeological project of reinterpreting the past from women's point of view, this article focuses on women's interviews and portraits published in the *Women's Penny Paper/Women's Herald* (Oct. 27, 1888 – Apr. 23, 1892), demonstrating that they often combined traditional with more radical emergent signifiers of womanhood in written and pictorial form. This is a journey into the verbal and non-verbal messages communicated through women's words and bodies, expanding to our understanding of late nineteenth century New Women and the manner in which they utilized their choice of words and appearance to gain power.

Keywords: feminist periodicals, True Woman, New Woman, alternative dress, late nineteenth century English feminisms, verbal communication, non-verbal communication, conventional femininity, progressive femininity

Introduction

Feminism involves both 'a system of ideas and a movement for socio-political change based on a refusal of male privilege and women's subordination within any given society'.[1] It has been a continuing and persistent political project with deep foundations in the European past, and as a result, feminisms (in plural) have been - and still are - present in many of the region's societies, often becoming a central and recurrent feature of their politics.[2] This article focuses on late nineteenth century English feminisms, as they were presented in the pages of the *Women's Penny Paper*/*Woman's Herald* (Oct. 27, 1888-April 23, 1892) – a general feminist periodical printed and published weekly by the Women's Printing Society, with Henrietta Müller as the sole proprietor and editor.[3]

Surviving evidence suggests that late nineteenth century feminists employed a number of communication media, and feminist periodicals were one of the channels that offered them the opportunity to reach a wide audience. This genre of publications allowed women to organise for the women's movement, and its various individual campaigns. It provided a platform for discussions on women's social and political role; a platform from which women could influence public opinion at a time when print media were the most efficient means of disseminating ideas.[4] Feminist periodicals, unlike other women's periodicals, reveal women writing for women in a diversity of ways for equally diverse political purposes.[5] With that in mind, this article argues that the *Paper/Herald* presented a feminist message, which incorporated verbal and non-verbal messages that, in combination, projected a variety of emerging womanhoods. The paper's attention to providing a combined message allowed it to offer a more inclusive account of women's experience, and a more accurate description of their contribution to politics and society, with the hope of influencing public opinion. Women's words, and women's bodies operated as instruments that complemented and/or protested

against existing patriarchal ideals of womanhood, as verbal and non-verbal devices that allowed women to acquire power in a diversity of ways.

The key intention of this article is to analyse the verbal and non-verbal messages communicated through the interviews and portraits published in the *Paper/Herald* (1888-1892). More specifically, the following discussion aims to: highlight the diversity of emerging womanhoods that existed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century; determine the contribution of the *Paper/Herald*'s interviews to the general New Womanhood debate; reveal the significance of offering a combined message through text and image, and the manner in which this was used to drive the women's movement agenda. The texts discussed include selected excerpts from the weekly column entitled 'Interview' found in the *Paper/Herald*, typically written by various interviewers, who often remained anonymous. All primary material has been sourced through the *Gale 19th century UK Periodicals* database, provided by the British Library. The texts and portraits are examined within the socio-cultural and political context of the period, occasionally involving ideas from twentieth or twenty-first century feminist history, gender studies, fashion history, and sociology.

The *Paper/Herald* was the first women's paper to dedicate a column to interviewing notable women,[6] but it also included women unknown to the general reader, who were leaders in their field. In fact, Müller argued that the 'interviews of women of note' were at the time 'one of the strongest weapons which the women's party possesses'; publicising about women's talents in private and in public allowed for 'the barrier of silence' to be broken, and for any fabrications told by those who opposed the women's movement to be challenged.[7] As such, due to their undisputable significance to women's history, it is unsurprising that this is not the only time the interviews printed in the *Paper/Herald* have been examined by scholars.[8] Yet this is the

first time that the pairings of text and portrait of the 'Interview' column are examined for the combined message they offered. So, although this article embraces some of the ideas presented in other studies, it also advances the conversation to include the verbal and non-verbal messages that made up the 'Interview' column; offering insights about the role of women's appearance in the progressive message communicated through these interviews. More specifically, following a quantitative and qualitative analysis of approximately 160 interviews, it was apparent that they all offered a narrative that resembled the contemporary writing style of the celebrity interview, though with many intentional references to the women's movement. The analysis also revealed that the portraits assisted the written message in emphasizing that advanced women, otherwise referred to as New Women, were overall feminine in appearance, though the model of their femininity may have varied. With that in mind, the following discussion focuses on four specific case studies, which reveal the variety of New Womanhoods that existed during this period, and the manner in which these were presented through the 'Interview' column published in the *Paper/Herald*.

The New Woman

It is generally accepted that first wave feminism emerged in many Western countries in similar ways.[9] In fact, it has been argued that in the same way that women's movements are not new, they are also not newly transnational.[10] In the nineteenth century, transnational groups and conferences organised by women allowed the creation of networks that embraced a transnational dialogue of citizenship, equality and rights, which pre-existed the International Women Suffrage Alliance in 1902.[11] More specifically to the New Womanhood debate, historian Gillian Sutherland notes that during the 1890s there was concurrent media attention on the New Woman both in Britain and North America.[12] In fact, the terms True Womanhood (or Old Womanhood) and New Womanhood seem to have been understood in almost identical

ways in both countries. For instance, historian Barbara Welter defined nineteenth century North American True Womanhood as 'a fearful obligation, a solemn responsibility', which could be divided in 'four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity'.[13] Similarly, Sutherland defined nineteenth century British True Womanhood as a concept that celebrated the woman as 'moral authority, arbiter in the home and family standing apart from, uncontaminated by, the often sordid dealings of the public sphere, quintessentially the male sphere'.[14] On the other hand, English literature scholar Martha Patterson defined the North American New Woman as a woman that 'demanded a public voice and private fulfilment through work, education, and political engagement'.[15] In a similar vein, historian Susie Steinbach defined the English New Woman as a middle-class woman of principle, with increased opportunities in education, work, career, and feminist activism.[16]

The first publicised text on late nineteenth century New Womanhood was the article by English writer Sarah Grand entitled 'The New Aspect of the Marriage Question'.[17] The author argued that 'True Womanliness is not in danger, and the sacred duties of wife and mother will be all the more honourably performed when women have a reasonable hope of becoming wives and mothers of *men*', concluding that 'the Woman Question is the Marriage Question'. On a similar vein, Prussian-born London-based journalist Hulda Friederichs argued that 'the New Woman of to-day is anything but new'; 'she existed with all her characteristics and all her individuality, six centuries ago' across the world.[18] The New Woman, Friederichs argued, was any woman who was 'fully awake to, and conversant with, and interested in, the various phases in the life of her time', however, during the nineteenth century, 'for the first time, she appeared *en masse*'.[19] Late nineteenth century feminists, therefore, intentionally reiterated the domestic and maternal abilities of New Women in a bid to justify their natural suitability for public action and political participation.[20]

Yet, the New Woman as a concept presented in the press was never as clear as the above definitions may suggest. On one hand was the 'manly' New Woman presented through the mainstream press, which was 'a wildly skewed reductive media construct which did not represent the real lives and work of those people it purported to describe'.[21] On the other hand was the 'womanly' New Woman presented in women's fiction, which was 'an attempt to lend [the women's] movement legitimacy and respectability through the public space of the periodical'.[22] However, for any discussion focusing on the late nineteenth century New Woman to be close to accurate, we have to acknowledge that this concept was a social 'construct', a mere 'representation';[23] it existed in fiction and the periodical press, but it rarely existed in real life in exactly the same manner and volume. The real New Woman was an educated graduate, therefore just based on the overall low numbers of all British female university graduates during this period, it would be too ambitious to assume that this tiny fraction of women represented 'a real shift in the visibility of middle-class women within the society as a whole'.[24] This suggests that the media attention to the New Woman was the beginning of a shift towards women's emancipation, rather than an indication that change had already been accomplished.[25] With that in mind, this article aims to offer new insights into the manner in which the general feminist periodical *Paper/Herald* contributed to the New Woman debate, specifically through the verbal and non-verbal messages found in its 'Interview' column.

