

BEHIND THE HISTORY: ENGLISH
ETIQUETTE BOOKS AND NINETEENTH CENTURY'S
PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN

A Master's Thesis

by

YAĞMUR TAŞ YARDIMCI

Department of History

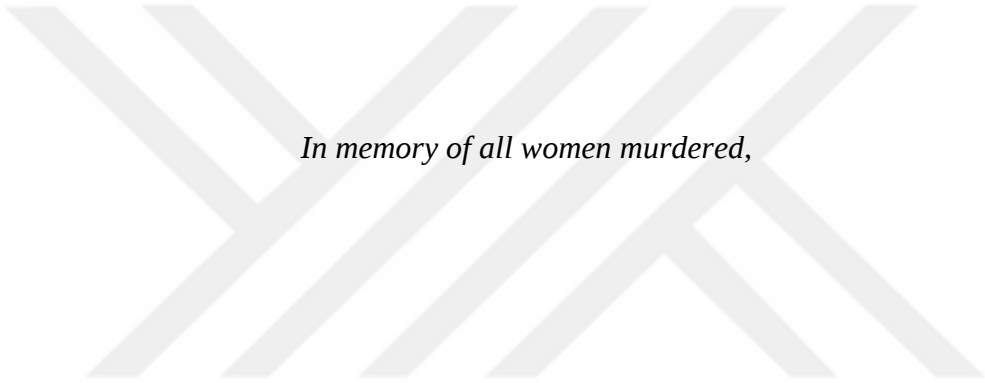
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara

September 2019

YAĞMUR TAŞ YARDIMCI

BEHIND THE HISTORY: ENGLISH ETIQUETTE BOOKS
AND NINETEENTH CENTURY'S PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN

Bilkent University 2019



In memory of all women murdered,

BEHIND THE HISTORY: ENGLISH ETIQUETTE BOOKS AND THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY'S PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

YAĞMUR TAŞ YARDIMCI

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ
ANKARA

September 2019

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Asst. Prof. Dr. Paul Latimer

Supervisor

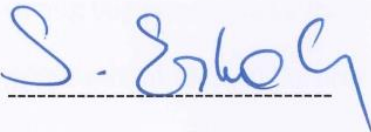
I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Assist. Prof. Dr. David E. Thornton

Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Asst. Prof. Dr. Seda Erkoç Yeni

Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan

Director

ABSTRACT

BEHIND THE HISTORY: ENGLISH ETIQUETTE BOOKS AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY'S PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN

Taş Yardımcı, Yağmur

M.A, Department of History

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Paul Latimer

September 2019

The Victorian era is a vital period in terms of intellectual and social changes, in addition to the industrial revolution and urbanization. This study aims to analyze nineteenth century English etiquette books and perceptions of women. The main circle of this study is to reveal how women were exposed to gender inequalities during this period. Since the archetype of the perfect women as mothers and wives was idealised through the norms of the society, etiquette books focused on women and feminine issues, their roles were limited to domestic spheres in these books. Besides, it would be necessary to mention the society with discussion of etiquette that played a significant role as it touched many middle class lives. For this reason, different etiquette books were chosen to portray the conditions of women and society.

Keywords: Domesticity, Etiquette, Middle-class, Nineteenth-century, Women.

ÖZET

TARİHİN ARKASINDA: İNGİLİZ ETİKET KİTAPLARI VE ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYILIN KADIN ALGILARI

Taş Yardımcı, Yağmur

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Paul Latimer

Eylül, 2019

Viktorya dönemi, sanayi devrimi ve kentleşmeye ek olarak, entelektüel ve sosyal değişimler açısından da çok önemli bir dönemdir. Bu çalışma ondokuzuncu yüzyılın İngiliz etiket kitaplarını ve dönemin kadın algılarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın ana çemberi, kadınların bu dönemde cinsiyet eşitsizliğine nasıl maruz kaldığı etrafında çizilmektedir. Mükemmel kadın olma arketipi anne ve eş olarak toplumun normları ile idealleştirildiğinden, etiket kitapları kadınlara ve kadınsı konulara odaklanmış, kadın rolleri bu kitaplarda evle alakalı alanlarla sınırlandırılmıştır. Ayrıca, Orta sınıftaki bir çok kişinin hayatını etkilediği için önemli bir rol oynayan etiket kitapları ile toplumdan bahsetmek gerekli olacaktır. Bu nedenle, kadın ve toplumun koşullarını göstermek için farklı etiket kitapları seçilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etiket, Ev Hayatı, Kadın, On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl, Orta Sınıf.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One woman is enough to change the world. This is my motto while writing my thesis. First of all, I am very grateful to my advisor Prof. Paul Latimer for his efforts to complete my thesis. Whenever i needed him, he always helped and his ideas gave me remarkable point of view during this process.

I also would like to thank my all instructors in Hacettepe and Bilkent University. They expanded my horizon in many different subjects. Without studying the literature and history, i would not be the person who is concerned with women and their conditions.

I am indebted to my dear friend Ayşegül Yağ. She led me to study Bilkent university together. During this process, she always helped and supported me. I also owed my sisters, Gizem Yayvan, Çağrı Kaygusuz and Ezel Altunsaray for their emotional supports.

As a last, I am very happy to have my husband, Burak Yardımcı, I want to express my deepest thanks to him. He always encouraged me to finish it, whenever i felt desperate and unhappy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH- CENTURY ENGLAND	8
2.1 Angels in the House	9
2.2 Working Life and the Problem of Surplus Women.....	11
2.3 Marriage and Domestic Life	15
2.4 Education for Women	20
2.5 The Feminist Movement in Victorian Era.....	27
CHAPTER THREE: NINETEENTH-CENTURY ETIQUETTE BOOKS	30
3.1 The term “Etiquette” Book.....	30
3.2 The Functions of Etiquette Books	35
3.3 The Rising of Etiquette Books	39
3.4 The Relations between Etiquette and Class Status.....	43
CHAPTER FOUR: WOMEN IN ETIQUETTE BOOKS.....	48
4.1 The term “Etiquette” Book.....	48
4.2 The Functions of Etiquette Books	56
4.3 The Rising of Etiquette Books	61
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	69

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth-century brought vast and unprecedented changes to England. The advancement process of industrial growth helped the rise of the middle class. Since the Victorian era witnessed social upheaval, changes and reforms, society was also affected in terms of culture, politics, and social norms. During this period, Britain had political, commercial and financial power. Also, the Industrial Revolution altered the things in many areas. For instance, goods were more produced. The factory owners demanded more labours. Therefore, people began to emigrate from rural areas to cities, so it brought urbanisation. The revolution did not merely alter men's lives, it also altered women's and children's lives as well. The rise of middle class also affected values, life styles, norms of the society.

In addition to these changes, manners were remarkable in terms of reflecting English society in the nineteenth-century. As John Stuart Mill stated in his book *The*

Subjection of Women:

England is the country in which social discipline has most succeeded, not so much in conquering, as in suppressing, whatever is liable to conflict with it. The English, more than any other people, not only act but feel according to rule. In other countries, the taught opinion, or the requirement of society, may be the stronger power, but the promptings of the individual nature are always visible under it, and often resisting it: rule may be stronger than nature, but

nature is still there. In England, rule has to a great degree substituted itself for nature. The greater part of life is carried on, not by following inclination under the control of rule, but by having no inclination but that of following a rule.¹

This quotation based on Mill's observation, indicated that social discipline and the rule were more successful than in other countries. Furthermore, the English were known as civilized through some sort of rules and patterns of conduct. Therefore, manners and behaviour were important in terms of society's perceptions in the nineteenth-century. This study will analyze the nineteenth-century etiquette books and women of perceptions. Unlike the wealth, national power in Britain, women conditions did not change. Women were exposed to gender inequality, though the era was reigned by a woman. Furthermore, women did not have right to vote or they did not have own property. This was my main reason to focus on Victorian women in the nineteenth-century.

What was the motivation behind analyzing etiquette books and women together in the thesis? The first reason is that etiquette writers focused on feminine issues, unlike courtesy books which could be thought of as earlier genres of etiquette books. Etiquette books mainly dealt with women and their issues. Therefore, the contents were related to the manners of women. For instance, women were mentioned as hostesses in these books and the authors wrote women duties for when women had guests for special occasions. However, men were not regarded as hosts; and the etiquette writers did not give details about men and their situations in terms of being host. Michael Curtin also stated this issue in his book *Propriety and Position*:

Ceremonial calls, at-homes, and the various forms of afternoon visiting, on the other hand, were basically feminine and were entrenched among the staple topics of etiquette. There was also a tendency for the various sorts of hospitality--dinners, balls, and especially country house visits. Etiquette writers listed the duties of the hostess in preference to the host

¹ John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (London: Savill, Edwards and Co., Printers, 1869), 124.

and assumed that women, not men, were the guests.²

Furthermore, the writers gave advises for women leisure time or extra domestic activities. Women had more leisure time than men. So, etiquette books were about leisure time and how women should have spent their times efficiently. The subjects of etiquette books were generally about the household and manners in public areas. Especially in the nineteenth-century, the focus was the middle-class. The authors addressed their works to middle class people who had a certain financial income, but who were jealous of the upper-class lifestyle. Also, upward mobility was prevalent, that is why women were expected to learn how to behave properly for their future spouses. Etiquette books showed them how to socialize or the ways of finding good spouses. However there was no book to give advice about how women could get economic independence or property rights. The nineteenth-century's keywords for women could be obedience, service, providing pleasure and domesticity. To please the husband and other family members held a vital place. It is curious to look at different aspects of etiquette books aspects to see nineteenth-century women's opportunities through the etiquette writers' perspectives.

In the Chapter II, nineteenth-century women roles have been described and analyzed.

In this century, there were different roles and worth mentioning.

Central to separate spheres ideology was domesticity, the celebration and idealization of the home. Home was a refuge from the cruelty and rapaciousness of the work place and the market place. It was a morally elevated and fundamentally comforting space. Women were responsible for the home. They were expected to confine themselves to the home, and to make those homes inviting refuges from the rough and tumble world outside.³

During this era, the roles of women and men seemed to be determined and women were to stay at home to aid their husbands and look after their children. However,

² Michael Curtin, *Propriety and Position* (London: Garland Publishing, 1987), 210.

³ Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 166.

there were also some women activists who dealt with women's rights and issues. Throughout the centuries, in most societies, men were accepted as superior to women. Even in Christian teaching, the inferiority of women was imposed through the idea that Eve was created from the rib of Adam. In nineteenth-century England this tale was maintained. The structure of the family also changed; people adapted to a new urban lifestyle. Rather than being a public matter, families were gradually accepted as a private concern. Families started to draw a line around themselves in order to live on their own. While men were on business, women dealt with the domestic sphere, but children were more likely to go to school. So private and public life were almost separated.

When the society gave common roles to women, women became the factory women, the idle ones, the angelic ones, the fallen ones, the redundant ones. Furthermore, some women accepted these roles; they did not find it odd, it was like their own fate. Mothers brought up their daughters according to standards of good behaviour determined by the norms and many girls were sacrificed to these clichés. Mostly, they devoted their lives to them and did not question them. They did not question why they had to deal with the domestic chores, while their brothers did nothing. That might also depend on class. There were some taboos about menstruation; generally it was regarded as the curse, being sick, and poorliness.

In the first half of the century it was believed that the menstrual flow came from an excess of nutrient in the female, and until the discovery in 1845 that eggs were ejected spontaneously they were thought to descend from the ovaries only as a result of intercourse.⁴

As this quotation suggests, women's conditions are worth mentioning since they were affected by the developments in the nineteenth-century. For instance, women started

⁴ Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 21.

to work more after Industrial Revolution and the factory owners needed for work force. The first time that women had chances to study at universities was also during this period. The aim of etiquette books was not to give morality lessons but to deal with middle class manners in order to reduce communal problems among classes. After looking at different etiquette books, it could be deduced that manners and classes are inseparable subjects, and manners are indicative of social status and class. For instance, upper classes have distinctive manners showing that upper classes. So it can be easily identified.

Chapter III will start with the term etiquette and how the etiquette books emerge and become more popular. In this chapter, the differences between courtesy books and etiquette books will be discussed. Furthermore, the rise of the middle class, how the etiquette books became popular and their functions will be mentioned as well. In economic area, the middle class became more significant so they also wanted to receive fashion and luxury. They wanted to have a place in the society, it was like an acclaim by public. Therefore, etiquette writers taught middle class how to live fine and elegantly.

Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society, which was written by Charles William Day, was one of the important etiquette books. It was not an ordinary etiquette book which portrayed Victorian England in general. The book included the details of specific areas in terms of manners such as meetings, appearance, dinners, and dances. The book became very popular, therefore it was published more than twenty times, and the book had 22 editions. Furthermore, he made also an adaptation for American public. It may actually indicate how etiquette books became popular not

only in Britain but also the other countries in the world like America.⁵

Before dealing with women in etiquette books, it is necessary to look at the origin and functions of etiquette books, since etiquette does not only focus on the women. It also gives the details about the society and age. Therefore it should be mentioned as general term and then particularly referring to women. Chapter IV will focus on women in etiquette books. Lady Colin Campbell, *Etiquette of Good Society* was intentionally used in this chapter. The book, written by a woman, showed the relations between men and women, how their manners could be different in terms of gender. *Routledge's Manual of Etiquette* was another vital source.

