Secondary Education in a Changing World

Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World

From the 18th to the 20th Century

Edited by
James C. Albisetti, Joyce Goodman,
and Rebecca Rogers

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SECONDARY EDUCATION IN A CHANGING WORLD

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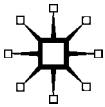

GIRLS' SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE WESTERN WORLD

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Note on Cover

Miss Caroline Coignou showing girls a toad (front cover). Source: Manchester High School for Girls Archive (www.mhsgarchive.org)

Caroline Coignou taught botany, nature study, geology, physiography, chemistry, natural science and hygiene and was responsible for the "control of laboratories, greenhouses and the school garden" at Manchester High School in England between 1895 and 1910. She subsequently became an Inspector of Schools in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

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Series Editors' Foreword

Among the educational issues affecting policy-makers, public officials, and citizens in modern, democratic, and industrial societies, none has been more contentious than the role of secondary schooling. In establishing the Secondary Education in a Changing World series with Palgrave Macmillan, our intent is to provide a venue for scholars in different national settings to explore critical and controversial issues surrounding secondary education. We envision our series as a place for the airing and resolution of these controversial issues.

More than a century has elapsed since Emile Durkheim argued the importance of studying secondary education as a unity, rather than in relation to the wide range of subjects and the division of pedagogical labor, of which it was composed. Only thus, he insisted, would it be possible to have the ends and aims of secondary education constantly in view. The failure to do so accounted for a great deal of the difficulty with which secondary education was faced. First, it meant that secondary education was "intellectually disorientated," between "a past which is dying and a future which is still undecided," and, as a result, "lacks the vigor and vitality which it once possessed."[1] Second, the institutions of secondary education were not understood adequately in relation to their past, which was "the soil which nourished them and gave them their present meaning, and apart from which they cannot be examined without a great deal of impoverishment and distortion" (10). And third, it was difficult for secondary school teachers, who were responsible for putting policy reforms into practice, to understand the nature of the problems and issues that prompted them.

In the early years of the twenty-first century, Durkheim's strictures still have resonance. The intellectual disorientation of secondary education is more evident than ever as it is caught up in successive waves of policy changes. The connections between the present and the past have become increasingly hard to trace and untangle. Moreover, the distance between policy-makers on the one hand and the practitioners on the other has rarely seemed as immense as it is today. The key mission of the current series of books is, in the spirit of Durkheim, to address these underlying dilemmas of secondary education and to play a part in resolving them.

Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World: From the 18th to the 20th Century, edited by James Albisetti, Joyce Goodman, and Rebecca Rogers, contributes to this

1. Émile Durkheim. *The Evolution of Educational Thought: Lectures on the Formation and Development of Secondary Education in France* (London: Routledge and Kegan; 1938/1977), 8.

mission through its widely ranging analyses of secondary education for girls as it has developed in many countries around Europe and in America over the past two hundred years. It approaches this theme principally through investigations of the separate national histories involved, including those of Great Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Scandinavia, Bulgaria, Russia, and the United States. These provide systematic treatments of the relevant historiographies, the main changes since the eighteenth century, developments in a range of educational settings, the relationship to secondary education for boys, the extent of coeducation, and contributions to girls' secondary education in the overseas colonies.

The analyses of different systems in the Western world demonstrate the distinctive ways in which secondary education for girls has developed historically in relation to different social, cultural, religious, and political contexts. They also reveal international and comparative frameworks for the understanding of issues that have affected girls' secondary education over the past two hundred years. For example, they assess the extent to which secondary education for girls has constituted a conservative or a radical element in social and political change over the longer term. Moreover, they provide a means of tracing the experience of girls' secondary education for the pupils, teachers, and administrators involved, no less than the policies and ideologies that helped to shape it. In such ways, this volume highlights the similarities and common patterns in the historical development of secondary education for girls as well as the wide range of variation and difference. It thus affords a unique insight into the ways in which European patterns of development in this area have compared with those in America, and indeed the nature of the spread of girls' secondary education across national borders.

Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World is the tenth volume to be published in our series. It exemplifies well the combination of social, historical, and comparative approaches to secondary education that we have sought to emphasize throughout, and is the first to focus on secondary education for girls. As we see the trajectory of the series advancing during the next few years, our intent is to seek additional volumes that bring these issues still further to the attention of studies in secondary education.

BARRY FRANKLIN AND GARY MCCULLOCH

Acknowledgments

We have incurred a number of debts to individuals and to institutions in writing this book. We are extremely grateful to our contributors for their hard work in producing their chapters, and thank especially those whose first language is not English. As editors, we much appreciated your patience as we grappled with the particularities of education systems across Europe and their provision for the secondary education of girls.

Several contributors to this volume had the opportunity to present early versions of their chapters in a symposium for Network 17 (Histories of Education) at the European Educational Research Association Conference (2008) in Gothenburg. Many thanks to all those who took part in the symposium and to all who provided helpful comments at this early stage of the work.

Jim is very grateful to Rebecca and Joyce for involving him fully in what began as their joint project. He wishes to thank the College of Arts and Sciences and the Department of History at the University of Kentucky for funding most of his trip to the EERA meeting in Sweden.

