Graphic Design, Media, and Gender Politics: The Paratext In the Late 19th Century Feminist Periodical (Britain, c. 1888 - 1899).

A Transdisciplinary Holistic Approach

Artemis Alexiou
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Graphic Design, Media, & Gender Politics: The Paratext In the Late 19th Century Feminist Periodical (Britain, c. 1888 - 1899). A Transdisciplinary Holistic Approach

Artemis Alexiou

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Author’s Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this 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.
Abstract

In recent years, we have seen an increase in feminist media studies, yet the vast majority of communication, media, and design historical studies seem to focus on the canon of media ecology, following a heroic approach analysis, whilst appearing disjointed, and departmentalized. This thesis argues 'against the personality cult, pointing to the collective and cumulative dimension present in most, if not all, design', and by adopting an inclusive approach to the study of the periodical demonstrates that a transdisciplinary holistic approach is plausible, though certainly more challenging.¹ This thesis applies an original modified version of Gérard Genette’s theory of the paratext, and offers an interdisciplinary discussion of gender representation by interpreting late nineteenth century periodical paratexts. More specifically, it examines: to what extent the gendered conventions of late nineteenth century Britain influenced the editorial design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical; and whether emerging hybrid paradigms of late nineteenth century New Womanhood in any way challenged the established patriarchal ideals, through the editorial design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical.

Herein lies a set of carefully considered and thoroughly detailed case studies that follow a newly modified Genettean model of analysis that: a. considers the designed as well as the visual and textual elements of the periodical; b. respects all the specificities of the periodicals under investigation; c. acknowledges the different people taking part in the design production and consumption of the late nineteenth century feminist periodical, as well as the role and input of the men and especially women involved. In general, the thesis demonstrates that general feminist periodicals projected a voice that was critical of any established gendered norms, which manifested not only through the textual, and visual content, but also the design identity of these periodicals. In particular, the findings reveal that the Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, and Woman’s Signal centered their editorial design identity on specific

hybrid paradigms of New Womanhood, such as: the non-partisan New Woman with a universal outlook; the Liberal New Woman; the New Woman Gospel temperance supporter; and the New Woman that espoused bourgeois propriety, whilst supporting women’s suffrage. This thesis positions the periodical, its designed, visual and textual features, its producers and consumers, and its conditions of production and consumption at the very centre of the investigation, hoping to encourage the conception of further new (trans)methodological models for use in periodical studies, or other areas of research enquiry.
To my maternal grandmother,

Katherine.
Graphic design [...] forms the connective tissue that holds so many ordinary visual experiences together. We don’t usually view a professional photograph in isolation: we view it as part of a page, screen, billboard, or shop window display in relationship with other pictorial, typographic and structural elements determined in the design process. These frameworks and relationships are an invisible part of the meaning.²

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Contents

— Chapter 1: Introduction /// 31

1.1. The Premise // 35
1.2. The Current Academic landscape // 38
1.2.1. Interdisciplinarity in Communication, Media, and Design History Research / 38
1.2.2. A Holistic Approach to Media Research: Gerard Genette’s Theory of the Paratext / 45
1.3. The Research Project // 52
1.3.1. The Time Scope: Late Nineteenth Century (c. 1880-1890) / 52
1.3.2. The Periodical Genre: General Feminist / 53
1.3.3. The Periodical Titles: Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, Woman’s Signal / 54
1.3.4. The Three Case Studies / 56
1.4. The Structure of this Thesis // 59

— Chapter 2: The (Trans)Methodology /// 63

2.1. Methodology: The Theory // 67
2.1.1. On The ‘Organisation of Experience’: A Review of Theories / 67
2.1.2. The Theory of the Paratext / 68
2.1.2.1. Paratexts (Paratext = Peritext + Epitext) / 69
2.1.3. The Genettean Paratext appropriated for the 19th Century Periodical / 75
2.1.3.1. Editorial Design (otherwise termed ‘format’) / 75
2.1.3.2. Epigraphs and Other Textual Peritexts / 77
2.1.3.3. Factual Paratexts / 78
2.1.3.4. Iconic Peritexts / 79
2.1.3.5. Paratexts Specific to the 19th Century Periodical / 82
2.1.3.5.1. Serial Form / 82
2.1.3.5.2. Formal Peritexts: Physical Form, Mastheads, Page Layout, Typefaces / 84
2.1.3.5.3. Periodical Supplements / 90
2.1.3.5.4. Advertisements / 94
2.2. Methodology: The Practice // 95
2.2.1. Triangulation / 95
2.2.2. Print, Microfilm, and Digital Archives / 96
2.2.3. The Triangular Case Study Method / 99

— Chapter 3: Case Study I /// 103

3.1. Women’s Penny Paper (Oct. 27 1888 – Dec. 27, 1890) / Woman’s Herald (a) (Jan. 3, 1891 – Apr. 23, 1892) // 107
3.1.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press (c. 1888-1891) and Paper/ Herald (a) / 107
3.1.2. Paratexts: Complementing the Editorial Narrative / 111
3.1.2.1. Trivial Paratexts and Pseudonymity / 112
3.1.2.2. The Typographical Masthead / 113
3.1.2.3. The Subtitle / 114
3.1.2.4. The Epigraphs and Display Typefaces / 121
3.1.2.5. The Editorial Design and Navigation Typefaces / 1126
3.1.2.6. The ‘Interview’ and The Portrait / 129
Chapter 4: Case Study II // 191

4.1. Woman’s Herald (b) (April 30, 1892 - February 16, 1893) // 195
4.1.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press in 1892 and the Woman’s Herald (b) / 195
4.1.2. The Editorial Identity of the Woman’s Herald (b) / 197
4.1.3. Factual (Basic + Trivial) Paratexts: Communicating Complementary Messages / 197
4.1.4. Iconic and Trivial Paratexts: Communicating Complementary Messages / 200
4.1.4.1. The Front Cover Illustration / 200
4.1.5. Paratexts: Appealing to a Fraction of the Ideal Audience / 206
4.1.5.1. The Front Cover Illustration / 206
4.1.5.2. The Advertising / 208
4.1.6. Anchor Text: Communicating a Lack of Hierarchy / 210
4.1.7. Paratexts: Messages Incompatible to the Editorial narrative / 212
4.1.7.1. The Front Cover Illustration / 212
4.1.7.2. The Advertising / 213
4.1.8. Other Reasons that Made the Editorial Message of Unity Difficult to Achieve / 216

4.2. The Woman’s Herald (c) (Feb. 23, 1893 – Dec. 28, 1893) // 228
4.2.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press in 1893 and Woman’s Herald (c) / 228
4.2.2. Paratexts: Communicating Complementary Messages / 230
4.2.2.1. Factual (Basic + Trivial) Paratexts / 230
4.2.2.2. The Iconotypographical Masthead / 230
4.2.2.3. The Portraits and Advertising / 240

Chapter 5: Case Study III // 259

5.1. Woman’s Signal (a) (Jan. 4, 1894 – Sep. 26, 1895) // 263
5.1.1. The British Periodical Press in 1894 and Woman’s Signal (a) / 263
5.1.2. The Editorial Narrative of Woman’s Signal (a) / 265
5.1.3. Anchor Text and Paratexts: Targeting the Ideal Audience / 266
5.1.3.1. The Typographical Masthead / 266
5.1.3.2. Including the Male Reader in the Ideal Audience / 269
5.1.3.3. Including the Working-Class Female reader in the Ideal Audience / 270
5.1.4. Anchor Text and Paratexts: Complementing the Editorial Narrative / 273
5.1.4.1. The Portraits / 274
5.1.4.2. The Advertising / 275
5.1.4.3. The Monthly Supplement / 275
5.1.4.4. The Monthly Review / 277
5.1.5. Paratexts: Messages Incompatible to the Editorial narrative / 280
5.1.6. Other Conditions that led to Disappointment / 282

5.2. Woman’s Signal (b) (Oct. 3, 1895 – Mar. 23, 1899) // 306
5.2.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press in 1895 and Woman’s Signal (b) / 306
5.2.2. Factual (Basic + Trivial) Paratexts / 307
5.2.3. The Editorial Narrative of Woman’s Signal (a) / 308
5.2.4. Anchor Text: Targeting a Wider Female Audience / 309
5.2.5. Paratexts: Communicating Complementary Messages / 311
5.2.5.1. The Typographical Masthead and the Image above the Editorial / 311
5.2.5.2. The Advertising / 312
5.2.6. Paratexts: Messages Incompatible to the Editorial narrative / 314
5.2.6.1. The Front Cover / 314
5.2.6.2. The Advertising / 316
5.2.6.3. The Biographical Column and The Portrait / 317
5.2.6.4. Portraits of the Aristocracy / 324
5.2.6.5. The Fashion Column and Fashion Plate / 328
5.2.6.6. The Advertorial and Illustration / 332
5.3. Woman’s Signal (a) Vs. Woman’s Signal (b) // 334

— Chapter 6: Conclusion // 353

6.1. Overview // 357
6.2. Empirical Findings // 361
6.3. Theoretical Implications // 364
6.3.1. Critique of the Wider Periodical Studies Landscape / 364
6.3.2. The Genettean Paratext Theory: Rewards / 366
6.3.3. The Genettean Paratext Theory: Inadequacies / 368
6.4. Wider Scholarly Contribution // 372
6.4.1. The need of New Methodologies in Periodical Studies // 372
6.4.1.1. A Triangulated Approach to the Study of the Periodical / 372
6.4.1.2. A Holistic Transdisciplinary Approach to the Study of the Periodical / 374
6.4.1.3. An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of the Periodical / 375
6.4.2. On New Womanhood // 376
6.4.3. About the Paratext Theory // 378
6.4.4. About Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, and Woman’s Signal // 380
6.5. Limitations of this Thesis // 382
6.6. Recommendations for Future Research // 384
6.7. Epilogue // 387

— Appendices // 389

Appendix I: Glossary of Terms // 393
Appendix II: Historical Context // 402
Appendix III: Editorships and Other Details of the Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, and Woman’s Signal // 407

— Bibliography // 410

Primary Sources (Chronological Order) // 414
Secondary Sources (Alphabetical Order) // 421
Figures

Please note: the majority of periodical images have been retrieved from Gale 19th Century UK Periodicals (online archive), though some have been gathered from the British Library Newspaper Archive and Manchester Library Archive. All other images have been sourced online, unless otherwise indicated. In some cases images of a better resolution were not available, therefore some images may not appear as clear, but they are in good enough quality for the purposes of this thesis.

Diagram i.
A map of the Genettean paratext taxonomy.

Diagram ii.
From Women’s Penny Paper to Woman’s Herald to Woman’s Signal.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.
i. (top left): Pall Mall Gazette, 27 October 1888, p. 1.
ii. (top right): The Shield, 12 December 1888, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): British Women’s Temperance Journal, October 1888, Front Cover.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.
Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, Specimens of Point Line Type (Sheffield: Stephenson, Blake & Co., 1908), p. 189.

Fig. 5.
ii. (right): Ibid., p. 53.

Fig. 6.
i. (top left): Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, Specimens of Point Line Type (Sheffield: Stephenson, Blake & Co., 1908), p. 195.
ii. (top right): Ibid., p. 162.
iii. (bottom): Ibid., p. 189.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.
i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 21 February 1891, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Herald, 30 May 1891, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 10 October 1891, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Herald, 10 October 1891, p. 3.

Fig. 9.
Woman’s Herald, 11 April 1891, p. 1.

Fig. 10.
Spirit of Age, 22 September 1849, p. 1.

Fig. 11.
i. (top left): Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren in Women’s Penny Paper, 27 October 1888, pp. 1-8 (p. 4).
ii. (top right): Unknown, Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren, c. 1880

Fig. 11. (continued)
vi. (right): Unknown, Mrs Belva A. Lockwood, c. 1880.

Fig. 12.
i. (top): Charles Dana Gibson, Gibson girls, c. 1900.
ii. (bottom): Charles Dana Gibson, Gibson girls at the Beach, c. 1900.
Fig. 13.  
iv. (bottom right): Mrs Scharlieb in the press, c. 1880s.  

Fig. 14.  
i. (left): Miss Charlotte Robinson in *Women's Penny Paper*, 9 February 1889, p. 1  

Fig. 15.  
i. (top): C. E. Jensen, *A New Woman smoking*, c. 1890.  

Fig. 16.  

Fig. 17.  

Fig. 18.  
i. (left): Bardwell Ballarat, *Alice Cornwell*, early 1880s.  

Fig. 19.  

Fig. 20.  

Fig. 21.  

Fig. 22.  

Fig. 23.  
i. (top left): *Women’s Penny Paper*, 27 December 1890, p. 159.  

Fig. 24.  

Fig. 25.  

Fig. 26.  

Fig. 27.  
*Woman’s Herald*, 30 May 1891, p. 512.  

Fig. 28.  
i. (top left): *Woman’s Herald*, 30 April 1892, Front Cover.  
ii. (top right): *Woman’s Herald*, 30 April 1892, p. 2.  
iii. (bottom left): *Woman’s Herald*, 30 April 1892, p. 3.  

Fig. 29.  
*Woman’s Herald*, 12 November 1892, Front Cover.  

Fig. 30.  
i. (top left): *Woman’s Herald*, 7 May 1892, Front Cover.  
Fig. 31.
Louisa Starr Canziani’s *Two Little Home Rulers* in *Woman’s Herald*, 1 June 1893, p. 236.

Fig. 32.
i. (top left): *Woman’s Herald*, 12 November 1892, p. ii.
iii. (bottom left): *Woman’s Herald*, 7 May 1892, p. 16.

Fig. 33.
*Woman’s Herald*, 16 July 1892, Front Cover.

Fig. 34.
i. (left): *Woman’s Herald*, 19 November 1892, Front Cover.
ii. (right): *Woman’s Herald*, 31 December 1892, Front Cover.

Fig. 35.
i. (left): *Woman’s Herald*, 7 January 1893, Front Cover.
ii. (right): *Woman’s Herald*, 4 February 1893, Front Cover.

Fig. 36. Source: Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader (1873-1914)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Fig. 37.

Fig. 38.
i. (top left): *Woman’s Herald*, 23 February 1893, Front Cover.
iii. (bottom left): *Woman’s Herald*, 23 February 1893, p. iii.

Fig. 39.
i. (top left): *Woman’s Herald*, 23 February 1893, p. 3.


Fig. 41.

Fig. 42. Source: Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
i. (top left): Advertisement, *Pear’s Soap*, c. 1890.
ii. (top right): Advertisement, *Beecham’s Pills*, c. 1890.

Fig. 43.
*Punch*, 8 April 1871, [page unknown].

Fig. 44.
Currier & Ives, *Woman’s Holy War*, 1874.

Fig. 45.
*Wings*, March 1894, Front Cover.

Fig. 46.
iv. (bottom right): Nike, 336 BC.

Fig. 47.
Nike, 5th century BC.
Fig. 48.
i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 23 February 1893, p. 2.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Herald, 9 March 1893, p. 42.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 16 March 1893, p. 37.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Herald, 8 June 1893, p. 248.

Fig. 49. Source (images i-iii): Carol Mattingly, Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000).
i. (top left): Advertisement, The Willard Dress, c. 1890s.
ii. (top right): Advertisement, The Willard Dress, c. 1890s.
iii. (bottom left): Unknown, Frances E. Willard, c. 1890s.

Fig. 50.
i. (left): Woman’s Herald, 23 March 1893, p. 71.
ii. (right): Woman’s Herald, 4 May 1893, p. 167.

Fig. 51.
i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 16 March 1893, p. iv.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Herald, 23 March 1893, p. i.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 23 November 1893, p. 626.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Herald, 21 December 1893, p. 690.

Fig. 52.
Woman’s Signal, 4 January 1894, p. 1.

Fig. 53.
Woman’s Signal Budget, 15 April 1895, Front Cover.

Fig. 54.
i. (top left): The Personal Rights Journal, January 1890, Front Cover.
ii. (top right): Wings, March 1894, Front Cover.
iii. (bottom left): Shafts, 3 November 1892, Front Cover.
iv. (bottom right): Woman, 9 January 1895, Front Cover (in use since 1891).

Fig. 55.
The British Women’s Temperance Journal, October 1888, Front Cover.

Fig. 56.
i. (top left): Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, Specimens of Point Line Type (Sheffield: Stephenson, Blake & Co., 1908), p. 16.
ii. (top right): Ibid., p. 17.
iii. (bottom left): Ibid., p. 20.

Fig. 57.
i. (top left): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1889, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1890, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1891, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1892, p. 1.

Fig. 58.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 8 February 1894, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 22 March 1894, p. 1.

Fig. 59.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 20 September 1894, p. 1.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 3 January 1895, p. 1.

Fig. 60.
Woman’s Signal, 4 January 1894, p. 16.

Fig. 61.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 11 January 1894, p. 29.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 11 January 1894, p. 31.

Fig. 62.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 18 January 1894, p. 45.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 18 January 1894, p. 48.
Fig. 63.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 23 August 1894, p. 128.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 22 February 1894, p. 132.

Fig. 64.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 15 February 1894, p. 116.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 24 January 1895, p. 63.

Fig. 65.
Woman’s Signal, 2 August 1894, p. 76.

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 69.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 11 April 1895, p. 1
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement, 14 June 1894, p. 421.
iii. (bottom): Woman’s Signal Budget, 15 April 1895, Front Cover.

Fig. 70.
i. (top left): The Journal, October 1893, p. 10.
ii. (top right): The Journal, December 1893, p. 16.
iv. (bottom right): Frances Willard and Lady Somerset in the press, c. 1890s.

Fig. 71.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal Budget, September 1894, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal Budget, January 1895, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 10 May 1894, p. 1.

Fig. 72.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 11 January 1894, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 1 February 1894, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Signal, 21 March 1895, p. 191.

Fig. 73.
Woman’s Signal, 3 October 1895, p. 1.

Fig. 74.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 25 January 1894, p. 54.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 3 October 1895, p. 216.
iii. (bottom): Woman’s Signal, 3 October 1895, p. 219.

Fig. 75.
i. (left): Advertisement, Derry & Toms Hats, c. 1900s.
ii. (right): Advertisement, Swan & Edgar Attire, c. 1900s.

Fig. 76.
i. (top left): Shafts, December 1896, p. ii.
ii. (top right): Shafts, December 1896, p. iii.

Fig. 77.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 9 January 1896, p. 32.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 30 January 1896, p. 80.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 13 February 1896, p. 112.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Signal, 9 April 1896, p. 240.

Fig. 78.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 23 April 1896, p. 271.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 14 May 1896, p. 316.
Fig. 79.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 20 February 1896, p. 127.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 27 February 1896, p. 143.

Fig. 80.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 7 January 1897, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 7 January 1897, p. 2.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 7 January 1897, p. 3.
iv. (bottom right): Hera, (Roman copy) 1st Century AD / (Greek original) 4th Century BC.

Fig. 81.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 13 January 1898, p. 30.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 20 January 1898, p. 44.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Signal, 24 March 1898, p. 18.

Fig. 82.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 3 March 1898, p. 141.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 2 June 1898, p. 352.

Fig. 83.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 3 March 1898, p. 142.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 5 May 1898, p. 286.

Fig. 84.
ii. (top right): The Tsaritza in Woman at Home, [Month Unknown] 1899, p. 16.

Fig. 85.
i. (left): The Duchess of Fife in Woman, 6 January 1891, p. 5.
ii. (right): The Duchess of Argyll in Woman, 4 January 1899, p. 7.

Fig. 86.
i. (top left): Queen Victoria in Woman’s Signal, 17 September 1896, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Queen Victoria in Woman’s Signal, 24 September 1896, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Queen Victoria in Woman’s Signal, 6 October 1896, p. 1.

Fig. 87.
i. (top left): Barraus, Mrs Florence Fenwick Miller, c. 1890s.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 10 October 1895, p. 235.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 24 October 1895, p. 267.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Signal, 7 July 1896, p. 429.

Fig. 88.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 27 August 1896, p. 13.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 24 September 1896, p. 13.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 17 September 1896, p. 13.

Fig. 89.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 3 September 1896, p. 13.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 10 September 1896, p. 13.
— Introduction
The literary work consists, exhaustively or essentially, of a text [...]
but this text rarely appears in its naked state, without the
reinforcement and accompaniment of a certain number of productions [...]
like an author’s name, a title, a preface, illustrations [...]. This
accompaniment of varying size and style, constitutes what I once
christened elsewhere, in conformity with the frequently ambiguous meaning
of this prefix in French [...]. the paratext of the work.³

1.1. The Premise

This thesis is grounded on the hypothesis that patriarchal societies, such as the late nineteenth century British society, mainly involve a gendered design practice (meaning a gendered process of design and a gendered design outcome) that enforces gender dichotomy. In addition, this thesis understands gender, not as a limited concept of a mere twofold distinction of the male and the female, rather as a ‘complex social construction: contingent, contextual, contested [evident in] ways that masculinity and femininity are embodied, enacted and differentiated in everyday social life’. Inspired by what linguistics theorist Gérard Genette terms as ‘paratexts’, meaning ‘those liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside’ the anchor text ‘that form part of the complex mediation’ between all agents and actors participating in this process, I aim to examine the paratextual systems included in three sister late nineteenth century general feminist periodicals, in order to understand whether or not their design was in any way gendered. More specifically, I intend to ascertain: a. to what extent the gendered conventions of late nineteenth century Britain influenced the editorial design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical; b. whether the hybrid paradigms of late nineteenth century New Womanhood in any way challenged the established gendered ideals through the editorial design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical.

Critics David J. T. Doughan and Denise Sanchez explain that ‘feminist periodicals in particular show women writing for women in a variety of ways for some fairly diverse political ends’. Furthermore, media historians Maria DiCenzo, Lucy Delap, and Leila Ryan argue that feminist periodicals:

   Were used to organise and mobilize women for particular campaigns, not only to provide forum for debate about women’s roles in politics and society, but also to influence public opinion at a time when print media were the most effective means of circulating ideas.

Moreover, Doughan, DiCenzo, Delap, Ryan and English literature scholar Margaret Beetham agree that there were primarily two types of feminist periodicals during the late nineteenth

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6 Maria DiCenzo, Lucy Delap, and Leila Ryan, Feminist Media History: Suffrage Periodicals and the Public Sphere (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 2.
century and early twentieth century Britain: the general feminist periodical, and the suffrage, otherwise entitled organisational or campaign feminist periodical. Based on this categorisation, the *Women's Penny Paper* (Chapter III), and its successors the *Woman's Herald* (Chapter IV) and the *Woman's Signal* (Chapter V) are considered to be general feminist periodicals. Nonetheless, this thesis considers all three publications to be more than feminist periodicals; it considers them to be hybrid feminist periodicals, featuring elements conventionally understood as either masculine or feminine, which were borrowed from across the periodical press of the period. This hybridity, which sometimes leaned towards the feminine or the masculine, and at other times leaned towards the unisex, was materialised through the implementation of various characteristics that were traditionally found in the commercial majority periodical press and newspaper press, or the reformist minority periodical and newspaper press. This thesis, therefore, considers the above three general feminist periodicals as design products that had feminist aspirations, and aims to better understand them by applying a newly modified version of linguist Gerard Genette's paratextual theory, whilst considering the diverse social, cultural, economic, political, technological, and aesthetic conditions that may have influenced their production, and inevitably their reading/consumption.

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8 Examples of these characteristics are: the typographical or iconotypographical mastheads, the two or three column arrangement, the celebrity interview, the celebrity portrait, the succinct one-paragraph news listings, and so forth.
Disciplines, like nations, are a necessary evil that enables human beings of bounded rationality to simplify the structure of their goals. But parochialism is everywhere, and the world sorely needs international and interdisciplinary travellers who will carry new knowledge from one enclave to another.\(^9\)

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1.2. The Current Academic landscape

1.2.1. Interdisciplinarity in Communication, Media, and Design History Research

A few months prior to the submission of this thesis I located the recently published *Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form*. This enormous collection of essays not only provided me with a glimpse of magazine research worldwide, most importantly it verified what I have suspected since 2010, and been able to partly substantiate since 2012: namely, that periodical research is predominantly strictly disciplinary. In fact, communications scholar Kathleen L. Endres argues that 48.9% of original scholarly research published in academic journals (from 2000 to 2012) was produced by communication scholars, such as communication studies, media studies, journalism and public relations scholars, whereas only 11.8% was produced by humanities scholars - most of whom were English or history scholars - and only 5% was produced by women's studies scholars. The two main reasons for this division are: 'the fragmentation that has occurred, and continues to occur, in communication, accompanied by an unrelenting pressure for specialization'; and ‘the nature of the questions [scholars] pose in [their] research’. When he made these arguments, communication scholar Michael Pfau was referring specifically to his communication scholarship peers, but the reality is that the problem of fragmentation exists across academia, and in some cases, even within the same discipline. In fact, journalism and mass communication scholar Carol Holstead has identified what I have also discovered during my PhD research: scholarly articles on magazine design tend to be entirely detached from each other. Furthermore, Holstead discovered that scholars writing on magazine design ‘rarely referenced each other’, and ‘were more likely to build on their own research than others’, which made linking research [...] challenging, which problem also exists in...
media studies, and manifests in ‘a failure to communicate across borders that divide the technophiles, the aesthetes, and the socio-political theorists’. Subsequently, the majority of magazine researchers ‘write for each other’, and ‘write for others within specific narrow niches’ of their own discipline.

Sociologist and interdisciplinary researcher Peter Weingart observes that, although the concept of interdisciplinarity has been around since the 1960s and has been discussed extensively ever since, it has actually remained under-practised to this day. Therefore, as a ‘critical, pedagogical, and institutional’ concept it is the most ‘underthought’ of its kind. The reason for this, as interdisciplinary theorist Julie Thompson Klein argues, is that while the debates on interdisciplinarity are acquiring much more depth and breadth, the ‘institutional obstacles to interdisciplinary programs’ are still huge. Indeed, PhD researchers are often pressured to conform to one discipline rather than another, or pressured to conform to theory- or practice-based research, which decision is typically also attached to a specific discipline. In fact, I have been asked in the past whether my thesis is situated within the terms of material versus visual analysis, to which I replied that I was borrowing from a variety of disciplines since many of them, in actuality, overlap, and that this project follows a transdisciplinary approach, and offers ‘a new way of thinking’.

Subsequently, as sociologist Patricia Leavy puts it, I followed a ‘social justice oriented approach to research’ in which I integrated diverse ‘resources and expertise from multiple disciplines’ in order to ‘holistically address a real-world issue’.

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17 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Interdisciplinarity’.
which in turn implied a gap in the existing academic panorama in terms of women’s involvement in design, media and gender politics as producers, consumers, and social activists. To that end, I sought to resolve this problem by contributing a design/media/gender historical study that follows a holistic transdisciplinary holistic approach. In other words, a thesis that considers women producers (i.e. editors, proprietors, printers, publishers, advertisers) as well as women readers/users/contributors/consumers in equal terms, and in relation to their social, cultural economic, political, technological, aesthetic context, through an examination not only of the anchor text, but also the paratexts associated with, attached to, and/or around it, whilst treating the periodical ‘as an autonomous [design] object of study’. 22

This thesis, therefore, is a modest attempt to reverse the current situation of disciplinary conformity and individualist research described above. As such, in order to achieve a more inclusive analysis, I have thus far included approximately 265 sources spanning at least fifteen different academic disciplines, such as (in no particular order) linguistics, social history, film and media studies, gender studies, material culture studies, advertising history, women’s history, journalism history, print history, typography, fashion design history, art history, graphic design history, neuroscience, psychology, and criminology from the 1920s to 2010s. Additionally, I have included a combination of primary and secondary non-academic sources spanning from the 1800s to the 1910s, as well as specialist commentary by current printing practitioner John Easson, proprietor and printer of Quarto Press, and intermittently consulted archivists, academics, ‘typophiles’, printers, designers to name but few. 23 Thus, although quality is naturally more important than quantity, I actively sought to achieve an inclusive attitude towards research; a philosophy that has influenced my practical, as well as methodological and theoretical approach to doing research.

23 I have also deliberately added a clarification for every name mentioned in this thesis, in the event that this document lands on the desk of a researcher outside Victorian periodical studies, and/or design historical studies. In other words, I do not assume that the reader of this thesis would necessarily know the people referenced, and for those that happen to already know all the names quoted I ask that they do not feel patronised.
Interdisciplinarity is under-represented in most cases, partly because, as feminist sociologist Ann Denis argues, researchers find it hard ‘to develop effective methodological tools in order to marry theorizing with necessary complex analysis of empirical data’.\textsuperscript{24} Indeed, the biggest challenge during this PhD project was the choice of a theoretical framework that would allow a holistic approach to the analysis of the periodical, which is a complex communication medium in its own right. Digital narrative scholar Marie-Laure Ryan argues that:

> Whether or not a text thinks with its medium is a value judgement rather than an objective observation. This judgement acknowledges the text’s ability to create an original experience, which cannot be duplicated in any other medium, an experience which makes the medium seem truly necessary.\textsuperscript{25}

Similarly to the digital texts and environments Ryan is referring to, late nineteenth century general feminist weekly periodicals were communication media that created an original experience, which could not be duplicated in, for example, general interest popular women’s magazines. I, therefore, had to find an existing, or create a new, theory from which to build a methodological model that would allow me to analyse the complex medium of the late nineteenth century general feminist weekly periodical for what it is, taking into consideration all its particularities, potentials and limitations. It was then that I began scanning the existing theories used in graphic design history, Victorian periodical studies, visual culture, literature, and media/digital media studies in a bid to locate what would be the most suitable model to answer my two research questions: i. to what extent the gendered conventions of late nineteenth century Britain influenced the editorial design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical; ii. did the hybrid paradigms of late nineteenth century New Womanhood in any way contest the established patriarchal ideals through the editorial design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical.

Journalism historian Carolyn Kitch, in agreement with the majority of magazine researchers, argues that magazines ‘convey messages about not only how society is, but also how it

should be, constructing ideals to which readers should agree. Indeed, after I surveyed existing literature on periodical research, I, too, found that existing studies either treated the periodical as an instrument of control, or as a medium that allowed the creation of a community, or managed to somehow mix the two ideas under the theme of culture. The studies that treated the periodical as an instrument of control were predominantly inspired by Marxist critical analysis, such as *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle (1851-1914)* by Thomas Richards; a book concentrating on nineteenth century and early twentieth century capitalism, focusing on the ways it developed and sustained a culture of its own through magazine advertisements. On the other hand, studies treating the periodical as a communication medium that allowed the formation of a community typically used the concepts of Jurgen Habermas on the public sphere, Stanley Fish on interpretive communities, or Benedict Anderson on imagined communities. For example, *Women Making News: Gender and the Women's Periodical Press in Britain* by historian Michelle Tusan is a book partly ‘about the making of a particular kind of female political subject’, moulded by her relationship to ‘women-run print journalism’ and its concomitant establishments, and partly about understanding the female activist within her wider cultural context. Tusan’s account acknowledges ‘a print-based Habermassian public sphere found in the pages of the women’s press’, and emphasizes the connections between the Victorian, Edwardian, and Interwar women’s activism. Similarly, *Feminist Realism at the Fin-De-Siècle: The Influence of the Late-Victorian Press on the Development of the Novel* by nineteenth century British literature critic Molly Youngkin is also based on the Habermassian concept of the public sphere. Moreover, Anderson’s concept of the imagined community has often been used by various scholars, including Beetham, and periodical studies writer Mark Hampton.


29 Ibid., pp. 4, 7.


31 Margaret Beetham, ‘Periodicals and the New Media: Women and Imagined Communities’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 29 (2006), pp. 231-40; Mark Hampton, ‘Representing the Public Sphere: The New Journalism
Cultural studies of the periodical typically achieve a combination of the above themes, in a way that they study periodicals as: ‘a cultural form on their own right’; ‘an expression of the ideals of their surrounding culture’; and ‘a statement about cultural identity’. Studies that fall in the first category are typically inspired by theorists such as semiotician Roland Barthes and visual culture scholar William J. T. Mitchell. For example, A Magazine of Her Own? by Beetham is an account of the periodical and its relationship to gender and sexuality, along with a chronological history of the popular magazine. At the time, Beetham’s Barthesian structural analysis of the magazine as a cultural text, and in particular as a ‘feminised space’, was an original methodological approach, never before attempted within print culture or literary studies (the two leading disciplines in periodical studies during the 1990s). Discourse studies scholar Veronica Koller also used semiotics to examine the associations ‘between the use of dominant verbal metaphors and the use of visual forms in business-media discourse’, though her semiotic framework is inspired by semiotics scholars Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. In addition, demonstrating periodicals as a cultural form in their own right has also been achieved through narrative analysis. Previously mentioned Youngkin, for example, uses narrative analysis to explain how the book reviews found in late nineteenth century feminist weekly periodicals helped form the novel as a genre using post-structural theories.

Furthermore, researchers may consider periodicals as ‘windows on cultural conditions in any given time and place’, which is the case in Victorian Women’s Magazines: An Anthology by Beetham and English literature scholar Kay Boardman. The authors treat the magazine as ‘a commodity in the market and […] as a text’; they have a definite chronological time frame, and aim to situate the selected publications in relation to their cultural conditions.
example of this type of study is perhaps *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation since 1800*, by graphic design historian Paul Jobling and art and design historian David Crowley: a book that focuses on the production and consumption of graphic design, largely in relation to Britain and France. They present a history of graphic design, through numerous examples of posters, advertisements, periodicals and printed ephemera, and their Marxist leanings are apparent throughout. Jobling and Crowley tried to include as many technological, aesthetic and ideological developments as possible, such as the transition from wood engraving to the photo-mechanised image, and/or from Art Nouveau to Socialism. Unlike the above studies, they are mainly concerned with the association of image and text in relation to class, race, and gender, whilst inquiring into hegemony and incorporation, and in their first chapter they analyse the periodical as part of the greater geo-socio-cultural context within which it existed.

Furthermore, researchers study periodicals as agents of social, or cultural identity. This approach can be found in *Hold that Pose: Visual Culture in the Late-Nineteenth Century Spanish Periodical* by hispanic literature scholar Lou Charmon-Deutsch. In her second chapter, more specifically, Charmon-Deutsch focuses on the photomechanical reproduction and the emergence of photography in the periodical press in order to understand ‘technology and its impact on image content’. Indeed, she argues that photographs ‘became a metaphor for objectivity and fidelity to an original’, whilst they ‘stoked the ocularcentric regime that characterised the ambitious nineteenth-century bourgeoisie’. The third chapter examines *Blanco y Negro*, a magazine aimed at middle-class men and women, concentrating on the ways it was able to employ various techniques to allow a low sale price, and attract a wider readership, such as using photographs that encouraged ‘readers to embrace their Spanishness’. Finally, the fourth chapter documents how the war cartoons that proliferated in the periodical press during the 1890s ‘provided a way for the upper and middle classes to

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41 Ibid., p. 46.
42 Ibid., pp. 62-3.
43 Ibid., p. 98.
represent themselves and their moral hierarchy in a way that distinguished them from the impoverished ideals of other nations’. In addition to those discussed above, there were three more theories that could prove beneficial for a periodical study focusing on design, namely frame analysis by sociologist Ervin Goffman; Gestalt theory by psychologists Kurt Koffka, Wolfgang Khler, and Max Wertheimer; and visual rhetoric theory.

1.2.2. A Holistic Approach to Media Research: Gérard Genette’s Theory of the Paratext

Whilst surveying the existing periodical studies literature and evaluating the approaches employed by researchers, I realised that not one of them was able to bring together the textual, the visual, as well as the material characteristics of the periodical. I was in need of a theory that would allow me to recognise that ‘the conventions and codes that inform graphic design are the result of social, economic, and political interests and historical and technological developments’. At this point, I returned to my initial choice of theoretical framework: the paratext theory of linguist Gérard Genette, which, according to literary scholars Dorothee Birke and Birte Christ, has become ‘one of the basic analytical tools taught in textbook introductions to the study of narrative and explicated in handbooks on literary analysis’. Consequently, although I also looked into the concepts of parergon, perigraphy, parasite, paragraphy, periphery, and paratrack, I eventually realised that only Genette’s paratextual approach is capable of truly recognising the peripheral. By that I mean recognising a ‘fringe’ that is ‘a zone not only of transition but also of transaction’. The Genetian paratext takes into account the peripheral, which in turn, as Germanist scholar Georg Stanitzek argues, allows:

Numerous social, economic, technical, and material references [to be] discovered; these are not irrelevant to the text but give indications of its internal working, showing it to be indeed a dispersedly organised and diverse structure. These references open up opportunities to raise

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44 Ibid., p. 6.
Moreover, Genette’s theory understands paratexts as ‘hermeneutically privileged and powerful elements’; paratexts ‘guide the reader’s attention, influence how a text is read, and communicate such information as to give a text its first contours, its manageable identity’.51 Most importantly, Genette’s paratexts are involved in ‘the process of textual perception’ and ‘text production’, and his theory ‘offers good opportunities’ to shift the focus of the analysis, in hermeneutic terms for instance, from ‘a psychological/technical interpretation to a grammatical interpretation’ and vice versa.52 For example, a psychological/technical interpretation would be to discuss the feelings evoked by specific typefaces, such as Antique, and the design implications of using such as Fat, bold typeface; whereas, a grammatical interpretation would be to read the anchor text word by word in order to determine the narrative that the author intended.

Genette’s paratext theory is adaptable without being restrictive and can be combined with other theories. In fact, there are cases where scholars adopted Genette’s terminology and definitions in conjunction with other analytical theoretical frameworks. For instance, at the border of literary criticism and art history stands the book *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* by literature and art critic Peter Wagner.53 Wagner is primarily interested in demonstrating that his ‘new post-structuralist readings’ of eighteenth century graphic images ‘are not destructive’, whilst he openly declares Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, and Julia Kristeva were his main influences. For example, Wagner mainly uses Kristeva’s intertextuality concept and Derrida’s ‘parergon’ theory to analyse his chosen works; however, he benefits greatly from the use of terminology originating from Genette’s paratext theory.54 Far from the literary field the theory of the paratext has also achieved considerable recognition mainly in studies of audio-visual forms, such as film and

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51 Ibid., p. 32.
52 Ibid., pp. 32, 41.
television; the most notable example being the monograph *Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and Other Media Paratexts* by media and cultural studies scholar Jonathan Gray.\(^{55}\)

Lastly, the theory of the paratext has also been extensively embraced by digital culture scholars, which is successfully demonstrated in the recently published collection of essays *Examining Paratextual Theory, and Its Application in the Digital Culture*.\(^{56}\)

**Challenging Genette’s Theory of the Paratext**

Stanitzek argues that ‘in a certain respect the paratext concept has been transferred from literature to film studies with almost too little resistance’.\(^{57}\) Similarly, Victorian periodical studies scholars have openly embraced Genette’s theory, and whilst few have challenged the original model, the majority have simply accepted the theory as it is.\(^{58}\) Yet, a totally complacent attitude to paratext theory could prove problematic, because it is not without weaknesses, and limitations. For example, on a basic level the word ‘para-text’ is not quite ‘applicable’, because para- is a prefix used for anything that stands ‘beside’ and ‘apart from’ something else.\(^{59}\) Practically speaking, therefore, the term paratext is incorrect when referring to typefaces, for instance, because the typeface is located more ‘upon’ the text rather than around it.\(^{60}\) Typefaces are implemented in the manuscript to the extent that manuscripts cannot exist without typefaces, even if that is the handwritten typeface of its own author. In addition, Genette’s definition of the epitext is also not without its own problems; he explains that:

> The distanced elements (epitexts) are all those messages that, at least originally, are located outside the book, generally with the help of media (interviews, conversations) or under cover of private communications (letters, diaries, and others).\(^{61}\)


\(^{56}\) *Examining Paratextual Theory and Its Applications in Digital Culture*, ed. by Nadine Desrochers and Daniel Apollon (Hershey: Information Science Reference, 2014).\(^{57}\)

\(^{57}\)*Stanitzek’s observation was an important point that I ought to bear in mind if I was to transfer the theory to my periodical design historical research. Stanitzek, pp. 27-42 (p. 38).

\(^{58}\)*See Chapter 2.

\(^{59}\)*See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Para-‘.

\(^{60}\) Stanitzek, pp. 27-42 (p. 30).

\(^{61}\)*Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 5.
Indeed, this simple definition can be applied successfully for most epitexts that are somehow in close proximity to the main text; nevertheless, as Stanitzek argues, ‘the greater the distance of these elements from the actual bound volume […] the more tenuous Genette’s conceptualization becomes’. For instance, at times the publisher’s epitexts could sometimes be so far from the original publication that even Genette avoids discussion of them; instead he states that he ‘will not dwell on the publisher’s epitext’.

In addition, Genette’s theory is indisputably developed in accordance with the fact that the anchor text proper is the manuscript of a book; thus, his analysis is ‘concerned with those functions of the book to which the paratext plays a supplementary yet constitutive role […] but they do not explore the function of the book as form as such’. Moreover, there is a great imbalance in terms of what is explained, and what Genette refuses to clarify at length. For example, he has openly stated that he:

> Left out three practices whose paratextual relevance seems to me undeniable, but investigating each one individually might demand as much work as required here in treating this subject as a whole.

As a result, if one excludes the various descriptive examples, Genette provides almost no explanation about the paratextual capacity of translation, serial publication, and typography, and how these elements actually function as paratexts. Another feature that does not do Genette any favours is contradiction. For instance, in his clarification about trivial epitexts he explains that he does not need ‘to specify the nature or gauge the weight of these facts of contextual affiliation, but we must at least remember that, in principle, every context serves as a paratext’. However, four hundred pages later he contradicts himself by stating that ‘inasmuch as the paratext is a transitional zone between text and beyond-text, one must resist the temptation to enlarge this zone by whittling away in both directions’; therefore, outside of

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62 Stanitzek, pp. 27-42 (p. 31).
63 For a definition of the ‘publisher’s epitexts’ see Chapter 2: Section 2.1.2.1, p. 57. Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 347.
64 Stanitzek, pp. 27-42 (p. 31).
66 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
the types of elements he explored in his book, readers should ‘be wary of rashly proclaiming
that “all is paratext”.  

Appropriating the Genettean Paratext to Suit A Specific Object of Study

Nonetheless, most of the above weaknesses, or limitations are remediable, and the
remediation process has already begun by attempting to remodel Genette’s theory in such a
manner that it becomes applicable to media other than the traditional print book, and later
available as a means of comparison between theories. As a result, in addition to the
examples mentioned above, other remediated models of Genette’s paratext theory can be
found, for instance, in ‘Paratracks in the Digital Age: Bonus Material as Bogus Material in
Blood Simple (Joel and Ethan Coen, 1984/2001)’ by literary scholar Eckart Voigt-Virchow.68
In a similar vein, after I decided on Genette’s theory as the one with the most potential for my
socio-culturally, technologically, and economico-politically sensitive case studies, I
have adapted his theory to suit the medium of the late nineteenth century general feminist
periodical. As a result, in the next chapter I provide an explanation of the paratextual
significance of visual elements and serial form; I emphasise some of the commonalities and
differences between the book form and the weekly periodical form, with a focus on formal
features such as the book cover and the masthead; and I expand on the original theory to
include paratexts specific to the nineteenth century general feminist weekly periodicals, such
as periodical supplements and advertising.69

However, one might argue that I only addressed some of the weaknesses of the original
paratext theory; for example, I did not replace the term ‘paratext’ or the definition of the term
‘epitext’. Yet, I would argue that developing a more fluid understanding of the original paratext
theory and primarily focusing on its substantial principles (i.e. paratext exists within the
original text, epitext exists outside the original text) helps to eliminate some of the more
practical problems listed by Stantzek, such as the fact that the prefix ‘para-‘ is not always

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67 Ibid. , p. 407.
68 Eckart Voigts-Virchow, pp. 129-40.
69 See Chapter 2.
applicable. At this point I should also note that my trandisciplinary methodology, which is manifest in my remediated model of the paratext theory, has provided the framework on which I built my project, whilst along the way I used a plethora of other theoretical concepts to support my critical arguments. Effectively, I have borrowed from across the disciplinary spectrum: from neuroscience to psychology, from fashion design history to art history, from print culture to visual culture, to name but a few. This interdisciplinary approach to existing theoretical concepts allowed me to create a multi-layered understanding of the paratexts I encountered in the nineteenth century periodicals I examined, which in turn allowed me to offer a multidimensional analysis. In a similar vein, my interdisciplinary approach was also applied to this research on a practical level, for example through my supervisory team (one supervisor from Art History/Visual Culture, one supervisor from English Literature/Periodical Studies), whilst my inclusive approach further manifested in my triangular model of archival access and case study method, and the variety of media (i.e. text, diagrams, images, editorial design) I used to present my research. This combined approach to doing and presenting research has always been one of the core objectives since the beginning of this project, in the hope that if it ever extends to a reader who might perhaps be outside design history, media history, gender history, periodical studies, or even outside academia altogether, this project will still be easy to navigate, read and digest.
But how are we to study the work of [...] women so that we can discover and account for the specificity of what they produced as individuals while also recognizing that, as women, they worked from different positions and experiences from those of their colleagues who were men? [...] The space of the look at the point of production will to some extend determine the viewing position of the spectator at the point of consumption.\(^7\)

1.3. The Research Project

1.3.1. The Time Scope: Late Nineteenth Century (c. 1880-1890)

Over the years, social historian Elizabeth Roberts argued in 1987, ‘historians have written exhaustively about the question of women’s suffrage in Great Britain in the first two decades of the twentieth century’.\(^7^1\) Two years later, English literature scholar Suzanne Graver also argued that due to ‘the many novels in the period that treat the ‘new woman’, feminism in the 1890s has received considerable attention in literary studies’.\(^7^2\) Yet, the 1890s had not at this point ‘received detailed study from scholars who do women’s history’; a gap that social historian David Rubinstein aimed to occupy with Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s, which perhaps was the first book focusing on women’s emancipation in that decade.\(^7^3\) Fast-forward thirty years; literary scholars and social historians have been working hard in building on the literature for this particular time in history, which body of work collectively corroborates that ‘the significance of the 1890s in the history of English women’, and I would add British women in general, ‘is that patterns and trends were established which subsequently became more marked’.\(^7^4\) Studies on the 1890s also validate another of Rubinstein’s claims:

Under the pressure of profound economic and social change and the emergence of class-based political parties, the social gulf which had done so much to cocoon and inhibit girls and women of the wealthy classes began to be bridged. [Yet] it was inevitable that in the circumstances of the 1890s there was no single women’s movement, no agreed programme of emancipation behind which all progressive women were united.\(^7^5\)

The above accounts on the last decade of the nineteenth century briefly, yet accurately, summarise the wider arguments developed by researchers examining the periodical press of this period. However, these arguments have not yet been examined from a design historical perspective using the general feminist weekly periodical as the object of study; a deficiency that perhaps my modest effort will help to remedy. Additionally, this thesis not only acknowledges that many artists ‘had simply assimilated technical advances that affected their


\(^{7^3}\) David Rubinstein, Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).

\(^{7^4}\) Ibid., p. 233.

\(^{7^5}\) Ibid., pp. 233-4.
media’, but at the same time considers that ‘modern tendencies in graphic design emerged as self-conscious responses to the structural changes produced by industrialization’, such as the British arts and crafts movement. These and many other historical events specific to the printing and advertising industries are considered as significant in conjunction with the ‘new spirit revealed by the emancipation movement of the 1890s’, as well as the New Journalism which materialised through changes in the appearance, content, and style of writing in the periodical press.

1.3.2. The Periodical Genre: General Feminist

As an architecturally trained designer turned design historian, I chose to study the feminist press because I wished to examine whether the prevalent Victorian patriarchal conventions had an influence on the design of the feminist periodical press: a periodical genre produced by politically progressive women who were openly supporting women’s emancipation – a concept that was radical at the time. In other words, my initial reason was purely empirical: I wanted to uncover whether Victorian patriarchal conventions bled into the design of the feminist press, as (it has been documented that) they influenced, for instance, advertising. Simultaneously, choosing the feminist periodical press as my subject of study also served various other research interests. As feminist media historian Maria DiCenzo puts it, feminist media history involves ‘more than looking at women’s domestic magazines and women’s supplements in the daily press’. These type of publications may have represented the canon, but ‘they were not the only media being produced or demanded’ during the late nineteenth century. As a result, and in agreement with DiCenzo, I was very keen ‘to locate and highlight the competing and critical voices’, and examine how the non-mainstream press dealt with the gendered societal standards of this evidently unsettled period. I was also eager to provide new methodological solutions for the holistic study of the periodical, because it seemed that ‘all the obvious frameworks had gaps’, and that there was a need for a functioning

77 Rubinstein, p. xi.
78 DiCenzo quoted in Skoog, pp. 11-24 (p. 13).
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
apparatus.\textsuperscript{81} There is no doubt that my study would perhaps not be feasible ‘without the people who have worked so hard to make [periodicals] more visible and accessible in bibliographic and critical studies.’\textsuperscript{82} Yet, by proposing a new inclusive transdisciplinary methodology for studying the late nineteenth century feminist periodical, I intend to cover some undertheorised themes in the existing literature of the late nineteenth century feminist periodical; a communication medium that was, simultaneously, independent as a design object and interdependent to its immediate media ecosystem.

1.3.3. The Periodical Titles: \textit{Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, Woman’s Signal}

In retrospection, the original list of case studies and three-year schedule for this PhD project was too ambitious, and could only come to completion by a group of experienced researchers, rather than one novice researcher like myself. The plan I submitted in my first year included a time frame that covered forty eight years, and included ten case studies of twenty periodicals. Each case study paired a feminist periodical with an antifeminist periodical or a mainstream women’s periodical, such as the \textit{Woman’s Herald} with the \textit{Gentlewoman}, the \textit{Shield} with the \textit{Home Chat}, and \textit{Urania} with \textit{Home Notes}. However, the case studies were supposed to be comparisons of just one issue of each periodical published on the same day, for instance the issue of the \textit{Woman’s Herald} published on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of January 1891 with No. 26 of the \textit{Gentlewoman} published on the same day. This initial plan was not going to be a helpful framework for a PhD study, although it could work as a basic framework for a conference paper on the feminist press between 1891-1939 about the design differences or commonalities in these periodicals. The reason: primarily because I wanted to provide a holistic understanding of each periodical, and I could only achieve this if I was able to study each one longitudinally, which meant that, for my originally proposed Case Study 7, for instance, I had to examine nineteen years of weekly issues which added to approximately 988 issues of \textit{Time and Tide}. The truth is that I originally included numerous case studies (and these were the few shortlisted periodicals from another very long list of periodicals that I sampled much earlier in my research) as a fall-back in case I struggled to move forward due

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., p. 14.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., p. 21.
to lack of access, or other problems I perhaps could not predict due to my initial lack of experience. Fortunately, as I was moving forward with my research, and was finding out more about the richness of this field, I gradually began to edit the list of periodicals to include in my case studies.

By the time I completed my second year, my list of case studies was reduced from ten to five, and the time-scale was reduced from forty eight years to thirty years. This change enabled the study to be more focused, whilst it served its broader feminist aim, which was to highlight how important events in women's history were perhaps evidenced through the design of the feminist periodical press. As a result, the new case studies focused on feminist periodicals while they used examples from across the periodical press; an approach that allowed for a more concentrated comparison of secondary materials, and encouraged a focus on this particular genre of periodicals. However, by the time I completed my third year, I was still writing my 3-in-1 case study on the Women’s Penny Paper (Oct. 27, 1888 – Dec. 27, 1890), the Woman’s Herald (Jan. 3, 1891 – Dec. 28, 1893), the Woman’s Signal (Jan. 4, 1894 – Mar. 23, 1899), and it was then I actually realised that this field of research was far more fertile than I had ever imagined. At this point it was obvious to me that the first case study, which I had been working on for twelve months, had to be divided into three case studies, which would eventually constitute the final thesis, if I was to do justice to my all-inclusive approach, my transdisciplinary methodology, and the three periodicals under scrutiny.

Aside from the chronological events described above, I should perhaps explain why the Woman’s Herald made it into my original list of periodicals to study in the first place, and what convinced me to focus on these three periodicals. From the very beginning, I knew I wanted to focus on the 1890s for the reasons explained above, but I wanted to anchor this decision to a significant print historical event. Subsequently, I initially selected the year 1891 as my starting point because this was the year well-known designer William Morris established the Kelmscott Press; a historically significant event in print history. I, then, consulted the feminist periodicals anthology by David Doughan and Denise Sanchez and located seven feminist
periodicals that were published in that year. Although the Woman’s Herald was the first on
the list, it was other more significant reasons that determined my decision to include it in this
thesis. Firstly, only three of the seven periodicals, listed in this bibliography that were live
during the 1890s, were general feminist periodicals, the remaining four being
campaign/organisational feminist periodicals. Out of the three, the Woman’s Journal (1891-
1892) was published in Australia, which meant that it was outside my subject theme, and the
Threefold Cord (1891-1896) was only available as an incomplete run archived at the British
Library. The Woman’s Herald, however, was published in England, and was available as a full
run at the Women’s Library, the British Library, and online via Gale. More importantly, the
Woman’s Herald was subtitled ‘the only paper conducted, written and published by women’; a
subtitle that guaranteed this paper was printed by women during a time that most printing was
completed by men. Finally, the fact that the Woman’s Herald was a direct continuation of the
Woman’s Penny Paper, and the predecessor of the Woman’s Signal meant that I could only
truly appreciate their different editorial identities and designs if I studied their full evolutionary
journey from 1888 all the way to 1899, paying particular attention to each editorial phase.

1.3.4. The Three Case Studies

As I mentioned above, the main analysis of this thesis focuses on the general feminist weekly
periodical Woman’s Penny Paper (1888-1891) and its subsequent sister periodicals Woman’s
Herald (1891-1893) and Woman’s Signal (1894-1899). In archival and bibliographical sources,
such as the online archive GALE 19th Century UK Periodicals and the bibliography Feminist
Periodicals, 1855-1984: An Annotated Critical Bibliography of British, Irish, Commonwealth
and International Titles, these three periodicals are either listed under the same entry or are
directly cross referenced to indicate that they were continuations of each other. At the same
time, although the founder of the Woman’s Penny Paper remained as editor and proprietor
until the change in title, Woman’s Herald saw three changes in administration, and Woman’s
Signal saw two. More specifically, Woman’s Penny Paper (Oct. 27 1888 – Dec. 27, 1890) and
Woman’s Herald (a) (Jan. 3, 1891 – Apr. 23, 1892) was edited by Henrietta Müller with

83 See Chapter 1: Section 1.1.
Women’s Printing Society Ltd. as publishers and printers, and later the National Press Agency Ltd. as printers. Then, *Woman’s Herald* (b) (Apr. 30, 1892 – Feb. 16, 1893) was edited by Mrs Frank Morrison (Apr. 30-1892 – Octo. 22, 1892), and later by Christina Sinclair Bremner (Oct. 29, 1892 – Feb. 18, 1893) with Woman’s Herald Co. as publishers and printers. *Woman’s Herald* (c) (Feb. 23, 1893 – Dec. 28, 1893) was then continued by co-editors/proprietors Lady Isabella Henry Somerset and Edwin H. Stout with Horace Marshall & Son as publishers, and W. Speaight & Sons as printers. *Woman’s Signal* (a) (Jan. 4, 1894 – Sep. 26, 1895) continued with Lady Somerset as editor/proprietor, Annie E. Holdsworth as co-editor, and Frances E. Willard as corresponding editor with Horace Marshall & Son as publishers, and Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd. as printers. Lastly, *Woman’s Signal* (b) (Oct. 3, 1895 – Mar. 23, 1899) with Mrs Florence Fenwick Miller as editor/proprietor continued with Horace Marshall & Son as publishers, and Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd. as printers (Oct. 3, 1895-Feb. 27, 1896), and later with Veale, Chifferiel & Co. Ltd as printers (Mar. 5, 1896-Mar. 23, 1899). Subsequently, the following case studies should be read as one very large case study divided in three pairs of smaller case studies, because to study any of these publications disconnected from each other as other critics have done, would result in drawing a very limited understanding of their multi-layered character and contribution to the feminist movement.

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84 See Appendix III / Editorships and Other Details of the *Women's Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, and Woman’s Signal*. 
The proper METHOD for studying poetry and good letters is the method of contemporary biologists, that is careful first-hand examination of the matter, and continual COMPARISON of one ‘slide’ or specimen with another.\footnote{Ezra Pound, \textit{ABC of Reading} (London, Boston: Faber and Faber Limited, 1934), p. 17.}
1.4. The Structure of this Thesis

At the very beginning of this chapter I presented the premise of this research project, which is to examine the paratextual systems included in three (sister) late nineteenth century general feminist weekly periodicals, in order to understand whether or not their design was in any way gendered. I also specified that I specifically intend to ascertain whether the gendered conventions of late nineteenth century Britain influenced the design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical, and whether the new hybrid models of late nineteenth century womanhood in Britain influenced the design identity of the feminist weekly periodical. I then offered a review of the existing landscape relevant to my theme of study, and clarified the problem of disciplinarity, arguing in favour of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research, not just as philosophies but also practical approaches to research. I followed with a brief list of approaches used by other academics to read the communication medium of the periodical, and then explained how and why I chose Genette’s theory of the paratext as my theoretical foundation. I conclude with my reasons for choosing the time scope, periodical genre, and specific titles for this research project.

In Chapter 2, I continue to discuss methodological issues, starting with an explanation of the challenges which came with a choice of methodology that would not only allow me to stay faithful to the feminist philosophy of this project, but also allow me to practice transdisciplinary research, whilst at the same time respecting the communication medium of my study, namely the late nineteenth century feminist periodical. I then swiftly present some key theoretical frameworks on the ‘organisation of experience’ that I think are relevant to each other, and I follow with an explanation of the original theory of the paratext presented in Genette’s treatise Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation. I continue the chapter with an explanation of the new, additional, or appropriated paratext definitions, paratexts, and paratextual categories, such as serial form, supplements, and advertisements, and follow with an explanation of the practical methods I used, namely the triangulation of archival access and case study technique.
In Chapter 3, I present my first case study pair of the Women’s Penny Paper and the Woman’s Herald (a), which are the only two papers I treat as being the exact same paper, because throughout their lifecycle they remained under the editorship and proprietorship of Henrietta Müller, ensuing the same editorial identity throughout. The chapter focuses on how Müller’s editorial aim for a ‘universal sisterhood’ was projected not only through the anchor text, such as the leading article Interview, but also the iconic peritexts that featured with it, such as the interviewees’ portraits, and other paratexts, such as the title and epigraphs in the masthead, the advertisements, or the typefaces to name a few. Subsequently, I argue that Müller based the production of the Women’s Penny Paper/Woman’s Herald (a) on a hybrid model founded on a liberal True Womanhood, but it projected messages of progressive New Womanhood. This unique approach not only gained the admiration of female, and male, readers from across the socio-political spectrum and around the world, who were interested in women’s progress, but also succeeded in initiating feminist discussion, and connecting a variety of women, whilst maintaining an appeal to advertisers, and staying true to its editorial character.

In Chapter 4, I present my second case study of the Woman’s Herald (b) and Woman’s Herald (c); two different versions of the same paper that are quite different in terms of their editorial identity and target audience. The first section of the chapter focuses on the paper’s newly acquired Liberal narrative, which was especially emphasized by paratexts such as a distinctive front cover illustration and relevant advertisements that targeted the progressive woman; yet, they were not without their prejudices. Inevitably, I argue that the producers’ lack of sympathy for working-class female readers, and other progressive New Women that perhaps did not share their political beliefs, was the main reason that the paper was not able to gather a strong enough support to remain in circulation. In the second section of this chapter I discuss the paper’s editorial identity change into a Gospel temperance paper and I argue that their new narrative was based on the concepts of maternalism, Christianity and purity. The paper targeted a mixed gender audience, and aimed to appeal to readers from

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86 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘New Womanhood’.
across the class spectrum, and it hoped to achieve that end by assuming an iconotypographical masthead especially commissioned to encapsulate the paper’s identity. Other paratexts, such as advertising and portraits, also helped emphasize the idea of maternalism, which they carried the paper through to the end of that year.

In Chapter 5, I present my third case study of the Woman’s Signal (a) and Woman’s Signal (b); two papers that were direct continuations to each other, though they eventually followed very different paths. The first continued as a Gospel temperance paper picking up from where Woman’s Herald (b) left off, though the new editorial team also produced a monthly supplement and a monthly budget to further compliment the weekly issue. Nonetheless, I argue that although they assumed a rather sophisticated attitude to making most of the paratexts such as mastheads, portraits, and advertising, they failed to convince the average temperance or general feminist reader to support their ‘do-it-all’ policy. The second section argues that the newly redesigned Woman’s Herald (b) adopted a narrative that favoured bourgeois propriety in the hope that the general feminist reader will be enticed to subscribe to the paper, and by doing so she would hopefully develop a taste for suffrage. In the closing chapter of this thesis I briefly summarise the individual knowledge that I gathered from each case study, and through a self-reflective process I aim to demonstrate that my research is relevant to any contemporary researcher, whether from within media studies, design history studies, or women’s studies, and grasp the opportunity to echo on the importance of doing transdisciplinary inclusive research.
— The (Trans)Methodology
2.1. Methodology: The Theory

2.1.1. On The ‘Organisation of Experience’: A Review of Theories

Philosopher Martin Heidegger discussed the phenomenon of ‘word disclosure’ in *Being and Time* (1962), originally published in German in 1927, proposing that phenomenology is the methodological approach within the science of ontology.\(^87\) He also explained in what manner ‘phenomenon’ differs from ‘appearance’, clarifying that phenomenon indicates the way in which a thing can be experienced, whilst appearance indicates the suggestion of an association. This association is a ‘thing in itself’ and the sign that indicates the suggestion of an association can ‘fulfil its possible function only if it shows ‘itself in itself’ and is thus a phenomenon’.\(^88\) He proposed, therefore, that signs are the mediators that create the contextual reality in order for the things to be experienced, based on indicative suggestions that propose certain associations, which eventually influence one’s perception of those things.

Some years later, contemporary philosopher Nikolas Kompridis described Heidegger’s approach as ‘first order disclosure’ and suggested that there is also a possibility of a ‘second order disclosure’\(^89\). The latter would be the kind of disclosure during which one tries to understand the thing, and as an extension, understand the world; thus, through this reflective process one can enter new levels of understanding and reach new latitudes of meaning.

In a similar vein, sociologist Ervin Goffman coined the term ‘frame analysis’ referring to the study of ‘the organization of experience’.\(^90\) Goffman argued that, similarly to a game of chess, ‘if the meaningfulness of everyday activity’ is ‘dependent on a closed, finite set of rules, then explication of them would give one a powerful means of analyzing social life’.\(^91\) Additionally, he recognised that ‘when participant roles in an activity are differentiated, the view that one person has of what is going on is likely to be quite different from that of another’.\(^92\)

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\(^88\) Heidegger, p. 54.


\(^91\) Ibid., p. 5

\(^92\) Ibid., p. 8.
Comparably, in his posthumous work *Course in General Linguistics* (1972), originally published in French in 1916, the founder of modern semiotics Ferdinand De Saussure argued that we comprehend messages in relational terms rather than absolute ways.\(^9^3\) The concept was later developed in *Mythologies* (1972) by Roland Barthes, who was ‘the first one to apply semiotic theory directly to media and culture’ to demonstrate the significance of examining media texts ‘in terms of how they recycle mythological or second-order (connotative) meanings’.\(^9^4\) This brief survey of theories demonstrates that concepts considering the importance of the circumstantial conditions surrounding a message, or a thing, are not new; however, it was only until the work of French literary theorist Gerard Genette, which defines ‘transtextuality’ and its subsequent categories, was translated into English that this kind of concept gained a much wider cross-disciplinary appreciation.

### 2.1.2. The Theory of the Paratext

Genette first discussed ‘transtextuality’ in regard to genre in *Introduction A L’Architexte* (1979), which was later published in English as *The Architext: An Introduction* (1992).\(^9^5\) He then discussed transtextuality in terms of the relationship a subsequent text (hypertext) might have to an earlier text (hypotext) in *Palimpsestes: La Littérature au Second Degré* (1982), which was later published in English as *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (1997).\(^9^6\) Lastly, he discussed transtextuality in terms of the ‘paratext’ in *Seuils*, 1987, which was later published in English as *Paratexts: Thresholds Of Interpretation* (1992); a work that gave new life to all those textual and non-textual productions that are destined to follow a notional orbit around the anchor text. In his last book, Genette argues that there are two reasons for the presence of paratexts: to act as curatorial elements to the anchor text, or to objectify the anchor text. He then explains that ‘more than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is,

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\(^9^4\) Marcel Danesi, ‘Semiotics of Media and Culture’, in *The Routledge Companion to Semiotics*, ed. by Paul Cobley (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 135-49 (pp. 142, 139). For example, Barthes discusses the significance of the product name *Persil* and the accompanying word ‘whiteness’ of the homonymous detergent; Abbe Pierre’s Franciscan haircut; or the description and sub-description found in magazine article such as Jacqueline Lenoir (two daughters, one novel): all being productions that later Genette will term as ‘paratexts’. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1972), pp. 36, 47, 50.


rather, a threshold: paratexts represent ‘a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text’.  

Genette argues that paratexts exist throughout history and continually change based on the period, culture, genre, author, work and even edition of the main text. They might exist on an insignificant scale as small productions, or in a grand scale as large productions, but one thing is evident: texts do not exist without paratexts, although paratexts could exist without texts. In some cases, during the Middle Ages for example, texts were presented merely as manuscripts, but were transcribed or even orally transmitted, which process added a paratextual element to the main content; whereas in other cases, works from the ancient times that have been lost or abandoned in their totality, are survived by their titles only. All authors and publishers do not practise paratextuality in the same way and all readers do not read the paratexts in the same way. Inevitably though, all readers are being unceasingly introduced to various types of paratexts; therefore, they are introduced to various supplementary information that can eventually influence their interpretation of the anchor text. In this vein, Genette’s categorisation is formed by determining: where, when, how, and why a paratext functions; who creates it, to whom it is addressed; and what it communicates. Based on this criteria, he then draws a list of paratextual sub-categories based on their spatial, temporal, substantial and pragmatic qualities, focusing on the functional nature of the paratext, choosing to omit sketches of any sub-categories based on functionality. However, Genette explains that the functionality of the paratext is extremely empirical; therefore, one needs to examine it specifically for each genre, type or independent text. 

2.1.2.1. Paratexts (Paratext = Peritext + Epitext)

Similarly to Antoine Compagnon’s concept of perigraphie, the ‘peritext’ (peritext = paratext – epitext) is any paratextual message that is published with the anchor text, and exists within the main publication, whether around the main text or within the main text (Diagram i). In

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99 Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 3.
101 Ibid., p. 2.
contrast, the ‘epitext’ (epitext = paratext – peritext) is any paratextual message that is not inserted into the anchor text, and exists outside the main publication, whether in the form of media communications or private communications. Furthermore, the ‘prior paratext’ is any paratextual message that is publicized before the publication of the main text, whereas the ‘original paratext’ is any paratextual message that is publicized with the main text. The ‘later paratext’ is any paratextual message that is publicized shortly after the first publication, whereas the ‘delayed paratext’ is any paratextual message that is publicized long after the first publication. The ‘delayed paratext’ could be ‘anthumous’ if it is publicized during the author’s lifetime, or ‘posthumous’ if it is publicized after the author’s death. Moreover, a ‘textual paratext’ is any paratextual message that is written (i.e. titles, subtitles, epigraphs); all other paratexts that are not written and cannot be described as verbal, are divided into the following categories: iconic, factual, and material. Iconic paratexts are the productions that are in the form of an image, illustration, diagram and so forth, whereas factual paratexts are the productions that are true information. Furthermore, factual paratexts could be divided into basic and trivial, where ‘basic’ are any paratextual messages that provide basic information, and ‘trivial’ are any paratextual messages that provide accurate information. Material paratexts are the productions that provide material information, such as typography or paper.

Genette also categorized paratexts in accordance with the nature of the sender and the addressee. As such he separated these paratexts based on the social role of the sender into private and public. Private paratexts are the productions that have been created in order to be communicated in private, which can further be divided in those that have been created in order to be communicated in private (two or more people), and those that have been created in order to be communicated in private (one person). On the other hand, public paratexts are any productions that have been created in order to be communicated in public. Furthermore, Genette divided paratexts in accordance with the individual role of the sender; creating the categories of authorial paratexts, publisher’s paratexts, and allographic paratexts. Authorial paratexts are the productions that have been created by the author in order to be communicated in public, and publisher’s paratexts are any productions that have been
created by the publisher in order to be communicated in public. Allographic paratexts, however, are any productions that have been created by a third party in order to be communicated in public. All allographic paratexts are also divided in accordance with the level of responsibility held by the sender or receiver; thus allographic paratexts with a full responsibility are any productions that have been created as a whole by a third party, in order to be communicated in public, whereas allographic paratexts with a shared responsibility are any productions that have been created by a third party, with the participation of the author and/or publisher, in order to be communicated in public. Genette also considered paratexts in accordance with the level of authority held by the sender and the addressee into official, and unofficial. Official paratexts are any productions that have been created by the author and/or the publisher, and unofficial (or semi-official) paratexts are any productions that have been created by a third party, with the permission, or the request, of the author.

Paratexts hold various ‘illocutionary forces’, meaning that they can convey a variety of messages. Therefore, Genette argues, paratexts are able to: communicate mere Information; make known an Intention; convey a genuine decision; involve a commitment; give a word of advice; issue a command; or be performative. Genette emphasizes that paratextual messages are, by nature, defined to exist irregularly, and therefore they tend to have a rather unpredictable life cycle, which is always vulnerable to the decisions of the author or the publisher or the mere effect of time. In particular, he argues that:

The only significant regularities one can introduce into this apparent contingency are to establish these relations of subordination between function and status and thus pinpoint various sorts of functional types and, as well, reduce the diversity of practices and messages to some fundamental and highly recurrent themes.

He then states that, by connotation, all paratextual messages can exist and act as paratexts, only if someone accepts the responsibility for producing them. Yet, in regard to factual trivial paratexts, Genette clarifies that ‘in principal, every context serves as a paratext’, but contextual facts do not always need mentioning to be considered as shared

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102 Genette, Paratexts, p. 10.
103 Ibid., p.13.
understandings. He, however, clarifies that a paratext can only have one spatial, temporal, substantial, or pragmatic attribute, but it can share numerous functional purposes.

The publisher's peritext refers to all the paratextual messages that bear the responsibility, and exist under the direction of, the publisher. This category of pragmatic paratexts shares a spatial and substantial situation; they are textual, or non-textual, material peritexts with various illocutionary forces, temporal situations and functional aspects. The non-textual material publisher's peritexts are, by practice, executed by the typesetter or printer, but are decided by the publisher; therefore, they are also official paratexts. However, Genette clarifies, that this type of peritext is only existent if one is dealing with texts following the establishment of printing, particularly because the publisher's realization of the peritext predominantly includes typographical and bibliographical components. More specifically, the cover, title page, and appendages of a book typically 'present to the public at large and then to the reader many other items of information'; of which some are authorial some are the publisher's responsibility. Genette explains that 'the printed cover […] is a fairly recent phenomenon and seems to date from the early nineteenth century', and then he moves on to list eighteen different paratexts that could be found on the cover of a book. He then acknowledges that the paratexts are a mixture of 'verbal, numerical, or iconographic items of information', which are typically 'supplemented by more comprehensive ones pertaining to the style of design of the cover', referring to the front cover of the book, that is usually 'characteristic of the publisher, the series, or group of series'. Genette further describes the inside covers of the front cover and the back cover as 'mute', in comparison to the main front cover, with the exception of magazine covers. Finally, he lists various paratexts that could be found on the back cover of a book, but he does mention that in some poetry series, the back cover can

104 Ibid., p. 8.
105 Ibid., p. 23.
106 The full list is: name or pseudonym of the author; title(s) of the author(s); genre indication; name of translator(s), of the preface writer(s), of the person(s) responsible for establishing the text and preparing the critical apparatus; dedication; epigraph; likeness of the author, or, for some biographical or critical studies, of whoever is the subject of study; facsimile of the author’s signature; specific illustration; name and/or colophon of the series; name of the person(s) responsible for this series; in the case of a reprint, mention of the original series; name or trade name and/or initials and/or colophon of the publisher; address of the publisher; number of printings; date; price. Ibid., p. 24.
107 Genette argues that 'at the beginning of the twentieth century, yellow covers were synonymous with licentious French books', which was 'certainly the reason Aubrey Beardsley names his quarterly The Yellow Book'. Genette, Paratexts, pp. 24-25.
108 Ibid., p. 25.
also be mute, which he argues is ‘an external sign of nobility’. Genette also mentions the spine of a book, which has ‘an obvious strategic importance’, and the manner in which vertical or horizontal printing of the title, or the length of the title could have a certain impact on experiencing the book. He then argues that the dust jacket, or the band of a book are ‘meant to be transitory, to be forgotten after making their impression’, which one might argue was the expectation for the front and back covers, or ad-wrapper of nineteenth century periodicals too. In particular, he explains that pages 1-2 in a book typically remain ‘blank’, whereas page 3 usually has a short version of the title, and pages 4 and 6 may be used for a long list of other peritexts, whereas page 5 is typically used as the title page. This section is short and very descriptive, with perhaps the most important of Genette’s arguments being that identifying the typeface of a book is ‘entirely necessary’.

