

Barbara L. S. Bodichon as a Pioneer in Girls' Education

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to focus attention on Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon's (1827-1891) educational projects, as she saw education as a key component of her liberal and feminist politics. She had many jobs: artist, law reformer, pamphleteer, journalist, co-founder of Girton College at Cambridge, intrepid traveler. She was also Florence Nightingale's first cousin and George Eliot's closest friend.

First of all, we will begin by considering Bodichon's background to show one reason why she was concerned about women's questions. She was luckily born into a wealthy and cultured family. Both Barbara's grandfather and father were Unitarian in religion and served as reforming Members of Parliament for Norwich. Although the Smith family was rich and powerful, her mother, Anne Longden, was a miller's daughter from Derbyshire whom Barbara's father had never married. Five children were born to the couple before Anne died in 1834 when Barbara, the eldest child, was seven. The Leigh Smith children were loved by their rich, handsome and popular father, yet they were illegitimate, and therefore not entirely respectable. Consequently, large sections of her father's family refused to recognize or acknowledge the Leigh Smith children. Reflection on this will make clear that Barbara's rather ambiguous social position allowed her an unusual degree of social mobility. Therefore, she was determined to retain her autonomy after marrying Eugene Bodichon in 1857, and was adamant that this was recognized both materially

and symbolically. Eight months after the wedding, she wrote on that matter in *An American Diary*: “I do not think there is any law to oblige a woman to bear the name of her husband at all, and probably none to prevent her keeping the old name. To use it is very useful, for I have earned a right to Barbara Smith.”¹ This earning of the name of her father and grandfather implied that she had taken up the political coat of the Smiths. As a Unitarian, she also had a strong sense of having to wisely manage that fortune. Hence, this paper will examine Barbara Leigh Smith in her spinsterhood and Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon after her marriage.

In her life, Barbara Bodichon did many extraordinary things. For example, she and her childhood friend, Bessie Rayner Parkes, traveled through Europe serving as chaperons for each other. The idea that two young women of twenty-three and twenty-one might travel alone with no male protection was unacceptable yet in those days. Furthermore, she founded the *Englishwoman's Journal* with Bessie Rayner Parkes in order to provide a newspaper forum for women to discuss legal, educational, and economic issues that vitally concerned them. As the leader of the Langham Place group, Barbara Bodichon was at the center of feminist agitation for at least twenty-five years. This took many forms: she demonstrated to change laws which affected women, she led a campaign to gain the vote for women long before the suffragettes, and she always considered that useful work for women was part of citizenship. She always progressed with her own ongoing education and as an effective leader she encouraged and helped other young women gain employment. This was uncommon for the social structure of the period, but Barbara Bodichon had an unusual amount of financial independence and did not fit in to the social norms.

However, historians seem to find it easier to understand and write about men who pursued one great goal. Women's lives and histories often look different, more diffuse and are perhaps harder to evaluate. Bodichon's studies have been remarkably few, especially when compared with the enormous body of scholarship undertaken by her first cousin, Florence Nightingale. Barbara Bodichon is much less well-known than one would expect from her achievements. Although Japanese scholars, Sadae

Kawamura and Kei Imai portray Bodichon as a feminist, who “initiated campaigns for married women’s property rights,”² only Emily Davies is regarded as “a founder of Girton College.”³ What’s more, Kei Imai’s *Igirisu Jyosei Undoushi* (The History of the British Women’s Movement) describes Bodichon and her friends who “sued for woman suffrage.”⁴ Although some historians do recognize Barbara Bodichon’s accomplishments, unfortunately she largely remains unknown. Sheila R. Herstein and Pam Hirsch published Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon’s biography.⁵ They illustrate her as a feminist and an educator who founded Girton College, Cambridge for her last major project.

This paper will strive to focus on Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon’s less known efforts. Chapter one will demonstrate that girls had insufficient educational conditions in the patriarchal society of the nineteenth century. Hence, Bodichon started her school with no concern about religion, class and gender. Chapter two will examine Bodichon’s efforts to build a female college to study the same courses as men. In the strong middle ideology of the Victorian era women were lower creatures. They were supposed to be wives and mothers, to make homes comfortable for men as an “Angel in the House”. Therefore, they did not fit themselves for self-support facing the excess of single women. Although Bodichon was as intellectual in her interests as men, she could not study in Cambridge like her brother because of this gender discrimination. Accordingly she yearned to found a university college for girls. Finally chapter three will detail the establishment of Girton College, Cambridge. Barbara Bodichon and Emily Davies had different leadership qualities. Bodichon’s familiar manners were important and necessary as well as Davies’ resolution and stubbornness. Bodichon stimulated everyone who became acquainted with her. They cooperated to exert their powers for girls’ higher education. It will then explore Barbara Bodichon as a pioneer in girls’ education and discuss why women wanted higher education in the Victorian era.

Chapter 1: Girls’ Educational Circumstances and Portman Hall School

Girls’ education system in the Victorian era was defined by patriarchalism.

Victorian society was clearly separated by social class, and the social class experiences of women and men were different. Women in all social groupings learnt about the patriarchal nature of Victorian society. For example, before the passing of the Married Women's Property Act in 1882, any income or property a woman possessed would be transferred to her husband upon marriage. A married woman belonged to and was the property of her husband, and ranked among his goods and chattels. Women became tied to the private domain of the home and the family as wives, mothers or unmarried dependents. On the other hand, men were associated with the public sphere of paid work, politics, and business, and had economic and legal responsibility for their wives and children. Middle-class domestic ideology developed within a particular social, political and economic framework. Especially, the development from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century of an industrial, commercial and factory system helped to separate work-place and home-place. Women were primarily wives and mothers defined in relation to men and children, rather than autonomous beings. The influence of middle-class domestic ideology in Victorian society helped to create and assert gender stereotypes: femininity became identified with domesticity, service to others, subordination and weakness while masculinity was connected with life in the competitive world of paid work, strength and domination. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the housewife had a particular responsibility like "Angel in the House" to create a secure, harmonious, restful and comfortable "heaven" for her husband after his day's work in the harsh, competitive outside world. Within this ideology, class-specific ideals of femininity helped reinforce social class differences among women and also to shape the forms and content of women's education. Naturally, middle-class household ideology influenced working-class families too. Most Victorian working-class wives and mothers had to engage in paid work in order to supplement the family income by necessity. For them, the choice of paid work outside the home was domestic work like sewing. They were firstly seen as housewives who were separated from other worlds outside the home.

