

“AN UNEXPECTED RECRUIT TO FEMINISM”: JESSIE
BOUCHERETT’S
“FEMINIST LIFE” AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING WEALTHY

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ABSTRACT

In 1859 Jessie Boucherett, the daughter of a Lincolnshire landowner possessed of an independent income, was inspired by press discussions of the need to find alternative occupations for women to make contact with the women who were already spreading this message through the *English Woman's Journal*. With their rather grudging support she founded a society, which still exists, to further this aim, the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (now the Society for Promoting the Training of Women). Using the records of this Society, now housed at Girton College, Cambridge, this paper looks at the way commitment to this cause allowed a woman from a wealthy, high Tory, landed background to turn herself in six years into the feminist who put up the initial money for the women's suffrage campaign, and went on to be a leading figure in campaigns to reform the married women's property laws and against legislation restricting women's work. It examines in particular the use she made of her personal wealth to direct the strategies of the activist groups to which she belonged.

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In May 1866 two women from politically different backgrounds, Barbara Bodichon (1827-1891) and Jessie Boucherett (1825-1905), meeting in a rather rundown building at the north end of Regent Street, London, took a crucial step in the launching of the female suffrage campaign in Britain. Using paper headed “Society for Promoting the Employment of Women in connexion with the NAPSS, 19 Langham Place, London”, Barbara Bodichon wrote a letter to John Stuart Mill’s stepdaughter, Helen Taylor, explaining that she would like to undertake the work of organising a petition to gain the vote for women, and asking for Helen Taylor’s support and that of her stepfather. In it she wrote:

Miss Boucherett who is here puts down £25 at once for expenses. I shall be every day this week at this office at 3 p.m. Could you write a petition - which you could bring with you.[1]

In accounts of the suffrage movement, though Jessie Boucherett’s support is usually mentioned,[2] no comment is made about the organisational and financial contribution she made at this early stage. Yet the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, which paid the rent for “this office”, was her creation and she was a large subscriber to its funds. Furthermore, £25 was by the standards of the day a very large sum of money, a twelfth of the annual income Barbara Bodichon received from her father, and roughly the equivalent of £2,000 today.

Though the word feminist did not become current in English until the 1890s, if Linda Gordon’s definition of it as “a critique of male supremacy, formed and offered in the light of a will to change it”[3] is accepted, there can be little doubt that both Jessie Boucherett and Barbara Bodichon deserve the title. Both women lived what Philippa Levine has called “feminist lives”: their work to change the position of women was an integral part of their identities.[4] Barbara Bodichon’s credentials as a feminist have long been established, and the part her beliefs played in determining the shape of her life has been described and analysed.[5] Jessie Boucherett’s far more surprising transformation of herself from the daughter of a wealthy, conservative Lincolnshire landowner to a leading feminist activist has, however, not been charted. In 1983 Lee Holcombe wrote: “There is no biography of this important woman” and in 1985 Olive Banks noted, “Very little is known about her and she remains one of the most elusive of the Langham Place circle. [She was] an unexpected recruit to feminism”.[6] Recently, however, the Society for Promoting the Training of Women (formerly the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women) has presented its substantial archive to Girton College, Cambridge, and much more information relating to Jessie Boucherett’s career has thus become available. In this article, using this material, her letters to Helen Taylor held at the London School of Economics, and the records of the Boucherett family at the Suffolk Record Office, we hope to present a less shadowy picture of her contribution to nineteenth century feminism.

When the letter described above was written, what Philippa Levine calls the “feminist lifestyle”[7] was still in the very early stages of being defined and established. There was no pattern to which an aspirant was expected to conform. The women involved in this process can, however, be seen

as part of a wider group, the group of British intellectuals and philanthropists (named “social cranks” by Harold Perkin), who were committed to changing their society.[8] According to Karl Mannheim, changes and syntheses of political ideas are typically brought about by “socially unattached intellectuals”, and occur because there exists in a society this “relatively classless stratum which is not too firmly situated in the social order” and whose members participate less than most people “directly in the economic process”. Although they tend to preserve some class interests and affiliations, they can see the point of view of other groups and so produce social theory that seems to have a true and universal character, thus transforming “the conflict of interest into a conflict of ideas”.[9]

Jessie Boucherett can be seen as belonging to this group. Though she never expected or needed to earn her own living, she devoted forty years to the needs of those who did, and in the process made her own contribution to the construction of the emerging “feminist lifestyle”. The groundwork for becoming a “socially unattached intellectual” was established during her twenties when she made herself familiar with the writings of the classical political economists, and the way their ideas were being used by writers in the serious periodical press to explain current social problems. Her adoption of the “feminist lifestyle” began in 1859 when she came to London with the express purpose of dedicating her energies and her recently acquired independent means to the cause being canvassed by Barbara Bodichon and her friend Bessie Rayner Parkes in the *English Woman's Journal*: that is, the need to find alternative occupations for the numbers of middle class women who were crowding into dressmaking and teaching.[10]

Philippa Levine, Barbara Caine and Ann Dingsdale have explored the varied ways in which a number of women lived their feminist lives,[11] but Jessie Boucherett's particular approach has not yet been examined. We shall be arguing that Jessie Boucherett's feminist life and her influence on the movement's progress were inextricably intertwined with her substantial wealth, and that, once she began to think and write about women's issues, she used the social skills and the wealth derived from her family background in ways which influenced the course of the women's movement. It was she, we shall suggest, who revived the practical methods for implementing social change that had been pioneered a decade earlier by the founders of Queen's and Bedford Colleges. They had demonstrated with girls' education that it was not enough to write books on the topic; it was necessary to create actual institutions where these plans could be put into operation.[12] Jessie Boucherett founded the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (SPEW) which took up the suggestions made in the *English Woman's Journal* and put them into practical effect by introducing women into previously all-male occupations like book-keeping and hair-dressing. Furthermore the SPEW demonstrated that the organisational methods already well-established in the philanthropic world - a society with office-bearers, a committee, subscribers, an auditor and an annual report - could prove equally effective in promoting feminist aims, and was also one of the earliest to show that men and women could work together in such a context.[13] During the years that followed, these forms of organisation were adopted by other feminist activists, for example by Emily Davies in her campaigns for university education, and by Emma Paterson with the early female trade unions.[14]

We shall also be demonstrating that Jessie Boucherett remained a major figure in the feminist world for almost half a century. Because of her strategic use of the money she had inherited, and the self-confidence derived from her background, she was, we shall suggest, adept at “managing” the SPEW committee and pushing its policies in the direction her views of “political economy” suggested. She was also an enthusiastic supporter of both the Suffrage and Married Women’s Property campaigns, and towards the end of her life took the lead in a campaign (of which another group of feminists disapproved) to oppose legislation restricting the employment conditions of women. She also provided an important channel through which information was dispensed to the public on all these issues by funding a journal, the *Englishwoman’s Review*, which carried on the work begun by Bessie Parkes’s *English Woman’s Journal* and which ran from 1866 until 1910.

THE ENGLISH WOMAN’S JOURNAL AND “LANGHAM PLACE”

The feminist world into which Jessie Boucherett’s enthusiasm transported her in 1859 was centred on the office of the *English Woman’s Journal* at 14a Princes Street, Cavendish Square, where a group of women aged in their early thirties, mostly unmarried and supported by their parents, were in the process of constructing lives which could be characterised as feminist. Barbara Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes, respectively the proprietor and editor of the *Journal*, had been friends from their teens. Both were the daughters of radical M.P.s and both came from wealthy Unitarian families already containing a number of “socially unattached intellectuals”. They grew up into “advanced” liberal circles which included the two proto-feminist women journalists, Anna Jameson and Harriet Martineau, and the young Marian Evans (later to be known as George Eliot). Though both these young women had artistic ambitions, they had also determined to dedicate themselves to the service of humanity, and increasingly came to believe that their “mission” was to do something for women. The Women’s Rights issues first raised by Mary Wollstonecraft in 1792 - marriage law reform, the suffrage, and concerns about prostitution - had been adopted into the radical creed, and their earliest foray into the public arena was in 1854 with a call for reform of the married women’s property laws.[15] They were, however, equally engaged by the series of issues that were coming to be known as “the woman question”: the low wages offered to governesses and dressmakers, marriage for money, genteel poverty, and the “busy idleness” blighting the lives of women of means.[16]

In 1854, together with the poet, Adelaide Procter (1825-1864), the daughter of the well-known literary figure, “Barry Cornwall”, they began to frequent the house of Anna Jameson, calling themselves her “adopted nieces”, and discussing with her their thoughts on the problems faced by women.[17] Partly as a result of their discussions Anna Jameson gave two drawing room lectures on the position of women which were published in 1855 and 1856.[18] These prompted a major press discussion in 1857, out of which emerged the conclusion that the solution to the varied troubling aspects of the “woman question” lay in opening more occupations to women and encouraging young women to train for them.[19]

Bessie Parkes and Barbara Bodichon (still at this date Barbara Leigh Smith) contributed to this discussion in papers accepted by a small magazine, the *Waverley*, published in Edinburgh. These they issued separately in 1856 and 1857,[20] and in March 1858, they began to publish the *English Woman's Journal*, largely financed by Barbara Bodichon (by now married and living part of the year in Algiers with her husband Eugène Bodichon) and edited by Bessie Parkes,[21] with the main emphasis in the early issues of the paper on the need to find more occupations for women.