As it has been established above, the proper New Woman was a construct that was yet to widely, and fully materialise in real life. This meant that any information about her had to be carefully prescribed, especially because there had been another infamous woman beforehand: 'the average creature who was the immediate result of the Woman Movement'.[26] This so-called 'Emancipated Woman' had:

> 1. Short hair, like men wear it, and if it was not short, then very untidy or inartistically arranged; 2. A stern face, with a mouth that could not smile, and eyes that could not light up with the soft and tender light that comes from "the woman's soul"; 3. Dress of a hopelessly forbidding and ungraceful kind; 4. A manner that cowed and repelled you at once if you were timid, or if you were not, that roused you to indignant or haughty opposition.[27]

It was this eccentric woman that was heavily satirised in the mainstream press, and this stereotype that feminists of the 1880s and 1890s carefully tried to differentiate themselves from. For that reason, whatever information was provided in the press concerning the future ideal concept of womanhood, it needed to comprise all aspects of her character including appearance and behaviour for the general woman reader to better understand her – and eventually hope to be her. For instance, Sarah Grand argued that:

> A woman, actuated by noble purpose, who selects a costume which shall help her to please by her appearance those whom she hopes to convince by her arguments, and so, to begin with, inclines them to listen favourably to what she has to say, is worthy of admiration.[28]

Additionally, Friederichs explained that 'the New Woman is gentle by nature and training, though never slavishly submissive', she possesses a 'graceful, dignified gentleness', tenacity, modesty, and sensibility.[29]

It was widely accepted amongst advanced women of the period that in order to make progress in their cause, they had to retain the womanly qualities, which they had traditionally been ascribed to them, due to their feminine nature. In other words, the proper New Woman ought to remain the 'centre of the home circle, the being towards which men turn in time of pain, anxiety, and trouble; the helper of the helpless, the healer of the wounds of life, the faithful,

loyal friend, the interpreter of all that is most tender, graceful, true, and fair'.[30] This suggests that late Victorian feminism, as was the case with mid-Victorian feminism, was 'imbued through and through with the values of its conservative opponents'.[31] Indeed, this amalgamation of Victorian ideals of domesticity was inevitable, because domestic ideology was 'the only language in the nineteenth century, which offered the basis for asserting the sexual differences between men and women […] in terms of their distinctive merits and virtues'.[32] Still, we have to recognise that the incorporation of conventionally feminine attributes (otherwise understood as 'True Womanhood' attributes), whether behavioural or aesthetic, did not happen in the vacuum or a monolithic manner. During the 1880s and 1890s, there were two generational groups of feminists: those born before the 1850s, and those born after. And within that two-fold group, there were conservative, progressive, Liberal, Conservative, non-partisan, middle-class, working-class, and many other sub-groups and cross-groups of proper New Women, who espoused the domestic ideology in analogously variant ways and intensities.[33] For this reason, this article aims to offer new insights into how these different types of New Women were represented through the pages of the *Paper/Herald*, specifically through the text and image relationship within the 'Interview' column.

The *Women's Penny Paper/Woman's Herald* (Oct. 27, 1888 – Apr. 23, 1892): The 'Interview' Column

The main column of the *Paper*/*Herald* was an interview accompanied by a portrait; a combination that added a very specific accent to the general tone of the periodical. On the one hand, the main text of the interview was written in a style that instigated familiarity by creating

an emphasis on conventionally female accomplishments, which were typically associated with True Womanhood. On the other hand, almost without omission all interviews mentioned the personal achievements of female interviewees (to inspire readers and lead by example), but also emphasized the interviewees' interest in, and work for, woman's suffrage. This specific two-fold rhetoric of conventional and reformist womanhood was further underlined by the portraits accompanying the interviews; images that combined stereotypical and familiar, with progressive and idiosyncratic elements of womanhood.

With the broadening of the franchise, during the 1880s and thereafter, political journalism became increasingly preoccupied with the affairs of prominent individuals – a change that made the newspaper interview a popular feature.[34] The interview was a hybrid journalistic genre, which derived out of the amalgamation of the already established 'reported public speech' and the 'potted biography'.[35] The illustrated celebrity interview was a regular feature in the general illustrated, cheap domestic and religious magazines, and the ladies' papers. It typically included an account of the interviewee's domestic possessions and interior decoration, alongside a record of her accomplishments, providing a closer look into the lives of those out of reach to the ordinary reader.[36] The illustrated celebrity interview, in particular, had a unique capacity to engage with the reader on a more sympathetic level, allowing a more intimate appreciation of the interviewee as a human being, through a reliance on emotion rather than instruction. The use of personal pronouns, the detailed description of the interviewee's domestic environment, and their everyday domestic activities created immediacy with the reader. These components very much formed the standard style for writing mainstream celebrity interviews and were typically followed by the majority of established interviewers.[37]

The interviews featured in the *Paper/Herald* demonstrate an analogous style, however, most of them intentionally included the interviewee's opinion on woman's suffrage, even if there was still some focus on their personal lives and material possessions. For example, in the very first issue the interviewer cleverly combines personal tone, the interviewee's personal taste via association to the interior of her property, and the various conventional domestic duties that she was involved in.[38] Crucially, readers were provided with a lengthy description of the interviewee's achievements as 'a pioneer worker in the cause of woman's rights' (in this case accounting for up to approximately three quarters of the article), who had 'agitated for the removal of the unjust laws under which [women] suffer'.[39] Twenty-seven months later, the 'Interview' was still the main feature in the *Paper/Herald*, consistently appearing on the front cover page. No. 120 features an interview of Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst combining the same three components of the conventional interview and the fourth component of woman's suffrage described above. The interviewer uses personal pronouns for immediacy, she mentions that Mrs Pankhurst's 'well-known taste' is exhibited throughout her house, and she concludes the interview with compliments about Mrs Pankhurst's love and devotion to her four children, highlighting her competence as a mother and wife.[40] The interview also mentions Mrs Pankhurst's success as a businesswoman specialising in artistic furniture and decoration, focusing extensively on her activities as a triumphant worker in the women's cause. Similarly, the vast majority of interviews published in the *Paper/Herald* between 1888 and 1892 followed the same structure: a balanced mixture of conventionally feminine duties and taste, a reference to progressive activities, and an opinion on the subject of woman's suffrage - all wrapped up with a friendly tone. In other words, there was a clear emphasis on human-interest, a characteristic of New Journalism that was skilfully used in the interviews featured in Müller's paper.[41]

