A Feminist Case Study in Transnational Migration

A Feminist Case Study in Transnational Migration: The Anne Jemima Clough Journals

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CHAPTER ONE

ANNE JEMIMA CLOUGH: AN INTRODUCTION

"I SHOULD LIKE NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN . . . - BUT I AM ONLY A WOMAN"[1]

So mused Anne Jemima Clough in 1841 on the eve of her 21st birthday. In penning those lines, she was echoing the sentiment of many of her sisters and foremothers as well as anticipating the lament of future generations of women. Even though she came eventually to occupy an important position as the first principal of Newnham College, Cambridge, she is seldom mentioned, except in footnotes, in countless books and historical accounts of the movement for women's education in late Victorian England. As with so many other women of that time, much about Clough's life remains shrouded in silence, primarily because we do not have any primary historical sources about it. In her case, however, that situation is now rectified. With the publication of her journals, letters, and memoirs we can hear for the first time the voice of one of the pioneers of Victorian feminism and a leader in the struggle for women's education.

As is often the case in historical research, the discovery of these valuable documents was the result of perseverance and luck. While pursuing my study of female gender roles in Victorian and Edwardian England, I read Deborah Gorham's book, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*.[2] In her chapter entitled "Early Victorian Girlhood Experiences,"[3] Gorham discusses Anne Jemima Clough as one of her five examples of noteworthy Victorian women. After reading her brief biographical sketch of Clough, I was intrigued. I wanted to know more about this woman who, in spite of seemingly insurmountable obstacles, contributed so much in her own earnest and quiet way to the quest for female education. As Gorham succinctly points out, "Their experiences [Anne's and her brother Arthur's] in childhood and youth illustrate the contrasting effects that a commitment to duty rooted in evangelical Christianity could have on a female and a male from the same family."[4] Had Anne left any personal writings, any footprints that had stood the test

of time?

Anne Clough occupied the position of principal of Newnham College for over a decade (1880-1892). But in spite of her prominent position, her achievements were overshadowed by her more visible and vocal contemporaries in higher education, such as Josephine Butler and Emily Davies. Nevertheless, she was always a loyal and tenacious follower and an uncomplaining worker for what she believed. In a subdued and restrained way she lived and labored fervently for the furtherance of women's education. Quietly, and with remarkably little encouragement or guidance, she pursued and finally realized her dream, a dream that would at last allow her to help make education accessible to all women.

But, as I was to discover, there was more to the story of Anne Clough. Her formative childhood years were spent in Charleston, South Carolina. The 'pride of the Low Country' was in the ante-bellum period a very Southern city both in customs and in mores, and it was fiercely protective of its history and its people. Such a contrast in upbringing, from a small city in the American South to Liverpool, England, a key focal point of world trade, must surely have made that Victorian girl's outlook on many things ineradicably different from her peers. Knowing that she had spent her youth in the US South led me to assume that that experience must have had a dramatic impact on her intellectual development, but in the absence of any documents about that period of her life, my assumption would always be mere speculation.

So, with few clues and fewer leads I began my search for traces of Anne Jemima Clough, for, as Cheryl Cline points out, "when women's lives are brought into the foreground, our view of history is not only more complete, it changes. What we know as history is deepened, broadened, and, ultimately, redefined."[5] My starting point was the library at Newnham College, with the assumption that if any place would have her materials it would be her college library. But much to my disappointment, I found that they had very little. So, acting on a suggestion by Ann Phillips, Newnham College librarian, I contacted Miss Katharine Duff.[6]

At the time a spry octogenarian, Kitty, as she preferred to be called, told me that she thought she had some books and papers that belonged to "Aunt Annie" in a cupboard and that I was welcome to them. We arranged a rendezvous at the National Gallery in London. When she arrived at the museum she had with her two large shopping bags. I could barely contain myself as we had our cup of tea and talked about Anne Clough. I wanted to see what was in the bags. Finally, Kitty said that it was time for her to go. She then handed me the bags and told me to do with the contents as I saw fit; she later sent me a letter reiterating that agreement. When I opened

the bags I was overjoyed. They were filled with Anne Clough's notebooks, journals, and letters. After over a century of being tucked away in a cottage closet, here at last were documents that would allow us to hear to the voice of this pioneer in the women's education movement.

Since I was only to be in Cambridge for a short time and wanted to leave the originals at Newnham College where I felt they should be housed, I copied the entirety of her papers, leaving the originals with Ann Phillips at Newnham College. The copies of the journals went with me back to America so that I might study them. And as I have become more and more involved in Anne Clough's life and the events surrounding it I have increasingly realized how rich and vibrant that life is, giving us a valuable insight into late Victorian girl- and womanhood, both in America and in England.

I have compiled, edited, and annotated in this volume Clough's unpublished papers, including in the text, bracketed and italicized, small omissions such as omitted words, or clarifications, such as family names. More substantial or involved references are included in the end notes. The Clough papers will not only provide the raw materials for scholars studying the women's movement during the nineteenth century or for those who wish to study the history of women at Cambridge, like Gillian Sutherland[7] who consulted the originals of the Anne Clough papers that I left at Newnham Library for her recent book about the Cloughs, but they also will be a useful and engaging read for all students and scholars of the women's movement, education, Victorian feminism and gender studies. In addition, the Clough Journals will contribute to the broader study of nineteenth-century Victorian literature because of the insights they provide about Anne Clough's older brother, Arthur Hugh, who reaps posthumous fame as a member of the second tier of 19th century Victorian poets. Whether, as Robert Molloy claims, Arthur was indeed "...Winston Churchill's favorite poet..."[8], his name is still recognized and his works studied in literary circles. Finally, not only British but US historians as well will find the paper useful for the study of the antebellum South.

Although she was born in England, Anne Clough's retrospective account of her girlhood with which I begin presents us with an invaluable, outsider's view of an important southern city in the decades before the Civil War, or, as my grandfather and his friends, all lifetime residents of Charleston, would call it, "The War of Northern Aggression." We see not only glimpses of the social stratum of the Old South, but also through James Clough's correspondence and his daughter's recollections we are treated to lessons on Southern, particularly Low country, economics. The members of the family, especially Anne's mother, Ann Perfect Clough,

never became fully accustomed to life in Charleston. “Anne and her three brothers formed an isolated, inward-looking group, of which their mother formed the centre.”[9] What we see then is a view of the South through the eyes of an adolescent girl who looked on Charleston society from the fringes.