The editors were soon “literally deluged” with requests for help from the kind of women whose plight they were revealing, help which they had no means of offering, though they attempted to meet this need by establishing a register where women in search of work and those with work to offer could make contact.[22] Just as significantly for the future, they established a central meeting place for those concerned with the “woman question” by opening a reading room for women (decorated with Barbara Bodichon's paintings) in the same house as the *Journal's* office in Princes Street, which attracted seventy subscribers in the first year.[23] Twenty years later Jessie Boucherett wrote that “from this small office and humble reading-room have grown almost all the great women's movements of the present day. They have long passed into other hands and become a shop, but I shall always regard the place as classic ground”.[24] By 1859 the project had secured the patronage of an older, richer woman, Lady Monson, who took a seven year lease on a house at 19 Langham Place, where the *Journal* and the Reading Room could rent rooms, and which gave the early women's movement members a name by which they have been known ever since.[25]

Langham Place thus brought together a group of women who were creating new, feminist, lives for themselves. At the centre of the group were Bessie Parkes, Adelaide Procter and a third woman, whom the “nieces” had known since 1855, and who seemed a romantic figure to both Adelaide Procter and Bessie Parkes: Matilda Mary Hays. She had written a novel and translated George Sand, and had been part of an artistic, largely lesbian, group in Rome, but had come back to London when her relationship with the American actress Charlotte Cushman broke up, and was brought in as co-editor of the *Journal*. [26]

Thus the first tentative steps towards establishing “feminist lives” had been taken when Jessie Boucherett appeared on the scene. The line on women's work being advocated in the *English Woman's Journal* attracted a certain amount of press attention, both pro and con,[27] but by far the most important for Jessie Boucherett was an article called “Female Industry” by the well-known female journalist, Harriet Martineau in the *Edinburgh Review*. In it she wrote:

The tale is plain enough. So far from our countrywomen being all maintained, as a matter of course by us, ‘the breadwinners,’ three millions out of six of adult Englishwomen work for subsistence; and two out of the three in independence. With this new condition of affairs, new duties and new views must be accepted.[28]

This passage (which was printed on the front page of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women's Annual Reports for more than eighty years) was almost apocalyptic for Jessie Boucherett, revealing to her a "mission" which absorbed her for the rest of her life.

THE BOUCHERETTS OF LINCOLNSHIRE

Jessie Boucherett had no "social cranks" in her background, and there was no expectation that she, or any of her family, would reject what functionalist sociologists used to call their ascribed status, or what, to move to postmodernist terminology, Deleuze calls a "slave" identity.[29] Nevertheless, inspired by Harriet Martineau, she chose not to accept it, but to become a "master" of her identity, and, at the age of thirty-three, and possessed of all the benefits bestowed by her ascribed status, she set out to transform herself into a socially unattached intellectual with a particular focus on women's issues.

These benefits were not negligible. The Boucheretts of Lincolnshire were a landed family, and traditionally Tory supporters. They did not take much part in public affairs at the national level but were dominant political figures in Lincolnshire. Her father was for a time High Sheriff of the county, and at a more local level still had almost total control over Caistor grammar school. Jessie Boucherett had one sister and three brothers, two of whom died before she was twenty.[30] The way of life in the family home, Willingham House, was described by Bessie Parkes, who visited in 1862:

This is a large handsome country house in a park; plenty to eat & drink; sufficient general cultivation, & a great many family portraits by Sir Thomas Lawrance [sic]. I actually went hunting yesterday! The young ladies hunt regularly.”[31]

Being born a Boucherett of Willingham ensured that Jessie Boucherett would have an independent and very substantial income for life. When her father died in 1857 she received a capital sum of £10,000, her mother's death in 1873 put her in possession of a further £16,000, and when her remaining brother died in 1877 he left her £1,000 a year for life. She inherited the estate herself when her elder sister died in 1895.[32]

In this superficially unpromising soil, the ideas developed by Anna Jameson and her "nieces" took firm root. There is little surviving information on what Jessie Boucherett was like as a young woman. Her own accounts of her childhood, recollected by her obituarists in 1905, suggest that she was not the most biddable of children. She refused to learn to read until there was something she wanted to know about, and then learnt in a week. When sent to school she resisted the standard learning by heart, and managed to avoid the classes she did not enjoy by hiding in a cupboard.[33] The school itself was a rather unusual choice for such a conventional family. Avonbank School in Stratford-on-Avon, run by the Byerley sisters, daughters of a cousin and business partner of Josiah Wedgwood, had a high reputation, and many of the pupils came from radical Unitarian families. Elizabeth Gaskell had been a pupil there, as had a niece of Harriet Martineau, and there had been pupils with connections to the families of both Barbara Leigh Smith and Bessie Rayner Parkes.[34]

Even less is known about her life during her twenties, but it is to be presumed that she went through the normal “coming out” of women of her class. It seems likely, however, that she, like Barbara Leigh Smith and Bessie Rayner Parkes, devoted a good deal of her time to serious reading of the periodical press and current literature. Certainly, either at school or during her period of young-ladyhood, she became acquainted with the ideas of the classical political economists, and these, or at least her own interpretation of them, became the philosophic basis for her support for the three great enthusiasms of her life: the expansion of women’s employment, women’s suffrage, and opposition to protective legislation targeted solely at women.

When she read Harriet Martineau’s electrifying words she had quite recently come into the comfortable private income left her by her father, and, thus provisioned, she took the step that marked the beginning of her “feminist life”: she travelled down to London and approached the editor of the *English Woman’s Journal* in Princes Street. Some years later, when there was a misunderstanding concerning the founder of the Society, she implied that Bessie Parkes’s reception of her was decidedly frosty:

When the idea of forming this Society first presented itself to me, I requested Miss Parkes to join me, which she declined to do on the ground that it was a rash enterprize, and that on account of the Journal she did not wish her name to be connected with an undertaking which might fail; but she very kindly gave me an opportunity of canvassing the ladies who attended her reading room on which occasion Miss Procter joined me. Miss Crowe will remember that evening. Miss Parkes however consented to join also a few weeks later when the prospect of success appeared brighter, and Miss Faithfull came also at about the same time.[35]

She did however pay tribute to the help and guidance she had received from Adelaide Procter and regarded her as co-founder of the SPEW.[36]

By the end of the summer of 1859 they had decided on the name of the society with its rather unfortunate initials, and gained enough support to print a leaflet asking for subscriptions.[37] She later described her activity during this time:

From the end of August 59, when the Prospectus was first distributed, to the beginning of November, every letter was forwarded to me from the office to be answered, the Secretary proving incompetent. The letters of enquiry were numerous and I was often writing all day, but the result was that when the Committee met in November they found £170 in the bank.[38]

Superficially Jessie Boucherett might not seem to be breaking with her ascribed status in initiating this organisation, since it was customary for women of the landed gentry to act as patrons and committee members to local charities.[39] Furthermore her mother’s name appeared as one of the

initial committee members, together with the names of four other women who remained members for many years but otherwise had little connection with the women's movement: Mrs Bayne, Lady Elizabeth Cust, Mrs Locke King and Mrs E. Lankester.[40] Nevertheless, the SPEW differed from the philanthropic organisations that played a major role in so many women's lives in two significant ways. Until this date it had been usual for women to operate in separate ladies' committees, like that "composed mostly of her close personal friends" set up by Barbara Leigh Smith in 1855 to liaise with the all-male Law Amendment Society in promoting a Married Women's Property bill.[41] The SPEW, however, in its earliest promotional publication, listed a male treasurer (Viscount Raynham) and four men on the fifteen-person committee.[42] Furthermore, whereas most philanthropic societies were founded to help specific disadvantaged groups, the aim of the SPEW was not primarily to help individuals in need, but to address the causes which created their disadvantage, to bring about social change. In these two characteristics it had much in common with the much larger organisation with which it soon associated itself.

ESTABLISHING THE SPEW

By the end of 1859 the fledgling SPEW had become "connected" with a much larger organisation also concerned with initiating social change: the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS). Though the name of this organisation, founded in 1857, seemed to imply the Comtist project of discovering the natural laws that governed society, it was in practice devoted far more to criticising social functioning and promoting social reform. It arose, Lawrence Goldman has shown, from a bringing together of three groups interested in legislative reform: the Law Amendment Society, The National Reformatory Union and the group, led by Barbara Leigh Smith and Bessie Rayner Parkes, concerned with married women's property. In consequence fifteen women, including Barbara Bodichon and Bessie Parkes, were among the forty-three people who attended the inaugural meeting held at Lord Brougham's house on July 29 1857. The Association then held annual Congresses in different provincial cities which brought together reformers of various casts in a range of areas. Its leaders were those most notable in the areas of philanthropy and political reform - Lord Brougham, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord John Russell - and its Congresses gave an opportunity for many lesser figures who had an idea to air, or an interesting local experiment in philanthropy to report, to find a sympathetic audience.[43]

From the beginning papers written by women were heard and later published in the *Transactions*, reports of papers by Mary Carpenter, Florence Nightingale and Louisa Twining appearing, for example, in 1858. In 1859 when the conference was held in Bradford, both Bessie Parkes and Jessie Boucherett delivered papers on women's work: Bessie Parkes's on "The market for educated female labour" (later reprinted in the *English Woman's Journal*) and Jessie Boucherett's on "The industrial employment of women".[44] This session stirred considerable interest in the question of work for women, with leaders on the topic appearing in national papers during the next couple of months.[45]

The Congress also provided an occasion for establishing the credentials of the SPEW. Some years later during the Suffrage Campaign, Jessie Boucherett wrote to Helen Taylor: "At present we are wasting power & influence. There are numbers of distinguished people who would join a general Committee of a hundred, and so give us the moral support of their names, whose influence we are now making very little use of. The small size of the present Committee composed as it is almost entirely of undistinguished people (no one but the Dean of Canterbury being at all remarkable) prevents it from having any weight" [46] The Congress offered the SPEW an opportunity to gain the support of what she later referred to as "a good foundation of celebrities" and, as it was explained to the earlier subscribers, being "connected with the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, in order to obtain the sanction and support of that important Association", would enable it "to consolidate its constitution and to place it on a permanent basis".[47]

In the month following the Congress, therefore, Jessie Boucherett and Adelaide Procter called on the Secretary of the NAPSS, G.W. Hastings, "and requested him to take steps to place the Society in connexion with the Social Science" as had already been done with the all-female Ladies' Sanitary Association. On December 22, 1859 the Council of the NAPSS formally approved "the establishment in connexion with the Association of a Society for promoting the Industrial Employment of Women", and a number of NAPSS notables accepted positions as Officers and Committee members of the Society.[48] The Earl of Shaftesbury, for example, accepted the post of President, a position he held until his death.