On the other hand, the education of middle-class girls was usually segregated

from the schooling of working-class girls. Although middle-class girls were not expected, unlike their working-class sisters, to follow in paid work of any kind, they were assumed to become economically dependent future wives and mothers. Consequently, the content of education for middle-class girls tended to urge ornamental knowledge that might attract and impress a suitor. Besides the majority of middle-class girls were taught by mothers, fathers, older sisters or family friends. Girls were expected to be content with the makeshift teaching of unpaid relatives and friends, since their education was not expected to produce any economic return. However, the sort of home education was irregular; a girl would be taught accomplishments such as singing, languages and drawing by a resident or visiting governess and possibly other subjects, such as Latin, arithmetic or science by a visiting tutor hired on a daily or hourly basis. Parents were sometimes involved in their daughter's education too.

Barbara's father, Benjamin Smith, was an active supporter of the Liberal party. Like many wealthy Unitarians, he interpreted it as his duty to improve society. While he saw education as the only charity worth supporting, the household was irregular from the strict point of view of Victorian standards and social conventions. This license gave the Smith children a unique upbringing and education by their tutor and father. Smith's money was plentiful and he spent it on hospitals as well as schools, needy students, and political refugees. His children shared in their father's activities, including his political campaigns and the dinner parties among distinguished guests. He kept his children at home and their early education started primarily from desultory reading. They had tutors, but no real structure was imposed to direct their course of study. He made his family an experiment in infant day education.

Moreover, wealth gave the family independence; their father's natural dislike for conventions passed to the children. Certainly their illegitimacy was a defiance of propriety that Benjamin Smith's five children were forced to come to terms with. None of them had any legal right to the family wealth or the family name. The social disgrace of their status could not be ignored. The Nightingales, their first cousins, did not acknowledge or call on the Smiths, and the "tabooed family,"⁶ as George Eliot

described them, must have known much inner turmoil, despite their great love and obvious respect for their father. Although Elizabeth Gaskell saw many of the same qualities in the young Barbara Smith, she found Barbara difficult to like and explained her manner as a reaction to illegitimacy:

She is illegitimate cousin of Hilary Carter and F. Nightingale, - has their nature in her, though some of the legitimate don't acknowledge her. She is - I think in consequence of her birth, a strong fighter against the established opinions of the world, - which always goes against my - what shall I call it? - *taste* (that is not the word,) but I can't help admiring her noble bravery, and respecting - while I don't personally like her.⁷

It is difficult to assess the impact of illegitimacy on Benjamin Smith's children. However despite a few exceptions, the family apparently experienced few barriers to their movement in the strictness of Victorian social conventions of respectable society as a result of their birth. Illegitimacy might have been the basis of Barbara Smith's unconventional habits and ideas.

Meanwhile, Benjamin Smith was invited to participate in the management of the Infant School Society, a Whig group especially interested in educational innovations. In Scotland, Robert Owen had set up an experimental infant school for the young children of his mill-workers. He employed as a teacher an ex-weaver, James Buchanan, who believed that children were spiritual beings possessing earthly bodies and senses who were engaged in a lifelong training of the soul to be ready for truth. Corporal punishment was outlawed there, teachers helped arouse the children's curiosity about everyday objects and spent a great deal of time organizing games, songs and stimulating infant conversation. In 1818, Benjamin Smith visited Owen's school with the Infant School Society committee and persuaded Buchanan to come to London to set up an infant school in Westminster. James Buchanan went to London to serve as a master of the school for a unique experiment which extended the ideas to a

town population. However, his Swedenborgian⁸ philosophy and unorthodox teaching methods embarrassed the members of the infant school committee. The committee had decided Buchanan was too much of a Swedenborgian 'queer fish' and wanted to get rid of him. Only Benjamin Smith approved of Buchanan's methods, paid his salary, bought another site in Westminster, and built a two-story building to serve as a large playground and baths for the children, who came from the poorest classes in the area nearby. Buchanan taught multiplication and grammar with rhymes and games and used no books or slates in the school. As well as education, food, warm baths and even the mending of clothes were provided.

By the time Benjamin Smith's own children were born, the school had been operating almost ten years. In addition to his duties at the school, James Buchanan became the children's private tutor and spent time with the family. The Smith children attended the school as soon as they were old enough to help with the younger pupils. Barbara recalled that he would pretend to teach her and her brothers and sisters to read, but actually spent most of his time reading aloud to them from books. The school in Westminster continued successfully under Buchanan's direction and Smith's sponsorship until 1839. Buchanan was a remarkable man, and in Barbara's early years, one of the strongest influences on her life second only to her father. Hence, she carried his educational innovations into her own experimental Portman Hall School in 1854.

Moreover, Benjamin Smith could insure his children's right to his fortune only by settling money on them as each attained the age of majority. "In 1848, when Barbara attained her majority, her father yielded £300 a year on her. By the time he died in 1860 this income had increased to £1000 a year."⁹ There was no question that this financial independence allowed her the luxury of liberty. In those days, if a husband's income was about £500 a year, his wife would hire three servants. Besides, young women were the responsibility of fathers, husbands, or brothers. The daughters in a middle-class household were not expected to pursue any goal other than marriage, nor make any decision without the guidance of supporting males. For Victorians, the woman's sphere was rigidly defined and clearly stated a number of manuals written

for female edification and improvement. The feminine role made independence of thought or finance unnecessary and unthinkable. Nevertheless, he repeated this gesture as each of his daughters came of age, because he considered his twenty-one-year-old daughters to be responsible adults with the same capacity for mature independence and action which society accepted without question in young men. His daughters in turn were friends with some women in wealthy radical circles who were also independently minded and quite unlike the religious angels portrayed so widely in Victorian literature. Nevertheless, Benjamin Smith's actions were unusual. He meant to insure that Barbara Smith's illegitimate birth did not deprive her of his fortune. The status of women in England was not simply defined. Victorian women led lives that varied widely depending on their class, marital status and occupation. Not only did Benjamin Smith provide a generous independent income for his eldest daughter, Barbara, at age twenty-one, in 1848, he also allowed her great freedom, encouraging her to participate in unusual activities for women.

The practical work which Barbara Smith chose first to attempt was starting a school. Westminster Infant School had closed in 1839 when Buchanan emigrated,¹⁰ so she decided to found a school. She researched by visiting a variety of British Schools for Dissenters, National Schools for Anglicans, Catholic, ragged and industrial schools, studying methods and noting with particular concern for the poor quality of the teachers. Through Unitarian networks, a governess, Elizabeth Whitehead heard that Barbara Leigh Smith was looking for a chief mistress for a new experimental school. The first matter to be taken care of was to find the best available training. Barbara Leigh Smith paid Elizabeth Whitehead enough money so that she could give up her governess job in order to study the writings of educational innovators and observe in elementary schools in London. Elizabeth Whitehead studied at a school, whose ethos was to teach useful knowledge and to learn by inquiry rather than by memorization. Barbara Leigh Smith's vision of what education should be was strongly marked by Buchanan's example that stimulating the imagination was at the heart of all teaching. Every day he read aloud to the children from the Bible, The Arabian Nights and Swedenborg. In

