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**THE LIFE AND WORKS**

**OF**

**M. LOANE**

**Susan Cohen**

**August 1997**

Thesis submitted for the degree of **Master of Philosophy**

School of History and Politics

Middlesex University

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## ABSTRACT

The broad aim of this thesis is to examine the life and works of M.Loane, for although her six social studies are often referred to by historians, no detailed or critical study of her background or her corpus has previously been undertaken.

This thesis has been divided into a number of chapters. The introduction will set out the precise details of the study which follows, and provide a rationale for the structure adopted. The next chapter will provide an overview of contemporary social studies of poverty, so that the work of M.Loane can be considered contextually. The biographical study of Miss Loane which follows forms a central part of this thesis: not only will it provide details of her career as a nurse and Queen's [i.e. district] nurse, experience which was essential to the content of all her writings, but, importantly, it will enable previously undisclosed information regarding the clandestine literary partnership which existed between two of the Misses Loane to be revealed. Loane's methodological approach will then be considered, and her reputation as a serious social commentator considered within the framework of recent academic criticism of her methods. Subsequent chapters will concentrate on a thematic examination of *The Queen's Poor*: this social commentary has been selected for a number of reasons. It was the first to be published and was certainly compiled before Loane retired as a Queen's nurse. Beyond this, it can be considered as representative of all the subsequent social studies, all the others being versions of the same structure, and all utilising the same methodology. The conclusion to this thesis will draw together all the strands of this study and emphasise the breakthroughs which have been made: in particular the prolific nature of this writer and her contribution to our understanding of working-class poverty at the turn of the twentieth century will be emphasised. The appendices will reinforce the content of the main thesis. The first of these will present a working bibliography of Loane's published work, and will reveal the scale of the corpus produced between 1897 and 1911. The second will provide a working list of contemporary reviews of Loane's nursing publications and social studies. This will provide a contemporary view of the response to her writing, and will serve as an indication of the popularity, accessibility and wide readership of Loane's social studies.



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Many organisations, librarians and archivists have allowed me access to material and assisted with my research, and I am especially grateful to the Queen's Nursing Institute for their help and to Lloyds Bank for locating papers relating to the Loane sisters. I wish also to thank my friend, Dinah Thompson, whose practical help and technical support has enabled me to get to grips with modern technology.

My husband, Andrew, deserves a special mention, for his patience and understanding have been a constant source of support throughout my years as a mature student.

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

Although some limited academic attention has been paid to the six authoritative social commentaries written by M.Loane, namely *The Queen's Poor*, *The Next Street But One*, *From Their Point of View*, *Neighbours and Friends*, *An Englishman's Castle* and *The Common Growth*, published in England and the United States of America (USA) between 1905 and 1911,<sup>1</sup> no detailed study of her work has ever been undertaken. This is a serious omission, for her social studies are an extensive and highly detailed source of primary evidence for the social historian researching the late Victorian and Edwardian period in Britain. Loane's background has received even less attention even though her experiences as a Queen's nurse were the vital ingredient for her social studies. The broad aim of this thesis is, therefore, to redress these omissions by critically examining the life and works of M.Loane.

Initially, careful consideration was given to the scope of this study for it would quite clearly have been unrealistic to attempt to examine all six of Loane's social studies. It was therefore decided to focus upon one title. *The Queen's Poor* was selected for a number of reasons. It seemed a logical choice since it was the

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<sup>1</sup> M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country*, 1st.ed. 1905; 2nd. & cheaper ed. 1906; 3rd.impression, 1909; 4th. impression 1910; 5th.impression, 1914; 6th. impression, 1919 (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1908) (henceforth *Queen's*); *The Next Street But One*, 1st.impression, 1907; 2nd. & cheaper edition, 1908 (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1908) (henceforth *Next Street*); *From Their Point of View* (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1908) (henceforth *Point of View*); *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1909) (henceforth *Englishman's*); *Neighbours and Friends* (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1910) (henceforth *Neighbours*); *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911) (henceforth *Common Growth*).

first social commentary to be published, and also because it was most certainly compiled during Loane's time as a Queen's nurse. Beyond this, *The Queen's Poor* can be considered as representative of all the subsequent social studies, for all are versions of the same structure and utilise the same methodology. As a means of locating *The Queen's Poor* within the later works, references will be made to the other five commentaries, where appropriate, for the purposes of corroboration, contrast and contextualisation.

The methodological approach adopted in this thesis was the subject of similar concern. As a starting point, consideration was given to the way the biographical strand was to be treated. This material could only satisfactorily be dealt with chronologically and empirically, so that to some extent, this dictated the methodology. Account was also taken of the fact that this study is dealing with a previously unexplored area of research, so that approaches which owed more to either the critically theoretical or feminist viewpoint were considered to be too narrow and therefore inappropriate. An inductive and empirical approach was therefore decided upon as the most appropriate methodology for dealing with all the material.

As far as the structure of this dissertation is concerned, the work has been divided into a number of chapters. The first will contextualise Loane's work by providing an overview of contemporary social studies of poverty. The starting point of this overview will be Henry Mayhew's study, *London Labour and the London Poor*,<sup>2</sup> published between 1851 and 1862. In the case of all the studies

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<sup>2</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor, a cyclopaedia of the condition and earnings of those that will work, those that cannot work and those that will not work.* no.1-63, vol.1 and parts of vol.2 & 3 (1851) 4 vols. (1861-1862).

that will be referred to, a distinction will be made between the quantitative and qualitative, the theoretical and the empirical, as well as those written from a feminist viewpoint. Special reference will be made within this overview to many of the female social commentators who were active during the late Victorian and Edwardian period, so that Loane's work can be considered against that of her female counterparts. Broad consideration will be given to the nature of her social commentaries, and attention will be drawn to the particular and unique viewpoint from which she wrote - that of the Queen's nurse - and the way in which this informed her writing.

The second chapter of this study will present, for the first time, a comprehensive biography of Loane. To date, Dr. Ross McKibbin is the only historian to have undertaken a significant examination of Loane's work. However, his sketch of her life, in which he has stated:

Of Miss Loane (18? - 1922) we know very little. She was born in Portsmouth, the daughter of a captain in the Royal Navy, trained as a nurse at Charing Cross Hospital and then worked in both urban and rural England, before ending her active life where she had begun it - in Portsmouth - as superintendent of district nurses,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See R.I. McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1950* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990) p.170. Dr. McKibbin's sketch was first included in a paper presented to the Royal Historical Society in 1977, at which time he stated that, 'Miss Loane's life (18?-1922) is altogether more shadowy in its outlines and milieu. She was born in Portsmouth, the daughter of a Captain in the Royal Navy, trained as a nurse in the Charing Cross Hospital and then worked as a district nurse in both metropolitan and rural England, before ending her active life where she had begun it - in Portsmouth - as superintendent of district nurses.' See R.I. McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation in Edwardian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th. series, vol.28, 1977, p.177. His information would appear to have come from the *Who Was Who 1916-1928* entry and from details included in Loane's nursing text, in which the authoress was described as 'M. Loane. Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth, late Sister Agnes, Charing Cross Hospital and Salop Infirmary.' See *Outlines of Routine in District Nursing, drawn up for the use of probationers* (Scientific Press, 1905)

will be shown to be both inaccurate and incomplete.

The chronological examination of her life will firstly outline her early years, her family history, and her educational background. The detailed account which follows will chart her entry into the nursing profession, her training and subsequent enrolment as a Queen's nurse. It will also provide a comprehensive account of her distinguished role as a superintendent of Queen's nurses and of her burgeoning career as an authoress. Consideration will then be given to her retirement from nursing, and the effect of this upon her literary career. Questions over authorship will be raised and answered, and contemporary criticism of her work will also be addressed. The matter of her religious conversion and apparent isolation from her family will be discussed in relation to the latter part of Loane's career as an author. Finally, the circumstances of her death and her legacy will be explained.

The account of Loane's professional life is of particular significance *vis a vis* her literary career, and is a thread which runs throughout this thesis. The content of Loane's social commentaries both implicitly and explicitly fosters the view that these were written by a contemporary Queen's nurse.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, numerous academics, including Dr. McKibbin, Standish Meacham, Professor Paul Thompson, Dr. Monica Baly, Professor Jane Lewis, Dr. Stedman Jones, Dr. Ellen Ross and Dr. Jose Harris,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Loane made numerous references to her nursing career in both her social studies and her articles. See, for example; *Queen's*, p.4... 'Some years before I began district nursing,' also *Next Street*, p.32 '...one of my very last experiences as a Queen's nurse...', and p.163 'I have worked in the poorest neighbourhoods in London, and in every part, new and old, of the borough of Portsmouth.' Chapter IV in *Neighbours*, is devoted to a detailed examination of the training of hospital nurses, whilst p.4 and p.7 include references to her patients and their friends. In *Point of View*, p.284 Loane stated that 'as a district nurse I learnt what becomes of some of the discharged patients [from the workhouse]. Similar claims to her nursing profession were made in her articles. See, for example, 'Resident Cottage Nurses', *Nursing Times*, 12 August 1905, p.267.

<sup>5</sup> For a list of secondary references to Loane's works, see Appendix 3. This appendix has been compiled chronologically rather than alphabetically so that the continuing confusion over authorship can be properly demonstrated.

have frequently, and perhaps not surprisingly, made this assumption. It is certainly difficult to imagine that anyone lacking the first-hand experience which this profession provided, and who was apparently so deeply and personally committed during their working life to the care of the poor, could have commented with such authority, and empathy, upon their condition. Nevertheless, the biographical chapter will reveal that the true authorship of these important social commentaries is far less certain than at first appears.

For what has emerged is evidence of a hitherto undisclosed literary partnership, entered into between two half-sisters. On the one hand was Martha Jane Loane, a Queen's nurse of considerable distinction, whose professional experiences provided the material, and thus the credibility for the social commentaries.<sup>6</sup> On the other was her younger half-sister, Alice Eliza, who, it must be presumed, possessed the time and the literary skills which Martha lacked. By attributing authorship to variously M. Loane, Martha Loane, Martha Jane Loane as well as M.E.Loane, the two women were being deliberately evasive, and avoided the detection which would have almost certainly ended their literary career. Whilst it is impossible to know why they decided not to attribute all the work to M.Loane, it is possible to speculate that the use of the initials M.E.Loane was a cryptic admission of collaboration. Quite clearly a detailed examination of Loane's background is essential so that the true facts of her enigmatic life may be revealed and considered.

The third chapter of this study will evaluate Loane's methodological approach to her writing. Her inclusion of verbatim conversations, as evidence

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<sup>6</sup> As R.A.Bray demonstrated, credibility was important. He remarked, 'I shall naturally be asked for the source from which I have derived my information. I depend largely on my own experience. I can make some claim to an intimate acquaintance with the people of whom I write.' See R.A.Bray, 'The Boy and the Family,' in E.J.Urwick (ed) *Studies of Boy Life* (Dent, 1904) p.7.

of the opinions of the poor, will be discussed, and the value, veracity and contemporary popularity of this primary source will be scrutinised. Loane's reasons for adopting this style of presentation will be considered and her reputation as a serious social commentator will be assessed within the framework of recent academic criticism of her methods.

Subsequent chapters will concentrate on a thematic examination of *The Queen's Poor*. Whilst the chapter headings in the original text suggest that Loane approached her writing thematically, a more detailed inspection shows that individual chapters were not always as specific as they initially appeared. It has therefore been necessary to employ an appropriate set of themes to enable a critical examination and evaluation of Loane's work to be undertaken. The following headings represent the aspects of working class life which Loane encountered as a Queen's nurse, and upon which she was able to comment, with authority:

1. THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF THE POOR will examine the practical aspects of poverty. Consideration will be given to Loane's assessment of the financial responsibilities of the housewife and of the way family finances were managed. This will include reference to the earnings of children and to incidental income as well as Loane's views on women's work and earnings, thrift and savings.

2. CHILDHOOD AND POVERTY: this chapter will examine Loane's representations of childhood and will consider the experience of childhood in relation to their education, their health and their living conditions. Attention will be paid to legislation intended to prevent cruelty to children, to the moral training and behaviour of children, to the criminal activities of poor children and to their

leisure activities.

3. THE POOR, MARRIAGE AND PARENTHOOD: within this chapter Loane's strictures concerning patterns of marriage and remarriage amongst the poor will be examined, and account will be taken of her views upon matrimonial violence. Consideration will also be given to maternal efficiency and the role of working-class men and women as parents.

4. THE ELDERLY POOR: will look at matrimonial relationships between elderly couples and their attitude towards marriage and remarriage. The financial implications of old age will be examined and considered in relation to joint households and family support. This chapter will also discuss Loane's comments upon the indignity of poverty in old age and of the elderly poor and the workhouse, its infirmary and the casual ward.

5. HEALTH AND THE POOR: will look at the role, duties and responsibilities of the Queen's nurse. This will include broad details concerning the eligibility of patients to receive the services of the Queen's nurse, and of the relationship between the nurse and her patients. Loane's strictures on the nurse's landlady and upon the restrictions, rules and regulations of Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses will be examined, as will the position of the nurse *vis-a-vis* the medical profession. In examining the patients and their health, the nature of their illnesses will be viewed, and consideration will be given to the effect of their living conditions, rural and urban, upon their health: this will include reference to the availability of cooking facilities, sanitation and ventilation in poor homes. Health education both in and out of the home will be discussed in relation to the role of the Queen's nurse.



6. WORKING-CLASS CULTURE: will examine the religious beliefs of the poor and their attitude to life, death and authority. The conversation, language and speech habits of the poor will be considered alongside the effects of education upon the adult poor, as will the ethics of the working classes. Cultural activities enjoyed by the poor including holidays and outings, reading and music, smoking and drinking will be examined.

7. THE POOR AND THE STATE: will provide an historical overview of proposals to introduce free school meals and an old-age pension. Loane's strictures concerning state intervention in the lives of the poor will be discussed in the light of these proposals, and her arguments for and against charitable *versus* state assistance will be discussed in detail. Other legislation, including that concerning health inspection, compulsory education and the protection of children will be considered.

Within individual chapters the codes, conventions, attitudes, habits and beliefs of the poor will be discussed, and although each chapter will be specific and self-contained, none of the topics are mutually exclusive. The reader will therefore find cross-referencing between chapters where appropriate. For the purposes of contextualisation, contrast and corroboration, references will also be made to Loane's later works. Attention will also be paid throughout to the work of other social commentators so that Loane's work can be considered in its contemporary context.

The conclusion of this dissertation will draw attention to the breakthroughs which have been made as a result of this research, and to the problems which have been encountered. The significance of the biographical strand, including the

revelations concerning Loane's nursing and district nursing career and the unique opportunity which the latter afforded her for observing the poor at first-hand, will be reasserted. The previously undisclosed enigma over authorship, and the complex but prolific nature of the literary partnership will be re-evaluated, as will the extent of her literary contributions. A critical overview of *The Queen's Poor* will follow, and this will stress a number of points. First, the importance of Loane's personal contact with the poor to both the content of this work and the corpus will be reasserted. Secondly, and directly related to this point, consideration will be paid to the breadth of topics which she examined in her studies. Her own opinions of the poor will be considered, the objectivity of her work discussed, and the success of her literary contributions as a means of informing and raising public awareness will be evaluated.

Loane's methodological approach ensured her a wide and popular readership, and part of her success was due to her use of anecdotal evidence. However, the veracity of the personal opinions which she included in her work has been challenged, and the conclusion will reassess this criticism in the light of her own statements of verification as well as that of other contemporary authors.

As an adjunct to the main thesis, and because of the constraints on length, a considerable amount of new research material has had to be included in appendices. References to these appendices will be made throughout the thesis, where appropriate.

The first appendix will present a working bibliography of Loane's published work, which will reveal the scale of the corpus produced between 1897 and 1912. This will include publication details of her social commentaries, nursing books and pamphlets, as well as an extensive working list of articles published between 1897

and 1912. Evidence of unattributed material will be included which raises the question of the full extent of Loane's literary output.

The second appendix will provide a working list of contemporary reviews of Loane's nursing books and social studies. These reviews fulfil a dual purpose: not only do they provide a contemporary view of the response to her writing, but they serve as an indication of the popularity, accessibility and wide readership of Loane's social studies.

## CHAPTER 2

### **An Overview of Victorian and Edwardian Social Investigators, with Special Reference to the Role Played by Women.**

Loane was one of many authors at the turn of the twentieth century who wrote about the experience of working-class poverty. The intention of this chapter is to provide an overview of contemporary studies and enable her work to be viewed in context.

From the mid-Victorian period onwards, a deluge of literature was published which heightened public awareness, shook the nation's complacency, and brought home to the rich how great a volume of misery and destitution lay at the base of their own prosperity. This literature included the results of various surveys and investigations, as well as social commentaries and studies, all of which focused variously on specific or general aspects of working-class life, and upon the quantitative as well as the qualitative reality of poverty. The perspectives from which these were written also varied: the feminist standpoint, the theoretical and the experiential viewpoint were all represented, but none of these were mutually exclusive approaches.

The earliest surveys to be considered in this overview were concerned with, and limited to, exposing the extent of poverty in London. The first of note was Henry Mayhew's study, *London Labour and the London Poor*,<sup>1</sup> published between 1851 and 1862. Mayhew's work has, in the past, been subjected to considerable criticism which has concentrated on firstly, the apparently unscientific approach adopted by the author,

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor, a cyclopaedia of the condition and earnings of those that will work, those that cannot work and those that will not work*. no. 1-63, vol. 1 and parts of vol. 2 & 3 (1851) 4 vols. (1861-1862).

and secondly, the incomplete scope of the survey.<sup>2</sup> However, this assessment of his investigations was mitigated in the 1960's by the academic scholarship of E.P. Thompson and E. Yeo.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the intrinsic and extrinsic value of Mayhew's studies lie, like those of M.Loane, to be examined, in their perception and the impressions which the commentators gained from their close relationships with the poor, thus providing the social historian with invaluable qualitative information.

Equally illuminating, and of particular concern to the established church, were the results of Andrew Mearns's inquiry of 1883.<sup>4</sup> For his published document, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* verified the appalling condition of 'the abject poor' in the capital, and called for State intervention at a practical level. However, the interest elicited by both Mayhew's and Mearns surveys proved transient, largely because the apparent subjectivity of these investigations, combined with the anecdotal nature of the evidence, failed to provide tangible proof of the existence of poverty.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, these surveys proved to be far less influential than the extensive quantitative social study of

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<sup>2</sup> Wells, in 1935, described Mayhew's survey as typical of those which were 'essentially non-statistical: it is rather the concrete descriptive method of a journalist or novelist. His spiritual relations are Dickens and Defoe.' He also accused Mayhew of concerning himself 'only with such kinds of poor folk as his readers would consider interesting or romantic' and that the people with whom he dealt 'did not constitute the whole of those who were living in poverty' and must 'have given an extremely misleading impression.' See A.F.Wells, *The Local Social Survey in Great Britain* (G.Allen & Unwin, 1935) p.14, pp.21-22.

<sup>3</sup> Eileen Yeo, 'Mayhew as a Social Investigator' in E.P.Thompson & Eileen Yeo (eds) *The Unknown Mayhew* (Merlin, 1971) pp.51-95. O'Day & Englander have, more recently, contested Yeo & Thompson's attempt to rehabilitate Mayhew at the expense of Booth, which has, they argue, led to 'judgements based on opinion rather than research.' See R. O'Day & D.Englander, *Mr. Charles Booth's Inquiry. Life and Labour of the People in London Reconsidered* (Hambledon, 1993) p.101. The *Daily Telegraph* commented, in 1907, that 'the investigations of the conditions of life among the poorer classes of the metropolis has given rise to many books since Henry Mayhew's splendid pioneer work of more than half a century ago,' see *The Daily Telegraph*, 1 March 1907, p.4.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* ((James Clark, 1883). This work was republished by Cass, in 1970 with a note on authorship by W.H.Chaloner. As Chaloner explains, this work is sometimes attributed to W.C.Preston, but was in fact written through the joint efforts of A.Mearns and W.C.Preston.

<sup>5</sup> For confirmation of the transient influence of Mayhew's survey see, for example, E.H.Hunt, *British Labour History 1815-1914* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981) p.183.

the metropolis latterly undertaken by Charles Booth. <sup>6</sup>

The publication of the seventeen volumes of his *Life and Labour of the People of London*, between 1892 and 1903, <sup>7</sup> was celebrated as an 'economic and administrative innovation of great importance,' <sup>8</sup> for, not only did Booth investigate the extent of poverty, but he also attempted to define its nature and analyse its causes. <sup>9</sup>

B. Seebohm Rowntree's comparative survey of York, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, <sup>10</sup> first published in 1901, differed from Booth's in this latter respect. <sup>11</sup>

As well as identifying the cycle of poverty experienced within families, Rowntree also drew an important distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary'

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<sup>6</sup> Charles Booth, was, as Jose Harris has described 'a Liverpool shipowner and pioneering social investigator; an advocate of tariff reform and non-contributory Old Age Pensions; a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws', as cited in Jose Harris, *Unemployment and Politics: A Study in English Social Policy 1886-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1972) p.11.

<sup>7</sup> Following is a list of books and pamphlets published by Charles Booth: *Life and Labour of the People* 1st ed., vol.I (London & Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate, 1889); *Labour and Life of the People* 1st ed., vol.II.(London & Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate, 1891); *Dock and Wharf Labour* (Philip, 1892); *Pauperism, a picture, and the Endowment of Old Age, an Argument* (London & New York, Macmillan, 1892); *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 2nd ed. (London & New York, Macmillan, 1892-97) 9 vols; *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London & New York, Macmillan, 1899); *Improved means of Locomotion as a First step towards the Cure for the Housing Difficulties* (Macmillan, 1901); *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 3rd ed. (London & New York, Macmillan, 1902-3) 17 vols. First Series: *Poverty* (1902) vols.I-IV, Second Series: *Industry* (1903) vols.I-V, Third Series: *Religious Influences* (1902-2) vols.I-VII, Final Volume: *Notes on Social Influences and Conclusion* (1903).

<sup>8</sup> W.H.B.Court, *British Economic History 1870-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1964) p.283.

<sup>9</sup> For the most recent reassessment of Booth's survey see O'Day & Englander, *op.cit.*

<sup>10</sup> B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (Macmillan, 1901). Later publications: B. Seebohm Rowntree & B. Lasker, *Unemployment: a social study* (Macmillan, 1911); *The Way to Industrial Peace and the Problem of unemployment* (Macmillan, 1914); B. Seebohm Rowntree & M. Kendall, *How the Labourer Lives: A Study of the Rural Labour Problem* (Nelson, 1913).

<sup>11</sup> As O'Day & Englander have remarked 'C.F.G. Masterman thought the poverty cycle of York "better connected and more helpful," a verdict which is still current among scholars, but which needs revision.' They consider this comparison to be narrowing, and 'one which distorts our understanding and diminishes Booth's achievement.' See O'Day & Englander, *op.cit.* p.23.

poverty.<sup>12</sup> Beyond this, given that the extent of poverty in York was apparently comparable with Booth's findings in London, Rowntree was able to conclude that a similar situation pertained in towns throughout the United Kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Because both Booth and Rowntree were overtly concerned with establishing quantitative evidence of poverty, their investigations exhibited a distinct lack of empathy.<sup>14</sup>

Much the same criticism can be made of the research into poverty undertaken by the Fabian Socialists, Beatrice Potter (later Webb) and Sidney Webb.<sup>15</sup> As social investigators, and agents of change, they also concentrated on gathering empirical evidence on the basis that 'hard facts' were more appropriate in supporting their campaign for social and administrative reforms. However, numerous alternative surveys were undertaken by men during the late Victorian and Edwardian period which went beyond the confines of quantifiable facts, and laid greater emphasis on investigating the quality of life as experienced by the poorest members of society.

Included amongst these were Robert Sherard, with his publications *The White Slaves of England*, *The Cry of the Poor* and *The Child Slaves of Britain*<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> For Rowntree's explanation of the cycle of poverty, see Rowntree, *op.cit.* p. 169-171. For his definition of 'primary' poverty see p.117, and for 'secondary' poverty see p.118. See also Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians. The Remaking of British Society*, 2nd ed (Routledge, 1992) pp.11-13.

<sup>13</sup> As Rowntree stated, 'The proportion of the population living in poverty in York may be regarded as practically the same as in London.' See Rowntree, *op.cit.* p.355.

<sup>14</sup> In the case of Booth, and as O'Day & Englander note, the published results of his enquiry excluded 'the interviews and investigations that filled his notebooks [which] were simply too rich, too vibrant, too variable and too many to capture in cold print.' See O'Day & Englander, *op.cit.* pp.22-23.

<sup>15</sup> Sidney Webb, 1859-1947, Fabian Socialist, Progressive member of the London County Council until 1910; drafted Labour Party Constitution of 1918; President of the Board of Trade 1923-4; Baron Passfield 1929; Books published, in the period under examination include *London Education* (1904) and with Beatrice Webb (nee Potter 1858-1943) *A History of Trade Unionism* (1894), *Industrial Democracy* (1897). Norman & Jean MacKenzie (eds) *The Diary of Beatrice Webb*, vol.I-IV (Virago, 1983) Beatrice Potter married Sidney Webb in 1892. Work by Beatrice Webb (Potter) includes *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain* (1891)

<sup>16</sup> Robert Sherard, *The White Slaves of England* (Bowden, 1897); *The Cry of the Poor* (Digby Long, 1901); *The Child Slaves of Britain* (Hurst & Blackett, 1905).

and C.F.G Masterman, whose works included *From the Abyss* and *The Condition of England*.<sup>17</sup> Of equal note was R.A Bray<sup>18</sup> whose texts *The Town Child* and *Boy Labour and Apprenticeship*,<sup>19</sup> were directly influenced by his Church work in South London, whilst Stephen Reynolds', *A Poor Man's House* and his working-class view of politics, *Seems So!*<sup>20</sup> were written from his personal experiences as a working inhabitant of the fishing community in Sidmouth, Devon.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, George Bourne's experiences of country life enabled him to write a number of authoritative books about the poor in rural England.<sup>22</sup>

Others who addressed particular aspects of poverty included George Haw with *No Room To Live. The plaint of overcrowded London, The Englishman's*

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<sup>17</sup> The Right Hon. Charles Frederick Gurney (C.F.G) Masterman, *The Heart of the Empire* (T.Fisher Unwin, 1901); *From the Abyss* (Johnson, 1902); *The Condition of England* (Methuen, 1909); *In Peril of Change* (T.Fisher Unwin, 1909). C.F.G.Masterman was a Radical member of the Liberal Government from 1908-1915.

<sup>18</sup> Bray was an elected member of the London County Council between 1904 and 1919. His educational proposals set out in *The Town Child* were then considered radical in scope, and brought state intervention into every aspect of educational policy and to related aspects such as the provision of school meals, holidays in the country and medical attention. Brandon describes Bray as 'one of a group of *avant garde* writers absorbed in the social and political problems dawning towards the end of the nineteenth century.' See P.F.Brandon, 'A Twentieth Century Squire in his Landscape', *Southern History*, vol.4, 1982, pp.191-220.

<sup>19</sup> R.A Bray, *The Town Child* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1907); *Boy Labour and Apprenticeship* (Constable, 1911).

<sup>20</sup> Stephen Reynolds, *A Poor Man's House* (John Lane, 1909); *Seem's So!* (Macmillan, 1911).

<sup>21</sup> Cunningham is equally cynical about the validity of Reynolds evidence in the latter's book, *Seems So*. As Cunningham states, 'Other Conservatives saw in aspects of the proposed legislation a class bias against the poor; this was a criticism articulated in what purported to be the conversations of some Devon fishermen on the Children's Act.' This article, included in Reynolds book, *Seems So*, published in 1911, first appeared in *The Spectator* in July 1909, and extant correspondence between Strachey and Reynolds confirms the validity of the anecdotal evidence. See Letter of Reynolds to Strachey, 8 May 1909, Strachey Papers, S/16/3/8, House of Lords Record Office. Beyond this, it is important to note that Reynolds was no mere passing visitor, but a working inhabitant of the fishing community. For a detailed account of Reynolds' life in Devon, see J.D.Osborne, 'Stephen Reynolds, a biographical and critical study.' PhD. London University, 1978, also Harold Wright (ed) *Stephen Reynolds, Letters* (Richmond, L & V Woolf, 1923. see Hugh Cunningham, *Children of the Poor. Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991) p.216.

<sup>22</sup> George Bourne [pseu. George Sturt] *The Bettesworth Book. Talks with a Surrey Peasant* (Lamley, 1901), *Memoirs of a Surrey Labourer: a record of the last years of Frederick Bettesworth* (Duckworth, 1907) These two works were reviewed, alongside Loane's books, by Stephen Reynolds in 'What the Poor Want', *Quarterly Review*, vol.212, 1910, pp.152-79. Later publications were *Change in the village* (Duckworth, 1912) and *Lucy Bettesworth* (Duckworth, 1913).



*Castle: the Problem of the Peoples Home and Christianity and the Working Classes*,<sup>23</sup> Everard Wyrall with *'The Spike': An Account of the Workhouse Casual Ward*,<sup>24</sup> W.H.Davies' study, *Beggars*,<sup>25</sup> James Corin, *Mating, Marriage and the Status of Women*,<sup>26</sup> C.B.Hawkins, *Norwich: A Social Study*<sup>27</sup> and Edmond Holmes's, *What is and What Might Be*.<sup>28</sup>

Whilst Mayhew, Booth and Rowntree could be considered as the male vanguard of 19th and early 20th century social investigators and reformers, the contribution made by women to evaluations of poverty, either individually or collaboratively, specifically or generally, is impressive. In general, and unlike their male counterparts, as referred to, these female investigators and commentators, including M.Loane, laid greater emphasis on the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of poverty.

One of the earliest of note was Octavia Hill, described as:

a striking representative of the class of women philanthropists who laboured ceaselessly to improve the conditions of the London poor.<sup>29</sup>

Her particular concern, expounded in *Homes of the London Poor*, first published in 1875, was with the housing of the poorest people, and her practical,

<sup>23</sup> George Haw, *No Room To Live. The pleint of overcrowded London* (Wells Gardner, 1900); *The Englishman's Castle: the Problem of the Peoples Home* (C.W.Daniel, 1906); (ed) *Christianity and the Working Classes* ( Macmillan, 1906)

<sup>24</sup> Everard Wyrall, *'The Spike': An Account of the Workhouse Casual Ward* (Constable, 1909).

<sup>25</sup> W.H.Davies, *Beggars* (Duckworth, 1909); *The True Traveller* (Constable, 1912).

<sup>26</sup> James Corin, *Mating, Marriage and the Status of Women* (Walter Scott, 1910).

<sup>27</sup> C.B.Hawkins, *Norwich: A Social Study* (P.L.Warner, 1910).

<sup>28</sup> Edmond Holmes, *What is and What Might Be. A Study of Education in General and elementary schools in Particular* (Constable, 1911) on schools. This list is representative rather than exhaustive. Other contributors of note include R.Mudie Smith, *The Religious Life of London* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1904); A.Paterson, *Across the Bridges* (Edward Arnold, 1911); E.B.Russell & Lilian Rigby, *Working Lads' Clubs* (Macmillan, 1908).

<sup>29</sup> Margaret E.Tabor, *Pioneer Women*, 2nd.series (Sheldon, 1927) p.65.

common-sense approach proved inspirational, and gained her world recognition.<sup>30</sup> Later independent social investigations which specifically examined and reported on the plight of home-less men and women were undertaken by Mary Higgs<sup>31</sup> and Olive Christian Malvery,<sup>32</sup> both of whom were admirers of General Booth and the work of the Salvation Army.<sup>33</sup> Rather than commenting on this particular social problem from a theoretical point of view, and to add credibility to their findings, both women gained first hand experience by living and working, albeit briefly, with the poorest classes. Whilst Mary Higgs's first publication, *How to deal with the Unemployed*, proposed 'effective treatment' to 'cure' the endemic problem of unemployment,<sup>34</sup> her major concern was, as noted, to heighten awareness amongst the wider public in regard to the living conditions experienced by the poor. Her descriptions, detailed in her three subsequent works, *The Tramp Ward*, *Three Nights in Women's Lodging Houses* and *Glimpses into the Abyss*,<sup>35</sup> left her readers with few illusions, and her conclusions were, in the main, highly condemnatory of existing statutory 'welfare' provisions.

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<sup>30</sup> Octavia Hill, *Homes of the London Poor*, 1st ed (Macmillan, 1875). This work was a compilation of articles previously published in the *Fortnightly Review* and *Macmillan's Magazine*. Other works published by Octavia Hill include *Our Common Land* (Macmillan, 1877), *District Visiting* (Longmans Green, 1877).

<sup>31</sup> Mary Higgs, *How to deal with the Unemployed* (Brown & Langham, 1904).

<sup>32</sup> Olive Christian Malvery (later Mrs. Archibald Mackirdy) *The Soul Market* (Hutchinson, 1906); *Baby Toilers* (Hutchinson, 1907); *Thirteen Nights* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1909); *A Year and a Day* (Hutchinson, 1912).

<sup>33</sup> For Mary Higgs comments on the Salvation Army, see, for example: *How to deal with the unemployed* (Brown & Langham, 1904) p.146 '...the gratitude of the nation is due to General Booth for acting as a pioneer and giving object lessons in the way to treat the "submerged tenth". For Olive Malvery's comments see, for example, Malvery, *Thirteen Nights*, *op.cit.* p.82 and also *Soul Market*, *op.cit.* p.309. '...It is not far from twenty years ago that "General Booth" wrote his wonderful book, "Darkest England and a Way Out," (sic) which startled the world...' W.Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (International Headquarters [Salvation Army] 1890).

<sup>34</sup> Higgs, *Unemployed*, *op.cit.* Mary Higgs viewed unemployment as 'a sign of a disease in the body politic, which has its roots in the fact that life is hampered by unhealthy conditions.' In equating the phenomenon with disease, she considered her proposed remedies to be 'cures'.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Higgs, *The Tramp Ward* (Manchester, John Heywood, 1904); *Three Nights in Womens Lodging Houses* (Oldham, 1905); *Glimpses into the Abyss* (P.S.King, 1906); *Where Shall She Live? The Homelessness of the Women Worker* (National Association for Womens Lodging Homes, 1910)

Her subsequent publication, *Where shall she live?*, written in collaboration with Edward Hayward,<sup>36</sup> was a deliberate attempt at renewing public attention in regard to the plight of home-less women workers of all social classes.

The lack of cheap accommodation available for women workers was of overt concern to Mary Higgs's fellow investigator, Olive Malvery, and the latter's publication, *Thirteen Nights*, again written from first-hand experience, was both practical and critical in its conclusions. For although Malvery's stated primary objective was to gain financial support for a housing project, the publication was also a vehicle for a penetrating exposition of sweated labour, and the exploitation of women workers.

Notwithstanding the implicit and explicit importance of *Thirteen Nights*, the earlier works published by Olive Malvery, specifically *The Soul Market* and *Baby Toilers*,<sup>37</sup> offer the social historian a much broader insight into the quality of life experienced by the poor. As a contemporary source, these works provide a vivid and emotive portrayal of 'the hideous evils'<sup>38</sup> which were part and parcel of daily life. Once again, these texts were written as a propaganda exercise, with the explicit aim of encouraging influential people to press for social reforms.

Further contributors whose theoretical works are often overlooked by social historians include M.E. Harkness, Helen Dendy (later Bosanquet), Cicely Hamilton and M. Mostyn Bird. The earliest of these women was M.E. Harkness,<sup>39</sup> whose work,

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<sup>36</sup> Edward Hayward was the Southern Secretary of the British Institute of Social Service.

<sup>37</sup> See above, footnote 32.

<sup>38</sup> Malvery, *Soul Market*, *op.cit.* p.320.

<sup>39</sup> Margaret Elise Harkness {pseud. John Law} *Toilers in London; or inquiries concerning female labour in the metropolis* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1889) as cited in Joyce M. Bellamy (ed) 'Margaret Harkness', *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol VIII, 1987, p.103-113. See also Deborah Epstein Nord, 'Neither Pairs nor Odds'. *Female Community in Late Nineteenth Century London*, *Signs*, vol.15, no.4, Summer 1990, pp.733-55.

like that of Maud Davies, to be examined,<sup>40</sup> was directly influenced by her contact with Beatrice Webb, nee Potter, to whom she was distantly related.<sup>41</sup> Her best known, but rarely quoted work, *Toilers in London*, was published in 1889, under the pseudonym of John Law, and was principally concerned with investigating and reporting on 'the slummers' in London, the people whom she described as 'the scum of our population that haunts the slum of our great cities'.<sup>42</sup>

Historical and contemporary perspectives of life were recounted in the numerous books published by Helen Dendy.<sup>43</sup> By her own admission, and in contrast to many of the women whose contributions have been referred to, this authoress did not base her writings on any practical experience of working with the poor. Rather, her theoretical writings, which included *Rich and Poor*, *The Standard of Life*, *The Strength of the People* and *The Family* were studies in social economics which examined, at a theoretical level, pertinent issues including the vagaries of the labour market, child labour, the value of education and industrial training. Her comments regarding the place of charity in helping the poor in society and suggestions for programmes of reform., were apposite, for she was, as Hugh Cunningham has noted,<sup>44</sup> a leading member of the Charity Organisation Society.

In contrast to the broad spectrum of life covered by Helen Dendy, Cicely Hamilton, M. Mostyn Bird and Barbara L. Hutchins, who were members of the Fabian

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<sup>40</sup> See below, footnote 61.

<sup>41</sup> As Bellamy notes, Beatrice Webb, nee Potter, and Margaret were second cousins. See Bellamy, *op.cit.* p.103.

<sup>42</sup> See above, footnote 39.

<sup>43</sup> Helen Bosanquet, *Rich and Poor* (Macmillan, 1896); *The Standard of Life and other studies* (Macmillan, 1898); *The Strength of the People*, 2nd ed.(Macmillan, 1903); *The Family* (Macmillan, 1906). Other works by this authoress include *The Administration of Charitable Relief* (National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland (1898); *The Poor Law Report of 1909 :A Summary etc.*; *Past Experience in Relief Works*, COS Pamphlet (1903); Helen Bosanquet & Bernard Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869-1912. A History of the C.O.S* (John Murray, 1914).

<sup>44</sup> Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.156.

Women's Group, all directed their investigations specifically at women. In her book, *Marriage as a Trade*, published in 1909,<sup>45</sup> Hamilton restricted her commentary to a penetrating and unprecedented exposition of 'wifehood and motherhood, considered as a means of livelihood for women', on the basis that the position of women in society was invidious, and 'greatly in need of improvement, mental, physical and moral.'<sup>46</sup>

Some two years later, M.M.Bird, another feminist writer, published her book, *Women at Work*,<sup>47</sup> which, as the title suggested, was a study of the different ways of earning a living which were open to women. Beyond this, Bird examined the direct influence that male domination apparently exerted over the status of women. Similarly, whilst the latter investigative work of Hutchins was concerned with the employment of women,<sup>48</sup> an earlier demographic survey undertaken by her was limited to research into infant mortality.<sup>49</sup> As Banks has noted, for a time Hutchins edited the quarterly journal, *Women's Industrial News*.<sup>50</sup>

An equally particular investigation was undertaken by May E. Abraham (later Tennant), and was again, like those previously referred to, concerned with the plight of women workers.<sup>51</sup> The very nature of her position as a co-worker of Lady Dilke

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<sup>45</sup> Cicely Hamilton, *Marriage as a Trade* (Chapman & Hall, 1909).

<sup>46</sup> Hamilton, *op.cit.* p.vi. This contemporary work is described by Paul Thompson as 'outstanding.' See Thompson, *op.cit.* p.330.

<sup>47</sup> M. Mostyn Bird, *Women at Work* (Chapman & Hall, 1911).

<sup>48</sup> B.L.Hutchins, *Statistics of Young Women's Life and Employment*. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal of Statistical Society*, Part II, 30.6.1909.

<sup>49</sup> B.L.Hutchins, *Note on the Mortality of Young Children*. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol.LXXXI, Part 1, 30.3.1908.

<sup>50</sup> Olive Banks, *The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists*, vol.2, 1900-1945 (Wheat-sheaf, 1990) pp.109-111.

<sup>51</sup> Violet Markham, *May Tennant. A Portrait* (Falcon, 1949) Margaret Barrow describes May Tennant as 'A pioneer in social work, May Tennant was secretary to Lady Dilke, became treasurer of the Womens Trade Union League, and an assistant Commissioner on the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891. She was the first woman factory inspector and was concerned mainly with illegal overtime, bad sanitation and dangerous trades. She was a member of the Central Commission on Womens Employment 1914-39, and chief advisor on women's welfare in the Ministry of Munitions during the 1914-1918 war.' See M.Barrow, *Women, 1870-1928: Guide to Printed and Archival Sources* (Mansell, 1981) p.95.

provided her with a unique opportunity of concentrating her area of inquiry to the physical conditions which existed in a wide variety of textile factories in Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands. As the first woman Factory Inspector,<sup>52</sup> she produced reports which were subsequently praised for being balanced, factual and devoid of propaganda, yet empathetic.<sup>53</sup> The collaborative investigative studies undertaken by E.Cadbury, M.G.Mathieson and G.Shann, also concentrated on the employment and pay of women and their published text, *Women's Work and Wages*,<sup>54</sup> is worthy of note.

Although concerned with the exploitation of both men and women workers, the individual contribution made by Clementina Black, another member of the Fabian Women's Group, merits attention. Black was directly influenced by the *Daily News'* Sweating Exhibition in May 1906,<sup>55</sup> having previously concerned herself with conditions experienced by women factory workers.<sup>56</sup> Her subsequent publication, *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage*,<sup>57</sup> provided a detailed examination of the life, working conditions and economic status experienced by the vast number of workers, both men and women, exploited in this way.<sup>58</sup>

Numerous other surveys to be considered in this overview were those which concentrated on specific areas of the country. Included amongst these was the

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<sup>52</sup> M.D.McFeely, *Lady Inspectors. The Campaign for a Better Workplace, 1893-1921* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1988).

<sup>53</sup> Lady Dilke, wife of Sir Charles Dilke, was, as Hunt notes, prominent in the Women's Trade Union League after Emma Paterson's death in 1886, to be succeeded, in 1903, by Mary Macarthur. See Hunt, *op.cit.* p.300.

<sup>54</sup> E.Cadbury, M. Mathieson & G.Shann, *Women's Work and Wages* (T.Fisher Unwin, 1906).

<sup>55</sup> *Daily News*, May 1906; Eglantyne Jebb, *Cambridge: a Brief Study in Social Questions* (Cambridge, Macmillan & Bowes, 1907).

<sup>56</sup> Clementina Black, 'Women Factory Workers', *Temple Magazine*, October 1901.

<sup>57</sup> Clementina Black, *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage* (Duckworth, 1907).

<sup>58</sup> As Olive Banks has noted, 'Her [Black's] contribution is a spirited defence of married recognised that married women often worked because it was financially necessary, she also believed that their work was a source of independence and freedom.' See Banks, *op.cit.* pp.19-23.

collaborative investigations undertaken by Edward Howarth and Mona Wilson,<sup>59</sup> who compiled what the *Contemporary Review*<sup>60</sup> described as 'an invaluable guide to the economic history of Outer London' with their published document, *West Ham. A Study in Social and Industrial Problems*.

Two individual contributions merit attention. Although the research involved in the economic and historical survey of the village of Corsley in Wiltshire, undertaken by Maud F. Davies,<sup>61</sup> owed much to the influence of the Webbs,<sup>62</sup> unlike her mentors, the authoress resisted any temptation to suggest reforms, preferring to put her faith, somewhat naively perhaps, in current legislation.

In direct contrast to Davies's rural study, Eglantyne Jebb focused her attention on a major city. Her subsequent publication, *Cambridge: a brief study in social questions*, was both investigative and reformist. She concluded, in much the same way as Rowntree had with his study of York, as noted,<sup>63</sup> that Cambridge could be considered as a microcosm of England.

Just as Hamilton's book, as noted,<sup>64</sup> has provided the social historian with an outstanding insight into family life, so Lady Florence Bell's contemporary study of the manufacturing town of Middlesborough, *At the Works*, first published in 1907,<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Edward G. Howarth & Mona Wilson, *West Ham. A Study in social and industrial problems: being the report of the Outer London Inquiry Committee* (Dent, 1907)

<sup>60</sup> *Contemporary Review*, vol.93, February 1908, p 21. The report was considered to be 'very thoroughly and scientifically prepared' by *Saturday Review*, 18 April 1908, p.506.

<sup>61</sup> Maud F. Davies, *Life in an English Village: An Economic and Historical survey of the Parish of Corsley in Wiltshire* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1909) For reviews see *Charity Organisation Review*, vol. 27, Jan-June 1910, p.102; *Fabian News*, March 1910, vol. XXI, no 4, p.29; *Progress*, vol.5, no.1, January 1910, p.69 and *Millgate*, vol.5. no.53. 1910, p.282.

<sup>62</sup> Davies came into contact with the Webbs during her time as an undergraduate at the London School of Economics. She was also a member of the Fabian Women's Group.

<sup>63</sup> See above, footnote 13.

<sup>64</sup> See above, footnotes 45 & 46.

<sup>65</sup> Lady F.E.E. Bell, *At the Works* (Edward Arnold, 1907). Republished with 'Prefatory Note to the Present Edition' by Florence Bell (Nelson, 1911) For reviews of this book see, for example, Stephen Reynolds, 'What The Poor Want', *Quarterly Review*, vol.212, Jan-April 1910, p.152 ff; *Saturday Review*, 8 June 1907, p.722; Book of the Month, *Review of Reviews*, vol. 35, Jan-June 1907., p.541; *Fabian News*, July 1907, vol. XVII, no.9, p.65; *The Spectator*, 6 April 1907, pp.534-5 and *Progress*, no.24, October 1911, p.292-3.

is unparalleled in conveying the most intimate details of:

...so far as it is possible for an outsider to do so, the daily lives of the workmen engaged in carrying on the Iron Trade of this country in one of its centres of greatest activity...<sup>66</sup>

By excluding:

...the larger issues connected with the subject, with the great questions involved in the relations between capital and labour, employers and employed...<sup>67</sup>

from her extensive and long-term study, Lady Bell's spotlight on Middlesborough illuminated, as Alderson comments,<sup>68</sup> as a matter of course, working-class conditions in other centres of Victorian heavy industry. In this respect, her study of this microcosm of society can be considered comparable to that of her predecessor, Charles Booth, whose *Life and Labour of the People in London* proved to be a clear indicator of the extent of poverty throughout England, as noted.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, Lady Bell dedicated her study to Charles Booth, expressing gratitude for his 'wise and sympathetic counsel.'<sup>70</sup>

No overview of female social investigators and reformers of the period would be complete without reference to the collective contribution made by the members of the Fabian Women's Group.<sup>71</sup> Included amongst these were the familiar names of

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<sup>66</sup> Bell, *op.cit.* p.20.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Lady F.E.E.Bell, *At the Works* (David & Charles Reprints, 1969) p.vii.

<sup>69</sup> See above, footnotes 6-9.

<sup>70</sup> See above, footnote 65 & 68.

<sup>71</sup> Sally Alexander, Introduction to Maud Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound A Week* (Virago, 1979) p.xiii [First published by Bell, 1913.] As Alexander explains, the Fabian Women's Group was founded by Charlotte Wilson at the London home of Maud Pember Reeves in 1908, and it was the latter's initiative which instigated the project in Lambeth, initially entitled "Mother Allowance Scheme in Lambeth".



Charlotte Payne Townshend (later Mrs. Bernard Shaw), Beatrice Potter (later Mrs. Beatrice Webb) and Maud Pember Reeves as well as the less familiar ones of Marion Phillips, Dr. Letitia Fairfield, Clementina Black, Barbara L. Hutchins, M. Mostyn Bird, Isabel Basnett, Celia Reiss, S. Newcome-Fox, M. G. Skinner, L. Wyatt Papworth, Annie Abraham, Maud F. Davies and W. Elkin.<sup>72</sup>

Despite the valuable contribution made by all the social commentaries previously examined, there can be little doubt that Maud Pember Reeves' investigation of working-class families in Lambeth, published in 1913 as *Round About a Pound a Week*,<sup>73</sup> had the most enduring impact. The published outcome of this study, with its evidence amassed from the bi-weekly visits made to Lambeth by members of the Fabian Women's Group over a period of four years, gave a unique quantitative and qualitative insight into the daily lives of working-class people, and particularly women, in a way that no other contemporary examination had previously done. For although, as has been noted, Cicely Hamilton's work was a platform for expressing concern over marriage as a means of economic survival for Edwardian women, the theoretical nature of this work rendered it less attractive as a popular publication.<sup>74</sup> The strength of *Round About A Pound A Week* lay, as Alexander has suggested, in the highly readable, 'detailed account it gave of working class women's domestic work and household management'<sup>75</sup>

It was against the background that has been outlined here that Loane

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<sup>72</sup> These names have been taken from Alexander's introduction to Reeves, *op.cit.* (1969) p.xiv, and from the introduction to Black, *Married Women's Work*, *op.cit.* This work was based on nationwide enquiries made during 1909-1910 by investigators (as listed) of the Women's Industrial Council.

<sup>73</sup> See above, footnote 71.

<sup>74</sup> See above, footnotes 45 & 46.

<sup>75</sup> Reeves, *op.cit.* (1969) p.xx.

wrote her social commentaries, all of which were based upon the very personal experiences and unique position of the Queen's nurse. Caring for the sick poor in their homes gave her an unprecedented and legitimate opportunity of observing them in a way denied other commentators. She recorded, in fascinating detail, intimate facts about the routine aspects of their lives, she commented upon their standard of living, and she provided a penetrating insight into their thoughts and beliefs, their emotions and their culture. Although Loane's studies did not include any detailed surveys of household budgets, unlike Reeves and Bell, she still paid considerable attention to the financial aspects of poverty,<sup>76</sup> and emphasised the way in which, to a certain extent, poverty dictated the way people behaved. She debated topical issues and commented upon legislation which affected the lives of the poor, and was at pains to rescue them from the prevailing opinion that they were 'a race apart.'

Notwithstanding the importance of the works of other social commentators which have been briefly examined, those written by M.Loane are an outstanding, but hitherto sadly neglected, source of contemporary evidence for the social historian, for, as will be shown in this thesis, they provide a unique insight into the reality of poverty in the late Victorian and Edwardian period. Although attention has been drawn to a number of other social commentators who wrote from their personal experiences, including for example, Stephen Reynolds, Mary Higgs and Olive Malvery, no one else approached the highly controversial, politicised and publicised subject of working-class life from Loane's perspective.

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<sup>76</sup> Loane did not rely entirely on her own opinion, and remarked that she corrected her impressions by 'occasionally reading statistics.' See M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) (henceforth *Queen's*) p.72.

Despite the fact that Loane's experience as a Queen's nurse was of fundamental importance to her writing, very little research has previously been undertaken which has shed any light upon her life and work. It is regrettable that some aspects of her history seem destined to remain obscure, but the chapter which follows will hopefully provide the most complete biographical picture to date. For, not only will it trace her family history and her distinguished nursing career, but it will also reveal previously undisclosed details of the enigmatic nature of her literary career.

## CHAPTER 3

### A Biographical Study of M.Loane

Up until now, and as noted, historians have relied upon Dr.McKibbin's sketch of Miss Loane's life for any information about her background. In the absence of a more detailed and accurate account, his assertion that 'little is known about her' has prevailed. However, as the biographical study which follows will show, it has not only been possible to compile a very full picture of Loane's life, but also to disclose important facts concerning the authorship of the Loane titles.

A brief death announcement was published in the local news section of the *Clifton and Redland Free Press* on 9 March 1922 which stated that:

The death has occurred of Miss Loane, a member of the Bristol Civic League, who was the authoress of a number of books and articles on social questions. <sup>1</sup>

The *Who Was Who* for 1916-1928 subsequently included an insertion which implied that Miss.M.Loane had died:

Miss. M.Loane (sic); daughter of the late Captain J. Loane R.N. died February 23rd 1922. Publications: *The Queen's Poor, The Next Street But One, From Their Point of View, An Englishman's Castle, The Common Growth, Shipmates, Neighbours and Friends.* <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Clifton and Redland Free Press*, 9 March 1922, p.2.

<sup>2</sup> *Who Was Who 1916-1928* Vol.II (Black, 1962) p.638. See also, *Who Was Who in Literature 1906-1934*, Vol.II (USA Gale Research Co. 1979) p.684 which recorded 'Miss M.Loane. *The Queen's Poor*, 1905, *Outlines of Routine in District Nursing* (Scientific Press, 1905) *The Next Street But One*, 1907; *From Their Point of View*,1908; *An Englishman's Castle*, 1909; *Neighbours and Friends*,1910; *The Common Growth*, 1911; *Shipmates*, 1912 (All Arnold) 22, Elmdale Road, Clifton.'

However, the unquestionable authority of the relevant death certificate proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the person who had died on 23 February 1922 was Miss Alice Eliza Loane, the youngest daughter of Captain Jabez Loane, and not her half-sister, Martha Jane Loane, the Queen's nurse whom everyone assumed was the authoress of the six social studies and innumerable articles on social and nursing topics.

Given the apparent ambiguity of these two announcements, further exploration into the biographical background of the Loane sisters, and especially Martha, is clearly necessary if the identity of 'M.Loane' is to be resolved.

### *Martha Loane's early life*

Martha Jane Loane was born on 7 February 1852 in Eldad, Plymouth to Jane and Jabez Loane.<sup>3</sup> Her mother died soon after she was born, but her father, Jabez, who was then a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy,<sup>4</sup> remarried later in 1852.<sup>5</sup> Over the course of the next six years, a number of other children were born to Harriet and Jabez Loane. Martha's first half-brother, Arthur Jabez, was born in September

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<sup>3</sup> Certified copy of entry of birth, 7 February 1852, Martha Jane Loane at 8. North Place, Eldad, Plymouth, Devon. General Register Office.

<sup>4</sup> Jabez Loane's joined the Navy in 1830, became a sub-lieutenant in 1842, and a lieutenant in 1846. See *Lean's Royal Navy List*, no.61, January 1893. He was promoted in 1870 and appointed Assistant Master Attendant (Staff Captain) at Portsmouth Yard. See *Lean's Navy List*, July 1870. In 1872 he became Master Attendant and Queen's Harbour Master (Staff Captain) at Chatham Yard. He remained in this latter post until his retirement, at the age of 65, in November 1876. The standard work on the role of officers in the Royal Navy is Michael Lewis, *England's Sea Officers. The Story of the Naval Profession* (Allen Unwin, 1939).

<sup>5</sup> Certified copy of entry of marriage, 10 November 1852 at the Chapel of East Stonehouse, in the Parish of East Stonehouse, Devon. General Register Office. Harriet Kiddle was a thirty-one year old spinster, whose father, John, was also a Commissioned Officer in the Royal Navy. For confirmation of her age, see PRO RG 9/1439, Census for 1861, Folio 100, p.23, Schedule no.559.

1853,<sup>6</sup> Frederick William, was born in October 1855,<sup>7</sup> and in January 1858 Martha's first half-sister, Beatrice Mary, was born.<sup>8</sup> A third boy, James Hope, was born in early 1862.<sup>9</sup>

When Jabez Loane was promoted to the rank of Staff Commander in 1863,<sup>10</sup> the family moved to Portsmouth, and in October of that year, the youngest child, a third daughter, Alice Eliza, was born.<sup>11</sup> Sadly, within a year, tragedy struck again, for Jabez's second wife, Harriet, died at the age of 44, leaving him to bring up six children, ranging in age from twelve years to thirteen months, on his own.<sup>12</sup> The inscription on her memorial stone bore testimony to the family grief:

#### IN MEMORIUM

Beneath this column rest the mortal remains of Harriet,  
the beloved wife of Commander Jabez Loane. As she  
departed this life on 7 November 1864 leaving a husband  
and six young children to deplore their irreparable loss...<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Certified copy of entry of birth, 8 September 1853, Arthur Jabez Loane at 4 Berkley Place, Plymouth, Devon. (sic), General Register Office.

<sup>7</sup> Certified copy of entry of birth, 19 October 1855, Frederick William Loane at 4 Berkley Terrace, Plymouth, Devon. (sic), General Register Office.

<sup>8</sup> Certified copy of entry of birth, 8 January 1858, Beatrice Mary Loane at 7 Melbourne Street, Plymouth, Devon. General Register Office.

<sup>9</sup> James Hope Loane born 1862 (Entry in Register 5b 289, Vol March 1862). Cross-reference, see bequests in Beatrice Mary Loane's will, which includes one to her brother Captain James Hope Loane of the Supply and Transport Corps Indian Army (retired). Copy of will of Beatrice Loane, drawn up on 24 February 1931, from 23 Orchard Road, Stevenage, Herts. Principal Registry of the Family Division (henceforth PRFD).

<sup>10</sup> *Lean's, op.cit.*, Lewis, *op.cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Certified copy of entry of birth, General Register Office, Alice Eliza Loane, born 23 October 1863 at 2 Exbury Place, Green Road, Southsea (County of Southampton).

<sup>12</sup> 'Deaths: Loam (sic) On the 7th inst, at Exbury Place, Green Road, Southsea, Harriett (sic) wife of Mr Jabez Loam (sic) Staff Commander Royal Navy, aged 44 years.' *Hampshire Telegraph & SussexChronicle* 12 November 1864, p.5 and 'Deaths: On the 7th inst. at Exbury Place, Green Road, Southsea, Harriett (sic) wife of Staff Commander Jabez Loane RN, aged 44', *Portsmouth Times & Naval Gazette*, 12 November 1864, p.5.

<sup>13</sup> My thanks to Mrs. Bell, Harriet's great, great grand daughter for providing details of the location of, and inscription upon, this memorial stone, in Highland Road Cemetery, Southsea.

By the time Martha's stepmother died, she was already a pupil at the recently established Royal Naval School for Females.<sup>14</sup> Admission to the school was dependent upon a girl passing the school's entrance examination, and the standard required of them was high.<sup>15</sup> So although, to date, no details have come to light regarding Martha's early schooling, it is evident that she received a good basic education in her formative years. The stated intention of the school was:

to bestow upon the daughters of necessitous Naval and Marine Officers, of and above wardroom rank at the lowest reduction of cost practicable, a good, virtuous and religious education, in conformity with the principles and doctrines of the Church of England.<sup>16</sup>

and thus enable a girl to 'take her place in the world with a fair prospect of success.'<sup>17</sup>

The general curriculum subjects which Martha, and subsequently her two half-sisters,<sup>18</sup> studied included English, writing, arithmetic, geography, French and music. Drawing, singing, deportment and a second language, German, were also available to

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<sup>14</sup> Founded in 1840, the Royal Naval School for Females (henceforth RNSF) was one of the first girls public schools to be established in England. Queen's College, Harley Street was established in 1848, Bedford College for Women in 1849, North London Collegiate in 1850 and Cheltenham Ladies College in 1854. For a general history of the RNSF see Philip Unwin, *The Royal Naval School, 1840-1975* (Kent, Longmore, 1976). My thanks to Commander Sullivan, the school Bursar, for information from the school archives.

<sup>15</sup> For more specific details of entry criteria, and the need to ensure that 'pupils admitted must be able to pass the appropriate entrance examination for their age,' see Unwin, *op.cit.* p.32.

<sup>16</sup> Unwin *op.cit.* p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> The attendance of Jabez Loane's three daughters at the RNSF is confirmed by the financial support which he gave the school continuously from 1863 to 1881 (inc), as evidenced by the relevant Annual Reports of the RNSF, in which he is listed as a subscriber. See, for example, Report for 1864, p.35, subscription 5s.0d.; Report for 1865, p.34, subscription 10s.0d; Report for 1869, p.35, subscription 10s.0d.; Report for 1870, subscription, 10s.0d. The relevance of this subscription is explained by Unwin, in his history of the school: 'The mode of admission to the school shall be as follows: The Candidates having been approved by the Committee, the names of those selected shall be submitted to the supporters of the Institution, and admitted by vote; one vote being allowed for every for every five shillings annual subscription.' See Unwin, *op.cit.* p. 17.

pupils on payment of a supplementary fee.<sup>19</sup> During their school years, Beatrice was apparently the most successful academically, for it was she who won the coveted 'Bruce Scholarship' in 1875.<sup>20</sup> However, it was undoubtedly Martha who ultimately achieved most success in the wider world with her distinguished career as a Queen's nurse and authoress.

Martha completed her formal education in 1870, but sixteen years were to elapse before she embarked upon her nursing training. It is a matter of regret that no details concerning this interim period have, to date, come to light, but it is possible that, given her future commitment to working with the poor, and like many other young Victorian women, she involved herself in charitable work.<sup>21</sup> Any such work was evidently of a voluntary nature, for, as contemporary documents note, nursing was her first paid employment.<sup>22</sup> There is also a possibility that Martha may have spent time travelling in Europe. Inferential evidence of this was first provided in an article published in *Nursing Notes* in 1897:<sup>23</sup> it is unlikely that anyone without first-

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<sup>19</sup> The minimum annual fee for each girl in 1840 was £12.00 per annum and had risen to £50.00 by 1874. The supplementary fee for German lessons, in 1852, was £3.00 per annum. See Unwin, *op.cit.* pp.25-27. Loane referred to 'her German governess' in M.Loane, 'The District Nurse's Commonplace Book', *Nursing Notes*, July 1905, p.105 and to the time when she was 'once made to learn a long list of German proverbs' in M.Loane, 'If Nurse had a Little More Tact', *Nursing Times*, 9 September 1905, p.355.

<sup>20</sup> For Beatrice's Scholarship see Annual Report of the RNSF 1875, RNS Archives.

<sup>21</sup> The Victorian period was notable for 'the pool of idle spinsters' which the demographic factors of late age of marriage, low marriage rates and migration had created in Victorian Britain.' Veblen also draws attention to what is described as 'the fruitless position of women in the prosperous Victorian family.' See T.Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, Macmillan, 1899) Chapter VI. See also, Lee Holcombe *Victorian Ladies at Work, 1850-1914* (David & Charles, 1973).

<sup>22</sup> As stated in Roll of Queen's Nurses III, Folio 80, SA/QNI/J3/3, Contemporary Medical Archives, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (henceforth CMA) This register was originally examined at the Queen's Nursing Institute, but this item, along with the majority of the Institute's archive material, has subsequently been deposited, on long term loan, with the Wellcome Institute. Subsequent references to archive material of the Queen's Nursing Institute will give the CMA details.

<sup>23</sup> M.J.Loane, 'A Summer Holiday', *Nursing Notes*, August 1897, pp.100-101. Subsequent articles which relied upon knowledge of foreign countries included M.Loane, 'The Dawn of District Nursing in France', *Nursing Notes*, June 1904, pp.97-98; 'Pas de Vacances', *Nursing Notes*, August 1904, p.127, 'The Dawn of District Nursing in Switzerland', *Nursing Notes*, September 1904, pp.145-46. For her experience of Paris see M. Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) (henceforth *Queen's*) p.163.



hand knowledge of foreign travel could have written as assuredly about Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and, in particular, France, as Martha did.

### *Martha Loane's nursing career*

Martha was already 34 when, in 1886, she embarked on her training as a nurse.<sup>24</sup> The timing of her entry into this profession is significant, for it coincided with important changes in attitude towards the role of nurses both in hospitals and the community. Nursing, certainly in the early Victorian period, was still viewed as an extension of good works, but there was a growing recognition amongst certain circles that 'if it [nursing] could be made respectable, it could provide an outlet for the social consciences and frustrated energies of the Victorian spinster.'<sup>25</sup>

Her nursing instruction was undertaken at Charing Cross Hospital<sup>26</sup> and Martha subsequently held the post of Ward Sister, under the title Sister Agnes, for a year and a half.<sup>27</sup> She remained at Charing Cross Hospital until October 1888, and the following month, with a considerable amount of experience to her credit, moved to Shrewsbury, taking up her important new post as a Sister-in-Charge at the Salop Royal Infirmary, where she stayed until March 1893.<sup>28</sup> There is a paucity of evidence concerning this period of Martha's career, but for reasons which remain unclear, she

<sup>24</sup> For details of Martha's career see above, footnote 22.

<sup>25</sup> Brian Abel-Smith, *A History of the Nursing Profession* (Heinemann, 1960) p.17.

<sup>26</sup> See above, footnote 22. Further reference to her training can be found in SA/QNI/J.2/1, CMA and Register of Nurses, Metropolitan and District Nursing Association, Ms. 14,649, no.167, Guildhall Ms. Unfortunately the archives of Charing Cross Hospital relating to the training and employment of nurses post-date Loane's time there.

<sup>27</sup> See above, footnote 22. For a reference to Sister Agnes see *Queen's* p.94.

<sup>28</sup> See above, footnote 22. Loane refers to her 'four years [nursing work] in one town' where she was known as Sister Agnes and to having worked 'in a large provincial hospital' in *Queen's*, p.94 & p.137. For reference to her post as ward sister see M.Loane, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) (henceforth *Next Street*) p.6.

decided to leave hospital nursing to train as a district nurse. With this as her goal, she enrolled, in September of 1893, as a probationer with the recently established Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses (QVJIN).<sup>29</sup>

The Institute, founded in 1887, was funded by monies collected by the women of England to commemorate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee,<sup>30</sup> and royal patronage conferred upon its members the title of Queen's nurses. The objectives of the QVJIN, as outlined in *The Times* in January 1888, were to promote 'the education and maintenance of nurses for the sick poor in their own houses.'<sup>31</sup> The organisation did not employ nurses directly, but trained:

highly qualified professional women, intelligent,  
physically strong, and spiritually inspired to serve  
mankind without fear of fatigue or greed of gain,<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See above, footnote 22. For details of the establishment of the QVJIN see Mary Stocks, *A Hundred Years of District Nursing* (George Allen & Unwin, 1960) pp. 20-25, pp.40-60, Monica E. Baly, *A History of the Queen's Nursing Institute. 100 Years 1887-1987* (Croom Helm, 1987) pp. 195-198. The QVJIN owed a great deal to the pioneering work of the Liverpool philanthropist, William Rathbone. Twenty-five years earlier, in 1859, Rathbone, alerted to the neglect of the sick poor by his own wife's illness, had established a charitable scheme which trained qualified nurses as district nurses, their primary role being to minister to the medical needs of the sick poor in their own homes. Inspiration, encouragement and advice for both the Liverpool scheme and the QVJIN was also provided by Florence Nightingale. For a contemporary account see Gwen Hardy, *William Rathbone and the Early History of District Nursing* (Lancashire, Hesketh, 1981). For contemporary overviews of other nineteenth century initiatives in charitable home nursing including the East London Nursing Society (est.approx. 1868), Mrs. Ranyard's Biblewomen Nurses and the Metropolitan and National Nursing Assoc. for Providing Trained Nurses for the Sick Poor, see W.Rathbone, *Sketch of the History and Progress of District Nursing*, (Macmillan, 1890), E.Platt, *The Story of The Ranyard Mission, 1857-1937* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1937) and Lucy Ridgeley Seymer, *General History of Nursing*, 3rd.ed. (Faber, 1949).

<sup>30</sup> As Hardy notes, the Women's Jubilee Offering as it was known, totalled £120,000. £50,000 was spent on the Albert Hall [in London], the remaining £70,000 was used to endow the QVJIN, which was incorporated by Royal Charter in September 1889. See Hardy, *op.cit.* p.23

<sup>31</sup> Letter of Sir Rutherford Alcock, *The Times*, 7 January 1888.

<sup>32</sup> Stocks, *op.cit.* It is possible to argue with Dr. McKibbin's assertion that 'the function of the first generation of district nurses, of whom Miss Loane was one, was never really to bring the wonders of modern medical technology into the slums of England, but to stop people behaving stupidly.' As Mary Stocks explains, the stated aims of the district nursing movement, from William Rathbone's Liverpool experiment onwards, was, primarily, to nurse the sick poor in their homes: the social and reform aspect was a by-product of this work. See McKibbin, *Transactions, op.cit.* pp.184-185 and Stocks, *op.cit.* pp.26-39.

as district nurses. They were then employed by affiliated associations, and regular inspection by the Institute's Inspectorate ensured that the standards set by the QVJIN were maintained.<sup>33</sup>

In accordance with the Institute's regulations, Martha undertook her preliminary 'district' training of six months at the headquarters in Bloomsbury Square, London: during these months she also found time to study for, and subsequently pass, the examination of the Obstetrical Society of London, thus enabling her to act as a midwife.<sup>34</sup> Qualification as a Queen's nurse followed in due course, and her name was included in the Institute's Roll of Nurses in the report of the Affiliation Committee on 10 May 1894.<sup>35</sup> She was presented with the Institute's distinctive Brassard and Badge on 1 July 1894.<sup>36</sup>

In September 1894 Martha left the Central Home in Bloomsbury Square to take up her new post, as a fledgling Queens' nurse at one of the Associations newly affiliated Rural Branches in Buxton, Derbyshire. Even though the only extant

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<sup>33</sup> E.Fox, 'District Nursing and the Work of District Nursing Associations in England and Wales, 1900-1948', Ph.D.thesis, University of London, 1993 and E.Fox, 'District Nursing in England and Wales before the National Health Service: The Neglected Evidence,' *Medical History*, vol.38, no.3., July 1994, p.305, also Baly, *op.cit.* pp.6-32.

<sup>34</sup> For Martha's obstetrical qualification see, *Nursing Notes*, December 1893, pp.164-65. The Society was established in 1826, and started holding examinations in 1872. For an historical background to the Society see J.Donnison, *Midwives and Medical Men* (Heinemann, 1977) p.81 and Betty Cowell & David Wainwright, *Behind the Blue Door. The History of the Royal College of Midwives, 1881-1981* (Bailliere Tindall, 1981). Loane's position *vis-a-vis* midwifery would have changed in 1902, with the introduction of the Midwives Act, 1902 allowed women with this qualification to continue practising as midwives, as long as they had been in bona-fide practice for one year when the Act came into force. See 2 Edw 7 c.17, para.2. Midwives Act, 1902.

<sup>35</sup> For certificate details see: Minutes of the Affiliation Committee, 10 May 1894, QVJIN.

<sup>36</sup> See above, footnote 22. Martha's inscribed number was 397. As Mary Stocks describes 'the brassard comprised the Queen's monogram VRI, and was worn on the left arm of all Queen's nurses, while the badge was to be worn as a pendant on a ribbon or cord around the neck. This badge consisted of an openwork metal reproduction of the royal monogram surmounted by a crown with a surrounding band of the same metal inscribed - 'Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses 1887'. See Stocks, *op.cit.* p.83 and Baly, *op.cit.* pp.35-36.

Inspectors Report for Buxton located so far predates Loane's appointment there, it does provide an insight into the nature of the district she found herself working in which was 'agricultural and operative in character, extending to about 2 square miles, with a population of about 10,000.<sup>37</sup>

Like her predecessors in Buxton, Martha would have lived in what were described as 'comfortable rooms, sitting-room and bedroom, and [been] attended to be (sic) the landlady of the house.'<sup>38</sup> Although such lodgings met the basic needs of the Queen's nurse, it is evident from Loane's subsequent writings, that the land-lady frequently proved to be her 'greatest trial.'<sup>39</sup> The maintenance of 'Books of Association' was an important obligation for any Queen's nurse, and included 'her Case Book, as well as a large Register of Cases and a Time Book.'<sup>40</sup> In Loane's case, the benefits of these official records were two-fold, for, beyond their nursing value, it must be assumed that they provided her, and her sister Alice, with material for subsequent publications.