The new Committee consisted of twelve men and twelve women. The women on the Committee fell into two groups. On the one hand there was the contingent from the *English Woman's Journal*, Bessie Parkes, Adelaide Procter, Matilda Hays, and Isa Craig, a protégée of Bessie Parkes's who, largely as a result of her influence, had become Assistant Secretary to the Social Science Association, and, very briefly, Anna Jameson. On the other hand there was a group probably brought in by Jessie Boucherett from among her own previous circle, the four from the initial committee being supplemented by three other women, the Hon. Mrs W. Cowper, the Lady Catherine Ricardo, and Mrs Tait, none of whom attended any Committee meetings. The first Secretary was Emily Faithfull, another early recruit to Langham Place who devoted the rest of her life to women's causes, but she was replaced within a year by Jane Crowe, a girlhood friend of the future activists Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, and the link between them.[49]

The SPEW took over the register set up by the *English Woman's Journal*, though the committee saw their most innovative work as providing training, either in the form of classes or apprenticeships, to allow women to enter unusual occupations. Their funds for doing this were modest, about £600 from donations and subscriptions in the first few years falling away to £300 by the end of the decade. The funds were however directed almost entirely to promoting non-traditional work. In the year 1860-61, for example, £4 was paid in printing and £25 in hairdressing apprenticeship fees, £20 on lessons and equipment to introduce women to watch-dial painting, and a massive £218 (£200 of it donated by Barbara Bodichon) to support a law-copying office established under the supervision of another early women's movement recruit, Maria Rye.[50] The first item in the Cash Account for this

year, however, reads “By Book-keeping Class, including Grant to Miss Boucherett’s School £81-17-0”, and reveals the final outcome of the first of the many incidents through which Jessie Boucherett established and maintained her dominance of the SPEW.[51]

Jessie Boucherett was, it seems, strongly determined to impose her will on events and steer the organisation she had founded in the direction she desired. She emerges from the records of the early years of the Society as impulsive, earnest and spirited, firing up over issues and allowing her enthusiasm to erupt into plans. Barbara Bodichon wrote of her in 1866 as “very delicate but full of ardour and life when we talked of [women’s rights]”, [52] and this ardour seems to have driven the early activities of the SPEW. From the beginning she figured prominently in the Minutes, and she had a resolution passed that copies of the Minutes “should be forwarded to her after each meeting” (presumably she paid for the copying), thus ensuring that she kept in touch with the Committee’s doings even when not in London.[53]

Furthermore, she knew what she wanted the Society to do, and quite unselfconsciously used every weapon in her armoury to push it in that direction. From her first writings on the topic of women’s work, she had insisted, as Harriet Martineau had in her *Edinburgh* article, that the main reason women were not employed as clerks and book-keepers was their defective mathematical education. In her first paper to the Social Science Congress she argued that “their want of knowledge of arithmetic was one of the principal hindrances to their employment in what seemed work peculiarly suited to them, namely acting as saleswomen in shops”. [54] She spelt this out in more detail in the *English Woman’s Journal*, suggesting that “if we would lessen the numbers now pressing into the already overcrowded profession of teaching, and enable women of the middle ranks to engage in other spheres of remunerative employment, our first step must be to provide them with a more practical education”, and stressed the theme even more strongly in the paper she delivered to the Social Science Congress in Glasgow at the end of the year, arguing that a practical, commercial education should be offered in the schools catering for tradesmen’s and clerks’ daughters.[55]

Her views on the need for commercial education dominated the early discussions of the SPEW Committee. It was accepted from the beginning that it was a major part of the Society’s brief to establish book-keeping classes, and plans and discussions are recorded in the first of the surviving Minutes, for January 11, 1860. Matilda Hays and Isa Craig, acting on behalf of the Committee, hired a school room in Queen’s Square Bloomsbury where a class in preparing staff for the law copying enterprise “under the superintendence of Miss Martin, the daughter of a Law Engrosser” was held daily, and book-keeping classes conducted by “Miss Jex Blake,[56] mathematical teacher at Queen’s College, Harley Street” were offered on two evenings a week. When, however, this was reported to the Committee, Jessie Boucherett objected, proposing instead “the formation of two classes, the pupils of the morning class to be charged two shillings a week and evening class nine pence a week”, to which the Committee agreed “after some discussion”. [57]

It seems, however that Jessie Boucherett was still not satisfied with the developments, and the Minutes of May 1, 1860 summarised a long letter from her recording her dissatisfaction with both the

teacher and the room chosen. She pointed out that she and her friends had subscribed £170 to the Society's funds for this purpose, and asked the Society to allow her to organise more suitable rooms and appoint a teacher herself. If the Society would allow her the money already committed (£40 for the teacher's salary and £20 for rent and heating) she would provide all further money necessary to reach the standard she wanted. The summary finished rather ominously:

Miss Boucherett further stated that should the Committee decide not to accept her offer, she should establish the school separate from the Society, but that she would prefer doing so in connection with it.

The Committee then "gratefully accepted Miss Boucherett's proposal to undertake the management of the Book-keeping classes", but suggested that she preserve as far as possible the present arrangements.[58]

Two months later, on July 3, 1860, she proposed a further initiative:

Miss Boucherett explained that finding the girls who came to the school had received too little previous instruction to enable them to profit by the lessons, she was desirous of opening the school to girls under 14 years of age, so as to prepare them for being subsequently trained as bookkeepers &c. Miss Boucherett stated that if she received younger children she must provide some religious instruction, and that if this should not be in accordance with the opinion of the Committee she was ready to carry on the school independent of the Society.[59]

Once again the Committee accepted her proposal and agreed to integrate it with the existing book-keeping Class.[60]

Her judgment was vindicated by the outcome. Quite apart from the number of individual girls launched into careers by the scheme, (and one, Mary Harris Smith, prospered to such an extent that in 1889 she spearheaded an attempt to have women admitted to the Institute of Chartered Accountants, and finally in 1920, became according to the SPTW Annual Report "the first and only woman Chartered Accountant in the world"[61]), both school and classes proved to be pioneers for later developments. The school provided a model for the "middle class" Camden school opened in 1870 by Frances Buss, founder of the North London Collegiate School, and many of the new high schools founded by the Girls' Public Day Schools Company in the 1870s and 1880s offered commercial classes. Indeed Jessie Boucherett withdrew from the management of her school in 1874, feeling that the need was being met by these new foundations.[62] The book-keeping classes, too, set a pattern that was later taken up by the many new commercial colleges and evening institutes that opened during the last quarter of the century.[63]

The SPEW in fact proved to be one of the sturdiest of the organisations connected with the pre-Suffrage Women's Movement. Within a year or two the Committee had worked out not only what were to be its aims but also how they were to be pursued. Though the book-keeping classes were later supplemented by some of the earliest shorthand classes ever held for women, organising training classes was not the SPEW's primary activity. Most of the efforts of its salaried Secretary, Gertrude King, appointed in 1865 and holding the post for the next fifty years, went into finding work for young women in unconventional areas, and, if necessary, making interest-free loans to those whose families could not afford to pay apprenticeship fees or for training courses, a practice which the Society has continued to this day. Before Jessie Boucherett died in 1905 the Society had succeeded in opening up hairdressing, telegraph and clerical work, pharmacy and plan tracing to women, and had helped a large number of women develop skills in the decorative arts.[64]

TENSIONS AT LANGHAM PLACE

The SPEW soon began to diverge from its Langham Place origins. A certain amount of tension, though not, it seems, outright jealousy and rivalry, between the two leading personalities at Langham Place was probably inevitable. Though Bessie Parkes attracted the national publicity,[65] Jessie Boucherett carried all before her in the SPEW Committee. In the early stages, too, the former expressed doubts about the latter's theoretical soundness, implying in a letter to Barbara Bodichon that her plans were not "based on sound political economy," and declaring:

As to my allowing my name to be on Miss Boucheretts Committee; I mean to join every Committee in aid of women, however absurd. You see, dear Barbara, there is little or no sound thought in the kingdom on this subject; but a deal of strong feeling gradually rising - Therefore we must sail with the tide, & persuade people into one's own views gradually, or nothing will be done.[66]

Once the SPEW was launched she did indeed "sail with the tide" and in fact became the public voice of the Society in its first few years. She was, for example, the main speaker at public meetings held to form branches during the course of the Social Science Congresses in Glasgow in 1860 and Dublin in 1861,[67] painting the aims and prospects of the Society in glowing terms both in these public addresses and in the *English Woman's Journal*.

By May 1862, however, Bessie Parkes, Matilda Hays and Adelaide Procter, the trio of close friends most responsible for creating "Langham Place", had resigned from the SPEW Committee. The precipitating cause was the exception one of the NAPSS Council, the barrister Andrew Edgar, took to a letter Matilda Hays wrote to the *Times* on April 29, 1862, containing such passages as:

Could men---aye such men as hold their heads high and talk and write of women as though all they knew of them were derived from intercourse with the fallen and degraded of the sex---

could men know what true and high-minded women think and say among themselves; how their whole nature shrinks alike from the coarse, if covert, ribaldry, and no less coarse, if open, assertion that woman is a breeding animal only; ...

Edgar, who had acted as auditor of the Society's accounts, wrote to the SPEW insisting that Miss Hays should be asked to resign. In response, both Matilda Hays and Bessie Parkes sent letters of resignation to the Society, and Adelaide Procter, who was present at the next meeting, also threatened to resign. However, at that meeting, which was chaired by Monckton Milnes, later Lord Houghton, the Committee passed the motion, moved by Mrs Bayne and seconded by Jessie Boucherett, "That the Committee having heard Mr Edgar's letter read, decline to enter on the subject contained in it" and adopted the Chairman's suggestion that "Miss Hays's resignation was not accepted".[68] Nevertheless, within a month all three had left the Society.

