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Faculty of Education Health and Social Care

Mrs Humphry Ward (1851-1920): A Greenian educator

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ABSTRACT FOR THESIS

Mrs Humphry Ward (1851-1920): A Greenian Educator

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This thesis draws together a range of Mrs Humphry Ward's writing alongside her activities as a reformer to reposition her as a Greenian educator. Education is conceived in terms of Thomas Hill Green's (1836-1882) idealist philosophy as the progression towards a better society through the development of the individual. The granddaughter of Dr Arnold of Rugby, Mrs Humphry Ward was a famous English novelist whose reputation was established through her novel about religious doubt *Robert Elsmere* (1888), which brought the ideas of the Oxford philosopher, T. H. Green, to the attention of the public. The novel explored his belief that theory and practice must come together within un-dogmatic interpretations of Christianity for the benefit of society. Throughout her life, Mrs Humphry Ward pursued and pioneered educational reforms but her achievements have been overshadowed by her controversial role as the leader of the anti-suffrage movement.

Following a chapter introducing the idealist principles underpinning Green's philosophy and suggesting reasons why Mrs Humphry Ward can be considered among his pupils, disciples and followers, there are three substantive chapters. Each of these chapters has a separate but inter-related focus on religious, social and political aspects of her life and work as a writer and reformer; tracing the extent to which Green's philosophical principles are discernible in her life and work. Within a gender history methodology, the thesis acknowledges the varied degrees to which Mrs Humphry Ward was simultaneously able to challenge and be complicit with power structures, which contrived to limit and control middle-class women's ability to engage with the religious, social and political issues and debates affecting society. The thesis demonstrates Mrs Humphry Ward's significance within histories of education and argues that the tensions within her life and work can be better understood and appreciated by viewing her as a Greenian educator.

List of Contents

List of Appendices

Declaration and Copyright Statement

No portion of the work referred to in the Thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

I confirm that this Thesis is entirely my own work.

April 2014

Acknowledgements and Preface

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to Dr Stephanie Spencer and Professor Joyce Goodman, who have supported me throughout the research and writing of this thesis with dedication, patience and rigour. They encouraged me to explore the philosophical ideas, methodologies and concepts that have come together in this thesis and have been unstinting with their time, enthusiasm and advice in the challenges that this entailed. Along with the other members of the Centre for the History of Women's Education at the University of Winchester, Dr's Jacobs, Leach, Milsom, Rosoff and Simon Martin and Sue Anderson-Faithful as a team, academically and personally, they have been central in the completion and enjoyment of this project.

My fascination with educational histories began in the undergraduate degree I embarked on at the University of Winchester and I owe thanks to the lecturers on the Education Studies programme. I also owe thanks to the History of Education Society for their bursaries and support. The facilities provided for part-time students in the Master's Lodge have been a key factor in being able to work on this thesis, as have the staff who are based there. My appreciation is also extended to Dr Jane McDermid for the time, advice and comments she offered at upgrade in June 2012.

Numerous archives, libraries, museums and academics have provided invaluable information and I extend my gratitude to: Bodleian Library Special Collections, University of Oxford; Carrie Marsh in Honnold/Mudd Library in Claremont University, California; Balliol College archives, University of Oxford; Somerville College archives, University of Oxford, University College London Library Special Collections; London Metropolitan Archives; The Armitt Museum in Ambleside; The Oxfordshire Blue Plaque Board; Professor Colin Tyler, University of Hull. Thanks also to Jean and Martin Norgate, for welcoming me to their house, Low Sadgill, which appears in *Robert Elsmere.* I am also indebted to the previous biographers of Mrs Humphry Ward's life, particularly John Sutherland and those who have compiled the extensive bibliographies, which are cited in this study.

I would like to acknowledge the immeasurable support and friendship of all the academics and students who have come to work in the Lodge during the five years I have spent there; but most of all Barbara, who acted as my Slovenian thesaurus for three years. I thank my family in Scotland, Shetland and Bournemouth and my friends for their support in the final few weeks of writing up this thesis—especially Michelle, for her valiant efforts. I would especially like to pay

my respects and thanks to my late Godmother, Barbara Telford, who was the first remarkable woman I wrote about as a schoolgirl and also her husband, Murray. Whilst my Godmother's stories alerted me to the inequalities women faced in their lives, Dr Spencer encouraged me to explore my previously un-named and un-recognised feminist tendencies as an undergraduate student. Last, but most important of all, I thank my husband Nick, who has made this all possible in so many ways. But, my sons, Duncan and Callum, you are my greatest educators and this thesis is for you with the advice that Dr Spencer gave to me: never be pleased with anything less than what you are truly capable of achieving and my advice, NEVER give up.

Authorial assumptions are inevitable and necessarily pervade all choices and decisions which manifest in the compilation of a thesis, albeit in varying degrees. Generally, debates concerning the position of the author are thought to have originated from the concluding line of Barthes' famous essay concerning intertextuality and poststructuralism, which states that, 'the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author'.[1] Although this appears to argue that the reader must discount the author in their interpretation of the text to allow them freedom of interpretation, more recent translations of his original work suggests that this is probably taken beyond what Barthes intended. The important point to note is that in order to discount something, it must be known. Otherwise, the reader is deprived of the opportunity to engage with ideas of identity and context and what are inevitably inseparable dynamics of writer, thesis and knowledge. Barthes acknowledges, 'a text is not a line of words releasing a single "theological" meaning…. but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash'.[2] The aim in this study is to strike a balance between the need to make my feminist assumptions explicit without conveying or imposing meaning on the reader.

[1] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Literature in the Modern World: Critical Essays and Documents*, ed. Dennis Walder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), §364.
[2] Ibid., p. 230.

Abbreviations

BCAM…….. Balliol College Archives and Manuscripts

JAC…….. Joint Advisory Committee

LMA…….. London Metropolitan Archives

MAW…….. Mary Augusta Ward

MWC…….. Mary Ward Centre

NFWW…….. National Federation of Women Workers

NLOWS…….. National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage

NUWW…….. National Union of Women Workers

PES…….. Passmore Edwards Settlement

SA…….. Somerville College Archives

UCLA…….. University College London Archives

UCMA…….. Universities' Christian Mission to Africa

UMCA…….. Universities' Mission to Central Africa

WASL…….. Women's Anti-Suffrage League

WWC…….. Women's Work Committee

Introduction

This thesis analyses Mary Augusta Ward (1851-1920) (Mrs Humphry Ward) as a Greenian educator.[1] Education is conceived in the thesis in terms of Thomas Hill Green's (1836-1882)[2] idealist philosophy as the progression towards a better society through the development of the individual, with the aim that we have 'a will of our own, to make ourselves the objects of our actions, on condition of our practically recognising the same title in others', in order that we 'learn to regard ourselves as persons among other persons' in a society.[3] Mary's intellectual ability was first publically acknowledged in the critical reception and success of her novel, *Robert Elsmere* (1888).[4] The novel is credited as providing the clearest portrayal of T. H. Green's ideas and theories and bringing them to the attention of the general public; it also established Mary's fortune, fame and reputation as a writer.[5] Mary now occupies polarised and fragmented positions across histories of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century British women's lives and she has been marginalised within histories of British education.[6] Mary has been championed as a reformer, vilified as an anti-feminist and

[1] The decision to refer to Mrs Humphry Ward as Mary will be discussed in chapter two. See appendix one for a list of Mary's main works. Green's work was first published as a collection in: Richard Lewis Nettleship, ed., *Works of Thomas Hill Green*, 3 vols., (London and New York,: Longmans, Green, and co., 1888). Parts were subsequently republished separately in: W. H. Fairbrother, *The Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green* (London: Methuen & Co, 1896); Richard Lewis Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co, 1906). The entirety of his work is now available, together with his unpublished essays, speeches and letters, in an edited collection: Peter Nicholson, ed., *Collected Works of T. H. Green*, 5 vols., (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1997). In addition to these works, this thesis consults the most commonly consulted editions of his work: T. H. Green, *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons, Edited with an Introductory Notice by the Late Arnold Toynbee, M.A.* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1886); T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, ed. A. C. Bradley, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899); T. H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* (London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1907). Colin Tyler's bibliography, compiled in relation to the work and studies of Green, is available online: Centre for Idealism and the New Liberalism, ed., *Bibliography of Thomas Hill Green*, vol. 2013, (2011).

[2] Henceforth, Thomas Hill Green will be referred to as T. H. Green in the first instance in each chapter and subsequently as Green.

[3] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §190. This concept of education is examined in greater detail in chapters two and three.

[4] Forty-two editions of *Robert Elsmere* were printed and published copies ran to 30,000 in England and 200,000 (mostly pirated) in the USA in its first year. For details see: William B. Thesing and Stephen Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, Victorian Fiction Research Guides, ed. Department of English, vol. 13 (Australia: Queensland University, 1987). The publication and copyright issues surrounding the novel is discussed in: Vineta Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), p. 135. For the most recent edition, with notes and an introduction see: Mrs Humphry Ward, *Robert Elsmere*, ed. Miriam Elizabeth Burstein, 2013 (Brighton: Victorian Secrets, 1888).

[5] Richard A. Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)," *The Review of Politics* 27, No. 4 (1965); William S. Peterson, "Gladstone's Review of Robert Elsmere: Some Unpublished Correspondence," *The Review of English Studies* 21, No. 84 (1970): p.134; Olive Anderson, "The Feminism of T.H. Green: A Late-Victorian Success Story?," *History of Political Thought* 12, (1991). Colin Tyler and Peter Nicholson are eminent scholars of Green's work and have confirmed in email conversations that his work was widely read in Oxford circles, in which Mary was central. They indicate that she would have had access to this work and to his essays and speeches in addition to the philosophy and sermons which she used for *Robert Elsmere*.

[6] This point is made in: Julia Bush, "'Special Strengths for Their Own Special Duties': Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain," *History of Education* 34, No. 4 (2005).

been frequently referred to as 'Ma Hump'.[7] Her position as the leader of the anti-suffrage movement rendered her notorious and deeply unpopular among many of her contemporaries and future generations of women.[8] The purpose of this thesis is to establish Mary as a significant figure alongside the numerous males who are acknowledged within histories of British education to have been inspired by Green and his philosophical ideas.[9]

Mary Augusta was born into the prestigious Arnold family, renowned as intellectual pioneers of educational reforms in Britain, Ireland and India.[10] Her father, Thomas (Tom), was the son of Dr Arnold of Rugby School and her famous uncles included the poet, Matthew Arnold and her uncle by marriage, the politician W. E. Forster.[11] Paradoxically, as a woman, Mary was denied the educational privileges and opportunities of the British educational system, which established the Arnold family as Balliol College men in Oxford University and afterwards as notable educators and public and literary figures.[12] Despite this, William Peterson argues that Mary's work surpassed the legacies of any of the Arnold 'caste'.[13] Mary considered her early schooling to be severely lacking but after her father returned to the Anglican fold of Oxford in

[7] J. Stuart Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1912); Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991); Valerie Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminists Women Novelists* (Houndmills: MacMillan Press, 1996); John Sutherland, "Was Ma Hump to Blame?," *London Review of Books* 24, No. 13 (2002). Vineta Colby advises that the term 'Ma Hump' was first used by Louis N. Parker after a visit he made to Mary's country residence, Stocks. Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 174, f.n. 52. Parker was a playwright and invented the phenomenon of pageants. For further information see: Mark Freeman, "'Splendid Display; Pompous Spectacle': Historical Pageants in Twentieth-Century Britain," *Social History* 38, No. 4 (2013).

[8] For major works on Mary's role in Anti-suffrage see: Brian Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1978); Martine Faraut, "Women Resisting the Vote: A Case of Anti-Feminism?," *Women's History Review* 12, No. 4 (2003); Maroula Joannou, "Mary Augusta Ward (Mrs Humphry) and the Opposition to Women's Suffrage," *Women's History Review* 14, No. 3 (2005); Julia Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[9] These include his pupils Bernard Bosenquet (1848-1923), Richard L. Nettleship (1846-1892) and Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883) and later educationalists and economists including: Fred Clarke (1880-1952) and R. H. Tawney (1880-1962). For a study of the impact of Green's life and work and idealism in British histories of education see: Peter Gordon and John White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

[10] For an alphabetical list of Mary's close family members and the other main people who appear as part of this study see appendix two.

[11] Dr Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) and his wife Mary (1791-1873) had nine surviving children: Jane (1821-1899) wife of W. E Forster; Matthew (1822-1988) - Professor of Poetry at Oxford and a highly acclaimed poet and scholar; Thomas (1823-1900) - established the education system in Van Diemen's Land before returning to a volatile academic career on account of his religious doubts; Mary (1825-1888); Edward (1826-1878) - an inspector of British schools; William (1828-1859) - reformed education in the Punjab, Susanna (1830-1911); Francis (Aunt Fan) (1833-1923); Walter (1835-1893) - had a naval career and later worked in Education. W. E. Forster (1818-1886) – was responsible for the 1870 Education Act. Meriol Trevor, *The Arnolds: Thomas Arnold and His Family* (London: The Bodley Head, 1973); James Bertram, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*, (Auckland and Oxford: Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press, 1980); John Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). For an in depth account of Dr Arnold see: A. P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D., Late Head-Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford* (London: Fellow, 1844).

[12] Mary's education as a young girl is discussed in chapter three. Balliol did not admit women until 1979 but hold a collection of Mary's manuscripts and letters within their archives. Balliol College Archive and Manuscripts, (BCAM), Arnold Family Collections, Mrs Humphry Ward Collections I & II.

[13] William S. Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1976), p. 7.

1865 she took full advantage of the Arnold family's social status within the intellectual community to pursue her education.[14] According to her more recent biographer, John Sutherland, following her marriage to a Brasenose College fellow and tutor, Humphry Ward (1845-1926), in 1872, the Wards formed a close relationship with Humphry's 'idol', Green and his wife, Charlotte (née Symonds) Green.[15]

As an idealist philosopher, Green's primary concern was with society's coherence and its progression towards 'Summum Bonum'.[16] Through his sermons, he urged theologians and intellectuals to challenge dogmatic interpretations of the Christian doctrine actively and rigorously within the University in Oxford and wider afield. He believed that Christianity was not wholly dependent on the acceptance of the notion of miracle or revelation and God could be found 'not in word but in power'.[17] He considered the family, the community and the state to be the forces through which politics, philosophy and theology operated as the common good in society for the benefit of all.[18] The central message contained in Green's philosophy was that preaching and debating theology alone did not reveal God in your soul, and that this could only be attained with sincerity and through an active life of charity.[19] His early death was considered a tragedy by the wider intellectual community in which he lived and worked.[20] His dying words to his wife 'lead a useful life' echoed his raison d'être.[21]

Mary was well known and respected by many male Oxford intellectuals as a young woman.[22] Together with their wives and sisters, she was at the forefront of the ground-breaking

[14] Mrs Humphry Ward, *A Writer's Recollections* (London: Collins, 1918), p. 99, Chapter VI. The significance of Mary's father and his religious doubt is explored in chapter three.
[15] Ibid., p. 133; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 62, p. 44. Sutherland Mary's entry for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography was also written by Sutherland. John Sutherland, "Ward, Mary Augusta [Mrs Humphry Ward] (1851–1920),"*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), (Accessed 26 March, 2014) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36736>.
[16] David Boucher, ed., *The British Idealists*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Introduction. This Latin term 'Summum Bonum' means the highest good. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, $380.
[17] Green, *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons, Edited with an Introductory Notice by the Late Arnold Toynbee, M.A.*, p. 25, p. 41.
[18] Richard Lewis Nettleship, "Professor T. H. Green,"*Contemporary Review*, (1882): p. 858, (Accessed October 5, 2010) <http://pao.chadwyck.co.uk/PDF/1286278557754.pdf>. It has been noted that Green did not focus on economic concerns in: Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003), p. 76.
[19] T. H. Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," in *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons*, ed. Arnold Toynbee (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1886), p. 41.
[20] This is evidenced by the letters and notes collected and transcribed by his late wife and content of the obituaries published in newspapers and magazines, which she compiled in two scrapbooks. These are in: Papers of Green, Fellow of Balliol, BCAM.1.b and BCAM.1.d.28.I &II.
[21] Peter Nicholson, ed., *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* vol. 5, (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1997), p. xv.
[22] In particular, from Balliol, Lincoln and Brasenose Colleges and they included Mandell Creighton (1843-1901), Reverend Arthur Johnson (1845-1927), Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893), Max Müller (1823-1900), Walter Pater (1839-1894), Mark Pattinson (1813-1884), and Edward Talbot (1844-1934). Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*.

networks in the campaigns for higher education for women in Oxford University.[23] These included the Lectures for Women committee, the Association for the Education of Women committee and the Somerville College committee.[24] Over the course of her life, Mary wrote twenty seven novels, several plays, countless magazine articles, acclaimed translations of Spanish and French works, biographies of her family and also critical prefaces published in the Haworth editions of the Brontës' works and the preface to Beatrice Webb's work, *The Case for the Factory Acts* (1901).[25] A contemporary commentator, Stephen Gwynn, stated that Mary's writing 'had a high educational value; she was both qualified and predisposed to instruct.'[26] Equally, the reforms Mary pursued were at the forefront of educating the general public. These included the social settlements, University Hall and Marchmont Hall, the Passmore Edwards Settlement as well as pioneering play centres for children in London.[27]

Mary was also involved in a range of political committees and organisations and these included: the Women's Anti-Suffrage League, which later became the National League Opposing Woman Suffrage; the National Union for Women Workers; the Joint Advisory Committee; the Local Government Advancement Committee.[28] Mary conveyed much of the knowledge and experience she gained from her social and reforming activities to the public through her published speeches, public addresses and also through her novels, such as: *Marcella* (1894); *Sir George Tressady* (1896); *Lady Rose's Daughter* (1903); *Daphne* (1909); and

[23] Louise Creighton (1850-1936), Charlotte Green (1842-1929), Bertha Johnson (1846-1927), Georgina Müller (1834/5-1916), Clara Pater (1841-1910), Emily Francis Pattinson, (later Dilke) (1840-1904), and Lavinia Talbot (1849-1939).

[24] These associations and committees will be discussed in chapter four. Mary also became the first woman examiner in modern languages at the Taylor Institute in Oxford University. Stephen L. Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward* (London: Nisbet, 1917), p. 16; Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 191. The Taylor Institute was established by Sir Robert Taylor who bequeathed a large part of his estate to the construction of a building in order that modern languages could be taught at Oxford. http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/taylor/about/history (Accessed 23/1/2012). See appendix three for Mary's main involvements in educational reforms.

[25] Comprehensive bibliographies of Mary's work are included in: Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*; Françoise Rives, "Mrs. Humphry Ward, Romancière," doctoral, Service de reproduction des thèses, Université de Lille III, Université de Paris IV, 1981; Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*. The most up to date bibliography, *Mrs Humphry Ward, A Bibliography of Criticism, (1851-2010)* was compiled and maintained until 2010 at University of California by the librarians, particularly Michaelyn Burnette, who provided a copy of this list, which covers thirty-four A4 pages. See appendix four for a list of notable dates in Mary's life and work as a writer and reformer. Beatrice Webb's work was published as: Mrs Sidney Webb, ed., *The Case for the Factory Acts*, (London: Grant Richards, 1901).

[26] There are two collected works of Mary's novels, The Westmoreland Edition (1911-1912) and the Autograph Edition (1909-1912). This thesis refers to the Autograph Edition, which has been noted as providing the most reliable editions by Anne M. Bindslev and has been purchased with a bursary awarded by the Education, Health and Social Care Faculty, the University of Winchester and will be donated to The Martial Rose Library on the completion of this thesis. Mary's prefaces to the Brontës' works are now reconsidered as early feminist critiques. For a discussion of this see: Beth Sutton-Ramspeck, "The Personal Is Poetical: Feminist Criticism and Mary Ward's Readings of the Brontës," *Victorian Studies* 34, No. 1 (1990); Gisela Argyle, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Fictional Experiments in the Woman Question," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 43, No. 4 (2003): p. 942.

[27] These will be discussed in chapters four and five.

[28] Mary's opposition to female-suffrage will be discussed in chapter six.

Harvest (1920).[29] Through the combination of her family connections, Oxford contacts and success as a writer, Mary became well-connected and collaborated with prominent political figures in British, American and Canadian society.[30] Mary's contradictory position of being involved in political matters and issues whilst opposing female suffrage was intensified during the First World War. As a result of her status as an eminent British woman novelist within America, and friend of Theodore Roosevelt, Mary was commissioned by the British Government to report to the American public on the progress being made in the British War Effort at home and from the front line in Europe. Her reports were published as a series of propaganda letters and later compiled into two books, *England's Effort* (1916) and *Towards the Goal* (1917).[31]

As a writer, the experiences Mary gained whilst campaigning, organising and administering committees, social settlements and play centres alongside her experiences during the War provided her with a deep insight into the religious, social and political issues and debates that British society faced during her lifetime.[32] This thesis analyses how Mary, as a highly capable middle-class woman on the margins of the Arnold family, accumulated, adapted and dispersed her vision of education through her understanding of the intellectual and practical possibilities that Green's philosophy offered to society in the late-Victorian and Edwardian era.

Thesis Structure

The literature review examines a wide selection of published accounts across religious, social and political aspects of Mary's life and work as a female writer and reformer.[33] Each of these categories has been reviewed across three broad areas: biographically to include general material that recounts events, circumstances and occurrences in Mary's life; material critiquing her literary work; material which discusses Mary more specifically within the realms of her involvement with the reforms and causes that she supported or opposed.[34] These groups are

[29] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 133. These works will be explored in chapters four, five and six.
[30] These include for example: W. E. Gladstone (1809-1898), 11th Duke of Bedford (1858-1940), Beatrice Webb (1858-1943), Sidney Webb (1859-1847), the American social reformer Jane Addams (1860-1935), Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), and the Canadian politician and later Prime Minister MacKenzie King (1874-1950).Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*; Janet Penrose Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward* (London, Bombay & Sydney: Constable & Co, 1923).
[31] This was at the request of Theodore Roosevelt and will be discussed in chapter six. A subsequent book comprising further letters, *Fields of Victory* was published after the War had ended.
[32] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*.
[33] The parameters of these will be discussed in chapter two.
[34] For biographical works see: Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*; Enid Huws Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973); Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*. In addition to these studies, many literary commentators include a wealth of biographical information, for example: Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*; W. L. Phelps, *The Novels of Mrs Humphry Ward* (New York:

constructed loosely to facilitate an investigation of the complexity and diversity of Mary's life and work as well as to illustrate the scope for analysing her as a Greenian educator.[35] None of these groupings are envisaged as being independent of the others or as closed categories.[36] They are proposed as a way of contextualising the existing secondary literature, which leads to the formulation of the research questions and aim of the thesis.

The second chapter sets out the methodology of the thesis by drawing on Joan Scott's work, highlighting gender as a useful category of historical analysis.[37] The first part of the chapter explains the choice of 'Mary' as the preferred term of reference for Mary Augusta Ward. It also sets out the other terms of reference and outlines how education is conceived throughout the thesis in terms of Green's philosophy. The remainder of the chapter outlines how the philosophical ideas of Green will be examined across religious, social and political aspects of Mary's life and work as a writer and reformer and discusses the sources that will be consulted in the thesis.

The first part of the third chapter provides reasons why Mary should be considered among the numerous male pupils, students, followers, advocates, proponents and disciples of Green and

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1914); Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*; Edmund Gosse, "Mrs Humphry Ward," in *Silhouettes*, ed. Edmund Gosse (London: Heinmann, 1925); Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*.
For critical works foregrounding her literary works see: Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*; Rives, "Mrs. Humphry Ward, Romancière."; Anne M. Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression," PhD Diss., Almqvist & Wiksell International, University of Stockholm, 1985; Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminists Women Novelists*; Beth Sutton-Ramspeck, *Raising the Dust: The Literary Housekeeping of Mary Ward, Sarah Grand, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (Athens, Ohio ; [Great Britain]: Ohio University Press, 2004). In addition to these books and chapters, Peter Collister has published several formative articles including: Peter Collister, "Mrs Humphry Ward, Vernon Lee, and Henry James," *The Review of English Studies* 31, No. 123 (1980); Peter Collister, "A Postlude to Gladstone on "Robert Elsmere": Four Unpublished Letters," *Modern Philology* 79, No. 3 (1982).
The most recent theses and studies examining Mary's literary work include: Gillian E. Boughton, "The Juvenilia of Mrs Humphry Ward (1851-1920): A Diplomatic Edition of Six Previously Unpublished Narratives Derived from Original Manuscript Sources," PhD diss., Durham University. Accessed 2013-14 :http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1123/1/1123_v1.pdf?EThOS (BL)), 1995; Valerie J. Shepherd, "Whirlwinds of Thought and Ferments of Mind: The Process of Personal Change in Mrs Humphry Ward," PhD diss., University of Liverpool, 2006.
For works that relate to her reforms see: Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*; Seth Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840 to 1914," in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, eds. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (New York and London: Routledge, 1993); Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000); Nigel Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007).
For major works on Mary's role in Anti-Suffrage refer to f.n. 8.

[35] These will be discussed in chapter two.

[36] This is in line with a discussion about the choices involved in selecting sources in: Stefan Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.15.

[37] Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in *Feminism and History*, ed. Joan Scott (1996); Joan Scott, "Women's History," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, second ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001); Joan Scott, "Unanswered Questions, Contribution to AHR Forum, Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis'," *American Historical Review* 113, No. 5 (2008); Joan Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?," *Diogenes* 57, No. 1 (2010); Joan Scott, "Storytelling," *History and Theory* 50, No. 2 (2011).

his philosophy. The second part of the chapter discusses Green's life and work and the third part provides an introduction to his concepts: 'the eternal consciousness', 'the perfectibility of mankind' and 'the common good' in relation to his understanding of religion, society and politics. The final section then provides an interpretation of the metaphysical principles that underpin Green's idealist philosophy. These concepts and principles will be traced and explored through Mary's life and work as a writer and reformer and also inform the headings of the three substantive chapters: Education and Religion, Education and Society and Education and Politics.

Chapter four analyses how Mary drew on Green's philosophical ideas as a young Christian middle-class woman pursuing her education. The first section employs the concepts of the eternal consciousness and the perfectibility of mankind to examine how, as an academic student she used her access to religious issues, texts and debates whilst living in Oxford to first, further her own education as a writer and later, to educate the general public. The second section examines how Mary was informed by Green's idea of the common good through her early involvement with women's higher education committees in Oxford and her role in establishing University Hall social settlement, in London.

Chapter five moves on to consider Mary as a socially active, self-educated middle-class married woman. It analyses how, as a writer and reformer based in London, she explored and developed the ideas Green expressed concerning the important but different roles of women within the family unit and wider society and the ways she conveyed her views to the public. The first section looks at how Mary used her position and status in society as a writer of fiction to reinforce to the general public, the central role the idea of the family played in maintaining a cohesive society. The second section examines ways in which Mary used her social status to negotiate the barriers she faced in her attempts to create a better society in practice. It considers how she expanded, developed and re-evaluated the educational reforms she attempted in University Hall and Marchmont Hall in Bloomsbury in London and used them as the basis for the more successful ventures she pioneered: the Passmore Edwards Settlement and the children's play centres.

Chapter six seeks to analyse the extent to which Mary expounded, adapted and diverged from Green's political philosophy. The first part of the chapter explains how the core concepts, discussed in chapter three, underpin the principles of Green's political ideas concerning the role of the state in society. The second section examines how Mary presented these ideas to the public in her writing, through her theoretical exploration and depiction of the fear of

socialism and the impact of the First World War. The remainder of the chapter draws together the tensions between Mary's activities during the War alongside the views she portrayed to the public about the role of women within politics to examine the extent to which Mary reflected Green's political ideas as a writer and reformer.

The final chapter reviews the research questions and conclusions of the thesis, reflects on the methodology and reflects on ways in which this research may inform future studies of Mary and other women who followed the ideas and work of Green in the context of education.

Chapter 1 – Literature Review

Introduction

Mary's writing, campaigning, public addresses, lectures and her day to day activities reflect the extent of her involvement with religious, social and political issues and debates during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period.[1] Her life and work have featured in a vast quantity of secondary literature. The scope of Mary's activities also offers the potential for rethinking the diversity of the material that has been published as the starting point for this thesis. By drawing on Joan Scott's observations concerning the problematical nature of writing women into history, the first part of the chapter examines the secondary literature most commonly consulted alongside less frequently cited material that comments on Mary's life and work.[2] The literature has been considered across the religious, social and political aspects of her life and work. These three inter-related themes have been subdivided into three areas in which Mary can be loosely considered to have been discussed: biographical; literary criticism; social reform and activism.[3] The second part of the chapter considers the much smaller body of literature specifically relating to Mary in the context of British education during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period. The concluding section sets out the research questions that have been developed from the review of the secondary literature conducted in this chapter.

Religion

Discussions of Mary's early life and work within biographical accounts in relation to religious aspects of her life are generally limited to her engagement with religious doubt within Christianity and the impact of her father's conversions to and from Anglicanism. James M. Bertram's collections of letters provide evidence in support of John Sutherland's view that Mary's father's actions were 'destructive'.[4] The letters illustrate the strength of the Arnolds as a family and how they embraced and tolerated different perspectives within religious debates. As well as showing their unity in the Arnold family's financial and emotional support of Tom Arnold and his children, these letters also reinforce the argument and views of Janet

[1] This point is noted in: Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, Introduction, pp. 1-13. See the introduction to the thesis, f. n. 24, for a list of the main bibliographies compiled in relation to works citing Mary's life and work.
[2] The difficulties arising from a universal category of 'women' include: stereotyping, exclusion and undermining individual characteristics by dominant culturally specific attributes and values. This debate is informed and discussed by Judith P Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990); Joan Scott, *Feminism and History*, Oxford Readings in Feminism (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Scott, "Women's History."
[3] The parameters of these categorisations are explained in chapter three.
[4] James M. Bertram, ed., *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger with Further Letters from Van Diemen's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough, 1847-1851*, (Auckland, London and Wellington: University of Auckland and Oxford University Press, 1966); Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*.

Trevelyan, Peterson and Sutherland that religion had a significant impact on Mary as a young girl.[5] In his biographical analysis of Mary's novel of religious doubt, *Robert Elsmere*, Peterson discusses antecedents to Mary's religious views in terms of the legacy of Dr Arnold's liberal theological ideas of Christianity.[6] Peterson notes that T. H. Green was 'just the sort of thinker who would naturally appeal to Mrs Ward'.[7] Sutherland and to a lesser extent Enid Jones take a more interpretive approach to describing many of Mary's religious views but express their views of Mary in terms of a 'Victorian Woman' in the shadow of her male counterparts. Sutherland, in particular, frames Mary within the gendered rhetoric of Victorian womanhood, stating that '[l]ike other young university wives in the early 1870s, Mary Ward was impressed by Dr Jowett's parties, from whose cultivated (but rather strained) discussions women were not excluded.'[8] As descriptive accounts in biographical contexts, these works provide a limited analytical discussion of Mary's engagement with religion. They highlight the scope for examining philosophical aspects of Mary's intellectual appreciation of religion as a young woman, in particular in what ways the ideas of Green appealed to her and how they manifested in her writing and as a reformer in later life.

There is consensus among Mary's biographers that as a young woman, Mary was immersed in the religious ideas which underpinned Green's philosophy and were widespread within the Oxford intellectual climate of the late-Victorian era.[9] Peterson asserts that Mary was 'not a merely passive receptacle of various influences' and that she came to Oxford 'with an already fully developed interest in religious controversies'.[10] In her autobiography, Mary details her lifelong friendship with Green and his wife Charlotte, as well as many of the leading scholars who were fervently debating the nature of miracle within Christianity.[11] After her marriage to Thomas Humphry Ward in 1872, Mary's increased social mobility enabled her to expand the ways in which she was able to study and to contribute to the religious debates concerning doubt and miracle that were circulating in Oxford.[12] However, Mary's biographers also state

[5] Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 3-29; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, pp. 37-42; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*.
[6] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, pp. 19-26.
[7] Ibid., p. 76.
[8] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 63.
[9] Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*; Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*. Each of these works contains a chapter on Mary's life in Oxford, in which her religious views and views are discussed in relation to academics that she associated with. See the introduction to the thesis f. n. 21 for a note of the main academics she consorted with and also appendix two.
[10] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 80.
[11] These included: her uncle Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) and her father Thomas Arnold (1823-1900), John Bright (1811-1889), Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893), Walter Pater (1839-1894), Mark Pattinson (1813-1884), Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900) and John Wordsworth (1843-1911), Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*.
[12] Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 44-45; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, Chapter four; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 62.

that her religious convictions were complex and ignited by Green and his ideas but as biographical works, they do not expand upon this to any depth philosophically, across her life or work.[13] For example, Janet Trevelyan claims that the aim of her biography was to establish her mother as a significant figure within the 'brilliance' of the Oxford circles that she moved in, where Green 'was inspiring the younger generation with his own robust idealism and the doctrine of the "duty of work"'.[14] These biographical works illustrate the possibility that exists to analyse how Mary's intellectual ability meshed with the religious, social and political strategies, which Mary employed in order to translate the complex religious concepts within Green's idealist philosophy into ideas that inspired a generation of her readers. This thesis also builds on the work of previous studies that have examined the theme of religion in *Robert Elsmere* by exploring the difficulty that Mary encountered in adapting Green's form of idealism in the religious ideas she attempted to recreate through her female fictional characters and into her work as a reformer.

A significant number of entries noted in bibliographies compiled in relation to Mary's life and work can be considered from the perspective of education and religion.[15] As a general rule however, studies and commentaries that feature Mary's literary work are heavily focussed on her novels of religious doubt, in particular her most famous novel *Robert Elsmere*.[16] This group of novels is considered to have provided a major contribution to the history of nineteenth-century thought and they continue to be viewed as her most significant work.[17] Critical commentaries and reviews of these novels were published in a broad range of journals, magazines and newspapers at the time but they generally focus on the religious content and were either deeply troubled by or highly supportive of the novels on this basis.[18] These works included a famous review of *Robert Elsmere* by W. E. Gladstone, who fuelled the general public's interest in her work.[19] Gladstone was highly critical of the message contained within

[13] Lewis considers that Green's ideas were foremost in Mary's reforms but the role of Green's philosophy is not the main focus of her study, as Mary is one of five women who feature in this book, the others being: Helen Bosanquet (1860-1925); Octavia Hill (1838-1912); Violet Markham (1872-1959); Beatrice Webb (1858-1943); Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*.
[14] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 27-28.
[15] These bibliographies are noted in the introduction to the thesis f. n. 24.
[16] For a note of Mary's religious themed literary work see appendix one. Peterson includes *Eleanor* (1900) in his category of Mary's religious novels but for the purpose of this thesis, it is considered as a romance within her novels that have a social theme, in line with E. M. G. Smith's view. Esther Marian Greenwell Smith, *Mrs. Humphry Ward*, Twayne's English Authors Series Teas No 288 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980).
[17] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 13; Norman Vance, "Mary Ward and the Problems of History," in *Bible and Novel: Narrative Authority and the Death of God*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 135.
[18] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, pp. 12-13. Thesing and Pulsford' s bibliography lists sixty two reviews of *Robert Elsmere,* eighteen of *The History of David Grieve*, twenty six of *Helbeck of Bannisdale* and twenty of *The Case of Richard Meynell*. Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*.
[19] W. E Gladstone, "Robert Elsmere and the 'Battle of Belief'," *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, (1888), (Accessed February 16, 2014) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/2644472?accountid=27803 >. Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p.159.

the novel as it presented Green's case for a broader view of Christianity which discounted the need for 'miracle'.[20] He considered that Green's ideas would abolish 'the whole authority of Scripture. It abolishes also Church, priesthood or ministry, sacraments, and the whole established machinery which trains the Christian as a member of a religious society.'[21] The extent to which *Robert Elsmere* has been used as the starting point for examining how Green's philosophy impacted Victorian society suggests that Mary's other novels may, equally, offer insights into how she explored his ideas and translated them to the general public.

Critical feminist analyses of Mary's writing from a religious perspective have dealt with increasingly wider themes such as marriage, anti-feminism and the 'woman question'[22] but are often used as a comparative study with other historical works.[23] Mary is rarely considered within feminist studies of women and theology however and this is illustrated by her absence from works such as that of Rebecca Styler, which considers a broad selection of biographical, fictional and critical literary forms of women's contribution to theological discourse.[24] Valerie Shepherd endorses Anne M. Bindslev's 1985 conclusion that Mary's other novels continue to attract little interest in any area, noting that *Marcella* was the only novel in print when she was writing her thesis in 2006.[25] Shepherd's thesis draws on Cardinal Newman's concept of 'influence' and demonstrates the potential in examining Mary's more famous novels from a religious perspective. Cardinal Newman was a guiding light in Mary's father's religious beliefs (as his letters show) but considering Mary had such a close relationship with Green, this thesis argues that there is significant scope to examine how Green's religious and educational ideas underpinned Mary's literary work.[26] Shepherd concludes that Mary aimed to educate and

[20] Gladstone, "Robert Elsmere and the 'Battle of Belief'."
[21] Ibid., p. 777.
[22] The 'woman question' revolved around the issues and debates of women's roles of women within the changing economic, religious, social and political society in late-Victorian and Edwardian Society.
[23] Jonathan Loesberg, "Deconstruction, Historicism, and Overdetermination: Dislocations of the Marriage Plots in "Robert Elsmere" and "Dombey and Son"," *Victorian Studies* 33, No. 3 (1990); Maria Doloris Herrero Granado, "Fiction through History and/or History through Fiction: Mary A. Ward's Theism as Reflected in *Robert Elsmere*: An Illustration of the Ultimate Hegelian Paradox," in *Telling Histories: Narrativizing History, Historicizing Literature*, ed. Susana Onega (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995); Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Elisabeth Jay, "Women Writers and Religion: 'A Self Worth Saving, a Duty Worth Doing and a Voice Worth Raising'," in *Women and Literature in Britian 1800-1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[24] Rebecca Styler, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). The other women considered in this study include: Anne Brontë (1820-1849); Josephine Butler (1828-1906); ; Harriet Martineau (1802-1876); Emma Worboise (1825-1887), who wrote a biography of Dr Arnold.
[25] Shepherd looks mainly at *Robert Elsmere, Marcella* and *Helbeck of Bannisdale,* Shepherd, "Whirlwinds of Thought and Ferments of Mind: The Process of Personal Change in Mrs Humphry Ward," p. 13. Bindslev's study looks at tensions pertaining to women and identity in marriage, professional work and politics in: *Marcella*, *Sir George Tressady* (sequel), *Helbeck of Bannisdale* and supplements these with occasional references to *Robert Elsmere*, Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression." A critical edition of Marcella is available: Beth Sutton-Ramspeck and Nicole B. Mellor, eds., *Marcella*, (Peterborough, Ont; Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press, 2002).
[26] Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*.

improve her readers through her fiction.[27] This thesis will investigate how and why her novels were important ways in which Mary communicated her views on women's roles in society to the general public.[28]

In his discussion of the sources Mary used for *The History of David Grieve*, Peter Collister maintains that Green's ideas concerning practicality and religion were a significant factor.[29] Norman Vance takes a much broader view of Mary's novels to investigate how they reflect historical changes in religious attitudes of society.[30] Elisabeth Jay concludes that Mary's religious novels provided her with a 'transitional space', which she utilised as a socially acceptable way of manoeuvring between public and private domains.[31] These studies illustrate the potential for exploring further how Green's life and work manifested beyond her religious novels and through the other forms of her writing and into the reforms she led and championed. This thesis will consider the extent to which Green's view of religion is present in the views Mary conveyed to the general public as a writer, concerning the roles of women in society.

It is widely acknowledged that the success of *Robert Elsmere* was instrumental in Mary's decision to create the social settlement, University Hall.[32] The ethos of the settlement was one of liberal religious theological teachings funded by Unitarians and envisaged as a means to provide educational facilities for the poorer inhabitants in the Bloomsbury locality.[33] The success of the novel encouraged her to venture into the wider reforms she undertook in London but it is generally acknowledged that her aim was to 'lead a useful life' by showing that it was possible to follow Green's principles which advocated that theory and practice should work together as active charity within the community.[34] There are several scholarly analyses of Mary's work as a reformer, her engagement with settlement work and the pioneering reforms she instigated for poorer and invalid children.[35] These studies acknowledge, without exception, that Green's ideas underpinned both the concept and the aim she sought to fulfil through the social settlements she established. As these works form part of a larger study of particular

[27] Shepherd, "Whirlwinds of Thought and Ferments of Mind: The Process of Personal Change in Mrs Humphry Ward," p. 265.
[28] The use of fiction as an educative tool is discussed in chapter three.
[29] Peter Collister, "Some Literary and Popular Sources for Mrs Humphry Ward's the History of David Grieve," *The Review of English Studies* 40, No. 159 (1989): p. 374.
[30] Vance, "Mary Ward and the Problems of History."
[31] Jay, "Women Writers and Religion: 'A Self Worth Saving, a Duty Worth Doing and a Voice Worth Raising'," p. 260.
[32] See introduction to thesis, f. n. 4.
[33] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 183; Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 203; Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, pp. 23-24; Rosemary Ashton, *Victorian Bloomsbury* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).
[34] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, pp. 176-77.
[35] See introduction to thesis, f. n. 33.

reforms or themes in most cases, the discussion of Green's philosophical ideas is limited. These accounts together provide background information to investigate how Mary was able to engage with the significance and complexity of religion within Green's philosophical concepts and put them into practice through the settlements and play centres she pioneered.

Nigel Scotland, for example, devotes a chapter to the history of University Hall in his detailed work on the settlement movement in London. He affirms the importance of Green's ideas of Christianity in Mary's actions and ideas but does not expand on how those ideas developed or manifested in other areas of her life and work.[36] Seth Koven similarly acknowledges that religion and religious motives informed the moral attitudes that underpinned the lives of reformers, including Mary but again he is limited in his discussion of the wider context of Green's ideas concerning Christianity, as his chapter is presented within a book focussing on the wider themes of women and social reform.[37] Jane Lewis states that Green's work can be identified in Mary's ideas concerning her reforms.[38] She locates Mary's reforms within Green's ideas but her discussion is brief due to her coverage of the lives of five different women and their social action.[39] Lewis highlights the significance of the philosophical and religious debates that informed Mary's view of citizenship but the focus of her work is centred on conservatism, individualism and collectivism and framed within the realms of the social maternalist movement. As individual studies, Lewis, Koven and Scotland's work provide much of the detail concerning specific reforms; examined alongside each other they offer a fruitful avenue of investigation. This thesis will examine how the initial inspiration Mary drew from Green's religious ideas manifested through the succession of educational reforms she supported and pioneered.

Society

Mary circumvented her inability to participate within the formal networks that were open to her male counterparts in clubs by orchestrating and hosting social gatherings within her homes.[40] Janet Trevelyan claims that Mary's 'Thursdays' became an institution and although

[36] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, pp. 175-95.
[37] Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840 to 1914."
[38] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*.
[39] See f. n. 13 above.
[40] For an explanation of the phenomenon of the eighteenth-century French Salon culture and the impact on British women writers see: Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1832*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); W. A. Speck, *Literature and Society in Eighteenth-Century England: Ideology, Politics and Culture, 1680-1820* (London and New York: Longman, 1998); Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750-1810* (Chicago (ILL.) ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Adriana Craciun, *British Woman Writers and the French Revolution* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

her mother would not have considered them to be a salon in the French tradition, her 'afternoons or evenings made a remarkable English equivalent.'[41] Janet Trevelyan and Sutherland agree that these occasions served social and educational purposes by increasing Mary's social profile and her circle of contacts.[42] The significant social prestige Mary was afforded over many years was a determining factor in her ability to co-opt and mobilise vast numbers of notable people to support her educational reforms, practically and financially, such as University Hall, the Passmore Edwards Settlement and the various play centres for children.[43] In Mary's later years, there is a consensus among her biographers that her literary status diminished on account of her anti-suffrage activities.[44] Despite her increasing unpopularity among women, even one of her fiercest critics, Virginia Woolf, conceded that Mary held a certain fascination for her: she notes in her published diary that she was drawn to reading 'Mrs Ward's' autobiography, *A Writer's Recollections*.[45] This thesis will consider the extent to which the success of Mary's reforms was supported by the members of her family and household: practically, administratively and emotionally.[46] The level of skill and professionalism demonstrated by the women in their support of Mary's career is often submerged and discounted within accounts of her life and offers the potential to be considered in this study as a fundamental aspect of Mary's career progression, which as Stephanie Spencer has argued, required alternative strategies for women than it did for men.[47]

Among the reproductions of photographs, portraits and drawings that appear in biographical works about Mary, Max Beerbohm's 1904 caricature captures much of how she came to be perceived by late-Victorian and Edwardian British society in relation to her male Arnold relatives.[48] Beerbohm portrays her as a little girl looking up to her uncle, Matthew Arnold, with the caption 'Why, Uncle Matthew, Oh why, will you not be always wholly serious?'[49] Edmund Gosse makes a point of noting Janet Trevelyan's failure to mention the caricature in her biography of her mother but extends his praise of Mary, claiming that 'few women have been

[41] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 187. For information on the Eighteenth-century French Salon culture see for example: Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994); Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*.
[42] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 113, p. 252; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 93-94.
[43] For discussion and information of how these initiatives developed see: Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*; Kevin Brehony, "A "Socially Civilising Influence"? Play and the Urban "Degenerate"," *Paedagogica Historica* 39, No. 1 (2003). The Passmore Edwards Settlement and the play centres will be discussed in chapter five.
[44] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 239; Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 143; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 330-37.
[45] A. O. Bell, ed., *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, 1915-1919*, vol. 1, 5 vols., (London: The Hogarth Press, 1977), pp. 299-300.
[46] This will be also be explored in chapter five.
[47] Stephanie Spencer, *Gender, Work and Education in Britain in the 1950s* (New York ; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 87.
[48] This image was originally published in: Max Beerbohm, *The Poet's Corner* (London: Heinemann, 1904).
[49] Peterson notes that Mary was 'an irresistible target for satire and ridicule' and lists several derogatory remarks concerning her. Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 3.

more resolutely ambitious of pecuniary and social success and fewer still have, during their life time, more signally and honourably attained it'.[50] John Lucas considers that this satirical image presents a woman intolerant of the lighter side of life.[51] Sutherland regards Beerbohm's caricature as a reflection of Mary's adulatory and continual need to seek reassurance from her male Arnold relatives, whilst Jones features the cartoon in her book without any discussion of why she included this in her book.[52] Regardless of individual interpretations of this one image, they all project the view that Mary's public persona was inextricably linked and subordinate to the male Arnold family narrative. The perception of Mary being in awe of her uncle may have been the case during Mary's life but she made a more significant impact on the British reading public at that time than her uncle's poetry or his criticism.[53] These stereotypical portrayals of Mary suggest that there are unanswered questions concerning how she used her gender to perpetuate the Arnold legacy as well as to how she benefitted from their reputation as educators and intellectuals.

In 1912, Stuart Walters used the themes of religion, social life, politics and women to illustrate the positive impact Mary's novels had on society.[54] He argues that 'there are few literary personalities that have made a deeper impression on the psychosis of our own times'.[55] He demonstrated that Mary explored a broad range of social injustices and that she drew attention to the complexity of the issues concerning the inequalities she recognised in society through the medium of her novels.[56] He surmises that 'perhaps the greatest of all the influences that helped from time to time to mould that mental entity which we know as Mrs Humphry Ward, was the living personality of Thomas Hill Green'.[57] This thesis expands Walters' brief discussion of Green's principles in relation to the fictional character of Mr Grey within *Robert Elsmere*, who was based on Green. It examines how Mary drew on the example of Green's life and work in relation to the messages she conveyed to the public through her female characters. Although Walters' book is hagiographic, its structure raises two important points for this thesis. First, it is significant that he considers 'women' should necessitate a separate section, reflecting the attraction that women's issues were beginning to receive in British society. Second, that 'women' is the last theme within her novels to be discussed

[50] Gosse, "Mrs Humphry Ward," pp. 203-06.
[51] John Lucas, "The Comic Gall of X. J. Kennedy,"*The Dark Horse*, (Scotland, 2008): p. 72, (Accessed January, 2014) <http://www.gerrycambridge.com/pubpdf/johnlucaskennedy.pdf>. This is a review of X. J. Kennedy's book *In A Prominent Bar in Secaucus: New and Selected Poems, 1955-2007.*
[52] Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 148; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p.1.
[53] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 113. Matthew Arnold had published his last new poetry when Mary was a young child. This point is made in: Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 58.
[54] Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*, p. 202.
[55] Ibid., p. 26.
[56] Ibid., pp. 63-64.
[57] Ibid., p. 43.

reflects how her views on women were considered to be supplementary and not integral to the religious, social and political aspects of her writing.[58] The view of Mary being in opposition to the majority of women has been compounded by the inclusion of Mary's novel, *Daphne*, (*or Marriage à La Mode*) as part of a five-volume collection of anti-feminist works.[59] The difficulty of placing Mary within the concept of 'women' as a category raises additional questions to be explored in the thesis: why her views on women's roles within society were so deep-rooted and to what extent this novel has been misinterpreted due to Mary being categorised as an anti-feminist.

Walters predicted that *Robert Elsmere, Marcella* and *The History of Robert Grieve* would be remembered when much of Mary's other fictional work would be forgotten.[60] Vineta Colby concludes that although Mary's novels became the subject of ridicule for the next literary generation, someone of her stature and position within society could not have expected to escape this form of personal criticism.[61] She examines Mary as 'Mrs Ward' in a chapter within the remit of five nineteenth-century women novelists, and acknowledges that her depictions of the 'new woman' were sympathetic.[62] Colby's work highlights the possibility of examining Mary's fictional female characters from the perspective of Mary's ideas on women's roles in society as a Greenian educator. She considers that Mary's views were not as polarised as her later categorisation as an anti-feminist have suggested.[63] Bindslev also notes that although Mary's novels became denounced as out-dated by writers, such as Lytton Strachey, Virginia Woolf and Rebecca West, she concludes that they present valuable insights for feminist studies.[64] Bindslev argues that earlier interpretations of Mary's fiction, such as that by Stephen L. Gwynn, were too simplistic but suggests this may be partially due to the period in which he was writing.[65] Bindslev's argument suggests that a more synthesised analytical approach may provide a deeper understanding of how fiction sufficed as an educative tool for Mary and her readers in the absence of access to formal educative processes and systems.

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[58] Ibid., pp. 207-09.
[59] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Daphne, or Marriage À La Mode (1911)*, Anti-Feminism in Edwardian Literature, eds. A. Heilmann, L. Delap and S. Thomas, 5 vols. (Thoemmes Continuum, 2006). *Marriage À La Mode* was the American title of the novel.
[60] Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*, pp. 63-64.
[61] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 164.
[62] The other four women were: John Oliver Hobbes (Pearl Mary Teresa Craigie, 1867-1906); Vernon Lee (Violet Paget, 1856-1935); Mrs Eliza Lyn Linton (1822-1898); Olive Schreiner (1855-1920). The increasing calls for independence and equality by the 'New Woman', who was characterised in terms of what was understood at the time by 'unwomanly' qualities, was perceived to be a threat the existing order of society and the traditional role of women in the family and society.
[63] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 157-59.
[64] Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression," pp. 4-5. Both Bindslev and Peterson conclude that style of Charlotte Yonge's fictional work and in particular, Bildungsroman aspects can be detected in Mary's work. Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 49.
[65] Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression."; Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*.

Peterson discusses the extent to which Ezra Pound's poem '*Moeurs Contemporaines*' (1919) reflected and helped shape the demise of Mary's success and popularity as a writer and public figure among women, in particular. Pound presents her as an overblown persona, and representative of the outmoded Victorian establishment, which was the subject of revile in social circles.[66] His poem reads:

> And he talked about "the Great Mary,"
> And said: "Mr. Pound is shocked at my levity."
> When it turned out he meant Mrs. Ward.[67]

Sutherland and Gisela Argyle cite several articles, books and reviews in which the next generation of writers, including the Bloomsbury Group, were disparaging about Mary, and how she became known as 'Ma Hump'.[68] In an earlier article, Argyle examines the nuances of the 'woman question' in Mary's fiction and the difficulties of feminist discourse in religious controversy and social and political reform.[69] This article, however, discusses five of what Argyle considers to be among Mary's best and most successful novels.[70] Argyle reiterates Bindslev's sentiments concerning the lack of feminist analysis of Mary's writings and argues that Mary's anti-feminist stance has discouraged scholars from attempting a more in-depth study of her significance as an educationalist.[71] Beth Sutton-Ramspeck is one of the few scholars who have conducted a feminist analysis of a variety of Mary's fictional and non-fictional work. Her work illustrates Mary's writing is a rich source for studies of historical studies of women because of the diversity and complexity of ideas that it contains. As literary criticism, her work does not consider how Green's ideas shaped or were translated in an educational context through social themes, which this study will explore in more depth.[72]

Mary's nephew, Aldous Huxley, satirises his aunt's personality and her work but Virginia Woolf's disregard for Mary is more commonly remarked upon, in particular, her scathing

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[66] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 3.
[67] Pound's poem laments the manners of the past and contrasts it with modern ways and was published in 1918.
[68] Sutherland, "Was Ma Hump to Blame?."; Gisela Argyle, *Victorian Studies*, (2006), review, (Accessed June, 2012) <http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/victorian_studies/v048/48.4argyle.html>; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*; Gisela Argyle, "Mary Augusta Arnold Ward (1851-1920)," in *Nineteenth-Century British Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*, ed. Abigail Burnham Bloom (London: Adwych Press, 2000).
[69] Argyle, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Fictional Experiments in the Woman Question."
[70] The novels she looks at are, *Robert Elsmere*, *Marcella*, *Sir George Tressady*, *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, *Eleanor* and the other two novels that she considers are the best and most successful are *The History of David Grieve* and *The Marriage of William Ash*. See appendix one.
[71] Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression," p. 8.
[72] See for example: Beth Sutton-Ramspeck, "The Slayer and the Slain: Women and Sacrifice in Mary Ward's "Eleanor"," *South Atlantic Review* 52, No. 4 (1987); Sutton-Ramspeck, "The Personal Is Poetical: Feminist Criticism and Mary Ward's Readings of the Brontës."; Sutton-Ramspeck, *Raising the Dust: The Literary Housekeeping of Mary Ward, Sarah Grand, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman*. Sutton-Ramspeck has also published a scholarly edition of *Marcella, Sutton-Ramspeck and Mellor, Marcella.*

review of Janet Trevelyan's biography.[73] Shepherd notes that Mary's financial incentive to write in order to raise money to compensate for her son's debts was the subject of conversation between Virginia Woolf and Aldous Huxley.[74] Virginia Woolf claimed Mary's writing was 'as great a menace to health of mind as influenza to the body' and that her views were that of a generation of those who inhabited 'the stuffed world of the first class railway carriage'.[75] However, the number of entries that Virginia Woolf made in her diaries concerning Mary indicates that she took note of her and her novels, even if she did not concede this at the time. Colby and Collister state that critics and admirers alike have had a high respect for Mary's intellect, achievements and self-motivation despite their differing views on her literary prowess at times.[76] Gosse summarises these views in his early observation, 'whether Mary Augusta Ward has left a permanent impression on the literature of her country may fairly be questioned, but no honest man can doubt that she has bequeathed to us all an example of high faith and loyalty.'[77] This statement raises questions surrounding the different perceptions of the gender roles that Mary adopted and she was assigned in Victorian and Edwardian society, which this thesis will explore.

In her chapter focussing on Mary, Lewis consults a wide range of Mary's novels to examine male and female characters within the realms of individualism and collectivism of social action.[78] Lewis's work suggests first, that Mary recognised the potential of her novels as a less confrontational framework in which to disseminate her views within a male dominated society, and second, that they would be financially profitable. Through her analysis of the didactic style of Mary's fictional works, Lewis illustrates that they provide a fruitful source for an examination of a broad range of educational and moral issues that affected Victorian and Edwardian society in England.[79] There is, therefore, potential to expand Lewis's work by revisiting Mary's writing as a way of tracing how Green's philosophy is discernible in how she portrays the social and political roles of middle-class women over time.

Reviewers at the time Mary was writing, such as Gosse and Gwynn, argued that her talent was much more suited to non-fictional work on account of her serious nature and lack of flair and

[73] Bell, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, 1915-1919*; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 201; Joannou, "Mary Augusta Ward (Mrs Humphry) and the Opposition to Women's Suffrage," p. 563.
[74] Shepherd, "Whirlwinds of Thought and Ferments of Mind: The Process of Personal Change in Mrs Humphry Ward," p. 234.
[75] Bell, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, 1915-1919*, p. 166, p. 211.
[76] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 114.
[77] Gosse, "Mrs Humphry Ward," p. 210.
[78] Lewis uses over twenty of Mary's novels as well as a wide selection of her non fictional work in her chapter. Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*.
[79] Ibid., p. 1, p. 197.

this view is supported more recently by Bindslev and Peterson.[80] Their views appear to have been common at the time as a reviewer states that '[s]he is a born controversialist, a pamphleteer, a theologian, a politician, anything you like but not a novelist.'[81] There remains a lack of critical appraisal of her non-fictional writing, such as her criticism, prefaces and published public addresses.[82] Mary's reputation and popularity as a fictional writer declined in response to the dwindling stature of her social persona as Colby observes, 'Mrs Ward the human being was overshadowed by Mrs Ward the public figure'.[83] The relatively limited number of feminist studies which have discussed Mary's writing since these earlier accounts highlights the potential to re-examine fictional narratives alongside her critical writing, public speeches and addresses and articles in this thesis, which will analyse how the dynamics of being a famous female public figure impacted her ability to transmit her views to the public through her writing.

Mary's academic work on the early Spanish Ecclesiastics established her as a serious and talented scholar, which Peterson and Sutherland assert was a feat of diligence and intellectual achievement for anyone in their twenties, let alone a young woman in the 1870s.[84] Her other academic work, which comprised notes, introduction and English translation of the French work *Amiel's Journal Intime* was considered by Walter Pater as an unprecedented success for a young woman of that time.[85] Sutherland notes that Mary quotes flattering reviews in her autobiography but observes that she fails to mention the more scathing one written by Matthew Arnold.[86] A reviewer surmises that '[t]he editorship and translation of this work has evidently been a labour of love for Mrs. Ward, who has admirably preserved the spirit of the original.'[87] This review also states that her two-volume edition of the translation caused a literary stir in Britain and abroad. Sutherland largely attributes the majority of Mary's achievements as the result of successful lobbying of male figures of authority; for example he

[80] Gosse, "Mrs Humphry Ward," p. 209; Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 86; Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 48. Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression," p. 83.
[81] Anonymous, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Latest, and Others,"*The Saturday Review*, (1900), (Accessed August 8, 2011) <http://www.proquest.co.uk/>.
[82] The exception to this is Beth Sutton-Ramspeck's feminist critique: Sutton-Ramspeck, "The Personal Is Poetical: Feminist Criticism and Mary Ward's Readings of the Brontës."
[83] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 163.
[84] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 81; John Sutherland, "A Girl in the Bodleian: Mary Ward's Room of Her Own," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 16, (1988): p. 173.
[85] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Amiel's Journal, the Journal Intime of Henri-Frédéric Amiel* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1885); Walter Pater, "Amiel's "Journal Intime" "*The Guardian*, (London, 1886), Review, (Accessed November, 2012) <http://www.fullbooks.com/Essays-From-The-Guardian-.html>; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 90.
[86] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 100.
[87] Anonymous, "Review of Mrs Ward's Novel, Amiel's Journal, the Journal Intime of Henri-Frédéric Amiel,"*The Morning Post*, (1886), (Accessed September 24, 2010) <http://find.galegroup.com>.

states that she was 'adept at exploiting relationships with older men'.[88] Sutherland's statement raises several questions to be considered in chapter five as to why this might be a necessary tactic for a young, talented and intelligent woman.