The Format

According to Genette, the choice of format is the most important phase during the materialization of a book. Preparing a text for public consumption includes the materialization of that text, which happens through the production of the book. Genette explains that the term format has carried different meanings through history: a. the method in which a sheet of paper is folded to become the pages of a book, b. the size of the prototype sheet, which was traditionally identified by a type of watermark. Books existed in a large format (i.e. folio or quarto volumes), medium format (i.e. octavo volumes) or small format (i.e. duodecimo, sextodecimo or octodecimo volumes). In 17th century France, large formats were only used for principal texts or were preferred for the special edition of a literary text, and although this was not a practice followed unanimously, it was the most widespread. Two hundred years later, the standards of format selection had changed noticeably; the medium format was now used for the most principal texts and the smaller format were used for the cheaper editions of popular literature. However, principal texts could also be published in small formats in order to enhance compactness and convenience so as to attract a wider audience.

110 Ibid., p. 32.
111 Ibid.
The concept of reserving large size formats for the more prestigious works was still a standard of the trade when Genette published *Seuils*; however, by that time, none of the above meanings of the term *format* were actually accurate. *Format* now meant whether a book was published in a trade size or pocket size. These two categories were directly related to a particular set of dimensions; however, their paratextual meaning was much more related to physicality than to practicality. A focus on the physicality of a book first appeared during the seventeenth century, barely survived until the nineteenth century, and then experienced a renaissance during the twentieth century. By the time Genette was writing his treatise, the pocket-size book was a cultural phenomenon; it represented a series of published books, which were indeed expected to be small enough to fit in your pocket, but their most essential paratextual meaning was that they were expected to be revived classic works, sold at low prices, so as to be accessible by the majority of the public.

**The Series**

Serialised book publication was a practical solution that was adopted by most large-scale publishing houses and it was the means to publicly display the diversification of their publications in a comprehensive manner and control this diversification in an uncomplicated manner. Indeed, publishing houses have invested so extensively into this concept, that it is now unusual if a book does not belong to a series and as a result, books outside any existing series immediately are being categorised as *white series* books. That categorization, itself, also carries a paratextual meaning, which is demonstrating to the reader what sort of text s/he might be dealing with. Serialisation also carries other paratextual meanings by means of the colour coding chosen for each particular series or the genre name that each series holds.\(^{112}\)

**The Paper**

In his discussion of the publisher’s peritext, Genette also offers his opinion on the peritextual influence paper stock could impose on a literary work. He argues that ‘the role played by the

\(^{112}\) Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 22.
different choices of paper’ is much less significant to the role played by typesetting, because ‘if the typesetting is only a materialization of the text, the paper is only an underpinning for that materialisation’.113 This means that the choice of paper, from a peritextual perspective, is ‘even further removed from the constitutive ideality’ of a literary work.114 Yet, the ‘real differences’ between copies of the same work printed on dissimilar quality paper - namely their aesthetic, economic, and material differences – ‘serve as grounds for a fundamental symbolic difference’; as such, copies printed in specific type of paper are inevitably regulated.115

The Typeface

Genette writes that one should consider the ‘paratextual value that may be vested in other types of manifestation’, such as the material, and he argues that typesetting and choice of paper ‘constitute the basis’ of a publication’s ‘material realization’.116 He goes on to define ‘typesetting’ as ‘the choice of typeface and its arrangement on the page […] the act that shapes a text into a book’.117 However, he opted out of providing a comprehensive treatise on ‘the history or aesthetics of the art of typography’, presumably for the same reasons that he did not provide an extensive discussion on illustration: lack of space, but more significantly lack of expertise. Yet, he provided a number of literary examples in order to demonstrate that ‘typographical choices may provide indirect commentary on the texts they affect’.118

2.1.3. The Genettean Paratext appropriated for the 19th Century Periodical

2.1.3.1. Editorial Design (otherwise termed ‘format’)119

Genette writes that ‘the most all-embracing aspect of the production’ of a publication is ‘doubtless the choice of format’.120 Discussing the nineteenth century newspaper genre, James Mussell notes that:

113 Genette, Paratexts, p. 35.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid.
116 Ibid., pp. 7, 34.
117 Ibid., p. 34.
118 Ibid.
119 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Format’. 
As the newspaper shared an ancestor with the periodical miscellanies common in the period, there was considerable overlap, especially between weekly newspapers and periodicals. I argue, therefore, that feminist weekly papers, such as the *Paper*, *Herald*, and *Signal* took advantage of this practice of overlay, in order to create a ‘hybrid identity’ that allowed them to not only project, but also appeal to various models of New Womanhood. In other words, feminist weekly papers introduced a hybrid style, which consisted of signs, borrowed from the newspaper press (which primarily targeted male readers): these signs appeared individually, or in amalgamation with one another, but always in association with items of the women’s periodical press. This hybrid periodical press design formulated in various intensities and manners for each of the three feminist weeklies discussed in this thesis, and not only involved gendered socio-cultural references, but was also infused with various transtextual, architextual, and paratextual references. In fact, the hybrid feminist weekly press design was a stylistic amalgam that consisted of a *bricolage* of elements found in: the press produced by men that targeted only men; the press produced by men that targeted men and women; the press produced by men that targeted only women; and/or the press produced by women that targeted only women. In other words, the producers (meaning the team of proprietors, editors, printers) of the *Paper*, *Herald*, and *Signal* acted as *bricoleurs* as they embraced existing signifieds from an array of ‘limited possibilities’, and used them as signs to configure new ‘system[s] of paradigms with the fragments of syntagmatic chains’ through which they wished to communicate their desired message. In their majority, these newly appropriated elements hold a paratextual significance in association to the anchor text; however, this is not always the case. Consequently, in order to better understand the peritexts and epitexts discussed throughout the following three case studies, one ought to: a. acknowledge that not

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120 Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 17.
121 For example, he mentions that ‘weekly newspapers adopted features associated with the periodical such as continuous pagination’. James Mussell, ‘Elemental Forms’, *Media History*, 20 (2014), pp. 4-20 (p. 8).
122 An example of hybrid identity of the late nineteenth century could also be what others have called ‘conservative feminism’. *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism and International Consumer Cutlure 1880-1930*, ed. by Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 3.
123 This argument has been inspired by the concept of the ‘alternative dress’. In particular, sociologist and fashion history critic Diane Crane argues that during the nineteenth century, and especially by the end of the century, existed three generic types of female dress styles: a. the conventional feminine style, b. the dress reform style, c. the ‘alternative’ dress style. Crane defined this alternative dress style as: ‘a set of signs, borrowed from male clothing, that appeared sometimes singly, sometimes in combination with one another, but always associated with items of female clothing’. Diane Crane, ‘Clothing Behaviour as Non-Verbal Resistance: Marginal Women and Alternative Dress in Nineteenth Century’, *Fashion Theory*, 3 (1999), pp. 241-68 (pp. 242-3).
all verbal or not-verbal elements that exist in a publication are theoretically viable paratexts, though they might hold a symbolic significance of some sort, or serve a particular ideological purpose; b. elements that are purely functional might not hold a premeditated symbolic significance, or serve a particular ideological purpose in the first instance; yet, they inevitably offer their own commentary on the main narrative.125

2.1.3.2. Epigraphs and Other Textual Peritexts 126

Genette defines the epigraph as ‘a quotation placed en exergue, generally at the head of a work or a section of a work’, and he lists four functions for the use of such a peritext as a comment on the title and text, as creating an association with the author of the epigraph, or with a specific period, genre, or subject matter.127 In cases where the epigraph comments on the title, the epigraph is used ‘as a justificatory appendage of the title’, which function is ‘almost a must’ in cases where the title ‘consists of a borrowing, an allusion, or a parodic distortion’. In cases where the epigraph comments on the text, sometimes the comment is clear, but ‘more than often’ the comment is unclear and the reader has to complete reading the whole text in order to interpret it. In other cases, the epigraph creates an association with the author of the epigraph, and often it is more important who the author of the epigraph is rather than what the quotation actually says. Finally, Genette lists ‘the most powerful oblique effect’ of the epigraph, which is the ability to create an association with a specific historical period, genre, or subject matter. All the above peritextual functions of the epigraph demonstrate that it is ‘in itself a signal (intended as a sign) of culture, a password of intellectuality’: with a specific epigraph the author/producer of the primary text ‘chooses his peers and thus his place in the pantheon’ of texts that are available at any one time to every reader. Chapters III, IV and V include numerous types of paratexts that are all interlinked and in coexistence with the various paratexts discussed in depth here. Subsequently, peritexts such as onymity, anonymity, pseudonymity, titles, epigraphs, and so forth will be occasionally discussed.

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125 I.e. A lot of the decisions made by the compositors in regard to typeface styles were based on practical or economic reasons. Yet, the chosen styles inevitably offered their own aesthetic references on the overall perception of the final design.
126 Chapters 3, 4 and 5 include numerous other types paratexts that are all interlinked and in coexistence with the various paratexts listed above. Peritexts such as onymity, anonymity, pseudonymity, titles, epigraphs, and so forth will be occasionally discussed throughout the three case studies in an attempt to further explain their involvement in engineering a specific reading of the main texts.
discussed throughout the three case studies in an attempt to further explain their involvement in engineering a specific reading of the main texts.

2.1.3.3. Factual Paratexts

Genette argues that ‘we must at least bear in mind the paratextual value that maybe vested in other types of manifestation’, such as the ‘purely factual’. Then, he further explains that:

By factual I mean the paratext that consists not of an explicit message (verbal or other) but of a fact whose existence alone, if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received.

These factual paratexts, by default are further divided into basic and trivial. The age or sex of the author, for example, is a basic type of paratext, whereas the membership of a society is a trivial type of paratext. For example, in the first issue of the *Signal* (a) the article ‘How I Made My Own Speech’ is followed by the phrase ‘by Mrs. Fenwick Miller’. The article is also accompanied by a portrait photo and the name of the sitter and author of the article below the photo, whilst on the top of the page there is the page number in the left-hand corner, the name of the paper in the middle, and the date of the month in the right-hand corner. In this instance the anchor text is the article, and the rest of the elements on the page are paratexts. The page number, the paper’s name and the date of the month are factual basic peritexts, whereas the title of the article is an original official peritext. The epigraph of the title includes various different factual basic peritexts, such as the author’s name and title, which title reveals the author’s sex and marital status. Consequently, the name is ascribed to a person with a profession, social status, good or bad reputation, who holds various memberships or publicly expressed political beliefs, and these are common knowledge amongst her contemporaries. In this instance, the portrait confirms that the author is a female of a certain ethnicity, age, and of a certain status in accordance with her appearance (i.e. clothing, hairstyle, skin condition and colour, facial characteristics).

Factual paratexts engineer a specific first impression that influences the reading of the anchor text. Sometimes these paratexts can be perceived in a way not intended by the producers of

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129 Ibid.
the anchor text, which in turn may result in a different interpretation of the intended message.

One such instance occurred in 1890 when an article featured in St. James’s Gazette claimed the Paper/Herald (a) had employed a male interviewer because women interviewers had not been competent thus far. Müller publicly expressed her disappointment about such misogynist claims with this short reply:

The St. James's Gazette sings a loud song of triumph because, out of our 78 interviews which have been running on regularly since we started in October, 1888, one has been admitted which was written by a man, and the writer jumps to the conclusion – how like a man! – that there was necessity in the case.

If we women can write and publish 78 interviews, we can write and publish 79 and 779, and find no mystery nor difficulty in it. No, my friend! One swallow does not make a summer, nor was it “deemed necessary to resort to man to conduct and describe” an interview on Lady Florence Dixie. There was no necessity in the case at all. A friendly offer was made spontaneously and was accepted. It would have been intensely ungracious and narrow-minded to have refused it. Voila tout.

The notice in the St. James’s Gazette is instructive, for it shows, what after all we knew before, that some people would rather not believe that a paper can be conducted and written by women only.

The Women’s Penny Paper proves this fact, and proves it up to the hilt. Out of America we believe that our example is unique, but there are several journals in the United States entirely run by women, and run very successfully.

The above example demonstrates how influential factual paratexts can be, but it also demonstrates that more often than not such paratexts function in unintended ways, which are not premeditated. Nevertheless, factual paratexts, in amalgamation with each other, impel the reader to position the text s/he is reading at a particular moment in time, published in a particular paper, on a particular page in the issue, and written by a particular author of a particular sex, race, age group and marital status with a particular reputation and political beliefs. As such, acknowledging all, or at least the majority, of the factual paratexts that exist around and beyond any anchor text, allows a historian to form a better understanding of the work under scrutiny.

2.1.3.4. Iconic Peritexts

Although Genette acknowledges the importance of iconic paratexts, he does not provide an in-depth examination of visual elements, such as illustration, at the same level that he discusses literary elements, such as titles. However, he explains that a detailed examination

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of the practice of illustration would require a lot of ‘historical information’ which he admits he doesn’t possess, ‘but also a technical and iconological skill’, he claims he will never have, because such a study ‘clearly exceeds the means of a plain ‘literary person’’. Nevertheless, Genette highlights the fact that the significance of the visual (whether it is an illustration or photograph) often has a prodigious power over the meaning of the anchor text, and vice versa, which power (otherwise termed as ‘paratextual capacity’) has been recurrently confirmed by various producers and authors over the centuries.

Visual culture theorist W. J. T. Mitchell, whose work is influenced by semiotics theorist Charles Sanders Peirce, writes that ‘an image is a sign or symbol of something by virtue of its sensuous resemblance to what it represents’. Indeed, Peirce explained that:

A sign, or Representamen, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. [...] A sign, or Representamen, is a First which stands in such a genuine triadic relation to a Second, called its Object, as to be capable of determining a Third, called its Interpretant, to assume the same triadic relation to its Object in which stands itself to the same Object. [...] The Sign can only represent the Object and tell about it. It cannot furnish acquaintance with or recognition of that Object; for that is what is meant in this volume by the object of a Sign; namely, that with which it presupposes an acquaintance in order to convey some further information concerning it.

Furthermore, Peirce categorised signs into three trichotomies on the basis of: a. signs existing as mere quality, b. the relation of the sign to object, c. signs as their ‘interpreants’. In particular to the iconic paratext, the second trichotomy, which includes the definition of the ‘icon’, ‘index’, and ‘symbol’, provides a rather helpful concept for explaining the paratextual value of illustration. Peirce explains that ‘an icon is a sign which refers to the Object that it denotes merely by virtue or characters of its own, and which it possesses’. He then explains that a ‘symbol is a sign which refers to the Object that it denotes by virtue of law, usually an association of general ideas, which operates to cause the Symbol to be interpreted as referring to that Object’. Thus, in the case of the iconic peritext, visuals (or signs) that refer

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134 Ibid., pp. 101-4.
135 Ibid., pp. 102-3.
to another object, or set of objects, because of their resemblance to that object, which intentionally appear alongside the anchor text in a publication, can convey a set of connotations that might influence the interpretation of the anchor text. Similarly, visuals (or symbols) that refer to another object, or set of objects, because of their obvious association with that object, which intentionally appear alongside the main text of a publication can convey a set of connotations that might influence the interpretation of the anchor text. In neuroscientific terms, therefore, the ‘sign’ and the ‘symbol’ are both a type of Barian ‘context frame’, which allows the human brain to make associations with other objects, or set of objects, and therefore make associations with other meanings, or set of meanings, through these objects. As such, the interpretation of the anchor text does not merely involve the reading of the obvious meanings of the text and the image/s, but it involves the appreciation of all the various different meanings portrayed by them.

The strategies used by the producers of the Victorian periodical, therefore, deployed various paratexts for the purposes of aiding the understanding of the anchor text; an understanding that was expected to be in line with the editorial identity of their publication. As such, they were creating a specific narrative by employing specific context frames in the making of meaning. In her analysis of digital media narratives, media scholar Marie-Laure Ryan defines narrative as:

> The use of signs, or of a medium, that evokes in the mind of the recipient the image of a concrete world that evolves in time, partly because of random happenings and partly because of the intentional actions of individuated intelligent agents.

In other words, a narrative, meaning a story, can be communicated through a variety of discourses, and in turn the discourses that are used to communicate the story can take a variety of shapes. Therefore, the act of deliberately including these secondary visual materials, otherwise understood as iconic peritexts, alongside the main anchor text in order to design an encoded narrative, is what justifies the paratextual capacity of an illustration (whether that

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137 I.e. the meaning of the verbal text as the reader understands it, the meaning of the visual text as the reader understands it, and the final combined meaning of this dual fusion as the reader understands it.
might be an engraving or a photograph), and therefore accentuates the importance of the visuals that exist as iconic peritexts within any periodical.

2.1.3.5. Paratexts Specific to the 19th Century Periodical

2.1.3.5.1. Serial Form

Genette chose not to provide an in-depth explanation of the reason the serial form has a paratextual capacity, because investigating this subject individually might have necessitated as much effort as was necessary to explain his concept of paratexts in its entirety. Additionally, other scholars have written about seriality in literature, predominantly the seriality of the periodical or the novel, to my knowledge, however, no one has actually explained the paratextual capacity of the serial form of a periodical in relation to the anchor text. Neuroscientist Moshe Bar explains that ‘a typical scene structure that follows physical and contextual semantic rules facilitates recognition.’ In the periodical, this ‘typical scene structure’ includes all those formal elements that a periodical chooses to employ in order to construct its distinct design, in line with a group of ‘physical semantic’ rules. Therefore, when the production team agrees on a particular design, regardless of how much they may or may not have borrowed from other types of periodicals, they are inevitably creating a notional context, and as an extension they are inevitably creating the ‘contextual semantic’ rules that this specific design is expected to exist within. In other words, they create the context that ‘facilitates the recognition of related objects even if these objects are ambiguous when seen in isolation.’ For instance, the exact nature of the column ‘What to Wear’ written by Chiffon that featured in the Signal (b) from 1895 to 1899 would have been difficult to ascertain, if found in isolation. However, when the same text was presented inside the weekly issue of the Signal (b), which used the same masthead, same size same quality of paper, same three column arrangement, same typefaces on a weekly basis, readers were able to recognise these formal elements and in turn understand that the text they were reading was a fashion column that was written by Chiffon, sometimes on a weekly basis, for this specific general

139 Genette, Paratexts, p. 405.
141 Ibid.
142 See Chapter 5: Section 5.2.6.5.
feminist paper. Thus, through the longitudinal repetition of the same formal elements that help readers identify a design, the production team generates serialization. Then, this serially repeated publication design constructs a kind of notional prototypical (not to be confused with the word archetypical) context, or otherwise titled ‘schema’, ‘script’, or merely ‘frame’, which Bar terms as ‘context frame’. In particular, he writes:

Context frames can be viewed as prototypical representations of unique contexts, which guide the information of specific instantiations in episodic scenes.

As a result, readers of the periodical press are serially exposed to this contextual frame (week after week in the case of the Paper, Herald and Signal) their minds begin to recognise the visual regularities within the notional environment of the periodical, because contextual information assists perception as well as cognition. For instance, using the above example, by identifying the notional environment, which in this case was the Signal (b), readers were able to not only acknowledge that this was a fashion column in a weekly periodical, but also better appreciate the opinions expressed by the author. Furthermore, readers were able to identify the article they had in front of them within the wider periodical press, in accordance with their experience (whether limited or extensive), and appreciate this article in relation to, for instance, all the previous fashion columns of the same author that featured in Signal (b). In other words, readers are able to connect the contents of a specific periodical, even if the original contents have been subject to change, as an effect of their capacity to practise object recognition, which process in this case is assisted by serial repetition of the same design.

Outside neuroscience, graphic design practitioners also emphasise this concept of the ‘context frame’ and its importance in object recognition, though they use a somewhat different terminology. Graphic designer and critic Jim Krause, for instance, explains that ‘visual grouping aids discovery by helping the viewer make useful connections between elements’, and that ‘visual grouping is usually a simple matter of bringing certain elements closer

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144 Bar, pp. 617-9 (p. 618).
together and providing an obvious space’. Therefore, if we translate Krause’s language into Barian terms: ‘visual grouping’ is ‘scene structure’, ‘discovery’ is ‘object recognition’, and the ‘obvious space’ is the ‘context frame’. Identifying the commonalities between these two concepts has allowed me to take the ‘context frame’ concept a step further and argue that a methodical repetition of the context frame can initiate a rather ‘amplified form of harmony’, and entice the attention of all potential readers of a specific periodical.

The quality of the serial form (meaning its ability to provide a sense of harmony) that is directly interrelated with the identity of the periodical in question encourages a climate of peritextual meanings. In turn, serialisation, or the serial repetition of the ‘context frame’, provides the periodical with a specific kind of identity: the serial repetition of all the formal elements that define a particular periodical inevitably create a sense of familiarity and consistency, whatever its level of effectiveness, which allows the reader to identify these formal elements with that particular text. These connotations follow the original context frame throughout its lifespan, and this is the reason that being part of a series, in periodical terms being part of the full run, has a paratextual value.

2.1.3.5.2. Formal Peritexts: Physical Form, Mastheads, Page Layout, Typefaces

In regard to the physical form of a publication, design critic Alex W. White argues that humans, in association with the ability for object recognition and the ability to identify the various context frames explained above, are also searching for ‘meaning in the physical form of the things’ they see. He further states that ‘the form of a thing tells us certain things about itself’, which is in agreement with graphic designer and educator Timothy Samara’s claim that ‘every form carries meaning. Our brains use the forms of things to identify them: the form is the message’. In a similar vein, literary scholar Margaret Beetham argues that ‘the material characteristics of the periodical have consistently been central, not just to its economics, but

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146 Ibid., pp. 51-2.
147 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Formal Peritexts’.
also its meaning'. Furthermore, periodical studies scholar James Mussell argues that Victorian ‘readers knew enough about newspaper genre to be able to judge which of the papers that jostled for attention was likely to be for them’. Therefore, the physical form of the late nineteenth century periodical was a peritext in its own right, because not only did it perform as a vehicle that transported the ‘text for public use’, it also indicated to the readers what type of architext(s) it belonged to, which resulted in regulating who its target audience was, and how this audience might understand its contents.

It could be argued that the front masthead of a nineteenth century periodical such as the *Women’s Penny Paper* or *Woman’s Signal* is the periodical equivalent of the combination of front cover and title pages of a book (something recognised by Genette), and could include the name or pseudonym of the editor(s); title(s); genre indication; epigraph; a representative illustration; in case of a change of title, mention of the former title of the periodical; address of the publisher; issue number; date; and price. However, unlike the book where all this information is spread across a number of pages, in the nineteenth century periodical all these different peritexts form what is known as the ‘masthead’. The front cover of a book presents ‘to the public at large and then to the reader many […] items of information, some of which are authorial and some of which are the publisher’s responsibility’. Moreover, these ‘localized verbal, numerical, or iconographic items of information are supplemented by more comprehensive ones pertaining to the style or design of the cover’ and so forth. In a similar manner, the mastheads of nineteenth century periodicals:

Sought to establish an instant ‘brand image’ for the journals they represented. [They] drew together several constituent elements of a magazine’s textual and paratextual make-up, to establish and advertise a precise identity, often combining emblems and graphic devices'.

Consequently, ‘mastheads combine[d] texts and images to provide a logo that both [said] what a journal [was] called, but often also indicate[d] something about it’. These mastheads,

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151 Mussell, pp. 4-20 (p. 10).
152 Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 17. Also see Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Architext’.
155 Ibid., p. 24.
or ‘logos’, defined the periodical’s identity, and strove to persuade its readers that ‘the qualities of the [masthead] [were] also the qualities of the [periodical] it represented’.  

Page Layout

Bearing in mind the definition of page layout provided in Appendix I, and within the specific context of the nineteenth century periodical press, page layout is another peritext that can affect the visual structure of any periodical, and as a result influence the reading experience. Because ‘reading necessarily entails looking […] the visual is a key component of any text’: pictures, mastheads, icons, typography and layout ‘constitute the bulk of visual material in the press’, and they ‘not only [have] a decorative addition to the textual content’, but are the media through which ‘that content is represented’.  

Typefaces

By the end of the nineteenth century, compositors had a plethora of typefaces to choose from, yet legibility was always the primary aim in selecting typefaces for typesetting; the aesthetics came second. At the same time, veteran printer John Easson argues, ‘choosing a particular typeface for a piece of work involve[d] many aspects with legibility being usually the most important’, which in itself was challenging and typically changed according to circumstances, so the choice of typeface could be ‘as much a matter of intuition as of artistry, science, or personal preference’. In 1920s Germany, for example, Anna Berliner produced a study on the ‘atmosphere’ of printing types, which later became the first known empirical study on the hypothesis that typefaces have some kind of aesthetic value, which can potentially influence the meaning of the main text. Her results demonstrated that typefaces have some capacity to communicate a specific mood, which is the reason that some typefaces appear more appropriate than others for some texts. In 1922, in Great Britain, HM Stationery Office

159 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Page Layout’.
published an official report that aimed to be the official reference guide for selecting ‘the best faces of type and modes of type display for Government printing having regard to appearance, ease in reading, and economy’. The report documented that there have been many unsuccessful printed publications, due to their imperfection of display and arrangement, and defective letterpress due to ‘the use of type of unsuitable size and character’. The Committee further recognised that if ‘greater attention’ had been given to ‘typographical considerations [...] Government publications would have been more dignified in appearance as well as more legible’. In other words, when choosing a typeface compositors ought to consider the legibility, suitability, and perceived mood of a typeface in order to select the most suitable for the purpose.

Since the above report was first made available, numerous empirical and non-empirical works have examined the importance of typeface style, and its ability or otherwise to somehow influence the comprehension of a narrative presented by a verbal text. These studies predominantly focus on the readability, appropriateness, and semantic quality of typefaces demonstrating variety in the terminology used over the years, and across disciplines. Yet all studies more or less agree on the fact that typefaces can be categorised in accordance with their different ‘voice’, in Beatrice Warde’s terms, or ‘persona’ in Eva Brumberger’s terms.

Some of these studies also concluded that the reader’s typographic expertise does not affect the perception of these typographic ‘voices’. In other words, a reader with no skills in typography can recognise the voice of a typeface as adequately as an experienced typographer. However, the presence of these visual typographic voices, and the fact that readers can recognise these voices, does not indicate that their semantic significance can overpower the verbal rhetoric of the narrative. On the contrary, the studies listed above...

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164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
166 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Typeface Persona’.
demonstrate that although typefaces can represent different voices, these voices are not influential enough to dominate the narrative of the anchor text; a fact that typographer, designer and printing historian Stanley Morison already touched upon in the 1930s. More specifically, Morison argued that:

"Typography is the efficient means to an essentially utilitarian and only accidentally aesthetic end, for enjoyment of patterns is rarely the reader's chief aim."

In a similar vein, legibility researcher Geritt Willem Ovink wrote in 1938:

"The typographer […] who did not hit upon the specially appropriate type, will not have done actual harm to the transmission of the meaning of the text, but he has missed an opportunity to intensify the force of impression of the text in a considerable degree."

Additionally, although various typographic voices have been described as ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’, studies have shown that a text set in a masculine typeface is not expected to, in any way, increase the potential for comprehension of the narrative should the reader be male. In other words, a masculine typeface, or masculine ‘voice’, might seem appropriate for typesetting a text with a masculine narrative, which is aimed at a male audience, but overall, a corresponding appropriateness can only enhance the final product, rather than project a meaning strong enough to overpower the meaning of the anchor text. However, psychologists Mary Crawford and Roger Chaffin discovered that the reader’s gender certainly plays a role in verbal and visual language interpretation and usage. Yet overall, the reader’s gender does not act as an influential factor in measuring the paratextual capacity of typefaces, because the results produced across a number of the above studies were not significant enough to warrant any noteworthy conclusions. In other words, if two readers are required to read the same text set in the same typeface, the fact that one is male and the other female is not a decisive factor in the overall comprehension of the meaning of the text.

169 Stanley Morison (1889-1967) was the designer of the ‘most successful new typeface of the first half of the 20th century’ Times New Roman (which I have used for all the footnotes in this thesis). He was a book designer from 1913 to 1917, but later worked for: Pelican Press (1919-1921) and Cloister Press (1921-1922) as printer and typographer; Monotype Corporation as a typographic adviser and the Penrose Annual as a writer and editor in the 1920s; Cambridge University Press (1923-1959) as a typographic adviser; The Fleuron (1923-1930) as editor (1926-1930). In 1929, he joined The Times in which he originally published his typeface in 1932, and remained there until 1960, being editor of The Times Literary Supplement from 1945 to 1947. He was a member of the board of editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. ‘Stanley Morison’, in Encyclopaedia Britannica <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Stanley-Morison> [accessed 17 July 2015].


In contrast, Genette argues that ‘no reader should be indifferent to the appropriateness of particular typographical choices’, meaning that in most cases ‘the graphic realization is inseparable from the literary intention’.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^3\) Thus, Genette’s theory argues that typefaces chosen for any other reason than to emphasize the narrative of a text, do not have a paratextual capacity, meaning they do not have an influence upon the reader. However, I argue that all typeface styles have some level of aesthetic impact on the final design of a document, although they might not be as influential as, for example, a subtitle or an epigraph. Typeface appropriateness, for instance, can be a useful tool for emphasizing a particular narrative or aesthetic theme, and in that respect it could potentially encourage conviction in a particular idea, even if the paratextual capacity of typographic choices is not as influential as it has often been assumed. Moreover, the ‘graphic realization’ of a text could, more often than not, be separate to the ‘literary intention’ of the text, in which case while the typeface chosen would not hold a paratextual significance, it may offer a specific aesthetic commentary to the final design. For example, Morison argues that ‘typographical eccentricity and pleasantry’ are ‘desirable, even essential in the typography of propaganda’, whether it is for commercial, political, or religious purposes.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^4\) However, when typesetting a book, ‘the printer, as a servant of the community, must use’ Aldus and Caslon, ‘or one of their variants’, although they are ‘both relatively feeble types’, because ‘they represent the forms accepted by the community’.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^5\) He also states that while ‘the printer is generally bound to carry out the instructions of his customer’, he often has to ‘respect the wishes of an artist who may be illustrating the work’, and he is also ‘committed by the publisher to a paper-size dictated by irrelevant considerations’.\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^6\) In practical terms, therefore, choosing a typeface involves various conditions, which means that at times a typeface might be purely paratextual (in other words, a calculated choice that is used to enforce the narrative of the anchor text); but at other times it might be merely a choice based on logistics that may or may not be in line with the intentions of the anchor text. It is my contention, however, that typographic choices, similarly to iconic peritexts, are as important as all the factors that Genette expands on, and

\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^3\) Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 34.

\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^4\) Morison, p. 2.

\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^5\) Ibid., p. 5.

\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^6\) Ibid., p. 12.
they should be taken into account in any paratextual interpretation; though I am also appreciative of the fact that these choices might not have been entirely premeditated.

2.1.3.5.3. Periodical Supplements

By nature, the periodical supplement is a paratext: 'by the word “paratext”, I mean all of the marginal or supplementary data around the text'.\(^{177}\) Genette also argued that ‘the duration of the paratext is often intermittent, and therefore, this intermittence […] is very closely linked to the basically functional nature of the paratext’, which is another characteristic typically demonstrated by the periodical supplement.\(^{178}\) Yet, regardless of its paratextual capacity, the periodical supplement and its use ‘has gone hitherto unnoticed’, although ‘few nineteenth-century periodicals did not include a supplement or an appendage that could be considered as such, at any time in the course of [their] run’.\(^{179}\) This thesis, therefore, wishes to add to periodical studies scholar Koenraad Claes’ article by acknowledging the periodical supplement as one of the several paratexts that are specific to the nineteenth century periodical, and to that end it endeavours to provide a brief, but necessary, theoretical justification of its importance as a periodical paratext.\(^{180}\)

Genette argues that in order to study the paratexts of an anchor text, one has to ‘consider a certain number of features’, which would allow him/her ‘to define the status of a paratextual message, whatever it may be’; one has to locate the position of the paratext in question, the time of its appearance/disappearance, its type of existence (i.e. verbal or visual, and so forth), the source of its production, the destination of its message, as well as its function.\(^{181}\) With the above in mind, the periodical supplement is certainly a public paratext, which can either be a peritext or an epitext, because at times it can exist in the immediate periphery of the parent periodical (i.e. be sold with the parent periodical), though other times it can exist only in the wider periphery of the parent periodical (i.e. be sold independently from the parent periodical,

\(^{178}\) Genette, Paratexts, pp. 6-7.
\(^{181}\) Genette, Paratexts, p. 4.
yet, be associated with the parent periodical through its title or format). Because Genette describes the ‘temporal situation’ of a paratext in accordance with one whole text/book by a single author published on a given date, defining the ‘temporal situation’ of the periodical supplement is slightly more problematic. The nineteenth century periodical was published as a serial by default, could include many authors, and its articles were published over a period of time. Yet, if one accepts the editor(s)/proprietor(s) as the producer(s) in charge of the parent periodical, and that the first issue is the original prototype version that defines the identity of the paper, then according to Genette’s theory the periodical supplement is: an original paratext when it appears together with the first issue of the paper; a late paratext when it appears after a short period of time following the first issue; or a delayed paratext when it appears after many years following the publication of the first issue.

In regard to its source of production, the periodical supplement is always official, because it is always produced by the editor(s)/proprietor(s). Yet, the destination of its message is not always as concrete: it could be targeting the same readership as the parent periodical; it could be targeting a new specialist readership, which would not otherwise purchase the parent periodical alone; it could be targeting the same type of readership as the parent periodical, but with a slightly wider range; it could be targeting a section of the existing readership that already reads the parent periodical; or it could be targeting advertisers rather than readers.182

In terms of function, the periodical supplement can potentially fulfil various roles independently of each other, or in combination with each other. In some cases, a periodical supplement can ‘simply be an intensification of a subject already well established in the parent title, providing more coverage than the weekly issue could normally offer’, or attempt ‘to raise the consciousness of readers to a cause associated with the parent periodical’.183 For example, the Midsummer Dress Supplement aimed to provide concentrated advice on the

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182 For example: the Midsummer Dress Supplement was aimed at the same audience as the Woman’s Signal (b); the Special Supplement, giving ‘the official and some branch news of the National British Women’s Temperance Association’, was aimed at a more specialist audience that perhaps would not otherwise buy the Woman’s Signal (b); the Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement was aimed at the female section of the temperance readers of the Woman’s Signal (a) to name but a few. Midsummer Dress Supplement, 4 June 1896, pp. i-iv; Special Supplement to the Woman’s Signal, 16 January 1896, pp. i-iv; Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement, 25 January 1894, pp. 65-8.

latest fashions, in a way that the column ‘What to Wear’ in the Woman’s Signal (b) could not. In other cases, it can provide the editor(s)/proprietor(s) with ‘more space and a way of experimenting with an increase in pagination’, or ‘used to launch new journals before going independent’. For instance, the Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement was launched as a supplement that could also be sold independently, and then the editor’s launched Woman’s Signal Budget (a), which had many design similarities, so it could be argued that they used the supplement for the reasons explain later on in Chapter V, but also to test a format different to the parent periodical. In most cases, however, the periodical supplement helped ‘raise revenue from the cover price, by selling more copies or charging more’, and/or ‘attract advertisers, or encourage subscriptions’. For example, the supplements of Woman’s Signal (b) were always used to convince advertisers of their ‘very different and high class’ circulation, stating that the advertisements featured in their paper ‘reach and effectively appeal to a special class of ladies’.

Defining the periodical supplement in terms of its pragmatic situation can also be problematic. The periodical supplement’s producers always hold full responsibility: although different contributors might have been involved, the editor(s) may have written all the content, or it could be a mixture of the two. As a result, using Genette’s typology to define the periodical supplement in terms of its ‘pragmatic situation’ falls short, because his theory dictates that the different types of spatial, temporal, substantial or pragmatic situations of the paratext cannot coexist. Yet, in the case of the supplement periodical, because it is by nature a miscellany, its production can involve various authors, and one or more editors, in

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184 Midsummer Dress Supplement, 4 June 1896, pp. i-iv.
185 Brake, p. 610.
187 Brake, p. 610.
188 The full statement spread across the top and bottom of every page of the supplement, and read: “The Woman’s Signal” is a weekly journal for ladies, unlike any other paper. And has a very different and higher class circulation than that of any other 1d journal for women. We deal with all Domestic and Personal interests, Housekeeping, Health, Dress, etc. Suffrage, Temperance, Education, Philanthropic Effort, Reforms, Employment; and all “Woman’s Movements”. No one with an interest in the Progress of Women, or in Social and Moral Reform, fails to Read “the Woman’s Signal” with interest, while to the housewife it is most valuable. Hence our advertisements reach and effectively appeal to a special class of ladies’. Midsummer Dress Supplement, 4 June 1896, pp. i-iv.
189 As it has been explained above (Chapter 2: Section 2.1.2.1.) in Genette’s typology every paratext that is written by the author is categorised as ‘authorial’, and similarly, every paratext that has been created by the publisher is categorised as the ‘publisher’s paratext’. Additionally, any paratext that has been created by a third party is categorised as ‘allographic’, and if the author was involved in the production of this paratext is categorised as ‘allographic with shared responsibility’. Genette, Paratexts, pp. 9, 3.
190 Ibid., p. 12.
addition to an unknown number of compositors. For example, all the supplements mentioned above involved a team of editors, authors, and compositors. Nevertheless, some may argue that the periodical supplement is authorial when it has been created in full by the editorial team (meaning the editor(s), in agreement with the proprietor(s), and in collaboration with the printers); or allographic with shared responsibility when the text has been created by other authors in agreement with the editor(s)/proprietor(s), and in collaboration with the printers. In any case, the fact remains that Genette’s categorisation of the pragmatic situation of a paratext is not as insightful in the case of the periodical supplement, simply because it is not an one dimensional material object as the book.

Finally, Genette claims that a paratext always has some type of an ‘illocutionary force’, and as such it is able to: ‘communicate a message’; ‘make known an intention or interpretation’; ‘convey a genuine decision’; ‘involve a commitment’; ‘give a word of advice’; ‘issue a command’; or be ‘performative’. In the case of the periodical supplement, all the above illocutionary forces can be in play at the same time: for instance, in the first Special Supplement published with Woman’s Signal (b), the editors wished to communicate the new year’s message from Lady Henry Somerset, amongst numerous other messages/articles. Using the same paratextual platform, the editor also wished to make known her intention to use the Special Supplement as an addition to the Woman’s Signal (b), while she also delivered her decision to sell the supplement only with the parent periodical. She then committed to use the supplement to provide readers with the special news of the National British Women’s Temperance Society, while she advised readers to ‘send for a copy of “The Prize Reciter”, because taking part in this paper’s competitions trained ‘young people for future platform usefulness’. Moreover, the editor instructed the readers to ‘please mention this paper in ordering goods from our advertisers’. Furthermore, the periodical supplement as a design object is by nature performative since it is physically a supplement to the parent

191 Ibid., p. 9.
192 Isobel Somerset, ‘New Year’s Letter to the Members of the National British Women’s Temperance Association’, Special Supplement to the Woman’s Signal, 16 January 1896, pp. i-iv (p. i).
194 Ibid., p. iv.
periodical. Subsequently, the multi-layered, multi-purpose platform of the periodical supplement allows for the co-existence of all the 'illocutionary forces' listed by Genette, though, similarly to the section about the pragmatic situation, it is something about which he did not provide any more insight. Nonetheless, for the analyses that follow, this exercise demonstrated that the periodical supplement certainly functions as a paratext specific to the periodical, and as such is a unique paratext that could be either a peritext, or an epitext, which has several functions, and ought to be considered in its own right.

2.1.3.5.4. Advertisements

Genette’s theory of the paratext describes advertisements as ‘the publisher’s epitexts’, because they exist outside the book and they have ‘a marketing and “promotional” function’ which ‘does not always involve the responsibility of the author in a very meaningful way’. In regard to the newspaper medium, however, industrial economics researcher R. Stephen Thompson argues that:

The newspaper industry is highly unusual in that it produces as joint outputs two informational goods – advertising messages and packages of news/feature stories – which are sold to separate sets of buyers whilst being embodied in the same units of physical product.

This was also true for the nineteenth century periodical press; by the 1880s periodicals fully embraced the potential of advertising, to an extent that by the 1890s it was not unusual to find editorial matter mixed with advertising. Consequently, the late nineteenth century explosion in periodicals aimed at women ‘coincided with the increasing importance of advertising revenue in the financing of the periodical press’. As such, unless a periodical was of a very specific kind, such as a satirical paper like Fun, or a radically feminist paper like Shafts, it would more than likely include numerous mainstream advertisements. The nineteenth century periodical, therefore, most certainly incorporated two ‘informational goods’: the anchor text, which consisted of all the articles produced by the editor(s) or the authors writing for the editor(s); and the advertising material, which was produced fully or partly by the advertisers,

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195 Genette, Paratexts, p. 347.
198 Ibid.
or the printers. As a result, in the case of the nineteenth century periodical, advertising ceases to be an epitext, and becomes a peritext that exists in the ‘threshold’. Thompson further argues that anchor text and advertising are aiming at separate target audiences, while they exist in the same physical structure; yet, many periodical studies critics have considered these two ‘informational goods’ as one, by assuming that the advertising message is always in tune with the editorial message, and that the adverts as paratexts have an influence upon the narrative of the overall matter. This may be the case, but only partly so: as revealed below, nineteenth century advertisers often decided on which periodical to place their advertisements based on the ideal readership they assumed a particular periodical would attract, alongside the size of its circulation. Thus, it was not unusual for the audience targeted by the advertisers to overlap with the audience targeted by the periodical’s production team; however, this was not always the case.

2.2. Methodology: The Practice

2.2.1. Triangulation

Although originally a mathematical concept preferred by Ancient Greek astronomers since the fourth century BC., triangulation has been widely used in the fields of social science, psychology and politics. Psychiatrist Jacques Lacan has openly encouraged triangulation, whilst philosophers Alain Badiou and Felix Guattari amongst others have also addressed the same concept. This thesis, however, is not looking at the Lacanian or post-Lacanian models of triangulation; rather it is inspired by a methodological premise from within the social sciences. Thus, this thesis accepts that triangulation, as a methodological concept for academic research, refers to ‘the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings.’

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199 Genette, Paratexts, p. 2.
a research method, emerged in the social sciences in 1966, with the proposition of the
'unobtrusive method', which suggested that:

Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the
uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a
triangulation of measurement processes.\textsuperscript{203}

Gender studies scholar Lotta Vikstrom argues that triangulation allows the researcher to
examine 'data validity', while also considering and evaluating the issues associated with
'paradigmatic boundaries'.\textsuperscript{204} In a similar vein, socio-economist Wendy Olsen affirms that
triangulation is not intended only for validation; it is also intended for providing depth and
breadth of one’s understanding of a subject, through the participation of one or more
researcher(s), and along with pluralism supports interdisciplinarity.\textsuperscript{205}

\subsection*{2.2.2. Print, Microfilm, and Digital Archives}

Traditionalist critics, either from within art history, visual culture or other strictly disciplinary
academic departments, habitually dwell on ‘what is lost?’ when new generations of multi-
skilled researchers incorporate digital archives in their work. My answer to this question is that
nothing is lost, if the researcher respects each individual form of the original copy for what it is,
and follows a triangulated method to access the primary material. Archaeology, heritage, and
museum studies scholar Rodney Harrison argues that:

Heritage is not a passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an
active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as
a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into
the future. […] ‘Heritage’, at least insofar as those agencies charged with managing it are
concerned, cannot exist independently of a process of categorising, ordering, listing and
subsequently conserving and/or archiving.\textsuperscript{206}

Hence, the conservation of historic materials, such as late nineteenth century British feminist
periodicals, as part of the overall historical ecosystem is significant to Britain’s cultural
heritage and sense of identity. Therefore, academics that are sceptical about the use of


material retrieved from digital resources should remember that microfilm and digital archives do not aspire to replace physical archives, nor do the printed copies from microfilm or digital archives aspire to replace the original copies. On the contrary, microfilm and digital archives aim to enhance accessibility, ‘distributability’, and ‘searchability’; they aim to act as temporary ‘surrogates’ of the original copies and it will be ‘a mistake to equate this difference with deficit’. In fact, English literature scholar Linda K. Hughes published a study that aimed to record periodical studies students’ use of digital resources, which showed that students began with ‘a haptic, visual, and intellectual awareness of the material embodiment of Victorian periodicals as well as their virtual, digital form’. She, therefore, encouraged all educators, and researchers alike, to explore various ways of accessing periodicals, but also to bear in mind that this will shape ‘not only what, but how we know, conceptualise and theorise.’ In line with this concept of making the most of what is available, and avoiding any prejudices against the digital, this thesis has thus far followed an organic, yet, loosely triangulated method, for accessing primary materials. More specifically, triangulation in the methods of access, similarly to triangulation of my case study method, means that I used three available forms of primary material, namely original hard copies, microfilm copies of the originals, and digital copies of the originals, in order to counterbalance the disadvantages that might have emerged, if I had used only one of these forms. Triangulation of methods, in other words, is a bricolage of methods of access; I made the most of all three forms of primary materials in order to retrieve as much information as possible, at any given time during this research in accordance with what exactly I was looking for in that phase of my research.

The original print, the microfilm copy of the original print, and the digital copy of the original print all have various advantages and disadvantages when used independently. The original copies, for instance, allow the reader to feel the paper, and experience its colours and scents; navigating them is natural and familiar; they carry a feeling of nostalgia and authenticity; they

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209 Ibid., p. 230.
allow for a better understanding of the historical context of a picture; and the clarity of images and signatures is the best possible. On the other hand, as periodical studies scholar James Mussell corroborates, accessing the original copies can be time-, and I would add money-, consuming because the researcher needs to travel to their location, retrieve the copies through the archival service, read on site, photocopy on site, scan on site, while at the same time the material could be fragile and in poor quality, which may render the above impossible.\textsuperscript{210} In addition, materials can often be inaccessible, which is one of the main reasons periodicals outside the canon are often marginalised as materials of study; or they can be scattered across institutions; though the recent influx of online archives has, thus far, successfully facilitated an interest of otherwise impossible to locate or access periodicals, such as feminist and reformist, or international and provincial titles. Additionally, the bound volumes in comparison with the single issues could comprise their own list of advantages and disadvantages. Subsequently, it is usually the case that local archivists have edited, in other words disposed of the covers, which typically featured advertisements, from the original single issues to create the bound volumes of long runs, whilst in other cases originals of single issues could also be in poor quality due to poor conservation or handling. For example, in the bound volume of July to December 1897 of the \textit{Woman’s Signal} (b), the front and back pages have only been retained for the first issue; all the other issues have been bound without their first two and last two pages. As a result, a researcher that may not have access to a microfilm or digital facsimile may never know that in actuality all issues were published with a front and back cover, s/he will never know what was printed on those pages, and how they may have affected the overall message of the issue.

Likewise, accessing digital archives to use electronic copies involves its own array of practical advantages and disadvantages. For example, there is the convenience in access that is available 24/7, from the comfort of your own desk or from any other internet-friendly location for that matter; the ease in digital searching; the random results that might emerge from the

different search engines, and which could potentially lead to new discoveries; the ability to retrieve vast amounts of material immediately and concurrently; the time efficiency; the ease in sharing, cropping, copying, pasting, implementing in another document. Nonetheless, digital archives can be troublesome in various ways. The keyword searches, for example, do not always bring up the results the researcher might have anticipated, especially when searching for various types of visual content; some of the available current databases are not user-friendly, because the architecture of their web-pages is dysfunctional and often build upon a totally different model to each other; the speed on which the results return depends on internet connection, computer capability and so forth, while most engines log out automatically after a short period of time which means that you have to start your search from scratch all over again. Also, another significant factor for most engines is that they provide results independent of the issue or page they belong to, which takes away the context within which these items were originally found. This could easily change part or the whole meaning and reading of the item and lead to erroneous conclusions. Yet, there is often a separate option for researchers, who appreciate the danger of reading items outside their context and wish to access the items in their own full issue: to download and save the full issue instead of just a page or a fraction of a page from it. For all the above reasons, and for all the additional advantages and disadvantages of using microfilm copies, by triangulating the methods of access I aimed to compensate any deficiencies that might have occurred if I had used one method independently and because of that I managed to form a more accurate impression of the existing data.

2.2.3. The Triangular Case Study Method
The new methodological scheme I designed for this thesis was anticipated to assist me with the study of my selected group of nineteenth century weekly feminist periodicals using the inaugural issue of each publication as a rule for comparison, whilst examining the full run longitudinally, and comparing the findings with practices found in other publications of the same period across the wider nineteenth century periodical press. I finally arrived at this triangulated method of studying periodicals, since only through a comparative analysis of materials that combines qualitative and quantitative methods could I most efficiently answer
my proposed research questions. In particular, by combining a concentrated case study of the first issue (vertical dimension), with a longitudinal case study of the full run (longitudinal dimension), combined with a cross-genre inclusion of materials (lateral dimension), I was able to acquire more accurate results, study the developmental trends across the life span of each periodical, and discuss concepts and ideas in retrospect.
Diagram 1.
A map of the Genettean paratext taxonomy.
— Case Study 1: Universal Sisterhood

New Woman / Paradigm I:

Women’s Penny Paper (Oct. 27 1888 – Dec. 27, 1890)
Woman’s Herald (a) (Jan. 3, 1891 – Apr. 23, 1892)

3.1. Women’s Penny Paper (Oct. 27 1888 – Dec. 27, 1890) / Woman’s Herald (a) (Jan. 3, 1891 – Apr. 23, 1892)

The Women’s Penny Paper (henceforth the Paper) launched October 27th 1888 and was printed and published by the Women’s Printing Society once a week (on Saturday), with Henrietta Müller (pseudonym Helena B. Temple) as the sole proprietor and editor (Fig. 1). It was a penny paper printed on newsprint paper in crown folio size (15 x 10 inch), and consisted initially of 12 pages and then increased to 16 pages. On January 3rd 1891, the Paper was renamed the Woman’s Herald (a) (henceforth the Herald (a)), by which time Müller had already passed the printing duties of the paper to the National Press Agency (Mar. 3rd, 1890 - Oct. 17, 1891). The Herald (a) continued with the same size, paper stock, and quantity of pages until October 17th 1891. From then on, it was printed and published at the paper’s offices (Henrietta B. Temple & Co.), and continued as such until it was sold to the Woman’s Herald Co. on April 30th 1892. The editor identified her two papers as the same one; therefore, this thesis refers to them as the Paper/Herald (a). In this section I focus on paratexts such as subtitles, epigraphs, typographical mastheads, typefaces, portraits, and advertising. More specifically, I argue that Müller designed her newspaper based on the notion of a ‘universal sisterhood’, which can simply be explained as altruism amongst women; a concept that she attempted to communicate by using familiar True Womanhood elements in order to project progressive New Womanhood.\textsuperscript{212} Evidently, her approach succeeded in uniting a variety of New Women under the banner of feminist altruism; an achievement that its successors were not able to repeat.

3.1.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press (c. 1888-1891) and the Women’s Penny Paper/Woman’s Herald (a)

In the paper’s inaugural issue, Müller announced that the paper’s philosophical objective:

\begin{quote}
Should be the highest ideal of excellence which the mind of humanity has conceived; in setting it before us (unattainable as it may appear) we are maintained by the conviction that there is not anywhere to be found a readier response to the highest ideals of excellence than that which we believe shall meet in the hearts of English women.\textsuperscript{213}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{212} See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘True Womanhood’; ‘New Womanhood’.
She then declared that:

Our policy is progressive: home politics, that is, industrial, social, and educational questions, are of primary importance in our estimation. [...] General politics, when truly progressive, can accept neither the Conservative nor Liberal programme as final, they must reject much in both and will accept much in both.  

These statements placed the Paper outside the conventional political scene: the editor declared that the Paper might agree at times with some of the ideologies promoted by the Conservatives and/or the Liberals, but it would not hesitate to oppose either if deemed necessary. The editor also promised that the Paper ‘will not forget the lighter and brighter side of things, the beauty, the brightness and the fun which make the chequered lights on our way’. Müller remained as the editor and proprietor of the Paper for the full length of its lifecycle; still, the paper saw seven adaptations of its original masthead, two different printers, and two different publishers though it retained a more or less unchanged crown folio design, with its price of one penny remaining the same throughout its lifecycle. Müller aspired to produce ‘a newspaper which [would] reflect the thoughts of the best women upon all the subjects that occupy their minds’, a paper that would ‘tell of the work of the noblest women, and represent the lives of the truest and sweetest’. In this chapter, I argue that in order to deliver this twofold message, Müller built her newspaper on a type of hybrid New Journalism that had a basis in a liberal model of True Womanhood but projected a progressive model of New Womanhood. In particular, I argue that universal sisterhood is projected in the paper’s anchor text, such as the ‘Interview’, and numerous paratexts, such as the portraits accompanying the interviews, the advertisements, and its overall editorial design.

By the time Müller launched the Paper, the feminist periodical press in Britain had seen 41 publications since the 1850s, out of which 19 were still live. Out of the latter group, only Schoolmistress: A Weekly Paper Specially Devoted To The Interests Of Those Engaged In Female Education and the Link: A Journal for the Servants of man (produced by the Law and Liberty League) were published weekly, whereas 13 out of the 19 periodicals were attached to

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214 Ibid.
215 Ibid.
216 Ibid.
217 Doughan and Sanchez, pp. 8-13.
and published by an organised society. The monthly *British Women’s Temperance Journal* was perhaps the most successful society periodical; yet, it was too specialised to be able to appeal to a general progressive female audience, which meant that only the quarterly *Englishwoman’s Review* could, perhaps, provide for the general female audience of progressive women, with its ‘few long articles, theoretical or otherwise, but very many short notices of feminist activities and relevant events’. The monthly *Work and Leisure: The Englishwoman’s Advertiser, Reporter, and Gazette* could also be another useful source for the ‘genteel’ woman who wished to find employment; yet, the truth of the fact was that none of the available weekly periodicals of the period provided for the general feminist reader, which is a deficiency the *Paper* wished to remedy.

A successful 14 months and 114 weekly issues later, the *Paper* announced that ‘on and after January 1891’ its name ‘will, in deference to the wishes of many friends and subscribers, be changed to that of *Woman’s Herald*, and although between 1888 and 1891 the periodical press had seen few attempts that wished to cater for the progressive woman, in reality there was still no substantial competition for the *Paper/Herald* (a). Doughan and Sanchez list 16 other feminist publications at this time, out of which, again, *Schoolmistress: A Weekly Paper Specially Devoted To The Interests Of Those Engaged In Female Education* was the only weekly publication that was not an organ of a women’s society; whereas the monthly *British Women’s Temperance Journal* was the only paper dedicated to temperance reform. Other feminist periodicals that were live at the time, but were not published weekly and were not organs of a society, include *Englishwoman’s Review, Work and Leisure*, and *Threefold Cord*. Accordingly, every other feminist periodical in January 1891 was published by a women’s organisation, such as *Women’s Gazette And Weekly News: A Journal Devoted To The Social And Political Position Of Women, And The Official Organ Of The Women’s Liberal Federation*, or, the organ of the Women’s Trade Union League, *Women’s Trade Union Review*.

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218 ibid., p. 3.
219 ‘Important Announcement: Change of Name’, Women’s Penny Paper, 29 November 1890, p. 83.
220 The *British Women’s Temperance Journal* continued as a subscriber to *Herald* (a), as it has done with the *Paper*. 
Woman: For All Sorts And Conditions Of Women (henceforth Woman) was another publication that was circulated at the same time as the Paper/Herald (a). However, although it is listed as a feminist publication, in actuality projected a rather gendered mainstream narrative. In fact, Woman might have started as a ‘moderate feminist’, in Doughan’s and Sanchez’s terms, with contributions from Millicent Fawcett and other prominent feminists, but very quickly turned into a ‘fashionable ladies’ paper’. More specifically, as early as the second issue Fitzroy Gardiner, the editor and proprietor, claimed that:

We must again point out that “Woman” is intended to be neither a fashion paper, a “Society” Journal, nor the organ of the “Anti-Man” or “Blue-Stocking” Schools. We intend to do our best to cater for modern woman, not as she might be, but as she actually is. While sparing no trouble or expense to make our paper readable, we shall avoid pandering to unwholesome appetites or appealing to those who are “women” in name only.

Woman was targeting ‘women who do not fight for rights but are womanly without being dolls’; ‘intelligent but womanly women’ of the middle and upper classes. More importantly, Woman faced great ‘difficulty’ in ‘constructing any definition of femininity’ without plummeting into ludicrously sexist claims, such as ‘the robust body of the man has gradually developed a robust mind […] the robust physique accounts for the pluck which enables him to go through with what he has started upon’, while ‘woman often has the temerity to begin but wants the pluck to overcome obstacles’.

Outside the feminist periodical press, the newspaper landscape remained unchanged: the majority of the newspaper press sustained a conservative format of five columns, or up to eight columns, with their masthead set in Black Letter and an emblem in the centre. In parallel, a minority of newspapers that typically inclined towards reform, still continued to adopt a more minimalist appearance, with their masthead set in clear and legible typefaces and the anchor text arranged in two or up to five columns. In regard to mainstream periodicals aimed at women, the two most popular monthlies were Myra’s Journal, and World of Fashion: A Journal of Fashion, Society, Literature, Poetry etc., until May 1891 when Mrs Beeton launched Hearth and Home: Myra’s Weekly Messenger. In this climate, the Paper/Herald (a)

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221 Doughan and Sanchez, pp. 13-14.
223 Woman quoted in Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own?, p. 172.
224 Ibid., p. 185; Woman quoted in Beetham, p. 180.
continued to occupy a gap in the market with no apparent competition from other periodicals, because it had, thus far, ingeniously succeeded in combining women’s employment, temperance, trade unionism, dress, domesticity, and politics in a manner that was somewhat impartial, digestible, and inclusive.

3.1.2. Paratexts: Complementing the Editorial Narrative

To begin with, and in order to acknowledge the kind of serial publication the *Paper/Herald (a)* actually was, I have to underline that it was, first and foremost, a newspaper. It was not a journal; it was not a magazine; or any other type of periodical. It was a registered newspaper that was published weekly.\(^{225}\) In contrast to the Victorian periodical that ‘lent itself to the considered essay’, historian Edward Royle argues that ‘the subject matter of the newspaper is usually more ephemeral, especially the daily newspaper’, whereas ‘the weekly newspaper often retained or developed some of the characteristics of the periodical’.\(^{226}\) Belonging to the newspaper genre afforded the *Paper/Herald (a)* a heightened status that was unattainable by the other feminist periodicals of the period. Newspapers were considered ‘an important component in the relationship between the people and the government’; as such they were perceived to be an information medium predominantly, if not exclusively, catering for the male readership.\(^{227}\) Within this climate, Müller felt that none of the existing publications aimed at women were capable of adequately representing women’s emancipation, justifying her opinion thus:

One of the things that humiliated me very much was the way in which women’s interests and opinions were systematically excluded from the world’s press. I was mortified too, that our cause should be represented by a little monthly leaflet, not worthy the name of a newspaper called the *Women’s Suffrage Journal*.\(^{228}\)

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\(^{225}\) Many critics have used the terms ‘paper’, ‘journal’, and ‘magazine’ interchangeably, which is perhaps not an accurate representation when referring to a publication that was registered and sold as a newspaper. Using the correct term to refer to a serial publication is important not only because it implies certain type of contents (anchor text) that are expected of this specific genre, but also because it implies certain temporal, physical and aesthetic design characteristics (paratexts). I have referred to the *Paper*, the *Herald*, and the *Signal* as periodicals throughout this thesis in order to keep in line with the accepted contemporary term for these type of publications, which are typically referred to as ‘feminist periodicals’; however, the reality was that all three were published as weekly newspapers.


\(^{228}\) Clara E. de Moleyns, ‘Interview’, *Woman’s Herald*, 28 November 1891, pp. 915-6 (p. 916).
Indeed, Müller saw the label ‘newspaper’ as a signifier of intellectual status; for her, this word implied that the publication in question was worthy of the sombre female reader’s attention. Yet, she was aware that newspapers ‘were party organs’; ‘their owners and editors were participants in many of the events which they reported’, and they were often used as a platform for propaganda.229 This is where Müller paved a new path by declaring that the Paper/Herald (a) was non-partisan, to the extent that she deliberately assumed a pseudonym, which allowed her to assimilate a double identity that she could not otherwise achieve. 230

3.1.2.1. Trivial Paratexts and Pseudonymity

In private, Müller was a great supporter of single women, and it has been reported that ‘at a private meeting held in her house’, she ‘read a paper on the dignity and office of single women’, which is assumed to have been an early version of the essay printed in 1884 in Westminster Review entitled ‘The Future of Single Women’.231 In public, nevertheless, she was openly an advocate for married women by supporting ‘those protesting against Woodall’s clause which would exclude married women from enfranchisement’.232 Historian Elizabeth Crawford states that women who knew about Müller’s personal opinion of marriage often did not take into account the fact that her public actions might have been different.233 For instance, Mrs. Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, co-founder of the Women’s Franchise League (WFL), believed Müller often used the Paper/Herald (a) to express an opposition to arguments expressed by married women.234 It seems, therefore, that Müller purposely chose to use a pseudonym in order to allow her paper to be as non-partisan as practically possible:

My chief reason for this [editing under a pseudonym] was in order that my own individuality should not give a colouring to the paper, but that it should be as far as possible impersonally conducted and therefore open to reflect the opinions of women on any and all subjects.235

229 Royle, pp. 48-59, 54-5.
230 Based on Genette’s categorisation, Müller’s pseudonymity, meaning having ‘a fictive name’, was the type in which ‘a real author attributes a work to an imaginary author but does not produce any information about the latter except the name’. Genette, Paratexts, pp. 46-7.
232 Ibid., p. 429.
233 Ibid.
234 This particular conflict of opinions and personalities escalated after the publication of an article on the WFL, which infuriated Mrs. Elmy, who sent back all the copies of the Paper/Herald (a) that had been delivered to the WFL, in line with their subscription policy. Mrs. Elmy offered to pay any additional costs that the proprietor might have had to pay for this incident, at which offer Müller replied with a legal claim for £2. In May 1890, Mrs. Elmy asked in her private correspondence with Harriet McIlquham, referring to Müller, how ‘can such women as this help forward the progress of others’, which reveals that this was still a sore subject. Crawford, p. 429.
235 Clara E. de Moleyns, pp. 915-6 (p. 916).
Pseudonymity, in other words, allowed Müller to assume two personalities: one, the (private) woman activist, was against marriage, had radically progressive ideas about the world, and was adamant about these ideas; the other, the (public) woman editor, was tolerant towards marriage and had mildly progressive ideas about the world, but was objective in her opinion and welcomed discussion on any subject from men and women.²³⁶

3.1.2.2. The Typographical Masthead

The original masthead of the Paper/Herald (a), and all its subsequent symmetrical versions up to No. 74, resembled the symmetrical mastheads of the reformist newspaper press (Fig. 2).²³⁷ From a practical perspective, the symmetrical design of these mastheads, and the fact that they were textual and not iconotypographical, allowed for an effortlessly executed, time efficient, low-cost design product. These symmetrical mastheads had a main title that ran from one end of the gutter to the other, and was positioned exactly in the very centre. In that respect, form and space seemed to follow a ‘stable figure/ground’ relationship, achieving a neutralization of negative space, which in return created a ‘unified design’.²³⁸ This unity provided the design with a sense of order, whilst assisting readability, which attributes, in return, reflected confidence and reliability. The epigraph ‘The only Paper In the World Conducted, Written, Printed and Published by Women’, in the masthead of No. 2, carried a great significance in a trade where ‘women had been the object of historical exclusion’, and where ‘traditional enmity continued over’ until the 1900s.²³⁹ It was a bold statement and

²³⁶ Crawford, 430.
²³⁷ The typeface Lining Latin used for mastheads of No. 1 - No. 114 was categorised as a display letter by Stephenson Blake & Co. This family of typefaces was deemed suitable for long distance reading, because it was symmetrical, non-ornamented, and allowed enough white space around and within it. Aside from the main title, there was the subtitle followed by the epigraph, which were typeset in different typefaces, probably for demarcation purposes. The subtitle ‘The Only Paper in the World Conducted, Written, Printed and Published by Women’ first appeared in No. 2, and was typeset in Bold Latin (Stephenson Blake & Co), which typeface allowed for a clear distinction from the other sections on the page, making it secondary to the title, but still primary to the anchor text. The subtitle’s original font was perhaps difficult to read from a distance, which explains why the compositors soon changed both. The subtitles for No. 17 - No. 74 were typeset in Lining Antique No. 3 (Stephenson Blake & Co), which was a much wider, bold typeface. Thus, with the important subtitle set ‘in type that could not be ignored’, ‘the gist of the copy’ was made ‘readable at a glance’, and ‘the passer-by was induced to stop and so take in the rest’, and potentially buy the paper. Graham Hudson, *The Victorian Printer*, 1st edn (Oxford: Shire Publications Ltd., 1996), p. 8.
²³⁸ White, p. 19. See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Negative Space’.
signifier of the paper's support for women’s training and employment. In parallel to the epigraph’s meaning as a verbal statement, the manner in which it was typeset (inverted pyramid) was also significant. Graphic designer Alex White recommends an inverted pyramid for typesetting a title or epigraph, especially if the type is set on centred type. He argues that this arrangement offers a clean hierarchical structure that allows the reader to begin reading the longest part of the sentence, and then gradually move down to the shortest, end part of the sentence. By opting for this style of typesetting, therefore, the Paper/Herald (a), offered a clearly categorised typesetting, which allowed for an efficient comprehension of the intended textual message.

3.1.2.3. The Subtitle
On the one hand, its classification as a weekly women’s newspaper allowed a differentiation from any other intermittent, or poorly circulated, monthly feminist periodical of the period. On the other hand, it positioned it on a par with other weekly women’s newspapers of the period, which were not particularly well regarded. The late nineteenth century columnist Evelyn March-Phillips had this to say about the ‘weeklies’ that came into existence between 1861 and 1894:

Appearance is more constantly dwelt upon and its influence is more widely recognised. [...] If a paper, then, is to be popular, it thinks it necessary to obtain the brightest and most varied news, on this topic, above all others. [...] These papers live mainly by their advertisements. [...] In fact, the ladies’ illustrated papers tend to constitute a species of perambulating shop, in which wares are set forth by means of print and picture. [...] Writers [...] are perpetually cautioned against neglecting the claims of Messrs So & So [...]. As a consequence, untrustworthy puffing prevails.

Furthermore, the title ‘penny paper’ carried its own not so flattering connotations. Penny papers were considered too cheap to be good reading material, and were by many almost always identified with other disreputable serial forms, such as the ‘penny bloods’ and ‘penny dreadfuls’. Evidence of this apparent prejudice towards the penny press can be found in

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240 The epigraph changed accordingly over the years, but the wider premise remained. The different versions of the epigraph included: ‘The only Paper Conducted, Written, Printed, and Published by Women’; ‘The only Paper Conducted and Written by Women’; ‘The only Paper Conducted, Written, and Published by Women’. Women’s Penny Paper, 5 October 1889; Women’s Penny Paper, 29 March 1890; Women’s Penny Paper, 19 July 1890.

241 White, p. 34.

various sources; for instance, the *Waterloo Directory* reports thus of the reformist newspaper *Examiner*:

Until Fonblanque sold the Examiner in the mid-1860s, the newspaper took the form of a sixteen-page, comprehensive journal priced at 6d, and it was designed to be valued and repeatedly referred to by an educated intellectual elite, rather than treated as ephemera, by a mass readership. The *Examiner*'s reputation was fundamentally undermined when the new owner, William McCullagh Torrens, halved the price of the publication in 1867, losing trust of the leading writers of the day and most of the educated readership.243

Advertising the low price of the paper could have invited more ordinary readers, but at the same time it could have driven the more elite readers away. Still, Müller as an avid middle-class female reader, who took it upon herself to become editor, thought otherwise; and she was right.