This raises the question of why, when the Committee seems to have behaved impeccably, did they withdraw?[69] There was never any acknowledged breach between Jessie Boucherett and Bessie Parkes, the latter paying a visit to the Boucherett country house (where, Jessie Boucherett told Emily Davies, "she won all hearts, she was so good & kind") in December 1862, and both working enthusiastically in collecting signatures for the first suffrage petition,[70] so it is unlikely that tension between the Society's founders was the primary cause. We would suggest, rather, that for the three friends, this was the excuse they had been wanting to withdraw from an organisation where the manner of doing things was unsympathetic to their temperaments and experience.

Though Bessie Parkes was the daughter of a man who moved in distinguished circles, during the period when she might have served an apprenticeship in committee work (1847 to 1850) the family was frequently on the move in search of health for her brother, who was dying of consumption.[71] Emily Davies was later to complain to Barbara Bodichon that Bessie Parkes had little knowledge of the way philanthropic work was organised, and an "amazing ignorance of what other people think & feel about things in general", in particular her assumption that there was anything unusual in women acting together.[72] Furthermore Bessie Parkes had, according to her daughter, "a tender sensitive nature" and "an extraordinary gift for friendship" which at this date was focused on Adelaide Procter and Matilda Hays.[73]

These three women, we would suggest, had developed at Langham Place their own informal organisational style based on personal ties of friendship and loyalty, and it seemed to them to have achieved great things. In the SPEW, however, decision-making lay in the hands of a Committee which by now contained not only a number of rather older women, but also some very high-profile male figures such as Lord Shaftesbury, Monckton Milnes, Arthur Kinnaid and Sir Francis Goldsmid. Two or three of these men were present at every meeting during the early 1860s, as is illustrated in the Table below.[74] This must have created an atmosphere worlds apart from the feminist lifestyle that had been evolving within the group since 1855, and one in which they could gain none of the satisfactions that came from the mutually supportive methods by which they had during the past four

years produced fifty issues of the *English Woman's Journal*. A distaste for committee work seems to have remained with Bessie Parkes for life. Elizabeth Crawford has noted that her name does not appear in connection with any of the societies devoted to later feminist activities.[75]

SPEW COMMITTEE ATTENDANCE 1860-62 (26 MEETINGS)

<i>Langham Place</i>		E. Ackroyd	2
Jessie Boucherett	11	S. Cave M.P.	3
Isa Craig	25	W.S. Cookson	9
Matilda Hays	12	Sir F.Goldsmid M.P.	10
Bessie Parkes	11	G.W. Hastings	12
Adelaide Procter	17	A. Kinnaird, M.P.	12
<i>Other</i>		Mockton Milnes M.P.	8
Mrs Bayne	10	J. Pares	3
Lady Elizabeth Cust	16	W.B. Ranken	6
Mrs Lankester	11	Earl of Shaftesbury	6
Mrs Locke King	10	R. Slaney M.P.	5

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING WEALTHY

Why then did this formal way of pursuing feminist ends not trouble Jessie Boucherett? Why did she initiate a feminist lifestyle rather different from that developing at Langham Place, one that involved pursuing feminist aims through membership of societies and committees, frequently with both male and female members, and one that was later embraced by activists such as Emily Davies, Josephine Butler, and Lydia Becker?[76] We would suggest that the answer lies in her comfortable financial position, and the social dominance to which it accustomed her as a member of a Lincolnshire family that took the lead in local philanthropy.[77] She must have been used, on her home ground, to speaking out and being listened to as the richest and most socially distinguished person present, and to have had no fears of her ability to achieve her ends by traditional means. Certainly the skills honed in this environment seem to have allowed her to take a similarly dominant role in the SPEW.

Speaking her views fearlessly emerges as a significant aspect of her personality. Although most of her no doubt substantial correspondence has vanished, two groups of letters that have survived make this clear. Writing to J.S. Mill's stepdaughter Helen Taylor in the 1860s she was prepared to make her views on major figures in the suffrage campaign very clear: "Now however I perceive that Miss Davies knows so little of what is going on, that there cannot be much communication between you & perhaps there is none at all." And a few weeks later: "Miss Davies is then without excuse in not having consulted you, and the waste of our petition is altogether her fault." [78] Forty years on her tone was even more assured. In 1903, reporting her dealings with a member of one of her committees to the then editor of the *Englishwoman's Review*, she wrote:

I saw Miss Vynne here yesterday and she told me her views.

She objects to being "assistant Secretary" and requires to be Secretary

I said to her that she was so Harum Scarum that if people sent her letters with cheques in them she would be sure to loose [sic] them. She admitted that was possible and she does not wish to have subscriptions sent to her. She wishes you to be Treasurer and for subscriptions to be sent to you and to have Miss Torrans [sic] as assistant Secretary.

In another letter dated a fortnight later she wrote that “Miss Vynne is a very clever person and we can’t do without her but she has been very provoking this time” and that “I have told her she must in future regard Lady F. [Lady Frances Balfour] as her Colonel and do what she tells her”. [79]

This fearless certainty that she was right no doubt contributed to her dominance of the SPEW. Although after the first few years the male NAPSS stars had largely ceased to attend, the Committee was still composed of women of some dignity and position in society. Yet she seems to have swept all before her. Most of these women were, however, solidly “feminist”. Indeed the membership had a good deal in common with that assembled by Emily Davies for Girton College. Lady Goldsmid, the widow of Sir Francis, the first Jewish barrister and Member of Parliament, and Lady Ponsonby, the wife of the Queen’s private secretary, were early members of both committees, while the wives of two later male Girton supporters, Joshua Fitch and Owen Roberts, became SPEW regulars.[80] In such company Jessie Boucherett’s dedication and enthusiasm could well have swept her fellow members along. The tone of her letters to the Committee when she could not be present, while in no sense hectoring or commanding, assumes that those addressed will immediately see the force of her arguments and follow her lead. There are, moreover, no instances in the Minutes of her proposals being rejected or voted down, though there were a number of occasions when her offers to put down the money needed overcame the caution of the other members,[81] an openhandedness that no other member of the Committee rivalled.

It was not simply within the SPEW that Jessie Boucherett’s wealth contributed to the form taken by nineteenth century feminism. Though she was a relative late-comer to the Langham Place group, it was largely due to her that it was still in existence when the suffrage question came up. When in 1863 the *English Woman’s Journal* ran into financial difficulties and could no longer afford to pay rent at Langham Place, the SPEW moved into its ground floor premises and allowed the staff to do their editorial work free in the SPEW office.[82]

Jessie Boucherett made other substantial contributions to ensuring the continuance of the work begun there. When the successor to the EWJ, the *Alexandra Magazine*, ceased publication in December 1865, she founded and acted as first editor of a successor called the *Englishwoman’s Review* which ran from January 1866 to July 1910, and operated largely as a sort of newsletter recording the progress of the various Women’s Movement campaigns: the suffrage, women in medicine, university education, high schools, and peripheral ones in which women were involved like anti-vivisection. It would seem that all the costs of this journal were borne by Jessie Boucherett herself (she apparently sold some family diamonds she had inherited to launch it), and that control remained firmly in her own hands. We have come across no mention of any committees or editorial boards connected to this

journal, while two years before she died she wrote to the current editor “As long as I live I will pay for the Review but I will give £500 of the £2000 [from a recent legacy] to keep on the Review after I am gone.”[83]

The SPEW’s financial stability ensured that there continued to be a centre for women’s movement activity even after the lease on Langham Place ran out at the end of 1866. The SPEW then became the main tenant of 23 Great Marlborough Street and sublet office space to, for example, the Ladies’ Sanitary Association and the London Association of Schoolmistresses, and to Bessie Parkes for the Reading Room first established at Princes Street in 1858. Finally in 1872 the Society moved into 22 Berners Street and stayed there until 1920, continuing to sublet office and meeting space to a number of small women’s organisations. Jessie Boucherett herself stayed frequently in London, leasing houses in far more expensive regions like Kensington and Belgravia.[84]

Jessie Boucherett was by no means the only woman of rank and wealth who supported feminist causes. Other members of the SPEW committee, her cousin Lady Knightley of Fawsley, Lady Elizabeth Cust, and the Hon Victoria Grosvenor, for example, were probably rather more socially distinguished, and more firmly situated in aristocratic and government circles. On the other hand none of them seem to have been prepared to make feminist causes the centre of their lives in the way she did, and in this she resembled more closely dedicated workers from more modest backgrounds like Emily Davies, Lydia Becker, and, later, Helen Blackburn. Compared to these women, however, she was, because of her wealth, less bound by the need to compromise, to adapt herself to the prejudices of those who controlled the purse-strings. Her “feminist lifestyle” was thus very much her own, compounded of her social confidence, her wealth and her passionate commitment to feminist causes.

AN “UNATTACHED INTELLECTUAL”

It was this last, we would suggest, that distinguished Jessie Boucherett from the women of rank and wealth who dominated the philanthropic scene, and who no doubt controlled their committees by the same combination of self-confidence and open-handedness. What set her apart was the nature of the ideas that impelled her, and their transformation of her into a “socially unattached intellectual”. Even though she was inspired by ideas Barbara Bodichon and Bessie Parkes had developed, and had embraced the world view of the political economists, she was no-one’s disciple, but held to her own interpretations both of principles and strategies throughout her life

From the beginning she proved a fluent and logical writer for the cause, producing, during her first few years in the movement, at least six articles for the *English Woman’s Journal* as well as publishing *Hints on Self-Help: A Book for Young Women*. [85] She was obviously very keen to work out these ideas with other women and was one of the founders of the Kensington Society, a women’s essay and discussion group which ran from 1865 to 1868, and which cast a wider net than Langham Place, bringing in such notables as the journalist Frances Power Cobbe and Dorothea Beale, the headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College.[86]

Indeed by the mid-1860s it would seem that Jessie Boucherett was throwing herself into a range of feminist causes. As we have seen she was one of the initiators of the suffrage campaign, and her name continued to figure in lists of supporters for the rest of the century.[87] After the failure of the first suffrage attempt in 1867, and at the same time as suffrage societies were being formed in the major cities, she joined with members of the Manchester suffrage group to revive the agitation for Married Women's Property reform.[88] In a letter to Helen Taylor she explained why she felt this to be the strategic time to move:

There is a great body of people who endeavour to keep in the middle, avoiding the two extremes of opinion as they think; and I observe that the further the most advanced opinions go, the further they go. Those medium people are now in favour of education, and wish women to have protection orders for their property.

