

The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science and the Advancement of Victorian Women

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The nineteenth century was an age of movements and causes, a time when men and women of strong character and profound conviction felt that they could change society and that they had a mission to do so. Undeterred by their ignorance of the real causes of complicated social problems, socially conscious Victorians attempted to solve the condition of England question by organizing a plethora of societies dedicated to every conceivable kind of improvement.¹ Some of the more knowledgeable and far-sighted, determined to form groups designed to tackle crises scientifically. Foremost among these was the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, the largest and most ambitious of the mid-nineteenth century organizations dedicated to social betterment, and one of the first to welcome women to full membership, to allow them to speak in public, and to support their

causes and rights. The Social Science Association made a major contribution to the advancement of Victorian women, but, as has the association itself, this contribution has been largely neglected by social historians.

The founding of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science is in itself striking testimony to the rising tide of reform sentiment in Victorian Britain. At the 1856 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, members of the statistical section proposed that the Association investigate such subjects as jurisprudence, political economy and education. When the general association refused to concede that social laws could be accurately determined, several members, who called themselves "social scientists," decided to proceed on their own. In July 1857 a number of distin-

guished men and women gathered at the London home of Lord Brougham to consider the best means of uniting all those interested in improving society and of coordinating their hitherto splintered reform activities into a national campaign.² Manifesting the boundless optimism that characterized mid-Victorian natural scientists and political and economic theorists, Brougham and company were convinced that there actually was a science of society. They maintained that if all the social reformers in the country could be united, and their ideas scientifically examined, tested and disseminated, ineluctable social laws could be ascertained precisely, social reform could be made scientific, and social processes could be effectively controlled, to the great benefit of the whole human race.³

Out of their deliberations emerged the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, which held its first meeting in Birmingham the following October, and which was presided over for several years by the ubiquitous Lord Brougham.⁴ To deal with the wide range of questions the Social Science Association (SSA) was expected to consider, an elaborate organizational structure was developed,⁵ and annually, usually in the fall, large, week-long congresses were held in a major city. During these meetings, members listened to lengthy addresses by the association's officers and then separated into the different departments, where "reading of papers followed by discussions which frequently culminated in resolutions requesting the council to take action to further proposals advanced in papers, occupied [their] attention."⁶ The SSA attracted a good many eccentrics⁷, but the practical recommendations of thoughtful and concerned members revealed that the association was serious about reform. With infinite patience, SSA members presented and listened to papers on housing, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency, workhouse paupers, sewage, vaccination, education, law reform and women's rights, occasionally seeking relief from the weighty proceedings by attending banquets and receptions.⁸ Between 60

and 160 papers were published or cited annually in a volume of *Transactions* that remain today the association's chief monument. Although they make tedious reading, their contents are an invaluable source of information on the mid-Victorian approach to and perception of social and economic problems.⁹ And "the occasional vibrant flash of anger, pity or passion, which unexpectedly illuminates [their] pedestrian pages...makes them sometimes seem almost splendid."¹⁰

Not surprisingly, the grandiose ambitions and claims of the SSA aroused considerable hostility in the press, which nick-named it the "Universal Palaver Association." The term "social science congresses" became an uncomplimentary epithet suggesting exaggerated claims and empty, undisciplined talk on every conceivable topic by a group of cranks, bores and buffoons.¹¹ Fortunately, the SSA had a few journalistic friends; and even *The Times* eventually mellowed sufficiently to admit that, by discussing and publicizing pressing social problems, the SSA gave voice to the collective conscience of a generation.¹²

The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was quintessentially Victorian, manifesting many of the paradoxes and contradictions of the age in general and reformers in particular. Simultaneously progressive and conservative, it was dedicated to enlightening the middle and upper classes on their duty to those beneath them, all the while accepting the established social order and rarely questioning its fundamental premises or configuration. Its members, while idealistic and courageous, were not without self-interest. Their improving impulse was inspired by feelings of guilt, by the conviction that poverty, disease and crime were inefficient and unprofitable, and by the hope that a healthy, contented populace would assure the stability of the political and social system.¹³ Lacking real identification with the people it aspired to help, the SSA often treated the symp-

toms rather than the causes of problems. Its activities and attitudes reflected middle-class value judgments and the middle-class view that social evils were "remediable within the framework of a mature capitalist system."¹⁴ Hence, it held no attraction for socialists or members of the working class.

As time passed the association became increasingly insulated from the dynamic intellectual and social forces which were to lead to the foundation of the labour party and the welfare state.¹⁵ As early as the 1870s the *Transactions* reveal the onset of torpor. Year after year the same kind of papers were given by the same kind of people on the same kind of subjects. Attendance dropped off dramatically, exacerbating omnipresent financial problems.¹⁶ The last congress was held in Birmingham in 1884, and finally, in April 1886, at a meeting of officers in London, George Hastings formally moved that the association suspend operations.¹⁷

The Social Science Association failed to agree on how to achieve its ambitious goals or whether it should act as a pressure group or simply as a forum for disinterested discussion. After almost thirty years it could not point to the revelation of a single social law, and examples of its failures and ineffectiveness were embarrassingly numerous. When all was said and done, despite its founders' scientific objectives, the SSA never really attempted

to work out a systematic approach to an understanding of the absolute laws which governed the contact of men as social beings.... Having pronounced the words "social science" in a sort of incantation, the SSA then proceeded to go about its unscientific business in a completely unscientific way.¹⁸

Anxious to avoid treading on vested intellectual interests, it avoided developing the theoretical part of its supposedly scientific task, and thus

paid only lip service to the unity of social science. Its departments grew like topsy, rather than out of an analysis of the legitimate divisions of social scientific labour, and their treatment of problems was fragmented because a synoptic view of the social system was never developed and because members were jealous of surrendering territory from their own special fields.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the SSA was much more than a device used by the privileged orders to try to protect themselves against taxes, disease and revolution. Its annual meetings brought together many of the most important and concerned people of the age. Their consideration of controversial questions was a significant factor in raising the consciousness and gaining the acceptance of the public, and they did influence legislation on education, prison administration, public health and the law.²⁰ A body of sincere social reformers, the SSA

was not the collection of impractical enthusiasts, busy-bodies, theorists or dilettantes its critics made it seem; the questions it discussed were not trivial; the papers its members contributed were frequently valuable; and many of the measures they advocated have been vindicated by events. They were prophets without honour but not without perception.²¹

It was natural that a liberal organization, ostensibly dedicated to determining the laws and principles which governed the structure of society and the operation of human nature, should concern itself with the disadvantaged position of one half the human race - women. From its beginning the SSA admitted women to full membership and recognized their help as essential to the successful achievement of the most urgent social reform. It even went so far as to accept George Hastings' bold appointment of a woman, Isa Craig, as assistant secretary in 1857,²² despite warnings that "it was impossible

that a woman fill such a position, and that it was improper that she should do so."²³ Fortunately for the cause of women, Craig carried out her duties with such distinction that when she resigned in 1865 to marry, she was given a large measure of credit for the SSA's early success.²⁴

Isa Craig's appointment gave particular pleasure to the young women who had combined a year or two earlier to muster support for a married women's property bill. They and others were ready, willing and able to seize the opportunities presented to their sex by the SSA; and at the first congresses they attracted attention, attending sessions, presenting papers, participating in discussions and dining at public banquets.²⁵ Their first papers were read by men, since it was not yet considered respectable for women to ascend public platforms, but within two years they made an important breakthrough by delivering their own papers and seeing them discussed seriously.²⁶ For a time they had to tolerate being mocked by the press as strong-minded busy-bodies whose aggressiveness was in inverse proportion to their femininity, when in actuality they were models of decorum who dared to take public stands only when the strength of their convictions overcame socialized reticence.²⁷ To placate critics, the women of the SSA went out of their way to give assurances that:

There is no fear of English women flinging themselves recklessly into the arena of public speaking.... There is no fear of a woman who has gained a right to be heard on any social question, speaking out in a public assembly except on the rare occasions when womanly tact will advise her of the wisdom and duty of such a course.²⁸

The roster of the SSA's female members reads like a who's who of Victorian womanhood: Lydia Becker, Dorothea Beale, Helen Blackburn, Jessie Boucherett, Mary Carpenter, Frances Power Cobbe, Jane Crowe, Emily Davies,

Emily Faithfull, Elizabeth Garrett, Rhoda Garrett, Maria Grey, Florence and Rosamond Hill, Florence Nightingale, Bessie Rayner Parkes, Maria Rye, Emily Shirreff, Barbara Leigh Smith, Louisa Twining, Elizabeth Wolstenholme. Their names suggest something of the organization's true nature. In an age of sex inequality a large number of dissatisfied women sought fulfilment and consolation in service to others. Thus many of the SSA's female members were philanthropists who used the association as a forum in which to rally support for their humanitarian labours. Florence Nightingale, for example, communicated several papers on sanitary conditions in hospitals, while Louisa Twining, the poor law reformer, spoke numerous times on the subject of workhouse reform. Most notable of all was Mary Carpenter. Over a period of twenty years she offered thirty-two papers to social science congresses, all of which, paradoxically, were read by men. She felt that to have spoken to a male assembly would have been tantamount to unsexing herself and she steadfastly refused to confront the public.²⁹ Yet she led discussions on reformatories, ragged schools and the education of women in India. She won recruits and moved the SSA to pass resolutions and present memorials and deputations to the government in favor of her causes.³⁰ Her death in 1877 was a blow to the SSA and to women's participation in its activities.³¹

To the chagrin of the embryonic feminist movement, a number of outstanding female philanthropists like Florence Nightingale and Mary Carpenter were uninterested in and sometimes actively hostile to the attainment of women's rights, although their activities constituted an eloquent testimony to their sex's abilities and to the necessity of a redefinition of women's "proper" sphere.³² Fortunately, other ladies bountiful, such as Louisa Twining, concluded that simultaneously with their fight against poverty and injustice they were fighting for the advancement of their sex;³³ and they took their feminist and humanitarian grievances to social science

congresses where they joined with the first women's rightists to elicit the support of the SSA for various women's causes.