Discussing Edward Salmon's and Charles Welsh's 1880 survey results on the texts read by girls and boys, historian Jonathan Rose writes that ‘girls rated *The Girl's Own Paper* their favourite (315 votes), but *The Boys' Own Paper* (with 88 votes) took second place’, which suggests ‘that many girls found “girls’ stories” insipid and read *Westward Ho! [...]* for the action and adventure, the blood and thunder, the swashing and buckling’.244 At the time Salmon was also told by a fellow (female) writer that:

> A great many number of girls never read so-called “girl’s books” at all; they prefer those presumably written for boys. Girls [...] like a good stirring story, with a plot and some incident and adventures. [...] People try to make boys' books as exciting and amusing as possible, while we girls, who are much quicker and more imaginative, are very often supposed to read milk-and-water sorts of stories that we could generally write better ourselves.245

Six years later, Salmon expressed similar sentiments in an article published in the ‘high-status male-centred monthly' *Nineteenth Century*:

> Girls’ literature would be much more successful than it is if it were less goody-goody. Girls will tolerate reading just as little as boys, and to hit the happy medium between the story of philistine purity and the novel of Pandaemoniacal vice is not apparently always easy. Girl’s literature [...] appeals in the main to the highest instincts of honour and truth [...] But [...] it frequently lacks the peculiar qualities which can alone make girls' books as palatable to girls’ as boys’ book are to boys. [...] ‘Go’ – a monosyllable signifying startling situations and unflagging movement – characterises

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245 Quoted in Rose, pp. 195-212 (p. 201).
boys’ books, and girls’ books will never be as successful as are boys’ books until the characteristic is imported into them. ‘Slow and sure’ is not the motto of either reader or writer in these days.246

The long-standing dissatisfaction of the young female reader continued into maturity, when she had the choice of a number of new periodicals designed specifically for women. Similar to girls’ books, the content of women’s periodicals rarely catered for the socially active progressive woman, and as mentioned above, it put great emphasis on appearance, whilst completely overlooking subjects such as politics. Because of this dissatisfaction, women were often seen using the main library rooms, instead of the ‘ladies’ rooms’, because, as information and library studies critic Chris Baggs explains, ‘if a woman wanted to read The Times, Review of Reviews, or The English Mechanic, they had to go to the general newsroom, and this was increasingly what they did.’247 The Paper/Herald (a), evidence suggests, was the answer to this enduring disappointment; in fact, two years after it was launched, a reader sent a letter to the editor alongside a payment for a ‘half-year’s subscription’ stating that it was ‘the only print for women in which gossip and the fashions do not predominate’.248 Müller was, therefore, correct to foresee that advertising the low price in the title, and publishing the paper weekly could only have positive results, rather than cause damage to the reputation of the paper. The low price would also allow working class female readers to purchase a copy, which in turn meant a wider appeal; and a weekly circulation would ensure a sustained relationship and an ever-growing ‘imagined community’ with all readers; both attainments being in line with the paper’s aim for ‘a universal sisterhood’.249

The subtitle of the Paper/Herald (a) was also very significant to its projected editorial message, because, whilst stating that it was ‘The Only Paper In The World Conducted, Written, Printed, And Published By Women’, which ‘used the support of a women-run industry as a selling point’, the fact remains that producing a weekly paper was a great achievement in

249 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Imagined Communities’. 
the effort for the emancipation of women.\textsuperscript{250} To begin with, running your own newspaper as a woman editor in a man’s world posed its own struggles. Many sources report a climate where women had been involved in the editing of newspapers and periodicals as wives, daughters, and sisters much earlier than the nineteenth century, yet, more than often they had to content themselves with working anonymously.\textsuperscript{251} In fact, we might argue that during the mid-nineteenth century, placement of the phrase ‘conducted by women’ in the subtitle should have been avoided, if the paper was to succeed, because “to proclaim that a publication was “Conducted by Women” would be to immediately marginalise it and thus impede its ability to effect change”\textsuperscript{252} In the same article quoted above, March-Phillips reported that for the weeklies she listed:

> It is a deplorable fact that almost all these journals are edited by men. One would think women should know best what will please women, but as editors we are told they are deficient in the capacity which grasps a business situation and comes to a quick and definite judgement on financial matters, while they seem wholly unable to master the intricacies of the law of libel.\textsuperscript{253}

Indeed, it was so typical for men to edit women’s newspapers, often assuming female pseudonyms, that it was supposed by some early reviewers of the \emph{Paper/Herald} (a) that the editor was male. For others, the gender was unclear, with one referring to the editor as ‘he (or she?)’ and another as simply ‘he’.\textsuperscript{254} Of course, historians have now and again revealed that women have traditionally been excellent shop managers, and have shown great capacity in doing business, so the above Victorian belief about women editors reflected nothing but a gendered prejudice; yet, it certainly helped undermine women’s reputation in the field.\textsuperscript{255}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{tusan} Michelle Tusun, ‘Reforming Work: Gender, Class, and The Printing Trade in Victorian Britain’, \emph{Journal of Women’s History}, Spring 2004, pp. 103-26 (p. 120).
\bibitem{march} In America, similarly to Britain, many women printers ‘often assumed editing and publishing duties as well’; yet, because they legally ‘could not own no property’ most of them ‘began their printing careers because of husbands or fathers who taught them the trade or who died and left them the business’. These conditions meant that although women printers, such as Dinah Nuthead in Maryland, were active as early as 1696, many of them are to this day unknown because they worked anonymously. Patricia Okker, \emph{Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors} (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1995), p. 7.
\bibitem{robinson} Solveig C. Robinson, "Amazed at our Success": The Langham Place Editors and the Emergence of a Feminist Critical Tradition’, \emph{Victorian Periodicals Review}, 29 (1996), pp. 159-72 (p. 159).
\bibitem{march-phillips} March-Phillips, pp. 661-8 in King and Plunkett, pp. 366-71 (p. 369).
\end{thebibliography}
Becoming a woman writer was equally challenging, though slightly more acceptable because it was a role that could be fulfilled from home if need be, which meant that although it offered women the opportunity to publicly express their opinion, they did not physically have to enter the public sphere. Nonetheless, women journalists in particular were often publicly discredited, and statements such as that by Arnold Bennett who claimed ‘women-journalists are unreliable as a class’, and ‘enjoy a reputation for slipshod style’ were not rare.256 The truth of the matter was that these kinds of comments were not totally without substance, since many young women saw journalism as an easy way to gain an income, and really underestimated the hard work and skill that went into one's work, if they were to succeed. In fact, well-known journalist Florence Fenwick Miller advised that if a lady wished to become ‘a high-class newspaper writer’, she had to ‘learn shorthand and typewriting, English literature, and modern history’, whilst ‘French or German, or both’ could also be useful ‘so as to be able to read foreign newspapers’.257 She also pointed out that ‘for scribbling on fashions, &c, no special training is necessary’; apparently differentiating between the serious women writers and those who pursued journalism because it seemed as an easy way to gain an income.258 Nonetheless, journalism did offer ‘an appealing alternative to nursing or school-teaching’ for those women who wished to seek a professional career or who had been forced to find a way to support themselves financially.259 Women’s entry into journalism, similarly to other professions, was often met with much disdain because it was seen as ‘disastrous’ given that they often took ‘half the pay of men’, and that many of them who worked had ‘no need to work’.260

Breaking into the publishing world was equally difficult for women printers, and although to enter bookbinding was slightly easier because it was deemed suitable work for women, it was not without its own drawbacks, since to work as a female compositor carried its own struggles.

257 Fenwick Miller as editor of *Woman’s Signal* is discussed in Chapter 5. Florence Fenwick Miller, ‘Signals from Friend to Friend’, *Woman’s Signal*, 25 February 1897, p. 122.
258 Being a journalist also meant that there was ‘not much time to think of self-adornment’, which was another issue that some women journalists would have struggled with, given that they often came from financially comfortable middle-class beginnings, and appearance was an important part of their lifestyle. Marian Marshall, ‘Correspondence: The Last of the Manly Young Lady’, *Women’s Penny Paper*, 30 March 1889, p. 3.
Similarly to women editors, women printers had been actively involved in the trade much earlier than the 1800s; yet, the majority remained unacknowledged, or they themselves chose not to come forward publicly due to persisting traditional beliefs of Victorian propriety. Nonetheless, in 1859 Langham Place Circle’s Jessie Parkes and Emily Faithfull established the Society for the Promotion of the Employment of Women (SPEW), and, as SPEW member Jessie Boucherett commented, ‘the first trade [they] thought of was printing’.\textsuperscript{261} The reason behind this choice lay in the fact that SPEW ‘came to understand training women in the well-paid aspects of printing as one of the best means to secure respectable employment for women’; whilst according to writer Sheila R. Herstein, SPEW trusted ‘that women could easily work as compositors’ regardless of ‘the heavy work involved in presswork’\textsuperscript{262} However, as all Victorian female compositors would later find, and as the president of the Club of Printing Women of New York Florence B. Thera admitted in the mid-twentieth century:

> Printing doesn’t open its arms to women or invite them into its portals. Once in the field, a woman finds no advantages as a woman, nor ease of advancement nor high wages nor any special recognition.\textsuperscript{263}

Indeed, any source that discusses the Anglo-American history of female compositors, typesetters, and other female workers of the printing trade presents a story, as writer Felicity Hunt argues, of ‘exclusion, dilution and de-skilling, coupled with the familiar pattern in which women enter a trade as unskilled and [at best] semi-skilled machine operators’.\textsuperscript{264}

Within this widely gendered climate, Müller was the one of few, if not the first, editor/proprietor to use the phrase ‘Conducted, Written, Printed, And Published By Women’ as a positive attribute, and by placing it on the masthead of her paper, she underscored that her project

was ‘a considerable opportunity for the women who edited and worked for [it]’.

Subsequently, by using a peritext such as the above subtitle, which emphasized that the *Paper/Herald* (a) was the product of women through and through, the editor not only added emphasis to how extraordinary this newspaper was, but also made quite obvious the reasons that readers had to support this specific paper, and be confident that its contents were truly for their benefit. Müller also offered the first step into establishing a righteous reputation for women journalists, even if she herself was not a career editor, but rather an activist editor.

Publishing historian Solveig C. Robinson argues that women conducting their own publications, such as Müller with the *Paper/Herald* (a) and later Annie Besant with *Woman at Home*, ‘found their gender was an asset, not a liability […] granting them special authority to address their readers’; women editors found themselves ‘empowered’ because ‘they defined and controlled the forum in which they spoke out, intentionally reaching out to an audience that (for the most part) shared their experiences and sympathies’. Indeed, this unique strength of the *Paper/Herald* (a) was noted and reiterated not only in the British press, but also internationally, revealing that its readers saw it as a unique enterprise, and a reason woman should be proud of, with one reviewer writing:

> The latest edition to journalistic circles is the *Women’s Penny Paper*, “the only paper in the world conducted, written, printed and published by women”. Its progress should be watched with interest by all my sex, as it is, I fancy, unique.

Over time, Müller’s team, perhaps with some help from its readers, collected and reprinted in its issues many similar reviews from home and abroad, which were echoing time and again that the *Paper/Herald* (a) was ‘The Only Paper In The World Conducted, Written, Printed, And Published By Women’.

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265 Robinson, pp. 159-72 (p. 160).
266 Sharon M. Harris differentiates women editors of the period thus: ‘the apprentice, the women for whom editing was an impetus to other kinds of literary or activist endeavors, and the women for whom editing was their primary work’. Sharon M. Harris, ‘Introduction: Women Editors in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Blue Pencils and Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals (1830-1910)*, ed. by Sharon M. Harris (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), pp. xxx-xxxiv (p. xxvi).
267 Robinson, pp. 159-72 (p. 160).
269 Reviews of the *Paper* appeared in newspapers that were aimed at the general public, such as *Durham Chronicle, Oban Telegraph, Crewe Star, Westminster and Lambeth Gazette, Huntingdon City News, Galignant’s Messenger, Eastern Daily Press,* and *Bicycling News*; as well as periodicals that were aimed at a female audience such as *Woman’s Chronicle* (Arkansas, USA), *Woman’s News* (Indiana, USA), to name but few.
3.1.2.4. The Epigraphs and Display Typefaces

The masthead for No. 54 included an excerpt from a recent speech given by William E. Gladstone on the 26th of October 1889:

Seventy years ago a man might rise to high positions in Parliament or the State and take no notice whatever of the humbler classes. They had no votes and could be safely neglected.\(^{270}\)

By the 2nd of November 1889, when Gladstone's words first appeared in the Paper's masthead, two significant events had preceded: Gladstone's government passed the 1884 Franchise Bill 'which extended the voting privilege to additional categories of men', whilst Mrs Gladstone was already leading (1877-1893) the Women's Liberal Federation, having had already 'accepted the honour of the presidentship'.\(^{271}\) Based on the above, it is likely that Müller, as a forward thinker and ever the optimist, perceived these developments as promising steps forward for the women's cause, which could have yielded an even greater support for Gladstone's party. However, Paper's public support of W. E. Gladstone only lasted for 37 weeks; on July 19th 1889 the excerpt was dropped. Abandoning Gladstone's words was a public statement expressing Müller's disappointment with Mr and Mrs Gladstone, which was a feeling shared by many of her contemporary women's suffrage supporters. Mrs Gladstone had 'always thought it right to maintain a position of strict impartiality' on the subject of Women's Suffrage, and by then 'had already declined to support a March 1890 resolution by the council of the federation in favour of female suffrage' because, in her words, such a resolution seemed 'difficult to reconcile with the impartiality of the Association', which event led to her resignation.\(^{272}\) Moreover, by that time it was evident that Mr Gladstone, although a Liberal in many respects, was not much of a libertarian when it came to the role of women in society.\(^{273}\) I suggest that it was these reasons that convinced Müller to replace Gladstone's words with a new, energetic quote ‘Speak Unto The People That They Go Forward’, and with

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\(^{271}\) Anne Isba, Gladstone and Women (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 147, 149.

\(^{272}\) Isba, p. 149.

\(^{273}\) Gladstone wrote to the German author Adele Crepaz for her book The Emancipation of Women and Its Probable Consequences, in order to offer his ‘more than a merely formal acknowledgement’. In his letter, he agreed with Crepaz's argument, which claimed that ‘if woman’s natural vocation of motherhood [was to be] carefully considered, it [would form] a powerful factor against the agitation for perfect equality between the two sexes’. He then authorised his letter to be printed as the preface of the book, and in 1893, when the book was translated into English, he purchased numerous copies, and sent them to those female members of the Liberal party that supported the women’s suffrage. William E. Gladstone, ‘Letter to the Authoress’ In A. Crepaz, The Emancipation of Women and Its Probable Consequences (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1893).
it also came a new asymmetrical composition that implied a certain level of fortitude. By that time, the National Press Agency (henceforth Agency) had already taken over as printers since No. 75 and with them changed the subtitle (the paper was no longer printed by women), the font, the size and length of the subtitle (Fig. 3).

The subtitle changed to ‘The only Paper Conducted and Written by Women’ and was set in Lining Condensed Sans Serif No. 4 (Stephenson Blake & Co), which made it shorter, and in turn allowed more space for the rest of the text included in the masthead, but it was the new font that enhanced the subtitle’s functionality (Fig. 4). Lining Condensed Sans Serif No. 4 made long distance reading even easier, because each letter was much more symmetrical, rather than balanced, while the lack of serif allowed a more or less equal white section in-between all letters, which is not possible with most serif fonts (Fig. 5 and 6). The newly created areas of white space allowed not only for a more experimental composition, but also for a rather successful grouping that communicated a more compact succinct message. In White’s words, the compositors ‘put interesting information where it could be found’. In contrast, the previous mastheads put the editor’s name on the bottom left hand corner of the masthead, while the address and G.P.O. registration featured on the opposite corner, which arrangement lacked hierarchy, and created confusion. Furthermore, the epigraph was rearranged into an inverted pyramid, which shape, as has previously been explained, guided the eye from the longer sentence to the shorter, from the most to the least important information. One other notable change on masthead No. 75 is the change in the type size of the editor’s name. The type remained the same, but the size was reduced, which made the overall phrase narrower, and more compact: a change that aided readability and gestalt by delivering the same message in a more succinct manner, than the original wider

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277 In Figures 5 and 6 I demonstrate the differences between serif and sans serif typefaces. The first might be considered balanced, but not symmetrical, whereas the latter is symmetrical, which also implies a sense of balance.

278 White, p. 107.
typesetting. White argues that ‘asymmetry suggests motion and activity’, and he rationalizes this statement thus:

[Asymmetry] is the creation of order and balance between unlike or unequal elements. Having no predictable pattern, asymmetry is dynamic. White space in an asymmetrical design is necessarily active, because it is integral to our perception of the positive elements.

In other words, asymmetry is active, and it can ‘evoke feelings of modernism, forcefulness, and vitality’, which dynamic style complemented the new epigraph, and perhaps even projected a sense of New Woman militancy.

It is worth noting that the reasons for choosing a specific typeface for each individual job were many and variable. Firstly, it was the compositors’ desire for convention, because it allowed less effort and more time efficiency, and eventually gained them a good reputation. Secondly, it was the pricing of each typeface, which determined whether the paper could afford to use it or not. Subsequently, pricing of a typeface carried its own paratextual meanings in terms of how much capital a paper had to spend on appearances, and what kind of audience it was aiming to attract. Thirdly, it was the type foundries’ instructions or suggestions as to what purpose to use each typeface for. Fourthly, it was often purely down to the compositors’ personal taste and experience, and/or the editors’, or proprietors’ imagined appearance of the final product. In this case, the first issue of Herald (a) had its title typeset in Condensed Roman Modern (Miller and Richard), which bear a very close similarity to the Lining Latin used by the Paper for almost three years. The whole title was capitalised, and it followed the same dynamic arrangement first introduced in July 1890. However, this typeface was only used for January’s issues, until it was replaced by a heavier Antique No. 8, which continued to be used until No. 154. This bold change in typeface, literally and metaphorically, served several purposes: it made the title noticeable from far away; and it created a clear sense of hierarchy to the masthead, making it absolutely clear that these two words formed the main title of the paper, and everything else around it was secondary paratextual information. In this case, the new typeface allowed the title to be loud, and robust.

279 See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Gestalt’.
280 White, p. 35.
281 See Appendix II / Historical Context: Section II.
demonstrating a sense of strength, and self-determination, declaring to its readerships that the Paper/Herald (a) was here to stay, and stronger than ever.

Most importantly, however, this choice of typeface demonstrated progressiveness, not because Antique No. 8 was aesthetically modern (if anything, it appeared aesthetically old fashioned), but due to the fact that the choice of a Bold typeface, which was typically used in advertisements, was an up-to-date practice. All of these different messages communicated through the typefaces used in the masthead, in turn emphasized that the Paper/Herald (a) was a modern confident paper, with a clear objective, and ambition, whilst at the same time the successful grouping of all the different elements in the masthead represented the type of successful unity Müller advocated for her fellow women; sentiments that further supported the progressive New Woman narrative espoused by the editor. Antique No. 8 was later changed to Trajan, a typeface family listed under the jobbing and fancy types category in the Miller and Richard’s type specimen book. Both Antique No. 8, used by the Agency, and Trajan were listed under the same price band, which excludes pricing as the reason for this change, whilst historian Graham Hudson describes a decline of ‘highly elaborate design’ that took place in the 1880s, which was eventually replaced by a ‘trend towards simplicity’ that proliferated during the 1890s. Therefore, choosing Trajan must have been a decision that was expected to bring simplicity and elegance to the masthead, while implying subtle links with the 284

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284 Shield: The Anti-Contagious Disease Acts Association’s Weekly Circular also had its title typeset in Antique between the 1870s and 1880s, while Wife: A Journal of Home Comforts (1882-1902) printed its title in Antique for most of its lifespan, but this typeface was mainly used in advertisements. For instance, Miller and Richard’s type specimen book suggests Antique No. 8 for announcements and adverts for leisure, such as literature, travel and opera, whilst it also suggests the same typeface for science lectures, and exhibitions. Antique No. 12 and Antique No. 13, which belong to the same type family, are proposed, respectively, for use on political and army announcements, or for use on ads for physical training and fire brigade’s motor engines. Stephenson and Blake’s type specimen book describes their Lining Bold Latin as a ‘durable type’ that is ‘forceful’, and can create ‘attractive display in advertisements’, suggesting this family of typefaces for various announcements and adverts, such as music concerts, government events, and competitions. In the 1870s Farmer, Little & Co., and in the 1890s Cleveland Type Foundry and A.D. Farmer & Son Type Founding Co. suggest this typeface family for all types of texts, but primarily for advertisements. Indeed, a survey of the periodical press reveals that the Latin family was mainly used for advertising goods. For instance: Cycling used Latin to advertise cycles, tyres, rims, and cement; Fishing Gazette used Latin to advertise fly rods, fishing tackle manufacturers, and new books on fishing; Sporting Times used Latin to advertise waterproofs. Myra’s Journal of Fashion used Latin typefaces to advertise cut-out paper patterns, cocoa tins, tooth elixirs, other women’s periodicals, to name a few; British Women’s Temperance Journal used Latin typefaces to advertise temperance non-alcoholic drinks, and temperance hotels, and grocers; Ladies’ World Of Fashion used Latin typefaces to advertise knife polishes, books on family washing, and handkerchiefs. The Paper/Herald (a) also used Latin typefaces to advertise a school of art, and jam spoons; yet, when the National Press Agency begun using the typeface for the title, they ceased using it in the advertising section. 285 Graham Hudson, The Victorian Printer, 1st edn (Oxford: Shire Publications Ltd., 1996), p. 21.
past; both of which once again created a paratextual message that combined the old with the new, which in turn implied the unity of all women under the banner of universal sisterhood.²⁸⁶

On April 11, 1891, Müller changed the epigraph of the *Paper/Herald* (a) into the last four lines of the poem *Kossuth* by James R. Lowell (Fig. 9), which read:

I was the chosen trump where through
Our God sent forth a wakening breath.
Come chains! Come death! The strain I blew
Sounds on chains and death!²⁸⁷

Lowell’s poem seems to have been rather popular in America, specifically around 1849, and often featured in papers such as the New York based weekly journal the *Spirit of Age*, which suggests that the poem had strong links with the Unitarian church and the anti-slavery movement (Fig. 10). Müller was also closely related to Theosophy, which fell under the umbrella of transcendentalism; a movement that Unitarians often found their way into, which relationship justifies the choice of poem.²⁸⁹ However, Müller also used these words as a metaphor for the situation of women at the time, and the fact that women were still restricted by (in other words slaves to) a deeply gendered patriarchal system. In fact, in her editorial she stated that the *Paper/Herald* (a) aspired ‘to further in every direction the emancipation of Womanhood from the trammels of tradition’, which explains the use of an anti-slavery poem.²⁹⁰ As a result, for Müller this verse held a double meaning: one that supported anti-slavery, and one that supported the emancipation of women; which meant equal rights within marriage in particular, and within society in general, as well as the liberty to develop ‘in any and every direction which she herself believes to be right’.²⁹¹ Subsequently, alongside the trivial paratext that Müller was a Theosophist, adding a peritext, such as a poem relevant to that movement as the epigraph of the *Paper/Herald* (a), not only made her devotion to

²⁸⁵ Many type foundries cut their own version of Trajan, such as Goudy and Johnston, which was inspired by the Roman capital letters found in the inscription of the Trajan Column, built in 107-113 AD.
²⁸⁶ Woman’s Herald, 11 April 1891, p. 1.
²⁸⁷ In her biographical account of Charles Dickens, author and journalist Claire Tomalin, writes that Unitarians subscribed ‘to that admirable and bracing type of nonconformity that encouraged rational thinking, held that social ills were not willed by God but created by human action, and believed in democratic government’. In turn, this explains why many Unitarians often found their way in Theosophy, an occult movement that emphasized ‘mystical experience’, the ‘achievement of higher psychic and spiritual power’, and a ‘preference for monism’; characteristics that transcended gender dichotomy and materialism. Claire Tomalin, *Charles Dickens: A Life* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2011), p. 81; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [online], ‘Theosophy’, [http://www.britannica.com/topic/theosophy](http://www.britannica.com/topic/theosophy) [accessed 17 January 2015].
²⁸⁹ Ibid.
Theosophy official, even if indirectly, but signalled to her New Woman readers that it was now
time to overcome the ‘chains’ of mid-nineteenth century True Womanhood.

### 3.1.2.5. The Editorial Design and Navigation Typefaces

Furthermore, the size, paper stock, and column arrangement served numerous paratextual
meanings that were familiar to the British female reader, and influenced the message of the
anchor text. As has been established above, by the late nineteenth century, female readers
more and more consistently read men’s newspapers; yet, this was mainly practiced by the
section of women, mostly middle- or upper-class, who slowly but gradually had begun to be
more interested in politics and general public affairs. As a result, the ordinary working class
female reader, although she too was interested in women’s suffrage and perhaps at times
even more so than her more socially elevated peers, was still mostly catered for by the typical
three- or two-column periodical.\(^{292}\) With this in mind, female readers across social classes
would have perceived the crown folio size of 8 to 16 pages as a familiar format, because it
was very close, if not the same, with the size and pages used by the specialist women’s
periodicals they were accustomed to. Moreover, the thin newsprint paper in combination with
the two-column arrangement would have intertextually linked the *Paper/Herald* (a) with the
British reformist newspaper press, which in itself would have been a familiar format to the
more progressive section of the female readership, the progressive section of the male
readership, and a section of the female and male working class readership, since the Chartist
press had in the past used a similar format. Additionally, using thin (news) paper differentiated
the *Paper/Herald* (a) from women’s monthly magazines, and fashion periodicals, which
typically used thicker paper, or a combination of thinner paper for the text, and thicker paper
for the fashion plates.

Additionally, adopting a two-column arrangement was perceived as forward thinking, modern
and tidy; so much so that American suffrage papers printed in the 1880s, which may have
originally opted for the stereotypically male format of seven columns, changed to four columns

\(^{292}\) In fact periodicals aimed at working-class men were also using the smaller periodical size with three or two
columns, rather than the full broadsheet newspaper size.
or less by the 1890s. The two-column arrangement would have allowed effective design through an arrangement that created a ‘structured white space’, which in turn assisted ‘headings to stand out’, while ‘helping readers quickly find what they need[ed]’. The clean design permitted potential readers to better understand the ‘design personality’ of the paper, which in turn accentuated its editorial identity. In fact, evidence suggests that the readership understood its neat and minimalist design as a great advantage with one reviewer describing the Paper/Herald (a) as ‘a smartly conducted journal and very readable’, and another referring to it as ‘crisp and newsy’. It is noteworthy that this stylistic uniqueness was not only understood within the British context; a review by a foreign reader in the German press, who specifically underlined the heightened quality of the production, reveals the impact its design had to readers:

The editorial management appears to be in able and experienced hands, and to be assisted by a competent staff. Paper and printing are admirable, and the journal is heartily to be recommended to German ladies striving for their rights.

For the Paper/Herald (a), therefore, it was an advantage to accommodate less text on the page than to accommodate too much. ‘Space attracts readers’, designer Alex White argues, explaining that ‘readers are less likely to notice or object to too much white space than to an unreadable, crowded page’. Indeed, evidence suggests that the message of the Paper/Herald (a), perhaps because it was delivered in a minimalist non-ornamental style, appealed to female and male readers, with the correspondent at the Edinburgh Exhibition writing ‘I was amused to notice that men, as a rule, are the ones who are taken with the paper and who buy it, and this, I hear is the case in London at the stations’.

The typefaces used for the subheadings, in addition to the title typefaces discussed above, are also noteworthy. Contemporary sources explain that the editor decided what the titles would be, but the overseer (senior compositor) decided on the location and typeface for each title, which decisions were based primarily on the standards set by the typographic community.

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293 White, p. 7.
294 Ibid., p. 55.
297 White, p. 7.
298 Clara E. de Moleyns, 'Edinburgh Electric Exhibition', Women's Penny Paper, 10 May 1890, p. 344.
as well as ‘intuition, artistry, science, or personal preference’. As such, the choice of typefaces for headings might have varied, but the aim remained the same: to create an emphasis and allow the subhead to stand out from the rest of the matter. For the Paper/Herald (a), a subhead that was continuously set in the same typeface from No. 1 - No. 154 was that for the 'Interview'. The heading for the 'Interview' has been continuously set in Black Letter, which choice of typeface remained throughout the lifetime of the Paper/Herald (a), and despite the change of printers that took place. A survey of specimen books from British and American type foundries between the 1870s to the 1910s reveals that the Black Letter family of typefaces was conventionally recommended for religious and ecclesiastical literature, notices and advertisements, bank cheques, Christmas literature, and/or main newspaper titles and subtitles. However, a survey of randomly selected newspapers and periodicals of the period indicates that news printers used Black Letter in their printing, but the quantity and purpose of usage varied. It appears that there are four different categories: newspapers or periodicals that use Black Letter for their main title; newspapers or periodicals that use Black Letter for their subtitle; newspapers or periodicals that use Black Letter for some of their subheadings; and newspapers or periodicals that use Black Letter for their subtitle, as well as all their subheadings. On the other hand, during the same period, there existed newspapers, or periodicals, that did not use Black Letter at all, whilst Black Letter for purposes other than the above was not recommended in any type of specimen books used by printers.

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300 Black Letter is based on broad pen mediaeval scripts: it was the style used by the earliest printers, being the common style of writing at the time. John B. Easson, 'Typefaces' (Broadsheet, The Quarto Press, 2005).
301 In 1873, for instance, London-based Fann Street type foundry suggested Black Letter faces for: musical entertainment notices; books on natural philosophy; ecclesiastical literature; advertisements for investment bank opportunities; artists' exhibitions; home insurance; architectural embellishments; or newspaper heads. In 1887 and 1888 respectively, Chicago based Farmer, Little & Co., and Shniedewend & Lee Co. recommended Black Letter for: jobbing on bank transfer notes; ecclesiastical literature; home insurance; musical event literature; monument inscriptions; government documents; lectures; or history books. In 1893 New York-based A.D. Farmer and Son type foundry recommended Black Letter for: advertisements of banks; furniture; music academies; government reports; certificates; book titles and subtitles; ecclesiastical events; or insurance companies. In 1908, Sheffield and Toronto based Stephenson, Blake & Co. suggested Black Letter for: ecclesiastical jobbing; notices; religious literature; bank cheques; government or society reports; or newspaper heads. Lastly, in 1918 Edinburgh and London based Miller and Richard suggested that Black Letter is used for: advertisements; notices; religious literature; Christmas cards; music programmes; college certificates; memorial service literature; or royal history related literature. Fann Street Foundry, Selections from The Specimen Book of the Fann Street Foundry (London: Reed and Fox, Late Robert Besley & Co., 1873), pp. 74-91; Farmer, Little & Co., Specimens of Printing Types, Brass Rules, Etc. from the Farmer, Little & Co. (Chicago: Chas. B. Ross, 1887), pp. 75-6; Shniedewend & Lee Co., Specimen Book and Price List of Type Manufactured by MacKellar, Smiths & jordan Co. and Catalogue of Printing Materials, Printing Presses and Paper Cutters (Chicago: Shniedewend & Lee Co., 1888), p. 253; A. D. Farmer & Son Type Founding & Co., Typographic Specimens: Illustrated Catalogue (New York: A. D. Farmer & Son Type Founding & Co., 1893), pp. 218-20; Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, pp. 282-90; Miller and Richard, pp. 357-65.
surveyed for this study. Yet, a reason that might explain the usage of Black Letter for subheadings could be that the majority of compositors came from a book printing background, where this typeface family was favoured; a type preference that they brought with them when they moved to news print. More significantly for the purposes of this argument, however, the use of Black Letter for the ‘Interview’ and the ‘Correspondence’ columns reveals that these sections of the anchor text were the most important to the editor, and presumably they were expected to be the most interesting to the readers.

3.1.2.6. The ‘Interview’ and The Portrait

3.1.2.6.1. The Rhetoric of the interview

The ‘principal article’ (anchor text) that was ‘devoted to a biographical sketch’ in combination with the featured portrait (iconic peritext) added a specific tone to the overall voice of the paper.302 On the one hand, the ‘Interview’ (otherwise titled ‘Biographical Sketch’, or ‘Sketch’) was written in a style that encouraged familiarity through a writing manner that favoured various conventionally female techniques typically associated with True Womanhood. On the other hand, however, these articles made sure not only to mention the personal achievements of the female interviewee (in order to lead by example), but also emphasize her interest in, and work for woman’s suffrage. The same hybrid rhetoric of True and New Womanhood was further underlined by the portraits accompanying these biographical articles, which also combined stereotypical familiar elements of True Womanhood with progressive idiosyncratic elements of New Womanhood.303

Historian Aled Jones argues that from the 1890s and until WWI, the ‘heterogeneity of the political press’ had decreased, and ‘a change in style represented most clearly by the growing popularity of the newspaper interview’ had increased.304 The interview was itself a hybrid journalistic genre, which derived out of the combination of the already established ‘reported

public speech’ and ‘potted biography’. The illustrated interview, in particular, was a regular feature in the general illustrated, cheap domestic and religious magazines, and the ladies’ papers. It was not only inclusive of the interviewee’s domestic possessions and decoration, but also her accomplishments, while it provided a closer look into the lives of those out of reach to the ordinary reader. However, what the celebrity interview had afresh was its capacity to engage with the reader on a more compassionate level, draw a more personal profile of the interviewee, and rely more on emotion rather than instruction. Immediacy was achieved through the use of personal pronouns (i.e. ‘you’, ‘I’ or ‘we’), the detailed description of the domestic environment of the author, and the inclusion of everyday chores or activities that these women happened to perform on the day of the interview. These characteristics were very much the standard style for writing mainstream celebrity interviews, which were followed by the majority of successful interviewers. For example, in the interviews by professional interviewer, and author of Notable Women Authors of The Day (1890), Helen C. Black more than often one can find elements of immediacy and taste (of the interviewee) in combination with some reference to traditional domestic tasks.

The authors writing for the *Paper* followed a similar method of writing, but their versions of the interview made sure to include the interviewee’s opinion on woman’s suffrage, even if there was still some focus on the personal and the material. For example, in the first issue the interviewer writes:

> Our readers may like to know something of the personality and surroundings of one who has done so much to raise the position of women. [...] There is a sense of warmth and security once we are within the walls, a certainty of a hospitable reception as we stand in the wide cheerful hall, with its view into the pretty garden beyond. Nor are we disappointed of our reception when presently we are shown upstairs into Mrs McLaren’s drawing room. A glance round the room shows that a desire

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307 In his study of Black’s work, English literature scholar Troy Bassett explains that ‘told in the second person, the interviews create an immediacy between the authors and the readers where the interviewer Black all but fades into the background’. He also argues that by using the second pronoun, Black creates the impression that the reader is in conversation with the interviewee and ‘entering into a friendship with her’; she tends to include a short ‘description of the house’s situation, furnishings and window views’, including a description of the author’s desk, which encourages a specific reading of the interviewee, because the domestic space and its interior design decisions become ‘a representation of the [interviewee’s] taste and artistic abilities’. She then completes this profile of the wholesome female author by associating her to some type of traditional domestic tasks, such as ‘child-rearing, drawings, flower-arranging, gardening, music, and painting – all of which are taken as self evidently womanly’. Troy J. Bassett, "A Characteristic Product of the Present Era": Gender and Celebrity in Helen C. Black’s Notable Women Authors of the Day”, in *Women Writers and Celebrity Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ann R Hawkins and Maura Ives (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 151-68 (pp. 153, 163, 155-7).
for comfort and utility has been uppermost in the minds of its occupants. Here are none of the fragile and uncomfortable pieces of furniture, or the sombre colours which are invariably connected with aesthetism. [...] Our talk is interrupted by one of the little grandchildren in whom Mrs McLaren seems to forget for the moment the sorrows of the world and her own cares, and to renew her youth and gaiety.\textsuperscript{308}

This short section of Mrs McLaren’s interview skilfully combines: personal tone (i.e. ‘our readers’, ‘we stand’, ‘we disappointed’, or ‘our talk’); the taste of the interviewee via association with her interior or exterior of her property (i.e. ‘wide cheerful hall’, ‘pretty garden’); and domestic duties of the True Woman (i.e. child caring). Yet, the readers could also find a lengthy description of her achievements (approximately three quarters) as ‘a pioneer worker in the cause of woman’s rights’, who had ‘agitated for the removal of the unjust laws under which [women] suffer’.

Similarly, after a hundred and fifteen issues, the interview in the \textit{Paper/Herald} (a) still featured on the front cover page, and the writing style remained analogous. No. 115 features a biographical sketch, rather than an interview proper, of the recently deceased Hungarian author Miss Stephanie Wohl; yet, it succeeds in combining the same three elements of the mainstream interview as well as the fourth element of woman’s suffrage. For instance, the writer uses the pronoun ‘we’ for immediacy; then she mentions the interviewee’s affinity with music, which demonstrated her good taste; and half way through the column she mentions that the interviewee ‘delighted in household offices’ and that ‘was as capable in domestic affairs as in literary matters; whilst she also ‘excelled’ in needlework, ‘produced the most delicate stitching and embroidery’.\textsuperscript{309} Most importantly, however, the interview focuses more on Miss Wohl’s work and person, as ‘not only a brilliant character, but a born leader of society, and a woman more interesting in herself than the creatures of her imagination’. As such, the readers could read about her affinity for ‘quiet and regular work’, and learn that ‘she was engaged on a Hungarian novel that might have been written by a man profoundly versed in the intricacies of social and political life’. Her ‘complex and paradoxical nature’ was also mentioned quoting a person close to her saying that:

\textsuperscript{308} ‘Interview’, \textit{Women’s Penny Paper}, 27 October 1888, pp. 4-5 (p. 4).
\textsuperscript{309} ‘Interview’, \textit{Woman’s Herald}, 3 January 1891, pp. 1-2 (p. 1).
Her frail and gentle exterior [...] concealed an iron will, her enjoyment of life and of society, an exceptional power of endurance and an amazing capacity for hard work, her great amiability and apparent frivolity, a thoughtful and self-tormenting spirit that knew no rest.  

As a professional author and journalist, ‘well or ill, her copy was always ready’, because ‘her sense of duty was exceptionally strong’, and as a woman and sister she had an almost ideal ‘mutual affection’ with her sister to the point that they were so ‘devoted to each other’ that ‘they never married, because they could not bear to part’.

It is also noteworthy that the writing style of the interview followed a similar pattern even in the one case that the interviewer was a man. The author began his article with a description of his interviewee in her study, offering the obligatory visual tour, pointing out her ‘large writing table’, which was ‘covered with papers, writing materials, flowers, photographs, piles of answered and unanswered letters, a huge bunch of manuscripts ready for despatch, and a great number of book-proof sheets corrected’. He then moved on to express his admiration about ‘the extreme neatness with which everything was arranged’ providing detailed information that demonstrated orderliness. He followed with a detailed description of appearance, from head to toe writing:

Her ladyship wore a short, kilted skirt, or rather kilt, reaching just below the knee in the tartan of the hunting Stewart, which her own family have the right to wear, stockings to match, and her feet were encased in brogues mounted with silver buckles; a plain, white, flannel shirt with tartan tie and grey loose shooting jacket, carelessly unbuttoned, completed the charming attire, which certainly became the wearer. Lady Florence wears her hair short. I believe in childhood it was a bright gold, but repeated cuttings have completely darkened it, and it is only when the sun shines on it that the gold threads are now seen. It is beautifully curly, and hangs upon her forehead thick love locks.

He then began asking his questions one by one, offering plenty of opportunity to his interviewee to talk about her beliefs on altering the position of women, allowing women to be members of Parliament, and to be treated equally to men. At the same time, however, he also allowed her to speak about her daily schedule which mixed True Womanhood duties, such as teaching her two boys and getting involved in household duties, with New Womanhood activities, such as taking physical exercise (she used to ‘go for a sharp run for a mile’ early in the morning, and then she took ‘further exercise, walking or riding’ after noon), being an

302 Ibid.
311 Ibid
312 ‘Interview’, Women’s Penny Paper, 12 April 1890, pp. 1-2 (p. 1).
313 Ibid.
author and a businesswoman. Similarly to the previous examples, the interviewer used the first person extensively, which helped create the essential immediacy. Overall, the vast majority of the interviews featured in the Paper/Herald (a) followed a similar pattern: a balanced mixture of True Woman’s duties and taste with a reference on New Woman’s effort, and an opinion on the subject of woman’s suffrage, all wrapped up with a friendly tone.

The above demonstrates that there was an emphasis on human-interest, which, as it has been established, was an element of New Journalism writing; but this was utilised in favour of the hybrid interview/biographical sketch writing style featured in the Paper/Herald (a). Therefore, journalism historian F. Elizabeth Gray’s argument that the profiles featured in the Paper/Herald (a) ‘betray conflicts that reflect the pervasive influence of the gender constructions they sought to modify’, I think is unfair. Regardless of how progressive a woman may have been during the late nineteenth century, it was typical to be involved in domestic hobbies or duties, such as knitting, childcare, or interior decoration. In fact, even the most militant of suffragettes enjoyed many stereotypically female activities, such as house tea parties, bazaars and shopping for the latest fashions. Moreover, New Journalism dictated that such details as interior decoration should be part of an interview because they made the interviewee seem more human and approachable. This principle was very much in line with celebrity culture in general, and the desire of the average person to know more about the private spaces they could never visit, and ways of living they could never experience. In fact, the human-interest dimension, although a new element in written biography, had been an already established tool in visual biography (portrait) since the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Art historian Shearer West writes that ‘it became increasingly common for monarchs, the aristocracy, and the gentry’, demographic groups that were the celebrities of the period, ‘to commission portraits of themselves in domestic settings or intimate circumstances’.

West also mentions that these portraits were often ‘set in private rooms or other intimate spaces, rather than state rooms or theatrically curtained and columned interiors’ in order to achieve and ‘air of informality’, which could in turn result in a familiarity that would allow the

viewers to identify with the ‘moral exemplum’ presented to them.\textsuperscript{315} As such, including specific details about the interior circumstances of the interviewee was a mechanism to make for an approachable prose, rather than a betrayal to New Womanhood; or as English literature scholars Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman argue, it was a tool that suggested ‘intimacy with the great and famous into whose most private rooms the reader was allowed to look’.\textsuperscript{316}

3.1.2.6.2. The Rhetoric of the Portrait

The \textit{Paper/Herald} (a) featured approximately 162 portraits alongside the weekly ‘Interview’/‘Biographical Sketch’, from which approximately 64 were hand drawn illustrations, 98 were half tone prints of photos.\textsuperscript{317} All sitters were white female, the majority British or American, with most of the interviewees being in their 30s, though sitters of other age groups were also included, interviewees in their 40s being the second major age group followed by interviewees in their 50s.\textsuperscript{318} In terms of appearance, the most preferred hairstyle is that of the True Woman (i.e. long hair tied up); yet, other shorter New Woman hairstyles were also included.\textsuperscript{319} Similarly, the majority of sitters are featured in True Woman outfits, but there are also sitters who are featured in alternative style clothing.\textsuperscript{320} The portraits were mostly bust portraits of various sizes, but in some cases they were full body portraits that occupied a whole page, which suggests that the size of the image was determined by economic, and technological factors, and/or availability.

West argues that portrait artists often applied gendered ideals of the period either self-consciously, or by accepting ‘certain normative yet variable cultural stereotypes’.\textsuperscript{321} There are different forms of masculinities and femininities that apply to a specific geographic and

\textsuperscript{315} Ibid., p. 81.
\textsuperscript{316} Beetham and Boardman (eds.), \textit{Victorian Women's Magazines}, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{317} With exception No. 53, 61, 70, 76, 100.
\textsuperscript{318} In the \textit{Paper}, 20\% of portraits depicted a foreign national, and 80\% depicted an English or American national. No. 31 depicted the only non-white female. In \textit{Herald} (a), the non-Anglo-American nationalities included: 1 Hungarian (No. 115); 3 French (No. 126, 131-2); 2 Ukrainian, based in France (No. 133, 171-2); 1 Swedish, based in France (No. 138); 1 Portuguese (No. 146); 1 German (No. 167); 1 Romanian, based in Paris (No. 169).
\textsuperscript{319} 25 sitters had long hair tied up in plaits; 36 sitters had long hair tied up in another conventional manner; 11 sitters had long hair tucked in a head scarf or bonnet; 11 sitters had long hair tied up in a conventional hat; 21 sitters had short hair; 3 sitters wore an alternative hat; 2 sitters had tight curls; 1 sitter wore an eastern scarf; 1 sitter had short hair and was non-white (Indian).
\textsuperscript{320} See Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Alternative Dress’, or ‘Alternative Style’.
\textsuperscript{321} West, p. 161.
temporal context; yet, ‘the choices made by portraitists and their sitters’ on how such
gendered standards should be communicated have been both ‘unconscious and explicit,
responsive to social expectations, and sensitive to the changing perceptions of audiences
about those qualities’ of masculinity and femininity that are deemed acceptable and
important.322 Victorian portrait artists focused on accentuating a loss of beauty when
portraying older women, whereas they focused on emphasizing beauty, or modesty and
gracefulness, when portraying younger women, which also seems to be the case for the
portraits found in the Paper.323 For instance, Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren, Louise Otto, and
Mrs Belva A. Lockwood, who were in their 70s, 60s, and 50s respectively, are all drawn in a
way that portrays them with a more austere facial expression, and seriousness (Fig. 11).
However, the original photos of all three women show them as being composed, wise and
elegant, with much smoother facial expressions, and a comfortable stillness.

Art historian Deborah Cherry argues that there was a minority of female (fine) artists, who,
rather atypically, were appreciative of female sitters’ natural facial features, and did not shy
away from depicting the ‘deep shadows under her eyes’, perhaps ‘a large nose’, or ‘full lips’,
and even ‘asymmetrical eyes’, or ‘wisps of hair escaping over her forehead’.325 However, in
the same vein as feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey, I would argue that as a result of ‘an
active/passive division of labour’ that had traditionally ‘controlled narrative [image] structure’,
female spectators in the main had been unintentionally trained to comprehend images
through male spectators’ eyes; meaning identifying with the male creator of the image, and
assuming a ‘male gaze’ that ‘project[ed] its fantasy onto the female figure’.326 A photographer
Alice Hughes commented in 1894 that ‘there are already hundreds of lady retouchers’, an
observation that echoes historian Gerry Began, who argues that by the late nineteenth
century the majority of retouchers were female.327 Nonetheless, it was still expected of them
‘not only to erase physiognomic imperfections’ (i.e. furrows between eyebrows), ‘but to soften

322 Ibid.
323 F. Edholm, ‘Beyond the Mirror: Women’s Self Portraits’, in Imagining Women, ed. by Frances Bonner and others
326 ‘Lady Photographers: An Interview with Miss Alice Hughes’, Woman’s Signal, 25 January 1894, p. 53.
the harshness said to be inherent in photographs’. In other words, ‘retouching was described as “the Cinderella of the photographic arts”, so much so that:

A certain amount of retouching was frequently necessary in order to remove marks and scratches from negatives, but in portraiture it was also used to idealize the sitter, erasing “imperfections” such as wrinkles and altering lips, chins, and noses in order to produce a physiognomically acceptable image.

Differences ‘attributed to the gender expectations of the time when the works were produced’, West argues, often infiltrated portraiture; thus, a ‘physiognomically acceptable image’ during the 1880s and 1890s could only be a gendered image given that British society was still deeply patriarchal. Subsequently, it was not unusual for female pen-and-ink artists and retouchers, in this case reproducing the portraits printed in the Paper/Herald (a), to have inherited a male manner of drawing for mass reproduction. So, although some female fine artists might have demonstrated a rare appreciation of a genuine female face, commercial female pen-and-ink artists and retouchers were still drawing based on the hegemonic aesthetics of commercial art, which involved a level of female beautification very similar to today’s airbrushing. Subsequently, the vast majority of portraits depicting women younger than 40 - 50 years old show some level of facial modification that altered the sitters’ facial features to conform to society’s expectations. An elegant, thin nose, not too wide and not too narrow lips, and a pair of inviting eyes were all elements of the ideally beautiful female face of the late nineteenth century; physiognomic qualities that formally materialised in the face of the ‘Gibson Girl’ of the 1890s Anglo-American society, but were already established during the Victorian period (Fig. 12).

Physiognomy was a subject that was endorsed by many accredited professionals at the time, such as lecturer on anatomy and physiology Alexander Walker, and was often used as an

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328 By some, retouching was even expected to achieve miracles with the sitter’s appearance. Hughes, for instance, had to work with a lady sitter that ‘did not like a profile which had been touched up’. So, after ‘several suggestions’, Hughes ‘suggested that it should be made like the profile of a perfect bust’ she owned. The female sitter ‘at once asserted to’, and ‘she did not mind whether it was like her or not as long as she was made good looking’. ‘Lady Photographers: An Interview with Miss Alice Hughes’, Woman’s Signal, 25 January 1894, p. 53; Gerry Beegan, The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), p. 178.

329 Ibid.

330 West, p. 146.
instrument for decoding one’s personality in the press. A satirical family paper Pick-Me-up, for example, included these comments by Professor Annie I. Oppenheim B. P. A. next to a portrait of Miss Geraldine Ulmar:

The whole contour of the face shows a placid, even temper and a kindly nature. The eyes are well set, eloquent and contesting. That rising of the upper part of the cheek denotes a harmless love of admiration, without which she would scarcely be a woman. The thinness of the bridge of the nose shows a recklessness in her expenditure and a vast indifference to money matters. The mouth is sympathetic, the tip of the nose is trusting; the downward projection of the septum indicates originality and a desire for knowledge. The width of her chin shows an intense love of the beautiful, both in nature and in art; also fidelity and tenacity in regard to her affections. Perhaps, in the physiognomical sense, the throat is scarcely independent enough, thus suggesting that Miss Ulmar is not fond of taking great responsibilities upon herself. The small nostrils mean peace and a horror of quarrels, or anything of an exciting character.

With such immense pressure on women to have a look in line with the expected beauty ideals, it is no surprise that the portraits featured in No. 6, 13, 15, 19, 42, 52, and 56 all portrayed a more beautified version of the sitter’s real life nose, and this was only one modification amongst other numerous changes that the female retoucher often introduced. No. 14, for instance, includes a portrait of Mrs Scarlieb that depicts a beautified version of her eyes, nose, mouth and cheeks; most of her facial features have been modified in order to fit in with the mainstream ideals of beauty, to an extend that there remains no similarity to her own photographic portrait (Fig. 13). Similarly, No. 16 featured a portrait of Miss Charlotte Robinson that had almost completely erased her otherwise prominent teeth and mouth structure, which in reality made her physiognomic features quite unique, and easily recognisable (Fig. 14).

Alongside the face, clothing and hair was also a very important part of a woman’s appearance. A male contributor to the Paper/Herald (a) identified that ‘dress is not a covering merely, it is a symbol’, adding that ‘this symbol of the mind of society has always been of absorbing interest to women in general’. Indeed, sociologist and fashion historian Diane Crane argues that in the nineteenth century clothing performed ‘a form of symbolic communication’, which delivered information about ‘the wearer’s social role, social standing, and personal character’, and because upper- and middle-class women were ‘lacking other forms of power, they used

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nonverbal symbols [such as clothing] as a means of self-expression’. In a similar vein, gender studies scholar Rose Weitz argues that women often use their hair style to express power, and because they are acutely aware of cultural expectations regarding their hair, ‘rather than simply acquiescing to those expectations’, many women often choose to intentionally ‘seek power’ through an accommodation to those expectations, resistance to those expectations, or a combination of both. Weitz also argues that ‘the meanings and implications of the strategies’ women assume to demonstrate accommodation, resistance, or both, are dependent on their ethnicity.

With the above examples of beautification in mind, and in combination with Crane’s and Weitz’s concepts, I suggest that True Womanhood was unintentionally imposed upon the portraits featured in the Paper, in the same way conventional True Womanhood was unintentionally imposed on the interview/biographical sketch. However, unlike the interviews, where conventional True Womanhood was counter argued with references to New Womanhood by describing the interviewee’s unconventionally feminine profession or achievements, the majority of portraits were used to enforce True Womanhood proper in addition to True Womanhood physiognomy, by means of conventionally feminine hair and dress style, in order to dispute the caricaturist representations of the masculine and unfemininely unfashionable New Woman (Fig. 15). Still, in a minority of portraits conventional True Womanhood physiognomy was counter argued with references to New Womanhood by means of unconventionally feminine hair and dress style. In particular, I suggest that in the majority of the portraits fashionable clothing and hair was used to underline True Womanhood proper to emphasize that New Women could be and were conventionally femininely; whereas in the minority of portraits ‘alternative style’ clothing and hair was used to counter argue True Womanhood, so as to show that some New Women would go as far as to ‘behave in defiance of the [patriarchal] social order’.

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337 Crane, Fashion and Its Social Agendas, p. 100.
339 Ibid., p. 143.
341 The alternative style ‘incorporated items from men’s clothing, such as ties, men’s hats, suit jackets, waistcoats, and men’s shirts, sometimes singly, sometimes in combination with one another, but always associated with items of fashionable female clothing’. It is noteworthy that trousers were not part of this alternative style. Crane, Fashion and Its Social Agendas, p. 101.
An example of a portrait emphasizing True Womanhood proper is that of Mrs Florence Fenwick Miller, who appeared with a stereotypically fashionable hairstyle and dress in No. 18 (Fig. 16). In this portrait, and in all her portraits I was able to trace, Fenwick Miller dons long brown hair tied up in a conventional way, which hairstyles pay close resemblance to the ‘brown, neatly combed heads of the virtuous governess and industrious wives’ often described in Victorian fiction.\(^\text{343}\) Her conventionally feminine hairstyle and clothing would exemplify ‘the doctrine of separate spheres’, which would seem non-threatening to any of her male contemporaries.\(^\text{344}\) That way, Fenwick Miller, like most women Weitz argues, used her hair ‘to seek power’ through a style that ‘de-emphasize[d] resistance and instead emphasize[d] accommodation to mainstream ideas about attractiveness.’\(^\text{345}\) In fact, this was the kind of behaviour that politics and gender historian Arlene Elowe MacLeod terms as ‘accommodating protest’, which is a phrase she devised in a bid to characterise the type of women’s political struggle that displays an:

> Ambiguous pattern [when women] seem to both struggle in a conscious and active way against their inequality, yet who also seem to accept, and even support their own subordination.\(^\text{346}\)

Consequently, this choice of conventional hairstyle and clothing would have allowed Fenwick Miller not only to communicate that New Women like her were feminine and non-threatening, but also to acquire a certain type of power that would have permitted her to achieve more as a professional female journalist and woman’s rights advocate.

Indeed, writing about the time that she was a member of the London School Board at age 22, fellow journalist Frederick Rogers described Fenwick Miller as ‘young, good-looking, brilliant’, as well as daring; whilst in 1899, by then a prolific professional journalist and at the end of her editorial career in the *Signal*, Fenwick Miller confessed that:

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


\(^{344}\) Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas*, p. 100.

\(^{345}\) Weitz, p. 138.

speak to great audiences and men gave me generous praise in newspapers for my so speaking; men have almost exclusively employed my pen.\textsuperscript{347}

Of course, it would be unfair to claim that Fenwick Miller was successful in journalism and suffrage merely because of her choice of hair and dress style, but the fact that she decided to assume an overall conventionally feminine appearance would certainly have helped more in her pursuits, for she was seemingly accepting of the gendered standards that the patriarchal society had put in place, and therefore did not appear as a threat to the conventional system of order.

An example that, unlike Fenwick Miller, depicts an alternative style hair combined with a conventional style dress is that of Miss Alice Cornwell featured in No. 52. Cornwell assumed a very short masculine hairstyle that demonstrated something quite different to accommodating protest: an opposition that aimed ‘to resist subordination and increase the power’ of those considered subordinate.\textsuperscript{348} The energetic and determined Cornwell, who was described by some as ‘the most remarkable woman of the present day’ and ‘the possessor of three-quarters of a million sterling’, was only in her 20s and already a prolific gold mining industrialist and newspaper proprietor when she was photographed with short hair (Fig. 17).\textsuperscript{349} However, I discovered that for Cornwell the short haircut was a dramatic hair change that came later in her lifetime: portraits of her as an art and music student, taken prior to the beginning of her mining career, depict her with traditionally long hair, tied up in a fashionable style, and secured with a fashionable hat (Fig. 18). Sociologist Frigga Haug argues that ‘the introductory stage of [women’s] integration into “working life” is marked by a change of clothing and hair style’; similarly, Weitz’s research reveals that ‘white women often choose new hairstyles that highlight professionalism and downplay femininity as a first step toward entering professional training or work.’\textsuperscript{351} Therefore, I suggest that a similar situation was true for late Victorian women who sought power through non-traditional ways, such as Cornwell.

\textsuperscript{347} Florence Fenwick-Miller, ‘Editor’s Farewell Address’, Woman’s Signal, 23 March 1899, p. 184.
\textsuperscript{348} Weitz, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{349} ‘Princess Midas: the New Zealand Queen of Finance - Miss Alice Cornwell, A Sketch of Her Career’, Supplement to the Otago Witness, 31 January 1889, p. 3.
Her change of haircut, from long and feminine to short and masculine, was a symbolic ritual that placed ‘the frivolous toddler’ in the past, and in her place positioned ‘the sensible young girl’. It was Alice, the sensible girl, who dressed in fashionable clothes, donned long luscious curls, favoured fashionable hats, and mingled with London’s high society. But, when she was called back to her native Victoria (New Zealand) following the sudden death of her mother, and sought to save the family business from bankruptcy, she became Miss Cornwell ‘a matter-of-fact woman of the world, full of ambition, imagination, and energy’. Indeed, short haircuts with conventional clothing seem to be an appearance favoured by professional ladies, a combination that was also approved by some of the Paper’s readers with one including in her letter to the editor the following:

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

Similarly, and in contrast to Alice the student, Cornwell the businesswoman, later widely known as ‘Princess Midas’, donned a very short haircut that allowed her to partly defeminise her appearance, which permitted her to infiltrate the male-dominated mining sector. Yet, a short haircut combined with a typically feminine fashionable dress also allowed her to appear feminine enough to be respectable and non-threatening, whilst masculine enough, or rather professional enough, to be taken seriously as a business collaborator. At the same time, Cornwell found a way to protest against the appearance of the True Woman proper, by proposing an alternative New Woman appearance.

Another noteworthy example, this time depicting a conventional hairstyle combined with alternative style dress is that of Madame Olga Novikoff in No. 68, who wore a sailor’s straw hat combined with what seems to be a conventional high collar black dress and a white shirt underneath (Fig. 19). Straw hats (or boaters) originally appeared in children’s fashion in the

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352 Haug, p. 93.  
353 Supplement to the Otago Witness, p. 3.  
354 Marian Marshall, 'Correspondence: The Last of the Manly Young Lady', Women's Penny Paper, 30 March 1889, p. 3.
1860s and by the end of that decade they were already established accessories in women’s fashion. Subsequently, by the 1880s boater hats were very popular amongst men and women and were considered as a unisex accessory, a trend that continued until the 1900s. Conventional women’s hats, with their extravagant assembly of flowers, feathers, stuffed birds, and often reptiles, were so difficult to fix on one’s head, which impelled women to use various metal pins that often damaged their natural hair, and very often resulted in bald patches as well as restricted movement. In contrast, straw hats offered a minimalist style, freedom of movement, whilst they were also considered very fashionable (Fig. 20).

Depicting an alternative hairstyle combined with an alternative style outfit is the portrait of Lady Florence Dixie (No. 77), who combined a sailor’s outfit with a mid length short haircut (Fig. 21). Textile historian Jo Paoletti reveals that by the 1880s:

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

A sailor’s outfit was, therefore, conventionally masculine, even if for boys rather than men, which was later adopted by the younger generation of New Women as a ‘symbolic statement’ that would challenge the debates about their status in society. It has also been argued that short haircuts, which were longer than the typical very short boyish cut, allowed the hair to be bouncy, lively, and even offer ‘an autonomous pleasure’ to the wearer when it was ‘softly caressed by the wind’: a pleasure that in itself could have been considered an act of female

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356 An advice column in the press reported: ‘As everybody is now either travelling, or at the sea-side, or in the country, the costume of the season consists of the round straw hat, trimmed with velvet and feathers, a pique dress, and light cloth mantle or large jacket, trimmed and corded with black, lilac, or white. Amongst a variety of pretty little HATS we noticed one of white straw, with a very broad turned-up brim in front, the inside of the brim being ornamented with a wreath of tiny white feathers, and the outside of he hat trimmed with a long blue feather falling on the left side, with a broad black velvet bow and ends behind; these almost concealing the brim of the hat, which became gradually narrower as it reached the back. A sailor’s hat, in brown straw, trimmed with black ribbon, with bow and ends, is suitable for a little boy from six to seven years of age; but we hear that this hat has even been adopted by many fashionable ladies at some of the French watering-places’. ‘The Fashions’, *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, 1 September 1861, pp. 261-3 (p. 261).


361 Crane, pp. 241-68 (p. 249).
I have to point out, however, that with particular reference to Dixie’s case, the sailor outfit expressed a protest to True Womanhood far beyond the concept of alternative dress, because she was in actuality a traveller and a travel writer. Cultural studies writer Monica Anderson argues that:

[Late nineteenth century] women travellers, seemingly free of domestic constraints, challenged the strict boundaries of the woman’s sphere while appearing to operate within it. In journeying abroad they asserted their rights to self-determination and self-rule. Yet, at the same time, the women travelers had to negotiate the discursive boundaries of Victorian Britain’s ideological sex-role socialization.

In fact, ‘throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, ‘women ventured into, on, or through all parts of the world’ as ‘explorers, mountaineers, sailors, and scientists’, who were ‘unchaperoned by fathers, husbands, or brothers’, because they ‘felt compelled to venture forth from the safe confines of home by curiosity or rebellion, by a hunger for knowledge and intellectual stimulation, and by a yearning after romance and adventure’. Lady Dixie in particular, wrote in her book Across Patagonia (1880) that she travelled to ‘an outlandish place so many miles away […] precisely because it was an outlandish place so far away’. So, as a woman in alternative dress and haircut as well as a woman traveller and travel writer, Dixie was not only ‘located outside of the dominant tradition’, but was also “doubly different” both in terms of [her] more socially conformist female contemporaries and to male travellers of the period.

Similarly to the latter example, No. 84 features a portrait of Miss Daisie Stanley combining an alternative hairstyle with an alternative style outfit (Fig. 22). A captain of the Blue Eleven cricket team, Stanley is photographed in her cricket whites, both borrowed from juvenile male dress, and a very short haircut. Crane argues that although women in sports may have

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363 Haug, p. 110.
365 Anderson, p. 15.
366 Lady Florence Dixie quoted in Anderson, p. 15.
367 Ibid., p. 17.
368 It should be noted that during the 1870s (when most of the women with short hair in these examples would have been toddlers) ‘there was a vogue for short boyish haircuts for girls’, and ‘many people found infant androgyny quite amusing’. These women, therefore, experienced a childhood that permitted short hair for girls, and long hair for boys, and a general acceptability for ‘juvenile “cross-dressing”, either for reasons of fashion, sentiment, or amusement’. It was their passage from childhood to young adulthood that would force them to obey a specific etiquette of hair and dress, which they ought to follow for the rest of their adult life for the sake of propriety. Cherry, p. 52; Paoletti, pp. 16-20 (p. 19).
adopted an alternative dress, it was ‘not to express their rebellion against the dominant culture’, but mostly ‘to facilitate certain types of activities for work or pleasure’. Indeed, sources reveal that by the end of the nineteenth century the ‘combined effects of dress reform, sports and more casual lifestyles’ inspired ‘a transition to more practical and comfortable clothing for everyone’, which meant that such outfits were favoured by New Women. The readers of the Paper, such as Marian Marshall, also expressed a similar opinion:

A style of dress ought to be evolved which should be at once comfortable, womanly and serviceable for professional and working women to wear. The skirt and petticoats are the chief difficulty, and I certainly do not advocate giving up one, the outside skirt. But, merino under garments, a silk, flannel or cambric shirt, long stockings and a pair of warmly-lined satin knee-breeches, the dress skirt ought to be sufficient. It would be warmly lined with flannel, or luxuriously with wadded and quilted silk, the latter method would obviate “rucking up”.

Subsequently, even if Stanley’s alternative clothing and haircut was not assumed for the ideological reasons (as in Dixie’s case) but for practical reasons, it still remained a statement against the established True Womanhood outfits and haircuts, which were impractical for most of the busy lives that New Women were leading.

3.1.2.6.3. The Hybrid Message of the ‘Interview’ and Portrait Grouping

Based on the above, the editorial message projected through the hybrid iconotypographical medium of the interview column as a whole (meaning article and portrait together) varied. The majority of the interviews/biographical sketches in combination with their portraits projected True Womanhood through the sitter’s hair and dress style combined with an article that linked the interviewee’s True Womanhood and New Womanhood attributes. Yet, there were cases that presented New Womanhood in hairstyle and clothing combined with an article that leaned more towards progressive New Womanhood; or presented New Womanhood hair with True Womanhood clothing, with an article that leaned more towards moderate New Womanhood, and so forth. In other words, the Paper was inclusive, and understood that women in general, and New Women in particular, were not a unified class and that they came in all different intensities of New Womanhood. Evidence suggests, however, that although readers were

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370 Crane, pp. 241-68 (p. 263).
372 Marian Marshall, ‘Correspondence: The Last of the Manly Young Lady’, Women’s Penny Paper, 30 March 1889, p. 3.
certainly reading the ‘Interview’ and the ‘Correspondence columns’, the majority did not welcome the (perceived to be) more radical ‘manly’ New Woman outfits. In fact, the letters to the editor reveal a very similar pattern: the majority of readers writing to the *Paper* supported the True Womanhood dress code, whilst the second most popular dress code was that of the moderate with rational dress, who chose comfortable healthy clothing for practical reasons. Scarce were the voices that supported the radical New Womanhood overly masculine dress code, which not only was perceived by others as an individualist choice, but also as a deterrent from the primary cause of the women’s movement, and a reason for ridicule by anti-suffragists or ‘the ignorant’.373 For instance, C. E. M., a middle-class female reader and regular contributor of letters, wrote in to express her support of the True Womanhood dress style, and complain about the women of the movement that comprise ‘a class which has always been a slight thorn in the flesh to fellow-workers [of the cause], and a stumbling-block to the world outside’, clarifying that she was referring to the ladies ‘who copy the dress of men’.374 C. E. M. moved on to explain that:

> There is not reasonable reason, save individual taste, why these good friends of ours, whose energetic labour is a credit to their sex, should go out of their way to imitate the garb of the other. Were the sense of comfort, or the sense of beauty, appealed to, there would be something to say on each side of the questions; but a breast pin is not more convenient that a brooch, a cravat is not more beautiful than a frill, a man’s hat is not more comfortable than a woman’s and a walking-stick offers its possessor not more advantages than an umbrella. […] If the matter ended here, there would be no mischief done; but another consideration steps in, which should induce any woman, who is known among her friends as a member of the Women's Suffrage Society, to remember that things which are lawful to her may not be expedient, and to abstain from doing any perfectly useless thing which tends to point the frivolous finger of scorn at the Society. 375

To conclude, she then revealed a recent case where a preacher declared during his Sunday service that he hated the kind of women ‘who dress like men, walk like men, talk like men and act like men’; a statement, she believed, that was hard to argue against as a woman, because ‘the said ladies’ gave him ‘such a convenient handle’, and then finished her letter with an appeal ‘to all women to put the welfare of the cause they have at heart above any private whims of their own’.376

375 Ibid.
376 Ibid.
In a similar vein, E. D. M., a female reader from the poorer section of society who declared ‘being one of those for whom change in our present style of dress is imperatively necessary’, took the liberty to send her own opinion, although she feared that her ‘ideas may appear to many of [the Paper’s] readers somewhat behind the times’ because in her opinion there was no necessity for ‘any radical change […] even were it practicable’. Yet, she felt that New Women ought to ‘be content to go slowly, and try ‘not to shock old-fashioned prejudices too deeply’, and that they ought to satisfy themselves ‘for the present with simply improving’ that which they then had.\(^\text{377}\) She went on to write:

\begin{quote}
I do not, however, see why we need interfere with gentlemen’s dress any more than they with ours, but certainly nothing can […] be more sensible and comfortable in many respects than a well-built tailor made gown. […] In adopting the Turkish trousers, so warmly advocated by Lady Harberton and others, it seems to me that we should only be exchanging wet skirts for wet trousers, and from an hygienic point of view the most important thing to be considered is, in my opinion, the means of keeping our feet and ankles dry. […] I am one of those who are compelled by circumstances to consider discretion the better part of valour. We poor professors, for whom a sensible and convenient walking dress is of the utmost importance, cannot afford to be eccentric, let us, therefore, try and devise a costume which, while having due regard to our health, will not seriously offend popular prejudices.\(^\text{378}\)
\end{quote}

Likewise, another letter to the editor included the below:

\begin{quote}
[Women] are likely to lose much of the influence and respect gained by the hard work of our pioneers if they try to unsex themselves by adopting masculine garb and habits, and entering the lists as men in disguise! Do they suppose that by smoking cigarettes, carrying a cane, and adopting a semi-male attire – not to speak of riding cross-saddle in the Row – they will help to elevate the tone of society? […] No! Decidedly not. Who are the women who have had the most influence for good in the world? Those who, whilst possessing a clear intellect and high aspirations, have kept themselves essentially womanly, refined, and pure, so that no man could enter their presence, cigar in hand, knowing his life to be other than it should be, without feeling ashamed of himself! It is not by adopting the habits and attire of the other sex that women will help to reform society, and I trust they will take heed in time, and that those who advocate women’s rights will not plunge the whole sex into ridicule and contempt.\(^\text{379}\)
\end{quote}

Henry R. S. Dalton, a regular contributor who supported women’s suffrage and did not ‘advocate the copying of men’s ugliness’, also shared similar sentiments about women adopting men’s clothing, although he believed that ‘a more masculine style of dress would be decidedly cheaper than the present [female] one, and few people can neglect such considerations’.\(^\text{380}\) In fact, he specifically mentioned that ‘the straight stove-pipe trousers and tall chimney-pot hat are almost hideous for a scarecrow’, but also thought that ‘the notorious

\(^{378}\) Ibid.
\(^{379}\) A Woman Onlooker, ‘Correspondence: A Protest’, Women’s Penny Paper, 10 May 1890, p. 343.
Bloomer costume for women proposed half a century ago is no better; adding that ‘it need hardly be remarked that a high stiff collar and shirt-front, an eye-glass, a cane and a cigarette are no essentials of a rational outfit’, while noting that ‘there is a vast difference between thoughtlessly aping men and thoughtfully learning from them’.\textsuperscript{381}

M. E. S. M. Watson, a reader who believed ‘the greatest matter of importance’ before them was ‘to gain other women to the cause’, also wrote to the editor to express her agreement with Mrs L. E. Morgan Brown, who in a previous article to the \textit{Paper} argued that the traditionalist ‘pious women’ are those who find it the most difficult to understand, and therefore join, the suffrage cause.\textsuperscript{382} Most significantly to this argument, Watson then suggested that these pious women, who need to be convinced and join the cause if there was any progress to be made, every so often had met ‘an “advanced” woman whose dress and manners’ had made them ‘subjects of ridicule to men’. And she continues:

This is unjust, or course; but still an elderly woman with short cropped grey hair under a plain unadorned black felt hat, a stand-up man’s collar, &c, is not an attractive object. I had a dear friend who dressed like this and I often heard girls laughing at her, though once knowing her the same girls were charmed by her sweet kindly manner.\textsuperscript{383}

Watson then argued that New Women had ‘to be more than ordinarily guarded both in dress and language’; and accordingly, the New Women speakers, who organised public meetings all around the country, ought ‘to remember how the becoming dress of the speaker helps to win the hearers favourably’, because the women’s cause was ‘too important to neglect any help’.\textsuperscript{384} The climate was such that ‘the greatest number of upper-class Englishwomen’ were ‘pious’, so they typically preferred to avoid ‘anything any other women of their own class or creed would object to do’.\textsuperscript{385} Thus, the majority of New Women trusted that assuming a True Womanhood dress and hair style would help them not only approach these women, because they would seemingly appear familiar to them, but also avoid ridicule by men, and overall gain

\textsuperscript{381} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{382} Mrs L. E. Morgan Brown explained that by ‘pious women’ she referred to: ‘women who are devout, orthodox, given to the strict outward observance of religion, careful of doctrine, careful of the due performance of religious duties, anxious for the welfare of their own souls, avoiding contact with those who believe differently from themselves, convinced that they have found the one and narrow way for their own salvation’. L. E. Morgan Brown, ‘Pious Women’, \textit{Woman’s Herald}, 13 January 1891, p. 539.


\textsuperscript{384} Watson, p. 147.

\textsuperscript{385} Morgan Brown, p. 539.
more than they would by assuming a more radical New Woman dress and hair style.\textsuperscript{386} There was certainly a benefit in demonstrating a form of resistance through accommodation (by adopting a True Woman hair or dress style) and therefore appearing stereotypically feminine, and in turn gaining power. In particular, research suggests that:

Conventional attractiveness is in fact a realistic route to power for women. Attractive women are less lonely, more popular, and more sexually experienced, both more likely to marry and more likely to marry men of higher socioeconomic status.\textsuperscript{387}

These examples support the fact that preference for the feminine attractive woman was a persistent concept, and a notion that was certainly in place during the late nineteenth, as well as the early twentieth century. Previously in this thesis, for instance, I explained how portraitists often ‘beautified’ their sitters in order to present a prettier version to the general public. In a similar vein, it has often been argued that male advertisers used stereotypically beautiful women in their ads in order to sell products. There was a certain power attached ‘in doing femininity well’, and it was this power that mainly the older generation of late nineteenth century feminists aimed to assume through their conventional hairstyles.\textsuperscript{388}

At the other end of the spectrum of New Womanhood, however, stood a small, yet very important, progressive segment of New Women, who believed that a new dress and hair style was urgently required to allow them to fully achieve their potential at home, work, or even leisure. In the same letter quoted above, reader Marian Marshall also included an explanation in the words of the young lady journalist, who was described in her letter as ‘piquantly pretty’, ‘intelligent’, and ‘business-like’, as to why she decided to assume an alternative, for some considered ‘manly’, dress and hair style:

“When going about newspaper offices I found that long hair and pinned-collars were a great bother. With a printer’s devil waiting for his copy one has not much time to think of self-adornment. My

\textsuperscript{386} For the same reasons, in the 1900s the militant Suffragettes of the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) used their True Woman outfits, in Henry R. S. Dalton’s words, as a symbol of ‘ground organisation and co-operation’ in order to ‘excite their interest’ to a degree that ‘no platform speeches or journals or pamphlets, however able’ could do. WSPU’s True Woman outfits, therefore, offered ‘an emphasis on feminine dress’, which was specifically established by its leaders ‘in order to counteract’ any misogynist attempts to ‘discredit the movement, by representing the suffragettes as unfeminine freaks’. Dalton, p. 145; Crane, pp. 241-68 (p. 262); Katrina Rolley, ‘Fashion, Femininity, and the Fight for the Vote’, Art History, 13 (1990), pp. 47-71.