### *Miss Loane and Florence Nightingale*

Martha's career was interrupted in July 1895 when she returned home to be near her dying father. Her visit to the family home in East Dulwich which Jabez had moved to after his retirement,<sup>41</sup> provided her with the opportunity of writing a brief

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<sup>37</sup> Annual Inspectors Reports of Buxton District Nursing Association, 16 October 1891, PRO 30/63/70. The reports for the years 1893-1907 are not included in this file. The only records of the association held by Derbyshire Record Office are the accounts for 1899-1954.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> See 'The Trials of a District Nurse', *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.1., no.3, December 1904, pp.77-80. and Chapter VIII, *Queen's*, pp.191-209.

<sup>40</sup> See above, footnotes 37 & 38.

<sup>41</sup> Jabez Loane bought 2, Underhill Villas, 22 Underhill Road, Lordship Lane, Camberwell after he retired from the Navy in 1876. This address appeared on his will. See copy of will of Jabez Loane, dated 7 October 1878, PRFD. For confirmation of his residence at this address, see: Kellys Post Office Directory, London Suburban, 1880 (Kellys, 1879). Thereafter, see vols. dated 1884, 1888, 1892, 1894.

letter to Florence Nightingale. The letter which accompanied Martha's forty page manuscript read thus:

Madam,

Hearing that you are interested in the extension of District Nursing, I venture to ask you to read the enclosed M.S and I should esteem it a very great favour if you would kindly let me know your opinion of it. It is the result of my practical experience in the work I had had experience in Hospitals before engaging in District Nursing. I enclose a stamped and addressed envelope for the return of the M.S.

I remain Madame, Yours obediently, M.J.Loane. <sup>42</sup>

It was perhaps remarkable that a woman of Nightingale's stature should have shown such a keen interest in the work of an enthusiastic but unknown district nurse. For, notwithstanding her apology for responding "so scrappily" and despite the length of Loane's manuscript, Nightingale's examination of this document was undertaken with "the utmost care and with great interest." <sup>43</sup> The brief notes that Nightingale appended to the returned manuscript were, as she acknowledged, somewhat unstructured, but were nevertheless critical and constructive. In general, she gave her unequivocal approval to the tone and content of the "preaching" in the manuscript. <sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Letter of M.Loane to F.Nightingale, 30 July 1895, Nightingale Collection, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 45813 f.92.

<sup>43</sup> See Miss Loane, 'Florence Nightingale and District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, October 1910, p.239 and reprinted in *The American Journal of Nursing*, February 1911, pp.383-84. For a critical examination of Loane's contact with Nightingale see S.Cohen, 'Miss Loane, Florence Nightingale and District Nursing in Late Victorian Britain, vol.5. 1997, *Nursing History Review* (USA) pp.83-104.

<sup>44</sup> In her appended notes, Miss Nightingale laid great emphasis on the fact that 'the district nurse needs to have more complete training than any other nurse, that while maternity work is an essential part of district nursing, the practice of midwifery is almost incompatible with it, and that the district nurse should organise neighbourly help, not discourage it, and help to develop family life, not undermine it.' See above, footnote 43.

The manuscript, entitled 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', was subsequently included, in article form, in *Nursing Notes*.<sup>45</sup>

In view of later events, the timing of Martha's letter may not have been entirely coincidental. It is possible, albeit speculative, to suggest that Alice encouraged Martha to write to this illustrious lady, in the hope that her reply would not only encourage her older sister to continue writing nursing articles, but reassure her of the interest in such material. Whether the sisters ever actually planned a literary partnership remains a mystery: rather, it may have come about by accident rather than design, and developed after Jabez died, and Alice was released from her filial duties.

Jabez Loane died of heart failure at home in Camberwell on 4 August 1895, at the age of 74.<sup>46</sup> Under the terms of his will, drawn up on 7 October 1878, Jabez had appointed Martha and Beatrice as joint Executrices and Trustees of his estate.<sup>47</sup> At this time, Martha was 26, Beatrice 20, and Alice only 15, so although the bequests therein were both complex and somewhat restrictive, they should perhaps be viewed as affording a measure of protection over the younger daughter. All his estate and effects were left to the two elder daughters, to be held in trust, and were intended to provide themselves and Alice with a home. This was however conditional on them all remaining unmarried and living together, but, as will be noted, the latter restriction proved untenable, and in 1913 the sisters legally released themselves from this

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<sup>45</sup> A later publication, Loane, *Incidental*, although bearing the same title as the articles, was not an exact reprint of the latter.

<sup>46</sup> Certified copy of entry of death, General Register Office, Certificate No.456, 4 August 1895, Jabez Loane, retired Captain R.N. Inquest held 7.8.1895 referred to cause of death as 'heart syncope.' He was cremated in Woking, Surrey, and, as a later inscription on Harriet's memorial stone indicated, his ashes were interned in his second wife's grave. The new inscription on the left hand side of the memorial reads, 'And of Jabez Loane, retired Captain Royal Navy, died August 4th. 1895 and of their dearly loved eldest son Arthur Jabez Loane, Second Commander Royal Navy. In each case cremation took place in Woking.' See above, footnote 12.

<sup>47</sup> See above, footnote 41.

restriction.<sup>48</sup> At the time of his death the net value of Jabez's estate was quite considerable, and totalled over £6,000.<sup>49</sup>

### *Martha Loane and promotion*

Martha resumed her work in Buxton after her father's death, and when her period of probation expired early in 1896 she was granted her official certificate.<sup>50</sup> Even though no details of this appointment have, as yet, come to light, it is evident from later comments that her work was of the highest calibre. For, when she took up her new post as Superintendent of Queen's nurses in Portsmouth in 1897, the following remarks were made:

The Committee [of the Victoria Nursing Association] have appointed Miss Loane, late of Buxton, Superintendent of the Home [at Portsmouth]. She comes with excellent credentials, and the Committee have every confidence that she will carry out her duties satisfactorily.<sup>51</sup>

Martha's change of status within QVJIN brought with it a new badge, although the issue of this was delayed due to administrative changes in the organisation.<sup>52</sup>

The eventual presentation of the silver Superintendent's badge must, nevertheless, have been a memorable occasion for her, for the ceremony took place at Kensington

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<sup>48</sup> See below, footnotes 143-44.

<sup>49</sup> See above, footnote 41.

<sup>50</sup> See above, footnote 22.

<sup>51</sup> As stated in the Annual Report of the Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor (henceforth BPA), 1898, p.5, Portsmouth Central Library.

<sup>52</sup> The delay in the issue of badges was due to regulatory changes, implemented in 1899. See Minute Book, vol .II, QVJIN, 10.2.1899 & 26.4.1899 and for mention of the controversy surrounding this see Stocks, *op.cit.* p.83.

Palace, and was presided over by Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne.<sup>53</sup>

The location of Loane's new position, which was familiar to her from her childhood years, was in marked contrast to rural Buxton. Her patients now comprised dockyard workers, soldiers, sailors, labourers, mechanics and small tradesmen as well as their respective families. Some 160,000 people lived within the two mile radius covered by the Queen's nurses, and as the official reports make clear, Portsea, Portsmouth, Southsea and Landport had their fair share of very poor areas.<sup>54</sup>

The confidence expressed by the Borough of Portsmouth Association, as previously noted,<sup>55</sup> was not misplaced. The new Lady Superintendent, as she was soon referred to,<sup>56</sup> received nothing but the highest praise from both the local community and its official representatives, as well as her own organisation, over the ensuing years. Of greatest significance was the heartfelt gratitude expressed by the patients for the care and compassion with which they were treated by the Queen's nurses, and many of the earlier Reports included letters to the Superintendent which voiced these feelings.<sup>57</sup> As the Annual Report for 1904 made clear, such success was due almost entirely to:

the energy and ability displayed by Miss Loane to whom more than anyone else is due the credit for the high place

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<sup>53</sup> See *Nursing Record and Hospital World*, 15 July 1899 and *Nursing Notes*, August 1899, p.11. M.Loane referred to her visit to Windsor in *Queen's*, p.75.

<sup>54</sup> Annual Inspectors Reports of Portsmouth District Nursing Association, PRO 30/63/132, 9 November 1892 & 7 November 1893, PRO 30/63/132. Even though these reports predate Martha's appointment in Portsmouth, they can be considered representative of the topography. The Reports for the years 1894-1929 are not included in this file, and, to date, it has not been possible to locate them in any other repository. See also Ledger, Preliminary Inspections of Affiliated Associations, entry for Portsmouth, SA/QVJIN/P4/2, CMA.

<sup>55</sup> See above, footnote 54.

<sup>56</sup> BPA, *op.cit.*, 1898, p.5.

<sup>57</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1897, pp.5-6; BPA, *op.cit.* 1898, pp.1898, pp.7-9; BPA, *op.cit.* 1899, pp.9-11.



our Nursing Association holds in public estimation.<sup>58</sup>

Martha became highly regarded for, amongst other attributes, her didactic skills, being officially complimented on several occasions by the Committee 'for the excellent series of lectures and training she has given the Nurses.'<sup>59</sup>

Miss Peters, the renowned Inspector of Queen's nurses,<sup>60</sup> was equally confident in Martha's ability, for at the time of her appointment, with only two nurses at the home,<sup>61</sup> she was immediately entrusted with the training of six Probationers.<sup>62</sup> By late 1903, the total number of nurses, including trainees and qualified nurses, had more than doubled, to a total of fifteen.<sup>63</sup> Commensurate with the increased number of nurses was an increase in the number of poor people who benefited from the ministrations of the Queen's nurses. In contrast to Loane's first full year as Superintendent, when her nurses dealt with 448 new cases, and made 17,990 visits,<sup>64</sup> during 1904, her last complete year in post, 1,073 new cases were dealt with, involving her nurses in 26,601 visits.<sup>65</sup>

Over and above the onerous responsibilities of running the District Nurses Home, which Loane described fully in several articles,<sup>66</sup> she was also obliged, once a

<sup>58</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1904, pp.5-6.

<sup>59</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1897, p.4; BPA, *op.cit.* 1898, p.7.

<sup>60</sup> For details of Miss Peters career see Stocks, *op.cit.* p.89 ff. Hers was the third name to appear on the Roll in January 1890, and she was appointed Inspector General in 1892.

<sup>61</sup> *The Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.2, no.3, Dec.1905, p.85, also BPA, *op.cit.* 1896, p.5, which states that there were four nurses.

<sup>62</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1897, p.4.

<sup>63</sup> *The Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.2, no.3, December 1905, p.85 states that there were nine nurses at the home in Dec.1905, the BPA Report puts the number at fifteen. It is possible that the nine were Queen's nurses, and that the rest were not members of this Association.

<sup>64</sup> Summary of Cases Nursed, BPA, *op.cit.* 1898, p.11.

<sup>65</sup> Summary of Cases Nursed, BPA, *op.cit.* 1904, p.11.

<sup>66</sup> M.Loane, 'The Duties of a Superintendent in a small Home for District Nurses', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, vol.XVI, no.190, October 1903, pp.142-44; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, vol. XVI, no.191, November 1903, pp.157-58, subsequently republished as a book of the same title by The Womens Printing Society. Also, 'Miss. M.Loane, 'Thoughts on the Final Training of District Probationers', *The British Journal of Nursing*, 22 October 1904, p.350; 29 October 1904, pp.349-50, 12 November 1904, pp.390-92.

fortnight, to accompany each of her nurses on a complete round of duty, 'to ensure the maintenance of correct and efficient nursing procedure.'<sup>67</sup>

Even though Martha was keenly aware of the limitations imposed by the pressure of nursing commitments, she was also committed to actively involving herself in the financial concerns of the Institution.<sup>68</sup> Her success in this area brought her further credit, and the local Committee and the mother organisation were impressed by Martha's 'able and careful management' of financial matters<sup>69</sup>: in tangible terms, under her leadership, the income of the Portsmouth Association rose from £404 in 1897 to £1,073 in 1904.<sup>70</sup>

Her literary career, embarked upon in 1897, continued to flourish, and the name of M.Loane became familiar to readers of *Nursing Notes*, *The British Journal of Nursing*, the newly launched *Queen's Nurses' Magazine* and the prestigious literary journal, *Contemporary Review*.<sup>71</sup> More specific publications were the three nursing handbooks published by The Scientific Press during 1904.<sup>72</sup> Alice Loane was evidently involved in some way with these publications, for a number of advertisements which appeared in the nursing press

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<sup>67</sup> K.F.Carpenter, 'Public Health in Portsmouth 1873-1900', p.67, Portsmouth City Records Office.

<sup>68</sup> Loane addressed this issue in a number of articles. See Miss.M.Loane, 'Thoughts on the Final Training of District Probationers', *The British Journal of Nursing*, 22 October 1904, p.350; M.Loane, 'The Duties of a Superintendent in a Small Home for District Nurses', *Nursing Notes*, November 1903, p.158; M.Loane 'The District Nurse and her Connection with the Financial Support of the Local Institution', *Nursing Notes*, March 1905, p.42.

<sup>69</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1899 p.6.

<sup>70</sup> *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.2, no.3, December 1905, p.85.

<sup>71</sup> To date, thirty three articles published between 1897 and March 1905 have been located.

<sup>72</sup> M.Loane, *The Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing* (Scientific Press, May 1904) *Outlines of Routine in District Nursing, drawn up for the use of probationers* (Scientific Press, September 1904); M.Loane and H.Bowers, *The District Nurse as Health Missioner* (Scientific Press, September 1904). Now defunct, the Scientific Press published, amongst others, *The Hospital Newspaper* and *The Nursing Mirror*, belonged to Sir Henry Burdett, and on his death in 1924, he passed it on to his daughter, Lady Gwyer. It was bought out by Faber & Faber in 1929. *Mumby's Publishing and Bookselling*, 5th ed. (Jonathan Cape, 1974) p.357.

directed people to obtain their copies from Miss A.E.Loane in Pwellmeyric, Chepstow.<sup>73</sup>

A considerable honour was bestowed upon Martha in late 1904, for she was invited to present an important lecture on the training of District Probationers<sup>74</sup> at the Annual Conference of the Association of 'Queen's' Superintendents for the Metropolitan and Southern Counties, chaired that year by no less an illustrious figure than Miss Rosalind Paget, the first Inspector General of the Institute.<sup>75</sup> A full transcript of her presentation was published not only in the 1904 Annual Report of the Portsmouth Borough Association,<sup>76</sup> but also in *Nursing Notes* in February and April 1905.<sup>77</sup>

#### *Miss Loane and Dr. Fraser*

Martha's position as Superintendent of Queen's nurses inevitably brought her into regular professional contact with other members of the medical fraternity in Portsmouth.<sup>78</sup> One such acquaintanceship was with Dr. Andrew Mearns Fraser, who was not only Honorary Secretary of the Borough Association, but also held the important post of Medical Officer for Health for Portsmouth.<sup>79</sup> As the records show, he gained wide recognition for his pioneering work in improving the health

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<sup>73</sup> See, for example, *The Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.1, no.1, May 1904, p.21; *Midwives Record*, vol.1, no.2, June 1906, p.6.

<sup>74</sup> *Nursing Notes*, February 1905, p.25; March 1905, p.43.

<sup>75</sup> For details of Miss Paget's career, see Stocks *op.cit.* p.88 etc. and also Baly, *op.cit.* pp.33-34. Hers was the first name to appear on the Roll on 1 January 1890.

<sup>76</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1904 p.5-6, p.9.

<sup>77</sup> *Nursing Notes*, February 1905, p.25, continued in *Nursing Notes*, April 1905, p.58.

<sup>78</sup> For confirmation of this see BPA, *op.cit.* 1904, p.6, which states, 'It is a striking testimony to the efficiency of the Nursing that so large a number of calls should be made upon our Nurses through the agency of medical men.'

<sup>79</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1905 p.6, at which time he resigned his post as Hon. Sec to the Association, 'the duties of which he had so ably carried out for five years'.

of local inhabitants, and in this respect, relied heavily upon the ability of the district nurses to educate the poor in matters of hygiene.<sup>80</sup>

It was, without doubt, a great compliment to Martha when, in early 1905, he agreed to write the introduction to her latest publication, *Simple Sanitation: the Practical Application of the Laws of Health to Small Dwellings*.<sup>81</sup> However, two specific extant letters relating to this agreement are of considerable significance, for they raise questions about the precise authorship of this work, and, by implication, of other work attributed to M.Loane.

These letters, which were written in late March 1905, were penned not by Martha, who was very involved in her work as Superintendent of Queen's nurses in Portsmouth, but by her sister Alice Eliza, who was communicating with Dr.Fraser from her home in Pwllmeyric, Chepstow. In the first letter Alice wrote:

Dear Sir, My sister tells *me* [my italics] that you have very kindly promised to write the opening chapter for '*Simple Sanitation of Small Private Houses*' if we tell you more precisely what it is that we wish to know. *I* [my italics] have written down the leading points that *we* [my italics] should like the chapter to cover, and enclose the paper...<sup>82</sup>

Some three days later, Alice wrote to the doctor again:

Dear Dr.Fraser, *We* [my italics] are extremely obliged to you by your kind promise to answer most of the very

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<sup>80</sup> For Dr.A.M.Fraser's career see, for example, *Portsmouth Evening News*, 26 January 1934; 10 July 1958; 21 July 1958.

<sup>81</sup> This work was, on publication, entitled *Simple Sanitation: the Practical Application of the Laws of Health to Small Dwellings*, with an introduction by Dr A.M.Fraser (Scientific Press, 1905). A later publication was *Simple Introductory Lessons in Midwifery* (Scientific Press, 1906). For reviews of her nursing texts see Appendix 2.

<sup>82</sup> Letter of A.E.Loane, 20 March 1905, Mearns Fraser Collection, 182A/5/1, Portsmouth City Records Office.

numerous questions with which *we* [my italics] have troubled you. Only the accuracy of the facts is of any importance but if *I* [my italics] cast them into another form you will perhaps be good enough to glance through that portion of the proofs to make sure that *I* [my italics] have not let any errors slip in. We know how fully your time is occupied, and appreciate your kindness at its true worth.<sup>83</sup>

By the alternating use of 'we' and 'I' in both letters Alice not only provided the strongest indication that this work was a joint venture between her and her half-sister, Martha, but she provided inferential evidence that earlier and subsequent Loane works were, similarly, the outcome of a literary partnership.

#### *Miss Loane's literary career*

By May 1905, and as noted,<sup>84</sup> Martha had a considerable portfolio of nursing publications and articles to her credit,<sup>85</sup> and on 11 May 1905 she signed the first of several future Memoranda of Agreement with the publishers, Edward Arnold.<sup>86</sup> This contract between Edward Arnold and Miss M.Loane, was, however, not addressed to Martha in Portsmouth, but, like the correspondence with Dr. Fraser, to Alice's home in Pwellmyeric, Chepstow: once again the sisters provided inferential evidence of

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<sup>83</sup> Letter of A.E.Loane, 23 March 1905, Mearns Fraser Collection, 182A/5/1, Portsmouth City Records Office.

<sup>84</sup> For articles in nursing publications see Appendix 1. For Loane's nursing books, all published by the Scientific Press, see Appendix 1.

<sup>85</sup> Thirty seven articles have been located which were published before June 1905. See Appendix 1. The articles in *Contemporary Review* in Britain and *Littell's Living Age* (USA) appear as items 26 & 32 in Appendix 1.

<sup>86</sup> Memoranda of Agreement for *The Queen's Poor*, 11 May 1905, between Miss Martha Loane and Edward Arnold, signed Martha Loane. File 5719, Edward Arnold Archives, Hodder Headline plc (henceforth EAA). I am grateful to Kevin Stuart, archivist at Hodder Headline plc for his help.

some collusion of authorship. The manuscript for *The Queen's Poor*, as determined by the publishers, was to consist of:

not less than 70,000 words of a similar character to the portions already shown to the Publisher to be delivered to the Publisher, complete and in a condition ready for Press, not later than June 15th 1905. <sup>87</sup>

It must be presumed that the manuscript was ready in advance of this date for, on 5 June 1905, ten days before the publisher's deadline, Martha was taken suddenly and seriously ill with appendicitis, causing deep anxiety to her many friends and fellow nurses. <sup>88</sup> The following extract from *Nursing Notes* exemplifies the genuine concern felt by people in Portsmouth for Martha's safety:

Miss Loane has been nursed by her own staff, and everything has been in her favour except the appalling noise, which those who know Portsmouth High Street may imagine for themselves. The Naval and Military authorities have shown every consideration, and as soon as Miss Loane's illness was known "night attacks" and the time-gun were stopped, while the troops have marched past the Home without a band, and even the farewell salutes to the Spanish ships were rearranged at the last moment on her account. Special police were posted to regulate the traffic during the worst days, but little could really be done to soften the din of such a busy thoroughfare. We must all be very grateful to the authorities for doing everything in their power to help the doctors and nurses to save so valuable a life;

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<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Nursing Times*, 1 July 1905, p.160.

the amount of sympathy and feeling evoked is testimony to the estimation in which Queen's nurses' are held in Portsmouth.<sup>89</sup>

Not surprisingly, given Martha's obvious professional ability, her enforced absence affected the efficiency of the Queen's nurses in Portsmouth, at least in the short term. Regular reports on the activities of the Victoria Association in the *Portsmouth Times and Hampshire County Journal* provide evidence that the number of visits made each week by the district nurses dropped dramatically from a high of 668 in the week before Martha's illness, to a low of 421 in the middle of June.<sup>90</sup>

#### *Martha Loane's retirement from nursing*

Martha's recovery was protracted and slow, and within two months, by August 1905, ill-health compelled her to resign from her beloved nursing post.<sup>91</sup> Miss Peters wrote a fitting testimony to Martha in the Roll of Nurses, stating that:

Miss Loane is one of the best Supts.(sic) in the service of the Institute and in training Probationers is most efficient. She is a great loss to the Institute.<sup>92</sup>

Similar tributes appeared in the nursing press, and the Annual Report of the local Association later commented:

The one great cause for regret is in the resignation of our

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<sup>89</sup> 'Illness of a Queen's Superintendent', *Nursing Notes*, July 1905, p.105.

<sup>90</sup> For number of cases attended see, for example, *Portsmouth Times and Hampshire County Journal*, 27 May 1905, p.4; 3 June 1905, p.5; 10 June 1905, p.4; 17 June 1905, p.4; 24 June 1905, p.4.

<sup>91</sup> *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.2, no.3, December 1905, p.85.

<sup>92</sup> See above, footnote 22.

late Superintendent, Miss Loane, which was caused by sudden and grave illness. The subscribers will however be glad to learn that Miss Loane is making slow but sure progress towards recovery.<sup>93</sup>

As was customary on retirement from the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses, Martha had to return her Silver Superintendents badge, but was subsequently, in October 1905, presented with her Silver Leaving badge.<sup>94</sup>

According to a report in the *Nursing Times*, in early October 1905, and immediately prior to publication of *The Queen's Poor*, Martha was sufficiently recovered to be planning a move from Southsea<sup>95</sup> to Wales.<sup>96</sup> Whether this meant that she was going to live with her younger sister Alice,<sup>97</sup> or just intended to move close to her, remains uncertain. Given that Martha had lived a very independent life for twenty years, it would not have been surprising if she had decided to continue living alone.<sup>98</sup> In any event, this need not have affected their literary 'arrangement' which, as has been demonstrated, was unaffected by earlier separations.

Apart from a hiatus between mid 1905 and March 1906,<sup>99</sup> the corpus of work produced after Martha's retirement was extensive, so there is reason to speculate that the writing partnership continued to flourish.

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<sup>93</sup> BPA, *op.cit.* 1905 p.6.

<sup>94</sup> See above, footnote 22.

<sup>95</sup> As Superintendent, Martha would have lived at the Nurses Home in Portsmouth, initially at 99, Victoria Road North; see, BPA, 1896 p.5 and from 1901, at 78-9 High Street, see BPA, *op.cit.* 1901, p.5. For two letters which she wrote from 99 Victoria Road North in early 1900 see SA/QNI/F4/2/60/62, CMA.

<sup>96</sup> *Nursing Times*, 7 October 1905, p.438.

<sup>97</sup> Alice was certainly living in Pwllmeyric, Chepstow between 1904 and 1906.

<sup>98</sup> In a letter which Beatrice wrote to Lloyds Bank on 7 November 1933, after Martha's death, she claimed that 'Miss Loane, by her own wish has lived apart from her half- sisters since 1906.' Letter of B.M.Loane to Lloyds Bank, 7 November 1933. Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank.

<sup>99</sup> See Appendix 1.



On publication, *The Queen's Poor* was well received by reviewers and contemporaries alike. Sir Archibald Clay, Bart, was later to remark of this work:

I have had a good deal of experience of 'relief' work, and I have never come across a book upon the subject of the 'poor' which shows such true insight and such a grasp of reality in describing the life, habits and mental attitude of our poor citizens...The whole book is not only admirable from a common sense point of view, but it is extremely pleasant and interesting to read, and has the great charm of humour.<sup>100</sup>

Five further social commentaries were published by Edward Arnold. The contract for the second title, published in January 1907 as *The Next Street But One*, was actually signed on 24 September 1906, again by 'Martha Loane' at the Chepstow address.<sup>101</sup> By October 1907, Edward Arnold were addressing their correspondence to 'Miss. M.Loane, Buckhorn Weston, Wincanton': the contract for *From Their Point of View* was signed by 'A.E.Loane and Martha Loane' on 25 October 1907,<sup>102</sup> for *An Englishman's Castle* on 8 October 1908, by 'A.E.Loane and M.Loane',<sup>103</sup> for *Neighbours and Friends* on 19 November 1909 by 'A.E.Loane and M.Loane'<sup>104</sup> and finally for *The Common Growth* on 9 December 1910 by 'A.E.Loane and M.J. Loane.'<sup>105</sup> The discrepancies and inconsistencies of the signatories to the contracts signed between 1905 and 1910, and which to date have not been authenticated,

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<sup>100</sup> As stated in the end page, *Next Street*.

<sup>101</sup> File 5719, EAA. When the contract was entered into the book was provisionally entitled *Ethics of the Poor*, but this was subsequently changed.

<sup>102</sup> File 5720, EAA.

<sup>103</sup> File 5721, EAA.

<sup>104</sup> File 5724, EAA.

<sup>105</sup> File 5726, EAA.

appear not to have concerned Edward Arnold at this time. However, as will be noted, they did raise questions after Alice died in 1922.

As the appendix of reviews of Loane's works show, all these titles, in common with *The Queen's Poor*, were widely reviewed and critically acclaimed. Approval was not restricted to England, for the continued publication of popular new titles in the USA brought with it considerable recognition.<sup>106</sup>

At home, Loane's writing brought her to the attention of a number of influential people who shared her interest in the condition of the poor. The first to demonstrate approval was her fellow social commentator, Helen Bosanquet. When her new work *The Family*<sup>107</sup> was published in 1906 the authoress paid tribute to Loane by describing *The Queen's Poor* as Miss Loane's 'beautiful book': Bosanquet also included a number of extracts from the first chapter of this work to support her own opinions of the division of responsibility within marriage.<sup>108</sup> Three years later, in 1909, the politician, journalist and author, C.F.G. Masterman<sup>109</sup> also made direct reference to Loane in his book, *The Condition of England*, by including quotations from *From Their Point of View*.<sup>110</sup>

Another important figure who expressed a great interest in Loane's work was John St.Loe Strachey, the owner and editor of *The Spectator*. In his professional

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<sup>106</sup> See Appendix 2 for a list of the reviews of the M.Loane titles.

<sup>107</sup> Helen Bosanquet, *The Family* (Macmillan, 1906).

<sup>108</sup> Bosanquet, *The Family*, *op.cit.* p.200. The extracts appear on p.200 and pp.274-76.

<sup>109</sup> As Weaver has remarked, 'Masterman's liberalism was strongly tinged with Christian Socialism...The appalling contrast between the squalor of the slums and the luxury of Mayfair stirred his emotional nature, and an indignant pessimism inspired his next two books, *From The Abyss* (Johnson, 1902) and *In Peril of Change* (T.Fisher Unwin, 1905). These writings and his success as a platform speaker made Masterman a welcome recruit to the political liberalism which began to dominate Britain after the Boer War...As a writer Masterman may be judged by his most popular work, *The Condition of England*, which appeared in 1909. His style at its best was vigorous and fluent...' For this and a resume of Masterman's career see J.R.H.Weaver (ed) *The Dictionary of National Biography, 1922-1930* (Oxford, 1930) pp.568-59.

<sup>110</sup> See Appendix 3.

capacity, he had regularly, and extensively, reviewed her social commentaries in his paper,<sup>111</sup> but at a personal level, he was also responsible for recommending her social studies to a number of his contemporaries who shared an interest in the lives and experiences of the poor.

One such person was Stephen Reynolds,<sup>112</sup> with whom he frequently corresponded. Reynolds wrote to Strachey in March 1909:

Thank you for your letter of the 11th. I've read your review; [of *An Englishman's Castle*] bought Miss Loane's book too; and I not only agree, as you expected, with your general tone, but within the limits to which you confine yourself, with everything you say. 'Social Reform' the vote-catching thing it is, is the last and most dangerous of the cants, if only because it has collared so many generous minds, let alone on account of its insidiousness and tendency to shut up everything bad in white sepulchres; I can see that perhaps more plainly than Miss Loane.<sup>113</sup>

When the first volume of *The Quarterly Review* appeared in 1910, Reynolds publicly expressed his approbation of Loane's views: the five social commentaries already published were reviewed in an extensive examination which also considered work by Lady Bell, C.F.G Masterman and George Bourne.<sup>114</sup> Several lengthy

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<sup>111</sup> For an examination of Strachey's ownership and editorship of *The Spectator*, see A.J.L. Morris, 'A Study of John St.Loe Strachey's editorship of *The Spectator* 1901-1914', Ph.D Thesis, Cambridge, 1986.

<sup>112</sup> For biography of Reynolds see, *Who Was Who* 1916-1928 (Black, 1929) p.884; *The Times*, 22 February 1913, p.8; 25 October 1913, p.8. For Reynolds correspondence with Strachey, see Harold Wright, (ed) *Letters of Stephen Reynolds* (Hogarth, 1923) and Letters of John St.Loe Strachey, S/16/3/ Items 2,5,6,8,11, House of Lords Record Office.

<sup>113</sup> Letter of Stephen Reynolds to J. St Loe Strachey, dated 14 March 1909, in Wright, *op.cit.* p.118.

<sup>114</sup> Stephen Reynolds 'What the Poor Want' *Quarterly Review* vol.212 Jan-April 1910, pp.152-79 For earlier references to works by these authors see Chapter 2, footnotes 17, 22, 65 & 68.

extracts from Loane's books were included in this review, and the whole article was subsequently reprinted as a separate chapter in Reynolds book, *Seem's So*, published in 1911.<sup>115</sup>

Besides influencing Reynolds, Strachey subsequently recommended her books to A.V.Dicey.<sup>116</sup> He wrote to Dicey in March 1910, responding to a request for information on pensions for women, and suggested:

No doubt, also Miss Loane, Buckhorn Weston, Wincanton, whose admirable book I reviewed in last Saturday's '*Spectator*' could give you most important information...I agree with you that we have got into such a terrible mess with the old age pensions business that the only thing to do now is to insist on a contributory scheme. Miss Loane is also excellent on this point, see the extract in my review. If you do not know Miss Loane's books advise you to read every one of them. They are to my mind the best things written about the poor in modern times.<sup>117</sup>

Beyond this, the publication of other material continued undiminished. Links were maintained with the nursing profession through articles published in the contemporary nursing journals,<sup>118</sup> and Loane became a regular contributor to first *The Evening News*, and then to *The Spectator*.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Stephen Reynolds, 'Various Conclusions', Chapter 20, *Seem's So* (Macmillan, 1911).

<sup>116</sup> Dicey's 'interest in social problems led, in 1899, to his election to the principalship of the Working Men's College in London, a post which he held until 1912.' For Dicey's career see, J.R.H. Weaver (ed) *The Dictionary of National Biography 1922-1930* (Oxford, 1937) pp.259-261.

<sup>117</sup> Letter of John St.Loe Strachey to A.V.Dicey, 15 March 1910, Strachey Papers, S/5/5/17, House of Lords Record Office.

<sup>118</sup> For articles published in nursing journals see Appendix 1.

<sup>119</sup> For articles published in the *Evening News* between 1906 and 1910 see Appendix 1.

The articles that were published in *The Evening News* between March 1907 and July 1910 warrant special attention.<sup>120</sup> For reasons which remain a mystery, these were the only ones which were attributed to 'M.E.Loane': clear reference was made to the authoress's experience as a Queen's nurse and to her published social commentaries, but the initials used fitted neither Martha nor Alice. Rather, they were a combination of the 'M' of Martha's forename and the 'E' of Alice's second name, Eliza. An explanation for this attribution is, of course, speculative, but the decision to combine initials may have been the closest that the Loane sisters came to admitting to their literary partnership.

Around the same time as *The Evening News* was publishing articles attributed to M.E.Loane, *Nursing Mirror* was including papers on district nursing in their regular feature, 'Nurses Clinic'. Whilst the author of these remained anonymous, extant documents have revealed that payment for two such articles was made to Miss Loane at the Buckhorn Weston, Wincanton, the address to which Alice had moved.<sup>121</sup> Miss M.Loane had quite openly contributed a number of articles to the 'Nurses Clinic' during late 1905 and early 1906,<sup>122</sup> so that the decision to publish subsequent articles anonymously must, in some curious way, have been a further manifestation of the literary deception to which Alice and Martha were a party.

As Loane's connection with *The Evening News* declined,<sup>123</sup> so her literary relationship with *The Spectator* increased. The articles which Strachey published generated a considerable amount of public debate, as evidenced by comments

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<sup>120</sup> These articles are detailed as items 68-72, 74, 76, 77, 79-84, 86-93 & 95 of Appendix 1.  
<sup>121</sup> Scientific Press Ledger, Folio 129, Burdett Papers, A/1/11, Bodleian Library. This appears to be the only extant ledger for the Scientific Press, so it is impossible to be certain whether Loane submitted any more unattributed articles. For these articles see items 64 & 67 of Appendix 1.

<sup>122</sup> For these articles see items 45, 47-49 of Appendix 1.

<sup>123</sup> Her last article was published in *The Evening News* on 8 July 1910, her first article in *The Spectator* on 25 June 1910. See Appendix 1.

in 'letters to the editor' which were published in subsequent editions of *The Spectator*.<sup>124</sup> As the following extracts exemplify, Strachey was very quick to deflect any criticism of Loane, thus reinforcing, by implication, his approbation of her strictures. On one occasion, and in respect of an article she had written concerning the Children's Country Holiday Fund, he remarked 'There is no one who knows the condition of the poor better than Miss Loane'<sup>125</sup> whilst on another, he responded sharply, by stating:

'Veritas' appears to be quite unconscious that Miss Loane, as a district nurse, has spent her life among the poor and knows, loves, and respects them. No one has a better right than she to speak about the poor.<sup>126</sup>

Whilst the final social commentary was, as noted, published in early 1911,<sup>127</sup> articles attributed to M.Loane continued to be published in England until December

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<sup>124</sup> See, for example, letter of M.Hall-Houghton, *The Spectator*, 2 July 1910, p.16 in response to M. Loane, 'Hospitality', *The Spectator*, 25 June 1910, p.10066; letter of 'Registrar' and letter of 'V', *The Spectator*, 10 December 1910, p.1024 in response to M.Loane, 'The Cost of Idleness', *The Spectator*, 3 December 1910, p.961; letter of 'J.J.E', *The Spectator*, 29 April 1911, p.647 in response to M.Loane, 'Class Hatred', *The Spectator*, 22 April 1911, pp.588-89; letters of 'Registrar' and 'V' 'Veritas' *The Spectator*, 6 May 1911, p.686. Her article 'Children's Country Holidays', issue of 2 September 1911, p.336, elicited a considerable correspondence to the editor of *The Spectator*. See letters of R. W.Harris, a Children's Country Holiday Fund (CCHF) worker and A.Beasley, *The Spectator*, 9 September 1911, pp.376-77, also letters of Ella Weber, Rose S.M. Weigall and Fleetwood H. Williams, *The Spectator*, 16 September 1911, p.413-4; letter of W.Guise Brittan, *The Spectator*, 9 December 1911, p.1008. The correspondence in *The Spectator* arising from the publication of this article caused a minor stir at the CCHF, and they ordered an investigation of Ella Weber's complaint. See Minutes of the Executive Committee, vol.2, 1910-1911, Folio 170, Archives of the Children's Country Holiday Fund. For letters in response to M.Loane, 'The Saving of Child Life', *The Spectator*, 11 November 1911, pp.786-87 see letters of Ronald Carter, M.D and Janet E. Ashbee, *The Spectator*, 2 December 1911, p.961 and to M.Loane, 'Varying Childness', *The Spectator*, 16 December 1911 see letter of Sophia Beale, *The Spectator*, 6 January 1912, p.16.

<sup>125</sup> Editor's postscript to letter of 'R.N.B', *The Spectator*, 15 April 1911, p.560.

<sup>126</sup> Editor's postscript to letter of 'Veritas', *The Spectator*, 6 May 1911, p.686.

<sup>127</sup> See above, footnote 105.

of that year. The last article to be published appeared in America in 1912. Entitled 'Infant Mortality', this extensive paper had been presented, on behalf of the author, described as 'M.Loane, London, Author of *The Queen's Poor, Neighbours and Friends* etc', by Miss Edna L.Foley<sup>128</sup> at the Second Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality in Chicago, Illinois, USA in November 1911.<sup>129</sup>

Almost invariably, articles and books written by Loane gave the impression, whether explicitly or implicitly, that the authoress had first-hand experience as a Queen's nurse. Reviewers, publishers and fellow commentators alike, including Bosanquet, Reynolds and Masterman and Strachey, all took it for granted that work attributed to variously M.Loane, M.J.Loane or M.E.Loane was written by the Queen's nurse, Martha Loane. No evidence has come to light which suggests that either Alice or Martha ever made any attempt to dispel this view during their lifetime.

Because of the question of authorship of the Loane titles, as well as the articles, some caution should be exercised in assuming that the views expressed within these publications reflected those of Martha Loane, and thus, by definition, those of the Queen's Nursing Institute, as has been suggested by Dr.Baly and Dr. Fox.<sup>130</sup> It is possible to speculate that these were Alice's views, and that the Loane sisters held increasingly divergent opinions on the relief of poverty, causing a growing rift between them, which seriously affected their literary careers, as well as their family

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<sup>128</sup> Miss Foley, a trained nurse, was on the editorial staff of *The American Journal of Nursing*.  
<sup>129</sup> M.Loane, 'Infant Mortality', *American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, Transactions*, 1912, pp. 319-28. Reprinted in *Nursing Notes*, Part 1, February 1912, p.38, Part 2, April 1912, pp.93-4, Conclusion, May 1912, pp.120-1.

<sup>130</sup> Baly, *op.cit.* pp.76-7. This assertion has been made more recently by Dr. Fox. See E.Fox, 'Universal Health Care and Self Help: Paying for District Nursing Before the National Health Service,' *Twentieth Century History*, vol.7, no.1. 1996. p. 87.

relationship. A further cause of dissent which, in conjunction with their differing views, as suggested, may have precipitated the end of the literary partnership, was Martha's conversion to Roman Catholicism, to be examined.

*The end of a literary career*

Whatever the causes, by 1912, the literary career of M.Loane had come to an end. This was certainly the impression that Professor Charles Sarolea was given in a revealing letter which was written to him from Buckhorn Weston on 7 August 1912. Sarolea, who, besides holding the post of First Lecturer and Head of the French and Romance Department of Edinburgh University, had recently founded the journal *Everyman*.<sup>131</sup> In his capacity as both editor and proprietor, he had apparently written to M. Loane enquiring about her 'books concerning the lives of the poor'. The reply which he received outlined the six titles published by Edward Arnold between 1905 and 1911, then continued:

...I have no copies left of any of them, but I have written to the publisher suggesting that he should send you a copy of *Neighbours and Friends*. I gave up all literary work more than a year ago.'<sup>132</sup>

The Loane sister who penned this reply, and who signed herself M.Loane, was, in fact, being economical with the truth, for she made no mention of a further Loane title which Edward Arnold had contracted to publish in the late Autumn of 1912: the agreement entered into then was with Miss A.E.Loane rather than Miss

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<sup>131</sup> Professor Sarolea owned and edited *Everyman* between 1912-1917. For a resume of his career see *Who Was Who*, vol.V, 1951-1960, 2nd. ed (Black, 1964) p.966.

<sup>132</sup> Letter of M. Loane to Prof. C. Sarolea, 7 August 1912, MS Sarolea Collection, 25, University of Edinburgh.



M.Loane, even though the address on the contract was Buckhorn Weston, Wincanton.<sup>133</sup> This work was a naval biography, and, as such, was unlikely to have interested the professor.<sup>134</sup> It is equally unlikely that he would have been interested in the only article which was written by A.E.Loane which appeared in *The Spectator* in 1913.<sup>135</sup> This piece almost certainly marked the end of Alice's brief solo career as an authoress.

### *Martha Loane and Catholicism*

A factor which evidently caused dissension between the Loane sisters was Martha's conversion to Roman Catholicism. Apart from the strictures imposed upon her during her years at the Royal Naval School,<sup>136</sup> and up until her conversion, Martha's personal religious beliefs played no part in her working life. QVJIN actively sought to prevent any problems arising from the conflicting religious beliefs of nurses and patients, and had decided as early as 1888 that:

it be a fundamental rule that there be no interference on the part of anyone connected with the Queen's Jubilee Institute with the religious belief of either officers or patients,

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<sup>133</sup> Memoranda of Agreement for *Shipmates*, 3 April 1912, between A.E.Loane and Edward Arnold, signed A.E.Loane. File 5266, EAA. A.E.Loane, *Shipmates* (Edward Arnold, 1912).

<sup>134</sup> This work was described as 'portraits from memory of naval officers who were born between 1805 and 1827, and who served their country for many years in all quarters of the globe.' Publication figures indicate that this was the least successful of any Loane title. Six hundred copies were originally printed between August and October 1912. Four hundred copies were subsequently printed in 1917. See Edward Arnold Papers, Guildhall Library, Ms. 29076.5, Folio 909.

<sup>135</sup> 'Country Temper', *The Spectator*, 29 March 1913, pp.528-29.

<sup>136</sup> It is evident from the official school history that considerable attention was placed upon religious instruction. At prize-giving in 1867, '...Mr. Hales examined the pupils upon the scriptures and the replies he received were given with a readiness which proved careful training.' In 1872, girls under 12 applying for admission to the school were expected to 'know the outlines of Biblical and English History from Pinnock's Catechism.' See, Unwin, *op.cit.* p.30.

and it is clear from Martha's writings that she adhered firmly to these principles.<sup>137</sup>

It remains speculative that the fundamental change in Martha's religious commitment from the Church of England to Roman Catholicism occurred at the time, and as a result of her grave illness in 1905.<sup>138</sup>

She was received into the Roman Catholic faith on 22 March 1910 in Plymouth Cathedral,<sup>139</sup> but according to Beatrice, Alice did not find out about Martha's change of religious affiliation until 1912, some two years after the event.

It has already been noted that Martha's whereabouts after her retirement in 1905 remain uncertain. In all likelihood she moved to Wales late that year to be with Alice,<sup>140</sup> but after her recovery, and when her sister moved to Dorset in late 1906, she decided to live on her own again. However, by 1909, there is reason to believe that the retired Queen's nurse was living at Newport House, Launceston, Cornwall,<sup>141</sup> where she resided as a 'paying lady' amongst a community of French nuns who had established a convent and ran a school there.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Stocks, *op.cit.*, p.84. As an inspection of the extant Roll of Nurses for this period highlights, nurses who admitted to being of the Roman Catholic persuasion were few and far between. For the *status quo* on Roman Catholicism at this time see, for example; R.Mudie-Smith, *The Religious Life of London* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1904) and K.Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963). For Loane's comments see, for example, *Queen's*, p.36; M.Loane 'The District Nurse and Dying Patients', *Nursing Notes*, vol.XX, no.231, March 1907, p.46; M.Loane, 'Personal Rules for District Nurses', *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.VII, no.3, October 1910, p.127

<sup>138</sup> Loane's comment that 'even Roman Catholics have asked for my prayers,' published first in 1904, supports the contention that her change in faith came about after, and as a result of her illness. See *Queen's* p.31 and for earlier publications see Appendix 1, item 26.

<sup>139</sup> The Register of Licence to Receive Catechumens, Plymouth Cathedral, 22 March 1910, Plymouth Catholic Archives. I am indebted to Father Christopher Smith, the Diocesan Archivist, for this information.

<sup>140</sup> See above, footnotes 96-98.

<sup>141</sup> Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank.

<sup>142</sup> The Sisters of the Sacred Heart arrived at Launceston in 1903, having been expelled from France. They established a Convent and school at Newport House, and remained until shortly after the outbreak of the First World War. In 1915, the French government invited the Sisters to return home to undertake the work of nursing wounded soldiers. See H. Spencer Toy, *The Story of St.Joseph's Convent School, Launceston* (n.d) p.4. I am indebted to Sister Eleanora, Archivist for the Dominican Sisters of St. Joseph for her help.

Martha was certainly living in Launceston in 1913: her address is confirmed on an indenture which she, and her two half-sisters, signed on the 30 September of that year. The document legally released the women from one of the restrictive terms of their late father's will,<sup>143</sup> namely that their inheritance was dependent on them living together. It also claimed, in fact, that Alice and Beatrice had lived together continuously in the interim years.<sup>144</sup> The other statement that, for the most part, Martha, had not shared a home with them, was self-evident, for she had definitely not lived with her sisters during her years as a nurse, and, if Beatrice was to be believed, she may well not have shared a home with them after 1906.<sup>145</sup>

#### *Alice Eliza Loane in Bristol*

By the time the indenture was signed in 1913, Alice and Beatrice had moved to Bristol, and it was from here on the 11 September, that Alice prepared her will, appointing her sister, Beatrice, as sole executrix and beneficiary.<sup>146</sup> Alice, whose earlier years and subsequent involvement in the literary partnership remains enigmatic, evidently spent the remainder of her life in Bristol with Beatrice. She became an active member of the Bristol Civic League (BCL),<sup>147</sup> an organisation described as 'A Union

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<sup>143</sup> A variation to Jabez's will was agreed because, as the document stated, '...whereas the said Beatrice Mary Loane and the Alice Eliza Loane have lived together from the date of the Testators death but the said Martha Jane Loane for the greater part of the time ...has not lived with her sisters...' Indenture made between M.J.Loane, of Newport House, Launceston, Cornwall, B.M.Loane of 22 Elmdale Road, Bristol & A.E.Loane of the same place, dated 30 September 1913, Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank.

<sup>144</sup> Further evidence suggests that Beatrice may well have been living in Chepstow prior to 1912. Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank.

<sup>145</sup> See above, footnote 98.

<sup>146</sup> See copy of will of Alice Loane, written 11 September 1913, from 22, Elmdale Road, Bristol. Unsigned, the will remained unproven until 18 January 1939. PRFD. Also Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank, and see above, footnote 143.

<sup>147</sup> Bristol Civic League Council Annual Reports, 1913-1918, 5th Annual Report for the year ending 31 Dec. 1913, p.7,p.50; 6th Annual Report for the year ending 31 Dec. 1914, p.7, p.46; 7th-8th Annual Reports wanting; 9th Annual Report for the year ending 31 Dec. 1917, p.7, p.20, p.26, p.43-44; 10th Annual Report for the year ending 31 Dec. 1918, p.7, p.19, p.24, p.24; 11th-14th Annual Reports wanting. Unfortunately, no Annual Reports for 1915,

of the Citizens of Bristol, without regard to political or religious differences', which was set up 'for the purpose of dealing with the problems of poverty.'<sup>148</sup> This association was formed in 1910, when the Bristol Charity Organisation Society (COS) amalgamated with the Bristol Civic League of Personal Service under the name of the Bristol Civic League.'<sup>149</sup>

The connection with the COS is of particular significance, for, as will be noted elsewhere,<sup>150</sup> the *Charity Organisation Review* published extensive reviews of Loane's works,<sup>151</sup> which reflected their unequivocal approval of her strictures. There is no way of knowing whether the BCL knew of Alice's literary career, or of her connection with M.Loane.

Loane played an active role within the BCL for several years, and was both a representative on the Pensions Committee in 1913, 1914, 1917 and 1918, as well as holding the position of Almoner in 1914, 1917 and 1918.<sup>152</sup> The remit of the Pensions Committee was to administer weekly grants to the men and women in their care, according to individual needs.<sup>153</sup> As an almoner, Loane, in common with other selected members of this committee, made weekly visits to certain of these pensioners, and was directly responsible for the distribution of the available funds. Beyond this, the Report exemplifies the important social aspect of these visits, for, as stated, 'the friendship and care of the almoners was greatly appreciated.'<sup>154</sup>

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1916, 1920, 1921 and 1922 have, to date, been located. Nevertheless, given that Miss Loane's membership of the League was mentioned in her obituary notice in 1922, it must be assumed, and lacking any extant contradictory evidence, that Alice was still an active member at the time of her death.

<sup>148</sup> As stated in the front of the annual reports of the BCL.

<sup>149</sup> C.L.Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913. Its Ideas and Work* (Methuen, 1961) p.150.

<sup>150</sup> For a list of COS reviews of Loane's works see Appendix 2

<sup>151</sup> For a list of reviews of Loane's works, see Appendix 2.

<sup>152</sup> See above, footnote 147.

<sup>153</sup> 15th. Annual Report for the year ending 31 December 1923.

<sup>154</sup> *ibid.*

During 1917, when the Hon. Sec of the Pensions Committee was taken seriously ill, Miss Loane 'most kindly and ably carried on the work' but only on a temporary basis, for the next Annual Report, <sup>155</sup> noted that a new Hon. Sec was appointed in 1918. All the extant reports include an annual list of donations made to the Civic League, and in each of these Miss A.E.Loane is recorded as donating 1s. 0d. <sup>156</sup> Alice died suddenly and prematurely in Bristol on 23 February 1922, a victim of influenza, <sup>157</sup> and her demise was recorded, as noted, <sup>158</sup> some two weeks later in a small notice in a local Bristol paper. <sup>159</sup> Her sister, Beatrice, who was with her when she died, was sole executrix and beneficiary of her will. <sup>160</sup>

### *A Question of Authorship*

It was not until August 1922, some six months after Alice's death, that the publishers, Edward Arnold, wrote to Beatrice Loane, in an apparent attempt at resolving their uncertainty over the true authorship of the Loane works, published by them between 1905 and 1912. The following extract, which is part of Beatrice's reply to Edward Arnold is unequivocal in its certainty:

All the works were written by A.E.Loane and are her sole work. It is true they were published under the initial M.Loane, *Shipmates* only excepted. Miss Martha Jane Loane is A.E. Loane's half sister and her senior by twelve years. In 1912,

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<sup>155</sup> 9th Annual Report for the year ending 31 December 1917, p.7, p.20, p.26, p.43-44, BCL.  
10th Annual Report for the year ending 31 December 1918, p.7, p.19, p.24, p.24, BCL.

<sup>156</sup> See above, footnote 147.

<sup>157</sup> Certified copy of death certificate. Alice Eliza Loane Age 58 on 23 February 1922 at 22 Elmdale Road Clifton Bristol. Sister B.M (Beatrice Mary) present at her death. General Register Office.

<sup>158</sup> See above, footnote 1.

<sup>159</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> See above, footnote 146.

A.E.Loane finding Miss.M.J.Loane was a Roman Catholic, wrote no more under that initial. Miss M.J.Loane was a trained nurse and worked for many years among the poor and has been in a Roman Catholic community since 1909. <sup>161</sup>

As the biographical evidence examined confirms, Beatrice's statement regarding Martha's career was certainly true: however, her claim relating to her sister's whereabouts after 1909 may not have been totally accurate. Martha would undoubtedly have left Newport House, Launceston when the new Order of nuns arrived in 1915, <sup>162</sup> and by May 1922 she was certainly living at a private address in Plymouth. <sup>163</sup>

Edward Arnold must have been sufficiently satisfied with Beatrice's explanation, for based on her statement that she was the sole beneficiary and executrix of Alice's estate, they agreed to pay her any royalties which were due on the works. However, some confusion remained, for a careful examination of the Loane titles has highlighted the fact that, contrary to Beatrice's assertion, the works were not strictly all published 'under the initial M.Loane.' The final social commentary, *The Common Growth*, published in 1911, was clearly attributed, on the spine at least, to M.E.Loane, <sup>164</sup> but for reasons which may never be revealed, Beatrice chose to overlook this anomaly.

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<sup>161</sup> Letter from Miss B.M.Loane to the publishers Edward Arnold, dated 8 September 1922, File 5719, EAA. For *Shipmates* see above, footnotes 133-34.

<sup>162</sup> The new order of nuns did not allow any outside members within their order, so that Martha must have left Launceston when they arrived. See Toy, *op.cit.* Some investigation has been made into the possibility that Martha used her nursing skills, on a voluntary basis, during the First World War. Neither the archives of the British Red Cross Society, or Queen Alexandra's Royal Army Nursing Corps. include Martha's name.

<sup>163</sup> From where she wrote her will. Copy of will of Martha Jane Loane of 22 Woodland Terrace, Plymouth, Devon, 9 May 1922. PRFD.

<sup>164</sup> The inside pages refer to the authoress as M.Loane. The British Library Catalogue is inaccurate in its entry for the six Loane social commentaries, as all are listed under the initials M.E.Loane.

In the light of the research undertaken for this study, Beatrice Loane's statement, as noted, <sup>165</sup> that her sister Alice Eliza was the sole authoress of the books must be considered contentious.

*Beatrice's latter years*

Beatrice was with her sister Alice when she died, but, despite her younger sister's wishes, she did not benefit personally from Alice's estate, for her sister's will had never been signed. Given the doubts raised in this study over authorship of the social commentaries, and the complex situation which existed between the sisters, this lack of a signature may, in some curious way, have been a further manifestation of the enigma, rather than an oversight. After Alice died, Beatrice moved to a temporary address in South London, <sup>166</sup> and in late 1923, moved to a new 'permanent' address in Stevenage, Hertford. <sup>167</sup>

During these years she maintained contact with Edward Arnold, so that any royalties which were due could be forwarded to her. It appears that in April 1929 the publishers made Beatrice an offer for her interest in '*Shipmates* and others', which she turned down. <sup>168</sup> By the following year the sale of the Loane publications had so diminished that the publishers informed Beatrice that they proposed to dispose of the remaining stock, which they were prepared to sell to her at very reduced prices. <sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> See above, footnote 161.

<sup>166</sup> Letter of B.M.Loane to Edward Arnold, 8 September 1922, File 5719, EAA. The address given on this letter was 'Edgehill', Peak Hill, Sydenham, SE26.

<sup>167</sup> Letter of B.M.Loane to Edward Arnold, 1 October 1923, File 5719, EAA. This letter notified the publishers of her change of address. The family home in Dulwich was let from 1909 until approx. 1925.

<sup>168</sup> Letter of B.M.Loane to Edward Arnold, 13 April 1929, File 5266, EAA.

<sup>169</sup> Letter of Edward Arnold to B.M.Loane, 27 June 1930, File 5266, EAA.

Beatrice ultimately declined to purchase, and left the publishers to handle the matter: the result was that seventy copies of *Shipmates*, forty copies of *The Queen's Poor* and fifty four copies of *The Common Growth* were unceremoniously disposed of as remainders, at whatever price the publishers were able to get.<sup>170</sup>

Whilst Lloyds Bank, in their capacity as trustees of her father's estate, maintained some contact with Beatrice, she evidently remained distant from her surviving siblings. Frederick did not hear from her for a number of years, and by late 1932, Martha indicated to him that their sister had gone 'mental'.<sup>171</sup> The newspaper report of Beatrice's death at the old family home in Dulwich, in December 1935,<sup>172</sup> confirmed that she had become a recluse, and that her eccentric lifestyle had made her the subject of local gossip.<sup>173</sup>

### *Postscript*

As executors of her will, Lloyds Bank were left to unravel the complexities of Beatrice's estate which were exacerbated by the apparent disappearance of Alice's will. The latter remained unproven until January 1939,<sup>174</sup> seventeen years after her

<sup>170</sup> Letter of Edward Arnold to B.M.Loane, 27 June 1930, and Letter of Edward Arnold to B.M.Loane, 1 July 1930, File 5266, EAA.

<sup>171</sup> Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank.

<sup>172</sup> Certified copy of death certificate. 23 December 1935. Beatrice Mary Loane, 22, Underhill Road, East Dulwich, Camberwell. General Register Office.

<sup>173</sup> As the press report stated, 'Few people ever saw her. She would go out in the evenings before the shops closed, come home again and lock and double lock every door and window of the house. She spoke to no one and received no letters or newspapers. A neighbour told a "Daily Express" reporter, "She was just a dried-up little old woman, dressed in very old-fashioned clothes. When several days had gone by, and we had not seen her, we told the police, and they broke into the house: she was lying dead on the stairs.' See *Daily Express*, 28 Dec. 1935 as located in Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank.

<sup>174</sup> Letters of Administration granted to Lloyds Bank, 18 January 1939, Archives of Halsey Lightly, Solicitors, London.



demise and three years after Beatrice's death,<sup>175</sup> when probate was finally granted to Lloyds Bank. Unusually, the bank had a vested interest in the Loane estate for, as a result of a bequest made by Beatrice, a trust was to be established in the name of John and Alice Loane, for the benefit of 'deserving members of Lloyds Bank.'<sup>176</sup> This trust remained active until it was finally wound up in early 1994.

Whilst Lloyds Bank took care to retain any documents connected with their financial inheritance, they had little use for the contents of a tin box in which Beatrice had kept press- cuttings, correspondence, a quantity of manuscripts and publishers agreements belonging to Alice. All these items, as well as copies of the Loane titles, were offered to Frederick Loane in 1936, but since he had 'no personal feelings in the matter', Lloyds apparently disposed of this material.<sup>177</sup>

A question mark still remains over the validity of Beatrice's claim regarding authorship, as previously noted.<sup>178</sup> Two points need stressing. First is the evidence presented here of Martha's working life as a Queen's nurse. Secondly, the 'M.Loane' social commentaries clearly reflect Martha's extensive knowledge of the poor gained through her professional experiences. But Martha may not have been the authoress, in the strict sense of the word. It is possible to speculate that, in reality, all the Edward Arnold titles were written collaboratively. If this were the case, Beatrice's statement may have been a partial truth, for Alice could have compiled the text for all the Edward Arnold publications, using primary material provided by Martha, perhaps in

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<sup>175</sup> Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank. Probate on Beatrice's will, originally drawn up on 24 February 1931 from the Stevenage address, was granted in London, 9 April 1936 to the appointed Executor and Trustee, Lloyds Bank Ltd. The final value of the estate was £ 7,844. 12s. 3d.

<sup>176</sup> Certified copy of will of Beatrice Loane, 24 February 1931, PRFD.

<sup>177</sup> Loane Papers, Lloyds Bank.

<sup>178</sup> See above, footnote 161.

the form of diaries. There is inferential evidence of a kind, for Martha was, on her own admission, an assiduous note-taker. As she explained:

If nurses once realised the use, to themselves and others, of such a commonplace book, they would not grudge the time spent in compiling it, and would learn to count it amongst their most cherished possessions. <sup>179</sup>

Further evidence to support the proposition that there was some sort of 'ghost-writing' agreement between the sisters, for reasons which may never be discovered, is borne out by the letters to Dr. Fraser, and to some extent by the inconsistencies and anomalies of the extant Edward Arnold contracts, as examined. <sup>180</sup> The proposition is further supported when the attribution of the *Evening News* articles is reconsidered in conjunction with the unattributed articles in *Nursing Mirror*. <sup>181</sup>

Martha Loane had a distinguished career as a Queen's nurse. She died on 16 October 1933 at the age of 81, and her funeral took place at the Catholic church of the Holy Cross in Plymouth three days later. <sup>182</sup> She had evidently lived in Plymouth since 1922, for her will was drawn up from an address there just a few weeks after her half-sister, and literary partner, Alice had died. The bequests in her will reflected both her religious and professional convictions. The sole beneficiaries were the Catholic

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<sup>179</sup> M.Loane, 'The District Nurses' Commonplace Book', *Nursing Notes*, July 1905, p.105. She describes this book as being meant 'for constant reference' and 'must have a strong binding, and a liberal margin should be left all round each page.'

<sup>180</sup> See above, footnotes 86, 101-105.

<sup>181</sup> See above, footnotes 120-123.

<sup>182</sup> *Western Morning News*, 18 October 1933, p.1.

Education Council and the Hospital for Women, Soho, London.<sup>183</sup> According to probate records she left £ 465 8s. 3d.<sup>184</sup> In addition, she left an enduring legacy: her unique contribution as a social investigator in late Victorian and Edwardian England.

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<sup>183</sup> Probate was granted in London on 9 April 1933 to her executors, William Hayden, Solicitor. Effects totalled £ 463. 8s. 3d. Principal Registry of the Family Division. See above, footnote 163.

<sup>184</sup> *ibid.*

## CHAPTER 4

### The social commentaries of M.Loane

#### An examination of her methodological approach

##### *Credibility*

The six social studies written by Loane and published between 1905 and 1911 were, unlike any other contemporary works, apparently based on the long term and first-hand experience of a district nurse whose working life was spent in intimate contact with the poor. The significance of her professional background cannot be overstated, for, as reviewers from a broad spectrum of publications recognised, it provided her with the credibility essential for success. <sup>1</sup>

*The Athenaeum*, for example, remarked that:

Miss Loane has obvious qualifications for a task which many have essayed, but few have essayed successfully... District nursing has given her access to the poor in their most communicative moods. <sup>2</sup>

*The Daily Graphic* acknowledged that Loane 'knew her subject intimately...from daily observations and associations with poor people', <sup>3</sup> and *Nursing Notes* observed that, whilst going about her nursing work, Loane had 'made the most of the unrivalled opportunities which lie in the path of the district nurse. <sup>4</sup> *The Evening News*, who published several series of articles by Loane between 1907 and 1910, maintained

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<sup>1</sup> For a list of reviews of Loane's works see Appendix 2.

<sup>2</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720.

<sup>3</sup> *The Daily Graphic*, 29 November 1905, p.11.

<sup>4</sup> *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179.

that the district nurse was 'acknowledged as one of the first living authorities on the condition of the poor.'<sup>5</sup>

It is evident from contemporary criticism that Loane's methodological approach and style of writing was generally applauded by readers and publishers alike. A particular feature of her work was the inclusion of anecdotal revelations and verbatim conversations, which were not only enjoyed by her audience but were considered penetrating.<sup>6</sup> Her daily contact with the ordinary working-class poor enabled her to record in intimate detail their codes, conventions, attitudes, habits and beliefs, and to witness at first hand their endurance in the face of poverty and ill-health. In this respect, and as Dr McKibbin has observed in his lengthy evaluation of her work, Loane attempted to fulfil the conditions of Brandford's 'more intensive survey'.<sup>7</sup> However, this same approach has also been the subject of academic criticism. In a somewhat paradoxical fashion, Dr Hugh Cunningham<sup>8</sup> has, on the one hand, conceded that Loane was 'sharply observant',<sup>9</sup> but has, at the same time, dismissed her anecdotes, which contemporaries accepted as an

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<sup>5</sup> *Evening News*, 6 July 1907, p.2.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179, *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720, *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.2, no.3, December 1905, p.118.

<sup>7</sup> As Brandford noted in 1914, 'While the Booth type of survey is admirable in giving a picture of the economic and material conditions of the family it remains deficient...in the difficult task of describing and estimating the family's life of leisure, its spiritual condition... Here the problem is to discover some methods of observing and recording...the thoughts and emotions, the habit of mind and life, of persons in their interior relations with one another and with their surroundings. The sort of question that this more intensive survey has to put before itself is - How can we decipher and record people's ideals, their characteristic ideas and culture, and the images and symbols which habitually occupy their minds. V.Brandford, *Interpretations and Forecasts* (Duckworth, 1914) as cited in R.I.McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation in Edwardian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol.28, 1977, p.176.

<sup>8</sup> Cunningham refers to M.E.Loane (sic) as 'the district nurse whose articles were collected into a series of popular books between 1905 and 1911', but, as this thesis shows, relatively few of Loane's numerous articles were republished in their original form, although, as noted in this thesis, some were adapted or extended and were subsequently included in publications. As no comprehensive list of Loane's articles has previously been compiled, Cunningham's assumption is ill-founded. Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor. Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991) p.212.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*

integral feature of her writing, as 'inconsequential'.<sup>10</sup> Despite the fact that this source of evidence was a common feature of contemporary social commentaries,<sup>11</sup> Cunningham has challenged the validity of Loane's evidence and implied that her knowledge of the poor was superficial.<sup>12</sup> In respect of the first criticism, Loane did admit to repeating stories which she suspected were invented, for as she stated :

Nearly all the stories have reached me through my patients and I flatter myself that there are now few people who can repeat a larger number of apocryphal anecdotes in a manner more fluent and convincing.<sup>13</sup>

However, in Loane's defence, the invented incidents or 'tales' to which she referred were identified as such, and their uncertain veracity highlighted.<sup>14</sup> The majority of her anecdotes were credible, and recalled interesting or amusing incidents experienced by the Queen's nurse. As for Loane's knowledge of the poor, the accompanying biography demonstrates that her credentials were impeccable and her professional background and experience extensive and personal.

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Cunningham is equally cynical about the validity of Reynolds evidence in the latter's book, *Seems So*. As Cunningham states, 'Other Conservatives saw in aspects of the proposed legislation a class bias against the poor; this was a criticism articulated in what purported to be the conversations of some Devon fishermen on the Children's Act', see Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p.216. This article, included in Reynolds book, *Seems So*, published in 1911, first appeared in *The Spectator* in July 1909, and extant correspondence between Strachey and Reynolds confirms the validity of the anecdotal evidence. See Letter of Reynolds to Strachey, 8 May 1909, Strachey Papers, S/16/3/8, House of Lords Record Office. Beyond this, it is important to note that Reynolds was no mere passing visitor, but a working inhabitant of the fishing community. For a detailed account of Reynolds' life in Devon, see J.D.Osborne, 'Stephen Reynolds, a biographical and critical study.' PhD. London University, 1978, also Harold Wright (ed) *Stephen Reynolds, Letters* (Richmond, L & V Woolf, 1923).

<sup>12</sup> For example, Cunningham accuses Loane of making 'glib assertions', and refers to her 'contemptuous' reference to 'State-spread tables,' and to her 'horrified speculation' as to the effects of proposed free school meals. See Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.193 and p.205.

<sup>13</sup> *Queen's*, p.75.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, *Queen's*, pp.75 - 80, where such stories are clearly referred to as 'yarns.'

Beyond this, Cunningham has asserted that, in the case of her depiction of poor children, the authoress exploited her position as a district nurse 'to try to extract definitions'<sup>15</sup> for the amusement of her readers. Loane did admit to trying to persuade children to define certain words, but given that she was personally acquainted with the majority of these young people, it is more likely that her relationship with them encouraged them to talk freely to her.<sup>16</sup>

Equally unjustified is Cunningham's accusation that she transcribed the speech of the poor in a way which was intended to devalue it.<sup>17</sup> Loane was, in fact, at pains to distance herself from any suggestion of impropriety, by stating categorically that:

It will be noted that none of my patients or their friends speak any of the exasperating jargon which in a very large class of novels passes for "dialect," and readers are so accustomed to orthographical orgies that they will feel doubts as to the genuineness of these conversations. Nevertheless they have been written down exactly as they were uttered.<sup>18</sup>

Viewed from a different perspective, Loane's anecdotes were, Cunningham

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<sup>15</sup> For Cunningham's observations see, Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.213. For Loane's original quotation, see M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) pp.53-54 (henceforth *Queen's*). The contemporary view of Loane's anecdotal evidence was exemplified by, for example, *Nursing Notes*, who stated, 'Miss Loane has made the most of the unrivalled opportunities which lie in the path of the district nurse, and she tells her tale with abundant humour and sympathy.' *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179.

<sup>16</sup> *Queen's*, pp.53-54. This criticism bears a striking similarity to accusations made against Henry Mayhew decades earlier. As Yeo notes, Mayhew possessed a 'rare ability to inspire confidence and establish quick rapport' and in his hands, meetings with interviewees 'encouraged rather than inhibited the most intimate personal statements.' For this, and further comparative statements see Thompson & Yeo, *op.cit.* pp.62-64.

<sup>17</sup> Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.213.

<sup>18</sup> *Queen's*, p.112. See also *Queen's*, p.107.

has suggested, the verbal equivalent of a *Punch* cartoon. <sup>19</sup> As he stated:

Both depict a particular moment or episode and use it to draw attention to the ignorance or the pathos of these children who are so distant from the reader or viewer. In this respect there is a strong parallel between Loane and the twentieth century *Punch* depicter of the street child, G.L.Stampa. <sup>20</sup>

Stampa's pictures of street arabs, *circa* 1917-1918, depicted the poorest children who had no fun except the fun they made themselves, nor did they have any sport or toys. They were shown playing sports by the roadside and matches in the park, of them rebelling against established customs and ideas, of them attempting to downgrade their elders, and of them yearning for personal freedom. <sup>21</sup> Even though these could stand alone without any captions, Stampa would never 'have the legends omitted from any of the pictures concerning London youngsters.' <sup>22</sup> Captions were always in the vernacular, not because Stampa or any other cartoonist was trying to ridicule their subjects, but because they were attempting to recapture as accurately as possible the very culture of these children. *Punch* was always eager to right the

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<sup>19</sup> *Punch* was renowned, from its inception in 1841, for the emphasis which its artists put upon the activities of children. As Duff has remarked, *Punch* 'made a deep and strong contribution to the value of family life...It was to amuse, to titivate, to educate, to bind parents and children in a common interest, to right wrongs, to warn, and to introduce the visual into the field of entertainment.' Although Duff's examination covered the period between 1845-1865, there is no reason to suggest that the message that cartoonists wished to convey changed in the ensuing decades. See David Duff, *Punch on Children. A Panorama, 1845-1865* (Frederick Muller, 1975) p.6. Other *Punch* cartoonists who portrayed children included Bernard Partridge and Phil May. See S.Appelbaum and R.Kelly, *Great Drawings and Illustrations from Punch, 1841-1910* (New York, Dover, 1981) and Frank E. Huggett, *Victorian England as seen by Punch* (Sedgwick & Jackson, 1978).

<sup>20</sup> Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.214.

<sup>21</sup> Duff, *op.cit.* p.217.

<sup>22</sup> G.L.Stampa, *Humours of the Street* ( Methuen, 1921) Introduction by W.Pett Ridge.



wrongs in society, and street arabs were frequently depicted as the victim of some injustice.<sup>23</sup> Whilst the diversity of poverty was demonstrated, cartoonists conveyed the message of courage and the irrepressible sense of fun in particular in the face of all adversity.<sup>24</sup> Given this assessment of Stampa's work, it is possible to draw a parallel between Loane and Stampa, for her anecdotes were intended to recapture the characteristic ideas and culture of working-class childhood, and to draw attention to the limitations imposed upon children by their poverty.