Anne Clough’s still-vivid childhood recollections were written some 40 years after the journals and were meant to be included in an account of the life of Arthur Hugh Clough written by his wife, Blanche Smith Clough.[10] In the recollections are many interesting references to current events and beliefs of the day, as well as revealing glimpses into some of Anne Clough's own prejudices and beliefs. However, since they were written after the fact, we see events from the viewpoint of the mature woman rather than of the child. And Anne undoubtedly rearranged some of those events and occurrences to tailor the story to her sister-in-law’s book. Indeed, she frequently imbued the Clough children's childhood with an idyllic glow, with Arthur always the center. And aside from the briefest mention, conspicuously absent are those everyday aggravations and problems inherent in even the rosiest of lives. Blanche Clough was very protective of the idealized portrait of her late husband that she set out to paint in her book, as is evidenced by various remarks by John Addington Symonds, who was generous both with advice and practical assistance to Clough's widow when she was preparing her book: “His [Arthur Hugh Clough's] life in some sense must have been mutilated. Mrs. Clough of course does not give me this impression or suspect it”[11] Symonds also speaks of “her wish to omit some of the details of the poet's life from the prefatory memoir...’she is very timid & desirous of suppressing points here & there.’”[12]

Chapter Two, “The Charleston Years”, reproduces the document Clough called her “First Recollections”; it covers the period from 1822 to 1836. Chapter Three, “Liverpool”, is her first real journal, or notebook, written shortly after she returned to Liverpool from Charleston. It spans the period from 1840 to 1841 and provides us with insights into a life filled with inner turmoil as she grew from an adolescent into adulthood. Chapter Four, “Only a Woman”, contains the notebook written between 1841 and 1844. Conflicted by self-doubt and religious beliefs, Clough nonetheless made the two most momentous decisions of her life: not to marry, and to dedicate herself to a life of service as a teacher. The third notebook is reproduced in Chapter Five, “Restless and Weary: A Life of Service.” Chapter Five contains her entries as she embarked on her teacher training in London and continued her teaching career in Liverpool. As well, this chapter traces her career as an educator from the time she set up

her school in Ambleside with a loan from Harriet Martineau's Building Fund through her tenure as principal of Newnham College. Relevant correspondence both to and from Clough is inserted chronologically into the appropriate chapters.

Clough stopped keeping her notebooks, or journals, in 1849, but from that point on she wrote other types of materials, such as articles and speeches, and she maintained a lively and ongoing correspondence with other educators and luminaries, such as Emily Davies and Alfred Marshall.

Anne Jemima Clough was born at 5 Rodney Street, Liverpool, on January 20, 1820. She was the third of four children and the only daughter of Ann Perfect and James Butler Clough. James Clough was born and raised in Wales, and according to one source, his father "was a typical squire-parson; he collected two livings and a canonry of St. Asaph, he bought a Welsh estate with his wife's fortune, and he had a family of at least ten children. Unfortunately, a bank in which he had invested heavily failed, and most of his own and his wife's money was swallowed up"[13] thus leaving little for his children. James, the third son, could expect next to no assistance from his bankrupt family and so "with an enterprise unusual in the family, [he] left Wales and went into business as a cotton merchant in Liverpool."[14] Soon after arriving there he married Ann Perfect, also from an old and prominent Welsh family. And the young couple lost no time in starting a family. In rapid order, Ann gave birth to Charles in 1817, Arthur in 1819, Anne in 1820 and George in 1821. But even as family fortunes flourished, James's business career did not. Financial success eluded him in Liverpool, and as a result he made the decision to seek his fortune in America. So in the autumn of 1822, staking everything on achieving success as a cotton merchant, James Clough moved his young family to Charleston, South Carolina.

The Cloughs resided in Charleston until the summer of 1836, moving from house to house as James Clough's fortunes fluctuated. And fluctuate they did, for "[c]otton dealing, in those days of private partnerships and wild price fluctuations, was highly speculative.[15] "He [James] made his home [in Charleston] for the next fourteen years, but the time was interrupted by visits to England. Mr. Clough went back to Liverpool every two or three years about his business. … Mrs. Clough and Anne went back twice to spend the summer with their relations."[16] In addition to being bombarded with more or less constant financial worries, James' family was hard-pressed at times to hide their resentment of his frequent absences. In 1835 Arthur wrote his mother: "Well goodbye my dear Mother and give my love to Charles and Annie and my Father if he is really with you (wherever that may be)."[17]

Anne, her mother and brothers, and her father when he was not away on business, occasionally summered on Sullivan's Island,[18] a popular retreat a few miles off Charleston in the bay. Anne's frequent references to Sullivan's Island in her retrospective reveal a still-vivid memory of the place, even though those idyllic days were concentrated into only two summers.

Although she is not specific regarding them, woven through Anne's recollections of that period is the theme of her father's business troubles. James Clough fared no better financially in America; "[h]e was not well fitted for business and did not succeed in it."[19] Indeed, at least once while living in Charleston, he was forced to file for bankruptcy and begin again. By looking at financial figures for the unsettled years of 1830-1840, one can see more precisely the extent of his financial worries; "Of the 34 failures [in Charleston] whose occupations are known for 1833-1838, 47% were merchants or factors [i.e. James Clough's occupation]."[20] But lack of resources did not alter James's aspirations to make his family 'respectable.'

Even though his financial situation was always precarious, James managed to send his boys to school in England for a gentleman's education. Charles, Arthur, and George went off to school when they reached the age of nine, which was considered a suitable age to begin a public school education.[21] But because Anne was a girl, her education was seen as a needless expenditure; neither was attending school in Charleston an option, financially or socially. Even in America "[a]n English-style education [for a girl] . . . cost approximately $150 a year during the post-Revolutionary period, although this amount varied from institution to institution and region to region, with costs steadily increasing during the ante-bellum era."[22]

Neither was there any question of Anne's, indeed of any of the Clough children's, attending school in Charleston. Both James, and more particularly his wife, seem to have been set against their children mingling with the natives; Anne rather plaintively observed in her "First Recollections" that "Father and Mother were too English to let us go to school [in Charleston] which was perhaps a pity."[23] In fact female education, in America as well as in Britain, was sorely lacking in any but the most rudimentary intellectual substance; "[f]or the first fifty years of the nineteenth century all the daughters of the upper and middle classes, except for a few in exceptional nonconformist and intellectual families, received an education which was specifically designed to be *useless*. They were carefully brought up to be ornamental and not to have any vocation ...This useless education concentrated on accomplishments: smatterings of foreign languages, playing instruments and singing, decorative sewing."[24]

And although the schools for girls in Charleston, like many others in the South, "offered an array of academic subjects including literature, science, languages, and the social sciences, ...[the main thrust of women's] education was to enhance...women's chances in the marriage market."[25]

Thus Anne was home-schooled by her mother, a stern woman with a decided religious bent; "the sufferings of the martyrs, and the struggles of the Protestants were among her favourite subjects."[26] Indeed, she seems to have limited her instruction mainly to those subjects, which she regarded as fitting for a young girl of her daughter's station in life. Anne remembers that "[o]ur Mother taught us about great men & their noble deeds & with her we read the Bible & learnt to look up to our Heavenly Father."[27] And although Ann Clough's responsibility as teacher/mentor was later assumed by Arthur, there is no evidence that either James Clough or Anne's two other brothers provided any input into her program of studies. Also, Arthur was conversant only with those subjects considered *de rigeur* for an English gentleman's education, subjects consisting for the most part of Latin, ancient Greek, philosophy, and classical literature. In spite of the fact that he paid lip-service to the idea of the necessity for *certain* women to receive a good education, he sometimes appeared to hide behind the traditional patriarchal view that saw women merely as window dressing.