\textsuperscript{387} Weitz, p. 138.

collars and shirts are the only extravagant part of my dress, got up as they are by a French
laundress, but then they are so beautifully clean.\footnote{Marshall, p. 3.}

To which clarification, Marshall then added: 'this seems to me a very good reason why
professional women should adopt shirts and collars, discarding the ordinary slip-bodice, and
we will hope, eventually, the French corset made only to fit a figure entirely out of proportion'.

In reference to the need for ‘waist pinching’, F. W. Haberton, another supporter of dress
reform, further explained that the problem lay in the archetype of women’s clothing:

Women’s dress is contrived on a false principle, and its primary idea is to abolish the fact of two
legs and substitute a barrel shaped mass in their place. The first effect of this is to make the figure
a straight block from shoulder to ankle. This is hideous; so waist pinching, heavy draperies, and
every kind of device in the way of excrescences is resorted to in order to break the lines of this
artificial and unnatural shape.\footnote{F. W. Haberton, ‘Correspondence: Rational Dress for Women’, \textit{Women's Penny Paper}, 13 December 1890, p. 122.}

There was certainly a large proportion of women who supported dress reform – hence, of
course, the founding of the Rational Dress Society; yet, it seems that a section of these
women, in addition to the True Woman dress and hair style supporters, wore conventional
clothing in public, and more radical outfits in private. For example, a reader, who stated that
she was ‘not a member of the rational Dress Society, but had always taken a lively interest in
its operations’, wrote the following:

I have always been of opinion that one of the chief objects of the Society was to induce women to
wear trousers, in order that they might discard a great portion of the skirts and petticoats of the old
style of dress, thus obtaining at one stroke greater freedom for locomotion and relief from an
oppressive burden which has wrought untold miseries on women […]. Why writers and speakers on
this subject have such a horror of the word “trousers”, I cannot for the life of me make out. This
fear is very ridiculous – just on a level with the fear of what the gutter urchins would say if they
happened to see a pair of trousers appearing below a women’s dress. Why need any sensible
woman fear the comments of anybody upon her doing that which will add to her comfort and assist
in preserving her health without violating in the slightest degree the least of the rules in the code of
morality? This timorousness must be swept away before any progress can be made or hoped
for.\footnote{Adel Clive, ‘Correspondence: Rational Dress’, \textit{Women's Penny Paper}, 15 March 1890, p. 246.}

The reader then confessed that she had been wearing trousers ‘for the past three years’, and
that she had ‘induced’ several of her friends ‘to follow [her] example'; though because this
was a choice she made for her ‘own comfort and not for others’ amusement or admiration’
only ‘very few beyond the immediate members’ of her family knew of it. In fact, even one of
her ‘nearest and dearest friends’, who was also her cousin and an avid member of the
The Rational Dress Society, was ‘ignorant’ that she was indeed also wearing trousers, as was she. She then quoted her cousin stating: ‘I would sooner resign my right to vote for any election, supposing I possessed the right, than give up wearing trousers’, which statement demonstrates how strongly some New Women felt about finally achieving a measure of emancipation through dress.

All the different voices described thus far, which are only a representative fraction of the correspondence section of the Paper/Herald (a), allow one to really appreciate the diversity of opinion amongst New Women, whilst also revealing that a portion of them really worried about public opinion. In fact, ‘the persistent persecution and petty annoyance suffered at every turn’ by women’s rights veterans and dress reform advocates, in cases such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Amelia Bloomer, and Elizabeth Smith Miller, was so great that it forced them to retreat from wearing the bloomer and other such garments in public. As such, some readers felt that when, for instance, women cyclists were to wear trousers under a skirt and perhaps ‘the wind revealed the trousers’ it would be an incident worthy to ‘cause a mob’. And even when others, such as the previously mentioned Henry R. S. Dalton, tried to reassure such anxious women, and explain to them that the French Zouave trousers and jacket for cyclists were ‘perfectly stylish’, whilst they also allowed freedom of movement, adding that it would be ‘ridiculous’ to wear trousers under a skirt, Victorian society’s established propriety standards were still difficult to overcome. I, therefore, argue that what made the Paper/Herald (a) successful was its all-round independent approach and overall ability to be inclusive; its ‘desire’ and ‘intention not to exclude any one subject of thought which occupies the attention of women, and upon which they can fitly and properly express themselves’. In other words, the Paper/Herald (a) offered women a platform through which they could express their fears without worrying about ridicule, but also provided them with information about what other women were wearing and doing, so they could perhaps form a

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393 A Decent Woman *Quand Même, Notes and Letters: Cyclists' Dress*, *Woman's Herald*, 13 June 1891, p. 538.


better understanding of the world. An approach that encouraged diversity, which was reflected not only in the different social classes of women featured, but also the different ethnicities and nationalities, different religious beliefs, different styles of dress and hair featured in the interview column (anchor text) and portraits (iconic peritexts) as a combined communication tool.

3.1.2.7. The Advertising

Thus far, I have explained how the main title, subtitle, and epigraphs of the Paper/Herald (a), as well as the overall editorial design, and the most important parts of the editorial content (interview/biographical sketches, portraits, and correspondence) related to each other. Now I wish to turn my attention to hosted advertisements and the manner in which these types of peritexts, which at times were typographical and other times iconotypographical, influenced the editorial message projected via the anchor text and the iconic peritexts mentioned above.

The first issue of the Paper/Herald (a) consisted of 94% editorial content and 6% advertising; yet, the last issue consisted of 64% editorial content and 36% advertising. Each weekly issue had numerous advertisements, which, although originally limited to the last page, eventually bled into the body of the paper, and in general they typically advertised beauty services and products, food/drink products, products and services to do with woman’s dress, home, training/education, and health (Fig. 23). Inevitably, with the increase in advertising, the collective (peritextual) impact of specific advertisements also increased, and if there were a class of products that was advertised more than others, then this would naturally put its own

396 The Paper was initially selling approximately half a page out of 8 pages (6%) to advertisers (No. 1 - No. 49); yet, by October 11, 1890 (No. 103) the advertising space increased to approximately 3 pages out of the overall 12 pages (27%). By the last issue (No. 114), the Paper was published as a 16-page weekly, from which 5 pages (31%) were sold to advertisers; an overall increase of 25% since the first issue. After the name change, Herald (a) sold a total of 4 pages out of 16 pages to advertisers (25%), and by the time the last issue was published it included approximately 5.8 pages of ads out of a total of 16 pages (36%).

397 In the Paper, the lengthiest small size iconotypographical advert was that of Geo. A. Binns’ dressing combs (56 weeks), whereas the lengthiest medium size iconotypographical advert was that of Emerson & Co art furnishers (42 weeks), with Van Huyder’s Eau De Charme face cream (21 weeks) being the second lengthiest in that category. Victoria Toilet Club (20 weeks), Hampstead Gymnasium (15 weeks), and Cherry Blossom (12 weeks) were some of the most recognisable iconotypographical adverts. At the same time, the lengthiest typographical advert was that of Birkbeck Bank (115 weeks), with the advert of Dorothy Restaurant coming second (98 weeks); Robinson’s linen third (42 weeks), Woman’s Journal fourth (30 weeks), and Fry’s cocoa fifth (28 weeks). However, Epps’s, Cadbury’s cocoa were also advertised frequently. In the Herald (a) the lengthiest iconotypographical advert was that of Victoria Toilet Club (30 weeks), with Emerson & Co art furnishers coming second (22 weeks); however, Koko shampoo and other hair products and services were also often advertised. In fact, the lengthiest typographical advert was that of Lockyer’s hair-restorer, with the typographical advert of wine merchant W. Buckler being the second lengthiest of that type (48 weeks), and Fry’s cocoa the third.
impression on the already multi-layered identity of the Paper/Herald (a). Therefore, in the remainder of this chapter I will focus on the three most advertised categories of products and/or services: the corset, hair, and cocoa.

3.1.2.7.1. Healthy Corsets

The stereotypical French corset (conventional model) has chiefly been associated with the female figure, and although it was widely favoured by affluent seventeenth and eighteenth century upper class women, during the nineteenth century’s industrialisation it was a consumerist product for the bourgeoisie, and was used by most women of this class. The main reason for wearing a corset was social propriety: a corseted body was a virtuous body, and it could only belong to a righteous woman. Simultaneously, a corseted body was beautiful, erotic, and feminine, because it emphasized the breasts and hips, against a thinner waist, which in turn reflected a ‘girlish innocence’ and femininity. As a result, the corset was a necessity that society imposed upon women from a very young age, and all the way throughout adulthood. Fashion historian Valerie Steele argues that the corset was ‘an instrument of physical oppression and sexual commodification’; a garment that applied ‘disciplinary power’ upon the woman’s body, in order to make her ‘docile’ and feminine.

One ought to know, however, that there was a significant difference between conventional corsets, healthy corsets, and tight lacing. Moulded corsets (conventional) were the mainstream type of corset worn by most Victorian women, whereas tight lacing was ‘a minority practice’. Moreover, with the advent of dress reform during the late nineteenth century, manufacturers opted to respond to this new desire for healthy garments, and they began producing corsets for the health-conscious New Woman (Fig. 24). Healthy corsets, unlike the conventional corsets, were ‘made of wool or cotton’, and ‘featured a straight-front

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399 Webb, pp. 253-75 (p. 261).
401 Ibid., p. 58.
402 Overall, four different manufacturers advertised their corsets in the Paper/Herald (a): Young, Carter & Overall presented the ‘Duchess’ corset (conventional model) and the YCANDO corset (healthy model); W. S. Thomson & Co. Ltd. advertised their homonymous corset (conventional model); Edwin Izod & Sons advertised their homonymous corset (healthy model); and Reast advertised the ‘Invigorator Corset’ (healthy model).
busk, as opposed to a moulded waist’, which supported the abdominal muscles without creating a distortion.\textsuperscript{403} Healthy corsets allowed women to perform their daily activities, such as riding, cycling, or nursing, without feeling restricted, and were openly favoured by contemporary qualified medical practitioners (Fig. 25).

Undoubtedly, healthy corsets were a better alternative to the traditional corset, and as I mentioned above, allowed New Women to assume power through accommodation. Yet, healthy, as well as conventional, corsets were garments which were realised in accordance with traditional True Womanhood expectations, originally established by the patriarchal powers that be. Thus, healthy corsets may have allowed their wearers ‘to resist subordination’ by increasing their power as a subordinate group; yet, New Women who wore corsets, even if they opted for healthy styles, did not truly challenge the existing cultural expectations about women’s roles, or affect ‘the broader distribution of power by gender’.\textsuperscript{405} Instead, as cultural studies scholar Susan R. Bordo argues, New Women who assumed a True Woman appearance, despite the choice of healthy instead of conventional corsets, ultimately supported patriarchal ideologies that defined ‘a woman’s body as her most important attribute’, which in turn combined ‘changes in a woman’s appearance with changes in her identity’.\textsuperscript{406} Inevitably, wearing corsets - whether they were conventional or not - still posed a gendered menace for the New Women who wore them, because as much as they could help them acquire power, they could also make them seem too feminine, which in conventionally patriarchal societies would indicate weakness, and lack of competence.\textsuperscript{407} In addition, therefore, to the strong messages of women’s emancipation offered by the title, subtitle and epigraphs, and the diverse messages of New Womanhood offered by the interview column (as a joint message of iconic peritext and anchor text), the advertisements of corsets in general would have added their own impression to the paper’s message; that of the New Woman’s health awareness combined with True Woman propriety. Yet, in terms of women’s emancipation this would not really have accentuated the editorial aim, because it would not

\textsuperscript{403} Webb, pp. 253-75 (p. 262).
\textsuperscript{404} Weitz, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{405} Ibid., pp. 140-1.
\textsuperscript{406} Ibid., p. 142.
\textsuperscript{407} Weitz, p. 142.
truly challenge the established patriarchal conventions; but that does not necessarily mean that it was affecting the appeal of the *Paper/Herald* in a negative way.

In fact, for some readers, the advertising of corsets was probably not an issue, because they themselves believed that continuing to wear True Woman’s clothing did not necessarily affect their worthiness as New Women that aspired to be valuable members of society. For instance, a reader that considered herself ‘a good example’ of a woman, explained she was ‘the eldest of a family of five’ who had lost both their parents at the same time, yet ‘decided to keep on’ their household with her ‘at its head’. She then further elaborated:

> I am twenty-two and these are some of my daily duties: ordering the meals, teaching my two young sisters drawing, English, and music; a morning walk of two miles in and two miles out to our country town to do necessary shopping; looking after the clothes of myself and four children; arranging flowers and gardening, of which I am very fond; and paying visits in the afternoon. Now, the hindrance (?) to carrying out this constant labour of different kinds is, that since I was fifteen I have been brought up to wear close-fitting corsets and never lay then aside whatever my employment may be. I am not a tight-lacer but like always to wear well-made well-laced stays, and consequently have a slight well-proportioned figure and a neat waist.\(^{408}\)

The reader, who signed as ‘A Dainty Housekeeper’, then ended her letter stating she thought it ‘very hard that because one has a little womanly vanity about a nice appearance one should be considered incapable of being an active and useful member of society’. On the other hand, however, there was a segment of the paper’s readership that believed corsets, healthy or not, should be banned. A reader named Kora, who agreed with Mrs Ormiston Chant’s advice that ‘out-door work for women’ should be sought for ‘on account naturally of the fresh air they meanwhile inhale’, argued that it was also significant for women to know:

> The importance of allowing their waists to expand when they breathe, and not even confiding them so little that if they were to leave off their corsets the dress body would not meet. This is I am sure, one of the reasons (if not the first) that retards woman’s progress, and until women see this, their chance of the Suffrage is small. It may appear very insignificant to those who practise even the slightest pressure round their bodies, but to those who do not, it is of vital importance. If corsets must be worn, why not let the men wear them? Their frames are much more powerfully built and altogether more suitable for some of the structures one sees advertised. […] Unfortunately for the present, the really sensible woman is most decidedly scarce, and the majority of 900.000 only makes matter worse.\(^{409}\)

Advertising healthy corsets, one might argue, could have alienated the kind of readers who opposed the corset; yet, I suggest that, due to the subordinate importance of advertising as

\(^{408}\) A Dainty Housekeeper, ‘Correspondence: A Dainty Housekeeper’, *Women’s Penny Paper*, 12 April 1890, p. 295.

peritext, which I would perhaps compare to that of typeface, the impact of corset advertising could not be stronger than the editorial message communicated through the main copy such as the interviews or letters to the editor. Thus, as long as the Paper/Herald (a) remained an inclusive platform, readers that possibly were opposed to corsets, were more likely to send in their opinions and initiate conversation, as the evidence suggests, rather than completely withdraw from the discussion, or refrain from purchasing the paper.

3.1.2.7.2. Healthy Hair

Hair, especially long, healthy hair, was the second most marketed theme: dressing combs, hairdressers, hair additions, restorers, shampoos, hair treatments, and hair curlers were only a few of the products and services that were regularly advertised in the pages of the Paper/Herald (a). English literature scholar Galia Ofek notes that ‘Victorian ladies had to accept the cultural expectation that hair should […] display the same order, neatness and cultivation which were required of them’. Indeed, ‘the call to groom one’s hair was presented in various advertisements’ in the press; therefore, ‘non-compliance with such grooming injunctions could be interpreted as a declaration of dissidence’. Hair was also tied to concepts of hygiene, commodity fetishism, and sexuality. For instance, the advertisement of Victoria Toilet Club, which offered ladies’ and gentlemen’s hair-cutting rooms, also advertised: Mrs Stidder’s ‘sanitary synthedine hair wash for promoting the growth, strengthening and beautifying the human hair’; Mrs Stidder’s Victoria sanitary toilet cream ‘for preserving and beautifying the skin’; and Mrs Stidder’s ‘infallible cure for chapped hands’ that would ‘make them beautifully soft and white’ (Fig. 26).

410 What I mean by this statement is that advertising as a peritext perhaps can enhance, or contradict the editorial message, but I do not think it could overturn the editorial message; in a similar way that a typeface can perhaps emphasize the narrative of a text, or be incompatible, but cannot completely overturn the rhetoric communicated by that text.

411 Similar advertisements for male customers appeared in men’s papers too, but the amount of advertising about hair in women’s papers was much greater, since advertising in general was typically aimed at female readers/consumers, because advertisers and admen believed that women: were more naïve, prone to functional nervous disorders, wanted to keep their ‘ailments’ secret, were ‘anxious’ to sustain good looks, and were prone to ‘female irregularities’. John Byers, ‘Quackery - With Special Reference to Female Complaints’, The British Medical Journal, 1911, pp. 1239-40 (pp. 1240-1).

412 Galia Ofek, Representations of Hair in Victorian Literature and Culture (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 34.

413 Ibid., pp. 34-5.
coverings for semi or complete baldness'. The advertisers used bold typefaces to draw the readers’ attention, but they also used two images on either side: one full body image of a woman in her dressing gown standing in front of the mirror combing her curly, floor-length hair; a second head-only image of a woman, presumably after she has finished at the hairdresser’s, wearing her artificial and natural hair up in a nice, neat hairdo. So, just in this one advert, there was a plethora of messages communicated to the readers of the Paper/Herald (a), beginning with highlighting the importance of the hairdresser’s role ‘as the defenders of traditional social structures and divisions’. Then, there was the emphasis of health and hygiene, at a time when ‘for the ordinary woman, the health revolution became a fundamental ingredient in women’s modernization’; though at the same time health was used as mechanism to condition women’s non-verbal communication (i.e. hairstyle) by emphasizing ‘the interconnectedness of the moral and physical life’.

Additionally, there was the emphasis ‘on pleasure that necessarily required leisure’ implied through the ‘recurrent motif of the woman looking into her mirror’, which image further suggested the ability of the products and services advertised to ‘facilitate a satisfying reflection’, that would, in turn, secure ‘personal attractiveness and one’s position in society’.

The same image could also have implied ‘the inadequacy’ of the woman’s ‘perceived image’ when wearing her natural hair, or that ‘the ideal woman was self-absorbed and pleasure-oriented enough to delight in her own reflection’. Ofek further argues that such ‘images of impossibly, unnaturally beautiful hair turn the consumer’s own body - woman’s hair – into a spectacle and a chimera’, and at the same time ‘turning private rituals (like combing one’s hair) into public ones’. Then, there was the implied message of being in vogue and its relationship to commodity fetishism, which was achieved by promoting the purchase, or hiring, and usage of artificial hair. ‘Fashion prescribed the ritual by which the fetish Commodity wished to be worshipped’, writes Walter Benjamin, adding that fashion, in this case artificial

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415 Ibid., p. 35.
416 Regina Markell Morantz, ‘Making Women Modern: Middle Class Women and Health Reform in 19th Century America’, Women’s History, 10 (1977), pp. 490-507 (pp. 495, 491).
419 Ofek, p. 39.
hair, ‘stands in opposition to the organic’, and therefore, ‘prostitutes the living body to the inorganic world’. In other words, order and artificiality were depicted side-by-side suggesting ‘an advanced state of cultivation, sophistication and civilization and distanced hair from its organic, untidy origin’.

In contrast to Victoria Toilet Club’s advertisement, which heavily exploited established True Womanhood desires, anxieties, and constructions, there was the advertisement of Koko shampoo, which offered an alternative image heavily influenced by progressive New Womanhood (Fig. 27). The text incorporated in this advert may have not been much different to the typical fear-infusing and miracle-promising puffery that was typically used by advertisers of the period, while the photograph on the right emphasized this impossibility of floor length hair that one could only find in mythological images. Nonetheless, the illustration positioned at the prominent top left corner told another story: the story of the New Woman who is fearless enough to ride cross saddle, implying that she was wearing trousers under her dress, and rebellious enough to go in public with her hair down, and like a late Victorian Joan of Arc lead women’s battle for equality. ‘The longer, thicker, and more wanton the tresses, the more passionate the heart beneath them’, writes journalist Celia Brayfield; an untamed sexuality that Koko’s female heroine was proud to parade in public. And if the images produced by male artists, such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, typically depicted women with long thick hair in poses and settings that implied submissiveness and augmented sexuality; Koko’s image was embracing the New Woman activist/warrior, who rebelled against socio-cultural conventions of sexuality and gender. This same image, however, could also have implied that women should focus on more trivial matters, such as the war against baldness, rather than other more important matters, such as the war against gender inequality. With that in mind, it could be that this over-emphasis on sexuality and femininity was in order to ‘conceal a certain appropriation of ‘masculine’ traits and avert anxiety of retribution from her conservative

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421 Ofek, p. 35.
society’, because to many a woman riding cross saddle, wearing trousers and being a warrior may have seemed as ‘a phallic woman in possession of male potency’.

3.1.2.7.3. Healthy Foods

In addition to the above, Fry’s, Cadbury’s and Epps’s cocoa were also well-advertised in the Paper/Herald (a). All three chocolate manufacturers came from within the Quaker community, which section of society often produced women who ‘were superior to women in general in habits of reflection and independent modes of thinking’ with ‘a staid and self-relying character’. In fact, for Victorian standards, Quakers had a rather progressive attitude in regard to the role of women, and although as businessmen they typically followed strictly paternalistic business models, in general Quaker women were allowed to join the ministry, and ‘share equally with men in the management of all business of the society’. This climate allowed many Quaker women to become progressive thinkers, who often supported women’s suffrage, and developed into well-known reformists and activists, such as Hannah Whitall Smith, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Gurney Fry. This very public association of Quakerism with social sensitivity, and gender equality often transferred to the trades Quakers happened to dominate, and in turn more than often Quakerism, cocoa, and social sensitivity were all intertwined to form one unified concept; nonetheless, it was a concept that once again combined True Womanhood with New Womanhood.

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424 Ofek, p. 28.
426 For instance, Cadbury applied a paternalistic model to his business, which was ‘a vision of family relationships as hierarchical, gendered, harmonious, and cooperative’, through which he ‘hoped to mute the labour unrest’ many employers like him ‘feared would bring down the social order’. He built Cadbury Chocolate at Bournville where employees lived as part of a ‘complete community of semi-detached cottages with gardens’, every family had a house of ‘at least three bedrooms, a kitchen a parlour, and a scullery’, and every girl, who travelled from a distance away, could stay at the boarding house for girls, paying low-priced rent, which included the provision of dinners. Cadbury followed a strictly gendered model, which nurtured traditionalist ideals enforced in the education provided at the Bournville evening schools, and materialised in his refusal to employ married women. In fact, the company hired a very small minority of married or widowed women, who may have been in “poor circumstances” to work as cleaners for an hour or two each morning’, but married women were typically not employed at the Bournville works. Historian Sonya O. Rose describes that ‘men and boys were responsible for the earlier processes of cocoa making and making of tins’, whereas ‘girls finished the “confectioning” and chocolate, packed it and stored it, and made boxes’. She then describes that although it was compulsory for all young employees to attend the evening schools, the subjects were decided on the basis of on gender: the male students had to chose between a commercial or an industrial course; yet the female students had no choice but to study a course that was in line with Victorian gendered propriety, and ‘designed to assume an increased domestic character as the girl approached the age of eighteen’. Upon completion of their education, the capable boys would go on to become apprentices in ‘a skilled trade in the factory’, whereas all girls were given a money reward, and were expected to leave the factory to become wives and mothers. Sonya O. Rose, Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in 19th Century England (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 39, 41-3, 53.
Moving on from the impact of advertisements of particular products and services to the overall influence of advertising as peritext, firstly, one ought to accept that advertising was ‘but one factor in a large array of information sources’, and ‘the influence of advertising [was] relative to the information environment’. In fact, advertising in the press was considered supplementary to all the other forms of advertising available during this period, with the poster being ‘the most effective method of advertising a product with a mass consumer appeal’. Inevitably, readers of the Paper/Herald (a) would have already been accustomed to most of the images printed in its advertising pages, so the admiration factor for the images in the adverts (which might include the desire to emulate the model in the advert) would perhaps have been much less than has been previously assumed. Moreover, research has long suggested that ‘advertising effectiveness’ can be ‘influenced by the ad context’, which in this case means that the surrounding environment of an advert is expected to have its own imprint upon a specific advert’s message. Therefore, I suggest that the readers of the Paper/Herald (a) understood the advertisements they had before them as a collective group of messages, rather than as individual messages. In the case of Izod’s company, for instance, the company chose to print their advert amongst a diversity of other adverts, which in turn allowed Izod’s corset (the product) to acquire an identity relevant to that context. To be more precise, the Izod advert that featured in Myra’s Journal in March 1888 was amongst adverts for: wire hair rolls, woven ladder tapes (for venetian blinds), herbal ointments (for the face, neck, arms, and hands), cough lozenges (for asthma and bronchitis), lace, decorative paint, ladies and children’s underclothing and linen, and two other corset manufacturers. For the Izod’s advert to feature in the midst of these other types of adverts inevitably meant that their product assumed a certain identity: it was a stylish corset suitable for the woman at home, who cares about appearances, health, and fashion for her, her children and her home.

In contrast, the same Izod advert that featured in the *Paper/Herald (a)* in October 1888 existed amongst adverts for: food for infants, invalids, and the aged, a temperance monthly periodical, a ladies-only restaurant, a bank, a dress reform society, cockroach and beetle killer food, kindergarten training courses, a Liberal weekly paper, English lessons for ladies, a recruitment agency for ladies, dressmaking lessons by post, and a book on a woman’s point of view on religion. Subsequently, the Izod corset advertised in the *Paper/Herald (a)* would have acquired a different identity to that featured in *Myra’s Journal*. For instance, it would have appeared to be the healthy corset that was suitable for the independent New Woman, who is keen to advance herself through training and employment; the woman who might be keen on the efforts of the Rational Dress Society, and on matters of health, house hygiene, financial savings, and Liberal politics. Similarly, the combination of messages of True Womanhood and New Womanhood with other adverts that appeared alongside them, such as that of Birkbeck bank, Hampstead gymnasium, and Dorothy restaurant, also communicated a hybrid message. Therefore, I would argue that the collective message that was projected through the advertising pages of the *Paper/Herald (a)* was very much in line with the editorial message projected via the main content; that of the New Woman interested in employment, and financial matters, but also interested in sustaining a True Woman beauty regime, opting for the healthier options wherever possible.

3.2. Women’s Penny Paper / Woman’s Herald (a)

In this chapter I have argued that the *Paper/Herald (a)* was based on a hybrid understanding of womanhood, which had a basis in a liberal model of True Womanhood, whilst projecting a progressive model of New Womanhood. This hybrid end-product was achieved through a partnership that involved the editor, the printers/publishers, the advertisers, as well as the readers, and manifested not only through the anchor text, but also the numerous paratexts that were intentionally, or unintentionally, intertwined in the overall rhetoric. The textual and non-textual messages that were communicated through the title and subtitle, the epigraphs, the ‘Interview’ and its portrait, the letters to the editor, the typesetting and typefaces, the advertising, the price, paper stock, and size collectively created an exceptional eco-system
that, for lack of better term, I represented as the ‘editorial identity’; an ecosystem that generated its own collective readership within the existing late nineteenth century media sphere by assuming a non-partisan character that advocated for a universal sisterhood, and protested against the established profoundly gendered and discriminatory social order. The next chapter will pick up from the transfer of the editorial control of the *Herald* (a), beginning with *Herald* (b), and then move on to *Herald* (c), focusing on the concepts of progressive Liberalism and Gospel temperance maternalism, Christianity, and ‘pure living’ respectively, and how these manifested through the various paratexts that accompanied the anchor text.
Diagram II.

From the Women's Penny Paper to the Woman's Herald to the Woman's Signal.
OUR POLICY.

THE Editor of one of our most important and successful periodicals once said, in reference to his own editorial experience, "Above all things no high ideals! The English public will not stand high ideals."

Credat Judaeus.

We deny it! Our aim should be the highest ideal of excellence which the mind of humanity has conceived; in setting it before us (asattainable as it may appear) we are maintained by the conviction that there is no point anywhere to be reached. We believe that we shall meet in the hearts of English women. We take our stand here and are willing to let Time and Our Efforts show that our position is indefensible. We believe that the highest excellence and progress are identical, and conversely, that want of excellence is want of progressive power or decay; no real success can be attained without the highest excellence as the aim.

It is the cynical denial of this basic principle which has brought our civilization to the impasse of to-day; but at least our critics may be ready to acknowledge that "he who aims at the sun will hit higher than he who aims at a crow!"

We aim at the sun.

Is it true, as our editorial friend asserts, that moral excellence "does not pay"?

It is surely not possible to find a more miserable form of scepticism than that which this attitude of mind denounces; no cantanker is more corollary than that which goes by the too expository name of "Modern Cynicism." It asserts that moral excellence and success are incompatible, and that success can only be measured by gold; it stoops to revel in the mire which it pretends to dislike; it dethrones the Good itself.

We are asked, "How are those principles going to be applied in our paper? What is the practical outcome of it all? What are our views? and what is our policy?"

Our policy is progressive; home politics, that is, industrial, social, educational questions, are of primary importance in our estimation; in treating of these our endeavour will be to speak with honesty and courage, and as befits women of education and refinement. General politics, when truly progressive, can accept neither the Conservative nor Liberal programme as final; they must reject much in both and will accept much in both.

We shall endeavour to supply our readers with general English and Foreign News in such a way as to place before them the leading questions of the day in plain and concise language, so that those busy women who have not leisure to read the daily papers may so far acquaint themselves with important events of the day, as to be able to form and express their opinion upon them. Our pages will be open to all shades of opinion, to the working woman as freely as to the educated lady; to the conservative and the radical, to the Englishwoman and foreigner.

We believe that the Bible contains spiritual truth, and that the time has come when women are bound to use their intelligence and their conscience for seeking in the spirit of interpretations of that truth, in seeking for themselves and offering to their fellow creatures that strength which is "hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes."

The materialism which consists in reporting and describing terrible crimes is absolutely incompatible with our interpretation of excellence. We hold that the most effectual way to encourage and increase crimes of violence is the way that the "Press of to-day is pursuing. To familiarize the mind with evil by constant repetition is dangerous, and to hold pictures of vice before the imagination is morally bad. The law of conscience and common sense teaches us that no sensational crime may legitimately be described in a newspaper unless it is to exhibit some underlying circumstance of a practical and urgent nature. Thus we shall not shrink from our duty of alluding to an unpleasant topic if it points very vividly to some law relative to women requiring reform; but some immediate practical outcome is the necessary condition. Our contemporaries forget that demonstration, even with the best motive, is not everything, and we can soon have too much of it; if it is not followed by practical advice and energetic action.

Although we claim for women a full share of power with all its duties, responsibilities and privileges in public and private life, and although we do so with a full sense of the gravity of our claim, we will not forget the lighter and brighter side of things, the beauty, the brightness and the fun which make the chequered lights on our way.

We are inaugurating a new feature in journalism,—one for which a great need exists. It is curious to observe how exceedingly conservative in spirit and in treatment all the women's papers hitherto published have been. They seem to run in a mechanical way along the old lines, and appear to dread nothing more than leaving the grooves already formed. Thus we find the most advanced and radical notions treated with timidity and hesitation. There appears to be as yet no bold and fearless exponent of the woman's cause in the Press who grasps her nettle and seeks only to speak the truth without fear of consequences. We do not deny that women's papers have done good; they were the outcome of their time, and as such perhaps be no other than they were. But the time of experiment and apology is past and we look to happier things. We look to reproducing the ideas of the day in their freshest and newest form, to creating a newspaper which shall reflect the thoughts of the best women upon all the subjects occupied their minds; we shall tell of the work of the noblest women, and represent the lives of the trust and sweetest.

LONDON SCHOOL OF MEDICINE FOR WOMEN.

By the Honorary Secretary.

The story of the foundation of the School of Medicine for Women in London has been told so well by Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake in Medical Women, and by Mr. Robert Wilson in the Fortnightly Review for January, 1886, that it will be better to describe what is now doing in it rather than to go over the same matter. The name of the street in which the building is situated has been changed by the Metropolitan Board of Works from Henrietta Street to Handel Street, the locality is unfettered. Two years ago extensive additions were made to the premises, and the School, with the Royal Free Hospital, now forms a small well-equipped Medical School, for Women able to provide instruction in all the subjects required by any of the Medical Examining Boards.

The entry this session has been good, and at the present time over sixty ladies are studying there, nearly half of whom are preparing for the degrees of the University of London, or of the Royal University of Ireland. At both these institutions the students have recently greatly distinguished themselves. For the last two years Miss Elenorus Field has taken the first place in the Medical Examination at the Royal University of Ireland and has been awarded two Exhibitions of Zoology. At the Intermediate Examination in Medicine of the University of London last July, out of thirteen students of the School who went up, twelve passed, some taking honours in several subjects. In fact out of twenty-one names in the honours list ten are those of students of the School, one Miss Longbottom, taking marks qualifying for a Gold Medal.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.
i. (top left): Pall Mall Gazette, 27 October 1888, p. 1.
ii. (top right): The Shield, 12 December 1888, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): British Women’s Temperance Journal, October 1888, Front Cover.
Fig. 3.
i. (left) Women's Penny Paper, 2 November 1889, p. 1.
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Fig. 4.
Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, Specimens of Point Line Type (Sheffield: Stephenson, Blake & Co., 1908), p. 189.
Fig. 5.
ii. (right): Ibid., p. 53.
Fig. 6. (Please note the red rulers have been added to show the difference in the distance between letters).


ii. (top right): Ibid., p. 162.

iii. (bottom): Ibid., p. 189.
Fig. 7.


Fig. 8.

i. (top left): Woman's Herald, 21 February 1891, p. 1.

ii. (top right): Woman's Herald, 30 May 1891, p. 1.

iii. (bottom left): Woman's Herald, 10 October 1891, Front Cover.

iv. (bottom right): Woman's Herald, 10 October 1891, p. 3.
Interview.

MRS. BEDFORD PENWICK,
Late Matron of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

PROBABLY in no profession has greater progress been made during the past ten years than in that of nursing. Formerly, sick nurses were ignorant and untrained, the generality belonging to the type which the great novelist, Charles Dickens, so aptly described.

Happily, the march of progress has put an end to this state of things, and although our sick nurses may not be thoroughly trained, the profession has risen greatly in the public estimation; without exaggeration it may be asserted that our nurses now number in some of the best and noblest of England's wealth.

It was with the view of gaining further knowledge upon this deeply important subject, as well as on the scheme of registration for nurses, that I sought an interview with Mrs. Bedford Penwick, late Matron of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and one of the chief nurses, if not originator, of the registration scheme for nurses.

It was Christmas Eve, and the snow was falling fast, falling silently and thickly, turning dingy London into a white beautiful city, as I wound my way quickly up Wimpole-street. The City churches shone out the tidings of peace and goodwill, and as men and women hurried by, bent on pleasure and festivity, I could not but contrast the lives of these with the lives of those who give up so much for the sake of the sick and sorrowful, and who are content to pass their days and nights ministering to the diseases of their fellow-creatures, holding their very lives in their hands. Surely the women who go forth to nurse our sick are "ministering angels," performing a noble work.

Mrs. Bedford Penwick's comfortable drawing-room and roaring Christmas fires very quickly thawed any cold, or retenuece, and we were soon deep in the subject which she has at heart, the welfare of trained nurses.

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Woman’s Herald, 11 April 1891, p. 1.
KOSUTH.

As when a child of fate among is taken, the parents smiling with gratitude amid their grief, collect each moment of his bright presence—so would Humanity now gather up every word and remembered deed of the Hero of Hungary. His oath before the Palatine was: “We will be free or we will die.”

As readers of this paper will be glad to preserve in a permanent form the few records here presented of a Man, so quickened through his whole being with the Spirit of the Age.

Kossuth. He was born in a little village of the north of Hungary, April 7, 1806, of poor but noble family of peasant origin. His father acted as steward to another nobleman of more favored circumstances, but was not able. It seems, to save, his son at the university. The application and talents of the latter, however, found him friends, who not only enabled him to finish his studies, but also continued to assist him subsequently.

In 1835, when no strong opposition existed against the Austrian government in the Hungarian Diet, Kossuth, who was already somewhat known as the founder of political clubs for young men, was employed to conduct an opposition paper. The proceedings of the Diet up to this time had never been properly reported. The government would not allow the employment of stenographers, and the reports, as they appeared in the official journal, gave no idea at all of the real proceedings. All verbal speeches and propositions, as well as agitations of the abuses of the administration, were entirely suppressed. Kossuth learned stenography, and undertook to give true reports. But, as it would be necessary to submit his paper, if printed, to the censorship, by which everything liberal would be crossed out, he went to the immense labor of issuing it in manuscript. A great number of persons were employed to copy, and thus it was sent in the letter form to every part of the country. This extraordinary manner of proceeding surprised the government, which for a time was at a complete loss what to do. At last, however, took its resolution. Every one of these dangerous letters was put out of the way before reaching its destination.

When this became known, they were no longer trusted to the post; but the local authorities of the different counties took the charge of conveying and distributing them to the subscribers. The county of Pest, in which the paper appeared, even authorized publicity, in spite of the government, its issue and distribution. Thus matters continued till May 9, 1847, about a year after the establishment of the paper, when, on the closure of the Diet by the King (Emperor of Austria,) six persons suddenly disappeared; Baron Wenzel, the most formidable enemy of the government in the Diet, Kossuth, the editor of the opposition paper, and four students of law, leaders in the young man’s political clubs. For above three years the public was entirely ignorant of the fate of these persons. At last, in 1847, they appeared again as mysteriously as they had disappeared, not even knowing themselves where they had been, for they had been arrested secretly, and conveyed blindfolded to unknown places.
Fig. 11.
i. (top left): Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren in Women’s Penny Paper, 27 October 1888, pp. 1-8 (p. 4).
ii. (top right): Unknown, Mrs Priscilla Bright McLaren, c. 1880
Fig. 11. (continued)
vi. (right): Unknown, Mrs Belva A. Lockwood, c. 1880.
Fig. 12.
ii. (bottom): Charles Dana Gibson, *Gibson girls at the Beach*, c. 1900.
Fig. 13.
i. (top left): Mrs Scharlieb in Women’s Penny Paper, 26 January 1889, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Unknown, Mrs Scharlieb, c. 1875.
iv. (bottom right): Mrs Scharlieb in the press, c. 1880s.
Fig. 14.


Fig. 15.
i. (top): C. E. Jensen, *A New Woman smoking*, c. 1890.
MRS. FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER.

Assume the eminent woman of the day Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller takes a prominent place. It was as a leading lady in journalism that I had requested the honour of an interview with her, her, during the last years that she has made newspaper-writing a profession, she has achieved a high reputation and solid success. But it is by no means on this alone that her name and fame rest. She is a lecturer and public speaker of wide-spread popularity; her name inevitably attracts a large audience, and in an electioneering campaign she is a tower of strength. In yet a third capacity Mrs. Fenwick Miller has gained distinction of no ordinary kind. She is the author of seven books, all of them—except the exception of the Life of Harriet Martineau (in the Eminent Women series)—of a scientific character. Had she been none of these things Mrs. Fenwick Miller would in all probability have taken a high place among women medical practitioners. She has a very scientific habit of mind, and her favourite studies are anatomy, physiology, and medical science generally. At the age of seventeen she was visiting Edinburgh, and not only went heart and soul into the controversy over the admission of women to the medical classes of Edinburgh University, but sat for the Preliminary Examination, and passed in English with "distinction" marks, in French and in Logic. Returning to London she entered at the Ladies' Medical College, passed brilliantly in the Examination for Honours, and took up practical work at the British Lying-in Hospital. She had an extensive practice for about three years among women and children, but abandoned medicine as a profession on her election to the School Board in 1874. It need scarcely be said that Mrs. Fenwick Miller is first of all a thinker—a vigorous and original thinker—and her writing like her speaking is marked by a force and frankness which never fail.

"How do you get through such an amount of work? I asked, for I knew that a very carefully written signed article in The Illustrated London News, and three leaders a week for provincial papers formed but a section of Mrs. F. Miller's journalistic work.

"That is what everyone says," was the reply, "my practice in speaking has probably given me facility in writing." Whatever the case, there is no doubt that Mrs. Miller writes with remarkable rapidity—since in ten years in journalism.

"What do you think of journalism as a profession for women?"

"At present I think it is a good one; I know several women of moderate capacity who earn five or four pounds a week, who would otherwise be struggling along in the overcrowded ranks of teachers. Their women can display adequate and activity was to be expected, but they have shown a staying power and a push that were not anticipated. To be a journalist you must possess the capacity of meeting your engagements, and also of scaling every opportunity. Women are showing that they are equal to both.

"Do you consider journalism a healthy pursuit, or are you burred with an objection to it?"

"I do not think much of the late hours, they are nothing more than those which many engagements demand of other women. Where some women make a mistake is that they try to live literary women and society women as well, and then they break down. They should be content with one or the other."

To Mrs. Fenwick Miller writing for the Press is not merely a business but a serious responsibility. "To address," she said, "I have done; three thousand persons in the Birmingham Town Hall is a very important task; it almost takes one's breath away to feel that for a whole hour one has to influence and interest that vast concourse—but through the Press one speaks to many thousands more than the voice could reach." "In all my work," she continued, "I have very deeply at heart the influence I can bring to bear on the woman question. Like many independent thinkers she is not wholly in sympathy with any of the political parties.

As a child Mrs. Fenwick Miller's favourite book was the Bible. Books two rows deep almost cover the walls of her study. There is a long row of scientific volumes which must have been read before such works as "An Atlas of Anatomy" (1879), a third edition of which appeared last year, or "The House of Life," could have been produced. Of the first of these The Athenaeum said, "It is excellent, and will, we believe, play no mean part in the diffusion of true, pure scientific knowledge." She has also a singularly good collection of works by women, including the now rare "Vindication of the Rights of Women" by Mary Wollstonecraft. One corner of her sanctum is quite a notable gallery of famous women. I noticed with special interest the little known but truly memorable Maria Schuurman, the mistress of eleven languages, but who at the age of twenty-five buried herself as a Quaker.

Mrs. Miller's last book, published in 1884, was The Life of Harriet Martineau, and she has in her possession two excellent portraits and other interesting relics of the famous writer, such as a lock of hair when silvery white, and several specimens of her handwriting. This is the list of her own books:—"Simple Lessons in Health" (published in 1875); "The House of Life" (1879); "An Atlas of Anatomy" (1879); "Physiology in Schools" (1881); "Routings in Social Economy," and "Natural History for the Standards" (1880); "Life of Harriet Martineau" (1884).

Mrs. Fenwick Miller is a lecturer of some reputation, but as a speaker her power shows itself not so much in her reciting as in her telling. From my place in the gallery of the London School Board, I have often seen great visibly pale as she directed—or rather steered—their halting arguments with her piercing logic; she would leave nothing but shadows behind. She sits for nine years on the Board.

In April 1877, the following announcement appeared in The Times: "On April 21st, at the office of the Registrar of the City of London, Frederick A. Ford, to Florence Fenwick Miller. By mutual desire the bride will retain her maiden name, and will be addressed as Mrs. Fenwick Miller. Very high legal opinion was taken on this matter by the Chairman of the London School Board before he would call out her name on the division list as Mrs. Fenwick Miller," and a fruitless attempt was made to upset the first election to the School Board, which she sought in that name after she became the wife of Mr. Ford. The other leading precursor for not taking the husband’s name exists in the progeny; many widows of barristers, re-marrying with communions, retain the dead husband’s name for the sake of continuing the title. There are many cases of women in which professional women retain their maiden name, but it is only as an alias; they sign their letters in legal documents and are known by it in private life. Mrs. Fenwick Miller is convinced that in the course of a generation or two the action, of which Lucy Stone in America and she in England have been the pioneers, will become general. As she justly says: "The name expresses the individuality; and to resign that name is to resign the very essence of my being, and in the report of my speeches in the columns of many newspapers, would be to strike with my whole mind and work."

Mrs. Fenwick Miller is one of the few ladies who have joined the Society of Journalists.
MISS ALICE CORNWELL

The lady who by her successful mining enterprise has gained the sobriquet of Lady, Princess, or Queen Midas, is English by birth and parentage. Her native county is Essex, but her parents left this country when she was very young, and much of her school and student life was passed in New Zealand. Thinking that so sound a foundation must have displayed some early capacity for figures, I asked if such had been the case, but the reply was, “On the contrary, I passed with honours in everything but arithmetic, and lost my examination owing to my failure in that subject.” For music, she thinks she showed more talent than for anything else.

Miss Cornwell received me at the offices of the Midas Company, 39, Queen Victoria Street, which she opened when visiting England two years ago. In the room adjoining her business sanctum I was invited to inspect maps, plans and photographs relating to the three enterprises which Miss Cornwell is now in this country for the purpose of furthering. I asked whether City men did not seem somewhat taken aback by finding that they had to deal with a woman on questions of Mining, Land Companies, and Harbour Works.

“They are at first,” was the reply, “but they believe in me when they find that I go into my business practically, and am conducting it honestly and conscientiously. For instance, a couple of gentlemen called the other day, and after going through the plans one of them confided that he had come out of curiosity, but that although he had talked with many mining specialists, he had never, from any of them, learned so much about mines.

“The fact is, Miss Cornwell knows her subject from beginning to end with rare thoroughness. When faced with the necessity of making money for her family, she determined that it was only in mining enterprise that she could do it. Contrary to the advice of all her friends, who thought she had better have sunk her little capital in a school, she leased a mine at Ballarat. But she determined not to deal through brokers as she had seen others do, and lose vast sums of money over their transactions, but to go into the work practically. She accordingly spent the first two years in learning, sometimes with miners, sometimes with geologists; she was constantly in the mine, and she found that the practical knowledge of one corrected the theory of the other, and vice versa. She has also the capacity of concentrating her whole attention and capacity on the subject in hand, of thinking of nothing else for the time. “I think,” she said, “it is a peculiarity of women to throw themselves heart and soul into a thing, and that is why they succeed. But when I have done my work I can forget it and so am fresh for something else. I think, too, my sex’s wit helps me. I have a kind of instinctive perception of what will turn out well and what will not.”

“Yet it is that, I suppose, that makes the miners say you have second sight?”

“Ah, that is nonsense,” Miss Cornwell replied, with a smile. “I only speak about what I know. When I speak I have never said anything. When I speak I love to do—I observe everything, and I only profit from knowledge and observation. I have never found anything I have myself examined fail, though I have often lost when trusting to other people’s reports. When we struck gold at Ballarat it was where I knew it would be found, I was never in the least afraid of it not being there, only of my power to get to it.”

The Midas mines have been formed into a company, in which the first of lady miners became a large shareholder. “She has,” said the President of the Mine Owners’ Association of Victoria, “by her perseverance and the expenditure of a large amount of capital opened up the now celebrated Midas gold-field, and we have all to confess that the mining enterprises of the late Sir W. B. P. H. P. have been developed, and made remunerative to shareholders.” One successful enterprise naturally led to another, and Miss Cornwell’s unflagging success caused her to be looked upon as a mining authority ex-cathedra.

On the eve of her departure for England, two years ago, to start the Midas Company in London, the Mining Managers’ Association in Victoria passed the following resolution:

“Tis a consequence of the great pluck and energy displayed by Miss Cornwell, combined with her perseverance and intelligence in all important matters pertaining to the development of the mining industry of the Ballarat district, that the lady be admitted an Honorary Member of the Ballarat Branch of the A.M.M.A."

Still more gratified, perhaps, was she by this tribute from the employees in the Speedwell mine:

DORIAN MANSON.—This being the eve of your departure for England, we cannot allow you to leave us without expressing our good wishes to you. Not because, by your pluck and perseverance we obtain a living, for which we are very thankful, but because we have a sense of respect for one who has shown a husband-hood of womanhood of the true sense of the word, and whom we may consider as being a lady in the true sense of the word, and whom we may consider as being a lady in the true sense of the word, and whom we may consider as being a lady in the true sense of the word, and whom we may consider as being a lady in the true sense of the word.

We treat the Speedwell, and we treat you; we pass on the money to the Speedwell, and we pass it on to you; and, therefore, they are not the same.

We regret and feel very sorrowful that you are leaving us. Without your skillful hand at the hole, how will the stop go? We hope that some of your talents may fall on us. It is not practicable for us, but if you have given us any tangible proof of our esteem and good wishes, we shall be grateful to you. We shall be grateful to you.

Miss Cornwell has three mines to-day in the present session in England, which will probably terminate with the close of the year. In a letter from the President of the South Australian Parliament to the Agent General for the Colony in London, Miss Alice Cornwell is described as the “agent” of a Syndicate formed to float the “Outer Harbour Scheme,” which was introduced by a bill before the South Australian Legislature, by Mr. Rowland Rees, C.E., M.P.

This is a big affair, with a revenue of between £600,000 and £700,000. In the neighbourhood of Sydney—that is, some sixty miles distant therefrom—Miss Cornwell has purchased the Wyong Estate, which consists of some 17,000 acres, with a lake frontage of a dozen miles. Before leaving the Colony she put matters in train for its laying out and working, and is now in constant correspondence with her representatives. The land contains valuable coal seams, part of it is well timbered, and being traversed by a railway affords all the necessary sites. With all the complicated details of this big scheme Miss Cornwell is entirely at home.

Of the British Australasian Mining Investment Company, formed for the purpose of flooring or developing mines throughout Australasia—Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand—Miss Cornwell is also the London representative.

The lady who has all these weighty matters on hand—matters with which the masculine mind grapples hitherto dealt exclusively with graceful figure, a firm, but very pleasant and expressive face, fair
Fig. 18.
i. (left): Bardwell Ballarat, Alice Cornwell, early 1880s.
ii. (right): Unknown, Alice Cornwell, 1885.
MADAME OLGA NOVIKOFF.
Writer, Thinker and Patriot.

I called upon Madame Novikoff (née Kiefer) early one morning in the quiet and pleasant suite of rooms which she occupies at Charlotte’s Hotel, Brock Street, and which she considers her home during her yearly visit to this country.

"You like England?" I asked.

"I love it," replied Madame Novikoff. "I had English governesses as a child, and it became the dream of my life to see England. I come every year, and it is in which I do most of my work, for at St. Petersburg I am obliged to go out so much and to receive so much that I have little time to spare from my social duties; here I can do as I like. Although our residence is in St. Petersburg we are Moscow people, both on mine and my husband’s side. My brothers and myself are the Empress Nicholas’s godchildren. He has always been very kind to my family. My two brothers were pages in waiting to the Empress, and my elder brother is Lieutenant General to the Grand Duke Constantine. My mother, who became a widow when I was very young, was an exceedingly beautiful woman and most artistic. Her house was a centre of reunion for artists and musicians, and before I had come out in society I was allowed to be present at the music. I am very fond of it and sing a great deal. That is my speciality." "My younger brother," continued Madame Novikoff, "was the first Russian volunteer killed in Serbia in the Slavonic cause. He was one of the noblest and most patriotic of men, and when he was gone I ardently desired to take up his work—work for the Slavonic cause and for the peace and welfare of my country. I could not be a sister of charity, for I could not bear the sight of blood. But I did what I could."

"When did you first begin to write?"

"I never wrote a line till my brother’s death in 1876. I began doing so in Mr. Stendhal’s Journal des Débats. When rumours of war with England were in the air, and M. Katoff, editor of the Moscou Gazette, asked me to write a series of articles. I wrote in favour of an alliance with England and of Peace. I signed them "O.K.," for I could not put my name, my husband’s brother being Russian ambassador at Vienna. So strongly did I advocate peace with England that everybody thought the articles were written by an agent of England."

"They must have considerably helped towards the maintenance of peace," I suggested.

"They may have done something, Katoff’s paper had a great influence in high circles," replied Madame Novikoff, as if depreciating any credit to herself. Speaking of the present, she said, "I have now a very valuable friendship in the Nineteenth Century by Mr. Gladstone, who said, "Whatever it may be read, that book.""

"Her second work was "Shokin and the Slavonic Cause." She has written articles on Armenia in the Pall Mall Gazette the other day and quite recently for the same newspaper a warmly sympathetic notice of one of her countrywomen, of whom she said, "If there ever was a noble, an intelligent, a superior woman in this wretched world, it was Melina. Anna Akakoff, the widow of our celebrated Slavophile and poet, Ivan Akakoff."

"There is a strong movement in Russia for the Emancipation of Women," said Madame Novikoff, and I wrote a magazine article on it some years ago in the Nineteenth Century. I also contributed to the Contemporary Review and to Fraser’s Magazine. Occasionally I write letters to the newspapers; last year I wrote two to The Times in answer to some articles on the Pleis in Romania."

"Adverting to the fact that there is no capital punishment in Russia Madame Novikoff expressed her sense of the barbarity and injustice of that system. Both her books are out of print, and asking what she was especially engaged on now Madame Novikoff said, "I read everything concerning Russia that appears and when a book wants answering I answer it. I only write when I have something that I feel must be said."

"English," I suggested, "has become to you as your mother tongue?"

"One can never overcome little peculiarities of accent," was the reply, "but I can express my thoughts and feelings quite readily."

"Are you in favour of women voting?"

"We have voting in Russia, but not Parliamentary voting, because we have no Parliament. But in local affairs, in which the charges are paid by the proprietors of property, those who pay vote, whether men or women, and the latter freely exercise their right."

"Are you in sympathy with the Woman Movement?"

"I am not in sympathy with women on platforms. This does not coincide itself to me as a means of propaganda. I would do my best for every poor person, but I would not talk politics with them. I prefer to do that with persons educated in the same way as myself."

"Are you in favour of women voting for Parliament in England?"

"I have not studied the subject sufficiently to have an opinion. I have not made up my mind. But I am not a social believer in the Parliamentary system at all. Conservatism is abhorrent to my mind, and, with all its filthiness, cajolery and falsehood, it is abhorrent to me."

"Do you consider yourself Liberal or Conservative?"

"We have not the two parties as you have. I am of the Greek Orthodox Church, and I believe in Ascendancy and the future of Russia. I belong to the Slavophile or National School. Sometimes one must support a Liberal and sometimes a Conservative cause."

"Reverting to the Question, "Marriage," said Madame Novikoff, "does not deprive us of our property. If a woman marries she retains her. She is not obliged to pay her husband’s debts, nor his. When a man dies his widow takes one-seventh of his property, and when a woman dies the widower receives one-seventh of hers. There is no law of primogeniture, the girls inherit one-fourth each, the boys share equally with each other."

"Are you in favour of women studying medicine?"

"Yes, oh, yes, we have excellent women doctors. We Russian women are very independent, and, owing to our married women’s property laws we naturally have more love matches than in any other country. I am very much in favour of the economic independence of women, and I have always felt I find my rights."

"How does the change in the position of women in England strike you?"

"I do not think they are always improving. Courage is useful and necessary, but you should not carry it too far, I do not like women being unladylike."

"We referred, in the course of conversation, to the custom of women"
Fig. 20.
ii. (top right): Women’s Penny Paper, 10 May 1890, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Women’s Penny Paper, 02 August 1890, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): Unknown, Woman in rational dress and boater hat, c. 1890s.
Fig. 21.
Lady Florence Dixie in Women's Penny Paper, 12 April 1890, p. 1.
Miss Daisie Stanley, Captain of the Blue Eleven.

Original English Lady Cricketers.

The matches played during the past month by the "Original English Lady Cricketers" have aroused an immense amount of enthusiasm among the general public. In Liverpool, where the ladies played their first public match, visitors assembled in thousands to witness the spirited contest between the Red and Blue Elephants of the ladies' profession. Ladies' cricket up to the present time has hardly been regarded as a serious affair whenever the play has been between ladies and gentlemen, the latter have for the nonce sewn broom-sticks and treated their adversaries as weaker vessels. However, women in these days are not going to be batters, whatever profession or business they may take up, and they are succeeding in cricket, as they do in everything else which they seriously attempt. The really fine cricketers of the Original English Lady Cricketers have been much noticed; therefore, I resolved to seek them out in the interval of the women's first match, and to give a true, full, and particular account of our women in the cricket field.

Following definite instructions from Captain Stanley, I found them at St. George's Hall, Warrington, which is easily reached by train from Liverpool. There the two ladies were in daily practice under the training of Mr. Matthey, umpired by George Horne and Maurice Reid, and as I entered the hall I found them all hard at work. They were certainly an exceedingly picturesque group, and I was struck by their intellectual physiques. They were, without question, fashionable, upright, healthy girls. The daily exercises, even if severe and arduous, are not intended. On the contrary, they are directed towards the development of the muscles and the maintenance of their stamina, as was to be expected. I inquired of Mr. Matthey where Captain Stanley was to be seen, and he at once courteously left his work and, walking across the practice ground, led me to the room set apart for the ladies. I had not waited long before the door opened and a tall, well-groomed, and distinctly handsome man entered, and at once readily agreed to my request for an interview.

"Is this your cricketing dress?" I asked, attracted by the beauty of the blue laces which reached nearly to the ankles, lightly enclosed at the waist with a belt, permitting perfect freedom of limbs, while the full kirtles and soft silk bodices were filled with scarlet, and gathered in at the knees.

"Oh, no," she replied, "this is my gymnasium dress; for nine months I was assistant teacher in the School of Music Gymnasium, Kensington.

Gore. I performed before H.R.H. the Princess of Wales and her three daughters, in a display of ladies' gymnastics, calisthenics, &c. I am sorry to say I have not always kept up to now, for I should be a good gymnast with practice."

"What is your cricketing dress?" I asked. "I have been told it is very picturesque, and that at the Oxford and Cambridge boat races your names were quite a feature on your steamer, and attracted much attention."

"Our costume was designed for us," said Captain Stanley. "It consists of a loose elbow-length body of white flannel, and a somewhat shorter length of the same material, which reaches midway between the knee and the high, full-hasted, white cricket boots. The distinctive colour, blue or red, are shown in the stockings on the collar, and above the hem of the skirt, with a flowing waist tied at the left side. This is completed by a cricket-gap which is very becoming to most ladies. The pads are skeleton pads, which, while quite as serviceable in protecting the legs are far lighter than those used by men."

Miss Daisie Stanley was born at Cheltenham, on October 27th. She is first-rate in height and looks even taller, her weight is eleven stone; she is admirably proportioned, and looks capable of much exertion in the way of play. She was educated in London, and has lived in Kensington nearly all her life, which is contrary to the idea I had formed that she was a country-girl. This fact speaks well for our sporty London, for Miss Stanley's health is perfect. As a child she was considered to have much mental ability, although occasionally she lacked the necessary application. She has taken the Trinity College certificates for music and science and art (Kensington). In her early days she was a first in honours, and when she took up cricket these were her favourite pastime. When she joined the Original English Lady Cricketers, about the beginning of February, Miss Stanley knew absolutely nothing of the practice of cricket, though she understood the theory. Until she had actually taken part in the game she considered it impossible for girls to excel in it, but her opinion has materially altered in the last three months. In reply to my question as to whether she considered the game one to be taken up successfully by bachelors, she quietly answered—

"There is a sort of healthy enjoyability or beneficial game than cricket for our sex: it is less fatiguing than tennis and less exhausting than gymnastics. One can enjoy fresh air at the same time that all the muscles of the frame enjoy equal play."

"I am a left-handed over-arm bowler," she went on. "I took me about six weeks to learn bowling properly. I do it with my left hand because it is naturally left-handed and it is easier than using my right. My style is said to be good, with moderate pace and variable pitch. I am generally successful as a bowler and a moderate bat. I have been presented with a bat by Sir Abel, the Surrey player, and the player of our side, has paid me a presentation bat; Miss Violet" Westwood, captain of the Reds, had her bat given her by George Hume. I possess a thorough knowledge of the techniques of the game, and thanks to the excellent teaching of our tenant, Mr. Matthews, we all hope to give a good account of ourselves this season."

"Will you only play against your own sex," was my next question.

"This season we shall only have matches with other lady cricketers, and between our two elevens; but that we do not feel equal to playing against the opposite sex, but this is our first public season, and our matches are all arranged. We give amateurs immense odds, invariably playing our elevens to their twenty-two, and we beat them easily, thus showing the advantage of our training. We are accompanied in all engagements by a matron and an assistant mistress, who see to our comforts and engage suitable rooms, &c., for the towns where we stay. We are generally a party of twenty to thirty; there are the two elevens, a few players in reserve in case of accident or illness, the matron, our trainer and umpire, Mr. Matthews, the Surrey professional, and Mr. Michel, the manager.

"I am anxious to see Captain Stanley take her stand at the wicket, but she excelled herself upon the gloes of a severe cold that had prevented her from practice for some days."

"Come out and see our team at practice. I wish you could have seen a regular match," she said "I have five good bowlers in the eleven, Miss Ada Hunter whose right-hand over-arm with break to leg is very deadly, Miss Ella Hudson, Miss Ethelfield, Miss Robinson, and Miss Moss. The latter is also a capital wicket-keeper, to whom I have presented a pair of wicket gloves."

As I came on the ground, the captain of the Red Eleven was at the wicket, and I was surprised at her capital hitting. The balls were delivered in turn.

Fig. 22. Miss Daisie Stanley in Women's Penny Paper, 31 May 1890, p. 1.
Fig. 23.

i. (top left): *Women’s Penny Paper*, 27 December 1890, p. 159.


Fig. 24. 
i. (top left): Women’s Penny Paper, 16 March 1889, p. 8. 
ii. (top right): Women’s Penny Paper, 6 April 1889, p. 158. 
Fig. 25.
Fig. 26.  
Women's Penny Paper, 13 December 1890, p. 127.
A Woman's Crowning Glory is Her Hair.

KOKO FOR THE HAIR

KOKO FOR THE HAIR is a tonic, cleansing, invigorating preparation, opening the hair to grow luxuriously, keeps it soft and pliant, imparts to it the lustre and freshness of youth, eliminates dandruff, prevents hair from falling, is the most effective of all preparations, and is perfectly harmless.

OLDER PEOPLE LIKE IT for its wonderful power to invigorate gray hair, and induces an entire new growth which that is possible.

MIDDLE-AGED PEOPLE LIKE IT, because it prevents them from getting bald, keeps hair glossy, and makes the hair grow thick and strong.

YOUNG MEN LIKE IT, because it is an elegant preparation for dry, broken, and brittle hair, and assists to form a luxuriant mustache and whiskers.

YOUNG LADIES LIKE IT as a dressing, because it gives the hair a beautiful glossy appearance, insures a luxuriant growth, and enables them to dress it in whatever form they wish, where it will remain.

THEY ALL LIKE IT, because it is pure as crystal, perfectly colourless, contains no poisonous substance, no on edge of hair, stringy, silky at all, and not at all or colour the roots, nor, or the most delicate fabrics in clothing, produces a wonderful, pleasant, and cooling effect on the head, and can be used for all purpose with the most elegant appearance possible. Try it once and you will use no other.

IT CONTAINS NO COLOURING MATTER OR DYE.

AN AUTHORITATIVE ANALYSIS.

CHEMICAL LABORATORY,

I hereby certify that I have submitted to a careful examination and Chemical Analysis a sample, purchased by myself from the stock of a well-known firm of Wholesale Druggists, of the preparation known as "Koko for the Hair." I have found nothing in the preparation which could be injurious either to the head or hair, and the result of the analysis made on the preparation known as "Koko for the Hair" is a pleasant dressing, which would visibly improve the appearance in any case. I am honored in the preparation on ingredients of the nature of a valuable secret or dye.

EDWIN GOODWIN CLAYTON, F.R.C.S.,
Member of the Society of Police Analysts, &c.

Sold by Druggists, Chemists, Hairdressers, &c., at 3s. 6d. and 4s. 6d. per Bottle of 6 oz. and 12 oz.

If you have trouble to procure it, send Postal Order for 6d. or 2s. 6d. to KOKO-Marinepar Co., 9, Princes Street Buildings, East's Court, London, and receive a Bottle, under cover, from Mr. Parle Potts.

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF "WOMAN'S HERALD."

4/6 Trial Bottle for 2/-

SPECIAL OFFER TO READERS OF "WOMAN'S HERALD."

NOW, STOP YOUR HAIR FROM FALLING.

DON'T GO BALD.

NOW, IS THE WATCHWORD OF THE WISE.

UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENTS.

LIKE IT EXCEEDINGLY.

LADY ROBERTSON-Stock, Maryland, Boston, N. H., writes: "I like the koko wonderfully, and prefer it to any I have ever used. My hair has certainly begotten thicker since I have used it, and does not come off so ill, and I am really quite satisfied and pretty free from all the sticky, nasty stuff all in one other w人寿s."

NO FEAR OF FALLING.

Miss A. Phillips, 16, Princes Road, Good Friday, writes: "For years I have been unable to do anything with my hair, being afraid to brush or comb it, as it came out so badly. I have tried several preparations, but have not received any benefit from any of them. After having used Koko for a short time, I have brushed and comb the best of it and I am now getting on very well."

FOR CHILDREN'S HAIR.

Mrs. Olga, Twympthorne, "Windsor, near Gillingham, writes: "I am pleased to add a word in favor of Koko. I find it an excellent dressing for my own and my children's hair."

HAIR NICE AND SOFT.

Miss F. B. Anderson, Hill Farm, Newmarket, writes: "Mrs. "Koko for the Hair" gives great satisfaction, although I am not certain how I would get it a fair trial. My hair had begun to fall off, but since using "Koko" it has very much improved, and it gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance.

NEVER WITHOUT IT.

Miss Brown, 16, St. Mary Street, Westmoreland, Devon, writes: "I am pleased with "Koko for the Hair," and think it will continue the same as before, and I am sure no woman of sense will ever be without it."

HAIR STRONGER AND THICKER.

Mrs. G. Mitchell, Whitehall Road, Romsey, N., writes: "I have found just "Koko for the Hair," and shall certainly recommend it to my friends as a delightful preparation for the hair."

A DELIGHTFUL PREPARATION.

Miss May, Bowaway, Banbury, writes: "I have been using "Koko for the Hair," and shall certainly recommend it to my friends as a delightful preparation for the hair."

NOTHING TO EQUAL IT.

Miss M. A. Davy, 2, Byne Road, Hambury by law, writes: "I have no praise too high for "Koko for the Hair," and I am sure many of my friends will be delighted with it."

THOUSANDS ON FILE.

Every extract printed above, together with thousands of testimonials and duplicate orders, are in the original envelopes, just as they have been received from people all over the Kingdom.

FOURTH EDITION, PRICE 6D.

GOOD HAIR—NOW KEPT.

Published by Proprietors of "Koko for the Hair."

A valuable book of forty-eight pages on the Human Hair, its Structure, Growth, Order, Preservation, Disease, and General Treatment—Why the hair Falls Off, Why It Turns Gray, Why It Falls in Clumps, &c.—Complete for the Care of the Hair, and an appreciation of good hair (which no one should have) forms the principal body. Also, Free, on receipt of the Stamps—Address, KOKO CO., Earl's Court, London. (Circular free.)
— Case Study 2: Progressive Liberalism Vs. Gospel Temperance Maternalism, Christianity, Purity

The New Woman / Paradigm II:
*Woman’s Herald* (b) (April 30, 1892 - February 16, 1893)

The New Woman / Paradigm III // Editorial Model A:
*Woman’s Herald* (c) (Feb. 23, 1893 – Dec. 28, 1893)
4.1. *Woman’s Herald* (b) (April 30, 1892 - February 16, 1893)

On April 30th 1892, for the first time in the history of the *Paper/Herald* (a), the paper was no more under Müller's editorial control (Diagram ii). The *Woman’s Herald: A Liberal paper for Women* (b) (henceforth the *Herald* (b)) was printed on newsprint paper in crown folio size (15 x 10 inch), and published weekly (on Thursday) by Woman’s Herald Co. Mrs Eva McLaren, Müller’s sister, was the main proprietor of the *Herald* (b) and chief shareholder of Woman’s Herald Co., though some sources also cite Lady Isabella Somerset as another main proprietor. Mrs Frank Morrison, acting editor of the *Herald* (b) between April 30th and October 22nd 1892, was also a chief shareholder in the Woman’s Herald Co. In October 29, 1892, Christina Sinclair Bremner was appointed as editor, and with her the printing was taken up by the Women’s Printing Society, whilst soon after Horace Marshall & Son were assigned as publishers. In this section I focus on paratexts such as the editors’ and proprietors’ associations to the Liberal party, the front cover, typographical mastheads, and advertising. In particular, I argue that Morrison, McLaren and Bremner shaped their newspaper based on the concept of progressive Liberalism and advocated for the unity of women targeting an ideal audience of middle- and working-class women. Nonetheless, though their philosophy could certainly bring important changes to the struggle for women’s emancipation, the lack of empathy not only with the working-class, but also the general feminist reader, projected through the paratexts and the anchor text found in the *Herald* (b), meant that they were unable to enlist sufficient subscribers to keep the paper afloat.

4.1.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press in 1892 and the *Woman’s Herald* (b)

The new administration of the *Herald* (b) declared that ‘no such paper exists at present’, and indeed they were right. At the time the feminist weekly periodical press was in crisis: the *Women’s Gazette: A Journal Devoted To The Social And Political Position Of Women*, which used to be the official organ of the Women’s Liberal Federation (WLF), the official women’s only group supporting the Liberal party, had ceased publication in December 1891; the

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430 In 1892, a year after Müller joined the Theosophical Society she decided to relocate to India with Annie Besant, who is believed to have introduced her to Theosophy. By that point, Müller had already created the Woman’s Herald Co. and before her departure she sold her share to the company.
431 Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘Ideal Audience’.
Women’s Union Journal ceased publication in 1890, and reappeared as the Women’s Trade Union Review in 1891 but it was strictly specialised on trade union news; and Iris: The Organ of the Women’s Progressive Society was published in April 1892, and only lasted a few months.\textsuperscript{432} Other local initiatives were active during this period, such as the periodical of the Central and East of England Society for Women’s Suffrage, periodicals of the National Society for Women’s Suffrage, and the Threefold Cord: A Magazine For Thoughtful Women, but they were all infrequent, and much smaller in circulation.\textsuperscript{433} Moreover, the British Women’s Temperance Journal (henceforth BWTJ), which had shown a measure of stability since 1886 was, unbeknownst to many, under strain and heading to a divisive future, because the leading figures of the British Women’s Temperance Association (BWTA) were in disagreement. In this challenging climate, the Herald (b) was now holding a monopoly as the paper that catered for the progressive Liberal New Woman reader; yet, unlike the Paper/Herald (a) that was popular among moderate and progressive New Women from across the class spectrum, the Herald (b) targeted the niche audience of the working- and middle-class Liberal New Woman reader. In this section, therefore, I demonstrate that the model employed by the Herald (b) was the most consistent in comparison to all the other models discussed in this thesis, and by consistent I mean that its paratexts and anchor text were at all times in line with its concept of progressive Liberalism. Nonetheless, I argue that such a consciously specialist editorial identity alienated other general feminist New Women readers, whilst at the same time only appealed to a fraction of its ideal readership due to its prominent middle-class approach. More specifically, I demonstrate that although factual paratexts, such as the editors’ and proprietors’ feminist activities, and iconic paratexts, such as the commissioned illustration on the front cover, enforced the editorial narrative of progressive Liberalism; at the same time, paratexts, such as the front cover illustration and the advertising, targeted only a fraction of the ideal audience, whilst they also fostered messages that contradicted the editorial narrative.