### *Popularity*

Whilst publication figures for five of Loane's commentaries indicate only moderate print runs, it is fair to assume that her books were available for loan through the public libraries, thus vastly increasing her readership.<sup>25</sup> An invaluable source of evidence by which the popularity of Loane's works can be judged are the published contemporary reviews. On this basis, and considering that the publishers continued to request manuscripts from the authoress for several years, there can be little doubt of their success. As the reviews indicate, the works achieved their primary objective, which was to enlighten the public and to heighten awareness of the realities of poverty and deprivation endured by the poorest in society.

### *Literary Style*

As for the content of the books, the authoress was applauded for the skilful way in which she presented her studies of the poor. Her literary style was described

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<sup>23</sup> Duff, *op.cit.* pp.12-13.

<sup>24</sup> Duff, *op.cit.* p.132.

<sup>25</sup> In the case of *The Queen's Poor*, approximately 2,300 copies were printed between 1905 and 1919. A cheaper, 2nd. edition was published in 1906, with further impressions published in 1909, 1910, 1914 and 1919. A total of 2,500 copies of *The Next Street But One* were printed, 1,250 of *From Their Point of View*, 1,500 of *An Englishman's Castle* and 2,000 of *Neighbours and Friends*. It has not been possible to locate extant figures for the final book, *The Common Growth*. For these publication details see Edward Arnold Papers, Hodder and Stoughton Archive, Guildhall Library. Ms. 29076/5, Folios 419, 426, 429, 430, 432, 434.

variously as 'shrewd and dispassionate,'<sup>26</sup> as a combination of 'commonsense mingled with sympathy',<sup>27</sup> and as 'robust and humorous commonsense.'<sup>28</sup> Whilst *The Spectator* concurred, describing the authoress as 'a woman of sense, sympathy, humour and literary ability',<sup>29</sup> Strachey was not without his criticism of Loane. He considered that her optimistic view of the poor, to which many reviewers drew attention, was not altogether a faithful representation of working-class life. So although he cautioned 'we now and then suspect her of arranging her literary shadows so that she may produce that twilight in which squalor is picturesque', he nevertheless tempered this criticism by concluding that 'the very instinct which leads her to hide is the same instinct that enables her to reveal.'<sup>30</sup>

The strength of the works lay in the fact that Loane emphasised the positive as well as the negative aspects of life amongst the 'respectable' poor, thus adding an extra dimension which was lacking in so many other contemporary texts. A further dimension was added by the implicit and explicit political criticism which was present within each of the works. A prime example of this was embodied in Loane's chapter, 'State-Spread Tables', which appeared in *The Queen's Poor*, and drew the attention of the majority of her reviewers.

*The Athenaeum* described Loane's strictures as 'an almost passionate impeachment of the cry for the free feeding of 'under-fed' children,'<sup>31</sup> whilst *The Nursing Times* recommended that the chapter 'be reprinted and sent broadcast

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<sup>26</sup> *The Daily Graphic*, 29 November 1905, p.11.

<sup>27</sup> *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Reynolds, 'What the Poor Want,' *Quarterly Review*, vol.212, January -April 1910, p.156.

<sup>29</sup> *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720.

over the land before the tenderhearted rush in and relieve the poor of all parental responsibility.'<sup>32</sup>

Similar approbation came from the *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*,<sup>33</sup> the *Charity Organisation Review*,<sup>34</sup> *The Church Times*<sup>35</sup> and *Nursing Notes*.<sup>36</sup> *The Daily News* tempered their approval of Loane's views by conceding that 'the verdicts upon social diseases and their remedies will not meet with universal approbation, even amongst those who really know the actual conditions.'<sup>37</sup>

It was left to the *Morning Post* to comment, somewhat cynically, that although the book, [*The Queen's Poor*] was a 'serious record of actuality', Loane had produced, a work which was 'both instructive, pathetic or diverting, according to the point of view, and doubtless many of her readers will be alive to all three qualities.'<sup>38</sup>

Notwithstanding this latter review, the conclusion reached by *The Athenaeum*, that the book was 'one of the most healthy, true and satisfying pictures of their [the poor] standard of life and comfort, their outlook on the world and a world beyond, which have recently been issued',<sup>39</sup> exemplified the overall tone of contemporary criticism, and implicitly, the public reception to Loane's social commentaries.

Despite the contemporary popularity of the Loane works, they have, in recent times, been largely overlooked, and their implicit value under-utilised by social historians. It is hoped that the following thematic examination of *The Queen's Poor*, supported by references to other work by Loane, will go some way to re-establishing the historical importance of her writings.

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<sup>32</sup> *The Nursing Times*, 21 October 1905, p.491.

<sup>33</sup> *The Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.2, no.3, December 1905, p.118.

<sup>34</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

<sup>35</sup> *The Church Times*, 16 April 1906, p.358.

<sup>36</sup> *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179.

<sup>37</sup> *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

<sup>38</sup> *The Morning Post*, 30 November, 1905, p.3.

<sup>39</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720.

## CHAPTER 5

### The Domestic Economy of the Poor

#### PRELIMINARY NOTE:

The 'respectable poor', to whom Loane frequently referred, were people whom, as *Nursing Notes* explained, <sup>1</sup> she 'respected.' This included, in her words, 'all persons who, in the expressive phrase so common among them, "keep a home together," ' <sup>2</sup> and it did not matter whether this home was 'painfully poor and crowded.' <sup>3</sup> Predictably, she called upon the impression of working-class homes which she had gained from her extensive experience as a Queen's nurse <sup>4</sup> to substantiate her assertion that it was offensive to refer to even the meanest of homes as a slum. She also firmly rejected the prevailing middle and upper-class view that respectability was synonymous with material possessions and physical comfort, commodities which the working-class poor had limited access to.

#### *The financial arrangements of the working class poor*

Loane invested a considerable amount of her energies in writing about the financial arrangements of the working class poor, of how they acquired their income

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<sup>1</sup> For this review of 'The Religion of the Respectable Poor' published in *Contemporary Review*, November 1904 see *Nursing Notes*, December 1904, pp.188-89.

<sup>2</sup> M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) (henceforth *Queen's*) p.27.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Queen's*, p.27. Loane's claim to have worked in 'every district of a large seaport town, an inland town, in the country, and in what are considered the worst parts of London' should, in view of the enigma of authorship, be treated with some caution.

and then expended it running a household. Her revelations about the domestic economy of the poor, which met with the approbation of her contemporary, Helen Bosanquet,<sup>5</sup> were written against a background of the patriarchal family. Culture and tradition dictated that husbands were the major breadwinner within the family,<sup>6</sup> a *status quo* which reflected a widespread though not unchallenged contemporary opinion,<sup>7</sup> to which the authoress largely subscribed, that a woman's responsibilities rested within the home.<sup>8</sup>

Even though Loane depicted women who apparently accepted their economic dependency without demur, she was in no doubt that within working-class marriages, the balance of personal power lay increasingly with the wife.<sup>9</sup> Their power was based upon the widely accepted fact that most poor wives had control of the household

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<sup>5</sup> Bosanquet was evidently so impressed with Loane's strictures on the role of the wife as manager and spender of the family income that she quoted extensively from the first chapter of *The Queen's Poor* in her own work, *The Family*. See H. Bosanquet, *The Family* (Macmillan, 1906) pp. 199-200 and pp. 274-277. For an historical examination of Bosanquet's writings on poverty, which earned her considerable acclaim, see R.I. McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation in Edwardian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, vol. 28, 14 October 1977, pp. 175-99; R.I. McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain 1880 - 1950* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990) and J. Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (USA, Stanford University Press, 1991)

<sup>6</sup> Bosanquet asserted that the economic dependency of a wife and children was, in fact, essential to 'secure the family's moral and economic integrity and safeguard the socialization of its children.' See Bosanquet, *op.cit.* p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> Amongst the earliest of theoretical feminist writers to challenge what they considered to be the subordinate position of their fellow females was Mona Caird, who portrayed women as 'clients and vassals of their husbands.' See Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage: and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Women* (Redway, 1897) p. 138. For an overview of other feminists of this period see Olive Banks, *The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists*, vol. 1, 1800-1930 (Wheatsheaf, 1985) and vol. 2, *A supplement*, 1900-1945 (Wheatsheaf, 1990).

<sup>8</sup> For corroboration of this assertion see, for example, Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place. An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1984) p. 139.

<sup>9</sup> For a further examination by Loane of the 'supreme authority of the working-class wife' see M. Loane, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909) pp. 178-206 (henceforth *Englishman's*) Chinn has remarked that, in his opinion, 'M.E. Loane (sic) was one of the few commentators on the lower working-class who realised the considerable influence that this financial control gave to the mothers of the poor.' See Carl Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives. Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988) p. 52.

budget.<sup>10</sup> As Loane confirmed:

The custom of leaving the management of money to the wife is so deeply rooted that children always speak of the family income as belonging entirely to her, and will constantly tell you: 'Mother has to pay so and so for rent'; Mother is going to try and afford father this or that.'<sup>11</sup>

The significance of the wife's role as manager of the family finances was exemplified by the *British Journal of Nursing* who elevated the working class wife to the status of 'Chancellor of the Exchequer'.<sup>12</sup> As far as Loane was concerned, the notion of 'a living wage'<sup>13</sup> was 'an absurdity' for it was, she maintained, 'not so much a question of what a man earns, as to what his wife can do with the money.'<sup>14</sup>

Although she did not specifically study household budgets in her social commentaries,<sup>15</sup> an indication of what money a wife had at her disposal was

<sup>10</sup> Lady Bell, Reeves and Bosanquet concurred with Loane on this point. See Lady Bell, *At the Works* (Edward Arnold, 1907) pp.171-76, M. Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week* (Bell, 1913) pp.75-93 and Bosanquet, *op.cit.* p.200. For a subsequent reaffirmation of this custom and practice by Loane see also *Englishman's*, pp.183-184.

<sup>11</sup> *Queen's*, p.12.

<sup>12</sup> See review of *Queen's*, in *The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.364.

<sup>13</sup> The concept of a 'living wage' was the subject of considerable political debate, and was later defined by Snowden as 'a wage which will allow the worker to maintain his working powers in the highest state of efficiency, to properly fulfil all his duties as a citizen, and to support his family in decency and health.' See Philip Snowden, *The Living Wage* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1913). The debate should be viewed alongside the pioneering work of Booth who set a notional 'poverty line' and of Rowntree for his definition of primary and secondary poverty. Charles Booth: *Life and Labour of the People*, 1st ed. vol.I (London & Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate, 1889); B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty. A Study of Town Life*, 1st.ed. (Macmillan, 1901) pp.170-71.

<sup>14</sup> *Queen's*, pp.154-55. See also M.Loane, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) (henceforth *Next Street*) p.167. For an historical examination of wages for this period see E.H.Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1973) and E.H.Hunt, *British Labour History, 1815-1914* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981) pp.57-116.

<sup>15</sup> Unlike Bell and Reeves, Loane did not undertake detailed surveys of household budgets, but she did state that she corrected her impressions 'by occasionally reading statistics.' See *Queen's*, p.72. Loane did devote a chapter to 'The Cost of Food' in M. Loane, *From Their Point of View* (Edward Arnold, 1908) (henceforth *Point of View*) pp.157-176 .

provided by Loane's references to men's wages, with sums mentioned varying from below 12s.<sup>16</sup> to in excess of 32s.<sup>17</sup> Pressure upon the family budget depended largely on the size of the family, but Loane maintained that amongst ordinary wage-earners:

If a workman marries at the usual age, he has a large family of young children totally dependent on him precisely at the time when he is earning most.<sup>18</sup>

Some caution should be exercised in regard to this contention for her statement conflicts with the conclusions of both Rowntree and Lady Bell. In describing the 'cycle of poverty' experienced by the poor of York, Rowntree maintained that the ordinary labourer would be in a period of want once there were children to keep, and until some or all of his children were wage-earning, and could supplement his wages.<sup>19</sup> Bell's experience in Middlesborough was much the same, and she concluded that 'the time when existence seems to press most'<sup>20</sup> was when the children were young and financially dependent.

If small and irregular sums of money were hard for the poor to cope with, then large ones presented an even greater problem. A legacy, which might have provided financial security, presented itself as a 'deadly misfortune' to the majority of the working classes,<sup>21</sup> for Loane had observed that even the most prudent were unable to calculate the spending power of any sum over £ 5.00.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Queen's*, p.158 and for other wage references see *Queen's*, pp.155-160.

<sup>17</sup> *Queen's*, p.15.

<sup>18</sup> Conversely, for professional and business men 'the hardest part of their lives, from a financial point of view, comes when they have three or four children in the nursery and one or two more already needing expensive education.' See *Queen's*, p.145.

<sup>19</sup> Rowntree, *op.cit.* pp.170-171.

<sup>20</sup> Bell, *op.cit.* p.49.

<sup>21</sup> For Loane's remarks on legacies see *Queen's*, pp.98-100.

<sup>22</sup> *Queen's*, pp.98-100. Loane makes this point again in *Next Street*, pp.35-36.

Loane did appreciate that for a poor wife to make ends meet when she was reliant upon insufficient and often irregular wages was an almost impossible task.<sup>23</sup> She also knew from experience that innumerable young wives managed very badly because, as will be noted, they were ill-prepared to take on this onerous responsibility.<sup>24</sup> In theory, low incomes forced wives to make whatever economies they could: in practice, however, Loane considered that their ideas of thrift were somewhat confused, perhaps due to their 'general lack of domestic discipline,' a further reflection of their lack of education.<sup>25</sup> Women would, for example:

buy oranges for their children at a season when they could get three pounds of sound eating apples, or five pounds of cooking apples, for a fraction more than the price of a single orange.<sup>26</sup>

As far as cooked food was concerned, the cheapest meals to produce were those which used the cheapest ingredients. In practice these required the longest cooking which paradoxically used the most heat, and therefore cost more.<sup>27</sup>

Producing nourishing meals on a very limited budget was made even more difficult

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<sup>23</sup> Loane was subsequently to remark that 'Perhaps the most necessary mental acquirement for the poor at the present day is the ability to spread out unequal earnings equally over the entire year.' See *Point of View*, p.215.

<sup>24</sup> *Queen's*, p.16. For corroboration of this statement see, for example, Bell, *op.cit.* p.176. Loane maintained that poor women still lacked basic arithmetical skills in 1910, for, as she remarked, 'If the voluntary worker can in any way further a sound knowledge of arithmetic amongst the poorest class of girls and women, she will not have lived in vain.' See M. Loane, *Neighbours and Friends* (Edward Arnold, 1910) p.15 (henceforth *Neighbours*) and also M.Loane, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911) p.108, p.110 (henceforth *Common Growth*)

<sup>25</sup> As suggested in *Common Growth*, p.105. By 1911 Loane was criticising the poor for their lack of thrift. Her remarks have persuaded Johnson that Loane failed 'to understand the life of mean streets from the perspective of mean streets.' See Paul Johnson, *Saving and Spending. The Working Class Economy in Britain 1870-1939* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1985) p.218.

<sup>26</sup> *Neighbours*, p.15 and as cited in *The Spectator*, 12 March 1910, p.426. For subsequent remarks on the false economy of buying cheap food see *Englishman's*, pp.47-48.

<sup>27</sup> For a later reference to the prohibitive cost of fuel see *Point of View*, p. 172.



because of what Loane described as 'the disgracefully bad cooking stoves commonly provided in workmen's homes'.<sup>28</sup> Given such practical problems, it was, perhaps, unsurprising that many women produced [relatively] expensive meals two or three times a week.<sup>29</sup> Those that resorted to buying their food 'ready cooked from an eating-house or fried-fish shop'<sup>30</sup> or 'took advantage of the basin meal' may have lacked any culinary skills,<sup>31</sup> but, as Roberts has indicated, they also did so 'simply because their working commitments left them with no time to cook.'<sup>32</sup> Loane was subsequently to suggest that ordinary women paid little attention to cooking not through laziness or an inability to cook, but because many of them underestimated the importance of food.<sup>33</sup>

Loane went to great lengths to demonstrate that a man's earnings were rarely the only source of income in any one household. As she pointed out many of them overlooked, for example, money earned by their children or their wives.<sup>34</sup> Similarly wives ignored fringe benefits such as free meals which they or their children received, although Loane was sure that:

these women had no object in deceiving me...they  
were simply as incapable of keeping all the essential  
facts steadily in view as an untrained person would

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<sup>28</sup> *Queen's*, p.138, p.237, *Point of View*, p.172-73; M.Loane, 'The Training of Country District Nurses in Large Towns', *Nursing Notes*, April 1904, pp.57-8 and May 1904, p.82. See also chapter 'Health and the Poor'. For corroboration see also Bell, *op.cit.* pp.225-26.

<sup>29</sup> Loane was later to remark that 'the extreme irregularity of many working-men's hours...is another reason why wives who may know how to cook economically, and who have all the means of doing the work, nevertheless resort to the frying pan and the "bit o' steak" in despair.' See *Point of View*, p.171. She also remarked, in 1909, 'how admirable are the results of a poor woman's cooking when compared with her means.' See *Englishman's*, p.64. For an informative study of the diet of the poor, see, for example, John Burnett, *Plenty and Want. A Social History of Diet in England from 1851 to the Present Day* (Nelson, 1966).

<sup>30</sup> See Bell, *op.cit.* p.92.

<sup>31</sup> For Loane's remarks on the culinary skills of working-class women see, for example, *Queen's*, p.139, p.151; *Next Street*, p.26 and *Point of View*, pp.167-170.

<sup>32</sup> Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Penguin, 1973) p.107 and pp.104-111. Loane was subsequently to make this point herself in *Point of View*, p.167.

<sup>33</sup> *Point of View*, p.174.

<sup>34</sup> *Queen's*, p.305.

facts steadily in view as an untrained person would be of marshalling all those brought to light by a Parliamentary commission.<sup>35</sup>

### *Children's earnings and incidental income*

As far as children's earnings were concerned, using anecdotal but informed evidence she recorded one case where:

the eldest child of school age had earned 1s. every Saturday, and the second child had 3d. from a neighbour for running errands; and that the two elder children between them earned 4d. a week regular attendance money at school. (The third child was delicate or the sum would have been 6d.)<sup>36</sup>

To satisfy the sceptics, she later confirmed that poor children were invariably not allowed to keep such earnings. Rather they were expected to hand this money over to their mother, who would only return a small portion of it as pocket money on Saturday.<sup>37</sup> Loane had it on good authority that mothers made prudent use of this

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<sup>35</sup> *Englishman's*, p.186.

<sup>36</sup> *Queen's*, p. 156. Booth recorded, 'Children in even the poorest schools with a popular head teacher, often won a medal for not missing a single attendance through the school year. 9359 of these medals were given last year by the school board.' Booth, *Poverty Series*, vol.3. 1892, p.217. Loane was later to remark that the 'indirect effects of regular attendance medals upon the statistics of measles, diphtheria etc. might well be worth inquiring into.' See *Point of View*, p.201. As Rubinstein records, 'Prizes and reward cards for regular and punctual attendance were used by the London School Boards almost from its inception.' Medals were given, but there is no direct reference to financial rewards. See D. Rubinstein, *School Attendances in London 1870-1904. A Social History* (Hull, University of Hull Press, 1969) pp. 41-2.

<sup>37</sup> *Queen's*, p.305. For a further example of children's earnings see *Englishman's*, p.186 and for Loane's views on how pocket money should be spent see *Common Growth*, pp.114-15. In regard to the errands which children undertook, Davin explains that this was 'like house-work, a recurring label for children's work and covered many tasks. All involved leaving the house, and saved adult time.' See Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor. Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914* (Rivers Oram, 1996) pp.180-187.

source of income. As her 'friend', Mrs. K, told her, 'respectable people don't never spend what school children earns, unless they're rather put to it at the time.'<sup>38</sup> The accepted practice would be for the money to be put either into a savings bank for the children,<sup>39</sup> or into a savings club of some sort.<sup>40</sup>

Most children earned their money from legitimate jobs, but Loane knew that the domestic economy of many poor households depended to a considerable extent on the ill-gotten gains of some of their offspring. She felt that, because the money obtained in this way was so vital to the family budget, most working class families were reluctant to admit to the criminal behaviour of their children. Humphries, in confirming and explaining but not condoning such illicit activities contends that these same petty criminals 'seem to have taken an enormous pride in their unearned contribution to the household budget.'<sup>41</sup>

Any assessment of family income was further distorted, in Loane's opinion, because the poor tended to ignore any income obtained 'in kind'. This might include the produce from a small market garden, the free meals already mentioned,<sup>42</sup> or the income from the rent of a room, as exemplified:

Husband's nominal wages 22s.6d. Rent and taxes 8s. a

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<sup>38</sup> *Queen's*, p.305. For a subsequent reference to 'the Saturday and holiday pay of a handy boy of twelve [which] easily pays for his clothes and leaves something to go towards the butcher's bill' see *Next Street*, p.127.

<sup>39</sup> A few of Roberts' respondents mentioned having Post Office Savings accounts. See Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.164. See also *Common Growth*, p.113.

<sup>40</sup> Specific mention was made by her to 'a Boot Club or a Meat Club.' See *Queen's*, p.305. It has not been possible to locate any specific reference elsewhere to a Meat Club. For a reference to the Coal Club and Provident Clubs see *Queen's*, p.129. For a reference to the Friendly Society see *Englishman's*, p.183. As Loane records, the fire insurance agent was another source of demand upon the family budget. See *Queen's*, p.48. Further contemporary descriptions of the problem of paying for boots appear in Reeves, *op.cit.* pp.61-64 and Bell, *op.cit.* pp.69-70.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1981) p.153 and corroborated by oral testimonies in Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians. The Remaking of British Society*, 2nd.ed. (Routledge, 1992) p.40.

<sup>42</sup> See above, footnote 35.

week. There were no children, but I needed no one to tell me that a well-dressed man and his wife did not live, pay club subscriptions, and spend about £8 a year on holidays, out of 14s. 6d. per week. Two rooms in their house they let regularly for 5s. a week, and a third (a mere cupboard in size) for 1s. 6d. The husband earned on an average 1s. 9d. over-time money, and he was given every week five teas and one supper, the value of which could not have been less than 1s. 3d. The wife earned 1s. 3d. by 3½ hours' washing for a near neighbour. The garden, though badly looked after, yielded quite 2s. worth of fruit and vegetables. Therefore the real income was 28s., and the real rent and taxes 1s. 6d. <sup>43</sup>

Explicit within this reference was the revelation that the poor also frequently overlooked any wages which a wife might earn.

### *Women's work and earnings*

Loane's deep seated and enduring objections to married women working, which will be examined elsewhere in this study, <sup>44</sup> did not preclude her from recording numerous cases of female employment, thus providing valuable insights into the nature and experience of work open to married working class women. Contrary to a popular middle-class view, the vast majority of married working-class women who worked did so, not to earn money for luxuries, but because the family income was

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<sup>43</sup> *Queen's*, p. 157.

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter 7, 'The Poor, Marriage and Parenthood', footnotes 67-73. For subsequent comments on the effect of married women's work on working-class family life see, for example, *Next Street*, pp.174-185 and *Point of View*, pp. 130-137. For a review of Loane's strictures on this subject see 'The Poor', *Daily Mail Books Supplement*, 2 March 1907, p.1 (unattributed, but written by Stephen Reynolds, as noted by J.D.Osborne, 'Stephen Reynolds. A Biographical and Critical Study.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1978. Another reviewer considered Loane's chapter on Home Industries, in *Next Street*, to be 'admirable.' See *The Lancet*, 9 March 1907, p.666.

inadequate.<sup>45</sup> There were, as Clementina Black explained, innumerable reasons for this inadequacy: besides low pay and irregular work, a husband might be sick, idle, a drunkard or even have deserted his family.<sup>46</sup>

The majority of these wives were engaged in traditional female occupations where they were not in competition with men. These included the broad categories of domestic work, laundry work<sup>47</sup> and sewing. Whether undertaken as homework (outdoor work) or in a commercial situation, much of their work fell into the category of sweated labour.<sup>48</sup> That is to say that those employed thus, and in innumerable other trades, exhibited one or all of the following three characteristics: they were very low paid, they worked very long hours, and their work was undertaken in houses (or workshops) which were insanitary (and unsafe).<sup>49</sup>

The plight of women workers and of those engaged in sweated labour were the subject of detailed investigation throughout the late Victorian and Edwardian period.<sup>50</sup> In 1906 the Board of Trade figures showed that half the women in industrial Britain earned under 10s. for a week's work of seldom less than fifty-four hours.

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<sup>45</sup> Cadbury found that only 04% of the married women interviewed in his survey did so for pocket money. See E. Cadbury, C. Matheson and G. Shann, *Women's Work and Wages. A Phase of Life in an Industrial City* (Fisher Unwin, 1906) p.147. For a review of this latter work see *Nursing Times*, 18 August 1906, pp.693-94. Morris has stated that 'the Select Committee on Homework (in 1908) underestimated the extent to which even men in regular employment often did not earn a wage adequate to support a wife and children.' See Jenny Morris, *Women Workers and the Sweated Trades: The Origins of Minimum Wage Legislation* (Hants. Gower, 1986) p.14. See also Chinn, *op.cit.* pp.98-101.

<sup>46</sup> Clementina Black (ed.) *Married Women's Work* (Bell, 1915. New ed. Virago, 1983) pp.1-2.

<sup>47</sup> For a reference to a poor woman who worked in a laundry see *Queen's*, p.182.

<sup>48</sup> Clementina Black, *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage* (Duckworth, 1907) and Cadbury, Matheson & Shann, *op.cit.*

<sup>49</sup> Morris, *op.cit.*

<sup>50</sup> For example: House of Lords Select Committee on Sweating, 1st. Report, British Parliamentary Papers, 1888, XX; 2nd. Report, British Parliamentary Papers, 1888, XXI; 3rd. Report, British Parliamentary Papers, 1889, XIII; 4th. Report, British Parliamentary Papers, 1889, XIV, Part 1; 5th. Report, British Parliamentary Papers, 1890, XVII. Booth, *op.cit.*; Report of Select Committee on Homeworking, British Parliamentary Papers, 1908, VIII; Black, *Sweated Industry*, *op.cit.*; Clementina Black, *Makers of our Clothes: A Case for Trade Boards* (Duckworth, 1909); Black, *Married Women's Work*, *op.cit.* p.19. For a bibliography of texts see Morris, *op.cit.*

Described by Roberts as 'a massive chronicle of brutal exploitation', sweated labour was brought into sharp public focus by the Sweated Industries Exhibition, mounted by the *Daily News* in May 1906.<sup>51</sup> Subsequently, as Morris has noted, the Select Committee on Homework in 1908 stated that:

We have had evidence to convince us (indeed it is almost common knowledge) that the earnings of a large number of people - -mainly women who work in their homes - are so small as alone to be insufficient to sustain life in the most meagre manner, even when they toil hard for extremely long hours.'<sup>52</sup>

Even though domestic service was a traditional female occupation, the majority of posts required an employee to live in, thus excluding most married women.<sup>53</sup> One option, albeit unpopular, which was open to them was charing, an arduous, unpleasant and generally poorly paid job which nevertheless had certain advantages.<sup>54</sup> First, it allowed a woman with children to regulate the amount of work she did each week without losing the job.<sup>55</sup> Second, there were sometimes fringe benefits such as meals and occasional food parcels.<sup>56</sup> Psychologically, L. Wyatt Papworth argued that there was the fiction of charing 'to oblige a lady': this not only

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<sup>51</sup> The *Daily News* produced a Special Handbook for this exhibition. See also *Reformers Year Book*, 1907, pp.160-61 and Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.76.

<sup>52</sup> As cited in Morris, *op.cit.* p.14.

<sup>53</sup> See Hunt, *op.cit.* p.19.

<sup>54</sup> For a description of the typical chores undertaken by a 'char' see Chinn, *op.cit.* pp.105-106.

<sup>55</sup> It is clear from the number of references to charing in *The Queen's Poor* that there was far more charing work available to married women by the turn of the century. In the mid-eighteenth century indoor work in the form of 'charing and the like' was rarely an option for married women with children: staff were easy to come by and employers had no incentive to allow women to bring children with them. See *Queen's*, p.238 and below, footnote 59.

<sup>56</sup> Confirming this practice, Loane subsequently referred to 'another person who earned her living as a charwoman [who] complained bitterly that 'while at one house "she always had her four good meals", at another in the same street she only had two.' See *Englishman's*, p.186.

saved a poor woman's dignity, but it glorified the relationship of employer and employed, and at the same time preserved appearances before neighbours.<sup>57</sup> As in other types of 'women's work', wages varied according to the grade of charwoman.<sup>58</sup> Loane cited one woman who worked as a charwoman one whole and two half days a week for 2s. 6d,<sup>59</sup> and another who was lucky if she earned 'twelve shillings a week all the year through.'<sup>60</sup>

Laundry work of all kinds was traditionally women's work, and was the home industry with which Loane apparently had the most contact.<sup>61</sup> Taking in washing in a poor home was, as she and her contemporary commentators acknowledged, an unenviable task.<sup>62</sup> The work was demanding in both time and energy as Chinn's excellent description of the process demonstrates.<sup>63</sup> Besides the practical difficulties of inadequate facilities, to be examined, it required a considerable amount of physical strength in women, and as Loane knew only too well from her nursing experience, the work was often injurious to their health.<sup>64</sup> Wages were poor as Loane's example of the wife who earned 1s.3d. by undertaking three and a half hours washing for a near neighbour indicated.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> L. Wyatt Papworth, 'Charwomen' in Black, *Married Women's Work*, *op.cit.* pp.105-113.

<sup>58</sup> Papworth noted a woman who worked four days a week from 9 to 6 at 2s. a day. See Black, *Married Women's Work*, *op.cit.* p.111.

<sup>59</sup> *Queen's*, p.160. There are further references to charing on p.102, p.157 & p.176. See also *Common Growth*, p.34 and *Englishman's*, p.103 & p.186. For a further detailed contemporary evaluation of charing see Black, *Married Women's Work*, *op.cit.* pp.105-113.

<sup>60</sup> *Point of View*, p.9.

<sup>61</sup> See *Next Street*, p.182.

<sup>62</sup> For a description of clothes washing in a working-class cottage see Bell, *op.cit.* pp.231-32, Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.140. and *Next Street*, pp.180-183.

<sup>63</sup> Chinn, *op.cit.* pp.110-113.

<sup>64</sup> *Next Street*, p.182.

<sup>65</sup> *Queen's*, p.157. According to evidence in Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.140, this would appear to be an average low rate for washing. Black's survey of married women's work indicates that wages for washing by the day varied in the commercial laundry trade from 2s. to 3s., the most usual rate being 2s.6d.a day. See, Black, *Married Women's Work*, *op.cit.* p.8.

Another woman whom Loane encountered undertook 'fine ironing' to supplement the family income.<sup>66</sup> Since few poor homes possessed the necessary equipment, in particular polishing irons,<sup>67</sup> for this skilled process it is likely that this wife was employed in a commercial laundry.<sup>68</sup> Whilst Loane makes no mention of hours worked, contemporary surveys indicate that ironers commonly started work on Tuesday afternoon or Wednesday morning and continued their toil until late on Saturday night or into the early hours of Sunday.<sup>69</sup> Her remarks in *The Queen's Poor* also lack any reference to wages for ironing. This omission is, to a certain extent, redressed by the evidence in contemporary surveys of the laundry trade.<sup>70</sup> For example, Clara Collett, in her investigation of women's work for Charles Booth's monumental survey, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, found that, in 1893, 'shirt and collar ironers who do clean work for shirt and collar warehouses are better paid. The work must be done well and 4s. to 5s. a day can be earned.'<sup>71</sup> Sherwell, in his 1897 study, *Life in West London*, recorded a wage of 3s. per day paid to both 'finery ironers and shirt ironers' in two typical West End [of London] laundries. The shirt ironers were required to average three shirts and a collar per hour, for which the price charged to customers was 1s.1d.<sup>72</sup> A later survey of Birmingham, *Women's*

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<sup>66</sup> *Queen's*, p.251. For another reference to this example see above, footnote 52.

<sup>67</sup> Roberts has referred to 'the immense time it took to iron all the [household's] washing using a flat or box iron.' See Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.131. .

<sup>68</sup> For a detailed and authoritative examination of history of the laundry trade see Patricia E. Malcolmsen, *English Laundresses. A Social History 1850-1930* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1986) p.34.

<sup>69</sup> Unlike washerwomen who, according to Malcolmsen, began work at dawn early in the week. See Malcolmsen, *op.cit.* p.27.

<sup>70</sup> Wages of the homemaker are less easy to establish than those of workers in commercial laundries. Most surveys provided details of the wages for washing clothes, but did not specify rates for ironing.

<sup>71</sup> Clara Collett, 'Women's Work' in Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 2nd ed., vol.IV. The Trades of East London, (London & New York, Macmillan, 1893) p.295.

<sup>72</sup> Arthur Sherwell, *Life in West London. A Study and a Contrast* (Methuen, 1897) p.81. Sherwell notes that these figures were taken from the 'Report of the Royal Commission on Labour.'



*Work and Wages*, undertaken by Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, in 1906, reported that although 'shirt ironers [in a commercial laundry] could earn about 16s. a week, most laundry workers did not earn more than the average unskilled factory hand, and in some departments the average was distinctly lower.'<sup>73</sup> One of the investigators for the Women's Industrial Council (WIC) which undertook an extensive survey of married women's work during 1908 and 1909, recorded that some women, living in a slum area in a London suburb, could earn a wage of 16s. to 18s. a week for fine ironing.<sup>74</sup>

Those women whose earnings from sewing formed a vital part of the family income were, as Loane noted, involved in work which was 'peculiarly hard and monotonous.'<sup>75</sup> In one case, a poor wife whose husband gave her irregular and totally insufficient money worked at home for ten to twelve hours a day as a seamstress to enable her to feed and clothe herself and her six children.<sup>76</sup> Regrettably, Loane failed to quantify this woman's wages, but an indication of rates of pay can again be ascertained from the Cadbury, Matheson and Shann's survey.<sup>77</sup> As with charring and laundry work, rates were governed according to the skill of the seamstress, the type of garment she was dealing with, and the amount of time given to the work. The report stated that:

Pinafore machinists [whom they investigated] earn about 9s.6d... Tailoresses can earn 11s.6d., but the varying seasons affect them considerably and few women are

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<sup>73</sup> Cadbury, Matheson & Shann, *op.cit.* p.106.

<sup>74</sup> L.D, 'Wives in a Slum,' in Black, *op.cit.* p.19 and for more figures see p.119 .

<sup>75</sup> *Queen's*, p.267.

<sup>76</sup> *Queen's*, p.267. For other references to sewing at home see *Queen's*, p.45.

<sup>77</sup> Cadbury, Matheson & Shann, *op.cit.*

capable of stating an average to cover the whole year.<sup>78</sup>

Loane maintained that all the 'discrepancies' which have been described were vital to any calculation, but, she insisted, were inevitably overlooked by uninitiated and unwary enquirers.<sup>79</sup> She was particularly critical of ill-informed and incompetent do-gooders. On the basis of her personal experience at assessing family incomes she felt justified in posing the question:

If it takes me and countless district nurses many weeks' intimate knowledge of a family before being able to state their real means with accuracy, how is it that inexperienced newspaper philanthropists can polish off a whole streetful of such families between breakfast and lunch?<sup>80</sup>

### *Financial responsibilities of the housewife*

The financial responsibilities of the working class wives whom Loane encountered extended far beyond budgeting for and purchasing food for the family, for it was the wife who decided, as Loane informed her readers, whether,

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<sup>78</sup> Cadbury, Matheson & Shann, *op.cit.* pp.168-69. They directed readers to Reports of the Women's Industrial Council and Booth, Life and Labour, *op.cit.* for more accurate details of conditions and wages in the clothing trades.

<sup>79</sup> *Queen's*, p.155-59. Ellen Ross, in citing Loane on this subject, erroneously refers to 'Margaret (sic) Loane, a district nurse with years of experience in London as well as several other parts of England.' However, and as noted in Loane's biography, Loane's experience of district nursing in London was restricted to her probationary period of six months, undertaken between 31 August 1893 and 3 March 1894. See, Register of Nurses, Folio 167, Records of the Metropolitan and District Nursing Association, Guildhall MS 14,649. For Ross's reference see Ellen Ross, 'Hungry Children, Housewives and London Charity, 1870-1914' in Peter Mandler (ed) *The Uses of Charity. The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth Century Metropolis* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990) p. 167.

<sup>80</sup> *Queen's*, p.159-160, and as cited in *The Church Times*, 16 April 1906, p.358.

for example:

an increased rent could be paid or an article of furniture bought, whether a boy shall be apprenticed or must take what work he can find, and what insurance clubs, etc. shall be joined.<sup>81</sup>

As far as their son's future employment was concerned, Loane did not agree with contemporary critics who believed that working-class mothers were ignorant of the implications of their choices.<sup>82</sup> Like Rowntree,<sup>83</sup> she was aware that the financial imperatives of poverty made the relatively high wages paid to errand boys, or similar 'blind-alley' jobs,<sup>84</sup> very tempting to both mother and son<sup>85</sup> in the short term.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Queen's*, pp.11-12, as cited in, for example, David Vincent, *Poor Citizens. The State and the Poor in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Longman, 1991) p.9 and Ellen Ross's reference to Margaret (sic) Loane in E. Ross, *Love and Toil. Motherhood in Outcast London 1870-1918* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993) p.78. For a subsequent reaffirmation of the multifarious responsibilities of a working-class wife see *Englishman's*, pp. 178-206 and *Common Growth*, p.108.

<sup>82</sup> For a contemporary example of this see J.G.Cloette, 'The Boy and his Work' in E.J.Urwick, (ed), *Studies of Boy Life in our Cities* (Dent, 1904) p.103 and for a modern comment see, for example, Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth* (Clarendon, Oxford, 1990) p.52

<sup>83</sup> Rowntree noted, 'The importance attaching to the earnings of the children in the families of the poor reminds us how great must be the temptation to take children away from school at the earliest possible moment, in order that they may earn.' Rowntree, *op.cit.* p.89.

<sup>84</sup> As Springhall, explains, any unskilled or semi-skilled occupation which provided no industrial training and left adolescents stranded a few years after entry, when the employers recruited another wave of school leavers, was referred to as a 'blind alley' job. See John Springhall, *Coming of Age. Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 1986). p.84.

<sup>85</sup> Loane remarked, in 1908, that lads 'coveted the precocious independence of an errand boy, or some equivalent occupation leading to nothing.' For this, and other observations on the employment of boys see *Point of View*, p.3 and , for Loane's remarks on the 'much-abused errand boy' see *Englishman's*, p.118-19.

<sup>86</sup> The employment prospects of the adolescent, and the problems surrounding it, were, as J.Cloette observed in 1904, 'one of the important social questions of the day.' See Cloette in Urwick, *op.cit.* p.103. For other contemporary studies of 'boy labour' see S.J.Gibb, *At Work. a little book for boys, on leaving school for work* (Christian Knowledge Society, 1902), R.A.Bray, *Boy Labour and Apprenticeship* (Constable, 1911) and Arnold Freeman, *Boy Life and Labour* (King, 1914), O.J.Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour. A History* (T.Fisher Unwin, 1912). Such was the preoccupation with this debate, that, as Springhall has noted, according to one contemporary bibliography 'some sixty books and pamphlets, ninety-three periodical articles and thirty-nine official publications' were printed on the subject of 'boy labour', between 1900 and 1914. See Springhall, *op.cit.* p.95.

The alternative, to elect, where possible, for the long-term prospects, but low wages, associated with an apprenticeship<sup>87</sup> was not an easy choice for a working-class mother to make, but it is evident from Loane's observations that informed decisions were made.<sup>88</sup>

### *Thrift and Savings*

The working class poor were frequently accused of being improvident<sup>89</sup> and unable to save,<sup>90</sup> but the numerous references within Loane's commentaries<sup>91</sup> and elsewhere<sup>92</sup> show that many of them could and did save, and that they also attempted to insure themselves against hard times through subscribing to some form of savings club.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Opportunities for indentured apprenticeships certainly varied regionally, but were generally on the decline. As Springhall notes, 'In 1906 a London County Council report claimed that apprenticeship had almost disappeared from the majority of London's industries' while 'in Birmingham, by contrast, the apprenticeship or 'learning' system continued for much longer.' See Springhall, *op.cit.* p.82-3. More also highlights the problem of definition, and distinguishes between true and old-type apprenticeship, (indentures etc.), exploitative apprenticeship, or a combination of both, see C.More, *Skills and the English Working Class 1870-1914* (Croom Helm, 1980), pp.41-52.

<sup>88</sup> For Loane's subsequent comments on legislation relating to child employment see *Englishman's*, pp.118-120.

<sup>89</sup> Reeves defended the poor from this accusation by stating 'If the poor were not improvident, they would hardly bare to live their lives at all. ...if casual labour and daily paid labour are necessary to society, then society must excuse the faults [i.e. improvidence] which are the obvious outcome of such a system.' See, Reeves, *op.cit.* p.146. McKibbin refers to the 'mere philistine assertion that the first thing the poor do with their money is to spend it.' See McKibbin, *Transactions*, *op.cit.* p.182.

<sup>90</sup> For confirmation of this contention see, for example, Bell, *op.cit.*p.52 and Reeves, *op.cit.* p. 66 and pp. 75-76 .

<sup>91</sup> *Common Growth*, p.103. Elsewhere Loane refers to a couple who belonged to both the sick club and the burial club, but had not, to her dismay, considered saving for their old age. See *Point of View*, pp.43-48.

<sup>92</sup> Helen Bosanquet, for example, paid a great deal of attention to this topic. See H.Bosanquet, 'Wages and Housekeeping' in C.S.Loch (ed), *Methods of Social Advance* (Macmillan, 1904) and H.Bosanquet, *The Standard of Life* (Macmillan, 1906). See also Bell, *op.cit.* pp.52 ff.

<sup>93</sup> For the role of 'the club' in the working-class economy see Johnson, *op.cit.* p.150. See also Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Ends Meet. Pawnbroking and Working Class Credit* (Methuen, 1984).

*Burial clubs and sick clubs*

Nowhere was the need to conform to unwritten rules of custom and practice stronger amongst the poor than in matters related to funerals and mourning, and Loane acknowledged that even the 'most reckless', who did not practise any other form of thrift, were anxious to provide for this inevitable event.<sup>94</sup> Besides wanting to avoid a paupers grave, the working-class poor did consider a funeral to be 'one of the principal social opportunities' open to them.<sup>95</sup> It was perhaps not surprising then, that, regardless of their impoverished state, every mourner, adult or child, had to have a new set of 'black' for each death.<sup>96</sup> By paying small amounts weekly to a burial club, money was always available from the club funds to meet the expense of the funeral itself as well as the correct mourning apparel.<sup>97</sup>

Black clothing was not merely a sign of respect, but, as Loane explained, with some regret, contained a distinct element of sacrifice. She had no wish to see the poor give up the custom of mourning, for she considered it contained 'a touch of idealism ...that they can ill afford to lose',<sup>98</sup> but she expressed regret at the 'general practice of providing for an unnecessarily expensive funeral.'<sup>99</sup> Loane clearly equated 'sacrifice'

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<sup>94</sup> *Common Growth*, p.109-110. Charles Booth noted, in 1892, that 'I understand that death clubs with a weekly subscription of 1/2d. to 2d. per head are very commonly subscribed to', as cited in Johnson, *op.cit.* p.25, footnote 36. See also, B.S.Puckle, *Funeral Customs. Their Origin and Development* (Laurie, 1926), J.N.Figgis, *Religion and English Society* (Longman, 1910) and Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.163.

<sup>95</sup> Bell, *op.cit.* p.77. Loane thought that the poor may have had an obscure belief that a 'handsome funeral' secured some social advantage in a future life. See *Common Growth*, p.110.

<sup>96</sup> As Curl has commented, 'Poor families appeared in new black dresses almost as soon as a death had taken place. Impossible though it might seem, it was nearly always done.' See J.Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (David & Charles, 1972) p.9. Lady Bell recorded the case of a very poor woman who was given money to 'tide her over the first few weeks after his [her husband's] death', but who spent the money on mourning and a proper funeral', and within a few days was in dire financial straits. See, Bell, *op.cit.* pp.77-8.

<sup>97</sup> *Queen's*, p.120. For confirmation see, for example, Bell, *op.cit.* p.77.

<sup>98</sup> *Queen's*, p.121.

<sup>99</sup> *Common Growth*, p.109.

with 'improvidence', and chastised the working-classes for not putting the money expended on a death to better use during the lifetime of their relative.<sup>100</sup>

Loane's sentiments, which demonstrated Rowntree's concept of 'secondary' poverty,<sup>101</sup> characterised by the imprudent use of money, are somewhat naive, for they assume that money spent on mourning clothes was readily available. Rather, as the oral testimony of Thomas Morgan makes clear, this was far from the case amongst poor families:

And you know how they mostly got their money to buy? Off the moneylender, penny in the shilling. Plenty of moneylenders round. They used to sit in the pubs - rows or rings.'<sup>102</sup>

Inevitably there were those amongst the poor who were unable to make any such provision. For some there was no choice but to resort to the pawnbroker.<sup>103</sup> Others were more fortunate in that they were the recipients of neighbourhood support.<sup>104</sup> As an example, Reeves recorded how, in South London, street collections were organised so that parents who had no burial insurance for their children did not have to suffer the indignity of a pauper funeral.<sup>105</sup> Although Loane did not quantify

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<sup>100</sup> *Queen's*, p.120

<sup>101</sup> 'Families whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure either useful or wasteful.' Rowntree, *op.cit.* pp. 86-87.

<sup>102</sup> Thomas Morgan was born in 1892. See Thea Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods* (Routledge, 1981) p.23.

<sup>103</sup> Curl, *op.cit.* p.9 and Thompson, *Childhoods*, *op.cit.* p.23.

<sup>104</sup> For Loane on 'neighbourly support' see, for example, *Queen's*, pp.242, 267. For corroborative first-hand evidence of neighbourhood support see Bell, *op.cit.* pp.229-30 and Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* pp.183-194. For an historical examination of this subject see, for example, Ellen Ross, 'Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London Before World War 1', *History Workshop Journal*, 15, 1983, pp.4-28.

<sup>105</sup> Repayment of such a loan meant a huge sacrifice for, as Reeves remarked, 'For months afterwards the mother and remaining children will eat less in order to pay back the money borrowed.' See, Reeves, *op.cit.* p.68.

the cost of funerals, some idea of the struggle involved can be gained from Reeves' later study, where she calculated the minimum cost of a child's funeral [in 1911] to be thirty shillings.<sup>106</sup>

Another form of insurance to which large numbers of the poor subscribed was the sick club, a reflection no doubt of their concerns about the financial ramifications of illness.<sup>107</sup> As Loane and her contemporaries noted, even the poorest people were prudent enough to subscribe to a sickness club, but there were an unfortunate minority who were precluded, because of the early onset of their illness, from subscribing to any benefit scheme.<sup>108</sup> Loane described one such person, a hard working artisan, whose whole life, and that of his family, had been over-shadowed by 'the fear of incapacitating illness'.<sup>109</sup> A particular episode of incapacity had lasted for forty weeks, during which time all the family savings, a sum of nearly fifty pounds, were used up. As soon as the man had recovered, he and his family started saving up again for the next inevitable bout of illness. There had, however, been no recourse to charity, and the indignity of the pawnbroker had been avoided.<sup>110</sup>

Loane pointed out that those who did subscribe knew that when their incapacity exceeded a specified period, their club allowance would be automatically reduced. She not only recorded one man whose money was due to be reduced from

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<sup>106</sup> Reeves, *op.cit.* p.70.

<sup>107</sup> Rowntree, for example, recorded that every family surveyed whose earnings were below 26s. a week spent money on insurance or sick clubs. See Rowntree, *op.cit.* p.246. Similarly, Davies stated that 'nearly every working-class householder and most of the young men [in Corsley, Wiltshire] belong to a benefit society, to secure medical attendance and a weekly allowance in case of their own illness. See Maud Davies, *Life in an English Village* (T.Fisher Unwin, 1909) p.250.

<sup>108</sup> For confirmation of such exclusion see Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.164.

<sup>109</sup> *Queen's*, p.256.

<sup>110</sup> As Roberts has noted, 'Feelings against using the services of a pawnbroker could be very strong even in very poor families,' and was, as her respondents confirmed, used as a last resort. See Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.149. This view is confirmed by Roberts, who also provides a good description of pawning in Edwardian Salford. See, Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* pp.25-26. For a modern, comprehensive study of pawnbroking see Tebbutt, *op.cit.*

seven shillings a week <sup>111</sup> to 'the dreaded five shilling scale' <sup>112</sup> but she also referred to a case where a club allowance was about to be permanently reduced to the meagre sum of four shillings a week. <sup>113</sup>

There were, regrettably, a minority of the working class who, according to Lady Bell, were deterred from subscribing to a sick club not by the cost of insurance, but by the complicated and time-consuming procedures involved. <sup>114</sup>

Not all commentators agreed that sick clubs were beneficial. F.G.Heath, in his study, *British Rural Life and Labour*, considered that as long as "sick clubs" existed, [agricultural] employers would be deterred from improving conditions of pay and employment. <sup>115</sup>

Other insurance clubs mentioned by Loane were those which enabled the poor to save for special purchases such as clothes, <sup>116</sup> boots or meat. <sup>117</sup> One of her 'friends' expressed the view that of all the clubs, the Boot club was the best choice, mainly

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<sup>111</sup> *Queen's*, p.234. Lady Bell observed of the so-called 'benefits' of the sick club, that 'even if he [the workman] is in a sick club his income is lessened at a moment when it should be increased, and the food and remedies that are desirable are in many cases unattainable without sacrificing something essential to the welfare of the rest of the household. See, Bell, *op.cit.*p.86.

<sup>112</sup> *Queen's*, p.234. Miss C.F.Yonge, in her article on Friendly Societies, reported that the Hearts of Oak Friendly Society paid a reduced sick allowance to its members. In the case of a member of over six years standing the benefit amounted to 18s. sick pay weekly for six months, 9s. for a further six months, then the reduced amount of 4s. a week for the remainder of the illness. The Report for 1904 showed that 'sixty-one members have had sick allowance over twenty years, that one old man has had sick allowance for no less than thirty-eight years, and another for thirty-four years.' See, Miss C. F.Yonge, 'Friendly Societies', *Economic Review*, July 1906, p.296.

<sup>113</sup> *Queen's*, p.275.

<sup>114</sup> Bell, *op.cit.* pp.118-20.

<sup>115</sup> As Heath explained, 'Ordinary labourers, however, when employed by the week, anywhere, are not often paid when they cannot for any cause, work, although in this respect large employers of labour are more generous than the small farmers. Possibly all farmers would be more generous - compulsorily so in their own interests - were it not for the sick benefit clubs, and the "rates", upon which the labourer must fall back if he has no "club", or in cases of prolonged illness, when the club pay, if any, becomes automatically reduced. See F.G.Heath, *British Rural Life and Labour* (King, 1911) pp.56-74.

<sup>116</sup> *Queen's*, p.134.

<sup>117</sup> *Queen's*, p.305. It has not been possible to locate a reference elsewhere to a meat club. For other references to club subscriptions see *Queen's*, p.12.



because 'there's no *charity* about it.'<sup>118</sup> As Mrs. K observed, a working-class mother rarely had the 'seven and sixpence' needed to buy a 'good stout lasting pair of boy's boots', particularly when she had several children to buy for.<sup>119</sup> The temptation, without the Boot Club, was to buy an inferior pair costing four shillings and sixpence, which would be in pieces in no time. It also had the added benefit, she believed, of teaching the boys the cost of boots, which made them more careful.

A wife's control of the family budget also allowed her to exercise some authority over her husband, for it was invariably up to her to decide how much money he could keep from his wages.<sup>120</sup> Loane did not believe that working class men were as wasteful as contemporaries suggested, nor that they were in the habit of spending a third of their wages in pleasures in which their families had no share.<sup>121</sup> In her opinion, the amount a man was allocated by his wife reflected the financial matters for which he had responsibility.

Whilst the reviewer for *The Morning Post* published the following anecdotal evidence to illustrate this view:

" Mother lets father keep all of his overtime money"  
but added that he was expected to "find hisself (sic)  
in boots" and to buy and keep two young pigs out of  
his allowance,<sup>122</sup>

<sup>118</sup> *Queen's*, p.305. Johnson explains that some church or school clothing or coal clubs were of a semi-philanthropic nature. They did not advance any money, but provided goods to the value of money saved at the end of the year. Savers were rewarded with a cash bonus. See Johnson, *op.cit.* pp.150-51.

<sup>119</sup> Money paid to the Boot Club appeared as an expense in several of the budgets examined by the Fabian Women's Group. See Reeves, *op.cit.* pp.77-81.

<sup>120</sup> This fact was also remarked upon by Bosanquet, *op.cit.* p.200.

<sup>121</sup> *Queen's*, p.12. A lengthier excerpt from this passage was included in the review published in *The Nursing Times*, 21 October 1905, pp.490-1.

<sup>122</sup> *The Morning Post*, 30 November 1905, p.3.

the authoress was more explicit, stating:

The man who only keeps half a crown, but buys nothing for the family out of it except an occasional paper of sweets for the little ones, may have had quite as large a share as the man who pockets ten or twelve shillings, out of which he has to pay the club subscriptions, provide all his own clothes and the boys' Sunday suits, settle the bill for the entire family, and save something for the summer holiday.<sup>123</sup>

To some extent, a wife's control of the family finances also enabled her to exert authority over her husband's alcohol consumption. Loane maintained that, in regard to drinking habits, the poor were beginning to emulate ethical standards which were common amongst the professional classes: whilst drunkenness before marriage was 'generally regarded seriously', occasional drunkenness after marriage was vehemently disapproved of. For example she recalled one particular wife who did not trust her husband to stay sober on a Bank Holiday outing, and actually prevented him going: the danger of intemperance did not however, prevent her from trusting him not to waste what she called 'the children's money'. From her own experience, Loane adduced that:

a small unexpected money present to a married workman, and most of them are married, commonly reaches the home in the shape of fruit or toys or sweets for the 'kids', while the 'glass of something that won't hurt them' often rouses an unexpected thirst for more.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> *Queen's*, p.12.

<sup>124</sup> *Queen's*, p.126. This statement also confirms Loane's contention, to be noted, that poor parents indulged their children. See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 14-16.

### *Overview*

Loane's frequent encounters with poor families enabled her to remark with some authority on their domestic arrangements. She observed the way in which married women within poor households were able to exercise a great deal of control over home and family, largely due to their management of the family budget. Her attitude towards these women, and her acknowledgement of the difficult task they faced in running homes on inadequate and irregular incomes, was generally empathetic. She also had a good deal of admiration for the way in which most of them coped under very difficult circumstances, even managing to save money for certain expensive purchases as well as emergencies.

Areas of criticism included their lack of domestic and organisational skills, but at the same time she recognised that many of their failings were due to their lack of education, and could be improved if they had access to the appropriate tuition.

Loane was also critical of married women working for she believed that they were better off devoting themselves to their homes and families: she was however aware that few poor women comprehended the value of their contribution, and found the temptation of extra money in the household budget irresistible even when the wages they were paid were miserably low.

Loane's strictures regarding the domestic economy of the poor and the qualitative changes in their lives were evidently both didactic and penetrating: the *Charity Organisation Review* were prompted to remark, having read *The Queen's Poor*, that 'we feel however that we must reconsider some of our ideas about the domestic life of the poor.'<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

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<sup>125</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

## CHAPTER 6

### Childhood and Poverty

#### *Representations of childhood*

Loane was considered by *The Daily News* to be 'specially illuminating on the question of the children.'<sup>1</sup> Her representations of early twentieth century working-class childhood, which she contrasted with those of Charles Lamb,<sup>2</sup> prompted Strachey to comment:

The children of the poor are, in Miss Loane's experience, very kindly treated, and certainly their condition has greatly improved of late years.<sup>3</sup>

The way in which Loane represented children has however been the subject of more recent academic criticism. Whilst Cunningham does concede that Loane was 'sharply observant,'<sup>4</sup> he has asserted that Loane's primary concern was, 'to reveal the innocence and naivety of her "little friends."'<sup>5</sup> Such an opinion creates the impression that Loane's writings were shallow and superficial yet it is evident from contemporary criticism that Loane's style of writing was generally applauded by readers and publishers alike.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, her anecdotal revelations, which contemporaries

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<sup>1</sup> *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

<sup>2</sup> Loane opens Chapter III of *The Queen's Poor* with an (unidentified) excerpt from one of Lamb's works. Lamb died in 1834. An excerpt from this passage was included in the review published by *The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.364, but was erroneously attributed to Miss Loane. M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) p.47 (henceforth *Queen's*).

<sup>3</sup> *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *Children of the Poor. Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991) p.212.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.213.

<sup>6</sup> *The Daily News*, for example, remarked that Loane's main objective was to comment on the way in which the lives of working-class children had improved in recent years. *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

considered penetrating,<sup>7</sup> have been dismissed by Cunningham as 'inconsequential.'<sup>8</sup>

His description of her anecdotes as the verbal equivalent of a *Stampa Punch*

cartoon<sup>9</sup> is accurate in so far as both the artist and the social commentator succeeded in recapturing the characteristic ideas and culture of working-class childhood.

In gathering material for her literary work, Loane did take advantage of the unrivalled opportunities afforded to her by professional role,<sup>10</sup> but to suggest, as Cunningham has, that she deliberately tried 'to extract definitions from children', for the amusement of her readers is highly contentious.<sup>11</sup> Loane in fact answered

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179, *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720, *The Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.2, no.3, December 1905, p.118.

<sup>8</sup> Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.212. Anecdotal evidence was a source common to numerous other social commentators of the period, including, for example, Bell, Reynolds and Malvery. Cunningham is equally cynical about the validity of Reynolds evidence in the latter's book, *Seems So*. As Cunningham states, 'Other Conservatives saw in aspects of the proposed legislation a class bias against the poor; this was a criticism articulated in what purported to be the conversations of some Devon fishermen on the Children's Act', see Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.216. This article, included in Reynolds book, *Seems So* published in 1911, first appeared in *The Spectator* in July 1909, and extant correspondence between Strachey and Reynolds confirms the validity of the anecdotal evidence. See Letter of Reynolds to Strachey, 8 May 1909, Strachey Papers, S/16/3/8, House of Lords Record Office. Beyond this, it is important to note that Reynolds was no mere passing visitor, but a working inhabitant of the fishing community. For a detailed account of Reynolds' life in Devon, see J.D.Osborne, 'Stephen Reynolds, a biographical and critical study.' PhD Thesis, University of London, 1978 See also Harold Wright (ed.) *Stephen Reynolds, Letters* (Richmond, Hogarth Press, 1923).

<sup>9</sup> Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.214. G.L.Stampa, *Humours of the Street* (Methuen, 1921). There is an interesting analogy here which links both Loane, Mayhew and *Punch*. In 1935, Wells accused Mayhew of only concerning himself with 'such kinds of poor folk as his readers would consider interesting or romantic.' He also drew attention to the fact that 'Mayhew, it must be said, was one of the founders of *Punch*.' See A.F. Wells, *The Local Social Survey in Great Britain* (G.Allen & Unwin, 1935) p.21.

<sup>10</sup> As *Nursing Notes* stated, 'Miss Loane has made the most of the unrivalled opportunities which lie in the path of the district nurse, and she tells her tale with abundant humour and sympathy.' See *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179.

<sup>11</sup> For these observations see, Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.213. For Loane's original quotation, see *Queen's*, pp.53-54. For the contemporary view of Loane's anecdotal evidence, see, for example, *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179. A similar accusation was made against Henry Mayhew decades earlier, and in his defence Yeo has remarked that Mayhew possessed a 'rare ability to inspire confidence and establish quick rapport' and in his hands, meetings with interviewees encouraged rather than inhibited the most intimate personal statements.' For this, and further comparative statements see, E.P.Thompson & E.Yeo, *The Unknown Mayhew* (Merlin, 1971) pp.62-64.

her own critics on this point <sup>12</sup> but, as has been noted, Cunningham appears to have overlooked this in his narrow examination of her works. <sup>13</sup>

### *The experience of childhood*

In Loane's experience, children were a source of pride in most working-class families, and, more often than not, were the recipients of affection and devotion. <sup>14</sup> However, she expressed her disapproval that these same children tended to be the worst behaved and the most unruly of all <sup>15</sup> because their parents often failed to balance this affection with effective controls. <sup>16</sup>

Parents 'rejoiced in their [children's] youth' and even in the worst neighbourhoods efforts were made to protect their innocence and prolong the childhood years. <sup>17</sup> Shielding them from corruption included, for example, sending

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<sup>12</sup> As Loane stated, 'It will be noted that none of my patients or their friends speak any of the exasperating jargon which in a very large class of novels passes for "dialect," and readers are so accustomed to orthographical orgies that they will feel doubts as to the genuineness of these conversations. Nevertheless they have been written down exactly as they were uttered.' *Queen's*, p.112.

<sup>13</sup> Cunningham's observations are based largely on his examination of Loane's chapter, 'Children of the Poor' in *The Queen's Poor*. He also refers to M.E.Loane (sic) as 'the district nurse whose articles were collected into a series of popular books between 1905 and 1911', but as Appendix 1 of this thesis shows, not all of Loane's numerous articles were republished, although, as noted in this thesis, excerpts were included in some of her books. As no comprehensive bibliography of Loane's work has previously been undertaken, Cunningham's assumption is ill-founded. See Cunningham, *op.cit*, p.212.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, *Queen's*, p.21.

<sup>15</sup> For the 'weak and excessive indulgence' of children see also M.Loane, *From Their Point of View* (Edward Arnold, 1908) pp.108-112, p.118 (henceforth *Point of View*).

<sup>16</sup> *Queen's*, pp.116-17. On the failure of fathers to discipline children see M.Loane, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909) p.195 (henceforth *Englishman's*). Cunningham has described Loane's assertions as 'frequent and often contradictory affirmations that the poor were too indulgent to their children, and seemed to see no great harm in theft, idleness at work and lying.' See Cunningham, *op.cit*, p.213. However, as other commentators noted, this juxtaposition of values was commonplace amongst the poor. See, for example, Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Final vol., Notes on Social Influences and Conclusions (Macmillan, 1902) pp.42-3 and Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Penguin, 1973) p.46.

<sup>17</sup> *Queen's*, p.48.

them to bed 'at six so that they might be asleep " before the language begins." <sup>18</sup>

Conversely, and as has been noted, children were often encouraged to be independent by taking on the responsibilities of some form of paid employment.

A new baby was invariably a source of joy in even the most poverty-stricken home, <sup>19</sup> and a child's birthday rarely went unnoticed. <sup>20</sup> Loane also remarked upon the protective attitude and kindness shown by many children towards their younger siblings. <sup>21</sup> The degree of protection varied from simply straightening a child's hat to, in the case of Loane's young friend 'Dolf,' taking care of the household and younger brothers and sisters during the lengthy period of a family crisis. <sup>22</sup>

Conversely, there were children amongst the working-class poor who did not enjoy the innocence of childhood for very long, and whose life experiences had made them hard-hearted and cynical. There was, for instance, the boy of fourteen who was told off for publicly enjoying the heavy meal which followed his father's funeral, and who replied that 'I don't get a beano like this every day.' <sup>23</sup>

### *Schooling*

By 1905, childhood had become intricately implicated in the most critical public issues of the time. <sup>24</sup> Indeed, as Loane's work reflected, and as will be noted, childhood was both the driving force and the *raison d'être* behind both recently

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<sup>18</sup> *Queen's*, p.60.

<sup>19</sup> *Queen's*, p.49. For confirmation see *Point of View*, p.145-46.

<sup>20</sup> *Queen's*, p.49. See also M.Loane, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) p.4, p.46, pp.91-92 (henceforth *Next Street*)

<sup>21</sup> *Queen's*, p.54.

<sup>22</sup> *Queen's*, p.224.

<sup>23</sup> *Queen's*, p.56.

<sup>24</sup> Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.212.



implemented and proposed legislation. The introduction of mass formal schooling, from its hesitant beginnings in 1870, was by no means a philanthropic gesture on the part of Government. It was, rather, politically motivated, driven by the imperatives of national interest and social control. Musgrove's remarks, that 'compulsory education was a necessity by the 1870's not because children were at work, but because increasingly they were not,'<sup>25</sup> indicates the way in which state thinking about social policy was changing.

Although as will be noted Loane somewhat modified her views on education in her subsequent works,<sup>26</sup> at the time of writing *The Queen's Poor* she was unreserved in her approbation of compulsory education. It was her considered opinion that the Education Act[s] had effectively benefited the daily lives of the majority of working class children. As she remarked:

It would be no exaggeration to say that it [the compulsory Education Act] has nearly doubled the years of permitted childhood, and added incalculably to its interest and pleasures.<sup>27</sup>

Her contention was based on the fact that prior to the introduction of Forster's Elementary Education Act of 1870 most working-class children only attended school for four or five years, leaving by the age of nine or ten. The 1870 Act changed this, although it required the introduction of four further Education Acts, in 1876, 1880, 1891 and 1900 before elementary education became compulsory for children up to

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<sup>25</sup> F.Musgrove, 'Population Changes and the Status of the Young in England Since the Eighteenth Century,' *Sociological Review*, n.s. 11 (March 1963) pp.79-82.

<sup>26</sup> See Chapter 11, 'The Poor and the State', footnotes 115-123.

<sup>27</sup> *Queen's*, pp.68-69, as quoted in *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9.

the age of fourteen.<sup>28</sup>

The Elementary Board Schools which were established supplemented the existing, but numerically inadequate, voluntary schools.<sup>29</sup> They were explicitly intended to cater for the children of the poor, from Stampa's 'street arabs' to Loane's 'respectable' working class, collectively described by Hurt as 'the social and the educational outcasts of the nation into the schools.'<sup>30</sup>

The perceived value of schooling did largely depend upon class. The 'respectable poor', amongst whom Loane included artisans and the better class of labourers,<sup>31</sup> were more concerned than the very poor that their children had a decent foundation of education.<sup>32</sup> Once again, the imperatives of poverty were an influential factor, for, as has been noted, the very poorest families relied much more heavily upon their children's earnings to supplement the family income, and thus condoned absenteeism from school.

As far as Loane was concerned, the benefits accrued from mass education were numerous.<sup>33</sup> Explicitly, she referred to the acquisition of basic literary and

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<sup>28</sup> For a contemporary outline see W.H.Stuart Garnett, *Children and the Law* (Murray, 1911) pp.76-119. The Education Acts also gave School Boards extensive powers to allow part-time or full-time exemptions. For details of these exemptions see, for example, Lionel Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood. Child Oppression in Britain 1860-1918* (Routledge, 1991) pp.107-115. The minimum school leaving age was raised progressively from ten to eleven in 1891, from eleven to twelve in 1899, and to fourteen in 1900.

<sup>29</sup> Lawson and Silver have argued that the 1870 Act was 'the most workable piece of compromise legislation in English nineteenth-century history' for 'it did not introduce free or compulsory education, but it made both possible.' John Lawson & Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (Methuen, 1973) p.314. For a contemporary confirmation of this statement see, for example, B.Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty. A Study of Town Life*, 1st.ed. (Macmillan, 1901) pp.333-344. See also Garnett, *op.cit.* pp.76-119.

<sup>30</sup> For a history of changes in education for this period see, for example, J.S.Hurt, *Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) p.19. Hurts view is confirmed by Behlmer who states, 'compulsory education provided an institutional confirmation of the idea that pre-adolescent boys and girls lacked certain intellectual and physical powers necessary to cope with the adult world.' For this comment see K.Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908* (Stanford.U.S.A, Stanford University Press, 1982) p.194.

<sup>31</sup> *Queen's*, p.48. Rose describes the respectable poor as 'the working classes of the artisan type. See Rose, *op.cit.* p.190.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, John Springhall (1986), as cited by Rose, *op.cit.* p.265.

<sup>33</sup> For some remarks on schooling see *Queen's*, p.93.

oral skills.<sup>34</sup> She was in no doubt that, in general, compulsory schooling 'had a great effect on [increasing] the vocabulary of the poor' particularly amongst country children, and this had led, she believed, to a decrease in swearing and bad language.<sup>35</sup> Even with this apparent improvement, it was hard for children not to acquire a colourful vocabulary in much the same way as they repeated grammatical errors, for both were 'stereotyped by the home teaching.'<sup>36</sup> Loane also remarked upon the fact that many town children had a more limited range of language, an assertion which is exemplified in the following anecdote:

I once took an intelligent boy of nearly seven, the son of an artisan, into a public park. He gazed with rapture at three white ducks swimming over the lake, and then suddenly plucked my dress and shouted: 'Look at the angel over there, he's tucking his leg under his wing!' He had been a regular attendant at Sunday School, and had never seen any bird but a sparrow. He knew no word for garden, and when I spoke of a hill he evidently had not the faintest idea where to look, nor what he should see.<sup>37</sup>

The strange gaps in the vocabulary of this child not only highlighted the alarming ignorance of some children but indicated a lack of contact with nature.<sup>38</sup> In fact

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<sup>34</sup> Loane later remarked that 'the co-education now so common in elementary schools...does much to raise the standard of courage among girls.' See *Point of View*, p.120.

<sup>35</sup> *Queen's*, p.65. This improvement in children's speech was later confirmed by Thomas Holmes, a police court missionary and Secretary of the Howard Association, who wrote in 1908, in regard to child offenders, 'The change in speech, too, is strongly noticeable; the old blood-curdling oaths and curses spiced with blasphemy are quite out of fashion. Emphasis can only be given to speech today by interlarding it with filthy words and obscene allusions.' See T.Holmes, *Known to the Police* (Edward Arnold, 1908) p.22-23, as cited in J.J.Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Batsford, 1967) p.84. Loane subsequently asserted that the poor understood and appreciated a much wider range of language than they used. See *Point of View*, pp.82-83.

<sup>36</sup> *Queen's*, pp.61-62, p.65.

<sup>37</sup> *Queen's*, p.65.

<sup>38</sup> Here Loane picks up on earlier evidence of Mayhew.

Loane considered that London children in particular, were nowhere near as sharp and independent as was often claimed.<sup>39</sup>

The knowledge acquired by boys who attended the Higher Grade schools impressed Loane, even though it threatened to embarrass some of her less brilliantly educated probationers: the latter may have known the difference between a Fahrenheit or Centigrade thermometer, but, unlike the schoolboy, were unable to convert them into Reaumur.<sup>40</sup> Whatever else children learnt at school, Loane considered that it was of greatest importance that they 'should learn to read any ordinary book with ease, and to write a business letter.'<sup>41</sup>

Compulsory education also failed to prepare girls for their future roles as wives and mothers. Not only did many lack basic arithmetical skills which were, Loane recognised, essential for good household management,<sup>42</sup> but many were unable to cook. For example, the current practice of teaching cooking at eleven, as some schools did, was, Loane maintained, for the convenience of the administrators rather than for the benefit of the pupils.<sup>43</sup> Such practice ignored the fact that most girls of this age were far too immature and irresponsible to benefit from such instruction, evidenced by the fact that most working-class mothers were reluctant to let their daughters wash their own faces at eleven, 'for fear she should waste the soap.'<sup>44</sup> Loane argued that these lessons should take place during

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<sup>39</sup> *Queen's*, p.70.