Among the important reasons why women with various interests jumped at the chance to join the Social Science Association was that they had already learned the limited power of the individual could be greatly increased through organization. Once inside, the fact that there was strength in numbers was further impressed upon them, and in short order they began to form affiliated women's groups devoted to specific ends. The first of these was the Ladies' National Association for the Diffusion of Sanitary Knowledge, which was founded in 1858 by Isa Craig, Elizabeth Garrett and Lady Stanley of Alderley, with the encouragement of the SSA's public health department. The Ladies' Sanitary Association (LSA) was convinced that the systematic assistance of women was essential to the success of the sanitary reform movement; and by circulating tracts and delivering lectures they hoped to spread knowledge of public health among the working classes. Considering the enormity of England's health problems and the LSA's limited resources, its achievements were circumscribed. However, it did help a number of poor people to improve their sanitary condition, and at the same time it aided in dispelling the prejudice against women learning about medical matters.³⁴

A year after the foundation of the LSA two other women's groups were established. One was the Society for Promoting the Industrial Employment of Women, which mounted the first attack on middle-class destitution and turned out to be the most influential of all the SSA's female affiliates.³⁵ The other was the Workhouse Visiting Society, founded by Louisa Twining to bring moral and spiritual comfort to workhouse inmates and to enlighten the public. Twining was convinced "that the voluntary efforts and cooperation of women are essential to the successful working of every institution for the poor."³⁶ Even though the WVS's lady visitors

were conservative amateurs who had no desire to revolutionize the operation of the poor law, the society did give sympathy and consolation to several hundred London paupers and provided a number of women with a unique opportunity to study the problems of the poor and gain experience in dealing with them.³⁷

Another area of interest to philanthropic women that benefited from support by the SSA was emigration. Schemes to assist working-class women to emigrate were common in the mid-nineteenth century, but until 1862 there were none offering help to gentlewomen. In that year Maria Rye and Jane Lewen founded the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society in informal affiliation with the SSA. During the next twenty-three years it managed to send abroad only 300 settlers. Nevertheless, by helping at least a few women to attain a more satisfactory way of life, the FMCES drew attention to a problem and attested to female capabilities.³⁸

Besides inspiring the formation of women's societies, the SSA gave special attention to a number of women's subjects. One of these was female education. Scarcely a year went by without at least one paper on the topic.³⁹ At the 1857 and 1859 congresses two papers by clergymen were presented to sympathetic audiences on the difficulty parents had in obtaining a solid education for their daughters;⁴⁰ and in 1860 at least four women rose to criticize the quality of education in most middle-class girls' schools and to defend the educational rights of their sex.⁴¹ In 1862, when the SSA made its London debut, the feminists Frances Power Cobbe and Emily Davies were among the several women present.⁴² Only a month before the 1862 congress the senate of London University had rejected a request on behalf of Elizabeth Garrett, who wished to study medicine, that women be admitted to the university's examinations and degrees. At the SSA's meeting, Cobbe and Davies presented stirring papers in which they defended women like Garrett who yearned for higher educational oppor-

tunities.⁴³ Cobbe's paper in particular sparked a lively discussion in the education department, and inspired a resolution that the SSA's council "should represent to the Senate of the University of London the desirableness of their undertaking the duty of affording women an opportunity of testing their attainments in the more solid branches of learning."⁴⁴ During the debate the fundamental question emerged as to whether men and women should receive the same training in the same subjects. On this the social scientists could not agree, and, with several urging caution, a more modest resolution finally passed "that this meeting is of the opinion that means ought to be provided for testing and attesting the education of women of the middle and higher classes, and requests the Council of the Association to take such measures as they might deem expedient for the attainment of this object."⁴⁵

While she was working as an assistant to Isa Craig at the London meeting, Emily Davies met a number of sympathetic people who advised her, as a first step, to try to persuade Oxford and Cambridge universities to open their local examinations to girls. Davies proceeded to form a committee which lobbied Cambridge, and in 1863 the university agreed to examine girls informally. To discuss what could be done to put the locals on a permanent footing, Davies then convinced the SSA to hold a special meeting in April 1864, where, with "her customary mixture of candour and guile,"⁴⁶ she saw to it that the prettiest, best-dressed and least strong-minded looking women sat conspicuously in the front rows.⁴⁷ From her point of view the meeting was a success, for in September at the annual meeting the SSA's council gave its official support to formalizing the locals. At the same time Lord Brougham tried to pacify those members who were sure the balance of humanity would be disturbed if men and women sat the same examinations by giving assurances that the Council's support for female locals was not tantamount to

an endorsement of university degrees for women.⁴⁸

Outside the association the *Saturday Review* reacted to the idea of local examinations for girls with its usual hysteria. Claiming that its very breath was taken away by the suggestion, it reminded the social scientists that an overly-accomplished woman was one of the most intolerable monsters in creation.

The ideal woman of the Social Science Association is able to construe a chorus of Aeschulus, or to calculate the lunar distance, if necessary, but, as a matter of preference she had rather employ herself in darning her husband's stockings.... If Mr. Hastings and his friends should be successful in bringing a more ambitious scheme of education into fashion, the only result they will achieve will be to make marriage more difficult than it is now to their unhappy victims. An accomplished young lady is a terror to the young men as things are; if erudition be added to the accomplishments, the terror will become simple panic.⁴⁹

In 1865 Cambridge University officially opened its local examinations to women, thereby conceding a significant victory in the battle for improved female education and women's eventual admission to the universities. For the victory Emily Davies deserves the lion's share of the credit, but the SSA contributed as well through its provision of a forum for discussion, its official support, and its participation in the final negotiations with Cambridge.⁵⁰

To Davies and her social science supporters the fight for educational justice for women had several other dimensions. At the 1863 congress the SSA council had resolved to send a deputation to Lord Palmerston requesting that the government investigate the condition of middle-class education. Since the need for such an inquiry was obvious, the prime minister res-

ponded by appointing a royal commission headed by Lord Taunton, to examine all schools omitted by the earlier Newcastle and Clarendon commissions.⁵¹ "All schools" meant all boys' schools. But to the intense delight of supporters of women's education like Emily Davies and the education department of the SSA, the commission responded positively to demands by educational reformers that it include girls' schools as well. By so doing it provided the first official acknowledgement that the claim of girls to share in the educational process was a matter worthy of national concern.⁵²

While not radical, the revelations made by the Taunton Commission in 1868 were very important. Its report revealed, in no uncertain terms, the sorry state of female education, and confirmed the criticisms which Davies and others had been levelling for years. Among its immediate results was a flurry of recruits to the educational branch of the women's movement, and an examination and redistribution of endowments in such a way as to reconsider the claims of girls.⁵³ In the long term the report led to the implementation of some of the reforms which the commission recommended, and ultimately to a revolution not just within girls' schools but in the whole public attitude towards them. It also helped to prepare the public mind to accept the idea of university education for women.

Emily Davies' work in connection with the Cambridge locals had caused her to think increasingly seriously about both the need of teachers for higher education and the need to make a genuinely liberal and advanced education accessible to qualified women. As a result, in 1867 she formed a committee of influential people to consider the possibility of founding a women's college in connection with one of the established universities. Resolving to try an experiment on a small scale, two years later they rented a house in Hitchin, near Cambridge, and six students began studying for the degree examinations, which were opened to them unofficially. In 1873 a

move was made closer to Cambridge, and Girton College became the first women's college formally affiliated with a university. As she had done during her fight for the locals, Emily Davies sought the SSA's support for her proposed college. In a paper in 1868 she reiterated the deficiencies of female education and claimed for women the training to qualify them for a variety of occupations.⁵⁴ Although not discussed, it was referred to in a friendly but cautious way by Lord Lytton, who acknowledged the deficient standards of female education and supported improvements, but refused to concede that boys and girls had an equal capacity to learn.⁵⁵ Thus the education section withheld its formal approval from Davies' collegiate scheme. Davies was not discouraged, however; and in a letter to her friend Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon she remarked that:

We had an encouraging week of Social Science and enjoyed it. The college was a very new idea, but it was well received. Judging by the size of the audience, there was more interest about it than about anything else, except strikes.... To get a room full of people to listen attentively for more than an hour is something....⁵⁶

As events turned out the 1868 paper was Emily Davies' last. Fully occupied henceforth with plans for her precious college, she let responsibility for defending women's educational rights before the SSA pass to others, notably two sisters, Maria Grey and Emily Shirreff.