So, although Anne saw her brothers leave one by one for school abroad, she remained at home, pursuing a course of study chosen and overseen by her mother, consisting mainly of history and religion. Unlike many young girls of her time, Anne seems not to have had much instruction in the skills deemed so necessary to young females, i.e. painting, drawing, sewing, etc. Even in her later journals, written during her teenage years and young adulthood, we find few references to schooling in feminine accomplishments. It appears that aside from a brief stint with a drawing master and another with a French teacher in Liverpool, her mother was Anna's only teacher.

Virtually the only contact the Clough children had with anyone in Charleston outside the immediate family circle was with James Clough's business associates. Anne recalls in her retrospective that "[w]e knew the clerks in our Father's office for the office was in the House and we often went into it."[28] That the children would have preferred to socialize with other children is patently obvious from Anne's statement that "...we took to studying the people at church. We learnt about whole families & took great fancies to special people. Then we improved our knowledge by watching them on Saturdays [the traditional market day]...for Saturday was a holiday from school - so we saw our favourites again & learnt their names and ages often from our friend Maria Lance[29] or some of the

Calders [another family with Liverpool ties].”[30]

In 1835 after a trip to the north with her family, Anne’s romantic nature began to assert itself. “The excitement of so much travelling & change & getting acquainted with so many new people; the feel[ing] of being grown up - Girls of 15 married in Charleston & I was nearly 15.”[31]

But a future in Charleston was not to be. When Anne was 16, the Cloughs returned to Liverpool. James Clough's business dealings had not brought him prosperity in America; on the contrary, his financial affairs were, if possible, more unstable than ever. The period of the late 1830's and 1840's continued to be one of financial instability for the family. And Anne experienced deep personal religious upheaval, as we see from the notebooks written during the period immediately after her return from America to Liverpool. Through Anne's journals for that period we can document multiple changes of address, an indication of the unsettled nature of the family although not uncommon in that period. In her thesis on Anne Clough, Joan Stubbs tells us, “When the family arrived back in Liverpool in 1836, they occupied lodgings in Hope Street, above St. James's Cemetery.”[32] In 1841 there is an entry in Anne's journal: “Sunday night. Nov. 22 [1841]. Pembroke Gardens. Left St. James Terrace on the 8th [9th?].”[33] Anne's niece, B. A. Clough, recollects that her father wrote *The Bothie*, one of his best known poems, while living with his mother and sister in lodgings in Vine Street, Liverpool, probably in October of 1848.[34]

Anne also carefully chronicled her father's many departures, usually on business, and she constantly worried about the family's financial woes; for instance she writes in her journal on Sunday, Dec. 5, 1841: “We have been in a great fuss about Father's prospect of getting the Insurance Agency. He has gone to London after it....”[35]; again on Sunday, Dec. 12, 1841: “Father returned home on Friday [Dec. 10] disappointed.”[36] That James again attempted some business dealing and again was unsuccessful is borne out by a reference in a letter from Arthur to J. P. Gell, undated but probably Sept. 1841, regarding “... the failure of my father's commercial concern which took place while I was in Westmoreland about a month ago.”[37] Things still looked bleak in 1842, as this journal entry of Anne's dated Sunday, Jan. 23, 1842, attests: “... Get very anxious about Father's affairs; fear we shall be run dry of money.”[38] But what could she, a girl only 22 years old, do to help? What did her family’s financial problems mean for her future?

Anne Clough began to gain a sense of purpose early through her charity work in Liverpool. She began assisting and then teaching at the Welsh Charity School and the Sunday school where the Cloughs attended church services. Although she performed her duties with a determination

admirable in one so young and so lacking in formal training, she found visiting the families of the poor difficult and emotionally trying. Her brother Arthur sometimes accompanied her when he came from Oxford to visit his family, to distribute "the only supplies - coal, potatoes, and flour - that stood between them [the poor] and starvation."[39] In spite of her revulsion for the poverty and filth of Liverpool's slums, Anne nevertheless showed great fortitude and compassion for her pupils, children from the city's back alleys and courts. In February, 1841, she confided to her journal that "I get wearied & worn out with the sight of so much misery & worst of all degradation – sometimes baseness and wickedness – This is the worst to bear."[40] But there also are passages in which she recounts instances of 'sweet' pupil appreciation, a sentiment that must have counterbalanced, at least somewhat, her repulsion for the conditions she encountered and which caused her dread of visiting.

She confided in her journal her fear of visiting the parents; frequently she encountered conditions such as those described by Mrs. Gaskell in *Mary Barton*. Although Mrs. Gaskell was depicting scenes of poverty and despair in Manchester, she could just as well have been describing the Liverpool that Anne encountered every time she went "avisiting":

> It [the street] was unpaved: and down the middle a gutter forced its way, every now and then forming pools in the holes with which the street abounded. . .women from their doors tossed household slops of *every* description into the gutter; they ran into the next pool, which overflowed and stagnated. Heaps of ashes were the stepping-stones, on which the passer-by, who cared in the least for cleanliness, took care not to put his foot. Our friends ...picked their way, till they got to some steps leading down to a small area, where a person standing would have his head about one foot below the level of the street, and might at the same time, without the least motion of his body, touch the window of the cellar and the damp muddy wall right opposite. You went down one step even from the foul area into the cellar in which a family of human beings lived. It was very dark inside. The window-panes many of them were broken and stuffed with rags, which was reason enough for the dusky light that pervaded the place even at mid-day. . .the smell was so foetid as almost to knock [one] down.[41]