Artificial language was created in these books. As by a manual, audience learnt how to become a proper lady, how a lady should behave when she encounters a gentleman. The other important sources are periodicals. Women did not merely take part in etiquette books. Periodicals also were written for them; these periodicals are worth mentioning, since they also showed women perceptions' in the nineteenth-century. Both etiquette books and periodicals had similarities in terms of contents, pictures and popularity. It also indicated that periodicals and etiquette books focused on the female audience. Thus, the writers of etiquette books and periodicals framed their works in this perspective. Periodicals also showed how cultural information are shared and used like etiquette books are. However, some periodicals were not common, they dealt with women problems that was the another reason to look at them in the thesis.

Finally, in the context of this thesis, the term fashion will be discussed. Fashion became popular during this period; the etiquette writers also wrote about it.

Therefore the term should be taken into consideration while dealing with women in

⁵ Charles William Day, *Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society: With a Glance at Bad Habits* (Boston: Otis Broaders, 1844), 2.

etiquette books.



CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY

ENGLAND

Women were living in an era characterised by gender inequality during the nineteenth-century. They had few legal rights; they were expected to be submissive to their fathers or husbands, though there was a queen. This era was symbolized by Queen Victoria's reign and women could not vote or have their own property. However, in this era, women started to work more outside, because of the Industrial Revolution. Also some different ideas like feminism emerged among middle classes. This can be obviously deduced from the literary productions of the period. Despite all these changes, women were regarded as the weaker sex. This chapter will focus on the roles of women in society in terms of class and status. The term "angel in the house" is inevitable, since it reflects the reality of a certain kind of Victorian woman. The term was first used by Coventry Patmore. It was a poem, he tried to idealise his wife as a perfect woman. In his poem, she was like an angel and she could become a model for Victorian women. Also, marriage and domestic life will be mentioned as part of their duties and as the norms attributed to women by the society. Last but not least, manners will be discussed.

2.1 Angels in the House

Queen Victoria was an important figure. During her reign motherhood and domesticity were main ideas of the era. Women were not meant to appear in the public areas, since their places were homes and the most heavenly emotion for them undoubtedly was supposed to be motherhood. Victorians created an ideal woman figure, as an ideal for women, who could be better than Queen Victoria herself?

There are some well-known concepts used for the ideal Victorian women. One of them was The Angel in the House, which was associated with perfect housewives, domestic goddesses, in Victorian England. Indeed, the term came from Coventry Patmore who had a poem entitled The Angel in the House. Patmore loved his wife so much that he wanted to tell his love story in his poem. In the poem, he describes the ideal woman as a chaste, pure wife. This made her the perfect wife. She devotes herself to her husband without any doubt. She is very supportive, submissive and, furthermore, she cares for her children.⁶

He portrayed an ideal sense of the relationship between men and women. Even today the poem could be thought as a pivotal clue to social history rather than as a poem. It was like a demonstration of gender inequalities between Victorian women and men.

Of course, it is obvious to analyse connections between inequalities and genders. Women were limited in the domestic area and they wanted to participate in public sphere. However, there were barriers, and some believed that these barriers were based upon gender differences. Especially male writers dwelled upon the biological differences between the women and men. Alexander Walker referred this issue in his book:

⁶ Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House* (London: Cassel&Co.,1887), 10.

It is evident that the man possessing reasoning faculties, muscular power and courage to employ it, is qualified for being a protector: the woman, being little capable of reasoning, feeble and timid, requires protection. Under such circumstances, the man naturally governs; the woman as naturally obeys.⁷

Although, he does not have any proof about the inferiority of women, he effortlessly uttered his ideas, just like many other male writers of this era. Gender inequality was obvious. Women were held captive in their houses with few social and legal rights; they were supposed to be submissive and subservient first to their fathers, then to their husbands after marriage. They were expected to be obedient, though this condition prompted them to seek self-esteem and freedom. Women were to become future mothers and thus they needed to find their potential husbands and marry. Even in early lives, women were taught that they were not as important as boys. In society, even in aristocracy, the matter was to have a son because only a male heir could get the family title and legacy.⁸ According to Joan Perkin, “The vast majority of English girls, however, were born to working-class parents, who accepted whatever God sent, but were somewhat disappointed if it was a girl”.⁹

Sometimes girls went for domestic labour and earned money to send home, but still the parents were fond of their sons. Unfortunately, since boys were thought more useful, some girls were poisoned. Perkin also stated that

There were even some deaths of girls that were deliberately planned. The town clerk at Stockport gave evidence in 1843 to a parliamentary commission on deaths from arsenic poisoning. He quoted the cases of two families of hatters who had poisoned four daughters.¹⁰

⁷ Alexander Walker, *Woman Physiologically Considered, as to Mind, Morals, Marriage, Matrimonial Slavery, Infidelity and Divorce* (London: A. H. Baily and Co., 1839), 129.

⁸ Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

It could also be difficult, at least in some classes, for a woman to find a husband, if she could not contribute a dowry to the marriage.

To sum up, women could be regarded as secondary citizens in society. They were limited within their own classes; for instance girls from the middle classes could not play with working-class girls. Class differences also could be clearly seen, upper-class women could have different job opportunities. Their progress and improvement depended upon society's norms and restrictions. In the work place, Victorian women could work in many positions, but they could not earn the same money as their male partners. Following section, working life conditions will be discussed.

2.2 Working Life and the Problem of Surplus Women

"Not only were working women regarded as a problem. All women were a problem."

This quotation reflects the conditions of nineteenth-century women and it summarizes the problem of surplus women. Before discussing it, the aim of the section is to review women's working life and their conditions. Even though the ideal for Victorian women was their place at home, women increasingly started to work as part of the labour force due to economic problems and population. Yet paid work might seem like an opportunity for some. However, most women knew that their families were represented by their fathers and husbands. Furthermore men could be free from domestic chores and responsibilities, but women had economic, legal and political limitations. They were like second-class citizens in their domestic sphere and they were protected by men. Some gradually understood that they had interests and aspirations that did not harmonise with those of men. Although upper-class women had some status as leaders, and working-class women were at the bottom, it was mainly middle-class women that stepped into action:

This was the segment of the female population most affected by the restrictions of the new economic order, the exclusion from businesses, trades and professions and public life generally. Working-class women did not experience such a great alteration in their lives. They continued to work as before, and still found support in kinship networks. Upper-class women who lived closest to the old preindustrial ways were the last to perceive a special interest for their sex.¹¹

Yet it was the working-class women who formed the largest group in new paid employment for women. Women had some advantages. For instance, the authorities did not want to arrest women when they started demonstrations or participated in riots:

Even when caught in violent acts, women were rarely taken into custody, partly because of the *femme couverte* tradition that made the wife the responsibility of her husband and not individually responsible for her own activities.¹²

However, it was also related to some troubles. For instance, when women were taken into custody, who would be responsible for domestic chores? Therefore, they could be easily ignored by authorities.

After the 1850s, the economic and social separation of the genders was seen. It was so certain that society was divided into two areas: the public area dominated by men and the domestic one was for women. This segregation particularly affected middle-class families, but it had an impact on English public and private life till the end of the century.

The problem of surplus women was discussed: "In 1851, a question about marital status on the British census sparked concern about the decline of the family as the moral and reproductive basis of British society, and triggered the debate about the

¹¹ Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 38.

surplus woman problem".¹³ Indeed, surplus women were studied by William Greg; he entitled his article as *Why Women Redundant?* In his article, he mentioned about more than 500,000 women in England were redundant and he focused on the women who were unmarried and Greg wrote:

There is an enormous and increasing number of single women in the nation, a number quite disproportionate and quite abnormal; a number which, positively and relatively, is indicative of an unwholesome social state, and is both productive and prognostic of much wretchedness and wrong. There are hundreds of thousands of women — not to speak more largely still scattered through all ranks, but proportionally most numerous in the middle and upper classes, — who have to earn their own living, instead of spending and husbanding the earnings of men; who, not having the natural duties and labours of wives and mothers, have to carve out artificial and painfully-sought occupations for themselves; who, in place of completing, sweetening, and embellishing the existence of others, are compelled to lead an independent and incomplete existence of their own.¹⁴

Greg had two solutions; the first one was that he suggested that single women learn pleasing behaviours in order to marry. The second one was that women in Britain could immigrate to other countries; such as Canada and Australia, since those did not have enough women. As Canada and Australia had many single men, the surplus women could find husbands in there. The 1851 Census showed "there were 1.4 million spinsters aged 20 to 40 and 359,969 old maids over 40 by 1871 there were two widows and spinsters for every three wives."¹⁵ The problem known as the 'surplus woman' started in the 1860s and continued until the end of the century. This census was important, since it was regarded as a catalyst for British feminism and it was related to changes about women's roles. It could be argued that women became unproductive when they did not marry. William Greg looked for the possibilities

¹³ Kathrin Levitan, "Redundancy, the 'Surplus Woman' Problem, and the British Census, 1851–1861", *Women's History Review*, 17 (2008): 359–376.

¹⁴ William Greg, *Why Women are Redundant?* (London: N. Trübner & Co, 1869), 5.

¹⁵ K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846–1886* (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 319.

whether it was any chance to make them productive. It could be inferred that single women were burden in the society.¹⁶

Working class unmarried women had to work for themselves and their families.

These women had to support their parents. On the other hand, middle-class unmarried women did not have to work for a living, since their families supported them.

Middle-class women did not have many choices to work. For instance they could not work in the Church or government offices. Generally, they became governess, or seamstress who made or repaired the clothes. In 1850 more than 20,000 governess were counted. Wages were 10 to 30 pounds a year, and a room was given. When men became tutors, they got more. Charlotte Brontë was a governess, she was not happy and therefore she wrote about it in *Jane Eyre*.¹⁷ Governess became isolated, and had no privacy. Some disciplines were known as male professions such as medicine, law. However Florence Nightingale achieved to be nurse.

Being a working class spinster was difficult during this period. They could not get enough money to make a living, and they were dependant to their male relatives. Mainly they had 4 options to work: street-selling, domestic services, factories, and prostitution. As a domestic servant, they worked in wealth families' houses. In the factories, they were cheap labourers. Both needed exhausting working. Prostitution could be the worst one, the society regarded prostitutes as fallen women. In London alone, there were more than 7,000 prostitutes. These women were accepted as different species and they were condemned in the society. Being a prostitute was difficult in terms of risk of disease, humiliation, and rape.¹⁸ It became social concern and The Contagious Diseases Acts were made to protect women in

¹⁶ Kathrin Levitan Redundancy, the 'Surplus Woman' Problem, and the British Census, 1851–1861, 365.

¹⁷ Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women*, 164.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 219.

1864, 1866 and 1869. Through these acts, women had to be periodically examined. If they were diseased, they would put into special hospitals. However, these acts did not define a common prostitute. Instead, they pointed out any woman who went to special places for prostitutes alone.¹⁹

To sum up, these different working profiles portrayed nineteenth-century women lives. Furthermore, they had double standard behaviour in that women were condemned if they were prostitutes. However, men went to brothels and they were not labelled as fallen or weak. Women working conditions were not equal to men. Even if they did the same profession, they received lower wages than men. After giving details about women working conditions, marriage and domestic life will be discussed in the following section.

2.3 Marriage and Domestic Life

Marriage was one of the milestones in society during Victorian era. Woman and man were regarded as one person in marriage law. Woman, as a daughter first, became husband's property after the marriage. Although marriage was seen as an important issue, there was no talk of sexual intercourse in polite society. Sex should not be discussed openly. There were not many books for women to read about intercourse. Women's bodies were hidden in long clothes. By the 1850s, women began changing, they became more rational. Eliza Lynn Linton criticised, mockingly, of *the Girl of the Period* in the *Saturday Review* of 1868:

No one can say of the modern English girl that she is tender, loving, retiring or domestic. The old fault so often found by keen-sighted Frenchwomen, that she was so fatally romanesque, so prone to sacrifice appearances and social advantages for love, will never be set against the Girl of the Period. Love indeed is the last thing she thinks of, and the least of the dangers besetting her. Love in a cottage—that seductive dream which used to vex the heart and disturb the calculations of the prudent mother—is now a myth of past ages.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid., 220.

²⁰ Eliza Lynn Linton, *The Girl of the Period and Other Social Essays* (London: R. Bentley, 1883), 6.

Love was not important anymore, marriage had become like a contract. Through popular sports, areas were created for middle class women and men to meet each other. Lawn tennis, roller skating, golf and cricket became popular. Finding a prospective husband was significant in terms of status and respectability. Working-class women also were eager to find a husband for the same reasons. Women liked to save money for her dowry before marriage, for instance female factory workers were looking the possibility of earning money to fund a dowry:

A young woman, prudent and careful, and living with her parents, from the age of sixteen to twenty-five, may, in that time, by factory employment save £100 as a wedding portion. She is not then driven into an early marriage by the necessity of seeking a home; and the consciousness of independence in being able to earn her own living is favourable to the development of her best moral energies.²¹

Before marriage, men did have chances to have sexual intercourse with multiple partners. It was seen as suitable for them. However, this condition was not acceptable for women. If women had intercourse with a man before she got married, she was regarded as fallen or ruined. A modest, pure Victorian woman was not supposed to have sexual desires, as if these emotions were only valid for men rather than for human beings in general. Furthermore, if women became pregnant outside of wedlock, they had to bear the responsibility of children both financially and legally. In Victorian literature and art, there were many examples where women had to pay for their behaviour according to moral anticipations. Adultery or betrayal generally, ends desperately in novels such as Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. They often did not show sympathy towards women's subjugation. Mona Caird stated this in her article in 1890:

²¹ Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.128.