Sutton-Ramspeck examines Mary's prefaces and criticism in the Haworth collection of the Brontës' works, which she and Argyle claim are among Mary's best work and agree that they have been little appreciated until the last few years.[89] Sutton-Ramspeck argues that these prefaces merit attention as feminist works for three reasons. First, because Mary defends her fellow women writers against disparaging critical male appraisals, second because her biographical and reader-response approach to critical appraisal challenges the methods of her male counterparts and third, her role and approach as a critic challenges the male dominance of the field. The success of Mary's novels, the number of reviews published alongside the number of public engagements she undertook and the committees and organisations she was involved with, indicate the extent to which Mary's criticism, translations and academic work were appreciated by late-Victorian society, if not all of the literary critics.[90] Taken together, these factors suggest that the prefaces Mary added to many of her novels, pamphlets and published public addresses may illuminate how Mary, as a middle-class woman was able to access, translate and express her ideas and experiences as knowledge to society. In addition, this thesis will consider how Mary later viewed and evaluated the ideas that her writing conveyed to the public and examine the extent to which these reflected Green's ideas.

A. W. Bellringer claims that Mary's autobiography was the key text that prevented complete obscurity and enabled her survival, and not her novels.[91] Rebecca West's review of Mary's autobiography was, according to Peterson, the 'most venomous attack' of all, where she virtually condemned her work on all levels.[92] Stefan Collini interprets this attack on Mary as a shrewd, if sensationalist, move on Rebecca West's part as it drew attention to her own work and helped her create a reputation as a reviewer.[93] Collini's article questions whether Rebecca West's work justifies the reputation it once held, exemplifying the process in which the most successful literature of each age is held up to account by the subsequent generation's critics.

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[88] Sutherland, "A Girl in the Bodleian: Mary Ward's Room of Her Own," p. 173.
[89] Sutton-Ramspeck, "The Personal Is Poetical: Feminist Criticism and Mary Ward's Readings of the Brontës," pp. 55-56. Argyle, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Fictional Experiments in the Woman Question," p. 539.
[90] For a list of reviews of Mary's novels see: Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*. Mrs Ward's autobiography also details many of the public engagements, committees and organisations that she worked on and with. Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*.
[91] A. W. Bellringer, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Autobiographical Tactics: A Writer's Recollections," *Prose Studies* 8, No. 3 (1985): p. 40.
[92] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 3. This review was published in *The Bookman,* 1918.
[93] 'Rebecca West' (Cicely Fairfield 1892-1983) was considered to be a brilliant literary critic. For a discussion of West's attacks on Mary see: Stefan Collini, "Rebecca West: Battle-Axe and Scalpel," *The Guardian*, 2008.

Rebecca West's accusation that Mary, Matthew Arnold, Charles Kingsley, Coventry Patmore, and Anthony Trollope were insignificant has proven to be unfounded and corroborates the argument that Rebecca West became subjected to the next generation's scrutiny.[94] Peterson's conclusion that Mary's fictional and non-fictional works are 'mutually illuminating' is a key point for this thesis.[95] It offers the possibility of conducting a much fuller investigation of Mary's writing as a way of considering the extent to which she conveyed her views on the different roles of men and women within society and how these reflect the ideas advocated by Green.

At its height, Mary's success as a novelist propagated successes in the reforms that she championed.[96] It is problematic, however, to quantify Mary's social success and status in comparison to that of her male counterparts retrospectively. Whilst success for men in Victorian Britain was largely evident from the formal public acknowledgements of their achievements, these were generally not available for women in the late-Victorian era.[97] Institutional and professional accolades and titles could be attained, awarded, or inherited from parliament, universities, churches, clubs and societies by middle-class men. Mary's male relatives and associates were elected to the Athenaeum Club, became Members of Parliament and were appointed education inspectors and university fellows but as a woman she was denied the opportunity to become a member.[98] In his work on 'public moralists', Collini discusses a number of these men including Matthew Arnold and Green, of those who stemmed from the Oxford intellectual movement.[99] Mary is mentioned briefly in this work as one of only two women, the other being George Eliot.[100] Collini defines a public moralist as someone who 'persuade[s] their contemporaries to live up to their professed ideals and in

[94] West does not state which Kingsley, but it is presumed from the context of the article that she refers to Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) who was a novelist, historian and a priest of the Church of England, Rebecca West, "The Gospel According to Mrs Humphry Ward,"*The Freewoman*, (1912), (Accessed February, 15) <http://dl.lib.brown.edu/repository2/repoman.php?verb=render&id=1301604112796876&view=pageturner&pageno=10>.

[95] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 86.

[96] Louise von Glehn, Mary's lifelong friend, later became involved with Mary in the campaigns for female suffrage vote. Although pursued by Humphry Ward, she married Mandell Creighton (1843-1901), another Oxford Undergraduate. Together, the Creightons promoted education for children. Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 48-49.

[97] Sutherland notes that Mary was awarded a CBE in 1919 but he considers it was a 'poor reward' for her efforts in educating children and during the War. Ibid., p. 371.

[98] This club was about 'men of letters' and 'publicly endorsed individual achievement' and not just inherited wealth and titles. Dr Arnold and Matthew Arnold were members, as was her publisher J. Morley, J. R. Green, Henry Sidgwick and many of her male associates. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralist: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 13-17. For information on The Athenaeum Club (on pp. 241-247) and the role of clubs see: John Timbs, *Club Life of London: With Anecdotes of the Clubs, Coffee-Houses and Taverns of the Metropolis During the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries*, (Richard Bentley, 1866), (Accessed January 31, 2014) <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41146/41146-h/41146-h.htm#Page_241>.

[99] Collini, *Public Moralist: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930*. The other men Green taught include: Bernard Bosanquet and A. C. Bradley.

[100] Ibid., p. 3.

their concentration on failing of character as the chief source of civic as well as private woe'.[101] He provides no explanation as to why he did not include women in his study except to allude to his view that Mary and George Eliot were successful due to their publishing names, stating 'the cast includes no women, and the use of a male pseudonym by one of these writers, and the "correct" married form by the other may hint at some of the reasons for this'.[102] Collini does not preclude Mary as a public moralist under this definition or her stature as a figure of social importance. Although not part of Collini's work, his acknowledgement of Mary presents the opportunity to further consider Mary of equal importance to many of the male public moralists that Collini includes as scholars and followers of Green.

As previously stated, Lewis and Scotland identify that Mary's ideas and motivations were formulated from the ideas and beliefs derived from Green and her other Oxford mentors.[103] Commentators and biographers who discuss Mary's reforms note her association and links with T. H Green.[104] However, the nature of these works dictate that biographical discussion is the focus, with particular regard to how Green is portrayed through the character Mr Grey in *Robert Elsmere*.[105] Olive Anderson's work is the exception to this, using *Robert Elsmere* as an example of how Green's work prompted women to engage with social reform as part of their Christian duty.[106] More generally, Anderson argues that Green's work offers potential to feminist studies because his views on education, public service and the governing of Church Boards encouraged equal rights and responsibilities of women and men within their local community. Together with Lewis's work, Anderson highlights the scope that exists for further study into the extent to which Mary engaged with and translated Green's theories through her social roles and activities as a writer and reformer in the community, alongside her responsibilities as a wife, mother and to her wider family.[107]

Mary regarded herself as a novelist primarily (as commentators on her work stipulate) but Lewis presents the case that Mary considered herself as a novelist with an educational agenda.[108] She concludes that Mary's focus was the respectable poor and that her aim was to

[101] Ibid., p. 2.
[102] Ibid., p. 2.
[103] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 194, pp. 11-13.
[104] Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 30; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 67; Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p, 51, p. 71, p. 79, p. 119; Anderson, "The Feminism of T.H. Green: A Late-Victorian Success Story?."; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 44, p. 95, p. 121.
[105] This will be discussed further in chapter three.
[106] Anderson, "The Feminism of T.H. Green: A Late-Victorian Success Story?."
[107] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 201.Mary's life and work illustrate the complexity and conflicts that surround the distinctions between 'duty' and obligation and will be examined throughout the thesis. This is also illustrated in: Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, pp. 208-09.
[108] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, pp. 194-97, p. 200.

draw attention to the need for wider social reforms. Walters claimed that *Robert Elsmere*, *Marcella* and *The History of Robert Grieve*, in particular, helped to generate much needed social reform within society at the time.[109] Mary's educational views are most apparent in the purpose that she envisaged the social settlements would serve for the poorer inhabitants of Bloomsbury, whilst her novels largely sought to elucidate the injustices that the rural poor suffered as a result of the immorality of much of the landed classes.[110] Scotland and Lewis conclude that the fundamental remit of the social settlements Mary established, such as University Hall and The Passmore Edwards Settlement was the educational betterment of the community.[111] Scotland considers that Mary eventually came to understand that religious education alone was unpopular and she had to re-focus and develop the aims of the social settlements orientated around a broader view of education aimed at children.[112] He cites the impact of Green's religious ideas but this is not the focus of his chapter on Mary's work within the settlement movement.[113] Similarly, Rosemary Ashton's study of Victorian Bloomsbury discusses Mary's involvement with the settlement movement.[114] These studies allude to the broader impact of how Mary's views of education manifested across the reforms and settlements in which she was involved. The extent to which Mary's views and actions were underpinned by ideas contained within Green's philosophy remains an area for further examination and will be considered more specifically in chapters four and five of this thesis.

Henrietta Startup considers that the contribution made by Mary's philanthropic work was central to the development of the Arts and Crafts movement of the era.[115] She discusses Mary's patronage of the architects Cecil Brewer and Dunbar Smith, who designed the Passmore Edwards building around Mary's vision so that it could accommodate the aims and activities of both University Hall and Marchmont Hall. Startup notes the architects had been residents in the earlier settlements that Mary had established, and states that the Passmore Edwards building is considered to be 'an expression of her philosophy' and 'a metaphor for the settlement movement itself.'[116] Startup argues that Mary was convinced of the educational

[109] Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*, pp. 63-64.
[110] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 210.
[111] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, pp. 181-94. Passmore Edwards was a leading philanthropist in the Victorian era, for further information consult: E. Harcourt Burrage, *J. Passmore Edwards, Philanthropist* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co., 1902).
[112] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, pp. 183-94; Burrage, *J. Passmore Edwards, Philanthropist*; John Sutherland, *The Mary Ward Centre 1890-1990* (Undatated pamphlet); Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*.The Passmore Edwards Settlement still exists renamed the Mary Ward Centre and will be discussed in chapter five.
[113] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, p. 176.
[114] Ashton, *Victorian Bloomsbury*.
[115] Henrietta Startup, "Women Architectural Patrons and the Shaping of an Arts and Crafts Culture, 1870-1914," in *Double Vision: Perspectives on Gender and the Visual Arts*, ed. Natalie Harris Bluestone (Madison, Teaneck, London and Toronto: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Associated University Presses, 1995).
[116] Ibid., p. 101.

value of providing aesthetically pleasing and functional buildings for the improvement of society and views that the building Mary commissioned was reminiscent of her fictional settlement in *Robert Elsmere*.[117] She concluded that the significance of Mary's appreciation of the importance of the educational experiences gained from the surroundings of buildings, such as the Passmore Edwards Settlement has been underestimated and argues that Mary altered the nature of social reforms for children through being a 'materialist' reformer.

As a study within social reform and activism, Mary's life and work have provided evidence and contextual information for discussions on the organising concept of maternalism. Koven discusses Mary's social reform activities within the context of 'Civic Maternalism' which he argues can accommodate the complexity of her views and activities as a middle-class woman who fought for reforms within her community.[118] However, situating her within the realms of the political is more problematical, as many of her activities as a writer and reformer cross the boundaries of what was traditionally considered to be political action.[119] Lewis argues that women's contributions and ideas were hidden as 'policy was made by a civil service that was almost entirely male in its upper echelons.'[120] Koven and Scotland's work conclude that the settlements, invalid schools and play centres that Mary pioneered in late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain were a significant achievement and brought many benefits to society.[121] In his discussion of organised play in urban settings, Kevin J. Brehony examines the origins of the play centres that evolved from University Hall, Marchmont Hall and the Passmore Edwards Settlement.[122] Brehony positions his discussion of Mary's activities within collectivism and the settlement and Froebel movement but only makes a brief mention of the significance of Green in relation to Mary's faith in terms of *Robert Elsmere*.[123] The additional roles, duties and obligations she had as a woman and successful novelist at that time, despite her failing physical state of health, further corroborates Gosse's earlier view that 'here we see her genuine greatness'.[124] These views raise many questions around the dynamics between Mary's

[117] Ibid., p. 101.
[118] Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840 to 1914." For a review of Social Maternalism, see: Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, eds., *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*, (London: Croom Helm, 1978); Eileen Janes Yeo, "Some Contradictions of Social Motherhood," in *Mary Wollstonecraft and 200 Years of Feminisms*, ed. Eileen Janes Yeo (London and New York: Rivers Oram Press, 1997).
[119] Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Chapter 5.
[120] In her discussion of this point, Lewis quotes the diary of the Canadian politician Mackenzie King, who was well known to Mary. Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 16. For an analysis of the nuances of women's contribution to policy in this era see: Joyce Goodman and Silvia Harrop, eds., *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England: Authoritative Women since 1880*, (London: Routledge, 2000).
[121] Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840 to 1914."
[122] Brehony, "A "Socially Civilising Influence"? Play and the Urban "Degenerate"."
[123] Ibid., p. 93. Karl Froebel's ideas formed the basis of the 'kindergarten' and how children's play should be organised.
[124] Gosse, "Mrs Humphry Ward," p. 209.

social status as a middle-class married woman and famous writer and the motivations that directed her actions as a social reformer. The impact of T. H Green's philosophy on how Mary used her social experiences and knowledge to explore and express her views on society as a middle-class married woman through organised educational practices will be examined in greater detail in chapter five.

Politics

Mary stated in her autobiographical work *A Writer's Recollections* that during much of her later life she had an 'increasing interest in and pre-occupation with politics'.[125] She anticipated that the value and interest in this work would be the anecdotal references she made to the people she knew and met during this period, the majority of whom she mentions are men.[126] Bellringer considers that the book was 'well planned to preserve a minimal claim to consideration on her part with an appeal for extension of this consideration into the future.'[127] Mary's biographers recount her involvements with the Lectures for Women committee and the campaigns for women's higher education in Oxford and all highlight that the experience she gained underpinned much of the success she later had in more direct political activities later in her life.[128] Sutherland draws attention to the importance of Mary's early experiences in committee work and considers that, '[w]ith this bureaucratic apparatus she would change England. It was to be a main aspect of her genius.'[129] Jones acknowledges that *A Writer's Recollections* is a valuable source for historians of the Victorian era but notes that it contains little about her anti-suffrage views.[130] None of her biographers have addressed why Mary adopted these strategies, therefore the aim of this thesis is to consider the extent to which she was able to use her gender as a way of contributing to political issues and debates.

Mary's anomalous position of being against female suffrage has also been commented upon by biographers, who also note that *A Writer's Recollections* contains few references to her

[125] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 352.
[126] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 349; Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, pp. 2-3.
[127] Bellringer, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Autobiographical Tactics: A Writer's Recollections," p. 41.
[128] See for example: Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, Chapter 3; John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1995), Chapter 6.
[129] Mary's main involvements include: (1873) Lectures for Women Committee, (1877) Association for the Education of Women's committee, (1878) Somerville Hall committee, (1884) British Women's Emigration Association, (1890) University Hall, (1893) Victoria League, Passmore Edwards Settlement established, (1908) Leader of Women's National Anti-suffrage League, (1912) Local Government Advancement Committee, (1914) Joint Advisory Committee. Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 65; Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*; Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.
[130] Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 138.

views on this issue.[131] Mary's daughter, Janet Trevelyan, claimed that this work was intended to portray her experiences as a writer up to the year 1900.[132] She clarified that the time frame it covered did not include her later novels, such as *Delia Blanchflower*, which concerns women's responses to the demands for suffrage.[133] She also elucidated her mother's view, which was that 'neither they [women] nor the state would really be served by this attempt to press them into a political machine which owed its development solely to the male sex.'[134] Mary's political views were underpinned by her belief in the separate gender roles ascribed to men and women and the necessity of continuing to work together to improve society, as Janet Trevelyan states, '[i]n her eyes women were neither better nor worse than men, but different.'[135] Mary's views manifested in the positions she adopted on women's roles within the affairs of state, which were primarily 'the administration of laws concerning women and children'.[136] Jones considers that Mary was 'less concerned with opposing female suffrage than with encouraging women to use what liberties they already possessed to work for public causes in their own localities.'[137] Taken together, these works illustrate the diversity and complexity of Mary's involvement with the major political debates, issues and events that affected British society during her life. Whilst biographical accounts have tended to attach more significance to her anti-suffrage activities, they highlight the extent to which as a middle-class woman, her other activities have been neglected. Apart from her anti-suffrage activities, Mary's writing and reforming work have not been considered within the traditional boundaries of the political to date and as a result many of her activities and views have been overlooked or overshadowed. This raises questions, which will be addressed in chapters five and six, as to ways in which Mary's portrayal and example of how she viewed gender roles within politics were underpinned by her appreciation of the ideas contained within Green's political theories.

Historical and current literary critics and commentators have recognised the value of Mary's fictional work in the political reforms that took place during the era in which she was writing.[138] Yet, as Fran Abrams argues, Mary's more active role in the public sphere had an adverse effect on her activities in other areas, stating that her 'leap into the political world had

[131] Ibid; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*; Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*.
[132] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 290-91.
[133] The last work to be covered is *Marcella*, which was published in 1894, although an epilogue reflecting on her post-war experiences is the last chapter of the work. Ibid., pp. 224-26.
[134] Ibid., p. 224.
[135] Ibid., p. 224.
[136] Ibid., pp. 232-33.
[137] Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 137.
[138] Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*; Phelps, *The Novels of Mrs Humphry Ward*; Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*; Judith Wilt, *Behind Her Times: Transition England in the Novels of Mary Arnold Ward* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2005).

had just the effect she feared it might – it had led to a loss of dignity, the puncturing of her rather overblown public persona.'[139] Biographers and literary critics agree that the most significant factor in the decline in Mary's popularity was her role in the anti-suffrage movement.[140] The impact of this was seen most clearly in the decline in sales of her novels.[141] Elaine Showalter considers that Mary's stance against female suffrage sullied her reputation among other female writers, claiming that 'other women writers reacted vehemently against her pretensions and her arrogance' and that she 'was a difficult and intimidating person, whose own warmth and feminine sympathy were held in careful check.'[142] Critics who have examined Mary's later novels have tended to do so from the perspective of the 'woman question', anti-feminism and anti-suffragism.[143] This raises questions concerning the gender dynamics between Mary's political activities in relation to her position as a writer during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period and how this impacted on her ability to convey her political views through her writing.[144]

Mary appears in an encyclopaedia of women writers, a literary encyclopaedia and also in an encyclopaedia of social reformers.[145] However, the problem of categorising Mary or her writing is not a new phenomenon. In a monograph citing anecdotes about 'British Men of Letters' in 1902, the unidentified author states that 'Mrs Humphry Ward is a difficult subject, if only because she is a woman; and there are other reasons why I, at any rate, must write of her with reserve.'[146] The article is one of a series published in 1902 which detail the lives of eminent writers and statesmen, of which Mary is the only woman. An explanation for this incongruity may be found in Barbara Caine's claim that although women writers were involved in public debates in the nineteenth century, it is rarely recognised.[147] Caine sees this as a culmination of temporal factors; an absence of discourse to describe non-fiction by women writers, and no

[139] Fran Abrams, *Freedom's Cause: Lives of the Suffragettes* (London: Profile Books, 2003), p. 134.
[140] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 157.
[141] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 239.
[142] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: From Charlotte Brontë to Doris Lessing* (London: Virago Press, 2009), pp. 185-86.
[143] Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminists Women Novelists*; Argyle, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Fictional Experiments in the Woman Question."; Faraut, "Women Resisting the Vote: A Case of Anti-Feminism?."; Wilt, *Behind Her Times: Transition England in the Novels of Mary Arnold Ward*; Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: From Charlotte Brontë to Doris Lessing*, Chapter VIII.
[144] This issue is discussed in: Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminists Women Novelists*, Chapter two.
[145] Argyle, "Mary Augusta Arnold Ward (1851-1920)."; Helen Rappaport, ed., *Mary Ward (Mrs Humphry Ward) (1851-1920)*, vol. 2, (California: ABC Clio Inc, 2001); Gillian E. Boughton, "Mrs Humphry Ward,"*The Literary Encyclopedia*, (2004), (Accessed September 9, 2010) <http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=4599>.
[146] The other sketches are about Rudyard Kipling, Anthony Trollope, Sir Richard Burton, George Du Maurier, Thomas Hardy, W. S. Gilbert, Mr Labouchere, Archibald Forbes in: Anonymous, "As Others See Us: British Men of Letters through American Glasses,"*The Pall Mall Magazine*, (1902): p. 248, (Accessed February, 2011) <http://www.proquest.co.uk/>. These include Mary's uncle Matthew Arnold, Lord Curzon (1859-1925), who was the 1st Marquis Curzon of Kedleston and Sir William Harcourt (1827-1904).
[147] Barbara Caine, "Feminism, Journalism and Public Debate," in *Women and Literature in Britian 1800-1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 99.

'women of letters' phraseology around the time in which Mary was writing about the educational changes she saw were necessary to address the wider social reforms and issues in which she became actively involved.[148]

Mary's political allegiances during the First World War further support the view that her connections were as powerful as her literary and intellectual capacity.[149] As previously discussed, Mary's social success was built on her ability to align herself with both male and female counterparts but this strategy was jeopardised by her growing unpopularity as a female writer. Considering Mary's views were that affairs of the state were not the domain of women, her role as a prominent female ambassador for Britain in the First World War further complicates the notion of how Mary transgressed or challenged the boundaries of women within the political. Sutherland discounts much of what Mary wrote in communicating the events unfolding in the First World War as propaganda but this area is now of interest to scholars researching the varied literary responses of women during wartime.[150] He makes little reference to her preface on Beatrice Webb's work in relation to the Factory Acts and somewhat evades the importance of her significant contribution to the War Effort through her narratives and novels. Mary's fictional writing, alongside her other writing were significant tools in educating the public about a wide range of political debates and issues and this thesis draws on her accounts about the British War Effort to examine how she related the significant ramifications of the political changes that socialism and the First World War brought to late-Victorian and Edwardian society.

The majority of current work discusses Mary's political views in relation to her anti-suffrage role and it has provided much needed work in that neglected field.[151] Brian Harrison suggests that Mary's role as leader of the anti-suffrage movement was unsurprising, stating that 'anti-suffragism was the obvious destination for a well to do late-Victorian literary woman and Liberal Unionist active in the charitable world' but his focus is predominantly on the role of men within this movement.[152] Bush groups the anti-suffrage women leaders she discusses in her book into maternal reformers, women writers and imperialist ladies, which she clarifies,

[148] Ibid., p. 99.
[149] Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 137.
[150] See for example: Claire M. Tylee, ""Munitions of the Mind": Travel Writing, Imperial Discourse and Great War Propaganda by Mrs. Humphry Ward," *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 39, No. 2 (1996). Helen Loader. *'Once Let in, They Are Not Going to Be Easily or Wholly Dislodged': Mrs Humphry Ward, Women and War*. (Paper accepted as part of a panel submission, "Women, War and Peace", International Standing Conference of History of Education (ISCHE, London, 2014).
[151] Bush's work has been acknowledged as making a significant contribution to Brian Harrison's work on the male campaigners written in the 1970s and 1980s. Jon Lawrence, "Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain and Suffrage Outside Suffragism: Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914,"*The English Historical Review*, (2009), (Accessed February 1, 2009) <http://ehr.oxfordjournals.org/content/CXXIV/506/223.short>.
[152] Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain*, p. 22.

are interlinked in many ways.[153] Mary is the only woman to occupy space in all three categories and Bush sees her as a mediator within the anti-suffrage movement. Bush's approach facilitates a discussion of the women's activities within themes that relate to women's activism. Her work raises issues concerning the way in which Mary's anti-suffrage involvement within the movement brought to a head the commonalities between her status as a middle-class British woman and the contradictions and competing responsibilities that she faced in public life. Colby makes brief remarks on the contradictory position Mary adopted. She argues that Mary subscribed to conservative attitudes that viewed women as unsuitable proponents of political debates but notes that she simultaneously successfully lobbied the House of Commons for the establishment of state provision of education for invalid and crippled children and that she manipulated her son's political career.[154] Mary remained on the periphery of all political parties throughout her life and this thesis examines the complexity of her political views in chapter six, as they have not yet been considered in depth in terms of Green's political theories.

Lewis, Koven and Scotland have made significant contributions to the understanding of Mary's work in social reform within the realms of women's political activism. Lewis's examination of Mary as one of five 'grandes dames' in the context of women and social action is similar in approach to Julia Bush's work discussed above, in that Mary is the only woman to occupy space within all categories and themes in these works.[155] Lewis has written about Mary as a 'notable public figure' and positioned her as a nineteenth-century social activist, describing her as a 'transitional figure' in her approach to social activism, who epitomised the model of the bourgeois family ideology and was governed by 'womanly behaviour'.[156] As is the case with Bush's work, Mary is not the only focus of Lewis's work. However, Lewis acknowledges that Mary differed, markedly, in her approach from other women who were engaged in similar activities, illustrating the possibility to further examine why Mary pursued roles in so many organisations and activities with people from diverse political, social and religious backgrounds. Lewis acknowledges Mary's affiliation with ideas associated with Green but as previously stated she firmly locates Mary's motivations within the framework of the move from individualism to collectivism in her society. Mary thus appears as a component within the schema of a collective view of ideas, theories and issues within women's history.[157] Bush and

[153] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.
[154] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 155.
[155] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*. Stephan Collini has used this term to refer to Mary. Collini, "Rebecca West: Battle-Axe and Scalpel."
[156] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 195.
[157] For example: Sanders discusses four women in Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminists Women Novelists*. Bush predominantly refers to five women in: Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in*

Lewis's work indicates that there is scope to develop a study of Mary, which will place her at the centre of competing and conflicting ideologies within Victorian and Edwardian times, establishing her as a Greenian educator. Their work highlights the extent to which Mary's life intersects across social and political boundaries and as such offers the potential for this thesis to argue that a deeper awareness of Mary's actions and motivations can be gained. The thesis will consider Mary from the wider perspective of Green's philosophical ideas in accounting for the complexity of the political dimensions that informed the reforms which she supported and opposed.

Histories of Education

On the first page of his biography of Mary, Sutherland establishes the importance that Mary drew from her Arnold family connections.[158] Colby remarks that the Arnolds were a 'leading family dynasty' and Mary was no exception to their 'mission' of public service and education.[159] Colby observes that Arnoldian taste and manners are also present in Mary's fiction and this enabled her to enlighten and educate the general reading public about controversial issues, such as illicit love, adultery, slum poverty as well as theological debate, without resorting to sensationalist tactics.[160] Similarly, Collister commends Mary's refusal to follow her fellow authors down this route, such as Vernon Lee.[161] Despite acknowledging the significance of her Arnold family connections, Sutherland does not include Mary as one of the Arnoldian 'educational caste' in his discussion of the other male Arnolds.[162] The view of education that Sutherland employs appears to resonate with the definition of an educator as someone who is 'an expert in the science and methods of education' or an educationalist under the definition of 'an expert in the science and methods of education….. an advocate of education'. As such, it is possible to see why Mary is overlooked within historical accounts of education.[163] The aim of this thesis is to overcome the limitations of these definitions by analysing Mary within the Greenian understanding of education.[164]

Britain. Colby discusses five women in: Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*. Jane Lewis discusses five women: in Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*.

[158] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 1.

[159] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 111.

[160] Ibid., p. 119.

[161] Vernon Lee (Violet Paget 1856-1935) was shunned by London society as a sensationalist novelist. She was also a visitor to Mary's drawing room in Russell Square, London. Collister provides an insight and discussion of Lee's book *Miss Brown* and Ward's book *Miss Bretherton.* Collister, "Mrs Humphry Ward, Vernon Lee, and Henry James," p. 317.

[162] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 2-3.

[163] Oxford English Dictionary, (Oxford University Press, 2014), (Accessed January 16, 2014) <http://www.oed.com/>.

[164] This will be discussed in chapter two.

Accounts of Mary's life and work within histories of education generally focus on her early involvement with the campaigns for women's higher education in Oxford despite being, as Colby notes, the 'most effectually active of the crusading Arnolds.'[165] Janet Howarth's work acknowledges Mary's contribution to women's educational reforms as one of the first women who were involved with establishing higher education for women at Somerville Hall in Oxford.[166] Howarth notes that women were marginalised in Oxford and states that Green and his wife, Charlotte, considered that the University was not open to the thought of women's colleges in 1878.[167] By 1842, Mary's uncle, Matthew Arnold was drawing large female audiences to his lectures as Regius Professor of Modern History and by 1884 Mary was the first woman to examine men at the Taylor Institute in Oxford.[168] Despite the shift in Universities' attitudes, Howarth considers that women's education was not seen to be at the forefront of the feminist agenda at either Oxford or Cambridge Universities and this may account for the lack of feminist interest in Mary's role in the College and her wider educational activities.[169]

Separate histories of British female teachers, headmistresses and girls' schools have brought attention to the valuable contribution women have made within particular national, class and subject areas of educational histories, for example: policy and administration, religion, science, music, women's higher education colleges and social reform.[170] Commentary on Mary's involvement with education is generally focussed on her work as part of Somerville Hall Committee, as is noted above and Bush has shown how it has been marginalised because of her anti-suffrage and conservative stance.[171] Bush considers that early reforms in women's

[165] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 7; Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 112.

[166] Arguments for and against the vote generated and underpinned much of the work for women's history in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. Mary was involved with Louise Creighton and Charlotte Green in the Lectures for Women committee and was appointed Secretary of the 'Association for the Education of Women'. Mary's life and work as a middle-class woman was outside the remit of the work of historians of education, such as Brian Simon (1915-2002), Clyde Chitty and Richard Aldrich. Mary also generally falls outside the religious, geographical, period and class specialisms of the main historians who focus on British women and education, such as, Carol Dyhouse, Joyce Goodman, Pam Hirsch, Sandra Holton, Jane Martin, Sue Morgan, Jane McDermid, Deirdre Raftery, Stephanie Spencer, and Ruth Watts. She does not feature in any articles which are collected in the four volumes of: Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education*, 4 vols. (Milton Park, Abingdon; N.Y.: Routledge, 2011).

[167] Janet Howarth, "'In Oxford But... Not of Oxford': The Women's Colleges," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (Oxford: Clardendon Press, 2000), p. 241.

[168] Ibid., p. 238.

[169] Ibid., p. 245. This point is made by Joyce Pederson, who argues that educational reforms came as a result of supply rather than demand and that they were conservative in that they improved the lives of those who were already in a position of some privilege. See: Joyce Senders Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England: A Study of Elites and Educational Change*, Modern European History (New York: Garland, 1987).

[170] For example: See work by Julia Bush, Carol Dyhouse, Joyce Goodman, Silvia Harrop, Andrea Jacobs, Gareth Elwyn Jones, Camilla Leach, Jane Martin, Lindy Moore, Sue Morgan, Jane McDermid, June Purvis, Deirdre Raftery, Stephanie Spencer and Ruth Watts.

[171] Bush, "'Special Strengths for Their Own Special Duties': Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain."

higher education were not viewed in a political light.[172] She examines Mary as one of four conservative women who were associated with Oxford University and also reformers in higher education.[173] Bush considers that Mary's educational achievements merit further consideration. She argues that the anachronistic labels of feminist and anti-feminist have acted as divisive and exclusory categorisations which may have discouraged historians from engaging more fully with the contribution that anti-suffrage women, like Mary, made within educational debates and reform.[174] Howarth does not mention that a large group of Oxford wives, daughters and sisters were in the Oxford Branch of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League (WASL) and does not elaborate on their role within the Oxford philosophical debates.[175] Bush notes that Green 'deeply influenced' Mary and her female associates' views on education but the scope of the article does not include an examination of how they manifested in other educational contexts.[176] Bush and Howarth indicate that the dynamics involved in anti-suffragism and education during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period provide a fruitful avenue of study in historical accounts of the life and work of a woman such as Mary, who was at the forefront of the WASL, as well as the changes that were won for women and education.

Peter Gordon and John White examine the significance of Green and Balliol men as part of their study of British idealism in educational thought.[177] Listing numerous examples of students, followers and advocates of Green and his work, they examine how his idealist philosophy impacted British Victorian society.[178] These themes included: election reforms, administration, national education, religion, elementary education, middle-class education and working class education. Mary was actively engaged in a great number of these issues and debates as a writer and a reformer but the only mention she receives in their work relates to her use of Green's sermons in *Robert Elsmere*.[179] Gordon and White note that few philosophers wrote directly about education but argue that the nature of Green's work as philosophical idealism implies that '[i]ts whole *raison d'être* is educational.'[180] Abby Porter Leland also takes the view that Green's philosophy lends itself to educational theory and

[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid. The other women are: Louise Creighton, Lucy Soulsby (headmistress of Oxford High School for Girls) and Elizabeth Wordsworth.
[174] Ibid., p. 390.
[175] This is noted by: ibid., p. 392.
[176] Ibid., p. 394.
[177] Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice*.
[178] Ibid., Introduction, p. 9, pp. 86-88. These men include: Bernard Bosenquet, T. H. Tawney, Charles Gore, Henry Scott Holland and Arnold Toynbee. Gordon and White also include Helen Bosenquet in this list alongside her husband.
[179] Ibid., p. 10.
[180] Ibid., p. 48.

practice.[181] Leland's theoretical study highlights the potential of the political, social and ethical dimensions of Green's philosophy in terms of educational concepts and practice. Taken together, Gordon and White and Leland's work illustrate the opportunity to examine the significance of Mary as a Greenian educator through the analysis of a range of the tools and strategies that she employed to convey her educational ideas and views to the general public.

William Richardson's overview of the development of the traditional field of history of education suggests reasons why women like Mary might have been overlooked, for example: tensions between academic historians and educationalists, scarcity of funding, the impact of war and the political and theoretical orientations of historians of education.[182] His essays suggest that these accounts may have typically been created from formal institutional records which were written by men (with the exception of Joan Simon). Martin and Goodman[183] consider that the relatively few women who were written about were usually presented as victims or as inferior subjects within masculine educational discourses, illustrating Bennett's argument concerning the polarisation of victims and agents.[184] This thesis considers the extent to which Mary's ambivalent position as neither hero nor victim has contributed to her obscurity within histories of education.

Sutherland notes that Mary's prominent role in the anti-suffrage movement rendered her so unpopular among her female counterparts in education and social reform that she was eventually forced to resign from the Somerville Hall committee (of which she had been a founding member) and also from the National Union of Women Workers (NUWW).[185] Janet Trevelyan expands on Mary's suffrage views, explaining that her mother considered that women should first have the education to enable them to vote wisely.[186] Carol Dyhouse cautions that, '[t]he assumption that all those who sought changes in women's education can be classified as "feminist" can be… quite misleading.'[187] However, the nature and form of the beliefs that informed and conveyed Mary's views of education have not yet been theorised or

[181] Abby Porter Leland, *The Educational Theory and Practice of T. H. Green* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911).
[182] William Richardson, "Historians and Educationists: The History of Education as a Field of Study in Post-War England Part I: 1945–72," *History of Education* 28, No. 1 (1999); William Richardson, "Historians and Educationists: The History of Education as a Field of Study in Post-War England Part II: 1972–96," *History of Education* 28, No. 2 (1999). Richardson's work has stimulated much debate among historians of education.
[183] Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education 1800-1980* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 2.
[184] Judith M. Bennett, "Feminism and History," *Gender & History* 1, No. 3 (1989).
[185] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 305-06, p. 25. Bush considers that readers of Mary's novels were male and female, Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*, p. 91.
[186] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 224.
[187] Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1981), p. 139.

analysed in any depth nor have they been the focus of any major political, historical or literary study.

Green's work also remains a relatively untapped source within educational histories, since Gordon and White's study in 1979.[188] Reasons for the lack of interest in his work in this field most likely stem from criticism of his work in general, including: the obscurity of aspects of his thinking, the incompleteness of his work on account of his untimely death, the extent to which he based his ideas on his religious beliefs. Craig Jenks considers that Green's work was instrumental in transforming the course of education at Oxford by enabling the University to negotiate a course that loosened the strangle hold of the Anglican Church and the aristocracy on the institution but he does not include women as part of this movement.[189] Jenks argues that the less dogmatic adherence to the regulations enabled non-Anglican middle-classes access to Oxford University without complete secularisation. In his review of Maria Dimova-Cookson and W. J. Mander's edited collection of essays, James Allard notes that there has been a renewed interest in Green's philosophy concerning themes around, for example, politics, ethics, liberalism and social welfare.[190] There remains, however, potential within this thesis to analyse the lives and work of middle-class women in Oxford, like Mary, as educators.[191] The main significance of Green as a philosopher was that he put his theories into practice, for example, within the Oxford school boards and the Temperance Movement, where Victorian women were becoming more active as leaders and orchestrators of reforms.[192] This thesis examines how Mary drew on her friendship with T. H Green and her knowledge of his philosophy to educate herself and then put his ideas into practice, through her writing and the reforms she supported and opposed.

[188] Anderson, "The Feminism of T.H. Green: A Late-Victorian Success Story?." The exception to this is Lewis, who discusses Green in her discussion of individualism and collectivism in her chapter focussing on Mary. Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*.
[189] Craig Jenks, "T. H. Green, the Oxford Philosophy of Duty and the English Middle Class," *British Journal of Sociology* 28, No. 4 (1977): pp. 481-82.
[190] James W. Allard, *Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews*, (2007), (Accessed October, 2013) <http://ndpr.nd.edu/news/25250/?id=9163>.
[191] Peter Nicholson has edited a collection of books on Green within the British Idealism Series between 2003 and 2012. None of this series of books on Green discuss how women might have engaged with his ideas although Denys Leighton makes reference to the importance of *Robert Elsmere* in translating Green's ideas to the public. This is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.
[192] Green was instrumental in the restructuring of Oxford University as part of the 'Oxford Idealist Movement. David Watson, "Idealism and Education: T. H. Green and the Education of the Middle Class," *British Educational Research Journal* 8, No. 1 (1982): p. 74. He set up the Oxford Band of Hope Temperance Union in 1876, aimed at reducing the licences of public houses in Oxford and regulating their conduct. The concept of the movement was that in order to educate the public, they had to be sober first. For a brief discussion of Green's involvement this movement see: Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 180.

Conclusion and Research Questions

The historical and current scholarly work included as part of this literature review comprises the most referenced sources, as well as some less frequently consulted works, in relation to Mary. They are broadly representative of the scope of themes, genres and theories that document or cite Mary's life and work. They highlight the areas yet to be explored and the gaps that the present study seeks to address. The material was arranged according to three main interconnected areas relating to late-Victorian and Edwardian histories: biographical studies, literary criticism, and social reform and activism. This informed the three main themes of the thesis chapters: religious, social and political and pointed towards education as the overarching feature; highlighting the gaps within existing literature.

The review of literature shows that Mary has been stereotyped where she has been discussed as a separate category within women's histories and in feminist accounts: such as in Sanderson's anti-feminist women novelists or in Bush's anti-suffrage women.[193] In addition to this, where she has been written about as part of wider religious, social or political histories, the impact of her achievements has been diluted or discounted: for example, her campaigns for non-denominational education, her efforts during the First World War or her involvement with the campaigns for organised children's play centres. The lack of recognition of the significance of Mary's political activities is further exemplified by the way in which the majority of studies to date have focussed on Mary in relation to her role within the British anti-suffrage movement.[194] Despite the frequency with which commentators mention the importance of the life and philosophical ideas of Green in respect of Mary's novel *Robert Elsmere,* no in-depth study has been conducted into the wider significance of his philosophy in her writing and reforms.[195]

The material considered as part of this chapter suggests that education was the overarching feature of the roles, activities and views that Mary conveyed to the public through her writing and the reforms she was engaged with, raising the following research questions to be addressed by this thesis:

[193] Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminists Women Novelists*; Julia Bush, "British Women's Anti-Suffragism and the Forward Policy, 1908-14," *Women's History Review* 11, No. 3 (2002); Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.
[194] Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*; Joannou, "Mary Augusta Ward (Mrs Humphry) and the Opposition to Women's Suffrage."; Bush, "British Women's Anti-Suffragism and the Forward Policy, 1908-14."; Bush, "'Special Strengths for Their Own Special Duties': Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain," p. 394; Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.
[195] Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*; Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 112, p. 55; Sutherland, *The Mary Ward Centre 1890-1990*; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*; Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*.

- How can a more nuanced understanding of Mary be gained by analysing the ways in which Mary expressed Green's philosophical ideas as a Greenian educator, through her writing and the reforms that she pioneered, supported and opposed?
- What can be claimed as distinctive about Mary as a Greenian educator?

The next chapter will set out how the methodology of this thesis will facilitate the investigation of these two distinct but inter-related questions in order to reposition Mary as a Greenian educator.

Chapter 2 – Methodology and Sources

Introduction

This chapter draws predominantly on Joan Scott's work to set out the methodology underpinning the writing, interpretations and sources used in this thesis.[1] The first part of the chapter evaluates previous theories, methodologies and approaches used in relation to Mary's life and work in order to 'expose their limits' and elucidate the reasons for the gender history methodology of this study.[2] The second part of the chapter outlines the principles of this approach and then provides an explanation of the main terms, concepts and definitions employed in the thesis. The final part of the chapter discusses the choice of primary sources consulted in the thesis and sets out how they will be analysed.

Review and Methodology

The previous chapter argues that Mary currently occupies fragmented and anomalous positions in late-Victorian and Edwardian histories. This is illustrative of Scott's observations concerning the difficulty of writing women into history.[3] She identifies the contradictory implications of women's history as a category in its own right, as 'an innocuous supplement to and a radical replacement for established history'.[4] Scott considers that integrating women into mainstream history potentially depoliticises and dilutes their impact and cautions that 'women can't just be added on without a fundamental recasting of the terms, standards and assumptions of what has passed for objective, neutral and universal history in the past.'[5] The literature review indicates that the diversity of the issues and debates with which Mary was engaged have been dispersed across a range of biographical, literary and social reform studies. As a result of this, Mary's significance as a Greenian educator has been overlooked. Scott also considers that writing about women as a separate category may stigmatise them as less important than traditional histories. This is illustrated by Mary's case on two levels. First, she has generally been included in separate anti-feminist works because later generations of women and commentators have labelled her as an anti-woman on account of her anti-suffrage activities. The impact of this has been that Mary has been stigmatised and excluded from the

[1] Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, No. 5 (1986); Joan Scott, "Women's History," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); Scott, *Feminism and History*; Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis."; Scott, "Unanswered Questions, Contribution to AHR Forum, Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis'."; Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?."
[2] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," p. 155.
[3] Scott, "Women's History."
[4] Ibid., p. 49.
[5] Ibid., p. 58.

category of 'women' in addition to being relegated to a peripheral role in political histories of her era. For example, Mary does not appear in Alison Twells' collection of documents and extracts, which include sources of women's writing from a wide range of themes relating to the development of women's history.[6]

The wider methodological challenges that writers have had in writing about 'Mrs Humphry Ward' are also exemplified within histories of education.[7] Where she has been written about within a separate category of women's educational histories, she has been viewed within stereotyped and polarised roles of feminists and anti-feminists and suffragists and anti-suffragists. Mary did not follow the example of some of the women she knew, who have been fruitful sources for the study of the history of women's education; for example, Anne Jemima Clough, who dedicated her life to the higher education of women.[8] Whilst Anne Jemima Clough's work *Women's Progress in Scholarship* is included in Dale Spender's collection of women's writings, Mary did not write any significant piece which discusses Somerville College or women's education and therefore does not feature in Spender's work.[9] The aim of this thesis is to conduct a gender history analysis of Mary's life and work, drawing together sources that have not been previously considered within the context of education in order to reposition her as a significant Greenian educator.

Sue Morgan outlines how the early feminist theoretical perspective of patriarchy was critiqued because of its tendency to focus on those women who conformed to specific formulations of the suppressed and oppressed.[10] Barbara Caine suggests that generally, there are four common belief sets in order to be considered a Victorian feminist.[11] The first of these relates to the position of 'woman' being accepted as socially constructed. The second was to oppose the sex hierarchy of their society. Third, having the belief that the category of 'woman' constitutes a biological sex and a social grouping and lastly, to have the goal of emancipating

[6] Alison Twells, *British Women's History: A Documentary History from the Enlightenment to World War I* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007). The collection of texts covers domestic, social, political and religious lives of women from different backgrounds.
[7] Brian Simon's four volumes provide an outstanding contribution to the History of Education in Britain from a Socialist and Marxist perspective but provide a limited view of education from the perspective of women. His works relating to the main period covered included: Brian Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920* (London,: Lawrence & Wishart, 1965); Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870* (London,: Lawrence & Wishart, 1960).
[8] The significance of Anne Jemima Clough in Mary's life is discussed in Chapter three.
[9] Dale Spender, ed., *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912*, (New York and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).
[10] Sue Morgan, "Theorising Feminist History: A Thirty-Year Retrospective," *Women's History Review* 18, No. 3 (2009).
[11] Caine draws on the lives and work of Emily Davies (1830-1921), Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904), Josephine Butler (1828-1906) and Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847-1929) as exemplars of Victorian Feminists. Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 5-7.

women.[12] It would be problematical to include Mary within this framework and she has not been considered a Victorian feminist within Caine's work. The reasons for this are grounded in the religious dimension of Caine's criteria and also within the sex hierarchy she outlines. Mary's views on suffrage would discount her within a single view of feminism, as would her failure to engage with the need to emancipate women of all classes and races.

The difficulty of viewing Mary within Caine's definition illustrates the concerns that Scott identifies in how it is possible to categorise the complex motivations and actions of women as a single category. The notion of a unified view of women also appears less robust when taking into account the number of women who were initially not so much opposed to suffrage but merely did not engage with it on a day to day basis.[13] Julia Bush argues that many women who opposed female suffrage lacked awareness of the full implication of suffrage, rather than having reasoned their views through political debates and issues: suffrage was considered too far removed from their experiences and lives to warrant action or debate in many cases.[14] Laura Schwartz clarifies that education was a key issue for women struggling against oppression before the establishment of what became known as the women's movement.[15] This suggests it is problematical to discount such a large number of women from educational histories. Schwartz confirms that neither the women's education campaign nor the feminist movements had stable or fixed characteristics.[16] Martine Faraut examines what she considers the most famous of the anti-suffrage women writers as 'Radical Right' ladies but argues that the complexity of the lives and motivations of these women, who were labelled anti-feminists, justifies the view that perhaps they were more 'puzzling avatars' of feminism than being against women.[17] As a woman whom Bush shows to be a mediator between the factions that developed within the anti-suffrage movement, Mary does not appear in Faraut's study.[18] Lucy Delap argues that the diverse range of activities and views of women in Edwardian Britain are not easily categorised as either anti-feminist or feminist.[19]

Mary spent much of her life campaigning against and alongside patriarchal structures to provide higher education for women, education for the poor and invalid children and

[12] Ibid.
[13] Bush, "British Women's Anti-Suffragism and the Forward Policy, 1908-14," p. 449; Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.
[14] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.
[15] Laura Schwartz, "Feminist Thinking on Education in Victorian England," *Oxford Review of Education* 37, No. 5 (2011): p. 670.
[16] Ibid., p. 671.
[17] Faraut, "Women Resisting the Vote: A Case of Anti-Feminism?," p. 615.
[18] The women writers that Martine Farault discusses include: Louise Jordan Miln Maud Ellen Simkins Marie Louise De La Ramée, Mrs Ethel B. Harrison, Violet R. Markham, Mary Maxse and Helen Hamilton.
[19] Lucy Delap, "Feminist and Anti-Feminist Encounters in Edwardian Britain," *Historical Research* 78, No. 201 (2005).

improvements to the working conditions of the labouring poor. These activities demonstrate Mary's agency, autonomy and commitment towards pursuing reforms that she anticipated would benefit the lives of those who were confined by white, middle/upper-class male power structures. For the purpose of this thesis, autonomy and agency is understood within the context of Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman's definition of personal autonomy as the ability and freedom of a person to organise and order their life, and agency as the ability to act upon their will.[20] John Sutherland portrays Mary as a middle-class Victorian woman, complicit with patriarchal structures.[21] According to Scott, theories of patriarchy are problematical for historians because they rely on a single variable of physical difference and do not facilitate a discussion of the relationship between other inequalities.[22] This creates potential tensions in investigating Mary's life and work within theories of patriarchy as Mary supported many of the traditions of the British social structure.[23] By considering the importance of Mary's social connections within these structures, this thesis will explore how she facilitated her activities as a writer and reformer and how this intersected with the views of male and female roles in society that she presented to the public.

Studies such as those by Scott, Ludmilla Jordanova, Amanda Vickery, Julia Swindells, Mary Poovey, Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin have made significant developments in theoretical aspects of women's history.[24] The organising concept of separate spheres has been one of the defining theories to have emerged.[25] Vickery shows that the main difficulty when assimilating women's experiences under the precept of separate spheres is that there is no consensus on what these terms encompass: domestic, public, and private are all value laden terms.[26] She considers that the rhetoric of domesticity and separate spheres can be challenged using case studies of individual women to explore 'the extent to which women accepted, negotiated, contested or simply ignored, the much quoted precepts of proper female behaviour in past time.'[27] Vickery argues that writing was an important and large part of Victorian middle-class women's lives and provides an example of how women crossed the public and domestic

[20] Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education 1800-1980*, p. 20.
[21] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*.
[22] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," pp. 157-59.
[23] For a full discussion of this see: Sheila Rowbotham, "The Trouble with 'Patriarchy'," in *The Feminist History Reader*, ed. Sue Morgan (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).
[24] Delamont and Duffin, *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*; Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (London: Virago Press, 1989); Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History'," *The Historical Journal* 36 No. 2 (1993); Julia Swindells, ed., *The Uses of Autobiography*, (London and Bristol: Taylor & Francis, 1995); Scott, *Feminism and History*; Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Arnold, 2000).
[25] Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History'."
[26] Ibid., p. 412.
[27] Ibid., p. 414.

spheres. The success and critical acclaim Mary attained through her novels enabled her to secure her financial position as the main decision maker and income generator for her extended family. This challenges Brian Harrison's view that the notion of separate spheres confined and limited Victorian women within their domestic sphere.[28] The thesis will demonstrate that the boundaries of Mary's life and work as a writer and reformer resist any fixed or rigid interpretations of the concepts of public or private that are associated with the separate spheres discourse, rendering it too simplistic a framework to consider the complexity of her roles. Martha Vicinus confirms that 'nineteenth-century women were not always the passive, submissive and pure creatures of popular idealization… neither were they completely free from this stereotype.'[29]

Previous accounts of the complexity of women's roles within theories of patriarchy have focussed on theories of maternalism.[30] These theories are based on the belief that women had certain qualities that were unique to them based on their perceived maternal instincts and childbearing capacity. Diana Fuss concludes that '[w]hile the essentialist/constructionist polemic may continue to cast its shadow over our critical discussions… reliance on an admittedly overvalued binarism need not be paraly[s]ing.'[31] Eileen Yeo considers that there are three functions associated with the term maternalism – protection, discipline/punishment and empowering/nurturing.[32] This implies that both men and women could be involved in maternalist activities but this is far less frequently explored.[33] By drawing on Yeo's work, in addition to Seth Koven and Sonya Michel's understanding of paternalists as those engaged with protective legislation, this thesis explores the complexities of drawing the boundaries of what is maternalist or paternalist activity in Mary's life.[34] Philanthropy is generally understood in terms of a financial gift being proffered by the giver to the receiver and it is not interchangeable with maternalism and the reasons for this lie embedded in the foundations of the eighteenth-century charitable and benevolent movements.[35] Considering that the bulk of

[28] Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain*. For a study of how Victorian women used heterodox interpretations of the boundaries of the 'public' and the 'private' within the ideology of separate spheres in order to contribute to civil society see: Megan K. Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, C.1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
[29] Martha Vicinus, *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (London: Methuen, 1980), Introduction, p. xix.
[30] For a review of the use of patriarchal theories in histories of education see: Joyce Goodman, "The Gendered Politics of Historical Writing in History of Education," *History of Education* 41, No. 1 (2012).
[31] Diana Fuss, *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 119.
[32] Yeo, "Some Contradictions of Social Motherhood," p. 127.
[33] For a review of the role of women as public moralists in England see: Jane Martin, "Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling: Towards a Collective Biography of Women 'Doing Good' as Public Moralists in Victorian London," *Gender and Education* 17, No. 2 (2005).
[34] Koven and Michel, "Introduction: "Mother Worlds"," pp. 5-6, p. 18.
[35] For an overview of the context of this in an educational context see: Sarah Trimmer, *The Oeconomy of Charity; or an Address to Ladies Concerning Sunday-Schools*, 1787, (accessed 30 July 2008; David Fairer, "Experience Reading Innocence: Contextualizing Blake's Holy Thursday," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, No. 4 (2002); Sarah Lloyd,

British eighteenth-century wealth was controlled by the male white upper class and latterly by the middling sort, not all philanthropy was maternalist. In line with Sarah Richardson's view, philanthropy in this thesis is understood in terms of Mary's engagement with political and social reforms and not 'as a distraction or compensation for [her] lack of involvement in national political debates'.[36] Within these categories, Mary has been further considered using a number of historically and culturally specific constructs in various degrees, for example: campaigner, advocate, promoter, activist, lobbyist, ameliorant, petitioner, fund raiser. These are value-laden terms, all of which accentuate different aspects and priorities within the campaigns and reforms Mary supported within British society. It will be argued that they evoke, primarily, gendered connotations. This thesis will consider how Mary's view and activities as a reformer were underpinned, on a more profound level, by her Greenian views on the nature and purpose of education.

Scott's article 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' was originally published in 1986 and reviewed the field of women's history. The article was republished in 1996 and scholars have continued to draw on her work as a way of approaching the study of power structures and how these define relationships between men and women.[37] At the time of publication, Scott's ideas stimulated debate surrounding the issues of essentialism and constructionism, as she argued that there needed to be much more critical analysis of how women were positioned in history, rather than being simply added to the record. In an article in 2008, Scott concluded that the strength of gender as a category of analysis was its flexibility in terms of moving from the general to the particular and 'as an open question about how these meanings are established, what they signify, and in what contexts, it remains a useful category of historical analysis.'[38]

Scott conceives gender history as a 'synthesizing perspective that can explain continuities and discontinuities and account for persisting inequalities as well as radically different social experiences.'[39] In this thesis, gender history is used as a way of synthesising previous histories alongside current histories, whilst challenging their inadequacies and findings under current

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"Pleasing Spectacles and Elegant Dinners: Conviviality, Benevolence, and Charity Anniversaries in Eighteenth-Century London," *The Journal of British Studies* 41, No. 1 (2002).

[36] Sarah May Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain* (2013), pp. 80-81.

[37] Scott, *Feminism and History*. For a historiographical review of Joan Scott's work see: Stephanie Spencer, "Educational Administration, History and 'Gender as a Useful Category of Historical Analysis'," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 42, No. 2 (2010).

[38] Scott, "Unanswered Questions, Contribution to AHR Forum, Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis'."

[39] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," p. 166, p. 54.

historical practices.[40] Gender is often implicit and crucial in exposing how equality and inequality are configured in society.[41] Scott defines gender as a combination of two core propositions: 'a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes' and 'a primary way of signifying relationships of power.'[42] She considers that there are four ways in which gender relations work: through cultural symbols and representations, through the normative concepts which inform, create and define meaning and limit possibility, through fixity of politics, institutions and organizations and lastly, through subjective identity.[43] Beginning with an explanation of the terms of reference employed in the thesis, the next section will outline how and where these interrelated elements will be analysed and how the relationships between them in Mary's life and work will be explored with reference to the three main themes of the thesis: religious, social and political.[44]

Terms, Interpretations and Definitions

Placing 'Mrs Humphry Ward' in the title of this thesis is consistent with all major studies that have been published to date and will situate the thesis alongside the existing body of work documented in the literature review chapter. This decision also reflects the social conventions and the historical context in which Mary has been considered, as a famous female middle-class public figure.[45] Throughout the thesis she will be referred to as 'Mary' as a way of disrupting the cultural associations of using 'Mrs Humphry Ward'. Her first name, Mary, applies across most positions, roles and activities during her life without putting an emphasis in any one area, other than her sex. Due to the number of related men and women, similar names and married couples who feature in this study, all other historical figures will be referred to by the names by which they were known in order to avoid confusion and to ensure parity in discussing men and women.[46] This enables a closer gender analysis of how the intricacies of Mary's identity as a woman interact and extend the parameters of education within the study which seeks to 'historicize and relativize' Mary and to conceive her as 'integral to history' as a significant Greenian educator.[47]

[40] Ibid., p. 155.
[41] Ibid., p. 173.
[42] Ibid., p. 167.
[43] Ibid., pp. 167-69.
[44] Ibid., p. 169.
[45] Using a husband's first name came to be used to distinguish between married women and those divorced and widowed, before Ms was adopted as common practice by feminists in the 1970s. Nigel Scotland has also used Mary as a term of reference in his work on social settlements.
[46] See appendix two.
[47] Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?," p. 12.

Sutherland states that Mary 'became' Mrs Humphry Ward for public purposes and claims that 'Mary proclaimed herself utterly and voluntarily her husband's property; bone of his bone and name of his name'.[48] He argues that her motivation for this was out of 'blind loyalty' to her husband and the acceptance of the dominant male role. Several arguments can be made for an alternative case; that her choice of the title 'Mrs Humphry Ward' was a measured decision. First, her biographers note that, effectively, she became the head of the family as she was the main decision maker and provided the majority of the income to support it, and second, they concur that she was highly strategic and self-motivated throughout her life.[49] This demonstrates both her private and public autonomy and agency as a woman. Public autonomy and agency can be understood as the freedom and ability to contribute to the organisation of public life.[50]

A number of writers had already published under the name Mary Ward by the time Mary's first work was accepted for publication.[51] Initially, Mary might have used 'Mrs Humphry Ward' as a pen name but as Catherine Judd's work demonstrates, the practice of female authors publishing under pseudonyms was not as widespread as might have been generally thought and those that did so were not forced to do so by males.[52] Judd considers that most female writers used female pseudonyms, if they used them, or published anonymously, as these literary practices were devices employed to separate the public and private.[53] Anne M. Bindslev states that the consistency with which Mary ends her novels and all her academic work with 'Mary A. Ward' indicates that it was a conscious choice on Mary's part.[54] On this basis, Bindslev concludes that Mary intended to separate her fictional writing from her other writing but was torn between 'womanly submission' and 'the new woman ideal'.[55] Ruth Lister confirms that the public-private divide is fluid and is rarely recognised, and views that the 'public-private divide cannot be treated as a given. Rather, it has to be seen as a shifting political construction under constant renegotiation which reflects both historical and cultural contexts as well as the relative power of different social groups.'[56]

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[48] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p.56, p. 59.
[49] Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 39; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 64-65, p. 85.
[50] Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education 1800-1980*, p. 20.
[51] Famous women called Mary Ward include: the scientist (1827-1869) and the Catholic nun (1585-1645).
[52] Catherine A. Judd, "Male Pseudonyms and Female Authority in Victorian England," in *Literature in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century British Publishing and Reading Practices*, ed. John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 252.
[53] Other examples of women who published using their husband's names include: Georgina Müller (Mrs Max Müller) and Beatrice Webb (Mrs Sidney Webb). Examples of their work include: Mrs Max Müller, *Letters from Constantinople*, (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans Green &Co, 1897), (Accessed November, 2013) <https://archive.org/details/lettersfromcons01mlgoog>; Webb, *The Case for the Factory Acts*.
[54] Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression," p. 10.
[55] Ibid., p. 9.
[56] Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Houndmills, 1997), pp. 124-25.