1853, just before opening her own school, Barbara wrote to Buchanan's daughter: "I think the daily religious conversation with him in all our games together had an effect in making me wish to do some good in the world Education seems to me now to be of more importance than Politics; the first is of eternal interest, the second temporary."¹¹

Barbara Leigh Smith rented rooms in a rather poor area, not far from her home. Her Portman Hall School opened in 1854 with over a hundred pupils. However, it was not a common private elementary school. She conceived it as a people's school. Spiritually, the school inherited from the ideas of James Buchanan, with no uniform, no punishments, and no religion. Barbara Leigh Smith's aim was to mix social classes. Her school was progressive in the sense that it educated young boys and girls together, which, although a common practice for working class children, was not generally considered acceptable for middle-class children. Children of professional parents, children of tradesmen and children of artisans all attended the school. What's more, an international or cosmopolitan atmosphere was encouraged. Children of various nationalities were welcomed there as pupils. It involved buying ordinary uniforms in one's favorite colors for many poor children, giving each of them a bible, and teaching the girls sewing and the boys a trade. "The weekly fee was kept at sixpence, while the actual charge of the school was provided by Barbara Leigh Smith."¹² It amounted to a considerable expenditure over the years. Barbara Leigh Smith considered that the teaching of religion in schools was utterly useless and should in any case be left to churches, chapels, synagogues or mosques. In her view, the great importance of secular schools was so that children of different religions together could learn toleration, forbearance and charity. At morning assembly consequently, she asked that there should be a reading of a poem, a fable from the Bible, or a story of some heroic deed. The ethos of the schools was to develop intellectual skills by stimulating children's curiosity rather than by inculcating feats of rote learning. The great emphasis was placed on developing the children's artistic sensibility. This was not surprising perhaps because of the fact that Barbara Leigh Smith was a professional artist. The main room at Portman Hall had a raised platform on one end of the room with a swing-slate

and music-board. On the sides of the hall were displayed the best maps, pictures and diagrams and art objects.

The mixed community of children which Barbara Leigh Smith created at the Portman Hall School removed social and religious divisions. Lessons at Portman Hall School included English, French, drawing, and music. Physiology and hygiene were also taught with particular emphasis placed on health habits. Elementary physical science was taught with illustrations, because it was considered important in primary education. Additionally, Barbara Leigh Smith used the monitorial system in subjects demanded a great deal of individual attention, such as reading and arithmetic. The monitorial system (older pupils assisting the mistresses) adopted at Portman Hall was probably a practical decision to keep costs down, and perhaps also because good teachers were so hard to find. It was deemed better to use students who knew the subject rather than a poor teacher. As well as the paid mistress and her assistants, the school had help from lady volunteers who came to give lessons. This aspect of the school was considered by Barbara Leigh Smith to be extremely important. Certainly, the volunteer teachers at Portman Hall were all remarkable and unconventional women, who must have lent some excitement and glamour on the days they attended. Barbara, her two sisters and other artists gave drawing lessons. Elizabeth Whitehead was especially involved in taking the children on trips out of school, visiting museums and art galleries to widen their range of cultural experiences and to reward children for their efforts.

Despite the attempt by all of the Leigh Smith family to give her refreshing holidays, inevitably the major responsibility fell on the chief mistress Elizabeth Whitehead. She suffered from a breakdown in her health, but she retained the inspectorship of the school throughout its existence. Barbara Leigh Smith was disappointed that some of the replacements she appointed seemed to have no desire to professionalize and regarded teaching as a stop-gap job before marriage. The final blow was the loss of a capable mistress in marriage to a Catholic gentleman who did not want her to be involved with a non-catholic school. In a letter to Barbara's friend, George Eliot on 2nd

August 1863, Barbara confessed that:

This marriage is a great up-rooting of one of my interests in life because it has made me give up the school; I know no-one I can trust to carry it on and so it is wiser to stop. It is the individual that makes the work and I have no faith in schools, institutions, &c., unless there is a soul in them. It is absurd of people to say they will do good and establish this and that, the great thing is to find a good worker with good head, good heart, and sound health, and then just be contented to help them to do what they best can without any fixed plans of your own which only shackles the real worker....¹³

Elizabeth Whitehead was saddened by Barbara's decision, although she concurred in her opinion that none of the existing staff were efficient in the task of leadership. She accepted the demise of the school.

Barbara became increasingly involved in feminist issues shortly after opening Portman Hall. While she continued to support it financially, she became less directly involved in its daily activities. In 1864, she decided to close the school in order to concentrate her finances and time on her feminist responsibilities. Portman Hall School was remembered by one of its pupils as "a distinctive experiment, an ideal mixed school, characterized by a lack of corporal punishment and a concentration on the development of intellectual skills rather than on memorization."¹⁴ Barbara's educational and social principles were given their first concrete existence in this elementary school setting. Her interest in education was not confined to young children, and neither the closing of Portman Hall marked the end of her contribution to educational theory and experiment. She visited educational institutions of all types in Europe and America and wrote on elementary and secondary education in the year between 1854 and the founding of Girton College in the 1870s. She continued to manifest her theories with the importance of the secular, mixing sexes and social classes, and providing an educational setting to produce a developed individual, physically and intellectually.

The next chapter will examine Barbara's endeavor for the establishment of a university college for women. It will explore how and why she aimed for equality of education.

Chapter 2: The Way towards the Establishment of a University College for Women

Barbara had wanted to create women's colleges where the students studied the same subjects as men. Her brother entered Jesus College, Cambridge in 1848, while she had no such option because she was female. This must have been a moment of conflicting emotions. She wrote to a friend much later stating: "Ever since my brother went to Cambridge I have always intended to aim at the establishment of a college where women could have the same education as men if they wished it."¹⁵ Such a viewpoint directly challenged the dominant middle-class domestic ideology that women should ideally be wives and mothers, creatures who were inferior and subordinate to men. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, women were largely refused access to higher education and were ill-prepared for it anyway by their formal schooling. The universities were bases of male privilege, denying entrance to the female sex. Although there were a few isolated examples where women were admitted entry to certain lectures, they were usually denied the right to follow the same course as men, to sit the same examinations and be awarded a degree.

Middle-class girls were taught mainly at home or in a small private school managed by middle-class ladies. Middle-class boys in their infancy might share a home education with their sisters. However, after the boys were old enough, they were sent away to a public boarding school, where it was hoped their character would be molded in accordance with those values and forms of behavior that constituted the public school's ideal and to the Victorian social norms. This included discipline, academic excellence, training for leadership and the spirit of fair play in athletics. This gender difference in the forms of education for middle-class girls and boys was justified on the different futures expected of women and men. While middle-class boys should be

prepared for the professional and public world, their sisters should be educated for a home life.