Marriage, with its one-sided obligations, is not a thought out rational system of sex relationship, but a lineal descendant of barbarian usages, cruel and absurd, even when the warlike condition of society gave them some colour of reason, revolting now to all ideas of human justice and of dignity [...] This is the last citadel of the less intelligent kind of conservatism.²²

Caird's statement was basically that marriage subordinated and restricted ladies.

She believed that marriage ought to be beneficial to both woman and man.

She supported marriage as a union provoked by the desire to cherish, by liking or fascination of nature and by friendship, but argued that friendship could not be accomplished between the genders when they were not taught together and were not allowed to meet openly or appropriately to know one another during their relationship. She suggested modern or romantic love as a requirement for ideal marriage, in place of arranged marriages.

Women experienced conflicts, violence, and extreme discord due to unfair law conditions. Whatever their social class, they were exposed these unfair law conditions. One of them was famous author Caroline Norton. In spite of the fact that Caroline Norton was a famous author, she was known for her disastrous marriage and she wanted to alter Victorian marriage laws. Her husband physically abused her. She wrote about her married life:

The treatment I received as a Wife, would be incredible if, fortunately (or unfortunately), there were not witnesses who can prove it on oath. We had been married about two months, when, one evening, after we had all withdrawn to our apartments, we were discussing some opinion Mr. Norton had expressed; I said, that 'I thought I had never heard so silly or ridiculous a conclusion.' This remark was punished by a sudden and violent kick; the blow reached my side; it caused great pain for several days, and being afraid to remain with him, I sat up the whole night in another apartment.²³

²² Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage: And Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 57-58.

²³ Caroline Norton, *Caroline Norton's Defense: English Laws for Women in the 19th Century* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1982), 63.

This was one of the portrayals of violence that nineteenth-century women were exposed to. Mrs. Norton lived like this for almost nine years. Sometimes she left her husband, but she returned, because Norton persuaded her, and also she thought about her sons, as she did not have legal rights over them. Thanks to The Married Women's Property Act 1884, women obtained some legal rights. If they ran away, they would not have to return. The Married Women's Property Act (1884) essentially changed English law with respect to the ownership permissions allowed to married women, permitting them to claim and check their own property, if obtained during or after marriage, and brought legal charges against it.

Of course social class made some difference: brutality was not surprising in the working classes, but if found in those of higher station, it was particularly hard for magistrates, judges, and probably juries to condemn its perpetrator to the gallows, or even transportation together with common criminals. In 1862 a wealthy Kent farmer, Major Murton, was accused of beating his wife to death in their kitchen [...] after one of the two prostitutes he had brought home for the evening complained about her presence.²⁴

After he got three years imprisonment, Justice Byles said him "I know [...] that it will be severe punishment, for you have hitherto occupied a respectable position in life – you have filled the office of overseer, church-warden and surveyor. Murton himself was taken aback by the sentence: But, he burst out, I provided handsomely for her!"²⁵

He, like many men, behaved towards his wife as if she were his one of maids or property rather than a wife. Being a wife means that women had to carry all the normal burdens which were given by society as it was. Women became a part of this system; the concept did not change easily. Women were seen as trouble-makers. Men

²⁴ Martin J. Wiener, *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness and Criminal Justice in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 246.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 246.

asserted that they had to beat their wives; they often blamed them for domestic issues or problems.

Frances Power Cobbe wrote about wife-beating in her article titled as *Wife Torture in England*:

The assault on a wife by her husband seems to be surrounded by a certain halo of jocularity which invites people to smile whenever they hear of a case of it [...] The general depreciation of women as a sex is bad enough, but in the matter we are considering, the special depreciation of wives is more directly responsible for the outrages they endure. The notion that a man's wife is his PROPERTY, in the sense in which a horse is his property [...] is the fatal root of incalculable evil and misery. Every brutal-minded man, and many a man who in other relations of life is not brutal, entertains more or less vaguely the notion that his wife is his thing.²⁶

After this was written, the Matrimonial Causes Act was passed in 1878. It gave protection to women who had become victims of male violence. Through this act, they could get a protection order from a court. Also they could claim the custody of children. For most people, marriage was like an everlasting union or agreement; it finished only when one or other side passed away. The Church also could demand a valid excuse for separation, such as evidence of violence or cruelty. After the evidence, they could accept a woman's right to abandon her husband.

Women were dealing with house chores, while men took responsibility for financial issues. However, some areas were completely different from one another. For instance, in Oxfordshire a very different portrayal of men and women on household income was made by Flora Thompson. Thompson highlights the issue of what happened on the men's payday. The men gave their pay to their wives. The women were then responsible for handling the family finances:

²⁶ Frances Power Cobbe, *Wife Torture in England* (London: Strahan & Co, 1878), 62-63.

Many husbands boasted that they never asked their wives what they did with the money. As long as there was food enough, clothes to cover everybody, and a roof over their heads, they were satisfied, they said, and they seemed to make a virtue of this and think what generous, trusting, fine-hearted fellows they were. If a wife got in debt or complained, she was told: You must learn to cut your coat according to your cloth, my girl. The coats not only needed expert cutting, but should have been made of elastic.²⁷

Apparently, Victorian village society was dominated by men. Women could not take many important decisions on economic issues. Men owned most of the land, and they formed a big proportion of the paid labour, unlike women. In one area, however, women were increasingly important in rural areas: school teaching: “At the end of the century about three-quarters of all elementary teachers were women, compared to just over half who were female in the mid-1870s”.²⁸ As the last quotation pointed out that women were caring and like protectors to their children. Their position in working life and at home was really different.

2.4 Education for Women

In the nineteenth-century, most girls did not receive a formal schooling. Girls from all the classes were not generally as educated as boys within their own class. Most parents were eager to pay for the private schooling of their sons rather than their daughters. Usually, boys belonging to the upper class were educated at home by special tutors till they went to boarding school. Later they could go to university to study more.²⁹

Upper-class girls also were coached at their homes by tutors or governesses, but the subjects taught to boys were not the same as for girls. They often learned piano, dancing, or studying another language like Latin or French. Their parents wanted

²⁷ Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford: A Trilogy*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), 62.

²⁸ Pamela Horn, *Victorian Country Women* (Oxford: Basic Blackwell, 1991), 2.

²⁹ Alison Prentice, "The Education of 19th Century British Women", *History of Education Quarterly* 22, (1982): 215-219.

them to be uncontaminated by lower-class girls. Thus, they had little contact with girls outside of their own class. Indeed, it was thought that girls did not need to receive a proper education, since their aim was to get married, serve their husband and raise children. Therefore, playing piano, singing and such accomplishments, which were all related to amusement, were more important than school education according to parents. Of course, there were some brilliant girls who did not want to confine themselves to their parents' aspirations.³⁰

Mary Somerville was one of them. Her life was not easy, since she wanted to have a modern education, as boys did, but she was determined and ambitious. Her father was a naval captain, Sir William Fairfax. He sent his daughter to a boarding school, because she could not write. When she was back, she read all the English books in the house. She learned Latin on her own.³¹ Mary did not have a tutor, but her brother had one. She had to deal with house chores and sewing which her brother did not. She also tried to study mathematics while doing this. Like many parents, her father did not want her to study; he thought it was not any good for a girl. Later, when she married, her first husband did not understand her interest, thus he did not support her studies at all. Indeed, he anticipated she would not continue them after they were married.³² They divorced after three years of marriage because he did not encourage her at all. Fortunately, her second husband was very supportive, encouraging her to write her first and most well-known book, entitled *The Mechanism of Heavens*, in 1827. Although she had servants and an affectionate husband, she did not find enough time to be creative. In her writings she stated:

³⁰ Ibid., 218.

³¹ Kathryn A. Neeley, *Mary Somerville : Science, Illumination, and the Female Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 168.

³² Ibid., 170.

A man can always command his time under plea of business; a woman is not allowed any such excuse [...] However, I learnt by habit to leave a subject and resumed it again at once, like putting a mark into a book I might be reading; this was the more necessary as there was no fire-place in my little room, and I had to write in the drawing-room in winter. Frequently I hid my papers as soon as the bell announced a visitor, lest anyone should discover my secret.³³

She did not have a private room for study, but nevertheless could finish her book under these circumstances. She wrote another book, which was also as important as the first one. Somerville Hall later Somerville College, at Oxford University, was named after her soon after her death in 1879. Although, women were generally regarded as insufficient for mathematics or scientific investigations, she was like proof that women also could succeed at these disciplines as well as men could. Furthermore, Somerville was not the only example. Lord Byron's daughter, Ada Lovelace, was also a gifted woman who dealt with mathematics. She foresaw that Charles Babbage's 'Analytical Machine' had many applications, and she produced the first algorithm for such a machine.

Ada, Countess of Lovelace, is remembered for a paper published in 1843, which translated and considerably extended an article about the unbuilt Analytical Engine, a general-purpose computer designed by the mathematician and inventor Charles Babbage. Her substantial appendices, nearly twice the length of the original work, contain an account of the principles of the machine, along with a table often described as the first computer program.³⁴

That is why she sometimes is thought to be very first person to understand how a computer could work. There were also some cultured men who supported women, and wanted to have intellectual discussions with them in their families. Florence Nightingale's father was one of them, and he personally educated his daughter up to

³³ Mary Somerville, *Queen of Science: Personal Recollections of Mary Somerville*. ed., Dorothy McMillan. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2001, p.133.

³⁴ Hollings, Christopher, Martin Ursula, Rice Adrian. "The Early Mathematical Education of Ada Lovelace", *Journal of the British Society for the History of Mathematics* 32 (2017): 221.

a high standard in classics and philosophy. For many middle-class parents, academic education was unnecessary for their daughters. For their sons, it was a vital issue like an investment for their future. Many girls were aware of this situation and some were envious of their brothers. The wealthy middle-class parents acted like the aristocracy and they educated the girls at home with nurses and governesses. This was common until the girls were ten years old, but then they might be sent for two or three years to a special school, and then to a boarding academy when they became thirteen. So, a typical middle class girl was educated through a compound of schooling at home, day school and boarding academy. After formal academy, most middle class girls stayed at home to share household chores. They read novels, conduct books, and did embroidery. They spent their time shopping or visiting their peers. This was the typical life of a young unmarried woman that could be depicted as aimless. However, things started to change and new types of public and boarding schools for girls were opened in the 1850s and 1860s. It was necessary because of social and economic requirements. Wealthy men supported these schools and became the financial source, since they wanted their wives and daughters to become educated. Thanks to these schools, girls could develop themselves intellectually and pursue their interests. Also some other people supported these schools; they thought that middle-class women ought to be educated in order to earn a living for themselves. To become a governess was one of most likely career paths. Therefore, Queen's College and Bedford College, later part of the University of London, were opened to train governesses. Queen's College was an "independent school for girls" and it was founded in 1848.³⁵ Bedford College was the first higher education college for women.

³⁵ Queen's College was founded in 1848 by Frederick Denison Maurice, professor of English Literature and History at King's College London and Christian Socialist thinker. His ambition was to provide a means by which girls and young women could gain a serious education, and Queen's was

Despite the development of education areas for women, women's working conditions were not as good as men's. They were underpaid:

The 1861 census listed women employed as prison officers and workhouse matrons, publicans and innkeepers, capitalist shareholders, pawnbrokers [...]. Out of a total population of over 10 million women and girls, there were 18 private secretaries, 213 telegraph service workers, and 259,074 cotton manufacturers. The most exclusive occupational category included only one person, Her Majesty the Queen Victoria, while the largest single group listed 644,271 general domestic servants. Women made up just over 34 percent of the total working population, yet this calculation did not include women employed as itinerant workers or as paid piece workers in their homes.³⁶

Women were exposed to a set of prevalent handicaps in work. Women could not get the same amount of wages as men, even if they worked in the same position. The amounts varied significantly from one worker to another. Murdoch gives an example of this issue in her book:

In 1883, for example, the School Board of London specified that the salaries of female teachers should be three-quarters of those for male teachers of equal qualifications and experience. In 1890, male assistant teachers had an average annual salary of £117, while women earned £88 for the same work.³⁷

The male teachers were expected to have a family to support, whereas the women were unmarried. After these important schools and women's colleges were opened like Somerville Hall or Queen's College, there were arguments about family life and education. Education would affect the concept of Victorian family life; it would create friction between female and male students. Furthermore, to what extent and degree should women be taught? Obviously society was not ready for these changes. The North London Collegiate School was the first one to give the same educational opportunities to women and men. Frances Mary Buss, the founder of the school, was

the first institution in Great Britain where they could study for and gain academic qualifications. See also: <http://www.qcl.org.uk/about-us/history.php>

³⁶ Lydia Murdoch, *Daily Life of Victorian Women* (Westport: Greenwood, 2014), 171.

³⁷ Ibid., 172.

trained at Queen's College. In the Schools Inquiry Commission on 30th November 1865, Mary Buss was asked:

You believe there is not such a distinction between the mental powers of the two classes, as to require any wide distinction between the good education given to a girl and that which is given to a boy? [She replied] "I am sure girls can learn anything they are taught in an interesting manner, and for which they have a motive to work".³⁸

She always supported girls, since she believed that girls had the capacity to compete with boys on equal terms in matters of education. She gave scholarships to bright poor girls to pay the school fees. Therefore she opened another school nearby in Camden.