\textsuperscript{432} Doughan and Sanchez, pp. 13-6.
\textsuperscript{433} Ibid., pp. 14-5.
4.1.2. The Editorial Identity of the *Woman's Herald* (b)

The *Herald* (b) remained a weekly paper, though it was now entering ‘a new chapter of its history’ by publicly expressing an allegiance to the Liberal party, and whilst originally it remained a 16-page paper with a typographical masthead, as well as front and back covers (No. 183 - No. 210), later it also added an ad-wrapper, which increased the overall size of the weekly issue to 20 pages. Similarly to its predecessors, the *Herald* (b) continued as a registered weekly newspaper printed in newsprint, which allowed it to sustain a high status in comparison to other feminist periodicals. It continued to support the concept of ‘a universal sisterhood’ established by Müller, but it also aimed:

To promote the adoption of Liberal principles in the Government of the country. To promote just legislation for women, which include[d] Parliamentary Enfranchisement, and to protect the interest of children.\(^{434}\)

The *Paper/Herald* (a) had always been nonpartisan; yet, the new administration believed that in order for the *Herald* (b) to be ‘thoroughly in touch with all the work and aspirations of women’, it ought to ‘join the great Liberal Party whose principles are based on freedom, equality and justice’.\(^{435}\) Subsequently, the *Herald* (b) now intended to work towards ‘educating the women of the country in the Liberal faith’, and being a ‘woman’s Liberal paper’ also supported the Disestablishment of the English Church in Wales and the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, the programme of the British Women’s Temperance Association, the London Radical programme, as well as rural reform. The new administration declared that it would ‘be the special object of the HERALD to make itself indispensible to Women’s Liberal Association’, and while they aimed to ‘be the mouthpiece of the advocates of Women’s Suffrage’, they also wished to ‘become the paper to which every Liberal woman will naturally turn for information about the work of the Women’s Liberal Association’.\(^{436}\)

4.1.3. Factual (Basic + Trivial) Paratexts: Communicating Complementary Messages

The new Liberal editorial narrative projected by the *Herald* (b) was apparent through the anchor text with articles such as reports on the activities and internal events of the Women’s

\(^{434}\) ‘The "Woman's Herald": A Liberal Paper’, *Woman's Herald*, 30 April 1892, pp. 3-4.

\(^{435}\) *Woman's Herald*, 30 April 1892, pp. 3-4.

\(^{436}\) Ibid.
Liberal Federation (WLF) making a regular appearance. Nonetheless, basic and especially trivial paratexts such as the editors’ and proprietors’ association to the WLF, and their activities as the Progressive Party of the society further emphasized the editorial narrative, and influenced readers about the validity of the Herald (b) as a progressive Liberal paper. In particular, McLaren was elected to the London school board in 1879, and then married Walter Stowe Bright McLaren in 1883. Together they served on the executive committee of the Manchester Society for Women’s Suffrage from 1884 to 1895. She became the first honorary treasurer of the WLF, honorary secretary of the Welsh Union of Women’s Liberal Associations (WUWLA), president of Southport WLA, and vice-president of Crewe WLA. She was also a member of the Union of Practical Suffragists (UPS), the Forward Suffrage Union (FSU), and the Liberal Women’s Suffrage Union (LWSU), Chair of the Ladies’ National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, a general social reformer and political activist. Furthermore, Mrs Frank Morrison’s name often appeared in the Paper/Herald (a) and other feminist papers as early as 1888. The articles were usually about activities relevant to women’s causes revealing that she was an active advocate of women’s suffrage. Accordingly, Christina Sinclair Bremner was a member of the Hull WLA, and often attended meetings alongside McLaren. By the time Bremner took over the editorship of the Herald (b) she had already ‘challenged the strict boundaries of the woman’s sphere’, ‘asserted [her] rights to self-determination and self-rule’, and ‘negotiated the discursive boundaries of Victorian Britain’s ideological sex-role socialization’, and for that she was publicly criticized. Yet, she agreed to take on the editorship possibly because she sought to prove that women can, and should express their political opinion publicly, without fear of condemnation.

Women’s historian June Hannam reveals that ‘Liberal Party women were particularly aggressive in pushing forward the claims of their sex’, and while some women saw their local WLAs ‘as a way in which they could help their husbands by drawing women into political life to support Liberal politics’, those who were ‘committed feminists’, ‘chose to organise

separately in order to assert their autonomy.' Because of this apparent division, during the late 1880s the WLAs ‘faced internal conflicts about whether feminist causes should be put to the top of their agenda’; and in 1892, when Gladstone reiterated his opposition against women’s suffrage, this dispute reached its climax. The moderate section of the WLF, otherwise referred to as the Neutrals, believed that ‘the suffrage was not a party political issue and therefore should not be included’ in the WLF’s programme, whereas the Progressives thought otherwise. Eventually, the Progressive Party of the WLF, to which McLaren, Bremner, Mrs Morrison, and possibly all the shareholders of the Woman’s Herald Co., belonged, succeeded in committing the WLF to suffrage, which led to its division, and the formation of the Women’s National Liberal Association (henceforth, the WNLA), which was to be the moderate alternative to WLF.

On May 28, 1892 the Herald (b) announced that they had now accepted ‘the position of official organ of the Federation’ offered by the WLF’s executive committee, and with that acceptance came an agreement that they would ‘at all times be pleased to place’ space available in their paper at the WLF’s ‘disposal’ for reports and any other such material. Yet, they continued by clarifying that ‘it must not be supposed’ that they would automatically ‘endorse everything the Federation does’; nor would the WLF ‘be in the slightest degree responsible for our opinion, or for the conduct of the paper’. They affirmed that the Herald (b) was to continue as ‘an independent Liberal paper for women’, whose aim was ‘to advocate the cause of the emancipation of women irrespective of party ties, and devoting itself also to social and economic interests of women’. Their aim was, therefore, ‘to become in the widest sense the organ of the Liberal women of Great Britain’, making sure that in addition to official news by the WLF, their readers ‘be kept informed of the chief political events of the day, and of all such matter relating to women’.

440 Ibid., pp. 217-45 (p. 229).
441 In 1893, an article about Eva McLaren, and other women county councilors, reported that ‘her chief work has during the last six years been given to the Women’s Liberal Federation, of which she has been Treasurer since its formation. From the earliest meeting she has upheld the progressive principles now adopted by the whole Federation, though for a considerable time she fought the battle single-handed on the Executive Committee’. ‘Women as County Councillors: Portraits of the Vanguard’, Woman’s Herald, 4 February 1893, pp. 8-9.
442 The “Woman’s Herald” the Organ of the Federation’, Woman’s Herald, 28 May 1892, p. 3.
4.1.4. Iconic and Trivial Paratexts: Communicating Complementary Messages

4.1.4.1. The Front Cover Illustration

The Herald (b), although it was now a Liberal penny paper for women, continued with the same overall design as the Paper/Herald (a), which consisted of: a two-column arrangement; 16 pages for each issue out of which 4 pages were treated as covers (meaning the pagination included the first two and last two pages); a typographical masthead with the asymmetric title that was originally proposed by the National Press Agency; printed on newsprint and in crown folio size. The change of editorship and ownership, however, brought a change in typeface for the masthead, which made the masthead of the front cover different to the masthead of the main copy, whereas in the Herald (a) the masthead of the front cover and the main copy were identical. More specifically, the main title in the front cover's masthead returned to Antique No. 8 (Miller and Richard), previously used by the National Press Agency for the Herald (a), and the subtitle was now set in Tudor Black Bold (Miller and Richard). In contrast, the interior masthead had a main title set in Titling No. 5 (Miller and Richard), while the subtitle remained in Tudor Black Bold (Miller and Richard). The change of title typeface for the exterior masthead was the production team’s solution to the fact that the title had to compete with the Fat faces used by advertisers; in this case it was Grotesque No. 3 used for Fry’s advert. ‘As competition in the news business increased’, historian Robert Craig explains, ‘publishers found it increasingly important to promote their own newspapers through visual means, and began using the graphic devices pioneered by advertisers, particularly display typography’. In this case, therefore, the compositors opted for a typeface that was equally bold, forceful, and durable to the typefaces used for adverts that appeared on the front cover of the Herald (b), and allowed the typographical masthead to outweigh the adverts displayed on the same page. Subsequently, this decision demonstrated to the paper’s readership that they were not going to allow external agents, such as advertisers, to overshadow their aim, which was to deliver impartial news of the activities of the progressive Liberal section of women reformists, or their editorial narrative, which was to support women’s work.

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443 See Chapter 3.
444 Craig, pp. 18-27 (p. 19).
The interior masthead title’s typeface, on the other hand, communicated a different sentiment: Lining Titling Condensed No. 2 (Stephenson, Blake & Co) was a modest condensed serif typeface, which was originally created for use in titles. It brought a sense of old fashioned formality and simplicity to the masthead, while the juxtaposition between the exterior and interior title signified to the readers that they had now moved to a different section of the paper. Alongside this obvious contrast, however, there was a subtitle that was identical, in typeface and position, for both mastheads, which created an association between the front cover and the main copy. Therefore, in the first instance, the main copy of the Herald (b) did not appear too different from the Paper/Herald (a) and perhaps this was intentional, if the new administration wanted to downplay their more progressive partisan tone in a bid to maintain as many of the existing subscribers as they could. Furthermore, paratexts such as the two-column arrangement and typographical masthead also allowed for an intertextual association with the now defunct Women’s Gazette (1888-1891), which was the original ‘organ of Liberal women’s work and interest in the commonwealth’ (Fig. 28). In any case, it could be suggested that the impression of modernity that was projected through this variety of formal paratexts was possibly behind these changes; a sentiment that was in line with their new progressive Liberal identity.

However, the seemingly deeply specialist identity acquired by the Herald (b), which manifested in paratexts such as the producers’ affiliations to the WLF, the subtitle and advertising, was not as marketable as the openly universal identity of the Paper/Herald (a), which meant that many existing readers felt alienated from the very first issue. In fact, prominent feminist and member of the executive committee of the Women’s Liberal Unionist Association (WLUA) in Ulster Isabella M. S. Tod wrote to the paper days after the new administration took over, expressing her disappointment and declaring that she would not be a subscriber any longer:

I deeply regret that the HERALD has resolved to give up to party what was meant for womankind. At any rate, before we separate, let me once more remind your readers there is a great army of

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445 The full title of the paper was the Women’s Gazette and Weekly News: A National Newspaper and Review devoted to the Social Wellbeing and Political Education of women with a Chronicle of the Work of the Women’s Liberal Association. ‘Our Programme’, Women’s Gazette, 3 November 1888, pp. 8-9 (p. 8).
workers for women from whom you are cutting yourselves off; workers for Suffrage, for Education, for Temperance, for Social Purity – Liberal Unionist and Conservative – whose influence you may ignore if you like, but which you cannot destroy.\textsuperscript{446}

At the time, the editor replied:

If Miss Tod means that we are now going to sacrifice every principle we possess because we have declared the HERALD to be Liberal, she does no serious injustice. Our paper is primarily a woman’s paper, and as such is as open as ever it has been in the past for the discussion of women’s questions and for the advancement of their social and political interests. Why should not the noble band of workers, of whom Miss Tod herself is one, rebuke us when we stray out of the right path?\textsuperscript{447}

Which answer reveals that the administration of the Herald (b) truly believed the established ‘uncompromising advocacy of justice for women’ was expected to ‘remain unaffected’.\textsuperscript{448}

Nonetheless, six months later Bremner and McLaren must have felt the consequences of their niche identity, and were looking for new ways to not only further modernise their paper, but also expand their circulation.\textsuperscript{449} The Herald (b) already had a somewhat modern design, which manifested through the front and back covers that hosted advertisements that catered for the general female reader; paratexts that further reminded readers that this was a progressive newspaper. Thus, the next best method to attract more readers was a progressive iconotypographical illustration by a well-known artist positioned on the front cover.

The creator of the illustration was the well-known fine artist Louisa Starr Canziani, and it was positioned on the front cover in November 12, 1892. The illustration depicted a kneeling female in a Doric chiton, who represented all women united as one entity, being assisted to rise by Athena/Minerva the Greek/Roman Goddess of Wisdom.\textsuperscript{450} Starr Canziani drew Athena wearing an Ionic chiton with a himation wrapped on top and her signature helmet, whilst her left hand pointed towards the Sun of Justice that is seen rising over the mountains.\textsuperscript{451}

\textsuperscript{446} Isabella M. S. Tod, ‘Notes and Letters: Change of the Policy of the “WOMAN'S HERALD”’, Woman’s Herald, 14 May 1892, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{447} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{448} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{449} ‘Change in the Ownership of the “Herald”’, Woman’s Herald, 30 April 1892, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{450} The Greeks considered Athena as ‘a goddess in whom power and wisdom were harmoniously blended’. She was ‘the preserver of the state and of everything which gives to the state strength and prosperity’, and ‘the patroness of both the useful and elegant arts, such as weaving’, and ‘maintained the authority of law and order’. Similarly, the Romans worshipped Minerva ‘as the goddess of wisdom and the patroness of all arts and trades’, and the one who ‘guided men in the dangers of war, where victory is gained by prudence, courage, and perseverance’. William Smith, ‘Athena’, A Smaller Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography. Abridged From the Larger Dictionary (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: American Book Company, 1898), p. 68; Ibid., ‘Minerva’, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{451} The rising sun was often used to symbolize ‘a new day dawning for women’, and it seems that it was widely used amongst Anglo-American feminists. For instance, Frances E. Willard had received ‘a specially-lit cupboard’ with a glass door as a gift for her 50\textsuperscript{th} birthday, which portrayed the rising sun. Carol Mattingly, Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), p. 3.
By that time the radical feminist Shafts, the moderately feminist (which was turning into a mainstream periodical) Woman, and the mainstream domestic threepenny periodical Hearth and Home had already assumed Hellenic front covers; so Bremner's and McLaren's decision to opt for a similar theme was not a surprise (Fig. 29). In fact, within Britain, philhellenism became fashionable concept, after the translation of J. J. Winckelmann's the Reflections On The Painting And Sculpture Of The Greeks by Henry Fuseli in 1765.\(^5\) Such sentiments were also apparent in Percy Bysshe Shelley’s introduction to the poem Hellas (1821) where he declared that 'we are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts, have their root in Greece'.\(^4\) This philhellenistic attitude was also reflected in the British educational system, which combined a conservatism that enforced the status quo, with a Hellenistic ideal ‘that supported the social and moral values of Victorian society'.\(^5\) Central to the curricula at Oxford and Cambridge universities the classics were included in the curricula of all public and grammar schools, as well as the civil service examinations. In this context, there was a general preference for Hellenic allegorical iconographies, partly because of the cultural legacy of the Renaissance philhellenism, which, by the nineteenth century, led to the widespread view that 'to be a European was, in ideological terms, to be a Hellene'.\(^5\) With that in mind, the cover's Hellenic theme further accentuated progressive Liberalism and democratic liberalism.

Classical concepts of democracy were relevant to Victorian Britain’s anxieties about society, not least because of its celebration of virtues such as ‘beauty, intensity, seriousness, and antiquity'.\(^4\) Contemporary critics, such as John Ruskin and Walter Pater, considered the ancient Greeks as exemplars of ethical behaviour, and admired them for ‘their capacity to turn ideas into sensuous form', whilst Benjamin Jowett, Matthew Arnold, and John Stuart Mill

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\(^7\) Ibid., p. 76.
argued for a turn to the Hellenic ideal because they identified Victorian Hellenism and Greek studies with ‘political liberalism and university reform’. In a similar vein, the comments about Starr Canziani’s illustration and its relationship to the paper’s editorial objective suggest that the desired message was that of progressive Liberalism:

Mdme Canziani has not only given us a beautiful drawing, but she has admirably embodied the aims of the WOMAN’S HERALD. [...] The HERALD will continue to ask for justice for women, knowing and recognizing clearly that though certain politicians may refuse it as present, the great Time-spirit is on woman’s side. Profound modifications of sex-relationships are visible on every land. Thrice happy are they whose early prepossessions have been for, not against liberty, for they will work with, not against the Zeitgeist. The great thing that women need is Union; if they can but begin by uniting to possess a medium of communication, a distinct step forward will have been taken.

It was hoped, therefore, that this new illustration would enhance the editorial message of justice for women, unity amongst women, and social reform. In other words, the Herald (b) was advocating progressive liberalism, inclusive of an equality of the sexes, which concept was further highlighted through the new iconic paratext on the cover. More specifically, the kneeling woman, who represented the average woman, was dressed in a plain Doric chiton with a girdle wrapped around her breasts, which was the feminine way of wrapping the girdle, and her long hair was tied up in a stereotypically feminine fashion, nor did she wear sandals; whereas Athena, who represented the progressive feminist liberal woman, was dressed in an artistically decorated Ionic chiton, a himation and a military helmet (all of which was unisex attire), with sandals on her feet. The contrast in their attire implied that the average woman would only be able to reach equality with man if she achieved justice for her gender, at which point she would be able to advance not only socially, but financially, and culturally. Athena’s helmet further implies that the progressive woman ought to adopt a more militant attitude to social reform, in the ‘hope to carry on the war against injustice to women’, if she was to truly make a difference for herself and her fellow women, whilst the scroll on the right side of the kneeling woman indicated that reform could be achieved not only by practically helping each other, but also by educating and disseminating information via writing in communication mediums such as the Herald (b).

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459 ‘Interview’, Woman’s Herald, 12 November 1892, pp. 9-10 (p. 9).
460 ‘Notes and Comments’, Woman’s Herald, 2 July 1892, pp. 4-5 (p. 4).
Furthermore, the classical Hellenic dress of the two female figures also favoured hygienic dress for women, and perhaps even implied associations with reformist groups such as the Rational Dress Society (1883) and the Healthy and Artistic Dress Union (1890). This was not a coincidence and would appear to function paratextually, influencing the reading of the magazine as a whole since hygienic dress was often discussed in the main content as part of the dress column, or the correspondence column. For example, in ‘Out and About’ the writer more than once discussed hygienic and rational styles of dress, such as the Empire dress, the ‘Japanese’ skirt, and the ‘Syrian’ skirt, commenting that ‘our very health and well-being are concerned in this question [of hygiene], for the medical authorities are agreed that the long skirts are active propagators of very grave disease’. Similarly, a regular contributor of letters to the Paper/Herald (a) and Herald (b), Henry Dalton wrote in to express the importance of adopting a rational dress, which is ‘at once comfortable and cheap’, and alongside other ‘old follies’, such as ‘the side-saddle and flowing robe on horseback’, need to be discarded, because they are ‘habits of the slave’ and need to be abandoned or altered in order to achieve women’s emancipation. Favouritism for healthy dress was also promoted through advertising, such as that of G. S. Wolmershaunen ladies’ tailors and habit makers (21 weeks), the longest running advertisement for rational costumes, alongside other models of rational dress, such as the Shapely Skirt Association’s ‘Eilitto’ dress (12 weeks), the ‘Skeleton’ corset and the ‘Eureka’ stocking clasp by the Depot for Healthful Clothing (14 weeks); and Thomson’s corset (10 weeks) (Fig. 30).

In addition to the paratextual emphasis offered by the illustration, trivial paratexts such as the artist’s other paintings and her position on Home Rule for Ireland that were attached to the creator of the illustration further emphasised the Herald’s (b) editorial aim. More specifically, Starr Canziani was the first ever woman to receive a medal of the Royal Academy when she gained the gold medal, and scholarship of fifty pounds for the best historical painting. Paratextually, this achievement lent further legitimacy and credence to the paper, in addition

464 ‘Interview’, Woman’s Herald, 12 November 1892, pp. 9-10 (p. 9).
to the fact that for the *Herald* (b) Starr Canziani was the ‘poster girl’ of university reform as an effect of her exceptional academic background. Furthermore, as a well-known fine artist, her paintings had been seen ‘at every Academy, as well as in the Grosvenor and New Gallery’, and were ‘equally well known and appreciated’ in Manchester, Liverpool, and the United States.\(^{465}\) This meant that her artworks had great exposure, which in turn suggests a wide audience would have known her painting *Two Little Home Rulers*, which was also mentioned in the interview of the artist that featured in the *Herald* (b) (Fig. 31). This trivial paratext, using Genette’s term, is important for two reasons: firstly, because the two boys depicted in the painting were Lady Aberdeen’s sons; and secondly, because this painting endorsed Home Rule for Ireland. Subsequently, Starr Canziani’s connection to the *Herald* (b), as the creator of the illustration on its cover, implied that the *Herald* (b) supported Home Rule for Ireland whilst at the same time emphasized that the WLF, of which the producers of the *Herald* (b) were members and Lady Aberdeen served as president, supported the same cause. Starr Canziani’s involvement, therefore, seems to have been an intentional decision, an official paratext in its own right, in the hope to appeal directly to Unionist female readers (such as the aforementioned Tod) that had distanced themselves, in addition to the general desire of increasing the paper’s circulation.

4.1.5. Paratexts: Appealing to a Fraction of the Ideal Audience

4.1.5.1. The Front Cover Illustration

Theoretically, aspiring for the unity of women of all classes under the same banner, which in this case happened to take the form of a Liberal paper with a progressive editorial narrative, may have seemed to be a plausible ambition. In practice, however, the administration of the *Herald* (b) had underestimated the reasons that made this objective impossible, especially through paratexts such as advertising. Historian Krista Cowman further suggests that although the WLF ‘aimed to be inclusive’, and ‘secure the cooperation of all Liberal women of all classes of society’, in reality ‘even in urban centres where WLAs tended to be stronger and

\(^{465}\) Ibid.
more numerous they did not necessarily unite women across class divisions'. In fact, women radicals and working-class activists ‘were not tempted to join’ their local WLA branches, because they had ‘the option of working in a number of successive local socialist groups which ran from the 1880s’. The main reason for this failure to unite women across the class spectrum was the middle-class feminists’ lack of empathy ‘in seeking to change behaviour’. Middle-class reformists had ‘a vision of a transformed working-class family life that mirrored their own middle-class norms and values’, but their model was ‘unsympathetic to the needs of working-class women themselves’. Part of the reason for this lack of connection was that the progressive working-class female reader was ‘always receiving so much excellent advice on every subject’, but she ‘hardly ever’ had ‘a chance of making’ her own opinions heard. For instance, middle-class Liberal women often took for granted that their reformist vocabulary was universally understood, but if they had asked their working-class sisters about their feelings, they would have known that this was not the case.

Reader/contributor Anna Bateson pointed this out in her letter to the *Herald* (a):

> It is greatly to be regretted that our lady speakers who have the phrase “Liberal principles” so often on their lips make no effort to explain what they mean by these words. I hope Miss Martin Leake will allow me to point out this oversight in her address which was published recently. The omission there is very noticeable, because the address calls attention to the political ignorance of women and urges their education in “liberal principles” as the great work to be kept in view. Yet we search in vain for any exposition of what these principles really are. No axiom is quoted, no definition attempted. How can we educate if we refuse to teach the political alphabet?  

Accordingly, using an academic Hellenic illustration was thought to be appealing to the general feminist reader, including those from within the working-class, because it was relevant to the middle-class New Woman reader. However, bearing in mind that ‘Victorian working-class intellectuals read more American literature and less Greek and Roman literature than their middle-class counterparts’, it would not be a surprise if Starr Canzian’s illustration was not as relevant to the working-class female reader, even if she was able to decode it. There is no doubt, however, that the working-class female reader would have

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468 ibid.
469 Hannam, pp. 217-45 (p. 223).
470 ibid.
471 Watson, p. 842.
been more than capable of interpreting Starr Canziani’s classical Greek illustration, in a similar manner that Will Crooks, a working-class autodidact who grew up in extreme poverty in East London, was able to decipher the *Iliad* when he ‘stumbled across a copy’, even if ‘he was not orthodoxly educated’, nor ‘particularly enmeshed in the network of intertextuality that includes classical literature’.\(^{474}\) A similar lack or empathy was apparent in *Shafts*, which also had an Hellenic front cover although it specifically targeted the working-class; however, in that case the main content and advertisements were specifically aimed at the feminist working-class reader, which meant that even if the iconic paratext on the front page was not as relevant to the paper’s ideal audience, this would have been balanced by the strong relevance of the anchor text and other pratexts, such as advertising.\(^ {475}\) In the *Herald*’s (b) case, however, the anchor text, which was predominantly about WLF politics and education reform, and other paratexts such as the advertising, in addition to the illustration on the front cover, pointed to the middle-class female reader, which meant that the working-class reader was alienated, even whilst she was theoretically included in the ideal audience.

### 4.1.5.2. The Advertising

The majority of advertisements that featured in the *Herald* (b) primarily, if not entirely, targeted the middle-class reader/consumer. For example, the advert for the ‘Electropoise belt’, which was ‘not an electric belt but a genuine remedy’, was the most enduring iconotypographical advert (36 weeks), whereas the advert for the foot patent by the Model Foot Co., which promised ‘a certain, speedy, and painless cure’ for the ‘distressing and unsightly complaint’ of enlarged foot joints (37 weeks), was the second, and the third most enduring iconotypographical advert was that of Robinson’s linen handkerchiefs (34 weeks) (Fig. 32). Frame Food Diet (33 weeks), which was made of ‘wheat phosphates’ and promised to ‘nourish the brain and frame’, ‘strengthen bone and muscle’, ‘enrich the blood’, was also advertised regularly, alongside other healthy foods and drinks, such as cocoa (Frys’, 18

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\(^{474}\) Ibid., pp. 47-70 (p. 53).

\(^{475}\) *Shafts* did experience a drop in circulation and this forced its editor to turn it from a weekly paper into a monthly magazine; yet, although the front cover may have assisted in alienating its readers, I think the reason for having such a low circulation was that it was far too progressive for its time, and that working-class readers realistically did not have the time or the money to support a weekly publication.
weeks; Cadbury's, 7 weeks), Coralline 'The Queen of Foods' (11 weeks), and F. King's tomato soup (13 weeks) to name but a few (Fig. 33). These type of adverts either targeted the middle-class woman with time on her hands to attend to her 'diseases' with the Electropoise belt, or directly addressed the 'Principals of Ladies' Colleges' who would want to treat the 'enlarged' foot joints of their middle-class students.

Working-class readers, however, would rarely have any time to themselves, and, as contemporary accounts report, 'clean though they kept their thriftily furnished houses, were too tired with the struggle to make ends meet' to be able to attend to their appearance; let alone having time and money to spend on the highly recommended 'Pamphlet of Scientific Treatment' if they were 'TOO THIN in the BUST' and were 'wishing to obtain good figure'. Similarly, ready-made healthy foods that typically required only the addition of hot water were aimed at the busy middle-class lady who perhaps had to care for her children or an elderly person, whilst at the same time having to go to work, or be active outside the house, and had a bit of spare cash. In contrast, the working-class woman would typically purchase ingredients, healthy though they may have been, to cook her own meals, such as wheaten flour, beef, salt, rice, fine sugar, currants, butter, margarine, cheese to name but a few. So, although these kind of adverts feature in Shafts, for instance, which targeted the feminist working-class reader, they do not feature in the Herald (b), which again reveals that advertisers expected it to appeal to the middle-class female reader. Likewise, advertisements about women's issues, women's societies, hair treatments, job vacancies, legal and financial services for women, and items for the home also primarily targeted the middle-class female consumer/reader.

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478 In their book Our Mothers, writer Irene Clephane and WWI pilot and editor of The Graphic (from 1926 to 1932) Alan Bott tell the story of nineteenth-century women as it had been recorded on 'woodcuts by engravers of the period', which had been published in The Graphic and Queen. Irene Clephane, Our Mothers: A Calvacade in Pictures. Quotation and Description of Late Victorian Women 1870-1900, ed. by Alan Bott (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1932), p. 79.
479 Ibid., p. 81.
480 Shafts featured advertising that specifically targeted the working class, selling pure farm produce products, such as apples, home-made jams, English honey, bottled currants and plums, pure finely-ground wholemeal, butter and Devonshire cream, fruits, nuts, vegetables, and so forth.
Similarly, the rational dress advertisements mentioned above would have been more relevant to the progressive middle-class New Woman, even if the rational dress movement was hoping to inform women from across the social spectrum. In fact, the working-class often could not afford to invest in this type of clothing, which was a problem M. E. G. M. Watson, a regular contributor to the *Paper/Herald* (a), discussed at length in 1891:

No doubt Mrs Cooper Oakley means to give poor women – “ladies of limited income” I ought to say – her very best advice about what we ought to wear, but speaking from my own experience as a poor person, I do not think she has grasped the real difficulty about dress. In fact, I do not see how a rich woman can be expected to understand the matter. It is not the material that is difficult to choose, but it is the making of the dress, if one wishes to be decently fitted. […] Of course I shall be told that poor people ought to be their own dressmaker, but what are those to do who have no aptitude at all for the work? And even poverty does not give us that.

I think the woollen material recommended by our kind adviser at 1s 9d for a yard of 28inches width is too dear. Beiges wear endlessly, and you can get that from 8d a yard, melton cloth from 7s 6d the dress length. As for the dual skirt, which would be an experiment for most of us, 15s 6d is too much to spend on what we might not find comfortable to wear. For my part I call corsets – however charming – expensive at 9s 6d.

Finally, I should like to ask the leaders of the Rational Dress Association, which I presume to be the same society as the Reform Dress Association, whether they really mean what they say about the hurtfulness of wearing stays?

Because to the uninitiated – the country cousins – it is bewildering to see the picture week after week of the Eilitto costume, recommended by them, with its tight fitting bodice which could not be worn without tight-fitting stays, unless the woman were to assume that sort of feather bed appearance, which we all secretly hold in horror (I ought to add, unless the wearer is singularly thin and long-waisted).

In all earnestness for knowledge I ask – is this costume the outcome of their mature judgement as to what is best and healthiest for women generally?

Lack of empathy, therefore, was a real issue that was rarely acknowledged, if ever identified, by progressive middle-class reformists such as the editor of the *Herald* (b), and for that reason it was continuously enforced not only through the anchor text, but the various paratexts that featured on the front cover, and throughout the main copy.

4.1.6. Anchor Text: Communicating a Lack of Hierarchy

A closer look at the main content of the *Herald* (b) reveals that although the messages were all in line with the editorial aim on progressive liberalism, the main copy demonstrated a lack of hierarchy that further accentuated the lack of empathy exhibited by the peritexts mentioned

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above. For example, although the paper sustained the ‘Interview’/‘Sketch’ column, it gave it secondary importance in comparison to the rest of the content; firstly, by relocating it much further into the issue, and secondly, by often choosing to publish other types of articles in its place. As a result, the ‘Interview’/‘Sketch’ often appeared on page 8, right in the middle of the issue; yet, at times it also appeared on other pages either much earlier or much later in the issue. Moreover, there were times that the ‘Interview’/‘Sketch’ column was not published at all, and in its place the readers could find other articles, such as general accounts about British girls’ colleges, women in America, girls and their trades, or temperance conferences. As a result, the strong association between the interview and the *Paper/Herald* (a) that was established over three and half years by Müller, as well as the importance of leading by example, was broken. Most importantly, however, whilst the editor of the *Herald* (b) never quite replaced this important element of the anchor text with something equally as attractive to the readers, she did downplay its significance. She went on to create an overall mixed editorial content that was lacking hierarchy and focus, and which was additionally emphasized by the random choice of capitals and typefaces for the subheadings of the articles. The ambiguity created by the changes in the anchor text was gradually reflected in the correspondence section, in which there was an apparent disengagement between both readers and editor/writers, and between the readers themselves. For instance, in the *Paper/Herald* (a) the sense of an ‘imagined community’ was very strong; readers would write to the editor to initiate a new discussion, they would write their reply to the editor about a specific article, or they would write a letter replying to another reader, and some of these discussions would carry on for many consecutive issues. In contrast, in the correspondence section of the *Herald* (b) the letters to the editor were often unrelated to a specific article or specific letter/reader, so the discussions between readers and editor/writers, or readers with other readers were not as prolific as had been the case in the *Paper/Herald* (a). I suggest, therefore, that the ambivalence created by the paratexts mentioned above, in addition to not providing information for the general New Woman reader in the anchor text, had certainly affected the paper’s popularity. As a result, not only was there noticeably much less

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482 For example, interviews/biographical accounts also appeared on pages 3, 5, 7, 9.
communication sent in, and therefore fewer letters published, but also the majority of the correspondence received seems as if it was simply the expression of an opinion, or a report of certain WLF or other relevant events, rather than a way to initiate discussion.

4.1.7. Paratexts: Messages Incompatible to the Editorial narrative

4.1.7.1. The Front Cover Illustration

In the words of print historian Frances Robertson, ‘different groups evaluated images and communication mediums in different ways’, which fact could not have been better demonstrated by the two similar, but marginally different explanations of Starr Canziani’s illustration. In particular, the first explanation that appeared embedded in the artist’s interview, which presumably reflected the artists’ own reading, was this:

‘Woman in her bondage is represented by the kneeling figure whom Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom, is helping to rise, pointing as she does so to the Sun of justice rising at last over the dark mountains of prejudice, superstition, injustice, ignorance, and degradation.’

The second explanation of the illustration on the cover, however, which appeared a week later and was included in an announcement presumably written by the editor in agreement with the proprietors, was this:

‘The picture represents the goddess of wisdom raising woman from a kneeling position, and pointing with her left hand to the Sun of Justice rising behind the hills of ignorance, prejudice, and superstition.’

With these two commentaries in mind, I suggest that although the new illustration might have offered general suppositions of progressive liberalism, and a heightened artistic taste to the Herald (b), its paratextual message was perhaps not as clear as initially believed, which meant that alongside the lack of empathy, demonstrated through paratexts such as advertising, and lack of hierarchy by the anchor text, the paper’s message as a whole could have appeared to be rather confusing. For example, the obvious paratextual message communicated through the illustration on the cover was that of justice for women, women uniting, and women helping each other; however, everything else was open to the reader’s individual interpretation, and to the individual’s understanding of what justice for women meant, without any assurance of a positive impact on the editorial identity. For instance, the

483 ‘Interview’, Woman’s Herald, 12 November 1892, pp. 9-10 (p. 9).
484 ‘To Readers and Advertisers’, 19 November 1892, p. 15.
fact that the average woman is depicted as powerless, and had to depend on someone other than herself for help, even if that other was a fellow female, could in itself had been a message that some of the readers may have found displeasing. And even if this was an acceptable rhetorical trope, how would the average woman, who is plainly dressed and barefoot, and Athena/Minerva, who is fully clad in her (presumably) gold helmet, fine clothing, and leather sandals, be understood? Was the kneeling woman supposed to be the working-class woman, and Athena to be the middle-class financially comfortable educated woman? And if this was the implication, wasn’t this view emphasizing the established class system, as well as devaluing and in turn alienating the paper’s working-class readers?

4.1.7.2. The Advertising

The front cover illustration, therefore, allowed space for some unflattering peritextual meanings to be drawn from it, but would also often clash with other peritexts, namely advertisements, that happened to appear on the front cover, in which cases the editorial identity was noticeably susceptible to opposing messages. For instance, the front covers for No. 212 and No. 218 show Starr Canziani’s illustration at the top of the page, whilst at the bottom of the page the readers are presented with an image of a corseted lady as part of the advert for Reast’s Invigorator Corset (Fig. 34). It has been mentioned previously that Reast’s corset was a healthy alternative to the mainstream French corset, and the ‘injurious’ tight lacing practice. Nonetheless, when the image of the corseted lady was seen in juxtaposition to the Hellenic style uncorseted women in Starr Canziani’s illustration, the readers’ thoughts could only have been that of perplexity. On the one hand, the readers could be wondering why these kinds of adverts were being printed in the Herald (b), if the paper was aspiring for a Hellenic ideal. On the other hand, the advertiser’s message could have been seriously depreciated because, next to the naturally shaped female bodies of the masthead, the image in Reast's advert would have looked too superficial, doll-like, and erotic, which were ideals that radical Liberal New Women, and a section, if not all, of general feminist readers did not aspire to.

See Chapter 3.
Another example of contradictory paratextual messages is found on the front covers of No. 219 and No. 223, which featured Starr Canzian’s illustration at the top, whilst at the bottom left and in the centre, respectively, the readers are presented with an image of a ‘lady of leisure’ (Fig. 35). The woman is wearing John N. Webb’s Electropoise belt, and while she is in the process of self-curing, she is laying on her luxurious sofa reading a book. Images of women readers were not rare in this period; art historian and English literature scholar Kate Flint discusses a number of images that depict the woman reader in various situations and environments, out of which *Girl Reclining in a Sofa* (1854) by Edward Ward seems to exhibit some resemblance (Fig. 36). In Webb’s advert as well as Ward’s painting the readers’ postures suggest that they are ‘reading for recreation, idly, passively, rather than engaging in any scheme of programmed self education’.

Whether one lady reader is older than the other is unclear, but it is more certain that they are probably reading fiction rather than any other genre. ‘Feasting’ in fiction, that ‘hideous nonsense’ in Edward G. Salmon’s words, was unwise ‘because the influence of these love and murder concoctions among girls’, and women in general, was believed to be ‘not so apparent to the public eyes as the influence of the burglar and bushranging fiction among boys’.

It was argued by many, therefore, that these type of texts could lead to women obtaining ‘distorted views of life’; a ‘bad influence’ that was not only going to affect them, but was also expected to be ‘handed down to their children and scattered broadcast throughout the family’. In addition to the above, it is certain that Webb’s advert was aimed at middle-class women, described by historian Lori Ann Loeb as ‘the agents of material acquisition’. By the late nineteenth century, working class women could afford products such as soap and perhaps ready-made underwear, which were once considered luxury items; yet, only an affluent middle- or upper-class woman could afford the most fashionable luxurious sofa, oriental carpets and plant pots, exotic plants, artisan wallpapers and dressing screens. Similarly, the luxurious lounging gown, and the well-styled hairdo also imply that the lady in the image is fashionable and affluent. And aside from the material evidence, the reality was that only a lady of leisure could afford to take time off to

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490 Salmon, pp. 515-29 in King and Plunkett, p. 70.
491 Ibid., p. 71.
492 Loeb, p. 9.
attend to herself and her body's needs, since working-class readers, as it has been explained, had very little, if any, available time for self-improvement. Elizabeth Roe, for instance, once wrote to the *Woman's Herald* to inform its readers of the new WLA branch at Keighley, specifically explaining that she was ‘a plain working woman with home and family to look after’, and ‘no time for self improvement’ - only what she ‘may get by trying to do [her] best for others of [her] sex’.493

And as if the combination of the Starr Canziani’s illustration alongside Webb’s advert on No. 219 was not contradictory enough, the front cover for No. 223 was even more complicated. In this issue, Webb’s advert introduced additional information that contributed its own paratextual imprint to the overall narrative of the front ad-cover, which in turn influenced the editorial identity in a relevant way. For example, Webb’s advert retained the image of the reclining woman reader used previously, and enveloped it with an advertorial that originally featured elsewhere. The author of the ‘narrative’ was John Strange Winter (real name Henrietta Eliza Vaughan Stannard), a very successful novelist who mainly wrote military fiction, and very rarely touched upon other subjects, such as children’s stories, romance, publishing, and contemporary theatrical life.494 Stannard not only published serial novelettes in journals such as *Belgravia* and *Cassell’s*, but also ran her own penny weekly magazine *Winter’s Weekly*. Like herself, her audience was mainly middle-class, and although it has been noted that her work was ‘not innovative in form or content’, it was certainly ‘engaging’.495 The majority of the *Herald*’s (b) readers would have known Stannard and her work, and they would have been aware that she was very active on issues that concerned professional women in particular. For example, her biographer Owen Ashton notes that Stannard’s magazine was mainly aimed at ‘the growing number of professional married women in paid employment’, who still understood the domestic sphere to be important, but no longer

perceived it ‘to be their only acceptable domain’. At the same time, she was a central figure for many women’s organisations, such as the all-women’s Writers’ Club, the Society of Women Journalists, and other New Woman initiatives, such as the Society for the Protection of Birds’ rights, the National Anti-Vivisection Society, and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In addition to all the above basic and trivial epitexts that were attached to Stannard, the advertorial was evidently endorsing the ‘sure success’ of the Electropoise belt, and reiterated stereotypical concepts about woman’s inclination to illness. At the same time, however, the advertorial did not mention any men in the narrative, and instead of the typical male manager, the author refers to the ‘Manageress’; so overall, the reader gets the sense that this cure is offered by a woman (the manager) to a woman (the reader/consumer), and endorsed by a woman (the author), and a well-known woman at that, who had already successfully used the product on herself and her daughter. Subsequently, in this example, a peritext, such as the Electropoise belt’s iconotypographical advertorial, with its implied gender and class-specific messages, along with the factual paratexts following its celebrated author John Strange Winter, fostered opposing messages, some of which were complimentary to the paper’s identity. Nonetheless, most of these messages were contradictory not only to other peritexts, such as the front cover illustration, but also the overall editorial identity of the Herald (b), which would have perhaps created frustration and ambivalence among their progressive feminist Liberal audience.

4.1.8. Other Reasons that Made the Editorial Message of Unity Difficult to Achieve

Another reason that made the union of all women under one communication medium difficult was the division between WLF members that supported an ‘all or nothing’ approach, meaning married women should be included in the suffrage, and those that felt any progress was good progress, meaning they thought it was reasonable if single women were to gain the suffrage first; which had always been a major issue amongst this group, and eventually led to schism. In addition, the National Liberal Federation (NLF), the association of the male members of the Liberal party, felt disconcerted that the WLF was now under the control of the radicals,

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496 Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [online], ‘Stannard’.
because they perceived them to be an ‘extreme Female Suffrage Party’.\footnote{L. V. Harcourt and W. Allard, ‘The Explanation of the Obnoxious Circular’, \textit{Woman's Herald}, 2 July 1892, p. 3; ‘The Past and Future of the "Woman's Harald"’, \textit{Woman's Herald}, 18 February 1893, p. 3.} More specifically, historian Sandra Stanley Holton explains that the ‘Radical-Liberals’ as she refers to them, ‘formed a loose grouping on the left of the Liberal Party between the 1860s and 1890s, held together by their commitment to the ideas of John Stuart Mill’.\footnote{Sandra Stanley Holton, ‘"To Educate Women into Rebellion”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Creation of a Transatlantic Network of Radical Suffragists', \textit{The American Historian Review}, 99 (1994), pp. 1112-36 (p. 1113).} Holton further reveals that the Progressives had significant connections with ‘popular radicalism, especially with republicans and freethinkers, and were a notable presence within the early organizations of the British women’s movement’, even if ‘their presence as a distinct, coherent current of opinion has been largely ignored’.\footnote{Ibid.} At the same time, the Liberal Unionists could not combine under a Liberal paper affiliated with the WLF because they saw Home Rule for Ireland as more important than suffrage, and their policy on the latter subject ‘was one of neutrality.’\footnote{Crawford, p. 725.} Furthermore, the female Tory supporters, for obvious party political reasons as well as their more subtle approach to campaigning, could not agree to combine under the banner of a Liberal paper that was supporting its political opponents and often employed provocative campaign methods. In particular, scholars argue that the majority of women Conservatives ‘were wary of feminist strategies and reluctant to be thought of as feminists’, even though their actions and demands suggested otherwise.\footnote{Joni Lovenduski, Pippa Norris and Catriona Burness, ‘The Party and Women', in \textit{Conservative Century: The Conservative Party since 1900}, ed. by Anthony Seldon and Stuart Ball (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 611-35.} Furthermore, it has been argued that women Conservatives and conservative feminists, such as Emily Davies and Frances Cobbe, were very similar in that they ‘preferred to arrange quiet and controlled lobbying amongst influential people rather than open public meetings aimed at initiating mass organisations’.\footnote{Ibid.} Another obvious difference between the WLF and women Conservatives’ association, the Primrose League, was that the latter was a mixed gender group and although its ‘methods and preoccupations’ might have lacked ‘the recognizably modern feel of the women’s Liberal bodies’, its members did work ‘side by side’; whereas the women’s Liberal groups were formed separately to those of men’s Liberal groups.\footnote{Rubinstein, pp. 152-3.} In other words, turning the
Paper/Herald (a) into a Liberal paper that was the Herald (b) would incur illimitable damage to its established general feminist cross-class and cross-party circulation.
Fig. 28.
i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 30 April 1892, Front Cover.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Herald, 30 April 1892, p. 2.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 30 April 1892, p. 3.
Fig. 29.

*Woman's Herald*, 12 November 1892, Front Cover.
Fig. 30.

i. (top left): Woman's Herald, 7 May 1892, Front Cover.

ii. (top right): Woman's Herald, 14 May 1892, p. 2.

The WOMAN'S HERALD: 

JUNE 1, 1893.

Louisa Starr Canziani, Two Little Home Rulers in Woman's Herald, 1 June 1893, p. 236.

better for it. The sick, the lonely, the orphan and the poor rise up and call her blessed. If there is a meeting of farmers' wives and daughters to help, at which she has promised to be present, Lady Aberdeen is not easily deterred. Not long ago she hurried to the scene when, on a wild winter's day, she drove for many miles to attend some village meeting. Instead of turning back, Lady Aberdeen went on foot, and after huddling with the elements for some hours, arrived at the hall to find that no one had come to the meeting. The storm had detained everybody except her. And last winter she drove on a Thursday afternoon a long distance through heavily country roads, sometimes with the horses up to their knees in water, to look after a small village where the annual meeting of the Orford and Glimmer Association was held, although at the time Lady Aberdeen herself was very far from well. The O. and G. Association is another connection of Lady Aberdeen's. It was started to form a bond of sympathy between fourth country women, and to give them a common interest, and help them to find the good light. It is now a powerful body, this O. and G. Association, numbering many thousands of members all over Scotland, and in other parts of the world as well. I have sometimes thought, on seeing her unweary energy, her constant readiness to help whenever help of any kind was needed, that if every woman's husband in Scotland would follow in the footsteps of the Countess of Aberdeen, it would indeed be well with the Kirk.

There is no space left to dwell on the new President of the W.L.F., a very nice, but you need not see much of the home life at Haddo before you realize that Lady Aberdeen is indeed her husband's helpmate in all things.

H. FREDERICKS.

MISS HELEN GLADSTONE. A MORAL AND THE EXECUTIVE OF THE W.L.F.

It seems to me who knows Mr. Gladstone's family intimately, that each of his children inherits one or more of his gifts of mind, which, combined in him, in one great manner, mark him as the wonderman man. To his younger daughter, Helen, he has been given, in an eminent degree, his intimate and conscientious, and thoroughness, also his love of truth and accuracy.

MISS HELEN GLADSTONE.

[from a photograph by W. Edmonson of London.]

A HOME DEPARTMENT.

Miss Lucia Kuhlman, of Portland, Maine, has been made National Lecturer of the department to secure houses for homeless children. Miss Kuhlman has long been at the head of the Sunday-school work of the White Ribbons, and can readily combine with this added effort for good, as she is continually on the wing, speaking and writing on behalf of the children. The purpose of this department is to secure a home for every homeless and neglected child, and, so far as possible, to leave no children home until they take a little guest from the fagot of the forgotten and forlorn. Mrs. Margaret Merrill, a lady of wealth and wide influence, is at the head of this work, and any wishes to learn her method can write to her at 99, William-street, Portland, Maine. The New Hampshire W.C.T.U. has recently adopted this plan of work, and the State of Louisiana is carrying out their plans.

Fig. 31.
Fig. 32.
i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 12 November 1892, p. ii.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 7 May 1892, p. 16.
The "Woman's Herald" has removed to Albany Buildings, 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

**THE WOMAN'S HERALD.**

A Liberal Paper for Women.

Office—47, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Registered at the G.P.O. for transmission abroad.

No 194. Vol VI.

JULY 16, 1892. [Price One Penny.]

Miss Kate Marsden's Expedition to Siberian lepers.

Hotel Metropole, Moscow, Russia. April 27th, 1892.

Gentlemen,

Before returning to England, I wish to thank you for having permitted me to wear "Jaeger's Clothing." Humbly speaking, I owe my life to that and not taking any stimulants and I really believe that no woman could have gone through all my dangers, privations, and difficulties without help of those aids to health. Having covered nearly 3,000 miles through the different Siberian cold and the tropical heat of Abkhazia and never once having caught cold, I feel bound to let you and everyone know in what I attribute this fact. May every other traveler be fortunate enough to follow these two rules in the earnest wish of

Yours faithfully,

KATE MARSDEN.

To Dr. Jaeger's Sanitary Woollen System Co., Limited.

3 & 4, PRINCES STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE, LONDON, W.

The VITAL VICTUAL.

For INFANTS, INVALIDS, & ADULTS.

FRAME FOOD CO. LTD., LORDSHIP ROAD, BATTERSEA, LONDON, S.W.

ENLARGED JOINTS of the FOOT.

A CERTAIN, SPEEDY, & PAINLESS CURE for this DISTRESSING & UNSIGHTLY COMPLAINT.

Our appliances, used perseveringly, will relieve the aching joints and quickly cure those of an indolent character.

Absolutely non-metallic, worn next the skin, and cannot be detected. Principals of Ladies' Collegen, 4c., are invited to send for particulars. When ordering state for which foot, measure round joint, and mention colour. Special appliances to order—Full particulars, price suggestions, & list of specialties for the foot, 4c., post free, from the

Fig. 33. Woman's Herald, 16 July 1892, Front Cover.
Fig. 34.  
i. (left): Woman’s Herald, 19 November 1892, Front Cover.  
ii. (right): Woman’s Herald, 31 December 1892, Front Cover.
Fig. 35.

i. (left): Woman's Herald, 7 January 1893, Front Cover.

ii. (right): Woman's Herald, 4 February 1893, Front Cover.
Fig. 36. Source: Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader (1873-1914)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
4.2. The *Woman’s Herald* (c) (Feb. 23, 1893 – Dec. 28, 1893)

The above evidence suggests that the *Herald* (b) struggled to retain a healthy circulation as the organ of the WLF, at which point it was decided to sell the paper to Lady Isabel Henry Somerset, who also acted as editor in collaboration with Edwin H. Stout, and Frances E. Willard as regular contributor.\textsuperscript{504} Subsequently, the *Woman’s Herald: For God, Home and Every Land* (henceforth the *Herald* (c)) was first published on February 23\textsuperscript{rd} 1893. The paper was printed by W. Speaight & Sons on newsprint paper in crown folio size (15 x 10 inch), and published weekly (on Thursday) by Horace Marshall & Son (Fig. 37).\textsuperscript{505} In this section I focus on paratexts such as Somerset’s association to the British Women’s Temperance Association (henceforth BWTA) and the politics behind the most prominent Gospel temperance women’s groups in Britain, the iconotypographical masthead of the *Herald* (c), portraits and advertising. More specifically, I argue that Somerset and Stout, assumingly with Willard’s influence, designed their newspaper based on the concepts of maternalism, Christianity and purity/‘pure living’, in a bid to attract their ideal audience of male and female progressive temperance supporters; an approach that seemed to pay off, and was carried forward to the successor newspaper of the *Herald* (c) discussed in the following chapter.

4.2.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press in 1893 and The *Woman’s Herald* (c)

By the time the *Herald* (c) was published, Mrs Atherton and the moderate section of the BWTA had already left the group and formed the Women’s Total Abstinence Union (WTAU) in late 1893.\textsuperscript{506} Following the schism, the remaining members of the BWTA, the progressive section with Somerset as figurehead, renamed the group the National British Women’s Temperance Association (NBWTA) in July 1893, and had already established the monthly

\textsuperscript{504} Evidence suggests that Edwin H. Stout was the main financier, business manager, and co-editor of the *Herald* (c), whereas Somerset mainly focused on her role as editor, and the public exposure of her temperance and humanitarian work. In particular, in the *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*, Stout is listed as Somerset’s co-editor, and indeed Stout’s name featured on the masthead as the second editor. However, various sources confirm that by 1893, Somerset was under enormous pressure to revive the *Herald* (c), because the paper was losing popularity, and in general it was not experiencing the same level of success as it once did as the *Paper/Herald* (a). Thus, due to the paper’s apparent struggles, I suggest that Somerset enlisted Stout as co-editor in order to help her reverse the situation.

\textsuperscript{505} See Appendix III / Editorships and Other Details of the *Women’s Penny Paper*, *Woman’s Herald*, and *Woman’s Signal*.

paper the *Journal* (1893), which was to act as the ‘official organ (pro tem.)’ of the BWTA.  

So, when Somerset purchased the *Herald* (b), possibly with Stout’s financial help, it was to be used as an outlet for the NBWTA’s news, and a vehicle for the wider promotion of temperance and woman’s suffrage.  

Somerset and Stout wished to sustain the existing alliance with the WLF in parallel to their temperance character in a bid to encourage ‘the two great sections of public-spirited women’ to ‘march under one banner against the common foe, to the ringing watchword “For God, Home and Humanity”’.  

It was believed that a combined identity would allow the editors to offer their readership a ‘wider outlook’, while they intended to ‘treat every question from a standpoint common to all those who are labouring in one cause’.  

In this context, the *Herald* (c) was ‘a family paper’ that focused on temperance, whilst being ‘an organ of all the best Forward Movements’ of the time, which positioned it in direct competition with *Wings*, but was otherwise quite unique in that it was the only weekly feminist paper that attempted to target male and female temperance supporters from across the class spectrum.  

In the remaining segments of this chapter, therefore, I argue that Somerset and Stout strived to attract their mixed gender and cross-class audience using the concepts of maternalism, Christianity and ‘pure living’, which were the principles of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (henceforth WCTU), and were understood to be morals that appealed to a wider audience. More specifically, I demonstrate how the *Herald* (c) used paratexts not only to entice new readers and advertisers, but also to emphasize the editorial identity projected through the anchor text, and at the same time propose a paradigm of New Womanhood that was inspired by the American Gospel Temperance movement, which combined conventional concepts, such as Christianity, with progressive concepts, such as maternalism and ‘pure living’.

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507 *The Journal*, June 1893.
508 *The Journal* continued to run in parallel to *Herald* (c), until it was discontinued when merged with *Signal* (a) in 1894.
509 ‘Our Policy’, *Woman’s Herald*, 23 February 1893, p. 3.
510 Ibid.
4.2.2. Paratexts: Complementing the Editorial Narrative

4.2.2.1. Factual (Basic + Trivial) Paratexts

Somerset ‘knew everybody who was anybody – royalty, politicians, great writers and painters.’ Soon after her separation from her husband, the death of her father, and the suicide of a close friend who was addicted to alcohol, she found her calling in the temperance movement. During the 1880’s Somerset joined the Women’s Suffrage, the National Vigilance Association, and the Ladies’ National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, whilst in 1889 she won the BWTA presidency elections, and remained as the president until 1903. During her American tour in 1891, Somerset met Frances E. Willard, founder and president of the World’s Women’s Christian temperance Union (WWCTU), when the two became very close friends and Somerset decided to adopt Willard’s ‘do-everything’ approach. Additionally, Edwin H. Stout was for many years private secretary to the journalist William T. Stead, who was credited as the man who brought the American New Journalism to Britain while the two worked at the Pall Mall Gazette (henceforth Gazette). Stout, who was also later appointed as his business manager for the Review of Reviews (henceforth Review), was the man who kept the publication afloat, while Stead was consuming most of his time day dreaming about his next innovative project. With their names listed as co-editors in the masthead of the Herald (c), therefore, Somerset and Stout intended to make use of all the basic and trivial paratexts attached to their person, in order to emphasise the paper’s appeal to a mixed gender audience, but also highlight the paper’s character as a temperance family paper advocating for an American approach to Gospel Temperance that emphasized maternalism, Christianity, and purity.

4.2.2.2. The Iconotypographical Masthead

The Herald (c) continued as a 20-page newspaper, out of which the main copy was 16 pages, and the ad-wrapper was 4 pages; in contrast to the Herald (b), which had a 4-page ad-

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512 Black, p. 51.
wrapper, an additional 4-pages of ads and other editorial information, and a main copy of 8 pages (Fig. 38). The new iconotypographical masthead was created by Arthur Twidle and printed by Carl Hentschel, and featured on the ad-wrapper as well as the front page of the main copy, which meant that the masthead not only provided a paratextual commentary to the identity of the paper, but also notionally united the ad-wrapper and the main copy; and at the same time was used as an attraction point.515 Furthermore, printing the masthead twice meant that when the ad-wrapper was eventually detached or damaged, and disposed of, the main copy would still display a copy, retaining the paratextual messages embedded in the illustration. The masthead displayed a visual vocabulary that combined arts and crafts inspired typefaces popularised by William Morris, with images and symbols popularised by pen-and-ink artist/designer Walter Crane (Fig. 39).516 In fact, Twidle’s typeface for the main title was similar to Morris’ Gotisch, whilst his typeface for the subtitle was akin to that used on the front cover of The Artist Printer (1889-1893), an American trade journal that catered for ‘the progressive’ (Fig. 40).517 Furthermore, the ornamental motifs on the top right hand side of the composition, the ribbon and scroll banner, the female figure in the Doric chiton dress, the

515 It is plausible that Stout proposed Twidle for the commissioned iconotypographical masthead, although he was a relatively young and unknown artist, because he had previously worked with him when he was Stead’s business manager, during which time Twidle produced cartoons to aid Stead’s campaign to abolish the war. I also suggest that it was Stout who enlisted Hentschel for his engraving and printing services, due to his already well-established and prolific career as block engraver, and his familiarity in producing engravings for newspapers and periodicals. In fact, Hentschel confirmed his success during a lecture for the Society of Arts in 1900, when he claimed that he had the ‘larger experience of the practical working of process than anyone else in this country’. Furthermore, the book Modern Illustration (1895) listed 136 illustrations overall, out of which Hentschel processed 14, whereas only 3 were processed by Dellagana and 2 were processed by Clarke, whilst the remaining illustrations were processed by unknown engravers. This analogy demonstrates that Hentschel’s firm processed approximately 10% of all quality illustrations at the time, which suggests that he was preferred by artists, publishers, and editors due to the superior quality of his work. Carl Hentschel, ‘Proceedings of the Society: Process Engraving’, Journal of the Society of Arts, 20 April 1900, pp. 461-71 (p. 462); Joseph Pennell, Modern Illustration (London: George Bell & Sons, 1895), pp. vii-xii; The Yellow Nineties Online [online], Carl Hentschel (1864-1930); http://www.1890s.ca/HTML.aspx?sw=10s&sid=13&st=10s&st=10s [accessed 02 December 2015].

516 By then William Morris was a well-known political and cultural figure: he had already left the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), and together with Eleanor Marx, and Ernest Belfort Bax, amongst others, established the Socialist League (SL); he was the editor and proprietor of the Socialist League’s newspaper The Commonweal; he had been producing design works with the Firm since 1861, alongside Edward Burne-Jones, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti to name but a few; and he had written and illustrated the Socialist Manifesto (1885) and News from Nowhere (1890). By 1891, however, The Commonweal had turned from socialist to anarchist, and Morris had already been ‘edged out of the League’ and removed from the paper’s editorship, leading to the Hammersmith branch becoming the Hammersmith Socialist Society. Moreover, Morris & Co. was producing outstanding commissioned works, such as the Edward Burne-Jone’s stained glass windows for St. Philip’s Cathedral in Birmingham, and the interiors for Standen House, and Stanmore Hall; and he had already set up the Kelmscott Press (1891), where he designed three typefaces (Golden, Troy, Chaucer). As a result, Morris’ popularity led to the wide adoption of his style ‘by dozens of small entrepreneurs and “arts and crafts” societies in England and elsewhere’. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [online], Morris, William (1834-1896), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19322 [accessed 04 August 2015]; Elizabeth Wilhide, William Morris: Decor and Design (London: Pavilion Books, 1994), pp. 18, 29, 10.

lamp, and the mythological theme were all elements popularised by Crane for mass reproduction in the periodical press.\footnote{Walter Crane (1845-1915) began his career working as an apprentice for William Linton, who was a former member of the Chartist movement during the 1840s. This relationship said to have been very important for Crane’s early political development, as did his relationship with J. R. Wise who introduced him to the works of John Stuart Mill, Percy Byshe Shelley, and John Ruskin. By the 1860s Crane was supporting the Liberal party, and by 1884 he joined the SDF alongside Morris, and produced several illustrations for their periodical Justice (1884-1925), though by December 1884, Morris and Crane left the SDF and formed the SL, so Crane was now producing illustrations for their periodical The Commonweal (1884-1895). During the 1880s he also joined the Fabian Society, because although a Marxist, he hoped that ‘socialism would be achieved through education rather than revolution’, and by the end of that decade he was considered ‘Britain’s leading socialist artist’. Isobel Spencer, Walter Crane (New York: MacMillan, 1975), pp. 8, 15.}

Twidle’s masthead was rather successful as a composition because not only did he incorporate symbols that communicated the paper’s editorial ethos, but also he managed to combine them together in a way that created a successful gestalt. At the centre of the composition stood the title of the paper, arranged in the dynamic asymmetrical shape that was initially introduced by the National Press Agency in the Paper/Herald (a). The title was drawn in a method that involved colour blocks of black ink similar to those seen in the nineteenth century Japanese woodcuts that began to arrive in Europe in the 1850s, and were characterized by ‘simplified forms, stressed outlines, flat areas of colour, and unusual perspective[s]’.\footnote{Peter Murray and Linda Murray (eds.), ‘Japonaiserie’, in Dictionary of Arts and Artists, 7th edn (London: Penguin Group, 1997), p. 268.} Advertisers often used this method in order to make their adverts stand out, and due to its effectiveness, it was often forbidden by newspaper editors; so by putting such an emphasis on the title of the paper Twidle managed to created a clear hierarchy through differing sizes and inverting colours.\footnote{For example, the title was not only much larger than the rest of the elements in the composition, but also the title was an illustration of white on black, whereas all the other elements were illustration of black ink on white.} The motto of the WCTU ‘For God and Home and Every Land’ was drawn inside an ornamented frame that resembled a cast iron structure, and positioned at the centre of the ‘Woman’s Herald’ one might say, which created a connection between the dominant words of the title and the values that the paper stood for. The composition was further complimented by the presence of a female figure dressed in a Doric chiton, who was not only immediately connected to the main title through a laurel, but occupied the full length of the left-hand side of the composition tying all the elements together. Subsequently, although images and typefaces are ‘inherently different languages’, Twidle achieved a successful gestalt, meaning that the elements used were ‘made to work together...
with the greatest interest to the reader and with the least resistance from the reader’, through similarity in style, hierarchy in size and contrast, and a balanced asymmetry and variety. In turn, having a successful gestalt meant that the new masthead had a much greater chance of achieving its peritextual potential.

As perhaps the most important peritext in the Herald (c), and in addition to helping entice new readers, I would argue that Twidle’s masthead also echoed the concepts of maternalism, Christianity, and purity combined with an essence of modernity. For instance, the motto evidently projected Christianity, declaring that the Herald (c) was operating for God, but was also projecting maternalism by declaring that the paper was also operating for ‘Home’. Furthermore, there was an additional emphasis placed on ‘God’ by highlighting the first capital letter of the word, while at the same time the flickering light of a lamp, which was a typical Christian symbol, implied that the Herald (c) was communicating God’s words. At the same time, the female figure resembling a fair-haired angel was God’s messenger, and by placing a laurel on the main title with her left hand, which was a known symbol of victory, was endorsing the paper’s enthusiastic proposals and triumphant achievements on earth. Moreover, the angel held a rod in her right hand, which was a Christian symbol for protection and discipline, both of which were expected from a maternal figure, whilst protection was also implied in the way the angel looked from above in a caring manner. Maternal protection was further implied by the manner in which the left wing of the angel wrested on the top left corner of the main title, in a way that resembled a maternal figure’s warm embrace. Purity was symbolised not only through the angel, but also the lilies that appeared to grow from behind her left wing, and just above the main title, whilst the small symbol just under the date resembling a sun symbolised hope for the emancipation of women.

At this point I should further clarify what I mean by the concept of maternalism, and elucidate its relationship to domesticity. Criminologist Kelly Hannah-Moffat explains that maternalism ‘has typically been characterised as an ideology that emphasizes the tasks and qualities of

521 White, pp. 51, 53.
motherhood”; as a result ‘it is often associated with a woman’s duty and responsibility to mother’, whilst it ‘implies that women have natural abilities and capacities that are specific to their biological sex’.\(^{522}\) I argue, therefore, that maternalism was a more advanced concept, and unlike the limited concept of motherhood, was capable of operating ‘in relation to other discourses about citizenship, class relations, gender difference, and national identity’, as well as ‘in relation to a wide array of concrete social and political practices’.\(^{523}\) Furthermore, maternalism did not ‘refer to a specific movement’, rather ‘to the mobilization of a particular image of motherhood in combination with other rationalities’.\(^{524}\) For instance, within the context of social reform, historian Seth Koven suggests that women chose ‘to invoke maternalism in making specific claims about why they as individuals, and women as a sex, were especially qualified to shape welfare policy and provide care for working-class children’.\(^{525}\) In this context, women reformers made ‘these claims in an effort to promote widely varying agendas about the position of women and the obligations of the state’.\(^{526}\) Most specifically to this argument, Hannah-Moffat further notes that the WCTU ‘used maternal, moral, and evangelical strategies to promote prohibition’, which explains why the Herald (c) emphasized maternalism in conjunction with Christianity and purity.

There is no doubt that maternalism endorsed domesticity - after all ‘Home’ was put next to ‘God’ in WCTU’s motto - but at the same time it justified women’s public involvement in politics and the state, the community, the workplace, and the marketplace, which allowed ‘maternal reformers’ to enter ‘into certain institutions and to legitimate their presence in these predominantly male bureaucracies’.\(^{527}\) For example, Cowman explains that Liberal women ‘recognised the existence of separate spheres and acknowledged the particular role of


\(^{524}\) Hannah-Moffat, p. 24.

\(^{525}\) Koven, pp. 94-135 (p. 125).

\(^{526}\) Ibid.

women within a family, but did not stop there’, and this is what they often called as ‘double duty’. A leading member of the Welsh Union said on the matter:

> Women had a work to do in politics [...] it was a womanly as well as a manly duty to encourage just laws [...] Both men and women had duties to perform within the homefold and outside of it [...] woman did only half hers if in making home happy she is blind to the needs of the orphans outside.

Maternalism, therefore, allowed this ‘double duty’ to materialise, and if to some this argument might seem contradictory, I argue that maternalism and domesticity would be in opposition with each other only if the latter was seen from an old-fashioned inferior point of view. The reality was, however, that even the most progressive of feminists, who often chose to live life as single women, did not frown upon domesticity in its general sense. Müller, for example, who lived life as a progressive single woman, wrote in the *Paper/Herald* (a):

> “Are advanced women domestic?” we are asked. Why, certainly. All women are domestic. For what does the word domestic mean? Nothing more than “home-loving”. Many people use this pretty and useful word as though it meant necessarily a husband and half a dozen children. Not a bit of it. Some of our sweetest and most peaceful English homes can boast of neither. They are presided over, possibly, by one or two ladies, sisters or friends, whose time and energy are devoted to some useful public or philanthropic work. Perhaps one of them works for the cause of Woman’s Suffrage, and speaks at meetings all over the country; the other may be an active and valued member of some woman’s political association – we find that in spite of this they are domestic women in the true meaning of the word (not domestic slaves). Their home is pretty and refined, it is cheerful and peaceful, is managed with care and economy, and their friends are always welcome to stay with them.

The implied domesticity included in the concept of maternalism, therefore, need not be that of domestic slavery, but of ‘home-loving’, which further reveals that the *Herald* (c) was projecting maternalistic messages through its anchor text and the paratexts attached to it, such as the iconotypographical masthead, portraits and advertising, that most New Women, moderate and progressive, could relate to, which would have certainly helped appeal to a wider female readership.

In addition, Twidle’s decision to draw his allegorical theme of maternalism, Christianity, and purity, which included a variety of established Christian symbols, in a Cranian style meant that he could potentially appeal to a mixed-gender working-class audience without alienating the

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528 Cowman, pp. 81-2.
529 Nora Phillips quoted in Ibid., p. 82.
530 ‘Are Advanced Women Domestic?’, *Woman’s Herald*, 28 February 1891, p. 300.
531 The same values of maternalism, Christianity and purity/pure living continued to inform the editorial identity of the *Woman’s Signal* (a). See Chapter 5: Section 5.1.
middle-class. In fact, Crane’s ‘familiar ladies of liberty’ could be found on numerous covers of left wing periodicals that targeted mixed gender working-class readerships, such as *The Political World* (1889), *St. Jude’s* (1889), *Work* (1889), *Pioneer* (1889), *Time* (1890), and *Labourer* (1895). Moreover, by the 1890s his reputation was so great that between ‘1891-1892 a major retrospective exhibition of his work toured the United States’, and later from ‘1893-1896 his exhibition toured Europe’, events that were typically visited by the middle- and upper-classes. It has also been argued that Crane’s ‘Angel of Freedom’ ‘provided inspiration for the design of countless’ trade-union banners, such as those of the Tin Plate Workers Society, the St. Helen’s Sheet Glass Flatteners Trade Protection Society, the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, to name but a few. Concurrently, as I explained above, during this period there was an overall enthusiasm about Hellenic imagery, which continued well into the 1900s. For instance, the satirical middle-class family paper *Pick-Me-Up* (1888-1909) had already assumed an Hellenic masthead in 1889, the middle-class domestic magazine *Hearth and Home* (1891-1914) had featured an Hellenic front cover, masthead and sub-mastheads since its inception in 1891, whilst the middle-class faintly feminist periodical the *Woman* had assumed an Hellenic front cover since 1889 (Fig. 41).

Moreover, Hellenic scenes were used in adverts for Pear’s soap, Beecham’s pills, Osler china and glass, Matchless metal polish, and Aspinall’s enamel, and many other early twentieth century adverts such as Lux soap and Swan soap, which typically targeted the middle-class consumer (Fig. 42). Subsequently, embedding a peritext, such as an iconotypographical masthead, which not only accentuated the editorial values of the *Herald* (c), but also targeted the editors’ ideal audience - meaning working-and middle-class men and women temperance supporters - helped deliver the intended editorial message in the best possible manner, contrary to some people’s belief that Crane’s works were difficult to understand.

In fact, an article published as late as 1900 in the *Plumber and Decorator and Journal of Gas and Sanitary Engineering* argued that ‘except by a very few, and those in the highest positions, Walter Crane is not understood’, because ‘he is far too advanced’ for the middle-
and upper-classes. Consequently, some claimed that ‘only an elite who shared his ideals’ could understand Crane's works, while his wall decorations were ‘beyond the pockets of all but the well-to-do.’ The evidence suggests, however, that during the Victorian period, allegorical works appeared in periodicals that catered for female readerships of all classes (c. 1890s), socialist literature of the working and middle classes (c. 1850s-1890s), and the Suffrage press (c. 1900s) (Fig. 43). Allegorical works also appeared earlier in the century in other communication mediums, such as: imagery related to the Napoleonic wars (c. 1800s), Unionist banners used by men and women of the working class (c. 1850s), and Temperance banners used by middle and upper class women (c. 1850s-1890s) (Fig. 44). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to accept that works produced by artists, such as Crane, Morris and Starr Canziani, were understood by the majority of people, since most people were already familiar with the allegorical vocabulary used in their works, be it ‘historical, religious, literary, or philosophical’. In fact, allegory had been a favourite mode of expression since antiquity, with an influx of interest during the fifteenth century, and the nineteenth century, and was historically preferred during times that the wider society feared the world might be moving too fast towards modernity. In such times, reminders that were associated with tradition were deemed most suitable for articulating a sense of stability and security. During the late nineteenth century, for instance, it was industrialism that triggered an influx of allegorical works, through which artists aimed to reinvent stories from the past in order to serve objectives of their present. Artists wished for a utopian world that would not allow mere reproduction, because, as Morris argued, ‘copying of ancient work’ is unfair ‘to the old and stupid to the present’: in this utopian world it would only be ‘good inspiration and hope’. In other words, works by Morris and Crane were promoting a utopian society where people would be integrating ‘life with art, and art with life’, and the ‘destructive and spiritless specialization of industrialization, with its remorseless separation of work, leisure and

540 West, p. 148.
creativity’ would not exist. Post-modern art critic Craig Owens further argues that allegory allowed artists of the arts and crafts movement to materialize a nostalgia, while turning these images into ‘something other (allos = other + agoreuei = to speak)’. Allegory, therefore, allowed mid and late Victorian artists, such as Twidle, to express their contemporary anxieties through ‘a conviction of the remoteness of the past, and a desire to redeem it for the present’, and in this case was used as a paratext that accentuated the concepts of maternalism, Christianity, and purity of the editorial narrative presented in the Herald (c).