Clothing and hair were an important part of a woman's portrait; a fact that was much more widely appreciated during the late nineteenth century than we might assume today. A regular contributor to the *Paper/Herald* argued that 'dress is not a covering merely, it is a symbol'; a symbol of 'the mind of society' and has always been of 'absorbing interest to women in general'.[42] Sociologist and fashion historian Diane Crane writes that during the nineteenth century clothing performed 'a form of symbolic communication', which delivered information about 'the wearer's social role, social standing, and personal character', and because upper-class and middle-class women were 'lacking other forms of power, they used non-verbal symbols', such as clothing, as 'a means of self-expression'.[43] With that in mind, the following case studies reveal that the portraits published with the 'Interview' column communicated messages about each interviewee's opinion on women's appearance. For example, the majority of portraits included in the interview column were used to enforce conventional womanhood by means of typically feminine hair and dress styles, in order to dispute the caricaturist representations of the masculine, and the unfemininely unfashionable 'emancipated woman'. As a result, they depicted women in conventional clothing and hair, which in turn accentuated the idea that real New Women could be, and were, as feminine as other women.[44] In parallel, a small number of portraits depicted women in 'alternative style' clothing and hair which challenged conventional understandings of womanhood, thus illustrating that some New Women would go as far as to act in rebellion to the patriarchal system.[45]

Case Study I: Mrs Florence Fenwick-Miller

On February 23rd 1889, the *Paper/Herald* featured 35-year-old Mrs Florence Fenwick Miller, an English leading journalist, elected member of the London School Board and well-known public speaker (Fig. 2). The written section of the interview, in comparison with the interview model described above, focuses rather unapologetically on Fenwick Miller's success in the public sphere, rather than the interior decoration of her study, or any domestic/maternal

activities. In fact there are only brief mentions of the books dressing the shelves of her study, and a number of sentimental souvenirs. These sections occupy approximately one fifth of the interview, whilst almost three fifths concentrate on her extensive success as journalist, public speaker, and author of numerous science books. The column concludes with a paragraph, which takes up approximately one fifth of the whole interview, focusing on Fenwick Miller's decision to keep her maiden name after marriage - a choice so progressive during the 1870s that it led to various news reports and required the Chairman of the London School Board to seek legal advice before he was allowed to refer to her as 'Mrs Fenwick Miller'.

Unlike the rather progressive verbal message portrayed through the textual part of the interview, Fenwick Miller's portrait emphasized conventional womanhood, although only a few details of her appearance are clearly identifiable. In this portrait, and in other portraits of Fenwick Miller I was able to trace online (Fig. 3-4), Fenwick Miller wears long brown hair tied up in a conventional way - a hairstyle reminiscent of the 'brown, neatly combed heads of the virtuous governess and industrious wives' often depicted in Victorian fiction.[46] Her conventionally feminine hairstyle and clothing exemplified 'the doctrine of separate spheres', allowing her to appear non-threatening to any of her male contemporaries.[47] So, although Fenwick-Miller belonged to the group of feminists born in the 1850s, who were often a little more progressive with their choices of dress and/or hair, she adopted an appearance that was conventional in an attempt to indirectly emphasize her womanliness. Therefore, I would argue that Fenwick Miller used her hair to gain power. I mention this because Fenwick Miller's approach to hair compares to that of the women studied by sociologist Rose Weitz in 2003. During her three-year qualitative study of a diverse participant group consisting of 44 Arizona-based women, Weitz discovered that they often used their hairstyle to express power.[48] In fact the participants were acutely aware of cultural expectations regarding their hair, and rather than

simply consenting to those expectations, many of them often chose to intentionally 'seek power' through an accommodation to those expectations, resistance to those expectations, or a combination of both.[49] In a similar vein, I argue that Fenwick Miller used her hair 'to seek power' through a style that 'de-emphasize[d] resistance and instead emphasize[d] accommodation to mainstream ideas about attractiveness'.[50]

Political historian Arlene E. MacLeod termed this kind of behaviour as 'accommodating protest', which is a phrase she devised in an effort to describe the type of women's political struggle that displays an 'ambiguous pattern' – for instance, when women seem to 'both struggle in a conscious and active way against their inequality, yet who also seem to accept, and even support their own subordination'.[51] Similarly, I argue that Fenwick Miller's choice of conventional hairstyle and clothing allowed her not only to communicate that progressive women – New Women like her – were feminine and non-threatening, but also to acquire a specific type of power that enabled her to achieve more as a professional female journalist and woman's rights advocate than other women, who were perhaps too unconventional. In fact, writing about the time that she was a member of the London School Board at age 22, fellow journalist Frederick Rogers described Fenwick Miller as young, good-looking, brilliant, and daring. And in 1899, by then a prolific professional journalist and at the end of her editorial career in the *Woman's Signal*, Fenwick Miller confessed that she was well-received and respected by her male contemporaries:

> It is fair to say most of those who have helped me in my life's work have been men. It was men who taught me medicine and anatomy when I wished to learn them; it was men who came to me and invited me to stand and then worked hard and unpaid at three successive elections to put me on the London School Board; men invited me in the vast majority of cases, to go on platforms and speak to great audiences and men gave me

> generous praise in newspapers for my so speaking; men have almost exclusively employed my pen.[52]

Of course, it would be unjust to claim that Fenwick Miller was successful in journalism and the women's cause merely because of her sartorial or hairstyle choices. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that Fenwick Miller opted for an overall mainstream, feminine appearance, which was a choice that very likely would have had a positive impact on her pursuits. In other words, exactly because Fenwick Miller seemed to be accepting a gendered version of womanhood (otherwise referred to as True Womanhood), this visually implied that she was not a threat to the conventional system of order.

Case Study II: Miss Alice Cornwell

On October 19 1889, the *Paper/Herald* featured 37-year-old Miss Alice Cornwell; an English-born New Zealand-based miner, who had recently bought *The Sunday Times* (Fig. 5). The interview focuses on Cornwell's choice to follow a mining career, although friends advised her otherwise, admitting to the interviewer that she was able to succeed due to her womanly qualities.[53] Her practicality, honesty, conscience, perseverance, intelligence, and observational skills helped her tremendously in achieving her career goals, succeeding in a male-dominated sector, and being respected by male colleagues. The interviewer writes in the first person for the purposes of creating a close relationship with the reader, yet, she does not mention much about her visit to Cornwell's business offices. She does however overcompensate the lack of a conventionally feminine setting with a very detailed description of Cornwell's appearance and character, by offering the following:

> [Miss Cornwell] has a tall graceful figure, a firm, but very pleasant and expressive face, fair hair, parted at the side and falling over the forehead, and dresses quietly and well. Her manner is quiet, natural, sympathetic and *sans façon*.[54]

Indeed, Cornwell's portrait depicts her in an alternative styled hair combined with a conventional styled dress (Fig. 6), which appeared to lean more towards the English-born professional dress style (Fig. 7) rather than the French-inspired fashionable dress style (Fig. 3). When she posed for this photograph, Cornwell was widely considered as 'the most remarkable woman of the present day' and 'the possessor of three-quarters of a million sterling'.[55] However, for Cornwell the short haircut was a hair change that came after her teenage years: portraits of her as an art and music student, taken prior to the beginning of her mining career, depict her with traditionally long hair, tied up in a fashionable style, secured with a fashionable hat, wearing a conventionally fashionable dress (Fig. 8).