Although he did assist his sister on occasion, Arthur's letters to her written between 1838-1852 indicate his lack of support for her enterprise. He remained ambivalent toward her work; Annie's "dirty children"[42] and their constant claims on her time continued to confound him. Katherine Chorley says that "[even though] Arthur encouraged [Anne] intellectually, . . . he did not encourage her to break away [from the Victorian

dependency of a daughter and sister] in practice."[43] As a young middle-class girl, Clough was schooled in the notion that her Christian duty was twofold: preparation, including entertaining and being entertained, for establishing a home, and charity work, including visiting among the poor. The prevalent notion regarding a woman's career choices [or lack thereof] among the middle class in Victorian Britain was that "[m]arried life is a woman's profession; and to this life her training - that of dependence - is modelled. Of course by not getting a husband, or by losing him, she may find that she is without resources."[44]

It had long been apparent that Anne's milieu was not to be the drawing room or the dinner party. She was clumsy, without personal style, and she was never able to learn the 'flirting slang' required for successful social performance among her peers. As she more than once confided to her journal, she "could not talk to gentlemen." Just how earnestly and diligently she did try and fail in her interaction with men is evident in an entry she wrote in April, 1849: "I don't much fancy men often understand women; they don't know how restless and weary they get."[45] Granted, Anne was awkward and shy, but she was also discerning in her tastes in companions, and very observant concerning the holy estate of matrimony, as the following entry for April 1849 indicates: "Far would I be from desiring to upset the ways of the world, but. . .[s]urely married life too often becomes dull and hard."[46] And no gentleman, with one exception, seems to have caught her fancy, at least enough to have merited more than a mention in the pages of many of her journals. That exception is the mysterious **R.D.**[47], an American acquaintance about whom Anne occasionally fantasized during her lonely Liverpool years, and about whom, unfortunately, there exists virtually no other information in the journals.

From the notebooks it is readily apparent also that the 15-year period after the Cloughs returned from America until Anne and her mother moved to the Lake District of England was a sad and anxious one for her. In an entry of July 16, 1843, after six years of living in Liverpool, Anne muses, "I have been thinking a good deal of America. . .& I am half inclined to think I should be happier there. Here we have few friends."[48] Although Ann and James Clough had long-standing friends and connections in England and Wales, the younger Cloughs had not many acquaintances to break the monotony of their days. That fact, coupled with Anne's extreme shyness, as well as the family's straitened financial circumstances and the constant anxiety and worry about money, made for a narrow and colorless existence.

Much has been written about Arthur Hugh Clough, his life and his

relationships, including his relationship with his younger sister. It is only when we read Anne's Liverpool journals, written between 1838-1850, that a clearer picture emerges of the relationship between her and Arthur. Undoubtedly that relationship, verging on hero-worship on Anne's part, shaped her young life, although there is evidence from her journals that it was trying at times. For although Anne hoped to gain Arthur's approbation in all she thought and did, he appeared too often to criticize his shy, sensitive sister, for everything from her style of dress to her grammar.[49] But touchingly grateful for his sparse praise and in spite of his frequent criticisms, Anne labored constantly to win his approval.

The state of her father's finances led her to consider how she could best help with her family's fortunes. She did make a few abortive attempts at beginning classes in her home; as well, she broached with Arthur the idea of going out day governessing, for she realized that "[i]f a girl remained single and could not live in semi-idleness at home the only occupations open to her were those of paid companion or governess."[50] Her brother was not enthusiastic; he believed, like many of his peers, that "[t]he governess was a lady fallen on hard times, and as such had no education except in the useless accomplishments herself. She was rarely a teacher by choice, had no training for the work, and her unmarried state was a living testimony to her failure in the only contest open to the lady, husband-hunting. She was, therefore, unlikely to be regarded as skilful at man-trapping, and had little else to impart. Her role in the families which employed her was highly ambiguous and this led to much tension."[51]

But the years passed and financial stability seemed no closer. James Clough continued to flounder financially; his prospects grew ever dimmer. At the beginning of 1842 he found it necessary to borrow from his brother Charles, a debt that seemed to prey on his mind, for in a letter to Arthur from Liverpool dated 9 February 1842 he says that, "there are fully eight months yet before your Uncle Charles can be called upon for the first payment of interest on any account, the bulk of the payments falling due in Novr., I think, before which time I can scarcely doubt that both George and I shall be in some way of earning wherewith to pay it."[52]

Also, evidence was accumulating that Arthur was not realizing his own intellectual potential. He had missed earning a first at Oxford in 1841, and had accepted a tutorship at Oriel College, Oxford, with little prospect of future advancement. Charles, the eldest, continued to show no interest in, nor avocation for, either academia or business. And, least expected and most devastating, in November of 1843, Anne's youngest brother, George, died suddenly in Charleston[53] where he had gone to try to mend the family fortunes, a task for which he was perhaps the most suited of all the Clough

men because, “though George was not an intellectual, he is said to have had the business head of the family. If he had lived he might have retrieved their fortunes.”[54]

Optimistic that George would provide the momentum and enthusiasm necessary to revive his faltering business, James sailed for America in the autumn of 1843 to join him in Charleston; but three weeks before he arrived George died suddenly of stranger's fever,[55] far from home and without any of his family to attend his last hours. His death must have been a doubly severe blow to James Clough; and then after the loss of his beloved son, he also suffered perhaps the ultimate defeat: the loss of his business. Attesting to James' state of mind immediately following the tragic loss of his son are letters to his daughter published in Chapter Four, both from James and from several close Charleston friends.

Meanwhile, during the 1840's Anne was attempting, with little guidance and less help, to keep a small school in her home in Liverpool. The Dictionary of National Biography in 1900 reported that Anne Jemima Clough “resided at Liverpool, where, in 1841, she started a school.”[56] In January 1842 she confided to her journal that she had begun the school. We can document through letters that she kept it, at least sporadically, for several years, although she appeared to have enjoyed little success in her venture. In a letter from James Clough to Arthur dated 9 February 1842: “She [Anne] has not increased her number [of scholars], nor will she do so I think this quarter.”[57]

In 1844 James Clough at last was released from his lifelong struggle for success; in October he died of a recurrence of the fever which he had first contracted many years previously in Charleston.[58] In spite of his hopes and plans James never realized success in his business; his death was yet another blow to the unstable finances of the Cloughs. Frequently gloomy and despondent, with the death of her father Anne became more worried than ever about finances. A journal entry for September 1845 reads: “I often feel very much out of sorts, and half wish we were out of Liverpool. We lead such a very solitary life, and I am beginning to fear I shall not see much fruit of my labours.”[59] In 1846 she was forced finally to give up her school, as is seen by this letter from Arthur to her commiserating on her failed undertaking: “Sunday. 9th Aug. [1846]: So the school is coming to its dissolution. Shall you go on for the quarter? or do you cease at once? I am not exactly glad of it, but certainly not sorry. I wish you employed, but I am not quite sure that the school, such as you had, was the best employment.”[60]