Mrs. Grey and Miss Shirreff were schoolmistresses who, in 1871, formed the National Union for Improving the Education of Women of all Classes, "to bring into communication and cooperation all individuals and associations engaged in promoting the education of women and girls, so as to strengthen and combine their efforts; to collect and register for the use of members, information on all points connected with such education."⁵⁷ The SSA had a represent-

ative on the National Union's committee and endeavoured to lend what assistance it could.⁵⁸ Throughout the 1870s Grey and Shirreff made regular pilgrimages to social science meetings to preach on the necessity to improve girls' education and the training of teachers.⁵⁹ Periodically they were joined by co-workers for the cause, such as Dorothea Beale and Sophia Jex-Blake,⁶⁰ and periodically the SSA passed a resolution supporting improved teacher training or held a special meeting on female education.⁶¹

Like the public at large and the educational reformers in particular the Social Science Association could never agree on the proper ends, aims and methods of female education. However frequently they contemplated the subject, the social scientists rarely considered the historical origins of women's disadvantaged position, and all too often they supported educational reforms which were designed to improve women's performances in their traditional roles as wives, mothers and distributors of charity, rather than their performance as individuals.⁶² For fear of being too controversial and because they could not make up their own minds, they shied away from the basic question of whether women had the right to as much knowledge as men.⁶³ For years papers continued to be presented by well-meaning people who asserted that too much exercise and competition would exhaust female brains and produce bodily infirmities.⁶⁴

The fact that the education of women was considered by the SSA at all is significant. In coming before the association the subject reached a wider circle and had a better chance of being taken seriously than by any other means. All shades of opinion received an airing. And although the SSA did not demand complete educational equality, it did agree that "there is no more crying want in our age than that of a sound and solid education for women,"⁶⁵ and it did support competitive examinations, improved teacher training and higher education. The *Englishwoman's Review* noted, with gratitude, that:

If the labour of Social Science since its first establishment were estimated only by the impetus which it has given to the better understanding of the purpose and practice of education, it would still have acquired a title to the grateful consideration not only of the leaders but of the rank and file of the army in progress. The furtherance of women's education has, from its commencement, received special attention, and the proceedings...[show] how much has been already accomplished and [give] hope of still further improvement.⁶⁶

No two aspects of the advancement of women were more closely connected than those concerning education and employment, for without a solid education women could qualify for very few jobs, and until their employment opportunities broadened it could be argued that they did not need much education. As mid-Victorian society was constituted, it was considered degrading for a lady to work, and few occupations were regarded as respectable. However, the famous census of 1851 revealed more clearly than ever before an alarming sexual imbalance in the population, and by so doing drew attention to the fact that there were a large number of single, propertyless gentlewomen who needed work but could find nothing suitable. As a result, during the 1850s and '60s, responsible people began to acknowledge the marked contrast that existed between the real position of many women and their so-called proper domestic sphere, and they began to demand for women the opportunity to undertake independent careers.⁶⁷

The employment of women question, of course, had two main aspects. The first involved the protection of working-class women, while the second concerned middle-class women who sought employment as a relief from boredom or because they were self-supporting. Both were brought to the attention of the Social Science Association early in its existence. At the 1857

congress two papers lamented the lack of respect and decent compensation bestowed on the labour of women of the lower ranks,⁶⁸ and in 1859 the social scientists began to discuss the economic position of middle-class women. Two particularly effective papers were presented by the feminists Bessie Rayner Parkes and Jessie Boucherett, in which they insisted that the public acknowledge that not all women were supported in comfort by their male relatives and that suitable jobs needed to be opened to them.⁶⁹ Shrewdly exploiting the opportunities presented by the SSA, Parkes, Boucherett and several other women, the same year (1859) began the first organised attack on genteel destitution when they formed a Society for Promoting the Industrial Employment of Women (SPEW), in affiliation with the SSA.⁷⁰

The society established a permanent office in London with a training centre and job register on which there were immediately an unanticipated number of demands. In making practical attempts to assist middle-class women in learning how to work and to find employment compatible with their rank, and trying to convert public opinion to their respectability, the SPEW gave expression to the view that there was nothing degrading about a lady earning a living. When local branches of the society were established in Dublin and Edinburgh, the SPEW became part of the organizational network which helped to transform feminism from the isolated efforts of individuals into a national movement.

In a variety of other ways, the SSA supported the extension of economic rights to women. Following the Bradford congress in 1859, the council appointed a committee to consider the best means which could be adopted for increasing female employment. As a result of its deliberations Emily Faithfull opened the Victoria Press the next year, in conjunction with the employment society; and for several years, although not a financial success, the press demonstrated the

suitability of women for the printing trades by ably turning out the SSA's publications.⁷¹

Over the years, the SSA recognized that "a subject hardly to be surpassed in importance is the employment of educated women,"⁷² and listened to a great variety of papers on the subject.⁷³ But the old prejudice against rivalry or competition between the sexes died hard. Although the SSA conceded that the plight of ladies without jobs was a sad one and that there were many useful occupations that might be opened up to them, what it wanted "was not a social revolution...but a re-adjustment of social machinery."⁷⁴ Even some of the most dedicated champions of the economic cause, like Bessie Parkes and Emily Faithfull, often gave soothing assurances that, by seeking employment for women who wanted and needed it, they were trying to meet a social necessity and to tide the female population over a difficult time, not to develop a new state of social life which would see women in large numbers withdraw from the home.⁷⁵ In their more adventuresome moments the social scientists responded sympathetically to the idea of women's entry into the medical profession and civil service,⁷⁶ but on the whole they felt more comfortable supporting the opening of occupations for which women were well-qualified by virtue of their womanhood.⁷⁷ They were enthusiastic about the employment of women as teachers, school and workhouse inspectors, and poor law guardians because their exclusion from such positions was seen as tantamount to their exclusion from a natural sphere.⁷⁸

Despite the limitations of its view, the SSA made a significant contribution to the emergence of the middle-class working women. By giving the question of female employment frequent and serious consideration, by printing numerous papers on the subject, and by supporting the Women's Employment Society and the Victoria Press, it helped to stimulate public interest in women's economic plight and to break down barriers to their employment.⁷⁹ Even

The Times eventually congratulated the SSA for taking seriously world-improving projects like the employment of women which found it difficult to get a responsible hearing elsewhere. "Can anyone deny," it said, "that this was a crotchet but a very few years ago, and that it is chiefly owing to the ventilation secured for it... in [social science] Congresses that it has attracted the notice of grave and sensible men and won its way to public favour?"⁸⁰

One of the main arguments against women working was that as mothers they had to devote all their time to child care. Yet the laws of England did not give them any legal power over their children because they did not contribute anything toward their support. If, by any chance, wives did work for wages, those wages belonged automatically to their husbands even if a separation occurred. Fortunately, reforms did come, and contributing directly to them was the jurisprudence section of the Social Science Association, which provided a useful forum for the discussion by experienced and distinguished lawyers and acted as a pressure group. The most effective of the SSA's departments, it consistently supported the protection of married women on such matters as custody and guardianship of children and their right to their own property and earnings.⁸¹

In the mid 1850s, while secretary of the Law Amendment Society, George Hastings actively supported the first bill to secure for married women greater property rights. After the bill became hopelessly blocked, Hastings carried on his fight through the SSA. But it was not until 1870 that parliament finally made a systematic attempt to place married women's property laws on a more equitable foundation.⁸² By then the law's injustice was recognized as so obviously indefensible that even those who usually opposed legal changes which could affect family life were forced to admit the need for legislation of some kind. More and more married women were earning livings to which they had no legal right. They

were profiting from the liberal education which was gradually being provided to them, and through organizations like the SSA they were making their wrongs known to the public.

In 1867 a Married Women's Property Committee, organized by Elizabeth Wolstenholme, a Manchester schoolmistress and education reformer, and Ursula Bright, the wife of Jacob Bright, the Radical M.P. for Manchester, revived agitation for reform of the property laws. Later in 1867 the committee presented a petition to the council of the SSA at the Belfast congress. Responding sympathetically, the council referred the petition to the jurisprudence department, which in turn appointed an all male sub-committee to study the subject. In February, at a sessional meeting in which women took no part, the sub-committee recommended reform of the married women's property laws and drafted a bill similar to that of 1857. Embodying the principle that a married woman deserved the same legal rights to property as a spinster, the bill was presented to the House of Commons in April by George John Shaw-Lefevre, M.P. and SSA councillor. It was promptly referred to a select committee, to which Hastings and others gave evidence on behalf of the SSA, and then it was dropped.⁸³ Undeterred, the Married Women's Property Committee—which was called by some a "corporate member"⁸⁴ of the SSA—and the SSA itself continued to campaign vigorously for remedial legislation. At the next three congresses papers were delivered and discussed, resolutions were passed, and petitions were prepared for parliament all expressing the view that the married woman was "as much entitled to the protection of the law in respect of her property, and the fruits of her industry, as any other person."⁸⁵

In 1869 and again in 1870 Russell Gurney, also an M.P. and SSA councillor, reintroduced the legislation. With popular feeling in favour of reform growing increasingly widespread, the SSA's petitions to both houses, strongly asserting "that...the Common Law of England which

gives the personal property and earnings of a wife to her husband is unjust in principle...and injurious to women in all classes of the community,"⁸⁶ struck a responsive note. The 1870 bill easily passed the House of Commons, but in the Lords it met with universal disapproval, and was greatly weakened by amendments which the lower house reluctantly accepted because the session was drawing to a close. The peers' fear of a revolution in family life caused them to leave most of the common law disabilities untouched and to circumscribe with difficult conditions a married woman's right to possess personal property other than wages. The purpose of the original bill was thus ruined. Nevertheless, despite its limitations, the Married Women's Property Act of 1870 marked a watershed. By granting married women some control over certain types of property, the law recognised further a principle that had begun to be conceded by the 1857 divorce act—that wives were individual human beings with existences separate from their husbands.⁸⁷

While the Social Science Association was pleased with the 1870 act's relief of a grievous wrong, it was determined to fight on until married women were granted exactly the same rights to their property and earnings as were enjoyed by their single sisters and by men.⁸⁸ Throughout the 1870s the association worked hard but without success to have Gurney's act amended. Eventually, the tide of opinion turned once more, and the determination of the SSA, the Married Women's Property Committee, and other legal reformers began to pay off.⁸⁹ In 1881 a bill designed to make a wife liable for her own contracts, able to sue and be sued, and to hold and dispose of her real and personal property was introduced into the House of Commons. At sessional SSA meetings both male and female social scientists discussed the measure fully, and the SSA's council presented supportive petitions to both houses.⁹⁰ Following the bill's death when time ran out, it was quickly reintroduced, and again, although on its last legs, the SSA was

active discussing the bill, petitioning parliament, and sending a deputation to the Lord Chancellor to solicit his support.⁹¹ Late in 1882 justice was finally done when the bill, almost identical with the one supported by the SSA, passed almost without debate, at last securing to a wife her own property.