At this point, due to their apparent similarity to Cornwell's case, it is worth considering the personal experiences presented in the book *Female Sexualization;* a volume published in 1998 by members of a socialist-feminist network based in Hamburg and West Berlin with Frigga Haug as the editor.[56] The chapter entitled 'The Hair Project', in particular, explained that for many of the network's women the introductory stage of their 'integration into "working life" [was often] marked by a change of clothing and hair style'.[57] In a similar vein, the aforementioned research by Weitz revealed that the white women she studied leaned towards 'new hairstyles that highlight[ed] professionalism and downplay[ed] femininity as a first step toward entering professional training or work'.[58] Thus, I would argue that a similar situation was true for late nineteenth century white women who sought power through non-traditional ways, such as Cornwell. Her change of haircut, from long and conventionally feminine to short and conventionally masculine, was a symbolic ritual that placed 'the frivolous toddler' in the past,[59] and in her place positioned the sensible young woman. It was Alice, the playful child, who dressed in fashionable clothes, donned long luscious curls, favoured fashionable hats, and mingled with London's high society. But when she returned to Victoria in New Zealand

seeking to save the family business from bankruptcy, she became Miss Cornwell, 'a matter-of-fact woman of the world, full of ambition, imagination, and energy'.[60]

Short haircuts coupled with conventionally professional clothing, otherwise described as 'quiet clothing', seem to have been an appearance favoured by professional ladies, and were often discussed positively in the pages of the *Paper/Herald*. For instance, Marian Marshall, a loyal reader and regular contributor, included the following comments in her letter to the editor:

> I have before me the picture of a piquantly pretty, young journalist, who has been the bread-winner of her home since the age of 17 – (she is now 25). Her hair is closely cropped and curly, her face bright and intelligent, and right bonnie and business-like she looks in her Redfern dress – a cutaway short coat buttoned over a corduroy waistcoat, a spotlessly white shirt and collar, and a white tie being the only mannish part of her attire, with the exception of a pair of leggings, which keep her legs warm and clean.[61]

It seems, therefore, that some professional women, similarly to Cornwell, donned very short haircuts that allowed them to partly defeminise their appearance, which in turn permitted them to infiltrate male-dominated professional sectors. One might even argue that by assuming very short haircuts, they perhaps aimed to resist their socially imposed subordination, and increase their power.[62] Simultaneously, women dressed like Cornwell offered the reassurance that they were typically feminine, by assuming conventionally professional outfits that appeared to be in line with 'genteel femininity', which typically required 'womanly' women 'to miminize what they saw in public of others and what others saw of them'.[63] As a result, short haircuts, combined with conventionally professional outfits, allowed women at work to appear feminine enough to seem respectable and non-threatening, whilst masculine enough, or rather professional enough, to be taken seriously as businesswomen.

Case Study III: Madame Olga Novikoff

On February 8th 1890, the *Paper/Herald* featured 50-year-old Madame Olga Novikoff, a Russian-born political writer and journalist, who was a member of the aristocratic family of Kireev (Fig. 9). The interview is written in the first person, beginning with information about her aristocratic background, and her family's affiliation with the Russian Royal family.[64] Then, the focus quickly moves to the death of her brother for the Slavonic cause, and her decision to pick up his political work from where he left off. Almost one quarter of the text is dedicated to her books and published articles, for newspapers such as the *Northern Echo* and *Moscow Gazette,* whilst another quarter discusses her opinion of offering women the vote, women as public speakers, and marriage. In this section, Novikoff openly admits that property owners should be allowed to vote regardless of their sex, yet, she is 'not in sympathy with women on platforms', because she feels that talking politics should happen amongst people of the same social class. Canvassing was another part of the English parliamentary voting system that she disliked, because she found it 'abominable […] with all its flattery, cajolery and falsehood', and in turn an unsuitable activity for respectable women.[65]

Her opinion on the 'Woman Question', though, is much more progressive: she felt that men and women should be equally regarded by law when in marriage, and that women should be allowed to study medicine and work as doctors. In the last quarter of the column, Novikoff mentions that she finds too much courage, when demonstrated by women, to be 'unladylike', and she felt the same about women smoking. Then, following a brief description of women's capacity to study at university level, and her admiration of Mr Gladstone, the interview closes with a detailed description of Novikoff's character and overall acceptable demeanour, describing her as: a wide reader and keen traveller, who loves to sing; a woman with 'an exceedingly genial and sympathetic manner'; 'a virile intellect with a refined and truly

womanly grace and ease'; a woman of the world, with an individual and truth-seeking nature.[66] So, as in the cases of Fenwick Miller and Cornwell, this interview also includes the usual blend of information that formed the standard style for writing mainstream celebrity interviews, together with information about woman's suffrage.

The portrait chosen to accompany the above interview depicts Novikoff in a conventional hairstyle combined with an alternative styled dress. She is pictured wearing a sailor's straw hat combined with what seems to be a conventionally professional black dress with a white blouse. Straw hats (or boaters) originally appeared in children's fashion in the 1860s, though by the end of that decade, they were already established accessories in women's fashion.[67] During the 1880s, boater hats were very popular amongst men and women and were considered as a unisex accessory, a trend that continued until the 1900s.[68] On the other hand, conventional women's hats, with their extravagant assembly of flowers, feathers, stuffed birds, and sometimes reptiles, were so difficult to fix on one's head, which impelled women to use various metal pins that often damaged their natural hair, and usually resulted in bald patches and restricted movement.[69] As a result, some New Women frequently preferred straw hats because they offered a minimalist style, freedom of movement, whilst they were also considered very fashionable. Novikoff's alternative combination of a straw hat with a conventionally professional dress potentially suggested a more progressive view of how women could present themselves in public. A message that was certainly deliberate, because most of Novikoff's portraits show her in extravagant aristocratic dresses, or conventionally fashionable dresses and hats (Fig. 10-11). Yet, the portrait that was chosen to accompany her interview in the *Paper/Herald* was more fitting to a progressive New Woman, especially one who worked and travelled, given that her style of dress was typically worn by professional women, and that straw hats were often considered an accessory worn whilst travelling or on holiday.

Case Study IV: Lady Florence Dixie

On April 12th 1890, the *Paper/Herald* featured 35-year-old Lady Florence Dixie, a Scottish writer, war correspondent and traveller (Fig. 12). The interview began with a description of Dixie working in her study, followed by a detailed description of her appearance, including her clothing and hair.[70] Then Dixie was asked about her opinion on the subject of 'woman's position', and the remaining part of the interview continues with a structure that almost resembles a game of chess: the interviewer asks a question, Dixie provides an answer, then she is asked another question, and provides another answer, then another question, and one more answer etc. Approximately seven eighths of the text focuses on: women's causes such as education and parliamentary participation for women; rational dress and equal property rights for women; and Dixie's ability to be successful in private and public activities, as a mother and teacher to her two boys, writer and traveller, and a woman with a healthy exercise routine. Her womanly qualities of being well-dressed, neat, honest, and caring for those around her were specifically noted, as was her natural aptitude for being a leader.

Interestingly, this is the only confirmed case in which an interview is written and conducted by a male interviewer, in contrast to the rest of the interviews published in the paper, which, although they were often anonymous, were largely thought to be written by women.[71] So, although he seems to be a supporter of New Women such as Lady Dixie, he certainly offers a more gendered narrative than other interviews. For example, he places the descriptions of the interviewee's appearance and working space at the very beginning, enforcing the idea that the manner that women present themselves or the spaces they occupy is more important than what they do or say. He also writes in a very rigid, one might argue, masculine manner, in comparison to the more personal narratives offered by the rest of the interviews. Despite this,

the formula used for all the *Paper/Herald* interviews is intact: readers are provided with information on conventionally feminine duties and taste, progressive activities, and women's suffrage.