Until 1877, women were not regarded as students in the universities. Universities had been controlled by the government and the law did not include women. It was a prevalent idea that women did not have enough capacity for intellectual studies, although there were examples like Mary Somerville or Frances Mary Buss. Those opposed to women in universities supported their ideas with the anthropological argument that men's brains were bigger than women's brains. For women, higher education started in the 1860s. Elizabeth Garrett, the daughter of a rich man from Suffolk, was a pioneer and role model.³⁹ She wanted to be doctor, since she was inspired by Elizabeth Blackwell, who was regarded as the first modern woman doctor in the United States. First she started to be trained as a nurse and then she went to lectures. However, the male students were against her and she was expelled from British Medical Register.⁴⁰ She did not give up; she tried other schools to get

³⁸ Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. *Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. V Minutes of Evidence* (London: George E. Eyre, 1868), 172.

³⁹ Joan N. Burstyn. *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (London: Routledge Library Editions, 2016), 94.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

her education. Although she was disregarded, she took every chance to go on with her study and her father also helped her to get a license. Of course, male doctors protested about women in medicine, arguing that women were too fragile and that the occupation was not suitable for a decent Victorian woman. In her article, Rosemary Auchmuty states:

We know a great deal about women's additional struggles to obtain medical degrees and training, where their efforts to move into the prestigious masculine preserve were repeatedly thwarted by regulatory shifts, academic prejudice, judicial conservatism, and violent reprisals from the male students.⁴¹

Interestingly, Queen Victoria also did not support the idea of female doctors. Cooke states:

Throughout her life, Queen Victoria never appointed a woman doctor to her staff. She did not approve of women studying for any profession, and in particular for that of medicine. She wrote of the 'awful idea of allowing young girls and young men to enter the dissecting room together, where the young girls would have to study things which could not be named before them'. It is of interest that at one time the University of Oxford held similar views to those of the Queen. From 1917 to 1934, in the Department of Human Anatomy, there was a separate dissecting room for female students, with a female instructor.⁴²

Mainly, there were two different kinds of views about higher education for women. First was that women should be examined with the same norms as were applied to men at universities. The other was that women and men should not be examined with the same norms and they separately should take courses. In the 1830s, there were just a few universities and none of them took female students. By the late nineteenth-century, however, there were more universities and all of them accepted a small

⁴¹ Rosemary Auchmuty, "Early Women Law Students at Cambridge and Oxford", *The Journal of Legal History*, 1 (2008): 64.

⁴² A. M. Cooke, "Queen Victoria's Medical Household", *Medical History* 26 (1982): 308.

number of women. As in medicine, women experienced troubles with the legal profession. It was not easy to study law and work in courts.⁴³

In a nutshell, it was a tough and significant time showing that the attitudes towards women's education were changing. Men were aware that women were becoming involved in their workplaces. This was a pivotal development; women's success at medicine or law impinged on areas. Furthermore these women became pioneers in higher education, and they passed into history. Also society gradually started to accept women's existence in professional areas. These changes were also related to the feminist movement during this period. The following section will deal with the feminist movement and some important women activists.

2.5 The Feminist Movement in Victorian Era

Undoubtedly, the nineteenth-century was complicated for women. Women idealised as obedient and chaste, and the new women who could be regarded as early feminists, were different types of women. While women were often seen as enclosed in their domestic area, it was also a moment when women came to be organized to be active in the press. It was necessary to realize the rising of women's attempts to start a movement which inspired many writers, artists, and activists. As Sue Morgan suggested in her book *Women Religion and Feminism in Britain 1750-1900*, Unitarians and The Quaker opened a road for British feminism.⁴⁴ Quakers supported the idea that women and men were equals from birth to the end. Unitarians also believed the equality in religion in terms of gender.

There were some important figures like Francis Power Cobbe, Josephine Butler, Henriette Muller, Isabelle Ford, Barbara Smith and Bessie Rayner. They were

⁴³ Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 48.

⁴⁴ Sue Morgan, *Women Religion and Feminism in Britain 1750-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 34.

women activists working on women's issues in different areas such as media, education, and organization. The foundation of feminism can be traced back to these pivotal women activists.⁴⁵ They willingly struggled to deal with the approach to and views about gender power of the time. They had to deal with the idea that men were superior to women in terms of mental and physical strength, which were based on science, religion and so on. Also there were welfare campaigns for women. Mary Somerville, Florence Nightingale and Lady Byron participated in these welfare campaigns. They provided educational information for women. Their efforts were quite useful and they motivated other women activists to work hard on issues that affected women. Their vital endeavours reached a high point in the late Victorian period. Interestingly, on the one hand, there was a patriarchal view suggesting power and privilege for men. On the other hand, there was a group of women fighting for their rights. The traditional boundaries and a modern notion were in contradiction:

English women's movement was concerned primarily, even exclusively, with gaining access for women to the public sphere, has given way to an ever increasing recognition of the extent of Victorian feminist concern with oppression of women in domestic life, in marriage, and in all forms of sexual relations.⁴⁶

The women activists struggled to change women's conditions. The Suffragette movement was one group. Emmeline Pankhurst, the founder of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), was a pivotal figure who organized women to get their rights to vote. How did these activists reach women? They used the power of media, some periodicals for women were written to awaken women about legal and educational inequalities. This subject will also be considered separately in Chapter

⁴⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁴⁶ Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 2.

IV. The following chapter will be about the general term etiquette and nineteenth-century etiquette books.



CHAPTER THREE

NINETEENTH CENTURY ETIQUETTE BOOKS

3.1 The Term “Etiquette” Book

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, etiquette means “the customary code of polite behaviour in society or among members of a particular profession or group”.⁴⁷

Etiquette was introduced into English from French by a most appropriate ambassador, Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to his son in 1750.[...] With such an ambassador, it is not surprising that when etiquette crossed the Channel, it lost its primary French meaning of label or ticket but retained the secondary definitions of court ceremonial and, more generally, the manners and rules of polite society.⁴⁸

Furthermore, Michael Curtin stated that John Walker first person including etiquette in his dictionary, *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791).

Etiquette books deal with manners, norms and behaviours. Etiquette books had information that included every tiny detail of everyday life. The intention was for people individually to develop themselves by reading these books. Some important virtues, such as being modest, pure, chaste and honest, were repeatedly used in

⁴⁷ OED. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/etiquette>.

⁴⁸ Michael Curtin, *Etiquette and Society in Victorian England* (Berkeley: University of California, 1981), 5.

conduct books. In etiquette books, readers came across behaviours to be adopted on specific occasions, such as balls or other events. House hold books were also a common type of prescriptive or advice literature, including subjects such as domesticity, cleaning and child care. Early ones were written by men especially in the form of courtesy books. However, later, new forms of conduct books appeared through the press and in periodicals. Those in periodicals especially were addressed to women in the Victorian era.

However, although the word etiquette was new in nineteenth-century English, the concern with providing guidance on manners and behaviour was not. That was far older. Andrew St. George stated this in his book:

The history of the behaviour book, offering advice on morals to live by, manners to smooth social intercourse and etiquette to excise class blunders, stretches back to Erasmus and Della Casa in the sixteenth century. Manners are much more than miscellaneous collection of changing social rules; there is a link between everyday norms of behaviour and the overall values of society.⁴⁹

As Andrew St George wrote, these behaviour books were not new; furthermore he gave some other books like Erasmus's *De Civilitate Morum Puellum* (1530) and Della Casa's *Il Galateo* (1558). These books issued control of the body, manners for special events like the ball, the theatre or at dinner.⁵⁰ It was quite obvious that etiquette books were also widespread geographically. There are examples from many places including North America, Germany, Italy, and France. It was also general for etiquette books, under that name or another, to deal with behaviour specific to men or women. There are other types of advice literature such as conduct books, manuals and so on. However, they differed in some respects. For instance, courtesy books

⁴⁹ St. George Andrew, *The Descent of Manners: Etiquette Rules & The Victorians* (London: Chatto&Windus, 1993), 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 3.

focused on topics that would help readers develop themselves in the society. Indeed, courtesy books were prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth century: they showed how to be morally good character and generally the subjects depended upon classical texts which portrayed noble lives. Etiquette authors did not merely focus on the upper class lives, but wrote for middle class lives as well. Toni Danielle Weller gave a different perspective about etiquette books:

Etiquette books of any era are in their most basic form cultural disseminators of information. Nineteenth century authors described them as written "for those who do not know, " or as "containing full information" , or as "a source of unimpeachable reference". Since etiquette evolves within culture and is dependent upon it, an examination of its literature (as well as more general notions of etiquette) allows for a holistic and historicist view of nineteenth century perceptions of cultural and social information, and in so doing suggests an alternative view of the Victorian information society.⁵¹

As she suggested, etiquette becomes basically cultural disseminators of information and as historical sources lately became popular among scholars.⁵² However, it may not be sensible to refer to it as holistic, since there were many authors and etiquette books during nineteenth-century. It means there were many different minds and views. Thus, it was not easy to regard all these things as a holistic.

Courtesy books were also disseminators of manners like etiquette books. Some scholars, like Michael Curtin, regard courtesy books as "minor formulation of etiquette."⁵³ Different subjects were issued in the courtesy books, but generally the genre was about the ideals of people in terms of morals, habits, customs, and temperament.

Curtin mentioned one of the courtesy books in his book *Propriety and Position*:

⁵¹ Toni Danielle Weller, *Information in Nineteenth Century England: Exploring Contemporary Socio-Cultural Perceptions and Understandings* (London: Department of Information Science City University, 2007), 91.

⁵² Ibid., 91.

⁵³ Michael Curtin, *Propriety and Position* (London: Garland Publishing, 1987), 37.

Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), for example, was a compendium of attitudes, values, and accomplishments that a servant to the King should possess. Elyot, like most courtesy writers, devoted most of his attention to separating the dross from the truly valuable parts of a host of moral values: prudence, circumspection, modesty, benignity, benevolence, beneficence, liberality, courage, temperance, etc. How to live properly, what virtues to cultivate, what vices to shun: these were the concerns of the courtesy book.⁵⁴

Both courtesy books and etiquette books should be evaluated according to their own times. Although literature and history are two different disciplines, the literature has been influenced or inspired by history throughout the centuries. For instance, the courtesy authors depended upon the Bible and classical texts. The aim of the courtesy books was to give morality lessons, while etiquette books focused on communication, and middle class behaviour. So teaching morality was not practical. Etiquette also included some references to religion or church, however this was not individually moral conduct, it was related to daily life and manner. Conduct books dwelled upon the importance of being a good citizen, such as how to behave properly in the society so as to be beneficial for the country.

This chapter will focus on aspects that concern women. Why are these books important for historians? They can be used as a source that reveals daily life in the past, even though they cannot be assumed to mirror realities. This can be understood from the fact that different books give different and sometimes contradictory information on the same subjects:

While these documents clearly reveal the values and concerns of their authors, they do not necessarily mirror either the behaviour of their middle-class readers or the values of their wider culture. For example, prescriptive literature addressed to women has frequently been authored by men and often articulates conservative, male prescriptions for female behaviour. A similar

⁵⁴ Ibid., 38.

author-audience disjunction often characterizes advice and prescriptions directed toward working-class readers.⁵⁵

Especially in the past sixty years, this area became more popular. Scholars interested in gender studies also analysed production of advice literature in terms of masculinity and femininity.

The form and content of courtesy books gradually changed. In the Renaissance, these books focused on the manners of women and men. In the nineteenth-century advice literature became more pragmatic; the authors were focusing on the audience's aspirations and sales. It was like influencing the audience and thus book sales would increase. These types of books demonstrated that they were popular with middle-class people, and this popularity and its associated publishing success showed the vitality of these books in the Victorian era:

The Bibliotheca Londinensis of 1848 covered a list of books published in Britain between 1814 and 1846, and its section on Morals, Etiquette, Etc listed over 430 titles published during those years, although this number could be even higher since the classification of the titles was somewhat arbitrary (Bibliotheca Londinensis, 1848, pp. 177–181). It was a lucrative business with which to be involved; the publisher Henry Colburn began his career in a circulating library in Conduit Street, but when he died in 1855, he held property worth £35,000, a phenomenal sum by contemporary standards, paid for by the success of his publishing business.⁵⁶

As Toni Weller stated in her article, the number of these books and their popularity were immense:

Etiquette books were indeed an authentic creation of middle-class civilization: a civilization, however, that expressed some of its deepest and truest urges in the emulation of its class antagonists. Both courtesy and etiquette were closely, if complexly, bound to the systems of prestige and social stratification of their respective societies.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Peter N. Steams, *Encyclopedia of Social History* (London: Garland Publishing, 1994), 756.

⁵⁶ Toni Danielle Weller, "The Puffery and Practicality of Etiquette Books: A New Take on Victorian Information Culture", *Library Trends* 62 (2014): 664.

⁵⁷ Michael Curtin, "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy", *The Journal of Modern History* 57 (1985): 413.