In a way the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 was a triumphant last hurrah for the mortally ill Social Science Association. Although its self-congratulations were somewhat exaggerated, there is no doubt that its unusually vigorous and practical action in lobbying legislators and drafting model bills was at least partially responsible for the passage of the 1870 and 1882 legislation. The SSA did not favour a legal revolution that would markedly affect the family or the traditional relationship between husband and wife, but its determined and consistent efforts on behalf of justice for wives left a real and positive mark on the history of women's legal emancipation.⁹²

Other important legal causes affecting women taken up by the SSA included the rights of mothers to custody of their children⁹³ and the Contagious Diseases Acts (1864, 1866, 1869), which required the compulsory medical inspection and detention for treatment of prostitutes and suspected prostitutes in certain garrison and seaport towns. During the annual congress in 1867, as a result of representations made by the health department, the SSA's council resolved to petition parliament in favor of the Contagious Diseases Acts' extension to other parts of the country.⁹⁴ But public opinion was rapidly shifting against such an extension and the Bristol congress of 1869 was instrumental in focussing attention on the issue.⁹⁵ In response to two papers supporting the Acts, Dr. Charles Bell Taylor, a Nottingham oculist, launched the first public protest against them when he read a paper to the health section detailing the reasons for his opposition. A lively debate ensued, during which proponents of the Acts lauded their healing and

beneficial intentions while opponents contested their morality and constitutionality.⁹⁶ Women were banned from the debate on the pretext that the subject was suitable for discussion only by qualified professionals. Josephine Butler was thus excluded; but Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell won a victory of sorts when she insisted that the exemption should not apply to her and was allowed entry.⁹⁷ A resolution proposing the extension of the Acts was defeated, and instead, by a significant majority, the meeting resolved that the SSA protest against them and resist their extension, lest “the greatest injury [be done] to the best interests of society.”⁹⁸

The following day (October 5, 1869) a group of businessmen, lawyers, clergy and M.P.s met separately and formed the National Anti-Contagious Diseases Act Extension Association, which soon broadened its scope and re-named itself the National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Branches quickly sprang up all over England. Since women were excluded from membership until 1870, several women who had attended the Bristol congress, including Elizabeth Wolstenholme and Josephine Butler, created a parallel women’s organization, the Ladies’ National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts (LNA). Through their involvement in social science congresses the leaders of the LNA were

introduced to a style of analysis that would inform their repeal propaganda. Early in the campaign, feminist repealers found that they had to buttress their *a priori* objections to regulation by scientific documentation of the failure of the acts as sanitary and social legislation. The empirical investigations and surveys of the Social Science Congress would serve as their model for repeal fact-finding efforts. Participation in the abolitionist struggle...and the Social Science Congress placed LNA leaders in the political vanguard of their generation...[and] prepared them to assume

national leadership roles by providing them with agitational skills, a practical education in feminist issues, and entrée into a national reform network.⁹⁹

After 1869, while the seventeen year campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts was primarily conducted outside the SSA, the association continued to be interested in the subject. Within it repealers and regulationists coexisted quite amicably.¹⁰⁰ This coexistence epitomized the consensus atmosphere of the mid-Victorian period that encouraged debate between different social and political positions, and also the general affinity between people on both sides of the Contagious Diseases question, who, while they differed on that subject, shared similar views on “class, the social order, and respectable social behaviour.”¹⁰¹

Simultaneously with women’s demands for educational, economic and legal justice came demands for political rights. By the early 1860s sympathy for the political rights of women increased, partially as a result of the failure of the first married women’s property bill and the frustrations encountered by those who endeavored to expand women’s educational and employment opportunities, and partially, because, after years in limbo, parliamentary reform was again a national issue. A number of people became convinced that only through the electoral franchise could the interests of the female sex be secured, and they determined to work for votes for women. The question of women’s suffrage emerged from the realm of philosophical speculation into that of practical politics in 1865 with the election to parliament of John Stuart Mill on a platform that included a feminist plank. That a person of Mill’s stature should support their cause encouraged the few women suffragists to think that the subject of enfranchising women was ripe for discussion and to hope that if they advanced rational grounds for their claims they would receive reasonable attention.



EMILY DAVIS AND ELIZABETH GARRETT PRESENT THE FIRST SUFFRAGE PETITION TO JOHN STUART MILL (From the painting by Bertha Newcombe, 1910)

In 1865 several enterprising women, schooled in the agitation for revised property laws and improved women's employment opportunities, formed a Kensington Ladies Discussion Society. They debated the issue of women's suffrage as part of the general advancement in the status of women that they felt was long overdue. It was they who organized the first women's suffrage committee to collect signatures for a parliamentary petition requesting that enfranchisement be without distinction of sex. Their hopes were dashed when the petition, which was presented by Mr. Mill in June 1866, elicited no response. This, however, was not the end of the matter, for the next year the original petition committee was reconstituted as the London National Society for Women's Suffrage. By the end of 1868 there were similar organizations in Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, and Edinburgh.

The Social Science Association got into the suffrage act when Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, at the suggestion of her friend Emily Davies, presented the first paper on votes for women during the Manchester congress in October 1866. Bodichon adamantly but cautiously advocated the vote for single women and widows who possessed the requisite property qualifications, insisting that if women had full citizenship society as a whole would benefit. The franchise would encourage women to think seriously about the concerns of the nation, to form sound opinions on serious subjects and to develop a healthy sense of responsibility.¹⁰² The presentation was received politely, but it was the only one on the subject at the social science meeting, was barely mentioned in the *Transactions*¹⁰³ and stimulated little interest. Even the liberal SSA was not ready to seriously entertain the possibility of a female electorate. The paper was important to the suffrage movement, nevertheless. A young Mancunian by the name of Lydia Becker was in the audience, and, impressed by Mme Bodichon and the cogency of her arguments, Becker determined to take up the suffrage cause. Later both she and the *English woman's Review*

dated the commencement of public agitation for votes for women to Bodichon's speech.¹⁰⁴

Over the years women's suffrage never became one of the Social Science Association's favorite female causes. The occasional paper was presented pro and con,¹⁰⁵ but the association drafted no resolutions, presented no petitions, and indeed took no official position of the subject whatsoever. Its views on a female electorate were probably slightly more liberal and sympathetic than those of society in general, but on the whole the social scientists shared with the public a basic lack of concern about the consequences of the continued disenfranchisement of woman-kind. In the last analysis, the only contribution made by the SSA to votes for women was to offer suffragists an opportunity to air their subject before an audience which was accustomed to taking women and their concerns seriously, at a time when the spectre of a "parliament of women" usually inspired uproarious laughter.

If only the opinions of the SSA were considered, one could easily exaggerate the association's influence on the advancement of Victorian women.¹⁰⁶ It is important to remember that although women were present at the founding meeting of the SSA, although they were admitted to full membership, although they attended congresses and sessional meetings, although they were allowed to present papers, and although their rights were supported and the value of their assistance in furthering the aims of social science was acknowledged, the association was dominated by men. There were never any female presidents, vice-presidents, members of the council or executive, presidents or secretaries of departments, or members of local arrangements committees. Even the affiliated female societies, while actually run by women, had male presidents.¹⁰⁷ The only even remotely administrative offices held by women were Isa Craig's assistant secretaryship, a Miss A. J. Cooper's local secretaryship of the education department in 1884, and

memberships on the standing committees of various sections.¹⁰⁸ One is tempted to ask why a woman like Mary Carpenter, who epitomized everything the SSA stood for and a record thirty-four of whose papers appeared in the *Transactions*, was never offered an executive or administrative position. Why were other outstanding women like Emily Davies, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, Louisa Twining and Lydia Becker similarly excluded from the association's power structure? Since the answer was not inferior ability, it must have been institutionalized resistance and lack of demand on the women's part.

However helpful were the compliments and commendations paid to women for their contributions to the welfare of the SSA by such distinguished presidents as Lord Brougham, Lord Shaftesbury and Lord John Russell, it is obvious that they and many of their fellows perceived women functioning most appropriately in areas where they were not competing with men and where their "natural" tact, sensitivity and experience with domestic life would be most valuable.¹⁰⁹ One is left with the uneasy feeling that women were accorded full membership in the SSA by the grace of men who, despite the best of intentions, did not regard them as equals.