Throughout the decade of the 1840's Anne harbored the fantasy of living with Arthur, probably in London, and keeping a house for him.[61]

And "[w]hen he first settled in London, he discussed with his mother and sister the desirability of their coming to live with him at University Hall, but it seemed so doubtful whether he would keep the post long, and so doubtful also whether London would suit either of them, that the plan was given up."[62]

But Arthur reconsidered his offer, and, although she continued to hope, Anne's fate was not to lead her to a life in London, as is evident in her entry dated [Mar.?] 1849: "I wish very much we could have come up to live with him, supposing I could have got a school, for I would not have liked to be idle; but that plan seems impracticable, seeing it would not suit Mother. She would be quite lost without her usual employments and friends."[63]

Though we know from Arthur's letters that he ultimately rejected the idea, the reason is not clear. Whether it was because, as he said, their mother could not survive without familiar surroundings and pursuits, or whether he did not feel psychologically or financially able to saddle himself with dependents,[64] finally he was driven to tell his sister that such an arrangement was impossible. He did return for a time during the winter of 1848-1849 to live with his mother in Liverpool, thus enabling Anne to attend teacher training courses in London. His own career had stalled and his finances were temporarily depleted; thus his temporary sojourn in Liverpool would both free his sister from family responsibilities to pursue her own interests as well as enable him to "regroup and recenter" himself.

Anne chose to attend courses at the Borough Road School, Middlesex, and at the Home and Colonial Institute; she was one of the first women to do so. "In the [18] 'forties, the beaten path on which ladies were expected to walk securely was very straight and very narrow...it is of interest to note among the earliest students [of the Home and Colonial Institute] the name of Anne Clough."[65] Though she confided to her journal that she found both schools engaging, "I found the classes [at the Home and Colonial School] very interesting. I should fancy the teachers had not so much mechanical knowledge as the Boro' Road people, but that they understand things better, and that from their lessons [the children] would acquire a greater love for information."[66]

While in London, Anne enjoyed her brother's company for tantalizingly brief interludes: "Arthur overlapped with her in London in January, and again in April, and she records in her journal meetings and breakfast parties with his friends, of which he had many: "On Saturday Mr. Temple and Mr. Bagehot came to breakfast, and Mr. Palgrave came afterwards…Mr. Lake, Mr. Simpkinson, and Mr. Burbidge [also] came."[67] Such an arrangement and such heady companionship must have seemed

idyllic to Anne, starved as she was for intellectual stimulation.

As her dream of living in London evaporated, Anne formulated another plan. Her niece recounts that "Miss Clough had often considered the desirability of leaving Liverpool, where they had not now many friends, and lately she had begun to be anxious about her mother's health, for she had had a slight paralysis stroke, and her daughter thought a quiet country place would suit her better.[68] Ultimately, after consultation with her mother and brother, Anne settled on Ambleside, in England's Lake District. She was acquainted with the area through holidays spent there; as well, she perceived that the village of Ambleside would give her the opportunity to work, because "as she said, she could not live without teaching."[69]

So, in 1852 she and her mother moved to Ambleside, and with a loan from Harriet Martineau's Building Society[70] they bought a newly built house outside of town up the steep hill called Eller Rigg. There Anne "decided to establish a regular school for the children of the tradespeople and farmers, and went round…to all the tradespeople who had children, and asked them to send [their children] to her to be taught."[71] The house, Eller How, was to be her school as well as her home for ten years.

At first Anne was able to manage comfortably although the family finances were still strained; "The school may perhaps have paid its expenses, but it can never have done more while she had it."[72] But she was doing work she loved, and "[w]hen they first went to Ambleside, Mrs. Clough was in fair health, and able to join in ordinary life, and enjoy seeing friends, and her daughter had plenty of time for her own pursuits."[73] Nevertheless, "[s]he seems to have suffered much from loneliness and, in spite of her love for the country, this life on a remote hill-top was too narrow and cramped for a person of her temperament. She was now well over thirty, she was full of aspirations and of pent-up energy, and it is clear…that she had for years ardently longed for greater scope for her activities."[74]

We have at least one vivid recollection of Anne and her school during this period. Mary Arnold, the novelist Mrs. Humphry Ward, describes in her novel *Marcella* with an almost gothic vividness a fictional boarding school and its headmistress attended by her heroine, Marcella Boyce. In her introduction to the Virago edition of *Marcella*, Tamie Watters notes that Marcella "is certainly little Mary Arnold packed away to Annie Clough's Eller How school at the age of seven." [75]

> . . . something in the bare, ugly rooms, the discipline, the teaching, the companionship of Miss Frederick's Cliff House School for Young Ladies, transformed little Marcella Boyce, for the time being, into a demon. ...she

> hated getting up in the wintry dark, and her cold ablutions with some dozen others in the comfortless lavatory; she hated the meals in the long schoolroom, where, because twice meat was forbidden and twice pudding allowed, she invariably hungered fiercely for more mutton and scorned her second course, making a sort of dramatic story to herself out of Miss Frederick's tyranny and her own thwarted appetite.
>
> Perhaps her blackest days were the days she spent occasionally in bed, when Miss Frederick, at her wit's end, would take advantage of one of the child's perpetual colds to try the effects of a day's seclusion and solitary confinement, administered in such a form that it could do her charge no harm, and might, she hoped, do her good.
>
> Now the rule of the house when any girl was ordered to bed with a cold was, in the first place, that she should not put her arms outside the bedclothes--for if you were allowed to read and amuse yourself in bed you might as well be up; that the housemaid should visit the patient in the early morning with a cup of senna-tea and gruel; and that no one should come to see and talk with her, unless, indeed, it were the doctor, quiet being in all cases of sickness the first condition of recovery, and the natural schoolgirl in Miss Frederick's persuasion being more or less inclined to complain without cause if illness were made agreeable.[76]

Although the school is unflatteringly represented in the novel, the testimonial presented to Clough upon her departure from Ambleside in 1862, indicates that she and her school were much appreciated among the villagers.[77]

And at last the family's financial burden appeared to have eased. Shortly before her death in 1860 Anne's mother had inherited a comfortable sum from her older brother, William Perfect;[78] there is some indication as well that she owned some lucrative railroad stock. A letter from Arthur to Anne written in December 1845 indicates that Mrs. Clough's stocks were sound, even in the unsettled economic climate of mid-nineteenth-century England: “Price, by the bye, you may tell mother, entirely approves of our leaving the Midland shares as they are. He says they are sure to pay a good dividend, whatever happens. And Price is a great Railway man…very highly thought of.”[79]

But with the easing of one burden came the increasing heaviness of another, that of Ann Clough's worsening health. “When they first went to Ambleside Mrs. Clough was in fair health, and able to join in ordinary life, and enjoy seeing friends, and her daughter had plenty of time for her own pursuits, but after a few years she had a second stroke of paralysis, and became quite helpless, and grew gradually worse till her death in 1860.”[80] A friend of the Cloughs from Liverpool, Miss Crofton, came to live with them and to help nurse Mrs. Clough, for a series of small strokes left her

increasingly helpless and dependent.