Meanwhile, the Herald’s (c) immediate competition Wings already had a female figure on its front cover, which was a design partly inspired by antiquity and partly inspired by Romanticism, and was originally introduced after the moderate section of the BWTA took over (Fig. 45). Up until then, the original British Women’s Temperance Journal (henceforth BWTJ) was run and edited by men, and its masthead had always been typographical and I would argue genderless, in the sense that it did not use any typefaces indicative of a feminine ambience. Subsequently, when the conservative ladies of the BWTA took over the BWTJ and renamed it Wings, they introduced a female figure on the front cover that was in many respects illustrative of the type of New Women they considered themselves to be, and the type of New Women they expected their monthly publication would appeal to. In fact, the front cover was in absolute agreement with the main copy which consisted of articles emphasizing ‘the value of conventional female temperance endeavours’, biographies of ‘British Women at Home’ that mainly presented conservative members of the BWTA ‘espousing traditional values and methods’ to name but a few. These were, of course, some of the reasons that the BWTA split in 1893, when the conservatives retained Wings, while Somerset formed The Journal, and then bought the Herald (c). The moderate section of the BWTA wished for a discreet approach to temperance, not only by assuming ‘quiet’ appearances, but also focusing on ‘their own neighbourhoods than in the more cosmopolitan parts of the capital’.

542 Ibid.
which was also the case ‘for many provincial teetotallers’. It was this sentiment that they communicated through their cover by depicting a lady with a modest dress and her long hair simply tied up, displaying a short fringe, which was mainstream at the time. It was a New Woman that was making herself useful by holding the banner that listed the contents of the issue, who knew her place in the world and advocated for temperance reform without being provocative.

Subsequently, if the Herald (b) opted for a formidable female character who was willing to take action and offer her wisdom to the defenceless average woman, and Wings opted for a female character that was orderly and moderately reformist, the Herald (c) opted for a female character that was a womanly angel and the personification of victory. In fact, Twidle’s Christian angel could also have doubled as the embodiment of Nike the Goddess of Victory, who was typically depicted with wings, a rod, and a laurel (Fig. 46). Additionally, by dressing Nike in a Doric chiton, which was unisex attire, with a girdle wrapped around her breasts, Twiddle communicated that women can be equal to men, whilst at the same time remaining womanly; a message repeatedly reiterated by Willard (Fig. 47). Emphasizing the breasts, which were historically a symbol of fertility, also implied motherhood, a concept that was included in the wider theme of maternalism. And even if Twidle’s Nike/angel seemed to perhaps possess a ‘languid sexuality associated with decadent images of the women at this time’ through her gentle leaning posture and the emphasis of her curves, these could also have been interpreted as ‘a protofeminist celebration of female sexuality’ that was in line with the idea of being feminine. Lastly, the hair of the female figure in this masthead was fair

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547 Nike (called Victoria by the Romans) was the Ancient Greek Goddess of Victory. Nike resembles Athena, and is often depicted with her, though Nike has wings, and typically ‘carries a palm or wreath, and is engaged in raising a trophy, or in inscribing the victory of the conqueror on a shield’. She was described by Hesiod as the ‘beautiful-ankled Nike’, and was traditionally depicted clad in few layers of cloth, sometimes with one breast fully exposed, ‘with a chiton that is at once billowing and clinging and with wings widespread’ giving the impression that she ‘just that moment softly alighted onto the pedestal’, often depicted in gentle almost erotic leaning poses. Smith, ‘Nice’, p. 477; Ancient History Encyclopedia, ‘Nike’, www.ancient.eu/nike/ [accessed 7 August 2015].
548 The Doric chiton was unisex, but men wrapped their girdle around their shoulders and just below their chest, which was different to the way women wrapped their girdle.
which perhaps implied that she accepted the designation ‘fair-sex’, though it was cut in a short boyish style; in great contrast to the stereotypical images of fair-haired angels with impossibly long hair that represented women as objects of sexual fantasy and ‘to-be-looked-at-ness’, typical of this period. Consequently, this choice of haircut not only implied modernity and progressiveness, but also emphasized the importance of being practical/professional with one’s appearance, without compromising femininity; all of which were in line with the editorial message of the *Herald* (c). I would argue, therefore, that Twidle’s masthead was the paratext proper, because: a. it was signed by the artist and printer, which meant that they ‘accepted responsibility for it’; b. it communicated ‘mere information’ (i.e. the date of the issue); c. it communicated ‘an intention’ (i.e. work ‘for God, Home and Every Land’); d. it conveyed ‘a genuine decision’ (i.e. the editors decided to call their paper the *Woman’s Herald*); e. it involved a commitment (i.e. to assist women’s struggle towards emancipation); f. it delivered a command (i.e. that readers must work ‘for God, Home and Every Land’); and in all it was a discourse that was ‘fundamentally heteronomous, auxiliary and dedicated to the service of something other than itself’, which was the anchor text of the *Herald* (c).

4.2.2.3. The Portraits and Advertising

English literature scholar Carol Mattingly explains that appearing ‘adequately fashionable and feminine, but in no way showy’ was essential for members of the American WCTU, in order to avoid ‘the prejudice peculiar to women speakers’; a belief that was also endorsed by Somerset and advocated to the members of the BWTA in Britain. With that in mind, iconic paratexts such as the portraits of women featured in the *Herald* (c) really emphasized the idea of ‘pure living’, in this case through rational dress. More specifically, although the paper featured the lowest number of portraits (31 in total) in the combined history of the *Paper/herald* (a), *Herald* (b), *Signal* (a) and *Signal* (b), still the majority of sitters (19 out of 31)

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550 Mulvey, p. 11.
551 Short haircuts were not too popular amongst temperance women. Willard herself always had long hair tied in a low bun; nonetheless many progressive New Women assumed short haircuts primarily for want of a low maintenance style that would compliment their professional careers. See Chapter 3.
552 Genette, Paratexts, pp. 11-2.
553 Mattingly, p. 65.
were temperance reformers donning similar clothes (Fig. 48). For example, their outfits typically consisted of a black dress resembling the ‘Willard dress’, and in some cases they also wore white bonnets, similar to those favoured by Willard’s mother, with a white ribbon badge on their collar that represented purity and peace (Fig. 49). In parallel, advertisements, such as those of the Shapely Skirt Association and G. S. Wolmershausen & Co. Limited habit makers, and articles, such as ‘About Silks, Shops, & Shopping’ or ‘Freedom in Dress’, also supported a rational yet womanly dress code that further emphasized the importance of ‘pure living’ (Fig. 50).\textsuperscript{556} Acquiring and practicing ‘a proper ethos in dress’ was an essential part of temperance women’s education towards becoming successful leaders and/or public speakers, so peritexts and anchor text sections such as these really helped accentuate the importance of looking professional, yet womanly; whilst indirectly promoting maternalism and Christianity in the sense that these were all part of being a Gospel Temperance reformer.\textsuperscript{557} Still the temperance movement was ‘above all designed to alter public attitudes to diet’, so the temperance reformer’s quest for ‘pure living’ truly manifested in the adoption of healthy foods and drinks and not simply abstinence.\textsuperscript{558} Peritexts such as advertisements of healthy foods found in the \textit{Herald} (C), therefore, really helped emphasize the importance of ‘pure living’, and the idea that dietary reform ‘could enable the common man to avoid disease, and thus emancipate himself from unexpected poverty and from medical rapacity’.\textsuperscript{559} Subsequently, advertisements for cures and healthy foods were the most featured in the \textit{Herald} (c) with Beecham’s pills being the longest running (39 weeks), followed by Frame food diet (36 weeks), Mellin’s food (23 weeks), Brown & Polson’s corn flour (22 weeks), and Count Mattei homeopathic cures (17 weeks) to name but a few (Fig. 51).

The \textit{Herald} (c) persisted in campaigning for a ‘New Ideal Womanhood’, which was based on wisdom, purity and gentleness; a womanhood that created ‘happy homes’ around the country,

\textsuperscript{557} Mattingly, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{559} Ibid.
‘in which both the man and the woman’ would do ‘their best to lift the world toward God’.\textsuperscript{561}

For the new ideal ‘womanly character’, self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control were essential, in order for her to ‘lead life to sovereign power’, whilst with her already acquired ‘skill in detail, trustworthiness in finance, motherliness in sympathy’ in private life, she could now ‘make the whole world home-like’.\textsuperscript{562} In the next chapter, therefore, I continue with Somerset’s new paper the \textit{Woman’s Signal} (a), which was based on the same Gospel temperance principles of maternalism, Christianity, and purity; yet, it assumed a different set of paratexts, and overall approach to delivering its editorial narrative.

\section*{4.3. \textit{Woman’s Herald} (b) Vs. \textit{Woman’s Herald} (c)}

In this chapter I argued that the \textit{Herald} (b) was built on the idea of progressive Liberalism; a narrative that producers sought to achieve through the use of specific paratexts, such as a front cover illustration. Simultaneously, however, there were many other paratexts, such as trivial epitexts that emphasized the political affiliations of the editors/proprietors, and other peritexts such as advertising, that prescribed a specific narrative, which in turn impacted negatively on the inclusive reputation of the paper. \textit{Herald} (c) was also specialist to some extent, but was certainly making much more effort to empathise with the wider temperance readership, including male supporters. The editors espoused maternalism, Christianity, and purity all at the same time, and through the sophisticated manipulation of the communication medium of the feminist periodical they managed to keep their paper in circulation for almost a year. The following chapter will continue with the same triad of concepts, since Somerset continued to control the paper, however, this time round she and her new co-editor adopted a much more modern approach to journalism that was heavily inspired by W. T Stead.


\textsuperscript{562} Ibid.
OUR POLICY.

From and to-day the Woman's Herald will appear as the independent exponent of the great body of conviction and sentiment that is represented by the various associations of progressive women pledged to religious, social and political reform. This is accomplished the third and possibly the final stage in the development of this journal. It has been the development of growth due to the progressive evolution of a higher type. The Woman's Movement has now passed beyond the stage when it can be best helped by the means which were not only expedient but ill-plausible when it was in what might be called the "John Baptist" period. The voice crying in the wilderness has done its work. The paths are being made straight by so many workers that the time has now fully come for attempting to secure something like co-ordination of effort and unity of direction. The first stage in this direction was marked by the formal identification of the Woman's Herald with the Woman's Liberal Federation, when that body developed so far as to recognise that so faulty a party could conduct for insufficiency to the civic rights of women. Today the same process has been an earnest step further. The Woman's Herald will in future be as much identified with the cause of Temperance, and other social reformers advocated by the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, as it is with the cause of the Woman's Liberal Federation. Henceforward there will be no division of forces. The two great sections of public-spirited women will march under one banner, as against the cautious, for the ringing watchword, "For God, Home, and Humanity."

Having given the extension of the scope and object of their journal, its advocates believe they are acting entirely in accord with the spirit and genius of the Woman's Herald. There is to be no weakening anywhere, least of all in the question of the Suffage. Russell Lowell, one of its noble statesmen in the agitation of the suffrage, says—

Our country owes its liberty, we grant it so, but—

Before man made it, man, great Nature made it.

In our case, as we have not yet been recognised as citizens, we are even more free to be transformed right through and through. Woman may be conceived at any time—which heaven forbid—the Liberals as a party took the field against the citi"...henke Conservatism had described it on their banner, we should, of course, in that improbable event, be bound to assist the Conservative Party in carrying that reform. Our devotion to the

Fig. 37.
Woman's Herald, 23 February 1893, p. 1.
Fig. 38.
i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 23 February 1893, Front Cover.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Herald, 23 February 1893, p. ii.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 23 February 1893, p. iii.
Fig. 39.
i. (top left): Woman's Herald, 23 February 1893, p. 3.


Fig. 41.
Hearth and Home, 21 May 1891, Front Cover.
Fig. 42. Source: Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
i. (top left): Advertisement, ‘Pears Soap’, c. 1890.
Fig. 43.
*Punch*, 8 April 1871, [page unknown].
Fig. 44.
Currier & Ives, Woman’s Holy War, 1874.
Fig. 45. (Please note this cover first featured in January 1891, though earlier archived images are of poor quality).
Wings, March 1894, Front Cover.
Fig. 46.
i. (top left): Woman's Herald, 12 November 1892, Front Cover.
iii. (bottom left): Unknown, Athena Parthenos (holding Nike), 19th century.
iv. (bottom right): Nike, 336 BC.
Fig. 47.
Nike, 5th century BC.
Fig. 48.

i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 23 February 1893, p. 2.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Herald, 9 March 1893, p. 42.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 16 March 1893, p. 37.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Herald, 8 June 1893, p. 248.

i. (top left): Advertisement, 'The Willard Dress', c. 1890s.


iii. (bottom left): Unknown, Frances E. Willard, c. 1890s.

Fig. 50.
i. (left): Woman’s Herald, 23 March 1893, p. 71.
ii. (right): Woman’s Herald, 4 May 1893, p. 167.
Fig. 51.
i. (top left): Woman’s Herald, 16 March 1893, p. iv.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Herald, 23 March 1893, Front Cover.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Herald, 23 November 1893, p. 626.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Herald, 21 December 1893, p. 690.
— Case Study 3: Gospel Temperance Maternalism, Christianity, Purity Vs. Bourgeois Propriety

New Woman / Paradigm III // Editorial Model B:
*Woman’s Signal* (a) (Jan. 4, 1894 – Sep. 26, 1895)

New Woman / Paradigm IV:
*Woman’s Signal* (b) (Oct. 3, 1895 – Mar. 23, 1899)
5.1. Woman’s Signal (a) (Jan. 4, 1894 – Sep. 26, 1895)

The Woman’s Signal: A Weekly Record and Review of Woman’s Work in Philanthropy and Reform (henceforth the Signal (a)) launched on 4th of January 1894. It was printed by Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd. on newsprint paper in crown folio size (15 x 10 inch), and published weekly (every Thursday) by Horace Marshall & Son. Lady Henry Somerset was editor and proprietor, Annie E. Holdsworth was the associate editor, H. J. Osborn was the business manager, and Frances E. Willard the corresponding editor. In this section I focus on paratexts such as the typographical masthead of the weekly issue, the iconotypographical mastheads of the monthly supplement and the review respectively, portraits, and advertisements, to name but few. I argue that Somerset and Holdsworth constructed their newspaper based on the concepts of maternalism, Christianity and ‘purity/pure living’, which triad not only allowed an association between their three separate publications, but also created a bond between the different types of readers that comprised their ideal audiences (i.e. male/female, middle-class/working-class, general feminist/temperance). In the majority of cases, the paratexts identified appear to operate in line with the editorial narrative; however, an insistence on self-promotion, and many other philosophical and practical reasons, such as the inability of the different types of New Women to unite, did not allow the Signal (a) to achieve its full potential.

5.1.1. The British Periodical Press in 1894 and Woman’s Signal (a)

The name of the paper was a salute to the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), creating an association with their official publication Union Signal. Signal (a), similarly to the Paper and Herald, was a paper with a hybrid identity, which mixed elements from the wider press; yet, in comparison with its predecessors, and its successor Signal (b), it was by far the least gendered. In fact, the appearance of the paper during this time was as gender neutral, as it could ever be, because the main aesthetic imposition was achieved by simple typographic, rather than complex iconic or ornamental typographic, means. As a result, this text-based design reflected the significance of good, solid typography and readability, rather than attraction by means of an illustrious image; a model that favoured the kind of typefaces that allowed a minimalist and orderly composition, but also gender neutrality. Signal (a) was
published as a 16-page weekly issue, though every last issue of the month the paper was published as a 20-page number, inclusive of a supplement, appropriately titled Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement (henceforth Monthly Supplement) (Fig. 52). The supplement did not host any advertisements, and it was available to purchase as a supplement to the parent periodical, or on its own. Somerset’s editorial team also produced a 20-page monthly magazine entitled Woman’s Signal Budget (henceforth Budget) inclusive of an ad-wrapper (Fig. 53).

At the time, the periodical press consisted of a wide range of styles: the monthly periodicals mainly consisted of sports magazines, or magazines for children, and weekly periodicals mainly consisted of sports papers, satirical papers, or papers for children. The women’s press, in particular, consisted of a variety of periodicals, of which the majority of monthly periodicals consisted of fashion or domestic magazines, papers for working class women, or specialist papers such as society organs, whereas weekly periodicals consisted mainly of domestic magazines, or specialist papers such as general feminist papers. In fact, when Somerset and Holdsworth launched Signal (a) in 1894, Doughan and Sanchez list 16 more English feminist periodicals that were in circulation at the time, which number increased to 18 by 1895. From this small group, the Englishwoman’s Review of Social and Industrial Questions (1866-1910), the Personal Rights Journal (1881-1903) produced by the National Association for the Defence of Personal Rights, and the Pioneer of Social Purity: The Organ of the Social Purity Alliance (1887-1898) were the most longstanding. Furthermore, Wings: The Official Organ of the Women’s Total Abstinence Union (1892-1925) was the only paper entirely dedicated to temperance reform, Woman: For All Sorts And Conditions Of Women was perhaps the most popular general ‘moderately’ feminist weekly paper, and Shafts: A Magazine for Women and Workers was the most progressive general feminist publication (Fig. 54). Similarly to the Herald (c), therefore, the Signal (a) remained a temperance paper that was in direct

563 During 1894, every fourth issue of each month Woman’s Signal (a) was published with a supplement (Jan. – Apr.). However, from May 1894 until June 1895, the supplement became irregular, appearing only a total of 6 times (May 10, 17, 31; June 14; November 01; June 27).
564 Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement, 25 January 1894, pp. i-iv (p. iv).
565 Meaning two pages at the front and two pages at the back that contained advertising, which were paginated separately to the main content.
competition with *Wings*, which targeted male and female temperance supporters from across the class spectrum. Nonetheless, Somerset and Holdsworth had to create a bond between all their three publications, in order to close the divide between working-, lower middle-, middle-, and upper-class female readers, and unite male and female readers. In order to achieve this unity, similarly to the *Herald* (c), I would argue that the *Signal* (a), alongside its monthly supplement and monthly review continued to employ the concepts of maternalism, Christianity and ‘pure living’, which they understood to be values that appealed to a wider mixed gender and mixed class audience, although the intensity and the ways used to communicate these concepts varied in each of the three publications. In the following examples, therefore, I demonstrate the way in which paratexts, such as mastheads and advertisements to name a few, complemented the intended editorial narrative by emphasizing a particular hybrid type of New Womanhood that combined the Gospel temperance triad of maternalism, Christianity and purity.

5.1.2. The Editorial Narrative of *Woman’s Signal* (a)

Somerset and Holdsworth clarified that they ‘espoused no party’, still, ‘every great reform must enter the temple of law through the portal of politics’, so their readers should expect to find political material in their columns. The editors declared that they would ‘set out’ their opinions ‘in the best light possible’ without attacking those that they may not agree with. They clarified that temperance reform was their foremost priority, but at the same time, they aimed to tackle labour and women’s issues. They considered themselves as ‘specialists’, but more than that they saw themselves as humanitarians, and above all cosmopolitans. They

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567 It is explained below that *Signal* (a) was their weekly paper, while they also published the *Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement* (henceforth *Monthly Supplement*), which was sold together, or separate to *Signal* (a), and the *Woman’s Signal Budget* (henceforth *Budget*), a monthly magazine that provided a digest of the best content in the weekly issue.


571 Ibid.
also considered themselves Christians, and they believed that their readers, including those who were ‘wage-workers’, should try to understand their point of view, which called for ‘the trinity of great movements’ that were all ‘parts of one tremendous whole’. Women journalists were a minority at the time, and using this as an example, the editors argued that all sensible leaders around the world could agree that ‘an abuse exists in respect to woman’s relation to the mart, the college, the forum, and the parliament’. They aimed to help alleviate this situation with *Signal* (a), and for that reason the paper was not, according to the editors, ‘intended only for the home-making fraction of the public’, but also targeted ‘the interest of intelligent and justice-loving men’. They were very keen to demonstrate that they disavowed ‘any antagonism toward men’, and were ‘perfectly aware’ very little progress could be made unless women went ‘hand in hand and step by step’ with their brothers. Unsurprisingly, therefore, they opted for a masthead that was genderless; one might argue reminiscent of the older *British Women’s Temperance Journal*, which was produced by male supporters and financiers of BWTA (Fig. 55). Nevertheless, the new typographical masthead was much more advanced, not only because it really embraced New Journalism by incorporating an eye-catching headline above the main title, but also presented an impressive grouping of all the information in the masthead.

### 5.1.3. Anchor Text and Paratexts: Targeting the Ideal Audience

#### 5.1.3.1. The Typographical Masthead

Positioning headlines at prominent locations on the front page of a newspaper was typical of the late Victorian New Journalism pioneered by William T. Stead, who in the past had supported Holdsworth financially, and had worked closely with her for *Review of Reviews* (henceforth *Review*). Somerset had also crossed paths with Stead at gatherings associated with the Liberal party, and the labour and social purity movements. This explains the strong

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572 Ibid.
573 Ibid.
574 Ibid.
576 It has also been reported that Stead was a great admirer of Somerset’s person and achievements. Ros Black, p. 36; Olwen Claire Niessen, *Aristocracy, Temperance and Social Reform: The Life of Lady Henry Somerset* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), p. 102.
association with New Journalism and the reasons behind the employment of elements such as headlines for the *Signal* (a). Unlike *Herald* (c), this time it was the headlines in the masthead that were aimed at enticing the audiences and not the illustrations, which could often foster opposing messages. The effective grouping of the masthead, however, was what made the whole composition successful in delivering its message with clarity and confidence. To begin with, positioning the main title and publication date at the very top left hard corner made sure that readers (given that in the West we read from left to right) could easily locate the most important information. Then, positioning the main headline slightly lower, though above everything else, meant that by the time the reader moved their eyes onto the next line of text, they would then be able to get a glimpse of what this specific weekly issue had to offer. In the very middle was the main title, with the article ‘THE’ just above it though now reduced to a much smaller size, which allowed more space for the main title, but also emphasized which information is more important. Then followed the subtitle ‘With which is incorporated “The Woman’s Herald” in italic, which indicated that this was more of a reminder than a subtitle, whilst the size of its typeface and position indicated that this was a piece of information subordinate to the main title. At the end, the names of the editors in capitals stretched almost for the full length of the masthead, holding their own position in the pyramid, followed by the weekly issue’s particulars underlining all the above. Finally, the whole grouping was held together by the notional central axis that pierced this composition from the top all the way through to the bottom, whilst the top left title and date mischievously offered a suggestion of variability. The grouping was further enhanced by the typefaces, since they were all from the same type family Lining Old Style No. 6, No. 5, and No. 5 Italic (Stephenson And Blake) (Fig. 56). In other words, this arrangement not only offered dominance ‘by contrasting size, positioning, color, style or shape’, but also provided hierarchy that moved the reader across the masthead, combining symmetrical balance with a hint of asymmetrical balance.

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579 See Chapter 4.
581 White, pp. 63, 65.
The confident arrangement of this new typographical masthead, which was clean of overwhelming illustrations and ornamental typefaces typically seen in women’s press, not only limited misinterpretation, but also had more potential in appealing to a male audience. Historian Ellen Gruber Garvey notes that the writing style ‘said to be suitable for men’ was more concise and succinct, which was also considered as modern, whereas the writing style ‘said to be suitable for women’ was ‘trivial, old-fashioned, and overwritten’.

Thus, if the latest iconotypographical masthead of Herald (c) was perhaps trivial, old-fashioned and overwritten, then this new typographical masthead was certainly concise and succinct. This concise style was also in line with New journalism, which dictated that emphasizing fragments of information on the front page, and then presenting this information in short and easily digested sections inside the main copy allowed readers to better comprehend the information provided. Subsequently, during the 1890s ‘serial fiction, headlines, crossheads, interviews, campaigns, and sensation’ were the most commonly used New Journalistic techniques found in the morning newspapers. For instance, in the daily newspaper Pall Mall Gazette (henceforth Gazette), and later in the monthly magazine Review of Reviews (henceforth Review), William T. Stead made ample use of interviews, headings and small paragraphs; the last two being paratexts that emphasized a style of journalism that was easy to read and digest and was aimed at the busy late Victorian urban reader. The same could be argued for the writing style of the interview columns that featured in Signal (a), which were now mostly direct transfers of the actual interview (question and answer), rather than written prose based on an interview. Furthermore, the front-page layout continued with the three-column arrangement, originally introduced in the Herald (c), but this time the columns were used more efficiently. The first column was used as an advertising section for literature (i.e. penny life stories, books, and illustrated periodicals), whereas column two and three were almost always used for Somerset’s editorial. A similar model had previously been used in the Gazette since 1889; yet, this style of page layout within the women’s press was rare, if it existed at all (Fig. 57).

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583 Andrew Hobbs, ‘London’s Late Adoption Of The New Journalism, And What It Tells Us About The Structure Of The Victorian Press’, New Journalism, University of Central Lancashire (5 July 2012), pp. 1-12.
5.1.3.2. Including the Male Reader in the Ideal Audience

New Journalism seems to have been at the core of the new design, which in paratextual terms further enforced the idea that the Signal (a) was a newspaper for the modern late Victorian reader. Nonetheless, the papers that typically used this style, such as the Gazette and the Review, were mainly targeting male audiences. At first glance, therefore, it may seem peculiar that Somerset and Holdsworth opted for a non-ornamented design, which at the time may seem to be more fit to a male audience, rather than a mixed gender audience. Yet, this choice was probably rather effective, because it meant that men could potentially see the paper as serious, and therefore worthy of their attention, whilst the existing female readership would not be affected. As it has been previously established, it was not unusual for girls to read boys’ books or periodicals, and for women to read men’s newspapers during this period. 585 This meant that women had already been accustomed to reading texts aimed at men, which in turn allowed them to be ‘fluent in both androcentric and gynocentric texts’. 586 In fact, a female reader writing to the Paper/Herald (a) in 1889 mentioned that she read the Star and Gazette. 587 On the other hand, however, the majority of men were not familiar with reading women’s texts, and it seems that the Signal (a), which wished to appeal to a mixed gender audience, opted to cater for the rigid, and affluent, section of the temperance readership (male readers) in the hope that the more adaptable section of the general feminist readership (female readers) would not be affected. 588

The need to attract and involve men was also reflected in the anchor text as well as the iconic peritexts, and in the decision to include other paratexts, such as advertising, that targeted the family, and not just the female of the household. In particular, the Signal (a) not only included

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585 See Chapter 3, pp. 105-6.
587 A Domestic Woman, 'Correspondence: The Literary Ladies' Dinner', Women's Penny Paper, 15 June 1889, p. 10.
588 Referring to BWTA, Shiman notes that ‘without help from masculine sympathisers, the British Women could not survive. They were dependent on them to finance their activities; too few interested women had enough independent wealth to support their own organisation’. Subsequently, the same financial dependence to male supporters must have been true for the BWTA’s publication, especially because by then they already split into two opposing camps, which meant that any capital available by their male supporters would have been divided amongst them. Moreover, evidence suggests that by the end of 1893 Somerset was at a great financial difficulty due to the Herald (c) selling poorly, with Niessen, reporting that she ‘carried on publishing Woman’s Herald at a financial loss until both it and The Journal were absorbed by her new weekly paper, Woman’s Signal’. Shiman, p. 187; Niessen, p. 141.
male contributors, such as General Neal Dow, and interviewed prominent male figures, such as Mr Walter Besant, L. H. Courtney MP, Dr Alfred R. Wallace, and Mr Graham Wallas, to name but a few, but also printed their portraits (Fig. 58). As a result, the Signal (a) featured 32 portraits of men in a period of 21 months, whereas the Herald (c), for instance, included 6, and the Paper/Herald (a), and Herald (b) did not include any (Fig. 59).

Similar, for the first time advertisements also targeted the male fraction of consumers, as well as the Victorian family’s women and children. For instance, No. 1 featured an advert for household carpets, but it also featured a full-page Cadbury’s cocoa advert featuring a man preparing a hot cup of cocoa (Fig. 60). Accordingly, No. 2 featured an advert for a hair restorer that depicted a woman and a man as potential users, and also featured an advert for Irish linen, again featuring a man and a woman (Fig. 61). Accordingly, No. 3 featured the same hair restorer, whilst it featured a full-page advert for children’s winter clothes on the last page (Fig. 62).

Whilst these types of full-page poster adverts may not have continued at the same frequency, with regards to the overall visual appeal of the advertising, it seems they remained quite neutral overall, which meant that as a paratext offering a commentary to the overall editorial narrative it emphasized the fact that the paper’s ideal audience was expected to be mixed gender.

5.1.3.3. Including the Working-Class Female Reader in the Ideal Audience

It was perhaps hoped that a new typographical masthead would have allowed more working-class women to warm to the Signal (a), because it refused to emphasize bourgeois culture, in contrast to the majority of women’s periodical press that had assumed Hellenistic mastheads in a bid to appeal to the newly affluent middle-class readerships. In fact, evidence suggests that working- and lower middle-class readers often felt that in general they were not

590 Male sitters were mainly white English or American, yet other nationalities and ethnicities were also present, such as Mr Man Sukh Lal, Mr Tam Ping, and H.H. The Maharajah of Mysore and his Family.

591 It has been demonstrated time and again in this thesis that advertising in the Paper/Herald (a), the Herald (b), and the Herald (c), as well as in the Signal (b) that follows, typically was at its peak at the start of each year, and then was gradually reduced by the end of the year. The reasons are not fully understood, but I would suggest that it had something to do with the fact that advertisers were typically optimistic and were convinced to buy space at the start of its year; yet, as the months went by they would then realize that these papers did not quite have the circulation that they may have wished for, or could achieve, if they advertised in the mainstream press.
particularly well understood by their middle-class sisters, which sentiment was possibly the same when it came to newspapers for New Women of these three classes. A reader writing to the *Paper/Herald* (a), for instance, some years previously was keen to explain to her affluent sisters - who could afford to pay their dressmakers upfront (but were often late) - how hard it was ‘to get along when all one’s ready money’ goes on ‘lining, tapes, buttons, and so on, so necessary in making up the material’, and how hard it was ‘to wait weeks even months, for the return of one’s own money, so hardly earned and so greatly needed’.595 Another reader was expressed her disappointment about New Woman novels in as far as they were ‘spreading a lowered tone of morality’, especially ‘in representing the possession of riches as the highest possible happiness’, and she wished ‘if rich women would but treat their poorer sisters as equal with themselves’.596 Similarly, a wealthy mistress (of domestic servants) sent in a letter begging others like her ‘to remember that but for an accident of birth and fortune, they might have been under the necessity of being servants themselves’, encouraging them to show a little more leniency and compassion to their servants.597 Therefore, it is evident that there was a division between the working- and lower middle-class and the rest of New Women, who were comprised of the ‘well-to-do classes - the great unemployed in the country’; a social separation that was also felt in the women’s press.598

This situation could also partly explain the reasons that working-class New Women readers, who worked in the home or worked as servants, and may or may not have been supporters of women’s suffrage, often read men’s newspapers. The ‘Ladies’ Column’ in the *Star*, for instance, offered information about the working- or lower middle-class New Woman’s kind of day-to-day activities as well as suffrage news, rather than cater for the affluent bourgeoisie. More specifically, in January’s first issue of the *Star* for 1894, the ‘Ladies Column’ began with New Year wishes, then moved on to report that ‘there has not been much buying and selling as was hoped for this Christmas’, followed by ‘the dullness of the Stock Exchange’ and the

fact that women ‘have been unhappy investors’.

The column then continued with how the butchers did that holiday, and the prices of meat, moving on to English fruit, then the Chinese artichoke, the ‘very beautiful Jersey apples’, and the inexpensive ‘Hothouse grapes’. The article then moved to discuss Miss Blackburn’s Woman’s Suffrage Calendar, which had ‘just made its annual appearance for the ninth time’, followed by an account on the many ways that women had advanced the past year, noting various ladies who registered as medical practitioners, and as poor-law guardians, and that their New Zealand sisters had gained the parliamentary franchise a year ago. Then the author moved on to Christmas decorations of churches in London, with a focus on flowers such as the chrysanthemum, the white Japanese lily, and the holly, with a description on how to decorate regular flowerpots inexpensively for such occasions.

This type of digest, therefore, that mixed Suffrage news alongside information about market prices and modest DIY Christmas decorations was not really offered by the women’s papers that primarily aimed at the bourgeoisie, and it certainly had never featured in the Paper/Herald (a), Herald (b) and Herald (c). In recognition of this shortcoming, the Signal (a) felt it necessary to include the working-, and lower middle-class female readers in their target audience, but also to remain relevant to the middle- and upper-class readers, something they tried to achieve not only through the anchor text, but also through the iconic peritexts, such as portraits of women, they featured. For example, when Somerset was co-editor of the Herald (c) alongside Stout, the number of portraits featuring aristocrats that appeared in the paper was much larger in comparison to the number of aristocrats featured in the Signal (a). Some may argue that it was the change of co-editor that resulted in the reduction of aristocratic portraits, but I would suggest otherwise. It was Somerset who probably had access to the aristocratic portraits published in the Herald (c), and it was Somerset who later refrained from featuring as many aristocratic ladies for the ‘Character Sketch’ of the Signal (a). This change was perhaps an effect of Somerset’s increasing support for the socialist movement, an influence reportedly initiated by Willard; and it was certainly a way to become more appealing.

to female readers that came from working-class backgrounds. In fact, Somerset wished to tone down the fact that she had an aristocratic title so greatly, that she advocated for aristocratic titles to be given to any woman who had done great work for society, regardless of their background. Subsequently, in addition to this type of article found in the anchor text, making sure that iconic peritexts, such as portraits, further demonstrated a move away from the worship of the aristocrat further indicated to the readers that the paper wished to reach readers from across the class spectrum.

5.1.4. Anchor Text and Paratexts: Complementing the Editorial Narrative

Similarly to the Herald (c), the editorial narrative of the Signal (a) was grounded on maternalism, Christianity and ‘pure living’, concepts that were certainly communicated through the anchor text. At the same time, paratexts, such as portraits and advertising, further accentuated this editorial message, either through the depiction of women dressed in ‘Willard’ dresses, or through the promotion of relevant products. For instance, in a short biographical sketch the Signal (a) reported that Miss Tucker, who is characterised a ‘A Lady of England’, ‘was not so much a literary woman as a Christian teacher’, whilst in another issue Mrs Gladstone is commended for her ‘religious devotion’, and faithfulness ‘to duty, to her husband’s comfort, her children’s welfare, her unfailing affection and attention to her friends, to whatever class of life they may belong’. In a similar vein, the interview of Miss Mary H. Steer, the superintendent of a Home for ‘neglected women’, described her as ‘looking eminently motherly’, and ‘the daughter of a much-esteemed Congregational minister’, who worked alongside ‘a small band of Christian women who set to work to bring about a reformation’. Nonetheless, the messages of maternalism, Christianity and ‘pure living’ were not always as direct, and obvious. For instance, a column dedicated to the work of Miss Emily Faithfull includes all the different ways she helped ‘to destroy the mountain of difficulty and to build the temple on the plains of beyond’ by establishing the Victoria Press ‘for the sake of

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600 See Chapter 4: Section 4.2.
introducing women compositors into the trade'. Similarly, an article about Lady Aberdeen (former president of WLF) described how she had ‘an innate goodness’, ‘keen political and social sympathies’, and ‘womanly qualities’, attributes that helped her ‘raise womanhood and improve women’ whilst working in ‘unity, gentleness, and love’. And there were even less conspicuous ways that maternalism was implied, for instance in another article, Willard referred to herself as ‘a sort of spinster aunt’ to young girls, and in another article Miss Hoddenott who was charge of St. Mary’s Home in Reigate was referred to as the ‘Mother of the Home’.

5.1.4.1. The Portraits

Similarly to the Herald (c), iconic peritexts such as portraits found in the Signal (a) emphasized maternalism, Christianity, and purity through appearance. It has been reported that Willard often stressed that visual rhetoric was very important, and she not only encouraged women to attend to their appearance, but the presentation of the spaces they were due to present their speeches. She encouraged temperance women to ‘decorate with flowers and banners of their own work and design, as well as with national flags and state escutcheons’ as well as play music, preferably religious music. This ‘womanly’ atmosphere would have allowed ‘reserved women’ to become comfortable, without ‘offending more liberal women’, but it would also deflect ‘criticism from outside the organization’, and would have ‘generally disarmed harsh critics’. Subsequently, Willard’s approach to temperance was also reflected in the appearance of the sitters that featured in the pages of the Signal (a), impacting accordingly on the papers’ overall editorial narrative communicated to potential readers.

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603 Frances E. Willard, ‘Two Pioneers: Miss Faithfull and Miss Robinson’, Woman’s Signal, 1 March 1894, pp. 137-8 (p. 138).
606 Mattingly, p. 67.
607 Ibid.
5.1.4.2. The Advertising

The advertisements that featured in the Signal (a) also emphasised maternalism, Christianity and ‘pure living’, either through the products themselves, or the manner in which they advertised them. More specifically, the longest running typographical advertisement was that of Neave’s food (81 weeks), and the longest running campaign (meaning a mixture of typographical and iconotypographical advertisements for the same product) was that of Cadbury’s Cocoa (41 weeks) (Fig. 63). White Ribbon Co., publisher of Gospel Temperance publications, was the longest running advertising campaign for 1894 (40 weeks), while the second most featured advert in 1895 was that of The Christian (40 weeks) (Fig. 64). Neave’s food adverts, in particular, were aimed at the female carer/maternal figure (i.e. mother or nurse) whether of a child, or an elder or invalid person, while Gospel Temperance publications and The Christian, of course, promoted Christianity. Sometimes advertisements even intertwined maternalism and ‘pure living’ in their visual rhetoric, such as Mazawattee Tea, which depicted a maternal figure sharing a cup of tea with a younger lady (Fig. 65).

5.1.4.3. The Monthly Supplement

The Signal (a) assumed a typographically genderless design in a bid to re-establish itself as a family paper with a mixed gender readership; yet, Somerset and Holdsworth still needed to bring in more financial support, and although they did not go ‘into this enterprise to make money’, they were aware that the money made must be enough ‘to carry the enterprise if it is to succeed’. 611 Their answer to this longstanding hindrance was to issue a monthly supplement to the weekly Signal (a), which could be sold separately for one penny, though the willing subscriber would have to pay for 100 issues up front. 612 The Monthly Supplement (periodical supplement) was initially published every fourth week of the month, and followed the same overall design as the Signal (a) (parent periodical), but it had a very different masthead. A section of Raphael’s ‘Sistine Madonna’ stood in the middle of the masthead, with the epigraph ‘THE WOMAN MOVEMENT MEANS ORGANISED MOTHER LOVE’ just below (Fig. 66). On the left-hand side of the image stood half of the main title and subtitle, and on

611 Isobel Somerset, ‘To Our Friends’, Woman’s Signal, 4 January 1894, pp. 1-16.
612 The Woman’s Signal Monthly Supplement, 25 January 1894, p. 68.
the right-hand side were the remaining halves of the main title and subtitle. The arrangement of the masthead, however, was not unique to the *Monthly Supplement; Review* had a very similar masthead appearing as early as January 1892, which once again reveals that Stead and his New Journalism style were certainly a big influence (Fig. 67). Yet, the *Review*’s masthead is slightly more successful, because the frame that wraps around the title encompasses the main image. The grouping of the *Monthly Supplement*’s masthead, however, feels more as though Madonna’s image cuts the main title and subtitle in half, rather than it being a connection point or part of the title. In a similar vein, on either side of the image, the editors’ names also feel more separated rather than tied together by the image, making this an unsuccessful grouping. Nonetheless, the messages communicated by this masthead were certainly mostly, if not exclusively, aimed at a female readership, in contrast to the genderless typographical masthead of the weekly issue (parent periodical).

Thus far it has been established that the *Signal (a)* followed a model that was heavily based on New Journalism. Likewise, choosing to use a section from Raphael’s ‘Sistine Madonna’ for the masthead of the *Monthly Supplement* had its roots in the *Review*, because that same image featured as front cover to the paper’s January issue, which was part of the January-June 1893 bound volume (Fig. 68). On that page, apart from the image credits immediately under the image, there was no other explanation of the reason that prompted Stead as editor to use this image; yet, those who followed his activities would have known that not only was he a devoted Christian, but he was also an ardent supporter of maternalism. In fact, in his lecture ‘If Christ Came to London’ at Queen’s Hall in 1894, he began his speech with ‘Sons of God, daughters of God, brothers and sisters of Christ, before we begin to speak let us pray’, and he also mentioned that they needed ‘mother-love brought into’ the workhouses and the ‘administrative machinery’, mentioning as an example the orphan children of the period and their need ‘to be mothered’, which could easily be offered if women were guardians and tried

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614 More specifically, drawing the inner section on top of the image, and the outer section behind the image gives the illusion that the image is included in.
to infuse more life into their existence’. In a similar vein, during the memorial service following Stead’s tragic death, a speaker noted that:

One of [Stead’s] supreme aims in life was to lift [woman] to her true plane in life, and to kindle within her a sense of the greatness of her responsibility and of the need there was for the whole-hearted dedication of her powers to the welfare of mankind.

Stead was ‘always throughout his life the champion of the rights of women and believed in their human, social, and political equality with men’, so in addition to his belief in maternalism and Christianity, it is no surprise that he would add this image in his well circulated publication, seeing it as a good representation of the relationship and importance of women to mankind.

Comparably, Somerset and Holdsworth argued that ‘woman movement means organised mother love’, which is why they believed an image of the ‘Sistine Madonna’ was rather appropriate for the masthead of the Monthly Supplement, maintaining the themes of maternalism, Christianity and ‘pure living’.

5.1.4.4. The Monthly Review

Nevertheless, the reality was that the weekly issue was a luxury for the regular working-class temperance worker, and the Monthly Supplement was perhaps too specialised, and expensive since it was only available in sets of 100 issues. So, realistically unless the NBWTA Branches purchased it, the individual female reader would not have access to it, whereas the weekly issue was too much of an extravagance for the average working-class female reader. For instance, a North London branch worker openly admitted in her letter that ‘the weekly SIGNAL is splendid, but many true and loyal British women cannot attain to such a luxury’. This was something that Somerset, given her experience with the Journal (1893) and the Herald (c), must have been very well aware of, which explains why they decided to publish the monthly digest Budget, after the Monthly Supplement was discontinued, and in parallel to the weekly Signal (a) (Fig. 69). The inspiration for a publication that would provide a digest of the best sections in the weekly Signal (a) possibly came from Stead again, since the

616 “If Christ Came to London”: Mr Stead at Queen’s Hall, Woman’s Signal Special Supplement, 1 November 1894, pp. 291-2.
618 ‘Mr W. T. Stead’, Votes for Women, 26 April 1912, p. 466.
daily *Pall Mall Gazette*, already had a weekly *Pall Mall Gazette Budget*, and a monthly *Pall Mall Magazine*, and of course Stead’s *Review* was in actuality a digest of all the best articles published in the newspaper and periodical reviews available at the time. The *Budget* was aimed, therefore, at the average, and perhaps not particularly affluent, British woman or temperance woman volunteer who might wish to purchase the paper individually, and this is the reason that the masthead incorporated a mixture of elements of the masthead used in the weekly *Signal* (a), as well as the masthead used for the *Monthly Supplement*. More specifically, the *Budget*’s masthead not only included the image of the ‘Sistine Madonna’ and the slightly changed subtitle ‘The Women’s Movement Means Organised Mothers Love’, but it combined these with the epigraph ‘For God & Home and Every Land’. Furthermore, it included a white ribbon (which was the symbol of the WCTU and stood for purity and peace), white lilies (which were the symbol of chastity, innocence, purity, and piety), as well as ornamental arts and crafts typefaces, and overall it communicated that this was a publication by Evangelist/Gospel Temperance women, for their sisters who may or may not have been acquainted, as yet, with the NBWTA.

The *Budget*’s masthead was a carefully considered design that aimed to attract new readers, in contrast to the slightly unsuccessful masthead of the supplement, which was mostly aimed at existing members. To begin with, the whole composition was enclosed in a frame rather than being printed straight onto the white space provided for the masthead, which in itself implies a sense of togetherness. Then, within that frame, the first information that stands out is the main title due to its sheer size. White argues that ‘manipulating sizes so one element overwhelms another affects the meaning’ of a composition and results in the dominance of that element over the others. White argues that ‘manipulating sizes so one element overwhelms another affects the meaning’ of a composition and results in the dominance of that element over the others.621 Naturally, readers might swiftly scan an image first, but they typically go on to read the text and afterwards go back to examine the image.622 Therefore, the dominance of the main title is helpful in that it draws the eye to the title on the right, rather than allowing the habitual quick initial scan of the image and a customary reading from the left.

621 White, p. 63.
This way the reader gets all the important information first (i.e. which paper this is, how often it's published and how much it costs), and then s/he knows enough to move on to the rest of the elements, starting with the image, which is the second most prominent element in the masthead. After examining the image, the subtitle wrapped around it would perhaps be the next information the reader would like to read carefully, and then comes the epigraph at the bottom left hand corner. At the same time, the curly lines in the background (which begin from the left hand corner and softly fade out towards the left hand corner), the lilies (which begin from low and under the ribbon and grow upwards and through the main title), and the ribbon (which notionally wraps all the elements together), create a successful figure/ground relationship in which the different subjects and their surrounding space are all unified.⁶²³

Psychologist Max Wertheimer argued that human perception tends ‘to seek out wholes rather than fragments’, and this is exactly the reason that the Budget's masthead was successful, whereas the Monthly Supplement's fragmented composition can surely be considered as less effective.⁶²⁴

Somerset, and Holdsworth, perhaps with Willard's consent, invested in such a carefully considered masthead, because they wanted their monthly Budget to be ‘a great success’.⁶²⁵ They declared that a full Monthly Supplement to the weekly official organ that was ‘specially devoted to temperance news and details of B.W.T.A. work’ was ‘urgently required to meet a greatly felt need’; the reality was that its success was not certain, adding that they ‘would soon have practical proof whether or not this is the case’.⁶²⁶ As much as the editors wanted to approach the average female reader, however, I would argue that Somerset and Holdsworth, although humanitarians, were specialists and cosmopolitans, who were really not in touch with the day-to-day reality of the average temperance worker. Shiman argues that ‘one of the most interesting aspects of Gospel Temperance was the way it managed to draw in a great variety of people’, which allowed the formation of ‘a temperance fellowship that included men,

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⁶²³ The curly lines representing the ground/background, and flowers rising from the centre towards the top right corner was a composition resembling the 1889 cover of The Artist Printer previously mentioned in Chapter 4, p. 195.
⁶²⁴ Moszkowicz, pp. 56-67 (p. 62).
⁶²⁵ Mattingly, p. 67.
women and children from all walks of life. Subsequently, Gospel Temperance ‘cut across class lines and involved not only the poor but also the rich, the aristocracy and the merchants’. The BWTA, in particular, although it later split into the NBWTA and the WTAU, was an organisation that consisted of many smaller scale local groups based across the country that ‘varied according to local conditions’; yet, all the members were united under the Christian banner, and in order to enforce this bond ‘all meetings opened and closed with a prayer’. It has also been argued that the Temperance movement ‘struck a chord with large numbers of working people, not least because it suggested that both personal salvation and social transformation were in their hands rather than the hands of priests or politicians’, whilst especially for women it allowed an active role in the public sphere. Nevertheless, evidence suggests not only that Willard’s model was for many perceived as elitist, but also that her aim to involve all people from all backgrounds was difficult to achieve in Britain, though it may have succeeded in America.

5.1.5. Paratexts: Messages Incompatible to the Editorial narrative

Willard and Somerset’s approach to temperance was often perceived as elitist, primarily due to their sophisticated approach to public relations, and self-promotion. For example, all the publications edited by Somerset after she met Willard, such as The Journal (1893) and the Herald (c), were repeatedly printing portraits of the two women either separately or together (Fig. 70). In a similar manner, the Signal (a) printed portraits of the two women numerous times within the short time frame of one year (Fig. 71). Historian Ian R. Tyrrell argues that such a tendency towards self-promotion derived from Willard’s mastery ‘at the art of soliciting fame’, a practice that she managed to pass on to those closest to her. In fact, this tendency was so obvious outside their own circle that it was often ridiculed as an act of ‘self-advertising coterie’ by an elite group of ‘Anglo-American ladies’ whose ‘routine’ involved ‘writing each

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627 Shiman, p. 99.
628 Ibid., p. 184.
630 Tyrrell also mentions the time that Willard presumably received a telegram from the American Woman’s Christian Temperance Union supporting her efforts in Britain, while she was in London in 1893, when in fact it was she who sent the telegram to herself ‘saluting her international stature’. Ian R. Tyrrell, Woman’s World/Woman’s Empire: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in International Perspectives (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), p. 58.
other’s biographies, telling beautiful stories of one another, and publishing each other’s photographs’. Indeed, this is the overwhelming feeling that time and time again typifies the pages of the *Herald* (c), and the *Signal* (a). For example, Somerset’s handwritten signature features at the bottom of the majority of her articles, Willard’s lengthy articles could feature in the same issue more than once, and their portraits could either feature in the main copy as iconic peritexts to the anchor text, or in the advertising pages alongside an announcement for an upcoming conference (Fig. 72).

I would argue, however, that during such difficult times for women and considering their position in society, Somerset and Willard needed to be continuously insistent in promoting their work, in order to compensate for the lack of exposure for women’s work in the majority of the press, whilst encouraging other women by example. However, this seemingly elitist approach was not limited to their advertising practices, but was also apparent in the administrative model used to run the WCTU and the BWTA. Willard always claimed that the WCTU eventually ‘would become democratic and fully responsible to conventions’, and that the ‘elitist tutelage would only persist during the period of growth, while international sentiment remained weak’. Conversely, Willard was ‘quite content’ in maintaining the hierarchical structure and ‘never did anything about reforming the decision-making process’.

Furthermore, the fact that Somerset was an extremely wealthy aristocrat, who paid Willard annually, so the latter did not have to do any paid work, and was able to focus on the temperance cause did not help either. In other words, the *Signal* (a) had its own ‘queenly center’; Somerset and Willard were the monarchs of Temperance, and similarly to Emily Faithfull in *Victoria Magazine*, they ‘had become the magazine’s primary subject of interest’.

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634 Tyrrell, p. 56.
635 Ibid.
636 Ibid.
637 Ibid.; Ruth Bordin, wrote in her biography of Willard: ‘Lady Henry had money, and her largesse cushioned Willard’s experience with the mid-1890s’ financial crisis in the United States and perhaps made her less perceptive of the ways this crisis threatened a number of WCTU goals’. Other sources also confirm that Willard was receiving an annual payment from Somerset, and they also state that Somerset used to pay the full expenses for the pair of them to go on health retreats from the time Willard first got ill while touring England, and until her death. Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1986).
638 Frawley explains how Faithfull displayed ‘her public presence’, after Queen Victoria’s presence in *Victoria Magazine* diminished, using: full page ads for her public lectures; smaller advertisements for her novel and for meetings at her home; minutes from the Victoria Debating Society; excerpts from letters she had sent to papers in
5.1.6. Other Conditions that led to Disappointment

This type of elitism emerged from a traditional social hierarchy which was deeply entrenched in late nineteenth century Britain, and produced the kinds of people who formed the various reformist groups, which meant that the status quo was still very much intact at the very heart of the British temperance movement. For instance, in the case of the NBWTA, the leader was Somerset, who was an aristocrat, while many of the executive members either shared her affluent background or were financially comfortable middle-class women, but at the heart of the organisation were the average temperance worker-volunteers, who dedicated a lot of their time and hard work to the cause. These people typically came from working- and lower middle-class families, who were ‘formerly itinerant and immigrant families’ that had now permanently settled ‘in the industrial centres of England’, and usually were more ‘interested in the problems of their own communities than in those of the larger world’.639 The majority of provincial temperance workers, therefore, would have been uninterested in the activities of their metropolitan sisters like Somerset, who were typically upper class women based at the cosmopolitan parts of the capital.640 In addition to this apparent chasm between the provincial temperance workers and their elite London-based leaders, the London-based working-class as a whole were not particularly interested in religion. In fact historian Paul Thompson argues that ‘religion had no hold upon the working classes of nineteenth century London’.641 He draws on Bishop Wisham How of East London, who stated that East Enders perceived religion ‘as belonging to a wholly different class from themselves, and to a class looked upon with no kindly regard’, primarily because they associated it with ‘a prosperity’ they envied, and ‘a luxury’ they resented.642 At the same time, women’s temperance groups, such as the NBWTA, in a similar way to any other ‘pioneering associations, ran up against the established social patterns of the day’; thus, even though they might have had a widespread appeal, ‘the

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Shiman, p. 187.
640 Ibid., p. 188.
642 Ibid.
majority of women were reluctant to be involved in what might be considered unladylike activities.\textsuperscript{643}

In addition to the above, there were three more reasons why Somerset’s publications were not able to attract an adequate readership: firstly, the temperance periodical press was already competing to attract what was a large specialist readership, but still a minority in comparison to the average general late Victorian readership; secondly, there were the opposing positions between New Women, including temperance women, for unity or union; and thirdly, there was the fact that running three different specialist publications could not possibly have been practical, even if each publication was designed to serve a different audience. More specifically, for the year 1888 Mitchell’s newspaper press directory lists 46 temperance periodicals, which does not include any official organs such as the \textit{British Women’s Temperance Journal}, or any other publications that may have been aimed at a temperance audience but did not state this in their title.\textsuperscript{644} This list then increased to include 55 temperance periodicals by 1891, and by 1894 the same list was reduced to 5 temperance periodicals.\textsuperscript{645} This reduction in temperance publications, when compared with the fact that the interest in the temperance cause, as it was documented in the general newspaper and periodical press, was more or less on the rise between 1888 and 1890, and seemingly stable thereafter and until 1895, means that temperance workers were indifferent or simply could not afford to be regular subscribers to temperance publications. Somerset and Holdsworth, therefore, were competing for a share of ‘the already proven to be uninterested’ temperance audience, which was a minority specialist readership to begin with.\textsuperscript{646} Speaking specifically to the issue of combined action (the second reason for failing to attract an adequate readership, above), a reader writing to the \textit{Paper/Herald} (a) three years earlier explained thus:

\begin{quote}
I believe there is a real danger in all societies amalgamating; danger of faction within and increased opposition without. I have already pointed out the grave objections to a single leader. The same remarks apply to societies; so that all work for the main object it is wisest to agree to differ in detail.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{643} Shiman, p. 186.
\textsuperscript{645} Ibid., pp. 44, 232.
\textsuperscript{646} Shiman, p. 186.
To strive for a common end from different standpoints is the perfection of policy. Unity is better than union.\textsuperscript{647}

Another reader wrote in to say that she did not believe that women could combine, and even if they did decide to combine, this would ‘retard’ their cause, let alone being able to agree for a leader.\textsuperscript{648} This of course was the main reason that the BWTA split into two camps, because Somerset’s ‘Do Everything’ policy, which ‘encouraged members to be active in a wide variety of social causes, including women’s suffrage’ was promoting union under the banner of the BWTA.\textsuperscript{649} And even if Somerset did have many followers who agreed with her viewpoint, the majority of temperance workers, who later formed the WTAU, were against it. Thus, once again the target audience was not really as united, or as diverse as it might have been anticipated. Lastly, another letter to the \textit{Paper/Herald} \textsuperscript{(a)} also touched upon the consequences of investing in more than one publication, with the reader arguing that it would be more practical if the collective support were given to one paper, adding that ‘it is in the multiplicity of organs that women so often lose their strength; they never seem able to combine and make one thing a grand success as is done in America’.\textsuperscript{650} This last statement, of course, refers to different publications by different producers, but the argument is still applicable here. For instance, Somerset and Holdsworth were dividing their efforts between the equally demanding main weekly issue and monthly supplement, and then between the main weekly issue and the monthly review. This decision could only add more financial strain to an already challenging project, not only dividing the overall effort into two, but also requiring two times the financial support. Subsequently, the \textit{Monthly Supplement} was only produced nine times until it was discontinued, and the \textit{Signal} \textsuperscript{(a)} was passed on to Florence Fenwick Miller sometime in September 1895.\textsuperscript{651}

\textsuperscript{649} Shiman, p. 185.
\textsuperscript{651} Somerset originally approached Sarah A. Tooley, a well-known interviewer who wrote for \textit{Signal} \textsuperscript{(a)} for more than a year, and only when Tooley kindly refused the offer Somerset then needed to find another candidate and subsequently settled with Fenwick-Miller. Clare Mendes, ‘Representations of the New Woman in the 1890s Woman’s Press’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, Department of English, 2013), pp. 104-5.
LADY HENRY SOMERSET AND ANNIE E. HOLDSWORTH.

Fig. 52. Woman's Signal, 4 January 1894, p. 1.
Fig. 53. Woman’s Signal Budget, 15 April 1895, Front Cover.
Fig. 54.
i. (top left): The Personal Rights Journal, January 1890, Front Cover.
ii. (top right): Wings, March 1894, Front Cover.
iii. (bottom left): Shafts, 3 November 1892, Front Cover.
iv. (bottom right): Woman, 9 January 1895, Front Cover (in use since 1891).
5/- Extraordinary Offer. 5/-
10,000 CARPETS
FIVE SHILLINGS EACH.
GUARANTEED GENUINE BARGAINS. 98
The British Carpet Weaving Company will forward DIRECT from TURKISH LOOMS to any address on receipt of Postal Order for 5/- each, one of their GENUINE WOVEN REVERSIBLE TRINITY CARPETS, large and narrow, in colours in sateen effect now. dressing room, hallway, etc., and LARGE ENOUGH TO COVER ANY ORDINARY-SIZED ROOM, as an advertisement for the introduction of their goods.
These carpets are made of a material almost equal to wool, and being a specialty of our own, they can only be obtained DIRECT FROM OUR LOOMS than saving the purchaser any middle profits.
The proof of this being a genuine offer is explained in the following fact - "Although we have already supplied thousands of these Carpets and Rugs to the public at appreciations as DOUBLES THESE PRICES, we have never had one returned. Send for Sample, and, if not satisfied, Money will be returned in full.
A Rug sent with Carpet for 10. 6d. extra; or a Carpet and a Rug sent for 10. 10d.
This extraordinary offer may not be repeated.
All orders must be accompanied by payment.
The words UNION BANK should be written across all Postal Orders.
THE BRITISH CARPET WEAVING COMPANY,
31, Old Street, Aldersgate, London, E.C.

BODENMOUTH.—APARTMENTS OR PERMANENT RESIDENCE.
Can be warmly recommended by a lady who has stayed there, and who describes the house as "a very charming home." Moderate terms. Address—Mrs. M., Coglian Moor, Bodenmough.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE B.W.T.A.—Contains

THE CHEAPEST PLEDGE BOOK EVER ISSUED.— A Forms
In Covers. One Halfpenny; 6d. per doz.; 1s. 6d. per 100, post free. from Secretary, "DRAWING," Finsbury Park, London, N., Not less than 1 doz. posted.

British Women's Temperance Home,
SYDENHAM.
Is intended for Ladies desiring to overcome habits of Intemperance.
The arrangements are those of a private family, and home comfort is combined with moderate charges.
For Terms and Particulars apply to Mrs. Yearsfield, Alpha Villa, Bedfont.

Possessing all the Properties of the Finest Arrowroot,
BROWN & POLSON'S CORN FLOUR
Is a Household Requisite of Constant Utility for the Nursery, the Family Table, and the Sick Room.

NOTE.—Unlike many other Corn Flours, this bears the name of its Manufacturers, who offer the guarantee of their long-established reputation for its uniformly superior quality.

"MONTSESRAT"
(TRADE MARK)
Pure Lime-Fruit Juice
In IMPERIAL QUARTS and PINTS.

Many other Refreshing Drinks can be produced with the "Montserrat" Lime-Fruit Cordials—list of which follows—

LIMETTA, OR PURE LIME-JUICE CORDIAL,
AMARANTH,
RASPBERRY,
PEPPERMINT,
CLOVER,
SAMAPARIKUL,
JARDONVILLE,
STRAWBERRY,
PINEAPPLE,
QUININE.
LIME-FRUIT JUICE SYRUP,
LIME JUICE JUJUBES AND TABLETS.

CAUTION!
"MONTSESRAT" LIME-FRUIT JUICE & CORDIALS.
The success of the above has caused many IMITATIONS to spring up, many of them ITTERISH WINES.

LESS CONVEINIENTS. It is therefore of the utmost importance to Traders of well as the public to see that the trade marks on the MONTSESRAT COMPANY (Limited), and the MONSSESRAT, are on the Capsule of each Bottle. The word "Montserrat" is also duly registered as a Trade Mark, and protected against all persons infringing the Trade Marks as above named.

SOLE CONSiORES—EVANS, BONS & CO., Liverpool.

LONDON:
Evans, Leece & Webb.
Evans, Sons & Massey, Ltd., Montreal.

From all Chemists, Grocers, &c.

FINE SILVER BROOCHES in each, postage extra. Any name, initials, fern-leaf, Maltese cross, or butterfly, &c. Also LARGE HOLLAND ARTICLES (with box), 1s. 3d. Do not look for one. Proceeds towards completing building the BAYTON TEMPERANCE AND MISSION HALL. Further help most urgently needed. Address—Mrs. A. Marshall, Han. Trentham, Westcott Barton, Oxford.

NEAVE'S FOOD.
For Infants, Growing Children, Invalids & The Aged.
"Carefully prepared and highly nutritious."—Lancet.

18, ENDSLEIGH GARDENS,
EUSTON ROAD,
LONDON, N.W.

First-class Temperance Hotel,
WELL-APPOINTED,
ACCESSIBLE, CONVENIENT, MODERATE, QUIET.

Proprietor—J. J. BENNETT,
Manager, Proprietor, New Atkins Hotel, and
formerly agent of the British Hotel of Hope, Union.

Fig. 55.
The British Women's Temperance Journal, October 1888, Front Cover.
Fig. 56.
i. (top left): Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, *Specimens of Point Line Type* (Sheffield: Stephenson, Blake & Co., 1908), p. 16.
ii. (top right): Ibid., p. 17.
iii. (bottom left): Ibid., p. 20.
Fig. 57.

i. (top left): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1889, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1890, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1891, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): Pall Mall Gazette, 1 January 1892, p. 1.
AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. WALTER BENJAMIN.

THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL

EDITED BY

LADY HENRY SOMERSET AND ANNIE E. HOLDSWORTH.

VOL. I. NO. 1.

FEBRUARY 14, 1894.

POINTED AND JOURNALISM.

The Lady (Continued.)—I then went over the

examinations that have been made of those

of the Village of "The Doll," as women,

noting particularly the results, and those

that imposed penalties on them which took

much of the place of journalistic criticism.

The Woman's Signal has been very

kindly received in a number of places,

where it is said to be the only paper of its

kind in the city. The paper is said to be

very effective in the hands of the women

for the purpose of obtaining the release of

those who have been unjustly accused.

Mrs. Benjamin (Continued.)—We are

glad to hear that the paper is becoming

more and more popular. It is said to be

an effective means of obtaining the

release of those who have been unjustly

accused. It is also said to be very

effective in the hands of the women

for the purpose of improving the

condition of the women in the city.

The Woman's Signal.

ALL SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF WOMEN.

W. B. WOOLCOTT.

The Woman's Signal is a new paper that has

been established to promote the interests

of women. It is said to be very effective in

the hands of the women for the purpose

of obtaining the release of those who have

been unjustly accused. It is also said to be

very effective in the hands of the women

for the purpose of improving the

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of obtaining the release of those who have

been unjustly accused. It is also said to be

very effective in the hands of the women

for the purpose of improving the

condition of the women in the city.
Fig. 59.

i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 20 September 1894, p. 1.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 3 January 1895, p. 1.
A Stimulating Sustaining Cup Made Instantly

A SMALL SPOONFUL of CADBURY'S COCOA with boiling water or milk, will make a large breakfast cup of the most delicious, digestible, absolutely pure, and nourishing Cocoa, of the greatest strength, and the finest flavour, entirely free from any admixture.

Cadbury's Cocoa provides a refined daily beverage for the restless, the young, the old, and particularly those of weak and impaired digestion.

"The Typical Cocoa of"
"Cocoa Manufacture"
"Absolutely Pure"
"The Analyst"
"The Name CADBURY on"
"any packet of Cocoa is a"
"guarantee of purity"
"A Radical Remedy"

Dr. Norden's Polar Expedition—Messrs. Cadbury have supplied above 2000 lbs. of Cocoa Essence and Chocolate to2000 lbs. of Cocoa Essence and Chocolate to"
Fig. 61.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 11 January 1894, p. 29.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 11 January 1894, p. 31.
Fig. 62.

i. (left): Woman's Signal, 18 January 1894, p. 45.

Fig. 63.  

i. (left): *Woman’s Signal*, 23 August 1894, p. 128.  
Fig. 64.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 15 February 1894, p. 116.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 24 January 1895, p. 63.
THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL.

Temperance Movement. It began the war against Mrs. Grundy, the protecting goddess of many a diabolic custom. "The Crusader in Great Britain" is an interesting story of Mother Stewart's visit to the Home Country, but we have not space to refer to it at large. Both works are necessary to a knowledge of the Temperance and Women's movements.

The Alcoholic Question. A lecture by G. Bunce, M.D.

This is an admirable pamphlet, packed with up-to-date argument and statistics, forming a useful repository for the platform speaker. Dr. Bunce is against the "moderates," and argues well for state-interference. "The tempters are the moderate, and so long as the temptation does not cease, excess will not cease." "The Moderation Socition...have achieved nothing." The statistics on life assurance at the end are valuable. The lecture pulverizes in small space the case against prohibition.

My Chief Strength and Other Poems. By Charles D. Sturte. (Ideal Publishing Union, Memorial Hall, price 50c.)

This is a collection of pretty and musical verses. The subjects are of a domestic nature, and display flowing rhythm and a delicate fancy. The little volume is well worth reading.

We quote the following:

A SUMMER IDYLL.

They sat together, youth and maid,

By the sweet ever-winding river,

There were pink-lipped daisies, many a one,

While the delicious sang in the summer sun,

In a golden dream on the river.

They pledged their hearts a many times

By the banks of the swift river;

At length the fireless houseward spied,

Each weary daisy dropped its head.

Yet the lover stayed by the river.

Yes, it was truth the lovers read,

In the crystal depths of the river;

All earthly things must pass away,

But love remains for ever.

DELICIOUS MAZAWATTEE TEA.

"AND TRUE LOVE-KNOTS LURKED IN THE BOTTOM OF EVERY TEA-CUP."

(From the Painting by G. Sharman Knowles, R.I.)

Correspondence.

The Editors do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed by correspondents. Will correspondents kindly write on one side of the paper only?

TEMPERANCE TRAVELLERS.

To the Editors of THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL.

Messieurs,—It is not to be wondered at that the authorities of the M. B. & L. Railway Company do nothing to facilitate the progress of the conduct of Temperance travellers at Grinnell when one considers that they do there in relation to the drink traffic. It is well known that within the confines of the docks and close to where all the fishermen and boys land, there is an enormous drinking saloon which the people of Grinnell call "the Hall." The present winter has seen it full of men and boys in all states of inebriety at all hours. Being within the Dock boundary, it is exempt from police supervision, and therefore magisterial influence. Magistrates have second thoughts it is the greatest curse to Grinnell to-day. But they are powerless to deal with it because it is solely worked by and under the control of the Company. I don't know whether the shareholders of the M. B. & L. Company know these sad facts, but there they are, and I for one have little hope for the moral and spiritual life of the young men, especially the fisher class, whilst such a state of things is permitted. The Board of Trade has appointed a Commission to inquire into the condition of this hall at Grinnell who are sent there by various Boards of Guardians in the country, and I hope they in their report will give the"Hall" the most serious consideration. I know many sensible owners who also hope with me,—I am truly yours.

TELLS.
Fig. 66.
THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

January 2nd, 1892.

1892 is to be the year of the General Election. At home all political interests are dominated by that fact. We are approaching the day of decision, and there is anything but a spirit of exultation on either side. The Liberals are not going into the contest with anything approaching the enthusiasm with which they swept all before them in 1886 and 1880. Recent events in Ireland have somewhat dampened their zeal. They will go forth to battle with a foregone assurance of victory, but the "fizz" is out of them. They have three dangers: (1) Mr. Gladstone's health, and Mr. Gladstone is now in his eighty-third year; (2) the perpetuation of the Parnellite schism in the Home Rule ranks; and (3) the development of a Labour party which would be colour-blind as to party differences. The Conservatives have three advantages: (1) an administrative record that is much better than any one expected; (2) a united Cabinet; and (3) a programme of legislation that does not involve a second general election before it can get into operation. Notwithstanding these considerations, few prognostics seem to be more safe than the prediction that Mr. Gladstone next Christmas will have a majority at his back—including the Gladstonian Home Rulers—of at least 100. Such at least is at this moment the expectation that prevails on both sides of the House. In the country, the Conservatives still try hard to make believe they have a chance at this year's polls. At headquarters, they think only of the next General Election but one.

There is much discussion going on as to when the present Parliament will be dissolved, and there are some among the Liberals who imagine the dissolution will take place this spring. There is no reason to expect that Ministers will shorten by a whole session their legal lease of life. Twice in recent years Administrations have tried by a snap dissolution early in the year to capture a fresh majority. Mr. Gladstone failed in 1874, and Lord Beaconsfield in 1880. Mr. Balfour is too ardent a Septennialist to sanction a premature dissolution. The certainty that prevails at Downing Street that the Liberals will have a majority in the next Parliament naturally predisposes Ministers to make the very uttermost of their present opportunities. The General Election, then, we may take it, will not come off until after harvest, unless, of course, some entirely unexpected event should occur. If the Liberals were left leaderless and in confusion, it might be considered worth while appealing to the country before November. But, failing that, the present Parliament has probably nine months still to go.

We shall need the whole nine months, Nine Months' Respite. and more, before we are quite ready to go to the country. The Conservatives have to get their Irish Local Government measure into operation, the Liberals to adjust their differences with the Labour party, and the Irish to end the internecine feud which is being carried on over Mr. Parnell's grave. Nothing that has happened in late years has done so much to justify Mr. Arthur Balfour's supercilious estimate of the Irish as clever but utterly impracticable children, as the insane intoxication of the quarrel about Mr. Parnell after Mr. Parnell's death. "Politicians" and "statesmen" who are capable of prolonging an utterly barren feud, apparently for the sheer delight in ornithological shillelagh play, on the very eve of a General Election, when the destinies of their country are to be decided for the rest of the century by the votes of
Fig. 68.
Fig. 69.
i. (top left): Woman's Signal, 11 April 1895, p. 1
iii. (bottom): Woman's Signal Budget, 15 April 1895, Front Cover.
Fig. 70.

i. (top left): The Journal, October 1893, p. 10.
ii. (top right): The Journal, December 1893, p. 16.
iv. (bottom right): Frances Willard and Lady Somerset in the press, c. 1890s.
Fig. 71.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal Budget, September 1894, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal Budget, January 1895, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 10 May 1894, p. 1.
Fig. 72.
i. (top left): Woman's Signal, 11 January 1894, p. 1.
iv. (bottom right): Woman's Signal, 21 March 1895, p. 191.
5.2. Woman’s Signal (b) (Oct. 3, 1895 – Mar. 23, 1899)

The Woman’s Signal: A Weekly Paper For All Women – About All Their Interests, In The Home And In The Wider World (henceforth, the Signal (b)) launched in October 3rd 1895. It continued with Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd. as printers, until Veale, Chifferiel & Co. Ltd. took over on March 5th 1896, although Horace Marshall & Son continued as the publishers until the paper ceased publication in March 23rd 1899. The Signal (b) continued to be printed on newsprint paper in crown folio size (15 x 10 inch); however, Florence Fenwick Miller was now the editor and sole proprietor with Somerset and Willard as corresponding editors (Fig. 73).