The SSA was willing to support women's rights because of its basic world-improving philosophy, but also because of the relative inoffensiveness of feminist claims and claimants. Social science feminism, like Victorian feminism as a whole, was moderate and riddled with class-bias. Its primary concern was with middle rather than lower-class women, and when improved education was supported, it was often because educated women would make better wives and mothers. Expanded economic opportunities would provide a solution to the problem of redundant women, but it was not suggested that women should leave their homes in droves to search for personal fulfilment. When women eager for something useful to do were urged to take up charity work, it was because philanthropy

was in keeping with traditional female duties and instincts. Even when the vote was demanded, it was only for women without male protectors - single women and widows who met the property qualifications. Complete equality between the sexes was rarely claimed; and a number of outstanding women long defended the concept of distinct spheres and cautioned against the attainment of women's rights too rapidly.¹¹⁰

If their claims were often modest, so were the demeanors of many SSA ladies. So obviously lacking in strong-mindedness were they that their presentation of papers was soon accepted as a matter of course. In 1884 when Margaret Lonsdale denounced the forcefulness of modern, platform women, she carefully excluded the old-fashioned and kindly ladies who "still get up, spectacled and scientific looking, and read papers at Social Science Congresses, or mildly address young women on abstruse and purely intellectual subjects... They are not to be spoken of in the same breath with their more advanced sisters."¹¹¹

It should also be noted that while female members of the SSA were unusually numerous, their numbers appear particularly large when compared with women's absence from other organizations. Women never comprised more than a small minority of the SSA's total membership, and if at times as many as a quarter of those attending congresses were women, relatively few actively participated. Between 1857 and 1884 the *Transactions* recorded a total of 2,617 papers.¹¹² One hundred and eighty-one were on what could be called women's subjects, and 118 directly concerned women's rights. Two hundred and thirty-nine papers were presented by women, and as was to be expected, many were on women in general and women's rights in particular, but many also were on humanitarian and other subjects which had nothing directly to do with embryonic feminism.¹¹³

What debt then did women owe to the Social Science Association? For all its problems and peculiarities the SSA filled an important need. As noted in 1870:

The appearance of women in the character of public reformers may almost be said to date from the commencement of the Social Science Association in 1857. The Association...took the initiative in marshalling women into organized battalions, and in encouraging them...to enter upon the active discussion of public questions.¹¹⁴

It centralized hitherto weak and scattered efforts at reform and enabled reformers who had attracted little attention to present their schemes to a broad circle of independent thinkers who were willing to give them serious and intelligent consideration.¹¹⁵ At a time when journalistic and public opinion did nothing but snicker and criticize "the mad, wicked folly of women's rights," feminists themselves were quick to appreciate that "the Association was of immense value to the women's movement in giving us a platform from which we could bring our views before the sort of people who were likely to be disposed to help in carrying them out."¹¹⁶ As the *English Woman's Journal* observed in 1861:

The meetings of the Social Science Association are as yet the only field open to women for public discussion; it is here they can best test the value of work done, and, aided by the experience of the past, return to their various labours, their hands strengthened, and their spirits cheered by the sympathy and cooperation of the best men and women who have been among their listeners.¹¹⁷

The opening of SSA membership to women indicated recognition by men of the scope and purpose of female work, inspired other reforming societies to admit members on the distaff side,¹¹⁸ and increased the self-confidence of public-spirited but hitherto often self-effacing ladies. If

the individual papers which women presented on the higher education or employment of their sex did not themselves cause reforms, they were seriously discussed by a larger audience than could be reached by any other means and thus exercised a more active influence. At social science congresses feminists learned to hone and clarify their arguments and positions. They met and made friends with like-minded women, compared difficulties, learned the lessons of organization, won recruits to the cause, gathered courage for fresh efforts, and devised plans for future action. The SSA too was the catalyst which inspired the formation of several affiliated women's societies, and their temporary location under a single roof helped to transform Victorian feminism into a national movement.¹¹⁹

The most important reciprocal influences between the Social Science Association and its female members occurred during the 1850s and 1860s when the association was at its height and the embryonic women's movement needed all the help it could get. On the decline in the 1870s and 1880s, the SSA broached new ideas on few subjects, including women. The faces of the women presenting papers may have changed, but the subjects they treated and attitudes they expressed closely resembled those of their pioneering sisters years before. By then too, thanks partially to the early contribution of the SSA, the women's movement had grown in strength and confidence and no longer really needed the association, and the participation of women in its proceedings dropped off.¹²⁰

Nevertheless, observers continued to laud the SSA's substantial contribution to women's emancipation. Their remarks are worth noting at some length, for if at least part of the significance of the association lay in the eyes of its beholders, perhaps therein lay its true importance to the feminist cause. The *Englishwoman's Review* observed in 1869 that because of discussions at social science congresses:



*BARBARA LEIGH SMITH,
LATER MME. BODICHON*



LYDIA BECKER



MARY CARPENTER, 1850.

Public attention has been excited to a degree it never was before, to the requirements of women in education, in diversity of employment, and in their better protection by law. Men of weight have discussed the several questions as they arose - with differences of opinion, indeed, but with the attention which, in former years, these subjects would have failed to excite, and with a recognition of their importance as affecting the more numerous half of the English nation.... Whatever else may be the results of Social Science meetings on the questions of our present social life, its beneficial effects on women generally cannot be over-estimated. The free and unprejudiced discussion, the opportunity it affords women themselves of enunciating their opinions, the indirect education to both men and women which the raising and discussing of such questions afford are inestimable; and the progress which year by year is apparent in the greater liberality of opinions uttered is sufficient proof of this fact.¹²¹

In a similar vein, commenting on the 1875 Brighton congress, the *Review* noted that one of the most satisfying features of the women's movement was that women were playing a growing part in the work of the world, and "the Social Science meetings by increasing the opportunities for bringing their views forward has [*sic*] done much toward this change."¹²² Two years later it pointed out that:

The Social Science Association has always been noted for its persistent efforts to assist the oppressed and when at some future day women look back from the serene heights of freedom and equality upon the difficult and painful steps which led thither, they will gratefully acknowledge the aid which its meetings have afforded their cause.¹²³

The *Review's* eulogy to the SSA in 1886 said much the same thing:

Women especially have much cause to thank the Social Science Association, for many of the improvements that have taken place during the last twenty years were first discussed under its auspices.... To record all the subjects in which women have been more or less directly concerned would be to record every meeting of the Association.... The healthy spirit of inquiry, the equality with which men and women met in debate, and the facilities which the meetings of the Association gave for commencing and carrying on work...in large and ever new centres, have been incalculably useful to women, and Social Science has thus acquired a title to the grateful consideration and remembrance of all those who are working for their elevation.¹²⁴

Ultimately it was the activities of men and women working alone and together for special purposes in society at large, not just through the SSA, which led to the advancement of women's rights. But throughout the period 1857-1884 the SSA played a positive role in furthering the cause of Victorian women. Although its specific contributions are difficult to pinpoint, except in the area of married women's property law reform, the association made persistent and successful attempts to modify the traditional attitudes and prejudices of the day toward a wider sphere for women.¹²⁵ It was the platform of the mid-Victorian feminist movement and the agency through which a generation of female reformers were able to participate in and were trained for public work. In allowing them to take part and in providing them with a respectful hearing, the SSA gave many of the feminist pioneers organizational experience and invaluable self-confidence. Had they not received this support it is possible that their resolution to thrust forward in spite of major impediments and disappointments might have been much less firm.

Solutions to the problems of Victorian women were to require more time, ingenuity, percep-

tion, and determination than the social scientists had at their disposal. However, the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science definitely realized the hope that its "discussion of questions of justice, philanthropy, or expediency, connected with the social and educational status of women" would diffuse "a sounder and healthier public opinion on these subjects."¹²⁶ In so doing it demonstrated that women could be effective instruments in articulating social needs and that they deserved their rights as citizens.