If however the most advanced of our party only went as far as that the medium people would disapprove of these very things. So if Mr Mill says there is oppression of women these people will admit there has been accidental neglect. If Mr Mill said there was only accidental neglect the same people would deny it. They don't feel safe unless there is a body of opinion before them. They then decide in a judicial manner and looking immensely wise that there is something to be said in both sides but that the extreme opinions on both sides are wrong.

This is the great body of public opinion. If we carry the Married W.P. Bill it will be because of the Suffrage Movement, which enables people to support the M.W.P. Bill without feeling that they are in the foremost [sic] ranks of the movement.[89]

Her commitment to the Married Women's Property cause, and her willingness to use her own money to forward it, were recalled when she died by Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, another of the initiators of the revived campaign:

And poor dear old Jessie Boucherett. She was one of the four of us who began the M.W.P. agitation, the others being Mrs Butler, Mrs E. Gloyn & myself. She spent a fortnight with me at Moody Hall in /65 - driving out with her maid in a little pony carriage (in which she explored almost all England and Wales) in which she saw all our beautiful neighbourhood, this whilst I was busy teaching - & the rest of the time we were concocting plans of work for the woman's cause. She was desperately anxious that I should give up teaching & devote myself solely to the legal work needed in connection with the woman's cause, & proposed, if I would do this, to settle on me £100 a year for my life, so settled that it should be independent of her life or of any change of her views.[90]

On her more general commitment to feminist causes, her obituarist in the *Englishwoman's Review* wrote: "She was the brain of all the various agencies she either started or joined; the other

workers recognised this, and so simple and straightforward was she, that she never thought about herself as leading, she thought of her cause only.”[91] While this is hardly the case with the education, married women’s property and suffrage causes, there can be little doubt that, before the concern for women’s trade unions gathered momentum in the 1890s, the SPEW was one of the most powerful voices keeping the issue of women’s work in the public notice.

In the 1870s, moreover, her concern with women’s work took a new direction. The evidence found in the SPEW Minutes suggests that she played a major part in developing what the Fabian socialist, Barbara L. Hutchins, was later to castigate as the “women’s rights opposition movement” to factory legislation designed to protect women.[92] The changing feminist attitude to this question has been investigated by Rosemary Feurer. She notes that in the 1870s and 1880s the feminist groups formed to help working women like the Women’s Protective and Provident League (WPPL) and the National Union of Women Workers (NUWW) were in agreement with the SPEW on this issue, but that by the 1890s the WPPL had reversed its position. “This reversal,” she writes, “signaled a division in the women’s movement between equal-rights and social-feminist camps.” She sees the SPEW opposition as based on an ideological commitment to classical liberalism, and on a commitment to gender as a “class”, which led to a failure to see that the problems faced by middle-class women trying to enter the professions might be different from those of factory workers.[93]

Our impression is, however, that Jessie Boucherett’s ardent opposition to restrictive legislation was more pragmatic than doctrinaire, the product of her experience, though lending itself to conceptualisation in terms of a “free” labour market. From the beginning her most passionate concern had been to open a wider range of employments to women, and “political economy”, as expounded by Harriet Martineau, had legitimated this enterprise. The SPEW had considerable experience of union opposition to girls entering such trades as printing and glass-engraving, [94] and suspicions of the motives of male unionists were further confirmed during the campaign, supported by such high-profile members of the women’s movement as Lydia Becker and Josephine Butler, against the exclusion of women from surface work in the coal industry.[95] In consequence Jessie Boucherett held the view that legislation regulating the hours and kind of work to be done by women was largely an apparently chivalrous cover for tactics by trade unions to replace women with men. Her argument was that if the conditions for women were made less flexible than those for men employers would cease to employ them, thus forcing them to seek work in the unregulated and overcrowded “sweated” industries.[96]

Her interest was first aroused by the Shop Hours Bill of 1873, and as the activities of the SPEW, once its principles had been formulated and stabilised, ran smoothly in the capable hands of the Secretary Gertrude King,[97] most of her characteristically impassioned and forceful letters to the two Committees (the large General Committee and the smaller, more active Managing Committee) thereafter concerned such issues. She seems to have convinced the members of these Committees that this issue came within the brief of the Society, though the Society’s President was less committed. (In 1882 the Minutes recorded: “Lord Shaftesbury having been asked to present the petition of the

Committee against the clauses of the Shop Hours' Regulation Bill which referred to the Employment of Adult women, replied that he would present the petition, but that he did not agree with it and should certainly vote in favour of the Bill. He regretted to find that he was so completely at variance with the Society.'') [98]

When, however, the organisations like the WPPL specifically concerned with working-class women began to support the male unions' position on legislation,[99] her concern and involvement became even deeper, and resistance to restrictive legislation dominated the final decade of her life. During the 1890s two societies whose aim was to scrutinise proposed legislation were organised under the umbrella of the SPEW, the Women's Industrial Defence Committee founded in 1892, which later separated itself from the Society, and in 1899 the group which held Jessie Boucherett's loyalty to the end, the Freedom of Labour Defence Fund (FLD).

CONCLUSION

The intertwining of Jessie Boucherett's commitment to feminism and the use she made of her wealth and social confidence continued to the end of her life. The actions of her last years and her will demonstrate how significant she felt her financial support was for the continuation of her causes. The surviving letters of this period show her concern that the work should go on after her death.

I am uneasy about the F.L. Defence. If I was to die it would get no sustenance until a long time perhaps a year after my Will had been proved. It would be starved.

She therefore sent of £150 to the F.L.D and £100 to the *Englishwoman's Review*, explaining:

I hope by these means to keep the F.L.D. and the Review going until the money comes in from Miss Meynell's Will and mine, even if I don't keep alive myself. I am however trying to do that and am going to Brighton for that purpose in a fortnight.[100]

When she died two years later her will revealed that, apart from bequests to individuals and £500 to the anti-vivisection society begun by her fellow Tory-feminist, Frances Power Cobbe, she had left legacies to the three feminist organisations in which she was the dominant figure, £2,000 to the SPEW, £2,000 to the FLD, and a further £200 to Antoinette Mackenzie to be spent on the *Review*.

Her will reveals also that she had transferred some of the *noblesse oblige* imperatives of her landed background into her feminist life. In the early stages of the SPEW's existence she obviously established good relations with the paid secretaries, Gertrude King and Sarah Lewin, and at the end of her life had gathered around her a group of rather younger women who were carrying out her projects, in particular, Antoinette Mackenzie who was editing the *Englishwoman's Review*, and Helen Ogle Moore, who seems to have been her chief lieutenant in her work concerning restrictive legislation. She remembered these people in her will along with her servants and a cluster of poor relations. She left

£700 to Gertrude King, and £200 each to Antoinette Mackenzie, Helen Ogle Moore, and Edith Hare (who had replaced Sarah Lewin as the SPEW's Assistant Secretary).[101] Helen Ogle Moore was also included in the list, otherwise composed of servants and ex-servants, for whom annuities were to be bought, she to receive £200 a year.

Nevertheless, in spite of her concern only the SPEW outlived her support for long. The *Englishwoman's Review* ceased publication in 1910, while the FLD came to an end in June 1913. Its final report noted that, the funds left by Jessie Boucherett being almost exhausted, it could no longer afford to maintain a permanent office, but it was also implied that some sort of rapprochement had taken place with other groups concerned with women's employment: "New conditions have been evolved out of the struggles of the past thirteen years, with new possibilities and hopes for women, and also new dangers and disabilities calling for new methods of defence." [102] On the other hand women's opportunities have expanded in the direction Jessie Boucherett desired. In spite of the remaining barriers, women increasingly have financial independence, play a substantial part in politics, and continue to enter and succeed in previously male-dominated occupations, while workforce legislation specific to women now focuses on extra benefits rather than restrictions.

There can be little doubt that Jessie Boucherett's decision to live a feminist life contributed to these changes. Of all the feminists whose lives have been recorded she was perhaps the purest form of the "socially unattached intellectual", since of all the causes she supported only the franchise could ever have impinged on her own life. (Even if she had married her property was so carefully tied up that the married women's property laws would not have affected her.) Nevertheless, for the sake of women without her advantages she turned herself from someone "firmly situated in the social order" into a "socially unattached intellectual", and devoted her life to transforming "the conflict of interest into a conflict of ideas". Furthermore, she united most happily the wealth and self-confidence derived from her family background with the activism of feminist journalism and committee work, thus integrating into her achieved feminist identity the most prominent characteristics of her ascribed status.[103]

It was an identity that almost certainly gave her a richer, fuller life than she might otherwise have had. In 1869 Barbara Bodichon wrote of her to Helen Taylor:

I could not help thinking . . . how much she herself had gained in happiness by allying herself so bravely with us. She has a vivid interest in life which nothing in 'the society' she was born in could have given her.[104]

Thirty years later, Bessie Parkes, now Belloc, paid a further tribute to her in a discussion of George Eliot's novels:

And yet, strange to say, at that very time, and in that very circle wherein is laid the beautiful drama of Mr. Gilfil's love-story, a girl was actually born who has proved to be one of the principal, and certainly one of the most really efficient, workers of modern times. It has always seemed to me a curious irony of literary fate which made her create a Dorothea in

Warwickshire, in Coventry, in the very class, almost in the family, in which Mr. Newdigate's energetic cousin was born! [105]