<sup>40</sup> *Queen's*, p.68. Loane subsequently voiced her objections to free secondary education on the grounds that places were usually given to those who could afford to pay. See *Point of View*, pp.13-14.

<sup>41</sup> *Englishman's*, p.94.

<sup>42</sup> For an earlier reference to this matter see Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor,' footnote 24.

<sup>43</sup> *Queen's*, p.139.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

a girl's last year at school, for without regular practice, most would have forgotten everything they had learnt by the time they left at fourteen. However, it is evident that there was no official consensus in regard to such tuition.<sup>45</sup>

### *Religious Education*

As far as religious education in schools was concerned, Loane expressed curiosity over the 'controversial bitterness aroused by the Elementary Education Act.'<sup>46</sup> The problem over what religious instruction should be taught in schools had certainly hindered progress towards a national system of education.<sup>47</sup> Various attempts at a solution, including the embodiment of the Cowper-Temple clause<sup>48</sup> within Forster's Education Act of 1870, failed to provide the solution. Nor did the subsequent introduction of Balfour's Education Act of 1902, which was intended to resolve the anomalies of interpretation. Whilst a contemporary of Loane's considered that, by 1904, the problem over religious education had 'assumed an extraordinary

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<sup>45</sup> As cited in M.Davies, 'Physical Deterioration and the Teaching of Cookery', *Contemporary Review*, January 1905, p.89. For the official debate on cookery classes for girls see, for example, a Mrs.Lyttleton who was in favour of compulsory practical instruction in domestic management and cookery being given to girls as they approached womanhood, and saw no harm in these lessons replacing so-called book work. See British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 5435-36. Sir John Gorst was adamant that any such teaching be reserved until the age of fifteen or sixteen; the fact that this was beyond the school-leaving age was, he considered, 'unfortunate'. See British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 12011-12013. As a solution to this problem, he suggested the establishment of compulsory continuation schools for girls and boys, an idea which found favour with Dr. Robert Hutchinson, a physician at the Children's Hospital, Great Ormond Street, London, who wanted to see 'classes devoted to domestic economy, in the widest sense of the word. British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 10001-10003.

<sup>46</sup> *Queen's*, p.31. For this debate, and a detailed commentary on this Act see, James Murphy, *The Education Act 1870* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1972) with special reference to the religious debate to be found on pp.10-15, pp.54-64 and pp.70-72.

<sup>47</sup> Murphy, *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> As Murphy explains, Cowper-Temple, the chairman of the National Education Union, and one of the chief spokesmen of those who favoured denominational education, proposed an amendment related to board schools, and accepted by government, stated that 'No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.' see Murphy, *op.cit.* p.61.

prominence',<sup>49</sup> the anxieties were very much one-sided. For, as far as Loane could ascertain, nowhere were the dogmas of religion of less consequence to the poor than in the classroom, and the conflict 'as to what religious instruction should be given in primary schools' did not 'rouse any doubts or difficulties in the scholars' minds'.<sup>50</sup> This was evidenced, she maintained, by the fact that it was common practice for working-class children to attend 'chapel Sunday schools in the morning and church Sunday school in the afternoon.'<sup>51</sup> Loane was, however, unequivocal in her criticism of the:

feebleness and inefficiency of most of the teaching  
in Sunday schools of every denomination, and the  
misdirection of a large percentage of the more  
skilled and zealous instruction,<sup>52</sup>

and considered that most of it was nothing short of indoctrination. However, she did give credit where it was due, by highlighting the long-term influence of the 'really

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<sup>49</sup> George Arthur, 'Anti-Clericalism in France & England', *The Nineteenth Century*, May 1904, p.724. See also G.W.Kekewich, 'The Amendment of the Education Act,'

<sup>50</sup> *Queen's*, p.32. For confirmation of this view, see, for example, Charles B. Penny, 'The Religion of the Errand Boy', *Contemporary Review*, vol.LXXXVI, September 1904, p.406.

<sup>51</sup> *Queen's*, p.32. Loane reasserted this point in *Point of View*, pp. 94-95 and *Next Street*, p.66. Harris has recorded how, 'the millions of children attending Sunday schools were overwhelmingly working class'. See Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit. A Social History of Britain 1870-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993) p.158. For evidence of the continued rise in enrolments at Sunday Schools through to 1910 see P.B.Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980* (National Christian Education Council, 1986). Joanna Bourke has commented that the clergy were clearly keen to attract as many children as possible into the bosom of the Church for 'the care, training and discipline of the children was the main role left for the church in working-class districts.' This reference is to Margaret E.Loane (sic) in Joanna Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain 1890-1960* (Routledge, 1994) p.146.

<sup>52</sup> *Queen's*, p.38. For reference to an 'unusually efficient Sunday school' see *Queen's*, p.287. Loane was later to assert that Sunday Schools failed to teach children 'anything that is of any immediate use to them' see *Englishman's*, p.11 and p.94.

capable and zealous instructors of the young' whose tuition was 'remembered and valued [by the poor] in later life.'<sup>53</sup>

In the main, children of the 'respectable poor' were quite happy to divulge 'their special shades of belief':<sup>54</sup> the exception were those who espoused Roman Catholicism, and like their elders they were, evidently, fearful 'to own their allegiance.'<sup>55</sup> Fear of petty persecution was not confined to Catholic children for Loane recounted, with dismay, the way in which such prejudice affected young Jews of her acquaintance, by undermining their 'personal and racial pride.'<sup>56</sup>

### *Cruelty to children*

Whilst the lives of most poor children were, as Loane demonstrated, affected by the introduction of compulsory education, she was less certain about the number of them who actually benefited from the so-called 'Children's Charter', the legislation introduced to prevent cruelty against children.<sup>57</sup>

The authoress's judgement of the Acts for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, first introduced in 1889,<sup>58</sup> and amended in 1894<sup>59</sup> and 1904,<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Queen's*, p.42.

<sup>54</sup> *Queen's*, p.40.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Queen's*, pp.41-42. For racial prejudice in London Board Schools see Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor. Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914* (Rivers Oram, 1996) pp. 201-206. As Jose Harris notes, 'Although racial concepts infiltrated the language of social science and public administration, they did not invariably have the specifically ethnic and exclusionary connotations that a later generation might suppose,' as cited in Harris, *op.cit.* p.78.

<sup>57</sup> *Queen's*, pp.68-69, and as quoted in *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9. For a subsequent reference to this legislation in connection with free school meals see Chapter 11, 'The Poor and the State', footnotes 52-60. For the Children's Charter see Behlmer, *op.cit.* p.109.

<sup>58</sup> 52 & 53 Vic., c.44, as cited in Behlmer, *op.cit.* p.230.

<sup>59</sup> 7 & 58 Vic. c.27 and 57 & 58 Vic, c.41, as cited in Behlmer, *op.cit.* p.230.

<sup>60</sup> 4 Edw.VII, c.15.as cited in Behlmer, *op.cit.* p.230. For a definitive history of the NSPCC and the battle against child abuse and neglect in England between 1870 and 1908 see Behlmer, *op.cit.* p.46.

were, ostensibly, based on her nursing experience in and around Portsmouth,<sup>61</sup> and she maintained that the extent of harshness in working-class homes was greatly exaggerated.<sup>62</sup> She was later to quantify her assertion by stating, as will be noted, that she could recall 'no more than twelve cases of physically abused children, and not a single instance of persistent ill-treatment'.<sup>63</sup> This claim was, to a certain extent, confirmed by the annual reports of the Society's branch in Portsmouth which recorded a far higher ratio of children suffering from neglect rather than from ill-treatment. This pattern was, as Behlmer highlights, reflected nationally.<sup>64</sup>

This legislation, later described as 'in principle probably the most revolutionary measure of social reform ever placed upon the statute book of England,'<sup>65</sup> was not solely concerned with familial child abuse, but was the first national law to impose restrictions on child street trading, setting minimum age limits for employment. Although, as Rose has noted, the children of the respectable working-class were the least likely to have been employed on the streets, some

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<sup>61</sup> Martha Jane Loane touched upon the issue of child abuse in one of her earliest articles, published at about the same time as she took up her post as Superintendent at Portsmouth. She confirmed that the district nurse was in a unique position to assess whether the harsh treatment meted out to a young child by its parent amounted to cruelty, in which case the only choice open to the nurse was to 'give notice to the nearest office of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, or at the police station. All such communications are considered confidential.' See, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, February 1897, p.18.

<sup>62</sup> For Loane's incorrect reference to the RSPCC in *Queen's* p.146 see Chapter 11, 'The Poor and the State', footnotes 53-54 and for subsequent correct references to the NSPCC see, for example, *Point of View*, p.63 and M.Loane, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911) p.290 (henceforth *Common Growth*)

<sup>63</sup> *Point of View*, pp.99-100, and as cited in Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians. The Remaking of British Society*, 2nd.ed. (Routledge, 1992) pp.45-46. For one of Loane's encounters with the NSPCC Inspector see *Next Street*, pp.210-218 and p.233. For the first-hand experiences of an NSPCC Inspector see W. Payne, *The Cruelty Man* (NSPCC, 1912).

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, NSPCC 8th. Annual Report, Portsmouth, 1896-97, p.5 which recorded that 188 children suffered from neglect, against 37 who were ill-treated. In the 13th. Annual Report, 1901-02, 250 were recorded as neglected, with 32 being ill-treated. NSPCC Archives.

<sup>65</sup> *Quarterly Review*, 205 (1906) p.46 as cited in Cunningham, *op.cit.* p.208. The NSPCC were responsible for bringing this bill before Parliament, and were responsible for its administration.' See, Behlmer, *op.cit.* p.110, p.181.



poor children did benefit from these restrictions, and, as implied by Loane, enjoyed a measure of freedom previously denied them. Her assertion that only a minority of working-class children had, by 1905, benefited from these acts is, to a large extent, borne out by Rose, for, as he points out, the legislation was enabling rather than enforcing, with the result that implementation was inconsistent and largely ineffectual.<sup>66</sup>

Cases of child abuse which Loane encountered included the boy of eleven or twelve who ran away to sea to escape the brutal and unprovoked beatings and neglect of his father.<sup>67</sup> Neglected children went hungry, were dirty and were frequently left to fend for themselves, so that minor accidents were commonplace:<sup>68</sup> poverty was not the only reason for these failures of parental responsibility, for as in the case of Dolf's mother, neglect was a manifestation of bereavement.<sup>69</sup>

### *Moral training and the behaviour of children*

In Loane's opinion the moral training which poor children received at home frequently left a great deal to be desired.<sup>70</sup> Any moral guidance which they did receive was largely considered to be at odds with that of the middle and upper classes, but this was not, as Loane argued, because their parents adhered to an alien set of moral principles, but rather because they ranked the same set of moral principles in a

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<sup>66</sup> Rose, *op.cit.* pp.72-79.

<sup>67</sup> *Queen's*, p.276.

<sup>68</sup> *Queen's*, pp.223-24.

<sup>69</sup> Lady Bell also recognised the additional strain of anxiety, grief and nervous shock suffered by bereaved mothers. See Lady Bell, *At the Works* (Edward Arnold, 1907) p.191 and pp.234-35.

<sup>70</sup> *Queen's*, pp.116-118. See also *Point of View*, pp. 109-110 and M.Loane, *Neighbours and Friends* (Edward Arnold, 1910) pp.23-26 and pp.133-65 (henceforth *Neighbours*).

different order.<sup>71</sup> For example, the inculcation of politeness was generally overlooked except, as Loane pointed out:

when mothers have been in service, or in some way brought into contact with their social superiors, it seems to me that they rarely teach their children to say `Thank you`, even for a gift.<sup>72</sup>

Loane acknowledged that the children of the poor, particularly the boys, were often exceedingly disobedient.<sup>73</sup> According to Loane, a child who was in line for punishment was unlikely to be struck by its father without the mother's consent:<sup>74</sup> permission was unlikely to be given unless the offender was a boy, and was over the age of eleven or twelve.<sup>75</sup>

Whether children were inherently bad or were the product of their environment was a matter which perplexed Loane. Although she admitted that she was receptive to the popular ideology of Social Darwinism and the Eugenics movement,<sup>76</sup> the example of her `friend' Hephziba indicates that she was not wholly committed to this ideology. Hephziba had four sons who were `restless, disobedient, obstinate, violent and generally unmanageable' and Loane was tempted to brand them `instinctive criminals'. However, she conceded that they might be so troublesome `simply because they are stronger and

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<sup>71</sup> As noted by *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720. *Queen's*, p.117. Loane reasserted this opinion in *Point of View*, pp.92-93.

<sup>72</sup> *Queen's*, p.106.

<sup>73</sup> *Queen's*, p.72. See also *Point of View*, p.3.

<sup>74</sup> This is a further example of the mother's power within the home, as noted in Chapter 5, `Domestic Economy of the Poor,' footnotes 9-14 and 81-93. For more of Loane's remarks on the supremacy of women in the home see *Englishman's*, pp.182-188.

<sup>75</sup> *Queen's*, p.50.

<sup>76</sup> Loane remarked, `In those days I read much about `heredity, degeneration and all the rest of it.' See *Queen's*, p.283.

cleverer than the children round them, and living in narrow streets there is no outlet for their energy.' <sup>77</sup>

On the basis that the mother was a caring woman, and that nurture and environment were contributory factors, Loane recommended that she adopt what was an unorthodox solution for a working-class parent 'take them to the park as often as you can, and when they are old enough to go to school it will work off part of their spare strength.' <sup>78</sup>

Her advice was heeded and proved correct, for all the boys turned out to be very able and willing scholars. The elder two, having completed their schooling had, through their own initiative, obtained good jobs with prospects <sup>79</sup>.

Loane also believed that children could be trained to behave properly by 'moral persuasion', but this approach could only work if it were adopted from their very earliest days: to use this method to try and control boys who were already 'badly disposed, living in bad surroundings', without resorting to some physical method was, she stated, 'sheer madness'. <sup>80</sup>

It was a matter of regret in Loane's view that most poor children received little or no informal education at home, and where it was taught, was almost exclusively given by the mother. <sup>81</sup> For example, she had come across few mothers who taught their children, boys or girls, how to do any housework: apart from the benefit which such help afforded mothers, children learned a sense of responsibility. Beyond this,

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<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Hephziba's neighbours believed that if she smacked the boys all would be well. She believed that violence bred violence, and refused to chastise her children in this way. *Queen's*, p.282. For another mother who believed that 'the more you beat them [the children] the more you may' see *Queen's*, p.51.

<sup>79</sup> *Queen's*, pp.284-86.

<sup>80</sup> *Queen's*, p.270.

<sup>81</sup> *Englishman's*, pp.199-203.

the acquisition of domestic skills certainly improved the chances of older daughters gaining future employment in service.<sup>82</sup> Conversely, some children suffered because their mothers expected them to undertake tasks which were inappropriate for their size and strength.<sup>83</sup> She did, however, consider that the manners of poor children had improved remarkably over recent years.<sup>84</sup> Although adverse to the concept of homework, Loane conceded that mothers who worked at home,<sup>85</sup> were able to take advantage of meal times to inculcate their offspring with habits of order.<sup>86</sup>

### *Crime*

In regard to petty crime amongst poor children, Loane explained to her readers that the poor ranked offences in a markedly different way from the middle and upper classes. For example, the worst crime of which they could be guilty was 'cheek', the next 'breakages', both of which would be rewarded with a severe parental rebuke. Lies, on the other hand, were largely ignored, being considered socially acceptable.<sup>87</sup> As far as deceit was concerned, the authoress also pointed out that poor children adhered to an unwritten set of rules and regulations about who could be deceived.<sup>88</sup> As she explained:

although children may not steal from outsiders in the sense of taking possession of their goods, carelessly

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<sup>82</sup> For an exception see *Queen's*, p.174. For this lack of domestic training in the home see also *Point of View*, pp.49-51.

<sup>83</sup> *Queen's*, p.174. Loane had emphasised the importance of inculcating young children in this way in her earliest article. See, M.J.Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, February 1897, p.17. See also *Common Growth*, pp.221-22.

<sup>84</sup> *Queen's*, p.53, p.62 and pp. 149-50.

<sup>85</sup> *Queen's*, p.267.

<sup>86</sup> *Queen's*, p.244.

<sup>87</sup> *Queen's*, p.54, as reported in *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9.

<sup>88</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

or even wilfully damaging other people's property is seldom regarded as a sin, and to be idle during time that they are paid to work is scarcely ever regarded as wrong.<sup>89</sup>

Stealing was also considered acceptable amongst the poor, and therefore unlikely to precipitate any parental rebuke, when children's ill-gotten gains supplemented the household budget: consequently, as has been noted, children took great pride in their ability to contribute to the family finances.<sup>90</sup> The *Charity Organisation Review* were prompted to suggest that amongst poor children, a disregard of the truth almost amounted to admiration for successful deceit.<sup>91</sup>

#### *Living conditions and the health of poor children*

Whilst Loane considered that the improved appearance of children of the poor was attributable to 'the increasingly favourable circumstances in which the majority of them live[d],'<sup>92</sup> these conditions were, as will be noted, only relatively better. Nutritional standards were low, and inferior housing with its concomitant overcrowding, inadequate facilities and poor sanitation directly affected the health and welfare of most working-class children. Loane warned her readers that it was wrong to assume that children who looked feeble and unkempt came from uncaring homes.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> *Queen's*, pp.116-117. In her first series of published articles, Martha Jane Loane remarked, 'The nurse will also speak of the foolishness of hiding money in boxes, on shelves, ledges etc., a custom frequently leading to pilfering on the part of the children. See M.J.Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, March 1897, p.32.

<sup>90</sup> Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1981) p.153 and corroborated by oral testimonies in Thompson, *Edwardians*, *op.cit.* p.40.

<sup>91</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

<sup>92</sup> *Queen's*, pp.56-57.

<sup>93</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.262.

In her experience, the opposite was often nearer the truth, for some of the weakest children she had come across had only survived 'as a result of the unremitting care bestowed upon offspring delicate from birth.'<sup>94</sup>

Large families were commonplace<sup>95</sup> and sharing a room, or even a bed with numerous other siblings or even parents was the norm.<sup>96</sup> It must also be borne in mind that, as noted, many working mothers undertook homework, which, as Davin has remarked, exerted even greater pressure on living space.<sup>97</sup> In Loane's view, and indeed that of many of her contemporaries,<sup>98</sup> poor ventilation, particularly at night time, was largely responsible for the low vitality from which many poor children suffered, so that some of the most carefully 'fed, washed, clothed, and tended' children were being 'slowly poisoned' in their beds.<sup>99</sup>

Within working-class families, cleanliness may have contributed towards the concept of respectability,<sup>100</sup> as well as being considered by some to be next to

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<sup>94</sup> *Queen's*, p.136.

<sup>95</sup> For some references to the number of children in families see, for example, *Queen's*, p.43, p.49, p.53, p.149, p.155, p.174, p.179 and p.187.

<sup>96</sup> Loane described one case where she came across 'five grimy children of school age' who 'slept in one bed under one blanket.' See *Queen's*, p.143. See also *Next Street*, pp.57-58 and *Neighbours*, pp.21-22.

<sup>97</sup> See Davin, *op.cit.* pp.47-52.

<sup>98</sup> For the contemporary opinion that a majority of the lower classes did not appreciate the importance of plenty of fresh air see, for example, *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.180. See also the evidence of witnesses in British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 4102-03 and Qs 5402. See also evidence of Dr. Collie in British Parliamentary Papers, *Special Report from the Select Committee on Education (Provision of Meals) Bill*, 1906, vol.VII, p.iv (74).

<sup>99</sup> *Queen's*, p.136. See also Letter of Mrs. Constance Meyerstein, *The Times*, 20 September 1904, p.9.

<sup>100</sup> As Chinn has remarked, cleanliness had a good deal to do with status, and 'was an important indicator of a family's position in lower working-class society.' See Chinn, *op.cit.* p.128. The centrality of cleanliness in Edwardian working-class life was clear, and featured prominently within the work of the contemporary photographer, Henry Peach Robinson: a washing bowl, soap and water were central in his picture, *Dawn and Sunset*, the interior of a rural working-class home, published in *Country Life* in December 1903, shortly after his death. For Winter's idealised contention that the poor, who lacked bathrooms but nevertheless kept themselves clean, 'enjoyed the pleasure of bathing by the fireside, and by firelight, which we have forgotten.' See G. Winter, *The Golden Years 1903-1913* (David & Charles, 1975) p.10.

godliness,<sup>101</sup> but the children of even the 'respectable poor' were rarely spotlessly clean. Loane, like other social commentators, appreciated that this was hardly surprising for even rudimentary sanitation was absent from the majority of their homes.<sup>102</sup> Thus the authoress's description of 'the bath tub in front of the fire'<sup>103</sup> gives only an indication of the ritual involved in bathing,<sup>104</sup> for it neglects to mention the effort of heating the water and then filling the bath.<sup>105</sup> In any event she thought it unnecessary for children to be any more than 'wholesomely clean and generally kissable'<sup>106</sup>

A balanced and nourishing diet was essential to promote healthy development in children, but Loane was well aware that many children in the poorest classes received insufficient or unsuitable food.<sup>107</sup> She maintained that their ill-nourishment was due in part to their 'fastidiousness and fancifulness', behaviour which was evidently condoned by indulgent parents. Feeble appetites were, she maintained,

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<sup>101</sup> Amongst many poor families, especially those who followed the Methodist tradition, cleanliness was considered next to godliness. See, for example Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place. An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1984) p.5, p.15. For Loane's opinion of the Methodist maxim see *Next Street*, pp.85-86.

<sup>102</sup> Loane remarked, in 1909, 'Considering the difficulties under which it must be done, one can hardly expect the act of washing to be regarded as a pleasure.' See *Englishman's*, p.77. Very few working-class homes had a bath, and the majority of (working-class) homes lacked a supply of running hot water. An examination of Rowntree's survey of York is even more revealing, and depressing, for in this major town, in 1901, 'no less than 2229 houses in the city are without a separate water supply.' Rowntree, *op.cit.* p.187. See also M.Loane, *Simple Sanitation: the practical application of the laws of health to small dwellings*, with an introductory chapter on sanitary legislation by Dr.A.M.Fraser. (Scientific Press, 1905). Nowell-Smith also commented that 'in poorer districts [at the turn of the century] many houses all over the kingdom were without water taps or any form of sanitary accommodation.' See S. Nowell-Smith, *Edwardian England 1901-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1964) p.156.

<sup>103</sup> *Queen's*, p.223.

<sup>104</sup> For corroboration of the difficulties of bathing children see, for example, M. Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week* (Bell, 1913) p.55. See also Bell, *op.cit.* p.217.

<sup>105</sup> See Davin, *op.cit.* p.51.

<sup>106</sup> *Queen's*, p.223 and p.244. Loane remarked, in 1909, that 'in nearly all cases the children of the poor are much more frequently washed than superficial observers believe. See *Englishman's*, p.76.

<sup>107</sup> *Queen's*, p.136. Loane discussed the issue again in 'Home Life Among the Poor', *Next Street*, pp.42-62.

also attributable in some degree to the unfavourable conditions in which children lived.<sup>108</sup>

The question of free school meals was much discussed at the time, as will be noted, and public concern was directed towards the numbers of poor children who, apparently, went off to school in the morning without any breakfast. Whilst this was construed as a further manifestation of poverty, Loane, and other critics, offered plausible alternative explanations. The authoress had no doubt that the chief reason why many children went 'practically breakfastless to school - a slice of bread and a drink from the tap' was because their mothers were frequently too lazy to get up and provide a meal, and not because there was any 'real want of food.'<sup>109</sup> Some children were plainly indifferent to breakfast and refused to eat it even when it was placed in front of them.<sup>110</sup> *The Journal of Education*, reporting on the abject failure of a free breakfast scheme, also noted that 'on cold winter mornings the children preferred their beds to their [free] breakfast.'<sup>111</sup>

### *Infectious diseases*

Low nutritional standards contributed to the ill health of poor children and left them much more prone to infectious diseases. As a district nurse Loane was no stranger to the variety of diseases which were almost endemic among the poor:

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<sup>108</sup> *Queen's*, pp.147-48.

<sup>109</sup> Loane maintained that 'in all my experience, I can only recall three families which seemed in real want of food.' See *Queen's*, pp.161-2. For supporting views see, for example, letter of a 'hospital physician', *The Times*, 14 September 1904, p.5; letter of Rev.C.F.Rogers, *The Speaker*, 10 September 1904; letter of W.Moore Ede, *The Child's Guardian*, May 1905, p.54.

<sup>110</sup> For a later examination of the breakfast question see *Next Street*, pp.54-56. and for another child who 'didn't fancy her breakfast,' see *Neighbours*, p.137.

<sup>111</sup> R.H.Bruce, 'A Difficulty in Connection with Free Breakfasts', *The Journal of Education*, February 1905, p.127.



typhoid fever <sup>112</sup> diphtheria, measles, <sup>113</sup> and scarlet fever <sup>114</sup> and consumption <sup>115</sup> all claimed the lives of young vulnerable victims, and contributed to the high rate of infant and child mortality amongst the poor. <sup>116</sup>

Loane also recorded her encounters with a number of children with physical disabilities, and noted the distinctly different ways in which the blind and the paralysed were treated. Blindness in one child of her acquaintance failed to elicit an empathetic response from potential do-gooders, who adopted a patronising attitude towards the young sufferer, and consoled her with sympathy and religion. <sup>117</sup> As Loane pointed out, the blind could be helped to lead relatively independent lives, but needed the support of the community. <sup>118</sup>

The general attitude toward a young girl who was confined to bed from the age of thirteen as a result of a paralysing illness was, in Loane's experience, quite different. This invalid was fortunate in having the constant social ties and mental stimulation provided by family and friends, which were given unconditionally. <sup>119</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> For one family with seven children suffering from typhoid fever see *Queen's*, p.43.

<sup>113</sup> See Davin, *op.cit.* p.17.

<sup>114</sup> Loane recorded how 'Dolf' had four elder siblings who died from scarlet fever. See *Queen's*, p. 227. Queen's nurses were 'not allowed under any circumstances to attend cases of small-pox or scarlet fever.' See, for example, BPA 1901, p.14. For an historical account see, for example, F.Turner, *Report on Return of Cases of Scarlet Fever and Diphtheria for the three years 1902, 1903, 1904* (Truscott, 1906) Smith has stated that 'in 1871, scarlet fever claimed the lives of 210 children per million. It dropped to 140 per million in 1881, that is 1,400 deaths a year, to level out in the mid 1890's at 35 per million, or about 4,000 deaths a year.' See F.B.Smith, 'Health' in John Benson, *The Working Class in England, 1875-1914* (Croom Helm, 1985) p.40-41.

<sup>115</sup> For references to consumption (i.e. tuberculosis) see *Queen's*, p.44; *Next Street*, p.58, p.185 and *Neighbours*, pp.19-22; See also Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* pp.80-81.

<sup>116</sup> *Queen's*, pp.168-69.

<sup>117</sup> *Queen's*, pp.271-75. For a more detailed account see Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor', footnotes 84-94.

<sup>118</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> *Queen's*, pp.287-92.

## *Amusement*

In common with other social commentators, Loane made relatively few references to the leisure time and activities of poor children.<sup>120</sup> This may be because, as has been noted, the free time which working-class children had available to them was curtailed: outside of school hours many were engaged in some form of employment or were required to help with household chores.<sup>121</sup>

The streets were, evidently, the most popular playground,<sup>122</sup> although Loane noted that children did make use of the recreation ground<sup>123</sup> or park.<sup>124</sup> Younger children might be confined to a tiny back yard to play,<sup>125</sup> probably, as Roberts has remarked, to protect them from rough street life.<sup>126</sup> As an example of this, Loane described one small patient who was confined to the yard after 'her little thumb was nearly pulled of in the wheel of the boy's go-cart.'<sup>127</sup>

On the whole, poor children had to make their own entertainment, for, as Loane implied, few of them had any toys or books.<sup>128</sup> As far as toys were concerned, those that had any were bound, like their middle and upper class counterparts, by the

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<sup>120</sup> In Middlesborough, in 1907, the children attended the music hall and the theatre. See Bell, *op.cit.* pp.134 -136. By 1911, the cinema was a popular, though not free, form of entertainment for children. See Lady Bell, *At The Works*, 2nd. ed. (Nelson, 1911) pp.185-86. However, Reeves found that in South London (and contrary to popular belief) most children spent their play time in the street. See Reeves, *op.cit.* pp.190-192. See also 'Favourite Games for Children', *The Evening News*, 14 October 1906 p.5.

<sup>121</sup> See also Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.153.

<sup>122</sup> For 'children running the roads' see *Queen's*, p.284. For confirmation of the popularity of the street as a playground see, for example, Reeves, *op.cit.* p.191. For an historical account see Davin, *op.cit.* pp.63-68.

<sup>123</sup> *Queen's*, p.287 and *Next Street*, p.66.

<sup>124</sup> Loane referred to 'ragamuffins playing together in a London park.' See *Queen's*, p.61.

<sup>125</sup> *Queen's*, p.243.

<sup>126</sup> As noted in Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.164.

<sup>127</sup> *Queen's*, p.172. As Davin has described, a go-cart was probably made from a soap-box and the wheels of old prams, and was used either for play, or as a cheap alternative to a pram. See Davin, *op.cit.* p.18, p.66.

<sup>128</sup> *Queen's*, p.63. For corroboration see, for example, Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* pp.24-25 and Reeves, *op.cit.* p.192.

conventions of the day.<sup>129</sup> Children were described by the authoress as 'half-slaves to inexorable laws,' whereby even the smallest child had to have whatever was the latest fashion, or their credibility amongst their peers would be lost. As Loane asserted:

When it is time for hoops, no child dares to be seen with a skipping rope; when it is the moment for tops, marbles disappear. If you are not possessed of the correct toy, you can pretend that you do not want it, but you must use nothing in its place.<sup>130</sup>

On the streets, singing games were a popular pastime, and Loane remarked that:

in *games* the old tradition of hating school is kept up, and little maids who shed real tears when the holidays begin, still wipe away imaginary ones when they sing, 'This is the way we go to school.' 'Playing school', too, is still carried out on the traditional lines of- 'Reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic, And don't forget to give the stick.'<sup>131</sup>

An avid reader herself,<sup>132</sup> Loane's encounters with a number of young people provide an insight into the type of books that girls, in particular, enjoyed.

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<sup>129</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260. For some examples of middle and upper-class adherence to convention in this period see Edith Olivier, *Without Knowing Mr. Walkley* (Faber & Faber, 1938).

<sup>130</sup> *Queen's*, p.120, and for a reference to 'girls of thirteen who would run about for hours with a hoop or a skipping rope' see *Queen's*, p.174.

<sup>131</sup> *Queen's*, p.70. For further references see *Englishman's*, pp.9-10, *Next Street*, p.88. For a more detailed description of children's street culture see, for example, Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* pp.153-154 and Davin, *op.cit.* pp. 63-68. Jose Harris has also suggested that 'far from driving out an inherited culture of childhood, it was largely through school that children acquired their knowledge of supposedly archaic folklore, idioms, imaginative rituals and communal games.' See Harris, *op.cit.* p.88.

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Martha Jane Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, March 1897, p.32; M.Loane, 'Books and Work', *Nursing Notes*, March 1899, pp.41-42.

As she recorded, they liked story books which recounted `tales of school life, and vigorous, mischief loving girls'<sup>133</sup> and adventure stories such as *Three Men in a Boat*, or *The Adventures of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine*.<sup>134</sup>

### Overview

As Loane clearly demonstrated, working-class childhood was undergoing change in the early twentieth century as a result of legislation, schooling and gradually improving living standards. Legislation sought to protect them from parental cruelty and neglect, and to feed the malnourished. Compulsory education, meant that, for most, nine of their childhood years were spent in school: the benefits were tangible in that children not only had a new measure of freedom, but they were beginning to acquire a new range of educational and social skills.

On the one hand, Loane approved of these improvements, for children were becoming better educated, better fed and in better health. However, she was concerned about the negative aspects of these improvements, for she perceived that the responsibility of parents, which in many cases was already lacking, was being further eroded and even discouraged by state intervention.

The experience of childhood did of course depend upon a number of factors, not least of all the degree of respectability and poverty of the family, but whilst the material comforts were frequently lacking, Loane rarely came across children of the respectable poor whose lives were devoid of love and affection. She had no doubt that

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<sup>133</sup> *Queen's*, p.288. Stories might have been taken from a volume such as Alfred Miles (ed) *Fifty Two Stories for Girls* (Hutchinson, 1880) which included `tales of home and school, tales of domestic life, tales of heroism, tales of adventure, historical and other tales and fairy tales.'

<sup>134</sup> *Queen's*, p.274. One of Davin's respondents (born in 1882) recorded how much she enjoyed hearing `horrible stories out of the penny novelettes.' See Davin, *op.cit.* p.73.

poor parents felt as great a sense of pride and pleasure in their children, as did rich parents, although, as the *Charity Organisation Review* pointed out 'perhaps [working-class parents] they show it in different ways and at different periods of the child's life.'<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

## CHAPTER 7

### The poor, marriage and parenthood

#### *Marriage and the poor*

The innumerable references within Loane's works to various aspects of marriage suggest that being married was accepted custom and practice for the majority of the adult working-class poor.<sup>1</sup> Her view of marriage was a traditional one: she approved of the husband who was the major breadwinner, and the wife who concentrated her efforts on the important task of running the home, with all that this entailed. Because the majority of Loane's patients were female, references to the wife's experiences and point of view predominated. Noteworthy is the absence of any references to the rite of passage itself: this suggests that, in comparison to funerals, weddings were much less grand occasions.<sup>2</sup> Nor were wedding anniversaries apparently celebrated as a matter of course: the exception were silver weddings, when children 'usually combine to make a substantial present to the parents.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Roberts has remarked, confirming this view, that 'It was universally assumed at the beginning of the twentieth century that most girls would get married within about a decade of leaving school. Not all girls got married, but the great majority did and the assumption of the growing girl was that she would marry.' See Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place. An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1984) p.81. For empirical evidence of marriage patterns see, for example, B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty. A Study of Town Life*, 1st.ed. (Macmillan, 1901) pp.138-140.

<sup>2</sup> For a contemporary description of a working-class wedding in Middlesborough see Lady Bell, *At the Works* (Edward Arnold, 1907)pp.181-182. This view is also borne out by Roberts, who has stated that 'working-class weddings were circumscribed...by financial considerations. But the lack of sentiment and the absence of glamour may also reflect the very practical, unromantic view that most working class people had of marriage.' Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> M.Loane, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) (henceforth *Next Street*) p.46. For another reference see M.Loane, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911) (henceforth *Common Growth*). p.75.

*Patterns of marriage*

As far as Loane could judge 'the most lastingly happy unions result[ed] from boy-and-girl attachments and very early marriages,'<sup>4</sup> although she cautioned against unions between 'boys and girls spoilt by neglect or over-indulgence' who were 'far short of the age at which such a bond should be legal'.<sup>5</sup> However, she found that lengthy courtships were commonplace,<sup>6</sup> and that many young working class couples whom she encountered did not treat engagements very seriously.<sup>7</sup> Loane was so used to discovering that an 'arrangement' had been suddenly terminated that she neither expected nor asked for any explanation.<sup>8</sup> Poverty did not preclude parents from having aspirations and it was not unknown for them to raise objections to a proposed union between young people on the grounds that their child could 'do better than that.'<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Next Street*, p.107. See also M.Loane, *From Their Point of View* (Edward Arnold, 1908) (henceforth *Point of View*) pp.15-16 Boys, who had no misgivings about marrying at an early age or without enough income, were often motivated by the desire to have a home of their own. Reeves echoed this view, stating that young men were inclined to get married as soon as their money 'approaches a figure which seems to him a possible one' [on which to manage.] See M. Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week* (Bell, 1913) p.146 & p.153 for elaboration upon this remark. Implicit within this, as Rowntree explained, was the opportunity of escaping from overcrowded premises shared with many family members. He also speculated that, in the case of labourers, whom he maintained generally had fewer intellectual interests and pleasures than skilled workers, many of this group saw marriage as a way of relieving the monotony of their lives. Rowntree, *op.cit.* p.140.

<sup>5</sup> *Common Growth*, p.303.

<sup>6</sup> M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905) (henceforth *Queen's*) p.221. Other commentators confirmed Loane's experience. For example, one of Roberts' correspondents, a Mrs. Warburton (a pseudonym), recorded that she and her husband courted for nine years. Roberts notes that a courtship of this length was unusual, but courting of a few years was not. She has also suggested that 'not only were lengthy courtships an indication of the priority given to sustaining the family budget by working children; they were also an indication of the strict sexual self-control exercised by the majority of young couples.' See Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* pp.72-73. Edith Olivier, in her recollections of middle-class life in Wilton at the turn of the century, referred to female servants who 'left to be married after courtships which lasted at least two or three years.' See Edith Olivier, *Without Knowing Mr.Walkley* (Faber & Faber, 1938) p.68. However, Lady Bell reported that both sexes married at a young age, after very short courtships. See Bell, *op.cit.*p.178. .

<sup>7</sup> *Next Street*, p.114.

<sup>8</sup> *Queen's*, p.221.

<sup>9</sup> *Next Street*, p.108.

Loane approved of the tendency which she felt predominated amongst the poor for partners to be close in age.<sup>10</sup> Even when there was a discrepancy in age she observed that 'Far more comment was aroused amongst the poor by the sight of a man obviously older than his wife than by the reverse.'<sup>11</sup>

She did, however, detect changes emerging in working-class marriage patterns which concerned her. First, she had encountered 'an unsatisfactory tendency' for the poor 'to postpone marriage to a much later date than used to be customary.'<sup>12</sup>

Deflecting any suggestion that this was because young people were being prudent and wished to delay marriage until they had some financial security behind them she stated that:

few spinsters have it in their power to save, and few bachelors in any class of life save anything until they have marriage in view.<sup>13</sup>

She was also concerned about some young women in domestic service who were actively discouraged from getting married by their employers and were bribed to

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<sup>10</sup> *Queen's*, p.18. Lady Bell also reported that both sexes married at an early age, but Middlesborough was, perhaps, an exceptional case: girls were keen to marry since there was a very weak labour market for women in the town.. See Bell, *op.cit.* p.178. However, despite the very different labour markets in Preston and Barrow in 1891, there were no significant difference in the age at which girls married. See Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.81. For an historical debate which argues that the age at which girls married depended on the local labour market see Diana Gittins, *Fair Sex: Family Size and Structure, 1900-1939* (Hutchinson, 1982) and Peter Stearns, 'Working-Class Women in Britain, 1890-1914' in Martha Vicinus (ed) *Suffer and be Still. Women in the Victorian Age* (USA, Indiana University Press, 1972) p.112.

<sup>11</sup> *Queen's*, p.18. For a wife's disdain of her husband's age see *Queen's*, p.234.

<sup>12</sup> *Next Street*, p.119. This contention is supported to a certain extent by statistical data. In 1891, 24% of the population between the ages of 20-24 were married. This had dropped to 22% in 1901, and was further reduced to 19% by 1911. Figures from the Royal Commission on Population, 1949, p.22.

<sup>13</sup> *Next Street*, p.119. Roberts has drawn attention to the fact that most families mothers exerted control of their children's wages, and only allowed them to keep a small percentage of what they earned. This dependency upon a young persons wages mitigated against both early marriage and saving for marriage. See Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.43.



remain in service.<sup>14</sup> Although civilian employers, in general, could not prevent their employees marrying, the British army operated a strict quota system which restricted the numbers of soldiers who were granted permission to marry.<sup>15</sup> As Mrs K's experiences demonstrated, being married 'on the strength' may have conferred official recognition, but it did not automatically bring any benefits.<sup>16</sup>

There was also 'an unwelcome shift' in the number of young women, under twenty, who were marrying men, some of them widowers, almost double their age.<sup>17</sup> Such unions were, according to one of Loane's acquaintances, doomed to failure for as was explained, a spinster not only expected affection,<sup>18</sup> but she also lacked any understanding of 'the conditions of married life.'<sup>19</sup>

These conditions included a wife's onerous responsibilities in connection with the domestic economy of her family, yet, as has been noted, most young wives were ill-prepared for this task: not only did few of them possess any domestic skills, but

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<sup>14</sup> *Next Street*, p.9, p.117-119.

<sup>15</sup> *Queen's*, p.306. For another reference see *Next Street*, p.112. As Skelley has noted, 'the army restricted the number of men who were permitted to marry: under normal circumstances, a maximum of six men per company of one hundred might receive official permission.' See A.R.Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment, Pay and Conditions of the British Regular* (Croom Helm, 1977) p.30. For contemporary references see, for example, Horace Wyndham, *The Queen's Service* (1899) p.271; Rev. Stratham, 'Marriages in the Army Without Leave', *The United Services Magazine*, VI, (1892-93) pp.295-305 as cited in Skelley, *op.cit.*

<sup>16</sup> See *Queen's*, p.306. As Skelley notes, accommodation for army families was rare and separate married quarters were virtually non-existent in the forces. Instead, wives were given a bed in the corner of the barracks, shielded from the view and attention of others only by the protection of their husbands, and a blanket hung on a cord. For half-rations they washed, cooked, cleaned and "mothered" the men in their barrack rooms.' See Skelley, *op.cit.* p.30.

<sup>17</sup> *Queen's*, p.18.

<sup>18</sup> *Queen's*, p.308.

<sup>19</sup> The assertion that young people had no preconceived idea about the reality of married life, 'the responsibilities it (marriage) will entail, or how to meet them' was borne out by Bell. See Bell, *op.cit.* p.181.

many of them lacked any basic arithmetical skills essential for their role as 'chancellor of the family exchequer'.<sup>20</sup>

### *Remarriage*

Loane was unequivocal in her opinion that 'poor men and women not only marry again but *ought* to do so',<sup>21</sup> although she thought that those intending to remarry should be advised in their choice of suitable partner, so as to avoid making a 'hasty and ever-to-be regretted unions.'<sup>22</sup> Second and third marriages were, evidently, a frequent occurrence amongst the poor,<sup>23</sup> for as one of Loane's friends remarked 'At no age is widowhood necessarily a permanent condition, nor do all women affect to regard it in that light.'<sup>24</sup> Romance may have been the motivating force behind first marriages but Loane was sure that most of those who remarried, even when still young, considered their relationship to be '*mariages de convenance*.'<sup>25</sup> Examples were numerous: a young widower might seek a second wife to care for his motherless children, just as Martha Loane's own father had, whilst an older man wanted a wife who would keep house, and care for him in his old age.<sup>26</sup> A lonely older widow sought the companionship of marriage because her children 'were out in the world,'<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For money management see Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnotes 10-14. See also M.Loane, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909) pp.182-84 (henceforth *Englishman's*).

<sup>21</sup> *Point of View*, p.38.

<sup>22</sup> *Point of View*, pp.38-39.

<sup>23</sup> *Queen's*, p.7 and p.167 and *Next Street*, p.72.

<sup>24</sup> *Common Growth*, p.36. See also Bell, *op.cit.* pp.239-40. For Loane's comments on widowhood see *Common Growth*, pp.25-38.

<sup>25</sup> *Queen's*, p.7.

<sup>26</sup> *Queen's*, p.309.

<sup>27</sup> Chinn has also suggested that there were some widows who sought a husband as a way of protecting their reputation. No matter how desperate most women were to earn money, any job, no matter how dirty, monotonous or ill-paid was preferable to prostitution, yet many widows feared that they would be considered 'fair game' and the subject of scandal: marriage, and the respectability which it conferred upon them, removed this danger. Carl Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives. Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988) p.147.

whilst another gained essential financial security by accepting an offer of marriage from a widower 'with a good home' who was looking for someone to care for him and his children.

Although such unions lacked 'the softening halo of romance or of later tenderness' Loane did believe that most widows and widowers grew attached to their new partners in time. Many were also very grateful for the care and attention which they received at times of illness.<sup>28</sup> What did concern her was the fact that one or other partner often made unwelcome comparisons and recriminations, and contrasted the apparent virtues of a dead spouse with the imagined or overstated shortcomings of the current one.<sup>29</sup> As she remarked:

There may be something touching about even this imperfect faithfulness to the love of one's youth, but it is often hard on the legal successor, whether man or woman.<sup>30</sup>

Matters were made even worse if there were children involved in the partnership.

Whether all these subsequent marriages were legalised is uncertain.<sup>31</sup> Loane had it on good authority that, providing both parties had been legally married previously, few of the poor considered it morally wrong not to legalise second and subsequent unions.<sup>32</sup> Widowhood apart, some may have been forced to cohabit

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<sup>28</sup> *Queen's*, p.8.

<sup>29</sup> *Queen's*, p.167, p.309.

<sup>30</sup> *Queen's*, p.7.

<sup>31</sup> Booth noted that although it was common practice for the majority of first marriages amongst the poor to be legalised, non-legal cohabitation was fairly common in subsequent unions. Evidence of Charles Booth, as cited in Iris Minor, 'Working Class Women and Matrimonial Law Reform, 1890-1914', in D.Martin and D.Rubinstein (eds) *Ideology and the Labour Movement* (Croom Helm, 1979) p.113.

<sup>32</sup> *Next Street*, p.72.

because of the absence of divorce facilities.<sup>33</sup> Loane also recorded how some women actively chose cohabitation because they feared that a legal union would reduce their personal power within the relationship.<sup>34</sup>

### *Matrimonial Violence*

Loane recorded a considerable amount of anecdotal evidence of matrimonial violence within her social commentaries.<sup>35</sup> Whilst, as will be noted, most of her comments were concerned with men who beat their wives, she acknowledged that there were women who physically abused their men folk.<sup>36</sup> These 'husband-beaters' were described by Loane as the 'doughty champions of the supremacy of women'<sup>37</sup> who had no qualms about punishing an irresponsible husband who came home drunk, having wasted a large proportion of their meagre week's wages on alcohol.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> For Loane's later assessment of proposed matrimonial law reform see 'For Better For Worse', *Common Growth*, pp.285-304. The evidence of the Royal Commission on Divorce was published as Divorce Commission, *Parliamentary Papers*, XVIII (1912-1913).

<sup>34</sup> *Englishman's*, p.103. For this view see also Bell, *op.cit.*p.242.

<sup>35</sup> See for example, *Queen's*, pp.1-6, p.19, p.267. For Loane's later remarks on physical and mental cruelty as grounds for divorce see *Common Growth*, pp.288 ff and *Englishman's*, pp.108-109.

<sup>36</sup> *Queen's*, p.1. Loane also remarked that 'many people...are completely unaware of the tutelage in which he [the British workman] really lives. See *Queen's*, p.22. See also *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX no.113, May 1906, pp.259-63.

<sup>37</sup> *Queen's*, p.1. This opinion is borne out by Chinn, *op.cit.* p.162.

<sup>38</sup> *Queen's*, p.1. Loane recorded a wife who punished her husband by sewing him up firmly in a stout sheet, and when he was awake enough to know what was going on, she took a stick and thrashed him repeatedly until she decided that he had learned his lesson. See *Queen's*, p.306. Whether this remedy for intemperance was actually adopted by the young wife is open to speculation, for as Roberts has recorded, this so-called treatment appears to be based on 'a hoary folk tale' which was commonly recounted in Northern towns. He has suggested that a more authentic cure for intemperance was 'the horse blistering liniment applied regularly by an irate wife to her husband's bare soles as he lay in 'swinish sleep'. His was the only case known of a man who gave up drink because it made his feet sore. See, Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Penguin, 1973) pp. 121-22. For corroborative evidence of the retribution meted out by wives see E.Ross, *Love and Toil. Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993) p.75.

The wife most likely to suffer physical abuse from her spouse was not the one who:

keeps her house like a pigstye, who neglects, starves and ill-treats her children, who robs and insults her husband and puts him to open shame, who is beaten and sworn at? Scarcely ever. Kicks and oaths are kept for the dull, patient, timid, uncomplaining drudge, generally a little - a very little - below the average intellect, who toils from morning till night, vainly and unskilfully endeavouring to make fifteen shillings do the work of twenty-five, while the husband squanders from a third to half his earnings.<sup>39</sup>

Loane recorded how she and her professional colleagues had become used to the fact that working-class wives were prepared to put up with a considerable amount of 'rough usage' from their drunken men folk yet remain loyal to them.<sup>40</sup> The proviso was that they were shown some affection. This could be as simple as a cheery greeting, or the occasional compliment 'on her cooking, or her management or her appearance', and was sufficient to keep an ill-used wife happier than her neighbour 'whose dour, unmannerly master is never drunk and never civil'.<sup>41</sup>

Men who beat their wives were inclined to blame their behaviour on their drunken state, but Loane considered that 'on close inspection' this was 'an insufficient defence'.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Queen's*, p.5, and as cited in *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260, and *Queen's*, p.266 & p.282.

<sup>40</sup> *Queen's*, p.5, p.266 & p.282. For later comments on matrimonial loyalty see *Common Growth*, p.291.

<sup>41</sup> *Queen's*, p.5. See also *Englishman's*, p.109.

<sup>42</sup> *Queen's*, p.2. The popular view, and one which the NSPCC subscribed to until after the turn of the century, was that alcohol predisposed men to physically abuse their wives. This same view was expounded by G.B.Cutten in his book *The Psychology of Alcoholism* (Walter Scott, 1907). For an historical account see K.Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908* (Stanford.U.S.A, Stanford University Press, 1982) p.178. See also A.James Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Married Life* (Routledge, 1992) p.46.

As she pointed out:

If a man is completely intoxicated he does not strike anyone; if he is 'mad drunk' he does not care whom he kicks...but how often do men in this condition manage to reach their homes? <sup>43</sup>

Besides this, Loane knew from experience that the average wife-beater was always sober enough to select his victim. For example, few men dared attack their offspring for fear of the wrath of their wives. <sup>44</sup> They were also sober enough to avoid inflicting injuries of a conspicuous nature for fear of the consequences: the threat of a wife with visible signs of ill-treatment being banned from her workplace, and the subsequent loss of income, apparently acted as deterrents to domestic violence. Men who were predisposed to violence included:

a few whom nothing would restrain from cruelty to any weaker creature in their power; secondly, that most of those guilty of ill-treating their wives could very easily be restrained; and thirdly that this majority, though thinking it no degradation to strike a woman who submits, would be bitterly ashamed to have it said by the neighbours, 'Him and his wife gets fighting.' <sup>45</sup>

Since Loane did not believe that an excess of alcohol necessarily predisposed a man to be 'brutal, tyrannical and selfish', she did not concur with the view that all that was needed to reform these men was for them to take 'the pledge.' She had reached

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<sup>43</sup> *Queen's*, p.2

<sup>44</sup> *Queen's*, p.3. Whilst at this juncture M.Loane only suggests that husbands were fearful of their wives' reaction to violence against the children, they may also have been concerned about the involvement of 'the cruelty man.' For a contemporary first-hand account see W. Payne, *The Cruelty Man* (NSPCC, 1912) For an historical account of the role of the NSPCC at this time see Behlmer, *op.cit.*

<sup>45</sup> *Queen's*, p.2.

the conclusion that there were men who drank because they *were* brutal, tyrannical and selfish. If they gave up drink, their bad qualities simply took other forms, which were almost equally as misery-making, 'stiffened by the addition of self-righteousness.'<sup>46</sup>

Although legislation had, in Loane's view, been effective in affording women some protection and redress against domestic violence,<sup>47</sup> she urged young wives not to rely entirely upon the law, and offered the following words of advice:

Don't irritate a man, especially if he's tired or hungry or in drink, but never take a blow from him, drunk or sober. If you make enough fuss over the first you'll never get a second but if you'll stand one beating, men think you'll stand twenty.<sup>48</sup>

According to Loane, a soldier's wife was, even in 1905, in a worse position than other women if her husband was inclined to drink. Although, according to Newell-Smith, drunkenness had declined by the turn of the twentieth century, 'it was still a curse of the army, and was naturally prominent in units recruited in the spirit-drinking towns of Scotland and Ireland: three days' pay would buy a bottle of whisky.'<sup>49</sup>

A working class wife was not under the same pressure as the soldier's wife to conceal her husband's misdeeds: the official punishment for such reported misconduct

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<sup>46</sup> *Queen's*, p.269 and for further examples see *Queen's*, p.270.

<sup>47</sup> *Queen's*, p.3. As May explains 'the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act of 1895 expanded the grounds for separation to include persistent cruelty and wilful neglect.' For an overview of legislative change see Margaret May, 'Violence in the Family: An Historical Perspective' in J.P.Martin (ed) *Violence in the Family* (Chichester, Wiley, 1978) p.149.

<sup>48</sup> *Queen's*, p.4. Loane also accepted that a wife might have to lie to her husband to keep the peace. See *Queen's*, p.173. For later comments see *Common Growth*, p.288.

<sup>49</sup> See S. Nowell-Smith (ed) *Edwardian England 1901-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1964) p.541.

was heavy, was often financially punitive, and caused the greatest distress to the wife and family. Beyond this, the pressure for secrecy meant that a soldier's wife was unable to rely on any communal support or the check which public opinion often exerted upon a husband who treated his wife badly. <sup>50</sup>

Loane asserted that the only time a military wife might benefit from her husband's misdeeds was if his drunkenness was confined to his private life, in which case his commanding colonel might decide to take the law into his own hands. A typical punishment might involve the errant husband being:

given a trifle for pocket money, all the rest of the pay is handed over to the wife, and the delinquent has to attend so many extra roll-calls that he is perforce kept sober at all times. <sup>51</sup>

The authoress's description of summary justice is consistent with that recorded by Skelley. For, as he has noted, the tendency for much of the second half of the century was to extend the army officer's authority, and for him to mete out summary punishment for minor infractions of discipline. <sup>52</sup> The most common punishment for such offences ranged from 'imprisonment, fines and stoppages of pay, confinement to barracks, deprivation of rank and privileges, punishment drill and extra duties.' A scheme for providing fines for drunkenness, a very prevalent offence, was introduced after 1868. <sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> For corroborative first-hand evidence of neighbourhood support see Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* pp.182-194.

<sup>51</sup> *Queen's*, p.307.

<sup>52</sup> Skelley, *op.cit.* p.140.

<sup>53</sup> Skelley, *op.cit.* p.128.



The 'ill-used' wife had one consolation: her children generally loved her, and rarely loved their father. For, according to Loane, no matter how over-indulgent he might be to them, even the youngest child could not be bribed into affection. <sup>54</sup>

### *Fathers*

On the whole Loane had a great deal of respect for working-class husbands, and considered that they were much maligned. <sup>55</sup> In their defence she astutely remarked, 'The millions bear the blame that is only due to a few tens of thousands.' <sup>56</sup> Even though she felt that 'the ideal of fatherhood' was 'less developed among the poor than the 'ideal of motherhood', many working-class fathers whom Loane had met considered it their duty to share family responsibilities in the home. Their involvement in the day-to-day upbringing of their children might include placating a grimy, howling baby, <sup>57</sup> boiling feeding bottles <sup>58</sup> or taking charge of the children on his return from work. <sup>59</sup> As she remarked:

Paternal affection may not be very strong after a boy has reached his tenth and a girl her twelfth year, but it is lavished on them at an age when the circumstances of poor people's daily lives make it almost indispensable for the child's health and happiness.' <sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Queen's*, pp.18-19.

<sup>55</sup> *Queen's*, p.20. Loane reaffirmed this assertion in her chapter on the working-class father in *Point of View*, pp.144 ff.

<sup>56</sup> *Queen's*, p.21. This point was reasserted in *Point of View*, pp.25-26.

<sup>57</sup> *Queen's*, p.20.

<sup>58</sup> *Queen's*, pp.179-80.

<sup>59</sup> *Queen's*, p.21.

<sup>60</sup> *Queen's*, p.20.

The negative side of this often excessive paternal affection was that it was not, as noted, counterbalanced by effective discipline. <sup>61</sup> Controlling children, was, Loane accepted, difficult but not impossible, and she regretted that most poor parents did not recognise the need to protect their children 'from their own folly.' <sup>62</sup>

In his children's eyes, the working-class father was 'plainly inferior to mother in authority, in knowledge of right and wrong, and above, of manners' and, according to Loane, the majority of working-class husbands accepted this position with equanimity. <sup>63</sup> The more she became acquainted with working-class husbands, the greater her admiration for their patience and good humour. In her experience, they were often 'tender and assiduous nurses', and were often much more efficient at carrying out the instructions of the district nurse or doctor than their womenfolk. <sup>64</sup> Nor were they afraid to help with a wide variety of domestic chores, especially at the end of the day when their wives were exhausted, or were sick or in the last stages of pregnancy. <sup>65</sup> Husbands were also known to undertake the cooking so as to relieve a wife from this chore on a Sunday. <sup>66</sup>

### *Mothers*

As far as Loane was concerned, the greatest contribution a mother could make was to 'home-keep' and she considered that married women who went out to

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<sup>61</sup> See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty,' footnotes 70-75.

<sup>62</sup> *Queen's*, p.23. See also *Point of View*, pp.1-7.

<sup>63</sup> *Queen's*, p.21-23. By proclaiming 'Talk of the idea of the subjection of women! -I doubt that the bare idea of fathers being equal to mothers in rank and authority ever enters the mind of any cottage child under sixteen,' Loane revealed her prejudice against the emergent feminist movement.

<sup>64</sup> *Queen's*, p.25.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Queen's*, p.26. Roberts has commented that such behaviour was probably far more common than Loane's contemporaries realised, for it invariably took place behind closed doors, and neighbours were uninformed. See Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.54.

work suffered from 'mistaken ideals of duty'.<sup>67</sup> She evidently found supporters for her view amongst the poor: one woman admitted her foolhardiness in returning to work when her husband was out of regular employment and only able to secure odd jobs. She told Loane:

I got sick of the cold and the bad living, and I went back to my old work of cooking by day, and kep' him, kep' him better'n he could keep me. I'll only regret it once, and that's all my life. Last winter there was a place where he could ha' done five and a half days reg'lar, but he's no drunkard, even now, and two days' wages pays his beer and tobacco. He looks to me for the rest...Ah, there's only one rule for women who want to have a decent home for their children and themselves: If your husband comes home crying, and says he can't find any work, sit down on the other side of the fire and cry till he *does*.<sup>68</sup>

Whilst the imperatives of poverty forced innumerable poor women out to work, many expressed their regret at having to resort to this course of action. As another of Loane's acquaintances remarked:

Young married women hadn't ought to go out to work, but we'd three children, an' th'auld mon - it's truth I'm telling you - earn't less'n what he do now!<sup>69</sup>

The idea, being debated at the time, that the state should provide free school meals for poor children filled Loane with dismay: she was certain that if proposed legislation was implemented the results would be disastrous for all concerned.

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<sup>67</sup> *Queen's*, p.138.

<sup>68</sup> For this, and other examples, see *Queen's*, pp.100-103.

<sup>69</sup> *Queen's*, p.238. The husband's wages were given as nine or ten shillings a week.

Her view was that:

ignorant mothers would be left in the same or increasing state of ignorance; lazy mothers would become yet more idle; the extravagance of Saturday and Sunday meals would be increased and yet more money would be spent on tawdry finery; the righteous discontent of those mothers at present hindered from cooking by their wretched stoves would die away; worse than all, industrious mothers set free from cooking for their children, would seek paid employment in increasing numbers. This would lower the wages of spinsters and widows, and ultimately lower the wages of men, while the immediate results would be disastrous to their necessarily neglected family. <sup>70</sup>

It was, in Loane's view, preferable that poor women who needed to supplement the family income did so by undertaking work in their own homes. For, despite her concerns about the 'evils' of sweated labour, as noted, <sup>71</sup> she did not consider it axiomatic that women who undertook homework necessarily had homes which were dirty and disorderly, and children who were badly cared-for. <sup>72</sup> As proof she cited, for example, the wife of a drunkard who took considerable pride in her home, and who took advantage of working at home to 'train[ing] her children properly.' <sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Queen's*, p.151. Without compromising her opinion of working wives, Loane considered it wrong that widows and spinsters were paid disgraceful wages. See *Point of View*, pp.307-309.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnotes 44-76.

<sup>72</sup> Bosanquet, for example, argued that 'From my own experience amongst the poor, I can bear witness to all the evils which are attributed to it [married women's work]; the neglected houses and children, the uneconomical housekeeping due to the custom can hardly be too strongly portrayed. See Helen Bosanquet, *The Family* (Macmillan, 1906) p.153.

<sup>73</sup> *Queen's*, p.267. Cadbury considered it short of miraculous that women such as this brought up their children 'in respectable and refined ways. See Cadbury, Matheson & Shann, *op.cit.* p.169.

### *Maternal Efficiency*

Maternal efficiency was intimately linked to public concern for national efficiency, <sup>74</sup> and the Queen's nurse was, as Loane described, uniquely situated to teach poor mothers the basic skills of infant welfare and child care which so many of them lacked. <sup>75</sup> Her strictures on infant feeding, for example, were particularly revealing, for they demonstrated the ignorance of many poor women in this regard. <sup>76</sup>

Breast feeding may have been the natural and preferred choice, for it was convenient, cheap and generally thought to be less hazardous to the health of infants, <sup>77</sup> but the district nurse encountered many women who were unable, for various reasons, to adopt this method. <sup>78</sup> Teaching 'the orthodox method of hand

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<sup>74</sup> See Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood. Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (Croom Helm, 1980) p.68.

<sup>75</sup> The terms of affiliation of the QVJIN, finalised in 1890, stipulated that, in towns, Queen's nurses were excluded from attending women in childbirth. In country districts the duties of a midwife were permissible, but only in the case of emergencies, and only when the district nurse had undergone, like Martha Loane, three months of approved training. For the QVJIN's rules see Mary Stocks, *A Hundred Years of District Nursing* (George Allan & Unwin, 1960) p.94. An announcement of Loane's obstetrical qualification can be found in *Nursing Notes*, December 1893, pp.164-65. Loane had little argument with the restrictions imposed by the QVJIN: she accepted that maternity work, whereby mothers and their infants were nursed after childbirth, was an essential part of a district nurse's work, and she conceded that midwifery was "almost incompatible with it." See Martha Jane Loane, "Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing", *Nursing Notes*, February 1897, pp.18-19. For a critical examination of this article see S.Cohen, 'Miss Loane, Florence Nightingale and District Nursing in Late-Victorian Britain', *Nursing History Review* (USA) vol.5, 1997, pp.83-103.

<sup>76</sup> *Queen's*, p.180. See also Bell, *op.cit.* p.206.

<sup>77</sup> One theory which had common currency accused working-class mothers of being careless and neglectful of their offspring: by bottle-feeding rather than breast feeding their babies, mothers, ignorant of the rules of hygiene and dirt control in the home, exposed their defenceless infants to contamination from dirty feeding bottles. For this and quantifiable evidence of the apparent connection between bottle-feeding and a higher incidence of infant mortality, see Lewis, *Politics*, *op.cit.* p.65.

<sup>78</sup> Loane did not specify why this particular woman was unable to breastfeed her babies, other than referring to her health as delicate. See *Queen's*, pp.179-80. For a further reference to poor mothers who were unable to breast feed see *Point of View*, p.290. In a later article she observed that '...inability to nurse is rarely a fixed an unalterable condition' and was sometimes due to the nursing mothers poor health. Some mothers were just reluctant to breast-feed and Loane remarked that 'Another point most necessary in the child's interest is that the mother should make up her mind from the first that she intends to nurse it.' See M.Loane, 'The Saving of Child Life', *The Spectator*, 11 November 1911, p.786. For other references to breast feeding see, for example, Bell, *op.cit.* p.210 and M.L.Davies (ed) *Maternity. Letters from Working Women* (Bell, 1915).

rearing' involved inculcating a working-class mother with essential knowledge of sterilisation procedures,<sup>79</sup> and advising on the purchase<sup>80</sup> and mixing of suitable milk.<sup>81</sup> Many mothers also needed advice on how to feed their children once they were weaned, for, as Loane exemplified, it was common practice for them to feed the very young in the same way as they would adults.<sup>82</sup> In general, working-class mothers were not renowned for their culinary skills, and has been noted, any abilities which they had were often thwarted by the inadequacy of facilities available to

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- <sup>79</sup> On feeding bottles, Allenburys were advertising a glass feeding bottle which was 'easily cleaned without corners or india-rubber tube for bacteria to feed in'. This met with the approval of the *British Medical Journal* who hailed it as 'without the manifold defects of the old-fashioned tube feeder. It is most easily cleaned.' See, *Nursing Notes*, June 1902. The old type of india-rubber tube feeding bottle has been described by Chinn as 'especially harmful to infants'. See Chinn, *op.cit.* p.136.
- <sup>80</sup> Amongst working-class mothers the most popular choice of milk for babies was condensed milk, produced by utilising the skimmed milk from butter factories. This was despite what Pember Reeves described as the 'legend' printed in large red letters on the tins, which warned that 'This milk is not recommended as food for infants'. See Reeves, *op.cit.* p.99. From a nutritional point of view, and as indicated by the warning, condensed milk was found to be 'the most lethal' food for hand-fed infants. George Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health, believed this was because mothers over-diluted the milk [presumably to make it go further]. Given the perpetual pressure on the household budget, the purchase of tinned milk was hardly surprising for, as the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration revealed, in 1904, tinned milk was cheaper at 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. a tin than cow's milk at 4d. a quart. As cited in Lewis, *Politics*, *op.cit.* p.74.
- <sup>81</sup> One mother admitted she was unwilling to 'add the cream' as the nurse had advised, since this would mean depriving her two year old of his nourishment. *Queen's*, p.180. As Blackman describes, food manufacturers responded rapidly to the increasing interest in the scientific feeding of infants by producing prepared baby foods and feeding utensils. See Janet Blackman, 'Baby Scales and Tin Openers', *Mother and Child*, 45, December 1973, pp.15-17. However, many of these patent foods were totally unsuitable for infants because of the high proportion of farinaceous material and low amounts of fat and protein they contained. For example, Mellins Food, an early proprietary brand of infant food, described as 'when prepared, [by the addition of water] is similar to breast milk,' was made from wheaten flour, malt and bran.' See, *Nursing Notes*, February 1897. Trial and error was often necessary to discover a brand which suited an infants digestion, but, as Lady Bell pointed out, it was obviously out of the question for a poor mother, unlike her 'well-to-do counterpart', to 'investigate the various forms of infants' food in the market until she finds something which does agree with it [the baby].<sup>3</sup> Bell, *op.cit.* pp.210-11. For an historical overview of the cost and availability of milk for this period see, Lewis, *Politics*, *op.cit.* pp.74-76.
- <sup>82</sup> Loane recorded how one mother admitted that her two year old boy was getting on 'a sight better since you said we mustn't expect him to eat precisely what the others did, not at two years old.' See *Queen's*, p.180. This practice was referred to by, for example, Lady Bell and Pember Reeves. See Bell, *op.cit.* p.198 and pp.211-14 as well as Reeves, *op.cit.* pp.144-45. Reference to the inappropriate feeding of infants, and the resulting malnutrition was also made in Robert Tressell, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1983) pp.52-53. Expurgated editions of this work were first published by Grant Richards Ltd. in 1914, and 1918. The first complete edition was published by Lawrence & Wishart in 1955.

them.<sup>83</sup> The only remedy for ignorance was education and Loane recommended that more use was made of mothers' meetings as a vehicle for instruction where:

the mawkish storybook which covers the undercurrent of petty gossip, should be displaced by a twenty minutes' lecture on hygiene (with especial reference to the prevention of disease), the feeding of infants under two years of age and the moral training of children<sup>84</sup>

She also advocated cooking classes for married women, and was adamant that such instruction be both practical and appropriate to the needs of the students.<sup>85</sup> As an example of inappropriateness, the authoress recalled lessons given at the expense of one particular County Council, where working-class women were shown how to make:

puff paste, lemon curd, pancakes thin as wafers, sweet and savoury omelettes, and afternoon tea cakes made with eggs and butter...It is true that instruction was given in the making of Irish stew, but as it contained a piece of rump steak that cost 1s.3d., and as the husbands of the women present were

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<sup>83</sup> For the paucity of cooking facilities see Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnote 28 and Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor,' footnotes 155-161. See also *Queen's*, p. 138 and M.Loane, 'The Training of Country District Nurses in Large Towns,' *Nursing Notes*, April 1904, pp.57-58.

<sup>84</sup> *Queen's*, p.141. Loane's recommendations were in much the same vein as those of Dr. Hutchinson and Mrs. Lyttleton, witnesses to the Committee on Physical Deterioration. See British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 5391-5402, 9937-41, 9979-81. Dr. Hutchinson was late President of the Royal College of Surgeons. See, *The Malthusian*, April 1905, p.31.

<sup>85</sup> *Queen's*, p.140. See also *Englishman's*, pp.63-64 and 'Cottage Cooking', *Common Growth*, pp.212-22. For the failure of lessons see Mary Davies, 'The Teaching of Cookery', *The Contemporary Review*, January 1898, pp.107-115. See also, Fanny Calder, 'The Training of Teachers in Cookery', *Journal of Education*, 1 December 1894, p.712. Calder was the Hon. Sec. of the National Union for the Technical Education of Women in Domestic Science and the Hon. Sec. of the Liverpool Training School of Cookery and Technical College for Women. Lady Bell also paid considerable attention to the matter of 'appropriate' cooking lessons and suggested that they actually be undertaken in the homes of the poor. See Bell, *op.cit.* pp.225-26.

earning from 15s. to 18s. per week, and most of them had large families, even this dish was scarcely adapted to their means.<sup>86</sup>

She was also adamant that 'all girls between fourteen and eighteen who were not engaged in domestic service' should attend compulsory lessons in 'cooking, nursing, and the feeding and general care of young children'<sup>87</sup>

Loane was dogmatic about the quantity of children born to poor families.

Whilst, as Baly has remarked,<sup>88</sup> she made no suggestion as to what methods should be adopted to discourage the poor from overbreeding,<sup>89</sup> by stating unequivocally that

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<sup>86</sup> *Queen's*, p.140. For further examples of the failure of lessons see Mary Davies, 'The Teaching of Cookery', *The Contemporary Review*, January 1898, pp.107-115. See also, Fanny Calder, 'The Training of Teachers in Cookery', *Journal of Education*, 1 December 1894, p.712. Calder was the Hon. Sec. of the National Union for the Technical Education of Women in Domestic Science and the Hon. Sec. of the Liverpool Training School of Cookery and Technical College for Women. For claims that cookery schools met the needs of poor women see evidence of Mrs. Worthington, of the Manchester Ladies' Public Health Society, British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs. 7244.

<sup>87</sup> *Queen's*, p.140; *Point of View*, p.174; *Next Street*, p.28 and *Englishman's*, pp 63-64. Although Lady Bell was, in theory, in agreement with the idea that girls should be taught domestic skills she did not believe that it should be part of the school curriculum, as many, including Loane, suggested for she concluded that 'it must be a matter of experience to most of us that young people are not in the least interested in learning the theory beforehand of domestic arts destined to be of practical use to them when they are older.' See Bell, *op.cit.* p.208.

<sup>88</sup> Monica.E. Baly, *A History of the Queen's Nursing Institute. 100 Years 1887-1987* (Croom Helm, 1987) p.77.