Therefore, a girl could rise to a higher rank only through marriage. Marriage gave a woman a practical social position and a household of her own to manage. The preservation of the family was a woman's proper sphere, so to say; obligation to the home was only her legitimate concern. The ideal woman was an "angel" who purified the home so that men might find peace and escape there from the realities of the outside world. Since the social organization was built on the assumption that marriage was a woman's only goal, it made no provision for ownership of property by single females except in the case of gentle-women. Single women generally found themselves in a dependent position in the household of a father or a brother. However, unless their fathers were able to leave them a fortune, the position of these women was pitiable. By the mid nineteenth century, the women of the middle and upper classes were beginning to face a new problem. Due to circumstances, there was a large increase in eligible unmarried women in the population. So no longer could a woman rely on the prospect of definitely becoming married. There were too many women in England to be dealt with. Thousands of unmarried women were attempting to earn their own living. A large number of these redundant females were scattered throughout the middle and upper levels of society and had little or no chance of finding paid employment. Moreover, the men often remained as bachelors, because the expense of maintaining a wife and family discouraged men even of the upper classes from marrying until quite late. Middle-class women were completely unequipped for self-support but faced that necessity. The increasing numbers of these women could no longer be neglected. Although those who opposed more education for women rejected it as a waste and an unnecessary expenditure on girls whose only purpose was to marry, the idea that educated wives and mothers might benefit a household was given increasingly serious consideration. Additionally, if women did not marry, they could only consider the reality of earning a living. The fact that the position of governess offered the only occupation for most of these women was an increasing problem for the middle and upper classes.

The governess was a familiar figure in middle and upper-class homes, because most families had a relative or a friend in that inevitable position; even so governesses' earnings were poor, and there were not enough of these positions. Accordingly, they faced the concerns of dependency on relatives, friends or in many cases the workhouse. Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), who was born in Norwich and shared Barbara's Unitarian views, had been an advocate of women's higher education throughout her life. She maintained the necessity of professional education for women as can be seen in the following quotation:

At the time at which we are living, it is an indisputable fact that above two millions of the women of England are self-supporting workers: it is an admitted truth that while the customs of English society remain what they are, there must be tens of thousands of middle-class women dependent on their own industry: and it can hardly be doubtful, even to the most reluctant eyes, that the workers ought to be properly trained to the business of their lives.¹⁶

Their difficulties led to concrete action. The financial distress from multitudes of women made the women's movement a subject of public interest and brought out popular support for reform efforts.

In the meantime, there seems to have been no legal basis for the idea of the continuous guardianship of women, yet the minor was in the care of her father and the wife under the umbrella of her husband. A woman generally passed from father to husband long before she reached the age of twenty-one. Not until she became a widow was an heiress likely to be free from guardianship. During her husband's lifetime, a wife had nothing of her own. Law and custom put a wife in her husband's control and gave her land, goods and money to him. This situation went on until the late nineteenth century. In simple terms, under the Common Law, a wife's property, everything even her children all belonged to her husband. A wife could not sue, nor could she be sued. She could not be called as a witness. Her children could be taken from her. She could

not free herself from her husband even if she was treated cruelly. In regard to property ownership, the married woman suffered badly by comparison with the spinster. The property rights of a feme sole were at Common Law equal with those of a man. She could manage her property either during her lifetime or by a will. So long as the single woman had some means of income, she was in an independent position.

Even after her marriage to Eugene Bodichon, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon remained one of the advocates for improved education for females. The absolute neglect of girls' schooling had been described by Barbara Bodichon in her "Middle Class Schools for Girls." It is interesting survey of the lack in education. In her own words:

It is very easy to find fault...with the vast body of masters and mistresses sent out all over the country from the great training schools and colleges...with much apparent truth, that these crammed and certificated ladies and gentlemen are not giving practical education...they do not keep in view the very end of education, the very point to be aimed at – to teach the children to help themselves – to help themselves to think rightly, and to carry their right thoughts into right action....¹⁷

In addition, the middle-class girls described were just barely within the boundaries of the class and deprived of the opportunity to gain the basics of education available to workers through the Anglican National schools because of their status. Basic literacy and training for practical application in the home or for employment were the goals discussed. Bodichon was clearly evaluating a system utilized by a class far below her own and prescribed a voluntary and charitable effort by members of her own upper-class circle to correct the situation. The difficulties faced by this class of women in gaining employment and surplus women were central considerations. The problems of the women in particular, women needing gainful employment, concerned Bodichon. Her concern with educational reform in England focused on higher education for women, but she expressed herself publicly on the shortage of education for middle-

class women and girls. In written testimony, she deplored “the lack of competent women teachers for girls’ schools, asserting that fathers refused to educate girls for teaching or any other profession, since the investment might be wasted by early marriage.”¹⁸ She believed that the laws affecting married women in England were the cause of the problem, because they determined the quality and content of education for women and girls and was certain that no educational reform would or could occur until the legal freedom and status of married women was altered. On this basis, Bodichon had definite ideas about the proper curriculum for the girls’ schools. Although it was important to consider girls’ future responsibilities as wives and mothers, she insisted that it was equally necessary to remember that most of these women would have to work for some part of their lives.

The nearest thing to college life Barbara Bodichon had been able to achieve was to enter Bedford College when it opened in 1849 to study drawing. Her time at Bedford College was an important part of Bodichon’s career both as an artist and as an educationist. Bedford College aimed to provide the necessary education for middle-class women who wished to become governesses. It was the first systematic attempts to deal with the shortage of female secondary education, and sought to involve women as equals in the management of their own educational institution. Bedford College’s step was of great significance, since this kind of female participation was unheard of at that time. Also, Bedford College’s nondenominational character was exceptional and aroused public suspicion and disapproval. It was also unthinkable at this time for a young unchaperoned woman to attend a lecture given by a male professor.

Bodichon’s experience at Bedford College sharpened her vision of what might be possible, but demonstrated how many girls were effectively ill-prepared. They could barely absorb a secondary education and were markedly unfit to teach others, even after the best efforts of instructors at a secondary school like Bedford College. It managed with difficulty to train girls as governesses or teachers for girls’ academies, but this was only training not an education. The curriculums were disorganized and the faculties were of uneven quality. Even after the opening of Bedford College, female education

had advanced only superficially. Schooling was still unplanned and it was not generally accepted that girls needed more than a smattering of accomplishments to prepare them for life. Whereas, the foundation of Bedford College was an important step in the movement to open higher education to women, and the key struggles mobilized in the 1860s when women fought for the right to enter the universities on the same terms as men.