Middle-class people wanted to enhance their already good economic situation with social advantage or privilege. It was supposed that behaviour defined people, categorising them into their class, and that middle-class people wanted this categorisation to reflect that their behaviour was close to that of their betters, thus characterising them themselves as superior people. Authors of etiquette books wished to encourage individuals who were willing to better their social position. This turbulent discourse about behaviour and class indeed was not peculiar to advice literature. These subjects were prevalent among the other genres of Victorian literature and social criticism, especially in Victorian novels or stories:

As a rule, manners became a lively issue within rather than between classes and served to exaggerate small differences rather than to measure large ones. In distinguishing the upper aristocracy from the lower, the lower aristocracy from the upper middle classes, this set from that, and so on, manners were useful and fascinating because they ministered to the common tendency of individuals to compare themselves not with their class enemies but with their near neighbours in status and prestige.⁵⁸

To sum up, a changing world and the rise of the middle classes affected the genre, and more and more books were written to address the middle and lower classes. Generally, etiquette books, developing through the mass print media, were thought of as evidence of customs and manners. The following section will be about the functions of etiquette books. Before giving details about women in etiquette books, it was necessary to touch upon how these books affected the society, or the relations between the manners and etiquette books.

3.2 The Functions of Etiquette Books

Etiquette books with all their forms and types could be regarded as a form of presenting cultural information. Also, etiquette transformed in the culture and

⁵⁸ Ibid. 414.

evolved within literature. For instance, people learned how to behave towards their guests in special occasions, and the differences of social status or sex. Etiquette book writers focused on the issues of ritual acts in everyday life. Nineteenth-century etiquette showed the aspects of social and cultural information. While readers were reading etiquette books, they learnt those sorts of behaviour. Of course, the century was nourished by technological and social changes. They affected the social and behavioural codes of society due to the emergence of the middle class.

Moreover, in spite of the rise in strength of the middle class, controlling and sovereignty of the aristocracy went on till the beginning of twentieth century. Indeed, though it was huge alteration during the 1900s, it was also persistence in the communal and political foundation in spite of the worry and apprehension of the modern aristocracy. They still had the power of privilege: more than fifty percent of the House of Commons were baronets, gentry:

Although further parliamentary reform acts of 1867 and 1884 did allow an increasingly middle-class presence in politics, this was based on a sharing of power, rather than a dominance of it. In 1867, the distribution of the national income for the upper classes was 26.3%; for the upper middleclass just 10.6%.⁵⁹

It could be deduced that all the social and political changes, technological developments, rising of middle class and conflicts between classes were pivotal, and these changes affected the etiquette books and their style.

In 1834, *Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society* was published by Charles William Day. It was an uncommon etiquette book which portrayed Victorian England unique in terms of contents and style. The book was organised thematically

⁵⁹Toni Danielle Weller, *Information in Nineteenth Century England*, (London: Department of Information Science City University, 2007), 95.

detailing specific areas of manners such as meetings, appearance, dinners, and dances. Day states the reason for etiquette:

Many unthinking persons consider the observance of etiquette to be nonsensical and unfriendly, as consisting of unmeaning forms, practised only by the silly and the idle – an opinion which arises from their not having reflected on the reasons that have led to the establishment of certain rules indispensable to the well-being of society and without which, indeed, it would inevitably fall to pieces, and be destroyed.⁶⁰

It was different from earlier ones; in that it focused on an individual's behaviours at a specific time, unlike the religious and moral argument about the norms of society given in the other centuries' advice books. This could be the different type of Victorian etiquette books till the end of the century and they became popular and increased incredibly from the 1840s. Day's book was perhaps a model for subsequent Victorian etiquette books. In 1837, Abraham Hayward wrote an article criticising a variety of etiquette books and he shared his observation as "without a glaring dereliction of duty, to notice a class of productions which are really exercising a widely-spread and by no means beneficial influence on the middle classes of this country".⁶¹ As he stated in this quotation, he found these productions very useless. The numbers of the etiquette books which Hayward meant as productions were increasingly getting famous among the readers. Such quick admiration and business success prompted lots of authors and editors to note the alteration in style, tone and topic and copy them. It was a product of social observation. Etiquette books were thought as superficial and basic. However, etiquette included a particular behaviour, that's why the reflections were neglected and the other factors were not much

⁶⁰ Charles William Day, *Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society: With a Glance at Bad Habits*, (Boston: Otis Broaders, 1844), 12.

⁶¹ A. Hayward, "Codes of Manners and Etiquette" *Quarterly Review*, 59 (1837): 396.

⁶² Amitai Etzioni, Judith Martin, ed., *The Essential Communitarian Reader* (Lanham: Rowman&Littlefield, 1998), 300.

important anymore. Writers were using like a common language which was used for etiquette books. This language and type were more significant, as Martin said:

This is necessary because the more orderly is the form of a social structure, the more conflict it can support. Etiquette requires participants in adversarial proceedings to present their opposing views in restrained manner, to provide a disciplined and respectful ambience in which to settle conflicts peacefully.⁶²

So, the regulatory role of etiquette was more important than the subjects and literary values of these books. The aim was to standardize manners in the society; therefore, the essential point was its function.

Etiquette was a kind of response to the social crisis of control in the Victorian era. It was a tool to keep established norms after the writers noticed that the system had started changing. It can be a clue that etiquette gained society's interest in the 1830s, when the government started regulations in terms of political, social changes such as regulation of new railways, prevalent of press, or reforms about education, public health. Changes in behaviour and manners could be associated with changes and developments in social spheres. People become more aware of their rights through these changes.

Admittedly, the most prestigious manners of the capital were found in fashionable and aristocratic circles, but good manners were not simply synonymous with aristocratic manners. It was indeed the London connection that separated the richest and most fashionable sections of the aristocracy from its rivals in the lower aristocracy. The superiority of London manners was by no means uncontested, and large sections of the aristocracy remained unperturbably local.⁶³

So, good manners and aristocratic manners were different from each other. But still printed works such as etiquette books did not totally give the aristocratic manners

⁶³ Michael Curtin, "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy", 402.

and as every work was written, it reflected the norms of society. Moreover, in the books; the more common words were repeatedly used by different etiquette books authors while writing their books. Therefore, the readers easily got used to these words.

Repetition was commonly used in most etiquette books, which conveyed similar information and rules of manners. So, etiquette books often repeated what other etiquette books had said. Sometimes the authors obviously took some parts and phrases from other similar books because of popularity or profit. Thanks to repetitions, people began to accept common behaviours in different areas. These repetitions and popularity showed that there were lots of etiquette authors and books, so the etiquette became a mass. It was not like a plagiarism, they paraphrased the words, and they used similar contents during this period. It was necessary to look at how the etiquette became so popular. The following section, different etiquette authors and the rising of the etiquette will be given.

3.3 The Rising of the Etiquette and Authors

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were also books similar to etiquette, but there wasn't any consistent pattern to them, unlike the courtesy books of those centuries. For instance, Adam Petrie wrote a book, *Rules of Good Deportment, or of Good Breeding*, mainly inspired by French authors. However it was not decent enough for the norms of the society. How did etiquette books become popular in Victorian society? According to Marjorie Morgan, etiquette books were not famous till 1830s; she explained different perspective of etiquette for earlier centuries. Furthermore she stated:

From the sixteenth to the mid eighteenth century, etiquette meant court or diplomatic ceremonial. When the court's importance as the centre and arbiter of fashion waned in the late eighteenth century, etiquette emerged as the term for the manners of polite society, which in England meant fashionable London Society.[...] Etiquette books did not create but rather codified, in the 1830s, the behavioural rules which, for roughly half a century, had been natural to those accustomed to socialising in fashionable, polite circles.⁶⁴

This was related to rules of behaviour which became natural to people who got used to appearing in the society within polite lines:

Visiting card rituals such as those detailed in every etiquette book were at least as old as 1788 when a conduct book noted, 'By a strange innovation and alteration of fashionable etiquette, the card-table occupies the attention of almost every party who pay or receive visits.' Twelve years later, P. Boyle published a book of ledger paper for tallying the number of cards received from and delivered to specific fashionable addresses.⁶⁵

So Marjorie Morgan seems to imply that a conduct book was essentially an etiquette book under another name. Mainly, authors wrote these books for profit not for literary pleasure. Publishers also yearned for the numbers of their sales, and that is why the audience was important. In the 1830s the etiquette books again were refreshed and became popular. Indeed, the publishers noticed the significant success of silver-fork type novels and they had an idea that books on upper-class manners could provide huge success and profit. This genre had already existed, though the targets were always different. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these conduct books had been mainly dealing with the aristocratic families and their children. Etiquette books were not only written according to the styles and appearances of other types of books. Sales also were important, but not much data can be given on the sales of etiquette books. However, the assumption is that etiquette books had a large audience intent on learning from them and changing their behaviour.

⁶⁴ Marjorie Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England, 1774-1858* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 19.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

For instance, *Hints on Etiquette* was first published in 1852 and reprinted more than twenty times. In 1849, its twenty-sixth edition appeared. Other well-known works were *Etiquette for the Ladies: Eighty Maxims on Dress, Manners, and Accomplishments* (1846), *Manners and Tone of Good Society* (1873).⁶⁶

The authors were careful about content as well. Furthermore, they were competing with each other, since the popularity of these books brought fame and glory to the authors. One observer noted the high value attributed to correct behaviour:

But of all offences against English manners which a man can commit, the three following are the greatest: - to put his knife to his mouth instead of his fork; to take up sugar or asparagus with his fingers; or, above all, to spit anywhere in a room. These are certainly laudable prohibitions, and well-bred people of all countries avoid such practices, - though even on these points manners alter greatly [...]. The ridiculous thing is the amazing importance which is here attached to them.⁶⁷

Likewise, the English caricaturist, James Gillray, thought that English women and men gave an overemphasized significance to norms of etiquette. One of his caricatures, known as "Company Shocked at a Lady Getting Up to Ring the Bell", described five gentlemen whose faces became scary while standing up on the chairs, while the lady tried to ring the bell. The items on the table were falling off while the gentlemen focused on the lady. He made fun of this solemnity with which the society got the rules of etiquette.

Besides the requirements of etiquette, the etiquette books' popularity increased step by step. In contrast to the authors who dealt with courtesy books, authors of etiquette books supposed that their audience were boosting from average status to higher positions. However, some authors had written anonymously, deciding authorship was

⁶⁶ Michael Curtain, *Propriety and Position: A Study of Victorian Manners* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1987), 40.

⁶⁷ Hermann Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland and France* (Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1833), 36-37.

not easy. Publishing houses were demanding money to publish the books and give authorship to them. Due to money problems, authors, especially the ones who flourished with etiquette books, could not easily get their books published when they finished writing.

Furthermore, during the significant era of etiquette books in Victorian England, the middle class was important as the wealthy new class which rose during this time.

Charles William Day stated it in his book *Hints on Etiquette*:

Besides, in a mercantile country like England, people are continually rising in the world. Shopkeepers become merchants, and mechanics manufacturers; with the possession of wealth they acquire a taste for the luxuries of life, expensive furniture, gorgeous plate, and also numberless superfluities, with the use of which they are only imperfectly acquainted. But although their capacities for enjoyment increase, it rarely happens that the polish of their manners keeps pace with the rapidity of their advancement; hence such persons are often painfully reminded that wealth alone is insufficient to protect them from the mortifications which a limited acquaintance with society entails upon the ambitious. Pride often deters people from seeking the advice of the experienced, when the opportunity of receiving it is presented.⁶⁸

Marjorie Morgan discovered that “the rise of etiquette books was only one manifestation of a widespread concern about manners and morals during the early industrial period”⁶⁹ and she pointed out the importance of industrialisation: “England’s more commercial, urban society thus created a crisis of social confidence”.⁷⁰ She focused on the issue of morals. As Morgan suggested, the rise of these books could be linked with the massive size of the middle-class audience, it was due to the sociability of women in this era. The middle-class men became merchants, they depended on industrial opportunities and this brought wealth and

⁶⁸ Charles William Day, *Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society: With a Glance at Bad Habits*, 13.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 13.

social status to them. The following section will be about the relations of etiquette and class status.

3.4 The Relations between Etiquette and Class Status

Class and etiquette obviously are inseparable subjects in terms of etiquette books.

The manners or behaviours of the upper class were attractive for middle-class people.

Thus, the authors of etiquette books mentioned these issues; since they were aware of their readers' interest.

The relationship between the upper and middle classes could be also a significant matter of the age, not only in the etiquette books. The boundaries between the two classes were defined through, manners, habits, customs, financial status and many other aspects of life. It existed in daily rituals and experiences many people had, such as leisure time activities or working conditions. Class was an important part of identity and certain kinds of behaviour were associated with particular classes. Some people would argue that class, in the modern sense, necessarily involved people's self-identification with a class. When a stranger was noticed by particular behaviours, people could identify his or her status through these particular behaviours.