<sup>89</sup> The Rt. Hon. Sir John Gorst, when questioned by the Committee on this matter, replied that since there was no [socially acceptable] means of sterilising the poor, the only remedy would be to raise the age of consent [to marriage]. He stated, 'people marry who are perfectly unfit to marry, who are certain to propagate weakness and disease...Their children died very young...Those who propagate the most of the species are now weakest.' See British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 11787-11803. For an overview of birth control, abortion and the acceptance of ideas propagated by the Eugenics Society for this period see Jane Lewis, *Politics*, *op.cit.* pp.196-219. For the dissemination of birth control literature in the 1870's by Annie Besant, Charles Bradlaugh, and Edward Truelove see Arthur H.Nethercott, *The First Five Lives of Annie Besant* (Chicago, 1960) p.90 ff. The publication, in 1887, of *The Wife's Handbook*, a birth control tract written by Dr. H.A. Allbutt, a medical practitioner from Leeds, resulted in the author's prosecution and his removal from the Medical Register. The Malthusian League did not circulate its own leaflets on contraception until 1913. See Angus McLaren, *Birth Control in Nineteenth Century England* (Croom Helm, 1978) p.113, p.132. Roberts also draws attention to 'several small societies [who] were at work propagating methods of birth control [before 1914] the most prominent being the "Liberator League" with its manual *What Women Ought to Know on the Subject of Sex*. See Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.32.



those [men of the working-classes] who were 'permanently unable to provide the necessities of life for their children...should not be encouraged, to call large families into the world,'<sup>90</sup> she clearly associated herself with the objectives of the Malthusian League.<sup>91</sup>

### *Overview*

Loane's view of marriage, was, as stated, a traditional one. The most enduring marriages were between couples of a similar age and background: she was adamant that widows and widowers should remarry, but that the same conditions applied as in first marriages. She deplored matrimonial violence, and was disturbed by the fact that many women seemed resigned to tolerate abuse from their menfolk. She advised women to stand up for themselves, and not rely upon legislation intended to curb such cruelty. Her opinion of fathers was generally optimistic, although she conceded that many needed to learn more parenting skills. It was her firm view that mothers had a duty to their home and families, and even though she recognised the financial pressure that many were under, she objected strongly to them working outside of the home. The inefficiency of many mothers was a matter of great concern, and Loane strongly advocated classes which would teach them how to cook and how to care for their infants and children. Her views on large families were veiled, but she clearly believed that the poor should restrict the numbers of children which they had.

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<sup>90</sup> *Queen's*, p.139.

<sup>91</sup> Their crusade against poverty was based on the belief that 'the population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence,' and they considered it to be 'a grave offence for men and women to bring into the world more children than they can adequately house, feed, clothe and educate.' As stated in the Rules of the Malthusian League, and published in their monthly journal. See, for example, *The Malthusian*, September 1905, p.72. The League considered that the State had a duty to 'discourage the producing of large broods of poor unwished-for infants.' One suggested method of 'discouragement' was to fine parents who had more than four children, which the President, Dr. Charles Robert Drysdale considered would be 'an excellent plan for teaching the thoughtless their duty towards their children and towards the society in which they live. See Dr.C.R.Drysdale, 'Why the State Ought to Discourage the Producing of Large Families', *The Malthusian*, May 1905, p.33.

## CHAPTER 8

### The Elderly Poor

By 1905, the year *The Queen's Poor* was first published, the serious nature and extent of pauperism amongst the elderly was a well-established fact,<sup>1</sup> largely as a result of, first, Charles Booth's investigations<sup>2</sup> and secondly, Rowntree's study of poverty in York.<sup>3</sup> Loane's anecdotal evidence indicates that many of the elderly whom she met were victims of the final stage of Rowntree's so-called 'cycle of poverty': many were either too old or too sick to work and most no longer had unmarried children contributing to the family budget. Beyond this, and in answer to those critics who frequently asserted that the poor were improvident,<sup>4</sup> most had

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<sup>1</sup> Stead stated that, in 1895, there were some two million persons over the age of sixty-five in the United Kingdom, and that two-thirds of these were in want. See F.H. Stead, *How Old Age Pensions Began To Be* (Methuen, 1910) p.8. Stead was Warden of Browning Hall and Honorary Secretary to the National Pensions Committee. Thompson notes that, during the Edwardian period, only about 5% of the population survived beyond sixty-five, and contrasts this with a figure of 15% in 1992. See Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians. The Remaking of British Society*, 2nd.ed. (Routledge, 1992) p.69.

<sup>2</sup> C.Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*, 1st ed., vol.I (London & Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate, 1889); *Labour and Life of the People*, 1st ed., vol.II.(London & Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate, 1891); *Pauperism, a picture, and the Endowment of Old Age, an Argument* (London & New York, Macmillan, 1892); *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 2nd ed.(London & New York, Macmillan, 1892-97) 9 vols; *The Aged Poor in England and Wales* (London & New York, Macmillan, 1899) (henceforth Booth, *Aged Poor*); *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 3rd ed.(London & New York, Macmillan, 1902-3) 17 vols. First Series,: *Poverty* (1902) vols.I-IV; Second Series: *Industry* 1903) vols.I-V, Third Series: *Religious Influences* (1902-2) vols.-VII, Final Volume: *Notes on Social Influences and Conclusion* (1903);

<sup>3</sup> B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty. A Study of Town Life* (Macmillan, 1901).

<sup>4</sup> Lady Bell, *At the Works* (Edward Arnold, 1907) p.52. See also M. Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week* (Bell, 1913) p. 66, pp. 75-76 for confirmation of the frequency with which the accusation of thriftlessness and improvidence was made against the poor. Pember Reeves excused any improvidence by stating, 'If the poor were not improvident, they would hardly dare to live their lives at all. ...if casual labour and daily paid labour are necessary to society, then society must excuse the faults [i.e. improvidence] which are the obvious outcome of such a system.' See Reeves, *op.cit.* p.146.

never earned enough to allow them to save adequately for their old age. <sup>5</sup>

*Marriage and the elderly poor*

Loane frequently referred to the relationships between elderly married couples, and she appears to have been particularly impressed by the degree of loyalty which existed within such unions. Illness was a frequent occurrence amongst the elderly poor and she noted that wives, who were often 'younger in years and in constitution' were 'the usual nurses.' <sup>6</sup> She also recorded how:

when neither love nor skill could do anymore for the sufferer, I have seen old couples sit hour after hour with hand clasped in hand, drawing comfort and courage from one another's presence. <sup>7</sup>

Remarriage was commonplace amongst older people, and, as previously noted, Loane drew attention to the practical rather than romantic considerations behind new unions. Marital relationships between the elderly, as with younger couples, were not always harmonious. The most unhappy, according to Loane, were those contracted 'rather late in life' and especially where 'both had been married before.' <sup>8</sup> In these circumstances, Loane remarked that comparisons and recriminations were inevitable, and were complicated where there were children involved. <sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Rowntree, *op.cit.* p.137. Loane did consider it 'curiously improvident' that a couple, earning about twenty-seven shillings a week belonged to a sick club and a burial club, but had apparently not given any thought to old age. See M.Loane, *From Their Point of View* (Edward Arnold, 1908) (henceforth *Point of View*) p.43 .

<sup>6</sup> M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) (henceforth *Queen's*) p.11.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Queen's*, p.167.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*

*Financial implications of old age*

The reduced financial circumstances of many elderly people meant that they often relied upon financial help from a variety of quarters. There might, for example, be an allowance from the parish, from a religious organisation or from a charitable institution. One couple whose income consisted of six shillings a week from their club and the same amount from the parish were considered 'quite rich'.<sup>10</sup> Some of Loane's 'friends' were in receipt of outdoor relief,<sup>11</sup> whilst others lived in Unions which 'owing to old-time abuses, had a rooted objection' to giving this help.<sup>12</sup>

As will be noted, state assistance in the form of old-age pensions was still being debated in 1905. Generally speaking, working-class people were unfamiliar with the concept of voluntarily retiring from work at a predetermined age,<sup>13</sup> and health permitting, they continued working for as long as they were able.<sup>14</sup> In *The Queen's Poor* for example, Loane drew attention to a man of seventy five whose financial circumstances forced him to continue working despite the fact that he suffered 'cruelly' from sciatica and rheumatism. His average wage for five days work in a market garden was between nine and ten shillings,<sup>15</sup> and since, to the best of her

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<sup>10</sup> *Queen's*, p.167.

<sup>11</sup> See *Queen's*, p.260. For a lady who received 2s. 6d. a week in outdoor relief see M.Loane, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909) (henceforth *Englishman's*) p.29. See also M.Loane, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911) p.81 (henceforth *Common Growth*).

<sup>12</sup> Longmate notes that as Unions followed the policy of severity introduced around 1870, the number of people receiving out-relief fell, and the treatment and amounts they received varied from place to place, and depended on the individual Board of Guardians. See N. Longmate, *The Workhouse* (Temple Smith, 1974) p. 258.

<sup>13</sup> E.H.Hunt, *British Labour History, 1815-1914* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981) p.8.

<sup>14</sup> For the need of the elderly to keep on working, despite ill-health see, for example, *Queen's*, pp.256-259.

<sup>15</sup> As Rider Haggard demonstrated in his survey of rural England, agricultural wages varied considerably geographically. In 1906, he recorded that, in Essex, the weekly wage was between 13s. and 15s. a week, whereas in Warwickshire, in 1902, the ordinary wage for a labourer was 15s. a week. See, Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, 1st. ed., vol.I (Longmans Green, 1902) p. 410 and Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, 2nd. ed., vol.I (Longmans Green, 1906) pp.443, 468. See also B.S.Rowntree & M.Kendall, *How the Labourer Lives* (Nelson, 1913) and E.H.Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1973)

knowledge, the man had never earned more than fourteen shillings a week, he had been unable to do more than pay into a sick club.<sup>16</sup> With no other means of support the seven shillings a week sick-club money which he was paid when entirely laid-up<sup>17</sup> proved to be a meagre defence against poverty.

Elderly widows did not find life any easier. An eighty-four year old woman whom Loane met still 'earned a considerable part of her livelihood by needlework,'<sup>18</sup> whilst another, a Mrs. C, who was chronically sick and housebound, survived on a tiny income from a charitable society.<sup>19</sup> A further example cited was that of Mrs K who considered herself fortunate to be the 'widow of a soldier.'<sup>20</sup> Her status entitled her to a pension of a shilling a week from a charitable society,<sup>21</sup> but this was her only independent means of support.<sup>22</sup> Loane remarked upon the dubious benefit of army marriages, for, as she noted, if the lady had been married to a civilian, he might have left her 'five shillings a week of his own.'<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For the rates of money wages of ordinary agricultural labourers in the years 1870-71 and 1880-81 see T.E.Kebbel, *The Agricultural Labourer. A Short Summary of his Position* (Allen, 1887) p.18.

<sup>17</sup> *Queen's*, p.234. Lady Bell observed of the so-called 'benefits' of the sick club, that 'even if he [the workman] is in a sick club his income is lessened at a moment when it should be increased, and the food and remedies that are desirable are in many cases unattainable without sacrificing something essential to the welfare of the rest of the household.' See Bell, *op.cit.* p.86.

<sup>18</sup> *Common Growth*, p.66.

<sup>19</sup> *Queen's*, p.253.

<sup>20</sup> *Queen's*, p.302.

<sup>21</sup> Considering that, as an army wife, Mrs. K had been used to living frugally, managing on the small amount of pay which her husband passed on to her, her uncomplaining acceptance of her current position was not so surprising. With few exceptions, the widow of a regular soldier could not expect to receive any financial assistance from the army. For most of the period 1856 to 1899 the army made no provision for widows and orphans of regular soldiers: Skelley has suggested that the existence of numerous private charities working to provide financial relief for soldier's families enabled successive administrations to evade their responsibility. See A.R.Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home. The Recruitment, Pay and Conditions of the British Regular* (Croom Helm, 1977) p.216.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the case of Mrs. C. in *Queen's*, p.253.

<sup>23</sup> *Queen's*, p.302.

Whilst provision was unlikely to have been made for old age, the majority of the poor, even many who were reckless with their money, <sup>24</sup> did make every attempt to provide for their death by paying burial insurance. <sup>25</sup> The priority given to funerals was exemplified in the case of one elderly lady, a Mrs Kelter, who 'got by' on outdoor relief and her husband's paltry sick club money, but still managed to pay into a burial club. She was prepared to go into the workhouse rather than live on her own and declared that 'I've good club money coming; there'll be eight pounds when I'm dead'. <sup>26</sup>

Loane was not wholly in favour of such expenditure and, as has been noted, <sup>27</sup> expressed both general and specific concerns about this form of insurance. She also wondered if the poor whom she met had 'an obscure belief that a "handsome funeral" secures some definite social advantage in a future life.' <sup>28</sup> The general view amongst the poor was that a decent funeral was essential if respectability was to be maintained. The alternative would have been a paupers grave, which would have brought disgrace on the whole family.

### *Family support for the elderly*

Adult children often provided their elderly parents with support, financial or otherwise, although Loane, like Booth, was uncertain as to the extent of any such

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<sup>24</sup> For Loane's assertion see *Common Growth*, p.110.

<sup>25</sup> For an earlier examination of the poor and funerals see Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnotes 94-106. For Loane's earlier remarks about funerals, see *Queen's*, p.120. Both Reeves and Bell devoted considerable attention to the importance of funerals amongst the working-classes. By circa 1910, Reeves stated that 'the usual amount for burial insurance is 1d. a week for each child, 2d. for the mother, and 3d. for the father.' See Reeves, *op.cit.* pp.66-71 and Bell, *op.cit.* pp.76-78. Charles Booth noted, in 1892, that 'I understand that death clubs with a weekly subscription of 1/2d. to 2d. per head are very commonly subscribed to,' as cited in Paul Johnson, *Saving and Spending. The Working Class Economy in Britain, 1870-1939* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1985) p.25, footnote 36.

<sup>26</sup> *Queen's*, p.240.

<sup>27</sup> For Loane's views on burial clubs see Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor,' footnotes 94-100..

assistance.<sup>29</sup> Loane was unequivocal in her belief that children had a duty to show their parents 'love, consideration, tenderness, protection and personal service'. However, she did not believe that they 'owed them their daily bread', particularly when such help meant that they might defer marriage themselves, deprive their own families or be unable to save for their own old age.<sup>30</sup>

She found that some of the aged were very defensive of their offspring, and exaggerated the extent to which they were helped. One couple whom she knew had made many sacrifices during their working life to ensure that their three children had a good education,<sup>31</sup> with the result that the latter enjoyed a superior standard of living to their parents. However, none of them apparently exhibited any great concern for the well-being of their parents.<sup>32</sup> Whilst the two daughters, who had 'married well', did a little to help their parents, but not much,' the son had never given his parents 'the smallest assistance.'<sup>33</sup>

Conversely, grandparents were able to offer a great deal of valuable practical assistance with grandchildren. This was particularly the case where the couple had married at an early age, and were still 'comparatively young and strong.'<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Booth observed that accounts varied greatly 'as to the extent to which children help their parents...some may have been inclined to ignore as a "source of maintenance" casual assistance in money or kind, or even the providing of house room, and have concentrated their attention on the comparatively rare cases in which a regular money allowance is granted.' He concluded that the most [relatively] common form of help was for a married son or daughter to give a parent, particularly an elderly widowed mother, house-room and perhaps food. He also explained that elderly mothers were more welcome because they were 'more useful in the home and are frequently expected to do something in return for their keep.' See Booth, *Aged Poor*, pp.325-326.

<sup>30</sup> *Point of View*, p.42.

<sup>31</sup> *Queen's*, p.239.

<sup>32</sup> Loane subsequently remarked that 'filial piety is such a comparatively underdeveloped virtue among the poorer classes.' See *Englishman's*, p.17. It was most developed amongst dutiful children ...of strong religious feeling.' See *Englishman's*, p.30.

<sup>33</sup> *Queen's*, p.240. The apparently arbitrary dismissal of the parents situation was not unique, for a similar case was recorded by Rider Haggard: 'his [Mr.Lapwood, an old labourer in Essex] children had a much better standard of living...I was informed that those children for whom he starved, did not do all they might to make his last day's easy.' See Haggard, *op.cit.* 1st.ed., vol.I, p.459.

<sup>34</sup> *Point of View*, pp.35-36.

*Joint households*

Loane was certain that the elderly poor valued their independence, and wherever possible, preferred to remain in their own homes.<sup>35</sup> This was despite the fact that many of the places they inhabited were, as will be noted, dismal, depressing and sometimes even unfit for human habitation.<sup>36</sup>

Some old people shared their own homes with unmarried adult children, and contributed towards the family budget in a variety of non-monetary ways. An elderly father might grow a sufficient supply of vegetables for the family, whilst an elderly mother would contribute by keeping house, cooking, cleaning and sewing for her men folk.<sup>37</sup>

When independent living was no longer realistic, whether for financial or health reasons, the choices were limited, but some were given shelter in the home of a married son or daughter.<sup>38</sup> As a rule, Loane did not think that 'old and feeble parents should live with their married children' and that in most cases, how ever well intentioned, such arrangements were doomed to failure.<sup>39</sup> She was also adamant that:

no pressure should ever be put upon old persons  
to induce them to live with those who may be their  
natural protectors but who are not so in reality.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Point of View*, p.46, p.48; *Englishman's*, p. 25.

<sup>36</sup> *Queen's*, p.253. For an examination of housing see Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor'. For a further description of living conditions such as these in Portsmouth see J.Stanford and A.Temple Patterson, 'The condition of the children of the poor in mid-Victorian Portsmouth, *The Portsmouth Papers*, no.21, March 1974.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, *Queen's*, p.260.

<sup>38</sup> Bell noted that, in Middlesborough, it was rare for an elderly couple to share a home with a married son or daughter, and was generally not a very satisfactory arrangement. Bell, *op.cit.* pp.110-11.

<sup>39</sup> *Point of View*, pp.45-46.

<sup>40</sup> *Englishman's*, p.28.



There was certainly no assumption on the part of the elderly poor that they would be invited to share a child's family home.<sup>41</sup> Nor were Loane's numerous accounts of the way they were treated in such situations consistent.<sup>42</sup> In one case, a woman showed great compassion towards her aged father: besides sharing the family home, the old man was well cared for,<sup>43</sup> and, in return, he was gentle and kind to his grandchildren, a marked contrast to the often 'saturnine' nature of their own father.<sup>44</sup> In another home, a woman had given her widowed father shelter, but 'encouraged' him to go into the workhouse infirmary as soon as he became ill for fear she should have to nurse him.<sup>45</sup>

Loane was clearly vexed by the subject of joint households, and disagreed strongly and publicly with Lady Bell for her views on certain aspects of the practice.<sup>46</sup> Whereas the latter claimed that an elderly father was the better house guest, Loane was in no doubt that a mother was far more acceptable and welcome in the home of a married son or daughter than a father.<sup>47</sup> This was because, in Loane's view, a mother was likely to be :

less exacting and makes less work, and even in feeble  
health can give household help in a hundred small ways  
...it is not a mere aping at gentility that makes a rough

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<sup>41</sup> *Queen's*, p.240.

<sup>42</sup> How common this arrangement was is difficult to assess. Jose Harris has calculated from Booth's published material on London households that, in the 1890's, only 3.07 % of homes included grandparents and 0.8 % other extended kin. See Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit. A Social History of Britain 1870-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993) pp.64-65.

<sup>43</sup> Bell commented on how frequently she came upon 'joint households among the working homes'. Relationships were more likely to be harmonious when the elderly person was a man, whereas an elderly mother was 'a more subversive element in the household.' For Bell's view of this arrangement see Bell, *op.cit.* p.110-15.

<sup>44</sup> *Queen's*, pp.174 -75.

<sup>45</sup> *Englishman's*, p.26. For other examples where elderly people fared badly in a child's home, see *Englishman's*, pp.27-30.

<sup>46</sup> For Loane's criticism of Lady Bell see *Point of View*, pp.36-37.

<sup>47</sup> For Loane's view of joint households see above, footnote 46. Lady Bell's opinion can be found in Bell, *op.cit.* pp.110-117.

old grandfather unwelcome; there are often moral reasons too grave to be spoken in detail. <sup>48</sup>

### *The Workhouse*

The only alternative for many old folk who were unable to remain in their own homes through poverty or infirmity, was for them to enter the workhouse. <sup>49</sup> Entry was an irrevocable step towards permanent institutionalisation and most of the aged poor viewed this prospect as the ultimate humiliation. The workhouse had a definite stigma attached to it and was almost universally feared by all those forced to live under its shadow. <sup>50</sup> Loane described the results of institutional life thus:

Where can one find more persistent , unbroken discontent than in a well-managed workhouse...The inmates appear to lose all fluency of speech except when airing their grievances against the authorities, or their latest quarrel with a fellow inmate. <sup>51</sup>

Not surprisingly, voluntary entry was very unusual, but Loane did record

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<sup>48</sup> Loane implied that an elderly grandfather might be a bad moral influence on his grandchildren and thwart the parents attempts at raising 'their children's whole standard of life and thought and speech.' See *Point of View*, p.37.

<sup>49</sup> According to Longmate, in a population in 1901 of thirty three millions, between half and three quarters of a million were likely to have had recent personal experience of the workhouse. See Longmate, *op.cit.* p.263.

<sup>50</sup> Fear of the workhouse existed both prior to and after Loane wrote *The Queen's Poor*. In 1895, for example, numerous witnesses to the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor agreed that old people dreaded going into the workhouse. See the evidence of Miss Octavia Hill, Mr.Crompton, Mr.Fuller and Mr.Grout in British Parliamentary Papers, *Royal Commission on the Aged Poor*, 1895, XV, Qs.10664, 17592-4, 2338 and 13,352. Later in the period, Roberts remarked, that, in 1908, 'our elderly paupers still went to the work-house- a word that rang like a knell among us.' See Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum. Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Penguin, 1973) pp.84-85.

<sup>51</sup> M.Loane, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) p.170 (henceforth *Next Street*).

how one elderly couple sacrificed their own independence for the sake of their middle-aged blind son. Rather than see him uprooted from his familiar surroundings, they left the home in which they had lived for over fifty years and `without hesitation or discussion, without word of complaint, they moved to the hated Big House ten miles away.<sup>52</sup>

The indignities of the workhouse were innumerable: inmates were classified according to their sex, age and infirmity,<sup>53</sup> and were bound by rules and regulations concerning their diet, clothing and liberty.<sup>54</sup> Food was not the only commodity to be rationed for the use of tobacco was strictly controlled,<sup>55</sup> and might be denied a pauper as a means of punishment,<sup>56</sup> and caused greater concern amongst inmates than any dietary restrictions, as Loane's critic articulated:

I've never been asked by none of them for a bit of food, though I've often some I could give 'em; but for tobacco, they just beg and pray as if it was to save their souls.<sup>57</sup>

Individuality was invariably suppressed by the system, but Loane recorded how one man still retained his gentlemanly demeanour for `even the workhouse

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<sup>52</sup> *Queen's*, p.260.

<sup>53</sup> W.H.Dumsday, *Workhouse Officers' Handbook* (Hadden Best, 1907) p.42.

<sup>54</sup> For Loane's descriptions of the food in the workhouse see *Queen's*, pp.212-13. For the regulations relating to inmates in the workhouse see Dumsday, *op.cit.* p.142, p.158, pp.190-213. See also Longmate, *op.cit.*

<sup>55</sup> For regulations regarding the control of tobacco see Dumsday, *op.cit.* p.158, p.188 & p.196.

<sup>56</sup> *Queen's*, p.211.

<sup>57</sup> *Queen's*, p.217-18. Mary Higgs recorded how she and her companion suffered the indignity of being `searched for pipe and tobacco' before taking a compulsory bath in the workhouse. See, Viatrix, `The Tramp Ward', *Contemporary Review*, May 1904, p.652, republished as Mary Higgs, *The Tramp Ward* (Heywood, 1904)

clothing could not disguise him.' <sup>58</sup> She felt that many of the restrictions imposed were excessive:

I fail to see why well-conducted paupers over seventy years of age should not be allowed to walk in and out during all the hours of daylight almost as freely as if they lived in an almshouse, nor why they should not receive visitors of all classes for a couple of hours every afternoon. The usual plea for the restraint exercised is that greater liberty would lead to drunkenness, but very few people of that age are, or could be, drunkards. <sup>59</sup>

She also believed that aged workhouse inmates would be:

infinitely happier if they were only provided with bare necessities, and given a small sum weekly to buy 'comforts', care of course being taken that those did not include spirits, nor too large a proportion of tobacco and tea, and that the money was neither hoarded nor given away. <sup>60</sup>

Euphemistic distinctions which elevated the status of the workhouse to that of the less dreaded workhouse infirmary, were often adopted by the elderly poor to disguise their demeaning situation:

The workhouse in all refined circles is called the Infirmary, and it seems to be a point of honour with most of the elderly inmates to speak of it as a well-

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<sup>58</sup> See *Englishman's*, p. 22. For official references to workhouse clothing see Dumsday, *op.cit.* p.42, p.142 & p.158.

<sup>59</sup> *Englishman's*, p.19.

<sup>60</sup> *Next Street*, p.170.

managed place to which they have voluntarily retired.<sup>61</sup>

*The workhouse infirmary*

As one of Loane's elderly acquaintances confirmed,<sup>62</sup> the aged poor had a different attitude towards entry into the workhouse infirmary. Most did not consider that there was any stigma attached to such places,<sup>63</sup> possibly because they subscribed to 'a popular though unfounded notion that entry to the [workhouse] infirmary did not legally pauperise the patient.'<sup>64</sup>

The attention which the elderly inmates received varied considerably. The most serious and persistent censure made concerned the poor quality of the nursing.<sup>65</sup> Most affected were the small rural workhouses, which, as Loane's critic testified, tended to attract the most poorly trained women. In the infirmary mentioned there

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<sup>61</sup> *Queen's*, p.95, and as cited in K.C. Phillips, *Language and Class in Victorian England* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1984) p.106. Phillips notes that both Arthur Morrison, in *Tales of Mean Streets*, and Flora Thompson, in *Lark Rise to Candleford*, include comparable euphemisms.

<sup>62</sup> However, in an earlier chapter, Loane recorded the case of 'the landlady and her husband who...absolutely refused to allow her [a very sick elderly female lodger] to be removed to the workhouse infirmary'. See, *Queen's*, p.45.

<sup>63</sup> This was particularly the case where the infirmary was located in a separate building away from the actual workhouse, a situation which was more common after 1880. F.B.Smith, *The People's Health, 1830-1910* (Croom Helm, 1979) p.390. Witnesses to the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, in 1895, indicated that many, particularly the elderly, were far less reluctant to enter the workhouse infirmary. As Mr.A.R.Jephcott, a working engineer who also held a number of posts of public trust in Birmingham, told the Commission, 'there was a stigma on one and not on the other.' See British Parliamentary Papers, Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, XIV, 1895, Qs.14615-16. This opinion was held by other witnesses, see, for example, the evidence of Mr.Fothergill, Superintendent of the Outrelief Dept. of the Parish of Birmingham, Qs.2815-16.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, *op.cit.* p.390.

<sup>65</sup> Workhouse infirmaries had been the subject of much criticism since the first visitors, members of the Workhouse Visiting Society, were allowed in during the 1850's and early 1860's. See Longmate, *op.cit.* p.199. For the role of women visitors see F.W. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1980) pp.174-181. A detailed historical account of pauper nursing and poor law nursing can be found in Rosemary White, *Social Change and the Development of the Nursing Profession. A Study of the Poor Law Nursing Service, 1848-1948* (Kimpton, 1978). See also Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor.'

was a matron <sup>66</sup> and a wardwoman, <sup>67</sup> as well as three nurses, of whom only one met with the `critic's approval. The second nurse was described as `uncultivated', whilst the third, `a young woman of seventeen', was quite clearly not old enough to have acquired any nursing skills or professional experience. <sup>68</sup>

Loane's critic was aware of the problems facing workhouse infirmaries: the unsociable and often arduous nature of the work made it an unattractive place to work, so that even the most unsuitable staff were in a strong bargaining position *vis-à-vis* wages and conditions. <sup>69</sup> He described how, in his workhouse infirmary `the second nurse asked to have her wages rose from £20 to £25, and three weeks leave' all on end - and she got it too!' <sup>70</sup>

As advertisements for nursing posts indicated, it was common practice for

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<sup>66</sup> *Queen's*, p.220. Louisa Twining recorded that, during the six years of her work as a guardian of the poor in a London Poor Law Institution, 1884-1890, she called for changes to be made regarding the position of the Matron, who was at that time, under the authority of the superintendent of the workhouse. She recommended that `in all matters of domestic management, including the time of absence for the nurses, the Matron should have the power of control, as in the voluntary Hospitals.' See, L. Twining, *Workhouses and Pauperism* (Methuen, 1898) p.170. For a description of the Matron's duties see Dumsday, *op.cit.* pp.69-71 and for the subsequent regulations regarding her authority over the nursing staff see Dumsday, *op.cit.* p.110. White has described the matron thus: `she [the matron] was not usually a woman of any quality, she had no training and she was [often] of the level that might well end up as an inmate of the workhouse. See White, *op.cit.* p.89.

<sup>67</sup> The `wardwoman' was probably the head nurse. She had control over the nurses as long as they were in the wards..

<sup>68</sup> *Queen's*, p.210.

<sup>69</sup> It was not only the disparity between salaries which made workhouse nursing less attractive than hospital or district nursing. As evidence given in the report on Poor Law nursing, subsequently included in the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, made clear, unsatisfactory accommodation, long hours, monotonous work, dislike of rural life and professional isolation were all mitigating factors. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Relief of Distress*, vol.1., being parts I to VI of the Majority Report (H.M.S., 1909) Part V, pp.351- 52. See also *Break Up the Poor Law and Abolish the Workhouse* being Part I of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission (Fabian Society, 1909) p.231 ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Queen's*, p.212. In July 1904, Bath Union were advertising for an assistant nurse, and offering £25 per annum, including board, lodging, washing and indoor uniform. See, *Poor Law Officers' Journal*, 8 July 1904, p.647.

staff to receive free board and lodging on top of their salaries.<sup>71</sup> Although not objecting to this *status quo*, Loane's critic considered a system which provided the staff with both better food and larger quantities than it offered the inmates very unfair.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, the nurses were, apparently, provided with much larger quantities of tea, coffee and sugar.<sup>73</sup> A fish dinner was served once a week, but the nurses apparently took the best of the catch, leaving the inmates with a meal of 'boiled fish with flour an' water for gravy.'<sup>74</sup>

He was also unequivocal in condemning the notions of 'superiority' which these poorly trained nurses assumed, and criticised their lack of professionalism.<sup>75</sup> As an example, he described how, despite being accountable to the doctor for their actions, the infirmary nurses frequently ignored instructions regarding the prescribing of medicine, and applied their own judgement when dispensing medication.<sup>76</sup>

#### *The elderly poor and the workhouse casual ward*

Although the casual ward of the workhouse only received a brief and somewhat oblique reference within *The Queen's Poor*, the remarks made by Loane's 'critic

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<sup>71</sup> For typical advertisements see, for example, *Poor Law Officers' Journal*, 8 July 1904, p.647-649. The improvements in pay and living conditions for workhouse nurses were largely due to the influence of women Guardians, including Louisa Twining, who were first elected in the 1880's. See Longmate, *op.cit.* p.208.

<sup>72</sup> *Queen's*, pp.211-12. The fact that nurses received preferential treatment in regard to their diet was largely due to the influence of Louisa Twining. During her six years tenure as a guardian in a London Poor Law Institution she had concerned herself with, amongst other matters, the 'Dietary of Nurses', maintaining that '...we must allow for some daintiness of appetite on the part of those who have such distasteful work to do, and it is important that their strength be kept up by appetising food. See Twining, *op.cit.* p.99. This, as with other improvements which Twining recommended, was intended to be 'materially conducive to the health and comfort of the nursing staff, and render the service more attractive. See Twining, *op.cit.* p.123.

<sup>73</sup> *Queen's*, p.212.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Queen's*, p.210. See also Mitchell Dean & Gail Bolton, 'The Administration of Poverty and the Development of Nursing Practice in Nineteenth-Century England', in Celia Davies (ed) *Rewriting Nursing History* (Croom Helm, 1980) p.83.

<sup>76</sup> *Queen's*, p.213. For corroborative evidence of this practice see Smith, *op.cit.* p.393-94.

from within' were nevertheless revealing. By describing the tramps who took short-term refuge from destitution 'on the other side' as not 'respectable' he highlighted the division between the casual or tramp ward and the workhouse proper.<sup>77</sup> He exemplified the prevailing view that tramps as a class were determined to lead a nomadic existence, and he implicitly subscribed to the view that vagrancy should be penalised in order to deter men and women from it.<sup>78</sup>

The penalty which vagrants in the casual-ward paid were the tasks imposed upon them, although these were ostensibly intended to be in lieu of board and lodging. The tasks, all of which demanded hard physical labour, were, in fact, an essential part of the workhouse regime,<sup>79</sup> and included wood-chopping, oakum picking<sup>80</sup> and stone-breaking.<sup>81</sup> Wood-chopping, to which Loane's critic drew attention, was

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<sup>77</sup> *Queen's*, p.217. Contemporary sources confirm that although a high proportion of those who used the casual ward were professional beggars, a minority of those on the road were decent, deserving people. James Craven, a young writer who posed as an unemployed mechanic, stayed at the Keighley Union in Yorkshire, and found his companions included 'a tailor, aged 67, decently dressed, a compositor, also respectably attired and a bandmaker.' C.W.Craven, *A Night in the Workhouse* (1887) as cited in Longmate, *op.cit.* pp.247-48. For later corroboration of the class see W.H.Davies, *Beggars* (Duckworth, 1909) and W.H.Davies, *The True Traveller* (Duckworth, 1912).

<sup>78</sup> *Queen's*, p.217. For affirmation of this opinion see, for example, Viatrix, 'The Tramp Ward', *Contemporary Review*, May 1904, p.658. This article was subsequently published as Mary Higgs, *The Tramp Ward* (Heywood, 1904). See also Everard Wyrall, *The Spike: An Account of the Workhouse Casual Ward* (Constable, 1909). Wyrall was another social investigator who posed as a pauper.

<sup>79</sup> For regulations regarding the setting of tasks of work for casuals see Dumsday, *op.cit.* pp.230-31.

<sup>80</sup> Oakum picking could be undertaken by both sexes and all age groups. The task was described thus by Mary Higgs, 'Do you know what oakum is? A number of old ropes, some of them tarred, some knotted, are cut into lengths; you have to twist and unravel them inch by inch'. See Viatrix, 'The Tramp Ward', *Contemporary Review*, May 1904, p.658 and Higgs, *op.cit.*, also Mary Higgs, *Glimpses into the Abyss* (King, 1906) p.163. Wyrall described oakum picking as '[a] punishment, [which] tears the skin from the fingers, and makes the hands almost unfit for any other kind of work.' See Wyrall, *op.cit.* pp.46-47.

<sup>81</sup> Stone-breaking and stone-pounding were described by Wyrall: 'Picking up one of the heavy hammers (there were two in a corner of the cell), I smote with all my strength at one of the blocks of granite. I made no impression what-ever. I felt then quite sure that, if ten months depended on the breaking of those blocks, I should be in prison before many hours passed.' See Wyrall, *op.cit.* p.37. As late as the 1890's, corn-grinding was another task imposed upon those in the casual wards. See Longmate, *op.cit.* pp.251-52. For a contemporary description of this task see James Greenwood, 'A Night in a Workhouse' in Peter Keating (ed) *Into Unknown England* (Fontana, 1976) pp.50-52. Greenwood's account was first published in serial form in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in 1866.



probably the least arduous task.<sup>82</sup> Whilst her 'critic' asserted that 'no one ain't *made* work after seventy'<sup>83</sup> the rules laid down in the Workhouse Officers' Manual were less age-specific than he suggested. They stated clearly that:

A person is not to be required to perform the whole or any part of such task of work if it appears that the same is not suited to his age strength or capacity in the workhouse.<sup>84</sup>

He described in some detail how, in his infirmary, the nurses got an allowance of six pounds of 'an-ny-mal food', comprising either beef, mutton or sausages, a week, whereas some of the men, including 'those in the tramp ward and a few more that does hard work'<sup>85</sup> had a weekly allowance of only three and a half pounds.

### *Self respect*

Nowhere was the indignity of poverty more acute than amongst the elderly poor. Pride, and the need for them to preserve a vestige of dignity and self-respect was, Loane asserted, the motivating force behind the construction of excuses which

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<sup>82</sup> *Queen's*, p.217. The taskmaster whom Everard Wyrall encountered referred to sawing timber as 'a pleasant little job, much too good for the likes of you [the casuals],' as cited in Longmate, *op.cit.* p.252. In 1888, the Local Government Board ordered that 'the manufacture of firewood on a large scale by pauper labour should not be carried out in any metropolitan workhouse...It is also essentially necessary that the full market value of the firewood should be demanded in order that the independent producer should not be subjected to an unfair competition.' See Dumsday, *op.cit.* pp.160-61. It should be noted that the Salvation Army faced a similar dilemma. As General Booth wrote in 1890, 'We shall be careful not to sell the goods so manufactured at less than the market prices. In firewood, for instance, we have endeavoured to be rather above than below it. As stated elsewhere, we are firmly opposed to injuring one class of workmen while helping another.' See General Booth, *Darkest England and The Way Out* (Salvation Army, 1890) p.108. The Trade Unions Congress did, in fact, accuse the Salvation Army of unfair competition, and in 1909 the latter abandoned most of its industrial activities.

<sup>83</sup> *Queen's*, p.217.

<sup>84</sup> Dumsday, *op.cit.* p.230.

<sup>85</sup> *Queen's*, p.212.

were, at best, feeble, and at worst, illogical and absurd. She exemplified this with a nursing-related anecdote of a lone, bedridden woman who constructed innumerable weak and implausible excuses for refusing the much-needed ministrations of the district nurse. As the authoress stated:

When at last I rose to go, she [the bedridden woman] said, with a sudden burst of confidence: 'If you'll come a-Monday, I'll have some hot water ready.' Nothing but the unwillingness to own to a perfect stranger that she had none, and no immediate means of getting it, had been at the bottom of her refusals of attendance that she obviously needed. <sup>86</sup>

### *Overview*

Given the circumstances under which most of the aged poor lived, it was not surprising that Loane recorded tales of lives characterised by 'unbroken hardship and poverty.' <sup>87</sup> Nor were their recollections of earlier times particularly happy, and most accounts were at odds with the popular ideology of the 'good old days.' <sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, and in spite of their situation, Loane found that most old folk accepted their lot without resentment and with little complaint. <sup>89</sup> Such forbearance and courage was not untypical amongst the poor, and was remarked upon and admired by many social commentators. <sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> *Queen's*, p.133.

<sup>87</sup> See *Queen's*, p.237.

<sup>88</sup> *Queen's*, p.85, pp.87-88. For a critical reference to this popular ideology see *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.10.

<sup>89</sup> *Queen's*, p.237.

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, Haggard, *op.cit.* p.459 and Bell, *op.cit.* pp.171-74.

## CHAPTER 9

### Health and the poor

Readers were constantly reminded by reviewers that Loane's experience as a Queen's nurse placed her in a unique position amongst contemporary social commentators. Her professional status not only enabled her to write authoritatively upon the role, duties and responsibilities of the district nurse.<sup>1</sup> but it allowed her to comment about the health and living conditions of the poor.<sup>2</sup>

#### *The Queen's nurse: eligibility*

A basic principle of the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nursing was that 'the services of the Nurses are to be strictly confined to the poor,'<sup>3</sup> and whilst payment was neither demanded nor expected, even the smallest contributions from patients who were 'able and desirous of showing their appreciation of the services

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, pp.364 -65, *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720; *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9. For a comprehensive list of reviews of Loane's work see Appendix 2.

<sup>2</sup> Loane considered the poor health of the poor to be one of 'the greatest evils among the poor classes.' See M.Loane, *From Their Point of View* (Edward Arnold, 1908) p.288 (henceforth *Point of View*). For a concise overview of the health of the poor at this time see F.B.Smith, 'Health' in John Benson, *The Working Class in England, 1875-1914* (Croom Helm, 1985) p.36-62.

<sup>3</sup> Monica E. Baly, *A History of the Queen's Nursing Institute. 100 Years 1887-1987* (Croom Helm, 1987) p.94. There was an established groundswell of opposition to the provision of free district nursing care for the poor. J.B.Hurry had proposed, in 1898, that district nursing be provided on a Provident basis. He argued that the charitable basis of most Institutes of District Nursing 'did nothing to increase the independence and self-reliance of those to whom the nurse is sent, they exert the opposite effect, and encourage them to depend on the gratuitous help of the benevolent. In other words, these Institutes tend to demoralise, instead of fostering a spirit of self-help and thrift.' See J.B.Hurry, *District Nursing on a Provident Basis* (Scientific Press, 1898) p.18. For an historical examination of the financial aspects of the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses see E.Fox, 'Universal Health Care and Self Help: Paying for District Nursing Before the National Health Service,' *Twentieth Century History*, vol.7, no.1, 1996. pp.83-109.

rendered' <sup>4</sup> were always gratefully received. <sup>5</sup>

Some certainly did make small donations, but in Loane's experience, those who could least afford it were more generous than those, like 'the Show Patient, who tacitly declined to give a farthing to the funds of the local Association.'<sup>6</sup> Others showed their appreciation by writing a letter of thanks to the committee, <sup>7</sup> or by sending a gift. <sup>8</sup> The majority of the poor appreciated the services of the Queen's nurse, although Loane asserted that they rarely extended any compliments, or made flattering remarks:

In four years' work in one town, the nearest approach to a compliment that I ever received was 'Eh, you've an oogly moog, but ah laike to look at it.'<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See M. Stocks, *A Hundred Years of District Nursing* (George Allen & Unwin, 1960) p.94. See also Point 9, General Regulations, 1904 Report, Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor, p.13. All the Annual Reports included a list of Subscribers and Donors.

<sup>5</sup> M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905), pp.124-25 (henceforth *Queen's*). For donations given by grateful patients in Portsmouth see, for example, Annual Report of the Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor, 1897, pp.7-10. Loane had earlier, and elsewhere, expressed her view that it was an essential part of a Nurse's remit to 'take an active share in the financial concerns of the Institution', but she was acutely aware of the limitations imposed by the pressure of nursing commitments. As far as her own experience was concerned, Martha had been commended for her 'able and careful management' of [local] financial matters. During her time as Superintendent in Portsmouth the income of the Association, from donations and subscriptions, rose from £404 in 1897 to £1,073 in 1904, an improvement for which she was largely responsible. See M.Loane, 'The Duties of a Superintendent in a Small Home for District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, Part 1, October 1903, pp.142-44; Part 2, November 1903, pp.157-58. Also Miss. M.Loane, 'Thoughts on the Final Training of District Probationers', *The British Journal of Nursing*, 22 October 1904, p.350, and M.Loane, 'The District Nurse and her Connection with the Financial Support of the Local Institution', *Nursing Notes*, March 1905, p.42.

<sup>6</sup> For a belated donation by one of Loane's patients to the Association see *Queen's*, pp.124-25 and for 'the Show Patient' see *Queen's*, p.253.

<sup>7</sup> *Queen's*, p.253. For examples of such letters see Report of the Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor, 1897-1905. Loane had previously debated the matter of gratitude amongst the poor, and warned potential nurses not to expect thanks from their poor patients, or their friends. See Miss.M.Loane, 'Am I Called to be a Nurse', *The British Journal of Nursing*, 10 September 1904, p.226. For a letter in response to Loane's assertion see Letter to the Editor, 'The Gratitude of Patients', *The British Journal of Nursing*, 24 September 1904, p.259.

<sup>8</sup> For the patient who gave Loane a hand-made 'apern' see *Queen's*, p.183.

<sup>9</sup> *Queen's*, p.90 and as cited in *Nursing Notes* December 1905, p.179.

The nearest many of the poor came to praising the nurse was to talk of 'the ministering angel' or to refer to the nurse's 'lovely hands and superior voice.'<sup>10</sup> A Mr Atkins always spoke of the 'Lady Nurses' in their presence, but adopted the more picturesque expression of 'them Jubilee Tramps' behind their backs.<sup>11</sup> Loane also recorded how:

The title Queen's nurse is taken literally by some of the patients. Nine or ten years ago, an old woman complained bitterly to a superintendent that the nurse had not been to see her on the previous day. Excuses were made as to the pressure of work, etc., but she could not accept them. 'T'aint that I wanted her to *do* anything, not to speak of, but if she don't look in reg'lar, *how's the Queen to know how I am?*'<sup>12</sup>

Loane drew attention to the fact that some poor people who were clearly eligible for treatment were reluctant to ask for help,<sup>13</sup> while some who 'might well be patients' were 'a little too conscientious on the point.'<sup>14</sup> Examples included reference to one very poor woman who refused the nurse entry because she said she had no money to waste: she only relented when she heard that treatment was what she called

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<sup>10</sup> *Queen's*, p.190.

<sup>11</sup> *Queen's*, p.90. *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179. A reference to this description subsequently appeared in *The Nursing Times*, 7 September 1907, p.781, within an article entitled, 'Queen's Nurses at Portsmouth', in which it was stated, 'It is, I think, Miss Loane, for so long superintendent of Queen's nurses at Portsmouth, who tells us that in that military and sea-faring town her staff were familiarly and affectionately known as "Jubilee Tramps."' *Queen's*, p.103 and as cited in *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.179.

<sup>13</sup> See *Queen's*, p.171, p.187 and p.222.

<sup>14</sup> *Queen's*, p.187. Loane later maintained that, personally, she had 'never knowingly continued to attend any family with an income above thirty shillings a week without plainly asking for a subscription to the funds.' See M.Loane, *The Next Street but One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) p.96 (henceforth *Next Street*). Besides her use of the past tense in regard to her nursing work, it is evident from her direct reference to 'one of my very last experiences as a Queen's Nurse,' in *Next Street*, p.32, that, in 1907 when this work was published, she was no longer working as a Queen's Nurse. Martha Loane retired from the QVJIN in 1905, as previously noted.

a 'thank-you job.'<sup>15</sup> Another lone, bedridden woman constructed innumerable weak and implausible excuses for refusing the much-needed ministrations of the district nurse largely to preserve a vestige of self-respect. When she finally agreed to a professional visit, Loane recorded how:

When at last I rose to go, she [the bedridden woman] said, with a sudden burst of confidence: 'If you'll come a-Monday, I'll have some hot water ready.' Nothing but the unwillingness to own to a perfect stranger that she had none, and no immediate means of getting it, had been at the bottom of her refusals of attendance that she obviously needed.<sup>16</sup>

In another instance Loane described how she had to call five times on 'an intensely poor' person before she was even allowed into the home: it was another fortnight before she was allowed to touch the patient. Loane explained that the family had 'known better days and were sensitive,'<sup>17</sup> highlighting the need for the Queen's nurse to be aware of the sensibilities of the poor. Another quality which the district nurse needed to learn if she was to succeed in her chosen profession was self-effacement, so that the poor did not view her as an interfering authoritarian figure. It was not uncommon for some fairly well-to-do patients to try and take advantage of the free service, but unless they were, as Loane described, 'operation cases', they were refused treatment.<sup>18</sup>

Loane made it clear that the Queen's nurse was not an alms-giver, even though a deceitful patient, such as the Mr. Crampitt cited, claimed to have received 'many alf

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<sup>15</sup> *Queen's*, p.183.

<sup>16</sup> *Queen's*, p.133.

<sup>17</sup> *Queen's*, p.171.

<sup>18</sup> See *Queen's*, p.187. See also M.Loane, 'The District Nurse and her Connection with the Financial Support of the Local Institution', *Nursing Notes*, March 1905, p.42.

sovereign's' from a past superintendent. <sup>19</sup> Her association laid down very clear rules on such matters, stating that 'The Nurses are not permitted to distribute relief, whether in money or otherwise. <sup>20</sup> Although the Queen's nurse did have a duty to direct needy patients to the agencies in the locality where financial and material assistance could be obtained, <sup>21</sup> Loane considered that the individual nurse was entitled to use her discretion where a patient was clearly trying to gain money by deceit. <sup>22</sup>

There were also those who made excessive demands upon the nurse's time and tried her patience to its limit, but Loane emphasised that no matter how trying the circumstances, the nurse knew that she had to respond in a professional manner. Anecdotal examples included reference to a patient who had been on the 'books' of the local institution for twelve years: judged as a hypochondriac if not a malingerer, he regularly insulted the nurses and often challenged their medical skills, refused their ministrations and invoked the apparently superior knowledge of the doctor. <sup>23</sup> Conversely, and usually at a very unsociable hour, he would summon the nurse for some trivial matter, such as 'to shake up a lotion bottle and put some rag on, or to listen to a tirade against the chemist for not having sent any lotion to shake. <sup>24</sup> A further example were the Naylor family who regularly claimed to need emergency

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<sup>19</sup> *Queen's*, p.250.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Point 7, General Regulations, 1902 Report, Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor, p.13.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* Loane had stressed this point, at Miss. Nightingale's insistence, in her first article, See, Martha Jane Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, April 1897, p.46.

<sup>22</sup> *Queen's*, p.251.

<sup>23</sup> *Queen's*, pp.250-252.

<sup>24</sup> *Queen's*, p.252.

attention, but whose cries for help all too often turned out to be one of them `crying wolf'.<sup>25</sup>

*The Queen's nurse, referrals and the medical profession*

Loane explained that in ideal circumstances the nurse was referred to patients by a medical practitioner.<sup>26</sup> While the majority of patients in Portsmouth, where she spent the major part of her career, were referred to the Queen's nurses by the local doctor, a large number were sent by friends, and a smaller proportion were introduced by the clergy, church workers and district visitors.<sup>27</sup>

The authoress's remarks regarding the relationship between the district nurse and the `medical men' were illuminating for they highlighted the changing image of the nursing profession. Evidently, there were still some doctors who were antagonistic towards the Queen's nurse, and Loane recalled one who had actually threatened to burn her and her bag.<sup>28</sup> She appreciated that the roots of such opposition were probably based on the doctor's past experience of an untrained nurse who had actually

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<sup>25</sup> *Queen's*, p.166.

<sup>26</sup> Florence Nightingale had impressed upon Loane the importance of cases being referred to the district nurse by a medical practitioner rather than by a district visitor or minister of religion. This, she insisted, was the only way to ensure that the nurse got "real nursing cases," rather than those that were seeking sympathy and a helping hand and not medical attention. See Miss Loane, 'Florence Nightingale and District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, October 1910, p.239 and reprinted in *The American Journal of Nursing*, February 1911, pp.383-84.

<sup>27</sup> The General Regulations of the local Association, as set out in the Annual Reports of the Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor (henceforth BPA) stated that `upon application to the Superintendent...a skilled nurse will visit any Patient who is under the care of a registered Medical Practitioner, and who may require, but be unable to afford, the services of a Nurse.' See, for example, BPA, 1896, p.8. Given its geographical location, it was not surprising that a large proportion of the cases dealt with by the Queen's Nurses in this district had a naval, military or dockyard connection. See BPA, 1897-1905. For a reference to a referral by `a deaconess' see *Queen's*, p.132.

<sup>28</sup> *Queen's*, p.188.



Loane encountered were more pragmatic and 'were glad to have us when they once understand the lines which we follow.'<sup>30</sup> The lines which the Queen's nurse followed were, in fact, very strict: the nursing association rules stated that she was to work under the direction of 'the Medical men'<sup>31</sup> and that her place was to co-operate, assist and support him, and relieve him of as many auxiliary responsibilities as possible.<sup>32</sup> Loane emphasised that there was no question of the district nurse undermining the doctor, for:

as a rule we are occupied with things that they [the doctors] cannot do and are thankful to have done. It is a terrible burden on a kind-hearted man's mind to know that, as far as nursing goes, his patients are neglected or ignorantly treated...In addition we manage to extort the patient's history for the day and write it down.<sup>33</sup>

Whilst some doctors were implicitly concerned about the professional skills of nurses, the district nurse was explicitly concerned about the attitude of the working-classes towards 'quack' doctors: the success of the latter depended upon the ignorance of the poor who failed to understand that cure was impossible, yet believed the 'alluring promises' made by the man.<sup>34</sup> The pecuniary injustice of the quack's dealings with the poor particularly annoyed the nurse 'it is eighteen months since they

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<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Stocks, *op.cit.*, p. 94

<sup>32</sup> Stocks highlights another cause of professional resentment towards Queen's Nurses. This was, she suggests, dictated by economic fears, for some medical practitioners voiced the concern that, as a result of the nurses ministrations, patients would make fewer calls upon doctors, thus diminishing their income. See Stocks, *op.cit.* pp.119-120.

<sup>33</sup> *Queen's*, pp.188-89. For Florence Nightingale's view on the relationship see *The American Journal of Nursing*, February 1911, p. 384.

<sup>34</sup> *Queen's*, p.186. Loane considered that, despite being 'invariably suspicious', the poor exhibited 'a tendency to misplaced confidence' in that they 'instantly accept the most brazen quack at his own valuation.' See *Queen's*, p.129. For a later reference to the 'value' of quacks see, for example, *Next Street*, p.33.

paid the doctor a farthing, and yet the quack will manage to screw two or three pounds out of them within a fortnight.' <sup>35</sup>

*The Queen's nurse, rules and regulations*

The association restricted attendance of the Queen's nurse to the sick poor in their homes, <sup>36</sup> and in her capacity as a superintendent <sup>37</sup> Loane visited an innumerable number of poor people. <sup>38</sup> Wherever possible, she attended new cases on the first visit, <sup>39</sup> for this was 'usually the most difficult and almost invariably the most important.' <sup>40</sup> Subsequently, it was her duty to accompany each of her nurses on a complete round of patients once a fortnight to make certain that correct and efficient nursing procedures were adhered to. <sup>41</sup> Superintending cases extended to the completion of treatment, for no patient could be removed from the nurses' list without the Superintendent's sanction, which involved Loane in further visits.

The constant and unremitting mental and physical demands placed upon the Queen's nurse by all these visits, could, Loane maintained, be alleviated to a certain degree if only the association were less dogmatic and bureaucratic. She was unafraid

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<sup>35</sup> *Queen's*, pp.185-86. For further references to 'quack' doctors see *Queen's*, p.129, p.142, p.223, *Next Street*, p.33 and M.Loane, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909) p.223 (henceforth *Englishman's*).

<sup>36</sup> The medical needs of those in the workhouse were, as previously noted, met by the staff in the workhouse infirmary. See 'The Elderly Poor', footnotes 69 -73.

<sup>37</sup> Martha Loane held this post from 1897 until her retirement in 1905. For a comprehensive article on this subject see M.Loane, 'The Duties of a Superintendent in a Small Home for District Nurses', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, October 1903, pp.142-144; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, November 1903, pp.157-58.

<sup>38</sup> For the number of new patients visited in Portsmouth during Loane's tenure as superintendent see Annual Reports of the Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor, 1897-1905.

<sup>39</sup> *Queen's*, p.133. For an earlier article on this topic see M.J.Loane, 'A First Visit', *Nursing Notes*, November 1898, pp.152-154. This article formed part of a chapter of the same name in M.Loane, *Outlines of Routine in District Nursing* (Scientific Press, 1905) pp.139-146.

<sup>40</sup> M.J.Loane, 'A First Visit', *Nursing Notes*, November 1898, p.152.

<sup>41</sup> See Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Nursing Association, Duties for Nursing, 1897, Appendix 3, p.27. Guildhall Ms, 14,618, 4.

to criticise what she considered to be the myopic and unrealistic expectations of local [district nursing] committees, for she argued that:

No woman can work seven days a week, eleven months in the year, without a strain severe enough to injure herself, and to react upon her patients in the most unfavourable manner. Every committee should set its face against being a society for trying to make ill people well by succeeding in making well people ill. <sup>42</sup>

In her view local committees laid down regulations which imposed unrealistic demands upon a nurse, including insisting that 'all new cases arriving before 10 p.m. must be attended to that night.'<sup>43</sup> No nurse would hesitate in attending a patient who was in real medical need, but, Loane knew from personal experience that many late calls turned out not to be emergencies at all. This particular rule could be easily resolved if the rule was modified, and a 'competent and responsible person' was charged with evaluating late calls before the nurse was summoned.

Sunday calls were also a bone of contention, for whilst Loane conceded that people did not give up being ill just because it was Sunday, she believed that there were 'strong reasons why on that day they are less in need of outside assistance, and why the visit of the nurse should be almost an intrusion.'<sup>44</sup> Just as the 'late call' rule could be resolved, so too could the 'Sunday' rule. Loane suggested that:

None but severe cases [should be] attended on Sunday, and by "severe" should be understood dangerous acute

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<sup>42</sup> *Queen's*, p.200.

<sup>43</sup> *Queen's*, p.199.

<sup>44</sup> *Queen's*, p.200.

illnesses and chronic cases imperatively needing skilled attendance.<sup>45</sup>

although she gave no indication as to how this rule was to be enforced.

*The Queen's nurse and her landlady*

If difficult patients and uncooperative doctors presented the Queen's nurse with a challenge, so too did the circumstances in which she sometimes found herself living. Loane pointed out that she had personally not 'suffered' at the hands of any landlady, and was indeed very grateful to her landladies for enduring the erratic hours and often unsociable behaviour of the district nurse.<sup>46</sup> She was, nevertheless certain that 'the average experience of a large class of women workers'<sup>47</sup> who lived in lodgings was entirely different from her own.

Whilst, as many people knew, the eccentricities of a landlady were bearable for the brief period of a holiday, Loane entreated her readers to imagine having to tolerate these 'ways' on a permanent basis. She argued that in this situation the district nurse was in a much weaker position than an ordinary lodger, for she was unable, by the nature of her work, to conform to the rules and regulations generally set out. The model lodger would appear at the set meal times, and absent themselves from the house at the correct hours. The situation was at its worst for any district nurse who was the sole lodger in a house, for although the accommodation might be more comfortable, the landlady herself would, in all probability, be 'painfully ignorant of

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<sup>45</sup> *Queen's*, pp.200-01. For an earlier reference to the issue of Sunday calls see *Queen's*, p.39.

<sup>46</sup> Loane's account of living in lodgings, detailed in this chapter, was presumably based on her three years experience as a Queen's nurse in Buxton. See Chapter 3, 'A Biographical Study of M.Loane', footnotes 37-51.. An article which dealt with this subject appeared as M.Loane, *Superintendent of Queen's Nurses*, 'The Trials of a District Nurse', *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.1, no.3, December 1904, pp.77-80.

<sup>47</sup> *Queen's*, p.191.

cooking and of all the requirements of refined life.' <sup>48</sup> The single-handed district nurse had a particularly hard time for, contrary to the requirements of the Association, which recommended that the nurse be accommodated in 'comfortable rooms, sitting room and bedroom, and is attended be (sic) the landlady of the house, <sup>49</sup> she often had to endure:

the discomforts of many lodgings, the dreariness of nearly all; the lonely, ill-served meals, the silent evenings, the dull, blank Sundays, the amount of work that must be done that is never entered on any time sheet, and the amount that must be left undone because it is sheerly impossible for any one woman to cope with it. <sup>50</sup>

#### *The Queen's nurse and her 'Dark Star'*

Loane perceived a means by which the isolated nurse could be 'delivered from the unchecked sway of her landlady' <sup>51</sup> : the solution lay in calling upon the help of well-educated unmarried women with independent means who:

feel called on to do some good in the world if they can, and yet they do not feel drawn to a life of complete self-sacrifice; they do not even wish to work as hard and incessantly as if struggling for their daily bread, and they prefer to maintain some independence. <sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *Queen's*, p.193.

<sup>49</sup> Buxton District Nurses Association, 1st. Inspectors Report, 16 October 1891, PRO. 30/63/70  
There are no reports at the PRO for Buxton for the years 1892-1907.

<sup>50</sup> *Queen's*, p.193.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Queen's*, pp.193-94. This was a different solution than the one proposed in Loane's earlier article, which suggested that 'the burden of making really suitable arrangements should rest with the Local Committee, as they are well acquainted with the neighbourhood, while she [the nurse] is generally a stranger. Possibly the best solution of a complicated problem is for them to find the widow of some professional man, well enough to keep a capable servant, who can give the nurse a good bed-sitting room, with a spare pantry or box-room for her district effects, and who will receive a boarder, not a lodger. Many nurses, especially the younger ones, find it almost unbearably dull to take a meal absolutely alone.' See M.Loane, 'Trials of a District Nurse', *Queen's Nurses Magazine*, vol. 1, no.3, December 1904, p.78.

Such women would be referred to as 'Dark Stars', and would, in effect, become the nurse's personal assistant, relieving her of the mundane tasks of everyday life, such as organising meals and undertaking sewing repairs.<sup>53</sup> She would also be able to help the nurse with her correspondence and bookwork, if required. With some instruction, the 'Dark Star' would take over responsibility of the medicine and district cupboard, preparing bandages, checking on supplies and preparing the nurse's bag for her each day: given time and experience she might also undertake the care of some of the slight chronic cases.<sup>54</sup> The practical assistance of Loane's so-called 'Dark Star' would, seemingly, have allowed the professional nurse to concentrate on her nursing role. However, Loane argued that the 'Dark Star' could fulfil an important intellectual role: she stressed that the district nurse needed a companion who could keep her up-to-date with current affairs, and converse with her on a wide range of topics.<sup>55</sup> Without such a companion, the nurse was at the mercy of people who believed that, by virtue of her work, she was 'used to' the sights and sounds of suffering, sin and ignorance that fill a large part of every working day.'<sup>56</sup>

On the rare occasions when the nurse did have the company of her equals, the conversation was invariably directed, by these callers, to topics of a medical nature, and never to 'public events, books, music, art or the theatre.'<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> For an earlier reference to, and article about 'Dark Stars' see M.Loane, 'Dark Stars', *Nursing Notes*, November 1904, pp.177-8. An extended version of this article was subsequently published as 'The Trials of a District Nurse', Chapter VIII, *Queen's*, pp.191-208.

<sup>54</sup> It is evident from Stock's history of district nursing that, from the outset, nurses were often overwhelmed by non-medical demands: one Lady Superintendent questioned 'whether a young and very highly trained nurse is not thrown away on this branch of the institution.' See Stocks, *op.cit.* p.34.

<sup>55</sup> *Queen's*, p.195.

<sup>56</sup> *Queen's*, p.203.

<sup>57</sup> *Queen's*, p.204.

In putting her case for the introduction of a 'Dark Star', Loane implied that her presence would benefit patients indirectly, for the nurse would have more time to concentrate on her professional role. She also identified a way in which the poor could benefit directly, for she pointed out that there were always a number of chronic patients in any district who would be 'cheered by the regular visits of someone who would read to them, play or sing to them, talk or simply listen.'<sup>58</sup>

*The Queen's nurse: out in all weathers*

Whilst difficult patients and unsympathetic landladies might be managed, Loane emphasised that there was little the nurse could do to control her next greatest trial, the weather, particularly the winter weather.<sup>59</sup> Besides 'adapting her clothing to suit local conditions'<sup>60</sup> Loane advised women not to accept an appointment 'in any county with a climate markedly different from that in which she was born and bred.'<sup>61</sup> This climactic reference was of double significance, for Loane inferred that it had as much to do with the familiarity of local customs and habit, as with the weather.<sup>62</sup> As she remarked astutely:

...we feel an indescribable tenderness towards the patient who uses some word or turn of speech that we had scarcely heard since we were in the nursery, or in the days when we plagued the gardener to sow at impossible seasons.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *Queen's*, p.196.

<sup>59</sup> *Queen's*, p.197.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Examples were given of the difference between patients in the Peak district (Derbyshire) and Devonshire, both areas in which Martha Loane had nursed. See *Queen's*, p.198.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*

*The patients and their health*

In a typical day the Queen's nurse was likely to encounter patients who were suffering from a wide variety of illnesses, and whose medical condition ranged from the 'slightly chronic' to the 'acute.'<sup>64</sup> Not only was the nature of the nurse's work wide-ranging, but, as Loane explained 'district work often suddenly accumulates or diminishes in equally unexpected fashion.'<sup>65</sup> This could occur because one of her patients:

strictly against doctor's orders, had gone for a walk of indefinite length; a second had called in a quack; a third produced a note from his medical attendant ordering the discontinuance of certain elaborate treatment.<sup>66</sup>

Routinely, temperature cases were attended to first,<sup>67</sup> although accident and emergency cases, like that of Mrs Naylor,<sup>68</sup> took precedence over everything else. Other calls were made to surgical cases,<sup>69</sup> to those afflicted by blindness,<sup>70</sup> paralysis<sup>71</sup> or so-called hysteria,<sup>72</sup> and to patients suffering from a wide variety of

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<sup>64</sup> See Martha Jane Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, May 1897, p. 65 and Martha Jane Loane, 'District Nursing in Small Towns', *Nursing Notes*, June 1897, pp.77-78. For an example of a 'complicated and chronic case' see *Queen's*, p.253. For other nursing articles on chronic cases see M.J.Loane, 'Chronic Cases', *Nursing Notes*, April 1898, pp.46-47. M.Loane, 'Chronic Cases in District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, September 1899, pp.117-119. This article was later included in *Outlines of Routine* (Scientific Press, 1905) pp.139-146. M.Loane, 'How to attend a Severe Chronic Case in District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, October 1899, pp.130-131.

<sup>65</sup> *Queen's*, p.223.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Queen's*, p.168.

<sup>68</sup> *Queen's*, p.166.

<sup>69</sup> *Queen's*, p.307.

<sup>70</sup> For references to blind patients see *Queen's*, p.54, p.61, p.260, p.271, p.294.

<sup>71</sup> For paralysis brought on 'by worry and overwork' see *Queen's*, p.177. See also *Queen's*, p.288.

<sup>72</sup> Loane remarked of this patient, 'How many of her complaints are real, and how many are imaginary, I cannot say. The doctor calls it hysteria. Her husband died suddenly about four years ago, and she has never recovered from the shock.' See *Queen's*, p.185.



illnesses including, for example, pneumonia,<sup>73</sup> epilepsy,<sup>74</sup> typhoid fever,<sup>75</sup> and consumption.<sup>76</sup>

Many of her calls were to the dying, for hospitals generally dismissed those with incurable diseases such as cancer<sup>77</sup> as quickly as possible.<sup>78</sup> Visits were also necessary to arrange for the return of some 'expensive appliances' which had been loaned to the invalid, but were no longer needed.<sup>79</sup> Whilst Loane was acquainted with inmates at the workhouse, as noted,<sup>80</sup> her remit as a Queen's nurse did not include attending the sick poor in the workhouse infirmary.

In most instances the best that Loane and her co-professionals could do was to alleviate pain: the exception was the cases of pneumonia, for it was stated that 'It is hardly too much to say that if these patients are well nursed they generally live, and if not they die.'<sup>81</sup> As for consumption, which, like pneumonia, affected patients of all ages,<sup>82</sup> Loane was convinced that home industries were the worst agency 'for the production and dissemination' of the disease and she saw no reason to celebrate 'the

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<sup>73</sup> *Queen's*, p.178 and for a boy of 15 with pneumonia see *Queen's*, p.124.

<sup>74</sup> *Queen's*, p.45.

<sup>75</sup> *Next Street*, p.100; *Englishman's*, p.231.

<sup>76</sup> Consumption, more commonly referred to as tuberculosis, is a wasting disease especially of the lungs. For references to the disease see, for example, *Queen's*, p.44, p.176; *Next Street*, p.58; *Point of View*, p.206; *Englishman's*, p.97, p.219; M.Loane, *Neighbours and Friends* (Edward Arnold, 1910) pp.19-22 (henceforth *Neighbours*). For a reference to tuberculosis of the hip see *Point of View*, p.186 and Miss M.Loane, 'The District Nurse in Relation to the Treatment of Hip Disease', *Nursing Mirror*, 27 January 1906, pp.213-14.

<sup>77</sup> For a boy of 23 with cancer see *Queen's*, p.175. For an earlier nursing article on the subject of cancer see M.Loane, 'The Nursing Treatment of Cancer and Preparation of Cases for Operation', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, February 1902, pp.20-21; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, March 1902, pp.34-35.

<sup>78</sup> Exceptions might be made if a patient was homeless. See *Queen's*, p.262. For visits to dying patients see, for example, *Queen's*, p.33, p.169, p.171, p.175, p.309.

<sup>79</sup> *Queen's*, p.221. For a pictorial example of the loaning of equipment, see Gwen Hardy, *William Rathbone and the Early History of District Nursing* (Lancashire, Hesketh, 1981) Plate 8, which shows a 'carriage provided for a tubercular leg case from the lending stock kept at the Homes.'

<sup>80</sup> See *Queen's*, p.209 and for infirmary nursing see Chapter 8, 'The Elderly Poor,' footnotes 62-75.

<sup>81</sup> *Queen's*, p.178.

<sup>82</sup> For a reference to 'a girl with consumption', see *Queen's*, p.176. For a later discussion of the causes and prevention of consumption amongst the poor see *Neighbours*, pp.19-22.

establishment of great sanatoria for the cure (?) of consumption, while many of its sources are left totally unchecked.'<sup>83</sup>

Numerous references appear to both young and old people afflicted by blindness,<sup>84</sup> and although it is only possible to speculate upon the medical attention which sufferers received, it is worthwhile noting that there were a number of specialist eye hospitals in both the metropolis and the provinces at the turn of the century.<sup>85</sup>

Similarly, homes existed where blind children might be educated, although many failed to meet the needs of growing children. Loane was well informed of current developments in this field, for she criticised one such place which a patient was sent to as:

an old-fashioned school where little of anything was taught, and where no effort was made to develop the pupils physically, nor to make them move about independently.<sup>86</sup>

The idea that the blind should be educated to lead fulfilling lives owed a great deal to the pioneering work of both Dr. Armitage and Elizabeth Gilbert.<sup>87</sup>

Dr. Armitage was responsible for founding the British and Foreign Society for Improving the Embossed Literature of the Blind, which ultimately became the Royal

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<sup>83</sup> *Next Street*, p.184.

<sup>84</sup> *Queen's*, p.250.

<sup>85</sup> See A. Sorsby, 'Defunct London Eye Hospitals', *British Journal of Ophthalmology*, Feb 1936, pp.77-8; A. Sorsby, 'Nineteenth Century Provincial Eye Hospitals', *British Journal of Ophthalmology*, September 1946, p.504; E.T. Collins, *The History and Traditions of Moorfields Eye Hospital* (Lewis, 1929) all as cited in B. Abel-Smith, *The Hospitals 1800-1948* (Heinemann, 1964) p.24. For a subsequent reference to an 'eye infirmary' see M.Loane, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911) p.17 (henceforth *Common Growth*).

<sup>86</sup> *Queen's*, p.271.

<sup>87</sup> Born in 1826, Gilbert became blind at the age of three, as a consequence of scarlet fever. She devoted some twenty five years of her life to improving the plight of the blind. Details of Gilbert's life and work can be found in A.F.Young & E.T.Ashton, *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956) pp.184. For a contemporary account see F.Martin, *Elizabeth Gilbert and her Work for the Blind* (Macmillan, 1887)

National Institute for the Blind.<sup>88</sup> He had revolutionary ideas about what the blind should learn and felt that their schooling should be a real preparation for life in the sense that it should teach them a craft or trade by which they could support themselves.