Elaine Showalter chose 'Ward' as a term of reference.[57] Her decision was representative of the move of feminists in the 1970s to redress the binary practice of referring to males by their surnames and females by their first name within scholarly work.[58] Beth Sutton-Ramspeck has also adopted this strategy in her more recent feminist work.[59] The arguments against using this strategy are strong in a study exploring the broader aspects of her life and work. First it is disingenuous as it is her husband's surname, not her maiden name and second, it portrays a superficial religious, social and political equality between the sexes, which did not exist in her life time. Furthermore, it does not reflect Mary's belief that women were different but equal and her reliance on her identity and status as an Arnold. This thesis investigates how Mary conformed to and diverged from gender constructs of Victorian womanhood and how she responded to the idea of 'the New Woman' in her writing and work in education.[60] It adopts Scott's proposal to historians to 'examine the ways in which gendered identities are substantively constructed and to relate their findings to a range of activities, social organizations, and historically specific cultural representations.'[61] Identity in this thesis is understood within Morwenna Griffiths' web of identity metaphor, as multi-layered and interlinked components of the whole self.[62]

Martin and Goodman argue that, 'in the field of educational leaders…… the voices and actions of female leaders are often confined to patrolling the margins, ubiquitous but largely unrecorded'.[63] They consider that the relatively few women who were written about were usually presented as victims or as inferior subjects within masculine educational discourses, illustrating Bennett's argument concerning the polarisation of victims and agents.[64] Martin also notes that men in positions of power, such as politicians, administrators, aristocrats and bureaucrats continue to occupy a dominant position in her review of biographical articles featuring in the main educational journals.[65] Mary was active as an administrator, campaigner and leader of several ground-breaking educational reforms for the urban poor but as a middle-

[57] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: From Charlotte Brontë to Doris Lessing*.
[58] For a discussion of the issues around this see, for example: Sara Mills, "Caught between Sexism, Anti-Sexism and 'Political Correctness'- Feminist Women's Negotiations with Naming Practices," *Discourse & Society* 14, (2003).
[59] See for example: Sutton-Ramspeck, "The Personal Is Poetical: Feminist Criticism and Mary Ward's Readings of the Brontës."; Sutton-Ramspeck and Mellor, *Marcella*.
[60] Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?," p. 169.
[61] Scott, "Unanswered Questions, Contribution to AHR Forum, Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis'," p. 1429.
[62] Morwenna Griffiths, *Feminisms and the Self: The Web of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).
[63] Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education 1800-1980*, p. 2. Richardson's thematic analysis shows the dominance of articles concerning policy and administration and Universities and the absence of material on women or girls education between 1939 and 1971. Richardson, "Historians and Educationists: The History of Education as a Field of Study in Post-War England Part I: 1945–72."
[64] Bennett, "Feminism and History," p. 262.
[65] These journals are *Paedagogica Historica*, *History of Education*, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. Jane Martin, "Interpreting Biography in the History of Education: Past and Present," *History of Education* 41, No. 1 (2012): p. 96.

class woman she was on the margins of the bureaucratic structures, which were dominated by men, in particular those stemming from Balliol College. Peter Gordon and John White note that it would be too 'tedious to list the growing number of Balliol men who entered the education service'.[66]

T. H. Green embraced the notion of education as a whole process, which he viewed as much more than formal schooling.[67] He saw education as a way of empowering men and women to create decentred power structures, which he believed would be more profitable for society than directly challenging existing mechanisms.[68] Gordon and White argue that education was the primary way in which Green's idealist ideas were applied by his followers and pupils; through the state in formal education and through the community and social work activities as informal education.[69] This idealist vision of education was closely connected to Christian concepts of religion, as Gordon and White summarise 'in devoting oneself to education…, one is directly furthering God's purpose in the world.'[70] They argue that Green's philosophy crossed disciplinary boundaries to permeate religious, social and political theories through the practice and writings of administrators, lecturers and teachers. Educators who ascribed to Green's philosophy and his idealist views believed in the transformative possibilities that education offered as a way of 'improving' society through existing structures. The concept of education as moral 'improvement' as used in this thesis reflects the Greenian idea of progress: for the individual as self-realisation and also for society in the common good.[71] This required the faith and belief of individuals that they could become closer to God by working in pursuit of a better society, which Green envisaged as moral, united through a shared interest. This thesis will build on Gordon and White's work by considering the problematical nature of 'improvement' in Mary's vision for a better society, which she pursed predominantly through informal modes of education as a writer and reformer using the existing institutions and structures with which she was able to align herself.

This thesis investigates how Mary negotiated the formal bureaucratic structures in order to pursue her vision of education by analysing her strategies, aims and approaches to conveying her views and beliefs to the public as a writer and reformer. Many of her ventures and methods can be considered within the parameters of popular education, which Sjaak Braster

[66] Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice*.
[67] Leland, *The Educational Theory and Practice of T. H. Green*.
[68] This point is made in: Anderson, "The Feminism of T.H. Green: A Late-Victorian Success Story?."
[69] Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice*, pp. 86-87.
[70] Ibid., p. 221. This will be discussed in chapter three.
[71] This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter

considers is 'not about educating the poor and needy, but about empowerment through awareness.'[72] Braster argues that historiographically, the concept of popular education has been explored in a broad range of ways using a variety of definitions, many of which include the education of the masses, the urban and rural poor and the schooling of infants.[73] Green considered that the novel and the novelist played important roles in uniting society by translating and conveying knowledge to the masses. He claimed that the novel 'is no small thing that it should remove the barriers of ignorance and antipathy which would otherwise render the effort unavailing. It at least brings man nearer to his neighbour, and enables each class to see itself as others see it.'[74]

In 1982, R. F. Dearden argued that a wider critical perspective within philosophy of education was necessary, stating '[f]or as we think, so we act, in schools and out of them'.[75] Richard Aldrich notes the extent to which education takes place outside of formal institutions and argues for the importance of considering less formal aspects of education.[76] This is reflected in the broader view of education which has facilitated studies incorporating a wide understanding of informal educational processes which better account for how women accessed and disseminated knowledge, for example: through their engagement with religion, through school boards and committees, from their reading and writing practices, through their social connections.[77] Carol Dyhouse acknowledges the importance of informal education as she considers that family life provided the greatest part of girls' socialisation during the period 1860 to 1920. She uses the word 'socialisation' as opposed to education because of the lack of formal education available to girls at this time.[78] Informal education in this thesis draws on Dyhouse's work alongside Gordon and White's work. It is conceived as both a direct and indirect life-long process whereby ideas, beliefs and concepts are dispersed and received between Mary, her family, her friends and associates and the general public through the religious, social and political aspects of her life and work as a writer and reformer. The thesis presents the case that it is equally valuable to analyse Mary in the context of informal education alongside her activities in formal education in what Scott views as 'a dynamic study

[72] Sjaak Braster, "The People, the Poor, and the Oppressed: The Concept of Popular Education through Time," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, No. 1-2 (2011): p. 5.
[73] For a broad discussion on how popular education has been interpreted and analysed see: Sjaak Braster, Frank Simon and Ian Grosvenor, "Special Issue: Educating the People, the History of Popular Education," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 47, No. 1-2 (2011).
[74] T. H. Green, "An Estimate of the Value and Influence of Works of Fiction in Modern Times," in *Works of Thomas Hill Green*, ed. R. L. Nettleship, Cambridge University Press 2011 ed., vol. 3 (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1888), p. 44.
[75] R. F. Dearden, "Philosophy of Education, 1952-82," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 30, No. 1 (1982): p. 70.
[76] Richard Aldrich, "The Three Duties of the Historian of Education," *History of Education* 32, No. 2 (2003): p. 135.
[77] See: Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education*.
[78] Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 1.

in the politics of knowledge production'.[79] This is because the complexity of Mary's roles and activities can be analysed within, outside and between the traditional male discourses of what constitutes truth, duty or assumptions of how knowledge is constructed and reinforced in power structures.[80]

The religious aspects of Mary's life and work in relation to education are understood to include both formal and informal ideas, beliefs and activities associated with the Christian religion and Christian theology, which can be transmitted through religious persons, bodies, institutions and organisations in her life and work as a writer and a reformer. Christianity is defined by Green as 'the divine consciousness of Jesus and in that of St. Paul.' and explored in this thesis as the normative organisational religion of late-Victorian and Edwardian British society.[81] Theology is understood using Green's definition that it is 'a connected system of ideas, each qualified by every other, each serving as a middle term by which the rest are held together.'[82] These religious concepts are used to analyse how Mary educated herself and the ways in which she conveyed her religious ideas, knowledge and experience to educate British society through her writing and reforms. By exploring religious aspects of her life and work in relation to education, the thesis considers how Mary applies Scott's understanding of the need to disrupt cultural fixities of female middle-class Christian morality; through her efforts to educate herself using religious theories, theology and philosophy and then by translating her experiences in practice as a means of educating the general public through her literature and in her capacity as a reformer.[83] Joan Burstyn's argument shows that the religious communities of the universities had the greatest resistance to and fear of Victorian women gaining access to education.[84] She argues that they based their arguments on gendered notions of women and that deviations from this would impair the social and economic structure of the nation.[85] This thesis investigates the religious aspects of Mary's life and work as a writer and reformer to analyse the potential tensions within her Christian beliefs, views and practices in the context of education. Mary was in favour of upholding many of the cultural and religious traditions of British Christian society, whilst questions remain concerning the extent to which she conforms

[79] Scott, "Women's History," p. 44.
[80] Mary Poovey explores the lives of notable women who blur the boundaries of male discourses, as the concept of 'fracture lines', although Mary is not included in this work. Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*.
[81] Green, "Essay on Christian Dogma," p. 164.
[82] Ibid., p. 164.
[83] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis."
[84] Joan Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (London: Croom Helm, Barnes & Noble, 1980).
[85] Ibid., p. 50. This theme is also examined by Laura Schwartz in the context of appropriate education for females in: Schwartz, "Feminist Thinking on Education in Victorian England," pp. 674-79.

within the patriarchal hierarchical norms of a middle-class woman within the social structure during her life.[86]

The social aspects of Mary's life and work in relation to education are conceived as a way of incorporating the wide range of activities, relationships, roles, duties and responsibilities that Mary undertook in her family life and as part of her career as a writer and reformer. This facilitates the consideration of social and family relationships, responsibilities and interactions; looking at how competing and conflicting aspects of her social status and identity as a respectable middle-class married woman assist or limit her ability to forge a career in public life.[87] Scholars of the late-Victorian era frequently cite the ideas of the philosophers J. S. Mill and/or John Ruskin as ways of categorising women.[88] Kate Millett argues that Mill had a slightly more progressive and rational attitude to women whilst Ruskin's chivalrous and nostalgic language objectified them in much the same way as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Sophie.[89] In his famous lecture 'Lilies: Of Queen's Gardens', Ruskin presented his view of the subordinate and supportive role of women in terms of the 'domestic' in his statement that 'wherever a true wife comes, this home is always around her… home is yet wherever she is…. It stretches far round her… This, then I believe to be, will you not admit is to be, —the woman's true place and power?[90] Millett's article provides a comparison between the two writers and considers that both attempted to address the 'woman question' but from the two different prevailing standpoints of the period.[91] Neither J. S. Mill nor John Ruskin considered the role of women beyond that of men, as Caine observes, but despite this, women writers continued to use these philosophers to either support or argue against the roles and nature of women.[92] The dominance of these discourses will be read against and alongside the strategies Mary employed in order to investigate how she embodied, contradicted or subverted these ideas in her writing within Green's ideas of the family unit in society. This thesis will explore how Mary subscribed to or diverged from cultural constructs of women such as Coventry Patmore's 'The Angel in the House'[93] or binary oppositions, such as matriarch and patriarch, maternalist and paternalist.

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[86] Rowbotham, "The Trouble with 'Patriarchy'."
[87] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," p. 162.
[88] John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, (http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart/m645s/chapter2.html, 1889); J. Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1865).
[89] Kate Millett, "The Debate over Women: Ruskin V Mill," in *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, ed. Martha Vicinus (London: Meuthen & Co, 1980); Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* (London: Everyman, 1993). Sophie was the final chapter of this work, and her education and purpose is entirely conceived to prepare her to be the moral supportive role to Emile, whose education is discussed in the previous four chapters of his work.
[90] Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, p. 119.
[91] Millett, "The Debate over Women: Ruskin V Mill," p. 121.
[92] Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, p. 38.
[93] C. Patmore, *The Angel in the House* (George Bell & Son, 1886).

The boundaries of what can be examined as education have been extended within Mary's social activities on the basis of two main suppositions. First, an examination of most women's lives can highlight inconsistencies in competing layers of motivations and principles that surface when competing in a male dominated society.[94] Second, male members of a family were largely able to remove themselves from domestic spaces and responsibilities, thus placing the onus on the females within the household to organise family and domestic affairs. Separating work life from their household affairs was therefore problematical for middle-class women.[95] This thesis will consider how Green's ideas concerning the roles of women in society are reflected in the various ways that Mary translated and adapted the concept of education into public duty and how she facilitated the space in her domestic life to enable her to pursue her other activities. This will involve an evaluation of Mary's social roles and activities within an educational context in a less polarised view of ideas than those created by discourses such as separate spheres or maternalism.

Sarah Richardson has argued that the debates of whether women were engaged in a wide range of political activities in the nineteenth century have now moved on to consider how and where women participated in politics.[96] Following her view that women developed strategies to negotiate and cooperate with male political bodies and organisations, the political aspects of Mary's life and work in relation to education encompasses a wide range of her involvements and connections with parliamentary and legislative bodies, individuals, issues and events. This broad approach to the concept of what can be considered political facilitates the inclusion of a much greater scope of material. For example, it is used to consider the alternative ways in which Mary expressed her views on political debates and issues that were of concern or prominent within Victorian and Edwardian society but not necessarily deemed to be directly political by her at the time. Political structures, organisations and institutions will be considered to analyse how Mary was complicit with or contested political ideas, laws and constitutions.[97] This will enable the consideration of a range of factors: how the significance of her views and activities were compromised by her own political views on women, the strategies she employed to ensure that she was at the forefront in major political upheavals, such as the First World War and how constructions of the 'New Woman' played for and against her in her own public career. These are envisaged as ways of determining the extent to which

[94] For example see the lives of the women discussed in: Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*.
[95] Biographers all mention the reliance Mary placed on her female family members and employee and this will be discussed in chapter five.
[96] Richardson, *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, pp. 1-2.
[97] Scott, "Women's History," p. 44.

Mary's political roles were gendered and embody the difficulties presented to women by Green's political philosophy.

John Tosh and Stuart Lang alert historians to be aware of the dangers of viewing individual historical figures or events through contemporary theories and terms.[98] This is particularly relevant when attempting to state how Mary construed Green's ideas and philosophy in a political context. Definitive descriptions of Mary as either liberal or conservative in Victorian times are deeply problematic because of the range of ideas with which each are associated.[99] Although Mary was considered to be a theological liberal, Gladstone's views on Irish Home Rule prompted her to align with the Conservatives.[100] For the purpose of this thesis, the term conservative is understood using Bush's work, as a guide to how women defined themselves as different but equal in relation to the 'woman question'. In this thesis, sources will be examined in order to discuss how ideas associated with political labels have impacted the portrayal of Mary's wider significance within histories.[101] Stefan Collini argues that liberalism is characterised by the fundamental perspective of principle, rather than tradition or empiricism and considers that definitions of liberal are characterised by the notion of individualism and freedom but are intertwined with religion, economics and sociology.[102] Following his examples of how individuals reflect a particular aspect or characteristic across the spectrum of liberalism, this thesis considers Mary's views, attitudes and beliefs in published and unpublished material across the range of interpretations of liberalism in late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain.[103] It examines the extent to which Mary embodied and reproduced the political ideas within Green's philosophy in the context of her political involvements with education.[104]

In order to analyse how Mary supported and opposed political causes in her attempts to educate the public about the 'the woman question', this thesis looks at the gender dynamics of how she drew on the ideas Green proposed in relation to citizenship and community. The thesis draws on concepts of dual conformity to examine how she did this through cooperation

[98] John Tosh and Sean Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, 4th ed. (London et al.: Pearson Longman, 2006).
[99] P. C. Erb, "Politics and Theological Liberalism: William Gladstone and Mrs Humphry Ward," *The Journal of Religious History* 25, No. 2 (2001): p. 161.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Bush, "'Special Strengths for Their Own Special Duties': Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain."
[102] Collini, *Public Moralist: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930*, pp. 180-83; Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914*, pp. 1-3.
[103] Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914*, pp. 46-47.
[104] Green's liberalism was centred on his belief that individuals had a duty to contribute to their society, for the 'common good'. For further discussion see: A Simhony, "T.H. Green: The Common Good Society," *History of Political Thought* 14, (1993); Colin Tyler, "Contesting the Common Good: T H Green and Contemporary Republicanism," in *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philospohy*, eds. Maria Dimova-Cookson and W. J. Mander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

with political organisations and committees, despite being in opposition to female suffrage.[105] Following Lister, who demonstrates how women, like Mary, sculpted their own citizenship, Mary's accession to power is examined in relation to her activities within the community and the state.[106] This thesis proposes to consider Mary's political activities within her understanding of Greenian philosophy, as a way of presenting a greater understanding of the contradictions that Mary faced as a well-known public figure and middle-class woman expressing her Greenian views through her writing and reforms.

Sources

Analysing Mary as a Greenian educator has necessitated consideration of an extensive range of sources. W. H. McDowell notes that historians have traditionally sought to categorise sources into primary sources and secondary sources.[107] Peter Burke observes, however, that since the 1950s and 1960s, the development of new fields of historical inquiry has prompted new questions, which has required historians to consider new types of sources.[108] In writing women into history, for example, Scott has argued that documenting and analysing what counts as women's 'experiences' is of vital importance.[109] Jane Rendall advises that the parameters required in gender history studies need to be broad and this involves a broad selection of sources.[110] This has complicated how sources are categorised in this study because, as Jordanova notes, 'a primary source for one project might be a secondary one for another, and vice versa.'[111] Further complications are presented in respect of the number of sources that document Mary's life and work but may be addressed by identifying constancies and discrepancies that appear within a range of accounts which discuss her life and work. This thesis adopts Jordanova's suggestion that a pragmatic approach to considering sources and knowledge can facilitate the 'ability to empathise with historical actors and to build up a sense of what motivated them.'[112] In line with Jordanova's view that 'we should not fetishise 'primary' sources but seek whatever is helpful' this thesis makes use of a wide variety of published and unpublished primary sources.[113] Drawing on June Purvis's discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of perspective analysis, the following section outlines the reasons

[105] Delamont and Duffin, *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*.
[106] Lister, Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives.
[107] W. H. McDowell, *Historical Research: A Guide* (London: Pearson Education, 2002), p. 55.
[108] Peter Burke, "Overture. The New History: Its Past and Its Future," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), p. 11.
[109] Joan Scott, "Women's History," in ibid. (Polity Press, 1991), p. 60.
[110] Jane Rendall, "Uneven Developments: Women's History, Feminist History and Gender History in Great Britain," in *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives*, eds. K. Offen, R. R. Pierson and J. Rendall (Basingstoke and London: MacMillan, 1991), p. 51.
[111] Jordanova, *History in Practice*, p. 101.
[112] Ibid., p. 95.
[113] Ibid., p. 101.

for the selection of sources, the possibilities they offer and their limitations for the study of Mary as a Greenian educator.[114]

The primary sources consulted in the thesis consist of both published and unpublished material, which in Jordanova's view, have 'the potential to bear witness on a historical problem.'[115] Some sources are clearly identifiable as published primary sources, in what Purvis categorises as published commentary and reporting: such as magazine articles, periodicals, and newspapers.[116] Tosh considers this material is valuable for historians as it records the most significant views and events at the time they were published.[117] The articles and reviews published in magazines, newspapers and journals which are analysed in this study have been chosen to reflect the main themes of the chapters. They are broadly representative of the types of publications, writers, issues and debates with which Mary was associated, whilst acknowledging Purvis's comments regarding the problematical nature of these sources for studies of women in the Victorian and Edwardian period.[118] She notes that editors of journals and newspapers were generally middle-class males. As such, their selection of articles reflected their views and the views of their intended readership, concerning what they deemed 'worthy' at the time of publication.[119] For this reason, these types of sources are read in several ways: as a way of examining the range and scope of Mary's ideas and views, which were issues, views and events were considered 'worthy' of note by editors and their readers and to consider how she used her connections with the press and publishers to convey her ideas and views to the reading public. They are also read to take into account the reactions and views of other writers and commentators at the time in relation to Mary, her writing and her activities.

Other sources are more problematic to categorise as published or unpublished primary sources, as some were published posthumously and others existed in other formats prior to publication. For example, *New Forms of Christian Education: An Address to the University Hall Guild* was written as a speech, which Mary gave in 1892 to the Students' Guild of University Hall. It was published in *The New World* in June 1892 with a few revisions and reprinted as a pamphlet by Smith and Elder also in 1892. Six years later it was re-published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Company in America in its original printed form but with a preface added by Mary. Similarly, the sermons *The Witness to God* and *Faith* by Green were delivered to students and

[114] June Purvis, "Using Primary Sources When Researching Women's History from a Feminist Perspective," *Women's History Review* 1, No. 2 (1992): p. 292.
[115] Jordanova, *History in Practice*, p. 96.
[116] Purvis, "Using Primary Sources When Researching Women's History from a Feminist Perspective," p. 275.
[117] Tosh and Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 66.
[118] Purvis, "Using Primary Sources When Researching Women's History from a Feminist Perspective," p. 288.
[119] Ibid., p. 288.

colleagues at Oxford in 1870 and 1877 but were published with an unfinished preface by Arnold Toynbee in 1884 and various editions continued to be printed by the original publishers, Longmans Green and Company until 1904. Originally intended for select audiences, Mary's public address, and Green's sermons have existed in manuscripts, orally, in pamphlets and journals and in Green's case, also as part of collected editions of works. Using published accounts of speeches and sermons offers the potential for this thesis to consider how Mary interpreted and disseminated Green's religious ideas through organisations, societies and groups in society in Britain and America. The pamphlets consulted in this study are included as a way of considering the content of the views and beliefs that Mary conveyed to her readers as well as examining the reasons and people behind their publication, in line with Tosh's opinion that before analysis of a primary source, the historian must establish the origin of the document.[120] As Mary's lectures, speeches and pamphlets have not been published as part of a collection, the editions selected for examination in this thesis are those which have prefaces added and were widely circulated over a period of time. Green's lectures, speeches, public addresses, sermons and essays have been sourced from R. L. Nettleship's edited collection and from Green's additional writings in Peter Nicholson's five volume collection.[121] The versions of *The Witness to God* and *Faith* that appear in Nicholson's collection of Green's works do not include Arnold Toynbee's preface and for this reason the 1886 edition is consulted. As Green's philosophy and later writings were eventually published by his wife and his followers and commentators, Jordanova notes this raises questions of truth, reliability and comprehensiveness.[122] Similarly, much of what has been written about Mary has stemmed from accounts written by her family and close friends. Purvis maintains that texts are always produced for a variety of reasons and suggests where these are produced by people 'with particular views about the world… we may analyse texts for what they tell us about their author'.[123]

Over the duration of Mary's forty years as a writer of fiction, many of her novels deal directly with religious, social and political issues and debates of late-Victorian and early Edwardian life and are drawn from real events and her experiences. The novels consulted in the thesis have been selected by drawing on Tosh's view of creative literature which provides 'insights into the social and intellectual milieu in which the writer lived.'[124] Novels are conceived as didactic tools through which Mary disseminated ideas by reaching wider audiences, both in Britain and abroad. Although contemporary critics viewed Mary's later works as 'dull' because of her

[120] Tosh and Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 91.
[121] Nettleship, *Works of Thomas Hill Green*; Nicholson, *Collected Works of T. H. Green*.
[122] Jordanova, *History in Practice*, pp. 93-94.
[123] Purvis, "Using Primary Sources When Researching Women's History from a Feminist Perspective," p. 276.
[124] Tosh and Lang, *The Pursuit of History*.

consistency as a writer of so many novels, in Colby's view, consistency and longevity of writing opens up the possibility to revisit some of these works.[125] In Colby's view, a novel is 'so rich, so flexible, and so multi-faceted that it could simultaneously and effectively serve the purposes of art, mass entertainment, public communication, popular education, propaganda, and polemics'.[126] Using these ideas, each of the novels analysed in this study have been selected with three main priorities in mind. First, to demonstrate the range of Mary's views and ideas contained in her fiction, which reflect Green's philosophy. Second, to illustrate the potential that exists in revisiting works that been previously neglected, discounted or criticised in polarised accounts of her life and work. Third, to synthesise sources that have not been previously considered within an educational context. A number of novels could satisfy these criteria and would be worthy of future study but all the novels chosen best reflect the religious, social and political themes of the thesis in order to consider a broad range of ways in which Mary's views and ideas draw on Green's philosophy.

Many of the recognised sources for analysing the educational contributions people made within histories of religion, society and politics have been traced through sermons, and official sources, such as policy documents, school and university archives, and government legislation. As a middle-class woman, much of what Mary achieved has not been documented in this way, with the exception of the 'Mary Ward Clause', which was included as part of Fisher's Education Act in 1918. In the absence of formal school and university records such as school books, official academic results, awards or attainments, the primary sources selected in this thesis are chosen to draw attention to the strategies she used to make her views known to the public. Pamphlets, committee notes and diaries will be examined for indications of how Mary perceived and applied educational strategies, motivations and issues through her writing as a successful novelist and high-profile reformer.

Mary's autobiographical work *A Writer's Recollections* contains few personal details on her private life and A. W. Bellringer concludes that it 'is well planned to preserve a minimal claim to consideration on her part with an appeal for extension of this consideration into the future. It is full of guaranteed interest and contains several protective devices.'[127] This work resists simple classification within the categories and traditions of Victorian women's autobiographical writings and memoirs, which Linda Peterson's work discusses: spiritual,

[125] Colby, *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 1.
[126] Ibid., p. 1.
[127] Bellringer, "Mrs Humphry Ward's Autobiographical Tactics: A Writer's Recollections," p. 41.

domestic, heroic and scandalous memoirs and autobiographies.[128] First because of the periodisation difficulties involved, as Mary compiled this work during the Edwardian era in 1918 but the contents reflect her life as a writer during the Victorian era until 1900. Additionally, because this work contains mostly anecdotal reflections on the people and events that she considered important in her life as a writer, it is more in line with what Peterson views as writings which 'deliberately avoid a female literary tradition… self-consciously invoke multiple traditions'.[129] Janet Trevelyan's biography is consulted to supplement Mary's autobiographical work as published primary sources. Mary's fictional works are consulted alongside non-fictional works, which include the biographies and prefaces she wrote in relation to her family by drawing on Liz Stanley's observations concerning the interconnectedness of fiction and auto/biography. She argues that 'there can be no neat divide between different forms of writing, for each is dependent on the transforming medium of the writer and her states of consciousness.'[130] Tosh considers that the role of identity and the use of auto/biographical sources have contributed greatly to the dimensions of women's history.[131] This thesis will incorporate auto/biographical sources using Trev Broughton's view that they open up more areas of enquiry than the standard investigations that revolve around genre, representativeness and value.[132]

Committee notes and minutes, diaries and letters are used as a way of addressing the limitations that Tosh identifies in relation to published sources, which he considers are subject to the control of editors, who have to satisfy readers and may 'limit, distort or falsify what is said.'[133] The survival of narratives and memoirs in letters and diaries indicates that their creator, heirs and/or custodians have ensured that they are retained.[134] In some studies these sources have serious limitations in that they can only reveal what Mary considered that the public should know.[135] In a study of this nature, which examines the views and ideas Mary presented to the public as an educator of Greenian ideas this issue is less significant. In Mary's

[128] Linda H. Peterson, *Traditions of Victorian Women's Autobiography: The Poetics and Politics of Life Writing* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2001).
[129] Ibid., p. 2.
[130] Liz Stanley, *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 162.
[131] Trev Broughton, "Auto/Biography and the Actual Course of Things," in *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods*, eds. T. Cosslett, C. Lury and P Summerfield (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Tosh and Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 244; Griffiths, *Feminisms and the Self: The Web of Identity*; Stanley, *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography*.
[132] Broughton, "Auto/Biography and the Actual Course of Things," p. 242.
[133] Tosh and Lang, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 68.
[134] Ibid., pp. 76-77.
[135] Jane Martin and Jane McDermid have discussed this issue in their biographical studies of women and school boards, for example: Jane Martin, "Reflections on Writing a Biographical Account of a Women Educator Activist," *History of Education* 30, No. 2 (2001); Jane McDermid, "Place the Book in Their Hands: Grace Paterson's Contribution to the Health and Welfare Policies of the School Board of Glasgow, 1885–1906," *History of Education* 36, No. 6 (2007).

case, family, friends and heirs have complied with her desire that much of her personal correspondence was to be destroyed after her death.[136] Tosh suggests that these controlling actions are significant in the study of a public figure and may indicate 'a consistent misreading of certain people or situations…. bias may explain an important shift in public opinion.'[137] This can also be extended to the consultation of Mary's war narratives, which were subject to considerable censoring but reflect how Mary conceived her role as a public figure in state matters.

Photographic images of Mary (or Green) have not been included as part of the study, as in the main part they have been used in previous studies to denote a particular perspective of Mary as a Victorian, a writer, reformer, wife or mother, or as part of the Arnold family.
Although manuscripts for Green's additional writings are held in Balliol College archives, they are difficult to decipher and the transcribed edited collection of his work produced by Peter Nicholson is used in this study in line with other scholars of Green and his work.[138] The following chapter considers how Mary came to appreciate the significance of Green's life and work, and provides interpretations of the main concepts which underpin his philosophy.

[136] Special Collections University College London LIbrary, Ward Family Papers, Dorothy Ward's Diary, Dated 1955. MS.Add.202/103.
[137] Tosh and Lang, *The Pursuit of History*.
[138] See the recent work of, for example: Matt Carter, Colin Tyler and Ben Wempe and the work contained in: Maria Dimova-Cookson and W. J. Mander, eds., *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). See also the earlier work of Melvin Richter.

Chapter 3 – Biographical Overview, Education and Theory

Introduction

Scholars of T. H. Green's work, including Melvin Richter, David Watson, Colin Tyler and Raymond Plant have commented upon the significance of *Robert Elsmere* in translating and conveying Green's life and work to the general public.[1] David Watson claims that Green's most 'profound impact was through his pupils', and discusses well known historical examples such as Arnold Toynbee, R. L. Nettleship and also later Greenians such as R. H. Tawney and Fred Clarke.[2] These accounts of Green's life and work do not view Mary as one of Green's pupils. There are a number of valid reasons for this but these probably all stem from the fact that, as a woman, she was unable to attend Oxford University in the formal understanding of the term.

In this chapter, the significance of Mary's relationship with Green is examined to establish Mary among his students and scholars of his work. There are a number of factors which suggest this view including: the time she spent with him and his wife; the advice given to her in the initial set up of Somerville Hall; her later commentary on the significance of his life and work to her and most important, her intellectual comprehension and dissemination of his philosophy to the general public through her own life and work. The purpose of the first part of the chapter is to demonstrate why as a young girl and woman pursuing her education within the religious uncertainties of mid nineteenth-century Oxford, Mary was so pre-disposed to Green's ideas. The aim of this is to establish Mary alongside advocates and disciples who have been considered Greenians. The second part of the chapter provides a theoretical interpretation of Green's philosophy as core concepts, the 'eternal consciousness', the 'perfectibility of mankind' and the 'common good', and then explains how these translate into

[1] Melvin Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), p. 88; Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice*, p. 10 ; Watson, "Idealism and Education: T. H. Green and the Education of the Middle Class," p. 74; Colin Tyler, "T.H. Green, Advanced Liberalism and the Reform Question 1865-1876," *History of European Ideas* 29, No. 4 (2003): p. 452; Denys P. Leighton, *The Greenian Moment: T. H. Green, Religion and Political Argument in Victorian Britain*, Series 3: Green, ed. Peter Nicholson (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004), p. 10; Dimova-Cookson and Mander, *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*, p. 6; Raymond Plant, "T. H. Green: Citizenship, Education and the Law," *Oxford Review of Education* 32, No. 1 (2006): p. 24; Colin Tyler, *The Metaphysics of Self-Realisation and Freedom: Part 1 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010), p. 31.

[2] Watson, "Idealism and Education: T. H. Green and the Education of the Middle Class," pp. 78-81. Tawney (1880-1962) was educated at Rugby and later at Balliol College Oxford, attending Toynbee Hall. He was a Christian Socialist who wrote on History and Economics. A number of historians of education have published work on Tawney's achievements, including Roy Lowe, Gary McCulloch, Tom Steele and Richard Taylor. Sir Fred Clarke (1880-1952) became the director of the Institute of Education in London. He was able to study as a teacher and graduate from Oxford University as a result of the support and reforms of those who established Toynbee Hall. For further information see work by Richard Aldrich.

what is conceived of as the principles of his idealist philosophy. These concepts will be developed and applied throughout the subsequent chapters in order to analyse Mary as a Greenian educator of late-Victorian and Edwardian British society.

Mary - Biographical Overview and Education

Mary's early experiences of religion would have been formed as a young girl as part of an informal educative process.[3] The Arnolds were 'a family to whom religion was always a concern' according to Janet Trevelyan, who charts the extent to which Mary's male relatives explored the nature of religion and education through their practice and writings:

> Whether it was the great Doctor, with his making of "Christian gentlemen" at Rugby and his fierce polemics against the "Oxford malignants," or Matt, with his "Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness," or William... with his religious novel, *Oakfield,* about the temptations or Indian Army life; and Thomas was by no means exempt from the tradition.[4]

In her biography of the Arnold family, Meriol Trevor includes Mary but refers to her as 'the daughter of one of them, who became a novelist, as an interested observer towards the end of the century.'[5] This remark reinforces the point made in the literature review that Mary's work and life has been viewed first, as adjacent and in addition to the Arnold legacy, and second, that her work as an educator has not been viewed as equally significant as her male relatives' achievements.[6]

The first impressions of Mary's personality are contained in letters her father sent to his family as a young married man in Tasmania.[7] In one letter to his mother, dated February 23rd, 1855 he described Mary as a lively and active four year old who was 'imitative and inventive' but also that he had 'seen and had to deal with a good many children, but such self will as Mary's I never met with in my life…. But her domineering spirit makes even her kindness partake of oppression'.[8] Another letter recorded that Mary was sent to Tom's friends, Archdeacon T. Reibey and his wife during a time when religious differences began to severely affect her

[3] Carol Dyhouse explores this process as 'socialisation' in: Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 1.
[4] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 3. *Oakfield* was largely autobiographical and published in 1853 but William Arnold was not revealed as the author until the second edition published in 1854. It examined the lack of morals in British India from the perspective of a disillusioned graduate of Oxford University. For a discussion of the novel see: D.C.R.A. Goonetilleke, "Forgotten Nineteenth-Century Fiction: William Arnold's Oakfield and William Knighton's Forest Life in Ceylon," *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 7, No. 1 (1972).
[5] Trevor, *The Arnolds: Thomas Arnold and His Family*, p. 9. The notes to this work identify the sources used but do not specifically cite each individual source as it is a work intended for the general reader.
[6] This is discussed in the Introduction to the thesis and also in: Helen Loader, "'The Educated Insight of a Sedentary Woman': Mrs Humphry Ward (1851-1920) on the Nature and Purpose of Women's Education," *History of Education Researcher* 89, (2012): p. 28.
[7] Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*.
[8] Ibid., Letter 41, p. 59.

father and mother's relationship.[9] The Reibey household provided a more settled life for Mary and her temperament improved: so much so, that a permanent adoption was considered.[10] These descriptions of Mary's early characteristics are significant for two main reasons. First, they trace the fundamental impact and significance of religious doubt in the development of her 'self' back to a very early age. Second, it is possible to view her strength of will and energy as deep-rooted characteristics of her personality: as catalysts in the approach she took to pursuing her education through the choices that she made and the people and experiences that she encountered.

The impact of Mary's father's religious doubt has been identified as one of the most formative factors in her life and work.[11] Tom Arnold's idealistic view of life in the colonies inspired him to emigrate to New Zealand. This allowed him to escape from a career in the British civil service as well as from a marriage rejection he suffered on account of his religious and political views.[12] Tom Arnold related a conversation with Captain Cargill, who was on his way to establish a Church of Scotland settlement based on the Pilgrim Fathers' Puritanism. In a letter written to his mother during his voyage to New Zealand in 1847 he wrote of his scepticism of Cargill's venture being as successful as it was in America:

> All this is interesting; yet one sighs as one listens, and thinks to oneself how times are changed. Puritanism is no longer at the van of human thought; it is vain to try to cheat oneself into the belief that it is; and a man preaching Puritanism now, is like St. Paul preaching Judaism, when a better light had come into the world.[13]

This excerpt is noteworthy for several reasons. It provides an early indication of Tom Arnold's religious angst and expresses the wider Arnold family's attitude to religious dogma.[14] It evokes religious parallels between his mission to New Zealand and that of the Puritans; that he was conscious of the possibility that they were both pursuing ill-fated journeys travelling in the wrong direction within the inevitable shifts of progress within their society.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 66-67, Letter 49, dated September 1856. Tom Reibey was the grandson of the convict Mary Reibey, who made her fortune in Australia. The Reibey's had visited the Arnolds at Fox How and Mrs Reibey had persuaded Tom Arnold not to convert to Catholicism without first discussing it with his mother, Mary Arnold. He was later released from this promise.

[10] This is noted in an unpublished letter from Mary's Aunt Jane Forster in: Boughton, "The Juvenilia of Mrs Humphry Ward (1851-1920): A Diplomatic Edition of Six Previously Unpublished Narratives Derived from Original Manuscript Sources," p. 42 (f.n. 11).

[11] This will be discussed later in the chapter.

[12] Tom Arnold took advantage of the opportunity to go to New Zealand to claim land that his father had invested in. Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, pp. 13-15. Bertram, *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger with Further Letters from Van Diemen's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough, 1847-1851*, Introduction xxx, Letters 17, 21 & 22.

[13] Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*.

[14] This was set out in the sermons, poetry and work of his father and brother.

Tom Arnold struggled to reconcile and contain his personal and intellectual beliefs within the Anglican Church and converted to Roman Catholicism twice.[15] The first conversion to Rome brought about his resignation from his post as Inspector of Education in Van Diemen's Land and the family's relocation to England in 1856. The second ended his career at Oxford University in 1876 and is reported to have caused the final breakdown of his marriage.[16] Tom Arnold was well aware of the implications that his actions would have for his family and career on both occasions, as his letter to Dr Newman asking for advice on his 'perplexities' confirms.[17] Tom Arnold would also have been secure in the knowledge that as 'the special darling of the family' his mother and their wider family connections would provide the necessary safety net for his young family's education, as they had done for him and his siblings when Dr Arnold died.[18] Peterson notes that although Mary shared her mother's loathing of Catholicism and took her grandfather and Uncle Matt's religious views, she shared her father's fascination with mysticism and theology.[19]

The ramifications of Tom Arnold's actions were most significant for the female members of his family. Mary described her father as someone who had 'a long and troubled history' and whose actions were a 'trial in the realm of religious freedom' for the whole family.[20] Mary considered her father's 'life-long and mystical preoccupation with religion' was a result of the imagination he inherited from his mother's Cornish family.[21] She viewed that both her uncle Matt and her father inherited Celtic traits: her father's 'unworldliness' manifested in his religious deliberations and her uncle's 'worldliness' resulted in his famous poetry.[22] Mary was in no doubt that it was her mother who suffered the consequences of her father's actions most of all, in 'a life of struggle, privation, and constant anxiety in which [she] suffered not only for herself but for her children.'[23] Mary reflected on her mother's fear and hatred of Catholicism and contemplated whether this might have been ingrained as a result of the tyranny her Huguenot ancestors faced in 'Papist' France when they were forced to abandon

[15] Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*; Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 13, p. 31; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 8-12, .
[16] Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*, Letter to Dr Newman, dated Otober 18th, 1855, pp. 67-72. The Anglican stranglehold on education had been enforced since the Restoration and this did not release until 1871. Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 8, p. 67.
[17] Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*, Letter to Dr Newman, dated April/Mary 1855, pp. 60-61. John Henry Newman (1801-1890) converted to Catholicism in 1845 and was made a cardinal by Pope Leo XIII in 1879.
[18] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 7.
[19] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 40.
[20] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 21.
[21] Ibid., p. 40. Details of Mary's grandmother, Mary Arnold (nee Penrose) can be found in: Philip Guedalla, *Bonnet and Shawl* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928), pp. 69-98. She features as one of the six 'real' women, as opposed to the three 'ideal' women.
[22] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 40.
[23] Ibid., p. 21.

their home and lands.[24] Mary arrived at her view from comparing her mother's zealous approach to religion, which was drawn from hatred and 'instinctive and invincible', to the emotion and enthusiasm exuded by Wesleyans or Evangelicals.[25] Mary noted that her mother's marriage into the Arnold family took her 'a step precisely in the opposite direction' as Tom Arnold did not provide her with the religious stability she had assumed his family background would entail.[26]

In her biography of her brother, William, Mary explained that it had been agreed between their parents that the male members of the family would be brought up to follow the faith of their father and the females would be brought up according to the religion of their mother.[27] Tom's letter to his sister, Mary Twining, indicates that his wife, Julia, was insistent that Mary was baptised but that he was less inclined to agree to it on account of his growing religious doubts and views on original sin.[28] Mary reflected in her autobiography that the Arnold family combined forces with her mother, which ensured that 'Catholicism never laid any hold on the boys'.[29] Mary also considered that, unlike her, her brother William had little interest in religious affairs at school.[30] She alluded to a rift between William and their father that stemmed from her brother's hatred of Catholicism, stating that during his early schooling at Dr Newman's Oratory School in Birmingham he made up his mind to 'give it up as soon as he should be of an age to do so.'[31] Mary recounted William's academic and sporting successes and also his shortcomings during his schooling at the Oratory and later at Rugby but there is a sense that Mary was frustrated at being unable to follow either William or Theodore through to University. She stated that even 'in his school days he had given promise of the chief powers and characteristics of his manhood'.[32] In her autobiography, Mary compared her own experiences of her education at school where she 'learned nothing thoroughly or accurately, and the German, French and Latin….. all had to be relearnt before they could be of any real

[24] Ibid., pp. 6-7. The French Huguenot's were Protestants and reported to be terrorised by during the Catholic reign of King Louis XIV. Mary's ancestors on her maternal side were among the almost 50, 000 to escape to Britain out of the 200,000 Huguenots to be expelled from France in the seventeenth century. Peter Reeves, "The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland," (Accessed July, 2012) <http://www.huguenotsociety.org.uk/history.html>. For further information see: Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London ; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).
[25] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 7.
[26] Ibid., p. 7.
[27] Mrs Humphry Ward and C. E. Montague, *William Thomas Arnold* (Manchester: University Press, 1907), p. 8.
[28] Bertram, *The Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger (1850-1900)*, Letter to Mary Twining dated August 15th, 1851, Letter 8, p. 10.
[29] Ward and Montague, *William Thomas Arnold*, p. 8.
[30] Ibid., p. 11.
[31] Tom Arnold was appointed the Classical Mastership at the Oratory in 1862 and as a result William and her other brother Theodore attended as pupils. Ibid., p. 8.
[32] Ibid., p. 9.

use'.[33] In this same paragraph, Mary gave the only real insight into her envy of William's education stating:

> nor was it ever possible for [me] to get that firm hold on the structure and literary history of any language, ancient or modern, which my brother William, only fifteen months my junior, got from his six years at Rugby, and his training there in Latin and Greek.[34]

Although William hated being subjected to Catholicism during his early schooling at the Oratory, Mary coveted the education he received as being far superior to anything provided by girls' schools, where she protested that they suffered from 'poor teaching, poor school-books, and, in many cases, indifferent food and much ignorance as to the physical care of girls.'[35]

Little has been written about Mary's sisters in respect of their education. Sutherland notes that at eighteen years old Lucy was adopted by a rich Quaker uncle and married well.[36] There is only one mention of Lucy in Janet Trevelyan's biography, which noted that she died, leaving a large family.[37] Another of Mary's sisters, Julia, attended Oxford High School before marrying into the Huxley family. She was also very intelligent, becoming one of the first students at Somerville, where Mary had been one the driving forces behind its establishment.[38] Mary's youngest sister, Ethel, benefitted from Mary's connections and in addition to caring for their mother, she became a well-regarded writer and suffragist.[39] Mary's biography of her brother shows that all of her immediate family were to a large extent protected and provided for by her father's brothers and sisters and their wider Arnold networks whilst they were under the care of their grandmother.[40]

Mary, at seven years of age, was one of two children to be sent to board, or in Mary's words became 'an inmate' of Anne Jemima Clough's school in Ambleside.[41] Anne Jemima Clough was the devoted sister of Arthur Clough, a close friend of the Arnold family, so it is unsurprising that the eight year old Mary was sent to her school, 'Eller How', which was non-denominational and had only a handful of pupils. Anne Jemima Clough believed that the

[33] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 96.
[34] Ibid., pp. 96-97.
[35] Ibid., p. 99. This is discussed in the next chapter, Education and Social perspectives.
[36] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 165.
[37] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 252.
[38] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p.166. Julia Huxley was the founder of Prior's Field School in 1902.
[39] Phyllis E. Watchter, "Ethel M. Arnold (1865-1930)," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 20, No. 3 (1987).
[40] Ward and Montague, *William Thomas Arnold*, pp. 6-7.
[41] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 87. The records for the school say little about the curriculum or pupils of the school, noting mostly the history of the buildings and locations and teachers. Armitt Museum, The Armitt Trust, Armitt/Box CM44 & Box CMC293. For further information on Clough's contribution to education in the North of England and also Newnham College, Cambridge see: Mary P. Gallant, "Against the Odds: Anne Jemima Clough and Women's Education in England," *History of Education* 26, No. 2 (1997); Christina de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapters two and three.

provision for Anglican middle-class girls' education was severely limited and considered that those children whose families from other Christian backgrounds had even more restricted opportunities.[42] Blanche Athena Clough claims that her aunt set up Eller How in Ambleside as a means of occupying herself and that under her management the school could not have been financially profitable.[43] Clough's view is that her aunt recognised that the children of the local gentry and the clergy would not send their daughters to charity schools but would not have been able to afford a governess and thus were denied any educational chances.[44] Mary's situation was particularly complicated as she was dependent on the charity and goodwill of her Arnold relations whilst her father was living in Dublin in relative poverty as a Catholic.

Anne Jemima Clough's love of children and teaching is documented throughout her niece's biography but considering she was a devout Anglican it is important to note the minimal reference to any religious doctrine or training provided in the non-denominational school, Eller How.[45] According to Mary's fellow boarder, the only religious education the girls received was to read a small section of the Bible each morning and to attend the new church on Sundays, occasionally writing out the Beatitudes and what they could remember from the sermon.[46] This would have been sufficient for the reputation for the school but Mary's lasting impression was that the children learnt from Anne Jemima Clough's kindness and the personal interest she took in developing the children's love of learning.[47] Mary reflected that what she learnt from her schooling was from the 'personalities' of the women into whose care she was entrusted, and the support they gave her during what she reported as an unhappy early life at school.[48] Her education was not the academic classical training that her brothers had been able to access at the Oratory but her ability to learn from the example set by women entrusted to her education and care proved to be an invaluable skill, considering the later successes she had as a writer and a reformer.

Mary was sent to Miss Davies' Rock Terrace School for Young Ladies in Shropshire when she was nine and a half years old, where she 'fought blindly against the restrictions and rules of this new community, felt herself at enmity with all the world and broke out ever and anon in

[42] Blanche Athena Clough and Anne Jemima Clough, *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough* (London: E. Arnold, 1897), p. 87.
[43] Ibid., p. 89.
[44] Women who established schools generally viewed and expressed their motivations in gendered terms of moralisers. See: de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867*, p. 74.
[45] Clough and Clough, *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough*.
[46] T. C. Down, "School Days with Miss Clough,"*Cornhill Magazine*, (London: John Murray, 1920): p. 676, (Accessed January 14, 2014) <https://archive.org/stream/n726cornhillmag121londuoft/n726cornhillmag121londuoft_djvu.txt>.
[47] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 97.
[48] Ibid., p. 97.

storms of passion'.[49] Janet Trevelyan claims that her mother was sent to this school at the request and expense of Miss Davies' sister, who had written to Tom Arnold, offering Mary a place. Once there, Janet Trevelyan viewed that her mother had been mistreated in relation to the other girls, whose fees had been paid.[50] Janet Trevelyan's account of Mary's time at this school was that Julia Arnold never wrote to Mary, Tom Arnold made only rare visits and her requests for stamps and money were ignored. This made Mary's time at this school even more unpleasant because in addition to the isolation from her family, her terms of board were evidently noticeably poor in relation to her social status as an Arnold and in relation to the other girls and she 'was not allowed to forget it'.[51] Mary's brothers were educated in Newman's schools in Dublin and Birmingham, where her father taught and then later at Rugby.[52]

Mary acknowledged her unhappiness at her school in Shropshire but rather than dwell on what she described as 'starved and rather unhappy years', or recount harrowing memories of being virtually abandoned and the unjust treatment her daughter reports she received at school, Mary presented a more positive view of her education in her autobiography.[53] She chose instead, to reflect on the kindness of a German governess, Fräulein Gerecke, and the positive outcomes she gained from her experiences.[54] Mary spent four years at this school before her mother finally removed her and sent her to Miss May's school, Clifton, near Bristol, where she settled well and was much happier, although she later related that she learnt nothing of academic value.[55] Her daughter's biography charts how the experiences and knowledge Mary gained from attending this school helped her (Mary) to improve her self-control by making 'short work of her remaining tendencies to temper and "contrariness"' and taught her to channel her talents and energy into expressing herself through creative outlets, such as drawing, music and writing, at which she was considered to be talented.[56] Janet Trevelyan stated that by the time Mary was fifteen she carried a heavy load between teaching her younger siblings and avoiding clashes with her mother's temper, but Mary recognised that she had 'not served Christ at all. It has been nothing but self from beginning to end.'[57] However, when she came to live in Oxford at the end of her schooling at Miss May's school,

[49] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 10.
[50] Ibid., p. 11.
[51] Ibid., p. 11.
[52] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*.
[53] Ibid., p. 100.
[54] Ibid., p. 97.
[55] Ibid., p. 96.
[56] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 14.
[57] Ibid., p. 16.

Mary's 'difficulties had vanished … the rough edges had smoothed themselves away in marvellous fashion'. [58]

Mary noted in her autobiography that her own formal education was severely lacking in comparison to her brother.[59] She considered the turning point in her ability to pursue her educational aspirations came when her father secured a position at Oxford. She stated: 'it was not until I went home to live at Oxford, in 1867, that I awoke intellectually to a hundred interests and influences that begin much earlier nowadays to affect any clever child'.[60] Oxford University never acknowledged Mary publically although the city of Oxford has commissioned a commemorative 'Blue Plaque', which names her as Mary Arnold Ward, a social reformer and a novelist.[61] Neither her association with the University nor her contribution to the education of the Oxford community is mentioned, despite her name being chosen to reflect her Arnold connections.[62]

Mary later recognised the value of the skills she had learnt as a young girl and utilised them to her best advantage. She reflected upon her time in Oxford at sixteen years old that, 'everything I learnt came to me from persons—and books… It was all a great voyage of discovery, organised mainly by myself, on the advice of a few men and women very much older.'[63] She noted that because of her father's position as a tutor of history she was one of the few younger females in Oxford during term time but emphasised that females were not readily accepted within the male domain of the University, as 'women—girls especially—were comparatively on sufferance.'[64] Mary's autobiographical work also catalogued the extent to which her family connections were deployed to enable her to access the Bodleian Library, lectures, meetings and gatherings of all of the leading figures and their families within the elite intellectual circles of Oxford.[65] Mary stated that she was enraptured by life among Oxford's academics and students in 1870 when Green gave his first sermon.[66] She was fully aware of its message and the commotion he and his supporters caused as she used them both as context and as content in *Robert Elsmere.*[67]

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[58] Ibid., p. 16.
[59] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, pp. 96-100.
[60] Ibid., p. 99.
[61] These plaques are placed on buildings that have been inhabited by people considered to be of significant public interest. Mary's plaque was unveiled in April 2012 by her great-grandson, George Trevelyan. Oxfordshire Blue Plaques Scheme, "Mary Arnold Ward (1851–1920) Also Known as Mrs Humphry Ward," (Accessed August 3, 2012) <http://www.oxfordshireblueplaques.org.uk/plaques/ward.html>.
[62] This information was provided by the secretary to the Oxfordshire Blue Plaques Scheme in March 2013.
[63] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 102.
[64] Ibid., p. 113.
[65] Ibid., Chapter VI.
[66] Ibid., Chapter VI.
[67] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 63.

Green's tutor, Jowett, was a friend and mentor to Mary's mother and father and she recollects her father's observation on a visit to Jowett's rooms that 'there lives an arch-heretic'.[68] Mary described Jowett as a much rounder character in her autobiography than the forceful, frank and serious personality he was renowned to be.[69] She portrays other sides of Jowett that are in line with what Green later preached and taught, in terms of his deep concern for the poor, the need for social reform, and involvement in charity.[70] The relationship between Mary and Jowett is not discussed in any great detail in her autobiography or her daughter's biography but Mary does recite some anecdotal encounters that indicate how formidable a character she found him. Jowett was well acquainted with her uncle, Matthew Arnold, who was lecturing on poetry at the time, and also her father, which helped her to gain acceptance in Oxford intellectual circles.[71]

As part of the movement of the Ladies' Educational Associations, Mary became adept in infiltrating the male circles of Oxford and the University, which Carol Dyhouse observes was as a common way for women to access education in the Universities at that time.[72] The other important advantage Mary had, which enabled her to further her education, was from being the wife of a Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. A change in legislation passed in 1871, which permitted college fellows to marry brought 'young wives hungry for self-cultivation and beginning to think about the future education of their daughters, to North Oxford'.[73] After Louise von Glehn chose to marry Mandell Creighton, Humphry Ward is reported to have been pursued by Mary, whom he married in 1872 without forfeiting his position in Brasenose College.[74] Humphry is considered to have been in awe of Green, and was also an un-ordained Fellow of Oxford.[75] Green and his wife Charlotte became life-long friends of Mary and her husband Humphry during their early married life.

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[68] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 101.
[69] Ibid., pp. 126-32.
[70] Ibid., p. 129. Chapman refers to letters that state how Green was fond of Jowett and that he held him in high regard to the end of his life. Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)," pp. 517-18.
[71] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 62.
[72] Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?: Women in British Universities 1870-1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995), pp. 13-15.
[73] Pauline June Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 9.
[74] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 51-53. Humphry Ward was attracted to Mary's friend Louise von Glehn, who was from a wealthy middle-class background but this is not mentioned in either Mary's autobiography or the biography written by her daughter. For further information on the Creighton's see: Louise Creighton and James Thayne Covert, *Memoir of a Victorian Woman: Reflections of Louise Creighton, 1850-1936* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Louise Creighton and James Thayne Covert, *A Victorian Family: As Seen through the Letters of Louise Creighton to Her Mother, 1872-1880* (Lewiston, N.Y. and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1998); James Thayne Covert, *A Victorian Marriage: Mandell and Louise Creighton* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000).
[75] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 44. J. R. Green was also one of the Wards' friends.