But in spite of the fact that she now had help to nurse her mother, Anne grew increasingly restless, particularly "for the opportunity of giving practical shape to the ideas which were always seething in her mind."[81] And she had a small but close-knit circle of friends and acquaintances in and about Ambleside – such as Mrs. Arnold (the widow of Dr. Thomas Arnold), Matthew Arnold, Mary and Jane Claude, the former an author in her own right, having published a book of poems, Harriet Martineau, and the Quilinans, the daughter and son-in-law of William Wordsworth.

Ann Clough died in Ambleside in the summer of 1860; Arthur succumbed the following year in Florence, Italy. His sister travelled to Italy and was with Arthur's wife, Blanche, in attendance at the deathbed. The deaths of these two family members in such quick succession, following the years of administering a school and nursing an invalid, took a severe toll on Anne. And so, her health shaken considerably and urged by her doctor and her friends to give up her school, she agreed, with misgivings and second thoughts, to do so. Although several sources have remarked on her robust health,[82] she felt the need to recuperate from years of hard work and personal loss. She was 41 years old, she had long since renounced any ideas of marriage, and for the first time in her life money was no longer a problem. At her death, Ann Perfect Clough had left her own inheritance to her daughter. "[W]hen Mrs. Clough…died, Miss Clough found herself in possession of a larger income than was required to provide for her own needs."[83] Before she left the village, however, Clough was to assure the continuation of the educational work she had begun. She arranged for Miss Healey, one of her teachers, to stay on and to continue operating her school; in addition, she made a considerable donation to repair the boys' grammar school in Ambleside and to build a library there.[84]

Anne traveled extensively from 1861 to 1866, visiting Germany and Switzerland as well as spending time with relatives at Bournemouth and in Wales. She ultimately made her home with her sister-in-law, Blanche, and her nephews and nieces, in Combe Hurst, Surrey, where she lived until 1866. While residing at Combe Hurst, she became acquainted with many of the leaders in the movement to improve women's education: Emily Davies, Miss Bostock, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon, Frances Mary Buss, and Josephine Butler, to name a few. Thus she was aware that during the late 1840's and 1850's the movement to improve women's education had been growing steadily; no fewer than five women's colleges had opened in London and the surrounding area.

So, chafing at her enforced leisure and anxious to return to the work

she loved, Clough eagerly immersed herself in the movement. In 1866 she moved back to Liverpool from Combe Hurst, where she was instrumental in founding the Liverpool Schoolmistresses' Association. She also helped to form similar associations in Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield. As she became more active in the movement to improve women's education, she began presenting memoranda and papers to various organizations regarding aspects of women's education, many of which found their way into publication.[85]

But more was yet to be done. After ten years of administering her school, she found that "her work at Ambleside…gave her views [on education] weight with those who were interested in this particular branch of the question."[86] However, with characteristic self-knowledge she realized that she needed someone to help her structure her educational plans, someone who possessed the powers of organization and self-expression that she knew she lacked. With that in mind, she sought the aid of an acquaintance made while she was living at Combe Hurst. Josephine Butler remembered that "Miss Clough called at our house [in Langham Place, frequent meeting-place of that early circle of feminists to which Butler belonged] in Liverpool one day in 1867, to ascertain the state of mind of the Principal of the Liverpool College [her husband, George Butler] in regard to the beautiful schemes, which were even then taking shape in her fruitful brain for the benefit of her fellowmen. I think she was heartily glad to find herself in a house where not a shadow of prejudice or doubt existed, to be argued down or patiently borne with until better days."[87]

That visit led directly to the formation of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, for which Josephine Butler served as the first president and Anne Clough the first secretary. The Council was responsible for arranging lectures for women in several northern cities, locating and pressing into service lecturers from local boys' schools when possible; when that was not feasible, the organizers enlisted the aid of lecturers from the universities and colleges who supported them in their cause. The lectures were so successful that it was immediately apparent that higher education for women was a cause not only noble but necessary. Clough, Butler, and others helped to organize lectures for women in other northern England towns, all of which enjoyed success beyond their greatest hopes.

During this time Henry Sidgwick was planning an informal series of lectures for women to be offered at Cambridge. By the end of 1870 it was becoming increasingly clear to him that he needed to provide lodgings for students coming from far away to attend the lectures. Although his plan

was not yet far enough along that he could make a formal appeal for funds, he nevertheless realized the urgency of the situation. So he took it upon himself to rent a house with his own money, and early in 1871 began to look for a lady to take charge of it. "He had first thought to ask his mother to assist him in this, but upon reflection realized that the move to Cambridge and the responsibilities and duties of the post would be detrimental to her health."[88] "He [then] determined to ask Miss Anne Clough, with whom he was personally acquainted through her sister-in-law, Mrs. Arthur Hugh Clough."[89] Blanche S. Clough had convinced him that Anne Clough, a lady of the background and upbringing that he required, was not only desirable but necessary for the successful implementation of his plan. She was able to assure Sidgwick unequivocally that Anne Clough would assist mightily in reconciling the unfeminine notion of female higher education with the widely held ideal of femininity, for she knew her sister-in-law to be completely ladylike and circumspect.

Among the promoters of women's education there was some difference of opinion regarding the best way to realize their goals. Emily Davies, one of the most vocal activists for the cause, was once considered a supporter by Sidgwick. But the goals of the two had grown increasingly distant; Davies had split from Sidgwick and his plan for improving women's education because it did not lead to equal education between the sexes. She and her followers believed that true equality in education meant that men and women should be subjected to the same requirements. Sidgwick, Josephine Butler, Anne Clough, and others ranging themselves on the opposite side of the debate, felt that some subjects, including Latin and Greek, were ones for which women were scholastically unprepared, and moreover were superfluous for the career paths open to women at that time. "It was typical of Sidgwick to choose as Newnham's first Principal someone as unlike Emily Davies as could be. Emily Davies was both formidable and prudish; …Miss Clough was kind [and] motherly."[90]

Sidgwick wrote Clough at once, hoping to enlist her services in his grand scheme:

> I have been intending to write to you some time about our educational schemes here in Cambridge, but…[v]arious things have kept me in Cambridge, and will keep me till Easter. We are now in a somewhat critical stage of progress. It has become clear that we cannot leave our young ladies to take care of themselves, and that we must make some provision for lodging strangers. Those who are now here are lodged with private persons interested in the scheme. I have now engaged to open a boarding-house: *vide* enclosed. The great question is, who will take charge