Barbara Bodichon fully accepted the precept that one must try to create a more perfect world and saw her circumstances as an instrument for social improvement. She recognized it as her moral responsibility to contribute both time and money for this cause. Money is a power which we have not the right lightly to reject. It is responsibility which we must accept. She stated her conviction plainly in *Women and Work* in 1857: "God sent all human beings into the world for the purpose of forwarding, to the utmost of their power, the progress of the world."¹⁹

Emily Davies suggested to Bodichon to raise £30,000 necessary to establish an institution. Accordingly, they planned the fund-raising and publicity, and discussed the membership of the first working college committee. However, Bodichon was not officially a member of the committee until 1869. It was decided that the membership should include no one specially known as advocating the rights of women. Bodichon's name had been kept out of public statements by the Married Women's Property Committee, because her advanced opinions on equality of the sexes were considered a liability to the campaign for a women's college. Still Bodichon worked privately to draw funds and gather support within her social circle.

In 1867, Bodichon and Davies spent a month to do some detailed planning for the projected college, both its building and curriculum. There were two areas where they did not agree: the religious allegiance of the college and the issue of the young woman's physical well-being. The Smith family had always put their money into secular educational institutions, Benjamin with Westminster Infant School and Barbara with Portman Hall School. Whereas Davies was an Anglican, she wanted to persuade Bodichon that they would have a better chance of being accepted by the Cambridge

establishment if they were nominally Anglican, although no student in practice, would be obliged to attend Anglican services and instruction. Bodichon was unhappy about it, since her own political instinct and the agenda of her family over three generations had been to remove religious disabilities from public institutions.

In addition, Bodichon was concerned about young women's health. She considered that if parents were to allow their daughters to leave home to study, the college must regard itself as a guardian to some degree and assume responsibility for the health of the young women. She had strong views on the importance of exercise, diet and physical environment in the education of young women. Consequently, although Bodichon pledged £ 1,000 to the projected college, she wanted to make it a condition of her donation that Elizabeth Blackwell²⁰ should hold a professorship of hygiene. Although Bodichon was quite wealthy, £ 1,000 was considerable contribution and the conditions demonstrated her lifelong commitment to physical well-being. She knew that her ideas about health and environment were important and determined to insure their being carried out, while Davies had instilled in the group her firm conviction that only examination and degrees on exactly the same terms as men they could produce educated women. Bodichon made her position clear in a letter to Davies:

A danger of working too hard exists always for young women if they have to do things in a given time I think. I give you permission to express my intentions where you can do it fully. I desire to see someone in power who has made the physical constitution of women a study and if I give my £ 1,000, as I am not rich, I must be sure it is used in accordance with my best judgment of what will really promote the great object we have in view, the ennobling, morally, intellectually and physically one half of humanity...We must do this well if we do it at all. My whole heart is in the idea.²¹

Nevertheless, Davies persuaded her to promise £ 1,000, with Bodichon still too much a liability to attend committee meetings, only her money would qualify her as

a founder. Despite Bodichon's misgivings, she promised Davies to donate her money without formal written obligations. Moreover, Davies was an untiring worker, and therefore invaluable, but the price of her work was her insistence on doing everything her own way. She was an inevitable force for achieving high goals but willingly sacrificing individuals for her cause. She continued to persuade Bodichon to accept the Anglican foundation of the unborn college. Bodichon had feared the loss of some radical support for the immediate result of Davies' Anglican stance. Not surprisingly, as many of Bodichon's friends were Unitarians, she had trouble persuading them to fund the project. After a year's campaigning only £2,000 had been pledged, half of which was Bodichon's original £1,000. Davies began to think of a small beginning in a rented building. After hearing from Bodichon, George Eliot wrote to Davies in November 1867 on behalf of George Lewes and herself, saying: "We strongly object to the proposal that there should be a beginning made on a small scale. To spend forces and funds in this way would be a hindrance rather than a furtherance of the great scheme which is pre-eminently worth trying for. Everyone concerned should be roused to understand that a great campaign has to be victualled for."²² As well as money, they needed supporters within the university. Emily Davies' brother sought to help them by introducing them to a Cambridge don, who had previously expressed interest in the women's college. However, when Bodichon and Davies met him in 1868, he seemed in a negative mood, and inclined to talk about all the difficulties rather than to try to help them find a way through the obstacle course. Bodichon felt disheartened by this meeting. At last, by 1869, Bodichon and Davies had succeeded in persuading a variety of social and political interests of the need for a college for women. In an atmosphere of controversy and with no clear agreement on the nature of women's higher education, Girton College was founded.

Chapter three will explore how and why Bodichon was accepted by everyone. Further, it will detail the establishment of Girton College, Cambridge.

Chapter 3: Girton College

The establishment of Girton College was Bodichon's last major project, which she had desired since her brother entered Jesus College, Cambridge in 1848. Girton was a true collaborative effort of Bodichon and Davies, though each contributed in very different ways. Bodichon came to the enterprise with her usual restless energy. It became the most fulfilling endeavor of her life. While every effort by the organized women's movement contributed materially to the gradual creation of a new feminine ideal by the end of the nineteenth century. The improvement and expansion of female education must be acknowledged one of the most important changes for women, because it altered woman's own nature and broadened all women's horizons.

There were various accounts about the beginning of the movement towards the founding of the first university-level college for women in Britain. Bodichon and Davies could discuss their talents effectively. They had access to legislators and writers of every political and religious conviction. They managed to reconcile their different concerns so that they joined in support of the continuing struggle for women's higher education.

The first stage on the way towards the establishment of a university college for women occurred in 1857 and 1858 when Oxford and Cambridge separately established a local or middle-class examination designed to provide boys' secondary schools with standards for their graduates serving roughly the same function as today's A-level examinations. Davies was interested in the examinations, viewing their opening as an opportunity to establish the precedent of girls taking the same tests as boys. In 1862, she made informal inquiries to both universities about the possibility of extending these examinations to girls. From Oxford she received a polite but obvious rebuff, though the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate could see no objection to the examination of girls specifically. This was the signal for the formation of a committee, including Bodichon and Davies, for the higher education of women. The committee organized a petition to the university for the formal opening of the local examinations to girls. More than 1,000 signatures including high status names on the petition's paper were

presented to the university and the council of the senate to investigate the request. As a result, in 1865, Cambridge officially opened local examinations to girls, but the Oxford Local Examinations were not opened to girls till 1870.

However, it was difficult for the committee to find a sufficient number of female candidates to make the unofficial experiment when Cambridge finally agreed. Bodichon and Davies had to raise the standards of excellence of primary and secondary schools for girls and force improvement in the preparation of teachers for those institutions. The cause of many deficiencies in girls' schools was the poor quality of the teachers, who had not been appropriately taught for higher education. Somewhat timidly the commissioners gave their acceptance to the opening of local examinations to girls and suggested vaguely that institutions were needed for the higher education of women.