Sutherland considers that Mary earned the equivalent to a post-graduate degree through her work at the Bodleian Library, despite being unable to attend or be recognised by Oxford University in any formal way at that time.[76] This achievement is even more remarkable in light of Joan Burstyn's work, which demonstrates the extent to which Oxford and Cambridge Universities feared and resisted women gaining access to these educational institutions.[77] William Peterson states that Mary's experiences of scholarly life during the time she was permitted to study in the Bodleian Library by Henry Coxe as Pattinson's private protégé left her with a sense of the futile continuance of a purely academic quest.[78] Mary explores this issue in her pamphlet *A Morning in the Bodleian*.[79] John Sutherland concludes that the work Mary was able to pursue during her time in the Bodleian Library also marks Mary's first discernible success in accessing knowledge within the confines of Oxford.[80]

T. H. Green - Biographical Overview and Education

Green was born the son of a Yorkshire Rector and was a pupil at Rugby School. His academic effort at Rugby was minimal and not well-received under the headship of Edward Meyrick Goulburn, who was appointed by the school governors in an attempt to re-gentrify the school and move away from Dr Arnold's vision of a liberal education.[81] R. L. Nettleship confirms that 'between him [Green] and Dr Goulburn there was little sympathy or mutual appreciation' and suggests that Green would have fared better under a more sympathetic regime.[82] Green was, however, closely associated with both Mary's father and her uncle, Matthew Arnold. Denys Leighton confirms that Jowett viewed Green 'as a typical product of a clerical household and Rugby School, which lay under the shadow of the Liberal Anglican and Christian Socialist Thomas Arnold'.[83] Peterson states that Dr Arnold is considered to have been one of the first educationalists to raise the question concerning the distinction between the evidence of Christ's spirit and historical evidence.[84] Dr Arnold met with a personal struggle over the

[76] Sutherland, "A Girl in the Bodleian: Mary Ward's Room of Her Own," p. 170.
[77] Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*.
[78] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*. Henry Coxe (1811-1881) was the librarian from 1860 until his death.
[79] This was privately printed in 1871. Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*. A copy is held in: Claremont University Consortium, Honnold/Mudd library, Special Collections, Mrs Humphry Ward Papers, manuscripts.
[80] Sutherland, "A Girl in the Bodleian: Mary Ward's Room of Her Own."
[81] Edward Meyrick Goulburn eventually resigned after seven years and the school returned to Arnoldian values. A. F. Pollard and Rev. M. C. Curthoys, "Edward Meyrick Goulburn (1818–1897)," (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004), (Accessed February 7, 2014) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11146>. Dr Arnold argued that England needed to subsidise its education system and that it should equip pupils to think freely, in a liberal education that taught arithmetic, languages, history, geography, for example - moving away from the purely vocational or classical training.
[82] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 6.
[83] Leighton, *The Greenian Moment: T. H. Green, Religion and Political Argument in Victorian Britain*, p. 5.
[84] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, pp. 19-24.

acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles whilst at Oxford but did consent to sign, unlike later students, such as Green.[85]

The guidance and teachings of Jowett and also Charles Parker at Balliol College, Oxford were defining features of Green's career.[86] Green became a lay tutor at Balliol and was appointed the Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1878.[87] Raymond Plant states that Green's religious principles are particularly obscure and argues that they can be best understood in the context of the intellectual and ideological debates concerning the challenges that Utilitarian philosophers presented to Oxford University.[88] Their view was that the University should serve a wider purpose within society, which challenged both the financial and ideological control of the Anglican High Church over the University.[89] The main ramification of this was the call to abolish the requirement for students to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church upon matriculation.[90] These articles were a test of allegiance to the Church of England and effectively excluded any student who could not or did not accept the form of Christianity as prescribed by the Anglican Church.[91] This test enabled the Church to exercise control over the University and as a consequence major debates raged within the Anglican Church as to what form of Christianity the institution should prescribe to.[92] The debates concerned 'faith and doubt', and focused on the difficulties of 'miracle' and 'revelation'.[93]

As the Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy, Green deliberated whether to continue the tradition whereby tutors addressed their pupils on the evening before the celebration of the Sacrament but conceded and delivered the two sermons: *The Witness of God* in 1870 to his pupils at Balliol and *Faith* in 1878 to his pupils and the senior members of the College.[94] Green did not completely dispense with the traditions of the University, although the content of the

[85] Ibid., p. 20.
[86] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, Chapter 2, p. 191.
[87] Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)," p. 524. The requirement to take Holy Orders in the Church of England was abolished in the 1870s. Recent publications use 'White' as opposed to Whyte, including Oxford University's Philosophy Department, accessed 12th October 2010, for the purposes of this thesis, the original spelling of Whyte will be retained as it appeared in the literature.
[88] Plant, "T. H. Green: Citizenship, Education and the Law," p. 25. This included the work of philosophers such as John Locke, Jeremy Bentham and David Hume.
[89] Jenks, "T. H. Green, the Oxford Philosophy of Duty and the English Middle Class," p. 487.
[90] The Thirty-Nine Articles were originally established during the Reformation to define the Church of England from Catholicism and distance it from Papal rule. The Articles went through several modifications but an indication of the form and history of the Articles during the Victorian era see: T. P. Boultbee, *A Commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles Forming an Introduction to the Theology of the Church of England*, 10th ed. (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1895).
[91] Jenks, "T. H. Green, the Oxford Philosophy of Duty and the English Middle Class," p. 486.
[92] Ibid., p. 487.
[93] Plant, "T. H. Green: Citizenship, Education and the Law," p. 9.
[94] This is noted in the preface to Nettleship, "Professor T. H. Green." p. 859 and also in: Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 137.

sermons was highly contentious.[95] Nettleship considers that both sermons were deeply held philosophical expressions of Green's beliefs, which contained more of 'the soul of the writer than any of his published writings' and were an attempt in the first sermon to reconcile Christ and the modern life and in the second, to offer a way of reconciling reason and religion.[96] Nettleship attributes Green's success to the sole fact that 'he was not a student of philosophy, but a living philosopher'.[97]

Green was one of several idealists identified among those who tried to rescue philosophy from science and foreground Christianity.[98] His ideas are generally thought to be grounded in the European idealist tradition of Immanuel Kant and Georg W. F. Hegel.[99] This school of thought assumed knowledge to be valid if it formed a system and was viewed as a whole and that learning was an exploration of reality rather than gathering items of knowledge.[100] Green disagreed fundamentally with dogmatic interpretations of religion but he considered selfishness and indifference to religion a far greater threat.[101] Although German intellectual works were openly debating the supernatural aspects of Christianity and the Bible, religious views within Oxford University were divided about whether scientific theories had any relevance to religion.[102] The main cause for concern among the traditionalists and orthodox faction of the Anglican Church was the extent to which the development of scientific theories

[95] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, pp. 137-45.
[96] Nettleship, "Professor T. H. Green," p. 859.
[97] Ibid., p. 861.
[98] The other Idealists that Cowling discusses in his works include: Edward Caird (1835-1908), educated at St Andrews, Scotland and became Professor at Balliol and William Wallace (1843-1897) who attended St Andrews, also then Balliol College, Oxford and succeeded Green as the Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy; Maurice Cowling, *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England*, vol. 3 (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 130.
[99] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*.
Georg W. F. Hegel (1770-1831): European philosopher and educator whose work ignited and informed many of the philosophical, religious and political debates that emerged from 1831. His work is open to polemical interpretation. For an introduction to his work see: Robert Stern, "G. W. F. Hegel," in *An Introduction to Modern European Philosophy*, eds. Jenny Teichman and Graham White, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1998). Central to Hegel's work as an educator was the concept of *Bildung,* which is a much wider process than education and involves the experience which is 'a conflict-ridden process in the course of which a spiritual being discovers its own identity or selfhood while striving to actualize the selfhood it is in the process of discovering'. Allen W. Wood, "Hegel on Education," in *Philosophers on Education: New Historical Perspectives*, ed. Amelie Oksenherg Rorty (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 301.
Immanuel Kant (1724-1804): A German philosopher who argued that people can and do act according to principles and rules and according to the Enlightenment views, reason is a universally achievable attribute of human nature. These principles and rules are 'maxims' and although they are not moral in themselves, Kant claimed that if they can be universally applied then they can be considered a moral maxim. R Barrow, *Moral Philosophy for Education* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1975). This is Kant's concept of objective principles, which can be proved to apply universally to and benefit everyone without exceptions and that 'enlightened' people will uphold it of their own free will. I Kant, *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals* (New York: Macmillan, 1990).
[100] George F. Kneller, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York, London and Sydney: John Wiley & Sons, 1964), pp. 33-38.
[101] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 151.
[102] For a general introduction and explanation of the debates, see: Giles Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians: Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, General Gordon* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1918).

of evolution and advances in historical and archaeological practices were permeating the study of religion and religious evidence. The traditional Evangelical stance of Oxford viewed any historical or textual questioning of Christianity, as prescribed by the Bible, sinful and almost equivalent to heresy.[103] Reverend John Wordsworth was one of the most orthodox tutors of Brasenose College. He openly criticised the Liberal Anglicans within certain Colleges, particularly Balliol.[104] Reverend Wordsworth used the occasion of his first Bampton Lecture to publicly condemn the views of those who were associated with what was referred to as the 'Circle of Doubt' which included Green, Jowett and Tom Arnold. Reverend Wordsworth claimed that they were fuelling religious unrest by their intellectual pursuits, virtually accusing them of being 'unbelievers' who were sinners is his view and had:

> a mere taste for adventure in the pursuit of knowledge, which is akin to the common passion for hunting and mountaineering, where the object is not the result obtained but the lively agitation of spirits which is created by the act itself.[105]

Mary, however, has not been considered among those regarded as Oxford's 'Circle of Doubt'. This is despite her significant involvement with the debates through various connections and contributions: her family, academic and personal involvement with all of those considered central in the debate; having privately published a pamphlet in 1881, *Unbelief and Sin*: *A Protest Addressed to Those Who Attended the Bampton Lecture of Sunday*, protesting against Reverend Wordsworth's lecture, in which he criticised the ideas of the 'Circle of Doubt'; penning five bestselling novels concerning religious doubt.[106]

After Green's death, the decision to publish his work was taken by his wife and closest associates and former students, R. L. Nettleship, Arnold Toynbee and A. C. Bradley.[107] The main commentaries on Green's life as a philosopher are provided in R. L. Nettleship's obituary and

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[103] For further commentary concerning the debates within the University colleges see: ibid.

[104] Balliol College contained non-conformists and Anglican students from a wide spectrum: differing backgrounds of schooling, wealth and diligence. Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 92.

[105] Reverend John Wordsworth, "The One Religion: Truth, Holiness, and Peace Desired by the Nations and Revealed in Jesus Christ. Eight Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1881, on the Foundation of John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury," (1881), (Accessed January 18, 2014) <http://anglicanhistory.org/england/bampton/>.

[106] Mary A. Ward, "Unbelief and Sin: A Protest Addressed to Those Who Attended the Bampton Lecture of Sunday," (Oxford: Slatter and Rose, 1881), vol. (Henceforth referred to as *Unbelief and Sin* in the text) These included Matthew Arnold, Henry Sidgwick, Nettleship, Green and Jowett Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 168.

[107] It is unclear if this was Green's intension. R. L. Nettleship (1846-1892) was a fellow pupil of Jowett, and Balliol, taking T.H. Green's place as tutor at the college. Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883) was also a Balliol student, and disciple of Green's work and life. He was instrumental in social reforms but overwork and stress contributed to his early death. Mary drew on Arnold Toynbee for the character of 'Edward Hallin' in her novel *Marcella*. A. C. Bradley was a contemporary of Nettleship at Balliol, moving to literature and eventually the chair of Poetry at Oxford University. Like Arnold Toynbee, who had attended the Barnetts' 'hostel' and established the social settlement Toynbee Hall in London, in his name. A. C. Bradley followed Green's philosophical teaching, implementing educational reforms in the English curriculum taught in schools. *Dictionary of National Biography*, (Accessed March 2012). Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*.

memoirs of his life published in the period after his death, and added to by Richter in the 1960s.[108] Green's views have been the subject of extensive debate. The idealist philosophies of Hegel and Kant are central themes of Green's work although Jowett's personal tutorage is considered to be equally important.[109] His philosophy has also been approached from within the context of liberalism and juxtaposed against British philosophical work, such as the empiricism of John Locke and David Hume and the evolutionary theories of Herbert Spencer.[110] Stephan Collini argues that Green's liberalism is considered 'positive', in that he believed that individuals were free to contribute, to do good works, as opposed to the 'negative' interpretation, which was understood in terms of individuals being free from restraints placed on their lives.[111] Collini considers that both formulations were commonly employed to argue the case for opposing state intervention.[112] Colin Tyler proposes that Liberalism was a much contested area for politicians, theologians and philosophers of all persuasions during the Disraeli and Gladstone era and the boundaries were far from clear between the Liberals and Conservatives operating within the parliamentary system.[113]

R. L. Nettleship considers that Green was a philosophic and religious radical and states that he was 'an idealist in philosophy, he argues for the most utilitarian of political schools on idealist principles' and confirmed that Green's later teaching contained critiques of Kant and Utilitarianism.[114] Richard Chapman believes that his work was effectively Utilitarian in practice,

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[108] Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*. Although seven editions of this book have been published, most recently in 1996, Richter's work has been challenged by Jenks, "T. H. Green, the Oxford Philosophy of Duty and the English Middle Class." More recent political philosophers, most notably Colin Tyler, have also debated Richter's work.

[109] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*.

[110] Leighton, *The Greenian Moment: T. H. Green, Religion and Political Argument in Victorian Britain*, p. 24. John Locke (1634-1704) is considered to be the first Liberal and an empiricist. He is famous for his philosophies concerning the 'Blank Slate' and argued against the notion of original sin, stating that all children were born good and had to be educated to fit them for purpose. His work is published in: J. W. Adamson, ed., *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922); J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, vol. 1 (London: J M Dent & Sons Ltd, 1961). David Hume (1711-1776) was a Scottish philosopher who is considered to be a non-cognitivist and as such believed that disputes regarding whether something is morally right or wrong are not issues of fact. His work attempts to find a rational explanation for human behaviour without recourse to religion. For further information see: D Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, (1751 (reprinted 1777)), (Accessed November, 2013) <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4320>; David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) rejected theology and was instrumental in the social evolutionist movement. He became synonymous with Social Darwinism, and the survival of the fittest rhetoric. His most famous text is considered to be *First Principles*.

[111] Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England, 1880-1914*, pp. 46-47.

[112] Ibid., pp. 46-47. This will be discussed in chapter six.

[113] Tyler, C., 'The British Idealists' The Dictionary of National biography. 'Onlinehttp://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/98159?backToResults=list=|group=yes|feature=|aor=|orderField=alpha, Accessed 29th September 2010. Colin Tyler, "Thomas Hill Green and the Philosophical Foundations of Politics: An Internal Critique," B6a, York, 1996; Tyler, "T.H. Green, Advanced Liberalism and the Reform Question 1865-1876." For a brief summary of the Gladstone/Disraeli political years see: Martin Pugh, *Britain since 1789: A Concise History* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1999).

[114] Nettleship, "Professor T. H. Green," p. 860; Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 17. For a discussion of Green and Liberalism see Tyler, "T.H. Green, Advanced Liberalism and the Reform Question 1865-1876."

whilst Tyler's more recent scholarship positions Green as being in line with advanced liberalism and socialism.[115] Green's political views have been considered from different perspectives within this context of shifting interpretations of liberalism; however, there appears to be a consensus that his views were radical.[116] Nettleship views that Green was radical in that he was adept at embracing and applying new concepts of knowledge to his philosophical ideas of life and religion and he believed that 'participation in a common rational nature conferred on every man the right of free development and imposed on every man the duty of furthering that development in himself and others.'[117] In Nettleship's view, Green stood out from his contemporaries as radical because none of his ideas could be categorised or considered separately within theology, politics or philosophy.[118] Craig Jenks considers that it was Green's abstract interpretation of Kant's notion of duty that made his views radical within the Oxford movement at the time.[119] Tyler concludes that much of Green's early work was politically, socially and religiously much more radical than that of either J. S. Mill or W. E. Gladstone.[120] Tyler considers that this is particularly discernible in Green's views on the enfranchisement of the poor, and he is in agreement with Nettleship's observation that Green's strongest sympathies were with those who were deprived, yet unfairly taxed.[121] Tyler believes that Green's ideological position on the necessity to educate the poor was informed by his belief that once they were educated, they would be able to act as catalysts in a system whereby the friction between social divisions brought about moral progression within society. In Tyler's reading of Green as a liberal socialist, it is possible to view that he was not driven by any 'patronising' desire to bring them within the bourgeois fold of Victorian society.[122]

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[115] Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)," p. 526; Tyler, "Thomas Hill Green and the Philosophical Foundations of Politics: An Internal Critique."; Tyler, "T.H. Green, Advanced Liberalism and the Reform Question 1865-1876."; Tyler, *The Metaphysics of Self-Realisation and Freedom: Part 1 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*; Colin Tyler, *Civil Society, Capitalism and the State: Part 2 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2012). Utilitarianism is associated with the side of liberalism, and reforming politics stemming from the rational science school of thought, whereas those inclined towards a 'Romantic cultural critique' were more suspicious of modernity, and thought science had reductive tendencies. Collini, *Public Moralist: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930*, p. 185.

[116] Radical is interpreted in its liberal context: it is associated with those who actively sought religious social and political reforms based on principle, as opposed to tradition or empiricism. Liberalism was devolved from the various factions of Radicalism. Collini, *Public Moralist: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930*, pp. 180-83.

[117] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, pp. 24-25.

[118] Nettleship, "Professor T. H. Green," p. 858.

[119] Jenks, "T. H. Green, the Oxford Philosophy of Duty and the English Middle Class," p. 483.

[120] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 24- 25; Tyler, "T.H. Green, Advanced Liberalism and the Reform Question 1865-1876."

[121] Richard L Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green* (London: Longmans, 1906), p. 18.

[122] Tyler, "T.H. Green, Advanced Liberalism and the Reform Question 1865-1876," pp. 446-48; Tyler, *Civil Society, Capitalism and the State: Part 2 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*, p. 6.

Green's political beliefs were grounded in the idealist principles of social reform, although the role of his work within the British idealist movement is the subject of some debate. Idealists rejected individualism and considered that the purpose of the philosopher was to educate the ordinary citizen to appreciate the concept of moral good and they believed that the role of state and the individual were inextricable.[123] The British idealist movement grew from its foundations in mid nineteenth-century Scotland and Oxford and many idealists cite Green as one of the founders.[124] It drew on the German idealist philosophies of Kant and Hegel, and was widely regarded as a reaction against the empiricism of Mill and Locke and the growing concerns regarding the repercussions of individualism within Victorian British society.[125] The years preceding the First World War saw the ideas associated with the idealists being challenged by philosophers emerging from members of The Apostles of Cambridge University, in particular, Bertrand Russell (1948-1923) and George. E. Moore (1873-1958) and the ideas of the Bloomsbury Set which evolved from this society.[126] Chapman notes that Green's death was considered a significant loss to the development of philosophical debates concerning the progression of British society and it moved a significant number of his pupils, friends and scholars of his work to continue his work in his memory, and this included Mary.[127] Chapman cites the growing distaste for Kant, Hegel and Germanic culture and all its associations as reasons why interest in Green's work declined in post war Britain.[128]

Moral Philosophy

Through his philosophy, Green sought to challenge the adage 'poetry we feel, science we understand'.[129] He believed that the educated community were reluctant to embrace the possibility that these areas were not diametrically opposed, stating that they would rather that 'the ideas which poetry applies to life, together with those which form the basis of practical religion, should be left to take their chance alongside seemingly incompatible scientific beliefs'.[130] He argued that the consideration of abstract concepts, such as free will or feelings should not be confined to the realms of poets' speculations and that reason was a fundamental aspect of all moral philosophy. He defined his moral philosophy as being 'in

[123] Boucher, *The British Idealists*.
[124] W. J. Mander, *British Idealism: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 7.
[125] Boucher, *The British Idealists*, p. xiii.
[126] The Apostles were a secret society of Cambridge University members who debated God, ethics and truth. They tainted with scandal and rumour concerning the spy networks during the 1950s. G. E. Moore was engaged to deliver lectures in the Passmore Edwards Settlement. See appendix five. Kings College Archives Univestity of Cambridge, "A Cambridge Secret Revealed: The Apostles," (2011), (Accessed January 16, 2014) <http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/archive-centre/archive-month/january-2011.html>.
[127] Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)," pp. 519-20.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §1.
[130] Ibid., §1.

regard to the great problems of life and the rights and wrongs of human conduct.[131] For Green, there were no divisions or separations to be made between his interests in theology, politics and philosophy: they were one and the same.[132] He asserted that his philosophy was 'neither poetry nor science nor theology, but a confusion of all of these in which each of them is spoilt.'[133] His deepest conviction was that scientific approaches to the investigation of 'the application of ideas to life' were both necessary and plausible.[134] The basic precepts of Green's moral philosophy were rooted in his fear of the consequences from what he regarded as the 'dangerous juxtaposition' of mutually exclusive scientific and moral investigations.[135] He argued that faith and reason were not incompatible and his view was that '[w]e are not on this account to assume, as hasty and passionate theologians would do, that God reveals Himself to man in some other form than reason'.[136] This belief formed the foundation of his moral philosophy, in which he set out to demonstrate that a natural science of man was possible when faith and reason were viewed synonymously.

The 'Eternal Consciousness'

For Green, God was 'the eternal Spirit or self-conscious subject which communicates itself, in measure and under conditions, to beings which through that communication become spiritual.'[137] He expressed this concept as the 'eternal consciousness', which he referred to as 'the spirit for which the relations of the universe exist' and conceived as 'some unifying principle analogous to that of our understanding'.[138] Green believed that God could be found in man and man could be found in God through faith alone and claimed that God '*is* all which the human spirit is capable of becoming'.[139] He considered that to look for proof of this in any other state or form was futile because '[i]f we are sincerely sighing for a witness of God's work in man, the denial of it in word will matter little to us when the affirmation is present in power'.[140]

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[131] Ibid., §1.
[132] Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 25.
[133] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §1.
[134] Ibid., §1.
[135] Ibid., §1.
[136] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 22.
[137] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §184.
[138] Ibid., §29. This reference is cited as being one of the most helpful. The others include: 'a self-originating "mind" in the universe' ibid., §77. For a discussion of these see: W. J. Mander, "In Defense of the Eternal Consciousness," in *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*, eds. Maria Dimova-Cookson and W. J. Mander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 189, f.n. 4. Green also referred to this concept as 'the spiritual principle' but scholars of his work most commonly use the term 'eternal consciousness'. Tyler, *The Metaphysics of Self-Realisation and Freedom: Part 1 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*, p. 11.
[139] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §187.
[140] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 21.

The eternal consciousness can be understood as two aspects of the mind: one which is present as itself and one which is formulating or incomplete. He refuted that this implied the presence of 'a double mind' and claimed that one mind can be understood in two ways in 'conceiving both the end, in the shape of a completed process of sentient life, and that organic process itself with its history and conditions.'[141] Green reasoned that the highest form of eternal consciousness is found in intelligence and love and concluded that 'God is for ever perfect light and love.'[142] The implication of the eternal consciousness is the existence/possibility of an ideal self as well as a present self. Green reconciled this duality as intellectual progress, where future knowledge is dependent on both the pre-existence and continuance of external ideas and objects as part of an eternal and spiritual universe. He stated that:

> we cannot suppose that those relations of facts or objects in consciousness, which constitute any piece of knowledge of which a man becomes master, first come into being when he attains that knowledge; that they pass through the process by which he laboriously learns, or gradually cease to be as he forgets or becomes confused.[143]

The eternal consciousness is a fundamental component of Green's philosophy but it is also considered to be the most problematic and challenging aspect of his work. Reasons cited for this include its complexity, its location within absolute idealism and the disjointed rhetorical manner of Green's argument.[144] This thesis draws on Peter Nicholson's interpretation of eternal consciousness to provide a way through Green's philosophy.[145] Nicholson addresses the criticisms of obscurity and inconclusiveness attached to the concept by making the distinction between Critical Metaphysics and Speculative Metaphysics.[146] He argues that in Green's work, Critical Metaphysics can support the concept of 'an eternal (i.e., timeless) self-consciousness' but not what it is.[147] He further clarifies that the characteristics, nature or relationship to human beings can only be examined through Speculative Metaphysics. This is because speculations can only be formed using existing knowledge, which is limited to the

[141] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §68.
[142] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 39.
[143] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §69.
[144] For a detailed examination of the difficulties presented by Green's eternal consciousness see the collected works in: Dimova-Cookson and Mander, *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*. Five of the authors consider that in order for Green's philosophy to be of use the eternal consciousness can be defended in various degrees, whilst one author considers that it must be removed. Specific criticisms are discussed in for example: Mander, "In Defense of the Eternal Consciousness," p. 188; Peter Nicholson, "Green's 'Eternal Consciousness'," in *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*, eds. Maria Dimova-Cookson and W. J. Mander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 139.
[145] Nicholson, "Green's 'Eternal Consciousness'."
[146] Nicholson uses D. G. Richie's discussion of T. H Green's work to explain Critical Metaphysics as that which can be logically arrived at with certainty. Speculative Metaphysics accommodates that which cannot be known and are 'always incomplete and must forever be renewed as human knowledge expands'. Ibid., pp. 147-48.
[147] Ibid., p. 148.

eternal consciousness and therefore incomplete.[148] Andrew Vincent also proposes a 'minimal interpretation' of the eternal consciousness but his argument relies on the absence of human agency in order to resolve the tensions within the two strands of ethics within Green's philosophy that he identifies.[149] Nicholson's view of the eternal consciousness is therefore more helpful in that it permits the concept of human agency, which is significant for this thesis, which aims to present Mary as a Greenian educator.

The 'Perfectibility of Mankind'

Arising from Green's concept of the eternal consciousness is his theory of the perfectibility of mankind [sic]. This can be understood as the divine nature of God, which he explained as:

> the action in man of a principle in virtue of which he projects himself into the future or into some other world as some more perfect being than he actually is, and thus seeks not merely to satisfy momentary wants but to become 'another man'—to become more nearly as this more perfect being.[150]

Green considered that the perfection of man consists of 'a life of self-devoted activity of the part of all persons'. [151] He explained the theory of human development as the progression from a 'less to the more perfect kind of life' but that it is hampered by 'human life and history'.[152] He believed that all ideas of perfection are relative to imperfection and that the idea of a perfect life is not deciding what it should be but merely having the belief that there must be one.[153] Green considered that the welfare of the individual has been improved by institutions and habits that benefit all.[154] He claimed, however, that 'the perfect man would not be an end in himself; a perfect society of men would not be an end in itself'[155] and that 'the true development of man' requires the amalgamation of a 'developed will' and a 'developed reason'. Following this, Green asserted that 'the capacity for conceiving a better state of himself' was possible for all those capable of living a life of reason.[156] A key point of Green's concept of the perfectibility of mankind was that there can be no definitive answer as to what this best state of being for men might be because this would suggest that it had been already achieved. Green explained that:

> an adequate and detailed idea of our perfection as we cannot conceive ourselves to have—since to have it would imply that the

[148] Ibid., pp. 148-49.
[149] Andrew Vincent, "Metaphysics and Ethics in the Philosophy of T. H. Green," in ibid.
[150] Green, "Faith (1878)," pp. 88-89.
[151] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §286.
[152] Ibid., §186.
[153] Ibid., §353.
[154] Ibid., §172.
[155] Ibid., §194.
[156] Ibid., §178.

> perfection was already attained, and the conception of ourselves in perfection is one that we cannot form.[157]

Green did, however, outline the conditions that he considered must be present in pursuing the perfection of mankind.[158] In the first instance, he believed that it must be to the advancement of a tangible concept of man and not an abstract notion outside of their social context.[159] Equally, he considered that it could no more be found in a life completely immersed or completely devoid of art and science, and stated that it must be 'a social life, in which all men freely and consciously co-operate' and therefore 'that it must be a life determined by one harmonious will—a will of all which is the will of each'.[160] Green explained this as a devoted will and defined it as 'a will having for its object the perfection which it alone can maintain.' [161] In addition to this he also set out what he considered was not conducive to the ideal of a best state of existence, using the example of the argument corresponding to the Utilitarian view concerning the pleasure of the greatest number of people.[162] He explains that the sum of pleasure as a pleasant life was 'abstract and indefinite', and provided no guidance as to how that life should be lived in order that it may become pleasant.[163] He proposed that pleasure was incidental to a desirable life, which he believed was 'the full realisation of his capacities' despite not knowing what the end result of this would be.[164] From this proposition, Green then proceeded to explain a desirable life in terms of the quality of that life as the ultimate good and the 'Summum Bonum' and concluded that 'it is only in some form of conscious life—more definitely, or self-conscious life—that we can look for the realisation of our capacities of the perfection of our being; in other words, for ultimate good.'[165]

The 'Common Good'

For Green, therefore, the perfectibility of mankind was only possible in a society where rational individuals were able to improve their capabilities by living a moral life for the good of all because 'the only true good was to be good'.[166] He believed that the purpose of education was to enable citizens to consciously 'make the most and best of humanity in his own person and in the persons of others.'[167] He clarified that 'good' included 'a conception of good things of the soul, as well having a value distinct from and independent of the good things of the

[157] Ibid., §178.
[158] Ibid., §288.
[159] Ibid., §288.
[160] Ibid., §288.
[161] Ibid., §288.
[162] Ibid., §352-82.
[163] Ibid., §361.
[164] Ibid., §361.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid., §244.
[167] Ibid., §244.

body.'[168] He conceived this true good for the good citizen as 'the common good', and defined it as 'that which consists in the universal will to be good–in the settled disposition on each man's part to make the most and best of humanity in his own person and in the persons of others.'[169] He qualified however that that it was 'not as anything which one man or set of men can gain or enjoy to the exclusion of others, but as a spiritual activity in which all may partake, and in which all must partake'.[170] Green proposed that the possession of will and reason were necessary conditions of living this moral life.[171] He defined will as self-satisfying habitual actions and reason as the ability to ascertain that the highest form of perfectibility of an individual is achieved through action.[172] For Green, these actions also depended on the appreciation of common interests and objectives within civic life and explained that 'they are embodied in the laws, institutional and social expectation, which make conventional morality.'[173] He concluded that this was the process of mankind's moral progress, where the harmony between will and reason are realised in the only way that they can be, through the characters of individuals.[174]

Green was deeply concerned as to the ability of society to completely fulfil the idea of the common good because of what he saw as the irreconcilability of what is perceived as being in the interest of the self and what is considered to be in the interest of all.[175] Despite this, he believed that the best way of pursuing the common good was through a life of charity and active citizenship, which he defined as the 'struggle against ignorance and vice'.[176] He explained that this required the educated to come together with their fellow Christians for the 'brotherhood of all'.[177] He concluded that this was true faith, which he defined as 'the condition of our attaining the highest spiritual life—as that which makes the difference between the man who is as God would have him to be and the man who is not.'[178] For Green, the fundamental question was 'Am I what I ought to be?' because it required the individual to direct his actions towards a better life for his/her self, and for society in 'seeki[ing] neither an imagined pleasure nor a succession of pleasures, but a bettering of the life which is at once his and the society's.'[179]

[168] Ibid., §243.
[169] Ibid., §244.
[170] Ibid., §286.
[171] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §6.
[172] Ibid., §6.
[173] Ibid., §7.
[174] Ibid., §6.
[175] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §244.
[176] Green, "Faith (1878)," p. 103.
[177] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §253.
[178] Green, "Faith (1878)," p. 64.
[179] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §354, §239.

Principles of Idealism

The tenets of Green's idealism were: first, his belief that there was epistemological order and unity in the universe, second, his moral theory and approach to personality and third, his view of the organic relationship between individuals and society.[180] The first of these was presupposed by his concept of the eternal consciousness. This is because an individual is only able to conceive their present self in a better state in the future if, first, knowledge is structured in a unified and ordered way that allows them to understand it as it is (subjective) and, second, that it allows us to make sense of a world even if it is unknowable (intelligible).[181] The purpose of what Green termed his discussion on the 'conditions of knowledge of our object' was to determine the position of man in relation to nature.[182] On the basis that we are able to conceive the concept of knowledge, 'in virtue of his character as knowing', Green then argued that man is 'a free cause'.[183] He concluded that we are moral beings distinct from animals because we have the capacity of character, and are therefore conscious of ourselves as we have 'apprehension of a world which *is*, as distinct from one which *should* be.[184] He claimed that '[m]an…. does so distinguish himself, and his doing so is his special distinction.'[185] This simultaneously rendered the individual capable of recognising and being culpable for their actions, in other words, their rationality.[186] It is from this position, as Richter identifies, 'imperceptibly Green had shifted from epistemology to a consideration of actual human behaviour, ethical and political.[187] In Richter's view, this enabled Green to present his idea of progress, on which his moral theory is formulated.[188]

In his discussion of moral progress, Green argued that we are able to perceive ourselves in a better future state of being; this underpins his concept of the perfectibility of mankind. He explained that:

> [t]here is a consciousness for which the relations of fact that form the object of our gradually attained knowledge, already and eternally exist; and that the growing knowledge of the individual is a progress towards this consciousness.[189]

T. H Green's theory of progress was the basis for his argument that the development of society rested in the morality of the individual. He reasoned that in order to conceive the future

[180] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, Chapter 1.
[181] Green's explanation of this is threaded through his discussion of 'The Spiritual Principle in Nature', in Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §10, §55
[182] Ibid., §74.
[183] Ibid., §74-75.
[184] Ibid., §78-80.
[185] Ibid., §80.
[186] Ben Wempe, *T.H. Green's Theory of Positive Freedom: From Metaphysics to Political Theory* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004), p. 83.
[187] Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*, p. 228.
[188] Ibid., pp. 180-83.
[189] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §69.

happiness of ourselves, we must have an awareness of others in society as, '[man] must be able, through consciousness of himself as an end to himself, to enter into a like consciousness as belonging to others, whose expression of it corresponds to his own.'[190] He defined moral progress as the 'further bettering of society' and explained that it requires individuals in society to ask of themselves '[h]ave I been what I should be, shall I be what I should be, in doing so and so.'[191] He argued that a moral action required the developed will and developed reason to act towards self-realisation but that it could not be achieved purely based on the notion of pleasure, as the Utilitarians argued;[192] it had to include the well-beings of others, as he explained:

> [h]e must be able in the contemplation of a possible satisfaction of himself to include the satisfaction of those others, and that a satisfaction of them as ends to themselves and not as means to his pleasure. He must, in short, be capable of conceiving and seeking a permanent well-being in which the permanent well-being of others is included.[193]

This concept of moral progress is true *a priori*[194] and also central to how Green conceived the relationship between the character of the individual and society.[195] This 'symbiotic relationship',[196] in Matt Carter's view, can be understood as T. H Green's organic view of society, which opposed the classical liberalist individualist view that 'a nation is merely an aggregate of individuals'.[197] T. H Green argued that it was a misconception that 'individuals could be what they are, could have their moral and spiritual qualities, independently of their existence in a nation.'[198] He believed that the opposite held true and that individuals could only realise their full potential through society because, '[t]he degree of perfection, of realisation of their possibilities, attained by these persons is the measure of the fulfilment which the idea of the human spirit attains in the particular national spirit.'[199] This supported his argument that we are ethical in that we have the capacity to be determined by good and as such are invested with moral rights within a society.[200] Green's conclusion was that moral or 'spiritual' progress was not simply the changes that society had undergone but encompassed human development as that which moves 'from the less to the more perfect kind of life' and

[190] Ibid., §201.
[191] Ibid., § 309.
[192] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §241.
[193] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §201.
[194] Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*, p. 179. The definition of 'a priori' is:' denoting reasoning or knowledge which proceeds from theoretical deduction rather than from observation or experience' and is taken from the Oxford English Dictionary.
[195] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 26.
[196] Ibid., p. 38.
[197] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §184.
[198] Ibid., §184.
[199] Ibid., §184.
[200] Ibid., §186.

was reliant on the relationship between the individual and society.[201] Green proposed his version of the common good as the most comprehensive way of bringing about the conditions that would simultaneously enable individuals to strive towards attaining their full potential and contribute to the shared interest of society. Whereas his metaphysic in relation to ethics and epistemology (expressed as the eternal consciousness and the perfectibility of mankind) explained the theory of why moral actions could take place as progress, his concept of the common good formed the axis of his political theory, as it encapsulated his vision of how he thought progress 'ought' to be pursued.[202]

Conclusion

Beginning with a review of Mary's early life, this chapter first outlined the extent to which religion impacted and shaped her education as a female member on the periphery of the Arnold family. Once located within the realms of Anglicanism in Oxford University, her experiences drew her to the philosophical debates concerning religious doubt in which Green's ideas were central. Green considered un-dogmatic Christianity could respond more completely than any other religion to what he considered fundamental in the question of how humanity could best progress. He argued 'the glory of Christianity is not that it excludes, but that it comprehends'.[203] Green's deepest conviction was that the highest form of Christianity was expressed through a life of charity because God could be found 'not in word but in power'.[204] His key message was that preaching and debating theology alone did not reveal God in your soul, and that this could only be attained with sincerity and through 'that active life of charity in which Christian faith is most readily realised'.[205] The chapter demonstrated that the ideas, beliefs and practices of Green resonated with Mary for a number of reasons: her friendship with him and his wife, her desire to make sense of the different perspectives of Christianity that had shaped her family life and her education, her intellectual curiosity of religious issues and debates, her experiences of the lack of academic education for women, the opportunity to pursue her writing career and live a useful life. The chapter concluded that Mary's intellectual understanding and practical enactment of the theory and practice of Green's philosophy establishes her alongside his numerous male students, scholars, advocates and disciples and an educator of his ideas.

[201] Ibid., §184.
[202] Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*, p. 254; Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 27.
[203] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 25.
[204] Ibid., p. 25, p. 41.
[205] Green, "Faith (1878)," p. 102.

The remaining sections of the chapter provided a broad interpretation of Green's philosophy through his concepts of the 'eternal consciousness', the 'perfectibility of mankind' and the 'common good'. It then discussed how these were informed by his profound Christian beliefs and formed his idealist principles. Although Green's moral philosophy is interdependent and unified, it is not without its critics.[206] The main philosophical difficulties cited by commentators relate to the metaphysical foundations of his work, which must be 'either defended or detached from his moral and political philosophy' in order that the potential of his ideas can be realised.[207] This thesis draws on an interpretation suggested by Nicholson, which incorporates the metaphysical elements of Green and can take account of the notion of human agency. This approach presents the most helpful avenue for the gender history approach for this thesis, which seeks to redress the lack of attention paid to the significance of Mary's life and work as a Greenian educator.

The precepts of Green's philosophy also impose particular methodological difficulties within a study conducting an analysis of historical sources. This is first, because his concept of the eternal consciousness cannot be known and is incomplete and therefore it is problematical to state with certainty how Mary interpreted it within her life and work at the time in the present. This is compounded by the difficulty of identifying what Green identifies as true motives relating to moral action and therefore apportioning the extent to which her actions as an exponent of his work were consciously or unconsciously directed by self-interest or in the interests of educating and improving society as a whole. This thesis does not presume to present a definitive or completed version of how Mary viewed Green's ideas and philosophy or how she conveyed them as an educator. As a way of addressing the paradoxical arguments contained within the core concepts of Green's philosophy, the remainder of the thesis presents interpretations within what is knowable in the present in an attempt to move on from what was known in the past. Each of the three substantive chapters of the thesis draw on the interpretations of the core concepts and principles outlined in this chapter within the wider context of Green's philosophy in relation to religion, society and politics, to reposition Mary as a Greenian educator. The next chapter begins with a more detailed examination of Mary's engagement with Green's views of Christianity and then examines the ways she combined her knowledge, intellect, experiences and position as a member of the Arnold family to bring the ideas of Green to the public.

[206] James W. Allard, "Review: Maria Dimova-Cookson and W. J. Mander (Eds.), T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy,"*Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews*, (University of Notre Dame 2007), (Accessed Acccessed 6th December 2012).
[207] Ibid.

Chapter 4 – Education and Religion

> *I felt myself to be rather pleading for Christianity with those inclined to leave it on one side, than to be attacking received tradition*[1]
>
> Mary

> *At a time when every thoughtful man, accustomed to call himself a christian,[sic] is asking the faith which he professes for some account of its origin and authority, it is a pity that the answer should be confused by the habit of identifying christianity [sic]with the collection of propositions which constitute the written New Testament.*[2]
>
> Green

Introduction

The previous chapter established that T. H. Green's life and work provided a major source of inspiration and encouragement for Mary, whose life as a middle-class young girl and woman had been shaped by her parents' religious disputes. The foundations of the Arnold family's religious beliefs and practices were laid by Dr Thomas Arnold within the Liberal Christian tradition.[3] Dr Arnold and two of his sons, Matthew and Tom, were involved in the major religious ideological and intellectual movements and issues of their eras, which included the Tractarian Movement, the Broad Church Movement and the 'Circle of Doubt'.[4] Religion was fundamental to the Arnold family's life and work and although Meriol Trevor remarks that Mary 'started from further outside the tradition than [her father] had done, though her agnosticism was to become gradually more like the non-supernatural faith of her uncle Matthew', no evidence has been uncovered in this thesis to suggest that Mary considered herself to be agnostic.[5]

The literature review highlights the impact that the supremacy of the Anglican Church's control of education, in particular in Oxford University, had for Mary and her family. Discussions and studies of histories of education at this time are inextricably linked to the Anglican Church in Victorian Britain and the challenges made by those outside the

[1] Letter to W. E. Gladstone in: Collister, "A Postlude to Gladstone on "Robert Elsmere": Four Unpublished Letters."
[2] Green, "Essay on Christian Dogma," p. 161.
[3] Trevor, *The Arnolds: Thomas Arnold and His Family*, p. 13. See for example, Dr Arnold's collection of sermons Thomas Arnold, *Christian Life, Its Course, Its Hindrances, and Its Helps : Sermons, Preached Mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School* (London: B. Fellowes, 1841).
[4] For background information see: Tod E. Jones, *The Broad Church: A Biography of a Movement* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2003); Strachey, *Eminent Victorians: Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, General Gordon*.
[5] Trevor, *The Arnolds: Thomas Arnold and His Family*, p. 13.

denomination; only more recently have they considered the contribution of women.[6] Joan Burstyn argues that the religious communities of the Universities had the greatest resistance to and fear of Victorian women gaining access to education.[7] She maintains that their views of women were based on perceived essentialist notions of women's abilities and roles in society and their fears that deviations from this would impair the social and economic structure of the nation.[8] As a consequence of this, until comparatively recently, religious educational histories have been compiled predominantly from a male perspective of the political, ideological and economic struggles.[9] This is reflected in the lack of acknowledgement women receive in the documented religious histories from that era.[10] Although her male relatives and associates had presupposed routes and careers open to them in churches and universities, this did not prevent Mary from accessing and making major contributions to the circulation of religious ideas within British society in her writing and through her reforms.

This chapter examines ways in which Mary drew on Green's ideas of the Christian religion which he expressed in his work *Prolegomena to Ethics,*[11] *An Essay on Christian Dogma*[12] and his sermons *Faith* and *The Witness of God*.[13] By drawing on Joan Scott's ideas, the chapter examines how religion underpinned and disrupted how Mary formulated alternative, innovative and widespread ways to negotiate and overcome many of the barriers she encountered in her life and work through her engagement with Christianity. It examines how Mary employed these strategies to position herself as a writer and her early involvement with women's higher education and the social settlement movement. The first section expands on

[6] Harold Silver explains that those who sought adaption to the Universities wanted to reshape traditions of the Universities rather than replace them. Harold Silver, *Tradition and Higher Education* (Winchester: Winchester University Press, 2007), p. 5. This point is also made in Deirdre Raftery, "Religions and the History of Education: A Historiography," *History of Education* 41, No. 1 (2012): p. 52.

[7] Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*.

[8] Ibid., p. 50. This theme is also examined by Laura Schwartz in the context of appropriate education for females in: Schwartz, "Feminist Thinking on Education in Victorian England," pp. 674-79. For a detailed discussion of essentialism see: Fuss, *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference*.

[9] Examples of this include: Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry, 1850-1970* (London,: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Michael Sanderson, ed., *The Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, (London ; Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975); Michael Sanderson and Economic History Society, *Education, Economic Change, and Society in England, 1780-1870*, Studies in Economic and Social History (London: Macmillan Press, 1983); Michael Sanderson, *Education and Economic Decline in Britain, 1870 to the 1990s (New Studies in Economic and Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830-1960* (Oxford: Oxford Unversity Press, 1998).

[10] Deirdre Raftery notes that histories of women, religion and education, such as those by Sue Morgan, Jane McDermid and Camilla Leach are among the few studies noted in an under researched area. Raftery, "Religions and the History of Education: A Historiography." For further details of the debates that took place regarding the nature and purpose of universities during this period see chapters 3 & 4 of: Sanderson, *The Universities in the Nineteenth Century*.

[11] Although unfinished, this work was jointly edited and published posthumously by Green's wife and his former pupil, A. C. Bradley. For further information on the background and composition of this work see: Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, pp. 191-92; Nicholson, "Green's 'Eternal Consciousness'," p. 140, f.n.1.

[12] Green, "Essay on Christian Dogma."

[13] Green, *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons, Edited with an Introductory Notice by the Late Arnold Toynbee, M.A.*

how Green's philosophy is underpinned by his views of Christianity. The second section considers examples of Mary's early non-fictional writing and her novel *Robert Elsmere*, drawing on Rebecca Styler's view that 'literature offered women the opportunity to address a public, and to voice an opinion, in ways that largely circumvented this prohibition.'[14] It analyses the extent to which Mary drew on Green's ideas concerning the eternal consciousness and the perfectibility of mankind to educate herself and to bring the intellectual debates concerning Christianity into the public domain. The final section of the chapter explores how Mary understood and expressed Green's view of Christianity as part of his philosophical concept of the common good. It examines the extent to which these ideas permeated her early reforming activities as one of the central figures involved in the women's higher education movement in Oxford and in the founding of University Hall social settlement.

T. H. Green and Christianity

Arnold Toynbee claimed that 'other thinkers have assailed the orthodox foundations of religion to overthrow it, Mr Green assailed them to save it.'[15] Green considered that Christianity could respond to the question of how humanity could progress more completely, when it is not dogmatically adhered to as this served to 'shut the door upon that power of infinite expansion in virtue of which alone it can claim to be absolute truth at all.'[16] He explained that the Christian religion required a 'universal element' but that it must embrace 'the gradual development of the thinking spirit'.[17] He believed that Christianity, in essence, was an inclusive religion and that it could withstand the intellectual challenges and criticism, which the fields of science and historical inquiry were raising. For Green, Christianity was 'a moral death into life, as wrought for us and in us by God, so its realisation, which is the evidence of its truth, lies in Christian love.'[18] He explained that:

> [i]n the higher forms of the Christian religion the spirit of man has reached that stage—sometimes called by mystics the reign of the Holy Ghost—in which the consciousness of God is a consciousness of Him, no longer as an outward power, but as one with itself,—as reconciled and indwelling.[19]

Much of Green's work examined ways in which Christianity could reconcile itself alongside other forms of knowledge but his view of Christianity is expressed most concisely through the

[14] Styler, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 12.
[15] Green, *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons, Edited with an Introductory Notice by the Late Arnold Toynbee, M.A.*, Preface, p. vi.
[16] Green expressed his views on the development of dogma within Christianity and the reductive consequences it had in: Green, "Essay on Christian Dogma," pp. 184-85.
[17] Ibid., pp. 184-85.
[18] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 16.
[19] Green, "Faith (1878)," p. 91.

two sermons, *The Witness of God* in 1870 delivered to his pupils at Balliol and *Faith* in 1878, which was delivered to the senior members of the College and his pupils.[20]

Green viewed rigid adherence to Christianity as advocated by the established Anglican Church to be reductive and detrimental to the development of humanity. He believed that Christianity needed to be able to address the wider implications that scientific theories had for society and stated that 'it is no wonder, therefore, that the evolutionists of our day should claim to have given a wholly new character to ethical enquiries'.[21] He was equally convinced that evolutionist theories could not account for the development of human intelligence and consciousness as expressed through moral sentiments because 'they do not bring us to a state of things in which the essential conditions of that sentiment were absent.'[22] Green's theories on what form this broader view of Christianity should take were centred on the intellectual difficulty of metaphysical aspects of 'revelation' and 'miracle' within the Christian doctrine. He considered that it was possible to question supernatural phenomena within the Christian religious doctrine but retain the fundamentals of Christianity and claimed that '[w]e do it wrong in making it depend on a past event, and in identifying it with the creed of a certain age, or with a visible society established at a certain time.'[23] He was convinced that Christianity was robust enough to withstand the questions that reason would put to it and believed that '[f]aith in God and duty [would] survive much doubt and difficulty and distress, and perhaps attain to some nobler mode of itself under their influence.'[24] Green's greatest concern was not the threat atheism posed to Christianity but that of selfishness and indifference, which he described as 'the slow sap of an undermining indifference which does not deny God and duty, but ignores them'.[25]

Green identified that some aspects and practices of Christian life, such as prayers and the Thirty-Nine Articles, posed theological and moral difficulties for:

> those therefore who find themselves, not indeed even seemingly detached from the eternal basis of faith, but to a certain degree weakened and distressed in their spiritual walk by inability to adopt the received dogmatic expression of the Christian faith and by consequent estrangement from Christian society.[26]

[20] This is noted in the preface to Nettleship, "Professor T. H. Green," p. 859. This is also in: Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green, Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford*, p. 137.
[21] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §5.
[22] Ibid., §5.
[23] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 25.
[24] Green, "Faith (1878)," pp. 104-05.
[25] Ibid., p. 92.
[26] Ibid., p. 99.

He considered that it was possible to follow a Christian life without formulaic adherence to all Christian practices and beliefs. He used the example of how the act of prayer could be continued because '[t]hey are not meant to be heard by men'.[27] He believed that Christianity was within the consciousness of the self and that it was expressed in charity and not through tests of allegiance. He explains that '[H]is presence is witnessed not with signs from without, but with demonstration from within, is summed up in the one word, Charity, or Christian love.'[28] His deepest conviction was that the highest form of Christianity was expressed through a life of charity because God could be found 'not in word but in power.'[29] His key message was that preaching and debating theology alone did not reveal God in your soul, and that this could only be attained with sincerity and through 'that active life of charity in which Christian faith is most readily realised.'[30] He was convinced that change was inevitable and that the allurement and comfort of a collective spirit within Christianity would eventually prevail over the isolation from being outside of it, as he claimed that:

> [t]he days of tests and declarations, except for clerical functions are over, and it is surely a weakness, when we are not pressed for our opinions, to make so much of them to other people, or to ourselves, as to be excluded or to exclude ourselves from joining in a common activity, the spirit of which we inwardly reverence and would gladly make our own, while in separation we are almost certain to lose it.[31]

It has been suggested in previous chapters that cultural constraints impeded middle-class women's ability to participate and contribute to the religious issues and debates concerning Christianity in the late-Victorian and early-Edwardian period. Green acknowledged that 'human life and history put abundant difficulties in the way of any theory whatever of human development, as from the less to the more perfect kind of life'.[32] His concept of the eternal consciousness embraces the belief that as well as a real self, the possibility of an ideal self exists. The process of striving for this ideal self is what Green termed 'the true notion of the spiritual relation in which we stand to God'.[33] The implication of this is therefore that it was equally possible, in theory, for a Victorian middle-class woman, such as Mary, to pursue her relationship with God through the improvement of herself as it was for her male relatives. Green concluded that '[a]ll education goes on the principle that we are, or are to become, persons in this sense.[34] Green explained this as 'a progress of which feeling, thinking and willing subjects are the agents and sustainers, and of which each step is a fuller realisation of

[27] Ibid., p. 100.
[28] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 35.
[29] Ibid., p. 41.
[30] Green, "Faith (1878)," p. 102.
[31] Ibid., pp. 101-02.
[32] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §186.
[33] Ibid., §187.
[34] Ibid., §190.

the capacities of such subjects.'[35] The following section explores how Mary used her knowledge and experiences of Christianity to negotiate the barriers and difficulties she encountered in realising her full potential as a writer and reformer.

Religious Theory, Women and Fiction

Mary recounted her 'personal' reaction to the first time she was able to read and enjoy the Greek work *Agamemnon*[36] was 'the feeling of sheer amazement at the range and power of human thought….. which a leisurely and careful reading of that play awakened in me, [and] left deep marks behind.'[37] Her reflection indicates that that she was conversant with the 'capacity for conceiving a better state of [her]self.'[38] Green extended a cautionary note in that this is common to both a virtuous and vicious life.[39] He qualified that will and reason are exerted in different directions and explained that virtue is the moralising influence in man [sic] and the path that marks it out is reason, whether it is followed or not. He further explained that practical reason 'is the initiative of all virtuous habit and action'.[40] Whilst Mary may not always have followed completely what Green understood as a virtuous life, as later chapters will explore in more depth, the important point to be drawn from Green's philosophy is that this would not have prevented her recognition of the concept of pursuing 'the ideal of virtue'.[41] Green defined this as 'the devotion of character and life, in whatever channel the idiosyncrasy and circumstances of the individual may determine, to a perfecting of man.'[42] The successful pursuit of this life, according to his theory of perfectibility, relied upon a mutually reinforcing relationship between the improvement of the self and the improvement of society, as '[t]he degree of perfection, of realisation of their possibilities, attained by these persons is the measure of the fulfilment which the idea of the human spirit attains in the particular national spirit.'[43]

The literature review suggests that Christianity was the central focus of Mary's writing in her earlier years and that Green's ideas of Christianity were important, although there is no definitive answer as to when Mary consciously began to draw on his ideas. The following

[35] Ibid., §185.
[36] This play was one of a trilogy of works by Aeschylus and is viewed as a classic and significant example of an Athenian Tragedy. Aeschylus, *The 'Agamemnon' with an Introduction, Commentary and Translation by A. W. Verrall*, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1889), (Accessed January, 16 2014) <https://archive.org/details/agamemnonofaesch00aescrich>.
[37] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 344.
[38] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §178.
[39] Ibid., §178.
[40] Ibid., §178.
[41] Ibid., §286.
[42] Ibid., §286.
[43] Ibid., §184.

section focuses on interpreting ways in which Green's views of Christianity inflected Mary's engagement with religion as a writer, in which writing is viewed as a tool of her education as well as a product. Rebecca Styler confirms 'literature was powerful not only as a method of *communicating* religious ideas, but of *constructing* them.'[44] A significant number of entries noted in bibliographies compiled in relation to Mary and her life and work can be considered from the perspective of education and religion.[45] They demonstrate the scope and depth of her knowledge of Christian theology and indicate both scholarly and general public interest in her and what she had to say about religious issues in her literary work at the time. They also show how regularly Mary explored religious issues in both her fictional and non-fictional work throughout her life. Most important, they indicate how adept she was at employing a variety of genres and approaches in her aim to convey the message to society advocated by Green that in order to progress, Christianity needed to widen and broaden itself through intellectual and practical endeavour.

Mary's fascination with exploring religious issues in her writing is apparent in her earliest documented narrative, *A Tale of the Moors* (1864) in her juvenilia.[46] This tale is centred on the religious background of a young heroine, Inez, who was taken by a Moor family at birth. She is to be executed by the Moors on account of being revealed as the daughter of a Christian Spaniard and not that of a Moor. Inez prays to a Christian God in prison and is eventually saved by a Spanish Knight, who is Christian, and reinstated in the Spanish Court. Gillian E. Boughton mainly takes a biographical approach to her examination of Mary's novel using several themes, which include Mary's literary influences, her early educational experiences and her Spanish heritage.[47] Boughton considers that Mary's experiences in relation to the religious divisions with her family was a significant feature of this early example of Mary's writing; although she does not consider this as a main theme of the novel.[48]

As a thirteen-year-old girl without the advantages of her brother's schooling, Mary supplemented her own religious knowledge through her wide reading of works, as is evident

[44] Styler, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 5.
[45] These are noted in the introduction to the thesis in f. n. 24.
[46] Gillian E. Boughton's thesis includes her edited version and accompanying essays of six of Mary's narratives written in manuscript notebooks (located in the Special Collections of the Honnold/Mudd Library, California, USA) These narratives are: *A Tale of the Moors* (1864), *Lansdale Manor* (1866-67), *Ailie* (1867-68), *A Gay Life, Believed Too Late*, and the partial narratives *Vittoria* (1869) and *A Woman of Genius* (1869). See also: Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*; G. E. Boughton, "Dr Arnold's Granddaughter: Mary Augusta Ward," in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*, eds. Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[47] Boughton, "The Juvenilia of Mrs Humphry Ward (1851-1920): A Diplomatic Edition of Six Previously Unpublished Narratives Derived from Original Manuscript Sources," Chapter two.
[48] Ibid., p. 52. In addition to this, Boughton cites an unpublished letter from Mary's aunt, Jane Forster, which reveals that Mary was almost given up for adoption to the Reibey family during the time of her fathers' first religious crisis as a Christian in Van Diemen's Land. Ibid., p. 42 (f.n. 11).

from the references she made to other literary historical and fictional works.[49] The works that Boughton lists in connection with Mary's juvenilia demonstrate Mary's intellectual ability to read and understand challenging literature.[50] It is equally significant that Mary was able to access such a wide range of both fiction and non-fiction works in the Arnold family's collection of books at Fox How.[51] Mary considered that she was a 'bookish child' and that Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, was a profound influence on her when she read it at sixteen years of age.[52] Extracts from Mary's diary entered during a trip to Scotland show that she was also reading Dr Arnold's sermons at this time.[53] Mary recorded in her diaries how different she found the dogmatic nature of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland religious sermons as well as the starkness of the places of worship.[54]

On the edges of the male intellectual circles of Oxford at seventeen years of age, Mary appreciated the importance and significance of having been granted access to the inner reading rooms of the Bodleian Library, as was discussed previously. It is noted in most accounts relating to Mary that this was a remarkable honour to have been bestowed upon a young woman.[55] Interpretations of how Mary was afforded this privilege frequently cite that it was on account of Mark Pattinson's 'notorious weakness for young unmarried women'.[56] Commentators rarely invest Mary with agency by considering she may well have exploited Mark Pattinson's interest in her and that Mary's own talent and tenacity in gaining access to the Bodleian might have been a factor. This argument is reinforced when looking at her account of her work in the Bodleian and the wider success that stemmed from her efforts. John Sutherland states that Mary's work was ground-breaking for a woman at that time.[57] He considers that Mary's choice of a historical study of Spanish Bishops and Kings proved to be very beneficial, academically and for her career. These were subjects that she had explored as a young girl in some depth, as the earlier discussion of her juvenilia illustrates. Sutherland considers various possibilities, including opportunistic, emotive and sentimental motivations.

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[49] Ibid.
[50] Boughton makes this point in relation to the quality of her Juvenilia as well as the literary work Mary was reading and making reference to in the narratives. Ibid., p. 39.
[51] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 72.
[52] Ibid., p. 56.
[53] Boughton, "The Juvenilia of Mrs Humphry Ward (1851-1920): A Diplomatic Edition of Six Previously Unpublished Narratives Derived from Original Manuscript Sources," pp. 528, 34. Boughton states in f.n. 5, noted as p.529 on p. 612, that Mary makes direct mention to her grandfather's sermons and writings. The trip with 'Bessie' who is going to stay with her Grandparents who live in Banchory, Aberdeenshire has not been found in any biographical sources and it has not as yet been possible to establish who Bessie was or Mary's relationship with her but she may have been a school friend from Clifton Boarding School, Bristol.
[54] Ibid., p. 528, p. 31.
[55] Mary was not the only woman to be working in parts of the Bodleian Library as it has been recorded that Louise Creighton also had access to it and studied there but not within the restricted areas that contained the texts which Mary was allowed to consult. Covert, *A Victorian Marriage: Mandell and Louise Creighton*, p. 92.
[56] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 32.
[57] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

All of these impressions have gendered associations as does his view that the most significant motivation was that 'Mary was overjoyed to find a field where she was entirely unchallenged by the trained Oxford mind.'[58] An alternative perspective presented in this thesis is that Mary's ability to maximise ways of improving herself through self-education often came as a result of her ability to identify unexplored territories for middle-class women and that this has been relatively underplayed in many accounts that cite her early life. Mary later recognised the importance of self-education for women as she cited the examples of Mrs Sidney Webb and Harriet Martineau as self-educated and exceptional women in her autobiography.[59]

Mary took advantage of her access to the religious and historic works in the Bodleian that few other people were permitted to view, producing articles for *MacMillan's Magazine*, the *Saturday Review* and the *Fortnightly Review*.[60] Sutherland considers that the amount of time that Mary invested in her studies was unprofitable in terms of 'scholarly output' but that it did get her 'talked about in highly useful ways'.[61] The experiences she gained in compiling these works were invaluable in terms of enabling her to formulate and make use of alternative informal strategies to further her education.[62] Furthermore, this was a remarkable achievement for Mary in the context of what was possible for a young middle-class woman at the time to accomplish: particularly when taking into consideration the educational barriers she had already negotiated in her early life.[63] Janet Trevelyan confirms that in the early 1870s, Mary's research on the Early Spanish Church led her towards her future study and critique of the problems of Christianity.[64] Mary and her biographers concur that it was the depth and breadth of her research in this area between 1879 and 1881 that provoked her to renounce Christianity in the form that it existed in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[65]

As a young middle-class woman in the context of Victorian religion and education in Oxford, the 209 articles she produced for the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* were the most significant evidence of the value she derived from her work in the Bodleian Library.[66] Mary

[58] Ibid., p. 35.
[59] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 98.
[60] These are listed in: Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*; Peter Collister, "Some New Items by Mrs Humphry Ward," *Notes and Queries* No. August (1978).
[61] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 35, p. 36.
[62] Sutherland, "A Girl in the Bodleian: Mary Ward's Room of Her Own."
[63] Peterson notes that Mary's achievement was 'astonishing' Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 81.
[64] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.32.
[65] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 121. For example, see: Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 84; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 32, p. 49. Peterson claims that no definite date as to when this occurred has been established.
[66] Henry Wace, William C. Piercy and William Smith, *A Dictionary of Early Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies*, (London: J. Murray, 1911), (Accessed January, 2014) <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/wace/biodict.tp.html>.

worked on these articles between 1879 and 1881 and was the only woman to have contributed to this work.[67] These articles were ground-breaking in terms of academic achievements for a young woman. It is also more than likely that her ability to pursue this was aided by her marital status as Humphry Ward's wife, as he was a well-regarded scholar. Mandell Creighton, Humphry's friend and colleague, supported and encouraged Mary to continue with the work because of its originality.[68] Peterson's account of Mary's time and work in the Bodleian Library supports Mary's claim that her work was scrutinized and approved by two of the most highly regarded scholars in Oxford, Mandell Creighton and also Dr William Stubbs.[69] Sutherland claims that it was 'preposterous' that Mary's work could be in any way compared to Stubbs's studies and states Humphry and Mandell Creighton colluded to bolster her spirits falsely, concluding that '[f]orty years on Mary was still hoodwinked by their ruse.'[70] Sutherland provides no evidence to substantiate his claim. In contrast to Sutherland's view, Mary claims that Dean Henry Wace, the editor of the *Dictionary of Early Christian Biography* sent the articles to Stubbs for review, who wrote a complimentary letter to Mary on her work and they must therefore have been of the requisite standard and worthy of publication.[71] Mary's command of both the language and history of Spain culminated in her appointment in 1884 as the first female examiner of men in either Oxford or Cambridge Universities in the Taylor Institute.[72]

Mary admitted that J. R. Green was justified in his harsh criticism of her work during her early years and she acknowledged that not all of her work was successful.[73] Mary's other writing deadlines, demands as a young wife to a scholar and duties as a mother proved too great and she was unable to complete the primer of English Literature, which J. R. Green had invited her to compile.[74] This combination of demands and duties put Mary at a disadvantage to the male, unmarried undergraduates and scholars in Oxford but she achieved a great deal of success by gaining access to the guarded sources and tools of knowledge to which they were entitled.