> of the young establishment. *We are so anxious to keep down the expenses* that we want, if we can, to find some one who will give her services without requiring a salary. I am aware, of course, of the general objections to gratuitous work: on the other hand our effort is an exceptional one: we are passing through a period of changes and tentative experiments: enthusiasm has to a great extent started our effort, and I intend to try whether enthusiasm will not maintain it until this period is past, and we see what the new time has in store for female education.
>
> Now can you tell me of any one:--some one, if possible, who would strengthen our hands? If you had not been occupied with your own important work, I think I should have appealed to your enthusiasm.[91]

Clough ultimately agreed to come to Cambridge, but felt that she could commit herself to Henry Sidgwick and his grand scheme only for one or two terms. Toward the end of 1869 Mr. W. Rogers, rector of Bishopsgate, had asked her to become the head of a new girls' day school which he planned to start at Bishopsgate.[92] At last it seemed that her avocation would become a true vocation, that her experience in the field of women's education would be drawn upon. But the Bishopsgate plan was abandoned in 1872; Anne Clough remained in Cambridge for the rest of her life, a life committed to Henry Sidgwick's educational scheme and the young ladies of Newnham College.

The North of England Council had crafted special advanced examinations for women over eighteen, which were adopted by Cambridge in 1868,[93] as a yardstick by which to measure whether applicants were academically advanced enough to benefit from the course of lectures that was at the core of Henry Sidgwick's plan. Davies' principal objection to the plan hinged on those required examinations. She would have no dealings with them, but insisted instead that the women enrolled in her college would be expected to attempt the Cambridge Tripos examinations, adhering to the same limits as the men, three years and one term. Clough, however, allowed her students to use the Higher Local examinations instead of working toward the Honours, or Tripos examinations. Neither did she insist on the strict time limit espoused by Davies.

Sara Delamont has labelled the two groups of campaigners the *uncompromising* and the *separatists*:

> The women campaigners can be divided into two groups: the uncompromising - who were determined that women should do what men did, warts and all - and the separatists - who favoured modified courses for women. The uncompromising group held that special women's courses would have no recognised standards or status, would allow employers to

> discriminate, and support the claim that women were mentally inferior to men. They were not necessarily supporters of the traditional curriculum, who wanted classics retained at all costs; many of them were keen for women to learn sciences, social sciences and English, but they were scared of a double jeopardy.
>
> They realised that if girls got stuck in inferior courses, they might not only confine women's education to a cultural ghetto but also stop curriculum reform. For, as long as the new subjects were studied only by women, the elite males were unlikely to consider them worth studying. The subjects would only succeed as worthwhile when elite men worked at them, and women taking them would hinder that development. Some of the men pushing curriculum reform seem to have been very naive about this, for they appear to have thought that enrolling women students would help their cause. Sidgwick, at Cambridge, for example, seems to have believed that women students reading English would add to the appeal of the subject for the university authorities, although the reverse was probably true - women and English were equally dubious new-fangled ideas and could have sunk together.
>
> The separatists wanted courses for women which were particularly suited to their future as teachers, nurses and mothers. They were certainly genuine in their beliefs, but played into the hands of men who did not want women to have any education at all. These men were keen to educate women in separate courses, give them separate examinations, and generally to confine them to a cultural ghetto.[94]

Anne Clough was just the sort of woman with whom Henry Sidgwick felt comfortable. Her quiet demeanor, subdued style of dress, her earnest desire to blend in, and, perhaps most important, her regard for appearances immediately endeared her to him. “It was impossible to associate her with anything unfeminine, and her character gave an assurance to all who came in contact with her, that any movement with which she was concerned would be conducted with moderation and with scrupulous consideration for the feelings of others. She was much afraid of doing harm by saying too much, and had a great power of reticence [and i]t never occurred to her to talk of 'rights', and the abstract ideas involved in the expression did not appeal to her.”[95]

As Sidgwick's plan caught on and more women came from farther away to attend the lectures, Anne Clough and her young charges found themselves more and more cramped for space. Four times the little community of women was forced to move into larger quarters. At last, on land purchased in Newnham, a village on the outskirts of Cambridge, Newnham Hall was built in 1875. Two additional residence halls were built during the next ten years; with the addition of Clough Hall and Sidgwick Hall, Newnham Hall became known as Old Hall. In 1880

Newnham was formally recognized by the University of Cambridge; and Anne Clough was assured her place in the history of the women's education movement as the first principal of Newnham College. “She looked upon [her work] as the fulfilment of her desires, and once said to a friend, who was impatient for happiness, 'I had to wait for mine till I was fifty.”[96]

The stories of Anne Clough which survive are at once amusing and revealing. Sandra Peacock, in her biography of Jane Ellen Harrison, tells the following: “Jane's [Jane Ellen Harrison] height and her often garish clothing particularly disturbed Anne Clough, and [a student] recalled her pleading plaintively with her and Jane, 'My dears, don't you think you could try to look a little less *tall*!'“[97]

Also, “[i]n the course of conversation she would frequently evolve little schemes of the most unexpected kind. Miss Creak [one of the first Newnham students] reports, for instance, the following conversation concerning a fellow student: “—‘My dear, do you remember Miss So and So?’ ‘Yes, Miss Clough.’ ‘Well, my dear, the poor little thing has got a lot of tiresome relations, and as soon as she gets a little money they come round her and get it away from her, so I have got her a post in (say) Timbuctoo.’ ‘Yes, Miss Clough.’ ‘Then, my dear, when she is settled there, you know, she can send for her relations. And then when she has got them all over there, she can come back to England and leave them!’”[98]

“Many stories are told,” says B. A. Clough, “of her devices for delicately conveying to the students her dislike of anything in their dress or appearance. If a girl wore her hair in a fringe (a fashion Miss Clough abhorred), she would put it aside with her hands and say, ‘I like to see your forehead.’”[99]

In another story related by B. A. Clough: “a student, noted for throwing bombs in conversation, advocated knickerbockers for women as a much cleaner and tidier mode of dress. Miss Clough listened with a face of horror. A few days later this [student] came to speak to her, dressed in a long, handsome cloak. Miss Clough took hold of it. “What a nice cloak you've got, my dear!” And then “Much nicer than knickerbockers.”[100]

From another student comes the following: “I remember someone had been complaining that Newnham students went along the streets buttoning their gloves. The Principal gave us a sympathetic address on the subject. ‘I know, my dears, that you have a great deal to do, and have not much time; but I don't like people to say such things about you, and so, my dears, I hope you'll get some gloves that don't want buttoning.’”[101]