NOTES

1. Helen Bosanquet, *Social Work in London 1869-1912* (London: John Murray, 1914; reprint ed., Brighton: Harvester Press, 1973), pp.7-17; Ford K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp.317-60; B. Kirkman Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy from the Dissolution of the Monasteries to the Taking of the First Census* (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1915; reprint ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967), pp.284-86; Madeline Roof, *A Hundred Years of Family Welfare* (London: Michael Joseph, 1972), p.24.
2. Among those present were Lord Lytton, Lord John Russell, Lord Shaftesbury, George Woodyatt Hastings, Frederick Denison Maurice, John Stuart Mill, James Kay-Shuttleworth, John Simon, Edwin Chadwick, and three women—Mrs. Howitt, a well-known writer and social reformer, Miss Emily Taylor, a champion of female education and employment, and Mrs. John Auslin. See G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *Transactions, National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (1857), xxv-xxvi; Michael Millman, "The Influence of the Social Science Association on Hospital Planning in Victorian England," *Medical History*, 18 (April, 1974), 122.
3. Frances Power Cobbe, "Social Science Congresses, and Women's Part in Them," *Macmillan's Magazine*, V (December, 1861), 84; "National Association for the Promotion of Social Science," *English Woman's Journal*, IV (October, 1859), 124; G. Shaw-Lefevre, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1884), 1; *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1933 ed., s.v. "The Social Sciences as Disciplines: Great Britain"; Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), pp.34-35; Charles L. Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society, 1869-1913: Its Ideas and Work* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1961), p.14; Lawrence Ritt, "The Victorian Conscience in Action: The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1857-1886," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1959), pp.4, 37-39, 149, 157, 165; Brian Rodgers, "The Social Science Association 1857-1886," *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*, XX (September, 1952), 283-310; Reba N. Soffer, *Ethics and Society in England: The Revolution in the Social Sciences 1870-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 15-26; Eileen M. Yeo, "Social Science and Social Change: A Social History of Some Aspects of Social Science and Social Investigation in Britain 1830-1890," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 1972), pp. 14, 179, 199, 244-45.
4. Cobbe, *Social Science Congresses*, p.85; Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1857), xxi-xxviii; G. W. Hastings, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1878), 151; "Social Science," *EWJ*, II (October, 1858), 122.
Most important reforming organizations had among their officers prominent personages such as Lord Brougham whose resplendent reputations provided immediate respectability and credibility, but whose genuine interest was often limited by inclination and circumstance. The real work was done by little-known officials, such as George Woodyatt Hastings, who deserves the credit both for founding and running the SSA. Hastings was the son of the founder of the British Medical Association. Born in 1825, he was educated at Cambridge and then called to the bar. He soon achieved local prominence as a justice of the peace in Hereford, chairman of the Worcester School Board, director of a railway company, and as Liberal M.P. for East Worcestershire, 1880-93. A member of the British Association, the National Reform Union, and the Law Amendment Society, Hastings was responsible for bringing the SSA's founding group together and enlisting Brougham's support. For almost three decades he was the association's heart and soul, serving as general secretary, chairman of the council, and finally president. He was ruined by his arrest and trial in 1892-93 for embezzling £20,000-30,000 from a trust fund of which he was the administrator. Expelled from the House of Commons and imprisoned for five years, his disgrace was so complete that his death is not known. Ritt, pp.33-34; Rodgers, "Social Science Association," pp.307-09.
5. There were a president, vice-presidents, general secretary, treasurer, council, council presidents, executive committee, local arrangements committee, and five departments, each with its own officers, secretaries, and standing committees which really decided which issues the association would raise. The five departments were Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law, Education, Punishment and Reformation, Public Health, and Social Economy. A sixth department, Trade and International Law, was added in 1861. In 1864 the number of departments was reduced to four, Jurisprudence, Health, Education, and Economy and Trade; and an Art department was added in 1876. Ritt, pp. 78-79, Rodgers, "Social Science Association," pp. 283-84; Yeo, p. 222.
6. Ritt, p. 89. See also Rodgers, "Social Science Association," p. 296, 305. In addition to the annual congresses, which for years attracted as many as 1500-2000 people, sessional and departmental meetings were held regularly in London during which papers were read and discussed and later published in the *Journal and Sessional Proceedings*.
7. For example, J. J. Salt, "On Improved Air-Tight Metallic Cof-fins," *TNAPSS* (1857), 454-57 and Mrs. Bladen Neill, "Social Science in Relation to Silkworm Culture," *TNAPSS* (1875), 725.
8. Members of the SSA included merchants, industrialists, economists, clergy, bankers, lawyers, philanthropists, social workers, civic officials, civil servants, members of parliament, and members of the House of Lords. Lee Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law, 1857-1882," in M. Vicinus (ed.), *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), P. 14; Millman, "Influence of SSA," p. 123.
9. Rodgers, "Social Science Association," p. 310.
10. Ritt, p. 313.
11. *Ibid.*, pp.137, 149-50, 203, 223; "Social Science," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (December, 1860), 698, 706; "The Social

- Science Association," *Saturday Review*, XIII (June 14, 1862), 668.
12. *The Times* (London), October 5, 1866; *Illustrated London News* (June 21, 1862), 641; (October 1, 1864), 326; (October 3, 1869), 342; (October 9, 1869), 341; Emily Davies, "Social Science at Edinburgh," *Victoria Magazine*, II (November 1863), 85; Ritt, pp. 187-88.
 13. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1857), xxxii; Ritt, pp. 43-44, 93-94, 125; Rodgers, "Social Science Association," pp. 300-06; A. F. Young and E. T. Ashton, *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 93.
 14. Yeo, p. 315.
 15. Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement, 1784-1867* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 44.
 16. For example, there were 1,815 at the Manchester meeting in 1865, while only 900 turned up in the same city in 1879. See Yeo, pp. 219-20.
 17. Ritt, pp. 236, 268, 283-85, 306-09; Rodgers, "Social Science Association," pp. 303-05. The SSA's death attracted little notice at the time, and six years later it had apparently been forgotten. During Hastings' sensational trial for fraud in 1892, the newspapers made no mention of the association and his long connection with it.
 18. Ritt, pp. 191-93.
 19. Yeo, pp. 232-52, 316, 329.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-47, 125-28, 171-76, 254-65; Rodgers, "Social Science Association," pp. 290-95, 309.
 21. Ritt, p. 238.
 22. Isa Craig (1831-1903) was the orphaned only child of an Edinburgh hosiery. Reared by a grandmother, she left school at ten. However, she educated herself with such success that she was eventually employed by the *Scotsman* as a journalist, and had several of her poems published in this and other magazines. In 1857 she left Scotland to take up the assistant secretaryship of the SSA, a position she held until her marriage to her cousin John Knox, an ironmonger, in 1865. From then until the association's dissolution in 1886 she continued to be active as an honorary member. Josephine Kamm, *Rapiers and Battlegrounds: The Women's Movement and its Aftermath* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1966), p. 102.
 23. "National Association for the Promotion of Social Science," *EWJ*, VIII (September, 1861), 60.
 24. G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1865), xl; Cobbe, "Social Science Congresses," p. 93.
 25. "NAPSS," *EWJ*, IV, 127-28; F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 133; Ray Strachey *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1928; reprint ed., Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1969), p. 87.
 26. Anonymous, *A Woman's View of Woman's Rights* (London: 1867), p. 10; *British Mothers' Family Magazine* (1864), 159; Anne Richelieu Dryden, *Can Woman Regenerate Society?* (London; John Parker, 1844), pp. 75-76; Margaret Lonsdale, "Platform Women," *Nineteenth Century*, XV (March, 1884), 409-15.
 27. "Social Science Association," *SR*, XIII, 668.
 28. "Social Science," *EWJ*, II, 124. See also Cobbe, "Social Science Congresses," pp. 88-89, 93; Frances Power Cobbe, *Essays on the Pursuits of Women* (London: Emily Faithfull, 1863), p. 19, 24.
 29. Patricia Thomson, *The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal 1837-73* (London Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 19.
 30. Mary Carpenter (1807-77), the daughter of a Unitarian minister, was a pioneer in the reformatory and industrial school movement. Widely travelled, in her later years she became interested in and wrote extensively about prison reform and education in India. Joseph Estlin Carpenter, *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881), pp. 185-86; Harriet Warm Schupf, "Single Women and Social Reform: The Case of Mary Carpenter," *Victorian Studies*, XVII (March, 1974), 301-17; "Social Science," *EWJ*, II, 124.
 31. G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1866), xlii; G. W. Hastings "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1867), xxix-xxx; Edwin Pears, "Introduction," *TNAPS* (1869), xxvii; F. G. P. Neison, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1877), xl; G. W. Hastings, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1877), 148-50.
 32. Kathleen E. McCrone, "Feminism and Philanthropy in Victorian England: The Case of Louisa Twining," *Canadian Historical Papers* (1976), 135-36.
 33. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.
 34. Mary Anne Baines, "The Ladies National Association for the Diffusion of Sanitary Knowledge," *TNAPSS* (1858), 531-32; Lord Brougham, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1861), II; G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1862), 1-1i; Rose Adams, "The Ladies Sanitary Association," *TNAPSS* (1874), 748; Dr. Grimshaw, "The Necessity of Extending the Operations of the Ladies' Sanitary Association," *TNAPSS* (1881), 654-59; J. L. Clifford-Smith, *The Social Science Association* (London: 1882), p. 152; Cobbe, "Social Science Congresses," p. 86.
 35. See pp. 52-53.
 36. "Report of the Workhouse Visiting Society," *TNAPSS* (1860), xx-xxi. See also Louisa Twining, "On The Condition of Workhouses," *TNAPSS* (1858), 666-72; Louisa Twining, *Recollections of Workhouse Visiting and Management During Twenty-Five Years* (London: 1880), pp. 22-23.
 37. Clifford-Smith, pp. 152-53; McCrone, "Feminism and Philanthropy," pp. 126-27; E. M. Ross, "Women and Poor Law Administration 1857-1909" (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1957), pp. 13-14.
 38. Maria S. Rye, "Emigration of Educated Women," *TNAPSS* (1861), 686; Maria S. Rye, "Report on Female Emigration," *TNAPSS* (1862), 811-12; Jane E. Lewin, "Female Middle Class Emigration," *TNAPSS* (1863), 612-16.
 39. "The Social Science Congress," *Englishwoman's Review* (November 15, 1876), 481.
 40. Rev. Evan Davis, "Education of the Middle Classes," *TNAPSS* (1857), 137-43; Rev. J. S. Howson, "On Schools for Girls of the Middle Class," *TNAPSS* (1859), 308-16.
 41. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, "Middle-Class Schools for Girls" *TNAPSS* (1860), 432-3; Jessie Boucherett, "On the Education of Girls with Reference to their Future Position," *TNAPSS* (1860), 433-34; Mary Carpenter, "On the Principles of Education," *TNAPSS* (1860), 391-37; Louisa O. Hope, "Girls' Schools," *TNAPSS* (1860), 397-404.
 42. *ILN* (June 21, 1862), 641.
 43. Emily Davies, "On Medicine as a Profession for Women," *TNAPSS* (1862), 810-11. During the next six years Davies presented several papers to the SSA, most of which were read for her by men. Despite the strength of her opinions and her determination to have her own way, Davies was afraid that if she spoke in public she would be considered strong-minded.
 44. "Discussion on University Degrees for Women," *TNAPSS* (1862), 339.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 342. See also Clifford-Smith, p. 97; G. W. Hastings "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1862), xlii-iii; *Papers and Discussions on Education: Being the Transactions of the Education Department of the NAPSS, London 1862*, (London: 1862), pp. 109-12.
The members who evidenced obvious relief when the question of university education for women was dropped in 1862 must have been chagrined when a lively debate on degrees for women recurred at the 1863 congress. See W.A. Brown, "On the Admission of Women to Academical Degrees," *TNAPSS* (1863), 354-55; Davies, "Social Sciences at Edinburgh," pp.88-89; "The Social Science Congress at Edinburgh," *EWJ*, XII (November, 1863), 206.
46. Josephine Kamm, *Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 189.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-91; Kamm *Rapiers and Battleaxes*, pp. 53-54; Barbara Stephen, *Emily Davies and Girton College* (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1927), pp. 90-91.
48. Lord Brougham, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1864), 4-5; Rev. J. P. Norris, "On the Proposed Examination of Girls of the Professional and Middle Classes," *TNAPSS* (1864), 404-12; Dr. William Thompson, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1864), 50-53.
49. "Feminine Wranglers," *SR*, XVIII (July 23, 1864), 112.
50. G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1863), xxx.
51. Brougham, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1864), 3; G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1864), xxxiii-iv; David Owen *English Philanthropy 1660-1960* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 250; Rodgers, "Social Science Association," p. 295.
52. *Secondary* "On Secondary Instruction as relating to Girls," *TNAPSS* (1864), 394-404; Davies, "Social Science at Edinburgh," P. 88; Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1864), xxxiv-v.
53. Frederic Merrifield, "Female Endowments," *TNAPSS* (1875), 435-45; Alice Zimmern, *The Renaissance of Girls' Education in England* (London: A. D. Innes and Co. Ltd., 1898), p. 83.
54. Emily Davies, "Some Account of the Proposed New College for Women," *TNAPSS* (1868), 400-03; "Women's Share in Social Science," *ER* (January, 1869), 77-79.
55. Lord Lytton, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1868), 73-74; *The Times* (London), October, 10, 1868; Stephen, pp. 176-77.
56. Stephen, p. 178.
57. Emily Shirreff, *The Work of the National Union* (London: Wm. Ridgway, 1872), p. 4.
58. Clifford-Smith, p. 153.
59. Maria Grey, "What are the Special Requirements for Improvement of the Education of Girls?" *TNAPSS* (1871), 366-72; Emily Shirreff, "What public provision ought to be made for the Secondary Education of Girls?" *TNAPSS* (1872), 271-79; Maria Grey, "On the Organisation of Lectures and Classes for Women," *TNAPSS* (1873), 361-62; Emily Shirreff, "Is a fair proportion of the Endowments of the Country applicable to Female Education," *TNAPSS* (1875), 445-53; Emily Shirreff, "On the Training of Teachers," *TNAPSS* (1876), 469-70; Emily Shirreff, "On the Kindergarten and Froebel's System of Education," *TNAPSS* (1878), 442-44; See also Emily Shirreff, "Trained Teachers for Secondary Schools," *Journal and Sessional Proceedings, NAPSS* (May 28, 1877), 291-306; "Social Science at Brighton," *ER* (November 15, 1875), 484-85; "Social Science Congress," *ER* (November 15, 1876), 482-83.
60. Dorothea Beale, "University Examinations for Girls," *TNAPSS* (1874), 478-90; Dorothea Beale, "On the Training of Teachers for High Schools," *TNAPSS* (1878), 432-34; G. W. Hastings, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1872), 51-63; Sophia Jex-Blake, "The Medical Education for Women," *TNAPSS* (1873), 385-93; Isabella Tod, "University Exams for Women," *TNAPSS* (1870), 552-53.
61. *JSNAPSS* (1873-74), 343; "Social Science Congress," *ER* (November 15, 1876), 482.
62. *Transactions of the Education Department, TNAPSS* (1862), 56-58; Charles Kingsley, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1869), 55-56.
63. Lyulph Stanley, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1879), 53-54.
64. Mrs. Garrett Anderson, "Educational Pressure," *JSNAPSS* (May 18, 1880), 81-92; Frances Mary Buss, "Educational Pressure: Paper in Reply to Mrs. Garrett Anderson," *JSNAPSS* (June 4, 1880), 107-13; Edwin Pears, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1869) xxxi; Andrew Keiller, "What may be the Dangers of Educational Overwork for both Sexes, with special Reference to the Higher Class of Girls' Schools, and the effects of Competitive Examinations?" *TNAPSS* (1880), 420-39; Edith Peckey, "On the Same Subject," *TNAPSS* (1880), 439-45; Francis Sharp Powell, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1883), 41.
65. H.A. Bruce, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1865), 65. See also G. W. Hastings, "Discussion of the Education of Girls," *TNAPSS* (1865), 360.
66. "Social Science Congress," *ER* (November 15, 1876), 481.
67. Jessie Boucherett, "On the Cause of Distress Prevalent among Single Women," *TNAPSS* (1863), 767-69.
68. Charles Bray, "The Industrial Employment of Women," *TNAPSS* (1857), 544-48; G. W. Hastings, "The Industrial Employment of Women," *TNAPSS* (1857), 531-38; "Social Science," *EWJ*, II, 123.
69. Jessie Boucherett, "On the Industrial Employment of Women," *TNAPSS* (1859), 728-29; Bessie Rayner Parkes, "The Market for Educated Female Labour," *TNAPSS* (1859), 727-28; Emily Faithfull, "Victoria Press," *EWJ*, VI (October, 1860), 121; G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1859), xxiv, xxxv; "NAPSS," *EWJ*, IV, 128; Gerardine Macpherson, *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878), pp.303-04.
70. "Report of the Women's Employment Society," *TNAPSS* (1860), xviii-xx. The SPEW applied for registration under the Companies Act in 1878 and was still operating at the turn of the century.
71. Emily Faithfull, "The Victoria Press," *TNAPSS* (1860), 819-22; Faithfull, "Victoria Press," *EWJ*, VI, 122.
72. Lord Brougham, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1860), 40-41. See also Brougham, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1861), 16-17; Lord Brougham, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1862), 18-19; Lord Brougham, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1863), 12-13;
72. *TNAPSS EWJ*, VIII, 59; G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1861), xlii-iii; G. W. Hastings, "Discussion on Industrial Employment of Women," *TNAPSS* (1861), 687.
73. Bessie Rayner Parkes, "A Year's Experience in Women's Work," *TNAPSS* (1860), 811-19; "The Industrial Employment of Women," *TNAPSS* (1861), 685-87; Davies, "Medicine as a Profession," *TNAPSS* (1862), 810-11; Brown, "Admission of Women to Degrees," *TNAPSS* (1863), 354-55; Emily Faithfull, "The Unfit Employments in which Women are now Engaged," *APSS* (1863), 767; Sarah Harland, "Educated Women as Technical Workers," *TNAPSS* (1884), 17-18; "Women's Share in Social Science," *ER* (January 1869), 87.
74. "Social Science Congress," *EWJ*, XII, 210. See also Sir George Campbell, "Address on Economy and Trade," *TNAPSS* (1874), 119.