In this section I focus on paratexts such as the front cover, advertising, portraits, fashion plates and illustrations. I argue that Fenwick Miller built her newspaper in accordance with the concepts of bourgeois propriety, meaning (in this context) maternity, matrimony and etiquette, in a bid to lure in the general female reader and in the hope of initiating a wider interest in suffrage. In particular, the relationships between the anchor text and paratexts discussed below demonstrate that Fenwick Miller’s journalistic purpose truly regulated the manner and frequency of paratexts, especially advertising and fashion plates, until she eventually lost the battle to attract the general female reader in great numbers.

5.2.1. The British Feminist Periodical Press in 1895 and Woman’s Signal (b)

When Fenwick Miller launched the Signal (b), the feminist press in Britain, Ireland and the Commonwealth collectively consisted approximately of 30 other periodicals, out of which only 4 were published weekly, though Woman: For All Sorts and Conditions of Women (1890-1912) was perhaps the most well circulated. Shafts (1892-1900) only lasted a few months as a weekly, so by 1895 it turned into a monthly journal, whilst from the remaining 14 monthly publications only Wings (1892-1925) was perhaps the most well-established. In the meantime, across the British mainstream women’s press the most successful ladies’ paper was the Queen (1861-1970), which ‘defined itself as an upper-class journal’, and contained ‘extensive

652 The role of the ‘corresponding editor’ was an American concept, and it meant that Somerset and Willard ‘should be entitled to send for publication in the SIGNAL anything they chose without being subject to rejection or “editing”’ by Fenwick-Miller. Fenwick-Miller also agreed, much to her dismay ‘to allow a large slice of the paper to be made use of monthly, entirely at my expense, to print and publish the official notices and other matters of interest to the BWTA’. In October 1897, however, Fenwick Miller cut all ties with Somerset and Willard. Florence Fenwick-Miller, ‘Editor’s Farewell Address’, Woman’s Signal, 23 March 1899, p. 184.
high-quality engravings of fashion plates and reproductions of contemporary paintings, court news, advice on manners and dress, and reviews.\footnote{Beetham and Boardman (eds.), Victorian Women's Magazines, p. 53.} It also printed material on women’s education, suffrage meetings and ‘other aspects of women’s advance into public life’, even if it ‘never openly advocated the causes espoused by the feminist journals’.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 53, 58.} As a ladies’ paper, the \textit{Queen} ‘specifically addressed women’s public role alongside their role in society’ with much success, which would have provided Fenwick Miller a great precedent to build upon, given that she only had the \textit{Woman} as the penny weekly model to look up to from within the feminist press.\footnote{Ibid., p. 58.} In fact, I would argue that Fenwick Miller was already testing the \textit{Queen’s} model with a middle-class female readership through her column in the \textit{Illustrated London News} (1842-1971), which was first published in 1886 and ran until 1918.

5.2.2. Factual (Basic + Trivial) Paratexts:

By the time she bought the \textit{Signal} (b), Fenwick-Miller was ‘a leader writer, a weekly columnist for the \textit{Illustrated London News}, editor of \textit{Outward Bound} and \textit{Homeward Bound}, and a published author’; she was also a freelance writer to various periodicals, and a popular public speaker that mainly engaged with suffrage subjects.\footnote{Rosemary T. Van Arsdel, \textit{Florence Fenwick Miller: Victorian Feminist, Journalist and Educator} (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), p. 184.} Fenwick Miller had a specific editorial strategy in mind; yet, agreeing to involve Somerset and Willard as corresponding editors, meant that she had to compromise her vision. More specifically, the role of the ‘corresponding editor’ was an American concept, and it denoted that Somerset and Willard ‘should be entitled to send for publication in the SIGNAL anything they chose without being subject to rejection or “editing” by Fenwick Miller.’\footnote{Florence Fenwick-Miller, ‘Editor’s Farewell Address’, \textit{Woman’s Signal}, 23 March 1899, p. 184.} Fenwick Miller also agreed, much to her dismay:

\begin{quote}
To allow a large slice of the paper to be made use of monthly, entirely at my expense, to print and publish the official notices and other matters of interest to the BWTA.\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}

Although this might not have been an ideal arrangement for Fenwick-Miller, it was a very promising change for the paper. Indeed, this was the first time in the combined lifetime of the \textit{Paper, Herald} and \textit{Signal} that the publication was owned, managed, and edited by an
experienced professional journalist and editor. This in itself, as a factual paratext, implied that
the *Signal* (b) was now produced by a progressive New Woman that not only espoused the
suffrage cause, but was also a trained, successful, and well-regarded practising journalist,
who knew how to produce good quality work and cater for the needs of the general female
reader; all of which was additional information that would have potentially convinced any
mindful reader to purchase the *Signal* (b).

5.2.3. The Editorial Narrative of *Woman's Signal* (a)

When Fenwick Miller took over, she promised to sustain the ‘high tone’ of the paper and the
relationship that it had created with the ‘great movements’ of the period, and vowed ‘to
endeavour to widen the scope of the paper’.\(^{659}\) Fenwick Miller aimed to cater for the New
Woman in a manner that would be practical to her, and for that reason she aimed to present
the current news in ‘a condensed form’ with a focus on ‘facts and opinions from “opposite
points of the compass”’.\(^{660}\) The new editor also aimed to discuss women’s legal and social
issues, offer cookery classes as well as etiquette and gardening advice, inform on fashion
and society objects, advice parents on girls’ education and employment, offer news of the
NBWTA and other women’s societies, as well as include a book review, a serial story, and
‘chats’ on health and home management, in addition to a ‘character sketch’.\(^{661}\) As a result,
whereas the *Signal* (a) was a weekly paper directly related to the WCTU, which promoted
maternalism, Christianity and ‘pure living’ and targeted a mixed gender readership across the
social spectrum, the *Signal* (b) emphasized bourgeoise maternity, matrimony, and etiquette,
targeting middle- and, possibly, working-class female readers. In other words, Fenwick Miller
‘nodded to the gendered ideology of motherhood as a woman’s highest aspiration, perhaps
partly to mitigate the radicalism’ of her opinions, in a similar way other women’s rights
activists, such as Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, had done in the past.\(^{662}\) The paratexts
presented below, therefore, generally were complementary to the intended bourgeois

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\(^{659}\) Florence Fenwick Miller, ‘Editor’s Address’, *Woman’s Signal: A Weekly Record and Review of Woman’s Work and Interests at Home and in the Wider World*, 3 October 1895, pp. 1-16 (p. 8).

\(^{660}\) Ibid.

\(^{661}\) Fenwick Miller, ‘Editor’s Address’, 3 October 1895, p. 9.

narrative; nonetheless, the whole hybrid message of suffrage content mixed with mainstream content that was wrapped in a mainstream design did not quite pay off.

5.2.4. Anchor Text: Targeting a Wider Female Audience

Fenwick Miller’s column in the *Illustrated London News* was entitled the ‘Ladies’ Page’, and typically ‘blended fashion with feminism to promote those causes’ she supported, and since she had a good understanding of the ‘right tone’ that ‘would attract readers, making them susceptible to the journalist’s preaching’, she ‘ingeniously combined frivolity with incisive commentary on serious feminist issues’. Similarly to the policy she set out for the *Signal* (b), the format for her column had always been to cover ‘matters specially interesting to ladies, as they arise in the great world week by week’, and while she aimed to include themes such as ‘society, dress, domesticity and charity’, she also incorporated ‘culture, thought and public welfare’. English literature scholar Barbara Onslow reports that the ‘Ladies’ Page’ included fashion, sales bargains, the ‘doings’ of society, and domestic matters for middle-class households; yet, the motivation for her column was to keep ‘women readers up-to-date on the achievements of other members of their sex, including those living outside the capital’. Furthermore, the ‘Ladies’ Page’ included ‘news items from other journals’ in order to ‘make them more widely known or to provide a peg for her own opinion’, an element that she also implemented in the *Signal* (b). Subsequently, Fenwick Miller’s column encouraged women ‘to take pride in their domestic skills and superior knowledge of practical economics’, and assured them ‘of their powers, without any suggestions of being ‘anti-Man’ or advocating the extremes of New Womanhood’; a trusted approach that she later replicated in the *Signal* (b). Like the ‘Ladies’ Page’, the *Signal* (b) aspired to attract the ‘home-making’, yet ‘active-minded’, female reader by mixing feminine domestic themes, such as cookery, dress, hygiene, family management, with seemingly unfeminine public themes, such as education,

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665 Onslow, pp. 88-102 (p. 92).
666 For example, the column ‘Our Cause in the Press’ was used especially for reprinting articles that she felt ought to gain more exposure, or she felt she ought to respond to. ‘Our Cause in the Press’, *Woman’s Signal*, 30 April 1896, p. 279.
667 Onslow, pp. 88-102 (p. 95).
employment, and suffrage, and some acceptably feminine public themes, such as philanthropy, whilst at the same time she aimed to support all women's societies including the NBWTA. Moreover, the editor pointed out that the paper’s ‘ideal new womanhood’ was one that consisted of women who ‘can love their families’ as well as:

Be good daughters and tender and wise mothers, be as usefully "house proud", care as much to look pretty and be thought agreeable, have as much social tact and consideration, and keep up as good a standard of society intercourse and polite behaviour, as ever.

In other words, Fenwick Miller targeted the female reader that retained an ‘intelligent interest in public affairs’ and a ‘conscientious desire to promote human progress and happiness, with a sense of duty to their day and their name’.

‘In a bid to attract and retain readers in a highly competitive market’, nineteenth century studies scholar Hilary Fraser and others argue, ‘editors and proprietors often had to decide whether to go up-market or to make their journals cheaper’. In this case, the price could not be any lower, since it was already one pence, so Fenwick Miller chose to upgrade and widen her readership by mixing general interest content, such as fiction, with specialist content, such as suffrage news, wrapped in a seemingly mainstream design. For instance, the Signal (b) included etiquette and gardening, which were often found in the mainstream women’s press, and rarely, if ever, appeared in the feminist press, whilst it specifically included articles on ‘middle-class cookery’. Similarly, dress and fashion, character sketches, book reviews, serial stories, health and home management also appeared in the Signal (b); whilst these were subjects that primarily featured in the mainstream press, they may have appeared in the general feminist press, but were typically appropriated to correspond with the publication’s identity. The new mainstream-inspired feminine identity of the Signal (b) was also evident in the stereotypically feminine typeface, which featured in the masthead, the advertisements and

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668 ‘Home-making’ included ‘home decoration and sanitary arrangements, cooking, manners in society, gardening, needlework’ and so forth; ‘Personal interests’ included ‘dress, the care of the family and individual health and appearance, the means of employment (for whose who must earn money), sports and pastimes for the leisure hours’; ‘Public affairs’ included ‘politics, organised philanthropy, and efforts for reforms in morals, manners, and social arrangement’. Fenwick Miller, ‘Editor’s Address’, 3 October 1895, pp. 1-16 (p. 8).
669 Ibid.
670 Ibid.
671 Fraser, Green and Johnston, p. 69.
672 For example, dress and fashion in the Paper/Herald (a), which was a feminist weekly paper, was presented very differently to dress and fashion in Myra’s Journal, which was a monthly fashion magazine.
articles, the use of front and back ad-covers, and the occasional fashion supplements. All the above classically mainstream characteristics were combined with articles on public affairs, women's questions and societies, which were all subjects that would appear often in the feminist press, but not so much in the mainstream press. In other words, the Signal (b) was primarily targeting a middle-class all-female readership, focusing on the female reader who considered herself a 'house-mother', but at the same time embraced concepts of New Womanhood, such as being involved in, or at least being knowledgeable of, public affairs.673

5.2.5. Paratexts: Communicating Complementary Messages
5.2.5.1. The Typographical Masthead and the Image above the Editorial
The Signal (b) was mainly published as a 16-page weekly issue, with a temporary exception in the six months that it was published as a 20-page number with a supplement entitled the National British Women’s Temperance Association Supplement (henceforth the NBWTA Supplement).674 Fenwick-Miller removed the headline from the masthead seen in the Signal (a), and changed the subtitle to ‘A Weekly Paper for all Women ABOUT ALL THEIR INTERESTS IN THE HOME AND IN THE WIDER WORLD’, which emphasised that the paper was no more targeting a mixed gender but a female-only readership. The overseer also offered his own emphasis on the subtitle by typesetting the section ‘A Weekly Paper for all Women’ in an ornamental typeface, whilst capitalising the remaining section of the subtitle.675 Fenwick Miller replaced the logo of the WCTU, which typically appeared on top of the editorial in the middle of the weekly issue in the Signal (a), with the image of the ‘Sistine Madonna’ formerly used in the Monthly Supplement by the previous editors (Fig. 74).676

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673 Fenwick Miller, ‘Editor's Address’, 3 October 1895, pp. 216-7 (p. 216).
674 For the first six months of 1896, every third issue of the month the Signal (b) was published with the Special Supplement, which provided official and branch news of the NBWTA. It followed the same overall design as the parent periodical, but it had a much more generic typographical masthead, in comparison to the feminised typographical masthead of the Signal (b). The typefaces used for the masthead were much bolder in style, but smaller in size. The supplement accommodated various advertisements, including a typographical advertisement of the parent periodical, which stretched through the top and bottom of each page. The Special Supplement was sold only as a supplement to the Signal (b), and was not available to buy independently.
675 See Appendix II / Historical Context: Sections I, II.
676 The WCTU logo continued to appear above sections relevant to temperance until it was altogether removed.
5.2.5.2. The Advertising

The *Signal* (a) ‘was losing heavily’ when Fenwick-Miller agreed to take over, and, as she later admitted, when she took over inevitably she was agreeing ‘to bear the loss, at the same rate that [Somerset] had been losing, for an adequate time in order to allow of [her] altering existing arrangements’. Nonetheless, although the new editor knew that she was not going to make money entering this enterprise, she hoped to ‘bring the ship round to the wind’, and as it is explained below, she tried to do so without having to compromise the feminist identity of the *Signal* (b). As I have demonstrated above, Fenwick Miller borrowed many elements from mainstream ladies’ papers such as the *Queen*, and her successful mainstream ‘Ladies’ Page’ column in the *Illustrated London News*, and perhaps also used the most commercialised and lightly feminist *Woman* as inspiration, all in a bid to widen the scope and appeal of the *Signal* (b). Subsequently, to compliment this hybrid type of anchor text, which mixed mainstream prose with suffrage news, she allowed the use of mainstream paratexts such as what was perceived to be a feminine typeface for the subtitle, fashion plates and advertising.

However, she actively tried not to completely sell her paper to advertisers, and to maintain full control not only of the main content, but also the images and products in the advertising pages. For example, during January 1896 the temperance paper *Wings* (1892-1925) featured numerous adverts selling healthy foods and supplements, which were similar to those found in the *Signal* (b), but it also featured numerous adverts selling corsets or beauty products that featured images of women, as well as adverts selling commodities such as furniture, watches, and silverware. Similarly, the *Woman*, which started as a ‘moderate’ feminist paper, though by then had turned into ‘a fashionable ladies’ magazine’, often featured adverts for hair curlers, hair shampoo, hosiery, dresses, department store sales, sanitary towels for babies, and corsets, all of which depicted female models.

Likewise, other women’s periodicals of the period, such as the *Wife, the Wheelwoman, Myra’s Journal*, and *Hearth and Home*, as well as

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677 Florence Fenwick-Miller, ‘Editor’s Farewell Address’, *Woman’s Signal*, 23 March 1899, p. 184.
678 Ibid.
men’s or family papers, such as the Graphic, the Westminster Budget, the World and the Pick-Me-Up, all featured numerous adverts that depicted images of women or sold various other commodities. Earlier feminist papers, such as the Women’s Gazette (1888-1891), the Paper/Herald (a), the Herald (b), the Herald (c), and even later feminist papers, such as Votes for Women (1907-1918), Vote (1909-1933), and the Suffragette (1912-1915), also featured adverts that used images of women selling fashionable hats and clothes, or featured adverts selling other commodities such as furniture or silverware (Fig. 75).

The Signal (b), however, managed to withstand this obedience to fashion and commodity advertising for as long as it was feasibly possible, which was an achievement that by then only Shafts was able to claim (Fig. 76).\(^{681}\) In fact, the Signal (b) featured advertisements that mostly advertised healthy foods and supplements, such as cocoa, liver pills, bread, lozenges, baby food, soups, and cooking ingredients, such as yeast and beef extracts. The longest running typographical advertisement was that of Epps’s cocoa (106 weeks), whereas the lengthiest iconotypographical advertisement was that of Carter’s liver pills (145 weeks). Moreover, the longest running advertising campaign, meaning that the advertiser used a combination of typographical and iconotypographical adverts, was funded by Cadbury’s cocoa (88 weeks), though Fry’s cocoa and Dr Tibble’s Vi-cocoa were also advertised, making cocoa the most advertised product in the Signal (b), though not as heavily advertised as in the Paper/Herald (a).\(^{682}\) More significantly for this argument, these types of advertisements, in contrast to the ‘advertorials’ mentioned below, were simple in rhetoric and appearance, and did not use images of women to sell their products. For example, Cadbury’s and Fry’s cocoa adverts, which had previously been prominent in size and complex in rhetoric when they featured in the Herald (c), were now typically typographical, or with a small illustration depicting a man drinking cocoa, and occupying a third of the page (Fig. 77). Similarly, the

\(^{681}\) Shafts featured advertising that was very progressive for the time, selling pure farm produce, such as apples, home-made jams, English honey, bottled currants and plums, pure finely-ground wholemeal, butter and Devonshire cream, fruits, nuts, vegetables, and so forth; all of which were products that today would typically be found in expensive markets, such as London Borough market, or organic delicatessens. Shafts also advertised books on vegetarianism, cremation services, though sometimes also featured table cutlery; yet, most of the advertisers that were found in its pages were hardly ever seen in other periodicals.

\(^{682}\) Fenwick Miller took over in October 1895, so the advertisers that were already advertising in Signal (a) remained more or less the same in Signal (b), and for that reason, the above data is based on the advertisements that appeared from January 1896 to March 1899.
advert for Carter’s liver pills, and other similar adverts for lozenges or jellies, used plain designs that were neutral in terms of their target audience, and did not use images of women (Fig. 78). This meant that the uncontrolled publication of images of women, or images of women’s bodies, which enforced late Victorian commodity culture - encouraging women to indulge in the endless buying and beautifying of themselves and/or their houses - did not exist in the advertising pages of the Signal (b) for the first 82 issues (Fig. 79).

5.2.6. Paratexts: Messages Incompatible to the Editorial narrative

5.2.6.1. The Front Cover

In her continual search for strategies that would make the Signal (b) more successful, in 1897 Fenwick Miller introduced an ad-cover that allowed an increase in advertisements (Fig. 80). The new ad-cover consisted of a typographical masthead, and a photo of Hera, the Goddess of marriage and family, with a list of contents to her left, various typographical advertisements to her right, and two different typographical adverts at the top and the bottom of the page. The masthead to the main copy was also changed to a more simple typographical composition, which presented the title of the paper and the subtitle ‘A WEEKLY RECORD AND REVIEW FOR LADIES’. The exterior masthead, however, was more elaborate, including the editor’s title and name, and the subtitle ‘A Weekly Record and Review devoted to the Interests of Women in the Home and in the Wider World’. Both mastheads were typeset in typefaces inspired by the arts and crafts movement, and although the interior title was set in a standardised bold typeface often used in advertising, the exterior title was typeset with floral initials often seen in book typography, combined with another bold ornamental typeface.

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685 Maggi’s soups featured a female cooking, and Newham’s feather beds featured an elderly lady plucking a goose.
686 It is evident that the Signal (b), similarly to the Herald (b), the Herald (c), and the Signal (a), typically began every year with a lot of advertising, but by the end of the year most advertisers would stop featuring their adverts. For example, in January 1895 the Signal (a) began with 27% of its space dedicated to advertisements, which by the time Somerset sold the paper to Fenwick Miller in October 1895 was down to 18%. Similarly, when the Signal (b) assumed front and back ad-covers on the 30th of September 1897, there was an overall 33% increase in advertising, though by the end of the same year that figure was reduced to 23%. Likewise, the year 1898 began with the sale of 31% of all available space to advertisers, and ended with a much lower figure (23%), while the year 1899 was so sterile in terms of advertising revenue that the advertising space sales languished around 22% for the three months of that year, until the Signal (b) ceased publication.
687 Hera was mostly known for ‘her jealous and vengeful nature’ due to her repeated battles about ‘her husband’s infidelity’ for which she often had to take ‘swift revenge’. Yet, she ‘remained faithful to her partner and she therefore came to symbolize monogamy and fidelity’. She is often hard to distinguish from other goddesses, because she does not demonstrate any ‘specific attributes’, though she sometimes wears a crown (polos), holds a royal scepter, and wears a bridal veil’. Ancient History Encyclopedia, “Hera”, http://www.ancient.eu/Hera/ [accessed 7 July 2016].
Paratextually, choosing to print an image of Hera on the front cover of the *Signal* (b) may have assisted in emphasizing the intended editorial message of maternity and matrimony, but it also accentuated the antagonistic idea of being ‘the wife of’. Indeed, mythological accounts explain that Zeus listened to Hera’s ‘counsels’, and communicated his secrets to her, which ‘interchange of ideas and counsel on all points of personal and general interest’ was considered by Fenwick Miller as a trait of ‘the ideal husband’. Nevertheless, the same mythological accounts also describe that Hera was ‘far inferior to [Zeus] in power’ and ought to ‘obey him unconditionally’, and unlike him, was not ‘the queen of gods and men, but simply the wife of the supreme god’. In other words, Hera was in ‘a relation of master and subject’, which is what an ‘ideal marriage’ should not be, according to Fenwick Miller. Hera’s presence on the front cover also performed as a reminder of the omnipotent British class system, whilst encouraging an admiration of the aristocracy. It supported social stratification, and all the patriarchal ideals that follow with it, which, as I demonstrate below, were beliefs widely espoused by middle-class women; yet, typically not favoured by reformist New Women.

For instance, a contributor to the *Herald* protested against the idea of married women being considered as ‘mere additions’ to their husbands thus:

> I read that a certain Mr. Dixon Hartland said at a meeting lately, that “he did not think that House of Commons would ever agree to married women being admitted to the suffrage. If a married woman had a vote she either voted for her husband and gave him two votes, or she voted against him and neutralised his vote”. What an insult this is to our sex! So a woman who is educated and intelligent, as most are who own property, and may have been accustomed to value and use well her vote is, on marriage, to become a mere addition or subtraction to that only and all important being her husband.

In this case, therefore, Fenwick Miller’s strategy to implement familiar bourgeois elements into the editorial narrative of the *Signal* (b) - in a bid to engage middle-class readerships that have not yet been convinced about the necessity of women’s suffrage and then turn them into suffragists - was doing more damage than good. In fact, as I demonstrate below, gendered messages such as this were communicated through various different sections found in the *Signal* (b) that collectively overshadowed other more progressive content presented in the paper.

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689 Smith, ‘Hera’, p. 188.
690 Fenwick Miller, pp. 163-5 (p. 163).
5.2.6.2. The Advertising

Fenwick Miller’s struggle to sustain control over advertising began to weaken, and by the end of 1897 adverts featuring images of women selling beverages, herb extracts, and knickerbockers slowly began finding their way into the Signal (b) (Fig. 81). Subsequently, during 1898 adverts using images of women with naturally atypical waists, such as W. Pretty & Son’s corsets and the ‘Oktis’ corset shields, were somewhat frequent, as were adverts of jewellers, such as S. Smith & Son (Fig. 82). Perhaps part of the reason for having to feature this type of adverts was that Fenwick Miller publicly cut all ties with Somerset in October 1897, which inevitably meant that she also alienated Willard and all their supporters. In addition to the effect this rift might have had in the existing circulation, Hovis, which was a company that Willard openly vouched for, had been advertising in the Signal (a) and the Signal (b) since May 1894 but was now advertising less frequently until it stopped altogether by the second week of April 1898. Inevitably, by May 1898 the Signal (b) featured images of women selling corsets and cycling underwear, girls selling underwear, and even a woman almost being kissed by a man selling a non-alcoholic wine (Fig. 83). So, although gradually most advertisers withdrew their advertising from the Signal (b), during the time that advertising was at its peak in 1898, the types of adverts featured were much closer to those featured in the mainstream press, which implies that Fenwick Miller had lost the battle against consumerism. Inevitably, these paratexts had an impact on the reading of the anchor text by means of their over-emphasis of gendered models of True Womanhood, and stained the apparently mainstream, yet, tactfully progressive, anchor text with unflattering messages. In turn, the impact of these messages, potentially, would have been twofold: a. alienating or angering the progressive female readers, b. not appearing different enough, from other mainstream periodicals, to attract the general female reader. I would suggest, however, that the reasons the Signal (b) failed to become a success, stretched beyond its apparent resistance or compliance to consumerism.
5.2.6.3. The Biographical Column and The Portrait

Fenwick Miller’s model, which targeted the bourgeoisie, and provided for the middle-of-the-road New Woman, who may have had an interest in or wanted to find out about women’s suffrage, that saw herself as a ‘house-mother’ may have worked as a ‘Ladies’ Page’ in a middle-class paper such as the *Illustrated London News*; yet, the reality was that when it was expanded to a full 20-page weekly paper, which was expected to build its own readership and pay for its own expenses, the end product was a communication channel that transmitted conflicting messages. These contradictory messages were not only fostered by the paratexts that were mainly found on the front and back covers described above, but also the paratexts found inside the main copy. More specifically, I would argue that the concept of bourgeois propriety manifested itself through ideas of maternity, matrimony, and etiquette, which were more often than not implemented in the anchor text, especially through the rhetoric of the biographical column.\(^{695}\) I have explained previously that the ‘Interview’ published in the *Paper/Herald* (a) was constructed in accordance with the conventions of New Journalism, and in combination with iconic peritexts such as portraits, fostered a feeling of immediacy, whilst through the use of familiar elements of True Womanhood succeeded in communicating messages of New Womanhood.\(^{696}\) In contrast, in the *Signal* (b) the biographical articles written by Fenwick Miller, in combination with iconic peritexts such as portraits, fostered a stereotypical bourgeois model of understanding one’s self as a female. For instance, Fenwick Miller’s ‘Character Sketch’ column almost always defined the woman described in relation to a male figure (i.e. her father, brother, or husband), whilst the woman was praised for her self-sacrifice, which placed her in the subordinate role of ‘the Other’. Subsequently, Fenwick Miller’s rhetoric in the biographical columns determined the female subject ‘in relation to’ men, while she did not determine them in relation to her, which made these women seem ‘inessential in front of the essential’.\(^{697}\)

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\(^{695}\) For example, maternalism was inclusive of single women that did not have children of their own, but maternity was not. See Chapter 4: Section 4.2.

\(^{696}\) See Chapter 3.

Although Fenwick Miller was trying to communicate that motherhood and matrimony were very important, she herself was completely heedless of and rarely ever mentioned anything about the mothers, or the daughters and sisters, of the women that she wrote about in her biographical columns. For instance, in her character sketch of Lady Laura Ridding (approx. 1260 words), Fenwick Miller filled most of the first column (approx. 203 words) with content about Lady Ridding’s father, the first Earl of Selbourne; then she moved on to write about Lady Ridding’s husband Rev. Dr. Ridding, whilst she also emphasized the importance of being in ‘the position of a Bishop’s wife’, and how ‘great is the aid to a high dignitary of the Church in having a wife who seconds and assists all his efforts’. Fenwick Miller then went on to write that Lady Ridding’s ‘human voice’ was ‘so beautiful, so musical, and so moving as that of Sir Boundell Palmer’, whilst ‘her calm manner and quiet, unexcited, yet impressive style of oratory’ were also ‘no doubt reminiscent of “the legal style” of her illustrious father to those who knew him’. As a result, although Fenwick Miller touched upon subjects such as providing Bishops’ wives with an equal title to their husbands, encouraging women to take public office, these were overshadowed by her emphasis on the male associations of her female subject, in a way that it almost seems as though if it wasn’t for Lady Ridding’s ‘illustrious father’ and Bishop husband, she would not have been as prosperous.

In a similar vein, the character sketch about Mrs Frank Leslie reported that ‘manners and deportment were after all the main care of her father’, while at the age of fifteen ‘she was married to a man of wealth and distinction, old enough to be her father’, but later ‘was released from her first uncongenial marriage’ in order to marry Mr Frank Leslie, who was by then a ‘famous and successful publisher’. Fenwick Miller also mentioned that as a wife Mrs Leslie was ‘lapped in luxury’, because ‘all her husband asked her to do was to keep up his social position; to receive largely, to give (that is to preside over, for she did not even do the housekeeping herself) his dinners and parties’. A few years later, however, ‘when he knew that he must die’, ‘he made a will leaving her all his rights and claims, and said to her “Go to my office, take my place, and see my debts paid”’. In other words, although Mrs Leslie

eventually became a great journalist and publisher, the rhetoric of the article lead one to believe that she mostly lived her life in the shadow of men, first her father and then her two husbands; and even when her second husband died, she had to follow his instruction to take over the business, not for her own self-satisfaction and self-worth, but to pay his debts and re-establish his honour, carrying his name along the way.

Likewise, the character sketch for Elizabeth Cady Standon does not neglect to mention her father ‘Daniel Cady, Judge of the Supreme Court of New York’, and her husband, ‘friend and co-worker of William Lloyd Garrison, and Secretary of the World’s Antislavery Convention’. In fact, Fenwick Miller wrote that Cady Stanton ‘came on her wedding trip, as the bride of Henry Brewster Stanton’, as if she could only be a ‘daughter of’ or ‘sister of’ and ‘wife of’ rather than just be her own person. The article also reported that although Mrs Cady Stanton had much ‘literary power’, ‘her domestic ties’, meaning the fact that she was the mother of four children, ‘kept her much at home, where she wrote for women and tended her household’. At the same time, Fenwick Miller tried to convince her readers that ‘the joy of a mother who has brought up daughters and sons to maintain her principles, and uphold her banner in the world after she has laid down the sword, is surely the deepest reward, the brightest crown of a venerable life’. Still, the reality was that being ‘a good mother’ and providing a ‘true home’ for her children, did prevent Mrs Stanton ‘to some extent from serving her cause on platforms’; though ‘it left her free to develop her perhaps more real power with the pen, and has given to her sons and daughters who honour and help on her work’.

Accordingly, the character sketch of Empress Frederick of Germany, Princess Royal of Great Britain and Ireland, who was the first born daughter of Queen Victoria, described her as illustrious, only to be defined in relation to a man. Fenwick Miller wrote that ‘she married into a station that promised her almost as much influence and power for good in another land as that which she was forbidden to possess here’; that is because she was a woman and thus

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700 Florence Fenwick Miller, ‘Character Sketch’, Woman’s Signal, 28 November 1895, pp. 337-8 (p. 337).
second to her brothers and could not be the heiress.\textsuperscript{701} The article praised all the extraordinary abilities of the Princess, which had always been noticeable since her childhood, but the readers were lead to suppose that none of her achievements would have been possible if she did not become the ‘wife of’. Moreover, Fenwick Miller added importance to the Princess’ abilities by including testimonies of important men, such as Old Baron Stockman, a physician who ‘with feelings of deepest affection’ had ‘hung upon this child for years’, and Mr William Ellis, the founder of a number of elementary schools who had taught the Princess in the past. Therefore, once again, the rhetoric that Fenwick Miller chose to include in her character sketch created a specific narrative; that of the greatly capable woman, who was womanly in her education, and manners, as well as a wife, and a noble and ‘unselfish’ person; yet, she could only achieve so much since she was attached to a great man.

Additionally, the actions of the women described in Fenwick Miller’s sketches demonstrated that being a ‘wife of’, or a ‘daughter of’, was a controlled life, and that women typically had many more opportunities outside the home after the male head of the family died, be it the father or the husband. For example, when Miss Frances Power Cobbe was 24 years old her mother died, at which point, Fenwick Miller writes, ‘she became of course, the head of her father’s household’:\textsuperscript{702} Apart from the differences between father and daughter, in particular the fact that she was Theist, she only really took over control of her life when he died, at which point ‘she cut off half her hair’, and ‘set forth on a long journey to see the world’. So, Power Cobbe not only renounced her long feminine locks, which was her way of protesting against the gendered conventions of the period, even if Fenwick Miller explained this decision as ‘being unable to grapple with the whole without the assistance of a maid’; she also went off on an adventure unchaperoned, which was another type of behaviour that was perceived to be rebellious. On the other hand, the sketches that were written by other authors, bear no traces of such gendered concepts; instead they focus on the point in question, which was to publicise women’s efforts in the public realm, and especially in terms of suffrage. For example, the character sketch and the interview of Miss Rhoda Anstey, and Miss S. Ellen Orme

\textsuperscript{701} Florence Fenwick Miller, ‘Character Sketch’, \textit{Woman’s Signal}, 5 December 1895, pp. 353-4 (p. 353).
\textsuperscript{702} Florence Fenwick Miller, ‘Character Sketch’, \textit{Woman’s Signal}, 6 February 1896, pp. 81-2.
respectively, which were authored by former editor of the Herald (b) Christina S. Bremner, focus on the two women and their activities without mentioning anything about their relationships with their fathers or brothers.

Self-sacrifice, maternity, matrimony, and significance only in relation to a man were all repeatedly found in the character sketches written by Fenwick Miller. Additionally, these sections of the anchor text were typically accompanied by iconic paratexts, such as portraits, that communicated a further set of unflattering gendered messages, fostering by accumulation an emphasis on subordination. For instance, Mrs Leslie was depicted with a ‘very low-neck dress’, revealing a disproportionately minute waist, so her preference for ‘low-necked evening dresses’ was not only directly mentioned in the anchor text, but was further validated through the iconic peritext of the portrait. Furthermore, Mrs Leslie stated that she favoured this style of evening dress simply because Queen Victoria, who she perceived ‘to be a model of propriety, and the highest possible authority on all the conduct of women in society’, was adamant that this is the proper evening attire for a respectable woman.703 Subsequently, these factual paratexts about Victoria, in addition to the iconic peritext such as her portrait that accompanied Mrs Leslie’s biographical sketch, and in combination with the gender rhetoric presented by Fenwick Miller, projected messages that were contradictory to the opinions of most New Women readers of the Signal (b) that felt low-cut dresses were ‘unhealthy’ because they ‘uncovered the chest at night after being wrapped up all day’, or improper because they encouraged ‘an immoral effect in the minds of men to see a woman’s shoulders uncovered’.704 Equally significant were Mrs Leslie’s statements about the fact that Victoria would ‘not allow a lady to sit at her dinner table’ or ‘appear before her at her Courts’, unless that lady wore ‘a very low-cut evening bodice’.705 Mrs Leslie also stated that Victoria would demand that ‘her daughters and her highest subjects alike’ ought ‘to attire themselves’ in low-neck evening dresses in order to ‘enter her presence in the evening’, which implied that the Princess Royal or Great Britain and Ireland was obliged to wear this type of dress, even if

704 Ibid.
705 Florence Fenwick Miller, 'Character Sketch', Woman's Signal, 24 October 1895, pp. 257-8 (p. 258).
she felt otherwise. These comments not only articulated the importance of etiquette among the bourgeoisie, but also projected messages that today would be considered deeply gendered as well as discriminatory, and given that the majority of female readers who subscribed to the *Signal* (b) were against this style of dress, iconic peritexts such as portraits of women in very low-cut dresses would certainly not have been complementary to any progressive narrative.  

In addition to these unflattering messages about the woman’s role in society, and the general understanding that she had to show some flesh because bourgeois Victorian patriarchal etiquette dictated that she should, other portraits were communicating messages of anxiety about body image and appearance. For instance, although iconic peritexts such as portraits of women in low-cut dresses often showed much of the sitter’s body, in addition to exposing a lot of their upper body, the iconic peritexts that accompanied women that would be described as overweight (such as Cady Stanton and Power Cobbe mentioned above), presented a close-up of the sitter that focused on her face, with her body wrapped under many layers of clothing. In fact, readers were never shy to refer to women of a larger size as ‘fat’ or old, commenting, for instance, that it was not ‘artistically pleasing, as a whole’ to wear low-cut dresses, ‘because some women are too “scraggy”, some too fat etc. for the exhibition of their shoulders’.  

These types of comments would no doubt have negatively affected the confidence of any woman that was perhaps of an older age and/or larger size, increasing the already pre-existing anxiety about appearance and etiquette embedded in the Victorian woman’s psyche. Evidence of this concern was sometimes found in the letters sent from readers in which they opened up about these subjects. For example, Chudgeon wrote the following to the *Paper/Herald* (a):

> As a sufferer from undesirable and undesired obesity, I feel a distinct grievance with regard to the hints we have recently had from your excellent correspondent Mrs Cooper-Oakley on “How to Dress”.

> So far as she goes, it is no doubt most useful and practical for young and slim figures, but what have we poor rotund matrons done, who have bore the light of life for nearly fifty years with as good

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706 Victoria of course belonged to the royal family, but she had assumed a deeply bourgeois lifestyle, which is why she was considered to be the ultimate example of bourgeois etiquette.

a grace as possible, that when our fascinations and figures have left us, we should get no solid advice, as to how to drape and conceal as far as possible, the switchbacks of our persons? I speak for myself, that I have no wish to ape the young and artless, but I do like to make the best of what was once a good figure but now too ample and generous in its matured proportions.708

Presumably, Cady Stanton and Power Cobbe would have identified with the feelings of this contributor, which is why they often draped themselves in many layers of clothing, as they got larger and older, in the hope that they could shield what Victorians considered were physical imperfections. Subsequently, these paratextual messages of unease about one’s not so ‘ideal’ physique and appearance, coupled with the gendered rhetoric in the biographical sketches they feature with, would have communicated gendered messages that would have overwhelmed any intentions of exposing the great suffrage work made by these women.

In a similar vein, Mrs Margaret Bright Lucas, daughter of a Quaker family and married to a Quaker, was only able to really participate in the public realm after her husband’s death.709 In addition, when Mrs ‘Judge’ Thompson was invited to be the leader of the women’s “Whisky War”, she was told not to indulge in such ‘tomfoolery’ by her husband, and had to bring in the most superior male figure - God, no less - in order to convince him to let her attend an upcoming meeting at the church, suggesting that ‘it might be God’s will that the women should now take their part’.710 Furthermore, the events imply that Mrs Thompson was so deeply fearful of addressing men that she was too petrified to speak to the mixed gender crowd that had gathered. ‘Her limbs refused to bear her’, and only after all the men were asked to leave the room she was able to proceed; a clear sign of the psychological pressure women of this period had to live with as an effect of the patriarchal order that was in place.711

709 On Quakerism and progressive women see Chapter 3.
710 Florence Fenwick Miller, ‘Character Sketch’, Woman’s Signal, 16 April 1896, pp. 241-3 (p. 241)
711 In contrast, Thompson swiftly regained her confidence as soon as ‘the last man closed the door after him’. She wrote on the incident: ‘strength before unknown came to me, and without any hesitation or consultation I walked forward to the minister’s table, took the large Bible, and opening it, explained the incident of the morning’. Frances E. Willard, Woman and Temperance; or The Work and Workers of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (Hartford: Park Publishing, 1888), p. 56.
5.2.6.4. Portraits of the Aristocracy

Historian Martin Hewitt argues that nineteenth century Britain was ‘a class-based society’, a reality that ‘acute social observers’ were able to recognise through the differences between classes that ‘manifested themselves in different ways’.\(^712\) This meant that social mobility was very important, and especially for the members of the middle-class, who were rather infatuated with the aristocratic circle. The desire for upward social mobility, however, could only be realised by abiding to strict middle-class propriety, which is the reason that most middle-class men and women were so extremely keen to be proper at all times, to the extent that the aristocrats that they looked up to had never been. The middle-class fascination with social mobility and obedience to social propriety was so widely spread that the press often exploited these by offering glimpses of the lives of aristocrats and royals. As a result, portraits or biographical accounts of aristocrats, items that were popularised by ladies’ papers for the upper-class, such as the Queen, were often borrowed by periodicals targeting the middle-class. For example, Woman at Home: Annie S. Swan’s Magazine featured numerous portraits of aristocrats and royals under its monthly feature ‘Types of Beauty’, and elsewhere in the magazine (Fig. 84). The Woman also attempted to benefit from this trend by publishing portraits of aristocratic and royal women together with other articles that were not necessarily biographical (Fig. 85).

Nineteenth century studies scholars Fraser, Hilary, Stephanie Green and Judith Johnston argue that the concept of women as ‘educated professionals with independent opinions and individual voting rights’ seemed ‘alien to mainstream values of domesticity and the assumed naturalness of gendered difference’.\(^715\) For that reason, feminist activists resolved to manipulate ‘the ideology of domesticity’, and ‘middle-class woman’s presumed natural capacity’ as explanations for their ‘civility and common sense’, so as ‘to further the political emancipation of women’.\(^716\) Accordingly, middle-class True Womanhood, which involved a desire for social upward mobility, had always been part of Fenwick Miller’s ‘Ladies’ Page’, a


\(^{715}\) Fraser, Green and Johnston, p. 150.

\(^{716}\) Ibid.
theme that was also implemented in the Signal (b). In fact, the number of aristocrats that featured in the ‘Character Sketch’ column of the Signal (b) had been the most that had ever appeared under one editor or one set of editors in the combined history of the Paper, Herald, and Signal. Even during the two different editorial reigns of Lady Somerset, who was born an aristocrat and lived amongst aristocrats, the number of biographical accounts of aristocrats that featured in the Herald (c) and the Signal (a) were much less than the aristocrats featured during Fenwick Miller’s editorship. A fact that adds to the argument that the middle-class was particularly captivated by the aristocracy. Inevitably, however, the emphasis on that part of society, even if unwillingly, implied an accord with the established Victorian social stratification as well as its gendered and social injustices. In other words, although Fenwick Miller was willing to encourage an interest in women’s suffrage to the average female reader, her journalistic approach also enforced gendered conventions that were against her progressive editorial narrative.

Queen Victoria was often featured in mainstream traditionalist periodicals targeting middle-class women, as a noteworthy model of motherhood, and marriage. For example, the Mother’s Companion published various articles about Victoria, which were accompanied by portraits of the Queen as mother, grandmother, and great grandmother at home, as well as the more conventional portraits of her coronation. In the Signal (b), Queen Victoria featured in a character sketch that stretched through 7 issues, making this the longest biographical account in the combined history of the Paper, Herald, and Signal. Dedicating such an extensive column to the Queen certainly implied that, for Fenwick Miller, she was a great example of womanhood; nonetheless, admiring the Queen could also yield many other messages that were certainly contradictory to women’s suffrage and gender equality, both of which Fenwick Miller wished to promote through the Signal (b). Firstly, evidence suggests that Queen Victoria was well aware of the subordinate role women had to endure; yet, she simply accepted her fate rather than actively seeking to resolve this injustice. In fact, her private letter to her eldest daughter Vicky, shortly after she got married, in 1858 included the following:

> All marriage is such a lottery – the happiness is always an exchange –though it may be a very happy one – still the poor woman is bodily and morally the husband’s slave. That always sticks to
my throat. When I think of a merry, happy, free young girl – and look at the ailing, aching state of a young wife generally is doomed to – which you can’t deny is the penalty of marriage. […] We poor creatures are born for man’s pleasure and amusement and destined to go through endless sufferings and trials.717

Thirteen years later, Viscountess Amberley had become president of the Bristol and West of England Women's Suffrage Society and had addressed a public meeting on the subject. Yet, Queen Victoria ‘was not amused’, and she shared her sentiments in a private letter to Sir Theodore Martin:

I am most anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of Women's Rights, with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety. Lady Amberley ought to get a good whipping. Were woman to “unsex” themselves by claiming equality with men, they would become the most hateful, heathen and disgusting of beings and would surely perish without male protection.718

In other words, although Queen Victoria had a ‘sympathy and interest’ in women’s ‘opportunities for self support and intellectual development’, she supported ‘every good word and work’ about women’s employment, as long as they offered an ‘opening out of honourable and bread-winning careers’.719 Thus, from her perspective, women campaigning for the equality of the sexes, and a woman’s suffrage were perceived as unfeminine.

Victoria, therefore, was openly opposed to woman’s suffrage, a cause for which Fenwick Miller was an ardent supporter, and, although she recognised the ‘white slavery’ of Victorian wives, she did not agree with women’s efforts towards gender equality.720 Instead, she chose ‘the bourgeois ideal of work’, and ‘made her family relationships central to her life’, and as Lord Granville noted, whilst she had the title, Prince Albert was ‘really discharging the functions of the Sovereign’.721 In fact, Queen Victoria assumed the stereotypical Victorian housebound role, which subordination allowed Prince Albert to be in charge of her public

718 Queen Victoria quoted in David de Vire, Tail of the Tigress: Views on the Road to Gender Equality (Dorset: Backdaw Publishing, 2016).
720 Mrs. Gladstone shared similar feelings, which was the reason for her resignation as president of the WLF in 1892.
persona, modifying it as he thought fit. Nonetheless, in the the *Signal* (b) she was extensively commended and admired as being ‘free from any form of extravagance’, because ‘in dress and in every habit of private life she has been singularly economical’; and if there was ‘a personal pleasure’ in which she had ‘indulged’ it was ‘simply’ that ‘very noble and generous one of giving gifts freely to all those whom she loves’. She was also praised as a ‘woman ruler’ who was able to introduce ‘system and order and economy into the palace government’; yet, her anti-suffrage sentiments were never mentioned, and even if these trivial paratexts were perhaps not widely known, her subordinate existence was anything but complimentary to the indented suffragist narrative of the *Signal* (b).

Similarly to Cady Stanton and Power Cobbe’s examples, the portraits that accompanied Victoria’s biographical sketches also communicated an anxiety about body image and aging. In particular, out of the seven featured portraits only one showed the Queen in her current age of 77 years old, whereas the rest show her at age 18, 20, 25, and 42, which revealed a desire to focus on the earlier years, leaving her later years in the shadows (Fig. 86). Moreover, the portrait that depicts her in her 70s shows her clothed in what seems to be an evening open neck dress; nonetheless, her veil is tactfully wrapped around the arm closer to the camera lens, whilst she is holding a fan half open in front of her problem areas (i.e. waist, and stomach) in a bid to disguise her overweight physique. She was also decorated with various luxuriously expensive jewellery and accessories, whilst her dress was decorated with various couture details, in contrast to her younger portraits; all in the name of destructing the viewer’s eye from herself. The iconic peritexts that featured in the *Signal* (b), therefore, mainly fostered gendered messages of body dissatisfaction, which in combination to the heterosexist gendered rhetoric presented in the articles they featured with, would have further accentuated this type of feelings in the paper’s female readers, and perhaps overshadowed any suffragist sentiments scattered in the main copy.

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722 Marina Warner, historian and mythographer, reports that John Gibson, the classical sculptor, proposed that ‘the enthroned queen should be flanked by seven-foot-high allegorical statues of Justice and Wisdom’ at the new Houses of Parliament; a project that Victoria’s husband was overseeing. However, ‘by notions of feminine virtue […] Prince Albert suggested that Wisdom be replaced by Clemency, ‘as the sovereign is a lady’’. Marina Warner, *Monuments & Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 209; Prince Albert quoted in T. Matthews, *The Life of John Gibson* (London: Heinemann, 1911), p. 175.

5.2.6.5. The Fashion Column and Fashion Plate

Bourgeois etiquette manifested itself through the mainstream fashion, which was another theme fostered in the *Signal* (b) through the fashion plate and the fashion column, but the messages communicated through these sections of the anchor text and their respective iconic paratexts were contradictory to the overall support for women’s emancipation. French fashion was considered by a section of progressive New Women to be against the overall willingness for hygienic and comfortable clothing; yet, many suffragists thought retaining a stereotypically feminine appearance could not only be used as a symbol of unity, but also allow them to appear less threatening, and avoid ridicule, which in turn would permit them to penetrate circles that perhaps would have otherwise excluded them. For instance, following the turn of the century, early twentieth-century ‘suffrage feminists opted to dress “conventionally” in unconventional circumstances’, because they wanted to gain ‘women’s right as women’ and ‘occupy space previously occupied by men alone’. In other words, they aspired for a twentieth-century Suffragette that was capable of ‘pondering fashions side by side with political problems’, for she was ‘essentially an up-to-date being’. Therefore, including mainstream fashion in a controlled manner in the *Signal* (b) was not particularly contradictory, but the rhetoric of the fashion columns, in combination with the fashion plates that at times accompanied these columns, embraced bourgeois fashion to the extent that it overshadowed messages supporting suffrage that may have been included in the main copy. For example, ‘What to Wear’ in N. 93 states that ‘we cannot admire the woman who seems to be entirely wrapped up in dress’; yet, this same column began with the proclamation that:

> Young girls like to dream of the beautiful toilettes they cannot always have, mothers like to think of dresses for their children, and even the old grand-dame likes to hear of the fashions she no longer cares to follow, and to compare them with what she wore when she was young. A good deal of sentiment clings about a woman’s dress, and she never forgets her first ball-gown, or the dress in which she was married, or the little grey gown she wore when her first baby was christened.

The author continued by stating that ‘a wise woman’ ought to think ahead in ‘regard to her clothes (as in the more serious affairs of life)’ to make sure that ‘the changes of season do not find her unprepared, nor does a sudden invitation put her into a breathless state of

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726 ‘Fashion’s Fair’, *Votes for Women*, 7 July 1911, p. 659.
excitement’, because she just realised that she has ‘nothing to wear’. In addition to encouraging what may seem to an outsider an obsession with fashion, the article also stated that women ‘are often afraid to order new dresses too hastily’, because they may ‘repent them at leisure, finding ourselves in styles that don’t suit us, or else looking different from the rest of the world’. In a similar vein, ‘What to Wear’ in No. 95 began with the statement ‘what to wear is a highly important matter, but when to wear it is even more to the point’, whilst in No. 99 the same column declared that ‘the near approach of the colder season of the year makes it absolutely necessary that we should be provided with suitable under-clothing’, and that fur-lined gloves were out of fashion because they were ‘rather clumsy and uncomfortable, and increase the apparent size of the hand’.728 The same author wrote a later issue:

Dame Fashion has been very slow to reveal herself this spring, and the dressmaking world had been waiting with a certain anxiety until the time arrived for the revelation. The inclemency of the weather has retarded the appearance of the new modes, and the Oracle has sat shivering in her furs, remaining absolutely dumb as to what she would do when sprint-time came.729

In the same article, Chiffon claimed that ‘Dame Fashion intends to reform’, and that ‘only in one department of dress’ women were ‘allowed to indulge’ their ‘taste for extravagance’ and that was ‘in their direction of head-gear’; they were ‘allowed’ to have ‘every kind of flower’ in their hat. At a later date again she describes how ‘necessary’ it is to ‘choose something which will look as well at the end of the journey as it did at the beginning’, when deciding on an outfit to travel in, which she stated was ‘not an easy thing to accomplish’.730 Similarly, ‘the choice of a seaside outfit is rather a difficult matter’, Chiffon wrote in No. 139, especially ‘when one is paying a visit to a place for the first time’, because ‘every seaside place has its own fashions, and the dress which looks well in one locality is totally inappropriate in another’.731 In another column, she signposts readers to ladies’ tailor Miss Sadler, because she is ‘specially

729 Chiffon, ‘April Fashions’, Woman’s Signal, 2 April 1896, p. 221.
successful with stout figures’, and ‘invariably contrives to produce the long waisted effect which is so imperatively necessary to a fashionable appearance’.\(^{732}\)

In effect, the readers of the *Signal* (b) were showered with endless information about what to do and what not to do when it came to their dress, which implied that women were expected to spend a considerable amount of time and resources on this subject. Consequently, what Chiffon’s columns attained was to create an anxiety about the necessity to be proper, to fit in, and to project a specific image and body shape, which in turn encouraged women to ‘be entirely wrapped up in dress’, even if she claimed such women cannot be admired. These sorts of messages, which were certainly not helpful for paving the path to the emancipation of women, were further accentuated by the fact that Chiffon’s column appeared to be one of the most established, being published unceasingly from 1895 to 1899. This meant that it was one of the columns that readers potentially identified the *Signal* (b) with, in a similar way that the readers of the *Paper/Herald* (a) identified with the ‘Interview’ and portrait.

Fenwick Miller limited the number of images of women in the advertising pages by being selective with advertisers, and I would argue, she further minimised the fashion plates, overpowering the rest of the content by limiting them to the fashion column, or to the supplement. Nonetheless, images of thin models wearing the latest fashions, or images of disjointed parts of thin models’ bodies did feature in the *Signal* (b), which potentially enforced widespread, yet problematic and deeply gendered, ideals about body image. Sociologists suggest that women have ‘managed to attain a competence in non-competence’, which is:

A competence that consists in a skilful manifestation of pre-given standards, an adoption of the most sophisticated tricks in our attempts to meet those standards. It is a necessary form of competence within existing social structures, if [women] are to retain [their] capacity for action. At the same time, it works to consolidate [women’s] social incompetence, insofar as it leads [them] to acquire expertise in operating within existing standards and thus both to assimilate and accept those standards, rather than questioning what lies behind them.\(^{733}\)

In patriarchal Victorian society, therefore, standards were inevitably from a man’s perspective, and, as modern philosopher Sandra Lee Barkty puts it, ‘a generalised male witness [came] to

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733 Haug, pp. 129-30.
structure woman’s consciousness of herself as a bodily being’. Subsequently, the paratextual role of the fashion plates featured in the *Signal* (b) endorsed patriarchal ideals of Victorian heterosexist society by depicting women with impossibly thin waists, and perfect facial features that resembled Gibson’s fictional girls and not real life women. Research suggests that these types of idealised images would have potentially depressed women’s ‘self-evaluations of their physical attractiveness, their body satisfaction, and their sense of “personal desirability”’. Furthermore, these negative emotions would typically increase as girls grew to become adult women, because they would ‘become more aware of societal ideals regarding appearance’, which would eventually affect their overall ‘global self-esteem’. So, the fashion plates included in the *Signal* (b) not only increased the pressure to fit in, but they also created new, or intensified existing difficulties with low self-esteem; a problem that was already widespread and often manifested in ‘women’s difficulty in coming to public voice after centuries of silence’.

Furthermore, the fragmented parts of women’s bodies, which Beetham describes as ‘component parts’, found in the main copy as well as in the two special fashion supplements would have enforced a fragmented femininity: a femininity that ‘had to be remade through the labour informed consumption’. Paratextually, therefore, the fashion plates of full bodies, as well as those of body parts, were highlighting an unhealthy attitude towards body image. More specifically, these paratexts supported peer pressure to spend on expensive current fashions, putting a continuous emphasis on the material, and a pressure to be a ‘womanly’ woman who confined herself, literally and psychologically, in the patriarchal expectations of the period. Consequently, sections of the anchor text, such as ‘What to Wear’, emphasised by paratexts, such as the full body or fragmented fashion plates, enforced a gendered body ideal that

737 Mattingly, p. 5.
738 Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, p. 150.
embraced the ever desirable ‘Grecian Bend’, which was impossible to achieve even for Fenwick Miller; a much heavier woman than the models depicted in the *Signal* (b), who often looked overly restricted in her corseted outfits (Fig. 87).  

And although Fenwick Miller argued that ‘women must, sometimes, have new dresses, and therefore need to know and follow fashion to a moderate degree’, the reality was that the manner in which this subject was approached, even if unintentionally, was tied to existing gendered ideals of old fashioned True Womanhood, and inevitably was damaging to the seemingly mainstream, yet intentionally progressive, editorial narrative, and inevitably the progress towards the emancipation of women. 

5.2.6.6. The Advertorial and Illustration

The *Signal* (b) sustained the three-column arrangement originally assumed by the *Herald* (c) and later continued by the *Signal* (a), but the manner of distributing advertising across the weekly issue was changed significantly. In particular, although in the *Signal* (a) full-page advertisements were typically featured overleaf full-pages of main text, in the *Signal* (b) advertisements mostly occupied smaller sections of the page grid, and often intermingled with the main text. Furthermore, the *Signal* (b) featured numerous illustrations, which were mainly fashion plates, or images that were part of an advertorial, or a serial story, and were in total many more (approx. 252) than the quantity of portraits (approx. 91) featured throughout the whole run. For this reason, the rhetoric and images of advertorials, which often featured in the main copy, inevitably acquired a somewhat heightened paratextual status, and therefore influence, than the advertisements that featured separately or the portraits of women found in the main copy. However, the paratextual messages that were communicated through these advertorials were heavily gendered, emphasised heterosexist Victorian

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739 During Hellenistic times natural body shapes and non-restrictive garments were the typical dress, styles of dress that were later adopted by the Dress Reform Movement. Yet, the S-shape favoured during the 19th century was paradoxically termed the 'Grecian Bend', presumably to attach the notion of perfection to it. John Harvey, 'Showing and Hiding: Equivocation in Relations of Body and Dress', *Fashion Theory*, 11 (2007), pp. 65-94 (75).


741 Although the *Signal* (a) never printed advertisements that included images of female bodies, the *Signal* (b) printed numerous such advertisements, and advertorials.

742 The *Signal* (b) mostly featured portraits of white British women, who were in their 30s or 40s, and 5 portraits of men. All the sitters were temperance workers, women’s rights activists, women’s employment advocates, or authors. The *Signal* (b) also included many aristocrats, with Queen Victoria’s various portraits featuring 10 times. The portraits spanned across 42 months. In contrast to the *Signal* (a), the *Signal* (b) did not feature any portraits of Somerset, and only featured one portrait of Willard alongside an obituary.
attitudes, and supported stereotypical gendered beliefs of the period; yet, they ran ceaselessly from 1895 to 1899, leaving their own unflattering imprint on the editorial narrative of the *Signal* (b). For example, all of the advertorials for Dr. Williams’ Pink Pills were heavily heterosexist, and mostly presented stories about a desperately sick girl or woman, who not only is described as totally ‘invalid’ since birth or for long periods of her life, but her testimony was always confirmed by a male character, as if her words on their own did not have much weight. For instance, in one advertorial the female protagonist is described as being ‘nineteen years of age, with dark hair and eyes, and of pleasant appearance and agreeable manner’, and in another the story began with ‘a pair of eyes, looking out of an expressive face’ (Fig. 88). A later advertorial simply included that the girl had ‘rosy cheeks’; whereas another one included that the woman spoke in a ‘bright, and chatty way’. Lastly, an advertorial that appeared in No. 140 included the following: ‘these are the plain and simple facts of Mrs Parkinson’s story, as they were gathered from her own lips, and corroborated by her husband, who was only too anxious to tell in his interesting and intelligent manner of the fine remedy’ (Fig. 89).

In contrast, in the cases that these advertorials, selling the same product, presented stories about a man who was cured using the pills, the protagonist could still function properly but with minor symptoms such as headaches or dyspepsia, rather than being reduced to a helpless invalid. Moreover, the text was filled with descriptions highlighting the man’s worth, while the images had a woman that tended to him. For example, in the advertorial printed in No. 108 the male protagonist was described as ‘a respectable young workman, of an intelligent countenance, with a bright eye, and a healthy fresh colour on his cheeks’; whereas, in a later advertorial the story started with the phrase ‘few things are more pleasing to the eye than a man of fine health and magnificent stature’. Similarly, in No. 158 the male protagonist was described ‘as fine a specimen of British manhood as one could wish to see,

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brimming over with courtesy and good humour’. Likewise, iconotypographical advertisements of Dr. Tibbles’ Vi-Cocoa were habitually based on heterosexist stereotypes that presented the woman as subordinate and the man as superior, and/or the woman as the housewife and the man as the businessman.

5.3. *Woman’s Signal* (a) Vs. *Woman’s Signal* (b)

This chapter revealed the different ways *Signal* (a) used various paratexts in order to promote their Gospel temperance agenda, namely the concepts of maternalism, Christianity, and purity. Nevertheless, although they assumed a refined approach to making the most of the paratexts to their disposal, such as mastheads, portraits, and advertising, they were unsuccessful in convincing the average temperance or general feminist reader to support their ‘do-it-all’ policy. The second section revealed that the newly redesigned *Signal* (b) adopted a narrative that favoured bourgeois propriety in the hope that the general feminist reader will be enticed to subscribe to the paper, and by doing so she would hopefully develop a taste for suffrage. Yet, in this case the manner in which the editor mixed mainstream journalistic practices and content with more progressive content eventually emphasized stereotypical patriarchal ideas, even if the editor had the best intentions at heart.

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THE NEW EDITOR.

I am strongly of opinion that an editor should be visible only in the work of the paper, as a wise house-mistress is known to be in the home, not by talking of her work, but only by the accordance with which everything is done at the right time and in the proper way. However, it has been represented to me by a responsible authority that I should begin my new work by a formal introduction to the reader, and I bow to the opinion and allow an outline of the facts of my past work and the principles by which I have tried to live to be here presented by a friendly but faithful hand.

Florence Fenwick Miller was born in London on the day the battle of Inkerman was fought—Sunday, November 6th, 1834. Her mother walked under the name "Florence" in token of honour and admiration for the work (then going on in the Crimea) of Florence Nightingale, who, when she took over the management of the war hospitals, so quickly reduced chaos to order, and brought the mortality of our army down so rapidly by her intellectual and organizing abilities. Perhaps it was the influence of her mother’s appreciation of this great woman’s work that made the little girl born in the midst of the war, so much of a "woman’s woman"—so strong a believer in the capacity of her own sex, and in the benefit to humanity that may be expected from an extension of womanly influence and a widening of woman’s sphere.

Certainly, Florence Miller entered very early into the work which she has never ceased to pursue, of helping on in every way possible to the progress of her own sex to better education, a share in public work, personal freedom for mind and body, and better conditions of life generally.

As a child, she studied anatomy and physiology in pleasure, and when only seventeen she began to study medicine as a profession—saying that thing being then considered very out of the way for a girl to do in. In October, 1871, she passed "with distinction" a portion of the preliminary examination of the University of Edinburgh. But as the University would not allow women to take degrees, Miss Miller returned to London, and immediately entered as a student at the Ladies’ Medical College, an institution founded chiefly by the self-sacrificing and anxious exertions of Dr. James Edmunds, afterwards the leader in the medical profession in the establishment of the Temperance Hospital, and for years senior physician of that hospital, Dr. Edmunds himself was the lecturer on "Medical Science" at the Ladies’ Medical College; and the lecturer on "Hygiene and Public Health," Dr. C. R. Drysdale, F.R.C.P., was also one of the then best known medical historians in total abstinence from a health point of view. Then the subject of temperance as a medical and scientific theme was brought before the young students, who were already in practice herself a total abstainer, being so brought up by her mother, who never took or placed on her table any sort of intoxicating drink.

At the end of the appointed course of study at this Institution, Florence Fenwick Miller sat in the usual class examinations for honours, and came out at the top of the list in every subject without exception. She was bursar'd in two subjects as equal firsts with another lady, and in all the five remaining classes was singly awarded the first place in honours. She then entered the British Lying-In Hospital and took the usual course of study there and received the certificate of competence to practice midwifery. Later on, she pursued her studies in Paris and in some London hospitals where the friendship of individual physicians obtained for her admission to their practice.

All this time, however, women were not legally recognized as medical practitioners in England, and the platform and the pen had revealed themselves to her as probably the most influential means by which her powers could be used to serve the woman’s cause; and finally being beguited by a largely signed memorial to stand for the London School Board, she decided to give up her career in favour of a more active and public work generally.

She stood for the London School Board in 1876, for the Islington Division, and she was returned by 15,000 votes. She offered herself for re-election in 1879, and again in 1882, and each time the electors returned her; but in 1885, feeling she had given enough in the educational direction, and proving that women can successfully win and keep the suffrage of large electoral constituencies, she declined to stand again. During her nine years service her chief attention was given to the interests of the girls and the women teachers, and the latter so recognized this that "The Association of Board Mistresses" asked permission to bear all the expenses of her last election, but this request Mrs. Miller did not think it right to accede to. She was instrumental in obtaining a reduction of the time spent by girls in too free needlework, and in bringing a proposal to exclude mothers from teaching; and she was successfully the opposition to paying the Chairman of the Board a high salary.

Mrs. Miller acted as Chairman of important special committees to consider the teaching of social economy in Board Schools, and took a prominent share in forcing investigation of the management of Industrial Schools.

Both in these matters and in others, she never concealed to think of what was "popular" or generally counted "proper for a lady," but unabashedly upheld what she thought right. For example, she was a member of the Repud of the U.D. Acts Committee and addressed appeal meetings. In regard to this and certain other onerous movements, she was used to be told that she "would lose the next election over it;" but paid no attention to such considerations, and was rewarded by the renewed confidence of her constituents as long as she asked their suffrage.

While a member of the London School Board (having married in 1877, and, with her husband's consent, not changed her name on doing so) she became the mother of two daughters and also produced the following volumes of books:—

Fig. 75.

i. (left): Advertisement, Derry & Toms Hats, c. 1900s.

ii. (right): Advertisement, Swan & Edgar Attire, c. 1900s.
Fig. 77.
i. (top left): Woman's Signal, 9 January 1896, p. 32.
ii. (top right): Woman's Signal, 30 January 1896, p. 80.
iii. (bottom left): Woman's Signal, 13 February 1896, p. 112.
Fig. 78.

i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 23 April 1896, p. 271.

ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 14 May 1896, p. 316.
Fig. 79.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 20 February 1896, p. 127.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 27 February 1896, p. 143.
Fig. 80.
i. (top left): *Woman’s Signal*, 7 January 1897, Front Cover.
ii. (top right): *Woman’s Signal*, 7 January 1897, p. 2.
iii. (bottom left): *Woman’s Signal*, 7 January 1897, p. 3.
iv. (bottom right): *Hera*, (Roman copy) 1st Century AD (based on a Greek original from the 4th Century BC).
Fig. 81.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 13 January 1898, p. 30.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 20 January 1898, p. 44.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Signal, 24 March 1898, p. 18.
Fig. 82.
i. (left): *Woman's Signal*, 3 March 1898, p. 141.
Fig. 83.
i. (left): Woman’s Signal, 3 March 1898, p. 142.
ii. (right): Woman’s Signal, 5 May 1898, p. 286.
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

SOME of us are old enough to remember the warm of antitheses which spread over England at the coming to our throne of the Prince of Wales in 1863. The sentiment, sentimental and delightful, that were everywhere manifested over the Kingdom, even in the cottage kindling of your lights in shabby windows and the dressing of village streets and villages, were all unfolding evidences of this love of the romantic and the beautiful and that interest in the happiness which it is their lot always to be to the people. The Tsar of Russia, with his working factory girls, the poor women, the peasants, overworked mothers at pensively-locked doors, was in this fair gift coming to her princely bridegroom, aid in crises of welfare and dressing of sick.

Fig. 84.

ii. (top right): The Tsaritza in Woman at Home, [Month Unknown] 1899, p. 16.
Fig. 85.
i. (left): The Duchess of Fife in *Woman*, 6 January 1891, p. 5.
i. (top left): Queen Victoria in Woman’s Signal, 17 September 1896, p. 1.
ii. (top right): Queen Victoria in Woman’s Signal, 24 September 1896, p. 1.
iii. (bottom left): Queen Victoria in Woman’s Signal, 8 October 1896, p. 1.
Fig. 87.
i. (top left): Barraus, Mrs Florence Fenwick Miller, c. 1890s.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 10 October 1895, p. 235.
iii. (bottom left): Woman’s Signal, 24 October 1895, p. 267.
iv. (bottom right): Woman’s Signal, 7 July 1898, p. 429.
Fig. 88.
i. (top left): Woman's Signal, 27 August 1896, p. 13.
Fig. 89.
i. (top left): Woman’s Signal, 3 September 1896, p. 13.
ii. (top right): Woman’s Signal, 10 September 1896, p. 13.
— Conclusion
Less a well-defined category than a flexible space, without exterior boundaries or precise and consistent interiors, the paratext consists, as this ambiguous prefix suggests, of all those things which are never certain belong to the text of a work but which contribute to present or “presentify” the text.\footnote{Genette and McIntosh, pp. 63-77 (p. 63).}
6.1. Overview

British society, much like the majority of structured communities, has been historically established on a patriarchal system of ‘power relations’ that ‘has universally worked to the advantage of men’. During the late nineteenth century, however, ‘the social gulf which had done so much to cocoon and inhibit girls and women of the wealthy classes began to be bridged’. At the same time, a new type of woman was gaining more and more prominence, a woman who ‘demanded a public voice and private fulfilment through work, education, and political engagement’: the ‘New Woman’. Simultaneously, ‘a miscellany of visual “looks” began to characterize the press’ as newspapers ‘experimented with different formulas’, and ‘advertising began to acquire a more attractive look’. This was a new type of journalism, which ‘conceived the editor’s role as marshalling the public, and drew upon techniques from American dailies […] in order to reach them better’, labelled as ‘New Journalism’. Concurrently, ‘modern trends in graphic design’ emerged as a reaction ‘to the social and aesthetic effects of industrialization’, and integration became the aim that ‘united many otherwise disparate movements in their approaches to process, form, and composition’. This climate fostered a new type of print periodical, the weekly general feminist periodical, which was a newspaper for progressive women, and potentially men, who were sympathetic to women’s emancipation. This type of periodicals projected a voice which was critical of any established gendered norms, and, therefore, a graphic design and media historical study focusing on this type of non-mainstream periodical would further expand our understanding of this foundational period for graphic design, media and women’s history.

Nonetheless, following an extensive survey of the existing academic landscape of graphic design history studies, nineteenth century periodical studies, and media history studies, I identified an absence of inquiries into the late nineteenth century feminist periodical from a

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750 Rubinstein, p. 233; Appendix I / Glossary of Terms: ‘New Womanhood’.
751 Patterson, p. 1.
754 Drucker and McVarish, p. 163.
graphic design historical perspective. Furthermore, the studies of nineteenth century feminist periodicals that do exist typically provide an analysis that is focusing on the textual, and/or the visual, and are often detached from the ‘designed’ (i.e. page architecture, typography, size, paper, typesetting). Or, the studies of nineteenth century periodicals that focus on the designed are often detached from the visual, and especially the textual. Simultaneously, there is a deficiency in studies that pay attention to the nuanced nature of design production; meaning that there is little acknowledgement of the different actors taking part in it (i.e. illustrators, printers, editors, proprietors, advertisers), how these relationships influenced the final design product, and the message projected by the periodical in question. Additionally, there is even less acknowledgement of women’s involvement in design, media, and gender politics as producers, consumers, and social activists, and the impact of their choices. My survey of the existing literature also reveals that ‘all the obvious frameworks’ used for the study of the late nineteenth century feminist periodical ‘had gaps’, and there was a need for a new functioning apparatus.\(^7\)

With the above in mind, the main body of this thesis contains three case studies, which are based on three sister general feminist weekly periodicals: the Women’s Penny Paper (1888-1890), the Woman’s Herald (1891-1893), and the Woman’s Signal (1894-1899).\(^7\) The case studies use a remodelled version of linguist Gérard Genette’s theory of the ‘paratext’ to analyse the designed, visual and textual elements of the above three periodicals, whilst comment on the intertextual relationship these paratexts appear to have with the wider Victorian media ecology. Especially, the case studies examine to what extent the gendered conventions of the late nineteenth century Britain, influenced the editorial design identity of the general feminist weekly periodical. The case studies also question whether existing unconventional paradigms of gender identity, such as newly identified models of late nineteenth century New Womanhood, in any way challenged the established patriarchal system through the design and content of non-mainstream media, such as the general feminist weekly periodical. By answering the above two research questions, therefore, this

\(^7\) DiCenzo quoted in Skoog, p. 14.
\(^7\) Chapters 3, 4, and 5 include case studies I, II, and III.
thesis sought to offer a set of carefully considered and thoroughly detailed case studies that acknowledge the numerous actors taking part in the design, visual, textual production of the late nineteenth century feminist periodical, and the role and input of the women involved; as well as offer a new methodological model for the study of the nineteenth century periodical, which could be used as a prototype for the development of similar methodological tools for use in other areas of research enquiry.
The individual elements of a [discursive] system only have significance when considered in relation to the structure as a whole, and that are to be understood as self-contained, self-regulated and self-transforming entities.\textsuperscript{757}

6.2. Empirical Findings

The first case study (Chapter III) focuses on paratexts such as subtitles, epigraphs, typographical mastheads, typefaces, portraits, and advertising, and argues that the proprietor and editor Henrietta Müller designed the Paper in accordance with the progressive idea of a ‘universal sisterhood’. The study reveals that Müller employed a specific method of communicating this progressive concept, which manifested itself by integrating familiar with progressive aspects, namely True Womanhood with New Womanhood. Evidently, her approach succeeded in uniting New Women from across the spectrum under the banner of feminist altruism. The first part of the second case study (Chapter IV) focuses on paratexts such as the editors’ and proprietors’ associations to the Liberal party, the front cover, the paper’s typographical masthead, and advertising. The study reveals that the editors/proprietors Mrs Frank Morrison, Christina S. Bremner and Eva McLaren designed their newspaper based on the concept of progressive Liberalism, whilst they also advocated the unity of women, specifically targeting middle- and working-class women. However, an unintentional lack of empathy between the middle-class producers with the working-class readerships that they hoped to reach, in addition to a lack of connection with the general feminist reader, who may not have espoused their particular political agenda, meant that they were unable to attract sufficient subscribers to keep the paper in circulation. The second part of this case study focuses on paratexts such as the editor's connection to the British Women’s Temperance Association and the politics behind Gospel temperance women’s groups in Britain, the paper’s iconotypographical masthead, portraits and advertising. The study reveals that the editors/proprietors Lady Henry Somerset and Edwin H. Stout designed their newspaper in accordance with the concepts of maternalism, Christianity and purity, in the hope of attracting male and female temperance supporters.