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[67] Theology scholars, Neil Messer and Andreas Andreopoulos, from the University of Winchester have examined this author list and confirm that they can find no other woman is listed.
[68] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 151.
[69] Ibid., pp. 150-51. Dr William Stubbs (1825-1901) was the Bishop of Oxford and considered to have been the finest scholar of medieval history in the country. See: J. Campbell, "Dr William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford (1825–1901),"*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2005), (Accessed October, 2012) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36362?docPos=1>.
[70] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*.
[71] Ibid., p.70.
[72] For further information on Mary's involvement with the Taylor Institute see: TL 2/1/2 - Taylor Institution account book, 1868-1912, TL 4/1 - Scrap book of notices of scholarship examinations, lectures, scholarship awards, regulations and meetings, 1847-1907, TL 4/7 - Correspondence and reports of examiners relating to various scholarship examinations, 1888-1903.
[73] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 145, p. 64. J. R. Green (1837-1883) was a clergyman, historian and close friend to Humphry and Mary.
[74] Ibid., p. 145.

Few women can be considered her equal in terms of scholarship, reputation and publication on religious issues in the Oxford community at that time.[75]

Mary's first public protest against dogmatic religious sermons was made public several years later as a married woman in a pamphlet *Unbelief and Sin*. She had this privately printed in Oxford in 1881.[76] Mary had attended one of the Bampton Lectures given in March of that year, during which the Reverend John Wordsworth had attributed what he saw as religious unrest to sin, and not intellectual inquiry.[77] Mary stated in her autobiography that her pamphlet was removed by the bookseller because of a complaint.[78] Although the literary marketplace was expanding and women were beginning to voice their religious opinions at that time, it went against gender norms for behaviour for a woman at that time to enter into theological debates by publishing such an article.[79] Styler notes that genres of religious writings were deeply gendered.[80] She argues that forms of poetry which displayed classical learning were gendered masculine, whilst feminine writings displayed sensitivities, personal emotions and generally took the form of teachings for children, novels and tracts.[81]

In a preface she wrote to accompany an edition of *Unbelief and Sin*, published eight years later, Mary claimed that she did not protest against the removal of her pamphlet because of an accident that had befallen Reverend Wordsworth and the pamphlet 'passed out of mind.'[82] She also considered that the act of having her views suppressed served her well because it inspired her to write *Robert Elsmere*.[83] This event is reported in all biographical sources. Sutherland considers that the most significant factor concerning this event was that 'Mary defiantly burnt the Wards' bridges [in Oxford]'.[84] He states that because of this, Humphry was unable to return to his position at Brasenose College. It is significant that Mary was able to

[75] Women were involved in theology in Oxford and scholars such as Sue Morgan and Elizabeth Jay have commented on the need for more research in this area. Panel discussion, Conference proceedings, November 6, 2012. Queen Mary University of London The Centre for the History of the Emotions. *Love, Desire and Melancholy: Inspired by the Writings of Constance Maynard*.
[76] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 169.
[77] This was the first of the eight Brampton Lectures delivered to the University of Oxford. The history and titles of the lectures are listed as part of Project Canterbury. Wordsworth, "The One Religion: Truth, Holiness, and Peace Desired by the Nations and Revealed in Jesus Christ. Eight Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1881, on the Foundation of John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury." The content of this lecture is discussed in depth in an examination of religious comparisons with *Robert Elsmere* in Shepherd, "Whirlwinds of Thought and Ferments of Mind: The Process of Personal Change in Mrs Humphry Ward."
[78] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 169.
[79] Styler, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 12.
[80] Ibid., p. 13.
[81] Ibid., p. 14.
[82] It has not been possible to ascertain the nature of this accident. Mary A. Ward, "Unbelief and Sin: A Protest Addressed to Those Who Attended the Bampton Lecture of Sunday,"*North American Review*, (1889): pp. 161-62, (Accessed February 16, 2014) <http://www.unz.org/Pub/NorthAmericanRev-1889feb-00161>.
[83] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 169.
[84] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 80.

publish this pamphlet at such a pivotal time of religious controversy in Oxford, when it would have been very unusual for a young woman to make a public statement in any form concerning the 'Circle of Doubt' and the Oxford intellectuals. No record has come to light over the course of research for this study that might indicate any of the other women that Mary was involved with during this time at Oxford, such as Louise Creighton, Charlotte Green, Georgina Müller or Emily Francis Pattinson, attempted to make such a controversial public statement about the religious reforms being sought in Oxford.

The first edition of *Unbelief and Sin* and Green's lectures, *The Witness of God* in 1870 and *Faith* in 1878 were published privately. Green's sermons were first published in 1884, after his death. Mary's pamphlet was re-published with her added preface in 1889 but connections between these particular sermons and her pamphlet are generally only made in reference to *Robert Elsmere.* However, both Mary's pamphlet and Green's sermons contained a similar message concerning the need for Christianity to move in step with intellectual progress in religious historical inquiry. Their arguments were also constructed in a similar format: both stating the current position of dogmatic Christianity, the problem it faced in formulating a more inclusive Christianity and how faith could come to terms with and overcome intellectual and scientific discoveries. Whilst Green's sermons were destined primarily to be heard by his pupils and his colleagues, Mary's pamphlet had no guaranteed readers or audience in Oxford and this is largely due to the dominance of separate literary spheres at that time.[85]

Unbelief and Sin, although 'crude' on Mary's admission, was written in a language much more accessible to the general public than Green's sermons. She used fictional examples of two types of men: one on the side of dogmatic zeal, who considers religious inquiry is sinful and one on the other side of the debate willing to risk opening his mind to the questioning that the former is too inhibited to undertake. Mary was well versed in the art of the sermon since her early childhood as her diaries show that she was reading her grandfather's work.[86] The speed with which the bookseller withdrew Mary's pamphlet from sale indicates how seriously he considered that Orthodox Anglican Oxford viewed the contents of Mary's pamphlet. It is difficult, with hindsight, to say if Mary was foolhardy, naïve or shrewd to admit authorship. It was a very controversial and inflammatory piece of work: it was taken seriously by Reverend Wordworth's orthodox associate, Dr Foulkes, who complained to the bookseller who had

[85] Styler, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 14.
[86] See f. n. 53 above.

published it anonymously.[87] The bookseller took the complaint seriously and withdrew the pamphlet immediately.[88]

Mary claimed in the preface she added to the edition of her pamphlet published in 1889 that she had been persuaded to make the contents of the pamphlet known to the public on account of the success of *Robert Elsmere*.[89] She expressed her satisfaction that her message and views against dogmatic religious observance and the need for rigorous intellectual debates around Christianity had come into the public domain. She stated that '[t]he labo[u]rs and debates of scientific theology, which for half a century have been mainly the occupation and the interest of experts, are now beginning to penetrate the *popular* English mind as they have never done before'.[90] Mary's pamphlet illustrates her desire to conduct the wider debates about the tenets of debates of Christianity more openly, despite the challenges she faced. It took Mary a further seven years to accomplish her aim in bringing the debates to the attention of society through *Robert Elsmere*. Mary was excluded from entering the priesthood and those considered 'scientific' experts in Oxford. She continued, however, to articulate her views to the general public and to stress the importance of popularisation in respect of religious knowledge and debate. Mary summarised this in the preface of her pamphlet:

> When Bishops, deans and divinity professors join with the mass of educated lay opinion in disavowing it, the victory for the liberal side may be regarded as won. Round the New Testament our own English struggle is only beginning. Here the work of popularization is all to do.[91]

Mary's brief clash with the orthodoxy of Oxford University through her pamphlet, *Unbelief and Sin*, had Green's seal of approval according to Mary.[92] She advised that it became the outline of her novel *Robert Elsmere.*[93] The novel is largely based around her observations and experiences of the intellectual debates concerning those who were beginning to question the central role that 'miracle' held within Christianity. It is ironic that the success of *Robert Elsmere* elevated Mary's position within intellectual circles and the reading public and rescued her extended family from the financial crises that they found themselves in on account of Tom Arnold's religious doubt.[94] Mary was one of the first female scholars to compile a work that encapsulated the principles of Green's philosophy.[95] Roger Chapman, William Peterson and

[87] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 169.
[88] Ibid., p. 169.
[89] Ward, "Unbelief and Sin: A Protest Addressed to Those Who Attended the Bampton Lecture of Sunday," p. 161.
[90] Ibid., p. 162.
[91] Ibid., p. 162.
[92] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 170.
[93] Ibid., p. 170.
[94] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 184.
[95] Ibid., p. 136.

Olive Anderson agree that it was through *Robert Elsmere* that many of Green's ideas and teachings became accessible to the wider public.[96]

The character 'Mr Grey' in Robert Elsmere is based on Green. Mary depicted this character as an Oxford Don and the young Reverend Robert Elsmere's mentor. Mr Grey raises the possibility of doubt concerning the nature of the miracle within the Christian Doctrine in the mind of the young student Elsmere. The seeds of doubt later intensify in Elsmere's mind through intellectual study and interaction with a rationalist, Wendover, and his faith is crushed, which brings emotional and physical disaster and tragedy to his life as a small impoverished parish Reverend and also to that of his Evangelical wife, Catherine. Elsmere is 'saved' before his death by his recovery of faith and through active charitable work in establishing the 'Brotherhood' settlement. The novel is acknowledged as faithfully representing Green's lectures, sermons, thought and purported character.[97] Mary's representation of the religious environment of the time in *Robert Elsmere* has been compared to the quality of Dickens' portrayals of society and her novel was widely acclaimed in the press by reviewers, such as Walter Pater.[98]

Despite the initial reticence of the literary establishment, eventually word of mouth spread and the demand for the novel became almost insatiable from the aristocracy to the general public, including the Duke of Devonshire, who is quoted in a review entitled 'A Duke's Preference' as saying that:

> I would sooner by far spend a few hours reading Mill's Logic—and very pleasant hours they would be too—than in reading any work of fiction or romance. However one novel has for many years had a great influence over me—I mean Mrs Humphry Ward's "*Robert Elsmere*." The hero, Robert Elsmere, is a character that will live and teach for years to come.[99]

The furore of *Robert Elsmere* was fuelled by the review written by W. E. Gladstone, which was published in the May edition of the *Nineteenth Century* in 1888.[100] Mary went to great lengths to ensure that Gladstone reviewed her novel. Not only did she lobby Edward Talbot, who was married to Gladstone's niece, she dedicated her novel to another of Gladstone's nieces, Laura

[96] Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)."; Peterson, "Gladstone's Review of Robert Elsmere: Some Unpublished Correspondence," p.134; Anderson, "The Feminism of T.H. Green: A Late-Victorian Success Story?."
[97] Walters, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Her Work and Influence*; Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)."; Anderson, "The Feminism of T.H. Green: A Late-Victorian Success Story?."
[98] Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)," p. 521. Walter Pater, "Review of Robert Elsmere," *The Manchester Guardian*, March, 28 1888.
[99] Anonymous, "A Duke's Preference,"*Nottinghamshire Guardian* (London: 19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part II, 1900), (Accessed 21st September 2010) <http://find.galegroup.com>.
[100] Gladstone, "Robert Elsmere and the 'Battle of Belief'." Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 159; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 128.

Lyttleton (1862-1886).[101] It was through the editor of the *Contemporary Review*, James Knowles, that the novel eventually attracted the attention of Gladstone. James Knowles was also the editor of the *Nineteenth Century* and his letter to Gladstone about the novel is particularly telling.[102] In the letter, he describes Mary in terms of her domestic role but worthy of attention, making note of her Arnold family connections, stating that:

> she is immensely absorbed in her literary life but at the same time a good & capable housewife—& mother—and I fancy she would take honest & capable criticism well & grateful & would not only be but feel all the better for it—& like the critic none the less.[103]

A comparison of accounts concerning Gladstone's review shows that Mary received diverging advice on how to respond to his criticisms. James Knowles considered that Mary should respond immediately in a 'regular reply',[104] whilst Jowett came to London to persuade her not to reply at all.[105] Mary took a measured approach to the criticisms.[106] Her response, 'New Reformations: A Dialogue' was published in the *Nineteenth Century* the next year and addressed the theological questions raised by Gladstone.[107] Mary clarified that her decision to use the format of a dialogue to present her argument in the article initially raised concerns among her friends and advisors, including Jowett and Stopford Brooke.[108] She claimed that Jowett in particular advised her not to conflate fiction and factual work as he considered that the 'work of art moves on one plane, and historical or critical controversy on another, and that a novel cannot be justified by an essay.'[109] However, in an introduction to *Robert Elsmere,* Mary defended her article, and claimed that it invested her with the authority on which she spoke as 'an interpreter and reported to the wide lay public of a certain kind of scholarly and historical work, profoundly affecting the thought and action of daily life, and too little known or realised in England.'[110]

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[101] Mary was devastated at Laura Lyttleton's death as she notes in her autobiography Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 205. Peterson comments that it was rumoured at the time that the character of Lady Helen Varley in *Robert Elsmere* was Laura Lyttleton (née Tennant) Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 133.
[102] Peterson, "Gladstone's Review of Robert Elsmere: Some Unpublished Correspondence," pp. 447-48 (MS. B.M.Add.MS.44232,fol. 124-5, April 2, 1888).
[103] Ibid., p. 448 (MS. B.M.Add.MS.44232,fol. 124-5, April 2, 1888).
[104] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 73.
[105] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Robert Elsmere*, Autograph Edition, vol. 1 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1910), Introduction, p. xxxiv.
[106] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 259.
[107] Mrs Humphry Ward, "The New Reformation: A Dialogue,"*Nineteenth Century*, (March 1889), (Accessed february 16, 2014) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/2644724/50A7D4AE1546413BPQ/32?accountid=27803>; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 92.
[108] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 259.
[109] Ibid., p. 259.
[110] Ward, *Robert Elsmere*, Introduction, xxxv.

According to Mary, Jowett later conceded that *Robert Elsmere* 'shewed [sic] a considerable knowledge of critical theology.'[111] Mary appears to have been aware that a delicate approach was necessary and underplayed her own ability by rewording the statement in the previous paragraph in her autobiography:

> it vindicated my right to speak—not as an expert and scholar – to that I never pretended for a moment—but as the interpreter of experts and scholars who had something to say to the English world, and of whom the English world was far too little aware.[112]

Although Mary's strategy proved successful and the novel attracted considerable public attention and enabled to her to arrange subsequent meetings with Gladstone, she maintained that the novel sold of its own accord before Gladstone's review.[113] The meetings are reported as being largely in response to Gladstone's genuine concern about the impact and repercussions *Robert Elsmere* might have on Victorian society.[114] Despite the controversial subject matter, Thesing and Pulsford argue that the novel demonstrates that Mary was uncompromising in her portrayal of the religious tensions and undercurrents within Victorian society.[115] The meetings also afforded Mary the opportunity of furnishing Gladstone with a copy of Green's two sermons, *The Witness of God*, and *Faith,* the contents and context of which are integral parts of her novel. *Robert Elsmere* contains frequent references and several direct quotes from Green's two sermons, and her description of the first of these addresses, *The Witness of God*, is considered to be a creditable rendition of the event and the impact it had on the audience.[116] Sutherland considers that Mary's 'taint of religious heterodoxy' stemming from the discussions of religious doubt in *Robert Elsmere* made her less than respectable in the public eye.[117] He considers that she struggled to express her religious beliefs within the confines of the Anglican Church and refers to Mary as a heretic, a Theist and further considers that during the writing of *Helbeck of Bannisdale* (1898) she was sorely tempted to convert to Catholicism.[118] Mary admitted that during the writing of this novel she 'was never more possessed by a subject, more shut in by it from the outer world' but qualifies that the exception to this might have been *The Story of Bessie Costrell* (1895).[119]

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[111] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 260.
[112] Ibid., p. 260.
[113] Ibid., p. 235.
[114] Peterson, "Gladstone's Review of Robert Elsmere: Some Unpublished Correspondence."
[115] Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*.
[116] Chapman, "Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882)," pp. 522-24; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 78. This is also noted in the Autograph Edition (1909) of *Robert Elsmere*.
[117] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*.
[118] Ibid., pp. 193-94. A Theist believed in at least one God as active and present in the universe as opposed to a Deist, who believes that God can be known rationally but not through revelation. See: Boultbee, *A Commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles Forming an Introduction to the Theology of the Church of England*, p. 4.
[119] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 316.

Robert Elsmere is most often read as a novel of religious crisis through the male protagonists: Mr Grey, the young Reverend Elsmere, the academic Mr Langham and the Squire, Wendover.[120] It charts the life and decline of the young Reverend Robert Elsmere, who struggles to come to terms with the rigidity of Anglicanism and his growing inner turmoil in reconciling his intellectual and spiritual thoughts. Mary portrays the woman he languishes after, Catherine, as a paragon and product of a strict Evangelical upbringing. After capitulating, Catherine eventually agrees to marry Robert and as newlyweds, they move to take up a position in a parish with which Elsmere's family were connected. The parish is now controlled by a famous intellectual and rational thinker, Wendover, who challenges Elsmere's faith to the point of renunciation of his vows. Mary uses Catherine to demonstrate the counter narrative of the dangers of unquestioned devotion to any religion. Catherine lives her early life in strict adherence to religious tenets imparted to her by her father. By the end of the novel she comes to realise the sacrifices necessary to live this way alienate her family. She eventually compromises her faith sufficiently to support her dying husband's educational mission and tolerate his faith. Elsmere's health and faith recover sufficiently for him to start up the educational 'Brotherhood' settlement in the slums of London, which Mary used as the model for her later social settlements.[121] Green had also used this term in his discussion of the common good.[122]

The novel's female characters attracted little attention at the time it was published, despite subsequent approval extended by literary critics concerning the way in which female characters were constructed in Mary's novels.[123] Walter Pater's essay on *Robert Elsmere* is cited in several commentaries although his favourable opinion of Mary's female characters is rarely mentioned. He states:

> Mrs. Ward's women, as we have said, are more organic, sympathetic, and really creative, than her men, and make their vitality evident by becoming, quite naturally, the centres of very life-like and dramatic groups of people, family or social; while her men are the very genii of isolation and division'.[124]

[120] 'Mr Grey' was the only character that Mary confirmed was directly taken from a person, Green. Peterson states that Langham was reported as being based on Walter Pater, Wendover reflected Mark Pattison, Lady Varley resembles Laura Tennant and the Provost of St Anslem was Jowett. For an overview of the similarities in other characters, places and people in the novel, see: Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, Chapters 6 and 7.
[121] This will be discussed later in the chapter.
[122] See Chapter three, f. n. 177.
[123] Bindslev, "Mrs Humphry Ward: A Study in Late-Victorian Feminine Consciousness and Creative Expression," p. 13.
[124] Pater, "Review of Robert Elsmere."

Robert Elsmere was originally viewed from the perspective of religion and Peterson's work suggests that most of the reviewers were male.[125] One reviewer, Lord Acton, wrote to Gladstone about Mary's discussion of Christianity and the nature of miracle, stating that he wondered 'that her [Mary's] father, an instructed man, if not her husband, whose information is modern and rather Philistine, let her say such a thing.'[126] Lord Acton's statement suggests that he found Mary's exploration of religious debates in *Robert Elsmere* controversial but considered that her father and husband, as educated men, should have prevented her from expressing her views. It further suggests that he did not consider Mary could be as knowledgeable on the issue as her male relatives. There are no accounts of how *Robert Elsmere* was viewed by women or what proportion of the readers may have been women. This may be a reason for the relatively few critical appraisals of the female characters in the novel. The following section will examine how Green's ideas of Christianity are expressed in Mary's views on educational themes through the experiences of female characters in *Robert Elsmere*. This enables a discussion of Mary as Greenian educator.

Mary depicted a diverse range of women in *Robert Elsmere*, from the middle-class Leyburn family and neighbours situated in the Evangelical reclusive setting in Westmorland to the lives of aristocratic and impoverished women in Elsmere's parish in Surrey. Mary's portrayals of the female characters in the novel demonstrate a wide range of ways in which the ideas within Green's religious philosophy affected the lives of middle-class women in the Victorian era.[127] Mary examined the nature of female religious doubt in *Robert Elsmere,* through Catherine, despite the fact that females were barred from taking Holy Orders, unlike Green and the character, Mr Grey, who had the choice of whether to take Orders and did not do so. Thesing and Pulsford argue that Catherine Elsmere is just as important to the novel as her husband and 'they are equally hero and heroine'.[128] Mary's basis for Catherine and her two sisters' education was their father's (Richard Leyburn) fanatical 'Evangelical, with a dash of Quakerism' stance on religion.[129] She marked their upbringing in terms of Richard Leyburn's system of training designed to perpetuate conformity in the female members of his family, rather than by questioning the nature of religion. This raises the question of why Mary did not use the character of a brother in the Leyburn family in the novel, which would have prompted a

[125] For a representative discussion of the review of *Robert Elsmere* see Chapter 8, Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 161.
[126] Peterson, "Gladstone's Review of Robert Elsmere: Some Unpublished Correspondence," cited on p. 444 (MS. Letter B.M.Add.MS.44094, fol. 22-3).
[127] For a review of this subject area see for example: Martha Vicinus, ed., *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1973); Jane Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Division and Social Change* (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1984); Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*.
[128] Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 5.
[129] Ward, *Robert Elsmere*, p. 137.

discussion in the novel as to how he would have responded to this upbringing as a male member of the family. Even after Richard Leyburn's death, his dominance is reinforced as Catherine's role as a woman is cast by her father's last request that she guard and watch over the morals of her sisters and to take charge over the well-being of the family as the following extract illustrates:

> 'Ah, there is Catherine's difficulty,' said the vicar, shrugging his shoulders. 'Poor thing! How well I remember her after her father's death! She came down to see me in the dining-room about some arrangement for the funeral. She was only sixteen, so pale and thin with nursing. I said something about the comfort she had been to her father. She took my hand and burst into tears. "He was so good!" she said; "I loved him so! Oh, Mr. Thornburgh, help me to look after the others!" And that's been her one thought since then—that, next to following the narrow road.' [130]

Mary drew attention to the fact that for the majority of Victorian middle-class women the will of the father was difficult to disobey even after his death.[131] The male hold over women was reinforced in the novel by the inclusion of the other practical barriers. These included financial dependence and the social stigmas attached to women who attempted to challenge the boundaries of what constituted a suitable education for women. Mary demonstrated the ramifications for society of inadequately trained volunteer teachers 'doing good' in their attempts to improve the education of the poor, as Catherine merely replicated and reproduced her own inadequate dogmatic Evangelical religious education in her attempts to teach the local impoverished in her community. At several points throughout the novel, Mary alluded to the consequences of the late Richard Leyburn's slavish and unbending nature in pursuing what he considered the correct religious path in life, on his poor frail wife, whose mental fragility had rendered her completely dependent on her daughters. Fractures begin to appear in Catherine's recollections of her father and as she begins to reconsider his actions, doubts take root. Her perception of her father alters from the saintly reverence she had once regarded him in to being less than human in his greater concern for his religion than in his dealings with his family. This raises questions about the extent to which Mary drew on autobiographical experiences stemming from the impact of her father's religious obsessions on her mother's well-being.

Mary's success with *Robert Elsmere* led to national recognition of her intellectual awareness of the theological issues contained in Green's philosophical ideas. *Robert Elsmere* engaged the

[130] Ibid., p. 140.
[131] For an alternative perspective on the role of the father in promoting pious and moral guidance to their children, see: Stephanie Olsen, "The Authority of Motherhood in Question: Fatherhood and the Moral Education of Children in England, C. 1870–1900," *Women's History Review* 18, No. 5 (2009).

general public and brought financial success, confirming her creative talent in translating complex religious debates concerning Christianity into a fictional form. Although Mary reaped many rewards from the success of the book, the demands of becoming a famous novelist and writer continually competed with her duties and responsibilities as the main provider for many of her family members and her dedication to the reforms she had been instrumental in overseeing.[132] Her experiences illustrate how problematic Green's theory of the perfectibility of mankind was in practice, which required educated individuals to judge how best they could use their experiences and knowledge to improve the lives of others and through this improve their own lives, spiritually. Mary found that it was almost impossible, at times, to maintain the balance that was required to sustain her efforts as a writer and reformer alongside her family duties, resulting in severe health problems. Sutherland claims that '[o]ne could write her biography as a sixty-nine-year medical case report or an anthology of the age's female invalidisms.'[133]

Non-denominational Education in Practice

Green's understanding of the concept of the 'common good' rested on the differentiation between merely 'doing good', and 'unconditional good'. He considered that pursuing the latter posed difficulties because:

> in the individual the idea of what is good for him in his actual state of passion and desire—the idea which in fact he seeks to realise in action—as apt not to correspond to his conviction of what is truly good.[134]

He believed that the realisation of the moral good in the self alone as a moral agent would not appease the soul and that, active participation towards the common good must be the ultimate goal of all Christian citizens.[135] Green defined an educated Christian citizen as someone who is :

> is able to think of the perfect life as essentially conditioned by the exercise of virtues, resting on a self-sacrificing will, in which it is open to all men to participate, and as fully attainable by one man, only in so far as through those virtues it is attained by all.[136]

In reality, this presented a middle-class woman, such as Mary, with particular difficulties under Green's understanding of a Christian citizen, as to how she could contribute in a Christian society that did not recognise her on an equal basis as a citizen and could not accommodate

[132] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 203.
[133] Ibid., p. 203.
[134] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §179.
[135] Ibid., §172.
[136] Ibid., §370.

her wider understanding of the Christian faith.[137] The following section explores Mary's actions as a moral agent, within Green's definition as someone who was able to conceive 'a better state of [her]self, consisting in a further realisation of [her] capabilities.'[138] It investigates some of the issues and concerns that Green raises in his discussion of the common good, in relation to Mary: why should she 'trouble about making [her]self or [her] neighbours other than [they] are?'; [139] '[h]ow [was] this or that individual—circumstanced as [she was], and endowed, physically and mentally, as [she was]—to take part in the work?' [140] and how did she 'find guidance in an idea which merely moves [her] to aim at the best and highest in conduct?'[141]

One of the common factors throughout Mary's social reforms was her insistence that they operated on a non-denominational Christian basis. Her first attempt to bring about non-denominational educational reforms came through her involvement in the establishment of Somerville Hall in 1878 as part of the reforms being implemented in higher education for women in Oxford. Mary acknowledged that her efforts were as part of a group of Oxford women, who originally set up the Lectures for Women committee in 1873, including Louise Creighton, Charlotte Green and Georgina Müller.[142] Mary was the main driving force behind the success of the venture but as is noted in the literature review, the importance of her role has been undervalued. Oxford Dons had granted women permission to attend lectures in Oxford in 1866 but the turning point was in 1871, when fellows were able to marry, as this brought women into Oxford who sought education for themselves and their daughters.[143] There is only a fleeting comment in Mary's autobiography about her involvement in this work, although her daughter's biography elaborates a little on how it manifested into Somerville Hall and the heavy organisational and administrative role that her mother carried out.[144]

The minutes of the Lectures for Women committee are noted in the middle of a small notebook belonging to Mary.[145] The first meeting of the committee was on 21st November, 1873. Throughout the notebook Mary recorded a variety of the decisions that the committee made: the prospectus, the subject of the lectures, the number of admittance tickets that were

[137] This is discussed in the conclusion of chapter three.
[138] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §181.
[139] Ibid., §352.
[140] Ibid., §352.
[141] Ibid., §352.
[142] This is corroborated by: Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 29-30. Janet Howarth, "Women," in *The History of the University of Oxford: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Brian Harrison, vol. VIII (Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 345. The other women involved are noted in minutes of the first committee meeting on 21st November 1873: Mrs G. Wallam, Mrs Kitchin, Mrs Bertha Johnson, Hon. Mrs Talbot and Miss Paton. Bodleian Library Special Collections /Notebook/Minutes of Lectures for Ladies 1873-6. MS.Top.Oxon.e.527.
[143] Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993*, p. 9.
[144] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 152; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 29-30.
[145] Bodleian Library Special Collections /Notebook/Minutes of Lectures for Ladies 1873-6. MS.Top.Oxon.e.527.

to be sold, the fees and charges and who could attend. She also noted that books would be provided in the 'Camera' to those who had purchased tickets.[146] The level of administration detailed illustrates the breadth and scope of the duties and arrangements that Mary and her co-committee undertook. The notes for the fourth meeting held on 23rd January, 1874 indicated that an examination paper was to be set for those who wished to sit it and that it was to be examined by Reverend Johnson (Bertha Johnson's husband). Mary noted that the marks would be displayed on the door of the lecture room. The meeting on 6th March, 1874 discussed the arrangements for the examination and Mary noted that it should be in one of the University examination rooms if at all possible. Mary recorded that the women were now considered official candidates for the examinations and that Reverend Johnson was to be paid £30 for his fee. Subsequent entries show that Mandell Creighton was to teach Dante's works and that there were also to be lectures on German.[147] The entries in this notebook suggest that the committee was instrumental in the success of the lectures and the move towards women being actively engaged in higher education at Oxford University.[148] It is equally important to recognise the extent to which they were supported and encouraged by their husbands, in particular Green, who was listed at the top of the list of founders of the college along with Mary.[149]

Following the success of the lectures, Mary and her fellow committee members set up the Association for the Education of Women committee in 1877. This committee was established to investigate the provision of residential facilities for female students in Oxford and Mary began to accumulate strategic and practical advice on how to proceed, contacting her previous school teacher, and close family friend, Anne Jemima Clough almost immediately.[150] In the letter Mary received from Anne Jemima Clough, she is advised to consider the costs of furnishing, supervision and management of a residence for young girls very carefully, giving examples of what budgets she considered would be required.[151] From an early meeting however, the committee was divided on religious grounds: Lavina Talbot, Elizabeth Wordsworth, (Reverend Wordsworth's sister) and Bertha Johnston took the lead on the establishment of the strictly Anglican Lady Margaret Hall.[152] Mary, Charlotte Green and Rachel

[146] The Radcliffe Camera Building is one of Oxford University's major libraries and was built during the first half of the eighteenth century.
[147] Mary did not clarify if German language or texts were the focus.
[148] This point is confirmed in: Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 84; Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993*, p. 9.
[149] The other founders listed are: Hon. Mrs Vernon Harcourt, The Rev. G. W. Kitchin, Dr McGrath, H. F. Pelham and Dr Percival. Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993*, p. 9.
[150] Ibid., p. 10.
[151] Somerville College Archives, SC/LY/AR/FB/Ward/Mrs Humphry Ward (1879-1898), Letter to Mary from Anne Jemima Clough, dated 9th May 1877.
[152] Somerville College Archives, Minutes of Somerville Committee, February, 1879.

Vernon Harcourt adopted Green's stance that an inclusive Christianity could not exclude women and nor could it exclude women of other Christian convictions and therefore they established the non-denominational Somerville Hall on alternative principles.

The first official minutes for Somerville Hall are recorded by hand, in an impressive leather bound and gilt engraved book, and this practice has continued (although they are not now handwritten).[153] From the first meeting and for the years that Mary was secretary, she recorded the minutes for each meeting. The use of the leather volumes suggests that the College was considered to be a serious and prestigious venture from the outset. Mary also kept a small notebook in 1879.[154] It contains day-by-day notes of the people Mary contacted in connection with Somerville Hall, why she wrote to them and what documents she was sending and receiving. Green's involvement is noted several times. For example, entries made on 29th July, and 2nd August, show that Mary had asked his advice about the Exhibition of a Miss Perkins.[155] Unlike the Lectures for Women committee notes, it is apparent that Mary envisaged Somerville as a much larger and more sustainable venture from the outset but also as a fully inclusive venture that would open up Oxford to women regardless of their Christian backgrounds. The women who attended were from, for example, Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool. Entries at the back of the book note various details concerning the organisation and management of the College: financial details, ideas on what the entry examinations should consist of, the furniture required, suppliers to contact and a list of women who were to sit the exams. On 27th May, Mary recorded that the committee were in agreement that the Queen should be informed of the paragraphs they had sent to be published in the newspapers, advertising the Hall. Whilst Elizabeth Wordsworth, as a single woman, was able to take on the role of warden in Lady Margaret Hall, Mary's role in Somerville remained on an advisory and administrative basis. As a married woman at that time, Mary would have been unable to become a warden of Somerville, regardless of whether she had wanted to perform this role or not. Mary's notebook demonstrates the extent to which she was involved in a commercial, advisory and administrative capacity in the establishment of Somerville College and suggests she was developing the successful strategic and organisational skills that she employed in her later reforms.[156]

[153] Minutes of Somerville Committee, from 1879.
[154] Somerville College Archives, SC/LY/AR/FB/Ward. Some of the contents of this notebook are transcribed in: Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993*, p. 17.
[155] SC/LY/AR/FB/Ward, 1879.
[156] For further information on the role of women school-keepers as entrepreneurs see: de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867*, chapter three.

There are silences in historical accounts of education regarding the significance of Mary's role in creating Somerville College as a non-denominational facility for women at Oxford. Only more recently has Mary's portrait been hung among the founders and principals of the College.[157] The ethos of Somerville College remains consistent with its original tenet: all denominations are treated with equal respect. This has been a key factor in the College's success and been attributed as a significant factor in the distinctiveness of their students.[158] It is noted in biographical sources that Mary's sister, Julia, and her sister-in-law, Gertrude, entered Somerville, whilst Mary's daughters did not attend the College. Research for this thesis has not unearthed any published or unpublished account that either daughter has expressed any view publically on this matter. Laura Trevelyan agrees with Mary's biographers that neither Janet nor Dorothy attended any University or college whilst Rosemary Ashton claims Janet attended Bedford College in London.[159] The educational and social advantages they secured as Mary's daughters were extensive in comparison to the limited form of education available to women at that time.[160] Janet, her elder daughter, was a talented scholar of Greek and at the age of seventeen, Mary set her Biblical translations from German into English.[161] Dorothy Ward, her younger daughter, recorded in her diary that she had lessons in Latin, as well as music, riding and singing.[162]

The success of *Robert Elsmere* also inspired Mary to turn her attention to promoting religious education within the social settlement in London, University Hall.[163] The venture, established in the poorer districts of Bloomsbury in 1890, stemmed from her friendship with Stopford Brooke, Dr Martineau, Lord Carlisle and the Unitarians but it was established as a non-denominational settlement.[164] Mary could have continued to pursue a career solely in literary work and fiction, and follow the success of those female writers whom she had admired and/or met, for example, George Eliot, Charlotte Yonge, and the Brontë sisters. The income she derived from her writing sustained the activities of the majority of her immediate family as well as raising her public profile.[165] It would therefore have been financially impossible for Mary, once embarked on her educational reforms, to have continued solely as a social

[157] The current archivist, Dr Anne Manuel, has arranged for the portrait to be restored and hung beside the portrait of the College's first principals, Miss Madeline Shaw-Lefevre (from 1879 to 1889).
[158] Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College, 1879-1993*, pp. 352-53.
[159] Ashton, *Victorian Bloomsbury*, p. 235; Laura Trevelyan, *A Very British Family: The Trevelyans and Their World* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co, 2006), p. 161.
[160] For a discussion on the limits of women and higher education see: Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?: Women in British Universities 1870-1939*.
[161] Humphrey Trevelyan, *Public and Private* (London: H. Hamilton, 1980), p. 159; Trevelyan, *A Very British Family: The Trevelyans and Their World* p. 160.
[162] Special Collections University College London Library, Ward Family Papers, Dorothy Ward's Diary, Dated 1890. MS.Add.202/39.
[163] See appendix two for further information on dates/events in Mary's life.
[164] For a biographical commentary of this see: Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 81-92.
[165] This will be discussed in chapter five.

reformer and followed the example of women with whom she had collaborated, such as Francis Power Cobbe, Violet Markham and Beatrice Webb.

The religious lectures, which Mary attempted to make central within the curriculum of events held in University Hall, were quickly seen to be unpopular and pitched beyond the educational level of the majority of the inhabitants of the area.[166] Nigel Scotland states that Mary's desire to offer a liberal religious education at the new settlement proved to be difficult to amalgamate into the social work and more practical aims it was intended to fulfil.[167] Jane Lewis notes that Green's ideas, as portrayed in her novel, were not easily adaptable into a working model.[168] Seth Koven notes that it is surprising that Mary did not found a settlement for women, considering her earlier involvement with Somerville Hall in Oxford and that Mary offered no reason for her decision.[169] Through the settlements and College she was instrumental in establishing, Mary took steps to spread the religious message among the general public, concerning the social and moral benefits of education within a non-denominational Christian setting.

According to Janet Trevelyan, there were only two other women involved in the initial establishment of University Hall: the Dowager Countess Russell and Francis Power Cobbe.[170] In her autobiography, Mary made no reference to either of these women's involvement in her scheme as part of her discussion of how the idea for the University Hall was conceived and actioned. In the case of Francis Power Cobbe, her involvement in what became an all-male settlement is notable because of her focus on campaigning for women's suffrage. It is also noteworthy that Mary did not mention Francis Power Cobbe in her autobiography, considering their shared interest in higher education for women, their involvement in Unitarian networks in London and their strong religious convictions. Francis Power Cobbe's inclusion in Dale Spender's work demonstrates that she has been much more widely acknowledged in histories of women's education as well as in more general women's history. This supports the argument proposed of this thesis that as neither victim nor hero, Mary is rarely considered as an educator within British histories of education.

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[166] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, p. 179.
[167] Ibid., p. 181.
[168] Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 207.
[169] Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840 to 1914," pp. 109-10.
[170] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 81. Francis Power Cobbe was a campaigner and writer on women's rights and anti-vivisection. Her paper, *The Education of Women, and how if Would be Affected by University Examinations (1862)* is published in: Spender, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912*, pp. 37-49. The American edition of Francis Power Cobbe's autobiography is available to read online: Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe*, (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), (Accessed August 10, 2012) <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/browse?type=lcsubc&key=Cobbe%2c%20Frances%20Power%2c%201822%2d1904>.

University Hall was initially funded by the Unitarians of Manchester College, Oxford and the majority of the committee were Unitarians, however, it was agreed that it would not have 'Unitarian' in the title.[171] Mary was clear that her aim of creating this settlement was to demonstrate that theology could be put into practice.[172] She stated in her autobiography that she wanted to 'show that the faith of Green and Martineau and Stopford Brooke was a faith that would wear and work' by creating a non-denominational social settlement to support the learning and teaching of religious education to the inhabitants and the local community.[173] She was working to realise Green's hopes that an inclusive approach to Christianity would enable educated citizens to work together with the common aim of improving the lives of those within society.

With Dr Martineau as the chair, Mary gave the address at the opening of University Hall, in 1890, and although it caused Mary a great deal of anxiety, Janet Trevelyan noted that the speech was well-delivered and well-received.[174] Encouraged by her success, Mary went on a 'speaking tour', which successfully raised three years of funding for the Hall.[175] One of the lectures she gave was to the Students' Guild of University Hall in 1892, which Mary noted was 'a body connected with the University Hall Settlement in Gordon Square'.[176] The speech was republished in America in 1898 with an added preface in which Mary outlined the background and the developments within historical and literary criticism of the Old and New Testament of the Bible, since the speech had been first given. Mary reflected Green's idea of theory and practice being inseparable within Christianity, in summarising her view that '[w]e are, in fact, only at the beginning of that transference of the ideas of the scholar and historian to the field of practical and daily life which is the next stage before us.'[177] The published text of the address is similar in style, tone and content to that of Green's sermons, *The Witness of God* and *Faith* and she quoted him directly to convey the need for the establishment of University Hall, which was because:

> the visible church of one age is never essentially the same as that of the next; and it is only in word or to the intellectually dead that the creed of the present is the same as the creed of the past.[178]

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[171] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 83.
[172] Mary claimed the idea for University Hall was hers but that it was only realised with the support of Dr Martineau, Lord Carlisle and Stopford Brooke. Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 291.
[173] Ibid., p. 269.
[174] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 86.
[175] Ibid., p. 87.
[176] Mrs Humphry Ward, *New Forms of Christian Education: An Address to the University Hall Guild (1892)*, (London: Smith, Elder, 1892), (Accessed February 17, 2014) <https://archive.org/stream/newformschristi01wardgoog#page/n2/mode/2up>.For a discussion of the publication of this speech see chapter two, sources section.
[177] Mrs Humphry Ward, *New Forms of Christian Education: An Address to the University Hall Guild (1892)* (New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1898), p. 7.
[178] Ibid., p. 10. This is taken from: Green, "The Witness of God (1870)," p. 26.

The first section of the address provided a historical summary of how the foundations of the Christian religion had come to be placed under attack from those outside of the Anglican Church in the name of science and history and the unrest this had caused to the orthodox faction of the Church. The second section explored the impact of this unrest on society and how she believed Christian education could and must adapt in order to continue to be relevant for society. Mirroring Green's concern about the dangers of apathy towards Christianity, Mary asked '[i]n the midst of the wrestle which now occupies the Christian mind, how many quietly conclude simply to withdraw from it!'[179] She proceeded to defend the stance that Christianity did not depend on miracle or revelation and criticised the lack of appropriate educational methods for the purposes of teaching religion. She envisaged 'a growth of a teaching among the less educated classes depending less and less upon the direct use of books,—even the Bible,—and more upon a certain spiritual and imaginative power in the teacher' would rekindle the interest and help improve the education of the lower classes.[180] Mary warned her audience that teaching and teachers must adapt to rise to the challenge of educating children and the lower classes. Despite the difficulties involved, she expressed her belief in Christianity as the best way of seeking a better life for the individual and improvements for society through education: 'in its best forms [Christianity] is the most moving and beautiful, the most striking and concrete testimony that history affords to the power of a Divine and Eternal Life'.[181] Her concluding remarks of the address and also the preface reiterated that the higher purpose of a Christian education is a true life towards God, love and faith.[182] There are, however, notable silences concerning the plight of middle-class women and their limited access to education in her introduction to the address she gave at the opening of University Hall.

University Hall's religious ethos became difficult to sustain and although she was hesitant to admit defeat, Mary was forced to re-consider the religious curriculum in her subsequent involvement in Marchmont Hall, which the next chapter will continue to explore. Mary insisted that her early reforming ventures were non-denominational. Her actions demonstrated that she was prepared to compromise her beliefs in some respects to ensure the success of the projects in which she was involved. She was also resolved to enact Green's ideas in that the educational role she envisaged that his ideas would serve could best be achieved as inclusive Christian ventures. Sources examined in this study indicate that The Passmore Edwards Settlement (which followed from Marchmont Hall and University Hall) and the play centres

[179] Ward, *New Forms of Christian Education: An Address to the University Hall Guild (1892)*, p. 21.
[180] Ibid., p. 26.
[181] Ibid., p. 37.
[182] Ibid., p. 8, pp. 38-39.

and organised activities that it supported, followed the non-denominational principles established in Somerville and University Hall.[183]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how Mary drew on the Christian ideas and ideals that underpin Green's concepts of the 'eternal consciousness', the 'perfectibility of mankind' and the 'common good'. Through the medium of writing, Mary overcame many of the barriers she faced in contributing to the religious debates and the circulation of religious ideas as a middle-class woman. By using Scott's ideas of investigating cultural constructions of womanhood, the chapter demonstrated that Mary negotiated gender boundaries by choosing to explore religious debates and issues through a variety of literary forms, including sermons, pamphlets, novels and magazine articles. Following Styler, works which explored doctrine and scripture, were considered 'forbidden areas' to women, who were not considered to be capable of engaging with this form or level of intellectual activity.[184] Mary used the form of the novel *Robert Elsmere* to provide a detailed exploration of the intricacies and difficulties of pursuing a future possible life as a middle-class Christian woman and experimented with fictional dialogues to defend the content of the novel in the response she gave to the criticism that the novel attracted. The success of the novel provided new opportunities to transmit Green's key message to the general public in a fictional format. It also enabled her to act upon the theoretical ideas that underpinned the novel by realising the educational reforms that the novel advocated and financed, demonstrating that she concurred with the view that God could not be found in word alone. This redrew the definition of a Christian citizen to not only include Mary, but to situate her within religious discourses as a self-educated woman who studied, interpreted and communicated Christian morals and values to the public through her writing and reforms in the belief that it would improve the lives of those in society; reflecting Green's view that a better society was possible and could be pursued by individuals engaging in their societies. This led her along the path of eternal consciousness to seek, in the words of Green, 'the true relation in which [she] stood to God.[185]

Mary's stance that educational opportunities should be opened up to all denominations of Christianity in Somerville Hall and in University Hall social settlements reflects Green's belief that Christianity should include and not prevent discussion and dissemination of ideas concerning religion. Mary's role in establishing an all-male settlement has lent support to

[183] These will be discussed in chapter six.
[184] Styler, *Literary Theology by Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 14.
[185] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §187.

approaches interpreting her life and work from an anti-feminist perspective. Her decisions to follow this course of action were unrepresentative of the cultural and social constraints that middle-class women faced in pursuing education in the Victorian era, in that it was highly unusual for a woman to establish an all-male educational residence. Mary pushed the boundaries of constructions of womanhood such as the 'Angel in the House' further by agreeing to give the opening public address to University Hall. Her speech proved to be a resounding success and enabled her to continue to spread Green's ideas in her subsequent lectures and speeches in order to raise funds for the venture. Mary had to make compromises in order to appease those whose support she was reliant upon in creating the settlements. This reflects the difficulties that Green examined in relation to the limitations of individuals in pursuing the ideal self within his idea of the common good. He debated 'whether legislative and administrative agencies of society can be kept free from bias by private interests.[186]

This chapter has argued Green's ideas of Christianity underpinned Mary's approach to education and how she conveyed her ideas as an educator of the public: through her writing, through her educational initiatives in her community and through her public speeches. The chapter identified, however, that there are silences within Green's ideas as to how he conceived women's roles within the formal religious structures of Christianity. The next chapter will look more specifically at Mary's social connections and how she used them as an alternative strategy, to expand her activities into wider educational issues and debates. The chapter examines how Green's moral philosophy, in relation to the ideas of the role of women in society, is reflected in her novels and her continuing involvement with educational reforms through the Passmore Edwards Settlement.

[186] Ibid., §187.

Chapter 5 – Education and Society

> *My mind began to turn to what I believed to be the other side of the Greenian or Modernist message—i.e. that life itself, the ordinary human life and experience of every day as it has been slowly evolved through history, is the true source of religion, if man will but listen to the message in his own soul, to the voice of the Eternal Friend, speaking through Conscious, through Society, through Nature*[1]
>
> Mary

> *Thus it is equally true that the human spirit can only realise itself, or fulfil its idea, in persons, and that it can only do so through society, since society is the condition of the development of a personality*[2]
>
> Green

Introduction

As a highly intelligent and self-motivated young woman, Mary was ideally disposed to draw on the Oxford community in which the Arnold family were key figures. Mary took full advantage of the social opportunities offered to her as a seventeen-year-old female Arnold in 1868, writing in her autobiography that she 'slipped into the Oxford life as a fish into water'.[3] After her marriage to Humphry Ward in 1872, her husband's role at Oxford expanded her social opportunities as she began to host suppers and dinners for their friends and his colleagues, including T. H. Green and his wife, Charlotte.[4] The Oxford contacts she made during the thirteen years she lived there were important in her pursuit of a career as a writer and also for her activities as a reformer. Humphry's subsequent career as a journalist in London for *The Times* opened up new contacts for Mary upon their move to London in 1881 but for the majority of their married lives, it was Mary's contacts and name that secured financial and social stability for the family as 'she outshone him, outwrote him, and outearned him.'[5] John Sutherland notes that her positivity and pro-active nature in identifying and pursuing strategic opportunities that arose from her social experiences were central to the success she attained as a talented scholar and writer.[6] Mary's social contacts also proved invaluable in the support they lent to the wider educational reforms that she sought for British society. Building on the previous chapter's examination of Mary's early educational ideas, beliefs and practices in relation to Green's concept of Christianity, the following sections of this chapter analyse how Mary interpreted, adapted and communicated his philosophical ideas concerning the role of women and the importance of the family unit, to society. It employs Joan Scott's suggestion

[1] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 261.
[2] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §191.
[3] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 102.
[4] Ibid., pp. 119-20.
[5] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 88.
[6] Ibid., p. 85.

and investigates Mary's informal and formal relationships and organisations as well as cultural representation. It explores how, as a married middle-class woman, the success that came from Mary's writing laid the foundations of her social standing and experiences, generating the support she required to sustain the expansion of her educational reforms. This exemplifies the belief in 'improvement' that Green discussed in *Prolegomena to ethics,* in which education played a part in individual improvement and the improvement of society.[7]

The first part of the chapter sets out the concerns Green voiced in his *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*s regarding the role of women within the family unit.[8] It examines why he considered existing divorce laws were preventing women from contributing more fully to their society and why this is of fundamental importance to his philosophical ideas concerning the improvement of society for all. The second section explores the significance of Mary's expanding social status as a middle-class married woman in disseminating her views on women and education to the general public through her fiction. Viewing her fictional work as devices through which she explored and publicised a broad range of the issues and views concerning the social inequalities that Green identified were limiting women's contribution to society, this section draws, primarily, on her novel *Lady Rose's Daughter* (1903), and also two of her later works, *Daphne* (1909) and *Harvest* (1920). It explores how the main female characters in these novels incorporate Green's concepts of the eternal consciousness and the perfectibility of mankind in terms of the duty of an enlightened woman to pursue self-improvement and the improvement of others through education, as British society moved from the Victorian era into the post-war Edwardian period.[9] The third section of the chapter considers Mary's social position as a married middle-class woman and successful novelist. It explores how this provided her with the opportunities and authority, which she then utilised to further her idea of the common good through the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London. It resumes the discussion at the end of the previous chapter concerning University Hall and explains Mary's decision to combine forces with Marchmont Hall Settlement. It explores the setbacks and successes Mary experienced as a woman following Green's idea of the common good and the compromises she had to make to secure the continued existence of the most successful educational reforms she achieved through the Passmore Edwards Settlement, now called the Mary Ward Centre, and the organised play centres which she pioneered.[10]

[7] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §190.
[8] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §233-46.
[9] The first Boer War was between 1881 and 1881 and the second, 1899-1902.
[10] Brehony, "A "Socially Civilising Influence"? Play and the Urban "Degenerate"," p. 92.

T. H. Green - Women, Family, Society

Green argued that 'the divine idea of man can only be fulfilled, in and through persons…. in and through society'.[11] He explained society was:

> founded on the recognition by persons of each other, and in their interest in each other, *as persons, i. e.* as beings who are ends to themselves, who are consciously determined to action by the conception of themselves, as that for the sake of which they act.[12]

He concluded that existing social relations violated women's rights within the family unit and that this impacted on their ability to participate more fully in society. He argued that the underlying reason for this was due, primarily, to the inequality within the legal system, which treated men and women differently in relation to infidelity and divorce. Although he believed that men and women had different functions, stating that the 'very existence of mankind presupposes the distinctions between the sexes' he did not believe that women's sole function within society was as 'chattels' or as bearers of children.[13] He argued his case in strong terms, stating that the wife is not merely 'an institution, invested with certain dignities and privileges, for the continuation of the family.'[14] He considered husbands and wives had reciprocal rights within married life, which predisposed 'the rights of one person as against all other persons to require or prevent a certain behaviour on the part of another.'[15] He believed these were necessary rights and not moral rights, for which the state legal system was responsible.[16] He stated that:

> [t]he more completely marriage is a '*consortium omnis vitae*' in the sense of a unity in all interests and for the whole of a lifetime, the more likely are the external conditions of a moral life to be fulfilled in regard both to married persons and their children.[17]

He believed that this unity of interests could bring about the conditions necessary for the development of moral goodness.[18] He concluded that the existing inequalities within social relations were not therefore conducive to the development of humanity. Relating this to the concept of the eternal consciousness and women's ability (in Greenian terms) to become enlightened citizens through education, highlights the importance of women's access to education. The lack of education coupled with an unequal legal status, impeded women's capacity to improve the lives of citizens, as understood within Green's ideas of the perfectibility of mankind and the common good.

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[11] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §190.
[12] Ibid., §190.
[13] Ibid., §191.
[14] This formed part of his argument supporting the necessity of monogamous marriages in the development of a moral society. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §241.
[15] Ibid., §233.
[16] Green qualified this: (i) 'lunacy' [sic] brought complications to the right to divorce and (ii) infidelity was not a criminal offence and therefore was not the responsibility of the state to punish either party.
[17] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §246.
[18] Ibid., §242.

Green's concept of the common good proposed that it was the responsibility of the individual to direct their best moral efforts of body and soul in the interests of all members of a society in order to pursue moral progress. He argued that civil society was founded on this principle, but that complete adherence to it was far from straightforward for two main reasons.[19] First, because of the way in which society seeks good in objects that are competed for, therefore ultimately placing the interests of the self above the interests of society as a whole, despite initial well-intended actions. The implications of the failure of individuals to pursue the common good in its purest form are that civil society will not favour the people who would most benefit from it as they 'are left to sink or swim in the stream of unrelenting competition, in which we admit that the weaker has not got a chance.'[20]

The other main difficulty that Green identified that the common good presented in practice, was the complexity of issues that individuals faced in deciding which actions best served the interests of society, which revolved around the question, '[d]oes this or that law or usage, this or that course of action—directly or indirectly, positively or as a preventative or the opposite—contribute to the better-being of society'.[21] For Green the ultimate issue was not 'What ought I to be? But, What ought to be done?'[22] He reasoned that the first question included the second question because the ultimate good for mankind was to seek spiritual development through their conduct and character for the betterment of society.[23] By way of some examples of the 'perplexities' that individuals faced in how to pursue this, Green cited the example of musicians who may be unsure of the extent to which society will benefit if they should devote themselves to their talent.[24] In answer to this, he stipulated that if pursuing this talent above all other actions and talents was the best conceivable way 'to serve mankind—to contribute to the perfection of the human soul', then the choice was justified.[25] Green also understood that even those with the strongest convictions are not precluded from having doubts about which course their lives should take as '[t]he most genuine devotion to the highest ideal of goodness will not save a man from occasional perplexity as to the right line of action to take.'[26] The next section begins with a discussion of how Mary's role as a wife and her role within her family underpinned her success as a writer. It then explores ways in which Mary used her novels to draw the public's attention to the complexity of the issues Green identified concerning

[19] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §246.
[20] Ibid., §245.
[21] Ibid., §354.
[22] Ibid., §354.
[23] Ibid., §354.
[24] Ibid., §381.Green extended this argument to include those involved in creative pursuits and the arts.
[25] Ibid., §381.
[26] Ibid., §310.

women's roles within the family unit and the implications for society that Mary envisaged that changes to the existing legal frameworks would have.

Marriage, Equality and the Law

According to Sutherland, Mary was an exceedingly good 'catch' for Humphry as she was talented and well connected.[27] Sutherland reports that Humphry was relieved to have secured her hand in marriage after his disappointment in being passed over by Louise von Glehn for Mandell Creighton.[28] According to James Thayne Covert, for young Dons, 'the anxiety of the decision to marry once accepted, resulted in the stress of finding a wife.'[29] The Wards' decision to remain in Oxford for the early part of their marriage enabled Mary to continue to pursue the added educational and social opportunities that opened up to her as the wife of an Oxford don.[30] Vera Brittain comments that the Wards' house 'became a centre of modern ideas where the daring new schemes for women were discussed.'[31] This enabled Mary to further her educational aspirations as a writer as well as providing her with the source material from which *Robert Elsmere* was created, launching her career as a novelist.

In discussing Mary's role within marriage, biographical accounts generally limit their focus to discussing the power dynamics between her and Humphry. For example, Sutherland states that over the course of their relationship 'the balance of power within their marriage altered'.[32] Sutherland's comment suggests that Mary did not conform to being an 'Angel in the House' in many ways.[33] This ideal of womanhood was commonly associated with Victorian society and was borne out of the 'anxieties of modern life and for those values no longer confirmed by religious faith or relevant to modern business.'[34] It constructed women's roles within the family as submissive, passive home creators providing a moral example of religious piety to their husband. Sutherland states that Mary 'became' Mrs Humphry Ward for public purposes.[35] He claims that 'Mary proclaimed herself utterly and voluntarily her husband's property; bone of his bone and name of his name', and claims that her motivation was 'blind

[27] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 51.
[28] Ibid., pp. 51-53.
[29] Covert, *A Victorian Marriage: Mandell and Louise Creighton*, p. 65.
[30] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 58.
[31] Vera Brittain, *The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History* (London, Toronto, Wellington & Sydney: George Harrop & Co. Ltd, 1960), p. 42.
[32] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 87.
[33] This reference is taken from: Patmore, *The Angel in the House*. For a detailed examination of the significance of the poem and discussion of how this became synonymous with the Victorian woman see: Carol Christ, "Victorian Masculinity and the Angel of the House," in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. Martha Vicinus (London: Methuen, 1980).
[34] Christ, "Victorian Masculinity and the Angel of the House," p. 146.
[35] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 56.

loyalty' to her husband and the acceptance of the dominant male role.[36] At other points during his work he demonstrates that Mary and Humphry's relationship did not follow the general etiquette of the times as he states that '[t]here is no question but that she chose Humphry; he was not a suitor of last resort.'[37] Sutherland also notes that he believes Mary would not consider moving to London at first, where Humphry could follow a more lucrative journalistic path.[38] Sutherland sees the latter decision as the more 'sensible' of the two and that 'they did not do the sensible thing' and this suggests that Mary was the one who made the decision.