Elizabeth Gilbert strove to change public perception of the blind as dependent, sick and impotent people who were doomed to be parasites on society. Rather, they were to be helped to become citizens and workers, who were able, under certain conditions, to hold their own in the company of the sighted. The principles promoted included education for children and the newly blind (where educable) in the use of the various reading and writing media, integration with sighted people wherever possible, the development of trade schools so the blind could be self-sufficient and allied to this, pressure for work to be made available for the blind, whether in their home, in industry, or in sheltered workshops. Home-visiting<sup>89</sup> was promoted as a means of fostering family life and social ties, and by 1889 there were fifty-three home teaching societies and forty five visiting missions to the blind.<sup>90</sup>

However, Loane's experience of one visiting mission indicated that some still adhered to the outdated but traditional objectives of a society like the Indigent Blind Visiting Society: their remit was 'to visit the blind in their own homes, relieve them and administer to them the consolations of sympathy and religion.'<sup>91</sup> What Loane's young patient, who was subjected to just such a visit, really wanted was 'someone who will

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<sup>88</sup> For an overview of Homes for the Blind at this time see June Rose, *Changing Focus. The Development of Blind Welfare in Britain* (Hutchinson, 1970) and J.S.Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream. A History of Special Education* (Batsford, 1988).

<sup>89</sup> One of the first home-visiting societies, the 'Indigent Blind Visiting Society', was founded, in 1834, by Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Ebury. See Rose, *op.cit* p.15.

<sup>90</sup> Young & Ashton, *op.cit.* p.188.

<sup>91</sup> Rose, *op.cit.* p.15. For an earlier reference to this patient see Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty,' footnotes 117-118.

read her *Three Men in a Boat*, or *The Adventures of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine*, and help her forget herself and her troubles for an hour or two.' <sup>92</sup> What she got was a lengthy sermon and an unwelcome story about 'good little blind girls who died young, or else supported their families in affluence,' which as Loane commented, 'One, unhappily for herself, she has not done, and the other she can never do.' <sup>93</sup> The young girl was ultimately settled in :

a suitable Home for the Blind, where, the first few months of grief and depression once over, the girl has lived happily ever since, and, late in life as it was for her to benefit by modern systems of training, she is fortunately developing a little more physical strength and independence. <sup>94</sup>

Most of Loane's patients were, in fact, women and children, for, as she explained, working-class men tended to enjoy relatively better health than their womenfolk. The reason for this was simple:

when they are ill they are generally fit cases for an hospital and no one would wish to nurse a man in his own house if there were any satisfactory alternative. <sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> *Queen's*, p.274.

<sup>93</sup> *Queen's*, p.275.

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Queen's*, pp.178-79. As Bell emphasised, good health amongst the men was vital, for 'even a passing ailment means either a diminution of the weekly income, or else a continuation of work under conditions which may turn the slight indisposition into something more serious.' See Lady Bell, *At The Works*, 1st.ed. (Edward Arnold, 1907) p.85. Loane was later to question the 'multiplication of cottage hospitals in rural districts' on the grounds that there was no use treating 'a man for consumption or rheumatism unless you go to his house and find out all that he is doing to aggravate the disease.' See *Point of View*, p.207. The role of hospitals remained very circumscribed: they tended to admit only those who were likely to respond to treatment, and whose stay would be short. Abel-Smith, *op.cit.* pp.216-218.

Many of the infants and children whom Loane encountered were ill-nourished, poorly developed, had neglected teeth <sup>96</sup> and suffered from 'low vitality'. <sup>97</sup> 'Miserably fed' children whose breakfast consisted of 'a slice of bread from the loaf, which they ate with cold water' and whose 'share [for supper] was any cold vegetables that might be left' <sup>98</sup> could hardly be expected to flourish. Low vitality, often diagnosed as symptomatic of an inadequate diet, was, in Loane's opinion, most frequently caused by 'bad ventilation at night'. <sup>99</sup>

The dietary problems of poor children was a very topical issue, <sup>100</sup> and in arguing against the proposed introduction of free meals for school children, to be examined, Loane protested that 'the causes of the insufficient or unsuitable feeding of many children in the poorest classes are numerous and complex, therefore no panacea is possible.' <sup>101</sup>

Infant mortality was, as has been noted, <sup>102</sup> commonplace, and most poor families Loane met had experienced the death of one or more children. <sup>103</sup> She empathised with those whose infants died from debility, diarrhoea, or infectious diseases such as scarlet fever <sup>104</sup> and typhoid fever. <sup>105</sup> However, she did not subscribe to the popular view that considered that maternal ignorance and apathy were the

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<sup>96</sup> *Queen's*, p.57. See also *Next Street*, p.8 and *Englishman's*, p.65.

<sup>97</sup> *Queen's*, p.136.

<sup>98</sup> *Queen's*, p.144, p.162.

<sup>99</sup> *Queen's*, p.136. See also Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 98- 99.

<sup>100</sup> See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 109-116.

<sup>101</sup> *Queen's*, p.136. For a more detailed examination of the free school meals issue see Chapter 11, 'The Poor and the State,' footnotes 4-36.

<sup>102</sup> See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnote 116.

<sup>103</sup> Loane makes this point again in *Point of View*, pp.123-24.

<sup>104</sup> For Loane's references to scarlet fever see, for example, *Queen's*, p. 227, *Englishman's*, p.3 and p.117. See also Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnote 114.

<sup>105</sup> Loane drew attention to one family where seven of the children had contracted typhoid fever. See *Queen's*, p.43.

cause of the high infant mortality rate.<sup>106</sup> Her attitude towards these deaths was uncompromising:

People talk of infant mortality as if it were *entirely* a loss to the country. I say nothing of illegitimate children, the waste of healthy lives among them is incontestable; but in ordinary family life among the poor nearly every child in arms that I have seen die has died because no amount of care would keep it alive.<sup>107</sup>

Once again Loane implied that she was receptive to the popular ideology of Social Darwinism and the Eugenics Movement. Concerns over improving the quality and physical efficiency of the population were intimately linked to a belief in 'survival of the fittest'<sup>108</sup>: thus any intervention, or as Loane put it, 'unremitting care bestowed upon offspring delicate from birth,'<sup>109</sup> which saved infant life,

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<sup>106</sup> Infant mortality was a subject to which Loane devoted a considerable amount of attention during her years as an authoress and journalist. See, for example, M.Loane, 'Some of the Causes of Infant Mortality', *Point of View*, pp.122-143; M.Loane, London, 'Infant Mortality', *American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality; Transactions*, 16-18 November 1911, pp.319-28; M.Loane, 'The Saving of Child Life', *The Spectator*, 11 November 1911, pp.786-87. For replies to this article see *The Spectator*, 2 December 1911, p.961 and for a review of it see *Nursing Notes*, January 1912, p.6. For the high mortality of infants in Middlesborough, due to 'overcrowding, bad atmosphere, bad air, maternal ignorance and negligence, unsuitable feeding, an inadequate or polluted milk-supply' see Bell, *op.cit.* p.198. Carol Dyhouse cites the contemporary opinion that the employment of married women was also an important cause of infant deaths. See, Carol Dyhouse, 'Working Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England, 1895-1914' in C.Webster (ed) *Biology, Medicine and Society, 1840-1940* (Cambridge University Press, 1981) p.78. For contemporary views of this content-ion see, for example, F.J.Greenwood, 'Is the High Infantile Death Rate Due to the Occupation of Married Women?', *The Englishwoman's Review*, 1901, also Helen G. Bowers, 'A Simple Talk on Infant Mortality', *The British Journal of Nursing*, 25 May 1907, pp.387-88.

<sup>107</sup> *Queen's*, p.137. For a reassertion of this view see *Point of View*, pp.124-30. For further comments on illegitimacy see, for example, *Next Street*, p.134 and *Englishman's*, p.104.

<sup>108</sup> This term was coined by the sociologist, Herbert Spencer. See Angus McLaren, *Birth Control in Nineteenth Century England* (Croom Helm, 1978) p.142.

<sup>109</sup> *Queen's*, p.136. *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.262. Lady Bell also referred to 'the number of mothers who struggle devotedly to keep their children alive, and sometimes appear to do so quite miraculously; children, it must be frankly be recognised, whose survival is no gain to the country.' See Bell, *op.cit.* p.195.

interfered with this process of natural selection and worked against rather than towards breeding a better race. <sup>110</sup>

Working-class women were particularly vulnerable to ill-health, not least of all because of the circumstances under which they bore and raised children. <sup>111</sup> Maternity was a prime cause of a variety of medical conditions, including anaemia, varicose veins and depression, <sup>112</sup> but despite their propensity to illness, Loane did not agree that new mothers were 'so frequently laid by'. <sup>113</sup>

My experience in town and country is very large, and I can safely assert that it is rare for a woman with a young family to be incapacitated at any time except during confinements, a period which would well be covered by one fortnight in eighteen months. With regard to nine days of this fortnight, no superior mid-wife will attend any mother who has not arranged with a neighbour to cook for husband and children. <sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> For a comprehensive examination of Birth Control and Eugenics see McLaren, *op.cit.* pp.141-156. See also, Lewis, *Politics, op.cit.* p.29.

<sup>111</sup> The poor health of women was also partly attributable to, and exacerbated by a poor diet: as letters which recalled the experience of maternity, accumulated by Davies for the Women's Co-operative Guild, highlighted, it was common for working-class women to sacrifice their well-being in favour of their husbands and children first, and to go without food themselves. See Davies, M.L. (ed) *Maternity. Letters from Working Women* (Bell, 1915)

<sup>112</sup> For Loane's personal remarks on the prevalence of anaemia amongst poor women under thirty see Miss M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth, 'Anaemia', British Journal of Nursing*, 26 November 1904, pp.428-430. See also *Neighbours*, p.18. Lady Bell wrote extensively about the health of women in chapters VIII & IX of Bell, *op.cit.* pp.171-245.

<sup>113</sup> An assertion made by 'one advocate of State-spread tables.' See *Queen's*, p.163.

<sup>114</sup> *Queen's*, p.163, and for another reference to a woman to 'whom neighbours and relatives send an urgent summons directly they are ill or in trouble' see *Queen's*, p.242. It is evident from Lady bell's study that dependency upon the help of good neighbours in times of emergencies was, in fact, commonplace amongst the working-classes. See Bell, *op.cit.* pp.230-231. For an historical examination of this subject see, for example, Ellen Ross, 'Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London Before World War 1', *History Workshop Journal*, 15, 1983, pp.4-28.

As Lady Bell pointed out, working-class women could not afford to be laid-up for more than three or four days after each confinement, for, unlike their middle and upper-class counterparts, they had no one to carry out their domestic responsibilities for them.<sup>115</sup>

The death of a child may have been a feature of every day life in poor families, but Loane knew that working-class mothers were not immune from the emotional and psychological effect of such bereavements. She described one mother whose four eldest children had died from scarlet fever and who subsequently gave birth to another five children. The anxiety, grief and nervous shock of the earlier losses took their toll, the woman lost all interest in the well-being of her family, neglected them and finally took to drinking.<sup>116</sup>

#### *Home Visits and Health Education*

The role of the Queen's nurse as a health missionary was dear to Loane's heart, and although she did refer to this as an 'incidental opportunity of district nursing', educating the poor in health matters was, in fact, a fundamental tenet of her nursing association.<sup>117</sup> Even though the Queen's nurse was not generally permitted to attend women in childbirth,<sup>118</sup> maternity calls, whereby mothers and their infants were

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<sup>115</sup> Bell, *op.cit.* p.210.

<sup>116</sup> *Queen's*, p.227. Lady Bell also recognised the additional strain of anxiety, grief and nervous shock suffered by bereaved mothers. See Bell, *op.cit.* p.191 & pp.234-35. For further corroboration of this view see also Roberts, *Woman's Place*, *op.cit.* p.165. For mothers and infant mortality see also Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnote 69.

<sup>117</sup> Loane had stressed this point, at Miss Nightingale's insistence, in her first article. See Martha Jane Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, January 1897, pp.7-8; Part 2, February 1897, pp.17-19; Part 3, March 1897, pp.31-33; Part 4, April 1897, pp.46-47; Conclusion, May 1897, pp.65-66.

<sup>118</sup> In country districts the duties of a midwife were permissible, but only in the case of emergencies, and only when the district nurse had undergone, like Martha Loane, three months of approved training. For the rules of the QVJIN see Stocks, *op.cit.* p.94. An announcement of Loane's obstetrical qualification can be found in *Nursing Notes*, December 1893, pp.164-65.



nursed after childbirth, <sup>119</sup> were of particular value. These visits provided her with an unrivalled opportunity of teaching poor mothers the basic skills of infant welfare and child care which, as noted, so many of them lacked. <sup>120</sup>

As part of her educative role, the support of neighbours and relatives was actively sought by the district nurse. The benefits, were, as Loane described, two-fold. On the one hand the nurse, who was frequently working on her own, derived practical benefits from neighbourly help: this was exemplified by the Queen's nurse who attended a Mrs. Taylor, for her neighbour, Sarah, was in the habit of collecting together 'all the articles the lady nurse was likely to want.' <sup>121</sup> No less important was the boost to the morale and self-esteem of neighbours and friends who were entrusted with 'medical' responsibilities, and who learned a great deal themselves from the nurse's instructions in the basic principles of health. <sup>122</sup>

### *Health Education Outside the Home*

Loane was aware that health education need not be restricted to home visits which the Queen's nurse made, and she was convinced that the poor would be more than receptive to advice on health related matters if it was presented in an appealing

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<sup>119</sup> Home births were the norm. Medicalised childbirth did not gain headway until after 1915. See Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood. Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (Croom Helm, 1980) pp.120-21.

<sup>120</sup> *Queen's*, p.179. For an earlier reference see Chapter 7, 'The Poor as Parents', footnote 75. Loane had little argument with the restrictions imposed by the QVJIN and considered that midwifery was 'almost incompatible' maternity work. See Martha Jane Loane, "Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing", *Nursing Notes*, February 1897, pp.18-19. For a critical examination of this article see S.Cohen, 'Miss Loane, Florence Nightingale and District Nursing in Late-Victorian Britain', *Nursing History Review* (USA) vol.5, 1997, pp.83-103.

<sup>121</sup> *Queen's*, p.247.

<sup>122</sup> For Loane's earliest remarks on neighbourly help see 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, February 1897, p.17, and see above, footnote 114.

way. After all, she perceived:

Surely these subjects are capable of the same sprightly and narrative treatment which makes my patients pore delightedly over the advertisements of quack medicines, even when they have no money to buy them. <sup>123</sup>

She proposed that 'parish magazines, picture almanacs and all similar literature' should be used as vehicles for the inculcation of knowledge under the headings of 'Health and Home', and that :

leaflets on all matters directly and indirectly concerned with health should be drawn up by the practical and distributed by the charitable.<sup>124</sup>

To ensure the widest dissemination of information, Loane insisted that:

Illustrated books on hygiene, nursing etc. should be in every Sunday school and parish library, and should be pressed upon the attention of all women and girls borrowing books.<sup>125</sup>

She also maintained that not enough use was made of mothers' meetings as a vehicle for instruction, and she proposed, in much the same vein as witnesses to the

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<sup>123</sup> *Queen's*, p.143.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *Queen's*, p.142.

Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, <sup>126</sup> that :

the mawkish storybook which covers the undercurrent of petty gossip, should be displaced by a twenty minutes' lecture on hygiene (with especial reference to the prevention of disease), the feeding of infants under two years of age and the moral training of children. <sup>127</sup>.

For the benefit of sceptics who doubted the ability of working-class women to benefit from 'appropriate' lessons, and without appearing in any way patronising, Loane described how effective a 'thoroughly practical set of lectures on nursing' had been in preventing the spread of scarlet fever and diphtheria. <sup>128</sup> Whilst other professionals evidently did not share her optimism, and were dismissive of genuine enquiries from concerned mothers regarding their children's health, Loane pointed out that these same professionals were themselves ill-equipped to give advice. As she related:

Mothers often seek anxiously for the simplest information and cannot obtain it. 'Doctor,' said one woman, 'my baby is sick after everything it eats. What shall I do for it?' 'Put the little squeaker's head in a bucket of cold water,' replied the doctor cheerfully... 'I doubt if he had ever seen a baby since he was a medical student, and he had never been

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<sup>126</sup> Both Dr.Hutchinson and Mrs.Lyttleton expressed the view that much might be done by mothers' meetings and lectures conducted on simple and practical lines. See, British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 5391-5402, 9937-41, 9979-81. Dr. Hutchinson was late President of the Royal College of Surgeons.

<sup>127</sup> *Queen's*, p.141.

<sup>128</sup> *Queen's*, pp.140-41. Bell was subsequently to record the beneficial effects of such lectures, given 'by a trained nurse to the wives of the workmen, [which] produced a most admirable result, both in the actual tending of illness and also in the prevention of it.' See Bell, *op.cit.* pp.24-25.

in any way responsible for the feeding of one.<sup>129</sup>

### *Housing in town*

Many of Loane's personal friends considered it terrible that she had to work in the slums, but she replied by saying that:

I do not know exactly what is meant by a slum. I have seen collections of dwellings that seemed to me to be painfully poor and crowded, but they were homes to the people who lived in them. They even spoke of the 'comforts,' and of not being able to get them anywhere except in their own houses, and meant what they said in a literal way.<sup>130</sup>

Despite her defence of poor homes, Loane was all too familiar with working-class dwellings which were dismal, depressing and overcrowded.<sup>131</sup> She described the home of one patient as a single room in a house in the poorest part of town, at the end of a dingy court: there was hardly any natural light in the place, since the single window was blocked by a blank wall.<sup>132</sup> Another lived with his family in a house which consisted of:

a grimy, filthy kitchen, from which a rickety staircase, pierced with rat holes led to a kind of loft lighted by one fixed pane of glass. There were two stump bedsteads covered with exceedingly dirty mattresses, and sheets

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<sup>129</sup> *Queen's*, pp.141-42.

<sup>130</sup> *Queen's*, p.27.

<sup>131</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> For a description of living conditions such as these see J.Stanford and A.Temple Patterson, 'The condition of the children of the poor in mid-Victorian Portsmouth, *The Portsmouth Papers*, no.21, March 1974.

grey from long use, <sup>133</sup>

and which Loane considered should be pulled down. <sup>134</sup> Another patient, a Mrs. K, had lived in a single room in a house:

called a 'Building', but that is a mere modern affectation, for it contains none of the comforts and conveniences which (to the poor at any rate) are implied by that term. <sup>135</sup>

Philanthropic 'buildings' or 'model dwellings' were so-called because the developers intended:

that they should serve as a model of the way regular water supply, adequate sewage disposal and proper ventilation could be provided at low cost for low wage earners. <sup>136</sup>

The comforts and conveniences to which Loane alluded might have included a communal laundry, with 'wringing machines and drying lofts', a living room or kitchen which was 'abundantly provided with cupboards, shelving and other conveniences, and each fireplace includes a boiler and oven.' <sup>137</sup> The essential points of such purpose-built dwellings were that they tended to be built in blocks of flats, the fittings

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<sup>133</sup> *Queen's*, p.206.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Queen's*, pp.302-03.

<sup>136</sup> E. Gauldie, *Cruel Habitations, A History of Working-Class Housing 1780-1918* (George Allen & Unwin, 1974) p.220.

<sup>137</sup> Model dwellings erected by the Peabody Trust, for example, included these features. See J.N.Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy. An Account of Housing in Urban Areas Between 1840 and 1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973) p.46. The high standard of amenities provided by the model dwellings is confirmed by Gauldie, *op.cit.* p.221. Beyond explicitly addressing the shortage of housing and the overcrowding problem, philanthropic dwellings were, implicitly, an exercise in social control and moral education. See Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London. A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (Penguin, 1992) especially pp.159-231.

were virtually indestructible and irremovable and most had water closets. <sup>138</sup> However, the place in which Mrs. K lived had not been especially constructed, but was an old building, possibly a monastery school, which had been 'roughly adapted to its present purpose.' Similarly, many of her neighbours were 'far from desirable', <sup>139</sup> and were certainly not the respectable working class for whom 'Buildings' were intended. <sup>140</sup>

### *Rural Housing*

Loane made numerous references to the substandard, almost inhabitable accommodation in which many of the rural poor lived, and contrasted it sharply with 'the popular idea of the slumbering little homestead nestling among the trees... modest but wholesome and comfortable within.' <sup>141</sup> Her descriptions of rural habitations included that of 'a tumble-down cottage with a large garden' <sup>142</sup> and of:

a cottage dumped down in the middle of a cabbage field  
the house nominally had four rooms, and they were paying  
the same rent as when these had all been habitable, but  
one of the upstairs rooms could not be safely entered,  
and the 'wash-us' had literally fallen down. The chief  
difference that it seemed to make to them was that they  
had to board up the hole that was left in the kitchen wall,

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<sup>138</sup> D.Rubinstein, *Victorian Homes* (David & Charles, 1974) p.246.

<sup>139</sup> *Queen's*, p.303.

<sup>140</sup> The very poor were not only unable to afford the rents of many of these model dwellings, but they were also considered to be unsuitable tenants by the Trustees of the associations. This attitude was upheld by all the larger model dwelling associations. See Tarn, *op.cit.* pp.49-50 and Gauldie, *op.cit.* pp.86-87. For the charitable work of Octavia Hill see O. Hill, *Homes of the London Poor* (Macmillan, 1875)

<sup>141</sup> W. Walter Crotch, *The Cottage Homes of England. The Case Against the Housing System in Rural Districts*, 2nd.ed. (King, 1901) pp.1-2.

<sup>142</sup> *Queen's*, p.260.

and dish-water was henceforth flung out of the front door instead of the back (drains had never existed) and when the weather was not too inclement the week's wash was done on a bench out of doors. <sup>143</sup>

Little better was the cottage :

solidly built of rough stone, but the one living room was rather larger than a bathing machine, and quite as damp and draughty, and when the door was closed there was twilight at midday...There was a tiny washhouse and one low bedroom overhead. <sup>144</sup>

### *Overcrowding*

Homes, whether in town or country, were frequently overcrowded, <sup>145</sup> a state of affairs which, Loane maintained, the poor accepted with equanimity. <sup>146</sup> She recalled once visiting:

a three-roomed dwelling where there were twelve little boys...the youngest but one was allowed to sleep in the parents' room, but...I found all the remaining sleeping peacefully side by side in neat little beds made out of orange boxes. <sup>147</sup>

She had also worked in a house where 'five grimy children of school age slept in one bed under one blanket, or crouched apathetically on the filthy floor, watching a handful of fire.' <sup>148</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> *Queen's*, p.235.

<sup>144</sup> *Queen's*, p.237.

<sup>145</sup> *Queen's*, p.15.

<sup>146</sup> *Next Street*, p.34.

<sup>147</sup> *Queen's*, pp.72-73.

<sup>148</sup> *Queen's*, p.143.

Multiple occupation of houses was commonplace, as exemplified by Loane's description of Mrs. C, an elderly bedridden widow who shared her two-roomed house with a younger woman who acted as a 'charwoman, cook, maid and companion.'<sup>149</sup> Another patient 'took the 'front room' of a respectable young couple who could not afford to furnish it, and were glad to reduce their rent.'<sup>150</sup>

Overcrowding also occurred where numerous generations of one family shared a home, for places which could barely accommodate parents and children were wholly inadequate when elderly relatives joined the household.<sup>151</sup> Loane considered that such arrangements were rarely successful, for besides the physical discomfort, there were, as previously noted, moral and practical implications.<sup>152</sup>

### *Cooking facilities*

As has been noted elsewhere in this study,<sup>153</sup> Loane was incensed by 'the disgracefully bad cooking stoves commonly provided in workmen's homes'<sup>154</sup> and described how poor women in towns had to manage with kitchen ovens which 'measured 10 inches wide and 12 in depth, the rest of the range being in strict proportion.'<sup>155</sup> These facilities were sophisticated in comparison to the primitive equipment available to women in rural areas, for Loane recorded how one had to contend with 'an open fireplace over which a kettle is hung, [and] a tiny oven that

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<sup>149</sup> *Queen's*, p.253.

<sup>150</sup> *Queen's*, p.304.

<sup>151</sup> For an earlier reference to, and examination of joint households and the elderly see Chapter 8, 'The Elderly Poor', footnotes 35-48. See also *Point of View*, pp.52-61.

<sup>152</sup> See Chapter 8, 'The Elderly Poor', footnotes 35-48.

<sup>153</sup> See Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnote 28.

<sup>154</sup> *Queen's*, p.138.

<sup>155</sup> *ibid.*



might satisfy an unambitious child cooking for her dolls' <sup>156</sup> whilst in another house:

the chimney was a black cavern of indefinite size; the fire-place so small, that when the potatoes were put on to boil, the kettle had to be suspended from a hook. I surreptitiously placed my hand across the oven, and found that I could span it, although I span less than nine inches. <sup>157</sup>

'Popular' cookery books of the late Victorian period, such as *Beeton's Penny Cookery Book*, acknowledged the impossibility of preparing good meals in homes which lacked 'a suitable fire and proper utensils.' <sup>158</sup> To suggest, as this late nineteenth century publication did, that a price of between 28s. and 35s. for a cooking-stove might be affordable by the working-class poor was unrealistic. <sup>159</sup> Evidently, such basic equipment remained unaffordable for a number of years, for Loane remarked, in 1907, that 'their great grandchildren will be dead of old age before country labourers have twenty-guinea stoves.' <sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> M.Loane, 'The Training of Country District Nurses in Large Towns', *Nursing Notes*, April 1904, pp.57-8.

<sup>157</sup> *Queen's*, p.237.

<sup>158</sup> *Beetons Penny Cookery Book*, 8th.ed. (n.d, but post 1871).

<sup>159</sup> *ibid.* Their advice was that 'the fire best suited for cooking is a close stove, on the principle of the Leamington ranges. In our opinion, every home, however small, should be provided with one of these; and it requires only a little generosity on the part of the landlord, or a small outlay on the part of the tenant, to get rid of our open fireplaces throughout the country, and to supply their place with convenient close cooking stoves.'

<sup>160</sup> *Next Street*, p.27. Both Bell and Reeves drew attention to the persistence of inadequate cooking facilities in working-class homes. See Bell, *op.cit.* pp.225-26, and Maud Pember Reeves, *Round About a Pound a Week* (Bell, 1913) pp.56-59. Gas [as a source of energy] was 'practically unknown' in working-class homes until the turn of the century. In providing this information to the Select Committee on Metropolitan Gas Companies, in 1899, Mr. George Livesey, the Chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Co. described how the major obstruction had been the expense [for landlords] of installing gas fittings and pipes, as well as the difficulty [for tenants] of meeting a quarterly gas bill. See British Parliamentary Papers, *Report from the Select Committee on Metropolitan Gas Companies*, 1899, vol. X, p.315,1. Livesey maintained that the crucial breakthrough was the invention of the pre-payment slot-meter, yet both Bell, in 1907, and Reeves, in 1913, remarked on the reluctance of working-class women to cook regularly by gas because of the expense. Gas, as an item of expenditure, did not feature in any of the itemised budgets which Bell presented. See Bell, *op.cit.* pp.56-60 and p.65, also Reeves, *op.cit.* p.57.

*Sanitation and ventilation*

A passing reference to 'a bath-tub in front of the fire'<sup>161</sup> serves as a reminder that not only did very few working-class homes have a bath, but the majority of them lacked a supply of running hot water.<sup>162</sup> Cleanliness was 'as easy or difficult to maintain in proportion to the size of our premises',<sup>163</sup> and bathing was, as Loane remarked, 'laborious'<sup>164</sup> and certainly demanded a considerable amount of effort and determination on the part of the poor.<sup>165</sup> Notwithstanding such obstacles, Loane recorded how the adult occupant of 'a hovel' was 'personally far cleaner than many of my patients who live in a seven-roomed house with a fixed bath and a continuous water supply.'<sup>166</sup>

Ventilation in the home, was, according to Loane, of little consequence to the poor, an opinion which was confirmed by numerous of her contemporaries. Dr. Collie, for example, was quite sure that the lower classes did not appreciate the importance of plenty of air, and in reply to the question, put to him by the *Inter-departmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 'They like to be warm, and prefer the warmth to having fresh air?', responded, 'In their homes it is the only

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<sup>161</sup> *Queen's*, p.223.

<sup>162</sup> An examination of Rowntree's survey of York is even more revealing, for in this major city, in 1901, 'no less than 2229 houses...are without a separate water supply.' B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty. A Study of Town Life*, 1st.ed. (Macmillan, 1901) p.187. S. Nowell-Smith also commented that 'in poorer districts (at the turn of the century) many houses all over the kingdom were without water taps or any form of sanitary accommodation.' S. Nowell-Smith, *Edwardian England 1901-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1964).

<sup>163</sup> *Next Street*, p.34.

<sup>164</sup> *Queen's*, p.226.

<sup>165</sup> Lady Bell observed that it was 'much easier to keep a child clean when every necessary for its well-appointed bath is brought up by a nursery maid, than when the mother herself has to get up in time to make the fire, heat the water, wash the child, and make its food.' Bell, *op.cit.* pp.216-217. For another description of the difficulties of bathing children in poor homes see Reeves, *op.cit.* p.53.

<sup>166</sup> *Queen's*, p.183.

way to be warm.' <sup>167</sup> Another witness, a Mrs. Lyttleton, thought that parents needed educating regarding ventilation, and told the enquiry:

Often, in Manchester, if you found someone with a cold, they would say, 'Oh, unfortunately the window was open a little, all night.' It may be because they are accustomed to poor air in Manchester, and the atmosphere is often certainly very bad, but they do not mend it by shutting the window. <sup>168</sup>

A school manager, Mrs. Constance Meyerstein, in her letter to *The Times*, concurred that the reason a child came to school 'heavy eyed, white, listless' was because:

it has been running in the streets until ten of eleven o'clock at night; it has slept in an airless, window-closed room with several brothers and sisters, possibly with parents as well. <sup>169</sup>

### *Overview*

The details which Loane provided concerning the day to day work and experiences of the Queen's nurse were particularly enlightening, and were an excellent public relation exercise for her organisation. Her professional position undoubtedly enabled her to comment authoritatively on the health of the poor, and to draw attention to the particular illnesses to which they were prone. She had no doubt that

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<sup>167</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol. XXXII, Qs 4102-03.

<sup>168</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol. XXXII, Qs 5402.

<sup>169</sup> Letter of Mrs. Constance Meyerstein, *The Times*, 20 September 1904, p.9.

education in health matters was essential to improving the health and quality of life of the poor, and whilst all Queen's nurses were committed to disseminating such knowledge, Loane recognised that such matters had to be tackled on a much wider basis to be really effective. Intimate knowledge of their homes allowed her remark objectively about the substandard living conditions which many of them endured, and to highlight the slow progress of improvements in this area.

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## CHAPTER 10

### Working Class Culture

Cultural differences in the practice of religion, behaviour, language and speech of the poor, leisure and attitudes to authority all contributed to the belief, held by many from other classes, that the working classes were a race apart who lived by a different code.<sup>1</sup> Loane's strictures in this regard were intended to inform and demythologise, and in many instances to show that poverty dictated the way the poor behaved.

#### *Religious culture and the poor*

Loane held very strong views regarding working-class religious culture and the religiosity of the respectable poor, and she argued that contrary to popular belief, deep and true religion was commonly to be found amongst them. She described the chief tenets of this as:

The existence of a Supreme Being intimately concerned with the life of men, and best served by loving faithfulness to the homeliest duties; the spiritual efficacy of prayer, and triumphant faith in the immortality of the soul. <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Keating (ed) *Into Unknown England, 1866-1913* (Fontana, 1976) Introduction, pp.11-32.

<sup>2</sup> M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) (henceforth *Queen's*) p.46. This extract was also published in *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4; *Nursing Notes*, December 1904, p.188 as well as *The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.364.

Her views prompted *The Charity Organisation Review* to remark:

...we find put into words what, perhaps, some of us have suspected, that their [the poor people's] religion is very real but a very simple thing, not readily finding expression in public worship, not much affected by books or sermons, not probably strictly orthodox from the point of view of any particular denomination, but deep and true for all that. <sup>3</sup>

Religious belief, was, as Loane stressed, a personal matter, and this opinion was certainly reinforced by the rules of her nursing association. Not only was the Queen's Institute 'strictly unsectarian' <sup>4</sup> but it was a fundamental rule 'that there be no interference on the part of anyone connected with the Queen's Jubilee Institute with the religious belief of either officers or patients.' <sup>5</sup>

Given these restrictions, Loane never introduced the subject of religion when she was with her patients, <sup>6</sup> but this did not prevent many of her patients talking about their religious beliefs. <sup>7</sup> The exception were those of the Catholic faith who were evidently subjected to a degree of religious intolerance and prejudice. <sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

<sup>4</sup> *Queen's*, p.39.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Stocks, *A Hundred Years of District Nursing* (Unwin, 1960) p.84.

<sup>6</sup> *Queen's*, p.37.

<sup>7</sup> *Queen's*, p.40. For a patient who 'was nominally an Anglican, but who never spoke of such matters' see *Queen's*, p.301.

<sup>8</sup> *Queen's*, pp.41-42. Loane had also come across 'two cases of petty persecution' directed at Jews. As Jose Harris notes, 'Although racial concepts infiltrated the language of social science and public administration, they did not invariably have the specifically ethnic and exclusionary connotations that a later generation might suppose,' as cited in Harris, *op.cit.* p.78. In regard to anti-semitism at this time, as Hunt notes, this inveighed largely against Jewish immigrants, who were blamed for the socio-economic problems associated with poverty during this period: see E.H.Hunt, *British Labour History 1815-1914* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981) pp.178-187. For a contemporary example which examines the apparent effects of Jews in the tailoring trade see, for example, Arthur Sherwell, *Life in West London. A Study and a Contrast* (Methuen, 1897) pp.95-105.

Although the established church was overtly concerned about diminishing congregations, and the consequential loss of authority, Loane opined on their lack of understanding of working-class religious culture. The clergy could only hope to exert a 'strong and wholesome influence in some of the most poverty-stricken districts' if they adopted a less insular and patronising view of the poor, and made more of an effort to empathise and understand their customs and traditions.<sup>9</sup> Of particular note was their failure to understand the language of the poor. To exemplify this criticism Loane described one ill-informed vicar who 'knew as much of his poorer parishioners as the typical military governor of sixty years ago knew of his prisoners'<sup>10</sup> and who naively believed that most of these people were, as they claimed, 'dissenters'. It was:

a revelation to him to learn that Nonconformists are not in the habit of calling themselves Dissenters, but Wesleyans, Baptists etc. and that the people who had made use of the expression to him meant, in a few cases, 'We are unbelievers,' and in most, 'We don't want you coming in here just whenever you choose. If you had any manners you'd know when to come.'<sup>11</sup>

Nor did another clergyman understand that the poor woman who stated that 'my religion ain't in these parts,'<sup>12</sup> really meant that infirmity, and distance from the parish church, prevented her from attending services.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> George Haw suggested that there were numerous other reasons why the working-classes did not attend church: 'The Churches have ceased to speak the language of the people,' and that, as a rule, 'The Church has not laid itself out to attract and win men.' See George Haw, *Christianity and the Working Classes* (Macmillan, 1906) pp.24-25.

<sup>10</sup> *Queen's*, p.30.

<sup>11</sup> *Queen's*, pp.30-31.

<sup>12</sup> *Queen's*, p.31.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*



Whilst Loane accepted that the poor did not attend church regularly, she argued vociferously that this was not proof of any 'want of real religion.'<sup>14</sup> reinforced her opinion by criticising the negative impressions of working-class religiosity fostered by religious surveys.<sup>15</sup> Her familiarity with this debate, presumably renewed by the results of the *Daily News* Religious Census of London, conducted during 1902-3, and published in July 1903,<sup>16</sup> was demonstrated in the following extract:

To count up the churchgoers and chapelgoers, compare the resulting number with the population, and then, if there should be a great disparity, argue that the neighbourhood is without religion; or to estimate the proportion of children and young persons in places of public worship and then say, 'religion has no hold on them when they get older,' is a most serious error.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Nursing Notes*, December 1904, p.188. For a criticism of Loane's view see *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260. As Inglis has remarked, 'Between 1850 and 1900 there were people in the Church of England, including some of its leaders, who cared as little about the spiritual condition of the masses as the masses were supposed to care about religion. See K.S.Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963) p.21. See also Stephen Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis* (Croom Helm, 1976) p.350.

<sup>15</sup> Given the biographical evidence of Martha Loane's working life, it would be prudent to treat with caution Bourke's statement that, in issuing this warning, 'Margaret (sic) Loane' was referring to her work experiences 'in the East End at the turn of the century.' Martha Jane Loane may have gained some experience in this area of London whilst undergoing her training as a Queen's Nurse in Bloomsbury, between September 1893 and October 1894. See Joanna Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain 1890 and 1960* (Routledge, 1994) p.146.

<sup>16</sup> The first and last official investigation into religious practice was conducted alongside the ordinary decennial Census of 1851, by Horace Mann. A further census of worship in London was conducted by Dr.W Robertson Nicoll, and published in 1886 in the first edition of his journal *The British Weekly*. See Inglis, *op.cit.* Charles Booth investigated religious practice as part of his survey of London, conducted between 1890-1900. See A.Fried & R.M.Elman, *Charles Booth's London* (Hutchinson, 1969) and for an important reassessment of Booth's Religious Influences Series see R. O'Day & D. Englander, *Mr.Charles Booth's Inquiry. Life and Labour of the People in London Reconsidered* (Hambleton, 1993). Jose Harris's caveat that 'all these sources are imperfect in coverage, and contentious in their implications,' should also be borne in mind. See Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit. A Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993) p.153.

<sup>17</sup> *Queen's*, p 29.

The working-class poor subscribed to a concept of 'duty' which was, as Loane explained, quite different to that of the middle and upper classes, so that judgements made on the basis of 'formal outward signs'<sup>18</sup> such as church-going and observance of the Sabbath ignored the possibility of religious beliefs which were 'real, but vague.'<sup>19</sup> Their 'faith in the efficacy of prayer'<sup>20</sup> was very strong, but Loane argued that:

many of the poor rarely attend church, not because they are irreligious, but because they have long since received and absorbed the truths by which they live; while the idea that attendance at public worship is a duty does not occur to them, and does not seem credible when suggested.<sup>21</sup>

Her defence of the poor in regard to church-going went further, for she dared to suggest that they were less hypocritical than those 'in all classes of life who go to church constantly for reasons which have no connection with personal religion.'<sup>22</sup>

Loane asked her readers to consider whether it was:

too difficult to believe that there are those who attend irregularly, or remain away altogether, not because they are persons of evil courses, or dead to things of the spirit, but because their inward religious life is so strong and so simple that they are independent of any 'assembling of yourselves together.'<sup>23</sup>

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18 *ibid.*

19 *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720.

20 *Queen's*, p.44.

21 *Queen's*, p.29.

22 *ibid.*

23 *ibid.*

Other ways in which the poor chose to observe the Sabbath were, perhaps, unconventional, or less spiritual as Loane believed, like the woman who refused to water her geranium on a Sunday.<sup>24</sup> Another patient accused the nurse of being 'a haythan' because she made an urgent professional call on a Sunday.<sup>25</sup>

Even though Loane maintained that the working-class poor were 'not so much indifferent to the dogmas of religion, as unconscious of their existence,'<sup>26</sup> she included anecdotes which were at odds with this statement. The services of the vicar or rector were frequently called upon in times of severe illness, for, in such instances, the poor considered there to be 'a superior sanctity in the office of a beneficed clergyman.'<sup>27</sup> Conversely, they expressed a clear preference for the services of a Nonconformist minister when death was impending, because, as Loane concluded:

their trained ability to offer up prayers which are at once full of the soothing and customary phraseology, and yet have some bearing on the cases in question, a power which is to a great extent developed in all earnest Dissenters and which is commonly too much neglected by the clergy of the Established Church.<sup>28</sup>

She also provided an example of religious dogmatism at its most extreme which arose in relation to 'the vestments question.'<sup>29</sup> In this instance, a Punch and Judy man, engaged to give a performance for an annual school treat, enquired of the

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<sup>24</sup> *Queen's*, p.39. One critic dismissed this anecdote as an example of 'the childish ignorance on the subject.' See *The Morning Post*, 30 November 1905, p.3.

<sup>25</sup> *Queen's*, p.39. For a more detailed examination of the Queen's nurse and Sunday calls see Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor', footnotes 44-45.

<sup>26</sup> *Queen's*, p.31.

<sup>27</sup> *Queen's*, p.32.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Queen's*, p.37.

incredulous vicar's wife whether the treat was 'High Church or Low Church.' His response to the question, 'But what difference *can* that make,' was simple 'It makes *this* difference, mum,' with an air of stiff reproof for her culpable ignorance, 'If it's Low Church Judy's pall has to be plain black, but if it's *High* I always use one with a violet border.' <sup>30</sup>

Different religious beliefs were not uncommon within generations of one family as one of Loane's patients recounted:

I've never seen a family where three generations belonged to the same kind of chapel. I brought my children up Presbyterians same as I was taught myself, but a soon as they was old enough to choose, every one of them turned to Piskypalians. <sup>31</sup>

It was not unknown for a husband and wife to adhere to their own personal beliefs, although in the instance which Loane recounted, the wife did keep her affiliations a secret. <sup>32</sup> Loane had the impression that men were more likely to 'convert' than women, and had even come across quite young boys who 'had a desire for a different religious atmosphere.' <sup>33</sup> The interest shown by these children was probably unusual, for, as previously noted, <sup>34</sup> most were unconcerned about religion and religious education.

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<sup>30</sup> *Queen's* p.37. For an earlier reference to funerals and mourning see Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnotes 94-106.

<sup>31</sup> *Queen's*, p.35.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Queen's*, p.36.

<sup>34</sup> See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 46-56.

*Death and the Poor*

Her intimate acquaintance with the poor led Loane to conclude that death held no fear for the majority of them, <sup>35</sup> and was, in fact, 'constantly referred to without having any apparent ill-effect on the patient's mind or health.' <sup>36</sup> She went so far as to assert that:

it is rather the certain hope of death that makes life tolerable to them both in its bitterest moments and in its long drawn-out struggles against weakness, poverty, ill-health, and sin. Often what is called their callousness to the sight of death should rather be traced to envy of those who are dead and at peace. Have they shed few tears? For themselves, they wish none to fall. <sup>37</sup>

Such apparent resignation prompted *The British Journal of Nursing* to remark that it was a 'reproach on our citizenship' <sup>38</sup> that the lives of the poor was only made tolerable by the 'certain hope of death.' <sup>39</sup> *The Athenaeum* were less charitable, and considered that Loane's opinion was 'exaggerated by the special experience of the district nurse.' <sup>40</sup>

Celebrating death and conforming to associated but unwritten laws and customs was, as noted,<sup>41</sup> an important part of working-class culture. Although the poor were frequently accused of being improvident, many of them displayed great

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<sup>35</sup> See, for example, *Queen's*, p.42 and p.169.

<sup>36</sup> *Queen's*, p.108.

<sup>37</sup> *Queen's*, p.33. This excerpt was reprinted in *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

<sup>38</sup> *The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.364.

<sup>39</sup> *Queen's*, p.33.

<sup>40</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720.

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnotes 94-106.

prudence by making financial provision for this rite of passage.<sup>42</sup> Not only was the indignity of a paupers grave avoided, but relatives were able to afford a decent funeral along with all the 'essential' apparel.<sup>43</sup> Loane had some difficulty in coming to terms with this practice, for whilst she adamantly refuted any desire to see the poor give up 'the custom of wearing mourning,'<sup>44</sup> she wished that they had more foresight:

...it has often gone to my heart to see fifteen or twenty children put into complete suits of black for a grandfather who has been allowed to die in the workhouse, and to think that less than half the money spent on it would have saved him the grief and humiliation of the last few months of his life.<sup>45</sup>

### *The adult poor and education*

Labourers wives were, in Loane's view, 'often greatly their husband's superior in general education'<sup>46</sup> although, as has been mentioned,<sup>47</sup> many of these women lacked the basic arithmetical skills which were considered essential to efficient household management.<sup>48</sup> Although feminine superiority in education rarely resulted in any disharmony within a marital relationship,<sup>49</sup> attention was drawn to the fact that:

unhappiness often arises from her [a wife's] ignorance and incapacity to enter into her husband's ambitions, especially where her husband has 'raised himself'.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Queen's*, p.121.

<sup>45</sup> *Queen's*, p.120.

<sup>46</sup> *Queen's*, p.16.

<sup>47</sup> See Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor,' footnotes 23-26.

<sup>48</sup> Women also lacked more specific skills, particularly concerning infant welfare and child care. For earlier references see Chapter 7, 'The Poor, Marriage and Parenthood', footnotes 74-82 and Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor', footnotes 121& 123-129.

<sup>49</sup> *Queen's*, p.9 & p.16.

<sup>50</sup> *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9.

This was the case with one couple of Loane's acquaintance where:

the husband's high wages, never less than four pounds a week, depended largely on his knowledge of French and German, which he was expected to improve to the highest point possible. Lessons of the advanced kind that he required...could not be obtained for less than four shillings an hour. At first the wife was immensely amused... but she soon wearied of this, and endless reproaches over the 'waste of money' began and are still going on. <sup>51</sup>

Developing literacy was gradually instilling a new confidence amongst the working classes: <sup>52</sup> besides increasing their vocabulary, <sup>53</sup> wider access to popular literature encouraged the poor 'to use freely the language they see in print.' <sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Queen's*, p.17.

<sup>52</sup> Loane noted, as early as 1897, that, 'In many houses, the nurse will be consulted on the subject of books, and then it will be easy for her to explain how to get a ticket for the Free Library...Where there is no such library the nurse will try to obtain from the Committee books and newspapers suitable for lending. To distribute these is a task needing the finest discrimination.' See, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, April 1897, p.46. She was later to comment, in an article devoted to reading, 'Another reason why the district nurse must read is that many of her patients read...A considerable number of the more intelligent poor love books and to talk of their favourites forms at once a bond of union, especially as they are probably unaccustomed to intellectual sympathy.' See M.Loane, 'Books and Work', *Nursing Notes*, March 1899, pp.41-42. On the need for the poor to be shown how to use free libraries see M.Loane, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1910) p.125 (henceforth *Englishman's*). As David Vincent has remarked, 'In 1900, the first generation to feel the benefits of Forster's Education Act was just reaching middle age, and those children who had finally been forced into school by Mundella's Act of 1880 were only in their twenties.' However, 'The men and women whose childhood had been passed without the benefits of universality or compulsion still comprised a substantial proportion of the population.' See David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture, England, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989) p.28.

<sup>53</sup> *Queen's*, p.113 and *Point of View*, p.82.

<sup>54</sup> Loane noted that the opposite was true of other classes for, 'the rich carefully avoid any bookish tinge.' see *Queen's*, p.113. The increased availability of, and interest in, books and newspapers is confirmed by Lady Bell, who undertook a detailed survey of reading habits in Middlesborough. Lady Bell did confirm what Loane implied, that the poor were deterred from using the Free library because of the formalities involved. The chapter on reading was originally published as an article in the *Independent Review*, and subsequently reprinted within her book. See Lady Bell, *At The Works* (Macmillan, 1907) pp.142-170.

Despite these advances, the letter writing skills of adults remained generally unsophisticated, and `epistles` were described by Loane as `stiff and empty at the beginning, affectionate and incoherent at the end, and with little but the address to mark one from the other.' <sup>55</sup>

### *Conversation of the poor*

The authoress expressed curiosity that, amongst the poor, superior education made women less talkative, but conversely, made men more loquacious. The most incessant of these were to be found in the upper ranks of artisans, and non-commissioned officers. The latter were prone to recount `interminable strings of tales,' which were frequently illuminated by practical jokes, the favourite topic being the drunken behaviour of officers. <sup>56</sup>

Many conversations were retrospective, but contrary to popular belief, and as noted earlier, <sup>57</sup> the elderly poor were not prone to recall tales of `the good old days' but recounted `stories...of hardship.' <sup>58</sup> This statement was, as Strachey wrote, a:

very significant factor in considering the condition of the poor. We all, when we consider the poor, desire vaguely that they go `back to the land'; but do we not greatly exaggerate the delights they enjoyed upon it? <sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> *Queen's*, p.254 and reaffirmed in *Next Street*, pp.14-17.

<sup>56</sup> *Queen's*, pp.75-78. Given their intimate family naval connections, the Loane sisters were well placed to comment on the behaviour of naval men.

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter 8, `The Elderly Poor', footnotes 87-88.

<sup>58</sup> *Queen's*, p.85.

<sup>59</sup> *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.10



As a rule, the talk amongst middle-aged women revolved around everyday matters, and Loane applauded the wealth of common-sense knowledge which could be passed on to younger, less experienced women. One popular topic of conversation was related to the employment of married women, and Loane considered their views on this contentious issue to be both intuitive and simplistic:

one thing they are strongly averse to is married women's competition in the labour market. They do not, of course, comprehend its most far-reaching effects, but they see many of the results clearly enough to dread them. <sup>60</sup>

In general, Loane noted that conversations amongst the poor tended to be repetitive: it was not uncommon for the most ignorant to repeat themselves five or six times during one interview. The form of any such story varied from day-to day, but, as Loane commented, 'the favourite version is ultimately adopted, and crystallises into unvarying tradition.'<sup>61</sup> She questioned how much of this repetition was due to 'a deficiency of memory', for these same people had no difficulty in recognising, and indeed criticising the district nurse if she repeated a story more than once. <sup>62</sup>

Humour was an enlightening feature, <sup>63</sup> and Loane remarked on the talent which working-class men exhibited in disguising this as 'ironic understatement' in their conversations. <sup>64</sup> She exemplified this in comments overheard when 'a handsome girl of eighteen or nineteen [passed] a house where some painters were engaged on the

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<sup>60</sup> *Queen's*, p.100.

<sup>61</sup> *Queen's*, p.84.

<sup>62</sup> *Queen's*, p.85.

<sup>63</sup> *Queen's*, p.109.

<sup>64</sup> K.C.Phillips *Language and Class in Victorian England* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1984) p.105.

upper windows ‘‘H’m!’’ said one, ‘‘that’s a nice sort o’girl, Bill?’’ Bill surveyed her critically. ‘‘H’m, yes. Do to go out walkin’ with - *week days*.’’<sup>65</sup>

Expressing her reservations about recounting amusing anecdotes, Loane explained that not only could the humour be lost when taken out of context, but it might not be understood by people of other classes.<sup>66</sup>

Whilst the use of bad language and ‘uncouth phrases’ was commonplace in the everyday conversation of the poor,<sup>67</sup> and largely ignored by them,<sup>68</sup> the district nurse seldom heard any bad language.<sup>69</sup> Nor did poor children, for, according to Loane, fathers were also ‘careful in the language they use[d] before their children’.<sup>70</sup> She also recorded how men who were ‘placed under the unusual discipline of having to pick and choose their words’ reverted to a ‘strangely childish form of diction.’<sup>71</sup>

Sharp, definite statements were avoided in conversations: instead a round-about way of speaking was adopted, as in the example of one man saying to another, in reply to the question ‘Did you go and speak to him about it?’ - ‘Well, I kinder went over there, and I sorter remarked, as you might say.’<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Loane demonstrated how ‘the upper-class tendency to enquire after health without expecting an answer’ was beginning to percolate downwards ‘Old Mr. Waters he *do* have such old-fashioned ways: he always ask how you are as if he wanted to know!’<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> For this example, and others, see *Queen’s*, pp.110-111.

<sup>66</sup> As Loane stated, ‘Removed from their surroundings, these specimens of unconscious humour may seem poor, and at all times a jest’s prosperity lies with the hearer.’ See, *Queen’s*, pp.111-112.

<sup>67</sup> *Queen’s*, p.62.

<sup>68</sup> *Queen’s*, p.89.

<sup>69</sup> *Queen’s*, pp.89-90.

<sup>70</sup> *Queen’s*, p.62.

<sup>71</sup> *Queen’s*, p.90.

<sup>72</sup> *Queen’s*, p.92. For confirmation of this see R.I.McKibbin, ‘Social Class and Social Observation in Edwardian England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol.28, 1977, p.190.and Phillips, *op.cit.* p.105.

<sup>73</sup> *Queen’s*, p.84. For confirmation see Phillips, *op.cit.* p.105.

One fault which the poor shared with other classes was, as Loane maintained, their inability to offer a straight-forward apology: rather, as *The British Journal of Nursing* explained, these were invariably disguised as reproofs.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, the poor, like the rich, proffered expressions of gratitude on as arbitrary a basis as was conceivable, and Loane's strictures on this matter were particularly astute.<sup>75</sup> As she pointed out:

Gratitude depends on character, not on riches or poverty, and there never seems to be any proportion between the benefit bestowed and the thankfulness experienced.<sup>76</sup>

The experience of the district nurse was inevitably invoked to support this contention, as it related to the poor, for Loane recounted:

Sometimes, in return for a few days' work, we receive, for a period of years, countless small services whenever we are nursing anyone in the same district, while other natures will accept years of devoted attention with apathy.<sup>77</sup>

When gratitude was expressed, it was likely to be of a condescending nature. In the Peak district for example, where Loane had initially worked as a rural Queen's nurse 'the usual form of words with which any borrowed appliance was returned...was 'Tell her ah've done wi' it.'<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.365.

<sup>75</sup> See also Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor', footnotes 9-12.

<sup>76</sup> *Queen's*, p.124.

<sup>77</sup> *Queen's*, p.124. Loane had previously debated the matter of gratitude amongst the poor, and warned potential nurses not to expect thanks from their poor patients, or their friends. See Miss.M.Loane, 'Am I Called to be a Nurse', *The British Journal of Nursing*, 10 September 1904, p.226.

<sup>78</sup> *Queen's*, p.105.

Loane adduced that verbal communication between the educated classes and the poor was vastly improved although she was not entirely sure to what extent class barriers were being eroded.<sup>79</sup> The improvement had come about, she explained, because the poor had 'a much greater variety of topics, and a greater similarity of interests and ambitions.'<sup>80</sup> To exemplify this convergence of ideals<sup>81</sup> she informed her readers that parents had:

a thousand things to tell you of them [their children] beyond the fact of them being well or ill, do-syle or bigoted. A child's 'standard' has become of exactly the same concern to the poorest mother as the public schoolboy's 'form'; drawings and maps are exhibited to me and the children are constantly called on to 'say that lovely po'try what you learned last week.'<sup>82</sup>

### *Language and speech habits of the poor*

Loane was fairly certain that the working-class poor were making efforts, both consciously and subconsciously, towards acquiring new language and speech habits,<sup>83</sup> thus eroding the clearly defined class barriers which existed. Anecdotal evidence was the ideal tool for illustrating these cultural differences although there was a degree of

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<sup>79</sup> Loane subsequently remarked, in 1908, that 'I doubt if any real conversation between members of two classes is possible. All my conversations with my patients and their friends have been of an exceedingly one-sided character; that is to say that in some cases I talked and in some they did, but we never took anything like equal parts. See *Point of View*, p.231.

<sup>80</sup> *Queen's*, p.93.

<sup>81</sup> Phillips, *op.cit.* p.106.

<sup>82</sup> *Queen's*, p.93.

<sup>83</sup> Jose Harris has described the poor as 'participants in, and contributors to the long drawnout national revolution in the use of language.' See Harris, *op.cit.* p.22.

contemporary scepticism associated with this source.<sup>84</sup> This led Loane to offer the following defence:

none of my patients or their friends speak any of the exasperating jargon which in a large class of novels passes for 'dialect' and readers are so accustomed to orthographical orgies that they will feel doubts as to the genuiness of these conversations. Nevertheless, they have been written down exactly as they have been uttered.<sup>85</sup>

These sentiments suggest that, contrary to Cunningham's opinion, as noted,<sup>86</sup> Loane did not intend to devalue the speech of the poor, and nor did she misrepresent it.<sup>87</sup> Her own familiarity with the complexities, anomalies and nuances of English grammar were acquired during her time as a pupil at the Royal Naval School for Females,<sup>88</sup> and she was able to conclude from her apparently innumerable conversations with the poor, that:

their language differs from that of the middle and upper classes only in the following points - intonation, pronunciation and accentuation, vocabulary, superabundance of negatives and other grammatical errors.'<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Her evidence was described by one critic as containing 'many quaint anecdotes of curious manners of speech and terms of expression.' See *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.261.

<sup>85</sup> *Queen's*, p.112.

<sup>86</sup> See 'Childhood and Poverty', footnote 8 and Hugh Cunningham, *Children of the Poor. Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991) p.212.

<sup>87</sup> *Queen's*, p.112.

<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 3, 'Biography' footnotes 14-20.

<sup>89</sup> *Queen's*, pp.112-115.

Intonation was so intangible that, as Loane stated, it could not be 'reproduced or indicated', but did concede that uncultured voices did grate on the nerves after a period of time.<sup>90</sup> She noted that there were unmistakable variations in pronunciation and accentuation, but considered that these differences were 'often too slight to be represented by any arrangement of the alphabet, however distracting and uncouth.'<sup>91</sup> The exceptions were the long-missing 'h', which was, Loane claimed, 'rapidly finding a home all over the country',<sup>92</sup> and the disappearance of the termination 'ng', the latter having gained widespread popularity amongst all classes.<sup>93</sup> Difficult combinations of consonants were often simplified, and the use of abbreviations was very common, with the result that 'three or four or more words are often run together almost inextricably. I'd'no's'ish'l - I do not know that I shall do it.'<sup>94</sup>

Although Loane referred to differences in the vocabulary of the poor, her overall impression was that these were diminishing between classes.<sup>95</sup> Regional variations in dialect and local usage of words sometimes caused misunderstandings,<sup>96</sup> and whilst Loane agreed that there were a number of words which were exclusive to

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<sup>90</sup> 'I have often listened to the poor day after day until the sound of a cultured voice strikes on my ear like the rarest and most exquisite music' for this comment see *Queen's*, p.112. George Bernard Shaw was later to comment, in the preface to *Pygmalion* (1912), 'It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman hate or despise him.', as cited in P.J.Waller, 'Democracy & Dialect, Speech & Class' in P.J.Waller, *Politics and Social Change in Modern Britain* (Sussex, Harvester, 1987) p.1.

<sup>91</sup> *Queen's*, pp.112-13.

<sup>92</sup> *Queen's*, p.113 and reasserted in *Point of View*, pp.85-6. Despite Loane's assertions, Jose Harris suggests that, despite the best efforts of many teachers under the 1870 education system, to inculcate linguistic conformity, 'the missing aitch was itself part of the new, delocalized mode of speech. Virtually unknown outside London before the 1880's, its rapid spread thereafter was a graph of the "cockneyfication" of the southern working class'. See Harris, *op.cit.* p.23.

<sup>93</sup> *Queen's*, p.113.

<sup>94</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> As Waller has commented, confirming Loane's opinion, 'The concomitants of urbanisation were improved communications, migration and industrialisation. All were blamed for the spread of alien usage's and the disappearance of local expressions. See Waller, *op.cit.* p.11.

<sup>96</sup> For an example of this see *Queen's*, p.94.

the poor, she doubted that these were as numerous as novelists implied.<sup>97</sup> Slow familiarisation with a more sophisticated vocabulary had some curious results.<sup>98</sup> Women, for example, were the most likely to use long, inappropriate words, as Loane recorded in the following anecdote `Speaking of the late Queen, a patient said solemnly: "I always have thought she lived too much in solution".'<sup>99</sup>

Difficulties clearly arose from the use of unaccustomed words, but the poor had a certain degree of pride, for as Loane commented, they were:

always most unwilling to ask one another the meaning of any strange word, but will readily own their own ignorance to any member of the upper classes, even to children.<sup>100</sup>

Similarly, as the following comment of Loane's shows, euphemistic distinctions were often adopted to disguise a demeaning situation:

The workhouse in all refined circles is called the Infirmary, and it seems to be a point of honour with most of the elderly inmates to speak of it as a well-managed place to which they have voluntarily retired.<sup>101</sup>

However, as earlier references to the workhouse indicate, this view runs counter to the general contemporary accounts of this institution and its inmates.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> *Queen's*, p.114.

<sup>98</sup> McKibbin, *op.cit.* p.190.

<sup>99</sup> *Queen's*, p.82.

<sup>100</sup> *Queen's*, p.81.

<sup>101</sup> *Queen's*, p.95, and as cited in Phillips, *op.cit.* p.106. Phillips notes that both Arthur Morrison, in *Tales of Mean Streets*, and Flora Thompson, in *Lark Rise to Candleford*, include comparable euphemisms.

<sup>102</sup> See Chapter 8, 'The Elderly Poor' footnotes 49-61.

As an example of the superabundance of negatives, Loane repeated the reply given by a young woman to a puzzling question, 'I shouldn't think no one couldn't guess that, not nohow.'<sup>103</sup> This was followed by a collective description of other common grammatical errors made by the poor in conversation., which, she noted, '...were all along the lines of over-simplification.'<sup>104</sup> These included making all verbs regular, and failing to make the verb agree with the subject. She also noted that:

What is considered a strong preference for dragging in the objective case would perhaps be more fairly described, as the unsatisfied craving of the language for disjunctive pronouns. 'Me and him, we went to see her' would translate easily into French, and is a form in common use.<sup>105</sup>

The use of the second person singular was still widely used in the North of England, but rarely in the South, except affectionately by elderly people, and, albeit rarely, in a contemptuous way by little boys. The constant use of 'as' for 'that' seemed, to Loane, to be 'a deforming feature,' which, although favoured by literary Americans, was 'slightly out of date'.<sup>106</sup>

### *Propriety, perception and plausibility*

Lacking a developed sense of propriety, every misfortune suffered by the poor was open to ridicule, providing it was at a person's own expense. As an example of

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<sup>103</sup> *Queen's*, p.114.

<sup>104</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Queen's*, pp.114 - 115.

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*



this, Loane related the tale of a lady visitor to a hospital who enquired as to why a patient was so convulsed with laughter:

'They've give me a track, ma'am!' he gasped.

'Yes?'

'It's a track against dancing.'

'Well?'

'Both my legs is cut off!' and again he laughed like a schoolboy. <sup>107</sup>

The poor were further disadvantaged by their unsophisticated powers of perception. One manifestation of this was their inability to identify a lady except in terms which reflected a connection with 'idleness and extravagance': most viewed ladies as 'people who lies on the sofa all day and reads novels' <sup>108</sup> or as 'people that must have things *just so*. Rhoda's missis isn't one, so she just suits her.' <sup>109</sup> Loane did record one woman who got 'unusually near the mark when she said "Ladies wouldn't play mean shabby tricks on you, not like common people does".' <sup>110</sup>

In a similar vein, she noted that the poor were unable to 'recognise shades of rank among the poor', although, in their defence, Loane pointed out that 'the rich fail entirely to recognise the numerous grades of social position that there are among the poor.' <sup>111</sup> It was perhaps 'unsophisticated perception' which was responsible for many of the poor being 'insensitive to all forms of personal beauty except the most ordinary childish prettiness.' <sup>112</sup> Nor were the majority of the poor whom Loane encountered

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<sup>107</sup> *Queen's*, p.109.

<sup>108</sup> *Queen's*, pp.96-97.

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Queen's*, p.97.

<sup>111</sup> *Queen's*, pp.120-21.

<sup>112</sup> *Queen's*, pp.57-58. For a later reference to 'untrained aestheticism' see *Englishman's*, p.55.

able to describe appearance, yet many a woman 'identified' a prisoner, who was subsequently 'condemned, chiefly on their testimony, to penal servitude.'<sup>113</sup>

The consequences of their plausibility and lack of discernment was of concern to Loane, for the poor vested enormous faith in complete strangers, and were easy prey for 'quacks'<sup>114</sup> and every 'fraudulent traveller and bogus agent'.<sup>115</sup> The doctor, the clergyman and even the district nurse might, quite inappropriately, be mistrusted.<sup>116</sup>

### *The poor and leisure*

Loane made few direct references to leisure activities within *The Queen's Poor*,<sup>117</sup> but she did maintain that the poor, unlike other classes, did not gain most pleasure from anticipating an enjoyable activity.<sup>118</sup> Rather, they knew how to make 'the most of retrospection', and even though a school treat, mothers' outing, or day in the country had been a failure at the time, all were recalled as hugely successful entertainment's months later.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> *Queen's*, p.58.

<sup>114</sup> See Chapter 8, Health and the Poor, footnotes 34-35.

<sup>115</sup> *Queen's*, p.130.

<sup>116</sup> Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum. Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Penguin, 1973) pp.124-128.

<sup>117</sup> Loane did devote a chapter to 'The Pleasures of the Poor' in a later publication. She stated 'My acquaintances with the poor, and they are numerous, live almost without these pleasures: they seldom enter theatre, dancing saloon, music hall, or concert room; they seem to have little or no connection with the vast crowds hanging round football and cricket matches, or on the outskirts of the racecourses; they are not often to be found listening to improving lectures, nor attending political meetings, nor crowding into police-courts, and except very early and very late in life, they are not regular attendants at church or chapel. Such enjoyments as they have seem to me to be of an entirely domestic nature; if not "sacred" they are at least "home-felt delights", and most of them can be savoured in solitude, or at any rate in solitude *a deux*.' *Englishman's*, p. 32 and *Evening News*, 5 February 1909, p.4.

<sup>118</sup> *Queen's*, p.104.

<sup>119</sup> *ibid.* and for a description of an unsuccessful mother's treat see *Queen's*, p.105.

### *Holidays and Outings*

With the exception of Bank Holiday's, <sup>120</sup> often celebrated by an outing, but often dreaded by wives because of the amount of alcohol that was consumed, <sup>121</sup> any holiday breaks which the poor had clearly varied. <sup>122</sup> Loane cited one young man, affectionately referred to as 'All-but', who got 'a fortnight every year', <sup>123</sup> while another, Dolf, greeted his week's holiday with 'his wages, *and* a sov'rin, ' <sup>124</sup> with surprise.

Some of the working-class poor did anticipate a change of scenery, <sup>125</sup> for Loane included a reference to a couple who save 'something for the summer holiday' <sup>126</sup> If children were lucky, they were treated to the occasional outing or country holiday organised by the Sunday School <sup>127</sup> or a charitable organisation such as the Fresh Air Fund for the London Poor which Loane mentioned. <sup>128</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> For references to Bank Holidays see *Queen's*, p.5, p.257, and *Englishman's*, p.71. See also J.F.C Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1902* (Fontana, 1990) p.84. Government intervention in working hours in the form of the Saturday half day and the Bank Holiday Act of 1871 were largely responsible for the growth in working-class leisure in the late-Victorian period.

<sup>121</sup> *Queen's*, p.5, pp.125-26. See also Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.22.

<sup>122</sup> Rowntree wrote that 'It is growing practice for the families in Class "D" [those earning between 21s. and 30s. a week] to take a few days' summer holiday out of York. During the August Bank Holiday week, working men from York crowd into Scarborough, and many of those who do not take such an extended holiday avail themselves of the cheap day and half-day excursions run by the N.E Railway Company.' See B.Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty. A Study of Town Life* (Macmillan, 1901) pp.76-77. See also E.H.Hunt, *British Labour History 1815-1914* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981) pp.80-81.

<sup>123</sup> *Queen's*, p.228.

<sup>124</sup> *Queen's*, p.227.

<sup>125</sup> For a reference to a couple who spent '£8 a year on holidays' see *Queen's*, p.157, and for the sacrifices made by another family see *Englishman's*, p.48.

<sup>126</sup> *Queen's*, p.13. For a reference to 'a well-set-out family from Walworth [London] ' who took a week's holiday with her husband in South Wales see *Next Street*, p.97.

<sup>127</sup> *Queen's*, p.37. *Next Street*, p.39.

<sup>128</sup> *Queen's*, p.66. For a further reference to the Fresh Air Fund see *Next Street*, pp.97-99. Loane also subsequently wrote an article on this subject. See Chapter 3, A Biographical study of M.Loane, footnotes 124-125. See also Roberts, *op.cit.* p.49. For articles on the Children's Country Holiday Fund see, for example, *Westminster Gazette*, 20 October 1905, p.1 and *The Spectator*, 13 July 1907, p.53.

A favourite leisure activity for young courting couples was to go 'out walkin'...every evening'<sup>129</sup> whilst the elderly, for whom Loane thought pleasures were scarce, might be taken to a tea-party organised by the workhouse,<sup>130</sup> the Church Sisters or a wealthy clergyman.<sup>131</sup> The authoress also implied that some of the poor were familiar with stage entertainment, for one of her acquaintances was invited, by a neighbour, to re-enact a visit by the vicar, and to amuse her with her 'understudy' role.<sup>132</sup>

### *Reading and Music*

Pleasures which were pursued at home included reading and music.<sup>133</sup> Newspapers were a particular favourite amongst the poor:<sup>134</sup> some readers were keen to keep up-to-date with foreign affairs such as the South African War,<sup>135</sup> whilst others liked nothing better than the sensationalist reporting of a 'good murder,'<sup>136</sup> or to 'pore delightedly over the advertisements of quack medicines.'<sup>137</sup> 'Parish magazines and picture almanacs,' which Loane commended as suitable vehicles for the dissemination of information on 'Health and Home,' were also popular amongst the

<sup>129</sup> *Queen's*, p.228. For another reference to 'walking out' see *Queen's*, p.94.

<sup>130</sup> *Queen's*, p.215.

<sup>131</sup> *Next Street*, p.40.

<sup>132</sup> *Queen's*, p.247. For a contemporary reference to theatre and music halls of the period see Bell, *op.cit.* pp.134-36.

<sup>133</sup> For an earlier descriptive reference to the reading habits of the poor see above, footnote 55.

<sup>134</sup> *Queen's*, p.103, p.195, p.298, p.306. For confirmation of reading habits see Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* pp. 165-67 and Bell, *op.cit.* pp.142-170.

<sup>135</sup> *Queen's*, pp.297-98 and p.306.

<sup>136</sup> *Englishman's*, pp. 32-33. Loane was subsequently critical of the popular newspapers and the 'police-news' and recommended that these publications pandered less to the working-class 'love of horrors.' See *Englishman's*, pp.121-22. Loane may have been referring to the *National Police Gazette*, a very risqué paper which was founded in the USA in the 1840's. Loane also refers to the working-class 'love of horrors' in *Queen's*, p.128. Lady Bell makes a reference to *The Illustrated Police Budget* which she describes as 'a sensational and much-read paper.' See Bell, *op.cit.* p.146.

<sup>137</sup> *Queen's*, p.142 and for affirmation see Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.124.

poor.<sup>138</sup> Working-class taste in books, which might be borrowed from a Sunday school, parish or Free library,<sup>139</sup> varied considerably: some confined their reading to religious works,<sup>140</sup> fiction was always popular,<sup>141</sup> as were many classic novels such as *Adam Bede*, *East Lynne* and *Jane Eyre*.<sup>142</sup> The impact of all this reading upon the vocabulary of the poor, was, Loane maintained, palpable, for it vastly increased the number of words at their disposal.<sup>143</sup>

Loane encountered many poor people for whom music was 'the greatest joy' in their lives,<sup>144</sup> with instruments mentioned including the banjo<sup>145</sup> and the piano. In the case of the latter, and as implied by the authoress, ownership may have had more to do with appearances and social standing than with a desire for pleasure.<sup>146</sup> For late-Victorian society had elevated the piano to an extraordinary position, in which it 'symbolised respectability, achievement and status.'<sup>147</sup> The number of pianos in existence by 1910 has been calculated at between two to four million. Since few households contained more than one piano, it has been suggested that 'even the lowest estimates imply that ownership was by no means confined to the middle classes'.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, research suggests that between 1850 and 1914 the piano-

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138 *Queen's*, p.142.