75. Bessie Rayner Parkes, "The Balance of Public Opinion in Regard to Woman's Work," *TNAPSS* (1862), 808-09; Emily Faithfull, "On some of the Drawbacks connected with the present Employment of Women," *TNAPSS* (1862), 809-10; Bessie Rayner Parkes, "A Year's Experience in Women's Work," *EWJ*, VI (October, 1860), 118.
76. Whately Cooke Taylor, "Civil Service Appointments for Women," *TNAPSS* (1879), 660; "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1879), 434-35.
77. *JSNAPSS* (1870-71), 271.
78. Caroline A. Biggs, "Duties of Women as Poor Law Guardians," *TNAPSS* (1884), 655-57; *JSPNAPSS* (March, 1882), 170; "The Social Science Congress, Birmingham," *ER* (October 15, 1884), 452; "The Debt Women Owe to the Social Science Association," *ER* (May 15, 1886), 196; Ronald G. Walton, *Women in Social Work* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 30, 37.
79. "Industrial Employment of Women," *TNAPSS* (1861), 632-45.
80. *The Times* (London), October 2, 1868.
81. "Social Science Congresses," *ER* (October 15, 1883), 466-68.
82. A.V. Dicey, *Law and Public Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1905), pp. 382-83, 386-87.
83. G.W. Hastings, "Observations on the Laws relating to Married Women," *TNAPSS* (1867), 292; G.W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1868), xxvi; *JSPNAPSS* (1867-68), 51-52, 73, 153-60, 189-201, 284; "Social Science at Belfast," *ER* (October, 1867), 320-22; Clifford-Smith, pp. 50-51; Rodgers, "Social Science Association," pp. 291-292.
84. Clifford-Smith, p. 51.
85. W.N. Massey, "Address on Jurisprudence," *TNAPSS* (1868), 36. See also discussion in the jurisprudence section on the special question, "Is it desirable to amend the present Law, which gives the Personal Property and Earnings of a Wife to her Husband?" *TNAPSS* (1868), 275-81; G.W. Hastings, "Address on Jurisprudence," *TNAPSS* (1869), 32-35; Edwin Pears, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1869), xxix; *JSPNAPSS* (March 17, 1870), 330; "Women's Share," *ER* (January, 1869), 82-85.
86. *JSPNAPSS* (March 17, 1870), 330 and (June 30, 1870), 483.
87. See Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law, 1867-1882," in Martha Vicinus (ed.), *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), pp. 13-22; G. W. Hastings, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1870), 92-96; Hastings "Address," *TNAPSS* (1878), 153-54. The act secured to a woman who earned a living by her own exertions, her wages and all property or investments of such earnings, by removing them from the control or disposition of her husband. It also secured to her, if married after the passage of the act, rights to certain classes of property within specific limits, free from her husband's interference. She could inherit for her use any personal property coming to her under an intestacy, the rents and profits or real property descending to her as an heiress of an intestate, or any sum up to £200 coming to her under a deed or will. But, while freeing a husband from liability for his wife's ante-nuptial debts, it reaffirmed his right to all her pre-marital property. It also reasserted a wife's inability to enter into a legal contract or, generally speaking, to bring or defend actions.
88. Elizabeth Wolstenholme, "Married Women's Property Act," *TNAPSS* (1870), 552.
89. Lady Bowring, "Address to the Ladies Conference," *TNAPSS* (1870), 547-48; Hastings, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1870), 94; H. N. Mozley, "The Married Women's Property Act," *TNAPSS* (1870), 242-44; Wolstenholme, "MWP Act," *TNAPSS* (1870), 549-52; Elizabeth Wolstenholme-Elmy, "Married Women's Property Act, 1870," *TNAPSS* (1875), 265-69; Hastings, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1878), 153-54; "Social Science," *ER* (November, 1875), 486; "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1877), 450-51; "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1879), 436-38; Clifford-Smith, p. 51; Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property," p. 22.
- In 1874 an amending act was passed removing the odd anomaly of the 1870 act which exempted a husband from responsibility for his wife's ante-nuptial debts. It imposed on a husband liability for his wife's debts to the extent of all property acquired by him through the marriage and made him liable to be sued jointly with his wife in such a case. Clifford-Smith, pp. 51-52; Rodgers, "Social Science Association," p. 292.
90. "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1880), xlvi-vii; G. W. Hastings, "Address," *TNAPSS* (1880), 128-31; John Boyd Kinnear, "Do the Laws relating to the Property of Married Women in the United Kingdom require Amendment; and if so, in what particulars?" *TNAPSS* (1880), 181-204; Elizabeth Wolstenholme-Elmy, "The Law of England with regard to the Property and Status of Married Women," *TNAPSS* (1880), 270; Appendix B, *TNAPSS* (1881), 867-68; *JSPNAPSS* (January 31, 1881), 8-81 and (March 9, 1881), 62; "Social Science Congress," *ER* (October 15, 1880), 462-65.
91. *JSPNAPSS* (March, 1882), 174; J. L. Clifford-Smith, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1882), liii-iv. George Hastings was by 1881 a member of parliament and sat on the select committee which considered the married women's property bills.
92. J.L. Clifford-Smith, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1881), xxxiv; G.L. Shaw-Lefevre, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1884), 8; Elizabeth Wolstenholme-Elmy, "Recent Legislation and attempted Legislation with regard to the Property of Married Women in England and Ireland," *TNAPSS* (1881), 248-49; *JSPNAPSS* (August, 1883), 180-81; "Social Science Congress," *ER* (October 14, 1882), 434-36; "Debt Women Owe," *ER* (May 15, 1886), 194.
93. "Social Science Congress," *ER* (October 14, 1882), 450; "Social Science Congress," *ER* (October 15, 1884), 454-58; Mrs. Wolstenholme-Elmy, "On the Infants Bill," *TNAPSS* (1884), 213-14.
94. G. W. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1867), xli-xliii.
95. H.E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976), p. 54.
96. B. Hill, W.O. Swaine, C. Taylor, "Should the Contagious Diseases Act be extended to the Civil Population?" *TNAPSS* (1869), 428-51; Furneaux Jordan, "The Extension of the Contagious Diseases Act," *TNAPSS* (1869), 509.
97. Meller, p. 54.
98. Hill, Swaine, Taylor, "Should the C.D. Act be extended," *TNAPSS* (1869), 449.
99. Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 124. See also pp. 92-93, 125.
100. Sheldon Amos, "The Present State of the Contagious Diseases Acts' Controversy," *TNAPSS* (1870), 220-34; John Armstrong, "The Contagious Diseases Acts," *TNAPSS* (1871), 553-60; H.N. Mozley, "The Contagious Diseases Acts," *TNAPSS* (1871), 560-65.
101. Walkowitz, pp. 82-83.
102. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, *Reasons for the Enfranchisement of Women* (London: 1866), pp. 3-8.
103. "Summary of Proceedings of Economy and Trade Department," *TNAPSS* (1866), 794.