Etiquette books, which conveyed a set of proper rules and behaviour, were a simple and easy way to reach the readers. People read them and tried to make their own adjustments according to their class. They were affected by the fact that their behaviour identified them. For some people, it was not important and they were indifferent to etiquette and whether their behaviour was categorized as right or wrong, or not, but writers about etiquette usually stressed its importance:

ETIQUETTE is that rule of conduct which is recognised by polite society, and to which all who desire to be admitted into fashionable circles must submit. It is the passport without which the traveller cannot proceed on his journey; the law to which obedience must be rendered; the sovereign to whose authority allegiance is due; the silken cord which unites the gentle; the token by which the polite are recognised, and the standard by which all aspirants are tried. Out of society people may do as they list, but if they seek the comfort and happiness of companionship [...]. The gentle sex do well to give especial heed to the rules of etiquette. Their position in society demands this.⁷¹

This assessment is fairly typical of etiquette books; it could be seen in other books with slight differences in words or view, since such books focused on the idea of being appropriately polite according to the desired position in society. The anonymous writer of the above added:

Every nation has its own interpretation of the laws of etiquette. In France and Italy the ladies are accustomed to do many things which would be considered indecorous for an English woman.⁷²

She was right: the rules of etiquette existed in many places, but what was polite in one place might be considered impolite in another. Even within one society, the rules could be differently shaped according to class. It was quite obvious that nations interpreted etiquette to suit themselves, and so did classes within them, as Michael Curtain indicated in his book:

How to fit in aristocratic Society, how to make one's manners indicate experience in Society, not the reverse: these were the lessons that etiquette writers taught and that their readers were eager to learn. Etiquette writers were not hesitant to give credence to readers' fears, and they stressed the point that aristocratic Society was indeed sharply critical of faux pas and ready to exclude those who failed to live up to its standard of manners.⁷³

⁷¹ By a Lady (Anonymous), *A Manual of Etiquette for Ladies: or, True Principles of Politeness* (London: T. Allman & Son, 1856), 3-4.

⁷² Ibid., 4.

⁷³ Michael Curtain, *Propriety and Position: A Study of Victorian Manners*, (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1987), 55.

As he stated, it was not easy to acquire aristocratic manners or behaviour. Also, manners were always changing, making life difficult for writers of etiquette books.

One author on etiquette explained this situation:

There, as the reader must, after following us thus far, be aware, all is nuance, the *pocomeno* and the *pocopiu* — distinctions that may be caught, but cannot be defined. How, for instance, can we explain by words the exact pitch of voice which is employed in good company? [...] The general tendency of etiquette is to simplify the forms of society, and to render them as little demonstrable as possible; yet who will presume to determine beforehand the precise degree of deference which is still required in addressing each individual, or to lay down the law *ex cathedrâ* as to where a nod of recognition will suffice, and where a reverence more formal is required? ⁷⁴

Interestingly, some authors wrote a chapter about mispronunciation of aristocratic names and titles. One of them associated this situation with social position:

The mispronunciation of certain surnames falls unpleasantly upon the educated ear, and argues unfavourably as to the social position of the offender. There are perhaps two reasons why various surnames are so frequently mispronounced, the one being unfamiliarity with the freak of fashion which governs the pronunciation of certain well-known names, the other being no less a reason than ignorance or want of education, and the former naturally is far more excusable than is the latter. To sensitive persons the hearing a name pronounced very differently to the way in which they had themselves but just pronounced it, and in a tone and manner strongly suggestive of correction, would be painful in the extreme. ⁷⁵

This is a very real problem given the very unphonetic spelling in English of old and perhaps unfamiliar names. This quotation reveals the importance of class status and social positions in etiquette books. Sometimes, these could be revealed by the (mis)pronunciation of certain names, sometimes through common habits acquired by classes. So their comments and statements about behaviour and conduct were obviously related to class and society, although there could be a degree of hyperbole:

⁷⁴ Theodore Hook ed., *The New Monthly Magazine* (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), 38.

⁷⁵ Anonymous, *Manners and Tone of Good Society* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1879), 172.

Etiquette books were indeed an authentic creation of middle-class civilization: a civilization, however, that expressed some of its deepest and truest urges in the emulation of its class antagonists. Both courtesy and etiquette were closely, if complexly, bound to the systems of prestige and social stratification of their respective societies.[...] An individual's manners, therefore, were not taken at face value but rather were interpreted to reveal his class position, origin, aspiration or some combination of.⁷⁶

Michael Curtin underlines the social mobility among the classes. He suggested that the middle-class audience read about aristocratic conduct to change their social status through class mobility. Manners were given through individuals' examples; they were all formed in the context of the system of social classes and also became part of the system. However, this idea cannot be valid for every etiquette book. Some of them were merely written with the aim of financial benefit. But still, it could be deduced that etiquette authors wanted readers to learn the social advantages of manners, and they led readers to avoid making blunders. It can be guessed that nearly all of them were written to achieve financial benefit, successfully or otherwise, but that doesn't really contradict attempts help people navigate the system of social class. Their best chance of making money was to write books that would be useful. If they weren't useful, people would not buy them in such numbers and the authors and publishers would not make money.

To some extent, authors exaggerated, giving, for example, excessive details about manners such as handshaking. However, the intricacy of manners could be a barrier to individuals trying to pass themselves off as being of higher status than they really were. Thus, the genre was seen as insignificant for research by some historians.

However, conduct and manners were changing within the social classes; they did not represent any symbol, since they were easily changeable. In this chapter, the general term etiquette, its functions and the relation between society and etiquette will be

⁷⁶ Michael Curtin, "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy", 413.

discussed. The following section, Chapter IV, will be about women in etiquette books.



CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN IN ETIQUETTE BOOKS

4.1 Women in Etiquette Books

Society was eager for advice on manners and behaviour. The idea of etiquette was a simple way of organizing society; it reflected rules and norms. Etiquette books generally include different behaviours for different genders. For instance, in posture Lady Colin Campbell wrote about this:

In the house a woman is allowed much less freedom of posture than a man; he may change his position in an infinity of ways, lounge and loll, cross his legs, do anything but sit on the edge of his chair or clasp his hands round his knee ; but a woman must sit still.⁷⁷

Furthermore, these books specifically included the question of relationships between women and men. Especially in the nineteenth-century, women became an important in etiquette books, thus they were often mentioned. Etiquette books could be thought of as vital sources for analysing alterations in manners and ideals for both genders.

⁷⁷ Lady Colin Campbell, *Etiquette of Good Society* (London: Cassel, 1893), 45.

In the nineteenth-century, etiquette books were generally about feminine issues. The audience was mainly women. This idea was prevalent in the late nineteenth-century. From courtesy books to new-style etiquette books, good manners were generally taught to women, since the idea was clear: women should deal with their homes and be good wives and mothers. They were not individuals; the society determined their place as the home. This was surely related to gender, at least for people. Women were always described as the weak gender and they could be easily deceived by evil thoughts. So, people believed that homes were safe areas for them. During the late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century, women became much busier. More women went to schools, though the education was still mainly concerned with fashionable feminine issues.

The Victorian society was affected by the attitudes of the authors of etiquette books of the Victorian period. As housewives and mothers, women dedicated themselves to the activities that fitted norms or were accepted by the authorities. First, they did their chores, they cared for their children and husbands and then they became free for their leisure time activities.

There was a fiction in genteel families that the ladies of the house never did anything serious or serviceable after dinner; the afternoon was supposed to be devoted either to walking, or to making calls, or to elegant trifling at home. Therefore, if the girls were at the moment engaged upon any useful work—many of them poor things never did anything but useful work—they crammed it under the sofa, and pretended to be reading a book, or painting, or knitting, or to be engaged in easy and fashionable conversation. Why they went through this elaborate pretence I have not the least idea, because everybody knew that every girl in the place was always making, mending, cutting out, basting, gusseting, trimming, turning and contriving.⁷⁸

This paragraph quite obviously portrayed middle-class women and their class condition. Women pretended they had leisure-time, when they didn't have it,

⁷⁸ Ben Highmore, ed., *The Everyday Life Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002), 52.

presumably because it made them seem more genteel and wealthier than they actually were. This Victorian domestic ideal was given in the books, being a perfect mother and wife was expressed however, which was the ideal – to be always busy and useful, or to have leisure?

The middle-class women of England for the most part are by their education placed in a false position. The offshoots of nobility with only empty titles for their fortunes; baronets who never ought to have had the honour; knights without means; aspiring merchants ; aspiring barristers, who had been better with a trade; aspiring vulgarity of all sorts, ay, and all the other classes, jostle with the tradesman ; they are all diseased with selfish vanity, and they all try to imitate the upper five thousand; consequently, they diverge from the natural path in the education of their daughters, who are sent to those equivocal places called boarding-schools or colleges, to be prepared for a future life of martyrdom ; where what is drummed into them is artificial or of no use, and if not immediately abandoned, is on marriage [...] others learn things which it had been well for them they had never known ; they are all, as it is called, educated ; they are all dressed alike, and it is impossible to distinguish the one from the other.⁷⁹

Although the book was about cooking as, these indirect implications were given in the book. It is actually quite an interesting quotation from what seems to be almost an anti-etiquette book, complaining of middle-class people and their daughters aspiring to mimic the aristocracy with no real hope that they can really achieve what they want or become happy that way. Writers about etiquette began criticising middle-class women even in different genres. According to Olive Banks, in the late Victorian period, instead of domesticity or an ideology of domesticity, being able to socialize and to follow fashion stood out.⁸⁰

There were some sort of differences between the question of socialising and domesticity. Victorian women had the chance to enjoy their free time since they

⁷⁹ Anonymous, *Dinners and Dinner-Parties or the Absurdities of Artificial Life* (London: Chapman, 1862), 4-5.

⁸⁰ J.A Banks and Olive Banks, *Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964), 70.

could hire servants, due to the rise in middle-class incomes. While these fashionable women were socialising, domestic women had to stay in their homes because they could not afford to hire servants. They admired and were jealous of other fashionable women.

Furthermore, some authors asserted that the manners etiquette required and the techniques of sociability applied only when in groups and on occasions where both women and men participated in. Even though writers about etiquette were not completely bound by these patterns, they anyway mainly dealt with the customs by which concerned women and men together.

Indeed, etiquette books were taken into consideration as sets of proper rules or behaviour between men and women. Also, it was important how men or women were expected to behave and how the other gender would behave towards them. This could be a reason that these books were categorized into different sections for both women and men. Sometimes, the authors differentiated the books according to genders like *Etiquette for Men* (1902) or *Etiquette for Ladies* (1876).

Some of them were largely repetitious of other books but adopting slightly different angles of approach. The gender differences in etiquette books were not only traditional. All the chapters on etiquette, men and women's manners were given through examples. Conversations between individuals of the same gender were not shared with the other gender. Furthermore, "chivalry" as described by writers on etiquette shaped the social interactions between genders. Men were described as guards or protectors. As Routledge stated in his book *Routledge's Manual of Etiquette*:

Always introduce the gentleman to the lady--never the lady to the gentleman. The chivalry of etiquette assumes that the lady is invariably the superior in right of her sex, and that the gentleman is honoured in the introduction. This rule is to be observed even when the social rank of the gentleman is higher than that of the lady. Where the sexes are the same, always present the inferior to the superior. Never present a gentleman to a lady without first asking her permission to do so. When you are introduced to a gentleman, never offer your hand. When introduced, persons limit their recognition of each other to a bow. On the Continent, ladies never shake hands with gentlemen unless under circumstances of great intimacy.⁸¹

It might be noticed that they were using an artificial language between the genders, or manners that were not quite natural, but still they were aware of they should adapt themselves in regard to chivalry and deference. The inferior to the superior is modified by gender, and gender alone defining the woman as superior to the man. Furthermore, these are like lessons that etiquette authors wanted to teach for their readers who aspired to learn. Here is another quotation that presented etiquette and women are key words:

Etiquette is not to be learnt from association with men; it is woman who creates society. Just as the height of a stage of civilization can always be measured by the amount of deference which is paid to women, so the culture of a particular man can be gauged by his manner when in company with ladies. [...] Woman was wise in forming society, for these small observances not only conduce to her own comfort, but are highly beneficial to the character of the man, who would without them become rough and selfish. It is in the society of ladies that a man's manners are formed; but the effect of them is felt wherever he goes.⁸²

As the quotation suggested, women liked this chivalry; they had a chance to get advantages in meetings and introductions. Beeton also stated in his book:

Walking with them, one should, of course, assume the relative position best adapted to protect them from inconvenience or danger, and carefully note and

⁸¹ George Routledge, *Routledge's Manual of Etiquette* (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2009), 74-75.

⁸² Anonymous, *Modern Etiquette in Public and Private* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1897), 37.

relieve them from the approach of either. No general rule can be laid down respecting offering the arm to ladies in the street.⁸³

So writers on etiquette mentioned this chivalric deference and sometimes wrote about women's and men's respectful conduct, though it was really long comments and full of old-fashioned ways. One writer mentioned the idea of "social queens":

You are servant, protector, and guard of honour [...] You will see that the ladies whose cavalier you have the honour to be, lack nothing. The ladies, social queens though they be, should not forget that every favour or act of courtesy and deference, by whoever shown, demands some acknowledgement on their part--a word, a bow, a smile or at least a kind look.⁸⁴

This could be thought of a brilliant mind's production, he smartly focused on her safety since men were regarded as guards. At the beginning, while he regarded women as queens, ironically he said these social queens needed protectors or guards. Although kings also had guards too, as if his way of telling this was humiliating. In the Victorian society, even if the woman accidentally became the head of society, she still needed to be protected by someone of another gender.

The authors enjoyed writing about how women should control their aspirations. Also, it was quite obvious that men should willingly limit their own aspirations. In *The Victorian Gospel of Success* J. F. C. Harrison stated his view:

The Victorians looked on woman as the softening, refining, civilising influence in society; it was in the home that her influence was predominant; hence the emphasis upon the home as a bastion of morality and respectability against the tides which threatened to submerge them - tides from the vast underworld of poverty, infidelity, prostitution, and violent crime. [...] The aim of the wife should be to promote domestic efficiency, to make home so attractive that it surpassed the charms of its rivals, the club and the public

⁸³ Samuel Orchart Beeton, *Beeton's Complete Etiquette for Gentlemen* (London: Ward Lock Co., 1876), 3.