Bodichon and other committee members favored the immediate opening of classes in the centre of Cambridge. Although Davies agreed with Bodichon on the necessity to make a prompt temporary beginning in rented quarters, she worried that the proximity of the men's colleges would prove a distraction and give rise to gossip damaging to the cause of higher education for women. Therefore, as a respectable compromise she found a house in Hitchin, midway between London and Cambridge University in 1869. At this stage, it was not clear whether Cambridge or the University of London would be the first to adopt the girl students. If Cambridge would not accept them, then maybe London would. Bodichon strongly objected to establishing a college out of the reach of museums and libraries, or where clean tap water, gas lighting, decent roads and a railway station were to be relied on. Nevertheless, Davies arranged to rent a house in Hitchin. Eighteen young women took the first entrance examination for the college held at the University of London.

The college at Hitchin opened its doors to five girls. Bodichon was busy in trying to think of ways to keep up the spirits of the poor female students in a strict system and with an imperfect secondary education. The harsh discipline of the program was stressful for girls. A steady diet of boiled beef and mutton was nourishing, still Bodichon feared it added to the monotony of college routine. She often visited in an

effort to lighten the atmosphere, sent paintings and books, invited the hardworking girls for country holidays and arranged parties for them at her home. She also briefly served as Mistress. The girl students undertook exactly the same course as Cambridge undergraduates, the Little-go followed by the Tripos in the same timescale as the men. The Little-go, also known as the previous examination, had been established in 1822 and tested Latin, elementary Greek and mathematics. The curriculum at Hitchin reflected Davies's stubborn resolve to give the students exactly the same course required for Cambridge undergraduates. The female students were expected to prepare first for the Little-go or Previous Examination, at the same time working for the Tripos or Final Examination. The Little-go had just been reformed and included additional mathematics, which taxed the underprepared girls severely. They were under the pressure of time, since Davies insisted that the course must be completed in exactly the same time allowed to male students. Whatever the difficulties, the schedule was fulfilled.

On the other hand, the teaching arrangements were inadequate, though these female students were facing a desperate race against time. They were engaged in energetic studies under women leaders who did not know how the Tripos worked. Finally, on 10th December 1870, the five girls were allowed to take the exams and passed their oral tests. This was unofficial and by courtesy of the examiners. *Punch* recorded this unique event in its own satiric style, under the headline THE CHIGNON AT CAMBRIDGE without illustrations on 14th January 1871:

At the examination lately held at Cambridge, a number of students from the Ladies' College at Hitchin passed their "Little-go", the first time that such undergraduates ever underwent that ordeal. It is gratifying to be enabled to add, that out of all those flowers of loveliness, not one was plucked. Bachelors of Arts are likely to be made to look to their laurels by these Spinsters²³

The first group of students managed to succeed because a sort of mutual help society

had existed among them from the first, and thus to some extent they supplied gaps in teaching by coaching one another for the Little-go. This sense among the girls of having taken responsibility for their own learning was important. Nonetheless, they were not members of the University and they could not be awarded degrees. The struggle of girls to win access to degree examinations and to be awarded a degree on equal terms with boys was a bitterly slow process. Afterwards, Cambridge University allowed women to sit the degree examinations but not be awarded a degree. It was little wonder that even in the late 1890s, female students felt their presence to be a sufferance. It was not until 1947 that the university finally awarded women degrees on the same terms as men.

Here it will be useful to demonstrate the personalities of Bodichon and Davies from the example of the Hitchin students' revolt. After the struggle to pass the Little-go, a few of the students hoped to have a bit of light relief and decided to act out a few scenes from some of Shakespeare's plays for the pleasure of the other students and the dons who had volunteered to teach them. Davies got angry that the students would dress in male costume in front of the visiting dons, and her response almost led to a rebellion. She was concerned lest any scandal would destroy Hitchin's reputation. Although Bodichon thought Davies had reacted extremely, she sought to mediate the dispute to avoid the scandal of bringing the matter before the entire college committee. She spoke to the students, almost certainly suggesting to them that what they were doing was not wrong in essence but that in their circumstances carefulness was necessary. Davies was satisfied that Bodichon seemed to have spoken wisely as well as strongly and no doubt she thought little of explaining Davies' fear of bad publicity. Eventually, the students agreed to cancel the theatrical. Bodichon was impressed with one of the rebels especially, whom she met privately to discuss not only the theatrical but the young woman's unusual attire, consisting of simple loose gowns. Davies wished the students to adopt a more conventional manner of dressing. On the contrary, Bodichon complimented the fashion rather than censuring and asked for the pattern. Bodichon was more indifferent than Davies about dress code, but she

also knew the value of offering encouragement and praise, not merely proscriptions against everything which seemed like pleasure. She was able to persuade the students that if she asked them to give up their acting, it was a sacrifice which needed to be made in order to achieve their long-term aim. In fact, although this was exactly Davies' position too, she was inclined simply to direct orders to the students rather than to explain her motives. Davies never entirely forgave this revolt against her authority, or the particular students who had dared to challenge her. Davies missed the point that only young women of the highest spirit and courage would have chosen such a brave course as to attempt the Cambridge University Tripos in the first place. It was exactly this spirit which Bodichon admired in them. Bodichon's easy friendliness won the students' faith. They accepted her short advice because she seemed more than any committee member to understand their independence and applaud their gestures towards modernity. Although the scandal had been avoided, Davies felt that Bodichon's unorthodox views were not always in the college's best interests. The contrast in their natures was sharp. Their differences of opinion and personality benefited the college, because each appreciated the other's talents and managed on most occasions to accept something of both their natures into the final product. In the difficult early days of the college, Bodichon's diplomatic skills were quite important, as necessary in their own way as Davies' determination and persistence.

Moreover, Davies' capacity for work was admirable, and she was successful in her enterprises through endurance and determination as an outstanding committee woman. One example of her inflexibility concerned Bodichon's nieces, who would have a semi-automatic right to study at Girton. Davies insisted, quite rightly, that they must pass Girton's entrance examination like any other student. Nevertheless, Bodichon continued to chase tirelessly everyone she knew for money to continue the building projects at Girton. At last, Bodichon recognized, or had been made to recognize by Davies, that her niece had not received sufficient secondary education to attend Girton.

Although both Bodichon and Davies had leadership qualities, they had very

different leadership styles and different roles. Davies was an excellent committee woman, having the patience and tenacity to attend to the tiniest problem of business, essential in any long and difficult campaign. However, she was not a woman who inspired people by the force of her personality. On the other hand, Bodichon inspired almost everyone with whom she came into contact. Bodichon was good at persuading people to give their money towards founding the projected college, in a kind of development officer role, and also vital as a mediator with the early students when Davies' authoritarian attitude made the students mutinous. Bodichon's glamour held out a kind of promise that intellect in a woman did not automatically mean a lack of what the nineteenth century saw as womanliness. This was reassuring to both doubtful supporters and the students.