Mary's role as Humphry's wife far exceeded the boundaries generally understood within a Victorian family, constructed on patriarchal principles where '[m]en make their living and their reputation in the world; women tend the hearth and raise the children.'[39] In summarising her role within the family, Sutherland concludes that both Humphry and her son Arnold were a burden to her, and ponders whether 'either of the male Wards would have become gamblers had this female been less spectacularly successful.'[40] Sutherland portrays Humphry as not conforming to the stereotypical version of Victorian manliness, and far from being a dominant figurehead whose role was 'to establish a home, to protect it, to provide for it, to control it and to train its young aspirants to manhood.'[41] This reflects John Tosh's argument that Victorian gender roles were much more complex than the ideals that evolved from the period. Sutherland's work suggests that Mary and Humphry did not have a typical middle-class Victorian marriage.

Although Humphry's career provided useful contacts in the world of journalism, as did his work in compiling the four volumes of *The English Poets* in the literary world, Mary's family contacts enabled them to widen their social circles in London and extend them abroad.[42] Matthew Arnold introduced them to the French Senator and writer, Edmond Scherer, who later sent Mary a copy of the work, which she translated with much success, *Journal Intime of Henri Frederic Amiel*.[43] Mary's aunt, Jane Forster, and her husband, W. E. Forster, also played a vital role in establishing Mary and Humphry within London society, introducing them to what Mary

[36] Ibid., p. 59.
[37] Ibid., p. 43.
[38] Ibid., p. 58.
[39] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 1.
[40] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 89.
[41] Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, p. 4.
[42] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, Chapter 10. Thomas Humphry Ward, ed., *The English Poets. Selections, with Critical Introductions by Various Writers, and a General Introduction by Matthew Arnold*, 4 vols., (London and Oxford: 1880-1918).
[43] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 206.

termed 'the world of politicians'.[44] This enabled Mary to extend her social connections and build her reputation as a writer. As a result of her increased social status and the increased public interest in both her literary work and her reforms, her responsibilities and obligations grew but her health deteriorated.[45] Dorothy's diaries note frequent instances of her mother's illnesses, when Mary was away and who Mary was meeting. An entry on the 14th February, 1890 states that her mother had come home very tired but that she and her aunt Ethel had been awash with the Parnell Commission Report but in different ways.[46] A later diary shows that in 1898 Mary included her daughter in educational and social excursions. Mary and Dorothy went to a lecture on Sigmund Freud and on 18th May, 1898 they went to a party at the Rothschilds' house.[47]

Mary's female family members were integral to her ability to participate in society to the extent that she did. Sutherland considers that Mary had a 'domineering' approach to her family as well as those in her employment.[48] Mary's role was pivotal but they were mutually dependent on each other as several members of Mary's family performed dual roles as her employees, as well as being integral to her social circle. It is important to re-emphasise that Mary was able to undertake multiple roles as a woman, intellectual, critic, novelist and campaigner because of the practical and emotional support of the women within her household. For example, Humphry's sister, Gertrude Ward, worked and lived with Mary and her family from 1882 until 1900 after completing her studies at Somerville College.[49] Gertrude was one of twelve surviving children, and with the exception of teaching, there were very few career opportunities for well-educated, middle-class women at that time.[50] Gertrude was deeply religious and eventually left Mary and her family to become a district nurse in the East End of London.[51] Her skills were missed by Mary, despite her daughter Dorothy's best efforts to take over Gertrude's many roles of secretary, house manager and personal assistant.[52] In her new career as a nurse, Gertrude took Mary to the slums of London, where Janet Trevelyan

[44] Ibid., p. 189.
[45] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*.
[46] University College London Library, Special Collections, Ward Family Papers, Dorothy Ward's Diary 1890, MS.Add.202/39. Ethel Arnold (1864-1930) was the youngest of Mary's siblings.
[47] University College London Library, Special Collections, Ward Family Papers, Dorothy Ward's Diary 1898, MS.Add.202/40.
[48] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 87.
[49] Ibid., p. 85.
[50] Humphry's sister, Agnes Ward, became the principle of Maria Grey College in London between 1876 and 1892. Ibid., p. 44.
[51] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 126-27; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 85.
[52] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 126.

quotes that '"processes of life and death" were going on' providing Mary with inspiration and ideas for her novel *Marcella*.[53]

Mary was reported to have been very upset when Gertrude chose to leave and later to become a missionary nurse in Zanzibar.[54] Sutherland interprets extracts of Gertrude's diary that appear in Enid Jones's biography as 'defection' and Mary's reaction as 'tart'.[55] In contrast to Mary's religious beliefs, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) was High Church Anglo-Catholic and believed in the unquestioned authority of the bishops in all matters of faith and church order.[56] However, Gertrude wrote to Mary and her family at length about her life as a nurse in East Africa, indicating their continued friendship and her devotion to the family.[57] Fears that conditions in Africa were severely affecting the health of missionaries, and particularly for women, were supported by Gertrude's letters about the African 'fevers' and deaths of the missionaries she nursed in her role with the UMCA. Gertrude was forced to return to England due to repeated fever and illness in October 1897 but continued to write for the UMCA.[58]

Mary's daughters, Dorothy and Janet, as well as her other female employees, Lizzie Smith and Bessie Churcher, were considered indispensable by Mary and her family.[59] In the preface to Janet Trevelyan's book *Evening Play Centres for Children* Mary describes Bessie Churcher and her other secretaries, Gertrude Taubman and Grace Blundell as 'devoted secretaries who ha[d] stood by me all this time, and without whom I could have done nothing.'[60] Bessie Churcher took over from Gertrude Ward as a secretary and personal assistant and was acknowledged by

[53] Ibid., p. 126. For a further information of this phenomenon out of which the rhetoric Maternalism arose see: Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton, N.J. ; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2004). This novel is discussed in chapter six.
[54] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 176.
[55] Ibid., p. 176.
[56] See: Andrew Porter, "The Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicim and the Twentieth Century," in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, eds. Brian Stanley and Alaine M. Low (Michigan and Cambridge: Erdman, 2003). This was part of the Universities' Christian Mission to Africa (UCMA)
[57] Gertrude Ward, *Letters from East Africa 1895-1897* (London: Universities Missions to Central Africa, 1899). This work is dedicated to D. M. W. Although it has not been possible to confirm the identity of all recipients of the letters, the contents and initials used strongly support the argument that Dorothy Ward, (D.M.W) Janet Ward (J.P.W), Agnes Ward (A.J.W.), Mary Ward (M.A.W.) and Humphry Ward (T.H.W) were among the recipients. The others include Ethel Ramones (E.R.) (an author and wife of George Ramones). This work merits further study in view of the insight into the roles of women in the education of African children within the UCMA and the UMCA.
[58] Gertrude Ward, *The Life of Charles Alan Smythies, Bishop of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, ed. Edward Francis Russell (London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1899), (Accessed June, 2013) <http://anglicanhistory.org/africa/umca/smythies/index.html>. It has not been possible to establish what became of Gertrude Ward.
[59] Janet Penrose Trevelyan, *Two Stories* (Longmans, Green, 1954), p. 28; Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 118.
[60] Janet Penrose Trevelyan, *Evening Play Centres for Children* (London: Methuen & Co, 1920), Prefatory note, p. xxi. There is confusion over Miss Taubman's first name, as she is later referred to by Janet as Miss Eleanor Taubman and also in Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840 to 1914."

Janet Trevelyan for her work as a talented organiser.[61] When Mary died in 1920, Bessie Churcher remained in the employment of Janet Trevelyan.[62] Lizzie Smith also worked for Mary until her death and is always referred to as 'faithful Lizzie', travelling all over the world as her assistant, maid and companion. Sutherland reports that Lizzie was taken into care in 1921 suffering from dementia and that Humphry bequeathed her one hundred pounds upon his death in 1926.[63]

Sutherland acknowledges the necessity of the duties the women carried out for Mary but he refers to these women as her 'entourage' and claims they provided her with 'a pampered domestic existence.'[64] Mary's houses functioned as multi-functional domestic and social spaces which also served as a place of work and education for middle-class females in the absence of allocated or possible formal and informal spaces. These were available to males from middle-class households through their employment and careers in the form of offices and clubs.[65] Mary subsequently provided the main source of income through her writing and supported the ventures of her wider family throughout her life. Sutherland's description of Mary as domineering reflects the context in which the rhetoric of gendered roles generally attributed to middle-class Victorian women as submissive homemakers, moral agents and mothers and has negative connotations. It does not reflect the positive inflections of the term, which convey qualities of strength, control and leadership, which are assumed when associated with men and considered manly or masterly characteristics within the discourse of Victorian masculinity.[66]

It is evident from the few accounts of Mary's personality, discussed in earlier chapters, that Mary was unwaveringly supportive to Humphry and her family throughout her life, in their careers and roles both socially and financially. Little published evidence has come to light to suggest that her family considered themselves unwilling 'chattels' or that Mary was domineering in her approach.[67] Mary's sister, Ethel, may not have agreed with her on issues of suffrage, nor, for that matter, did many of her other female relatives but no evidence has been

[61] Trevelyan, *Two Stories*, p. 143.
[62] Janet Trevelyan pays tribute to the work Miss Churcher did in the successful appeal to save the site of the foundling hospital for open space for the children of London. This account is combined with a book documenting the life of her son, Theobald, who died at the age of four years. Ibid.
[63] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 376. No further record of what became of Lizzie Smith, or Gertrude Taubman has been traced.
[64] Ibid., p. 85, p. 87.
[65] For an examination of women's domestic, educational and professional spaces as writers see: Julia Swindells, *Victorian Writing & Working Women* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985).
[66] Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, p. 62.
[67] Mary's biographers, confirm that much of the family correspondence and papers was destroyed. Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 252; University College London LIbrary, Dorothy Ward's Diary, Dated 1955, MS.Add.202/103; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 376.

traced to suggest they took the opportunity to put forward any negative views about her.[68] Mary's view of her relationship with Humphry was that '[i]t became plain very soon after our marriage that ours was to be a literary partnership.'[69] Due to the nature of their joint interest and work on many literary projects in their early married lives it is therefore possible to view Mary and Humphry's relationship in terms of compromise and equality rather than dominance or control; each supporting the other's strengths and weaknesses. This resonates with the example set out by Green as a unit that worked together to enable Mary to be fully active in the community and society. Although Mary was unable to participate in the formal legal discussions regarding the issues of inequality between men and women within society that Green highlighted, she translated her social experiences and activities into themes, plots and characters within her novels. The next section will examine how she presented her readers with a broad range of topical and contentious issues that she considered were limiting the lives of middle-class women.

Thirteen of Mary's novels have a female character as the title and focus of the work.[70] The main female protagonists in the three novels discussed in this chapter are orphans and/or have no independent way of supporting themselves. The plots in these novels generally revolve around how, as women, they overcome social disadvantages, which include a combination of issues in relation to nationality, religion, class, marriage and education. The novels have a commonality of discussing the issue of inequality of women in relation to their social backgrounds and lack of education. The next part of this section will focus mainly on *Lady Rose's Daughter* with briefer discussions of *Daphne* and *Harvest*. As three lesser-known novels from across Mary's career, they illustrate the extent of Mary's awareness and concern regarding the issues revolving around divorce and how she perceived alterations to the law would impact on society. Mary extended this argument across women's lives to show that reforming the divorce laws in isolation of the other barriers that women faced in law would not be sufficient, as it would not enable them access to the education that she considered would provide women with the knowledge and experiences which they needed to become fully independent members of society. In other words, Mary saw that their reason and will to do 'good' was limited by their lack of opportunity to improve themselves spiritually and intellectually and thus strive for a perfect life.[71] All three of the main female characters in the novels examined in this chapter suffered social exclusion and were driven to their actions by

[68] Dorothy Ward continued to mark the date of her mother's death with a † or 'M' twenty years after her death. Ward Family Papers, UCL Special Collections, MS.add.202/89 (diary dated 1940)
[69] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 143.
[70] See appendix one for a note of Mary's works.
[71] For a discussion of how other women interpreted 'doing good' see: Martin, "Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling: Towards a Collective Biography of Women 'Doing Good' as Public Moralists in Victorian London."

their lack of recourse to alternatives to which men within their societies had free access, such as education, employment and divorce.

Lady Rose's Daughter was the earliest of Mary's novels to deal directly with the implications of the inequalities between husbands and wives both socially and legally.[72] The main protagonist, Julie Le Breton, is 'the illegitimate child of a mother who had defied law for love'.[73] Julie's aristocratic mother, Lady Rose, had been exiled from her family for the remainder of her life because she had fled from her husband in England to be with her lover in Belgium. Even though he admitted that the marriage had been a disaster, her husband had refused to grant her permission to divorce and thus prevented Lady Rose from marrying Julie's father. After both her mother and father die, Julie is educated as a Catholic by French nuns. She then hides her identity and secures employment as a companion to a well-connected and controlling, demanding elderly woman, Lady Henry, who describes Lady Rose as one of the 'women that have gone under.'[74] Julie's ambition is to become independent within the English aristocratic society which had shunned her mother and father by carving out her own career a writer.

'As the chief attraction of Lady Henry's once famous salon'[75] her benefactor, Lady Henry, considers that Julie had 'intrigued them all in turn against me'[76] to build her own networks by 'constant intrigue and deception—by flattery—by lying!'[77] Julie is eventually revealed as Lord Lackington's granddaughter but almost repeats history by attempting to elope to France with a disreputable character, Captain Warkworth, who is secretly engaged to her estranged cousin. Julie is 'saved' from 'destroying' herself and losing her reputation and 'self-respect' by the eligible aristocratic nephew of Lady Henry, Jacob Delafield, whom she eventually agrees to marry.[78] Julie overcomes the sins of her mother and rises above her enemy, Lady Henry, by becoming the wife of one of the most eligible and richest aristocrats in the country, as '[s]he only had to reappear in London as Jacob's wife to resume far more than her old social

[72] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Lady Rose's Daughter*, Autograph Edition, vol. 10 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910). This novel was a huge success in Britain and overseas but is not one of the novels discussed in Thesing and Pulsford's research guide. It was first published as a series of twelve in Harper's Monthly Magazine from May 1902. A complete collection of these serialised editions are held in the Armitt Museum, catalogued as: The Armitt Trust, AMATL: A2044*, Lady Rose's Daughter*. Sutherland notes in his biography that it was performed on Broadway in 1903 (p. 239). It is rarely mentioned that this book was made into a silent film in 1920. The leading role of Julie Le Breton was played by a highly successful American actress, Elsie Ferguson but none of her silent movie footage has ever been found. For details see: Internet Movie Database, "Lady Rose's Daughter," (Accessed May 14, 2012) <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0011383/>.
[73] Ward, *Lady Rose's Daughter*.
[74] Ibid., p. 32.
[75] Ibid., p. 28.
[76] Ibid., p. 39.
[77] Ibid., p. 40.
[78] Ibid., pp. 353-68.

ascendency.'[79] The ending of the book, although much criticised, illustrates Mary's view that marriage could only be built upon the willingness of both parties to compromise their own desires for the greater good of society. Julie is ready to sacrifice her re-instatement into society by being willing to stand by Jacob in his desire to refuse the Dukedom he inherited. Jacob, on the other hand, on hearing Julie's concession and from reading a letter from his cousin, makes his sacrifice and puts his political views to one side. He 'felt the touch of discipline, of command' and accepts his moral obligation to society and agrees to accept his role as his uncle's heir.[80]

Green considered that as well as laws, social factors also governed people's actions within society, as he stated that 'we shall have to extend our view of the effect upon human life of social requirements, which are not 'laws,' but to which the good citizen renders an obedience the same in principle as that which he renders to 'laws'.[81] Mary was relatively uninhibited by social taboos in terms of the issues she covered in this novel: infidelity, illegitimacy, sex outside of marriage, elopement and inter-class relationships. She employed several strategies to enable her to discuss the inequalities that existed between men and women within society but portrayed these in ways that her readers and critics might interpret as 'respectable', in contrast to the criticism made of her acquaintance, Vernon Lee, who was ostracised from society on account of her salacious fiction.

Julie can only gain employment by concealment of her true identity as illegitimate and then can only further her ambitions by exploiting the people she meets as Lady Henry's companion. Mary displaced any infidelity, scandal or promiscuity to Belgium and France, where it was less of a threat to the social hierarchy of Victorian Britain. Mary finally brought Julie within her society's predetermined roles for women as she eventually submits to Jacob's plea to a marriage. Mary alluded to the view that women did not have to agree to submit completely to their husbands, as Jacob Delafield accepted marriage to Julie on her platonic terms, which is a 'merely a legalised comradeship'.[82] It is significant that Julie betters her life from being a social exile and dependent on others by becoming a wealthy aristocratic wife. She does not achieve this by becoming a writer but by being prepared to compromise her own desire for the benefit of the happiness of another. Mary's ending of the novel reflects Green's view of wealth as a necessary part of social life as long as it is within morally acceptable terms of society. This reflects Green's theory of self-realisation, where he justified the acquisition of property in

[79] Ibid., p. 427.
[80] Ibid., p. 505.
[81] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §203.
[82] Ward, *Lady Rose's Daughter*, p. 428.

terms of the right to a 'free life'.[83] In the novel, wealth was discussed in terms of the aristocracy's control of, and responsibility for, inherited property and for those who were dependent on it for their living. Green clarified that property must be held in a way that is consistent with its idea and 'directed to the social good' or 'it must be got rid of, when the possession of property by one man interferes with the possession of property by another.'[84] Julie's acceptance of her wealth brought by her position also indicates that aristocratic women were equally responsible and could be effective in society through their social activities, much like Lady Helen and Lady Charlotte in *Robert Elsmere*.[85]

In the introduction to the novel in the Autograph Edition, Mary admitted that she was deeply uncomfortable with the second half of *Lady Rose's Daughter* and could not allow Julie to 'destroy herself, whatever Delafield might do.'[86] However, she did restore the balance of equality between husband and wife by the end of the novel by Julie stating, '[w]hat you'll suffer from, I shall perhaps—enjoy'.[87] Jacob, as a follower of Tolstoy, is against accepting a Dukedom and being forced into a life of duty and obligation within the aristocratic society, from which Julie had been excluded. Julie, however, is willing to accept her responsibilities as a wife without the social position because '[a]t last he needed her, and the dear knowledge filled and tamed her heart.'[88] Mary also restored social propriety at the end of the novel as the marriage contract is taken to its full meaning and commitment as Jacob accepts his responsibilities to society and Julie accepts hers as a wife. This closely reflects the point T. H Green made that the basis of family life 'implies that upon the mere sexual impulse there has supervened on the part of the man a permanent interest in a woman as a person with whom his own well-being is united.'[89]

For Green, 'within the household the claims of the husband and wife are reciprocal'.[90] *Lady Rose's Daughter* illustrates that Mary was aware that this situation was not the reality of most middle- and upper-class women and suggests that she agreed that marriage provided the best chance for women to improve their lives. Mary articulated her views concerning the inequality of women, like Lady Rose and Julie, within the legal system in three distinct ways. First, Mary echoed Green's observation concerning the inequality of relations between husbands and wives, where the power of divorce always lay in the hands of men and the social stigma

[83] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §215-16.
[84] Ibid., §221.
[85] These characters are discussed in the previous chapter.
[86] Ward, *Lady Rose's Daughter*, Introduction, p. x-xi.
[87] Ibid., p. 506.
[88] Ibid., p. 506.
[89] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §237.
[90] Ibid., §239.

attached to it had the potential to ruin the lives of women and children.[91] Lady Rose is unable to divorce a cruel, cold and unloving husband who made her miserable. The husband, whom Mary compared to Tolstoy's Alexis Karenin in *Anna Karenina*,[92] considers that Lady Rose should never be able to divorce him because 'divorce was in itself impious, and sin should not be made easy' despite finding her a 'tiring and trying companion.'[93] Green considered that '[t]he moral purposes which married life should serve cannot be served, either for the married persons themselves or for the children, under such conditions.'[94] Second, Mary made the point that upon leaving her marriage and being unable to attain a divorce, neither Lady Rose nor her daughter Julie have any legal rights to Lord Lackington's estate but are reliant on his mercy to bestow an allowance on his female descendants to enable them to subsist, albeit it in much reduced and inferior social circumstances. Green did not expand on the financial impact to either party within his discussion of the implications that divorce would have within society. Mary explored the implications of greater and more equal access to divorce within society by illustrating that both women were equally reliant on the informal support of other women to bridge the chasms in their social spheres: Catholic nuns and female servants in France provide Julie with respectability and her education; Lady Henry provides Julie with employment; and the Duchess, Evelyn, persuades her husband to provide a house for Julie when she is forced to leave Lady Henry's employment. Third, Mary's discussion of the British peerage and the system of primogeniture which underpinned British society and established women as chattels, illustrates how women's inequality was created and reinforced by law and why this enabled men to largely dictate the social status of women.

Sutherland's view of *Lady Rose's Daughter* is that 'it articulates her belief that women's political power is best exercised indirectly by the creation of quasi-domestic environments (here the salon) through which men may be influenced.'[95] Mary foregrounded the importance of the social roles that women played within their society's hierarchy within this novel but she also emphasised ways in which they constructed and perpetuated the structures of society that privileged certain women above others. Mary therefore delivered a much more subtle message that women *had* no direct way of exercising political power at that time but that they exuded their power through their social status and activities. She demonstrated how, as outsiders, women could successfully infiltrate the structures that legislated to exclude them without overturning the order of society. Mary was an example to both women and men who

[91] Ibid., §242.
[92] Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* was originally published in instalments by between 1883 and 1887. It was first published into English in 1886 by Nathan Haskell Dole but his work was hurried and considered lacking because he was American and not a native Russian speaker.
[93] Ward, *Lady Rose's Daughter*, p. 25, p. 24.
[94] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §243.
[95] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 241.

read the novel of how an educated woman could extend and transgress the limited role women were expected or able to carry out in society. Through the novel, she presented the case that it was possible for Julie to improve her life: that her parents' circumstances need not dictate the outcome of her life nor limit her autonomy. The underlying personal experiences and religious connotations of this echo the view of both Mary and Green concerning original sin and the need for the Christian religion to have a broader outlook in order that the common good can be pursued. In his work *The Witness of God*, Green presented an optimistic view of humanity and argued that humans possessed the capacity of a higher self, which Richter argues removes the possibility that Green accepted any version of original sin.[96]

There are significant silences within *Lady Rose's Daughter*. There is little discussion of the religious tensions in Julie's education and upbringing as a Catholic. Nor did Mary discuss the dynamics between this, Rose's intelligence and social skills, her later actions of deceitful manipulation or her weakness for Captain Warkworth. The other significant silence is in regard to Mary's beliefs around whether the state should intervene within marriage when it broke down, mirroring Green's view that 'it does not appear that the law can do more than secure facilities of divorce in the case of adultery.'[97]

Mary used displacement tactics to discuss the issues at stake but to differing degrees in her novels, and much to the detriment of her sales figures. *Daphne*, published in 1909, continues to be considered to be an anti-divorce novel and as such has been categorised as an anti-feminist work.[98] Its focus is an American Heiress, Daphne, and her impoverished but well-connected British husband, Roger Barnes, who 'has the tastes of forty thousand a year; a very indifferent education'.[99] Their marriage is beset by jealousy and flirtation and eventually Daphne divorces Roger and returns to America with their child, who later dies. Mary's introduction to the novel suggests that *Daphne* was intended more as a study of how the sanctity of marriage was being challenged and eroding family life rather than being about the ills of the American legal system or an anti-feminist work.[100] Mary wanted to call this novel *Marriage à la Mode*, mirroring Hogarth's series of paintings of the same name, suggesting that the main theme Mary had intended in the work may have been misinterpreted and overlooked by subsequent readers and critics. These paintings present a satirical and moralistic view of the outcome of a marriage when it is merely a contract of financial or social convenience. The

[96] Green, "The Witness of God (1870)."; Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*, pp. 108-09.
[97] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §245.
[98] The novel is included in volume one in: Ward, *Daphne, or Marriage À La Mode (1911)*. It was serialised in six parts in *McClure's Magazine* from January, 1909. In America, it was published as *Daphne, or Marriage À La Mode.*
[99] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 295; Mrs Humphry Ward, *Daphne*, Autograph Edition, vol. 15 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), p. 8.
[100] Ward, *Daphne*, Introduction, p. xiv.

novel was not well received in America or Britain and has received little critical attention; it upset a great many of her female American readers because of the way in which she was perceived to be critical of American divorce laws.[101] The unfavourable reaction this book received raises further questions of the extent to which Mary's anti-feminist activities linked to the views of American women and how this impacted on the reception of *Daphne* as a text to educate the general public about the dangers she considered from the break-down of the family through divorce. Similarly, Green highlighted the dangers of making divorce much easier to obtain because of the impact this would have on society; particularly the impact it would have for children, and lunatics [sic] and those who purely saw it as a way of ridding themselves of their obligations.[102] He argued that, in the case of children, divorce violated their rights and 'put the higher kinds of goodness beyond their reach'.[103] Green concluded that '[i]n some cases the best chance for them might seem to lie in the infidelities being condoned and an outward family peace re-established.'[104]

Mary's last published novel *Harvest* is set in the final years of the First World War and focuses on two young women, Rachel Henderson and Janet Leighton, who had met at an agricultural college.[105] They set up a successful farm using innovative and co-operative approaches with labourers and neighbours to negotiate and overcome the hardships brought about by the War. Rachel, the main protagonist, is secretly divorced from an abusive husband but Mary, again, based the divorce abroad: this time in Canada. As the non-Christian daughter of missionaries, Rachel not only commits adultery but divorces her drunken and abusive husband, who is 'without honour—or principle—or refinement—who presently seemed to me vile all through'.[106] Powerless to stop the events brought about by her ex-husband's behaviour, Rachel confesses her full adulterous past to Janet and her new American husband-to-be, Captain Ellesborough, when she is blackmailed for money and threatened with exposure. Mary defended Rachel's actions to her readers, portraying Rachel as having no viable alternative to her earlier unsuitable and ill-conceived marriage on account of her lack of education and prospects. Mary gave the impression that Rachel's adultery is almost condonable in the circumstances and mirrors Green's conclusion that 'the state has a limited capacity in securing retribution for violating the conditions within a marriage contract.'[107] The implications of this

[101] Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 95; Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 192; Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 304.
[102] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §242, §45.
[103] Ibid., §242.
[104] Ibid., §242.
[105] Mary wrote four war-time novels, *Missing*, *The War and Elizabeth*, *Harvest* and *Cousin Philip,* which was the last novel Mary wrote. *Harvest* was the last novel published (posthumously) because of the public's lack of interest in war-time fiction. Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, pp. 366-67.
[106] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Harvest* (London: Collins, 1920), p. 122.
[107] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §245.

are twofold. First, that Rachel is weak and has 'no judgment—not in moral things.'[108] Second, she is unable support herself financially without marriage. Rachel is denied her second marriage as she is murdered by her ex-husband, who then kills himself.

Mary moved her themes and plots into a much wider social setting in *Harvest*, reflecting her experiences among ordinary women and men as a commentator and journalist on the British War Effort around Britain, France and Belgium.[109] This novel was not considered to be among her best work and one reviewer, C. E. Lawrence, considered, 'it bears plain evidence of a weary and a driven mind'.[110] Despite the criticisms that were levelled at the authenticity of the colloquial language and working class characters, Lawrence considered that in all of her novels, Mary 'endeavoured to find the truth, and wherever she missed or misread it was due solely to her inability to get really free from the bounds of her environment'.[111] Taken together, the characters, themes and plots Mary explored in *Lady Rose's Daughter*, *Daphne* and *Harvest* suggest that she was deeply concerned about the far-reaching implications of the unequal laws governing marriage and divorce for women in society, which Green noted, stating that 'the husband's right to divorce from an unfaithful wife has been much more thoroughly recognised than the wife's to divorce from an unfaithful husband.'[112] As was the case with *Robert Elsmere,* Mary identified a topical issue that was causing concern within society and explored the consequences, portraying a broad range of women's perspectives.

Although the plots and characters in her novels were initially drawn from the upper classes of British society, Mary's widening social activities and experiences provided her with plots and characters from her social gatherings and travels, her rural locations and from history. Julie was a social outcast because her mother was not granted a divorce, whilst Daphne and Rachel were social outcasts because they were divorced. Julie, Daphne and Rachel represented the difficulties and social inequalities presented by their status as women with the social and legal confines of their societies. The unequal amount of social stigma that attached to and limited women around divorce was a dominant theme in all three of these novels. Mary addressed controversial issues that were rarely voiced by respectable women in print at that time and presented moral endings. She positioned the women in *Lady Rose's Daughter*, *Daphne* and *Harvest* as a product of an unequal society but also as flawed characters, whom Mary portrayed as putting their own self-interest above the needs of others in their societies. The

[108] Ward, *Harvest*, p. 124.
[109] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 289.
[110] C. E. Lawrence, "Review of Harvest,"*The Bookman*, (1920), (Accessed October, 5 2010) <http://www.proquest.co.uk/>.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §242.

underlying cautionary note traced through these novels is the moral responsibility of the individual to be the best person they can be for the benefit of their families and thus society, as Mary viewed the family unit was the foundation of society. The flawed characteristics Mary attributed to Julie, Daphne and Rachel are reminiscent of Green's portrayal of human beings striving to become better people against the uncertainties of what that entailed and 'no positive conception of what the ultimate perfection of the human spirit would be; what its life would be when all its capabilities were fully realised.'[113] The following section examines how Mary attempted to expand her capabilities as a popular social figure and author and the difficulties she experienced in applying the theory of Green's common good in practice through the larger-scale educational reforms she led.

Educating the Community

Mary's previous achievements as the orchestrator of Somerville Hall, together with her successes as a writer and novelist, equipped her with skills that she could employ for the further benefit of society. The previous chapter noted that together with the other founding members of the social settlement, University Hall, in London in 1890, Mary aimed to demonstrate that it was possible to put Green's theories, as conveyed through *Robert Elsmere*, into practice. Mary considered that the Settlement 'would provide a home for the new learning of a New Reformation, and a practical outlet for its enthusiasm of humanity.'[114] After the financial and critical success of *Robert Elsmere*, Mary closely resembled someone whom T. H. Green identified as having 'exceptional opportunity of directing their own pursuits, and who do not need to be in a hurry in their decisions' in contemplating how best to serve society.[115]

Green proposed that one of the essential questions to be asked of those participating and directing their actions towards the common good was 'how is this or that individual—circumstanced as he is, and endowed, physically and mentally, as he is—to take part in the work?'[116] Mary's experiences leading up to and establishing Somerville Hall gave her the credibility as an organiser and co-ordinator. It also demonstrated that she had the social contacts necessary to support the ventures she established. Janet Trevelyan reports that Mary was keen to return to the committee work that University Hall required of her, having not been involved in committees in London until after the success of *Robert Elsmere*.[117] The

[113] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §353.
[114] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 289.
[115] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §382.
[116] Ibid., §352.
[117] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 81.

meetings and administrative responsibilities Mary undertook within the Bloomsbury community as part of University Hall and the later organisations that she formed, added to her social profile and established her weekly gatherings as significant social events, attended by many leading social, artistic and political figures of her time.[118] Mary conducted and orchestrated much of the work at the settlements she founded through her familial roles and social networks. Unlike other leading women involved in social reform and action, such as Octavia Hill, Helen Bosanquet, Mary Carpenter and Margaret McMillan, Mary disassociated herself from much of the direct day-to-day work of the settlements, as Lewis discusses.[119]

Mary's plans for the transformation of a mostly unused building, University Hall, in London were devised over the course of several social gatherings and were much more extensive than her previous venture into improving higher education for women in Oxford. Mary's vision of the common good can be seen through the heavily focussed religious curriculum and the opportunities it provided for studying social work and discussing social problems.[120] This was not in line with the views of her fellow committee members, who had supported the venture or those of the local community, few of whom attended the activities and consequently Mary had to review the aims of University Hall as it did not succeed.[121] Neither the funders nor those that it was intended to serve fully subscribed to Mary's view concerning the importance of religious teaching and the Bible within the curriculum of the lectures and activities, designed towards the moral improvement of the community.[122]

Mary's vision for University Hall may have been, in theory, what she considered to be in the best interests of all and her motivations 'good' in terms of what Green considered as the pursuit of the common good. However, it did not reflect the desires for that particular community as they were not persuaded to subscribe to the spiritual element that Mary saw as vital for that community to progress. In his pamphlet describing the history of the Mary Ward Centre, Sutherland states that the Duke of Bedford, as leaseholder to University Hall, was furious when he gleaned from an advertising circular that the Settlement was to include a

[118] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 132. For further information on Mary's work as part of the history of Bloomsbury see: Ashton, *Victorian Bloomsbury*, pp. 282-304.
[119] Mary Carpenter was active in Prison Reform and Margaret McMillan established schools for the poor. See: Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools, for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders* (London,: C. Gilpin; etc., 1851). Margaret McMillan, *The Camp School* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1917). Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, pp. 9-10. For a more detailed discussion of how women in education utilised their networks consult: Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin, "Networks after Bourdieu: Women, Education and Politics from the 1890s to the 1920s," *History of Education Researcher* 80, No. November (2007).
[120] Brehony, "A "Socially Civilising Influence"? Play and the Urban "Degenerate"," p. 94.
[121] Dr James Drummond, Manchester College, Oxford; Reverend W. Copeland Bowie, Dr. Estlin Carpenter, Mr Frederick Nettlefold, the Dowager Countess Russell, Stopford Brooke, Lord Carlisle, Francis Power Cobbe, Dr Martineau and Lady Russell and the treasurer, Dr Blake Odgers, Q.C.
[122] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, p. 118.

boys' school and a playground on account of the noise, which would upset the residents in the immediate vicinity.[123] Sutherland suggests that Mary might have been forced to rethink the social work aims of the Settlement to appease the Duke of Bedford and concluded that this 'cramped the social mission of the new settlement disastrously.'[124] Rosemary Ashton cites this point from Sutherland's pamphlet in her work on Victorian Bloomsbury but Sutherland makes no mention of the Duke of Bedford's role in curbing the social work element of University Hall in his account of the Settlement in his biography of Mary.[125] Ashton describes how the provisions of the leases in Bloomsbury were complex and the divisions between the rich and poor in that area had been exacerbated by the removal of gates to enable freer movement of trades and traffic between streets, in what had historically been a residential area.[126]

Mary's aims and difficulties in setting up University Hall are illustrative of many of the difficulties that Green anticipated would arise in pursuing the common good. First, in achieving a consensus on what exactly the common good was for the whole of society and attempting to apply it to a fraction of the community. Second, because the whole project's future was dependent on securing the funds for its support among competing financial priorities within society. Third, the failure of the project reflects the tendency for private interests to take priority over the needs of the interests of the whole of society, demonstrating Mary's difficulty in ascertaining how to merge the difficulties and desires of her local community with the resources she had available. Mary underestimated the importance of what her supporters quickly recognised: that the local people were not sufficiently educated to appreciate or comprehend many of the teachings being offered in University Hall and so were unwilling and unable to participate. Green attempted to refute the Utilitarian philosophy arguments surrounding the view of pleasure and desire determining the actions of individuals.[127] Whilst Green did not believe that following the greatest pleasure and desire for the most equated to the true or ultimate good of society, Mary came to realise (by consenting to merge University Hall into Marchmont Hall) that it was much easier to implement social reform with the willing cooperation of those whom she sought to offer the opportunities which she considered would help them to live a better life. The failure of University Hall provided Mary with a measure of knowledge and an improved understanding of diverging interests of the local inhabitants of the community. This gave her a more informed perspective on which to base the activities and role of her subsequent educational reforms established in the Passmore Edwards Settlement

[123] Sutherland, *The Mary Ward Centre 1890-1990*, p. 10. For clarity, this was the 11th Duke of Bedford.
[124] Ibid., p. 10. The source of the quote is not noted.
[125] Ashton, *Victorian Bloomsbury*, p. 288.
[126] Ibid., p. 282.
[127] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §157-70.

and the organisations that it supported. This is illustrative of Green's key message of 'Summum Bonum', that a better society was possible.[128]

In her autobiography, Mary noted that she was disappointed but not undeterred by the rejection of the central role of religious instruction offered to the community through University Hall and stated that the Hall 'attached itself therefore to a growing movement.'[129] University Hall's off-shoot settlement, Marchmont Hall, was thriving in its social work, whilst the original settlement was struggling to attract audiences and Mary had to reconsider her objectives and priorities. She concluded the best way to gain the support of the local community was to satisfy the majority of residents' opinions on what the settlement should offer, rather than attempting to impose what she thought would be beneficial.[130] The conclusion Mary arrived at was that a new Settlement could best achieve this but that it would require a new building.[131] She stated her main aim was to 'break down the local and geographical barriers that separated rich from poor.'[132] Nigel Scotland considers that 'she was clearly driven by her social conscience combined with a strong sense of duty that was still informed by a residual liberal Christian theology.'[133] The last section of the chapter draws together the previous sections and examines how her sense of the common good developed through the Passmore Edwards Settlement.

Mary was encouraged by the success of the social aspects of Marchmont Hall and embarked on an ambitious plan to expand the activities that it offered. The renowned philanthropist, John Passmore Edwards, after some persuasion, agreed to fund the venture if a suitable site could be found.[134] Mary claimed that the Duke of Bedford agreed to provide the land and the lease for the building but Janet Trevelyan's biography suggests that the task was not as straightforward as Mary claimed.[135] A number of letters confirm that he imposed conditions and would withdraw his support without notice if they were not adhered to. For example, in a letter to Mary dated 21st January, 1907, he stipulated a list of things that he would not allow: no resident or warden conducting political affairs could use the name of the Passmore Edwards Settlement, there was to be no card playing on Sunday, no sandwich boards to be

[128] Ibid., §380.
[129] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 290.
[130] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*.
[131] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 291.
[132] Ibid., p. 290.
[133] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*, pp. 177-78.
[134] For further information on John Passmore Edwards' achievements see: Burrage, *J. Passmore Edwards, Philanthropist*.
[135] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 120-22. For an insight into how the building was designed see: Startup, "Women Architectural Patrons and the Shaping of an Arts and Crafts Culture, 1870-1914."

stored and the impartiallity of the Settlement was to be upheld at all cost.[136] Although Mary was able to draw on her social contacts for their support, in this case there were consequences and compromises made. John Passmore Edwards, similarly, offered to provide extra funding when Mary suggested that the Settlement be called after him.[137] This is replicated on a smaller scale in a letter Mary received from Charlotte Sidgwick. She stated that her Unitarian brother-in- law, Henry Sidgwick could only give Mary his anonymous donation of five pounds if the warden would be someone that he would consider appropriate.[138] Mary wrote extensively to both female and male friends, relatives and associates, as the ten page handwritten list compiled by Sutherland confirms.[139] These included Jowett, James Martineau, Lord Carlisle and Stopford Brooke, who were instrumental in the support they provided to establish the settlement.[140]

Mary set up a committee to run the Passmore Edwards Settlement, and ensured that the wide representation of the secular interests that she had created in University Hall was continued.[141] She also persuaded this committee to establish a sub-committee to fund a lectureship in the name of Benjamin Jowett, one of the aims of which was to '[t]o promote the study of the Bible and of the history of religion in the light of the best available results of criticism and research.'[142] The 'family' was the intended audience of these teachings and Janet Trevelyan's biography alludes to this, when she described how pleased her mother was that her vision had been realised and 'there sat the mothers and the fathers, with faces eager and expectant,…. yet this was not all: the children were at the gates.'[143]

The pamphlet advertising the activities being held at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in spring, 1889 demonstrates the extent to which Mary took on board the lessons she had learned from her previous ventures into social reform but it also shows that she did not give up on her 'big experiment' as her daughter claimed her mother believed it was.[144] The list of lectures and classes being offered demonstrate a wide selection of religious, social and political themes and events were offered in the Settlement, some free and some at a cost. A note appended to the section advertising literature readings being given by Mary, shows that

[136] Letter to MAW from the Duke of Bedford, dated 21st January, 1907, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA) P22.64, Box File 28/191.
[137] Letters between MAW and John Passmore Edwards, dated March-April, 1885, LMA P22.64, Box File 28/145
[138] Letter to MAW dated 22nd March, 1890, LMA P22.64, Box File 28/79. The first warden to be appointed was the Unitarian minister, Philip Wicksteed.
[139] Catalogue of MAW correspondents regarding the PES, Box File 28, including Sutherland's list.
[140] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 290.
[141] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 121.
[142] Ibid., p. 121.
[143] Ibid., p. 122.
[144] Ibid., p. 122. LMA P22.64, Box File 28/228. See appendix five.

she expected that only educated persons could attend her classes and lectures, as only school teachers and associates were to apply.[145] French lessons and literature were available, as were more nationalistic themed lectures, one set on 'The Rights of Englishmen' and another set on 'some French problems of the times'. As well as these more culturally-focussed lectures and classes, more vocational ones were also offered. Classes on botany, singing, first aid, domestic economy, current affairs and fitness made up the eleven categories offered in the spring curriculum of 1899. The vocational classes are divided on the basis of sex, and open separately but equally to men and women. Although not stated, the underlying assumption is that the women would be keenly interested in the domestic and craft sessions, and the request on the pamphlet advised all interested to send their names 'at once'. Whilst a certificate was available for the first aid training, no qualification is mentioned for the sewing and cookery sessions. The settlement also offered free concerts, readings, and lectures in conjunction with other societies and local organisations, such as the ethical society.[146] There were additional fee paying lectures on offer through the London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy on the subject of Kant's moral philosophy and this linked directly with Mary's interests. These were only open to teachers and university students.

The most successful part of the Passmore Edwards Settlement activities concerned the sessions and classes arranged for the local children.[147] The spring 1889 pamphlet shows that the Women's Work Committee (WWC) that Mary organised, on the basis of Mary Neal's earlier success at Marchmont Hall, provided reading, listening, play and exercise.[148] Janet Trevelyan maintained that her mother's ability to draw on the experience of the local community was a significant factor in enabling her mother to expand her educational vision. Her daughter claimed:

> she made friends with many of these teachers, especially with those from Manchester Street and Prospect Terrace Schools, for it was her way to establish natural human relations with every one with whom she came into contact.[149]

[145] Associates were the young male residents, who lived and worked in settlements to foster their own education and links with the community and also help educate the community. This idea was seen in Arnold Toynbee's settlement.
[146] I. D. MacKillop, *The British Ethical Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[147] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 193. See also: Amy Palmer, "Nursery Schools for the Few or the Many? Childhood, Education and the State in Mid-Twentieth-Century England," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 47, No. 1 (2011). See also: Brehony, "A "Socially Civilising Influence"? Play and the Urban "Degenerate"."
[148] LMA P22.64, Box File 28/228, appendix four. Mary Neal (CBE) was a Sister of Mercy and local church social worker whom Janet Trevelyan described as 'a teacher of genius', whose speciality was teaching children to play through music and dancing. For further information on her remarkable life and work see: The Mary Neal Project, "Mary Neal... An Undertold Story," (Accessed January 20, 2014) <http://maryneal.org/>.
[149] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 125.

Janet Trevelyan credits much of the success of the organised play activities to the WWC under the direction of Mary's personal assistant, Bessie Churcher, and Mary Neal.[150] Not all of the classes were divided according to sex but age differentials were stipulated. The account Janet Trevelyan gave of the first few story-telling sessions, explained that the greatest problem that the women overcame was the discipline of the children who came after school, as previously their only alternative was 'to drift aimlessly about the streets, often actually locked out from home…owing to the long hours worked by mother as well as father.'[151]

Mary's experience of establishing reforms and improving how they operated was also derived from the experience of others, including the famous American reformer, Jane Addams.[152] Jane Addams had first visited England in 1888, when she had spent time with Sidney Ball in Oxford and had learned of Green's philosophy and Toynbee Hall. She subsequently visited Toynbee Hall and claimed the principles of 'Back to the People' had been her inspiration for Hull-House.[153] Mary had visited Hull-House in Chicago during 1894 and seen first-hand how Jane Addams had successfully provided for the children in her local community.[154] This inspired Mary to establish the vacation schools that developed from the success of the WWC at the Passmore Edwards Settlement.[155] During a visit she made to England to recover from illness in May 1896, Jane Addams renewed Mary's acquaintance and went to hear one of Mary's lectures on the economic wrongs to the poor given in University Hall.[156] As Jane Lewis discussed, Mary's reforms were seen within the framework of individualism, moving to a more collectivist approach when Mary successfully campaigned for education for children through the insertion of the 'Mary Ward Clause' as it became known, in Fisher's Education Act of 1918.[157] It was:

> to provide for children attending a public elementary school, Vacation Schools, Play Centres, or means of recreation during their holidays or at such other times as the Local Education Authority may prescribe.[158]

[150] Trevelyan, *Evening Play Centres for Children*, p. 143; Trevelyan, *Two Stories*.
[151] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 125.
[152] For further information see: Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House, with Autobiographical Notes*, (New York: The Macmillan company, 1911), (Accessed January, 2014) <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/addams/hullhouse/hullhouse.html>; Jane Addams and Lillian D. Wald, *Forty Years at Hull-House; Being "Twenty Years at Hull-House" and "the Second Twenty Years at Hull-House"* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935).
[153] Addams,*Twenty Years at Hull-House, with Autobiographical Notes*.
[154] Startup, "Women Architectural Patrons and the Shaping of an Arts and Crafts Culture, 1870-1914," p. 104.
[155] Ibid., p. 104.
[156] Addams,*Twenty Years at Hull-House, with Autobiographical Notes*.
[157] The 'Clause' was originally adopted into the Education Bill of 1906, which failed. For a discussion of this see: Brehony, "A "Socially Civilising Influence"? Play and the Urban "Degenerate"."
[158] The text of Fisher's Education Act of 1918 can be accessed: Derek Gillard, "Education in England: A Brief History," (2011), (Accessed December, 2013) <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/pdfs/1918-education-act.pdf>.

Conclusion

Mary's activities reflect Green's proposition that enlightened citizens should educate those around them and this chapter has argued that Mary fulfilled these criteria in her efforts as a writer and a reformer.[159] As a married middle-class woman, many careers and opportunities were closed to her: she was born on the cusp of religious, social and political changes, many of which would expand the opportunities and possibilities for later women and this will be discussed in the following chapter. The sources examined in this chapter demonstrate that by combining her skills and capacities with her social connections, Mary built a career as a writer. She drew on, reinforced and adapted existing gendered strategies and views of Victorian women within the family unit to sustain her activities. Mary created the equivalent of a 'salon' and wrote about what she heard and learned from her social gatherings: in London, in her country retreats and at the houses of friends. Her travels to Europe, America and later Canada enabled her to expand her experiences and also the circulation of her books. She used these locations as devices to portray her concerns about the potential impact of changes to the divorce laws in Britain, which Green had claimed were limiting women's ability to contribute to their societies. The three novels discussed in this chapter reflect Green's view that divorce laws treated men and women differently and as a result were limiting the progression towards a moral society.[160] The discussion of the American divorce laws within *Daphne* interacted with Mary's growing unpopularity on account of her involvement with the anti-suffrage movement.

Mary employed many of the ideas and experiences she gained in her social life to underpin the educational reforms she pursued, drawing on the philosophical ideas of Green and those of his Oxford Master, Jowett, in conjunction with the more practical experiences she gained from the Barnetts, Mary Neal and Jane Addams. This was most successful when it was aimed at the families of the 'respectable' but poor inhabitants of Bloomsbury, who were largely deemed unable to tend to their children by the workers at University Hall. Mary held steadfast to the belief in non-denominational education but had to make compromises on the purely religious aims that University Hall adopted when it became clear that the local community did not share her vision of what she thought was an appropriate and beneficial education. From the examination of the activities and services on offer in the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Mary, in conjunction with the committee, applied a middle-class view of Victorian culture on the community.

[159] Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, §380.
[160] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*.

The chapter argued that, in the novels and projects examined in this chapter, Mary disseminated Green's ideas concerning the importance of the supportive role women played within the family unit. It demonstrated that, as an educator of Greenian ideas, Mary falls into the category of those, such as Arnold Toynbee, whom Green had inspired to engage in the improvement of their community through a life of active charity. Mary continually strove to pursue the common good but her attempts were not always welcomed by those whom she sought to educate. Her attempt to draw attention to the dangers of the divorce laws in *Daphne* resulted in her increasing unpopularity among American women readers, who took offence at her focus on the American legal system. Mary's initial attempts to put into practice what she viewed to be an appropriate education for the betterment of society were curtailed, as her vision of education did not correspond with the needs and desires of those whom she sought to educate. Despite this, Mary continued to pursue her vision of the common good. She realigned and extended the focus of her efforts to educate the public and the next chapter will explore how Mary used her social and political connections and experiences to educate the late-Victorian and Edwardian public in Britain and America about major political issues, debates and events during the latter parts of her life.

Chapter 6 – Education and Politics

> *As to the ideas I tried to embody in "Marcella," the clash of old and new, of the righteous impatience of the poor with the compunctions or the selfishness of the rich, the book owed a good deal to the founding of a Settlement in which I was concerned not long after the appearance of "Robert Elsmere"*[1]
>
> Mary

> *Political life seems no longer attractive, now that political ideas and power are disseminated among the mass, and the reason is recognised as belonging not to a ruling caste merely, but to all.*[2]
>
> Green

Introduction

This chapter considers the extent to which the political views and concerns that Mary conveyed to the general public adapted or diverged from T. H. Green's political philosophy. It explores how Mary's status and public persona as a famous writer and high-profile reformer provided her with the means and opportunity to impart her views concerning the political issues and debates that impacted the lives of British society. Unable to vote or hold any formal position in the governing of her country, the chapter analyses how Mary's writing and the reforms she supported and opposed enabled her to make significant contributions to the political issues and crises facing late-Victorian and Edwardian British society: socialism, the First World War and women's suffrage.[3] The issues to be examined include: the impact of the Ground Game laws, the debates surrounding the Factory Acts, the British War Effort and the opposition to female suffrage. The chapter applies Joan Scott's ideas concerning binary constructions of Victorian male and female political roles and normative concepts to consider whether Green's political philosophy exposes, explains or resolves the ambiguous position Mary exemplified as a Victorian middle-class woman engaging with political debates and issues.

The first section of the chapter discusses the relationship between Green's idealist philosophy, outlined in chapter three, and his political philosophy.[4] It provides an explanation of his

[1] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Marcella: Volume I*, Autograph Edition, vol. 5 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1910), Preface, p. xvii.
[2] Green, "An Estimate of the Value and Influence of Works of Fiction in Modern Times," p. 45.
[3] For an overview of how political events impacted women's lives in this period consult: Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*; Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*.
[4] Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*, p. 222. Green's political philosophy is extensive and for the purpose of this thesis, the discussion is necessarily limited to considering it through his view of 'positive' freedom. Other commentators have considered it from the perspective of his metaphysics, such as those in: Dimova-Cookson and Mander, *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*. Others, such as Colin Tyler have related it to discussions of Advanced Liberalism and Republicanism in: Tyler, "T.H. Green, Advanced Liberalism

concept of 'positive' freedom, how this related to the principles of equality and obligation within his political theory and briefly summarises the implications 'positive' freedom had for how he viewed the idea and role of the state. The second section examines Mary's fictional and non-fictional writing, tracing the extent to which Green's principles are reflected in the political concerns and views she conveys to her readers. It begins by examining her fictional work *Marcella* and its sequel *Sir George Tressady* alongside her preface to the collection of essays Beatrice Webb compiled in *The Case for the Factory Acts*. This section focuses on how Mary portrays the role of men and women within the state in relation to the perceived threat of socialism. It then considers how her war narratives, *England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend*[5] and *Towards the Goal* add a complicated layer to how Mary and her views on women's roles within the state can be viewed in relation to T. H Green's ideas.[6] The third section considers Mary's contradictory political stance as a leader of the anti-suffrage movement. It examines how Mary embraced and diverged from Green's political ideals in the petition she headed in support of the anti-suffrage campaign. The concluding paragraphs discuss how, as a middle-class woman, she exemplified but also exposed flaws in Green's political theory.

T. H. Green's Political Philosophy

Green's moral philosophy is understood to have formed the basis of his political theory, the purpose of which he states is 'to consider the moral function, or object, served by law, or by the system or rights and obligations which the state enforces, and, in so doing, to discover the true ground, or justification, for obedience.'[7] There are, however, differing interpretations and views among scholars about the correlation between Green's political theories and his moral philosophy.[8] The following two sections, which focus on Mary's writing and her reforming

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and the Reform Question 1865-1876." And also through liberal socialism in: Tyler, *Civil Society, Capitalism and the State: Part 2 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*. More generally, commentators have viewed his political theory within its historiographical context and the context of his other writings, such as Boucher, *The British Idealists*; Leighton, *The Greenian Moment: T. H. Green, Religion and Political Argument in Victorian Britain*; Melvin Richter, "T. H. Green and His Audience: Liberalism as a Surrogate Faith," *The Review of Politics* 18, No. 4 (1956); Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*.

[5] Henceforth this work is referred to as *England's Efforts.*

[6] There are numerous editions and reprints of these works, which are noted in: Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*. The editions cited in this thesis are the English first editions and also an American edition, which contains a different preface: Mrs Humphry Ward, *England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend* (London: Smith, Elder, 1916); Mrs Humphry Ward, *Towards the Goal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917); Mrs Humphry Ward, *England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend*, 4th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918).

[7] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, p. 29. This point is made in W. H. Fairbrother, *The Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green* (London: Methuen & Co, 1900), p. 9.

[8] Ben Wempe argues that Green's metaphysics play a central role in his political theory, see: Wempe, *T.H. Green's Theory of Positive Freedom: From Metaphysics to Political Theory*. For other discussions on this see: Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*, p. 222; Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 21; Leslie Armour, "Green's Idealism and the Metaphysics of Ethics," in *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*, eds. Maria Dimova-Cookson and W. J. Mander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 160.

activities, will provide an analysis of the wider implications and controversial aspects of Green's philosophical arguments in his political theory. It is important to emphasise, however, that Green had a key role in transforming the abstract concepts of idealism into a practical political theory.[9]

Green's political philosophy had embedded within it particular ideas of freedom, obligation and equality.[10] These interrelated ideas are explored throughout his *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* and also form the basis of his numerous public speeches, lectures and political writings. The most significant of these concepts is his perception of 'positive' freedom.[11] Green observed that there were two common understandings of freedom in respect of the individual in relation to others: the will to act freely and the freedom from others' actions.[12] He argued that a third understanding was necessary to account for the origin of our preferences and to account for how we have power over our will.[13] Green's view of freedom transgressed, markedly, from the existing liberal view of 'negative' freedom understood at the time, as freedom from restraints and compulsion.[14] He expressed his 'positive' view of freedom as the freedom to choose to act morally, first as 'a power by which each man exercises through the help or security given him by his fellow men, and which he in turn helps to secure for them'.[15] This is understood as the classical interpretation, and has the underlying emphasis on the social nature of freedom.[16] Green expanded his definition in a subsequent statement, claiming that freedom involved 'all members of human society alike to make the best of themselves'.[17] This raised the idea of equality within his principle of self-realisation. He further stated that 'positive' freedom was 'the liberation of the powers of all men equally for contributions to a common good', which illustrates his belief in equality and obligation.[18]

[9] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 13. For a fuller discussion of this see: Peter P. Nicholson, *The Political Philosophy of the British Idealists: Selected Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Dimova-Cookson and Mander, *T. H. Green: Ethics, Metaphysics, and Political Philosophy*.
[10] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 32.
[11] Ben Wempe claims that this is the most significant aspect and influential concept of his political theory and traces it to Hegel's work. Wempe, *T.H. Green's Theory of Positive Freedom: From Metaphysics to Political Theory*, p. 107.
[12] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §1, §8.
[13] Ibid., §18. This point is made in: Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 37.
[14] Ben Wempe considers that there are three interpretations to be taken from Green's discussion of positive freedom in: Green, "Lecture on 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract'." Wempe, *T.H. Green's Theory of Positive Freedom: From Metaphysics to Political Theory*, p. 111.
[15] Green, "Lecture on 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract'," p. 371.
[16] Wempe, *T.H. Green's Theory of Positive Freedom: From Metaphysics to Political Theory*, pp. 112-13.
[17] Green, "Lecture on 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract'," p. 372.
[18] Ibid., p. 372.

Freedom, equality and obligation and the common good were central components of Green's idea of the state.[19] He considered that 'a state is made a state by the functions which it fulfils of maintaining the rights of its members as a whole or a system, in such a way that none gains at the expense of another'.[20] He qualified that for a state to exist there must be some shared ideas and common values.[21] These ideas had far-reaching ramifications for the way the role of the state was viewed by politicians, amongst other aspects of society.[22] Matt Carter shows that the number of dichotomous statements within Green's political theory has resulted in his work being appropriated to defend opposing arguments about what can be claimed for Green's view of the role of the state.[23] Green considered that the primary function of a state was that it should intervene to support and maintain (but not create) the conditions that would enable people to fulfil their potential and be conducive to society as a whole, as it 'does not create rights, but gives fuller reality to rights already existing.'[24]

Politicians and commentators have based many of their arguments for or against state action on what they considered Green meant by 'intervention'.[25] Carter, for example, emphasises the moralising role of the state within Green's political theory, whilst Colin Tyler argues that this invites the presumption of lack of trust in the individual.[26] Tyler places a greater emphasis on Green's stance that the state should intervene rather than interfere to remove 'external hindrances' such as poor working conditions, which enable the self-development of the individual.[27] It is generally agreed, however, that welfare, the education system and democracy were key areas in which Green considered the state had a responsibility to maintain the conditions that would promote the well-being of all members of society.[28] However, there have also been differing propositions made for the forms and the extent of the interventions by social reformers, politicians and religious bodies.[29] The following two sections

[19] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 38.
[20] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §132. This point is made in: Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 27.
[21] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 30; Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §134.
[22] Richter, "T. H. Green and His Audience: Liberalism as a Surrogate Faith," p. 444; Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 13; Leighton, *The Greenian Moment: T. H. Green, Religion and Political Argument in Victorian Britain*, p. 84.
[23] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 39.
[24] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, §132.
[25] Tyler, *Civil Society, Capitalism and the State: Part 2 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*, p. 175.
[26] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*; Tyler, *The Metaphysics of Self-Realisation and Freedom: Part 1 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*.
[27] Tyler, *The Metaphysics of Self-Realisation and Freedom: Part 1 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*, pp. 4-5; Tyler, *Civil Society, Capitalism and the State: Part 2 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*, p. 175.
[28] Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 49; Tyler, *The Metaphysics of Self-Realisation and Freedom: Part 1 of the Liberal Socialism of Thomas Hill Green*, p. 8, p. 12.
[29] Melvin Richter gives an example of the Charitable Organisation Society, which opposed the break-up of the poor law, free school meals for poor children and state pensions based on Green's principles of individualism. For discussions on how Green's work has been appropriated for and against state intervention see also: Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*; Leighton, *The Greenian Moment: T. H. Green, Religion and Political*

will explore how Mary's writing and the reforms she supported reflect the complexity of the ideas that Green advocated in relation to the role of the state. Beginning with her portrayal of the issues surrounding the Ground Game laws and the Factory Acts in her novels and prefaces, the first section considers how Mary presented the arguments for and against state intervention in addressing the rising fear of socialism, to the public.