The image accompanying this interview depicts an alternative hairstyle combined with an alternative outfit. Lady Dixie is portrayed wearing a sailor's outfit with a short mid-length haircut. Fashion historian Jo Paoletti reveals that by the 1880s:

> Boy's clothing was unique to them, for while it reflected the prevailing modes in both women's and men's costume, it consisted largely of 'fancy dress' styles based on military uniforms or antique dress-Highland costumes and sailor suits are examples of the former.[72]

A sailor's outfit was, therefore, conventionally masculine - even if it was meant for boys rather than men, and was adopted by the younger generation of progressive women, I would argue, as a 'symbolic statement' that would challenge established ideals about their status in society.[73] In addition, short haircuts, which were longer than the typical very short boyish cut, allowed the hair to be bouncy, lively, sometimes capable of offering 'an autonomous pleasure' to the wearer, when it was 'softly caressed by the wind'; a pleasure that in itself could have been considered an act of female emancipation.[74]

Furthermore, in Dixie's case, the sailor's outfit communicated a message far beyond the concept of alternative dress, because she was in actuality a traveller and travel writer. Travel history writer Monica Anderson explains that late nineteenth century 'women travellers, seemingly free of domestic constraints, challenged the strict boundaries of the woman's sphere while appearing to operate within it'.[75] By travelling abroad, women travellers 'asserted their rights to self-determination and self-rule', whilst they had 'to negotiate the discursive

boundaries of Victorian Britain's ideological sex-role socialization'.[76] Indeed, Lady Dixie wrote in her book *Across Patagonia* (1880) that she travelled to 'an outlandish place so many miles away […] precisely because it was an outlandish place so far away'.[77] Therefore, as a woman in alternative dress and haircut, as well as a woman traveller and travel writer, Dixie was not only 'located outside of the dominant tradition', but was also 'doubly different' in terms of her 'more socially conformist female contemporaries and to male travellers of the period'.[78] Consequently, his alternative combination of a sailor's outfit with a bouncy haircut communicated a message that expressed yet another more progressive option of how women could present themselves in public. A message that was intentional, as in Novikoff's case, because most of Dixie's portraits show her in aristocratic dresses, or rational dresses and hats (Fig. 13-14). Still, the portrait chosen to accompany her interview in the *Paper/Herald* was the same that she chose to publish on the front pages of her book *Gloriana* (Fig. 14), which suggests that for the editor and the interviewee this was the type of image they felt was most suitable in this context; an image that intertextually associated the paper with Dixie's feminist utopia.[79]

Discussion

Surviving evidence suggests that nineteenth century women actively participated in politics, contrary to many historical accounts that depict them as passive citizens. Historian Sarah Richardson notes that 'women who participated in politics were not a few, atypical, well-connected eccentrics', though the latter certainly also played their role in women's history too.[80] It is also evident that New Women who sought to affect change during the nineteenth century were embracing their feminine qualities; yet, they did this in many different ways, and with different intensities. This variety in their approach to emancipation was mainly due to the fact that they came from a diverse range of backgrounds, in regards to their age, geographic

location, social and economic status, life experiences, and social class.[81] And even if they belonged to the same social class or economic background, they still had different opinions on how conservative or progressive their approach to change ought to be. For instance, it has been noted that mid-Victorian London-based feminists campaigned for individual causes separately, always making sure to follow middle-class standards in terms of womanliness.[82] In contrast, Manchester-based feminists had a more integrated approach to campaigning for women's suffrage, as well as women's rights in education, law and the home, often not being afraid to deviate from established middle-class ideals of womanhood.[83] In other cases, some women's groups, such as the Primrose League, felt that their role should be to help the men of the Tory party, so they preferred to not support women's suffrage, whereas other women's groups, such as the Women's Liberal Federation, felt that woman's suffrage was essential.[84]

In particular to the paradigms presented above, it is evident that each one of the interviewees had a different opinion on how to approach political participation, how to dress as a progressive woman of that period, and to what extent they should be adopting older or newer ideas of femininity. Nevertheless, all four cases reveal that the interview and portrait pairings published in the *Paper/Herald* offered a twofold polysemic message, which consisted of already established as well as emerging elements of womanhood. The message projected through these columns was very much a progressive message; it was an informal memorandum of understanding between the paper and its readers. It was a message demonstrating to readers that there were many varied models of progressive womanhood that could simultaneously incorporate private and public social activities. Yet, Elizabeth F. Gray has previously argued that the interviews published in the *Paper/Herald* 'betray conflicts that reflect the pervasive influence of the gender constructions they sought to modify', because in her view the focus on the domestic played 'a particularly freighted role'.[85] I would contend that Gray's assessment is

somewhat unfair, because the fact that the *Paper/Herald* intentionally combined information about conventionally feminine concepts such as motherhood, with information about conventionally masculine concepts such as politics, demonstrated that women could be, and were, not only active, but also successful in both the private and public domains. Besides, it has been well documented that Victorian feminisms included some feminine aptitudes that were traditionally associated with True Womanhood, as well as some feminine traits that were slowly becoming connected to a new kind of womanhood, so this bipartite message was not a flaw on the paper's part. Writing about mid-nineteenth century English middle-class feminists, for instance, several historians note that, despite their differences, they were in unison when it came to capitalising on women's distinctive female traits, which they thought ought to be introduced to the public sphere through women's work and action.[86] In fact, historian Jane Rendall reports that nineteenth century feminists deliberately focused on their strong skills as wives and mothers to demonstrate that their participation in the public sphere was vital in order to improve life for all.[87] New Women were not opposed to maternity, and many considered it to be the most valuable attribute of femininity, '*the* definer of sexual difference, even of women's superiority'.[88] Some even deemed maternity as a supplementary resource to their cause, which could benefit them in a personal and an altruistic capacity.[89] Similarly, historian Philippa Levine has previously noted that the women's movement during this period was idiosyncratic due to its 'conscious woman-centredness', which typically embraced contemporary understandings of femininity that included domesticity or purity, as a source of pride and identity.[90] Historian Kathryn Gleadle also remarks that the wider feminist movement of the period was gradually becoming self-confident about women's potential, defiantly promoting the unique female qualities that women were able to bring in the public domain through their work and action.[91] And even well into the 1900s, as historians Ellen Dubois and June Purvis report, North American and British suffragettes accepted and embraced their

natural talent for stereotypically feminine pursuits such as child caring.[92] In fact, it has been reported that they were so dedicated in their dual roles of mothers/wives and activists that they had to tackle both a well-organised home-centred family routine with active political participation, in some cases even bringing their children with them at those demonstrations that were considered safe enough.[93]

The above sections suggest that New Women across the spectrum were embracing their feminine qualities but often had differing views on how to achieve this. In regard to appearance, for instance, which is partly the focus of this article, readers of the *Paper/Herald* had dissimilar opinions. More specifically, through the 'Interview' and the 'Correspondence' columns, it is evident that the majority of readers did not welcome the more radical, often perceived as 'manly' outfits worn by a small segment of New Women. Instead, they supported a conventionally 'quiet' dress code, whilst the second most popular model of apperance was the moderate rational dress style, typically consisting of comfortable healthy clothing simply for practical reasons. As I metnioned above, alternative choices of appearance were also put forward by some of the pioneer women interviewed, but we do have to acknowledge that these women were an exception even amongst the overall population of New Women.