From Sandra Peacock: “Jane's [Jane Ellen Harrison] ulster, ‘a frightful object, very loud yellow checques,’ offended Clough, who once offered to

loan Jane a shawl to wear in its place. She [also] offered a shawl on another occasion "when she considered Jane's dress too *outre*," observing that 'you can go in something, then you can take it off.'"[102]

From B. A. Clough: "I went once with her to stay for a few days with some people whom we had neither of us met before. My first impressions were decidedly unfavorable. When we were left alone in our rooms, I expected some comment from my aunt on our new acquaintances, but she only looked round the room and remarked, 'Well, we shall be able to sit a good deal in our bedrooms.'"[103]

While perhaps overly concerned with how her young ladies were perceived by the University and the town of Cambridge, she nevertheless was willing to go out of her way for her charges. Alice Gardner remembers that the students "were obliged always to be chaperoned by a responsible lady, and as Miss Clough had in the early days few colleagues to lighten her responsibilities, the task usually fell on her. Needless to say, she never represented this as a grievance. She was only too glad to help in a new departure."[104]

In spite of the mannerisms and characteristics that at times drove her students to distraction, Anne Clough projected the image Henry Sidgwick had sought: always proper, always motherly, always above reproach. For he was all too aware that he would have to foster a homelike, cloistered atmosphere at Cambridge for his plan to meet with success among those middle-class families he hoped to reach. "In the early days few parents were eager to send their daughters away to college. It was expensive and seemed superfluous except for those intending to teach. The chief difficulty was the widespread belief that young women should not leave their homes except under dire economic necessity."[105]

Parents, particularly fathers, were inclined to trust their daughters into Miss Clough's protective custody. Mary Paley Marshall remembers that "the news came that a scholarship was offered on condition that I came up to Cambridge to live with Miss Clough and attend the Lectures for Women which had recently been started there. My father was proud and pleased, and his admiration for Miss Clough overcame his objections to sending his daughter to Cambridge."[106]

"Sidgwick chose Anne Clough not only for her teaching background but also for her character; he thought her sufficiently upright and disciplined to keep the students in line,"[107] for in spite of support from many in the academic community, many more disapproved of the presence of women in the university. And even though Clough's faultless conduct soothed Sidgwick's fears, her mannerisms and her overcautiousness alienated her students, particularly those who could not or would not

understand the maze of cultural conventions Clough traversed daily. "[T]hey were most of them old enough to have already tasted some amount of liberty, and there were some among them who, not unnaturally, thought that they could judge for themselves what it was or was not well to do, and consequently say no necessity for Miss Clough's supervision of their doings, and were not disposed to submit to her authority."[108] Even the idealistic Henry Sidgwick was to comment that "[t]here is such a strong impulse towards liberty among the young women attracted by the movement that they will not submit to maternal government."[109] Mary Paley Marshall says that "Mary Kennedy and I were the worst offenders [of breaking the rules]. For instance, one day we said to Miss Clough: 'We are going to spend the day at Ely and are not sure when we shall be back.' She did not say anything, but a rule appeared soon after in the *Report*: 'Students wishing to make expeditions in the neighbourhood must ask for permission from the Principal.'"[110]

She continues, "I believe we were all hard-working and well-intentioned, but during that first year there was a good deal of friction between Miss Clough and some of us. I think we were almost entirely to blame, and I never cease to be astonished at our want of appreciation in those days. We did not really understand her at all. I believe if she had had more weaknesses and limitations, we should have liked her better…she was, I think, a little afraid of us, and did not know what we might do next. She had not had much to do with girls of our age before, and perhaps she treated us too much like schoolgirls, perhaps she took things a little too seriously."[111]

Anne Clough died in late February 1892, in her suite in Clough Hall, in the college to which she had dedicated her later life. The winter had been cold and damp; she had been ill, but seemed to rally somewhat. Suddenly her health took a severe turn for the worst and within 48 hours she was dead.

The funeral itself was held at King's College Chapel. There was extensive coverage of the event by the major weeklies of the area, including the *Cambridgeshire Weekly News* and the *Cambridge Independent Press and University Herald*, as well as the *London Times*. The Reverend Herbert Ryle officiated; his eulogy was later privately published.[112]

Clough was buried in Grantchester, a village less than two miles from Cambridge. She had built two cottages in Grantchester with money left her by the faithful Miss Crofton, the Liverpool friend who had lived with Anne and her mother in Ambleside and who had followed Clough to Cambridge, at her behest. And as a property owner she was entitled to burial within the town limits. Her remains lie in the Grantchester

churchyard in companionable proximity to the English countryside she loved.

A fitting note, it seems to me, is to end with a letter written by one of Anne Clough's students to her mother shortly after the Principal's death:

> To Mama - Feby 28, 1892:
>
> We are hoping they will not fill the Principal's place in our time, and I dare say they will let everything remain as it is till the Long Vacation. I do not think we could bear to have anyone else over us; it is hard enough to think that there is no one left here to care what happens to one when one has gone down, and welcome one if one ever came up again. She cared for each of us individually; she never forgot [anything]. We told her about ourselves or our people; she made plans for each of us with wonderful insight into character and unfailing sympathy.
>
> During one's first two or three weeks she would come up several times to each new student's room and sit talking till she knew all about them and their surroundings; and after that she would never repeat a question or get mistaken about any detail. It is all no good now, because no one will ever care for us like that again.[113]

Notes

1. AJC Journal 1: 1 Jan. 1841- Jan . 1844. Hereafter AJC Journal 1.
2. Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). Hereafter Gorham.
3. Gorham, 125-152.
4. Gorham, 125-126, 135. As is evident in her notebooks, particularly the first one, Anne was strongly influenced by evangelical Christianity and endured substantial spiritual pain during adolescence.
5. Cheryl Cline, *Women's Diaries, Journals, and Letters: An Annotated Bibliography*, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), xii.
6. Lily Katharine Duff [1905-1995] was a direct descendant of Charles and Margaret Clough, and of Anne Jemima Clough.
7. Gillian Sutherland, *Faith, Duty and The Power of Mind: The Cloughs and Their Circle 1820-1960*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Hereafter Sutherland.
8. Robert Molloy, *Charleston: A Gracious Heritage*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947), 123. Hereafter Molloy.
9. Gorham, 135.
10. (Blanche S. Clough, ed.), *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough. With A Selection From His Letters And A Memoir, Edited By His Wife: Letters: Prose Remains*, Vol. I, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1868, 1869). Hereafter (B. S. Clough, ed.), *Poems and Prose Remains*.
11.Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds: A Biography* (London: Longman's, Green and Col, Ltd., 1964), 132.