Though she differed from them in politics, family background and religion, the two founders of Langham Place could still feel admiration for and kinship with the woman who took up and carried on the work they had initiated, and who, when they had retreated into marriage, lived a fully feminist life to the end.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

BL Ms Add	British Library Manuscript Collection.
GCBBP	Bodichon Papers held in the Library of Girton College, Cambridge.
GCIP SPTW	Records of the Society for Promoting the Training of Women held in the Library of Girton College, Cambridge.
GCIP SPTW 1/1	Minutes of the General Committee of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women 1860-1901.
GCIP SPTW 1/2	Minutes of the Managing Committee of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women 1870-1920.
GCIP SPTW 2/1	Annual Reports of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women 1859-1896. (Xerographic copies produced by University Microfilms Inc. Ann Arbor and London [1966])
GCIP SPTW 2/3	Annual Reports of the Society for Promoting the Training of Women 1915-1989.
GCIP SPTW 4/1	Early History.
GCIP SPTW 4/4	Minutes and Correspondence of the Freedom of Labour Defence campaign, 1901-1915.
GCPP	Parkes Papers held in the Library of Girton College, Cambridge.
M/T	Mill/Taylor collection, at the London School of Economics.
SRO	Suffolk Record Office.
TNAPSS	Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

ENDNOTES

- [1] M/T: 12/40, Barbara Bodichon to Helen Taylor, 9-5-1866.
- [2] Olive Banks (1985) The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminism (London: Harvester); Barbara Caine (1992) Victorian Feminists, pp. 69, 168 (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Philippa Levine (1987) Victorian Feminism 1850-1900, p. 66 (London: Hutchinson); Jane

- Rendall (1985) The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1789-1860, pp. 185, 314, 319 (London: Macmillan); Ray Strachey (1978) The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain, p. 104 (London: Virago, first published 1928).
- [3] Quoted in Philippa Levine (1990) Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment, p. 2 (Oxford: Blackwell).
- [4] Ibid. Chap. 4.
- [5] Pam Hirsch (1998) Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-1891: Feminist, Author and Rebel, p. 217 (London: Chatto & Windus); Hester Burton (1949) Barbara Bodichon, 1827-1891 (London: Murray); Sheila R. Herstein (1985) A Mid-Victorian Feminist, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (New Haven: Yale University Press); Jane Rendall (1989) Friendship and politics: Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (1827-91) and Bessie Rayner Parkes (1829-1925), in Susan Mendus & Jane Rendall (Eds.) Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge).
- [6] Lee Holcombe (1983) Victorian Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law, 1857-1882, p. 264 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press); Banks Biographical Dictionary of British Feminism, Vol.I: 33. Some authors have been content to reproduce information printed elsewhere, and by the nature of so many repetitions, incorrect claims have been accepted as fact. For example Mary Irene Cathcart Borer (1975) Willingly to school. A history of women's education, pp. 271, 273 (Guildford: Lutterworth Press) credits the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS) with the SPEW's foundation and conflates the reading room for adult supporters of the movement situated at Langham Place with the day school for girls established in Queen's Square, while Elizabeth Crawford (1999) The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928, p. 71 (London: UCL Press) erroneously describes Jessie Boucherett as the cousin of Florence Nightingale.
- [7] Levine, Feminist Lives, p.11.
- [8] Harold Perkin (1969) The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880, pp. 220-1, 256-7 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
- [9] Karl Mannheim (1936) Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, pp. 137-42 (London: Kegan Paul). Jessie Boucherett was a "socially unattached intellectual" in that her intellectual and political activities were directed towards social changes that could not benefit the class from which she came. She never, however, renounced any of her family connections, and indeed, as we demonstrate later, these were a resource to her in the quite different circles in which she lived her "feminist life".
- [10] Ellen Jordan (1999) The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain, pp. 151-59 (London: Routledge).
- [11] Levine, Feminist Lives; Caine, Victorian Feminists; Ann Dingsdale (1995) 'Generous and Lofty Sympathies': The Kensington Society, the 1866 Women's Suffrage Petition and the Development of Mid-Victorian Feminism, p. 83 (A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Greenwich).

- [12] Josephine Kamm (1965) Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History, pp. 166-78 (London: Methuen).
- [13] Frank Prochaska (1980) Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England (Oxford: Clarendon). Prochaska writes (pp. 30-31) that "in the first half of the century societies with a mixed executive of men and women were rare".
- [14] Barbara Stephen (1933) Girton College 1869-1932, pp. 17-29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Barbara Drake (1984 reprint edition) Women in Trade Unions, pp. 11-13 (London: Virago; first published 1920, London: Labour Research Department).
- [15] Hirsch, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, pp. 85-92; Kathryn Gleadle (1995) The Early Feminists. Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, pp. 5-6 (London: Macmillan); Barbara Leigh Smith (1854) A Brief Summary in Plain Language, of the Most Important Laws Concerning Women (London).
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- [17] Judith Johnston (1997) Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters, pp. 219, 224 (Aldershot: Scolar Press); Clara Thomas (1967) Love and Work Enough: The Life of Anna Jameson, p. 209 (Toronto: Toronto University Press).
- [18] Anna Jameson (1855) Sisters of Charity: Catholic and Protestant, Abroad and at Home (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans); Anna Jameson (1856) The Communion of Labour (London: Bentley).
- [19] Jordan, 'Women's work in the world'.
- [20] Bessie Rayner Parkes (1856) Remarks on the Education of Girls, with Reference to the Social, Legal, and Industrial Position of Women in the Present Day (London); Barbara Leigh Smith (1857) Women and Work (London: Bosworth & Harrison).
- [21] D. Doughan and D. Sanchez (1987) Feminist Periodicals 1855-1984: An Annotated Critical Bibliography, pp. 1-2 (Brighton: Harvester); Jane Rendall (1987) 'A moral engine?' Feminism, liberalism and the English Woman's Journal, in Jane Rendall (Ed.) Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell); Solveig C. Robinson (1996) 'Amazed at our success': the Langham Place editors and the emergence of a feminist critical tradition, Victorian Periodicals Review, 29, 2, pp.172.
- [22] Bessie R. Parkes (1860) A year's experience in woman's work, Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, p.114.
- [23] GCPP V 89 Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 30-8-1859.
- [24] Jessie Boucherett (1884) The Industrial Movement, in Theodore Stanton (Ed.) The Woman Question in Europe, p. 97 (London: Sampson Low).
- [25] GCPP V 92 Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 29-10-1859. Gordon Haight writes: "Theodosia, Dowager Lady Monson, 1803-91, daughter of Latham Blacker of Warkworth, Northumberland, was married 21-6-1832 to Frederick John, 5th Baron Monson 1809-41.... Lady

- Monson had many friendships with women, among them Mrs Jameson and Matilda Hays.” (Gordon S. Haight (Ed.) (1945) The George Eliot Letters, Vol II. p. 82, fn. 7 (Yale UP: New Haven).)
- [26] Hirsch, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, pp. 102, 104, 114-15.
- [27] Jordan, ‘Women's work in the world’.
- [28] Harriet Martineau (1859) Female Industry, Edinburgh Review, 109, p. 336.
- [29] Robert K. Merton (1968) Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 436-37 (New York: The Free Press); Ronald Bogue (1989) Deleuze and Guattari, pp. 16-18 (London: Routledge).
- [30] This account of the Boucherett family has been compiled from the Barne Papers held in the Suffolk Record Office.
- [31] GCPP V 116. Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 18-12-1862.
- [32] SRO: HA53/359/1092-1096, HA53/359/185.
- [33] Rose Corbet (1906) Emilia Jessie Boucherett, Englishwoman's Review, 37, 268, pp. 4-5.
- [34] Phyllis D. Hicks (c. 1950) A Quest of Ladies: The Story of a Warwickshire School (Birmingham: The Press of Frank Juckes Ltd).
- [35] GCIP SPTW 4/1, JB to SPEW, 25-6-1862.
- [36] Jessie Boucherett (1864) Adelaide Anne Procter, English Woman's Journal, 13, 72, pp. 17-21.
- [37] GCIP SPTW 2/1, 1859.
- [38] GCIP SPTW 4/1, JB to SPEW, 25-6-1862.
- [39] Prochaska Women and Philanthropy; Anne Summers (1979) A Home from Home - Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century (London: Croom Helm).
- [40] Of these four Mrs Lankester born c.1827, the wife and later the mother of leading medical scientists, and herself a writer of science books for children, could have been brought in by Adelaide Procter, but the other three may well have been recruited from Jessie Boucherett's own circle. The Cust family were prominent in Lincolnshire, John Cust, the first Earl Brownlow, having been Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire from 1809-1852. Mrs Locke King was apparently a fervid supporter of the Conservative party, later objecting to Mrs Gladstone being made one of the SPEW patronesses. She and Mrs Bayne remained members of the committee until their deaths in the 1880s, in each case being replaced by a daughter. Lady Elizabeth Cust was a regular attendee at meetings until 1868.
- [41] Holcombe, Victorian Wives and Property, p.58.
- [42] GCIP SPTW 2/1. A Statement of the Views and Plans of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women.
- [43] Lawrence Goldman (2002) Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain, pp.13-20 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press); Eileen Janes Yeo (1996) The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class, pp. 148-80 (London: Rivers Oram Press); Social Science, English Woman's Journal, 2, 8, 1858, p. 123; Frances Power Cobbe (1861) Social Science Congresses and women's part in them, Macmillan's Magazine, 5, pp. 81-94.