⁸⁴ Samuel Robert Wells, *How to Behave: A Pocket Manual of Etiquette, and Guide to Correct Personal Habits* (London: The Walter Scott Publishing, 1852), 96.

house. Her literature of success was a series of home hints and manuals of etiquette.⁸⁵

J. F. C. Harrison discussed the status of women in *The Victorian Gospel of Success*. Women's status could be deduced through some references from etiquette books. Introductions, tea parties, calls, calling-cards were subjects that involved women. Interestingly, in the pre-Victorian period the issues in terms of manners and conduct were mainly masculine. Then, how did women achieve a place in etiquette? The first reason was that men dealt with political power through the rise of the middle class; they gained a place in the political arena and they were endeavouring for power and social status. Men's pastimes or leisure activities were not so frequently mentioned in etiquette books. However, the activities in which women participated were dealt with in detail, such as calls, invitations, and house parties. As Curtin mentioned in his book, these activities included hospitality, where women had a sort of duty to act as hostess; men were the guests.⁸⁶ While men were dealing with political power and social status, women had more chances to participate in social arena. Therefore, the etiquette writers benefitted from this situation and they focused on women and their interests.

Secondly, women were more interested in etiquette books; the authors were aware of their audience, and they started addressing feminine issues more to attract a larger female audience. Last but not least, women tried to escape from their domestic sphere through sociability, and sociability encouraged an interest in etiquette.

Especially in late Victorian period, women had more facilities, social clubs, and places to socialize with their friends or meet new people. Of course, this situation

⁸⁵ J. F. C. Harrison, "The Victorian Gospel of Success" *Victorian Studies* 1 (1957): 167.

⁸⁶ Michael Curtin, *Propriety and Position: A Study of Victorian Manners*, 210.

was also related to social status. Unfortunately, working class women or country women did not have as many opportunities as aristocratic or middle class women. Although women certainly shared in this, late Victorian England showed a tremendous growth in opportunities to socialize for particularly the urban middle classes as a whole, men and women, and to some extent this extended down to the skilled working classes as well though that was perhaps more male. Much less true in the countryside perhaps, though even there, more people had more access to urban facilities nearby. Wealthy ladies used their leisure time efficiently for self-improvement, such as learning to play the piano, or learning another language, since they competed with other ladies who were in the same social status. Also, the more they were socialized, the more they became recognized in the society. The etiquette writers wrote specific things to attract women, and they adapted them to age. For instance, Victorian clothes symbolize the styles worn by the wealthy women within the 19th century, and reflect their lives and goals. The clothing also exhibits the ability in dressmaking and plan made by dressmakers and tailors in those times. During most of the century, gloves were popular as an indoor and outdoor accessory, so the etiquette writers used them in their books. Cecil Willett Cunnington stated this in her book *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*:

An etiquette book of the [19]40s states that gloves should always be worn out of doors and are always graceful for a lady in the house except at meals; while a similar book some dozen years later states that the fashion of wearing gloves indoors, or even mittens, has much died away lately. Nevertheless, in the [19]60's and [19]70s girls were expected to do their lessons in gloves and old ladies were proud of their skill in crocheting while wearing them.⁸⁷

Furthermore, one etiquette book explained how to behave when people shook hands, gloved or ungloved:

⁸⁷ Cecil Willett Cunnington, *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (Massachusetts: Courier Corporation, 1990), 22.

In shaking hands it is more respectful to offer an ungloved hand; but if two gentlemen are both gloved, it is very foolish to keep each other waiting to take them off. You should not, however, offer a gloved hand to a lady or a superior who is ungloved. Foreigners are sometimes very sensitive in this matter, and might deem the glove an insult. It is well for a gentleman to carry his glove in his right hand where he is likely to have occasion to shake hands. At a ball or a party the gloves should not be taken off.⁸⁸

It meticulously separated women's and men's behaviour while they were gloved or ungloved and furthermore mentions it as if it were almost legally required.

Women did not only achieve a place in etiquette books. They became remarkable for periodicals industry. There were lots of periodicals like weeklies, monthlies in the nineteenth-century. These periodicals were vital area to analyze and understand better in terms of women perceptions' in the nineteenth-century. Therefore, the following section will deal with the periodicals for women.

4.2. Periodicals for Women

The press was rapidly growing in the nineteenth-century; it was also the first time that all the members of the population started to be registered in government's documents regularly and officially. The magazine industry progressively begun to grow and it included reviews, weeklies and monthlies in the market. This also stimulated a requirement for a new workforce, including the employment of women. Women started to write poems or stories, or to create needlework samples for periodicals to live on. Some worked in the printing and publishing areas, as assistants or editors. Unfortunately, most literary pieces in the periodicals were published with pseudonyms or anonymously:

On the basis of preliminary findings for twenty-one of the forty-five journals covered by the Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, Walter E. Houghton

⁸⁸ Samuel Robert Wells, *How to Behave: A Pocket Manual of Etiquette, and Guide to Correct Personal Habits*, 76-77.

estimated the number of unsigned or pseudonymous contributions for the period 1824–1900 at roughly 70 percent.⁸⁹

Women were becoming more active in society and in involvement in the productions of periodicals. Thanks to the expansion of the publishing business, conduct books and periodicals reached the peak of their production.

One famous writer was Mrs. Eliza Warren. She had well-known books and was known as the editor of *Ladies Treasury*, which was one of the most well-known periodicals in the nineteenth-century, published between 1857 and 1895. Before her first marriage, her name was Eliza Jervis, coming from a middle-class family. After she married Walter Warren, she became Mrs. Warren. She lost her husband at the age of 33. Most probably this event led her to be writer as a professional occupation, since she needed to make a living:

In 1846–47, she published three fancy work manuals, *The Point-Lace Crochet Collar Book*, *The Court Crochet Doyley Book* and *The Court Crochet Collar and Cuff Book*, followed by a short-lived illustrated series of Books of the Boudoir on crochet and knitting in 1848. Her earliest known appearances in the periodical press also date from this period. In 1847–48, she contributed over fifty fancywork items with instructions to the *Drawing-room Magazine*, subtitled *Ladies Book of Fancy Needlework* and *Choice Literature*, a monthly published by Houlston and Stoneman that ceased to appear after two volumes.⁹⁰

Since she was known as Mrs Warren, she still continued to use her pen-name, even though after her second marriage her surname changed. Looking back to these periodicals, it is quite obvious that the articles and reviews were generally about economic matters or the regulation of the house hold along the lines of Victorian ideals of domesticity. Warren's book titled as *How I Managed my House on Two*

⁸⁹ Marianne Van Remoortel, *Women, Work and the Victorian Press* (Macmillan: UK, 2015), 9.

⁹⁰ De Ridder, Jolein, and Marianne Van Remoortel, " "Not "Simply Mrs. Warren": Eliza Warren Francis (1810–1900) and the "Ladies' Treasury"." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44 (2011): 308.

Hundred Pounds a Year became popular when it was published in 1864. Later it was serialised in the periodical.

Women's work in the home became almost a symbolic or representational task; the cult of domesticity demonstrated that the domestic middle-class woman's role had meaning because of what it represented rather than because of what she actually did.⁹¹

What is the relation between etiquette books and periodicals? First of all, the periodicals focused on domestic economy, since women were interested in books that discussed domesticity, economy or household management. So, the etiquette books also dealt with the domesticity. Like etiquette writers and publishers, owners and editors apparently saw the commercial possibilities in this popularity and used the same subjects in their periodicals as well:

Elizabeth Langland (1995) argues that for middle-class women running the household was an exercise in class management, and the control of significant discursive practices such as domesticity meant that they disseminated particular types of knowledge and helped ensure middle-class hegemony.⁹²

This quotation is vital because it indicates that these periodicals and magazines included many types of femininity in terms of pictures and dialogues as etiquette books included. Furthermore, the domestic woman was one of the prototype figures of the Victorian era. Undoubtedly, there were many representations of this figure, which was also shaped by class power and identity. So these representations were used by etiquette and periodicals writers as well. Like some etiquette books only focused on women, there were some periodicals. "Those aimed primarily at women included titles such as *The Mother's Magazine*, *The Mother's Treasury*, *The British*

⁹¹ Kay Boardman, "The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women's Magazines." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 33 (2000): 154.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 150.

Mother's Magazine, and *The British Workwoman*".⁹³ Also some periodicals specifically targeted working-class women, unlike commercial ones which targeted middle-class women, including fashion articles and needlework patterns as subjects.

Although, there were similarities between etiquette books and periodicals, it is worth mentioning that some periodicals were unusual, unlike etiquette books. For instance, one of them was the *English Woman's Journal*, generally thought to have a feminist perspective. It had connections with the Langham Place Circle which was known as a feminist group founded in 1850s. The *English Woman's Journal* focused differently on women and femininity. It was significant, as Palmer stated in her book:

Connections with other reform groups such as the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science gave the women of Langham Place certain respectability as well as a forum for their discussions. While opinions and ideas between the Langhamites, their mode of feminism was middle class and liberal. Soon after the Langham Place Group began their activities, they realized that a journal that would promote, record, and discuss their work would be vital to its success.⁹⁴

Although periodicals aimed at women were not in the market for a long time, the *English Woman's Journal* and the *Victoria Magazine* were different. Also, these showed that the 1850s witnessed a new phenomenon; the feminist press became active and dealt with women's issues more and more. These kinds of topics were not placed in the etiquette books. Thanks to these periodicals and literary pieces like novels, poems, stories the feminist perspective as a different and important approach was underlined:

From the first publication of the *English Woman's Journal* (EWJ) in the spring of 1858, at least one and more often a broad range of women's periodicals gave public voice to feminist opinion; the *Woman's Herald*, which

⁹³ Ibid., 151.

⁹⁴ Beth Palmer, *Women's Authorship and Editorship in Victorian Culture: Sensational Strategies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 37.

began publication in 1895, dubbed itself "A Weekly Record of the Progress of the Women's Movement." Some periodicals, such as the *Shield*, the paper of the Contagious Diseases Acts repeal campaign, and the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, official organ of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, were designed to act as the mouthpiece for specific campaigning organisations following the traditions of radical and liberal politics, while others pursued an independent propagandist function.⁹⁵

Among the aims of these journals were to present serious debates on gender discrimination and to show women as individuals. They did not focus merely domestic issues; they used literature, poems, novels, essays and articles. Sometimes they contained discussions on vital problems for women. However, it was not easy to compete amongst the mass of the press; they had to deal with other types of periodicals that dealt with home life and the traditional roles of women, rather than a feminist perspective.

The Victoria Magazine was ironically named after Queen Victoria, although she was the main portrayal of a traditional Victorian woman. *The Victoria Magazine* dealt with subjects similar to those in the *English Woman's Journal*, like women's rights, opportunities for education, health, employment or legal issues:

However, the *Victoria Magazine* had included more literary matters and gave importance to these, in contrast to the *English Woman's Journal*. Literature did not take place in central part of the *English Woman's Journal*. Jennifer Phegley stated: "Whereas the *Victoria Press* had no intention of competing with the popular literary monthlies, *Victoria* intended to do precisely that. *Victoria* was conceived as a very different feminist project".⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Philippa Levine, "The Humanising Influences of Five O'Clock Tea: Victorian Feminist Periodicals, *Victorian Studies* 33 (1990): 293.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 173.

To sum up, periodicals and etiquette books were two different genres, however their focus was women and they dealt with the similar subjects. Both were pivotal to mention in that they portrayed cultural information through the women's perspectives. Furthermore, the etiquette writers dealt with these subjects as feminine concerns in the books. Fashion is one of the subjects that etiquette writers used in their books. In the following section, fashion will be discussed that how badly affected women in terms of psychological and physical aspects.

4.3 Fashion in Etiquette Books

Manners, attitudes and etiquette assured acceptance in society, and it was particularly meaningful in Victorian society. Manners are thought good or bad as a measure of the social acceptability of behaviour. Almost every culture follows a distinctive set of manners, in spite of the fact that some manners are internationally prevalent. In Victorian England, manners were based on a set of principles or standard moral norms for society, discouraging people from unpleasant and unaccepted behaviour. Manners were not merely related to behaviour though; appearance and clothes were also significant.

It was a time when the mental and physical outlook changed, as the idea of fashion became gradually more important in the lives of Victorians. The term “fashion” even began to figure in the etiquette books of the time. One of them discussed the term as follows:

Fashion — Do not be too submissive to the dictates of fashion; at the same time avoid oddity or eccentricity in your dress. There are some persons who will follow, in defiance of taste and judgment, the fashion to its most extreme point; this is a sure mark of vulgarity. Every new style of dress will admit of adaptation to individual cases, thus producing a pleasing, as well as fashionable effect. Not only good taste, but health is often sacrificed to the silly error of dressing in the extreme of fashion. Be careful to have your dress

comfortable and becoming, and let the prevailing mode come into secondary consideration; avoiding, always, the other extreme of oddity or eccentricity in costume.⁹⁷

Thanks to the technical developments of this era, the cotton textile industry in particular flourished and produced more and more products. The newest and best materials also came to be used in this century. The style of clothing was a form of outward expression, not only projecting the personality of the individual, but also status. Women's clothes were important in terms of pointing out the wearer's position in society. Particular varieties of clothes and their details provided clues to class and rank. Jewellery also could be a signal for this. Women could restrict their waists, since small waists were fashionable. Small waists considered ideal for beauty; "Corsets were worn all through the century and tight lacing was the rule, except during the height of the crinoline period. It was perhaps most excessive in the 40s, the 70s and the 90s".⁹⁸ Doctors suggested that tight lacing could cause lung and stomach diseases, but women did not care about it.⁹⁹

As the nineteenth-century advanced women's dress slowly uncovered the real frame of the body. As the normal waist returned the bodice needed to fit more tightly, but the skirt came to be more full and bell-shaped. There were a few distinctive sleeve styles, but short puffed sleeves were mainly preferred for evening and long ones for day. Bodices were still worn. These were delicately boned and sewn, with a profound busk. A few layers of slips with frilled hems, in some cases of horsehair, were preferred to suit the total skirts.