104. Lydia Becker, "On the Progress of the Movement for the Enfranchisement of Women," *TNAPSS* (1879), 215; "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1879), 441.
105. Jessie Boucherett, "On the Use Women would probably make of the Franchise," *TNAPSS* (1870), 555-56; F. O. Morris, "The Rights and Wrongs of Women," *TNAPSS* (1870), 701-14; Becker, "On the Progress of the Movement," *TNAPSS* (1879), 215-17; Helen Blackburn, "The Legal Status of Women in England at the Present Time," *TNAPSS* (1882), 208-09; Arthur Arnold, "Women's Suffrage," *JSPNAPSS* (February 8, 1872), 115-32; "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1877), 453; "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1879), 441.
- Noticeable by her lack of participation in social science congresses was Millicent Garrett Fawcett, leader of the suffrage movement and wife of Henry Fawcett, M.P., who was a member of the association's council.
106. Walton, p. 81. See also pp. 27-32, 258.
107. The president of the Workhouse Visiting Society was the Rt. Hon. Wm. Cowper, while the Earl of Shaftesbury was the president of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women and the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society. Richard Monckton Milnes was the SPEW's representative on the SSA council. Only the Ladies' Sanitary Association had a female president, the Hon. Mrs. Wm. Cowper.
108. Following is a list of female members of standing committees *Education Department, 1867-68*: Barbara Bodichon, Miss Bostock, Jessie Boucherett, Mary Carpenter, Emily Davies, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Mrs. John Knox (Isa Craig), Mrs. Manning, Mrs. Smale, Mrs. Westlake; *1868-69*: Miss Bostock, Barbara Bodichon, Jessie Boucherett, Mary Carpenter, Emily Davies, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Mrs. John Knox, Mrs. Manning, Mrs. Westlake; *1870-71*: Jessie Boucherett, Mary Carpenter, Emily Davies, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Mrs. John Knox, Mrs. Manning, Mrs. Westlake; *1871-72*: Mary Carpenter, Emily Davies, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Mrs. John Knox, Mrs. Westlake; *1872-73*: Mary Carpenter, Emily Davies, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Mrs. John Knox, Mrs. Westlake; *1873-74*: Mary Carpenter, Emily Davies, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Mrs. John Knox, Mrs. Westlake; *1873-74*: Mary Carpenter, Emily Davies, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Mrs. Westlake; *1874-75*: Mary Carpenter; *1875-76*: Mary Carpenter; *1876-77*: Mary Carpenter. *Health Department, 1868-69*: Mrs. Wm. Baines, Elizabeth Garrett; *1870-71*: Elizabeth Garrett; *1871-72*: Mrs. Wm Baines; *1872-73*: Mrs. Wm. Baines; *Repression of Crime and Jurisprudence, 1870-77*: Mary Carpenter. *Social Condition of India and the Colonies, 1871-77*: Mary Carpenter.
109. Lord John Russell, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1858), 17-18; Lord Shaftesbury, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1859), 10; Brougham, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1862), 14-18; Rev. J. S. Howson, "The Official Employment of Women in Works of Charity," *TNAPSS* (1862), 780-83.
110. Brougham, "Opening Address," *TNAPS* (1862), 18; Dean of St. Paul's, "Address on Education," *TNAPSS* (1862), 39; Bowring, "Address to Ladies Conference," *TNAPSS* (1870), 547; Mary Carpenter, "Discussion on Female Education," *TNAPSS* (1873), 363; Cobbe, "Social Science Congresses," pp. 81-84.
111. Lonsdale, "Platform Women," p. 415. See also "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1877), 449; "Social Science Congress," *ER* (October 14, 1882), 433; Walton, 71.
112. Many more papers were presented than received mention in the *Transactions*. See for example "NAPSS," *EWJ*, VIII, 55.
113. In 1869 and 1870 the women of the SSA decided to hold special Ladies Conferences in connection with the annual congress. At these conferences they hoped to consider women's questions and to facilitate freer discussion than was possible in mixed audiences. However, the experiment was abandoned in short order, when it was decided that after all mutual discussions were preferable to separate meetings and that assemblies of men and women had numerous advantages. See Louisa O. Hope, "Ladies Committees and Mixed Committees," *TNAPSS* (1863), 739-44; Sir Stafford Northcote, "Opening Address," *TNAPSS* (1869), 24-25; "Ladies Conference," *TNAPSS* (1870), 547-66; "Debt Women Owe," *ER* (May 15, 1886), 194.
114. *The Lancet* (May 21, 1870), 740. The conservative *Lancet* went on to criticize the SSA for paying little attention to the personal fitness of women for public work. It impugned the modesty, delicacy, and wisdom of women at the forefront of the discussion of public questions and queried the utility and propriety of their efforts.
115. "Debt Women Owe," *ER* (May 15, 1886), 193-94.
116. Stephen, p. 75; quoting Emily Davies. See also Parkes, "Progress of Public Opinion," *TNAPSS* (1862), 808; Faithfull, "Victoria Press," *EWJ*, VI, 121.
117. "NAPSS," *EWJ*, VIII, 60.
118. Rodgers, "Social Science Association," p. 298; Patricia Thompson, p. 21.
119. Strachey, p. 87; Thompson, p. 21.
120. "Social Science Congress," *ER* (October 15, 1880), 461; "Social Science Congress," *ER* (October 15, 1884), 450.
121. Biggs, "Women's Share," *ER* (January, 1869), 77, 88-89.
122. "Social Science," *ER* (November, 1875), 486-87.
123. "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1887), 450.
124. "Debt Women Owe," *ER* (May 15, 1886), 194, 196.
125. Hastings, "Introduction," *TNAPSS* (1858), xxxi-xxxiii; *ILN* (June 21, 1862), 241.
126. "Social Science," *ER* (October 15, 1879), 443.