- [44] Bessie Rayner Parkes (1859) The market for educated female labour: A paper read at the meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Bradford, 1859, English Woman's Journal, 4, no. 21, pp. 145-152; TNAPSS, 1859, pp. 727-29.
- [45] GCPP: V 94 Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 17-11-1859.
- [46] M/T 59/149 Jessie Boucherett to Helen Taylor, 30-04-1867.
- [47] M/T 12/66 Jessie Boucherett to Helen Taylor, 21-08-1867; GCIP SPTW 1/1:17-2-1860. It seems likely that the dynamic Emily Davies took the SPEW as her model for her campaigns. In 1867, outlining her plans for establishing a women's college in Cambridge, she wrote: "I think we want a large & more influential body, to give weight. The best plan seems to be to have a rather large general Committee of distinguished people, to guarantee our sanity, & a small Executive, to do the work." (GCBBP: Box I: Emily Davies to Barbara Bodichon, 29-1-1867.)
- [48] GCIP SPTW 4/1, Jessie Boucherett to SPEW, 25-6-1862.
- [49] Hirsch, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, pp. 184, 193; Maria Frawley (1998) The editor as advocate: Emily Faithfull and The Victoria Magazine, Victorian Periodicals Review, 31, 1, pp. 87-104; Crawford, The Women's Suffrage Movement, p. 148; James S. Stone (1994) Emily Faithfull: Victorian Champion of Women's Rights (Toronto: P.D. Meaney). The Secretary Jane Crowe's surname is frequently spelt "Crow" in biographies of Women's Movement members (Caine, Victorian Feminists; Hirsch, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon; Levine, Feminist Lives), but this is a mistake, and seems to stem from the fact that Emily Davies spelt it in this way in her Family Chronicle, written towards the end of her long life and extensively used by Barbara Stephen in her accounts of Emily Davies and Girton College (Barbara Stephen (1927) Emily Davies and Girton College (London: Constable); Stephen, Girton College 1869-1932). However, both in the printed lists of SPEW members and in the Minutes of the Committee, the earliest of which she wrote herself, it is invariably spelt "Crowe".
- [50] Marion Diamond (1999) Emigration and Empire: The Life of Maria S. Rye, pp. 31-35 (New York: Garland Publishing).
- [51] GCIP SPTW 2/1, 1861, p. 12. The Victoria Press established by Emily Faithfull was independent of the SPEW, being founded a little later during the enthusiasm following the Bradford Congress. The SPEW however contributed to the premiums paid by some of the early apprentices.
- [52] M/T12/50, Barbara Bodichon to Helen Taylor, August 1869.
- [53] GCIP SPTW 1/1, 7-2-1860.
- [54] TNAPSS, 1859, pp. 728-9.
- [55] Jessie Boucherett (1860) On the obstacles to the employment of women, English Woman's Journal, 4, 24, pp. 220-1; Jessie Boucherett (1860) On the education of girls, with reference to their future position: A paper read at the meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Glasgow, 1860, English Woman's Journal, 6, 34, p. 365.
- [56] Sophia Jex-Blake later pioneered medicine as a career for women. See Shirley Roberts (1993) Sophia Jex-Blake: a woman pioneer in nineteenth-century medical reform (London: Routledge); Margaret Todd (1918) The Life of Sophia Jex-Blake (London: Macmillan).

- [57] GCIP SPTW 1/1, 11-2-1860.
- [58] GCIP SPTW 1/1, 1-5-1860.
- [59] There are two possible interpretations of this. It may have been principled: Jessie Boucherett may have had a strong commitment to the Established Church, and been unwilling to sponsor any other sort of religious education. On the other hand it may have been strategic: she could foresee the Committee becoming bogged down in sectarian discussions. Our personal feeling is that it was probably the latter. A private correspondence we have held with the descendants of one of her sister's ladies maids, has revealed that both sisters were quite happy to employ members of the Methodist church, something frowned on by the more sectarian Anglicans. Furthermore, the large number of handsome churches of various denominations in Market Rasen, the nearest town to her family home, suggests that she must have been familiar with sectarian differences in public affairs all her life: she later wrote to Helen Taylor with regard to the suffrage campaign, "Many people who are reasonable on other topics, are utterly silly, when the church is concerned" (M/T 12/74, 7-6-1869).
- [60] GCIP SPTW 1/1, 3-7-1860.
- [61] GCIP SPTW 1/2, 18-10-1889; GCIP SPTW 2/3, 1920.
- [62] Sara A. Burstall (1907) English High Schools for Girls, p. 202 (London: Longmans Green); Sara A. Burstall (1933) Retrospect and Prospect: Sixty Years of Women's Education, p. 87 (London: Longmans); Doris Burchell (1971) Miss Buss' Second School, p. 34 (privately published, Frances Mary Buss Foundation, The Camden School for Girls, Sandall Road, London NW5).
- [63] GCIP SPTW 1/1, 8/1/1897.
- [64] Jordan, The Women's Movement and Women's Employment, pp. 170-95.
- [65] Jessie Boucheret seems to have had little interest in claiming public credit through the press, wishing to be recognised only within the circle of those who knew her personally. In June 1862, when Lord Brougham was reported in the Times as crediting "Miss Bessie Parkes and Miss Emily Faithfull" with founding the SPEW, she wrote to the Committee pointing out that "this statement places me in an awkward position because having hitherto believed that the Society was founded by Miss Procter and myself, I have sometimes said so, and have frequently allowed others to make the assertion in my presence uncontradicted", and providing detailed documentary evidence that she and Adelaide Procter were indeed the founders. When, however, Bessie Parkes offered to correct the mistake, she wrote to her: "Pray don't write to the Times about Lord Brougham's mistatement [sic] It would not be courteous to him and it would put me in a disagreeable position. I said in my letter to the Committee that I begged they would not put any contradiction in the newspapers. The E.W.J. is a different thing, and I should be much obliged to you to put in a note as you propose." (GCIP SPTW 4/1.)
- [66] GCPP V 90. Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 13-9-1859.
- [67] National Library of Ireland, Larcom Papers, Ms 7779. Cutting from Daily Express, 20-8-61; GCPP BRP XI: 60-61.
- [68] GCIP SPTW 1/1, 5-8-1862.

- [69] There was no consistency in the reasons each gave for resigning. Matilda Hays's explanation was that she wanted to save the Committee embarrassment, but whereas Bessie Parkes's letter suggested that she feared the Society might leave the NAPSS, Adelaide Procter's implied that she was resigning because she was unhappy about the influence the NAPSS Council might exercise. (GCIP SPTW 4/1) Isa Craig, however remained a member of the Committee until 1866.
- [70] GCPP BRP V 116. Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 18-12-1862; GC: ALS ED B303. Emily Davies to Barbara Bodichon, 28-12-1862. (Our thanks to Anne Murphy for directing us to this letter.) In 1867 Jessie Boucherett was still describing her as "my friend" to Helen Taylor. (M/T: 12/72).
- [71] Hirsch, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, p. 32; GCBBP V 15 (Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 20-11- 1847) to V 51 (Bessie Rayner Parkes to Barbara Bodichon, 26-6-1850).
- [72] GCBBP BOX I. Emily Davies to Barbara Bodichon, 3-1-1863.
- [73] Marie Belloc Lowndes (1941) I, too, have Lived in Arcadia: A Record of Love and of Childhood, p. 6 (London: Macmillan). Levine, Feminist Lives, comments (pp. 10, 62-63) on the importance of "female connectedness" to the women she investigated.
- [74] GCIP SPTW 1/1. By 1866 the attendance of the male members had slackened considerably, perhaps partly because the meetings were no longer held at 3 Waterloo Place, in the heart of male clubland, but at 1 Adam Street, Adelphi, a much more taxing walk from Pall Mall. But this of course occurred too late for the Langham Place inner circle.
- [75] Crawford, The Women's Suffrage Movement, p. 528. She was invited by Jessie Boucherett to join the early suffrage committee, but apparently declined. (M/T 12/67. Jessie Boucherett to Helen Taylor, 25-9-1867.)
- [76] See the accounts of these women's use of committees in Crawford, The Women's Suffrage Movement.
- [77] Anne Bridger. 2004. A Century of Women's Employment in Clerical Occupations: 1850-1950, with particular reference to the role of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women. Ch 3.1. (A thesis submitted to the University of Gloucestershire in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Education & Social Sciences).
- [78] M/T: 12/58, 9-4-1867; M/T: 12/59, 30-4-1867. She was equally trenchant in her criticisms of politicians: "Mr Gladstone seems to me a man without original ideas. I mean ideas of his own. He is impressed with ideas from without therefore he is not stable as the later impression effaces the former. He is also more impressed by strength than by right. . . .
 "He will some day no doubt come round to Women's Suffrage. When he sees that one side is distinctly the strongest he will say 'The time is ripe' for women's suffrage & speak most eloquently in our favour. That however he will not do yet awhile. I don't mean that Mr Gladstone is consciously influenced by self interest, but an admiration for strength & contempt for weakness comes to almost the same thing." (M/T: 12/71, 26-11-1867.)