⁹⁷ Florence Hartley, *The Ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness A Complete Hand Book for the Use of the Lady in Polite Society* (Boston: Lee and Shephard Publishers, 1873), 24.

⁹⁸ Cecil Willett Cunnington, *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (Massachusetts: Courier Corporation, 1990), 20.

⁹⁹ Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women*, 50.

Middle-class women generally did not wear valuable things like upper-class women. They tried to adapt their style of clothing according to fashion. Some women copied upper-class clothing fashion, getting local tailors and dressmakers to design them.¹⁰⁰ Working-class women depended on the second-hand clothing trade which was extensive.



¹⁰⁰ Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women*, 50.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the main aim was to analyze nineteenth-century etiquette books from women's perceptions. The first conclusion is that studying and analyzing etiquette books showed how cultural information was shared among people. Furthermore, manners were a daily concern. Their functions were to create certain prevalent kinds of behaviour of individuals in order to distinguish people in the same circle. Indeed, people were perceived by their manners, conduct, and language in daily life. So, conversation or communication was also one of the important parts of manners. Conversation was in every walk of life: it could be at parties, in public places, in coffee houses or on the streets. Certain rules were included in etiquette books. Furthermore, some rules were written specifically to advice on how men should behave towards a lady when they encountered each other;

In walking with ladies on the street, gentlemen will of course treat them with the most scrupulous *politeness*. This requires that you place yourself in that relative position in which you can best shield them from danger or inconvenience. You generally give them the wall side, but circumstances may require you to reverse this position. You must offer your arm to a lady with

whom you are walking whenever her safety, comfort, or convenience may seem to require such attention on your part. At night, in taking a long walk in the country, or in ascending the steps of a public building, your arm should always be tendered. In walking with ladies or elderly people, a gentleman must not forget to accommodate his speed to theirs. In walking with any person you should keep step with military precision. If a lady with whom you are walking receives the salute of a person who is a stranger to you, you should return it, not for yourself, but for her.¹⁰¹

The writer consciously wrote the term *politeness* in italics, since politeness was one of the key words describing the area, along with kindness. To be polite and to be kind were the most prevalent recommendations. In the texts, especially in the etiquette books, these were constantly repeated. Another writer mentioned the manners of both sexes in terms of *The Mission of Man and Woman*:

Though companions and equals, yet, as regards the measure of their powers, they are unequal. Man is stronger, more muscular, and of rougher fiber; woman is more delicate, sensitive and nervous. The one excels in power of brain, the other in qualities of heart; and though the head may rule, it is the heart that influences. Both are alike adapted for the respective functions they have to perform in life, and to attempt to impose woman's work upon man would be quite as absurd as to attempt to impose man's work upon woman. Although man's qualities belong more to the head, and woman's more to the heart, yet it is not less necessary that man's heart should be cultivated as well as his head, and woman's head cultivated as well as her heart.¹⁰²

Indeed, this quotation shows us that women and men physically and mentally is different and sometimes in the etiquette books, the authors often focused on issues concerning women and men in terms of their physical and mental abilities. Also, it argues for the equal importance of heart and head. Sometimes these were based on so-called scientific truths such as that men had bigger brains than women.

Furthermore, they were obviously aware of the fact that they would reach many people. Also, even some women thought that, as a sex, man was superior to woman,

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 97

¹⁰² Samuel Smiles, *Happy Homes and the Hearts That Make Them or Thrifty People and Why They Thrive* (Chicago: Publishing House, 1883), 558.

that they should sit in their lovely homes and become someone's wife rather than an individual, without any hesitation.

The second conclusion is that these books might have disregarded people's personalities, and emotions in terms of being individual. However, etiquette books are accepted as indeed proper and useful sources for social studies, especially because of the way authors discussed conduct through the perspective of the rising middle class. Scholars and historians had a conflict about nineteenth-century etiquette books that the moral function was not sufficient, whereas courtesy books had met the moral expectation of society. However, their functions were not the same, and the nineteenth-century etiquette books were linked with the middle class because of the flourishing of that group. The aim was not to give moral lessons, but to regulate middle-class manners to reduce social chaos.

As a third conclusion, etiquette books also revealed that nineteenth-century people tended to associate behaviour with class and status. Classes had different, particular behaviour. Since etiquette writers designed their works to show the relations between behaviour and class. Some features showed that they focused on women and their position. For instance, introductions, invitations, and cards were made by women. Upward mobility could be realised by manners, and feminine issues were dealt with to please the female audience. Besides, women noticed that manners were important in terms of upward mobility. Therefore, in these books, women's behaviour was exaggerated. The writers provided women with the means to follow their career through invitations, calls, and balls. Good manners were encouraged, while bad ones were criticised. The aim was to attract a proper husband, and behaviour was the main way to accomplish this path. While men pursued their careers, women had more leisure time. Therefore, etiquette writers addressed to women in this context.

In the nineteenth-century, manners and behaviour became increasingly important as social codes. Etiquette books were aimed at women who had some wealth and spare time. There was also another life and sociability outside home. Women still had to know their responsibilities, and duties, but women were performing more roles in society than in earlier days. However, the archetype of the ideal woman was a perfect wife and mother, not as an individual and society's ideals were based on woman's being chaste, modest, and pure. These were the main reasons to deal with women and etiquette books in this thesis. Moreover, women had to struggle with men to gain their educational, and social rights. Gender inequality was obvious, although Queen Victoria ruled the country. Women are belonged to their domestic areas. Women and their obstacles because of gender are worthy of studying. To understand the age and society's perception, it is necessary to look at different women and their roles in terms of the norms of society. Also, their legal rights and conditions are vital sources in that these indicate the gender inequality between women and men. For instance, nineteenth-century laws were made by men; women's inferior positions were clear-cut. They could not sit in the House of Commons. Furthermore, they could not vote to change the Member of Parliament to one who might make the law in their favour. Law protected male rights and the male view of women rights; it included how she should act. If husbands and wives had some trouble, however, husbands had privileges. The laws depended on the rule that after women got married, they became their husbands' responsibility. Before the 1884 Married Property Act was passed, women's belongings were regarded as their husbands' property, once they were married. If they worked, their salaries also belonged to their husbands. Before marriage, they were dependent on their fathers, and after marriage; the role was

given to their husbands. First as a daughter, second as a wife, they found themselves in a vicious circle.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

Anonymous. *Dinners and Dinner-Parties or the Absurdities of Artificial Life.*

London: Chapman, 1862.

Anonymous. *Manners and Tone of Good Society.* London: Frederick Warne and Co.,

1879.

Anonymous. *Modern Etiquette in Public and Private.* London : Frederick Warne and

Co., 1897.

Beeton, Samuel Orchart. *Beeton's Complete Etiquette for Gentlemen.* London: Ward

Lock Co., 1876.

By a Lady (Anonymous). *A Manual of Etiquette for Ladies: or, True Principles of*

Politeness. London: T. Allman & Son, 1856.

Campbell, Lady Colin. *Etiquette of Good Society.* London: Cassel, 1893.

Day, Charles William. *Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society: With a Glance*

at Bad Habits. Boston: Otis Broaders, 1844.

Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. *Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. V*

Minutes of Evidence, London: George E. Eyre, 1868.

Greg, William. *Why Women are Redundant?.* London:N. Trübner& Co,1869.

Hartley, Florence. *The Ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness A*

Complete Hand Book for the Use of the Lady in Polite Society. Boston: Lee
and Shephard Publishers, 1873.

Hayward, A. "Codes of Manners and Etiquette" *Quarterly Review*, 59 (1837): 396.

Hook, Theodore. *ed., The New Monthly Magazine.* London: Henry Colburn, 1839.

Linton Eliza, Lynn. *The Girl of the Period, and Other Social Essays*. London: R. Bentley, 1883.

Mill, John Stuart. *The Subjection of Women*. London: Savill, Edwards and Co., Printers, 1869.

Patmore, Coventry. *The Angel in the House*. London: Cassel & Co., 1887.

Pückler-Muskau, Hermann. *Tour in England, Ireland and France*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1833.

Routledge, George. *Routledge's Manual of Etiquette*. Auckland: The Floating Press, 2009.

Smiles, Samuel. *Happy Homes and the Hearts That Make Them or Thrifty People and Why They Thrive*. Chicago: Publishing House, 1883.

Walker, Alexander. *Woman Physiologically Considered, as to Mind, Morals, Marriage, Matrimonial Slavery, Infidelity and Divorce*. London: A. H. Baily and Co., 1839

Wells, Samuel Robert. *How to Behave: A Pocket Manual of Etiquette, and Guide to Correct Personal Habits*. London: The Walter Scott Publishing, 1852.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

Auchmuty, Rosemary. "Early Women Law Students at Cambridge and Oxford", *The Journal of Legal History*, 29:1 (2008): 63-97.

Banks, J.A., Banks, Olive. *Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964.

Boardman, Kay. "The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women's Magazines." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 33, no. 2 (2000): 150-64.

- Burstyn, Joan N. *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*. London: Routledge Library Editions, 2016.
- Caird, Mona. *The Morality of Marriage: And Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Caine, Barbara. *Victorian Feminists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Cobbe, Frances Power. *Wife Torture in England*. London: Strahan & Co, 1878.
- Cooke, A M. "Queen Victoria's Medical Household." *Medical History*. vol.26 (1982): 307-20.
- Cunnington, Cecil Willett. *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*. Massachusetts: Courier Corporation, 1990.
- Curtin, Michael. *Propriety and Position*. London: Garland Publishing, 1987.
- . *Etiquette and Society in Victorian England*. California: Berkeley, 1981.
- . "A Question of Manners: Status and Gender in Etiquette and Courtesy." *The Journal of Modern History* 57, no. 3 (1985): 396-423.
- De Ridder, Jolein, and Marianne Van Remoortel. " "Not "Simply Mrs. Warren": Eliza Warren Francis (1810–1900) and the "Ladies' Treasury"." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44, no. 4 (2011): 307-26.
- Etzioni, Amitai, Martin Judith, ed., *The Essential Communitarian Reader*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.
- Highmore, Ben, ed., *The Everyday Life Reader*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Harrison, J. F. C. "The Victorian Gospel of Success." *Victorian Studies* 1, no.2 (1957): 155-64.
- Hollings, Christopher, Martin Ursula, Rice Adrian. "The Early Mathematical Education of Ada Lovelace," *Journal of the British Society for the History of Mathematics*, 32 (2017): 221-234.

- Hoppen K., Theodore. *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886*. London: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Horn, Pamela. *Victorian Country Women*. Oxford: Basic Blackwell, 1991.
- Levine, Philippa. "The Humanising Influences of Five O'Clock Tea: Victorian Feminist Periodicals." *Victorian Studies* 33, no. 2 (1990): 293-306.
- Levitan, Kathrin. "Redundancy, the 'Surplus Woman' Problem, and the British Census, 1851–1861" *Women's History Review* 17 (2008): 359-376.
- Morgan, Marjorie. *Manners, Morals and Class in England, 1774-1858*. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- Morgan, Sue. *Women Religion and Feminism in Britain 1750-1900*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Murdoch, Lydia. *Daily Life of Victorian Women*. Westport: Greenwood, 2014.
- Neeley A., Kathryn. *Mary Somerville : Science, Illumination, and the Female Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Norton, Caroline. *Caroline Norton's Defense: English Laws for Women in the 19th Century*, Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1982.
- Palmer, Beth. *Women's Authorship and Editorship in Victorian Culture: Sensational Strategies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Perkin, Harold. *The Origins of Modern English Society*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Prentice, Alison. "The Education of 19th Century British Women." *History of Education Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (1982): 215-19.
- Remoortel, Marianne Van. *Women, Work and the Victorian Press*. London: Macmillan, 2015.
- Shiman, Lilian Lewis. *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992.

- Somerville, Mary. *Queen of Science: Personal Recollections of Mary Somerville*. ed., Dorothy McMillan. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2001.
- St. George, Andrew. *The Descent of Manners: Etiquette Rules & The Victorians*. London: Chatto&Windus, 1993.
- Steams N., Peter. *Encyclopedia of Social History*. London Garland Publishing, 1994.
- Steinbach , Susie L. *Understanding the Victorians*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Thompson, Flora. *Lark Rise to Candleford: A Trilogy*. London: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Weller, Toni Danielle. *Information in Nineteenth Century England: Exploring Contemporary Socio-Cultural Perceptions and Understandings*. London: Department of Information Science City University, 2007.
- . “The Puffery and Practicality of Etiquette Books: A New Take on Victorian Information Culture.” *Library Trends* 62 (2014): 663-680.
- Wiener, Martin J. *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness and Criminal Justice in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.