139 For reference to the Sunday school and parish library see *Queen's*, p.142. For an earlier reference to the Free library see above, footnote 52.

140 *Queen's*, p.34.

141 *Queen's*, p.311.

142 *Next Street*, p.9.

143 *Queen's*, p.82. See also *Queen's*, p.113 and above, footnotes 53-54..

144 *Queen's*, p.298.

145 *ibid.*

146 *Queen's*, p.233. Loane's view was confirmed by Lady Bell, who remarked that although music was important to many of the poor, the piano was often purchased as an adornment for the home. See Bell, *op.cit.*, pp.81-82.

147 Roberts has remarked that 'Well before 1914 the piano and gramophone, two status symbols of the highest significance, had already penetrated deep into top working-class homes.' See Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.153. See also C.Ehrlich, *The Piano. A History* (Dent, 1976) pp.90-91.

148 Ehrlich, *op.cit.* pp.91-92.

purchasing power of working-class incomes doubled, largely because of the evolution of the 'three year system' of hire purchase.<sup>149</sup> It is perhaps misleading, as Professor Ehrlich has argued, to describe the ambitious Edwardian poor as scrimping and saving 'to amass the necessary £20 or so to buy a piano, since only a down-payment was required.'<sup>150</sup>

### *Smoking and drinking*

Despite the financial constraints of low incomes, smoking was a popular habit amongst the poor,<sup>151</sup> and led one workhouse inmate to remark 'Tobacco's just the same as money, you know, mahm. Everyone wants it, and there's nothing they wouldn't do to get a bit...It's nothing but the want of it as'll ever drive some men to work.'<sup>152</sup>

The numerous references to drink, particularly by men, within Loane's social commentaries lend weight to the view that drinking was the major leisure activity available to those of the working classes who could afford it at the turn of the century.<sup>153</sup> The public house was undoubtedly attractive since, for men at least, it was accessible and open, and there were no stipulations as to dress or respect-

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<sup>149</sup> Ehrlich, *op.cit.* p.98.

<sup>150</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> As Smith has noted, the late nineteenth century heralded the age of new, mass consumption patterns of tobacco. In 1880 the population of the United Kingdom smoked 1.4 pounds per head per year, a figure which had increased to 1.97 pounds in 1905, and to 2.00 pounds by 1910. The penny-per-five cigarette was introduced in 1888 and rapidly captured the market: in 1891 85 million out of the 126 million cigarettes purchased were penny ones. In 1910, after the method of measurement changed, 30 million pounds of cigarettes were sold, in 1914 50 millions. These figures come from B.W Alford, *W.D & H.O.Wills and the development of the U.K. tobacco industry, 1786 - 1965* (Methuen, 1976) as cited in F.B.Smith, 'Health' in John Benson, *The Working Class in England, 1875-1914* (Croom Helm, 1985) p.51.

<sup>152</sup> *Queen's*, pp.217-18. For other references to smoking see *Queen's*, p.15, p.102, p.119, p.306. For the rationing of tobacco in the workhouse see Chapter 8, 'The Elderly Poor', footnotes 55-57.

<sup>153</sup> Hugh Cunningham, 'Leisure' in Benson, *op.cit.* pp.133-164.

ability.<sup>154</sup> It was a less respectable place for poor women to visit, and many public houses applied strict rules about their behaviour. Some allowed men and women to sit together, in others the women were only allowed in for part of the evening, whilst in some they sat apart or even in different rooms as Roberts's recollections show.

He described how:

lower class women who were bold enough to enter a pub, [but were] too "overfaced" to sit, beshawled, in one of the rooms, stood crushed together drinking in the 'Outdoor'<sup>155</sup>

Many men found it difficult to avoid drink, for their wages might be paid in the public house: the place also served as an unofficial labour exchange, and in return for buying a round of drinks a man would be tipped off about a local vacancy.<sup>156</sup>

The temptation of alcohol extended beyond the public house, for, as Loane recorded, people sometimes offered a workman 'a little of their own whisky and water or some good beer' *in lieu* of a 'tip': the latter was avoided because many believed that liquor sold in public-houses was doctored.<sup>157</sup> The anecdotal evidence of an elderly couple who, inadvertently, gave a cabman a drink of furniture polish in error for whisky, highlighted the potency and addictiveness of tainted alcohol:

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<sup>154</sup> As Dr. Thompson has observed, drinkers found both comfort and company in the public house. See Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians. The Remaking of British Society*, 2nd.ed. (Routledge, 1992) p.170.

<sup>155</sup> The discrimination did not end there, for the landlord would not lower himself to serve women, leaving this to the barmaid. As an alternative women could be found drinking in one of the women's rooms in the street corner 'locals' which existed in the poorer districts of cities. See Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.* p.121. See also E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place, An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1995) p.115. For a description of the internal arrangements of the pub see M.Gorham & H.M.Dunnett, *Inside the Pub* (Architectural Press, 1950)

<sup>156</sup> Hunt, *op.cit.* p.124. Lady Bell also drew attention to the role of the pub as an unofficial money changer: in Middlesborough, the iron workers were paid in gold, and the local pub 'took care to be well provided with change at the end of the week'. Inevitably, this captive audience often then spent much of their wages in the pub. See Bell, *op.cit.* p.251.

<sup>157</sup> *Queen's*, p.126.

not only did the cabman not detect the error, but, on another occasion, requested the same drink! <sup>158</sup>

The temperance movement was, as she indicated, very active in Edwardian Britain, <sup>159</sup> and its popularity was given impetus by the identification of drink as both a causal factor and consequence of poverty. <sup>160</sup> In Loane's experience, inebriety frequently resulted in violence and matrimonial separation, <sup>161</sup> and working-class marriages could only be reconciled if a husband could be persuaded to 'take the pledge', and reform his ways. <sup>162</sup>

Reformation was, apparently, much more likely amongst men who had taken up alcohol, than women. <sup>163</sup> It was suggested that this was because most men drank

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<sup>158</sup> *ibid.* The matter of doctored liquor is contentious. Historically, adulteration of liquor was commonplace: the potential danger was self-evident given that adulterants such as 'nux vomica, henbane, cocolus indicus, grains of paradise, opium, arsenic, oil of vitriol, sulphuric ether, essential oil of almonds, oil of turpentine, alum sulphur, sulphate of iron, aloes, quessia, cherry laurel water, foxglove, worm-wood and headings (a mixture of powdered copperas and allum) were common additives. This list of adulterant agents appeared in the Report of the Committee of Convocation of Intemperance. See, Rev. D. Burns, *The Bases of Temperance Reform, An Exposition and Appeal* (Pitman, 1872) p.5, p.170. Burnett has stated categorically that, by 1880, beer adulteration had practically ceased to exist, except for innocuous dilution, and that claims about the poisonous ingredients allegedly used by brewers were propagated by the Temperance movement to deter people from drinking. See John Burnett, *Plenty and Want. A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, 1st.ed. (Nelson, 1966) p.266. However, Roberts' evidence indicates that although 'government action had stamped out most of the blatantly dishonest practices' by 1900, liquor was still being tampered with despite 'vigilance and innumerable prosecutions.' see Roberts, *Classic Slum*, *op.cit.*

<sup>159</sup> H.Carter, *The English Temperance Movement* (Epworth Press, 1933)

<sup>160</sup> Social investigators including Mayhew, Booth and Rowntree agreed that 'drink and other working-class indulgences were not the main causes of poverty, but their findings left no doubt that the contribution of drink to poverty was substantial.' See Hunt, *op.cit.* p.124.

<sup>161</sup> See, for example, *Queen's*, p.3, p.170, p.182, pp.266-271, p.281 & p.306.

<sup>162</sup> *Queen's*, p.171.

<sup>163</sup> Harrison, in his authoritative history of the temperance problem, states that the temperance movement originated in 1828, with teetotal societies growing from this in the 1830's. The free trade policy in beer and wine was reversed in 1871-72, a minor victory for the temperance reformers. Their crusade then moved into new areas - opposing the compensation of dispossessed publicans, the municipal management of the drinks trade and the treatment of drunkenness as a disease rather than as a moral failing. See B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (Faber & Faber, 1971) pp.19-20. Rowntree and Sherwell identified two agencies for temperance which they referred to as the 'restrictive' and the 'constructive'. The former aimed to reduce, by law, the number of licensed houses, and to shorten the hours of sale. The latter advocated prohibition. Rowntree himself saw a place for some prohibition, but not on a national scale. See J. Rowntree & A.Sherwell, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1899).



for social reasons, and were 'led to it by the love of pleasure,' and were therefore able to reform if they chose to. <sup>164</sup> In contrast, women, like Dolf's mother, <sup>165</sup> drank not for pleasure, but to escape from the harsh and immutable reality of their lives, dogged as they were by ill-health and great unhappiness. <sup>166</sup> Their only chance of reform was a fundamental improvement in their quality of life, which the district nurse conceded was unlikely. <sup>167</sup>

### *The poor and authority*

It appeared to Loane that even many of the 'most superior' of the poor had 'a great horror of inspectors, foremen, etc.,' in fact any authoritarian figure who they thought might interfere in their lives, and they could not be convinced that these people had essential work to do. <sup>168</sup> They were, for example, unwilling to accept that officials, like the workshop and factory inspectors were acting in their interest. <sup>169</sup> Officers of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, who were concerned with protecting neglected, abused and exploited children, were equally mistrusted, <sup>170</sup> for parents who were guilty of these offences were liable to be prosecuted, and to lose the guardianship of their children. <sup>171</sup> Recourse to 'the proper authorities' regarding cases of overcrowding, illegal subletting or even sanitary defects was a double-edged

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<sup>164</sup> *Queen's*, p.171.

<sup>165</sup> *Queen's*, p.225.

<sup>166</sup> Lady Bell was in no doubt that whilst the effect of a husband's drinking upon a household was devastating, 'when the woman drinks, as many of them do, the result on the household is probably even worse.' See Bell, *op.cit.* p.248.

<sup>167</sup> *Queen's*, pp.225-27.

<sup>168</sup> *Queen's*, p.127 and as cited in *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

<sup>169</sup> *Next Street*, p.88.

<sup>170</sup> *Queen's*, p.134, p.143, p.146. See also Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 57-69.

<sup>171</sup> *Queen's*, pp.142-43 and *Next Street*, pp.204-18.

sword, and evoked fear in the poor: an antagonised landlord was likely to evict the tenant who then found himself homeless, whilst conditions remained unchanged. <sup>172</sup>

Loane knew from first-hand experience that even the Queen's nurse sometimes experienced difficulty gaining the trust of her patients, and advised nurses to adopt an unpatronising even deferential attitude when visiting the poor. <sup>173</sup> The school attendance officer, who was required to assess the need for free school meals, was another official whom poor parents viewed as a persecutor, <sup>174</sup> not just because they had a reputation for dealing unkindly with the poor but because of their patronising attitude. <sup>175</sup> Earlier references to the workhouse indicate the fear which this official establishment, and, by implication, its employees, engendered in the poor. <sup>176</sup> Likewise, many of the poor dreaded applying to the Union for outdoor relief, <sup>177</sup> because of the way in which the system was administered.

Suspicion was, in Loane's view, 'an inconveniently common quality among even the most respectable of the poor.' <sup>178</sup> It was a trait which did not work to their benefit, and rather often resulted in misplaced confidence. For example, they would question the doctor closely about the professionalism of the nurse, and *vice-versa*, but 'accept the brazen quack at his own valuation.' <sup>179</sup> Then there was the innocent clergyman and his wife who organised a 'coal club' for the benefit of the poor who

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<sup>172</sup> M.Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, March 1897, p.32. Miss Loane, 'Florence Nightingale and District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, October 1910, p.239.

<sup>173</sup> M.J.Loane, 'A First Visit', *Nursing Notes*, November 1898, pp.152-154. This article formed part of a chapter of the same name in M.Loane, *Outlines of Routine in District Nursing* (Scientific Press, 1905) pp.139-146.

<sup>174</sup> Loane makes an oblique reference to this in *Queen's*, p.142. See also J.S.Hurt, *Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) p.115.

<sup>175</sup> Hurt, *op.cit.* p.115.

<sup>176</sup> See Chapter 8, 'The Elderly Poor', footnotes 48-61.

<sup>177</sup> *Queen's*, p.260.

<sup>178</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.260.

<sup>179</sup> *Queen's*, p.129.

were accused of profiteering, whilst the opportunist 'fraudulent traveller' was trusted implicitly. <sup>180</sup> For little boys, policemen were 'the usual bogeys' and officers of the law were 'generally regarded as implacable, deaf to the entreaties and pie-crust promises that so soon soften a mother's anger.' <sup>181</sup>

Criticism was often directed at the clergy, largely for their patronising attitude: One keen-witted woman remarked how 'We like him very much, but I should think he'd preached to pore [sic] people all his time: he talks so loud.' <sup>182</sup>

The poor took a very cynical view of would-be philanthropists. As Loane explained:

I fear that if the rich knew the estimation in which they are held by the poor, they would hardly have the moral courage to go among them. It is easy to say, 'They think badly because they are bad themselves'; but this by no means solves the problem: men and women who are capable of the greatest devotion, generosity and disinterestedness, appear unable to conceive that any person whose income is apparently above about £ 200 a year can possibly show them any kindness except from purely selfish motives. <sup>183</sup>

This inherent, if misplaced, belief in 'the vested interest' was as much of a stumbling block to helping the poor as impersonal philanthropy, and Loane reinforced her earlier advice to 'every agency for improving the condition of the poor', by recommending them to bear in mind the maxim, 'the gift without the giver is bare.' <sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> *Queen's*, pp.129-30.

<sup>181</sup> *Queen's*, pp.59-60.

<sup>182</sup> *Queen's*, p.42.

<sup>183</sup> *Queen's*, p.130.

<sup>184</sup> *Queen's*, pp.130-131. For Loane's earlier advice, see *Queen's*, p.26.

*Ethics and the working-classes*

Loane challenged the middle and upper class belief that the poor adhered to an alien set of moral principles,<sup>185</sup> as noted,<sup>186</sup> and attempted to demonstrate that the poor recognised 'the same virtues as the rich, but they do not range them in the same order.'<sup>187</sup>

Truthfulness was not of prime importance to them: indeed Loane described how 'the standard of truth is always rather low,' and referred to one man who was proud to boast of the skill of lying, and remaining undetected.<sup>188</sup>

Regarding manners and politeness, and as *The British Journal of Nursing* emphasised, Loane's experience of the poor illustrated that they were, in fact 'extremely tenacious of the few forms of politeness with which they are acquainted, and often understand its essentials' and that it was only the 'encrusted' forms of chivalry which were the exclusive property of the upper classes.<sup>189</sup> Loane was aware of an 'increasing refinement of manners among the poor' but detected that the form adopted was often slightly outdated by middle and upper class standards.<sup>190</sup>

There were certain codes of conduct which Loane considered the middle and upper classes would do well to emulate. She was impressed, for example, by the way in which the poor would 'restrain their children from touching anything belonging to a visitor at their house, from thrusting themselves into the conversation, or from making

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<sup>185</sup> As Keating has commented, social explorers of the Victorian and Edwardian period, including Henry Mayhew, George Sims, General Booth and Andrew Mearns, adopted the imagery of the poor as a separate 'nation' as the vehicle for their explorations. See, Peter Keating (ed) *Into Unknown England 1866-1913* (Fontana, 1976) pp.13-15.

<sup>186</sup> See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 70-91.

<sup>187</sup> *Queen's*, p.116.

<sup>188</sup> *Queen's*, pp.94-95. *The Spectator*, 6 January 1906, p.9.

<sup>189</sup> *The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.364.

<sup>190</sup> *Queen's*, p.53 and *Englishman's*, pp.201-02.

any unwelcome advances.' <sup>191</sup>

### *Overview*

A quote which Stephen Reynolds included in his extensive review of Loane's works is particularly apposite in summing up her conclusions upon the morals of the poor:

Then we are so anxious about the morals of the poor. We especially find fault with them for want of truth, and do not seem in the least aware that they constantly accuse us of wilful and interested lying... Would it not be fairer to say that rich and poor, men and women, vary chiefly in their ideas as to when it is excusable, justifiable, or even compulsory to deceive?... The poor often tell what seem to the rich wholly gratuitous lies, but they will tell the truth on occasions when the rich would lie unblushingly. The poor are generally honest, though rarely honourable, and neither honour nor honesty are as common among the upper classes as we like to believe. Listen to candidates for an examination... The examiner is an enemy, and if he can be deluded, there is no harm in deluding him, and this state of mind is often fostered by otherwise conscientious teachers. If physical examination of the candidates is demanded, there are no bounds to what they consider permissible deception... Again, is it the poor who travel with a time-expired season ticket, or in a higher class than they have paid for? What is the average morality of the well-to-do in regard to the treatment of hired furniture, horses, bicycles etc.? Why this perpetual assumption that we know so much better than the poor, and on every conceivable point? <sup>192</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> *Queen's*, p.118.

<sup>192</sup> *Englishman's*, pp. 303-04 and as cited in Stephen Reynolds, 'What the Poor Want', *Quarterly Review*, vol.212, January -April 1910, pp.164-65.

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## CHAPTER 11

### The poor and the state

State intervention in the lives of the poor was in its infancy at the end of the nineteenth century: compulsory education, introduced from 1870 onwards,<sup>1</sup> and proposed welfare reforms, to be examined, had as much to do with the relief of poverty as the imperatives of national interest and social control. Once again, Loane's position as a Queen's nurse legitimised her intervention in working-class life,<sup>2</sup> but the state, *per se*, had no connection with nor influence, financial or otherwise, upon the work of Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses.<sup>3</sup>

Theoretically, she disliked the interference of the state as a regulating force in social relations: her unequivocal condemnation of policies such as free school meals and state pensions were based on her belief that they diminished personal responsibility. However, in practice, Loane was less dogmatic: measures such as compulsory education which aimed to control and impose discipline received her veiled acceptance, whilst she approved and actively promoted official inspection which she considered would be of benefit to the poor.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 25-30.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. McKibbin has described Miss Loane as a member of one of a number of improving agencies which 'actively intervened in working-class life.' See R.I. McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain 1880-1950* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990) p.187.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. McKibbin asserted, in a paper presented in 1977, that Miss Loane 'personified state intervention', a statement which was misleading, for it implied, incorrectly, that the Queen's Nurse was an instrument of government. See R.I. McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation in Edwardian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol.28, 1977, pp.194-95. However, see above, footnote 2, for his amended opinion.

### *State-Spread Tables*

Loane threw herself wholeheartedly into the topical debate surrounding proposals to provide free school meals to poor school children, and devoted a complete chapter to this controversial issue in *The Queen's Poor*. As an arch opponent, her contribution to the debate elicited particularly critical interest, reflecting public concern in the matter. <sup>4</sup> *The Athenaeum* referred to her strictures as 'an almost passionate impeachment of the cry for the free-feeding of "under-fed" children,' <sup>5</sup> whilst the *Daily News* commented succinctly 'she violently protests against those who are preaching free children's meals as a remedy for poverty.' <sup>6</sup> As a tribute, *The Nursing Times* suggested that the chapter, 'State-spread Tables', 'should be reprinted and sent broadcast over the land before the tender-hearted rush in and relieve the poor of all parental responsibility.' <sup>7</sup>

### *Charitable versus State Assistance*

The authoress's views also found favour with the Charity Organisation Society [COS], exemplified by the glowing endorsement of 'State-spread Tables' which they included in their official publication:

One chapter deserves special comment and commendation  
...Here, the writer illustrates and enforces by her own  
experience the views that have always been held by the  
Charity Organisation Society with regard to the feeding  
of school children by the State. <sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See below, footnote 28.

<sup>5</sup> *The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720.

<sup>6</sup> *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

<sup>7</sup> *The Nursing Times*, 21 October 1905, pp.490-1.

<sup>8</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.261. For other reviews of this chapter see *The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.365; *Nursing Notes*, December 1905, p.180; *Church Times*, 16 April 1906, p.358.



However, whilst Loane may have reached similar conclusions to the COS regarding free school meals, in that she totally rejected the State provision of meals, the route which she took differed markedly from theirs. The work of the COS was based on the conviction that the problem of poverty could be solved by study, thought, the ascertaining of the facts and the application of scientific method.<sup>9</sup> As an organisation, they adopted a moral high ground, and were committed to identifying and distinguishing, through rigorous investigation, between the deserving and the undeserving poor, and then applying charitable assistance.<sup>10</sup>

The opinion put forward by promoters of the free food schemes, that 'charity weakens parental obligation, State aid would strengthen it,'<sup>11</sup> did not impress Loane and she questioned the basis of this claim thus:

We know more of private charity than we do of State aid, and that is the chief reason why we can say more against it. The only system at all resembling what is proposed, was that of the allowances made under the unreformed Poor Law to fathers of families. We all know what its results were.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> C.L.Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913. Its Ideas and Work* (Constable, 1961) p.14. The views of the COS were an extension of those expressed by Samuel Smiles who propagated the notion that the poor could be helped, by intelligent charity, to help themselves. S. Smiles, *Self-Help with Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance* (1859)

<sup>10</sup> Mowat, *op.cit.*

<sup>11</sup> M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor: Life as they find it in Town and Country* (Edward Arnold, 1905) (henceforth *Queen's*) p.153. For this claim see also Letter of Dr. Hutchinson, *The Times*, 8 September 1904, p.5. For a further affirmation of this view see also *After Bread, Education. A Plan for the State Feeding of School Children'*, Fabian Tract 120 (1905).

<sup>12</sup> *Queen's*, p.153. For a useful summary of the conventional view about the pre-1834 Poor Law and Speenhamland allowances see M.E. Rose, *The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914* (Macmillan, 1972) (henceforth Rose, Poverty).

Whilst acknowledging the 'many weak points' of charitable relief, she asserted that, providing such help was 'well organised and used strictly for tiding over temporary difficulties', the advantages were incontestable.<sup>13</sup> First, she maintained that such help could be given more quickly than State aid. Secondly, and implying a distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor, she asserted that with this type of relief, greater discrimination could be applied: this opinion was, of course, in direct opposition to that of the 'free feeders', who aimed 'to eliminate all attempts at discrimination by feeding all school children.'<sup>14</sup> Loane also argued that because there would be no automatic right to assistance anyone whose conduct fell 'below the average level' [whatever that might be] would not hope to receive help.

Finally, Loane stressed the 'fact' that even the most ignorant people knew, from experience, that charities did not have an infinite amount of money to give away, therefore they never took 'hand outs' for granted, nor placed absolute dependence upon them or, most significantly, gave up all personal effort.<sup>15</sup> Ultimately, there were more fundamental issues which needed to be understood and addressed, and that charity alone, nor free dinners, would resolve the plight of underfed children.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Queen's*, p.153.

<sup>14</sup> Letter of Dr.J.Hutchinson, *The Times*, 8 September 1904, p.5.

<sup>15</sup> *Queen's*, p.153.

<sup>16</sup> Although attention was concentrated on poor children who were malnourished, Drummond's subsequent comments are of interest, for as he stated, 'It must not be imagined that it was only the children of the poor who suffered from malnutrition in the early part of the century. The diets given to the boys and girls at many of the big public schools at the time were often defective, seldom it is true in amount, but very often in nutritive quality.' See J.C.Drummond & A.Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food. A History of Five Centuries of English Diet* (Cape, 1939) p.491.

*The Debate on Free School Meals: a Brief History*

The contemporary background to the topical debate on free meals was connected to the introduction of compulsory education in 1870, for the latter highlighted the existence of innumerable numbers of malnourished children.

Prior to this it was only societies such as Lord Shaftesbury's Destitute Children's Dinner Society, along with certain Roman Catholic and ragged schools, which actively sought out and addressed the problem of underfed pupils.<sup>17</sup> Even after 1870, the thousands of allegedly 'underfed'<sup>18</sup> children in classrooms up and down the country remained reliant upon benevolent individuals and institutions to relieve their hunger. Of particular note was George Sims, a social investigator of a different tradition and author of the sensational tract *How the Poor Live*.<sup>19</sup> He was jointly instrumental, with the headmistress of a London school, in launching the *Referee* Children's Free Breakfast and Dinner Fund.<sup>20</sup> By 1904 there were 150 feeding

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<sup>17</sup> J.S.Hurt, *Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) p.102. For a comprehensive account of the many other charitable agencies feeding children at this time see L.Andrews, 'The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. A Study of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906 against its social, political and economic background,' MA Thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 1966, p.148.

<sup>18</sup> Whilst Hurt considers that 'underfed' was the contemporary euphemism for near-starving, Sir Arthur Clay commented, in 1905, 'No definition of what constitutes an "underfed " child has yet been agreed upon, and the more that is known of the matter the more evident it is that no satisfactory definition is possible.' See, Hurt, *op.cit.* p.103 and Sir A.Clay, 'Free Meals for Underfed Children', *Monthly Review*, July 1905, p.96.

<sup>19</sup> As Keating notes, 'Sims became an enormously successful and prolific writer, contributing a weekly column to *The Referee*. ' *How the Poor Live* was first published serially in *The Pictorial World*, ...as a book in the same year, and was reprinted in 1889 together with a later collection of similar sketches as how *The Poor Live and Horrible London*.' See Peter Keating (ed) *Into Unknown England 1866-1913* (Fontana, 1976) pp.65-90.

<sup>20</sup> As Hurt states, by the turn of the century with an income of £4,000 a year, it had become the largest and best known of the London societies for providing children with school meals.' See Hurt, *op.cit.* p.106.

schemes in London and 200 in the rest of England and Wales, <sup>21</sup> indicating the extent of the problem.

The stimulus for state intervention was provided by evidence accumulated from a number of sources between 1880 and 1904. First, a link between hunger and under-performance at school was provided by a number of anthropometric surveys which were conducted after 1880, <sup>22</sup> evidence which was reinforced by the School Board for London's overpressure surveys of 1885. <sup>23</sup> Added to this, the sociological investigations of both Booth and Rowntree contributed by highlighting the extent of poverty in urban England. But it was the poor physical condition of recruits for the Boer War which was ultimately responsible for shifting attitudes and for placing the debate firmly in the political arena. <sup>24</sup>

The rejection of huge numbers of working-class recruits as physically unfit to serve their country plunged the nation into a debate over national efficiency, <sup>25</sup> and

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<sup>21</sup> As cited in Rose, *Childhood*, *op.cit.* p.153.

<sup>22</sup> As Rose notes, the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association conducted a survey between 1881-3, and Dr. Warner carried out further surveys from 1889. All underlined the contrast in height and weight between professional-class and urban slum children. *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> For the overpressure controversy see, for example, Hurt, *op.cit.* pp.106-8.

<sup>24</sup> Historians differ in opinion in regard to the introduction of school meals and subsequent welfare reforms involving the State and children. The feminist viewpoint, as argued by, for example, Anna Davin, Deborah Dwork and Jane Lewis, correlates imperialism and motherhood, and that it was the revelations of the poor physical conditions of troops in the Boer war which established a new relationship between child and State. Stewart argues that 'much longer-term and more complex processes were at work, and that the measures of the 1900's were prefigured by local and voluntary initiatives of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.' See Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop Journal*, Spring 1978; Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children. A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918* (Tavistock, 1987); Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood. Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (Croom Helm, 1980); J.W. Stewart, 'Children and Social Policy in Great Britain 1871-1909', M.Phil., Goldsmiths, University of London, 1988, p.6.

<sup>25</sup> Carolyn Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain. Margaret Macmillan 1860-1931* (Virago, 1990) p.98.

resulted in the establishment of an official enquiry undertaken by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration.<sup>26</sup> Given the perceived importance of halting and reversing the apparent degeneration of an imperial race, it was hardly surprising that the Committee should devote a considerable amount of energy to scrutinising the physical condition of school children. The resulting Report, published in July 1904, confirmed what all the charitable organisations involved in child care already knew, that thousands of children were starving, and that despite their contribution, voluntary effort was struggling to meet the needs of necessitous children.

In regard to state provision of school meals, the recommendations of the Committee were unequivocal, for the Report stated that, as a remedial measure, and in accordance with methods indicated elsewhere, that 'definite provision should be made by the various Local Authorities for dealing with the question of underfed children.'<sup>27</sup> However, the issue was by no means resolved, for the Report and its conclusions provoked a national debate which, as one contemporary critic demonstrated, ranged across the political spectrum.<sup>28</sup> Barrow considered that there

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<sup>26</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII.

<sup>27</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, point 42, para. 358-365, p.91.

<sup>28</sup> As Barrow commented in 1905, 'The discussion goes on, articles appear in the magazines, and lengthy correspondence in the newspapers, and the National Labour Conference has held its grand meeting in the Guildhall and passed a far-reaching resolution.' See, F.H.Barrow, 'Free Meals for Underfed Children', *Monthly Review*, no.56. May 1905, p.1. For letters to *The Times* see, for example, 29 July 1904; 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 24, 27 September 1904; 1, 12, 17, 22 October 1905; 1, 9 November 1904; 20, 22, 24, 27, 29 December 1904; 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 12, 20 January 1905; 1, 21, 24, 25, 28, 31 March 1905; 21, 26, 28, 28, 31 May 1905 p.6. For the debate from the medical viewpoint, see, for example, *The Lancet*, 17 September 1904, 20 October 1904, 10 November 1904, 1, 15 December 1904, 5, 19 January 1905.

were three schools of thought on the subject:

First, that of the National Labour delegates, advocating the State maintenance of all children (whatever that may mean); secondly, that of Sir John Gorst, M.P., Dr. Macnamara, and others, who would supply free meals only to the underfed, while meals to be paid for were given at the same time and place to all others; thirdly, the severe school, represented by the Charity Organisation Society, whose one great principle is that children can only be dealt with through the family, that minute inquiry to find out what is wrong must first be made, and a remedy for the distress then applied, if the case is helpable; but in no cases are the children to receive free meals apart from their homes. <sup>29</sup>

As far as Sir John Gorst and other 'free fooders' were concerned it was axiomatic that:

by compelling children to attend school, the state had taken upon itself the responsibility for its feeding. No child was fit to receive such instruction, either physical or mental, if it was starving for lack of food. <sup>30</sup>

### *Loane and Free School Meals*

Loane's position regarding the proposed state provision of school meals was, and remained, <sup>31</sup> unambiguous. She argued, with 'irresistible force', <sup>32</sup> that 'the causes

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<sup>29</sup> F.H.Barrow, 'Free Meals for Underfed Children,' *Monthly Review*, no.56. May 1905, pp.1-16. For Keir Hardie's question to the Government in regard to the State provision of free meals for school children see 'The Question of Free Meals,' *Charity Organisation Review*, March 1905, p.187. For Strachey's assessment of the different standpoints see, 'Underfed Children,' *The Spectator*, 1 April 1905, pp.467-8

<sup>30</sup> Letter of John Gorst, *The Times*, 17 September 1904.

<sup>31</sup> Loane discussed the issue again in M.Loane, *The Next Street but One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) (henceforth *Next Street*) pp.53-56.

<sup>32</sup> *The Church Times*, 16 April 1906, p.358.

of the insufficient or unsuitable feeding of many children in the poorest classes are numerous and complex, therefore no panacea is possible,'<sup>33</sup> and it is evident from the complexity of her discourse that her objections to free school meals were based on her awareness and careful consideration of the wider issues involved, rather than from the narrow 'case-work' perspective upon which the COS relied.<sup>34</sup>

Loane enumerated the [interdependent] causes of underfeeding, where it existed, and as far as she had detected them, as follows, and based her arguments against free meals on these:

1. Ignorance and apathy of one or both parents
2. Laziness of either parent, more especially if on the part of the mother
3. Meals extravagant in amount and cost eaten two or three times a week
4. The disgracefully bad cooking stoves commonly provided in workmen's homes
5. The vanity which prefers fine clothes to good food
6. Gross selfishness, drunkenness, or deliberate cruelty of the parents
7. The fastidiousness and indulged whims of children
8. Mistaken ideals of duty, which turn the mother into a second wages-earner
9. Temporary poverty owing to want of work, or to ill-health of either wage earner or wage-expende
10. Permanent poverty.<sup>35</sup>

Expressing a general point, the authoress challenged those who equated 'ill-nourishment' and 'bad development' in children with either a lack of food, or an unhealthy diet. Rather, she adduced from her nursing experience, that their poor

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<sup>33</sup> *Queen's*, p.136.

<sup>34</sup> See above, footnote 29.

<sup>35</sup> *Queen's*, p.138.

physical condition, often diagnosed as symptomatic of an inadequate diet, was the direct result of an inadequate supply of fresh air, particularly at night time. <sup>36</sup>

### *Ignorant Mothers*

Loane was characteristically unsympathetic to the notion that free school meals should be provided for children of ignorant mothers. Such action, she astutely observed, would only exacerbate the problem, by removing the individual incentive to improving personal skills and the collective incentive to improving conditions. <sup>37</sup> The only remedy for ignorance was education, and as previously noted, Loane advocated that girls be taught the basics of cottage cooking in the last year of school, in preparation for marriage, <sup>38</sup> whilst practical cookery classes in appropriate conditions were held for married women. <sup>39</sup> However, as she noted, even these measures were doomed to failure if attention was not given to improving the cooking facilities which were generally available to poor women. <sup>40</sup> Mothers who were 'second wage-earners' received little sympathy from Loane; their children would be better fed, she maintained,

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<sup>36</sup> *Queen's*, p.136. For an earlier examination of the 'ventilation' argument see Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 98-99 and also Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor', footnotes 168-699.

<sup>37</sup> *Queen's*, p.151.

<sup>38</sup> For an earlier examination of this topic see Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 42-45.

<sup>39</sup> For an earlier examination of this topic see Chapter 7, 'The Poor, Marriage and Parenthood', footnotes 85-87. See also British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs. 7327-31, 9224-25, 13269-71. The general consensus of opinion, as stated in the conclusion and recommendations of the Report, in July 1904, was that, 'Instruction in these matters [cookery hygiene and domestic economy] should as far as possible be made compulsory on the elder girls at school, and care should be taken that it is placed in the hands of properly qualified teachers.' Lady Bell subsequently paid considerable attention to the matter of 'appropriate cooking lessons, and suggested that they actually be undertaken in the homes of the poor. See Lady Bell, *At the Works* (Edward Arnold, 1907) pp.225-26.

<sup>40</sup> *Queen's*, p.138, M.Loane, 'The Training of Country District Nurses in Large Towns', *Nursing Notes*, April 1904, pp.57-8 and Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor', footnotes 155-60.



if they sorted out their priorities, and realised that by working they were neglecting their 'duties'.<sup>41</sup>

### *Irresponsible Fathers*

Her disapproval of irresponsible fathers was equally scathing. If working-men were 'permanently unable to provide the necessaries of life' for their children, then they should 'not be encouraged to call large families into the world.'<sup>42</sup> Such remarks indicate that Loane associated herself with the objectives of the Malthusian League. Their crusade against poverty was based on the belief that 'the population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence, and they considered it to be 'a grave offence for men and women to bring into the world more children than they can adequately house, feed, clothe and educate.'<sup>43</sup>

The Malthusian League's standpoint regarding the proposal of free school meals was articulated by their President, Dr. Charles Robert Drysdale. He argued that it was humane and just that poor children should be fed by a civilised State for they [the children] were 'not responsible for their birth.'<sup>44</sup> But the State also had a duty to 'discourage the producing of large broods of poor unwished-for infants.' One suggested method of 'discouragement' was to fine parents who had more than four children, which Drysdale considered would be 'an excellent plan for teaching the thought-

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<sup>41</sup> *Queen's*, p.138. Loane invoked the anecdotal evidence of a 'well-trained father' to reinforce her view that the greatest contribution a mother could make was to 'home-keep.' As this man told her, 'Grub? Children wants more than grub!', followed by a litany of the innumerable tasks which his wife performed for his children. See *Queen's*, p.151. For an earlier examination of this debate see Chapter 7, 'The Poor, Marriage and Parenthood', footnotes 67-73.

<sup>42</sup> *Queen's*, p.139.

<sup>43</sup> As stated in the Rules of the Malthusian League, and published in their monthly journal. See, for example, *The Malthusian*, September 1905, p.72.

<sup>44</sup> Dr.C.R.Drysdale, 'Why the State Ought to Discourage the Producing of Large Families', *The Malthusian*, May 1905, p.33.

less their duty towards their children and towards the society in which they live.'<sup>45</sup>

Although Loane made no suggestion as to what methods should be adopted to discourage the poor from overbreeding,<sup>46</sup> her contemporaries were not so restrained. For example, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Gorst, when questioned by the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904, expressed the opinion that since there was no [socially acceptable] means of sterilising the poor, the only remedy would be to raise the age of consent [to marriage].<sup>47</sup> In any event, Loane considered it unjust that the cost of supporting such people should be met, to an appreciable extent, by those who could least afford it.<sup>48</sup> Nor did the suggestion that free meals should be given, as a general rule, to children whose fathers were 'out of work' find favour with Loane. She was convinced that many of them were jobless 'for a variety of reasons, but often for ones well within their own control': the knowledge that their offspring would not go hungry, would, she suggested, erode what little incentive they had to work.<sup>49</sup> Loane was not alone in perceiving the implicit danger of either diminishing or undermining parental responsibility: the Liberal feminist M.G.Fawcett subsequently opposed school meals (and family allowances) for this very reason,<sup>50</sup> whilst the working-class mothers that Anna

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<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> As noted by Dr. Baly. Monica E. Baly, *A History of the Queen's Nursing Institute. 100 Years 1887-1987* (Croom Helm, 1987) p.77.

<sup>47</sup> Gorst stated, 'people marry who are perfectly unfit to marry, who are certain to propagate weakness and disease...Their children died very young...Those who propagate the most of the species are now weakest.' See, British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 11787-11803. For an overview of birth control, abortion and the acceptance of ideas propagated by the Eugenics Society for this period see Lewis, *op.cit.* pp.196-219.

<sup>48</sup> *Queen's*, p.139.

<sup>49</sup> *Queen's*, p.163.

<sup>50</sup> Jane Lewis, 'Beyond Suffrage: English Feminism in the 1920's', *The Maryland Historian*, vol.VI (1975), 1-17 as cited in Jane Lewis (ed) *Labour and Love. Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940* (Blackwell, 1986) p.113.

Martin knew described their objections to free school meals thus:

the women have a vague dread of being superseded and dethroned. Each of them knows perfectly well that the strength of her position in the family lies in the physical dependence of husband and children upon her and she is suspicious of anything that would tend to undermine this. The feeling that she is the indispensable centre of her small world is indeed the joy and consolation of her life. <sup>51</sup>

### *Drunken and Cruel Parents*

If semi-starvation arose from the 'persistent cruelty or habitual drunkenness of the parents', Loane was adamant that the full force of the law should be brought to bear on the parents, and that this procedure would serve the children and rate-payers better than the universal feeding of schoolchildren. She recommended that:

steps should at once be taken to remove the children from their guardianship, and to compel them to pay the full cost of maintenance as borne by respectable fathers in that class of life. I say the full cost, because I have known parents condemned to pay one shilling per week, and they have boasted to me how much they were allowed to leave that shilling in arrears. <sup>52</sup>

Nor should selfish parents who left their children to their own devices as far as meals were concerned benefit from state aid. Loane had encountered such cases

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<sup>51</sup> Anna Martin, *Married Working Women* (National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 1911) pp.29-30 as cited in Lewis, *Labour and Love*, *op.cit.* p.112.

<sup>52</sup> *Queen's*, p.143.

where the parents prepared substantial and nourishing meals for themselves whilst their children were at school, leaving only the scraps for their offspring. Once again, she railed against free meals as a solution, and recommended:

that the parents be warned, preferably by an inspector of the R.S.P.C.C,<sup>53</sup> that if they do not speedily alter their ways their children will be condemned to dine at the school for two, three, four, or six months, making them clearly understand that this is neither a right nor a privilege, but a disgrace,- and an expense.<sup>54</sup>

There was a groundswell of opinion, as expressed by *The Spectator*, that 'a mere warning' given by an officer of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was adequate in a number of cases,<sup>55</sup> but Loane still maintained that prosecution was the only effective measure in cases where it was discovered, by 'strict and close enquiry', that children were underfed as a result of their parents ill-will or apathy rather than lack of money.<sup>56</sup> By example, she commented on the thriftlessness and self-indulgence of some parents, traits which were confirmed by evidence given to the official enquiry by a Mrs. Close.<sup>57</sup> This witness reported that 'The nearer you come to London, the more infamous the food and the more infamous

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<sup>53</sup> Loane's incorrect reference to the RSPCC is curious, since the organisation [NSPCC] was never officially called that. The London Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC) was reconstituted as the N(ational)SPCC in 1889, and received Royal Assent on 26 August 1889. The National organisation was subsequently granted its Royal Charter on 28 May 1895. The Scottish organisation was referred to as the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. I am grateful to Nicholas Malton, Archivist for the NSPCC, for this information.

<sup>54</sup> *Queen's*, pp.144-45.

<sup>55</sup> 'Underfed Children', *The Spectator*, 1 April 1905, pp.467-8.

<sup>56</sup> *Queen's*, p.143.

<sup>57</sup> *Queen's*, p.138.

the cooking, and the only thing the women [of the poorest classes] think of is luxury, pleasure and amusement.' <sup>58</sup>

In such cases, although the short term benefit of free meals would alleviate a child's hunger, Loane insisted that, in the long-term, the effect, of 'merely encouraging the parents to spend more money on tawdry finery', was quite obviously negative and counter-productive. <sup>59</sup> Some might also be encouraged to spend more money on drink, a possibility which was later confirmed by several other social commentators. <sup>60</sup>

### *Fussy Children*

It was equally myopic, she maintained, to provide free meals for those children who were, paradoxically, ill-nourished because of over-indulgence rather than neglect. Working-class parents were clearly misguided in pandering to dietary fads and fancies, and the authoress had no doubt that these children would benefit physically, and morally, if their parents applied the same 'wholesome disciplines' to their nutritional demands as did the middle and upper classes. The rule, 'eat what is given you' hardly ever prevailed in poor homes, and Loane recounted how 'when mothers apply their one idea of discipline, the remedy is perhaps worse than the disease.' <sup>61</sup> She

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<sup>58</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 2569-70. This opinion was confirmed by another witness, Mr. Libby, see Q 12371.

<sup>59</sup> *Queen's*, p.151.

<sup>60</sup> Helen Bosanquet, writing in 1906, quoted one poor mother, who said that she was 'very glad this feeding of children in the school did not come in while mine went to school' because her husband was 'a drinking man' and if he had not now to bring something home for the children, of whom he was very fond, he would have been far worse than he was.' See Helen Bosanquet, *The Family* (Macmillan, 1906) p.313. Anna Martin, in her article, 'The Married Woman, a Study', published in 1911, reported that working-class mothers themselves were convinced that the provision of free meals 'led to an increase of drinking habits among a certain class of mothers. See Anna Martin, 'The Married Woman, a Study', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1911, p.29.

<sup>61</sup> *Queen's*, p.148.

demonstrated this by recounting a mother's response to her enquiry over the pale, downcast appearance of one little girl:

`Yes, nurse,' said the mother, radiating self-satisfaction,  
 `That's because of the beating she had yes'day. You told  
 me she wanted more nourishin' food, so I cooked her a  
 chop and some pertaters, and she wouldn't eat it, and she  
 didn't neither; but I took a stick to her, and I beat her well,  
 that I did!' <sup>62</sup>

Loane warned that `children of this delicate and obstinately fastidious type would abound at every State-spread table, <sup>63</sup> and that once the novelty of a free meal wore off, these fussy children would refuse to eat the `wholesome meals' unless compelled to do so by the Board Schoolmaster. Without this compulsion, she envisaged the wasted food being:

devoured by an unlicensed mob of boys whose parents should be prosecuted for cruelty, neglect, and drunkenness, or for not having them under proper control. <sup>64</sup>

### *Parents as Disciplinarians*

Despite the inadequacies of many parents in regard to the feeding of their children, as examined, Loane did not want to see their role as disciplinarians eroded

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<sup>62</sup> *Queen's*, pp.147-8. Loane commented on the way mothers indulged their children in her first article, see, M.J.Loane, `Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, February 1897, p.18.

<sup>63</sup> *Queen's*, p.148. E.Holmes, a Board school manager, also commented that he had experience of poor children who `were sometimes dainty and were not tempted by anything.' See, Letter of E.Holmes, *The Times*, 12 October 1904.

<sup>64</sup> *Queen's*, p.148.

any further by the State. Notwithstanding her earlier approbation of the benefits of compulsory education, <sup>65</sup> she argued that parents had, to a large extent, lost their role as educators, and if they also ceased to be 'the immediate providers of food', many children would never go home except to sleep. After all, she commented:

How would middle-class parents like to try and manage healthy boys between eight and fourteen if they had not the certainty to fall back on: 'Oh, he'll come home when he's hungry.' <sup>66</sup>

She appreciated that meal times were an anchor point in family life, <sup>67</sup> and provided an unrivalled opportunity for all parents to inculcate habits of order and refinement, and was certain that the decent poor had made great strides in this direction over the past twenty five years. However, her experience of 'the publicity, noise, smell and bad serving of the State-aided meals' indicated that public providers put little store by such controls, adding further fuel to her campaign against free meals. <sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the logic behind the proposed provision of free dinners was entirely flawed.

In articulating her argument she expounded the inadequacies and difficulties of

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<sup>65</sup> See below, footnotes 113-124.

<sup>66</sup> *Queen's*, pp.148-9.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid* and *Queen's*, p.244. Canon Samuel Barnett considered that free meals would 'remove one of the bonds of family life...which is as much the strength of the nation as the bones and muscles of its people.' See, Canon Barnett, 'Public Feeding of Children', *The Independent Review*, June 1905, p.154. Samuel Barnett, whilst Vicar of St.Jude's Church, Whitechapel East London, founded the universities' settlement at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel. Here, graduates and undergraduates lived, permanently or semi-permanently, whilst they engaged in social, charitable, educational and local government activities in the surrounding area. For a contemporary biography see Henrietta Barnett, *Canon S.Barnett* (John Murray, 1918) and for a brief secondary overview see J.F.Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1901* (Fontana, 1990) pp.193-94.

<sup>68</sup> *Queen's*, p.149.

such a scheme thus:

Why stop short at dinner? Most poor children require - and get - four meals a day. Why stop short at school children? Boys and girls leaving school at thirteen or fourteen are unable to earn their entire living for several years after; they are forced to exert themselves far more; they are often growing at a rapid rate, bread and jam has lost its satiating powers, and the mother truthfully exclaims: 'I'd rather feed three of the little ones than that great boy or girl.' <sup>69</sup>

Clearly, free dinners would do nothing to fill the stomachs of children who left home in the morning unfed, but whilst the 'free-fooders' perceived this lack of breakfast to be a manifestation of poverty, Loane was sure that apathy on the part of parents, <sup>70</sup> or laziness on the part of the children was the reason why so many went to school without breakfast. <sup>71</sup> Nor was she susceptible to the suggestion that free school meals were necessary 'because the mothers were 'so frequently laid by'. Apart from the brief incapacity of confinement, most poor women could not afford the luxury of being ill. <sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> *Queen's*, p.152.

<sup>70</sup> For Loane's remarks see *Queen's*, p.162. For supporting views see, for example, letter of a 'hospital physician', *The Times*, 14 September 1904, p.5 and letter of Rev.C.F.Rogers, *The Speaker*, 10 September 1904, also letter of W.Moore Ede, *The Child's Guardian*, May 1905, p.54.

<sup>71</sup> *The Journal of Education*, reporting on the abject failure of a free breakfast system, remarked that, on cold winter mornings the children preferred their beds to their [free] breakfast. See R.H.Bruce, 'A Difficulty in Connection with Free Breakfasts', *The Journal of Education*, February 1905, p.127.

<sup>72</sup> *Queen's*, p.163. For an earlier reference see Chapter 9, 'Health and the Poor', footnotes 111-115.



### *The Cost of Free Meals*

In denouncing the economics of a system of free meals, Loane was highly critical of those, including Dr.Eicholz and Mr.Ashby, who maintained that a wholesome dinner could be provided for a penny.<sup>73</sup> She indignantly remarked:

The average cost of feeding each child suitably and sufficiently in its own home is about fourpence a day; of this at least twopence or two-pence half penny ought to be spent on the dinner, and it would only be just to penalise the negligent parents to the extent of another halfpenny to pay for the firing and labour.<sup>74</sup>

Dinner coupons, advocated by some protagonists, found little favour with Loane, for since they were liable to be issued to children from homes of a 'low type', she prophesied that they would be misused by being resold at a profit, unless strict precautions were taken to avoid deceit and abuse.

### *Identifying undernourished children*

Loane had her own solution to the vexed question of an appropriate means of identifying the genuinely undernourished children. Given her apparent professional experience, it was hardly surprising that she should identify district nurses as the

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<sup>73</sup> For questions relating to the cost of providing meals, and the one penny dinner claims, see British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 476, 1743-47, 11829-30, 12419-20, 12546. For a view in accord with Loane, see F.H.Barrow, in 'Free Meals for the Underfed', *Monthly Review*, May 1905, p.3. Writing from first hand experience of providing free meals for needy children in London, Barrow stated that the cost of providing a wholesome meal was about 3d. per head, but he thought 'it might be reduced to 2d.'

<sup>74</sup> *Queen's*, p.146.

most appropriate people to undertake this work, and she recommended that they:

attend daily at elementary schools, and all children apparently ill-nourished should be carefully examined to ascertain whether lack of food or generally unfavourable conditions are responsible for their state of health. <sup>75</sup>

Her concept of the ideal visiting officer coincided with that of the *Charity Organisation Review*, for they proposed that 'ladies trained in hygiene and social economics, and acquainted with the lives of the poor' be appointed by Local Authorities. At this point, the similarities between Loane's view and that of the COS differed: having identified the necessitous child, the latter were committed to bringing about 'real reform', and:

to reach the home where the child is cared for or not cared for, as the case may be, in the years before school age, where it returns when school hours are over, and where it spends its holidays. <sup>76</sup>

Loane, however, as has been noted, envisaged social progress in a much wider community context.

In the closing paragraphs of 'State-spread Tables' Loane inveighed against the proposals put forward by one of the most eminent 'free feeders' of the day,

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<sup>75</sup> *Queen's*, p.142. For a photographic reproduction of a Queen's Nurse running such a school clinic in Liverpool in 1905 see Cynthia O'Neill, *More Pictures of Health* (Meadow, 1991) p.71. See also Mary Stocks, *A Hundred Years of District Nursing* (George Allen & Unwin, 1960) pp.137-39.

<sup>76</sup> 'The Free Feeding of School Children', *Charity Organisation Review*, February 1905, pp.66-7.

Dr.T.J. Macnamara, <sup>77</sup> who suggested free school meals could be provided in an adaptation of the French '*cantine scolaire*'. <sup>78</sup> Her personal experience of Paris had left her with a deep and lasting impression of the failure of this [socialist] system, which resulted in a 'city of the half-fed', and she recommended that 'we should, indeed, observe what is done in that city of suffering, and let it be a lighthouse to warn us off the perilous rocks of State-aid.' <sup>79</sup>

The *Charity Organisation Review*, in reporting at length on Loane's 'Parisian' strictures, remarked:

One would like to hear more of Miss Loane's experiences in Paris, for, as she truly says, there are not many English men or women who have talked intimately with its working inhabitants. <sup>80</sup>

The issue of state feeding was, in fact, not satisfactorily resolved by the Education (Provisions of Meals) Act, 1906, for as Hurt has commented, there was 'a gap between the intent of the legislature and the implementation of the Act at the local level.' <sup>81</sup> Local Education Authorities were concerned to ensure that the expenditure of public money on school meals was carefully scrutinised, and that

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<sup>77</sup> Dr.T.J.Macnamara was Member of Parliament for Camberwell North, in London.

<sup>78</sup> For Loane's comments see *Queen's*, pp.163-5. For Dr.Macnamara see British Parliamentary Papers, *Interdepartmental Committee Report on Physical Deterioration*, 1904, vol.XXXII, Qs 12002, 12390, 12416, 12419, 12438 and Report, para. 357, p.71, also *The Times*, 27 September 1904, p.8. According to *The Malthusian*, April 1905, p.31, Dr. Hutchinson was also in favour of the Paris scheme.

<sup>79</sup> *Queen's*, p.165. M.J.Loane contributed an interesting article entitled, 'A Summer Holiday', to *Nursing Notes*, in August 1897, which included extensive and intimate details about staying in Paris, and other French cities. The evidence of this article does indicate that Loane had first-hand knowledge of France, its people and its language. See also M.Loane, 'The Dawn of District Nursing in France,' *Nursing Notes*, June 1904, pp.97-98.

<sup>80</sup> *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.XIX, no.113, May 1906, p.263.

<sup>81</sup> Hurt, *op.cit.* p.124.

parents did not abandon their responsibilities to their children. The net result was the general parsimony with which these Authorities implemented the Act.<sup>82</sup>

### *The State and Old Age Pensions*

Although as can be seen from the previous discussion, and in the context of *The Queen's Poor*, Loane was vociferous in arguing her case against proposals for the introduction of free school meals, she was noticeably restrained regarding the debate surrounding Old Age Pensions. This is despite the fact that the question of financial support for the elderly was the subject of ongoing political discussion in 1905.<sup>83</sup> It must be assumed that because the matter was not receiving as high a profile as that of free school meals at that time, Loane chose to concentrate her mind on the most current of affairs.

Almost all the elderly poor whom Loane met experienced financial hardship in their later years. For most, as has been noted, saving for their old age was never a possibility, since wages earned during their working lives were rarely enough to cover even their current living expenses. When pauperism loomed, the options for financial support were limited to family help, charity or the parish. But the 'unreformed Poor Law', implemented by the local parish<sup>84</sup> offered inadequate

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<sup>82</sup> A further Act, the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, was introduced in 1914. See Hurt, *op.cit.* p.151.

<sup>83</sup> Stead noted that 'a great deal was being said about Old Age Pensions at the time of the General Election of 1885.' See F.H.Stead, *How Old Age Pensions Began To Be* (Methuen, 1910) p.4.

<sup>84</sup> *Queen's*, p.153. For a useful summary of the conventional view about the pre-1834 Poor Law and Speenhamland allowances see Rose, *Poverty, op.cit.*

help: outdoor relief was, as Loane knew, dispensed in an arbitrary fashion, and was considered by some to encourage improvidence.<sup>85</sup> The alternative, indoor relief, in the shape of the workhouse, lacked humanity, and was dreaded by most old people.<sup>86</sup>

*State Old Age Pensions: A brief history*

The impetus for change in the way the state supported the elderly poor came from two sources. Whilst Canon Blackley was acknowledged to be the father of the movement for old-age pensions,<sup>87</sup> it was Charles Booth's participation in the campaign, from 1892 onwards, concurrent with his investigations of poverty in London, which appears to have provided the major breakthrough.<sup>88</sup> In 1892 Booth published a work entitled *Pauperism, a picture and the Endowment of Old Age, An Argument*, in which he enumerated the variety of pension schemes which were, by then, proposed. These were:

on an ascending scale from the purely voluntary, through state aid, to compulsory, and from compulsory to free, following in this respect, as Mr.[Joseph] Chamberlain has remarked, the analogy of the political progress of elementary education.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> C.Booth, *Pauperism, a picture, and the Endowment of Old Age, an Argument* (Macmillan, 1892) p.74 (henceforth Booth, *Pauperism*).

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Booth, *Pauperism. op.cit.* pp.59-61. H.L.Blackley, 'National Provident Insurance', *Nineteenth Century*, November 1878, p.850, as cited in P.Thane, 'Non-Contributory versus Insurance Pensions, 1878-1908', in P.Thane (ed) *The Origins of British Social Policy* (Croom Helm, 1978) p.84. For a subsequent reference to and description of Canon Blackley's scheme see, Letter of Mrs. M.J.J.Blackley, *The Spectator*, 16 May 1908, p.781.

<sup>88</sup> In the late 1870's, Blackley was the first to be involved in any serious discussion of alternative forms of state provision for the aged, proposing compulsory insurance against old age and sickness. See Gilbert Slater, *Poverty and the State* (Constable, 1930) p.226, and Thane, *op.cit.* p.84.

<sup>89</sup> See Booth, *Pauperism, op.cit.* p.59. For earlier and later works by Booth on this subject see C.Booth, 'The Enumeration and Classification of Paupers - State Pensions for the Poor,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, liv, 1891; 'Statistics of Pauperism in Old Age', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, lvii (1894); *The Aged Poor in England and Wales: Condition* (1894) and *Old Age Pensions and the Aged Poor: A Proposal* (1899).

In contrast to Blackley's compulsory scheme, Booth himself put forward a plan for the introduction of a free and universal pension of 5s. per week for all attaining the age of 65, with no caveats attached. <sup>90</sup> Joseph Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, suggested a scheme which, as Slater described:

instead of ignoring the Friendly Societies, proposed to utilise and subsidise them, the previous experience making it clear that no proposal for national old age pensions could be carried if they opposed it. <sup>91</sup>

Other schemes mooted included those which were both means-tested as well as character-tested, and excluded those on poor relief as well as former criminals. The objections to state-aided and, or, general schemes were, as Booth described both, numerous, and varied. Some considered it unfair that those who never reached sixty-five would never benefit, however poor they might be. The proposed sum of 5s. a week was considered, by some, to be inadequate and therefore cruel, and was calculated to stimulate begging. Others argued that it was absurd not to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving, and that it was 'impolitic and unjust' that the latter should benefit in the same way as the thrifty. Many critics considered it iniquitous to suggest that the rich should be taxed for the benefit of the poor, all of whom they viewed as idle and worthless. Others felt it was the duty of children to support their elderly parents. <sup>92</sup> For the state to assume responsibility for the

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<sup>90</sup> Blackley was later to describe Booth's scheme as 'a form of universal pauperisation'. See J.Lister-Stead, 'Friendly Societies and Old Age Pensions, a reply to Mr.Chamberlain'. *National Review*, XXV, March 1895, pp.59-60.

<sup>91</sup> Slater, *op.cit.* p.226.

<sup>92</sup> These, and other objections, were detailed by Booth in Booth, *Pauperism*, *op.cit.* pp.69-70.

maintenance of the elderly was viewed by the antagonists as highly dangerous, and would result in the financial resources of the country being overstrained and crippled. Booth pointed out that to provide the pension he proposed was 'only a redistribution of the burden of maintaining the aged in such a way as to cause it to be borne more easily.'<sup>93</sup>

The matter of Old-Age Pensions was duly referred to a Royal Commission on the Aged Poor of 1893, and although the Majority report, issued in 1894,<sup>94</sup> was against all state action, it did recommend that a smaller body be set up 'to examine the very serious problem of Old Age poverty, with a view of finding a practical solution.'<sup>95</sup>

This body, the Committee on Old Age Pensions, chaired by Lord Rothschild, presented their report in 1898, and stated that they were 'unable to devise any proposal free from grave inherent disadvantages', and, besides summarily dismissing Booth's scheme, had no remedy to suggest.<sup>96</sup> Subsequent Parliamentary Committees re-examined the subject of Old Age Pensions in 1899, 1900 and 1903,<sup>97</sup> but to no avail.<sup>98</sup> Throughout this period, pressure was exerted on Government by the National Pensions Committee, who organised regular local and national conferences, many of which Charles Booth addressed.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> As cited in Gilbert, *op.cit.* p.227.

<sup>94</sup> For a summary of the report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor see Gertrude Lubbock, *Some Poor Relief Questions* (Murray, 1895) pp.289-314.

<sup>95</sup> Stead, *op.cit.* p.34.

<sup>96</sup> Stead, *op.cit.* p.9.

<sup>97</sup> 1899, Parliamentary Select Committee; 1900 Sir Edward Hamilton's Departmental Committee; 1903 Parliamentary Select Committee as noted in Stead, *op.cit.* p.249.

<sup>98</sup> For a general secondary examination of the pensions issue see, for example, Rose, *Poverty, op.cit.*

<sup>99</sup> The first conference on old age pensions, organised by W.H.Stead, at which Booth was a guest speaker was held in December 1898, and this local conference was so successful that it became the forerunner of national conferences. See Stead, *op.cit.* p.17.

The matter continued to be debated until, finally, on the twenty eighth of May 1908, Lloyd-George,<sup>100</sup> the Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced:

that it is expedient to provide for Old Age Pensions and to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of any expenses incurred for that purpose and connected therewith.<sup>101</sup>

*Loane on old age pensions: a brief overview*

Loane's opinions on the subject of old age pensions appear not to have been articulated publicly until 1908, at which time she expressed her views first through the columns of *The Spectator*,<sup>102</sup> and then in her subsequent published works, *An Englishman's Castle*<sup>103</sup> and *Neighbours and Friends*.<sup>104</sup> Her standpoint was also discussed, in confidence, between John St.Loe Strachey and A.V.Dicey.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> David Lloyd-George gained most of the credit for the Old Age Pensions Bill, though the bill was prepared by H.H.Asquith. Asquith became Prime Minister after Campbell-Bannerman's death on 22 April 1908, and Lloyd George only handled the final stages after taking over as Chancellor of the Exchequer from Asquith. For a brief history of the careers of Asquith, Campbell-Bannerman and Lloyd-George see G.M.Thomson, *The Prime Ministers* (Secker & Warburg, 1980).

<sup>101</sup> British Parliamentary Papers, Commons Journals, vol. CLXIII, 1908, p.223.

<sup>102</sup> Letter of M.Loane, *The Spectator*, 30 May 1908, pp.860-61.

<sup>103</sup> M.Loane, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909) (henceforth *Englishman's*) pp.17-29 and pp.127-29. Critics remarked, of this book, 'A good deal of the interest of her latest volume will be found, at this juncture, in its bearing on the probable workings of the Old Age Pensions Scheme.' See *The Globe Literary Supplement*, no.17, 17 March 1909, p.2; 'The Old Age Pensions afford her ground, in particular, for some striking observations.' See *The Church Times*, 19 March 1909; *Charity Organisation Review*, vol.25, June 1909, pp.328-29.

<sup>104</sup> 'Report of the Poor Law Commission', M.Loane, *Neighbours and Friends* (Edward Arnold, 1910) pp.206-237.

<sup>105</sup> 'Those who have the thrift habit will, as Miss Loane points out, save, however unfavourable the conditions against them may be...we have got into such a terrible mess with the old age pension business that the only thing to do now is to insist on a contributory scheme. Miss Loane is also excellent on this point.' Letter of Strachey to Dicey, 15 March 1910, Strachey Papers, House of Lords Record Office, S/5/5/17.



The *Daily News*, a paper renowned for its Liberal and Progressive principles, <sup>106</sup> commented, somewhat disdainfully, that

Miss Loane is frankly antagonistic to the Old Age Pensions Act. She believes it is bad in itself, and that even in certain less foreseen effects it will need the most careful watching. <sup>107</sup>

Their critic also expressed concern over Loane's contention that it was possible for 'certain men' to become entirely independent on wages of not more than 12s. a week, and sought reassurance that she had considered all the 'deprivations and meanness that are implied by the statement.' <sup>108</sup>

Old Age Pensions became payable from 1 January 1909 and shortly afterwards, following publication of *An Englishman's Castle* in the February of that year, *The Spectator* summed up the authoress's view by informing readers that:

Miss Loane, speaking, as it were, from the very bedsides of the aged poor, is the most determined opponent of old-age pensions whom we have ever encountered. Her opposition is not that of the politician or the financier, but of one deeply concerned with the moral and material welfare of the poor. <sup>109</sup>

The amount of the pension was 5s. per week, and the qualifying age was 70, five years later than Booth had proposed. There were, however, numerous caveats

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<sup>106</sup> As described in *Willings Newspaper Press Directory*, 1905, p.62.

<sup>107</sup> *The Daily News*, 9 March 1909.

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *The Spectator*, 13 March 1909, pp.422-43. The paper commended Loane for her succinct and readable account of the Report of the Poor Law Commission, 1909.

attached: the disqualifying income was set at £31.10s. per annum (instead of £26 as suggested in 1897) and a pension was denied to recent recipients of poor relief, as well as criminals, lunatics, habitual drunkards and idlers.<sup>110</sup>

There were further complicated rules which, amongst others, penalised two or more elderly people who lived together, whether or not they were related. Edith Olivier, in her memoirs of life in Wilton, has also pointed out that the Pensions authorities demanded documentary proof of a person's age, a request which was often fraught with difficulty. A person could only prove they had been born by proving that they had been baptised, but many early nineteenth-century parents were dilatory over the admission of their offspring to the Church. Some had not had their children christened until they were four or five, and it was common practice for poor families to take their children to church in batches to be baptised. The authorities were totally intransigent, and demanded copies of the Parish Register as evidence of age with the result that innumerable old people were denied their pension until seventy years after their belated entry into the Church.<sup>111</sup> Such anomalies incurred the wrath of Strachey, of *The Spectator*,<sup>112</sup> who had always advocated Booth's universal scheme, one 'without inquisition or restriction', or no pension at all.

### *Compulsory education*

There is no doubt that Loane considered that compulsory education had created a significant impression upon the lives of the poor, but she did not accept that

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<sup>110</sup> Old-age pensions were extended to paupers in 1911.

<sup>111</sup> Edith Olivier, *Without Knowing Mr. Walkley* (Faber & Faber, 1938) pp.133-34.

<sup>112</sup> 'The Old Age Pensions Bill', *The Spectator*, 6 June 1908, pp.888-889. See also *The Spectator*, 9 May 1908 pp.732-33, 20 June 1908, pp.962-63.

all the changes and effects were beneficial, nor were they entirely of an educational nature, in the accepted sense.

On the positive side were the social implications: of greatest importance was the way in which compulsory education had 'nearly doubled the years of permitted childhood,'<sup>113</sup> for by 1900 the school leaving age had been raised progressively from nine or ten to fourteen,<sup>114</sup> effectively postponing a child's entry into adulthood. School discipline was also partially successful in inculcating concepts of 'cleanliness, order, punctuality and obedience'<sup>115</sup> amongst children, and Loane could see that attendance at school would help to highlight cases of neglect and poor health.

The greatest danger of compulsory education which, according to Loane, 'commonly escaped observation,'<sup>116</sup> was the way in which parents were becoming dependent on school to provide for their children's every need, with the result that the home was no longer the focal point of family life.<sup>117</sup> In restating her position in 1908, Loane considered that compulsory education had failed to bring about as great a reform as it might have in thirty years because the majority of the teachers were insufficiently acquainted with the daily lives of the ordinary pupil.<sup>118</sup> Loane also

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<sup>113</sup> *Queen's*, pp.68-69. See also 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 26-36.

<sup>114</sup> Prior to the introduction of Forster's Elementary Education Act of 1870 most working-class children only attended school for four or five years, leaving by the age of nine or ten. The 1870 Act changed this, although it required the introduction of four further Education Acts, in 1876, 1880, 1891 and 1900 before elementary education became compulsory for children up to the age of fourteen. For a contemporary outline see W.H.Stuart Garnett, *Children and the Law* (Murray, 1911) pp.76-119. The Education Acts also gave School Boards extensive powers to allow part-time or full-time exemptions. For details of these exemptions see, for example, Lionel Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood. Child Oppression in Britain. 1860-1918* (Routledge, 1991) pp.107-115 (henceforth Rose, *Childhood*).

<sup>115</sup> *Next Street*, pp.171-72.

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Next Street*, pp.171-72. Loane later remarked that free primary education had also helped to disassociate 'superior working-class parents from their children's education.' See *Englishman's*, p.116.

<sup>118</sup> See M.Loane, *From Their Point of View* (Edward Arnold, 1908) pp.296-97 (henceforth *Point of View*). This point was later reasserted in M.Loane, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911) pp.250-51 (henceforth *Common Growth*).

criticised the education system for failing to teach poor children adequately: <sup>119</sup> although she did concede that most were acquiring basic literary skills, their knowledge of grammar <sup>120</sup> and arithmetic were inadequate. <sup>121</sup> She was particularly concerned that town children had a very limited vocabulary, a reflection of their lack of general knowledge, <sup>122</sup> and that girls were inadequately prepared for their future roles as wives and mothers. <sup>123</sup>

### *Acts for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children*

As has been noted, <sup>124</sup> Loane had her reservations about the benefits of the so-called 'Children's Charter' but she had no doubt that the disciplinary and investigative powers of this legislation were valuable.

### *Sanitary Legislation*

The implementation of legislation which improved the living conditions, and by implication, the health of the poor, met with Loane's unequivocal approval. She encouraged Queen's nurse's to report sanitary defects within the homes of the poor to the sanitary inspector, and to notify 'the proper authorities' of any cases of overcrowding or illegal subletting. <sup>125</sup> On the one hand such interference could be seen as having long-term benefits, but in the short term it was likely to have serious

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<sup>119</sup> See *Next Street*, p.32 and *Englishman's*, pp.142-43.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> See Chapter 5, 'Domestic Economy of the Poor', footnote 24.

<sup>122</sup> *Queen's*, p.65. See also Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 37-41.

<sup>123</sup> For an earlier discussion see Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 42-45.

<sup>124</sup> See Chapter 6, 'Childhood and Poverty', footnotes 57-69.

<sup>125</sup> M.Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, March 1897, p.32.

repercussions which Loane failed to mention. In practice, a landlord, antagonised by officialdom, was almost certain to evict his tenant, thus leaving him homeless.<sup>126</sup>

### *Overview*

Loane's views on state intervention in the lives of the poor were certainly controversial, but the enigma over authorship of the social commentaries does raise the question of exactly whose opinions these were. It was, after all, Alice who subsequently became an active member of the Bristol Civic League, a charitable organisation allied to the Bristol Charity Organisation Society (COS) which assessed the needs of the poor before dispensing financial help.<sup>127</sup> Given this connection, Alice presumably empathised with the COS view that charitable energies were preferable to State assistance and control. However, as has been shown, the objections expressed in *The Queen's Poor* to the proposed provision of free school meals were not entirely consistent with those of the COS. This could be construed as an indication of joint authorship between Martha and Alice, and, as has been suggested,<sup>128</sup> could have been the cause of a growing rift between the sisters which ultimately ended their literary partnership.

Published comment on Loane's strictures on free school meals, exemplified in reviews of her work, highlight the differing attitude held by society to this proposal and to Loane's viewpoint. *The Daily News*, who were, on the whole, very

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<sup>126</sup> Miss Loane, 'Florence Nightingale and District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, October 1910, p.239.

<sup>127</sup> See Chapter 3, 'Biography,' footnotes 149-158.

<sup>128</sup> See Chapter 3, 'Biography,' footnote 132.

complimentary of Loane's work, remarked that:

The verdicts upon social diseases and their remedies will not meet with universal approbation even among those who really know the actual conditions. But they will be recognised as verdicts arising from knowledge and not from ignorance, and demanding at least a respectful consideration. <sup>129</sup>

Their reviewer pointed out that not all her readers would agree with her contention that charitable energies were preferable to state assistance and control. They even questioned whether any form of assistance should be provided for underfed children. If assistance was to be provided then the paper had no doubt that:

it should be taken out of the hands of impersonal charity, random, misdirected and generally corrupting, without any machinery of punishment for those who deceive or wilfully neglect their duty; and placed in some orderly fashion with very careful scrutiny and investigation and medical inspection as part of a social order replacing chaos. <sup>130</sup>

Loane did not deny that inspection and investigation should precede effective aid, but she was concerned that such intrusions could so easily take a wrong turn and be self-defeating. She robustly criticised 'short cuts to sociological knowledge' and left her readers in no doubt that a change of method was needed in

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<sup>129</sup> *The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4  
<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*

the approach of philanthropists and do-gooders to working-class families. As she stated:

It is exceedingly difficult for the upper classes to acquire any fair idea of the ordinary domestic relations among the poor, and when they seek for information they too often forget to make allowance for the fact that the chosen teachers are all more or less blinded by their profession. Is it reasonable to ask the club doctor and the district nurse if the lower classes are healthy, to ask the coroner if they are sober and know how to feed their children, the police-magistrate if they are honest and truthful, the relieving-officer if they are thrifty, the labour master if they are industrious, the highly orthodox clergyman if they are religious, and then call the replies received, KNOWLEDGE OF THE POOR? <sup>131</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *Queen's*, p.26 and as cited in *The Quarterly Review*, p.156. For the need to make detailed, long-term studies of poor families see also *Englishman's*, p.101.