- [79] GCI SPTW 4/4, Jessie Boucherett to Antoinette Mackenzie, 10-1-1903; GCI SPTW 4/4, Jessie Boucherett to Antoinette Mackenzie, 25-1-1903.
- [80] Stephen, Girton College, pp.176-88.
- [81] GCIP SPTW 1/1 27-6-1865, 6-7-1877; GCIP SPTW 1/2, 24-7-1872, 23-4-1875, 12-3-1880, 16-4-1886, 17-12-1886.
- [82] GCIP SPTW 1/1, 10-2-1864.
- [83] Doughan and Sanchez, Feminist Periodicals, pp. 1-3; M/T 12/49, Barbara Bodichon to Helen Taylor, 2-11-1866; GCIP SPTW 4/4, Jessie Boucherett to Antoinette Mackenzie, 5-3-1903; GCI SPTW 4/4, Jessie Boucherett to Antoinette Mackenzie, 10-1-1903.
- [84] GCIP SPTW 1/1. According to the census of 1881 Jessie Boucherett was the head of the household at 9 Upper Philimore Gardens, Kensington, employing a butler, a cook, a lady's maid, two housemaids and a secretary. In the 1990s she wrote letters headed "20 South Eaton Place SW"(GCIP SPTW 4/4).
- [85] Jessie Boucherett (1863) Hints on Self-Help: A Book for Young Women (London: Partridge).
- [86] Dingsdale, 'Generous and Lofty Sympathies'.
- [87] Crawford, The Women's Suffrage Movement, p. 72. More than forty letters from Jessie Boucherett to Helen Taylor on this issue, all dating from the late 1860s, are held in the Mill-Taylor collection at the London School of Economics, and demonstrate her close involvement with the suffrage movement from its commencement.
- [88] Holcombe, Victorian Wives and Property, Chap. 6.
- [89] M/T: 7/20, 2-8-1869.
- [90] BL Add 47454 162: Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Harriet McIlquham, 31-10-05.
- [91] Corbet, Emilia Jessie Boucherett.
- [92] B. L. Hutchins and A. A. Harrison (1903) A History of Factory Legislation, pp.185-197 (London: P.S. King & Son).
- [93] Rosemary Feurer (1988) The meaning of 'sisterhood': the British women's movement and protective labor legislation, 1870-1900, Victorian Studies, 31, Winter, 198, pp. 233-60.
- [94] This picture of union attitudes was confirmed for them during the 1880s when they entered into an otherwise fruitful relationship with an organisation, the City and Guilds of London Institute, formed by various city companies to support technical education by granting apprenticeship fees. Though the SPEW received generous help in apprenticing girls to learn various decorative arts, the Council of the Institute was adamantly opposed to their entering any of the male-dominated trades. (GCIP SPTW 1/2, 4-12-1885)
- [95] Feurer, 'The meaning of "sisterhood"', pp. 246-7; GCIP SPTW 1/2, 5-3-1886.
- [96] Jessie Boucherett, Helen Blackburn, and Some Others. (1896) The Condition of Working Women and the Factory Acts, pp. 30-37 (London: Elliott Stock).
- [97] Jessie Boucherett's cousin, Lady Knightley of Fawsley, was a regular attendee at Committee meetings from 1875 onwards. However, all that her diaries, usually full of rich detail about her activities, have to say about these meetings takes the form of such statements as "In the afternoon to our Committee, but it was wet & cold & gloomy & was no fun driving about" (26-

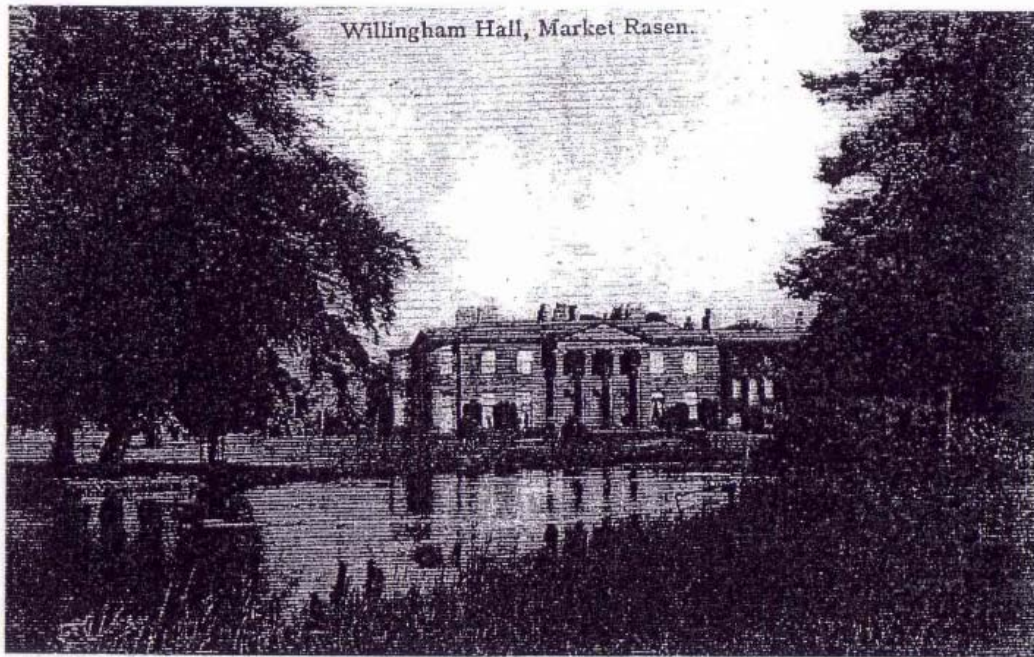
- 5-1876), and “Returned to town, attended S.P.E.W. Committee, paid many visits” (9-6-1882). Only in May and June 1877 when the factory acts were being discussed does she give any indication even of the questions raised. (Northampton Record Office K2895)
- [98] GCIP SPTW 1/2, 4-5-1873; GCIP SPTW 1/2, 3-3-1882. In 1891, for example, the redoubtable Lady Goldsmid, then in her seventies, brought a deputation of women chain and nail-makers down from the North to protest to the Home Secretary about proposed legislation restricting their use of certain machinery (GCIP SPTW 1/2, 10-4-1891.).
- [99] Feurer, “The meaning of “sisterhood””, pp. 250-60. Not all socialist women were in favour of protective legislation. The views of one leading SDF member, Dora Montefiore, seem to have been very similar to Jessie Boucherett’s (Karen Hunt (1996) Equivocal Feminists: The Social Democratic Federation and the woman question 1884-1911, pp. 128-9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).)
- [100] GCIP SPTW 4/4, Jessie Boucherett to Antoinette Mackenzie, 5-3-1903, 7-3-1903.
- [101] GCIP SPTW 1/2, 19-7-1889.
- [102] GCIP SPTW 4/4, Freedom of Labour Defence: p. 9 Supplementary Report.
- [103] See Notes 9 and 29 above.
- [104] M/T 12/50, Barbara Bodichon to Helen Taylor, August 1869.
- [105] Bessie Rayner Belloc (1900) In a Walled Garden, p. 10 (London). Jessie Boucherett’s aunt had married Charles Newdegate Newdigate of Arbury Hall, the estate where Robert Evans, George Eliot’s father, was agent.

TABLE 1: SPEW COMMITTEE ATTENDANCE 1860-62 (26 MEETINGS)*Langham Place*

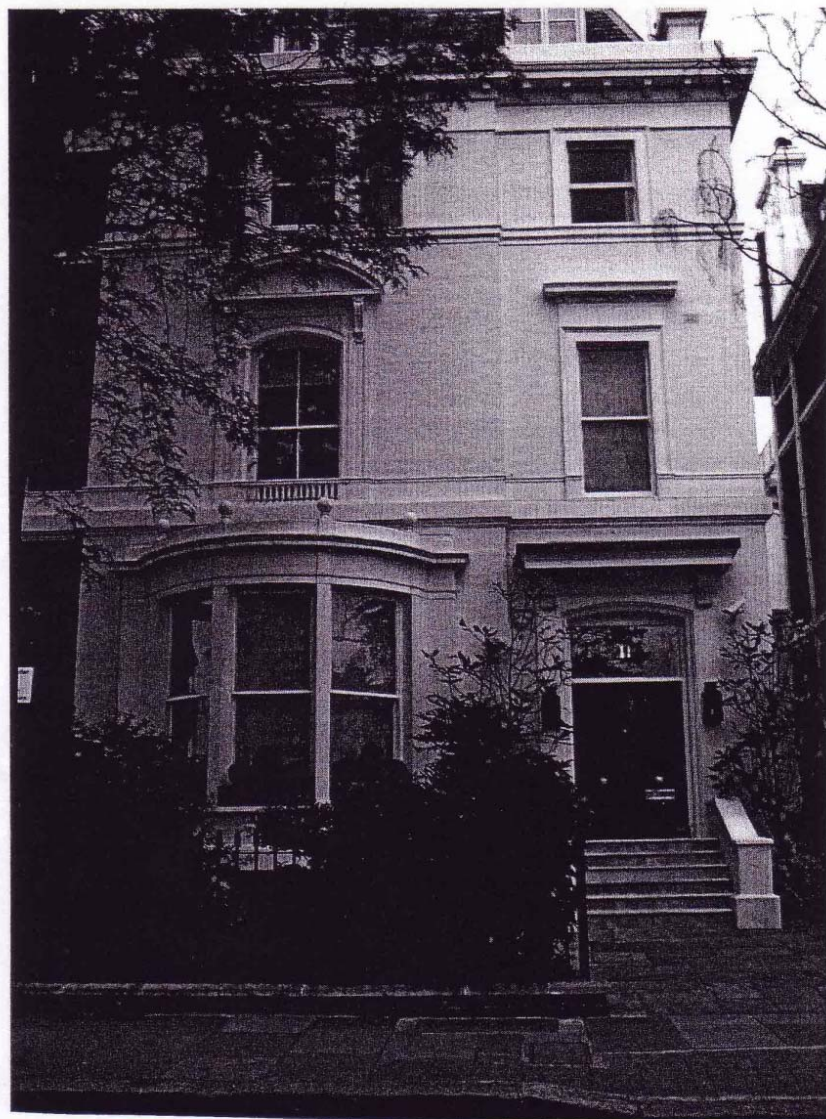
Jessie Boucherett	11	E Ackroyd	2
Isa Craig	25	S Cave MP	3
Matilda Hays	12	W S Cookson	9
Bessie Parkes	11	Sir F Goldsmid MP	10
Adelaide Procter	17	G W Hastings	12
		A Kinnaird MP	12

Other

		Monckton Milnes MP	8
Mrs Bayne	10	J Pares	3
Lady Elizabeth Cust	16	W B Ranken	6
Mrs Lankester	11	Earl of Shaftesbury	6
Mrs Locke King	10	R Slaney MP	5



Willingham Hall, since demolished, Jessie Boucherett's family home in Lincolnshire. From a postcard.



A recent photograph of 9 Upper Philimore Gdns, Kensington , the house where Jessie Boucherett was living with her sister, a Secretary-clerk, a butler, a cook, two ladies' maids and two housemaids at the time of the 1881 census.



Jessie Boucherett. From a photograph in the archives of Girton College, Cambridge. Reproduced by permission of the Mistress and members of the College.