In the meantime, Bodichon continued to carry out a plan for the permanent college to be built in the center of Cambridge. She did not entirely achieve her goal but a compromise, because Davies wanted any new college to be well away from the male Cambridge residential area. A sixteen-acre site was found in open fields near Girton village about two miles from Cambridge, which was accepted as a suitable compromise. She then raised the question of movement to Cambridge at the next committee meeting. The committee had realized by this stage that the original plan of raising £30,000 was completely unrealistic and that the most they could raise was a sum of £7,000 to buy a building site for a college of about thirty students. Bodichon took the role of chair of Building Sub-Committee, which approved the proposals to buy the land at Girton. Raising the £7,000 they would need for bricks and mortar was not easy, as Bodichon wrote to George Eliot following a somewhat depressing building meeting:

I have had some qualms of conscience about our College We had a meeting yesterday ... Emily Davies as usual came from Hitchin She is really a precious & rare creature & I hope she will not be too much tried but will live to see her work fairly begun & the buildings up & free from debt with 20 pupils installed

The fact is we want money very much indeed I hope if you have the power of saying a word for us to rich people [that]... you will tell them to help us.²⁴

It is not surprising that Bodichon occasionally became discouraged about the fund-raising, even though a great deal of effort had gone into it. The money came in much more slowly than they had hoped.

After the student rebellion, Bodichon and Davies talked about the college building and garden. Davies regarded Bodichon as a perfect treasure for Chair of the Building Committee. Bodichon was in her sphere, interpreting her brief widely, and interested in every detail. The design had an air of expanse as befitted an institution of learning. The rooms, apart from service rooms, were built on only one of the wide, light and airy corridors. The difficulty was in achieving dignity economically. In 1872, buildings were constructed in the currently fashionable Gothic revival style solidly and chose long corridors rather than a staircase system as in the medieval men's colleges. Bodichon and Davies were agreed in wishing to provide each young female student with a set of two rooms, a bedroom and a sitting room with wide double doors between them. One American visitor described the College: "*Each pupil has at Girton a room to herself; in the lower stories, each has two rooms.... A new building was projected, which I saw in progress ... with two lecture rooms and other rooms.*"²⁵

Bodichon's early concerns about women's health was insistent on the provision of gymnasium, but it was not built until about a year after the college was set up, when money became available. However, in October 1873, when the nine Hitchin students and six new ones arrived at the embodied dream, the actuality was a long way from the vision. The building was hardly finished. The lone building standing was naked and exposed in flat fields without any trees, lawns or flowerbeds. Still Bodichon continued to raise funds and visited Girton frequently with friends, not merely to show the college off. She hoped that the friends would either contribute some money or at least speak well of Girton to wealthier friends. Alternatively she persuaded her friends, such as Charles Darwin and George and Marian Lewes (George Eliot), to offer what they had

in different ways like donation of their books to Girton's library.

Moreover, the move to a permanent college on its own grounds from a small college in a rented building was a momentous step. In May 1872, seventeen people including Bodichon signed the Articles of Association for the new college, and this document marked the first moment of Girton College's legal existence. Once the college's legal existence was established, there was increased urgency in both raising money and in finding sufficiently well-educated young women who could pass the entrance examination and whose parents were willing to spend money on their daughter's education. The fund-raising campaign had achieved £ 7,000, but it was still necessary to borrow money to carry out the construction in spite of careful modification of the architect's plan. Financial restrictions did not stop Bodichon and Davies. Convinced that permanent building would help establish the college's reputation, they gathered gifts of furnishings and equipment from friends and family by the opening of Girton.

By 1874, despite the lack of basics such as a bell or a lock for the main door, interest in the college grew substantially and Bodichon drew up a variety of new plans for consideration. Although Girton became the center of her personal attention as well as her primary public project, she deplored the lack of moral direction in teaching at Girton, but admitted to give quiet liberty and opportunity. She was dedicated to the success of Girton despite bouts of illness that troubled her from 1867. After her stroke in 1877, Bodichon had been obliged to retire as an invalid. In contrast, Davies continued the extraordinarily long and complicated campaign to get Girton College fully incorporated into Cambridge University. Although this gave Girton College the formal relationship with Cambridge University which Bodichon and Davies had so long desired, the women were still not members of the university. Furthermore, the endeavors which Bodichon and Davies had dared to begin in process brought consequences towards women. In 1923 ordinances were passed securing female students the right of admission to university lectures and laboratories; before this, they had only been able to attend by the invitation of individual lecturers. Finally,

Cambridge University admitted women to regular membership in 1948, which unfortunately Bodichon never knew of. She never got to see the full product of her inspiring and visionary goals.

Additionally, as an intelligent woman, Barbara Bodichon must have known that another stroke could come at any time, she put her affairs in order. Not having children, she felt free to donate a substantial amount of her money to Girton College. The subscription list inserted into the programs showed Bodichon's £1,000 by virtue of the first money as well as a further contribution of £5,000 in 1884. Bodichon suffered another stroke in May 1891. She died on 11th June 1891, leaving a legacy of £10,000 to the project of her last campaign, Girton College. Bodichon was undoubtedly the college's principal financial benefactress.

Conclusion

Barbara L. S. Bodichon succeeded the establishment of a university college, Girton College at Cambridge for females. She was publicly active for a quarter of a century from around 1850 to 1875, at which time the economic prosperity of England was on the rise as a result of the Industrial Revolution and advent of the steam engine. So during that time, there was a much greater need for men's muscles rather than the masses having educated minds. Victorian society expected women to stay at home and console their husbands who came back from work outside the house, the public area. Women were bound to the private sphere of the home and family as wives or mothers. For centuries, the dominant male institutions had excluded females from the opportunity to acquire scholarly learning or professional training, and progress of this kind continued to marginalize females under the notion of femininity.

The idea of a college for females emerged from the general movement for the emancipation of women from the restrictive laws and social standards of the nineteenth century. Bodichon had taken the initiative in forming a group to help liberate women from the restrictions which confined them almost exclusively to domestic life. Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes started an agitation for the reform of the

Married Women's Property laws in the *Englishwomen's Journal*. Soon after this, they realized the necessity for women to receive the same education as men to get proper employment and improve their status. Although Bedford College founded in 1849 and another college provided proper education for young women who wanted to become governesses, the purpose of these colleges was to redeem the inadequacy of female secondary education.

As opportunities for women to secure the means of economic independence through hard intellectual training were not widely welcomed, the idea that women should study like men was very alien to the social understanding, traditions and ideology of Victorian society. The admission into an equal education system had never been acceptable for women due to social gender roles. Hence, they had been excluded from the very start. It was against this background that Bodichon worked, her character embodying the mixture of progress and survival which did not identify with the mid-Victorian period. Acutely aware of the value of money while preparing her will in 1878, she could declare with perfect consistency that she had absolute liberty to give the property inherited from her father, and the money she had earned by selling her paintings, the work of her own hands, to Girton College.