Similarly, the first section of the third case study (Chapter V) reveals that the editors Lady Henry Somerset and Annie E. Holdsworth continued to espouse a Gospel temperance identity, which allowed them to create a connection between their three publications (namely the weekly issue, its monthly supplement, and the monthly review), as well as create a
connection between the different target audiences. This section, however, focuses on paratexts such as the typographical masthead of the weekly issue, the iconotypographical mastheads of the monthly supplement and the review, portraits, and advertisements to name but few. Lastly, the second section of this case study focuses on paratexts such as the front cover, advertising, portraits, fashion plates and illustrations, and reveals that the editor/proprietor Florence Fenwick Miller designed her newspaper based on the concepts of bourgeois maternity, matrimony and etiquette, in the hope of attracting the general female reader, although her underlying editorial objective was to promote suffrage. In fact, whilst her journalistic purpose truly regulated the type and frequency of paratexts, such as advertising and fashion plates, she was unsuccessful in attracting enough subscribers.

The findings of the three case studies suggest that late nineteenth century general feminist periodicals, such as the Paper, Herald, and Signal, were hybrid communication media that founded their editorial identity on different hybrid paradigms of New Womanhood. To that end, the analyses of the paratexts that were associated with, attached to, or orbited around these three feminist periodicals reveal the high levels of self-consciousness that this genre of periodicals held ‘about their status and functions’. 758 For instance, as it has been demonstrated in the case studies, and echoed previously in this chapter, ‘editors often articulated their mandates and situated their publications in very clear terms’, because they really ‘knew what they were up against at the time’. 759 Subsequently, the findings presented in this thesis ‘provide evidence of the crucial role print media played in the formation of so-called new social movements and in a redefinition of ‘politics’ originating outside the formal institutional sphere’. 760

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758 DiCenzo quoted in Skoog, p. 17.
759 Ibid.
760 DiCenzo and Others, p. 3.
Rather than focusing [research] on the creative work of one figure, periodical culture can encourage our study of networks, communities, debates, and conversations organized around some of the key shifts and changes of modernity.761

6.3. Theoretical Implications

6.3.1. Critique of the Wider Periodical Studies Landscape

The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research paints a clear picture of periodical studies research today: the majority of research is produced by communication scholars (mainly from communication, media studies, journalism and public relations), and the second most substantial amount of work is produced by humanities (mainly from English and history) and social sciences (mainly psychology and sociology) scholars. Art history and American studies scholars also contribute to periodical studies research, English scholar Cynthia Lee Patterson reports. A much smaller body of scholarly works focusing on periodical design also exists, but it is further divided into studies that concentrate on design theory, applied design, or design history. Inevitably, the majority of periodical studies research attends to content analysis with a focus on the textual and/or the visual, whilst a very small proportion of studies concentrate on design. As a result, the research questions asked, and the methodological tools used to answer these questions - as important and effective as they may be - are in their majority focusing on one or two aspects of the periodical, or one or two factors that may influence the reading of the periodical; rather than addressing the full complexity of this multilayered communication medium. For example, journalism historians tend to concentrate on ‘the practice of periodicals publication’ (meaning the editorial process), whereas literary critics concentrate on ‘the products of publication’ (meaning the literary content). On the other side of the spectrum, the small section of scholars that produce design theory, applied design, or design history periodical studies tend to concentrate on the visual content, such as photographs, or specific design elements, such as typography, without taking into account the anchor text. Furthermore, evidence suggests that most studies employ a ‘heroic’ approach, influenced by ‘the Great Man school of history’, which means that they, typically, focus on the individual male editor, writer, designer, and as a result they

762 Endres, pp. 51-64 (p. 54).
764 Holstead, pp. 392-409 (p. 393).
766 Holstead, pp. 392-409 (p. 393).
overlook the contribution of women editors, writers, designers, as well as the collaborative processes of publishing a periodical and the role of readers.\textsuperscript{767}

Undoubtedly, as speech communication scholar Judith Yaross Lee argues, ‘interest in individual editors and writers can produce engaging and important critical biographies’.\textsuperscript{768} Nonetheless, we ought to develop ‘more holistic approaches’ for the study of periodicals that consider the collaboration of editors, writers, publishers, advertisers, investors, agents, readers, printers/designers, distributors, postmasters, legislators, politicians, as well as other agents, such as ‘transportation and communication technologies to economic and social factors’.\textsuperscript{769} At the same time, such a holistic approach to the study of the periodical would need to take into account the type of communication medium the periodical actually is; for it is not a book, a poem, or a poster. A holistic approach to the study of the periodical, therefore, should be an approach that is ‘thinking with the medium’, and not ‘thinking about the medium’, where the former is ‘an art of compromise between the affordances of the system and the demands of narrative meaning’, and ‘not the overzealous exploitation of all the features offered by the authoring system’.\textsuperscript{770} With the above in mind, I embarked in a journey of reappraisal, recovery, and rediscovery using a newly modified model of the Genettean paratext as my methodological tool. A reappraisal of the Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald and Woman’s Signal not as periodicals independent from each other, but as three general feminist weekly sister periodicals, with partly complementary and/or partly antagonistic editorial identities, in alignment with each other. A recovery of the opinion of those that read these papers, and their involvement in the debate generated by through these papers, as well as a recovery especially of women editors, printers, retouchers, readers, reformers, and other female actors. A rediscovery of the editorial identities of these papers, and all the elements and people who shaped them; be it mastheads, typefaces, page architecture models, anchor texts, advertising, supplements, portraits, as well as editors, painters, engravers, compositors, advertisers, journalists, proprietors to name but a few.

\textsuperscript{767} Yaross Lee, pp. 196-201 (p. 197).
\textsuperscript{768} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{769} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{770} Ryan, pp. 515-28 (p. 516).
6.3.2. The Genettean Paratext Theory: Rewards

The most notable advantage, of using the theory of the paratext as a methodological tool, is its capacity to guide the researcher’s attention on ‘how an abstract entity like a text is always presented in a specific form, which is affected by historically and socially determined modes of production and reception’.\textsuperscript{771} As a methodological tool, therefore, the theory of the paratext exposes the manner in which ‘readings are circumscribed by factors that are usually seen as marginal (or even external) to the text’.\textsuperscript{772} For instance, the three case studies included in this thesis look into the different qualities of the late nineteenth century general feminist weekly newspaper, as well as the manner in which the specific modes of production and reception, for the periodicals in question, were influenced by historically specific social factors. Additionally, the theory of the paratext is ‘first and foremost a treasure trove of questions’, in Genette’s words, meaning that it offers an inventory of information to look for, as well as offering a vocabulary with which such information can be explained.\textsuperscript{773} In this case, the Genettean paratext offered a structure that was necessary in order to meticulously study such a complex communication medium as the late nineteenth century general feminist weekly periodical. Yet, this structure was nothing but restrictive, since the inventory of paratexts used developed organically and was designed specifically for each chosen periodical. For example, Case Study I focused on pseudonymity, typographical mastheads and subtitles, to name but a few, because these paratexts were most significant for the \textit{Paper}; whereas Case Study III focused on periodical supplements, iconotypographical mastheads, and portraits, because these paratexts were most significant for the \textit{Signal}.

In contrast, if I were to use another methodological tool for the analysis of these periodicals, I would have to limit my focus to one or two factors that make the periodical, or influence the reading of the periodical. For instance, using ‘analytical bibliography’ would mean to focus on the study of my chosen periodicals ‘as physical objects’, meaning that I would primarily attend to only a few specific ‘details of their production’ and ‘the effects of the method of manufacture

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{771} Birke and Christ, pp. 65-87 (p. 66).
\item \textsuperscript{772} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{773} Genette, \textit{Palimpsests}, p. 4.
\end{footnotes}
of the text’. Analytical bibliography is divided into ‘historical’, ‘textual’ and ‘descriptive’: the first focuses on the history of texts (traditionally books), as well as the history of people, institutions, and machines that produce them; the second focuses on the ‘relationship between the printed text as we have it before us, and that text as conceived by the author’; the third focusing on ‘the close physical description of books’. Subsequently, a researcher choosing anyone of the different types of analytical bibliography to study a periodical would eventually draw a narrow understanding of that text/object, because they would have to limit their reading to the history, the intention, or the physicality of the periodical in question. On the other hand, the Genettean paratext theory rejuvenates ‘the “old” language of descriptive bibliography by interrogating tacit distinctions between text and paratext, between book and its packaging’. Furthermore, the modified model of the paratext theory proposed here allows the researcher to attend to all of these factors (meaning history, intention, physicality) simultaneously, which in turn permits the formation of holistic research conclusions.

Similarly, using Saussurean (or Saussurian) semiotics to study the periodical would also prove inadequate, because it would mean to focus on the binary study of the ‘signifier’ and ‘signified’, where the former (i.e. words, marks, symbols) is regarded ‘as arbitrary and unrelated’ to the latter. In fact, the signifier is ‘commonly interpreted as the material (or physical) form of the sign’, therefore it is something that ‘can be seen, heard, touched, smelled or tasted’; whereas the signified is ‘not to be identified directly with such a referent but is a concept is the mind – not a thing but the notion of a thing’. For instance, the masthead (be it typographical or iconotypographical) of a periodical would be considered the signifier (material), but whatever the reader understands from that visual composition would be the signified (immaterial); the two being separate from each other. Most importantly, however, Saussurean semiology is primarily phonocentric, meaning that it privileges the spoken

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775 Ibid.
word. Consequently, although Saussure argues that ‘the system as a unified whole is the starting point, from which it becomes possible, by a process of analysis, to identify its constituent elements’; this process of analysis is non-democratic. In addition to privileging the phonetic elements over any non-phonetic elements, as literary studies scholar Andrew King argues, Saussurean semiotics ‘seem to strive for universality rather than specificity’. In contrast, the modified Genettean model of analysis proposed in this thesis is democratic - meaning that it treats all the textual and non-textual elements of the periodical equally, whilst being specific - meaning that it takes into account all the particularities of the specific periodical under investigation.

6.3.3. The Genettean Paratext Theory: Inadequacies

Certainly, Saussure and Genette both originated from within structuralism. In fact, the original Genettean theory of the paratext is close to Saussurean semiology in that both: give ‘primacy’ to ‘relationships rather than to things’; privilege the textual (verbal) elements of a text over the non-textual; argue that ‘nothing is a sign [or a paratext] unless it is interpreted [or intended] as a sign [or a paratext]’. In contrast, the modified version of the paratext theory proposed here is closer to Charles S. Peirce’s semiotics theory; which supports that ‘a sign can exist coincidentally when someone has interpreted something as a sign, even though it was not purposely meant’ to be a sign. Similarly, this thesis argues that any of the elements that are associated to the periodical in question can hold paratextual significance, even if originally they were not intended to. Consequently, the privilege that is afforded to the text and the author of that text in Genette's original version of the paratext theory, in which he argues that paratexts are ‘always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author’, is minimized or completely eradicated. In other words, this thesis challenges Genette’s argument that “the main issue of the paratext is not to “look nice” around

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779 Ibid.
780 de Saussure, p. 112.
783 Yakin and Totu, pp. 4-8 (p. 7).
784 See Section 2.1.3.5.2.: Typefaces.
the text but rather to ensure for the text a destiny consistent with the author’s purpose’, simply because there are cases were elements are implemented for aesthetic or decorative reasons only, eventually contributing to the overall understanding of the periodical. For that reason, the studies presented here attend to anchor texts and paratexts (intended as well as unintended) with equal sensitivity.

Furthermore, Genette downplays ‘the way in which the economic context and the medium of a text contribute to shaping its reception and interpretation’ by ‘bypassing the commercial and navigational functions of paratextual elements’, in addition to the ‘classificatory’ and ‘differential exactness’ problems mentioned previously in this thesis. In fact, Genette insists that the ‘most essential of the paratext’s properties […] is functionality’, but the function of paratext as he portrays it remains rather inexplicit. Nevertheless, this thesis pays close attention to the ‘interpretive’, ‘commercial’, as well as the ‘navigational’ functions, as defined by English literature scholars Dorothee Birke and Birte Christ, in order to compensate for this shortcoming. More specifically, this thesis supports that paratexts: ‘suggest to the reader specific ways of understanding, reading, and interpreting the text’; ‘advertise a text, label it with a price, and so on, to promote the [periodical’s] sale’; ‘guide the reader’s reception in a more mechanical sense, both when approaching the text and when orienting herself within the text’. With these classifications in mind, therefore, this thesis offers a much more holistic analysis of the complex medium of the periodical, by specifically attending to paratexts that are directly linked to economic and technological conditions of the time of production and consumption. For example, Case Study I reveals how Henrietta Müller defied the established system by choosing to publish the Paper/Herald (a) as a penny paper, although low cost papers were typically considered of low quality. Additionally, the first part of Case Study 2 reveals how the Herald (b) was protesting against the established commercialism that often

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785 Genette, Paratexts, p. 407. Also see Chapter 2: Section 2.1.3.5.1.: Typefaces, and Appendix II, which sections explain that intuition and taste influenced some of the typographical decisions made by the compositors, so these choices were not strictly intentional; yet, I argue that they still carried a paratextual meaning.
786 Ibid., pp. 65-87 (p. 68); see Section 1.2.2.
787 Ibid., pp. 67-8.
788 Ibid.
789 See Chapter 3: Section 3.1.2.3.
overshadowed other elements in the press, by adopting Fat typefaces for its exterior masthead to compete with the bold typefaces used in advertisements.\textsuperscript{791}

\textsuperscript{791} See Chapter 4: Section 4.1.4.1.
If we regard periodicals not like fossil hunters, in search of specimens to fill a cabinet, but like theoretical geologists or theologians, as expositions of processes by which change occurs and is made legible, then I think a quite major shift in thinking will have occurred.\textsuperscript{792}

6.4. Wider Scholarly Contribution

6.4.1. The need for New Methodologies in Periodical Studies

6.4.1.1. A Triangulated Approach to the Study of the Periodical

In order to ‘obtain confirmation of findings though convergence of different perspectives’, I chose to triangulate my archival access methods, as well as my case study methods.\textsuperscript{793} As a result, triangulation allowed me to be more confident about my interpretations of the primary material throughout. For example, triangulating archival access methods meant that for specific issues of periodicals that I could not locate in print, could not access in print due to their fragile condition, or did not exist in digital format, I could hope to locate them in microfilm form. Microfilm also allowed access to other useful supplementary information, such as the publisher’s note, which is unique to this type of archival data. Therefore, having access to more than one type of archival resources allowed me to overcome the hindrance of ‘selective survival’; that ‘combination of accident, prejudice and available resources’.\textsuperscript{794} For instance, the bound volume of July to December 1897 of the \textit{Signal} (b) has the front and back covers for the first issue in this volume, whereas the covers have been completely removed from all the remaining issues. Therefore, were I only using one method of archival access, such as accessing the physical archives at John Ryland’s Library or the British Library, I would never have known: a. that all the issues had front and back covers, b. the nature of the information on these covers (i.e. what type of advertising they featured). However, because I also retrieved the same periodical through the Gale 19\textsuperscript{th} Century UK Periodicals online archive, I was able to ascertain not only that all the issues between July and December 1897 had front and back covers, but also examine and record the kind of paratexts that featured on these covers. Subsequently, I was better able to interpret this periodical, better analyse the paratexts involved, and better answer my research questions.


\textsuperscript{794} Maidment, pp. 143-54 (p. 145).
One might argue that the average periodical studies researcher would typically use all three types of archival data (meaning original print, microfilm copy and digital copy); yet, the truth is that this is not always possible, and usually not a priority. Yaross Lee, for example, mentions that she only used microfilm copies for her study of *The New Yorker* because her library ‘threw out all its bound copies years ago’, and presumably digital copies did not exist or were not accessible at the time.\(^{795}\) Additionally, Latham and Scholes explain ‘a single scholar working with print editions, microfilm, and even digital archive, after all, has only a finite amount of time and energy’, which implies that: a. digital archives are the easiest to use, and therefore may be preferred, b. even if all three types of archival data are available, researchers may not consult all three due to practical factors, such as time or budget restrictions.\(^{796}\) This thesis, however, made it a prerequisite that a triangulated approach to archival access takes place at all times, especially for the three main periodicals studied in length in this thesis. For example, after I read about the monthly *Woman’s Signal Budget* in the pages of the weekly *Woman’s Signal*, I had to find a copy of it, and it was then that I discovered that it was not available digitally or in print, so my only chance of seeing a copy was to locate it on microfilm. Had I given up my search when I was unable to locate a digital and a print copy, Case Study 3 would have lead to partially complete findings.

In a similar vein, triangulating my case study method meant that I acquired a holistic, three-dimensional perspective of the editorial identity of each periodical. In particular, I combined a synchronic examination (i.e. studying the periodical in comparison to its contemporaries), a diachronic examination (i.e. studying the periodical in comparison to its own consecutive issues and observing its evolution), and a singular examination (i.e. studying each issue individually). This triangular approach allowed me to explore ‘the construction of difference’, but also to better understand the social and cultural changes relevant to my objects of study, as well as acknowledge the individuality of each issue.\(^{797}\) For example, comparing the front

\(^{795}\) Yaross Lee, pp. 196-201 (p. 199).

\(^{796}\) Latham and Scholes, pp. 517-31 (p. 529).

covers of the *Herald* (b) with *Shafts* allowed me to better understand the ways these two periodicals were different, and how their differences manifested themselves through the paratexts they featured.\footnote{798} Furthermore, comparing the *Herald* (c) with its successor *Signal* (a) allowed me to identify that they espoused the same concepts, namely maternalism, Christianity, purity, but they used different paratexts to communicate these concepts. Lastly, in cases such as No. 223 of the *Herald* (b), which had a cover that never appeared again, studying the issue individually for what it was, rather than dismissing it because it was atypical, allowed for the appreciation of paratexts that would otherwise have been dismissed in the name of the canon. Subsequently, triangulating the archival access methods as well as the case study method not only allows the researcher to be more confident of their results, but also: a. encourages the creation of new innovative ways of ‘capturing a problem to balance with conventional data-collection methods’; b. exposes unusual facts of a phenomenon, c. serves as the ultimate experiment/trial for ‘competing theories’, by ‘virtue of its comprehensiveness’, d. minimises the insufficiencies of single-source research, e. minimises bias.\footnote{799}

### 6.4.1.2. A Holistic Transdisciplinary Approach for the Study of the Periodical

Transferring the original theory of the paratext from linguistics, and then expanding that theory to develop a new methodological tool for the study of the periodical demonstrates a truly transdisciplinarity approach. Then, the fact that this new approach appreciates the multi-layered nature of the periodical, through a focus on the textual, visual and designed elements, as well as temporal, material, economic, social, technological, political, cultural, and aesthetic factors, makes it a truly holistic approach. Drucker argues that, whilst ‘literary scholars and design critics engage with graphical aesthetics and material properties of text’, they should not limit themselves ‘to a literalized “reading” of materiality, but consider instead a quantum approach to materiality in textual and visual studies’.\footnote{800} Indeed, this thesis is proposing

\footnote{798} See Chapter 4.  
\footnote{799} Yeasmin, and Rahman, pp. 154-63 (p. 159).  
exactly that: an inclusive interpretation of the late nineteenth century general feminist weekly periodical that recognises one of its most ‘distinctive characteristics’: ‘the plurality that extends beyond the textual dimension’. By appreciating the complexity of the periodical, therefore, this thesis is able to offer a set of findings that oppose the ‘decontextualisation and over-interpretation of individual textual and visual representations’ that is often evident in other periodical studies work.

6.4.1.3. An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of the Periodical

English literature scholars Sean Latham and Robert Scholes argued in 2005 that the periodical studies field, which was ‘still-emergent’ then, is ‘particularly distinguished by its insistence on interdisciplinary scholarship’. Indeed, all of us who study periodicals agree that our work ‘requires interdisciplinary cooperation’, due to ‘the wealth of topics covered in periodicals’, and, I would add, the variety of different elements periodicals are made of (be it textual, visual, or designed). Ten years later, the majority of research on periodicals remains ‘concentrated either in the hands of individuals or in scholarly societies and organizations’; organisations that do not ‘quite rise to the level of collaborative laboratories’, but provide ‘sites where researchers can share and disseminate their work’. Admittedly, we have had the pleasure to enjoy a plethora of essays that ‘focus directly on the formal characteristics, generic formulations or social significance of periodicals’ through the pages of specialist academic periodicals, such as Victorian Periodicals Review, and because of these journals we now see more and more contributors coming from different fields, who publish work under the banner of periodical studies. Nonetheless, design elements of periodicals typically remain under-represented in research, unless, they are specifically examined by design historians, in which cases design practices, such as page layout, or typography, are typically considered on their own merit, and not together with the visual, and especially the textual content. Nonetheless, some scholars, such as DiCenzo, Ryan and Delap, and Mussell,

802 Tinkler, pp. 25-39 (p. 26).
803 Latham and Scholes, pp. 517-31 (p. 517).
804 Ibid. , pp. 517-31 (p. 518).
805 Ibid. , pp. 517-31 (p. 530).
806 Maidment, pp. 143-54 (p. 153).
have actively sought an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the periodical, and in very exceptional occasions, such as Matthew Philpotts’ article, new transdisciplinary methodologies have been suggested. \textsuperscript{807} Other works, such as the study on large-scale analysis of nineteenth century print culture by humanities scholars Neal Audenaert and Natalie M. Houston, and, my personal favourite, Tom Gretton’s article on ‘the pragmatics of page design’ in nineteenth century illustrated news magazines, are equally promising. \textsuperscript{808} To add to this newly emerging body of work, this thesis presents an example of using a synergistic approach to design and media historical periodical studies research that stretches ‘beyond disciplinary lines’, and challenges ‘fragmentary research practices and encourages historians to be more open and reflexive about how they use magazines to learn about the past’. \textsuperscript{809}

6.4.2. On New Womanhood

This thesis offers a glimpse into the type of periodicals that ‘were instrumental in taking up the task of providing new arenas to debate ideas, monitor developments and communicated with wider readerships’. \textsuperscript{810} It offers an insight into how reformist networks of the late nineteenth century Britain and their diverse publications ‘served as a hub, even an irritant and counterpoint, for a wider range of groups involved in social, economic, and political reforms’. \textsuperscript{811} This thesis also contributes to the understanding of late nineteenth century New Womanhood in Britain, and the diversity of hybrid models of New Womanhood that existed at the time, adding to existing scholarship on this subject. \textsuperscript{812} Referring to the identities projected


\textsuperscript{809} Endres, pp. 51-64 (p. 60); Tinkler, pp. 25-39 (p. 38).

\textsuperscript{810} DiCenzo and Others, p. 179.

\textsuperscript{811} ibid., p. 14.

\textsuperscript{812} English literature scholar Martha H. Patterson notes the many ‘contradictory positions’ represented by the American New Woman, including suffragist, prohibitionist, clubwoman, college girl, American girl, socialist, capitalist,
specifically from within ‘movement media’, DiCenzo, Delap and Ryan note that some periodicals ‘were definitely willing to say ‘feminist’ more loudly than others, and to mean different things by it’.\textsuperscript{813} However, ‘self-definitions change’ and, similarly to other movement media, feminist periodicals ‘contributed to the formation and proliferation of politicized collective identities which emerged and changed over time and in reaction to other developments’.\textsuperscript{814} In support of this argument, this thesis reveals that British New Women could be positioned anywhere across the spectrum of late nineteenth century New Womanhood, adopting diverse New Woman identities, such as: the non-partisan New Woman that supports a ‘universal sisterhood’; the non-Christian New Woman; the partisan New Woman (be it Liberal or Conservative); the suffragist; the anti-suffragist; the Christian temperance supporter, further divided into the British temperance supporter following an Anglo-American approach and the British temperance supporter following a British approach, further divided into the cosmopolitan and the New Woman from the provinces; the New Woman that follows conventional ideals of femininity; the Irish Home Rule supporter; the education for women supporter; the social purity supporter; the Liberal Unionist; the bourgeois New Woman; the working-class New Woman; the aristocratic New Woman to name but a few. For instance, Case Study 1 offers insights about the New Woman that supported ‘a universal sisterhood’; a progressive woman who welcomed diversity, and allowed various types of New Women to participate in the discussion, even if these other voices were contradictory to her own.\textsuperscript{815} Case Study 2, on the other hand, offers insights about the Liberal middle-class New Woman, who was more attached to her own suffragist message, rather than the party-political message of the WLF.\textsuperscript{816} By looking into only three late nineteenth century feminist titles, therefore, this thesis uncovers at least eighteen different types of New Womanhood, further supporting the ‘heterogeneity of collective identities generated by single campaigns’, and, I would argue, the nuanced New Woman effort as a whole.\textsuperscript{817}

\textsuperscript{813} DiCenzo, Delap, and Ryan, p. 198.
\textsuperscript{814} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{815} See Chapter 3.
\textsuperscript{816} See Chapter 4: Section 4.1.
\textsuperscript{817} DiCenzo, Delap, and Ryan, p. 198.
6.4.3. About the Paratext Theory

This thesis also contributes in a basic level by providing a clarification as to what exactly is a ‘paratext’, especially because evidence suggests that paratexts are mistakenly considered to include textual elements only, or the wider category of paratexts is often mistaken for the narrower sub-category of peritexts. For instance, in their seminal work *Key Terms in Semiotics*, scholars Bronwen Martin and Felizitas Ringham define paratext as the term that ‘refers to all those textual elements that surround of frame the text such as titles, subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, notes, epilogues and afterwords’, adding that the paratext ‘can be said to control or influence one’s whole reading of a text’. By focusing only to textual paratexts, therefore, Martin and Ringham offer an inadequate and somewhat misleading definition, whilst they totally overlook the existence, importance, and role of other non-textual paratexts, such as illustrations, mastheads, photographs, typography and so forth. In a similar vein, in the article ‘Reflections on Textual Editing in the Time of the History of the Book’, publishing scholar Wim Van Mierlo argues that ‘the texts Kindles and similar devices display have few of the bibliographical features – paratexts, typographical design, layout – that we normally associate with books’. In other words, Van Mierlo separates paratexts, which he implies are textual elements such as titles, subtitles, epigraphs, to other non-textual elements, such as typographical design or layout. In other cases, the paratext is defined as ‘the unusual collection of verbal statements and illustrations’ that ‘are extraneous to the text but integral to the manner in which that text is presented to the world’. In fact, a careful reading of Genette’s original theory reveals that Taunton is referring to what Genette defines as the ‘peritext’, confusing paratext, a macro-category that includes peritexts and epitexts, with the micro-category of peritexts. He also completely overlooks the epitexts, and how they fit into the overall concept of the paratext. Therefore, it was important to clarify what the paratext actually is, and most importantly that paratexts can be textual and/or non-textual elements.

821 See Chapter 2: Section 2.1.2.
This thesis further demonstrates the unlimited potential of the paratext theory as a methodological tool for the study of the nineteenth century periodical, or any other periodical for that matter. English literature scholar Ann Ardis is suspicious of 'any taxonomy or typology of periodical genres' that assumes or imposes 'a kind of formal stability over time' - a stability that many of the nineteenth century periodicals did not have, arguing that 'such taxonomies can't account for the social dynamics and the professional and personal networks that evolved around specific periodicals'.\textsuperscript{822} She also mentions that text-based methods of generic classification can be inadequate when it comes to analysing the complicated materials that combine textual and visual elements.\textsuperscript{823} This thesis, of course, does not propose a taxonomy or typology of periodical genres, however, the Genettean paratext was originally conceived for the study of the book, and as I mentioned previously, prioritises the textual over the visual or designed elements of a literary work. It could be argued, therefore, that the theory of the paratext is a text-based method designed for the study of texts published in book form; yet, it is its unique capacity to adaption that makes it a great methodological tool for the study of the periodical. Some modifications had to happen to make the original theory of the paratext more compatible with the heterogeneous nature of the late nineteenth century general feminist weekly periodical (after all a periodical is very different to a book). But, the new model presented here demonstrates that with the right amount of thought the concept of the Genettean paratext can be transformed into a methodological tool that provides some structure, whilst allows the researcher the freedom to sculpt their methodology based on the specificities of the particular periodical/s in question. Simultaneously, this newly modified methodological tool encourages the researcher to consider the textual, visual and designed elements found in their chosen periodicals, whilst appreciating the social dynamics and the professional and personal networks that may have formed around these periodicals.


\textsuperscript{823} Ibid.
6.4.4. About the Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, and Woman’s Signal

Based on all the sources I have been able to locate, this is the first time management, production and distribution changes have been listed in great detail, and considered collectively. Other sources often omit Mrs. Frank Morrison’s editorial involvement, for example, or take for granted that the paper was always printed and published by the Women’s Printing Society Ltd., which was not the case. It has also always been assumed that Lady Henry Somerset was the proprietor of the Signal (a), but evidence shows that Stout was the main proprietor. In addition, this is the first time that the classical images featured on the covers of the Herald and Signal, and their paratextual influence to the overall editorial design identity has been appreciated in-depth. Furthermore, the image of the ‘Sistine Madonna’, together with the intertextual relationship it created between the Signal, the Monthly Supplement, and the Review of Reviews, as well as the paratextual influence that this Christian image had upon the editorial narrative, are discussed for the first time. Lastly, this thesis provides an in-depth explanation of the paratextual significance of the phrase ‘The Woman Movement Means Organized Mother Love’ used in the masthead of the Monthly Supplement; a phrase that has previously not been fully understood. Subsequently, presenting all these insights together hopefully will allow other researchers to really appreciate who was who, who did what, what changes happened and when, and what was the significance of the specific images used in order to accurately inform their readings of the Paper, Herald, and Signal.

824 See Chapters 3, 4, 5, and Appendix III / Editorships and Other Details of the Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, and Woman’s Signal.
825 See Chapter 4: Section 4.2., and Footnote 504.
The general mission of the historian [...] is to locate the patterns of change and continuity in the chaos of past human activity and to interpret their meaning for the present.\footnote{Karen Offen, ‘Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach’, Signs, 14 (1988), pp. 119-57 (p. 121).}
6.5. Limitations of this Thesis

In 1922, philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein argued that ‘the limits of my language mean the limits of my world’, adding: ‘that the world is my world shows itself in the fact that the limits of the language (the language which only I understand) mean the limits of my world’. Accordingly, the main limitation of this thesis is that, aside of few exceptions, the literature reviewed, consulted and referenced mainly consists of anglophone texts, whether originally written in English or translated into English. This means that, although scholarly evidence suggests that German and French speaking researchers have written about the theory of the paratext in their own native language, due to this unfortunate language barrier, I have not been able to access these texts. In that respect, this thesis formed new conclusions and offered new insights based on the texts that were accessible in English at the time. Would the methodological and theoretical conclusions, relating to the theory of the paratext proposed in this thesis, be vastly different, had I access to existing foreign texts written about the theory of the paratext? Probably not; however, I would have been able to present an even more extensive review of the current academic landscape, and implement a greater diversity of opinions into this thesis. Yet, this barrier suggests a great opportunity for the future: it indicates that the theory of the paratext is much more fertile than originally thought, and could be expanded even further, to include anglophone, francophone, as well as germanophone research (i.e. if I was to collaborate with a team of bilingual researchers, who speak English as well as French and German).

Very simply, to do feminist research is to put the social construction of gender at the center of one’s inquiry.\textsuperscript{828}

6.6. Recommendations for Future Research

My review of the current academic landscape in regard to communication, media and design historical periodical research presented in the introductory chapter of this thesis mainly focused on existing problems. For example, the fact that media studies of women’s print media ‘has tended to be dispersed and sometimes difficult to locate’, to the extent that those interested in periodicals ‘may be unfamiliar with or even unaware of relevant work produced in other areas’. Conversely, in this concluding section I would like to offer a glimmer of hope, firstly by acknowledging that during recent years a number of communication researchers who study periodicals have shown a preference for an approach that transcends disciplinary boundaries. In addition, I want to recognise that women’s studies academic journals, in particular, ‘serve as a kind of interdisciplinary mixing bowl for research, large enough to contain articles from many different perspectives’ produced from across the international academic scene. As a result, many different disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, communication, English literature, criminal justice, fashion history, or multi-disciplinary clusters, such as Victorian periodical studies, as well as a variety of international perspectives from Japan to North America, and from Sweden to Australia, intermingle on the same platform. Furthermore, it has been reported that more scholars are already asking ‘new research questions, especially as they relate to readership effects and non-content-related issues’, which in turn means that new methodologies might emerge, and new answers might be discovered. In fact, and in particular to feminist media history, DiCenzo argues that ‘most striking has been the expansion of our sense of politicized women’s media reaching further back into the early nineteenth century and forward into the inter-war period and 1950s’; which growth of research has been ‘very effective in disrupting assumptions about periodization and genre in relation to early women’s media’.

Nevertheless, ‘more needs to be done’, and even this project, which attempts to challenge some of the existing methodological, philosophical, and theoretical problems in periodical

830 Ibid., pp. 51-64, p. 59.
831 Ibid.
832 Ibid., pp. 51-64 (p. 64).
833 DiCenzo quoted in Skoog, pp. 11-24 (p. 20).
studies and design historical research, can certainly be further developed.\textsuperscript{834} History of print scholar Brian Maidment argues that ‘the readership of periodicals cannot be glibly inferred from their content and address’, however, uncovering information about the real readers directly from the source is a difficult task, because the information is usually not there or is very hard to locate.\textsuperscript{835} For example, English scholar Jon Klancher admitted in \textit{The Making of English Reading Audiences (1790-1832)} that he was ‘only able to deal with the audience English romantic writers thought they were addressing, or were trying to create’, since ‘the actual audience is […] unrecoverable’.\textsuperscript{836} Nonetheless, autobiographies could be a good place to start if we were to gather additional data in regard to ‘not only what [readers] read, but how they comprehended and reacted to their reading’.\textsuperscript{837} Autobiographies, of course, will have to be used with caution and compared against other materials, though it is expected that they will ‘prove to be the richest sources for a history of audiences’, especially because women’s autobiographies ‘represent a profound disruption of, and intervention within, history’s grand narrative’.\textsuperscript{838} This type of data that puts the reader in the centre of the study can then be collectively considered alongside the data I already gathered for this study, which although it considered the reader, placed more emphasis on the paratext. Eventually, the holistic approach followed in this thesis could be further expanded to draw even more detailed conclusions about the paratexts of the late nineteenth century general feminist periodical and their influence on readers.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{834} Ibid., pp. 11-24 (p. 21).
\item \textsuperscript{835} Maidment, pp. 143-54 (p. 146).
\item \textsuperscript{836} Jon Klancher, \textit{The Making of English Reading Audiences (1790-1832)} (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1987), p. 174, paraphrased in Rose, pp. 47-70 (p. 50).
\item \textsuperscript{837} Rose, pp. 47-70 (p. 51).
\end{itemize}
By turning to the history of graphic design and the analysis of the forces responsible for its development, we can begin to understand the broader meaning and the ideological character of contemporary design codes.\footnote{Craig, pp. 18-27 (p. 27).}
6.7. Epilogue

From a design historical point of view, in order to be able to expand the discussion, we need to alleviate three ‘problematic tendencies’ in design history research, which have ‘arisen as a consequence of the patronage of art history’, namely: a. the ‘extensive attention to aesthetics’ that undermines the importance of the many other aspects of design; b. the inclination to consider designers as artists or authors, and their products as ‘creations or oeuvres’, often considering the best of these as the primary subjects of study; c. the tendency to consider only a very limited subject matter, which is typically ‘limited to object categories that have traditionally been affiliated with art’ (i.e. decorative art, applied art, industrial art). 840

Fortunately, some scholars have already challenged these biases, such as Jonathan Harris, Sigfried Giedion, Jean Baudrillard, Bernard Rudofsky, George Kubler, Nicos Hadjinicolaou, Carma Gorman to name but a few, but we need to continue this effort.841

From a wider periodical/magazine/communication/media studies research perspective, we need to overcome the ‘intellectual ghetto’, which ‘rarely cites outside itself and is even more rarely cited by other disciplines’.842 We need to ‘make a special effort’ to adopt not only interdisciplinary, but also transdisciplinary approaches to periodical studies research because the academy still tends to be ‘compartmentalised and can sometimes restrict, rather than encourage, thinking across borders, and going places without a passport’.843 Furthermore, as researchers, designers, citizens, we ought to challenge the current system, and strive for an approach that demonstrates compassion to the ‘connectedness of categories’, desire for inclusiveness as well as an aspiration to ‘overcome opposing dualities’.844 We need to adopt

an approach to periodical studies research that demonstrates an ethos of care, ‘acknowledgement of the value of everyday life and experience’, recognition and want for complexity.\textsuperscript{845} We need to adopt an approach to periodical studies research that demonstrates ‘an acceptance of change and a desire for flexibility’.\textsuperscript{846} We need to practice research while ‘thinking without a passport’, design innovative methodologies that ‘think with the medium’, and in the process allow the periodicals to ‘talk for themselves’.\textsuperscript{847}

\textsuperscript{845} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{846} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{847} Doy, pp. 1-18; Ryan, pp. 515-28; DiCenzo quoted in Skoog, pp. 11-24 (p. 17).
Appendices
Appendix I: Glossary of Terms

A

Alternative Dress, or Alternative Style: Diane Crane coined the term to denote the dress style that ‘can be understood as a set of signs, borrowed from male clothing and consisting of items that were used separately or together, that subtly changed the overall effect of female clothing’.\(^{848}\)

Anchor Text: The main text of the periodical.

B

C

D

Design: Design is an all-embracing term, which transcends disciplines, and instead refers to the complex structure of an object, in this case the periodical.

E

Epitext: The type of paratext that exists outside the physical copy of the periodical.

F

Feminist (approach to media or by the media): A perspective on media or by the media that ‘highlights and engages with gender-based forms of inequality and exclusion at social, political and economic levels’.\(^{849}\)

Formal Peritexts: According to Genette, all the prototypical paratexts were conceived on the basis of the production and the anatomy of the book, or other processes relevant to the book. Based on this rationale, Genette categorised paratexts such as format, series, cover, title page, appendages, and typesetting under the category of the ‘publisher’s peritext’.\(^{850}\) Under the same category, he positioned the choice of typeface and paper: these were peritexts that he specifically considered as ‘material’.\(^{851}\) This basic division of peritexts may well be useful for the type of books that have a very simple design, were written by one author, produced by one publisher, and were produced through an uncomplicated process. Yet, anyone who knows how publishing works would understand that Genette’s theory is based on an ideal that rarely reflects reality.\(^{852}\) In actuality, as Stanitzek explains, ‘mediation is a social action,

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\(^{849}\) DiCenzo quoted in Skoog, pp. 11-24 (p. 13).

\(^{850}\) Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 16-33.

\(^{851}\) Ibid., pp. 33-6.

\(^{852}\) Design practice has traditionally been a collaborative effort. For example, in the twenty first century publishing, authors often write books in collaboration; in other cases, a couple or more people are editors while other people are the authors; the publisher’s decide on the covers, but it may be that the authors or editors decide on the cover, the illustrations included in the book usually are chosen by the authors, but then the editors, or the publishers, may decide to print these images in black and white instead of colour, or smaller than expected, or position them at the end of an essay instead of within it, and so forth, changes which can certainly have a level of influence on the final product. Similarly, Stanitzek argues that ‘filmmaking involves a comparatively large division of labor, a film cannot
involving a number of actors (producers as well as consumers) that generates both mediated form and mediated content.853 Likewise, the design of the nineteenth century periodical was a collaborative effort; therefore, the production and designed body of such a periodical, together with all its peritexts, cannot be attributed to one person: editors worked together with proprietors (when the editor was not the proprietor); editors also worked together with the various authors that contributed articles. In addition, other members of the same team could be involved: the corresponding editor/s, or sub-editors; the business manager/s, who were sometimes sub-editors; the printers (within the printing team also were the overseer, as well as all other regular compositors); the engravers; the illustrators; and the publishers (if different to the editor, printer, or proprietor).854 Because of the fact that the people involved cannot necessarily be identified as one publisher and one author, peritexts such as page layout, mastheads, typefaces, physical dimensions, paper quality and so forth cannot be categorised as 'publisher’s peritexts' when referring to the nineteenth century periodical. With that in mind, I typified all these peritexts under the umbrella term ‘formal peritexts’, inspired by the fact that they are all formal features of the nineteenth century periodical.

**Format:** Firstly, format could refer to the way a sheet of paper is folded.855 Secondly, format could refer to the size of the original sheet a publication is made with.856 Thirdly, format could refer to the orientation of the pages.857 For those from within graphic design, however, format could refer to much more than merely the size, orientation or folding of a publication: format contains form as well as structure, where form refers to the physical qualities of the publication, for example the quantity of pages, and dimension of the pages, and the style of binding or folding of the pages.

**G**

**Gestalt:** Originally, the concept of ‘Gestalt’ was ‘introduced into psychology by Christian von Ehrenfels [...] based on the observation that humans can recognize two melodies as identical even when no two corresponding notes in them have the same frequency’.858 In 1912, psychologist Max Wertheimer took this idea a step further when he discovered that ‘structured wholes or Gestalten, rather than sensations, are the primary units of mental life’.859 In other words, Wertheimer argued that ‘functional relations determine what will appear as the whole and what will appear as parts.’860 This means that ‘often the whole is grasped even before the individual parts enter consciousness’.861

**H**
Iconotext: Germanic languages scholar Michael Nerlich coined the term ‘iconotext’ to describe:

An indissoluble unity of the text(s) and picture(s) in which neither the text nor image have illustrative function and - usually but not necessarily - in the form of a ‘book’ [translation].

Around the same time, literature scholar Alain Montandon adopted the term to define works ‘in which the writing and the plastic element are given as an indivisible totality’. Then, literature and art critic Peter Wagner borrowed the term ‘iconotext’ to describe ‘the use of (by way of reference or allusion, in an explicit or implicit way) an image in a text or vice versa’.

Iconotypographical Masthead or Advert: A masthead or advert that combines image and text, and where the two exist interdependently.

Ideal Audience: The type of readers targeted by the editor of a periodical.

Imagined Communities: Historian Benedict Anderson coined the term ‘imagined communities’ in reference to nations in 1983, explaining thus: ‘it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised edn (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.

Interdisciplinarity: There are two main perspectives from which to comprehend interdisciplinarity: a. as a ‘process of juxtapositioning’ disciplines, which suggests ‘the disciplines involved still maintain their autonomy’; b. as an approach that calls ‘into question the assumptions of the disciplines involved in the project’, which may lead to the emergence of new assumptions as a result of the collaboration.

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862 (Une unité indissoluble de texte(s) et image(s) dans laquelle ni le texte ni l'image n'ont de fonction illustrative et qui — normalement, mais non nécessairement — a la forme d'un "livre"). Michael Nerlich, "Qu'est-ce qu'un iconotexte? Réflexions sur le rapport texte-image photographique dans La femme se découvre" in Iconotextes, ed. by Alain Montandon (Paris: Ophrys, 1990), pp. 255-302 (p. 268).
Negative Space (or White Space): Designer Alex White defines ‘negative space’ or ‘white space’ as ‘the context, or physical environment, in which a message or form is perceived’. However, white space ‘doesn’t literally have to be white’: ‘it can be black or any other color’, though it has ‘to take the role of emptiness; we see it subconsciously as background’.

New Womanhood: Scholars often disagree as ‘to when the phrase New Woman was coined’, however, the exchange of essays between Sarah Grand and Quida (real name Maria Louise Ramé) in 1894 ‘certainly brought it into general circulation’. According to Grand, the New Woman was ‘a little above’ the type of man she called ‘the Brawling Brother’, who was a man that ‘tried to howl down every attempt on the part of [her] sex to make the world a pleasanter place to live in’. She was the woman, who ‘has been sitting apart in silent contemplation all these years, thinking and thinking, until at last she solved the problem and proclaimed for herself what was wrong with Home-is-the-Woman’s-Sphere, and prescribed the remedy’. In contrast, for anti-suffragists like Quida, the New Woman despised maternity, and thought ‘it something fine to vote at vestries, and shout at meetings, and lay bare the spines of living animals, and haul the gasping salmon from river pool, and hustle male students off the benches of amphitheaters’. These two definitions could perhaps represent the two ends of the spectrum, but the reality was that New Womanhood could manifest in a variety of ways and intensities. In the main, however, the New Woman was a woman that ‘demanded a public voice and private fulfilment through work, education, and political engagement’.

Page Layout: See Typography.

Para-: prefix 1. beside; adjacent to. 2. beyond or distinct from, but comparable to.

Paratext: the elements that accompany a text, such as an author’s name, a title, or illustrations, and to name a few.

Paragraphy: ‘Paragraphy [is] the use of signs such as footnotes, layout, format, advance organisers and other marginalia or written text. […] The main functions of paragraph in any kind of text are text articulation and grounding.’

Parasite: ‘The parasite is a microbe, an insidious infection that takes without giving and weakens without killing. The parasite is also a guest, who exchanges his talk, praise, and...
flattery for food. The parasite is noise as well, the static in a system or interference in a channel.  

**Paratrack:** '…audio commentaries are verbal 'intra-compositional' paratracks, peritracks, metatracks or narrative framings. The main effect of such commentaries is the edited collapsing of production, enunciation and reception processes in the commentary: at the very same time that the enunciation of the narrative occurs visually (fictional narrative 1), the filmmakers comment on the production process while they re-view the film as a kind of ideal viewer (non-fictional narrative 2).'

**Parent Periodical:** The principal periodical that contains the anchor text. The parent periodical can also be associated with or accompanied by a supplementary periodical.

**Parergon:** 'In contrast to the ergon (the work), the parergon is an addition, a supplement'. Derrida writes that the parergon functions 'without being a part of it yet without being absolutely extrinsic to it'. It is never simply outside or inside but rather in the ambiguous space in-between, as in the folds of a page. Derrida argues that the parergon must always keep itself invisible in order to legitimize the ergon, 'melt(ing) away at the moment it deploys the greatest energy'.

**Perigraphy:** Perigraphy is 'the operation or travail of quotation. That is to say: of writing, for as we know, writing is always and inevitably rewriting, repetition, gloss. As the simplest and most basic form of repetition (except perhaps the refrain), quotation is both the origin and the limit of writing in general.'

**Periodical Supplement:** The supplementary issue that is attached to, or is associated with, a principal periodical.

**Periphery:** 'If Gérard Genette is the first to have systematized the study of authorial paratext, Philippe Lane through this book will explore the concept of editorial paratext. […] The editorial paratext consists of two types of discourse: one editorial paratext itself (blankets, jackets, prayers insert) which is engaged partially the responsibility of the author; and secondly the epitext editorial (commercials, pitches catalogue, the publishing press) where, in this case, it is the responsibility of the editor is concerned. Editorial paratext is thus caught in a double intentions network'.

**Peritext:** The type of paratext that comes with the anchor text.

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877 Voigts-Virchow, pp. 129-140.
879 S. F. R., ‘La Seconde Main, ou le Travail de la Citation by Antoine Compagnon; Nous, Michel de Montaigne by Antoine Compagnon’, *Comparative Literature*, 34 (1982), pp. 70-3 (p. 70).
Structure: Structure refers to the interior qualities of the publication, for example the interior design of all the visual and textual components, as well as the distribution of the main components across the full length of a publication.

Typeface Appropriateness: In 1923, A. T. Poffenberger and R. B. Franken argued that 'typography has long been believed to be a source of mildly pleasant or unpleasant feeling tone, according to its character and appropriateness, and this belief has influenced the choice of type in advertising'.881 Subsequently, many researchers later discussed the same theme, though each time different terms were used. In particular, in 1930 (published in 1955) Beatrice Warde lectured on the 'connotation' of typefaces, and 'suitability of form'.882 In 1933, B. C. Davis and Hansel J. Smith wrote on the 'feeling tone' of typefaces.883 In 1935, Gwendolyn Schiller wrote on the 'appropriateness' of typefaces.884 In 1938 G. E. Ovink discussed the 'legibility', 'atmosphere value', and 'form' of typefaces.885 In 1958 J. B. Haskins wrote on the 'suitability' of typefaces.886 In 1961 J. E. Brinton discussed the 'feeling' of typefaces.887 In 1963 M. A. Tinker wrote on the 'legibility' of typefaces.888 In 1964 P. H. Tannenbaum, H. K. Jacobson and L. N. Norris wrote on the 'connotation' of typefaces.889 In 1965 B. Zachrisson wrote on the 'legibility' of typefaces.890 In 1968 A. J. Kastl and I. L. Child wrote on the 'emotional meaning' of typefaces, and D. Wendt wrote on the 'semantic differential' of typefaces.891 In 1969 M. Kleper wrote on the 'emotional response' that typefaces could elicit.892 In 1974 R. F. Rehe wrote on 'legibility'.893 In 1977 G. Morrison wrote on the 'communicability' and the 'emotional connotation' of typefaces.894 In 1982 D. Bartram wrote on the 'semantic quality' of typefaces, and C. L. Rowe wrote on the 'connotative dimensions' of typefaces.895 In 1986 P. Walker, S. Smith and A. Livingston wrote on the 'appropriateness' and 'multi-model features' of typefaces.896 In 1989 C. Lewis and P. Walker wrote on the

882 Warde, p. 13.
883 R. C. Davis & Hansel J. Smith, 'Determinants of Feeling Tone in Type Faces', Journal of Applied Psychology 17 (1933), pp. 742-64.
888 M. A. Tinker, Legibility of Print (Ames: Iowa State University, 1963).
‘influence’ that typefaces could have on reading.\textsuperscript{897} In 1995 J. Tantillo, J. DiLorenzo-Aiss and R. E. Mathisen wrote on the ‘perceived differences’ of typefaces.\textsuperscript{898} In 2002 T. L. Childers and J. Jass wrote on the ‘semantic associations’ of typefaces.\textsuperscript{899} In 2003 Eva Brumberger wrote on the ‘persona’ and ‘appropriateness’ of typefaces.\textsuperscript{900} In 2004 R. Reber and N. Schwarz wrote on the role of typefaces in the process of ‘fluency’ and ‘aesthetic pleasure’, P. W. Henderson, J. L. Giese and J. A. Cote wrote on how to use typefaces to make an ‘impression’, J. R., Doyle and P. A. Bottomley wrote on the ‘appropriateness’ of typefaces.\textsuperscript{901} In 2006 T. van Leeuwen proposed a theory of the ‘semiotics’ of typography.\textsuperscript{902}

**Typographical Masthead:** Mastheads that consist only of letterpress.

**Trans-:** prefix 1. across; beyond. 2. on or to the other side of. 3. into another state or place.\textsuperscript{903}

**Transdisciplinarity:** Patricia Leavy argues that ‘transdisciplinarity research practices are issue- or problem-centered approaches to research that prioritize the problem at the center of research over discipline-specific concerns, theories or methods’. More specifically, transdisciplinarity can be defined as:

> A social justice oriented approach to research in which resources and expertise from multiple disciplines are integrated in order to holistically address a real-world issue or problem. Transdisciplinarity draws on knowledge from disciplines relevant to particular research issues or problems while ultimately transcending disciplinary borders and building a synergistic conceptual and methodological framework that is irreducible to the sum of its constituent parts. Transdisciplinarity views knowledge-building and dissemination as a holistic process ad requires innovation and flexibility.\textsuperscript{904}

Furthermore, critics Christian Pohl and Gertrude Hadron elaborate by recognising four criteria that establish transdisciplinarity: ‘a. [it must] grasp the complexity of problems, b. take into account the diversity of life-worked and scientific perceptions of problems, c. link abstract and case-specific knowledge, and d. develop knowledge and practices that promote what is perceived to be the common good’.\textsuperscript{905} With the above in mind, therefore, transdisciplinarity could be further defined as ‘a fluid concept’; ‘a holistic vision; a particular method, concept or theory; a general attitude of openness and a capacity for collaboration; as well as an essential strategy for solving complex problems’.\textsuperscript{906}

\textsuperscript{900} Brumberger, pp. 206-23.  
\textsuperscript{904} Leavy, p. 35.  
True Womanhood: Authors of the mid-nineteenth century ‘who addressed themselves to the subject of women’ used the phrase True Womanhood ‘as frequently as writers on religion mentioned God’; nonetheless, they did not really define this ‘vague phrase’ although they used it with such confidence. Historian Barbara Welter explains that True Womanhood ‘was a fearful obligation, a solemn responsibility’, and could be divided in ‘four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity’. Furthermore, if one was to ‘put them all together’, they would get ‘mother, daughter, sister, wife – woman’; ‘without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement or wealth, all was ashes. With them she was promised happiness and power.’

Typography: Typography includes ‘the choice of typeface, and the layout of the printed page’. Typographic design can be practiced on two different levels: the micro-level of designing a typeface for the 26 letters of the alphabet, or the macro-level of typesetting 100000+ words for a whole manuscript. Typographic design for letters (type design) produces typefaces, whereas typographic design for whole documents (composition) uses typefaces to produce the printed text. Type design, long before it became a specialist trade in its own right, used to be practised by the compositors. John Southward, Victorian writer on printing and typography, wrote that composition consisted of ‘deciphering of copy’, ‘the punctuating of it’, ‘setting the types’, and ‘justifying the lines’, and was a ‘partly mental, partly mechanical process’. During this process of composing, the nineteenth century compositor had to ‘consider legibility, and technical requirements such as allowing for the ink spreading outside the metal letter as printed’. It is, therefore, understood that the practice of typesetting was only part of the compositor’s role, and did not represent the whole process of composition as it is often mistakenly assumed.

Type design, as a process, is outside the scope of this thesis, and outside the whole theory of the ‘paratextual’, but typeface, as the product of type design and as a tool used in composition, is within the scope of this thesis. Similarly, the process of typesetting as a practice is also outside the scope of this thesis, and it does not hold a paratextual value, but composition is within the scope of this thesis. Based on the above explanations, the reader should appreciate that composition, or otherwise ‘page layout’, is part of the interior structure of a publication, whereas typesetting, and typeface design indicate two different elements of typography.

908 Ibid, (p. 152).
909 Ibid.
911 John Southward, Type-Composing Machines of the Past, the Present, and the Future (Leicester: Raithby, Lawrence & Co. Ltd. De Montfort Press, 1891), p. 11.
Appendix II: Historical Context

II. I. (Typographical) Composition: Who is who?
This section explains who were the main agents during the composition of a newspaper, and how decisions were made. First of all, there was of course the editor, or editors, who were accountable for any decision on ‘the nature and number of the general standing heads’, and who decided ‘what must make room’ for important news that may arrive late on the mail.913 Secondly, there was the compositor who was accountable for laying-up matter, distributing, composing, taking copy (with supervision), correction, making-up (with supervision), and casting off matter.914 Thirdly, there were other compositors, who, according to experience and skill, held more specialised, and hierarchically superior roles within the print room. The overseer, for instance, ‘upon whose taste and judgement’ numerous ‘details of the office devolve’, was the one who decided when, and in what type, to ‘set a general, special, or particular headline’.915 Similarly, another kind of expert compositor was the make-up, who saw that ‘every portion of information supplied [by the editor] be inserted under its own peculiar head’.916 As such, composition was a collaborative task, involving at least four different individuals at any one time, and most importantly, some of these decisions relied purely on taste, or personal judgement. The style in which any paper was produced, and the hierarchical order of those involved, however, often differed greatly between publications, and was always dependent on who was in charge of the budget, as well as the personalities, and ideologies of those involved. Simon Cooke, author of Illustrated Periodicals of the 1860s: Contexts & Collaborations, argues that illustrated periodicals were ‘products of collaboration and conflict’, and he claims that ‘this type of multi-faceted collaboration [between artist, editor, publisher, author, engraver] can also be traced in the making of a variety of serials’.917

II. II. (Typographical) Composition: Why that Typeface?
Referring to twentieth century graphic design, visual communication scholars Ian Noble and Russell Bestley argue that ‘necessity, budget, and the specified of production can play a major role in limiting the range of materials selected to complete a project’.918 Indeed, there is a similar case to be made for nineteenth century design, and in this case typesetting. Firstly, the reader has to acknowledge that composition was traditionally passed on from the most experienced worker to the novice through practical training. The manuals that existed, from the late 1820s up until the 1880s, primarily covered practical aspects of the job, and did not include any instruction on page layout. John B. Easson, veteran independent printer and owner of The Quarto Press, elaborates on this matter:

Design was assumed to be obvious – symmetry ruled; printers simply plodded along setting things out in obvious ways, using limited range of types, different sizes, and spacing to fairly similar effect most of the time.”919

Consequently, this climate of traditional apprenticeship emphasized convention, and discouraged experimentation. New compositors were keen to demonstrate that they could

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913 Houghton, pp. 18, 25.
914 Ibid., pp. 8-32.
915 Ibid., p. 16.
916 Ibid., p. 18.
919 John B. Easson, ‘Some Observations on Typographic Layouts in the 1890s’ (Email Correspondence, 2013).
produce works based on the principles passed on by their masters, and in doing so they inevitably continued to favour the same collection of typefaces. In particular to the Paper, and exactly because the compositors were all female (the paper was printed by the Women’s Printing Society, and later by the Woman’s Herald Co. for most of the paper’s lifespan), the pressure was even greater. As female compositors, they not only had to prove that they could compose as effectively as their masters, they also had to prove that they could compose as well as their male competitors, and that they deserved their place in the industry. Moreover, in cases where the master compositor, might have encouraged experimentation, which cases were extremely rare in Britain and more common abroad, it was the apprentices, or the ordinary trained compositor, who showed a preference for convention rather than innovation, merely because it required less effort and time. Stephenson, Blake & Co. elaborate further on the matter:

Types are made square to be used square, but there is a spirit abroad which is ever prompting us to use material in a different way. When compositors have learnt the lesson that this sort of thing may be a great consumer of time, the day is not far distant when they will meekly return to things orthodox. Then the daily time-note ceases to haunt, and resumes its place amongst the nebulae.

Consequently, one way or another, convention and orthodoxy more often than not was preferred by British compositors, which inclination led to conventional results, though each production would have shown different levels of quality.

Secondly, sale prices for typefaces were diverse, although in general typefaces were widely available in a variety of styles. For example, Miller and Richard’s type specimen book lists five different categories of prices, beginning with Class A and ending with Class E. Class A consisted of typefaces that were the cheapest to purchase, such as book and news fonts, and Class E consisted of typefaces that were the most expensive to purchase, such as script fonts. The price of a typeface, therefore, could also be a determining factor for choosing Lining Latin, for example, instead of any other typeface. Thus, sustaining this typeface could have been an effect of economic rather than other factors. For instance, when compositors were continuously using the same font it also meant that they did not need to re-consider the composition of the masthead each week. They simply had to mechanically compose the masthead in exactly the same way they originally did, which meant that they were gradually becoming faster at practising the same composition, which meant that they could compose more words per minute, which meant less mental effort, and increased production for the same time spent by the employee; whilst s/he was paid the same amount of money by the employer.

Thirdly, type foundries often would give obvious suggestions about the purposes that each typeface might be best suited for, or provide further details of a particular typeface in their specimen books, which information could potentially influence compositors, especially if they were recently introduced in the trade. For instance, Stephenson, Blake and Co., in the pages presenting the Reed’s Lining Runic Elongated typeface, entered ‘APPROPRIATE FOR NEWSPAPER HEADINGS’, and ‘Condensed Series for Advertisements’. On an earlier

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920 The teachers at the Women’s Printing Society were women, such as Emily Faithful, but she too, although a woman, learned the trade later on in life, when she decided to enter the printing trade, so her knowledge would have necessarily been based on male conventions of printing.
921 Stephenson, Blake & Co., ‘Eccentricity in Composition’, in Specimens of Point Line Type (Sheffield: Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, 1908), p. 110B.
923 Stephenson, Blake & Co. and Sir Charles Reed & Sons, p. 171.
entry in the same book, they typed ‘POINT LINE TYPE’, ‘CORRECT AMERICAN SYSTEM’, and ‘REPORTS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION IN 1906’ to demonstrate Lining Latin, which is the typeface used for the Paper’s masthead title. Thus, from a pragmatic perspective, the Lining Latin is presented as a typeface that uses the point line type, and is designed in accordance with the American system, which, according to the type founders, would help save money easily, and make composing a pleasure.

Apart from the above practical and economic reasons for choosing, and sustaining a typeface in a paper’s masthead font, it remains to ascertain whether there was any paratextual value attached to this choice. Conservative newspapers, such as the Royal Cornwall Gazette, Derby Mercury, Huddersfield Chronicle, North Wales Chronicle, Lancaster Gazette, Blackburn Standard, and Glasgow Herald, used Black No. 2 (Miller & Richard), which font is listed in the ‘Black and Scripts’ category. Black No. 2 is also listed by Miller & Richard as a Class C type in the price list, which makes it one of the more expensive fonts, which suggests that these papers had a larger capital to spend on production. The choice of a more expensive typeface might also suggest that they wanted to appear more expensive, and important, which in turn might have implied that they were aiming at the more affluent male audiences rather than anyone else. Apart from any economic or ideological factors, Black No. 2 would potentially be difficult to read from a long distance, but it might look more luxurious and intriguing; therefore, it would possibly be capable of inviting a closer look from the odd passer by, which would potentially increase the likelihood of buying the paper.

II. III. Portraiture: Why were portraits of respectable women rare in the press?

‘Around 1750 the nascent middle classes’ had already begun adopting various cultural practices that were conventionally the privilege of the aristocracy, which included an affinity with portraiture, and ‘visiting cards’. In Etiquette in Society, in Business, in Politics and at Home, a recognised American writer on etiquette Emily Post wrote in 1922:

Although the principal use of a visiting card, at least the one for which it was originally invented – to be left as an evidence of one person’s presence at the house of another – is going gradually out of ardent favour in fashionable circles, its usefulness seems to keep a nicely adjusted balance.

She later described how a lady’s card usually measured from 2 3/4 to 3 1/2 inches wide by 2 to 2 3/4 inches high, whereas a gentleman’s card was ‘long and narrow’ measuring 2 7/8 to 3 1/4 inches wide by 1 1/4 to 1 5/8 inches in height. This minor detail emphasizes that even until the early twentieth century, the demarcation of men and women still endured beyond the conventional rules for clothing, or behavioural protocol. Additionally, miniature portraits, which were cherished amongst the aristocratic circles, were favoured by the bourgeoisie, though by the 1860s, were already being supplanted by the carte de visite. In a sense, the carte de visite was a hybrid of the visiting card and the miniature portrait, with the typical carte de visite’s photograph measuring 2 1/8 x 3 1/2 in, which was mounted on a card measuring 2 1/2 x 4 in. It has been noted that the internationally standard size of the carte de visite was an important revolution, because it allowed family members, friends, and acquaintances, and anyone who had invested in this medium to share their portraits across the world knowing that

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924 Ibid., p. 143.
925 Miller and Richard, p. 358.
926 Ibid., p. i.
929 Ibid., p. 73.
they will fit the photograph album. Thus, the standard sizing democratised the sharing of portraits, but it also completely waived the gendered demarcation that was traditionally reinforced by the visiting card. By the 1880s, Victorians were still using the carte de visite, which by now was mostly supplanted by the ‘cabinet card’ that appeared in the 1870s, and measured 4 ¼ x 6 ½ in.

‘Card portraits’, wrote the physician Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1893, ‘as everybody knows, have become the social currency, the sentimental “green-backs” of civilization, within a very recent period’.930 This intense appreciation of the portrait continued beyond the turn of the century, during which period portraiture was still very much a favourite art form across the spectrum of social classes; portraits were commissioned, sold, exhibited, collected, printed and circulated through the press, given away or sent through the post. Scholars agree that the portrait was historically a privilege of the aristocratic and royal circles, but especially from the 1860s and onwards a variety of portraits was available to purchase, especially those featuring people who were considered to have caught the public’s attention. The middle class Victorian could purchase the portraits of their admired politicians, actors, authors, clergy, military men, publishers, journalists, artists, philosophers, composers, and so forth, as s/he could walk in any studio to have their own professional photographic portrait taken. However, not all classes could afford such a luxury, whilst obtaining portraits of women in particular was not as unproblematic a task as one might expect.

Writer, curator, and designer Gerry Beegan, whose research explores the relationships between art, design, media, and audience, describes that ‘in the mid-1880s magazines had found it difficult to persuade individuals, even celebrities to pose for press photography, something that was seen as undignified’.931 He also states that ‘a woman was even less likely to agree to a request for a photograph as she worried about the image being distorted’, while ‘professional photographers themselves often refused to supply images for publication’.932 In a similar vein, art historian Shearer West writes that portraitists ‘could be condemned for what was perceived to be a slavish imitation of reality’, and although she is mainly referring to painters rather than photographers, the same sentiment was still a reality for nineteenth century portrait photography.933 As a result, portraitists have mainly favoured poses that:

Put their subjects into some sort of partial profile, breaking up the stark symmetry of a frontal gaze by angling the face and thus preventing the portrait subject from staring too glaringly out of the canvas.934

This anxiety of one’s misinterpreted facial appearance was rooted in the fear of being perceived as mad, ugly, or comical: the humorous associations of facial distortion, and its direct relationship with caricature was the primary reason that led portraitists, painters as well as photographers, to actively avoid over exaggerating certain facial attributes of the sitter’s appearance.935 A historical example demonstrating the sitter’s anxiety of being misrepresented is that of Elizabeth I and the 1563 proclamation, which openly forbid the production of portraits of her person. The document stated that the various portraits that existed attempted to represent the Queen in ‘diverse manners’, which have not sufficiently expressed her majesty’s natural person, favour or grace; therefore, portraits of the Queen

931 Beegan, p.172.
932 Ibid., pp. 172-3.
933 West, p. 22.
934 Ibid., pp. 72-3.
935 Ibid., pp. 35-6.
were now prohibited, unless they were officially commissioned by the state. Historians have often recorded similar examples, and it was this type of inconvenience that many sitters, and especially women, were rather keen to avoid.

This hesitant attitude towards the mass production of portraits, still existed during the late nineteenth century: sitters, and especially women sitters, did not welcome the idea of having their portraits published in the press, out of fear of misrepresentation, while at the same time photographers refused to share their portrait photos with the press. It was in this climate that the Paper, Herald and Signal offered access to images that were otherwise hard to acquire: portraits of notable women. But, if these portraits were hard to acquire, how did these three papers manage to, not only get hold of such images, but also be allowed to reproduce them? I would argue that, similarly to many other projects of the period that were collaborative initiatives of various groups of women, and often men who supported women’s suffrage, acquiring the portraits of female pioneers was ‘an inside job’. Slowly, but gradually, women around Britain, and abroad, who were supporting the women’s cause, and/or had somewhat similar socio-political aspirations, would have met each other at a lecture, or a philanthropic event, or a social meeting, and so forth. These gatherings helped these women form friendships, and acquaintances, and professional relationships, which would have led to the sharing of portraits in accordance with the cultural norm. Thus, women involved with the Paper, Herald and Signal would have, more than likely, assimilated their own private inventory of portraits of various women members of these networks from across Britain, America and other countries. In fact, a photograph depicting Frances Willard in her study, she is surrounded by an array of portraits of friends, or other notable people, male and female. It is not unreasonable to argue, therefore, that all three papers positively utilised these personal inventories, and networks in order to source the necessary portraits for the weekly interview column.


937 In the 20th century, on the 30th of November 1954, during the televised ceremony celebrating Sir Winston Churchill’s 80th birthday, a displeased Prime Minister mockingly described Graham Sunderland’s portrait of him as ‘a remarkable example of modern art’ The portrait disappeared after only a few weeks, and was destroyed by Lady Clementine Churchill in 1956, because he ‘always disliked it and it had preyed on his mind’. Simon Schama, ‘The Face of Power’, The Face of Britain, BBC 2, 4 October 2016.

938 For example, the Women’s Printing Society was a collaborative initiative that took advantage of the networks the women involved were already part of. Similarly, as I explained elsewhere, Müller, and most of her contemporaries always sought to make the most of their networks in order to secure contributors for the paper, secure interviewees, or otherwise.

939 The Signal continued to utilise these networks, although a lot of the portraits were printed with a credit to an artist or another paper that allowed the reproduction of that portrait, which shows that the hesitant climate of the 1880s was slowly starting to change by the end of the century.
### Appendix III: Editorships and Other Details of the Women’s Penny Paper, Woman’s Herald, and Woman’s Signal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>ISSUE, VOLUME, DATE</th>
<th>EDITOR(S)</th>
<th>PROPRIETOR(S)</th>
<th>OFFICES</th>
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<td>Woman’s Penny Paper</td>
<td>Saturday, 3 Mar. 1889</td>
<td>Helena Temple, Henrietta Temple</td>
<td>Woman’s Penny Paper Printing Society</td>
<td>86 Strand, W.C.</td>
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<td>Saturday, 23 Apr. 1892</td>
<td>Christina Sinclair, Eva McLaren</td>
<td>Woman’s Penny Paper Co.</td>
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<td>The Woman's Herald</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>No. 33, New Series, 05.10.1893 to No. 41, New Series, 30.11.1893</td>
<td>Lady Henry Somerset</td>
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<td>Mowbray House, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.</td>
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*P & B: The Woman's Signal A Weekly Record and Review of the Woman's Work and Interests at Home and in the Wider World

| Thursday | No. 92, Vol. IV, 09.10.1895 to No. 131, Vol. V, 27.02.1896 |
| Mrs. Florence Fenwick-Miller |
| Lady Henry Somerset (Corresponding Editor, USA) |
| Mrs. Florence Fenwick-Miller |
| No. 134, Vol. V 03.03.1896 to No. 273, Vol. XI 23.03.1899 |

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| Hatton Garden |
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| London E.C. |

Advertisements to be sent to the editor at 30 Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, London, W.C.
Primary Sources (Chronological Order)

Periodical Articles

_Women's Penny Paper / 1888 – 1890_


'Interview', _Women's Penny Paper_, 27 October 1888, pp. 4-5.

_The Metropolitan_, 'What Some of our Contemporaries Say of Us', _Women's Penny Paper_, 10 November 1888, p. 7.


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