Thus, scarce were the voices supporting the radical excessively masculine dress code, which was not only perceived by others as an individualist choice, but also as a deterrent from the primary cause of the women's movement, and a reason for ridicule by anti-suffragists or the ignorant.[94] For example, C. E. M., a regular contributor of letters to the *Paper/Herald*, was in support of conventional dress (see Fig. 3), and often complained about the ladies 'who copy the dress of men', arguing that they had always been 'a slight thorn in the flesh to fellow-workers [of the cause]', and 'a stumbling-block to the world outside'.[95] Many people, C.E.M.

reported, openly expressed their dislike of women 'who dress like men, walk like men, talk like men and act like men', which made it hard to argue against the concept of the 'manly' New Woman.[96] Androgynously dressed New Women allowed ample opportunity for mockery, it was often argued, which is why letters to the editor often invited women 'to put the welfare of the cause they have at heart above any private whims of their own'.[97] Similarly, E. D. M., a reader from the poorer section of society, felt that there was no need for any radical change in women's clothing even if it seemed practically sensible.[98] She thought that women, including New Women, ought to be satisfied that changes would come slowly and try 'not to shock old-fashioned prejudices too deeply', temporarily satisfying themselves by simply refining that which they then had. Henry R. S. Dalton, another regular contributor and women's suffrage supporter was also against 'the copying of men's ugliness', and shared similar sentiments about women adopting men's clothing.[99] However, he believed that a hybrid style of feminine dress, which borrowed elements from masculine dress, would certainly be cheaper than contemporary dress styles for women, which would potentially be something that many women would find attractive.

Similarly, M. E. S. M. Watson, another regular contributor of letters, was also in support of conventional dress for progressive women, arguing that conventional clothing could be used to the advantage of women's suffrage. She believed that 'the greatest matter of importance' before them was 'to gain other women to the cause', arguing that the traditionalist 'pious women' are those who find it the most difficult to understand, and therefore join, the suffrage cause.[100] Watson argued that progressive women had to be 'more than ordinarily guarded both in dress and language' and remember 'how the becoming dress of the speaker helps to win the hearers favourably', because the women's cause was 'too important to neglect any help'.[101] Certainly, the atmosphere was such that the majority of upper-class Englishwomen were pious, so they

typically preferred to avoid anything any other women of their own class would object to do.[102] As a result, some progressive women felt that assuming a conventional dress and hair would allow them to appear familiar to other women, who were yet to join their cause, and avoid ridicule by the majority of men, gaining more than they normally would otherwise.[103] In other words, adopting a conformist hair and/or dress allowed reformist women to move a step closer to achieving their anti-patriarchal goals by appearing to accommodate patriarchal gender ideals.

The above statements suggest that a preference for the conventionally feminine, attractive woman is a historically persistent concept, and a notion that was already in place during the late nineteenth century. Evidence shows that a preference for adopting a conventional appearance was still in place during the late twentieth century, and some may argue still is in place today.[104] Thus, it is safe to assume that accommodation to a traditional appearance allowed late nineteenth century progressive women to appear stereotypically feminine, and in turn gain power. In other words, there was a certain power attached in 'doing femininity' well, and during the 1880s and 1890s it was this power that most of the older generations and some of the newer generations of feminists aimed to assume through their conventional appearance.[105] Still, at the other end of the New Womanhood spectrum stood a small, yet very significant, progressive segment of women, who believed that new styles of dress and hair were urgently needed to allow them to fully achieve their potential at home, work, and leisure. A young lady journalist described as 'piquantly pretty', intelligent, and business-like, was quoted in a letter to the editor saying that 'when going about newspaper offices' she discovered that 'long hair and pinned-collars were a great bother', adding that 'with a printer's devil waiting for his copy one has not much time to think of self-adornment'.[106] Her collars and shirts were 'the only extravagant part' of her dress, because they were taken care of by a French laundress, and they were 'so beautifully clean'.[107] So to some women, it seemed 'a very good reason why

professional women should adopt shirts and collars, discarding the ordinary slip-bodice', and eventually 'the French corset made only to fit a figure entirely out of proportion'.[108]

It was mentioned at the beginning of this article that New Women were probably not so numerous in real life as perhaps was assumed by the many references to them in the press. Equally, we have to acknowledge that progressive women who consistently wore rational or alternative outfits in public were not many either, although there was enough support on this subject to form a group dedicated to this cause, namely the Rational Dress Society (est. 1881). For instance, a reader, who was 'not a member of the Rational Dress Society, but had always taken a lively interest in its operations', confessed that she had been wearing trousers for the past three years, and that she had persuaded several of her friends to follow her example.[109] However, because this was a choice she made for her 'own comfort and not for others' amusement or admiration' only very few outside the immediate members of her family knew of it.[110] Even her cousin was unaware that she was wearing trousers in private, although she was a very close friend and an avid member of the Rational Dress Society, who once stated she would rather resign her right to vote in any election than give up wearing trousers.[111]

The above excerpts from the correspondence column reveal that Victorian feminists mostly agreed on the goals they had to be achieved, but they often disagreed on how to achieve them. With that in mind, the *Paper/Herald* offered to women a much-needed public forum for them to openly discuss their opinions, learn from each other's different experiences, and potentially develop stronger relationships with each other. Some may argue that the mixed message projected through the interview column may not have been a new approach to feminism. But the manner in which the paper materialised this concept of New Womanhood, borrowing from past and present models of femininity, and at the same time introducing future models of

femininity, was certainly new. And although it is true that at times the interview and portrait pairings were based on pure opportunism,[112] the evidence presented in this article suggests that more than often the verbal and non-verbal messages portrayed were based on intention. An intention to influence public opinion about the realities of being a New Woman, and, I would argue, an intention to encourage women's participation in debates that were directly relevant to them as citizens; debates that most certainly occurred behind closed doors but did not ensue as often in public.

At this point, it is important to remind the readers of this article that Victorian feminists were not faultless in their ideologies or approaches. There was certainly an unintentional lack of empathy in matters of ethnicity, race and class, because many of the women who participated in feminist debates did not quite appreciate that they experienced and viewed the world from a privileged position. For instance, Caine has previously explained that nineteenth century feminism was by default imperialist, and as a result, it unashamedly accepted that 'British womanhood' was superior to other womanhoods, such as Italian, and Indian.[113] Likewise, Gleadle notes that some feminists who supported the concept of 'maternal imperialism' understood Indian women to be helpless human beings, in need of a saviour.[114] Yet, in comparison to other communication platforms available at the time, the *Paper/Herald* was a pioneer even in this aspect because it offered a more inclusive forum for the expression of opinions. For example, although the majority of interviewees were English white middle-class women (mostly due to convenience), from the very beginning the paper made an effort to include interviews with non-English women such as the Italian Francesca Stuart Syndici, the Polish Audzia de Polska, and the Indian Pundita Ramabai Sarasvati to name but a few.[115]

Conclusion

This article focuses on late nineteenth century English feminisms, through a close examination of the 'Interview' column published in the general feminist periodical *Paper/Herald* (Oct. 27, 1888-April 23, 1892). In particular, it argues that the interview (verbal message) and portrait (non-verbal message) pairings allowed the paper to successfully communicate a feminist message that combined conventional and progressive elements of womanhood, whilst projecting a diversity of emerging womanhoods. This inclusive approach to women's experiences demonstrated to readers that women's contribution to politics and society was both nuanced and multi-layered and could often be exceedingly effective without necessarily being restricted to a specific single model of New Womanhood. It also demonstrated to readers, who may have been anxious about disrupting the status quo in an abrupt manner that may result in hostility, that New Women honoured and respected their feminine qualities. In this way, if anything, any attempt for change would have incorporated such attributes rather than completely abandon them.