## CHAPTER 12

### Conclusion

Before this research was undertaken, scholars had, on the rare occasions that Loane's work was cited, made assumptions about her life and work which have been shown to be often very inaccurate and even misleading. The detailed biography which forms an integral part of this thesis is, therefore, of central significance for it not only provides a unique and detailed picture of Loane's life, but it has also revealed, for the first time, the enigmatic literary partnership which existed between Martha and her half-sister Alice Loane. Even so certain details of Loane's life remain obscure. The absence of any extant collection of Loane archive material is an obvious and serious handicap to research, and it has proved impossible to locate living relatives who possess any information about the Loane sisters. The evidence of their lives has not been easy to piece together, a factor which has, no doubt, mitigated against detailed research being undertaken in the past. Thus, to date, historians have relied upon Dr McKibbin's incomplete picture of Loane's life, and have accepted her work at face value.

### *Biographical research*

The difficulty in locating biographical evidence has been a constant challenge throughout the research for this thesis: the early breakthrough provided by some of the Edward Arnold contracts as well as the letters written by Alice Loane to the publishers in 1922 were of the greatest significance, and undoubtedly opened up a Pandora's box. Regrettably, other avenues of research which initially looked so



promising, proved in the end to be disappointing. This was particularly the case in regard to documents belonging to Alice Loane, which were deposited in a tin trunk and lodged with Lloyds Bank up until 1936, fourteen years after her death. By then, Frederick Loane was the last surviving relative, but his dismissal of all his sister Alice's effects resulted in the disposal of the contents: material including press cuttings, correspondence, a quantity of manuscripts and publishers agreements, all items which would certainly have been of value to both the biographer and the social historian, were disposed of by the bank. The survival of more archive material relating to the Scientific Press may well have revealed details of further nursing articles written by Loane which were, like those located, published anonymously. Similarly, extant records of the Northern Newspaper Syndicate could have revealed details of further stray articles which, in their role as press agents, they handled for Loane. Particularly disappointing is the lack of any pictorial record of Martha Loane: hopes that the Royal Archives of Windsor Castle would yield a pictorial record of the royal presentation of medals which she attended in 1899 were not realised. Equally unsuccessful has been an examination of the photographic collection held by the Queen's Nursing Institute.

### *Literary partnership*

The exact details of the literary partnership between Martha and Alice remain unclear, but there can be no doubt, given the evidence of the letters written by Alice to Dr. Fraser in 1905, that she and Martha were jointly responsible for at least some of the work attributed to M.Loane. It is equally certain that the success of the partnership depended upon two factors: first and foremost was Martha's professional

knowledge and experience, for without this the corpus could not have been written. The second factor was that the arrangement remain a secret, for had it been revealed, the author's credibility would undoubtedly have been suspect. It should also be borne in mind that, despite claims made by Beatrice Loane in 1922, that Alice was the sole author of all the Edward Arnold publications, no suggestion was ever made in any work attributed to M. Loane, M.J. Loane or M.E.Loane that Martha, the Queen's nurse, was not the authoress. On the contrary, direct and indirect references to Martha's nursing and district nursing career appeared in the social commentaries and articles, and were quite obviously intended to reinforce the popular belief that she was entirely responsible for all these works.

#### *Loane's literary contributions*

The major objective of this thesis has been to examine the life and works of M.Loane. Justification for including a biography, and for selecting *The Queen's Poor* for close scrutiny, have already been presented, but bearing in mind the stated objectives, no such study could ignore the corpus of work which has been identified as part of this research. Thus, references to work published both before and after *The Queen's Poor* have been included to demonstrate Loane's enduring commitment to informing and educating her readers about the nature of working-class life as she saw it, of her recognition of the individuality of the poor, and of the way in which her attitude towards state intervention in the lives of the poor developed over the years. As the appendix of her contemporary articles has demonstrated, Loane was an energetic and far more prolific writer than has previously been acknowledged. However, given the evidence of two unattributed articles published in *Nursing Mirror*

in 1907 it is also likely that the already impressive list of papers which has been compiled is, in fact, incomplete. Just why some articles were published anonymously remains a mystery, but the decision may have, in some curious way, been a manifestation of the literary deception to which both Martha and Alice were a party. Nor is it certain how long the literary partnership lasted for. The rift which, according to Beatrice, developed between the sisters as a result of Martha's conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1910, and removal to Launceston, Cornwall, may well have been the turning point for Martha, but at the same time she evidently had no wish to end Alice's career as a writer. It was certainly not in Alice's interest for any aspects of the literary deception to be revealed, for she was, after all, the official recipient of royalties from Edward Arnold, and it is unlikely that a publisher of such high calibre would have continued to publish her work if they had harboured any doubts about the authenticity of the material they were handling. Similarly, *The Spectator* and the nursing journals who continued to publish her work may have doubted the credibility of Alice as a social commentator.

As has been demonstrated in this study, neither Loane's contemporaries nor modern historians have ever suspected that work attributed to variously M.Loane, M.J.Loane or M.E.Loane may not have come from the pen of the Queen's nurse, who was undoubtedly Martha Jane Loane. The use of the initials M.E. Loane, in particular, was a curious admission of collaboration, yet even this apparently went unchallenged by publishers.

The published reviews of Loane's work have proved to be an important primary source, for they serve as testimony to both the success of the deception as well as to the popularity of and reception to her books. Recourse to this evidence has enabled a more comprehensive contemporary evaluation of her work to be made.

The appendix of secondary references has been included to demonstrate the continuing significance and value of Loane's work to historians and to emphasise an interesting paradox. Not only do these references highlight the enduring uncertainty of the identity of the author but they also demonstrate the fact that, up until now, no serious attempt has been made to resolve this enigma.

*The Queen's Poor: a critical overview*

Special reference has been made throughout this thesis to *The Queen's Poor*, a choice made on the basis that it was Loane's first social commentary and could be considered broadly representative of her work in both methodological approach and content. An important element of this study has been to demonstrate that as a contemporary social investigator Loane had no equal, and it would be fair to say that she was amongst the most qualified of people to be writing on the subject of the respectable poor at the time. After all, who was better placed to provide an insiders view of the everyday lives and experiences of the working classes than the district nurse who made repeated and extensive visits to their homes? Due to the nature of her role as superintendent it is impossible to be precise about the number of cases that Loane would personally have attended in any one year, but an indication of the extent of her first-hand contact with the poor can be gained from the figures for the Portsmouth Victoria Nursing Association for 1900. In that year 877 cases were dealt with, and a total of 28,233 home visits were made by the Queen's nurses.<sup>1</sup>

Just as Loane's patients trusted the integrity of the superintendent of Queen's nurses, so too did her readers. The value of Loane's work lies not only in the way

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<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Borough of Portsmouth Association for Nursing the Sick Poor, 1900, p.12.

she raised issues, but in the way she handled them. The very special literary pictures which emerged from her pen, or in all probability from the joint efforts of Martha and Alice, were, as has been demonstrated throughout the thematic examination of *The Queen's Poor*, highly detailed and apparently subjective doorstep accounts of the daily trials and tribulations of the working classes. Loane appreciated that in many instances the poor were victims of their circumstances, and that many of their actions and reactions were dictated by poverty. Very little escaped her notice and few aspects of working-class life appear to have been overlooked or avoided: she remarked upon the philosophical and cultural aspects of poverty and wrote in penetrating detail about the lives of the poor from cradle to grave. Infancy and childhood, youth and education, health and welfare, domestic arrangements, courtship, marriage, parenthood and old age, work and play, religion and the meaning of life and death were all addressed. Whilst her opinions of the poor were often optimistic, she did not shirk from criticising them on occasions, nor was she afraid of praising them for their fortitude and strength. Loane not only attempted to rescue the poor from the prevailing view that they were a race apart, but she also offered solutions to the numerous social problems of the day. It has been noted that her proposals did not always meet with unequivocal approval, but she was nevertheless successful in raising public awareness regarding topical issues, and of highlighting the complex nature of the subjects being debated.

Most importantly, her perception of, and revelations concerning the codes, conduct and conventions of the poor answered many of the questions posed by Booth and Rowntree, for she provided the most intimate details of working-class life which were missing from their quantitative surveys. These factors, when combined with her informal and eminently readable style, enabled her readers to develop a

greater empathy with, and understanding of, what were to them the less tangible qualities of everyday working-class life.

*Loane's methodological approach*

A further aim of this study has been to evaluate Loane's reputation as a serious social investigator, for, as has been noted, her methodological approach has been the subject of recent academic criticism. In particular, Cunningham's attitude towards her work is reminiscent of the condescension meted out to Mayhew.

It is true that Loane, like Charles Booth, was not a trained social investigator, for this profession had still to be conceived. What she succeeded in doing, by developing her own method of inquiry, was to record in a sensitive and detailed way, the less tangible and often seemingly incomprehensible behaviour of the poor. Her studies were, by her own admission, restricted to the 'respectable poor', defined as any poor person who was able to 'keep a home together.' This was no arbitrary decision, for her remit as a Queen's nurse meant that she was only allowed to attend those poor people who had a roof over their heads: she made no attempt to comment on the lives of poor folk whom she had not encountered in the course of her work.

Loane did make extensive use of anecdotal evidence, for she valued the personal opinions of the poor, and considered them far more appropriate as examples than any descriptions she could write. However, Cunningham has not only criticised her use of this form of evidence as 'inconsequential,' but he has also challenged the veracity of it. By so doing, he has not only cast aspersions on Loane's professionalism, but he has ignored Loane's own comments about her 'conversations' with the poor. Loane was, in fact, aware that she might encounter some scepticism, for she

was at pains to reassure her readers that every anecdote, including the 'apocryphal' ones to which she referred, was genuine. There is every reason to believe her, for her position as a Queen's nurse gave her privileged access to the poor, and created a climate where trusting relationships developed. It would therefore have been more surprising if her patients had not spoken freely to her, thus providing first-hand material for her to include in her books and articles. If, as has been suggested, the poor gave their opinions freely, Cunningham is also incorrect to suggest that Loane deliberately tried to extract definitions from the poor for the amusement of her readers.

Cunningham has also failed to consider Loane's style of writing in the context of the time it was produced, for, as has been noted, anecdotal evidence was widely used by other social commentators of the period. Recourse to this form was not considered to be jejune, but was viewed as both penetrating and revealing, and was also considered valuable in that it enlivened the text. As far as Loane's work was concerned, the use of anecdotal evidence was very much a feature of her writing, and contributed greatly to the popularity of her work.

For an objective evaluation to be made of Loane's work, both the corpus and the context of the time in which it was written must to be considered for, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, her impressions and evaluation of the lives of the poor and her attitudes towards them developed over a lengthy period. However, Cunningham's assessment of her representations of childhood has been based upon a limited examination of little more than one chapter from one social commentary.

As has been stressed throughout this thesis, the experiences of the Queen's nurse were of fundamental importance to the content of all Loane's work, so that although the question of true authorship of the corpus remains unresolved, there can be no doubt that Martha Loane's nursing career was of the utmost significance. It is evident from her biography that as a nurse and district nurse she commanded the greatest respect from her fellow professionals. Whilst her primary objective was undoubtedly to minister to the medical needs of the sick poor, she acknowledged that her visits to their homes offered an unrivalled opportunity of 'effecting a lasting improvement' in the condition of their lives. By embarking upon a literary career, Loane was able to extend the didactic role of the Queen's nurse, and by taking it out of the confines of the homes of the poor, was able to educate a much wider audience. Her social studies and articles provided Edwardian readers with a unique and unrivalled portrayal of the codes, habits, and culture, trials and tribulations of the working-class poor, as well as an authoritative opinion of the social problems of the day.

Despite the fact that Loane's work has regularly been cited and commended by numerous modern historians, her literary contributions have not enjoyed the wide readership and acceptance that they perhaps rightly deserve. Nor has she been considered as part of the mainstream of women social investigators of the late-Victorian and Edwardian period. Ultimately it is hoped that this study of Loane's life and work will enable her to be restored to her rightful place amongst the honourable band of women social investigators which includes Maud Pember Reeves, Lady Bell and Clementina Black, to name but a few.



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## **SOURCES and BIBLIOGRAPHY**

These are arranged as follows:

- PART ONE: Manuscript Sources**
- (a) Public Record Offices
  - (b) Local Record Offices
  - (c) British Museum
  - (d) Bodleian Library
  - (e) Other Collections
- PART TWO: Official Publications**
- (a) Command Papers (1) Occasional
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  - (c) Acts of Parliament
- PART THREE: Bibliographies and Works of Reference**
- PART FOUR: Newspapers and Periodicals**
- PART FIVE: Contemporary Works**
- (a) Books
  - (b) Articles
- PART SIX: Secondary works**
- (a) Books
  - (b) Articles
- PART SEVEN: Theses**

The place of publication of printed works is London unless otherwise stated

PART ONE: **MANUSCRIPT SOURCES****(a) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE**

Annual Inspectors Reports of Buxton District Nursing Association, 1891,  
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## PART TWO: OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

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## (b) HOUSE OF COMMONS PAPERS

## (1) Annual

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33 & 34 Vic c.75	Elementary Education Acts, 1870 & 1873
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*Bristol Catholic News*  
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*Bristol Daily Mercury*  
*Bristol Echo*  
*Bristol Evening Express*  
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*Eugenics Review*

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*Fortnightly Review*

*The Freethinker*

*Hospital and Health Review*

*Independent Review*

*In His Name*

*Inquirer*

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*London Quarterly Review*  
*London Trades and Labour Gazette*  
*Malthusian*  
*Midwives Chronicle*  
*Midwives Record*  
*Millgate*  
*Monthly Review*  
*Nation (USA)*  
*Nation (supra The Speaker)*  
*National Review*  
*New Age*  
*Nineteenth Century and after*  
*Notes and Queries*  
*Nurses Journal*  
*Nursing Mirror*  
*Nursing News (supra Nursing World, supra Popular Medical  
Monthly)*  
*Nursing Notes*  
*Nursing Record*  
*Nursing Times*  
*The Optimist*  
*Outlook*  
*Pall Mall Gazette*  
*Pall Mall Magazine*  
*Pearson's Magazine*  
*The Philanthropist*  
*Progress*  
*Public Opinion*

*Punch*

*Quarterly Review*

*Queen's Nurses' Magazine*

*Quiver*

*The Reader*

*Review of Reviews*

*Saturday Review*

*The Schoolmaster*

*Shaftesbury Magazine (supra In His Name)*

*Sociological Review*

*The Speaker*

*The Sphere*

*Strand Magazine*

*The Survey (USA) (supra Charities and the Commons)*

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*Westminster Review*

*Women's Industrial News*

*Women's Trade Union Review*

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## **APPENDIX 1**

### **Working bibliography of Loane's published work**

For details surrounding the problem of assigning authorship see Chapter 3.

These are arranged as follows:

**PART ONE:**            Nursing Works

**PART TWO:**            Social Commentaries

**PART THREE:** (a) Explanatory Notes  
(b) Bibliography of journals and papers searched  
(c) Bibliographies and works of reference  
(d) Articles

PART ONE:    **Nursing Works**

M. Loane. & H. Bowers, *The District Nurse as Health Missioner* (Scientific Press, 1904)

A booklet, described as 'Enlarged and reprinted by permission from *Nursing Notes* by M.Loane, Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth and Helen Bowers, Health Visitor, Nottinghamshire.'

M. Loane, *The Duties of a Superintendent in a Small Home for District Nurses*, (Women's Printing Society, 1904) a booklet, reprinted, by permission, from the October and November *Nursing Notes*, 1903

M. Loane, *The Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing* (Scientific Press, 1904)

M. Loane, *Outlines of Routine in District Nursing* (Scientific Press, 1904). The authoress is described as 'Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth, late Sister Agnes, Charing Cross Hospital and Salop Infirmary.' It includes a number of articles previously published in *Nursing Notes*, identified, to date as: 'White Leg', appeared in *Nursing Notes*, July 1901, pp.93-94; 'A First Visit', pp.139-146 appeared in *Nursing Notes*, November 1898, pp.152-53; 'Chronic Cases', p.155 ff. appeared in *Nursing Notes*, April 1898, pp.46-47.

M. Loane, *Simple Sanitation: the practical application of the laws of health to small dwellings* (Scientific Press, 1905)

M. Loane, *Simple Introductory Lessons in Midwifery* (Scientific Press, 1906)

PART TWO: **Social Commentaries**

The British Library catalogue is erroneous in its entry for these works. None of them were attributed, on the title page, to M.E.Loane.

- M. Loane     *The Queens Poor: Life as they find it in town and country,*  
 1st. impression (Edward Arnold and New York, Longman Green, 1905)  
 New and cheaper edition (Edward Arnold, 1906)  
 3rd. impression (Edward Arnold, 1909)  
 4th. impression (Edward Arnold, 1910)  
 5th. impression (Edward Arnold, 1914)  
 6th. impression (Edward Arnold, 1919)
- M. Loane     *The Next Street But One*  
 1st. impression (Edward Arnold, 1907)  
 2nd. & cheaper edition (Edward Arnold and New York, Longman  
 Green, 1907)  
 3rd. impression (Edward Arnold, 1907)
- M. Loane     *From Their Point of View: Short Papers on the Life of the Poor*  
 (Edward Arnold and New York, Longman Green, 1908)
- M. Loane     *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold and New York, Longman  
 Green, 1909)
- M. Loane     *Neighbours and Friends* (Edward Arnold and New York, Longman  
 Green, 1910)
- M. Loane     *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911)
- A.E. Loane    *Shipmates* (Edward Arnold, 1912)

PART THREE: **Articles**(a) **Explanatory Notes:**

In the preface to five of Loane's social commentaries, she thanked the editors of various publications for permission to use articles which had first appeared in their columns. These acknowledgements appeared as follows:

*The Queen's Poor* (1905)

'The greater part of the chapters entitled "Husband and Wife among the Poor" and "Religion of the Respectable Poor" appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, and is reprinted by kind permission of the Editor. A few paragraphs have also been taken from the writer's stray papers in *Nursing Notes*, *British Journal of Nursing*, and the *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*.'

*The Next Street But One* (1907)

'The greater part of the chapter entitled "Culture among the Poor" appeared first in the *Contemporary Review*, and is reprinted by kind permission of the Editor. Thanks are also due to the Editors of *Nursing Notes*, the *British Journal of Nursing*, and the *Northern Newspaper Syndicate*.'<sup>1</sup>

*From Their Point of View* (1908)

'Thanks are due to the "Associated Newspapers"<sup>2</sup> and the "Northern Newspaper Syndicate" for permission to reprint articles which first appeared in their columns.'

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<sup>1</sup> The Northern Newspaper Syndicate, Kendal, was a national and international agency which supplied the London, Provincial, Colonial and Foreign Press with articles on the foremost subjects of the day. See *The Newspaper Press Directory* (Mitchell, 1907) p.56.

<sup>2</sup> Associated Newspapers included the *Evening News*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Weekly Despatch*.

*An Englishman's Castle* (1909)

'Thanks are due to the Editors of the *Evening News*, the *Northern Newspaper Syndicate*, *Nursing Notes*, the *British Journal of Nursing*, and the *Nursing Times* for their permission to use articles which have appeared in their columns. M.L'

*Neighbours and Friends* (1910)

'Thanks are due to the Editors of the Northern Newspaper Syndicate, the *Evening News*, *Nursing Notes*, *British Journal of Nursing*, and the *Nursing Times* for their permission to use articles which first appeared in their columns. M.L. '

No such acknowledgement appeared in the preface to *The Common Growth* (1911).



(b) **Bibliography of journals and papers searched**

The list of Loane's articles which follows has been compiled from a detailed examination of runs of the following papers and journals published between 1897 and 1913. Since there is evidence of unattributed articles,<sup>3</sup> and because there is no way of knowing which papers were supplied with articles by the Northern Newspaper Syndicate, this list should be viewed as representative rather than comprehensive:

*Academy*  
*The Athenaeum*  
*Blackwoods Magazine*  
*British Journal of Nursing*  
*British Medical Journal*  
*Child Study*  
*Charities and the Commons*  
*Charity Organisation Review*  
*Charity Record*  
*Contemporary Review*  
*Daily Mail*  
*Eclectic Magazine*  
*Evening News*  
*The Englishwoman's Review*  
*Fortnightly Review*  
*The Independent Review*  
*Lady's Realm*  
*The Lancet*  
*Littell's Living Age*  
*Midwives Chronicle*  
*Midwives Record*  
*Millgate*  
*Monthly Review*  
*The Nation*  
*Nineteenth Century and After*  
*Nurse's Journal*  
*Nursing Mirror*  
*Nursing News and Hospital Review*

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 3, 'A Biographical Study of M.Loane', footnotes 120-21, and below, items 64 and 67.

*Nursing Notes*  
*Nursing Record*  
*Nursing Times*  
*Pall Mall Gazette*  
*Pall Mall Magazine*  
*The Philanthropist*  
*Progress*  
*Quarterly Review*  
*Queen's Nurses' Magazine* (with the exception of vol.3, no's.2 & 3, 1906; vol.4, no.1, 1907; vol.8, no's.3 & 4, 1911, as it has not been possible to locate extant copies)  
*Sociological Review*  
*The Speaker*  
*The Spectator*  
*Westminster Review*  
*Weekly Despatch*

(c) **Bibliographies**

Bibliographic references to a limited number of Loane's articles were located in:

- A.Guthrie (ed.) *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, vol. I, 1900-1904, (Minneapolis, Wilson, 1905) p.855; vol. 2 (1910) p.1318; vol. 3 (1915) p.1523.
- M.Robins (ed.) *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature Supplement 1907-1915* (New York, Wilson, 1916) p. 685.
- W. Fletcher & H.E.Haines (ed.) *The Annual Library Index 1905* (New York: Publishers Weekly, 1906) p.187.
- Pooles Index to Periodical Literature 1802 -1906* (Michigan, Pierian, 1971) p.265.
- Annual Literary Index*, 1904.
- A.Thompson (ed) *A Bibliography of Nursing Literature, 1859-1960* (Library Association, 1968) p.38, p.111, p.122.
- V.Henderson (ed) *Nursing Studies Index*, vol.1. 1900-1929 (U.S.A. Garland, 1984) p.114, p.524, p.561, 584, p.597, p.606, p.615, p.625, p.711, p.725.

(d) **Articles:** listed chronologically**1894**

The March, April, July and October 1894 issues of *Nursing Notes* included articles under the heading of 'Household Notes'. These were attributed to 'Martha'.

**1897**

- 1 Martha Jane Loane, 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, <sup>4</sup> January 1897, pp.7-8; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, February 1897, pp.17-19; Part 3, *Nursing Notes*, March 1897, pp.31-33; Part 4, *Nursing Notes*, April 1897, pp.46-47; Conclusion, *Nursing Notes*, May 1897, pp.65-66. This article formed a part of Chapter VII, 'Service of the Poor', *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909)
- 2 Martha Jane Loane, 'District Nursing in Small Towns', *Nursing Notes*, June 1897, pp.77-78.
- 3 M.J.Loane, 'A Summer Holiday', *Nursing Notes*, August 1897, pp.100-101. For replies to this article see *Nursing Notes*, September 1897.
- 4 M.Loane, 'Abolition of the Dustbin', *Nursing Notes*, December 1897, pp.164-65.

**1898**

- 5 M.J.Loane, 'Operations in Cottages', *Nursing Notes*, February 1898, pp.18-20.
- 6 M.J.Loane, 'Chronic Cases', *Nursing Notes*, April 1898, pp.46-47.

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<sup>4</sup> *Nursing Notes* was first published on 1 June 1887, as a four-page supplement to the journal, *Woman*. Subsequently, when *Woman* merged with another journal, it became necessary for other arrangements to be made for the nursing paper. *Nursing Notes* was launched as an independent journal by its editor and proprietor, Emma Brierly, in January 1888. She was the daughter of Sir Oswald Brierly, marine painter to Queen Victoria. *Nursing Notes* was published by the Women's Printing Society. See Betty Colwell & David Wainwright, *Behind the Blue Door. The History of the Royal College of Midwives, 1881-1981* (Bailliere Tindall, 1981).

7 M.Loane, 'Personal Hygiene for District Nurses', *Nursing Notes*, June 1898, pp.81-82.

8 M.J.Loane, 'A First Visit', *Nursing Notes*, November 1898, pp.152-154. This article formed the basis of an appendix item in *Outlines of Routine* (Scientific Press, 1905) pp.139-146.

### 1899

9 M.Loane, 'Books and Work', *Nursing Notes*, March 1899, pp.41-42.

10 M.Loane, 'Chronic Cases in District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, September 1899, pp.117-119. This article was later included in *Outlines of Routine* (Scientific Press, 1905) pp.139-146.

11 M.Loane, 'How to attend a Severe Chronic Case in District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, October 1899, pp.130-131.

### 1900

12 M.Loane, 'Fractured Leg', *Nursing Notes*, April 1900, p.54-55.

### 1901

13 M.Loane, 'The District Nurse as Health Missioner', *Nursing Notes*, May 1901, pp.62-63.

14 M.Loane, 'White Leg', *Nursing Notes*, July 1901, pp.93-94. Extracts of this article were later included in *Outlines of Routine* (Scientific Press, 1905) pp.139-146.

### 1902

15 M.Loane, 'The Nursing Treatment of Cancer and Preparation of Cases for Operation', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, February 1902, pp.20-21; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, March 1902, pp.34-35.

## 1903

- 16 M.Loane, 'The Duties of a Superintendent in a small Home for District Nurses', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, October 1903, pp.142-144; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, November 1903, pp.157-58.

## 1904

- 17 Miss Loane (Portsmouth) 'The Training of County District Nurses in Large Towns', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, April 1904, pp.57-8; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, May 1904, pp.81-2; Part 3, *Nursing Notes*, July 1904, pp.114-15. Part 1 of this paper subsequently formed part of 'Town and Country', Chapter V, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907).
- 18 M.Loane, 'The Dawn of District Nursing in France', *Nursing Notes*, June 1904, pp.97-98.
- 19 M.Loane, 'Pas de Vacances', *Nursing Notes*, August 1904, p.127. A readers reply to this article was published in issue of September, no.201, p.147 and Miss Loane's subsequent response to this letter was published in issue of October 1904, no.202, p.161.
- 20 Miss M.Loane *Superintendent of Queen's Nurses*, 'The Home Preparation of Hospital Probationers', Part 1, *British Journal of Nursing*<sup>5</sup>, 20 August 1904, pp.145-146; Part 2, *British Journal of Nursing*, 27 August 1904, pp.164-166.
- 21 M.Loane, 'The Dawn of District Nursing in Switzerland', *Nursing Notes*, September 1904, pp.145-46.
- 22 Miss M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth*, 'Am I Called To Be A Nurse?', Part 1, *British Journal of Nursing*, 10 September 1904, pp.206-207; Part 2, *British Journal of Nursing*, 17 September 1904, pp.225-226. This article subsequently formed part of 'Vocation', Chapter IV, *Neighbours and Friends* (Edward Arnold, 1910)

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<sup>5</sup> *The British Journal of Nursing* (supra *Nursing Record*, April 1888-June 1902) was first issued in July 1902. Publication ceased in 1958.

- 23 Miss M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth*, 'Thoughts on the Final Training of District Probationers', Part 1, *British Journal of Nursing*, 22 October 1904, pp.329-331; Part 2, *British Journal of Nursing*, 27 October 1904, pp.349-50; Part 3, *British Journal of Nursing*, 5 November 1904, pp.369-71; Part 4, *British Journal of Nursing*, 12 November 1904, pp.390-92. One paragraph from Part 4 of this article was subsequently included in *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905) p.22.
- 24 Miss M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth*, 'Anaemia', *British Journal of Nursing*, 26 November 1904, p.428.
- 25 M.Loane, 'Dark Stars', *Nursing Notes*, November 1904, pp.177-8. An extended version of this article was subsequently published as 'The Trials of a District Nurse', Chapter VIII, *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905).
- 26 M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses*, 'The Religion of the Respectable Poor', *Contemporary Review*, vol.LXXXVI, November 1904, pp.721-726; *Littell's Living Age* (USA) vol.243, 24 December 1904, pp.791-5; *Nursing Notes*, December 1904, pp.188-89. This article subsequently formed part of 'The Religion of the Respectable Poor', Chapter II, *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905)
- 27 Miss M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth*, 'The Formation of Mental Habits', *British Journal of Nursing*, 17 December 1904, pp.488-490.
- 28 M.Loane, *Superintendent of Queen's Nurses*, 'The Trials of a District Nurse', *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.1, no.3, December 1904, pp.77-80. An extended version of this article was subsequently published as 'The Trials of a District Nurse', Chapter VIII, *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905)
- 1905**
- 29 M.Loane, 'Invalids Rights', *British Journal of Nursing*, 7 January 1905, pp.5-7.
- 30 M.Loane, 'Worldly Wisdom', *British Journal of Nursing*, 18 February 1905, pp.127-8.

- 31 Miss M.Loane, 'A Plea for Uniformity of Training for District Probationers', Part 1, *Nursing Notes*, February 1905, p.25; Part 2, *Nursing Notes*, April 1905, p.58. This paper was presented on Miss Loane's behalf at the Association's Conference in November 1904, as stated in *Nursing Notes*, February 1905, p.25 . Her name was not included amongst those in attendance at this conference, as listed in *Nursing Notes*, December 1904, p.196.
- 32 M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses* ',Husband and Wife Among the Poor', *Contemporary Review*, vol.LXXXVII, February 1905, pp.222-231 and same *Littell's Living Age* (USA)vol.244, 4 March 1905, pp.523-30, also *Eclectic Magazine* (New York) vol.144, 1905, pp.431-38. This article subsequently formed part of 'Husband and Wife Among the Poor', Chapter I, *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905)
- 33 M.Loane, 'The District Nurse and her Connection with the Financial Support of the Local Institution', *Nursing Notes*, March 1905, p.42.
- 34 M.Loane, 'Practical Instruction in District Sick Cookery', *British Journal of Nursing*, 13 May 1905, pp.372-4.
- 35 Miss J. Loane (sic), 'Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, May 1905, p.71. This was not the same article as that published in 1897. A few paragraphs from this article were included in Chapter IV, 'The Art of Polite Conversation etc.' *The Queen's Poor* (Edward Arnold, 1905) pp.101-103.
- 36 Miss Loane, 'Only Manner', *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, <sup>6</sup> vol.2, no.1, 30 April 1905, p.2.For a review of this article see; *Nursing Times*, 3 June 1905, p.86.
- 37 M.Loane, 'The First Year as a District Superintendent', *Nursing Times*, <sup>7</sup> 10 June 1905, pp.95-97.
- 38 Miss M.Loane, 'When I Retire', *Nursing Notes*, June 1905, p.87.

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<sup>6</sup> The *Queen's Nurses Magazine*, the official publication of the Association, was first published in May 1904.

<sup>7</sup> *Nursing Times* has been published continuously since the first edition was issued in March 1905.

- 39 M.Loane, 'The District Nurse's Commonplace Book', *Nursing Notes*, July 1905, p.105.
- 40 Miss M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth*, 'The Art of Entertaining from a Nursing Point of View', Part 1, *British Journal of Nursing*, 15 July 1905, pp.48-50; Part 2, *British Journal of Nursing*, 22 July 1905, pp.70-72.
- 41 M.Loane, *Superintendent of District Nurses, Portsmouth*, 'Resident Cottage Nurses', *Nursing Times*, 12 August 1905, pp.266-68. This article subsequently formed part of 'The Social Services of the District Nurse', Chapter IX, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1910)
- 42 M.Loane, 'If Nurse had a Little More Tact', *Nursing Times*, 9 September 1905, pp.354-356.
- 43 M.Loane, 'Notes added to 'The District Nurse as Health Missioner', *Nursing Notes*, September 1905, p.139. Two paragraphs of this article were later included in Chapter VIII, 'Service of the Poor', *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909) at pp. 220-221.
- 44 Miss M.Loane, 'The After-Care of Operation Cases in District Nursing', *Nursing Mirror*, 8 28 October 1905, p.57.
- 45 Miss M.Loane, 'Minor Surgery in District Nursing', "Nurses' Clinic", *Nursing Mirror*, 4 November 1905, p.106.
- 46 M.Loane, 'The Keynote of District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, November 1905, pp.166-67.
- 47 Miss M.Loane, 'The District Nurse and Paralysis', "The Nurses' Clinic", *Nursing Mirror*, 2 December 1905, p.131.
- 48 Miss M.Loane, 'The District Nurse and Prevention of Puerperal Fever', "The Nurses' Clinic", *Nursing Mirror*, 23 December 1905, pp.183-84.

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<sup>8</sup> The first edition of *Nursing Mirror* was published in April 1905. Publishing ceased in November 1973.



## 1906

- 49 Miss M.Loane, 'The District Nurse in Relation to the Treatment of Hip Disease', "The Nurses' Clinic", *Nursing Mirror*, 27 January 1906, pp.213-14.
- 50 M.Loane, 'The Free-will Offering of the District Nurse', *Nursing Times*, 10 March 1906, p.198-99. This article subsequently formed part of 'The Social Services of the District Nurse', Chapter IX, *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1910).
- 51 M.Loane, 'Are Herbalists Quacks?', *Nursing Notes*, March 1906, p.42-43.
- 52 Miss M.Loane (*Late Superintendent of Queen's Nurses, Portsmouth*) 'The Art of Being Comfortable under Difficulties', *British Journal of Nursing*, 14 April 1906, p.293-94.
- 53 M.Loane, 'Nursing with Nothing', *Nursing Notes*, May 1906, pp.74-75. This article was expanded and subsequently formed part of 'Interdependence', Chapter VII, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907)
- 54 Miss M.Loane (*Late Superintendent of Queen's Nurses, Portsmouth*) 'Other People's Business', *British Journal of Nursing*, 19 May 1906, p.401-02. This article was expanded and subsequently formed part of 'Other People's Business', Chapter VI, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907)
- 55 M.Loane, 'The Indirect Cost of Private Nurses', *Nursing Notes*, June 1906, pp.88-89. For a reply to this article see Letter of Miss C.J.Wood, *Nursing Notes*, July 1906, pp.106-07.
- 56 M.Loane, 'Her Reward', *British Journal of Nursing*, 11 August 1906, pp.115-16. This article was extended and subsequently formed part of 'Her Reward', Chapter IX, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907)
- 57 M.Loane, 'Culture Among the Poor', *Contemporary Review*, vol.XC, August 1906, pp.230-40 and same *Littell's Living Age* (U.S.A) vol 250, 29 September 1906, pp.788-96. This article was extended and subsequently formed part of 'Culture Among The Poor', Chapter I, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) pp.305-309.

- 58 M.Loane, 'The Constant Factors of Good Nursing', *Nursing Times*, 25 August 1906, p.709-10.
- 59 Miss M.Loane, 'My Trusted Servant', *British Journal of Nursing*, 1 September 1906, pp.174-75. This article was extended and subsequently formed part of 'My Trusted Servant', Chapter XVI, *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907)
- 60 M.Loane, 'Ethics of the Poor,' *Nursing Notes*, September 1906, pp.136-37. This article was incorporated in a much lengthier chapter of the same name and was published in *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907)
- 61 Miss M.Loane, 'The Selection of Hospital Probationers', *British Journal of Nursing*, 20 October 1906, pp.310-11.
- 62 M.Loane, 'Apt to Teach', *Nursing Notes*, November 1906, p.166.
- 63 M.Loane, 'On Alleviation', *Nursing Notes*, December 1906, p.181.
- 1907**
- 64 Anon, 'The Nurses Clinic. The District Nurse and Epilepsy', *Nursing Mirror*, 19 January 1907, pp.223-34. Published anonymously, but Miss Loane was paid 13/6 for this article by The Scientific Press. The rate payable was 7/6 per column. See Scientific Press Ledger for 1907, Folio 129, Burdett Papers A1/11, Bodleian Library.
- 65 Miss M.Loane, 'Lecturing to a Small Audience', *British Journal of Nursing*, 19 January 1907, pp.49-50.
- 66 M.Loane, 'The District Nurse and Dying Patients,' *Nursing Notes*, February 1907, pp.25-26.
- 67 Anon., 'The Nurses Clinic. The District Nurse and Discharged Hospital Patients', *Nursing Mirror*, 9 March 1907, pp.337-38. Published anonymously, but Miss Loane was paid 12/- for this article by *The Scientific Press*. The rate payable was 7/6 per column. See Scientific Press Ledger for 1907, Folio 129, Burdett Papers A1/11, Bodleian Library.

- 68 M.E. Loane, 'The Heart of the Poor. Do the Poor pay more for Food than the Rich?', *Evening News*, 15 March 1907, p.4. This was the first article by Loane to be published in this paper, and was subsequently included within 'The Cost of Food', *Next Street*, pp.157-58.
- 69 M.E.Loane, 'Are the Poor Sinking Lower? Energy v Degradation,' *Evening News*, 20 March 1907, p.4. This article was subsequently included within 'Characteristics of the Poor', *Next Street*, pp.96-99.
- 70 M.E.Loane, 'How we Degrade the Poor. The Abuses of Philanthropy,' *Evening News*, 26 March 1907, p.4. This article subsequently formed part of 'What is Charity', *Next Street*, pp. 202-05, p.212.
- 71 M.E.Loane, 'The Morality of the Poor. How it is far higher than is greatly believed,' *Evening News*, 5 April 1907, p.4. This article was subsequently included within 'Characteristics of the Poor', *Next Street*, pp.92 ff.
- 72 M.E.Loane, 'Wasted Effort of the Poor. A Curse in Labour as well as a Blessing.' *Evening News*, 10 April 1907, p.2. This article was subsequently included within 'Wasted Effort Among the Poor', *Next Street*, pp.274-77.
- 73 M.Loane, 'The Malnutrition of Young Children', *Nursing Times*, 13 April 1907, pp.312-313.
- 74 M.E.Loane, 'The Children of the Poor. The Evils of Earning a Living at Home.' *Evening News*, 25 April 1907, p.2.
- 75 M.Loane, 'Honour', *Nursing Times*, 18 May 1907, pp.423-24.
- 76 M.E.Loane, 'The Working Class Father. How he is more affectionate than the Father of the Middle Class,' *Evening News*, 6 July 1907, p.2.
- 77 M.E.Loane, 'The Working Class Father. Not as Black as he is Painted,' *Evening News*, 10 July 1907, p.2.
- 78 M.Loane, 'The Other Side of the Question', *Nursing Times*, 10 August 1907, pp.687-88.

- 79 M.E.Loane, 'The Brain of the Poor. Some Striking Conclusions.' *Evening News*, 13 August 1907, p.2.
- 80 M.E.Loane, 'A Problem of the Poor. Should a Child Remain Single to Maintain the Parent?' *Evening News*, 17 September 1907, p.2.
- 81 M.E.Loane, 'Our Uneducated Poor. Where "Good Works" do harm,' *Evening News*, 12 November 1907, p.2.
- 82 M.E.Loane, 'Why Philanthropy Fails. Amusing Examples of Disastrous Benevolence,' *Evening News*, 13 December 1907, p.2.
- 1908**
- 83 M.E.Loane, 'The Helplessness of the Poor' 'The Flat Versus the Self-Contained House', *Evening News*, 8 January 1908, p.4.
- 84 M.E.Loane, Extracts from *From Their Point of View* were published in *The Evening News*, 19 March 1908, p.2
- 85 M.Loane, Extracts from 'Family Life of the Poor' taken from *From Their Point of View* were published in *The Daily Mail*, 21 March 1908, p.9.
- 86 M.E.Loane, District Nurse, 'Put Yourself in his Place', *Evening News*, Part 1, 3 June 1908, p.4; Part 2, 8 June 1908, p.2; Part 3, 12 June 1908, p.4. These articles formed part of Chapter III, 'Put Yourself in his Place', *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1909)
- 87 M.E.Loane, 'The Care of the Poor', *Evening News*, 20 August 1908, p.4 .This is not an article, but a small contribution, by Loane, to the *Evening News* discussion on the subject. Loane is described as 'the well known district nurse and social writer.'

By the end of 1908, Miss Edith E.G. May appears to have replaced Miss Loane as the most regular contributor of articles to *Nursing Notes*

## 1909

- 88 Miss M.E.Loane, 'The Englishman's Castle. Exclusiveness of the Poor', *Evening News*, 19 January 1909, p.4. This article represented some passages from the first chapter of *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1910)
- 89 Miss M.E.Loane, 'Pleasures of the Poor. The Luxury of Sleep', *Evening News*, 5, February 1909, p.4. This article represented some passages from the second chapter of *An Englishman's Castle* (Edward Arnold, 1910) and was described as a 'sequel to the contribution of 19 January.'
- 90 Miss M.E.Loane, 'Promotion for the Poor. How Workhouse Inmates Earn their Removes,' *Evening News*, 19 February 1909, p.4 (Loane's personal opinion on the report of the Poor Law Commission).

## 1910

- 91 M.E.Loane, '"Keeper of the Purse." Why Woman is Supreme in Working class home.' *Evening News*, 19 January 1910, p.2.
- 92 M.E.Loane, '"Cheerful and Contented." The Working Class Widow.' *Evening News*, 18 February 1910, p.2.
- 93 M.E.Loane, 'Divorce and the Working Classes. Why it should be made easier.' *Evening News*, 2 March 1910, p.2.
- 94 M.Loane, 'Hospitality', *The Spectator*, 25 June 1910, p.1066, and same, *Littell's Living Age* (U.S.A) vol 266, 17 September 1910, pp.756-9. This article formed the basis of 'Hospitality', Chapter 1, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911). For letter to the editor, related to this article, see *The Spectator*, 2 July 1910, p.16.
- 95 M.E. Loane, 'Thrift Created by Holidays. One Effect on the Working Classes,' *Evening News*, 8 July 1910, p.2.
- 96 M.Loane, 'Personal Rules for District Nurses', *Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, vol.VII, no.3,October 1910, p.127.

- 97 M.Loane, 'The Art of Saving', *The Spectator*, 6 August 1910, pp.198-9, and same, *Littell's Living Age* (U.S.A) vol.267, 5 November 1910, pp.367-369. This article formed part of Chapter IX, 'The Meaning of Thrift', *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911)
- 98 Miss Loane, 'Florence Nightingale and District Nursing', *Nursing Notes*, October 1910, p.239 and reprinted in *The American Journal of Nursing*, February 1911, pp.383-84. Miss Nightingale died 13 August 1910.
- 99 M.Loane, 'The Cost of Idleness', *The Spectator*, 3 December 1910, pp.961-62 and same *Littell's Living Age* (U.S.A) vol 268, 21 January 1911, pp.185-88. This article subsequently formed part of Chapter X, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911). For letter to The Editor, related to this article, see *The Spectator*, 10 December 1910, p.1024.
- 100 M.Loane, 'Woman Supertramp', *The Spectator*, 17 December 1910, pp.1073-74, and same *Littell's Living Age* (U.S.A) vol.268, 28 January 1911, pp.253-55. This article subsequently formed part of Chapter II, *The Common Growth* (Edward Arnold, 1911)
- 101 M.Loane, 'Care of Health', *The Spectator*, 31 December 1910, p.1161-62, and same *Littell's Living Age* (U.S.A) vol.268, 11 February 1911, pp.374-77.
- 1911**
- 102 Miss Loane, 'Florence Nightingale and District Nursing', *The American Journal of Nursing*, February 1911, pp.383-4.
- 103 M.Loane, 'Class Hatred', *The Spectator*, 22 April 1911, p.588-89, and same *Littell's Living Age* (U.S.A) vol 269. 27 May 1911, pp.559-61. For letter to The Editor, related to this article, see *The Spectator*, 29 April 1911, p.647.
- 104 M.Loane, 'Children's King', *The Spectator*, 3 June 1911, pp.842-43.
- 105 M.Loane, 'Fatherly Heart', *The Spectator*, 15 July 1911, pp.97-98.
- 106 M.Loane, 'My Friends Children', *The Spectator*, 5 August 1911, pp.205-06.

- 107 M.Loane, 'Children's Country Holidays', *The Spectator*, 2 September 1911, pp.336-37. For letters to The Editor, related to this article, see *The Spectator*, 9 September 1911, p.376-77, 16 September 1911, pp.412-44.
- 108 M.Loane, 'The House with a Forecourt', *The Spectator*, 23 September 1911, pp.449-50.
- 109 M.Loane, London, Author of *The Queen's Poor, Neighbours and Friends* (sic) etc. 'Infant Mortality' in *American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality; Transactions*, 16-18 November 1911, p.319 ff (Read by Miss Edna L.Foley of Chicago).
- 110 M.Loane, 'Saving of Child Life', *The Spectator*, 11 November 1911, pp.786-87. For letters to The Editor, related to this article, see *The Spectator*, 2 December 1911, p.961. For a review of this article see, *Nursing Notes*, January 1912, p.6.
- 111 M.Loane, 'Varying Childness', *The Spectator*, 16 December 1911, pp.1067-68.

## 1912

For letters to The Editor, related to article 112, see *The Spectator*, 6 January 1912, p.16.

- 112 M.Loane, Author of "The Queen's Poor" etc., 'Infant Mortality' \*, *Nursing Notes*, Part 1, February 1912, p.38; Part 2, April 1912, pp.93-94; Conclusion, May 1912, pp.120-121. \* 'A paper first read at the Chicago Conference, November 1911.

## 1913

A.E.Loane, 'Country Temper', *The Spectator*, 29 March 1913, pp.528-9.

## APPENDIX 2

### Published Reviews of Loane's Books

This list was compiled from a comprehensive search of the following newspapers and periodical publications which were published between October 1905 and December 1911:

*Aberdeen's Weekly Journal*  
*The Academy*  
*Albany Review*  
*The Athenaeum*  
*Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*  
*The Bookshelf*  
*The Bookman*  
*Bristol Times and Mirror*  
*The British Journal of Inebriety*  
*The British Medical Journal*  
*British Weekly*  
*John Bull*  
*Charities and the Commons*  
*British Journal of Nursing*  
*Catholic Weekly*  
*Catholic Times and Catholic Opinion*  
*Church Family Newspaper*  
*Church Times*  
*The Charity Record*  
*Christian Globe*  
*Child Study*  
*The Childs Guardian*  
*The Clarion*  
*Charity Organisation Review*  
*Contemporary Review*  
*Daily Chronicle*  
*Daily Express*  
*Daily Graphic*  
*Daily Mail*



*Daily News*  
*Daily Telegraph*  
*The English Review*  
*The Englishwoman's Review*  
*Eugenics Education Society*  
*Eugenics Review*  
*Evening News*  
*Evening Standard*  
*Fabian News*  
*Fortnightly Review*  
*The Freethinker*  
*Glasgow Herald*  
*The Globe and Traveller*  
*The Graphic*  
*Illustrated London News*  
*In His Name*  
*The Independent Review*  
*The Inquirer*  
*Justice*  
*Labour News*  
*Ladies Pictorial*  
*The Lady*  
*Lady's Realm*  
*The Lancet*  
*Literary Guide*  
*Literary Post*  
*London Quarterly Review*  
*London Trades and Labour Gazette*  
*The Malthusian*  
*Manchester Guardian*  
*Millgate*  
*The Monthly Review*  
*Morning Post*  
*The Nation*  
*The National Review*  
*New Age*  
*New York Times*  
*Nineteenth Century and After*

*Nurses Journal*  
*Nursing Mirror*  
*Nursing News and Hospital Review*  
*Nursing Notes*  
*Nursing Record and Hospital World*  
*Nursing Times*  
*The Optimist*  
*Outlook*  
*Pall Mall Gazette*  
*Pall Mall Magazine*  
*The Philanthropist*  
*Portsmouth Times*  
*Progress*  
*Public Opinion*  
*The Quarterly Review*  
*Queen's Nurses' Magazine*  
*The Quiver*  
*The Reader*  
*Review of Reviews*  
*Reynolds Newspaper*  
*Saturday Review*  
*Saturday Westminster Gazette,*  
*The Schoolmaster*  
*Shaftesbury Magazine*  
*Sociological Review*  
*The Speaker*  
*The Spectator*  
*The Sphere*  
*The Standard*  
*The Star*  
*Sunday Observer*  
*Sunday Sun*  
*The Survey*  
*Times Literary Supplement*  
*Sunday Times and Sunday Special*  
*The Tablet*  
*Westminster Gazette*  
*Westminster Review*

*The Women's Industrial News*  
*Workmen's Messenger*  
*Yorkshire Post*

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES to reviews of Miss Loane's social commentaries appear in:

*Book Review Digest Author/Title Index 1905-1974*, vol.3. L-Q (New York, Wilson, 1976) includes an index reference to Loane, M (same as M.E.Loane [sic]) p.142.

*Book Review Digest* (Minnesota, Wilson, 1907) p.263 re: *The Next Street But One* cites reviews in *New York Times*, *The Athenaeum* and *The Spectator*.

*Book Review Digest* (Minnesota, Wilson, 1908) p.223 re: *From Their Point of View* cites reviews in *New York Times*, *The Times* and *The Spectator*.

American Library Association Booklist Recommendation 4:221. Je. '08.

*Book Review Digest* (Minnesota, Wilson, 1909) p.271 re: *An Englishman's Castle* cites reviews in *New York Times*, *The Athenaeum* and *The Spectator*.

American Library Association Booklist Recommendation 5:173. Je '09.

*Book Review Digest* (Minnesota, Wilson, 1910) p.238-9 re: *Neighbours and Friends* cites reviews in *New York Times*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Spectator* and *The Survey*.

American Library Association Booklist Recommendation 7: 109. N '10.

*Book Review Digest* (Minnesota, Wilson, 1911) p.294 re: *The Common Growth* cites reviews in *The Spectator* and *The Survey*.

American Library Association Booklist Recommendation 7: 385. My.'11.

M. Loane, *The Queens Poor: Life as they find it in town and country*

1st. impression (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1905)

New and cheaper edition (Edward Arnold, 1906)

3rd. impression (Edward Arnold, 1909)

4th. impression (Edward Arnold, 1910)

5th. impression (Edward Arnold, 1914)

6th. impression (Edward Arnold, 1919)

For details of publication of excerpts of this title see Appendix 1.

Reviewed by:

*The Daily News*, 13 October 1905, p.4.

*Glasgow Herald*, 14 October 1905, p.10.

*The Nursing Times*, 21 October 1905, p.490.

*The British Journal of Nursing*, 28 October 1905, p.364-5.

*The Athenaeum*, 25 November 1905, p.720.

*The Daily Graphic*, 29 November 1905, p.11.

*The Morning Post*, 30 November 1905, p.3.

*Queen's Nurses' Magazine*, December 1905, p.118.

*Nursing Notes*, December 1905, pp.179-80.

*The Spectator*, 'The Home Life of the Poor', 6 January 1906, pp.9-10.

*Church Times*, 16 April 1906, p.358.

*Charity Organisation Review*, vol 19, May 1906, p.259-263.

Stephen Reynolds, 'What The Poor Want', *The Quarterly Review*, vol.212, Jan-April 1910, pp.152-179.

*The Lancet*, 9 February 1907, p.366.

The end page of *The Next Street But One* (Edward Arnold, 1907) included the following remarks of Sir Archibald Clay Bart in respect of *The Queen's Poor*:

I have had a good deal of experience of "relief" work, and I have never come across a book upon the subject of the "poor" which shows such true insight and such a grasp of reality in describing the life, habits and mental attitude of our poor citizens....The whole book is not only admirable from a common sense point of view, but it is extremely pleasant and interesting to read, and has the great charm of humour.

M. Loane, *The Next Street But One*

1st. impression (Edward Arnold, 1907)	25 January 1907
2nd. & cheaper edition (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1907)	14 March 1907
3rd. impression (Edward Arnold, 1907)	

Advert only in *The Daily Graphic* 25 January 1907; *Glasgow Herald*, 25 January 1907, p.12.

For details of publication of excerpts of this title see Appendix 1.

Reviewed by:

*The Daily Graphic*, 1 February 1907, p.12.

*Manchester Guardian*, 6 February 1907, p.5.

*The Daily Chronicle*, 2 February 1907, p.3.

'The Ethics of the Poor,' *The Spectator*, 23 February 1907, pp.281-2.

*Justice*, 2 March 1907, p.5.

*Daily Mail*, Book Supplement, 2 March 1907, p.1.

*The Lancet*, 9 March 1907, p.666.

*The Nursing Times*, 16 March 1907, pp.228-30.

*Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1907, p.10.

*The Times Literary Supplement*, 29 March 1907, p.99.

*Charities and The Commons* (New York, Charity Organisation Society)  
6 April 1907, p.50.

*New York Times*, 13 April 1907, p.245.

*The Athenaeum*, 20 April 1907, p.471.

*Millgate*, vol.2, no.20, May 1907, p.525.

'Cross Currents in Philanthropy', *The Albany Review*, vol 1, no 3, June 1907, pp.350-60.

*Charities and The Commons* (New York, Charity Organisation Society)  
29 August 1908, p.630-31.

Stephen Reynolds, 'What The Poor Want', *The Quarterly Review*, vol.212, Jan-April 1910, pp.152-179.

M.Loane, *From Their Point of View: Short papers on the Life of the Poor*  
 (Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1908)

Published March 1908, as advertised in *The Daily Graphic*, 3 April 1908, p.17.

Reviewed by:

*The Daily Chronicle*, 25 March 1908, p.3.

*Daily Mail*, 21 March 1908, p.9. No review as such, but includes extracts of Chapter II, 'Family Life of the Poor'.

*The Spectator*, 28 March 1908, pp.503-4.

*The Times Literary Supplement*, 9 April 1908, p.117.

'The Poor at Home', *The Sunday Observer*, 19 April 1908, p.4.

*The Globe and Traveller*, 22 April 1908, p.5.

*The Daily News*, 29 April 1908, p.4.

'The Economics of Poverty', *Contemporary Review*, Literary Supplement, no.8, vol 93, May 1908, p.15.

*Nursing Notes*, May 1908, pp.100-2.

*Charity Organisation Review*, vol 23, no 137, New Series, May 1908, pp.279-80.

*New York Times*, 27 June 1908, p.367.

*The Athenaeum*, 21 November 1908, p.645.

Stephen Reynolds, 'What The Poor Want', *The Quarterly Review*, vol.212, Jan-April 1910, pp.152-179.

*Women's Industrial News*, April 1909, pp.18-19.

M. Loane, *An Englishman's Castle*

(Edward Arnold & New York, Longman Green, 1909)

Published February 1909, as noted in *Saturday Review*, 27 February 1909.

For details of publication of excerpts of this title see Appendix 1.

Reviewed by:

*Daily Graphic*, 5 March 1909, p.4.

*The Daily Telegraph*, 5 March 1909, p.4.

'More Poor People', *The Daily News*, 9 March 1909, p.4.

*Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1909, p.5.

*The Spectator*, 13 March 1909, pp.422-23.

*The Globe and Traveller*, Literary Supplement, no 17, 17 March 1909, p.2.

*Church Times*, 19 March 1909.

*The Women's Industrial News*, April 1909, pp.18-19.

*The Childs Guardian*, April 1909, pp.43-4.

*Nursing Notes*, May 1909, p.98.

*New York Times*, 19 June 1909, p.389.

*Charity Organisation Review*, June 1909, pp.328-332.

*The Athenaeum*, 7 August 1909, p.152.

Stephen Reynolds, 'What The Poor Want', *The Quarterly Review*, vol.212, Jan-April 1910, pp.152-179.

Advert for this book, in *Daily Graphic*, 5 March 1909, p.4, includes a brief review from *The Glasgow Herald*:

'A book that should be in the hands of every social reformer of whatever species... The humour and shrewd common sense which the author sets forth come of the fruits of her own keen observation during her experiences as a district nurse, cannot fail to recommend this most interesting volume to popular favour.'

For a criticism of *Nursing Notes* review of this book see *Nursing Notes*, July 1909, p.147.

M. Loane, *Neighbours and Friends*

(Edward Arnold, & New York, Longman Green, 1910)

Published February 1910

For details of publication of excerpts of this title see Appendix 1.

Reviewed by:

*The Daily Chronicle*, 22 February 1910, p.8.

*Daily Mail*, 26 February 1910, p.10.

*Manchester Guardian*, 4 March 1910, p.5.

*The Daily News*, 8 March 1910, p.3.

*The Spectator*, 12 March 1910, pp.425-27.

*The Child's Guardian*, vol XXIV, No.4 April 1910, p.38.

*The Nursing Times*, 23 April 1910, p.352.

*Evening News*, 3 March 1910, p.6.

*Nursing Notes*, May 1910, p.118.

*The Athenaeum*, 14 May 1910, pp.575-6.

*Charity Organisation Review*, vol 27, no 161, New Series, May 1910, pp.277-228.

*Sociological Review*, vol.3, 1910, p.258.

*New York Times*, 9 July 1910, p.387.

*The Survey (supra Charities and the Commons)*, (New York, Charity Organisation Society) 10 September 1910, p.832.



Loane, M.     *The Common Growth*  
                  (Edward Arnold, 1911)

1st.edition published February 1911, as noted in *The Saturday Review* 'This Week's Books.'

Advert only in *The Daily Graphic*, 3 March 1911

For details of publication of excerpts of this title see Appendix 1.

Reviewed by:

*The Spectator*, 4 March 1911, pp.320-21.

*The Daily Chronicle*, 8 March 1911, p.6.

*Daily Mail*, 10 March 1911, p.2.

'Annals of the Poor', *The Daily Graphic*, 17 March 1911, p.15.

E.Sharp, *Manchester Guardian*, 3 April 1911, p.5.

R.A.Bray, 'Waste', *The Daily News*, 19 April 1911, p.3.

*Nursing Notes*, April 1911, p.92.

*Charity Organisation Review*, vol 29, no.173, May 1911, p.276.

*The Survey (supra Charities and the Commons)* (New York, Charity Organisation Society) 9 December 1911, p.1345.

### Published Reviews of Miss Loane's Nursing Works

M.Loane, *The Incidental Opportunities of District Nursing* (Women's Printing Society & Scientific Press, 1904)

was reviewed by:

*Nursing Notes*, January 1904, p.11.

*The British Journal of Nursing*, 13 August 1904, pp.136-7.

M.Loane, *Outlines of Routine in District Nursing* (Scientific Press, 1904)

was reviewed by:

*The British Journal of Nursing*, 8 October 1904, pp.296-7 (1st.ed.).

*The Nurses Journal*, January 1905, pp.11-12 (2nd ed.).

*The Nursing Times*, 29 July 1905, p.232.

*The Nursing Mirror*, 19 August 1905, p.332.

*Nursing Notes*, August 1905, p.123.

M.Loane & H.Bowers, *The District Nurse as Health Missioner* (Scientific Press, 1904)

was reviewed by:

*The British Journal of Nursing*, 13 August 1904, pp.136-7.

*Nursing Notes*, September 1904, p.145.

M.Loane, *Simple Introductory Lessons in Midwifery* (Scientific Press, 1905)

was reviewed by:

*The Nursing Mirror*, 19 August 1905, p.332.

*The Nursing Times*, 14 April 1906, p.307.

*The British Medical Journal*, 16 June 1906, p.1407.

*The Nurses Journal*, June 1906, p.78.

M.Loane, *Simple Sanitation. The Practical Application of the Laws of Health to Small Dwellings* (Scientific Press, 1905)

was reviewed by:

*The Nursing Times*, 9 September 1905, p.366.

*Nursing Notes*, October 1905, p.152.

*Nursing Mirror*, December 1905, p.106.

*The Nurses Journal*, December 1905, pp.177-78.

## APPENDIX 3

### Checklist of Secondary References to Loane's Work

These are arranged chronologically

Place of publication, London, unless stated otherwise

Contemporary historians who have referred to Loane's works include:

Helen Bosanquet, *The Family* (Macmillan, 1906) includes textual references to Miss Loane, p.200 and extracts from *The Queen's Poor*, p.274, p.275 and p.292.

C.F.G.Masterman, *The Condition of England*, 1st ed. (Methuen, 1909) includes an index reference to Miss Loane p.308, and textual references to Miss Loane p.112, p.115; 2nd ed.(Methuen, 1911) includes an index reference to Miss Loane p.254, and textual references to Miss Loane, p.98, p.100; 3rd ed. (1960) includes an index reference to Loane, M, p.248, textual references to Miss Loane, p.89, p.91, and footnote references to Loane M, p.239, footnotes 89 and 91 citing *From Their Point of View*, pp.71-92.

Stephen Reynolds, *Seems So! A Working-Class View of Politics*, 1<sup>st</sup>.ed. (Macmillan, 1911) includes textual references to Miss Loane pp.274-76, p.278, p.283, pp.287-88, p.290, p.293, pp.301-02, pp.304-05, pp.307-08, pp.311-12, p.319.

Modern historians who have referred to works of this authoress include:

Henry Pelling, *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain. Essays* (Macmillan, 1968) includes an index reference to Loane, Miss.M, p.184, a textual reference to Miss M.Loane, p.31, and a footnote reference to M.Loane, p.31, footnote 1.

B.Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (Faber & Faber, 1971) includes an index reference Loane, Miss M.L (sic), writer & nurse, p.492, a further index-to-authors reference to Loane, M.E (sic) p.469, a textual reference to Miss Loane p.358 and footnote references to M.E. Loane (sic) p.413, footnote 22 and p.460, footnote 23.

Peter N. Stearns, 'Working Class Women in Britain, 1890-1914' in Martha Vicinus (ed) *Suffer and be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Indiana University Press, 1972) pp.100-120 includes footnote references to M.Loane p. 223, footnote 7, and to Loane p.223, footnotes 15, 20, 22, 23, 25 and p.224, footnote 4 (no bibliography).

Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society*, 1st .ed. (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975) contains an index reference to Loane M.E (sic) p.377, a textural reference to M.E Loane (sic) p.61, and a footnote/bibliographical reference to M.E Loane (sic) p.362, footnote26; 2nd ed (Routledge, 1992) contains an index reference to M.E.Loane (sic) p.337, a textural reference to M.E Loane (sic) p.45, footnote references to M.E Loane (sic) p.316, footnote23; p.319, footnote 7; p.330 and further reading reference to M.E Loane (sic) p.330.

Stephen Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis* (Croom Helm, 1976) includes an index reference to Loane. M. p.413, and footnote references to M.Loane p.344, footnote 1 and p.350, footnote 73.

Peter Keating, *Into Unknown England, 1866-1913* (Fontana, 1976) includes a bibliographic reference to M.E Loane (sic) p.319.

Standish Meacham, *A Life Apart: the English Working Class* (Thames & Hudson, 1977) includes an index reference to Loane M.L (sic) p.270, a textural reference to Loane p.84, footnote 94, a footnote reference to M.Loane p.238, footnote 94 and a bibliographical reference to M.Loane, p.265.

Ross McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observations in Edwardian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 28, (1978) pp.175-199 includes textural references to Miss M.Loane p.176 and to Miss Loane p.177, p.179, p.183, p.184, p.186, p.189, p.190, p.191, p.192, p.193, p.194, p.195, p.196, p.197, p.199; and footnote references to M.Loane p.179, footnote 16; p.183 footnotes 32 and 33; p.184, footnote 35; p.186, footnote 43; p.187, footnote 46; p.189, footnote 53; to Loane p.181, footnotes 23 and 24; p.186, footnote 44; p.187, footnote 45; p.188, footnote 48; p.189, footnotes 51, 54 and 56; p.190, footnotes 57 and 58; p.191, footnotes 61-64 inc; p.192, footnote 67; p.193, footnotes 68 and 70; p.195, footnotes 72-74 inc; p.195, footnotes 78 and 79; and to Miss Loane p.185, footnote 37.

Margaret May, 'Violence in the Family: An Historical Perspective in J.P Martin (ed) *Violence in the Family* (Chichester, Wiley, 1978) pp.135-167 includes an index reference to Loane M.E (sic) p.361, a textural reference to Nurse Loane (sic) p.159, and a footnote reference to M.E Loane (sic) p.166.

Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop*, Spring 1978, 5, pp.9-65, includes a textural reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.52, and a footnote reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.65, footnote 169.

Ross McKibbin, 'Working Class Gambling in Britain 1880-1939', *Past and Present*, February 1979, 82, pp.147-178 includes textural references to M.E Loane (sic) p.162, p.163, p.171 and footnote references to M.E.Loane (sic) p.162, footnote 76; p.163, footnote 63 and p.171, footnote 120.

Iris Minor, 'Working Class Women and Matrimonial Law Reform, 1890-1914', in D.Martin & D.Rubinstein (eds) *Ideology and the Labour Movement* (Croom Helm, 1979) pp.103-124 includes an index reference to Loane, M.E (sic) p.271, textural references to M.E Loane (sic) and Loane pp.113, 114, and footnote references to M.E Loane (sic) p.123, footnotes 11,13,19,22,23 and 24.

J.S Hurt, *Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918* (Routledge, 1979) includes a footnote reference only to M.Loane p.228, footnote 50.

J.H.Treble, *Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914* (Batsford, 1979) includes an index reference to Loane, Margaret (sic) p.214, a textural reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.118, footnote 122, and a footnote reference to M. Loane on p.203, footnote 122. citing M.Loane, *The Queen's Poor* (1910), pp.136-139, 151,153.

Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood. Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (Croom Helm, 1980) includes an index reference to Loane, Margery (sic) p.232, a textural reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.81, a textural reference to Margery Loane (sic) p.143, and a bibliographical reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.88, footnote 117.

W.Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850-1914* (Macmillan, 1981) includes [unnamed] textural references p.49, p.p.65, footnote references to M.Loane, p.244, footnote 19 and p.245, footnote 19.

K.Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England 1870-1908* (Stanford U.S.A, Stanford University Press, 1982) includes an index reference to Loane, Mary (sic) p.315, textural references to Mary Loane (sic) p.164, footnote 13; p.170, footnote 48; p.173, footnote 65; p.176, footnote 71; p.184, footnote 109; p.195, footnote 7; p.215, footnote 87; unnamed textural references p.162, footnote 5; p.166, footnote 23; p.175, footnote 68; footnote references to Loane p. 267, footnotes 5 and 13; p.268, footnote 23; p.269, footnote 48; p.270, footnotes 65, 68 and 71; p.271, footnotes 94 and 95; p.272, footnote 109; p.274, footnote 7; p.277, footnote 87 and a bibliographical reference to Loane, M. p.297 [All social commentaries cited except *The Common Growth*].

Trevor Lummis, 'The Historical Dimension of Fatherhood: a Case Study, 1890-1914', L.McKee, & M.O'Brien (eds) *The Father Figure* (Tavistock, 1982) pp.43-56 includes an index reference to Loane, M p.230, a textural reference to Loane, p.44, and a bibliographical reference to Loane, M. p.217.

Ellen Ross, 'Fierce Questions and Taunts: Married Life in Working-Class London, 1870-1914', *Feminist Studies*, vol.8, no.3, Fall 1982, pp.575-602 includes textural references to Margaret Loane(sic) p.582, 585,587, to Loane p.585 and p.588, footnote references to Margaret Loane (sic) p.599, footnote 30; p.600, footnote 52 and to Loane, p.600, footnote 52 and p.601, footnotes 66 and 70.

M.J Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City, 1850-1914* (Edward Arnold, 1983) includes an index reference to Loane, M.E (sic) p.315, textural references to Mrs.M.E Loane (sic) p.278 and to Mrs.Loane (sic) p.279, and footnote/bibliographical references to M.E.Loane (sic) and Mrs.Loane (sic) p.278, footnote 34 and to Loane, p.279, footnotes 35 and 36.

Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1932* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983) includes an index reference to Loane, M. p.259, textural references to M.E.Loane (sic) p.197 and p.200, and footnote/ bibliographical references to M.E.Loane (sic) p.197, footnote 42; p.200, footnote 50 and p.201, footnote 52.

Ellen Ross, 'Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London Before World War One', *History Workshop*, 15, Spring 1983, pp.4-27 includes textural references to Margaret (sic) Loane p.8, p.16, p.19 and footnote references to Margaret (sic) Loane p.22, footnote 19; p.23, footnote 31 and p.26, footnotes 91, 103 and 104.

K.C.Phillips, *Language and Class in Victorian England* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1984) includes a bibliographic reference to Loane, M.E (sic) p.178, textural references to M.E.Loane pp.81, 103, 105, 110 and to Loane pp.105, 106.

Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Ends Meet. Pawnbroking and Working Class Credit* (Methuen, 1984) includes an index reference to Loane, Margaret (sic) p.232, textural references to Margaret Loane (sic) p.15, p.40, footnote references to M.E.Loane (sic) p.207, footnotes 24 and 26; p.210, footnote 6; p.211, footnote 17; p.224, footnote 161, to M.Loane p.210, footnote 1 and to Loane p.211, footnote 12.

Jane Lewis, *Women in England, 1870 - 1950. Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Sussex, Wheatsheaf, 1984) includes an index reference to Loane Margery (sic) p.237, a textural reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.28 and a footnote reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.41, footnote 33.

Paul Johnson, *Saving and Spending. The Working Class Economy in Britain, 1870-1939* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1985) includes an index reference to Loane, M. p.248, textural references to Margaret Loane (sic) p.25, p.227, and to Loane and Nurse Loane p.218, footnote references to Margaret Loane (sic) p.26, footnote 39; p.218, footnote 4; p.219, footnote 9, to M.Loane p.152, footnote 30, and to Loane p.219, footnote 6 and p.227, footnote 28 and bibliographical reference to Loane, Margaret (sic) p.241.

John R.Gillis, *For Better, For Worse. British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985) includes a textural reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.248, unnamed textural references p.251, footnotes 112 and 113; footnote references to M.Loane p.370, footnotes 112 and 113 and bibliographical reference to M.Loane p.398.

Hugh Cunningham, 'Leisure' in John Benson (ed) *The Working Class in England, 1875-1914* (Croom Helm, 1985) includes an index reference to Loane, Miss, p.210, textural references to Miss Loane p.145, footnotes 146, 147, 149, 151 and 152; footnote references to M.Loane p.161, footnote 34; p.162, footnote 42; p.164, footnote 59, and to Loane p.162, footnotes 38, 39 and 49. (No bibliography).

Patricia Malcolmson, *English Launderesses. A Social History, 1850-1930* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1986) includes footnote references to M.E Loane (sic) p.171, footnote 53 and to Loane, p.172, footnote 68 and 71 and p.175, footnote 125.

Jane Lewis, *Labour and Love: Womens Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1986) includes an index reference to Loane, Margaret (sic) p.270, a textural reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.108 and to Margery Loane (sic) p.111, and a footnote reference to Margaret Loane (sic) p.118, footnote 46.

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