Women, Politics and the State

Marcella was first published in 1894 and became one of the most successful of Mary's social reform novels.[30] Beth Sutton-Ramspeck and Nicole B. Mellor state that at the time the novel was published it was viewed in relation to the trend of 'New Woman' novels which were closely aligned to socialism.[31] They argue that although some recent critics have been hesitant to view *Marcella* in this light, it contains many of the elements that support the original opinion of reviewers and commentators.[32] The main plot revolves around the Ground Game laws and the murder of a gamekeeper.[33] The novel and this incident were inspired by a real case which took place near the country residence, Stocks, in Aldbury which Mary leased and later bought.[34] Mary's discussion of the impact of the game laws and the introduction of the Ground Game Act of 1880 in rural communities tapped into the general public's concerns about rising incidences of violence emerging in the working classes.[35] The novel also highlighted the unequal distribution of wealth and property as a cause for rising socialism.[36]

The poverty of rural communities had, historically, provoked public sympathy for poachers and their families.[37] This included Green, who had advised the Agricultural Labourers' Union meeting in Oxford in October 1872 that the game laws were a great evil and induced temptation.[38] He clarified that this did not mean that the laws should be broken and warned that if these laws were abolished the poorest would suffer most because the 'idle gentlemen

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Argument in Victorian Britain; Richter, *The Politics of Conscience: T. H. Green and His Age*, p. 297; Darin R. Nesbitt and Elisabeth Trott, "Democratic Paradoxes: Thomas Hill Green on Democracy and Education," *Paideusis* 15, No. 2 (2006).

[30] For details on the reviews and editions published see: Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*. The most recent edition is a critical edition published in 2002. Sutton-Ramspeck and Mellor, *Marcella*.

[31] Sutton-Ramspeck and Mellor, *Marcella*, p. 21, p. 22.

[32] Ibid., pp. 22-23. Mary explores a variety of issues in the novel related to the behaviours, education and employment of women.

[33] Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 42.

[34] Ward, *Marcella: Volume I*, Introduction. 'Stocks' is located in Aldbury village, Hertfordshire. After being sold by Arnold Ward, the house and land have been a girls' finishing school, a 'Playboy' training school, a hotel and reverted back to a private house owned by the former racehorse trainer, Walter Swinburn.

[35] For a collection of primary sources published on this during the 1880s See: Mark Freeman, *The English Rural Poor, 1850-1914*, vol. 4, 5 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005).

[36] Sutton-Ramspeck and Mellor, *Marcella*, Introduction, pp. 17-19.

[37] M. J. Winstanley, & Osborne, H., "Rural and Urban Poaching in Victorian England," *Rural History* 17, No. 2 (2006).

[38] T. H. Green, "Speech to the Agricultural Labourers," in *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* ed. P. Nicholson (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1872), p. 240.

of the country would…. do more mischief than at present.'[39] The laws were amended through the Ground Game Act passed in 1880, with the intention that farmers would have the right to protect their crops from the damage caused by animals.[40] In effect, the Act legislated that wild animals were the property of all tenant farmers and not just landlords, and rendered gamekeepers as the protectors. This confirmed Green's prediction as it increased the numbers of people who could lawfully claim the game and further reduced the circumstances of the poorest members of the community, who had no land rights and had relied on this method of poaching for food.[41] Green advised the audience at this meeting and a later meeting in 1874 that the root cause of the rural communities' difficulties lay within laissez-faire policies, where 'the farmer would not give more than he was obliged'.[42] He assured the labourers that the only way to address this was to use the money and time they spent on alcohol to increase their political activity as an organised union within the community.[43]

Mary also sympathised with the plight of the poachers and their families and she expressed many of Green's sentiments concerning the way in which the game laws exacerbated poverty and discontent in rural communities.[44] In the case of the poachers whose plight had inspired her novel, Mary wrote to the Home Secretary to plead with him to intervene and reduce the severity of their sentence.[45] The Home Secretary refused: two of the men were hung and the third was sentenced to twenty years hard labour.[46]

Through the character of Marcella, Mary explored a range of political arguments, ideas and responses to the question of how individualist and collectivist state intervention could improve the lives of the poor within both rural and urban society. Through what can be viewed in terms of Green's concept of the journey of self-realisation, the novel charts the moral progress of Marcella Boyce. She begins as a headstrong but passionate and unhappy girl of reduced family circumstances and becomes an intelligent, compassionate and active member of her

[39] Ibid., p. 240.
[40] UK Legislation 1267 - Present, "The Ground Game Act 1880," (The National Archives), (Accessed November, 2013) <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/43-44/47/contents>.
[41] For discussion on the impact of this see J. H. Porter, "Tenant Right: Devonshire and the 1880 Ground Game Act," *The Agricultural History Review* 34, No. 2 (1986).
[42] Green, "Speech to the Agricultural Labourers."
[43] T. H. Green, "Speech to the Agricultural Labourers," in *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* ed. P. Nicholson (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1874); ibid.
[44] For a detailed review of attitudes to poaching and further references see: Winstanley, "Rural and Urban Poaching in Victorian England."
[45] Ward, *Marcella: Volume I*, Introduction.
[46] Anonymous, "The Murder of Gamekeeper,"*Birmingham Daily Post*, (1892), (Accessed November 13, 2013) <http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/infomark.do?action=interpret&docType=LTO&docLevel=FASCIMILE&prodId=BNCN&tabID=T012&type=multipage&version=1.0&source=gale&userGroupName=sid&docPage=article&docId=3201348217&contentSet=LTO>. In addition to this report, other responses are published as an appendix in: Sutton-Ramspeck and Mellor, *Marcella*.

community.[47] In the early stages of her life, Marcella comes to appreciate the ideas of a socialist political group in London called the Venturists (based on the Fabian Society)[48] and attempts to re-enact their collectivist ideas in her local rural community, one of which is to engineer a straw-plaiting co-operative where she could 'give them better teaching and better models'.[49] Marcella's individualist ideas are well meant but are marred by her need to be seen as a heroine and she admits that 'her whole aim, of course, should be to teach them to stand on their own feet, to know themselves as men. But naturally they would be grateful, they would let themselves be led.'[50] Stephen L. Gywnn remarks that 'Marcella is no doubt an angel, but she is an interfering angel.'[51]

In the novel, Marcella defends the poacher Jim Hurd when he murders the unsavoury gamekeeper, Westall, because she believes that it was unintentional and driven by his poverty. Marcella also comes to see the greater issues at stake for society; in a passionate debate with her husband-to-be, Aldous Raeburn, she claims that:

> [w]e can't carry reform by starving innocent people. But the question is, what are we to work towards? May n't we regard the game laws as one of the obvious crying abuses to be attacked first—in the great campaign!—the campaign which is to bring liberty and self-respect back to the country districts, and make the labourer feel himself as much of a man as the squire?[52]

As Marcella perceives Mrs Hurd to be of limited education and with no access to any means to defend Jim Hurd, she acts on Mrs Hurd's behalf to organise a petition and to engage the help of the Socialist, Mr Wharton, who is a member of the Venturist political group and a solicitor. When Hurd is found guilty and the death penalty is handed down, again Marcella intercedes on his wife's behalf and makes a plea to the landowners and employers (Aldous, and his grandfather, Lord Maxwell) to support his case. Marcella argues that law is made by men and on this basis they should consider the extenuating circumstances as well as the facts of the case, as men. Aldous and Lord Maxwell refuse to support her petition to the Home Secretary to have his sentence reduced because in their eyes it was impossible to 'decide a murder case on any other grounds whatever than those of law.'[53] Aldous mirrors many of the points Green made in his speech to the labourers in his defence of his position that individuals may not intervene to countermand the law:

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[47] Marcella's unhappy early life and schooling were drawn from Mary's experiences, whilst the older Marcella was based on her aunt, Jane Forster. Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p.18, p.30.
[48] This is based on the Fabian Society and Mary's association with Sidney and Beatrice Webb and George Wallas. Ward, *Marcella: Volume I*.
[49] Ibid., p. 121.
[50] Ibid., p. 122.
[51] Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 46.
[52] Ward, *Marcella: Volume I*, p. 256.
[53] Ibid., p. 479.

> however imperfect it may be, is sacred, not because it has been imposed upon us from without, but because it has grown up to what it is, out of our own best life—ours, yet not ours—the best proof we have, when we look back at it in the large, when we feel its work in ourselves of some diviner power than our own will—our best clue to what that power may be![54]

Hurd is eventually hung, and Marcella assumes a protective role over his widow and children, who have no means of supporting themselves. However, Mary showed that maternal reforming middle-class women's interventions were not always welcomed by the poor: a neighbour says of Mrs Hurd having Marcella's constant presence 'when that kind o' thing happens in the fambly it's bad enoof without havin' a lady trailin' about you all day long, so that you have to be mindin' yersel', an' thinkin' about givin' her a cheer, an' the like [sic].'[55] Eileen Yeo notes, 'empowering social motherhood made room for putative daughters to begin to stand on their own two feet', but it was often disempowering for the women to whom it was directed.[56] The implication of the novel is that Mary believed that the state should intervene in cases where poverty and resulting hunger had driven desperate men to commit acts of violence whilst poaching; she challenged the severity of the laws both in her novel and as a concerned new member of a rural community, as was Marcella. Although Mary recognised that the law should be obeyed as Marcella comes to realise the impact on the dead gamekeeper's family as well as the Hurd family, equally, Mary conveyed to readers that the poor were at a disadvantage within the law: first, because of their inability to access it and, second, because it prioritised the needs of those possessing private property. By drawing attention to middle-class women's social philanthropy in poor communities, Mary also highlighted the gender and class inequality within the law, as both her and Marcella's only political recourse as middle-class women is to petition men they knew to persuade them to intervene. Mary portrayed Mrs Hurd as an undereducated working-class woman to be at an even greater disadvantage in society.

Mary discussed the Tory and Conservative political viewpoints on state reforms through the landowners in the novel. She depicted the difference of views and approaches of their politics through both male and female characters. Frank Leven, Aldous's sister, Agneta, and Marcella's father, Richard Boyce, are totally opposed to any changes to land reforms, are in favour of the game laws and do not consider the condition of the poor to be their responsibility. Aldous Raeburn is portrayed as much more sympathetic to the tenants and workers conditions and in

[54] Ibid., p. 434.
[55] Ibid., p. 453.
[56] Yeo, "Some Contradictions of Social Motherhood," p. 131.

favour of gradual reform. Although Marcella agrees to marry Aldous, who is heir to a vast estate, she is at odds with his political views and his position as a landlord.

Whilst embarked on this course of action, Marcella is seduced by Mr Wharton when he comes to stay with the Boyce family during his campaign to be elected as the local Member of Parliament, as Raeburn's opponent. Wharton advocates that the main problem in the community is that:

> you won't fight—that's the worst of you; that's what makes all of us *sick* when we come down to talk to you. You won't spare twopence halfpenny a week from boozing—not you!—to subscribe to a union, and take the first little step towards filling your stomach and holding your heads up as free men.[57]

Marcella is so attracted to Mr Wharton and his views that she is unfaithful to Aldous. Political, moral and emotional thoughts are conflated and Marcella returns to London to help the poor by devoting herself to nursing. Through this, Marcella comes to appreciate the difference between acting through self-interest and acting for the benefit of others and is persuaded by the ideas of the intellectual socialist, Edward Hallin, who is Raeburn's closest friend. Mary based the character of Hallin on Green's pupil, Arnold Toynbee, and therefore it is possible to conclude that she was applying Green's philosophical and political ideas through Marcella's experiences of the difficulties in acting for the common good.

Marcella is deeply troubled by the poverty and poor living conditions in the slums in London. Mary cited a range of moral and political stances and proposals on how this can be addressed. She reinforced the point that although laws must be obeyed, they should also be challenged if they prioritise the rights of the rich at the expense of the poor. She did this by highlighting the need for the rich to become involved with the poor in order to gain a greater understanding of the conditions that the poor had to endure. An example of this is seen in Aldous Raeburn's description of the room of one of Marcella's patients, who is almost fatally attacked by her drunken husband, as:

> the miserable filthy garret with its begrimed and peeling wall-paper, its two or three broken chairs, its heap of rags across two boxes that served for a bed, its empty gin-bottles here and there—all the familiar, one might almost say conventionalised, signs of human ruin and damnation.[58]

Similar to the earlier episode in the novel concerning the murdered gamekeeper, Mary drew her readers' attention to the increasing violence within the poorest communities but this time,

[57] Ward, *Marcella: Volume I*, p. 331.
[58] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Marcella: Volume II*, Autograph Edition, vol. 6 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1910), p. 192.

highlighting the consequences when the problems of poverty are combined with excessive alcohol habits.[59] Through her depiction of an isolated incident of Marcella being injured at the scene of this crime whilst attempting to carry out her nursing duties, Mary conveyed her views concerning the potentially much larger social repercussions if the causes and effects of poverty are not addressed. In this case, Mary provided no defence of the husband's actions and described him as 'a wild beast in human shape, maddened apparently with drink, and splashed with blood.'[60]

Mary also demonstrated that the social problems of the poor could not be fully addressed by individualist efforts of a few middle-class nurses. Aldous Raeburn, who upon finding Marcella in the midst of this scene, decries her attempts to deal with the drunken husband as 'reckless philanthropy that could thus throw the finest and fragilest things of a poorly-furnished work into such a hopeless struggle with devildom.'[61] This suggests that Mary was in agreement with Green's ideas concerning the need for the state to intervene in order to curb the sale of alcohol, which he likened to the effects of slavery and described as 'a bondage whose victims were scarcely aware of it.'[62] Whilst Mary portrayed no sympathy for either the man or his alcoholism in *Marcella*, she highlighted the inability of the state to protect wives and children against the devastating consequences of the actions of husbands or fathers.

In the last paragraph to her introduction to the later autograph editions of *Marcella*, Mary alluded to the difficulty that women faced in contributing to political debates and she re-asserted her belief in the validity of the female perspective appearing in the form of a novel. As she stated, 'a man would have reported it differently. The woman's impression and the woman's report are no less vital, no less necessary to the utterance of a generation than the man's.'[63] Mary reflected that she had attempted to encompass a broad range of the 'forces' and 'philosophies' of her time in *Marcella* but that it had not pleased everyone.[64] She addressed two particular areas of criticisms the novel had attracted by stipulating that the work, (which covers almost nine hundred pages in two volumes) was beyond the reach of certain audiences for two reasons: it was too conservative to appeal to socialists and also that it was too reliant on 'Cairdian and Greenian idealism' for agnostic readers of a younger age.[65]

[59] Thesing and Pulsford note the increasing use of violence in relation to the female characters within Mary's novels. Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 10.
[60] Ward, *Marcella: Volume II*, p. 189.
[61] Ibid., p. 192.
[62] T. H. Green, "Speech to Oxford Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance," in *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* ed. P. Nicholson (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1875), p. 255.
[63] Ward, *Marcella: Volume I*, Introduction, p. xix.
[64] Ibid., Introduction, p. xix.
[65] Ibid., Introduction, p. xix.

Mary used *Marcella* as a means to comment on the rise of socialism. In using the 'social reforming heroine' Marcella, Mary reflected two of Green's main concerns regarding the working classes: the inability of relatively uneducated communities to improve their own lives, and also the inadequacy of existing philanthropic individualist approaches as a means of addressing the inequalities that stemmed from the unequal distribution of property.[66] Through *Marcella*, Mary also demonstrated that women were able to contribute to political reforms, debates and issues and although she did not directly challenge the unequal legal status of women, she exposed their disadvantage in accessing the law.

At the end of the second volume of the novel, Marcella marries Aldous Raeburn, who is now Lord Maxwell, and despite being opposed to many of his political views on the role that property owners and state should play in improving the lives of others, she agrees to support him. Mary resumed Marcella's story two years later in a sequel *Sir George Tressady* (1896), having now become Lady Maxwell and the wife of one of the foremost members of the government.[67] Marcella is again living and active in the London community but this time she is campaigning on behalf of the Parliamentary Reform Bill that her husband and the Government have proposed to the Factory Acts, which are the central theme of this novel.[68] Unlike the young Marcella of the previous novel, this older Marcella is more akin to the model of an enlightened citizen working for the common good, and Green saw as someone who can rise above self-interest in the interests of others. She has become a significant political and social figure in her own right and is much admired by the young Sir George Tressady, who is an inexperienced mine owner and politician. He is recruited by the leader of the Tory party, Lord Fontenoy, to fight against the amendments to the Factory Acts proposed in Lord Maxwell's Bill, which set to regulate the 'sweated trades',[69] the working pay and hours of employees and most controversially, '[t]he landlords were to be the policemen of the new Act.'[70] The landlords and factory owners' argument was that the proposed changes and labourers' strikes were making their mines, factories and estates uncompetitive in foreign markets and that this would render them unsustainable in the long term. This would result in losses of jobs and the

[66] The term 'reforming heroine' is employed in: Wilt, *Behind Her Times: Transition England in the Novels of Mary Arnold Ward*, p. 87.
[67] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Sir George Tressady: Volume I*, Autograph Edition, vol. 7 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910).
[68] The three main issues that campaigners for the extension of the Factory Acts argued for were: the regulation of all places of work, including the homes, minimum wages and limitation of work hours. Webb, *The Case for the Factory Acts*.
[69] These are detailed as tailoring, boot-finishing and shirt-making in men or women's homes. Ward, *Sir George Tressady: Volume I*, p. 323.
[70] Ibid., p. 325.

devastation of whole communities and, as Mary expressed, 'a time of hot war between masters and men was approaching.'[71]

Mary conveyed the animosity of the property owners against their workforce through Sir George's wife, Letty, who considers the striking men as 'troublesome fellows, who filled the village street when they ought to have been down in the pits—who were starving their own children no less than disturbing and curtailing the incomes of their betters.'[72] Sir George marries Letty, on a whim, and soon he is made to regret his haste as she is the re-cast version of his greedy and vain mother, who has no independent financial means and Mary described as 'absurdly extravagant, and would ruin Tressady if it went on.'[73] Mary portrayed the characters of Letty and Sir George's mother as women who have had little or no education and therefore no grasp or interest in politics as Mary is 'incapable of any serious interest in his [Sir George's] life.'[74] Letty marries for the social status and wealth that she mistakenly perceives she will attain as Lady Tressady, and cares only for the mines and property he owns in so much as satisfying her own selfish desires. She is the antithesis of the now enlightened Marcella, who is actively supporting workers to campaign for the extension of the Factory Acts but without the selfish motivations that Mary attributed to her in her first novel, *Marcella*.

Sir George becomes less convinced by his own political stance through his association with Marcella, and 'he was beginning to ask himself a number of questions about these labour disputes which, apparently, his co-employers did not ask themselves.'[75] He is eventually won over by Marcella and supports Maxwell's Bill, to the detriment of his own career and marriage. The scheme she devises, is to take him to meetings and for him to see the conditions of the poor because 'no true knowledge of this vast tragedy of labour perpetually acted in our midst, no rebellion of heart against conditions of life for other men they themselves would die a thousand time rather than accept.'[76] During one of the meetings, Marcella is attacked by a mob and Sir George comes to her assistance. As well as drawing attention to the danger, violence and intensity of the feelings among the working classes, Mary also highlighted some of the tactics, which were questionable, adopted by those campaigning against the reforms. One example of this is the description of a meeting arranged to agitate women and men who were gaining notoriety by testifying against state regulation. They claim that their family commitments or health would render them unable to compete for work and that they would

[71] Ibid., p. 54.
[72] Mrs Humphry Ward, *Sir George Tressady: Volume II*, Autograph Edition, vol. 8 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), p. 158.
[73] Ward, *Sir George Tressady: Volume I*, p. 40.
[74] Ibid., p. 79.
[75] Ibid., p. 411.
[76] Ibid., p. 299.

become destitute.[77] This meeting is engineered by Mr Watton, whose motives and morals are also called into question. He and his colleagues conspire to agitate the discontent of the working classes, showing 'the sort of rage that might be awakened among a degraded class of workers by proposals that seemed to threaten their immediate means of living.'[78]Factory owners and landlords employed this strategy to discredit those claiming mistreatment by showing them to be a 'mob' that had to be contained and not protected. The end of *Sir George Tressady* sees Letty reconciled to Marcella, whom she has previously blamed for ruining her husband's career. Sir George blames his own self-interest and states that 'he must go home and look after his own business. It was a folly ever to have attempted political life.'[79] Sir George is punished for his family's neglect and attitude towards the welfare of his workers as he is killed in a tragic explosion in his own mine; Mary exonerated him as he is the last man in the pit and dies saving his most fervent adversary and employee.

Mary carried out meticulous research for *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady* through her connections with the members of the Fabian Society.[80] In providing the background to the issues and debates surrounding the Factory Acts and reforms in her preface to *The Case for the Factory Acts*, Mary reflected several of the themes and plots within *Sir George Tressady*. Her preface also contained the message conveyed by Green's ideas of the collective and the labouring class's need for self-reliance in bringing about changes within the state much more directly. In a reflection of the history behind the introduction of the Factory Acts she observed that:

> the community for its own sake came to the aid of the workers by which it lived. Bit by bit it has built up the great code of law by which the child, the young person, and the woman are protected from their own weakness and necessity.[81]

By agreeing to write the preface to this work, Mary endorsed the extensions being proposed to the Factory Acts. The reasons she gave are also reminiscent of those suggested in Green's political philosophy, in that these laws were essential for the progress of society. She stated that they were 'the only hope of humanising our slums, and raising our degraded classes to a level of civilisation worthy of the nation and its destiny.'[82] Through her explanation of the tactics, arguments and issues surrounding the Bill in *Sir George Tressady*, Mary presented a

[77] Ibid., Chapter XIV.
[78] Ibid., p. 337.
[79] Ward, *Sir George Tressady: Volume II*, p. 146.
[80] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 115. Webb, *The Case for the Factory Acts*. The other members included Beatrice Webb's husband Sidney Webb, the economist Graham Wallas, and Richard Haldane who founded the London School of Economics. For further information on Beatrice Webb see: Barbara Caine, "Beatrice Webb and the 'Woman Question'," *History Workshop* No. 14 (1982): pp. 23-43.
[81] Mrs Humphry Ward, "Preface," in *The Case for the Factory Acts*, ed. Mrs Sidney Webb (London: Grant Richards, 1901), p. xv.
[82] Ibid., p. xvi.

detailed and knowledgeable summary of all sides of the political debates concerning the question of how the state could intervene to protect the masses but refrain from impinging on the liberty of individuals. This reflects Green's view of 'positive' freedom, which cannot 'be enjoyed by one man or one set of men at the cost of a loss of freedom to others.'[83] Like Green, however, Mary acknowledged the limitations of the laws as they stood and the problematical nature of state intervention in limiting the freedom of individuals as she instructs the reader 'to draw courage' and '[n]ot to be afraid of law.'[84] As in her novels, Mary's preface has an educative undertone and replicates the message within Green's speeches to council meetings and to the labourers; the pursuit of freedom and equality can only be addressed within the boundaries of law but all within society must be sufficiently equipped to be able to do this and without recourse to violence. Janet Trevelyan states of her mother: 'the rule of the mob did not attract her, especially if it were a female mob; she would have offered it, instead, its fill of work and service.'[85]

Mary's fictional depictions and her preface demonstrate that she was able to contribute to political debates, whilst suggesting that she believed that the most effective recourse women had in political matters was in a supportive role through indirect intervention. Her daughter claimed that 'her opinions were known and respected by her friends of whatever party, while her growing interest in and knowledge of social questions gave her an ever-increasing right to advocate them.'[86] This statement further problematises our understanding of how Mary saw freedom and equality in relation to women and politics but can be explained by Mary's belief that women and men were essentially different, with different capabilities. In *Marcella*, and *Sir George Tressady,* Mary demonstrated this in a variety of ways. These include: the frequency with which she portrays distaste and fear for middle-class women becoming involved with or subjected to violence, females' moralising influence over men and the working classes and the prominence of parliamentary political speeches being made by men, with women as bystanders and onlookers. There are certain commonalities attributable to Marcella and Sir George as they both learn to put self-interest aside in the interests of society and others. Their flaws are on a deeper level and due to their lack of education: Marcella has little formal education and Sir George has no understanding of his workers or business but they both become better people through their experiences and work to improve their communities by learning to act for the common good of society.

[83] Green, "Lecture on 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract'," pp. 370-71.
[84] Ward, "Preface," p. xvi.
[85] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 245.
[86] Ibid., p. 229.

The tensions Mary examined through the characters, plots and events depicted in her writing revolve around issues of equality and freedom and the role of the state in securing and maintaining them in balance. They also exemplify many of the difficulties presented by Green's concept of 'positive' freedom in an increasingly diverse and divided society; principles of equality which depended on a shared sense of community. Mary showed to her readers that in a society so divided by 'the question: Why should we have so much when those about us have so little?', the shared interests of society become so difficult to identify that it threatens the very being of the state.[87] Gwynn argues that Mary captures the 'irreconcilable' position of a Government which advocates individual freedom but simultaneously recognised the benefits of collectivist and socialist legislation.[88] Green was also caught in this dilemma, through the contradictory stance he occupied as a Liberal councillor and his staunch support of the temperance movement; the Liberal party were opposed to prohibition because it was seen as overzealous state intervention.[89] Many of Green's speeches and political activities made references to his belief in the need for stricter licensing laws and he often cited the ill effects of alcohol.[90] He used his deep-seated conviction in the evils of alcohol to illustrate his argument that excessive consumption of alcohol was limiting the ability of the underprivileged members of society and their capacity for self-reliance.[91]

Green defended and explained his position on the need for the Factory Acts, the Ground Game Acts and compulsory education for children most clearly in his speech concerning liberalism and freedom of contract.[92] He justified state interference as necessary to 'take the best security it can for the young citizens growing up in such health and with so much knowledge as is necessary for their real freedom.'[93] His view was that the fundamental argument concerning the intervention of the state was not over legislation but the fear of centralisation.[94] He argued that state intervention was necessary and 'the spirit of self-reliance and independence was not weakened by those acts.'[95] He urged the community in Oxford to unite to resolve their differences and difficulties concerning pay and conditions within organised unions but made no mention of women becoming involved in this way. He situated women's political activity

[87] Gwynn, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 52.
[88] Ibid., p. 51.
[89] Green was elected a Liberal councillor for Oxford in 1876 and again in 1879 and was in conflict with the election campaigns on three occasions. Nicholson, *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* Introduction, pp. xxiii-xxv.
[90] In addition to the speeches already noted see: Green's letters and speeches in Nicholson's additional writings; for example T. H. Green, "Letter to the Editor, Oxford Chronicle, 4th January," in *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* ed. P. Nicholson (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1873).
[91] Nicholson argues that Green's speeches were educational in tone rather than advocating his own policies. Nicholson, *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* Introduction, p. xxiii.
[92] Green, "Lecture on 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract'."
[93] Ibid., p. 375.
[94] Ibid., p. 374.
[95] Ibid., p. 386.

within the gendered areas of education, health and welfare, which he considered no less important or less equal to the roles of men in politics.

Mary's activities and roles during the First World War further complicate both how she saw her role within politics and the state and that of other women. Mary provided unquestioning support to the defence of the British Government's War Effort during the First World War through the propaganda letters published as *England's Effort: Six Letters to An American Friend* and *Towards the Goal*. Mary was well known to Theodore Roosevelt and in 1915 he invited her to write a series of letters that would enable Americans to 'visualize… the effort, the resolution and the self-sacrifice of the English men and women who are determined to see this war through.'[96] He viewed her as 'the woman who has influenced all those who speak and read English more profoundly than any other alive'.[97] On receiving this invitation, Mary persuaded Lord Grey and David Lloyd George to agree to her undertaking a five-week tour of the munitions factories and bases in Britain and Northern France.[98] During this time Mary, her daughter Dorothy Ward and her assistant Bessie Churcher recorded statistics, interviewed workers, troops and Generals to provide the background information for her descriptions of the difficulties that the British Troops had overcome.[99] Mary's remit was to assure America that the British Government was doing everything within its power to solve the labour problems and improve the organisation of supplies to the Front Line.[100]

The drafts of the first letters to be published were compiled collaboratively by all three women, overseen by Gilbert Parker and then censored.[101] Irrespective of this, the letters provide insights into Mary's views concerning the capacities of women and how she saw women's changing roles within the state as a result of the War.[102] The preface to the American edition of *England's Effort* was written by the American Ambassador serving in England, Joseph E. Choate. He drew attention to how Mary envisaged the future benefits of all types of women

[96] Roosevelt also wanted help to sway American opinion from Woodrow Wilson, who did not want to involve America in the war. Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, pp. 269-70. Unattributed, "Review of *England's Effort*,"*The Bookman*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), (Accessed July 20, 2010) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/3055112?accountid=27803>; Tylee, ""Munitions of the Mind": Travel Writing, Imperial Discourse and Great War Propaganda by Mrs. Humphry Ward," p. 173.
[97] Ward, *Towards the Goal*, Preface, p. vii. Although brief details of this appear in biographical accounts, a more expanded rendition of the events that led to this commission is provided in: Tylee, ""Munitions of the Mind": Travel Writing, Imperial Discourse and Great War Propaganda by Mrs. Humphry Ward."
[98] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 273.
[99] Ibid., pp. 271-87.
[100] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 350; Ward, *England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend*, Preface, p. v.
[101] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 352.
[102] For an insight into what women were achieving and their roles during the War see: Ruth Adam, *A Woman's Place: 1910-1975* (London: Persephone, 2000). Adam discusses the propaganda techniques, pamphlets etc designed to persuade women to contribute to the War Effort through their own work and as moralising influences on men to enlist. Mary is cited in relation to her anti-suffrage activity, on p.32.

working together with a common interest and 'the "common spirit" [that] inspires them all, and holds them all in just and equal relations.'[103] This commission was a highly unusual and privileged opportunity for Mary; as Janet Trevelyan noted it was 'an unheard of thing for a woman to visit the fleet in war-time'.[104] Mary reiterated this point several times during the letters, for example, during a visit to an intelligence department she claimed '[f]or a woman to be received here is an exception—perhaps may I say an honour—of which I am rather tremulously aware.'[105] Mary considered her commission to be, '[f]or a woman – a marvellous experience! I hope later on in these letters to describe some of its details, and some of the thoughts awakened by them in a woman's mind.'[106] In the author note attached to the later edition of *England's Effort,* Mary stated that 'it would be almost true to say that politics and affairs have been no less interesting to me than books.'[107] She listed both American and British political figures with whom she was closely associated and also claimed her familiarity with British and American political affairs through these relationships and contacts.[108] However, Mary couched her knowledge as 'qualifications' for the task she was undertaking and alluded to her past journalistic experience.[109] Mary made no reference to her role being political in producing these letters, nor did she associate her activities with the political framework or legislation of the state that underpinned society. Nonetheless, the subject matter and activities surrounding the commission and publication of the letters were politically motivated.

One of the main aims of *England's Effort* was to show the political unity within Britain, which Mary addressed in the second letter.[110] She did this in three ways: within the state, between the rich and the poor and between the sexes. First, she provided a detailed description of various members of the coalition Government and how they had collaborated across political parties to solve the logistical, practical and administrative problems, claiming '[t]he methods introduced in the twenty years before the war—conference and discussion—have practically settled all difficulties between employers and employed, in these parts at any rate, during this time of England's trial.'[111] Second, she advised her readers that David Lloyd George had made great progress within society in regard to reconciling the class and wealth disparity and its causes, which she terms as 'the three great foes' of drunkenness, employer and employee

[103] Ward, *England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend*, Preface, p. xvi.
[104] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 272.
[105] Ward, *Towards the Goal*, p. 25.
[106] Ward, *England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend*, p. 8.
[107] Ibid., p. 4.
[108] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[109] Ibid., p. 4.
[110] Ibid., pp. 30-57.
[111] Ibid., p. 53.

disputes and industrial conservatism.[112] She cited a report prepared by a 'leading citizen' which showed 'their labour conditions were excellent.'[113] Third, Mary addressed the fears of the 'dilution' of labour and the divisions between men and women in the workforces.[114] Mary conveyed this through the reported views of a male superintendent of a factory in relation to the female workforce: 'they're saving the country. They don't mind what they do. Hours? They work ten and a half, or with overtime, twelve hours a day, seven days a week.'[115]

Mary's portrayal of a cohesive and willing workforce in her letters contrasts with the warring perspective on the views and attitudes of women factory workers presented in *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady* discussed earlier. She was clear to point out the primary motivation for women's desire and aptitude for the work was for the good of their male relatives and the good of the country but that the women welcomed their economic independence. Mary stated, again through the 'clever and kindly' male superintendent, that 'the majority are very decidedly working from the point of view of doing something for their country… A great many of the fuse-women are earning for the first time.'[116] Mary ended this reported conversation with her observation that the economic and personal gains of the women would have long-term implications for the future role of women in society, '[o]ne's thoughts begin to follow out some of the possible social results of this national movement.'[117] An earlier comment shows that she was well aware of the repercussions their new-found independence would have as she stated that 'it is obvious that their introduction taps an immense reservoir of new labour, and equally obvious that once let in they are not going to be easily or wholly dislodged.'[118] She refuted anything that questioned the morals or behaviour of women, at one point quoting a director who says 'I know of no drunkenness among our women. I don't remember ever having seen a drunken woman round here'.[119] The optimism she exuded about the impact of War for the future of Britain in an earlier letter illustrates that a Greenian combination of theory and practice could unite all factions of society to progress under a shared vision of a better future for all. She hoped that:

> [n]ot only will the scientific intelligence, the general education, and the industrial plant of the nation have gained enormously, from this huge impetus of war; but men and women, employers and

[112] David Lloyd George (1863-1945) was the Liberal leader of the Coalition Government from 1916-1922. Ibid., pp. 31-33.
[113] Ibid., p. 53.
[114] This term was used to explain the way in which previously skilled jobs performed by trained men were divided into parts with the less skilled elements being sub-contracted and re-allocated to less skilled workers, i.e. women. Adam, *A Woman's Place: 1910-1975* p. 57.
[115] Ward, *England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend*, p. 41.
[116] Ibid., p. 73.
[117] Ibid., p. 73.
[118] Ibid., p. 34.
[119] Ibid., p. 83.

> employed, shaken perforce out of their old grooves, will look at each other surely with new eyes, in a world which has not been steeped for nothing in effort and sacrifice, in common griefs and a common passion of will.[120]

Towards the end of *Towards the Goal* Mary admitted that she had been over optimistic about the unity of the country and how easily the workforce would accept the changes that the War would bring. She acknowledged that there had been disputes and strikes among engineers, for example, but that they had been persuaded to return to work by 'public opinion among their own comrades, men and women, as by any Government' and these had not affected the Clyde or the Tyne munitions works.[121] Mary made no mention of any direct political action of women involved in this dispute or any other strikes, although she alluded to occasional episodes or minor incidences of unrest within the male workforce. As a work of War propaganda, references to social unrest were probably muted. Myra Ballie maintains that David Lloyd George was 'humiliated' by Glasgow Clydeside workers on Christmas Day in 1916 but she notes that the newspaper reports were prevented from reporting the scale or full details of this.[122] Baillie argues that Clydeside women and groups of women in the West of Scotland were beginning to join unions, the Clyde Workers Committee and the National Federation of Women Workers (NFWW).[123] Baillie also argues that women had been involved in strikes for a variety of reasons including: pay, housing, working conditions and welfare within textile and munitions factories.[124] From the comments Mary made about women persuading their male colleagues to return to work in her letters, as is discussed above, Mary did not acknowledge the increasing participation of women in labour disputes. Baillie reports that by January 1918, 4,000 women workers 'assembled to deplore the action of the 3,000 workmen who, they claimed, did not represent the views of the vast majority of Clyde workers.'[125]

When Green advocated the need for collective action within the labouring and working classes and encouraged unionisation, he did not include women in his discussion. The War not only

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[120] Ibid., p. 37.

[121] Ward, *Towards the Goal*, pp. 226-27. These disputes are significantly muted, as the histories of the militancy of Clydeside workers and the engineers' disputes show. For an example of militancy and Marxism in Clydeside see: Gary Girod, "'We Were Carrying on a Strike When We Ought to Have Been Making a Revolution': The Rise of Marxist Leaders in Glasgow During WWI and the Illusion of a Communist Workers' Republic in Scotland," *Voces Novae: Chapman University Historical Review* 2, No. 2 (2011).

[122] Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside: Women Munitions Workers in the West of Scotland During the First World War," MA (partial fulfilment), McMasters University, 2002, p. 9, p. 113.

[123] Ibid., pp. 113-14. The NFWW was formed in 1906 by Mary MacArthur and grew in response to the sweated trades. By 1914 it had 20,000 members and is credited as being the most successful attempt to unionise women. See: Mary Davis, "The National Federation of Women Workers,"*TUC History Online*, (Accessed November 30, 2013) <http://www.unionhistory.info/index.php>. For information on Mary Macarthur see: Angela V. John, "Macarthur , Mary Reid (1880–1921),"*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press,, 2004), (Accessed November 30, 2013) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30411>.

[124] Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside: Women Munitions Workers in the West of Scotland During the First World War," p. 42, pp. 89-90, p. 113, p. 14.

[125] Ibid., p. 111.

brought about a mass addition of women to the labour force, it also brought the working classes alongside the better educated and more organised middle classes, which Mary witnessed and reported on in her narratives. Changes in relation to women's employment were already well underway as working in factories had become the norm for girls and young unmarried women by 1911.[126] Mary saw the capabilities of women at first hand and acknowledged the inequality of their position in society. The final section of this chapter considers Mary's view of women's roles within the state by examining her justifications for opposing suffrage.

Woman, Suffrage and Equality

Mary's involvement with the anti-suffrage movement began in 1889 and continued until 1918, when the Representation of the People Bill was passed.[127] Her daughter's biography stated that Mary hated the 'anti-man feeling that ran through it [suffragism], and for the type of woman—the "New Woman" as she was called in the eighties—who gravitated towards its ranks.'[128] She further claimed that this issue did not particularly interest Mary but that she was drawn into it through her friendship with Frederic Harrison (1831–1923), James Knowles and Louise Creighton.[129] Julia Bush's study of anti-suffragism brings this into question as she argues that later correspondence suggests Mary was much more willing to participate than she or her daughter had admitted.[130] Mary agreed to head a petition of 'eminent women in the world of education, literature and public service'[131] and it was published in the *Nineteenth Century* in June 1889 as a statement setting out five main justifications for the opposition to women's suffrage and signed by 104 women.[132] The signatories to *An Appeal Against Female Suffrage*[133] included many of her female Oxford connections such as: Charlotte Green, Alice Green, Louise Creighton, Georgina Müller, Charlotte Toynbee and Lucy Soulsby.[134]

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[126] Peter N. Stearns, "Working-Class Women in Britain, 1840-1914," in *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1973), p. 109. Jane Lewis also provides information on both middle- and working-class women and work in: Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Division and Social Change*.

[127] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, Chapter XII, pp. 224-45. The final years of Mary's opposition to female suffrage are described in: Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.

[128] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 224.

[129] Ibid., Chapter XII, pp. 224-45. James Knowles was the editor of Contemporary *Review* and founded *Nineteenth Century*.

[130] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.

[131] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 224.

[132] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*. Consulted here in: Mrs Humphry Ward et al, "An Appeal against Female Suffrage," in *Before the Vote Was Won: Arguments for and against Women's Suffrage, 1864-1896*, ed. Jane Lewis (London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1889).

[133] Henceforth this work is referred to as *Appeal*.

[134] This point is made in: Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*, p. 148.

The first claim Mary made in the petition was that women by their inherent qualities were rendered different to men and therefore suited to political activities best realised thorough indirect means and within their communities. She stated 'they [women] already possess an influence on political matters fully proportioned to the possible share of women in the political activities of England.'[135] The second section asserted that women would be no less valuable as moralising citizens by working for the good of their communities and 'the machinery of political life…. would tend to blunt the special moral qualities of women, and so to lessen the national reserves of moral force.'[136] The third section warned of the dangers to the fabric of society that would result from changes to its structure because 'large numbers of [unmarried] women leading immoral lives will be franchised'.[137] The fourth section claimed that the masses were not in favour or prepared for suffrage being extended to women. It cautioned against any hasty alteration 'which involves a new principle of extraordinary range and significance, closely connected with the complicated problems of sex and family life.'[138] The final part of the *Appeal* claimed that legal injustices limiting women were best gained through influence over men but Mary reiterated that it was 'safer and wiser to trust to organisation and self-help on their own part…. than to the exercise of a political right which may easily bring women into direct and hasty conflict with men.'[139]

A series of replies were published by leading suffragists, countermanding the assertions made in the *Appeal* but Mary took much more interest in the social reforms in which she was involved for the first few years after the petition was circulated.[140] These activities included her work on the Joint Advisory Committee (JAC) and her continued support of the play centres, and invalid children's education.[141] She also distanced herself from the gendered suppositions of women and health pervading the debates surrounding female suffrage by refusing to corroborate claims made that suffragists suffered from hysteria.[142] The wider issue at stake concerned the 'woman question'.[143]

Mary was later was persuaded by Lord Cromer in July 1908, to organise and head the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League (WNASL) and, again, her daughter claimed that

[135] Mrs Humphry Ward et al, "An Appeal against Female Suffrage," p. 410.
[136] Ibid., p. 412.
[137] Ibid., p. 412.
[138] Ibid., p. 413.
[139] Ibid., p. 413.
[140] These came from Millicent Fawcett and Emilia Dilke (formally Mark Pattinson's wife). Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*, p. 153. Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 229.
[141] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 239. Janet Trevelyan referred to this as Joint Advisory Council of Members of Parliament and Women Social Workers, which Mary established in 1914, for the purpose of maintaining the NUWW as neutral in relation to the question of female-suffrage.
[142] Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain*, p. 68.
[143] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.

although Mary did not enjoy this she could not escape from what she thought was her duty.[144] Bush also notes that Mary would have preferred a much less formal approach to addressing the increasing pressure on the state to enfranchise women.[145] She argued that Mary was 'the most formidable of the anti-suffrage women…. but her anti-suffragism was divergent and vigorous enough to prove more of a problem than a support to the male leadership.'[146] Frederic Harrison had objected to the League on the same grounds that commentators later remark upon: Janet Trevelyan quoted '[i]t is to do the very thing that we are protesting against.'[147] Mary was also ridiculed for the interference and pressure she maintained over her son's political speeches and Parliamentary work, which she had primarily engineered on his behalf.[148] Mary remained immovable from her stance that men and women should work together, justifying that women could be different and supportive whilst being equal. She considered that this would benefit society as a whole. This is reinforced by Mary's resolve that women on both sides of the female suffrage debate continued to work together in the NUWW.[149]

The majority of the time and energy Mary expended within the NWASL and the later combined League of men and women was spent proposing her 'Forward Policy'. She viewed this approach to anti-suffrage as a positive and constructive alternative to suffrage rather than the negative approach of refuting the arguments of the suffragists.[150] However, her views on suffrage resulted in her growing unpopularity among women in Britain and marked the decline of her involvement with the campaign for women gaining access to Higher Education and she was forced to resign from the committee of Somerville Hall.[151] Sutherland's view is that she had no choice but to relinquish this role.[152]

It is clear in a speech Green gave at the opening of a Leicester girls' school, that he subscribed to the equal but different argument concerning the 'woman question' but viewed improving their education as 'an object in the highest degree political'.[153] The aim was to 'qualify them to fulfil as wisely and intelligently as possible the functions already assigned to them… to make them better sisters, better wives and mothers, better educators of their children, better

[144] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*.
[145] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*, p. 158.
[146] Ibid., p. 209.
[147] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 228.
[148] Peterson, *Victorian Heretic: Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere*, p. 7.
[149] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*, p. 61.
[150] Bush, "British Women's Anti-Suffragism and the Forward Policy, 1908-14."
[151] Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction: Writers, Publishers, Readers*, p. 65.
[152] Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian Pre-Eminent Edwardian*, p. 306.
[153] T. H. Green, "Education for Girls," in *Collected Works of T. H. Green: Additional Writings* ed. P. Nicholson (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1878), p. 326.

companions of men.'[154] He did not consider that giving women the vote was relevant, arguing that the existing social conditions warranted the establishment of a national system to improve women's education and that this was something no politicians would contend. A clear indication of Green's views of women's education is reflected in his speech to the girls' school, where he is reported to have said that 'in seeking to open to women the same educational advantages that were open to men, they did not seek to make them more like men, or seriously to alter the distribution of social functions as at present established between the sexes.'[155]

Conclusion

Through her efforts to educate the public about the major political issues, debates and events facing late-Victorian and Edwardian society, this chapter has argued that Mary conveyed many of the concerns, beliefs and views Green expressed in relation to need for society to unite in order to ensure the future progress of society. In the writing, reforms and anti-suffrage activities examined in this chapter, Mary reflected Green's views that it was the responsibility of the state to intervene in order to secure and maintain conditions that could ensure the liberty of the individual and the freedom of the masses for the greater good of British society. The novels, prefaces and reforms examined in this chapter, as well as her reasons for supporting the anti-suffrage campaign also illustrate that Mary subscribed to Green's view of the role of women within the state as different and supportive of men's roles. This may go some way to account for what have been previously presented as contradictions in Mary's activities and views of women within the realms of politics. This is most notable when viewing her activities as a War commentator for the Government alongside the continuing opposition she maintained against female suffrage. Mary's view of her political status as a woman mirrored her views on women and their roles as supportive of men within society. Her visits to the munitions factories during the War gave her an insight into the capabilities and skills of women from all class backgrounds, which she related to the public through the letters she published. The anecdotes she cited illustrated the extent to which the women were much more equal to men than she had previously considered possible. The impression she gave of women in these letters, however, suggests that she remained convinced of the ideas contained within Green's political speeches: that women's roles in the state were defined in relation to men.

[154] Ibid., p. 326.
[155] Ibid., p. 326.

Mary was deeply opposed to those women who resorted to violent and criminal actions and what she deemed as 'unwomanly' conduct to campaign for female suffrage movement. She also condemned those who accused suffragists of suffering from hysteria. Mary incorporated her views of what she thought appropriate behaviour for women in the novels examined in this chapter and they illustrate that she did not condone violence or criminal behaviour in any form. This suggests that although Mary subscribed to certain gendered associations of female behaviour she remained convinced, first, that the law should be upheld and, second, that women should play a supportive and moralising role within politics and thus ensure the unity of society rather than challenging the structure. This theme recurs in her discussions of the Ground Game laws, the Factory Acts, the War Effort and her opposition to female suffrage.

Mary's stance on female suffrage complicates her position as a woman who claimed no political authority and conceived herself as playing a supportive role to men. The outbreak of War disrupted constructions of late-Victorian and early-Edwardian femininity but empowered some women to unite as a group with shared interests. Mary's War letters both confirm and illustrate a deeper tension within Green's ideas of women and politics during the Edwardian era. Whilst the letters show that Mary understood women to have the same capacities as men, she did not convey the irresolvable difficulty within Green's political philosophy of a shared interest being able to unite society. Mary presented the view to America that British men and women from all backgrounds were united in their shared interests in support of the British War Effort. In practice, grievances, such as the effects of dilution, and the future roles of women in the workplace were causing divisions in society. The problematical issue for Green and his followers was that the masses always pose a threat to the stability and unity of a democratic society, as they have the greatest capacity to impact the direction society follows. Mary eventually acknowledged that the structure and direction of society would alter when women were able to vote and the cause for anti-suffragism ended in 1918. Her daughter, Janet, stated 'she [Mary] watched her country choose the opposite path without bitterness, and even with some degree of hope.'[156]

[156] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 245.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

This thesis developed from the ideas and tensions suggested by an article written by Fran Abrams in 2003 for the *Times Educational Supplement*, entitled 'Mary Quite Contrary'. The article was part of a section, 'History of Education' and the leader stated, '[d]espite being a fierce opponent of the Suffrage movement, Mary made remarkable breakthroughs in education for women and children in the early 20th century.'[1] On first reading of the article, questions arose concerning why such a famous and pioneering woman of her time would have been opposed to female suffrage. On further perusal of the article, more complex questions arose concerning how and why Mary spent so much of her life educating the public through the reforms she established and to what extent these activities impacted or informed her suffrage views and her writing. As the study of 'Mrs Humphry Ward' progressed, the dynamics between education, writing and reform and her connections with the philosophy of T. H. Green suggested that her life and work merited a fresh analysis.

Chapter one reviewed the main secondary literature within the three main areas in which Mary has been written about: biographical, literary and social reform and activism. This suggested the three broad but interrelated themes of the thesis: religion, society and politics. The chapter argued that education was both integral to and traceable throughout Mary's life and work. It presented the case that the diversity of her writing along with her activities within the reforms she supported can be drawn together by focussing on Mary as a Greenian educator. Biographical accounts have provided rich source material for the secondary literature in which Mary has appeared, as well as for this thesis. The main biographical studies of Mary's life are largely empirical studies, which present her life and work within the rhetoric of Victorianism. They demonstrate how many of Mary's practical activities were pioneering for a woman of her generation: for example the leading role she played in establishing higher education for women in Oxford through Somerville Hall, as the first examiner of modern languages at the Taylor Institute in Oxford, in realising the ideas of Green in her settlements and play centres in London and by supporting the British War Effort through the narratives she published from her travels to the Front Line during the First World War.

Mary's most notorious role was to head the campaign against suffrage for women, which, although pioneering, damaged her reputation among later generations of women for decades. This may account for the lack of in-depth feminist studies of Mary. It also may account for the frequency of studies which invoke stereotypes to portray her as an anti-feminist. Similarly,

[1] Fran Abrams, "Mary Quite Contrary," *Times Educational Supplement* October 10, 2003.

Mary is used to exemplify themes, for example, in Julia Bush's study of Imperialist women, or in Jane Lewis's works on sexual division and social change and women activists.[2] In some studies, such as in Nigel Scotland's work, Mary is used in a study within the settlements movement.[3] Bush's later work on anti-suffrage women provides a balanced and positive view of the reasons why Mary did not support suffrage, adding to the genre of writing in which women from the late-Victorian and Edwardian era have tended to be defined in terms of their stance concerning 'the vote'.[4]

The other recurring theme identified in the literature review was the frequency with which Green's name and religious philosophy are noted in connection with Mary's religious views, her religious novel *Robert Elsmere* and her activities as a reformer. The review of the main philosophical, biographical, historical and critical commentaries in relation to Green indicated that Mary had been cited just as often but in even less detail. The cumulative effect produced by the ways in which Mary has been portrayed is that her life and work have been fragmented and diluted and she is rarely viewed in terms of her commitment to the education of others as a writer and reformer. A review of the secondary literature within the field of histories of British education supported this view. In addition to this, the relatively few accounts which consider Mary's life and work within the context of education do not examine in any depth how Green's philosophy may have impacted on her views and actions as an educator.

The review of secondary literature demonstrated that studies of Mary's life and work have continued to be overshadowed by discussions of her stance on female suffrage and her achievements as an educator have received little attention within histories of education. The chapter demonstrated that in addition to this, Mary has not been given full consideration among the scholars, followers and pupils of Green or his philosophy. These conclusions prompted two interlinked research questions:

- How a more nuanced understanding of Mary can be gained by analysing the ways in which Mary expressed Green's philosophical ideas as a Greenian educator, through her writing and the reforms that she pioneered, supported and opposed?
- What can be claimed as distinctive about Mary as a Greenian educator?

The remainder of this final chapter summarises how the thesis has addressed these questions and considers how the methodology has facilitated the research. The concluding section suggests ways in which this study may stimulate further studies.

[2] Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*; Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Division and Social Change*; Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*.
[3] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian London*.
[4] Bush, *Women against the Vote: Female Anti-Suffragism in Britain*.

Chapter two drew on Joan Scott's work to explore how the underlying assumptions of the previous accounts of Mary's life and work have been written about and how methodologies, theories and developments in academic practices have contributed to the fragmentation and dilution of the significance of her life and work. The chapter argued that Mary exemplifies Scott's observations concerning the problematical nature of writing women into history.[5] Whilst Scott noted the extent to which feminist studies had been addressing the absence of women from mainstream history, she highlighted the dilemma of scholars in how they approach the category of 'women' in their work. Where Mary has been written about within the separate category of women's history, she has become adjacent to mainstream histories and when she has been incorporated within mainstream histories her significance has been dissipated and as a result she has mostly become obscured. In feminist accounts, which have tended to categorise women as either heroines or victims, she has been portrayed as an 'anti-woman'. Mary does not fit many of the concepts used in accounts which view Victorian women within the boundaries of particular theories, such as separate spheres, maternalism or dual conformity. This is due to her success as a writer and the ways in which she engaged in religious, social and political issues and debates during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period. Published and unpublished sources consulted in this study show that Mary's female relatives and assistants provided key support in her day-to-day activities as a writer and reformer and that these women were vital to her ability to negotiate many of the patriarchal structures of society. While theories employed in previous studies do not apply to specific aspects of her life and work, this thesis argues that they are too rigid, too simplistic or in some cases, too formulaic to facilitate a study of Mary as a Greenian educator.

Richard Aldrich's work suggests that traditional histories of education placed little emphasis on the broader aspects of education which take place outside of formal education.[6] This has not been conducive to recovering Mary as a Greenian educator and this is shown by her absence from traditional studies and sources that document or discuss histories of education during the late-Victorian and Edwardian era, such as those of Brian Simon or Harold Silver which do not consider women to any great extent.[7] The period boundaries of more recent studies, which have incorporated women within histories of education, have also served to exclude discussions of Mary, such as the work of Christina de Bellaigue and Mary Hilton.[8] Nor does

[5] Scott, "Women's History."
[6] Aldrich, "The Three Duties of the Historian of Education."
[7] Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870*; Silver, *Tradition and Higher Education*.
[8] de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867*; Mary Hilton, *Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain 1750-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Mary occupy space in accounts which discuss education in relation to the theories and philosophy of Green, such as those by Abby Porter Leland, Peter Gordon and John White, and David Watson.[9] The chapter concluded that by drawing on Scott's work, a gender history approach could address this gap by drawing together the disparate and fractured accounts of Mary's life and work to reposition Mary as a significant Greenian educator.

Chapter three demonstrated that Mary's early educational experiences predisposed her to the religious, social and political ideas that underpinned Green's life and his philosophy. His belief that Christianity should be inclusive and not approached from a dogmatic perspective enabled Mary to locate herself within the debates and issues concerning religious doubt and 'miracle', which were circulating in Oxford in the 1870s. The chapter demonstrated that despite the range of accounts that acknowledge Mary's significance as one of the first people to bring Green's theories to the notice of the public in a more easily-digestible form, she has not been considered as a student, pupil or scholar of Green in any of the studies consulted in this thesis. The chapter argued that Mary can be considered as a scholar of Green's work on the basis that she demonstrated a deep understanding of his philosophy and teachings. This is shown in the theoretical exposition of his ideas in her novels, her close friendship with both Green and his wife and the Balliol College fraternity and because she re-created his ideas of the common good through the educational reforms she pioneered and pursued.

The chapter suggested various reasons why Mary has been overlooked as a Greenian and concluded that they are reducible to being a woman. Mary did not attend any notable girls' colleges or schools and she did not benefit from the many opportunities open to later generations of middle- and working-class girls resulting from the educational changes led by her uncle, W. E. Forster and the Taunton commission, in which Green was active. Mary is thus not to be found in any large school archives or records or as part of any larger scale school histories, as is her teacher, Anne Jemima Clough, who went on to head Newnham College in Cambridge. No school books, records or accounts exist which might have been included as part of a study of formal schooling. Mary was not formally appointed a teacher, she did not serve as a headmistress, run a girls' school or serve on school boards. Therefore she is not included in accounts such as those by Joyce Goodman and Silvia Harrop or by Jane Martin who have examined formal school records.[10]

[9] Leland, *The Educational Theory and Practice of T. H. Green*; Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice*; Watson, "Idealism and Education: T. H. Green and the Education of the Middle Class."
[10] Goodman and Harrop, *Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England: Authoritative Women since 1880*; Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education 1800-1980*.

As a middle-class woman however, Mary remained outside of centrally organised education by the Anglican Church or the state on two levels. Initially she was unable to participate due to limitations out of her control: her gender, her father's fluctuating religious convictions and her social class. The significance of her achievements has been obscured from not only historians of education but also of Greenian studies. She was unable to enter Balliol College or any of the other Oxford Colleges on a formal basis, attain formal qualification or follow a career path through formal institutions, which Gordon and White illustrate were the general routes that Greenians were able to follow. Despite this, Mary maintained a life-long friendship with Green's wife after he died in 1882. She also remained in close contact with a great number of men and women whom she had known from her earlier days in Oxford, many of whom had connections with Balliol.[11] In this sense, Mary moved within the College fraternity as did her male relatives and predecessors and Green, who played such a large part in its history.[12]

Chapter four investigated how Mary embraced Green's ideas of Christianity to negotiate the barriers she faced in Oxford and how she used her religious knowledge to convey her views to the general public as a writer and a reformer. Mary's academic acumen, curiosity and tenacity enabled her to access, study and bring to the public's attention, the complex philosophical ideas being expressed by Green to his students and colleagues. His message was that Christianity could incorporate a broad range of perspectives and that it was resilient enough to withstand the questions being posed by science and historical criticism of the Bible.
As a single and later young married middle-class woman, Mary's gender simultaneously excluded and included her in the educational and religious structures within the Oxford community. She had limited access to formal religious training but through her association with male lecturers and the established reputation of her Arnold family connections within the University, she built an extensive knowledge around and through the religious debates concerning doubt and the nature of miracle. With access to Mark Pattinson, Jowett and the Bodleian librarian, Henry Coxe, this chapter showed that as a woman, Mary was able to explore, demonstrate and increase her intellectual capacity for languages, religion and research. Encouraged by these eminent scholars and the support they provided for Mary's early writing, her pamphlet *Unbelief and Sin* showed first, that she was able to identify how to galvanise public opinion using controversial topics in a semi-fictional format, second, that it contained many of the philosophical concepts that Green and his fellow sympathisers in the 'Circle of Doubt' and the Broad Church movement were expressing about the need to embrace all forms of Christianity and move away from dogmatic interpretations of the Bible. These

[11] See appendix two.
[12] This view is shared by the Balliol college archivist, Anna Sander (October, 2013).

ideas were deciphered and conveyed to the public in her best-selling novel *Robert Elsmere* and ultimately through this she spread Green's message in practice, not only to her readers in Britain but also in America. This is shown by the re-publication of *Unbelief and Sin* in America, and the readership and publication numbers of her novel.[13]

As a wife of the Oxford don, Humphry Ward, Mary's expanded social circle came to include many other Oxford University lecturers and students. This provided her with additional avenues through which she could express her ideas and pursue her education and ambitions. The examination of the Somerville College notebook, minutes and archives consulted in chapter four confirmed that Mary was heavily involved in the administration required to establish the College. The College embodied the sentiments of Green and his philosophy and he and his wife Charlotte were instrumental in the support that the venture attracted. Placing Mary's actions and activities as central to the success of Somerville illustrates the enactment of Green's concept of the common good. The sources examined in this study demonstrated the lengths to which Mary and her associates went, to ensure that women had access to a non-denominational higher education. The chapter also examined the extent to which Green's concepts of religious inclusivity were reflected in Mary's subsequent enactment of the common good, through her role in the establishment of University Hall social settlement. It argued that Mary embraced many of the ideas underpinning what Green understood as the common good. She refused to have the Settlement named after any particular Christian religious denomination. In other ways, as University Hall was never envisaged as a women's settlement, Mary's understanding of the inclusivity of Christianity did not extend to incorporate women as residents.