Cultural historian Maggie Andrews together with cultural and media theorist Sallie McNamara argue that 'there is a tendency when historians utilise media as a source for research for them to ignore the innate polysemia of popular texts, the multiple layers and contradictory meanings' often displayed in newspapers articles, or the cover pages of magazines.[116] Instead, this article has endeavoured to approach these narratives from a more holistic perspective, simultaneously considering the verbal and non-verbal messages present, in order to offer a more rounded understanding of the messages communicated. In turn, it is anticipated that this contribution will allow an even better understanding of late nineteenth century English New Women in particular, and Victorian feminisms in general, further expanding on women's history research by offering an interdisciplinary viewpoint. And while this article provides only a small fraction of the findings produced during my extensive examination of the *Paper/Herald*, I hope it offers

important information on the ways that women of this period simultaneously used their words and bodies, through the feminist press, as means to political participation.

Yet as important as these initial research insights are, this modest attempt towards an inclusive approach to reading late nineteenth century feminist periodicals, for the purposes of expanding our understanding of women's history during this period, is only the beginning. It is also essential to include in our analyses of this type of feminist media, the contribution not only of the editors, printers, compositors and advertisers, but also of the readers. Additionally, it is important, as feminist scholar Sarah Mills argues 'to consider the intersections of determining features such as race, class and sexual orientation, which can often be omitted in discussions of the "woman reader"',[117] and, I would add, the historical feminist woman. These kinds of omissions typically occur because it is challenging for historians to discuss concerns around ethnicity, race, class and sexuality,[118] answer questions about real readers, and/or transcend disciplinary boundaries mainly due to a lack of reliable evidence or specialist knowledge. Nevertheless, it may be possible to overcome such difficulties if we were to rely more on personalized historical sources such as diaries, gathering additional data on women's own realities and everyday experiences. In turn, we will be able to better comprehend the multi-layered socio-political contexts within which feminist periodicals existed, and will gain a better understanding of the influence that different identity markers may have had on women's experience, achieving a more honest appreciation of our history as women. In other words, an approach that involves questions about ethnicity, race, class, sexuality and/or disability will allow us to produce research that not only respects individual experiences, but also considers these experiences through a truly inclusive lens.

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[1] Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 20.
[2] Ibid., 1.
[3] On January 3, 1891 the *Women's Penny Paper* was renamed as the *Woman's Herald*. The editor identified the two titles as one, so this article refers to the periodical as the *Women's Penny Paper/Woman's Herald*, or *Paper/Herald*.
[4] Maria DiCenzo, Lucy Delap and Leila Ryan, *Feminist Media History: Suffrage Periodicals and the Public Sphere* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2.
[5] David Doughan and Denise Sanchez, *Feminist Periodicals, 1855-1984: An Annotated Critical Bibliography of British, Irish, Commonwealth and International Titles* (Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd., 1987), xii.
[6] Michelle E. Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005).
[7] 'Editorial: Our interviews', *Women's Penny Paper*, December 21, 1889, 102.
[8] See Michelle E. Tusan, 'Inventing the New Woman: Print Culture and Identity Politics in Britain during the *Fin-de- Siècle*', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31 (1998): 169-82; F. Elizabeth Gray, 'Promoting Women: Profiles and Feminism in the *Women's Penny Paper/Woman's Herald*', in *Profile Pieces: Journalism and the 'Human Interest' Bias*, ed. Sue Joseph and Richard L. Keeble (London: Routledge, 2015), 151-64.
[9] Maggie Humm, *Feminisms: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6.
[10] Myra Marx Ferree and Carol McClurg Mueller, 'Feminism and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective', in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), 584.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Gillian Sutherland, *In Search of the New Woman*: *Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1.
[13] Barbara Welter, 'The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860', *American Quarterly* Summer (1966): 152.
[14] Sutherland, 2.
[15] Martha H. Patterson, ed., *American New Woman Revisited: A Reader, 1894-1930* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 1.
[16] Susie Steinbach, *Women In England 1760-1914: A Social History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004).
[17] Sarah Grand, 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question', *North American Review*, March 1, 1894, 270-76.
[18] Hulda Friederichs, 'The "Old" Woman and the "New", II. *Young Woman*, 3, 1895, 273.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Anne Heilmann, ed. *The Late-Victorian Marriage Question: A Collection of Key New Woman Texts, Volume 1: Marriage and Motherhood* (London: Thoemmes Press, Routledge, 1998), xiii.
[21] Talia Schaffer, '"Nothing but Foolscap and Ink": Inventing the New Woman', in *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms*, ed. Sarah Richardson and Chris Willis (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2002), 49.
[22] Tusan, 178.
[23] Lyn Pykett, *The 'Improper' Feminine: The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (Abington: Routledge, 1992).
[24] Sutherland, 159.
[25] Ibid., 15.
[26] Ibid., 274.

[27] Ibid., 275.
[28] Sarah Grand, 'The Morals of Manner and Appearance', *Humanitarian*, August 1893, 91.
[29] Friederichs, 274-75.
[30] Ibid., 275.
[31] Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, 42.
[32] Ibid.
[33] See Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2001).
[34] Aled Jones, 'Local Journalism in Victorian Political Culture', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 63-70 (67-8).
[35] Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?* (London: Routledge, 1996), 124.
[36] Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, eds., *Victorian Women's Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) 59 and 202.
[37] Troy J. Bassett, '"A Characteristic Product of the Present Era": Gender and Celebrity in Helen C. Black's Notable Women Authors of the Day (1893), in *Women Writers and Celebrity Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ann R. Hawkins and Maura Ives (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 151-68.
[38] Anon., 'Interview' *Women's Penny Paper*, October 27, 1888, 4-5.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Anon., 'Interview', *Woman's Herald*, February 7, 1891, 1-2.
[41] 'New Journalism' included various textual and typographical innovations that transformed the press in the late nineteenth century, such as interviews and illustrations. Human-interest pieces, such as stories about individual achievements, or interviews with notable people, were representative features of this type of journalism. See James Mussell, 'New Journalism' and Mark W. Turner, 'Personality and the Press', in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London and Ghent: British Library and Academic Press, 2009), 443 and 491.
[42] H. R. S. Dalton, 'Notes and Letters: Dress as a Basis for Union', *Woman's Herald*, August 8, 1891, 145.
[43] Diane Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 100.
[44] During the nineteenth century, women's dress could generally be categorized into: conventional; alternative (see note 45); rational; artistic. However, a conventional outfit could be a typically French-inspired fashionable outfit featuring delicate details, such as French gigot ('leg-of-mutton') sleeves (see Fig. 3). Yet, it could also be a mainstream English-born outfit typically very simple and worn by professional women (see Fig. 7). For this reason, I will refer to the former as 'conventional fashionable outfit', and the later as 'conventional professional outfit'. For more information on Victorian sleeve styles see C. Willet Cunnington, *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1990).
[45] The alternative style 'incorporated items from men's clothing, such as ties, men's hats, suit jackets, waistcoats, and men's shirts, sometimes singly, sometimes in combination with one another but always associated with items of fashionable female clothing'. Trousers were not part of this dress style. Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas*, 101.
[46] Elisabeth G. Gitter, 'The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination', *PMLA* 99 (1984): 936-54 (941).
[47] Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas,* 100.
[48] Rose Weitz, *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behaviour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[49] Ibid., 147.