Raised in the Smith family tradition of rationalism, religious tolerance and social responsibility, Bodichon became the center of a circle of upper-middle-class women whose families were intimately associated with every major social and political reform effort of the sixties and seventies. The endeavor to improve higher education for women was part of the general trend towards professionalization that characterized the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Both the attempt to improve the quality of female teachers and to open the universities and the professions to women reflected a general concern with improved educational standards. Although the consequences were not exciting or sensational, education and employment opportunities gradually expanded during the period. The changing British economy altered the situation of working women at the turn of the century. The female worker was not a new phenomenon; women had provided over a third of the total workforce since the mid-

century. A new variety of jobs were offered to women. Bodichon believed in complete sexual equality in the house and state. She was completely convinced of the need for equal education and employment opportunities. Absolute equal opportunity in all areas of public and domestic life was her eventual goal.

Bodichon's concern and aims for education were undoubtedly influenced by her own schooling. At Westminster School, which her father had helped to establish, she had been taught by a former teacher at Robert Owen's New Lanark School, James Buchanan. There she helped with the younger pupils and gained first-hand experience of Buchanan's teaching methods. As a result of the transference of the deeds of Westminster School, she was able to open Portman Hall School in 1854. Her first reform endeavor was the coeducational experiment at Portman Hall. The most unorthodox aspect of the school was its secularism and mixed classes: Jewish children mixed with Christian children and girls with boys. Difficulties arose not only because of the preconceptions of most teachers but also as a result of traditional assumptions about the propriety of educating girls in the same manner and subjects as boys. However, Bodichon insisted that girls should also be trained for proper and suitable employment. She argued that fulfilling their practical needs and giving sound general education for girls would eliminate false ideals of lady-like and shallow, showy accomplishments, and that education was intrinsically valuable rather than harmful.

The problem of convention and propriety with which Bodichon had to contend in the running of Portman Hall School in the 1850s was paralleled a decade later in the campaign for women's higher education. Both Bodichon and Emily Davies fought against a tide of inaccurate and dogmatic opinion. Furthermore, they felt that the only way to succeed was to avoid angering Victorian traditionalists and standards any more than necessary. In her struggle for the opening of Girton College, Davies' overriding concern was that the higher education committee should not be associated with the suffrage movement or any radicals. Thus Bodichon's name was omitted in the first public meetings to discuss women's education.

The two prime movers had great respect for each other's talents. Bodichon had

enormous respect for Davies' ability to navigate her way through committee work. On the other hand, Davies recognized and appreciated Bodichon's skills with people, since her presence always seemed to lift the spirits of the students. No one except Davies could have confronted the terrible situations of committee and negotiations with the university, but she lacked Bodichon's abundant warmth and charm which impressed everyone she met. Bodichon's networking skills and powers of persuasion were also an important point.

In conclusion, Barbara L. S. Bodichon worked for the education of women in England philanthropically, and was one of the founders of Girton College at Cambridge. Her contribution to education in general and to girl's education in particular was her most lasting legacy. She dedicated herself to the freedom of women. She always considered better education and wider employment opportunities as the keys to social improvement, and that was where she directed her own reforming energies throughout her life.

Notes

- ¹ Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon. *An American Diary 1857-1858*. Ed. Joseph W. Reed Jr. p.134
- ² Sadae Kawamura and Kei Imai. *Igirisu Kin-Genndai Jyoseishi Kennkyu Nyumon*. (The Introduction to Studies in Modern British Female History) Tokyo: Aoki Syoten, 2006. p.245
- ³ Sadae Kawamura. *Igirisu Kinndai Feminizumu Undou no Rekishizou*. (The Historical Figures of the Modern Feminist Movement in Britain) Tokyo: Akashi Syoten, 2001. p.133
- ⁴ Kei Imai. *Igirisu Jyosei Undoushi*. (The History of the British Women's Movement) Tokyo:Nihon Keizai Hyouronnsya, 2003. P.65
- ⁵ Sheila R. Herstein. *A Mid-Victorian Feminist – Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon*. New Haven: Yale U P, 1985. Pam Hirsh. *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-1891 Feminist, Artist and Rebel*. London: Pimlico, 1998.
- ⁶ George Eliot. *The George Eliot Letters*. Ed. Gordon S. Haight, 8vols. New Haven: Yale U P, 1945 -1978. Vol. 2, p.45
- ⁷ Elizabeth Gaskell. *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*. Ed. J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard. Manchester: Mandolin, 1997. p.607
- ⁸ Swedenborgianism is the brief system developed from the writing of Swedish theologian Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). The movement was founded on the brief that God explained the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures.

- ⁹ Sheila R. Herstein. *A Mid-Victorian Feminist – Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon*. New Haven: Yale U P, 1985. p.21
- ¹⁰ Buchanan decided to emigrate to New Zealand to start infant schools there. However, on route to New Zealand, he disembarked at Cape Town in order to see his son, and decided to settle there.
- ¹¹ Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch, ed. *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*. London: Longman, 2000. p.85
- ¹² Sheila R. Herstein. *A Mid-Victorian Feminist – Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon*. New Haven: Yale U P, 1985. p.61
- ¹³ Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch. Ed. *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*. London: Longman, 2000. p.92
- ¹⁴ Sheila R. Herstein. *A Mid-Victorian Feminist – Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon*. New Haven: Yale U P, 1985. p.63
- ¹⁵ Pam Hirsch. *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-1891 Feminist, Artist and Rebel*. London: Pimlico, 1998. p.31
- ¹⁶ Mieko Matsumoto. “Harriet Martineau to Kafucyousei”. (Harriet Martineau and the Patriarchy) *Aichi Kenritsu Daigaku Gaikokugakubu Kiyō*. 30 (1998) : 117-135 p.123
- ¹⁷ Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon. *Middle-Class Schools for Girls*. 1860. Ed. Candida Ann Lacey, p.74
- ¹⁸ Sheila R. Herstein. *A Mid-Victorian Feminist – Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon*. New Haven: Yale U P, 1985. p.65
- ¹⁹ Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon. *Women and Work*. 1857. Ed. Candida Ann Lacey, p.37
- ²⁰ Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman to qualify and register as a doctor. Born in Bristol, she emigrated with her family to America. Elizabeth managed to gain admission to a medical college at Geneva, in New York State, as the only female student among 150 men. She graduated as MD in 1849 at the head of her class, with top honors in every subject.
- ²¹ Pam Hirsch. *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-1891 Feminist, Artist and Rebel*. London: Pimlico, 1998. p.247
- ²² George Eliot. *The George Eliot Letters*. Ed. Gordon S. Haight, 8vols. New Haven: Yale U P, 1945 -1978. Vol.4, p.401
- ²³ Punch, 14th January, 1871.
- ²⁴ Pam Hirsch. *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-1891 Feminist, Artist and Rebel*. London: Pimlico, 1998. p.264
- ²⁵ Barbara Stephen. *Emily Davies and Girton College*, London: Constable & Co., Ltd, 1927. p.312