In the second part of chapter four, the published account of the address Mary gave to the Students' Guild of University Hall Settlement was compared with T. H Green's sermons, *The Witness of God* and *Faith*, which she had previously drawn on in *Robert Elsmere*.[14] The publication of the address in various forms illustrates that over a period of time in Britain and also in America, Mary continued to express Green's ideas of the history of Christianity and how and why the Christian religion should be taught. Her address followed a very similar format to Green's sermons. It highlighted that she made no specific mention of educating women in the address. The sources examined in this chapter reflect Green's ideas of women and Christianity within these sermons, as he did not specifically question the role or ideas of women within the Anglican Church, only those that related to men. The chapter concluded that although Mary

[13] Thesing and Pulsford, *Mrs Humphry Ward*.
[14] Green, *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons, Edited with an Introductory Notice by the Late Arnold Toynbee, M.A.*

appeared to subscribe to the concept of inclusivity within Christianity, the sources examined illustrate that she did not always act on this or convey it to the public a writer, reformer and public speaker and this appears to reflect the position Green adopted.

Chapter five explored how Mary, as a middle-class successful female writer, embodied, interpreted and conveyed the role Green attributed to women within society, (as expressed in *Lectures on the Principles Political Obligation*) in her writing and through the reforms with which she became involved.[15] Green considered a woman's life was best fulfilled as part of the family unit but he thought women had limitations placed on their ability to contribute to society due to their unequal treatment in law in comparison with men. In line with Scott's ideas of examining how women negotiated cultural constructs through relationships, the first part of this chapter examined Mary's social position: as a wife, mother, a professional writer, employer and family member. It argued that these roles, taken together, underpinned her ability to expand and maintain her position within society. The chapter also argued that as well as enabling her to build on the success of *Robert Elsmere*, the mutually reinforcing and expanding role of the female members of her household facilitated and sustained her writing and the commitments that arose from pursuing the common good via her settlements and play centres. An examination of Mary's novels, *Lady Rose's Daughter*, *Daphne* and *Harvest* demonstrated that Mary conveyed a similar message to her readers concerning the important role of women in society as part of the family, to that of Green.

In the works of fiction examined in chapter five, Mary was able to use class differentials and her knowledge of other countries, such as France and America, to explore in detail the future implications that might come about as a result of the relaxation of divorce laws, for men, women and society but all were within Westernised nations deemed civilised: Belgium, France, America and Canada. Through Julie, an illegitimate daughter born to Lady Rose in France in *Lady Rose's Daughter*, Mary demonstrated the reliance the aristocracy had on divorce and the other legal restrictions placed on women to maintain their social position and power. At the end of the novel Julie is re-instated within her perceived social class, through her marriage to an aristocrat. Both Julie and her husband Jacob are made to assume their roles as respective, dutiful wife and responsible landowner. In *Daphne*, the plot revolves around the divorce of an American woman from her husband using American laws. The marriage was based on financial and social gain and its dissolution has tragic consequences for the whole family as their child dies and Roger Barnes is left a broken man. In the third novel examined, *Harvest*, Rachel's divorce had taken place in Canada but was kept secret from everyone, until she is forced to

[15] Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*.

reveal it to her intended American husband, whom she meets whilst running a successful farm jointly owned with her friend Janet. Mary does not allow Rachel to remarry and the character is murdered by her drunken and violent ex-husband. The chapter argues that in all three novels, Mary directly and indirectly draws attention to the lack of education and opportunities for women outside the family and alludes to how this could be made possible to her readers: Julie had wanted to be a writer, Daphne had a wide knowledge of art and Rachel had a talent for business. In each case Mary stopped short of allowing her female characters to succeed in their career aspirations and prioritised, instead, the sanctity of marriage and the family in the upper and middle-classes for both men and women. This suggested that Mary used her novels to persuade the public of the need to maintain the existing structures of society and reinforce the Greenian belief that this was more important than the individual's happiness, reflecting Green's vision of what society should be aiming towards.

The final sections of chapter five resumed the discussion of University Hall and considered the successors to University Hall, Marchmont Hall and the Passmore Edwards Settlement. By focussing on the difficulties and compromises that Mary had to make so that she could continue to maintain and expand her vision of the common good, the chapter illustrated that her efforts exemplified many of the problems that Green envisaged were encompassed in pursuing the common good. Invariably, the decisions that Mary made are reducible to one main factor: who was contributing the most amount of money and their religious, social and political standpoint. Whilst Green's vision of the common good relied on educated Christian citizens putting the interests of others above their own, the chapter demonstrated that Mary found this problematical on two levels. First, because she did not have the independent means or time to invest in the various educational ventures she established and second, because in having to put her own beliefs concerning the religious content of curriculum to one side, she also had to limit the ways in which she could convey her message about the need for Christianity to embrace all members of society. This also meant Mary had to mediate between her interests and the interests of other parties involved. This further illustrates the difficulties Mary encountered in realising Green's vision of a better society. The local residents were not particularly interested in participating in the religious aspects of University Hall but regardless of the reasons for this or if Mary was prevented by the Duke of Bedford from providing education for local children in her earlier settlement, she shifted the focus of University Hall to the more successful Marchmont Hall. This was in tension with Green's views, as he sought to counteract the Utilitarian philosophy which advocated that the greatest pleasure should define the actions of the individual in pursuing the ultimate good for society.

Despite all subscribers having their own vested interests in the previous Settlements, the 1899 spring programme of events being offered in the Passmore Edwards Settlement demonstrated that Mary managed to maintain the essential spirit of Green's philosophy within this Settlement more easily than in the previous two ventures of University Hall and Marchmont Hall. The Passmore Edwards Settlement was open to all the local residents, and it provided a wide range of religious, social and political events, talks and lectures. A third level of interests complicated Mary's pursuit of the common good by way of the interests and motivations for which the funders of the Passmore Edwards Settlement sought to cater. This is a key tension within the concept of the common good because the greater the economic means of the individual, the more power they can exert in pursuing their vision of what a better society should be. This is illustrated in The Duke of Bedford's tight control over what Mary and the committee were able to offer in the form of education to the residents in the localities of both University Hall and the Passmore Edwards Settlement. Ultimately, the local community retained the power not to participate in the Settlements. Mary believed, however, that organised children's education and care was central to the improvement of society and that the role of women was a key factor in creating the conditions, environments and activities in the play centres that she pioneered. The chapter concluded that in the novels and reforms examined in this chapter, Mary reflects and conveys to the public the gendered view that women's roles in society were defined in relation to men: supportive but equal within the existing structures of society. This view of the importance of women's roles as moral agents informed her view of the common good and ultimately, her vision of how society could be improved.

Chapter six argued that Mary contributed to the education of the general public through the political debates and issues about which she wrote, supported and opposed. It examined the extent to which the political ideas, concepts and beliefs that she conveyed reflected the ideas contained within Green's political philosophy. It then considered how viewing her contribution within the realms of politics is complicated by her political stance concerning the emancipation of women. The first part of the chapter examined the political views that Mary conveyed to her readers about the role of women in politics through her novels *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady*. The novels showed that Mary was in agreement, in theory, with Green's view of a united society being formed from a set of shared interests subscribed to by the rich and the poor.

The chapter additionally argued that Mary's novels also conveyed the hope expressed in Green's vision for the future, as outlined in chapter three, through his view of 'positive'

freedom and the freedom to choose actions as opposed to being free from actions: the endings of *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady* reinforced the notion that progress in society required the intervention of the state to secure the measures of freedom and equality that would allow citizens to help themselves for the future benefit of all. Through a comparison of ways Mary ascribed political roles to the main male and female protagonists in *Marcella* and *Sir George Tressady*, the chapter showed that Mary constructed women's roles as supplementary but integral to the unity of society within the existing structures. Mary did not portray women's activities to be political. Rather, the power that she invested in Marcella over her husband, her friends, and Sir George in the two novels portrays women's power to be significant but indirect. The chapter concluded that Mary upheld the view that women's different but equal qualities were central to the moral progression of society, but her views and activities have been obscured and fallen between the boundaries of what has been considered social and political.

The later views that Mary conveyed to the public concerning women's political roles in society to the public, as a commissioned War reporter by the British Government, support the argument that Mary's views on the 'woman question' were resolute. Through her works of propaganda, *England's Effort* and *Towards the Goal*, Mary told the public what the Government wanted them to know. A few of the comments in her letters indicate that she believed that the knowledge and experience gained in the War would alter the structure of society substantially. This highlighted the difficulty in pursuing the visions presented by Green's idealist political philosophy. First, because the demographics of British society changed so rapidly as a result of the War, notions that women would be content to play the supportive role that the existing patriarchal structured required, were disrupted and, second, that as a combined force women would have a much greater say in the state and society. Mary hoped that her society would be able to move forward after the War. This mirrors the emphasis of Green's moral philosophy: that educated Christian people had to have faith and belief that society could be better and work towards an unknowable future. Mary creates tensions in maintaining her opposition to women being given the vote whilst simultaneously being engaged in a political role by reporting on the British War Effort. The chapter argued that these can be held together within Green's views that women could best pursue the common good as supplementary and supportive of men, uniting society through shared interests and enabling progression towards a better society.

The final paragraphs of chapter six reflected on the similarly contradictory position Green occupied as a Liberal councillor who believed that the state had a right, and was justified, to

intervene in the interests of preserving the unity of society for the benefit and progress of all. He spoke frequently to local groups in his community of his view of 'positive' freedom; that to combat oppression men had to be self-reliant and unite against their oppressors in order to help themselves but within the boundaries of the law. He believed women had a supportive role in politics but his early death precludes any further direct comparison with events resulting from the First World War. Chapter six concluded that as an educator of Greenian ideals and beliefs, Mary conveyed her views of women to the public as part of her vision for the future progress of society. This vision was that communities would be a cohesive body of educated people, united with shared interests working towards a better society within Christianity.

Taken together, the arguments presented in this thesis illustrate three main distinctive elements and qualities that Mary brought to society as a Greenian educator: her sex, her Arnoldian connections and her ability as a writer. As a middle-class woman, Mary developed alternative strategies of drawing on people, books and her experiences educate herself and to educate the public about the need for Christianity to broaden its appeal and its practices within society, if it were to continue to remain relevant. As a result of the public interest in Green's ideas, generated by *Robert Elsmere*, Mary recognised that fiction was a valuable tool for a woman in terms of evaluating and exploring how or if theory could be translated into practice. This mirrors Green's view that '[i]t is the twofold characteristic of universal intelligibility and indiscriminate adoption of materials, that gives the novel its place as the great reformer and leveller of our time.'[16] On the basis of the financial rewards, social and critical acclaim Mary received as a result of *Robert Elsmere*, her career as a novelist took shape and she used her informal social gatherings to replenish and research ideas for her novels. The social and political relationships she forged enabled her to realise Green's theory in practice by establishing herself within the settlement movement in Bloomsbury, in London. She demonstrated that women were equally able to follow Green's example as an enlightened Christian citizen, whom he asserted could find God by pursuing the common good through active charity. Mary taught, lectured, wrote and campaigned on behalf of the settlements she pioneered, conveying Green's message and teachings that faith and belief in Christianity would enable society to progress. As Mary's reputation grew, she turned her ability as a writer and social commentator to expressing her views on political issues and debates, in Britain and in America. The sources examined in this study demonstrate that Mary continued to transmit Green's idealist vision that Christian men and women had to work together through their shared interests, towards a better society. She also subscribed to the view that the state had

[16] Green, "An Estimate of the Value and Influence of Works of Fiction in Modern Times," p. 41.

the responsibility of maintaining the conditions under which individuals were free to improve their own lives. In pursuing the common good in terms of what Green outlined as an educated Christian citizen, Mary simultaneously disrupted, reinforced and reproduced cultural constructions of women as a Greenian educator.

As the study developed and the research questions were being formulated, various avenues of inquiry presented themselves worthy of inclusion in the thesis. The breadth and scope of Mary's life and work as a writer and reformer present an array of possibilities in terms of Green's philosophy, where education is the process whereby society progresses as a result of the individual working towards a better moral life through their actions in improving the lives and morals of others. A microscopic approach to examining one aspect of Mary's lesser known contributions to education, such as her work as an examiner in modern languages at the Taylor Institute or her links with Jane Addams would have been an alternative strategy. Whilst this would add to the existing body of work of, for example, Janet Howarth, Julia Bush and Kevin Brehony, it would not have addressed the research questions in depth.[17] It would also have been possible to pursue a study which focused on how Mary's views on women's education manifested within her novels using the lens of feminism but this would have served to further dissect and fragment the wider significance of Mary as a Greenian educator.

Using Scott's work has allowed for multiple interpretations and investigations of gendered binary constructions within cultural symbols of Victorian womanhood and masculinities. This raised questions concerning the feminist theories that focus on one area of Mary's life without consideration of the others and served to fragment and stereotype her in histories of women. By taking a largely chronological approach across the religious, social and political aspects of her life, this further allowed the thesis to take a less polarised and more synthesised perspective of how Mary exploited, disrupted and redefined power relations over the course of her life, whilst acknowledging that she was largely complicit with male dominated power structures. The methodology has facilitated the selection of a broad range of primary and secondary sources and enabled them to be compared and contrasted across genres and disciplines. Consequently, this has permitted a more rounded exploration of her life and work as a Greenian educator.

There are many aspects to Mary's life and work that merit further research into how she conceived, utilised and conveyed the ideas and concepts that underpin Green's philosophy to

[17] Howarth, "'In Oxford But... Not of Oxford': The Women's Colleges."; Brehony, "A "Socially Civilising Influence"? Play and the Urban "Degenerate"."; Bush, "'Special Strengths for Their Own Special Duties': Women, Higher Education and Gender Conservatism in Late Victorian Britain."

the public. Examples of this include the extent to which her publishers impacted on the topics that she wrote about and the tensions between the economic and moral decisions she made through the social reforms she pioneered in Britain. Other areas that would merit more detailed analysis were the Acts and reforms in which she did not participate to any great extent, such as the Contagious Disease Act or the campaigns and protests surrounding the Boer War.[18] Further analysis of how Mary constructed her autobiography would include a discussion of the men and women whom Mary consorted with in the course of her life as a writer and reformer but do not feature in her autobiography.[19] For example, Mary's daughter noted that her mother researched the details of Fabianism for *Marcella* with the assistance of Beatrice Webb and George Wallas.[20] She records that Wallas came to stay at the Ward's country estate, Stocks, and that he helped with Mary's plans for the invalid children's schools in London but he is not mentioned in Mary's autobiography.[21]

There are many additional questions that could have been asked about Mary's life and work in relation to Green. For example, what were the consequences of the fall from favour of German styled philosophy? To what extent did Imperialism impact the ideas contained in T. H Green and Mary's work? How did Arnoldian ideas of education intersect with Green's idealist philosophy? The range of primary sources available suggests a variety of approaches to topics, with the potential to stimulate and encourage debate around how women accessed, interpreted and disseminated philosophical ideas as writers and reformers and how they shaped education. Greenian ideas of knowledge and progress were integral and inseparable elements within Mary's vision of education. Her faith and belief that progress was possible through individual and joint endeavour as a society is illustrated in her reflection as a writer:

> For progress surely, whether in men or nations, means only a richer knowledge; the more impressions therefore on the human intelligence that we can seize and record, the more sensitive becomes that intelligence itself.[22]

[18] Mary and her father disagreed 'profoundly' about this as well as most other subjects. Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 174.
[19] For example, the Bosanquets are not mentioned and this is particularly surprising because Bernard Bosanquet, like Humphry Ward and Green, was a Balliol scholar between 1866 and 1870. Green was Bosanquet's mentor. Florence Nightingale and Sir Henry Taylor are only mentioned once despite evidence that Mary corresponded with them in a literary and fund raising capacity, Bodleian Library Special Collections and Western Manuscripts: Letter in the collection of Elizabeth Bosanquet's letters ,MS.Autogr.C.25 Fols. 250/51, and also MS.Eng.d.16; fol. 132, respectively. Helen Bosanquet features alongside Mary and Beatrice Webb in Jane Lewis's study of five women social reformers, the other two being Octavia Hill and Violet Markham. Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*.
[20] Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs Humphry Ward*, p. 115.
[21] Ibid., p. 132, p. 34, p. 41.
[22] Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 2.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – MAW Main Works

(Texts consulted in the thesis are in bold and American titles included in brackets)

Biographical/Autobiographical

- ***William Thomas Arnold***, (With C. E. Montague) Manchester: University Press, 1907.
- ***A Writer's Recollections*****, London: Collins, 1918.**

Religious Theme

- ***Unbelief and Sin: A Protest Addressed to Those Who Attended the Bampton Lecture of Sunday,* Oxford,1881 (Pamphlet)**
- *Amiel's Journal, the Journal Intime of Henri-Frédéric Amiel,* London: Macmillan and Co., 1885. (Translation)
- ***New Forms of Christian Education: An Address to the University Hall Guild (1892)*****. New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1898. (Speech)**
- ***Robert Elsmere*****, London: Smith, Elder, 1888. (Novel)**
- **Unbelief and Sin: A Protest Addressed to Those Who Attended the Bampton Lecture of Sunday*. North American Review* February, (1889): 161-79. (Including an introduction)**
- *The History of David Grieve*, London: Smith, Elder, 1892. (Novel)
- *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, 2 vols., London: Smith, Elder, 1898. (Novel)
- *The Case of Richard Meynell*, London: Smith, Elder, 1911. (Novel)

Social Theme

- *Milly and Olly: Or, a Holiday among the Mountains. London:* Macmillan, 1881.
- *Miss Bretherton,* London: Smith, Elder, 1884. (Novel)
- *Eleanor*, 2 vols., London: Smith, Elder, 1900. (Novel)
- ***Lady Rose's Daughter*****, London: Smith, Elder, 1903. (Novel)**
- *The Marriage of William Ashe*, 2 vols., London: Smith, Elder, 1905. (Novel)
- *Fenwick's Career*, London: Smith, Elder, 1906. (Novel)
- *Diana Mallory*, (*The testing of Diana Mallory*) London: Smith, Elder, 1908. (Novel)
- ***Daphne (Marriage á La Mode).* London: Cassell, 1909. (Novel)**
- *Canadian Born (Lady Merton, colonist)*, London: Smith, Elder, 1910. (Novel)
- *The Mating of Lydia*, London: Smith, Elder 1913. (Novel)
- *The Coryston Family*, London: Smith, Elder, 1913. (Novel)
- *Eltham House*, London: Smith, Elder, 1915. (Novel)
- *A Great Success*, London: Smith, Elder, 1916. (Novel)
- *Lady Connie,* London: Smith, Elder, 1916. (Novel)
- *Cousin Philip (Helena),* London: Collins, 1919. (Novel)
- ***Harvest*****. London: Collins, 1920. (Novel)**

Political Theme

- **"An Appeal against Female Suffrage." *Nineteenth Century*, 1889 (Petition)**
- ***Marcella*****. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1894. (Novel)**
- *The Story of Bessie Costrell*. London: Smith, Elder, 1895. (Novel)
- ***Sir George Tressady*****. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1896. (Novel)**
- *Delia Blanchflower*. London: Ward, Lock, 1915. (Novel)
- ***England's Effort: Six Letters to an American Friend.* London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1916. (War Letters)**
- *Missing*. London: Collins, 1917. (Novel)
- ***Towards the Goal*****. London: Murray, 1917. (War Letters)**

Appendix 1 – Continued

- *The War and Elizabeth*. London: Collins, 1918. (Novel)
- *Fields of Victory*. London: Hutchinson, 1919. (War Letters)

Appendix 2 – List of Main People in the life of MAW and Referred to in Thesis

(Compiled with reference to Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and the work of John Sutherland and Janet Trevelyan)

Family Tree of Mrs Mary Humphry Ward (1851-1920)

Thomas Arnold of Rugby = Mary Penrose
(1795-1842) (1791-1873)

Jane (1821-99) = W. E. Forster
Matthew (1822-88) = Frances Wightman
Thomas (1823-1900) =Julia Sorell (1826-88) (=Josephine Benison)
Mary (1825-88)
Edward (1826-78)
William Delafield (1828-59) = Francis Hodgson
Susanna (1830-1911) = J Cropper
Frances (1833-1923)
Walter (1835-93)

MARY AUGUSTA (1851-1920) = Thomas Humphry Ward (1845-1926)
William Thomas (1852-1904
Arthur Penrose (b. 1854)
Theodore Percy (b. 1855)
Arthur (1856-78)
Lucy Ada (1858-94)
Francis (1860-1927)
Julia (1862-1908) = Leonard Huxley
Ethel Margaret (1864/5-1930)

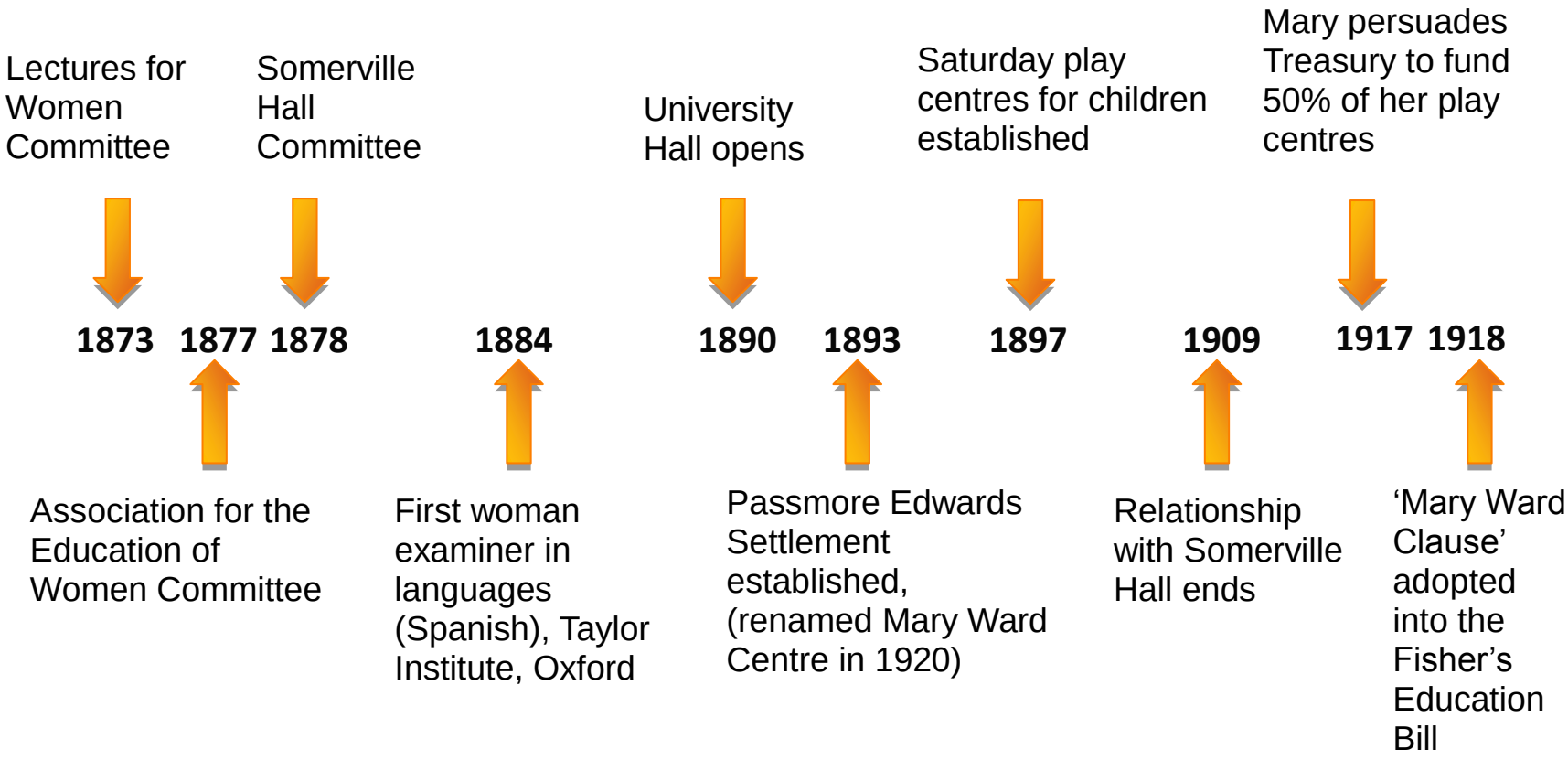
Dorothy Mary (1874-1964)
Arnold Sandwich (1876-1950)
Janet Penrose (1879-1956) = George Trevelyan (1876-1962)
Julian (1887-1975)
Trevenen (1890-1914)
Aldous (1894-1963)
Margaret (1896-1979)

Name	Dates of Birth and Death	Brief Notes
Addams, Jane	1860 – 1935	American social reformer
Arnold, Ethel	1864/5 – 1930	Journalist, writer and lecturer on suffrage, sister of MAW
Arnold, Mary	1791 – 1883	Wife of Dr Arnold and grandmother of MAW
Arnold, Matthew	1822 – 1888	Poet and Uncle of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Arnold, Thomas	1842 – 1895	Educational Reformer and Grandfather of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Arnold, Thomas	1823 – 1900	Historian and academic, father of MAW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Arnold, William Thomas	1852 – 1904	Historian and Journalist, brother of MAW
Ball, Sidney	1857 – 1918	Socialist and educational reformer (Oriel and St John's College, Oxford)
Barnett, Henrietta	1851 – 1936	Social reformer and author, established Toynbee Hall
Barnett, Samuel	1844 – 1913	Anglican cleric and social reformer, established Toynbee Hall, Canon and subdean of Westminster
11th Duke of Bedford (Herbrand Russell)	1858 – 1940	Agriculturalist and philanthropist
Blundell, Grace	Not traced	Secretary to MAW and the evening play centre movement in London
Bright, John	1811 – 1889	Quaker and radical Liberal statesman
Brooke, Stopford	1832 – 1916	Irish Churchman and writer
Choate, Joseph E.	1832 – 1917	American diplomat and lawyer
Churcher, Bessie	Not traced	Personal assistant, charity worker and employee of MAW family
Clarke, Fred	1880 – 1952	Educationalist
Clough, Jemima Anne	1820 – 1892	Head of Newham College, Cambridge and former teacher of MAW
Cobbe, Francis Power	1822 – 1904	Writer and campaigner for women's rights
Creighton, Louise	1850 – 1936	Social activist and writer and closest friend of MAW
Creighton, Mandell	1843 – 1901	Bishop, husband of Louise (Merton College, Oxford)
Cromer (Lord) (Evelyn Baring)	1841 – 1917	Imperialist diplomat and government administrator
Curzon (Lord) 1st Marquess of Kedleston	1859 – 1925	Politician and Viceroy of India (Balliol College, Oxford)
Dilke, Emilia	1840 – 1904	(formerly Mrs Pattinson) art critic, first wife of Mark Pattinson and mentor to MAW)
Forster, Jane	1821 – 1899	Daughter of Dr and Mary Arnold, wife of W. E. Forster and aunt of MAW
Forster, W E	1818 – 1886	Ex-Quaker, politician infamous for the 1870 education act and killed in the Irish Reform and uncle to MAW through marriage to Jane Arnold

Gladstone, W. E	1809 – 1898	Liberal politician and British Prime Minister on four occasions (1868 – 74, 1880 – 85, February-July 1886 and 1892-94)
Green, Alice	1847 – 1929	J. R. Green's wife and friend of MAW
Green, J. R	1837 – 1883	Mentor and friend of MAW and THW (Jesus College, Oxford)
Green, Charlotte	1842 – 1929	Wife and custodian of T H Green's work and close friend of MAW and THW
Green, Thomas Hill	1836 – 1882	Philosopher, social reformer and close friend of MAW and THW (Balliol College, Oxford)
Harrison, Frederic	1823 – 1926	Positivist and author (Wadham College, Oxford)
Huxley, Aldous	1894 – 1963	Writer and nephew of MAW
Huxley, Julia	1862 – 1908	Founder of Prior's Field School, Surrey, mother of Aldous and sister of MAW
James, Henry	1916 – 1943	American novelist, close friend and critic to MAW
Johnson, Bertha	1846 – 1927	Campaigner for women's higher education
Johnson, Reverend Arthur	1845 – 1927	Chaplain of All Souls Church Oxford and History Lecturer
Jowett, Benjamin	1817 – 1893	Master of Balliol College, Oxford
King, MacKenzie	1874 – 1950	Resident of University Hall, politician and Prime Minister of Canada between 1921 and 1926
Knowles, James	1831 – 1908	Editor of Contemporary *Review* and founded *Nineteenth Century*
Lee, Vernon (Violet Paget)	1935 – 1956	Novelist and acquaintance of MAW
Lloyd George, David	1863 – 1945	Liberal politician and British Prime Minister between 1916 and 1922
Locke, John	1632 – 1704	Philosopher and empiricist
Lyttleton, Laura	1862 – 1886	Member of the Souls group, much admired by MAW
Martineau, Dr James	1805 – 1900	Unitarian minister and close family friend of the Arnold family
Maurice, Frederick Denison	1805 – 1872	Christian Socialist and reformer (Trinity College, Cambridge and Exeter College, Oxford
Mill, S. J	1806 – 1873	Philosopher
Müller, Georgina	1834/5 – 1916	Writer and close friend of MAW
Müller, Max	1823 – 1900	Classical linguist (Taylor institute)
Neal, Mary	1860 – 1944	journalist, suffragette, radical arts practitioner, magistrate and awarded CBE
Nettleship, R. L.	1846 – 1892	Pupil and biographer of Green
Newman, John Henry	1801 – 1890	Cardinal and theologian
Oakley, Hilda	1867 – 1960	Educationalist and philosopher
Pater, Clara	1841 – 1910	Campaigner for women's higher education and tutor
Pater, Walter	1839 – 1894	Brother to Clara, scholar, friend and neighbour to MAW and THW
Pattinson, Mark	1813 – 1884	Scholar and mentor to MAW (Lincoln College, Oxford)
Ritchie, David G	1853 – 1903	Civil Servant

Roosevelt, Theodore	1858 – 1919	American politician, President between 1901 and 1909 and friend of MAW
Russell, Bertrand, Earl Russell the Third	1872 – 1970	Philosopher, journalist and political campaigner
Sidgwick, Charlotte	1853 – 1924	Friend of MAW and sister-in-law of Henry Sidgwick
Sidgwick, Henry	1838 – 1900	Utilitarian philosopher and economist
Smith, Lizzie	Not traced	Secretary, maid and personal assistant to MAW and THW
Stubbs, William	1825 – 1901	Bishop of Oxford, scholar of medieval history
Talbot, Edward	1844 – 1934	Bishop of Winchester, first warden of Keble College, Oxford
Talbot, Lavina	1849 – 1939	Supporter and campaigner of women's higher education in Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, colleague and friend of MAW
Tawney, R. H.	1880 – 1962	Pupil of Green (Balliol College, Oxford)
Toynbee, Arnold	1852 – 1883	Social reformer and political economist
Toynbee, Charlotte	1841 – 1931	Social reformer, custodian of her husband Arnold Toynbee's works and friend of MAW
Traubman, Gertrude/Eleanor	Not traced	Play centre co-ordinator and secretary to MAW and the evening play centre movement in London
Trevelyan, Janet	1879 – 1956	Writer, social reformer and elder daughter of MAW
Wallas, Graham	1858 – 1932	Political psychologist, educationist and early member of Fabian Society, associate of MAW
Ward, Arnold	1876 – 1950	MP and son of MAW
Ward, Dorothy	1874 – 1964	Social reformer, personal assistant and daughter of MAW
Ward, Gertrude	Not traced	Christian missionary nurse, personal assistant and sister-in-law to MAW
Ward, Julia	1826 – 1888	Mother of MAW
Ward, Thomas Humphry	1845 – 1926	Art critic, literary historian and husband of MAW (Brasenose College, Oxford)
Webb, Beatrice	1858 – 1943	Fabian and acquaintance of MAW
Webb, Sidney	1859 – 1947	Fabian and acquaintance of MAW
Wordsworth, Dame Elizabeth	1830 – 1942	Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford
Wordsworth, Reverend John	1843 – 1911	Bishop of Salisbury, supporter of High Church and brother of Elizabeth Wordsworth. (Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford)

Mary Augusta Ward's involvement in educational reforms



Appendix 4 – Dates/Events in the life of MAW

1851 Born Mary Augusta Ward (née Arnold)
1856 Leaves Van Diemen's Land for England
1858 Sent to Anne Jemima Clough's school in Ambleside
1861 Boards at Rock Terrace School for Young Ladies
1865 Boards at Miss May's school in Bristol and her family moves to Oxford
1867 Mary joins her family in Oxford
1871 First articles, 'The Poem of the Cid' and 'Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile' are published in *MacMillan's Magazine*'.
'A Morning in the Bodleian' is published privately
1872 Marries Humphry Ward (1845-1926)
1873 Forms Lectures for Women Committee with Georgina Müller, Charlotte Green and Louise Creighton
1877 Forms Association for the Education of Women Committee
1878 Forms Somerville Hall Committee
1881 *Unbelief and Sin* published, moves to Russell Square, London
1884 First woman examiner in languages - Taylor Institute, Oxford
1884 Meets Laura Lyttleton (née Tennant) and first novel published
1888 *Robert Elsmere* is published
1889 Mary's petition against Suffrage is published
1890 University Hall opens
1891 Gertrude Ward leaves the Wards employment to become a district nurse
1893 Passmore Edwards Settlement established, combining the most successful elements of University Hall and Marchmont Hall
Renamed Mary Ward Centre in 1920
1896 Bessie Churcher starts to work for Mary.
1897 Dorothy and Janet Ward, Mary Neal and Bessie Churcher arrange the first Saturday play centre
1908 Mary tours America and Canada with Humphry and Dorothy, accepts position of Leader of Women's Anti-suffrage League
1909 Men and Women's anti-suffrage amalgamate to form Anti-Suffrage League and Mary's relationship with Somerville College ends.
1910 Arnold Ward elected as an MP and campaigns to the members of the London County Council on behalf of her play centres
1912 Active in her Local Government Advancement Committee but is forced off the NUWW committee
1911 Confronts Asquith's pledge to introduce Women's Suffrage, as a political mistake.
1913 Wards sell property and assets to pay Arnold's debts
Arnold's move to oppose the
Suffrage Bill succeeds
1914 War is declared against Germany and Wards move to Scotland to economise
Mary starts her own Joint Advisory Committee.
1915 Arnold's debts mount again abroad
Dorothy takes charge of Stocks to farm the land with the Land Army for the war effort
T. Roosevelt writes to Mary about producing articles about the War Effort for American Readers
1916 Visits the munitions factories and is granted permission to visit the Front in France
England's Effort is published and is very successful
Arnold Ward agrees to resign his seat in Parliament
1917 Persuades Treasury to fund 50% of her play centres
Towards the Goal is published and hugely successful in America, *Missing* is published in London and New York

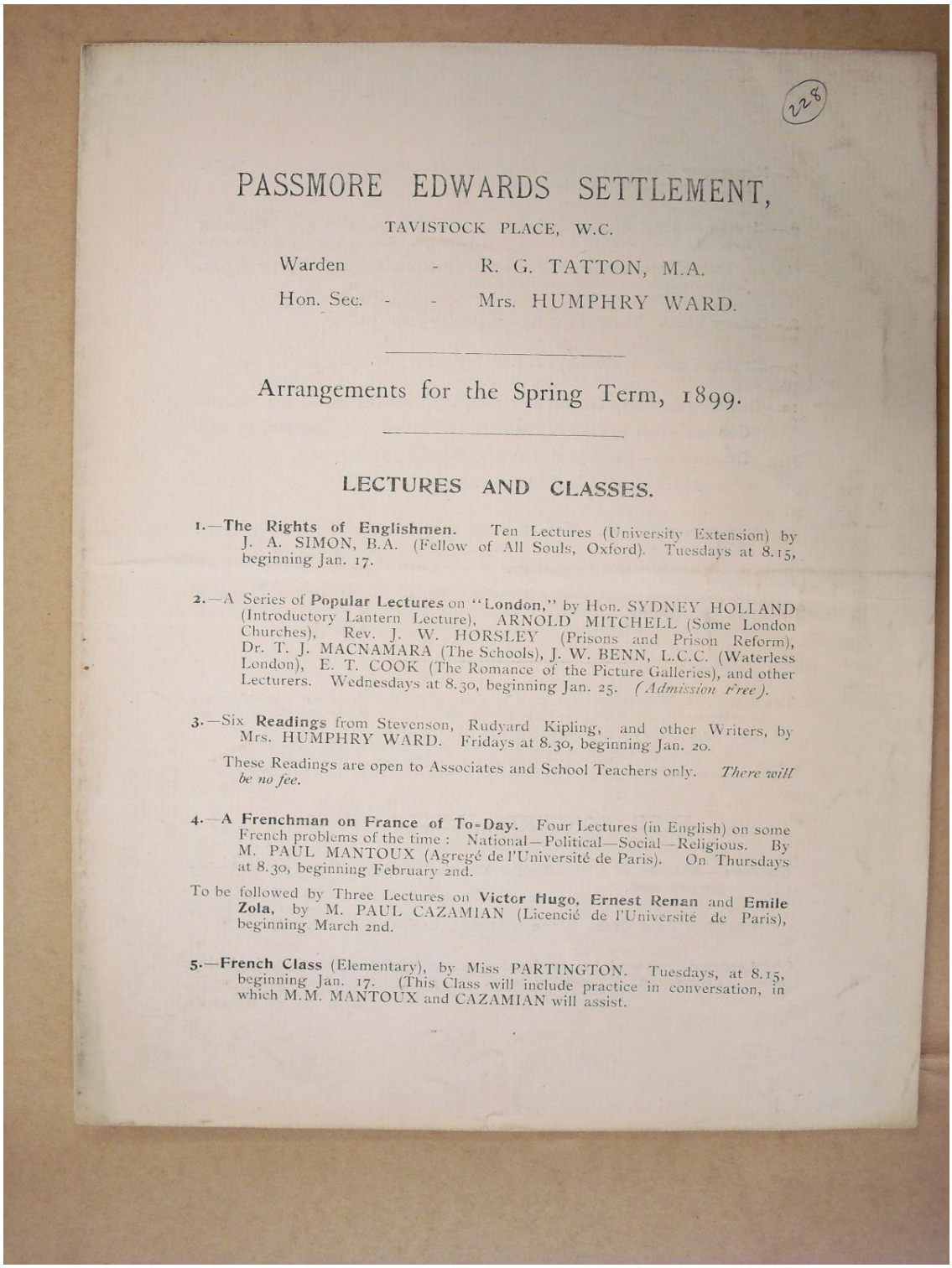
Appendix 4 – Continued

1918 The 'Mary Ward Clause' concerning crippled children's education is adopted into the Education Bill
Writer's Recollections and *The War and Elizabeth* published
The women's suffrage clause is passed
Financial pressures move the Wards to start selling Humphry's art collection

1919 Returns to the Battlegrounds in France and Belgium with Dorothy
Mary campaigns against the limitations of the Church Assembly Act
Further property and assets are sold.

1920 Invited to be a magistrate and Edinburgh University confers an honorary degree before her death on 24th March
Mary was buried on 27th March, Aldbury

Appendix 5 – Passmore Edwards Settlement Lectures and Classes, Spring 1889
(Reproduced with kind permission of London Metropolitan Archives, Granted January 2014)



228

PASSMORE EDWARDS SETTLEMENT,

TAVISTOCK PLACE, W.C.

Warden - R. G. TATTON, M.A.

Hon. Sec. - - Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD.

Arrangements for the Spring Term, 1899.

LECTURES AND CLASSES.

1.—**The Rights of Englishmen.** Ten Lectures (University Extension) by J. A. SIMON, B.A. (Fellow of All Souls, Oxford). Tuesdays at 8.15, beginning Jan. 17.

2.—A Series of **Popular Lectures** on "**London,**" by Hon. SYDNEY HOLLAND (Introductory Lantern Lecture), ARNOLD MITCHELL (Some London Churches), Rev. J. W. HORSLEY (Prisons and Prison Reform), Dr. T. J. MACNAMARA (The Schools), J. W. BENN, L.C.C. (Waterless London), E. T. COOK (The Romance of the Picture Galleries), and other Lecturers. Wednesdays at 8.30, beginning Jan. 25. *(Admission Free).*

3.—Six **Readings** from Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, and other Writers, by Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD. Fridays at 8.30, beginning Jan. 20.

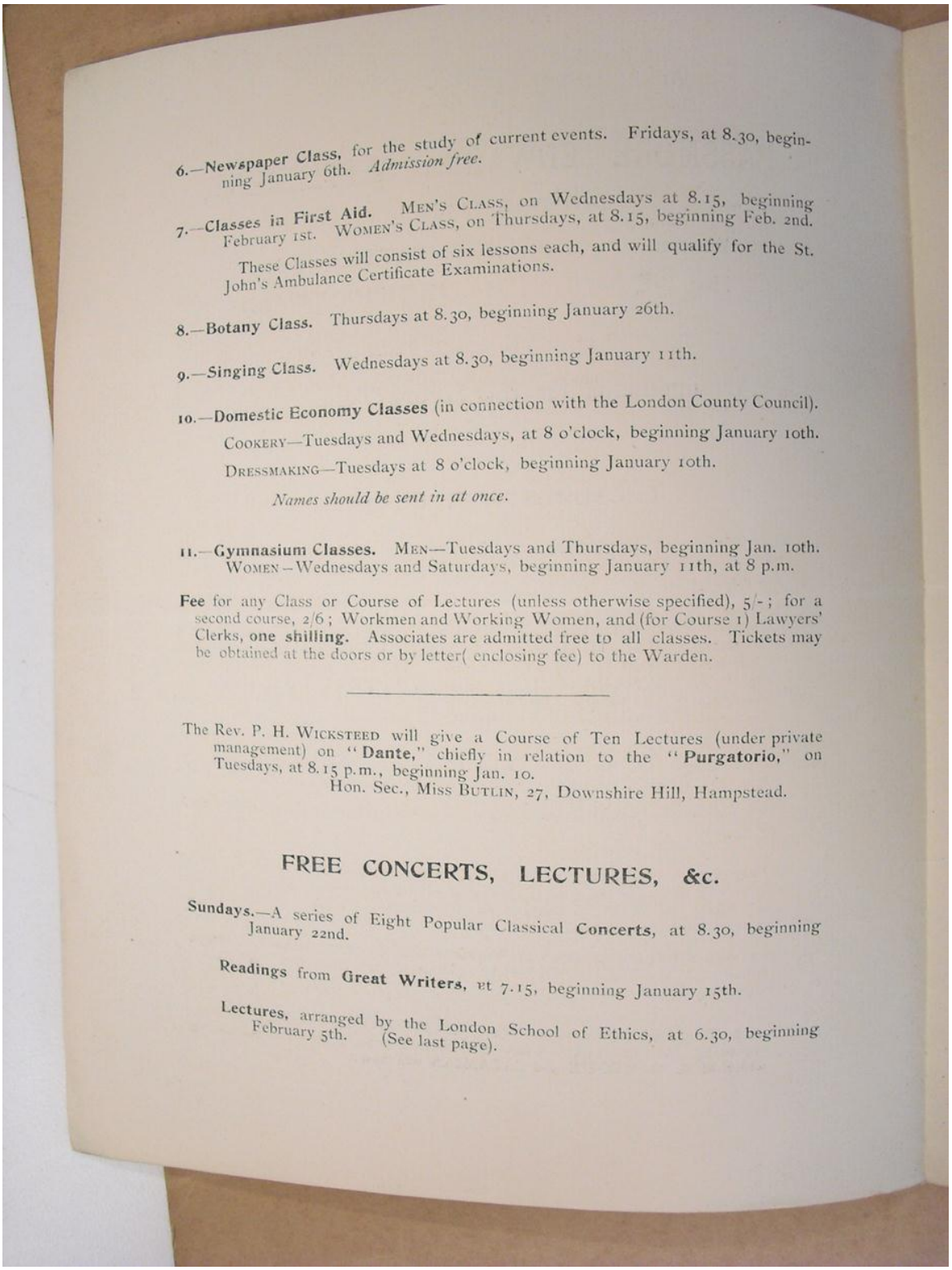
These Readings are open to Associates and School Teachers only. *There will be no fee.*

4.—**A Frenchman on France of To-Day.** Four Lectures (in English) on some French problems of the time: National—Political—Social—Religious. By M. PAUL MANTOUX (Agregé de l'Université de Paris). On Thursdays at 8.30, beginning February 2nd.

To be followed by Three Lectures on **Victor Hugo, Ernest Renan** and **Emile Zola,** by M. PAUL CAZAMIAN (Licencié de l'Université de Paris), beginning March 2nd.

5.—**French Class** (Elementary), by Miss PARTINGTON. Tuesdays, at 8.15, beginning Jan. 17. (This Class will include practice in conversation, in which M.M. MANTOUX and CAZAMIAN will assist.

Appendix 5 Continued



6.—**Newspaper Class,** for the study of current events. Fridays, at 8.30, beginning January 6th. *Admission free.*

7.—**Classes in First Aid.** MEN'S CLASS, on Wednesdays at 8.15, beginning February 1st. WOMEN'S CLASS, on Thursdays, at 8.15, beginning Feb. 2nd.

These Classes will consist of six lessons each, and will qualify for the St. John's Ambulance Certificate Examinations.

8.—**Botany Class.** Thursdays at 8.30, beginning January 26th.

9.—**Singing Class.** Wednesdays at 8.30, beginning January 11th.

10.—**Domestic Economy Classes** (in connection with the London County Council).

COOKERY—Tuesdays and Wednesdays, at 8 o'clock, beginning January 10th.

DRESSMAKING—Tuesdays at 8 o'clock, beginning January 10th.

Names should be sent in at once.

11.—**Gymnasium Classes.** MEN—Tuesdays and Thursdays, beginning Jan. 10th. WOMEN—Wednesdays and Saturdays, beginning January 11th, at 8 p.m.

Fee for any Class or Course of Lectures (unless otherwise specified), 5/-; for a second course, 2/6; Workmen and Working Women, and (for Course 1) Lawyers' Clerks, **one shilling.** Associates are admitted free to all classes. Tickets may be obtained at the doors or by letter(enclosing fee) to the Warden.

The Rev. P. H. WICKSTEED will give a Course of Ten Lectures (under private management) on "**Dante,**" chiefly in relation to the "**Purgatorio,**" on Tuesdays, at 8.15 p.m., beginning Jan. 10.

Hon. Sec., Miss BUTLIN, 27, Downshire Hill, Hampstead.

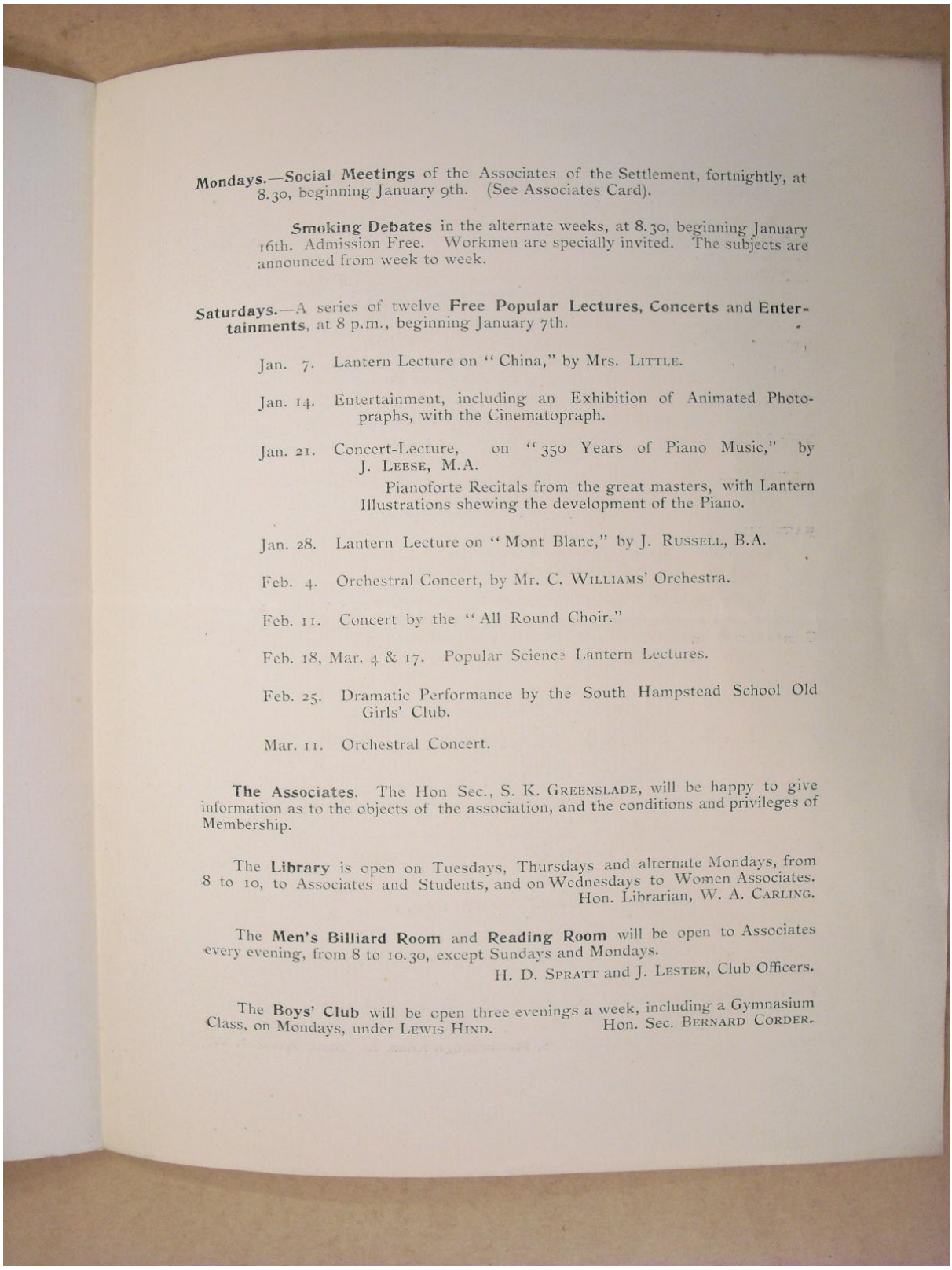
FREE CONCERTS, LECTURES, &c.

Sundays.—A series of Eight Popular Classical **Concerts**, at 8.30, beginning January 22nd.

Readings from **Great Writers**, at 7.15, beginning January 15th.

Lectures, arranged by the London School of Ethics, at 6.30, beginning February 5th. (See last page).

Appendix 5 Continued



Mondays.—**Social Meetings** of the Associates of the Settlement, fortnightly, at 8.30, beginning January 9th. (See Associates Card).

Smoking Debates in the alternate weeks, at 8.30, beginning January 16th. Admission Free. Workmen are specially invited. The subjects are announced from week to week.

Saturdays.—A series of twelve **Free Popular Lectures, Concerts** and **Entertainments**, at 8 p.m., beginning January 7th.

Jan. 7. Lantern Lecture on "China," by Mrs. LITTLE.

Jan. 14. Entertainment, including an Exhibition of Animated Photopraphs, with the Cinematopraph.

Jan. 21. Concert-Lecture, on "350 Years of Piano Music," by J. LEESE, M.A.

Pianoforte Recitals from the great masters, with Lantern Illustrations shewing the development of the Piano.

Jan. 28. Lantern Lecture on "Mont Blanc," by J. RUSSELL, B.A.

Feb. 4. Orchestral Concert, by Mr. C. WILLIAMS' Orchestra.

Feb. 11. Concert by the "All Round Choir."

Feb. 18, Mar. 4 & 17. Popular Science Lantern Lectures.

Feb. 25. Dramatic Performance by the South Hampstead School Old Girls' Club.

Mar. 11. Orchestral Concert.

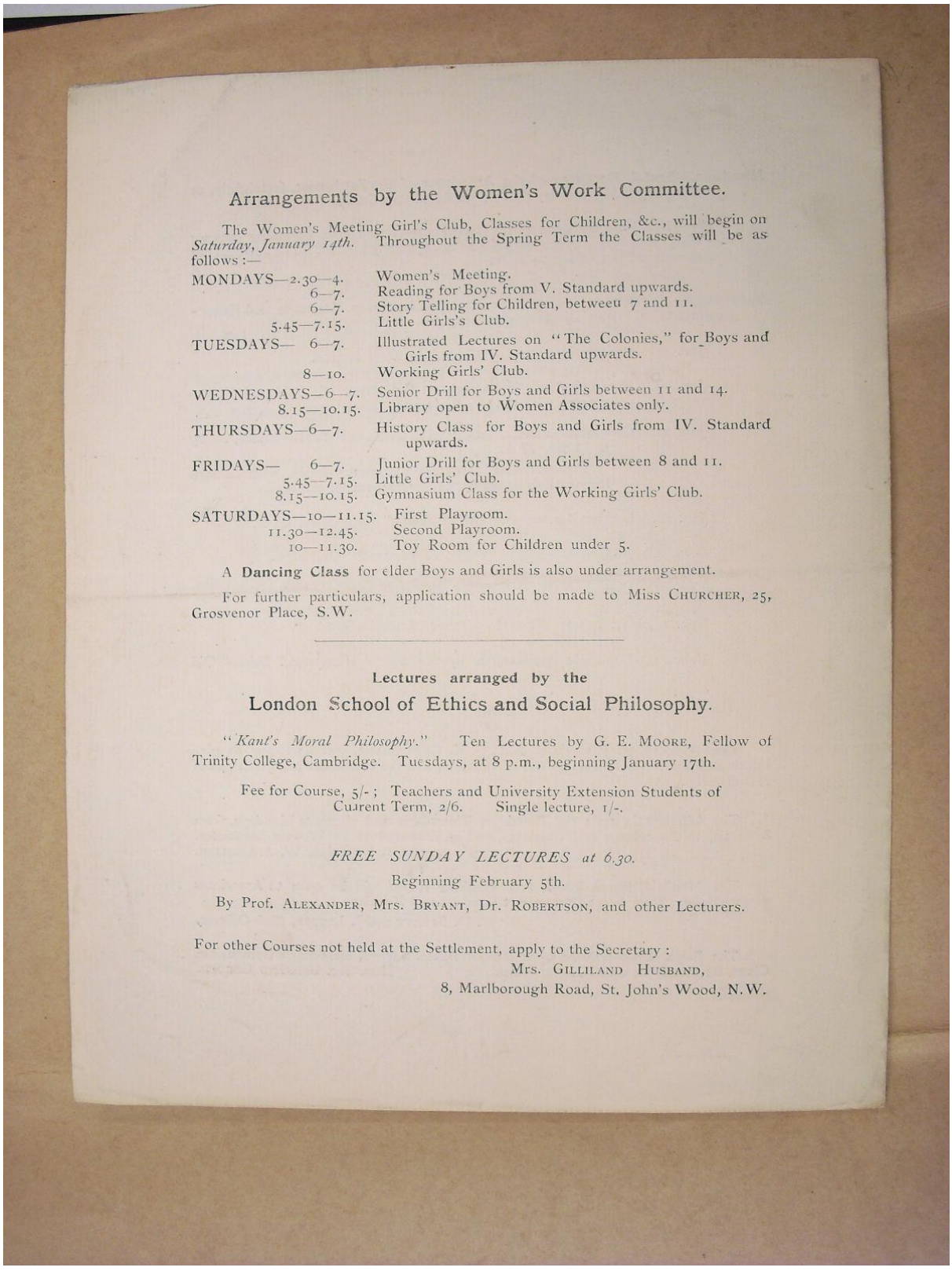
The Associates. The Hon Sec., S. K. GREENSLADE, will be happy to give information as to the objects of the association, and the conditions and privileges of Membership.

The **Library** is open on Tuesdays, Thursdays and alternate Mondays, from 8 to 10, to Associates and Students, and on Wednesdays to Women Associates.
Hon. Librarian, W. A. CARLING.

The **Men's Billiard Room** and **Reading Room** will be open to Associates every evening, from 8 to 10.30, except Sundays and Mondays.
H. D. SPRATT and J. LESTER, Club Officers.

The **Boys' Club** will be open three evenings a week, including a Gymnasium Class, on Mondays, under LEWIS HIND. Hon. Sec. BERNARD CORDER.

Appendix 5 Continued



Arrangements by the Women's Work Committee.

The Women's Meeting Girl's Club, Classes for Children, &c., will begin on *Saturday, January 14th.* Throughout the Spring Term the Classes will be as follows :—

MONDAYS—2.30—4.	Women's Meeting.
6—7.	Reading for Boys from V. Standard upwards.
6—7.	Story Telling for Children, betweeu 7 and 11.
5.45—7.15.	Little Girls's Club.
TUESDAYS— 6—7.	Illustrated Lectures on "The Colonies," for Boys and Girls from IV. Standard upwards.
8—10.	Working Girls' Club.
WEDNESDAYS—6—7.	Senior Drill for Boys and Girls between 11 and 14.
8.15—10.15.	Library open to Women Associates only.
THURSDAYS—6—7.	History Class for Boys and Girls from IV. Standard upwards.
FRIDAYS— 6—7.	Junior Drill for Boys and Girls between 8 and 11.
5.45—7.15.	Little Girls' Club.
8.15—10.15.	Gymnasium Class for the Working Girls' Club.
SATURDAYS—10—11.15.	First Playroom.
11.30—12.45.	Second Playroom.
10—11.30.	Toy Room for Children under 5.

A **Dancing Class** for elder Boys and Girls is also under arrangement.

For further particulars, application should be made to Miss CHURCHER, 25, Grosvenor Place, S.W.

Lectures arranged by the

London School of Ethics and Social Philosophy.

"*Kant's Moral Philosophy.*" Ten Lectures by G. E. MOORE, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m., beginning January 17th.

Fee for Course, 5/- ; Teachers and University Extension Students of Current Term, 2/6. Single lecture, 1/-.

FREE SUNDAY LECTURES at 6.30.

Beginning February 5th.

By Prof. ALEXANDER, Mrs. BRYANT, Dr. ROBERTSON, and other Lecturers.

For other Courses not held at the Settlement, apply to the Secretary :

Mrs. GILLILAND HUSBAND,

8, Marlborough Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

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        (iii) Dorothy Ward's Diary, dated 1898/MS.Add.202/40
        (iv) Dorothy Ward's Diary, dated 1955/ MS.Add.202/103

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        (III) Individual letters to Elizabeth Bosanquet dated 1899 and 1905, MS.Autogr.C.25 Fols. 250/1, MS.Eng.d.16; fol. 132
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            (b) Scrap book of notices of scholarship examinations, lectures, scholarship awards, regulations and meetings, 1847-1907, TL 4/1
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