[50] Ibid., 138.
[51] Arlene E. MacLeod, *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and Change in Cairo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), xiv.
[52] Florence Fenwick-Miller, 'Editor's Farewell Address', *Woman's Signal*, March 23, 1899, 184.
[53] Anon., 'Interview', *Women's Penny Paper*, October 19, 1889, 1-2.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Anon., 'Princess Midas: the New Zealand Queen of Finance - Miss Alice Cornwell, A Sketch of Her Career', *Supplement to the Otago Witness*, January 31, 1889, 3.
[56] Fridda Haug, F., ed., *Female Sexualization: A Collective Work of Memory*, trans. Erica Carter (London: Verso, 1999).
[57] Ibid., 93.
[58] Weitz, 143.
[59] Haug, 93.
[60] 'Princess Midas', 3.
[61] M. Marshall, 'Correspondence: The Last of the Manly Young Lady', *Women's Penny Paper*, March 30, 1889, 3.
[62] Weitz, 145.
[63] It was understood that 'the respectable woman on the street deflected rather than drew attention to her physical presence; her dress and demeanour might excite admiration, but should encourage overtures'; hence, there was typically a preference for muted colours and outfits that covered the flesh except for the face. Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York*, 1789-1860 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 93.
[64] Anon., 'Interview', *Women's Penny Paper*, February 8, 1890, 1-2.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Anon., 'The Fashions', *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, 1861, 55.
[68] Miles Lambert, *Fashion in Photographs 1860-1880* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1991), 55.
[69] C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the 19th Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), 564.
[70] Anon., 'Interview', *Women's Penny Paper*, April 12, 1890, 1-2.
[71] Müller explained, through a reply to *St. James Gazette*, that 'A friendly offer was made spontaneously [to interview Lady Dixie] and was accepted. It would have been intensely ungracious and narrow-minded to have refused it [just because the offer came from a man]'. Helena B. Temple, 'The "St. Jame's Gazette" on the "Women's Penny Paper"', *Women's Penny Paper*, April 26, 1890, 318.
[72] Jo B. Paoletti, 'Clothes Make the Boy, 1860-1910', *Dress* 9 (1983): 16.
[73] Diane Crane, 'Clothing Behaviour as Non-Verbal Resistance: Marginal Women and Alternative Dress in Nineteenth Century', *Fashion Theory* 3 (1999): 249.
[74] Haug, 110.
[75] Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 14.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Dixie quoted in ibid.
[78] Ibid., 17.
[79] The protagonist of Dixie's book, Gloriana De Lara, is a twelve-year-old girl. The first chapter begins with Gloriana 'imagining the foam flakelets [of the sea] to be girls', looking 'upon them as [her] audience', telling them 'of all the wrongs that girls and women have to suffer', and then wishing that they 'rise as one to right these wrongs'. All she could think of was 'to show them how to do so' and then 'be their leader, and lead them to victory or die'. The story then

moves on to describe how Gloriana grew up to become the political leader she envisaged, though she could only achieve this in disguise pretending to be a man named Hector D' Estrange. Lady Florence Dixie, *Gloriana; Or, The Revolution Of 1900* (London: Henry and Company, 1890), 7.
[80] Sarah Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in the Nineteenth Century Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 4.
[81] Ibid., 2.
[82] Barbara Caine, *English Feminism 1780-1980* (Basingstoke: Oxford University Press, 1997), 118.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., 125; Gleadle, 161-63.
[85] Gray, 156.
[86] Gleadle, 163; Caine, *English Feminism 1780-1980,* 88-9.
[87] Rendall, 5.
[88] Ibid., 153.
[89] Ibid., 157.
[90] Philippa Levine, *Victorian Feminism 1850-1900* (London: Hutchinson Education, 1987), 18.
[91] Gleadle, 163.
[92] Ellen DuBois, 'The Radicalism of the Woman Suffrage Movement: Notes Toward the Reconstruction of Nineteenth-Century Feminism', *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975): 63-71; June Purvis, '"Deeds, Not Words": The Daily Lives of Militant Suffragettes in Edwardian Britain', *Women's Studies International Forum* 18 (1995): 91-101.
[93] Ibid., 141.
[94] L. Rogers, 'Notes and Letters: Narrow Women', *Woman's Herald*, July 4, 1888, 586.
[95] C. E. M., 'Correspondence: The Manly Young Lady', *Women's Penny Paper*, February 2, 1889, 7.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] E. D. M., 'Correspondence: Rational Dress', *Women's Penny Paper*, March 15, 1890, 247.
[99] H. R. S. Dalton, 'Notes and Letters: Dress as a Basis for Union', *Woman's Herald*, August 8, 1891, 145.
[100] M. E. S. M. Watson, 'Notes and Letters: Dress on the Platform', *Woman's Herald*, August 22, 1891, 147.
[101] Ibid.
[102] L. E. M. Brown, 'Pious Women', *Woman's Herald*, January 13, 1891, 539.
[103] Similarly, in the 1900s members of the Women's Social and Political Union used their conventional outfits as a symbol of strong organisation and teamwork to stimulate an interest for their movement. Their conventionally feminine appearance allowed them to challenge any misogynist attempts to 'discredit the movement by presenting the suffragettes as unfeminine freaks', publicising their cause to a degree that platform speeches, journals or pamphlets could not. See Crane, 'Clothing Behaviour as Non-Verbal Resistance', 262; Katrina Rolley, 'Fashion, Femininity and the Fight for the Vote', *Art History* 13 (1990): 63.
[104] See Weitz, 1999.
[105] I manufactured the phrase 'doing femininity' having read about the phrase 'doing gender', which was originally introduced by sociologists, and said to involve 'a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures"'. Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', *Gender and Society* 1 (1987): 125-51.

[106] M. Marshall, 'Correspondence: The Last of the Manly Young Lady', *Women's Penny Paper*, March 30, 1889, 3.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] A. Clive, 'Correspondence: Rational Dress', *Women's Penny Paper*, March 15, 1890, 246.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] See note 71.
[113] Caine, *English Feminism*, 123-30.
[114] Gleadle, 155.
[115] Anon., 'Interview', *Women's Penny Paper*, May 11, 1889, 1; Anon., 'Interview', *Women's Penny Paper*, June 15, 1889, 1-2; Anon., 'Interview', *Women's Penny Paper*, May 25, 1889, 1-2.
[116] Maggie Andrews and Sallie McNamara, *Women and the Media: Feminism and Femininity in Britain, 1900 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 17.
[117] Sara Mills, ed., *Gendering the Reader* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), 18.
[118] June Purvis, 'Doing Feminist Women's History: Researching the Lives of Women in the Suffragette Movement in Edwardian England', in *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*, ed. Mary Maynard and June Purvis (Abington: Taylor and Francis, 1994), 166-89; June Purvis, '"A Glass Half Full"? Women's History in the UK', *Women's History Review* 27 (2018): 88-108.