Joyce wishes to thank the University of Winchester Research Grant Scheme for support for the three-year research project, "The International Mind and the Education of Women and Girls," on which she is engaged with Andrea Jacobs from the Centre for the History of Women's Education at Winchester, which funded attendance at the Gothenburg conference. This project acted as a catalyst for her current research on imperial, European, and transnational aspects of girls' secondary education, which is reflected in this book.

Rebecca was especially privileged to have a research leave from the Université Paris Descartes, which allowed her to spend time on this project. Heartfelt thanks to the colleagues who supported this leave and especially the research lab, the Centre de Recherches sur les Liens Sociaux (CERLIS), which funded the trip to Gothenburg, and supports so willingly research in the history of girls' education.

We would like to thank the series editors Gary McCulloch and Barry Franklin for their enthusiasm to include a book on girls' secondary education in their series, "Secondary Education in a Changing World," Amanda Johnson, Julia Cohen, and Samantha Hasey for their support during the writing phase, and Andrea Jacobs for her efficiency in organizing the final submission to Palgrave.

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Previous Publications

By James C Albisetti
Schooling German Girls and Women (1989)
Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany (1983)

By Joyce Goodman
Social Change in the History of British Education (2008, with Gary McCulloch and William Richardson)
Women and Education,1800–1980 (2004, with Jane Martin)
Gender, Colonialism and Education, the Political Experience of Education (2002, with Jane Martin)
Women, Educational Policy-Making and Administration in England. Authoritative Women since 1800 (2000, with Sylvia Harrop)

By Rebecca Rogers
From the salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Middle-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century France (2005); *Les bourgeoises au pensionnat. L'éducation féminine au XIXe siècle* (translation, 2007); *La mixité dans l'éducation : enjeux passés et présents* (2004, editor)
Les espaces de l'historien. Etudes d'historiographie (2000, with Jean-Claude Waquet and Odile Goerg)
Les Demoiselles de la Légion d'honneur. Les Maisons d'éducation de la Légion d'honneur aux dix-neuvième siècle (1992, 2nd edition 2006)

Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World: A Historical Introduction

James C. Albisetti, Joyce Goodman, and Rebecca Rogers

Interest in comparative study of girls' secondary education in Europe dates back at least to 1884, when Theodore Stanton published *The Women Question in Europe*, a series of essays by feminists from various countries, all of whom highlighted educational issues in their judgment of women's status in their homelands. Two decades later, Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer also drew on numerous women, and some men, for chapters on individual countries in the volume of their five-volume *Handbook of the Women's Movement* devoted to education. Shortly thereafter, Käthe Schirmacher similarly placed great stress on educational advances in her sweeping worldwide survey of *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement*.[1] Interest in the link between girls' education and women's emancipation continued into the interwar period. In 1934, a moderate feminist Hungarian teacher named Amélie Arato published a much more detailed but less historical comparative study of the current state of girls' secondary education in Europe. In addition to providing the curricula and timetables for schools in many countries, Arato also discussed the widely differing practices with regard to coeducation and the role of men and women teachers in girls' schools, themes echoed in many chapters of this volume.[2]

Not surprisingly, the early days of modern scholarship in women's history placed education on the historical agenda, notably with the publication in 1978 of Phyllis Stock's *Better Than Rubies: A History of Women's Education*.[3] The explosion of research in the succeeding years, however, soon moved far beyond Stock's synthesis. In the three decades since then, no similar survey has appeared, although, as the bibliography to this volume suggests, scholars have produced comparative studies of limited topics, or of two or three countries, over a limited period of time.

Our collection, structured around national chapters, brings to the reading public a wealth of information concerning the individuals who argued for girls' education, the place and role of women as teachers and administrators within school systems, and the nature of the female schooling experience. Alongside the relatively familiar stories of British, French, or German girls' secondary education, readers will discover the weight of conservative Catholic messages in the histories of Portugal, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Austria, and Ireland; but they will also learn the ways Catholic and Protestant missionaries helped establish serious models of girls' education in Greece

and the Balkan peninsula. Very different patterns of development emerged within the northern European countries—the Netherlands and Scandinavia—thanks to the influence of Protestantism and a greater receptivity to coeducation; while the history of girls' access to secondary education in Bulgaria and Russia highlights the ways nation-building and politics penetrated schoolrooms affecting the experiences of both girls and boys. Certain countries remain outside the purview of this volume and still await a scholarly treatment in English. These include Switzerland, famous for the early admission of (mostly foreign) women to universities, but with schools that varied greatly among its twenty-two cantons.[4] Readers interested in the more recent nation-states of central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Romania or Czechoslovakia) will find references to these countries in the final two chapters that discuss the transnational aspects of girls' secondary education, and in the chapter by Daskalova, but a synthetic presentation of their histories still remains to be done.

The authors of individual chapters were all asked to address a certain number of issues to ensure a thematic coherence to the whole. As a result, each chapter begins with an outline of the historiography followed by a chronological discussion of the major changes in educational offerings beginning in the eighteenth century. Alongside analysis of the national educational system and its evolution, authors highlight significant schools, and important women educators and pedagogues, in order to offer cultural as well as more socioeconomic explanations for the evolutions in girls' secondary education. The chapters pay attention to a variety of educational settings: public institutions funded by cities, regions, or the states; private schools run by individual proprietors, nuns, or educational associations; and even homeschooling when the information is available. Each chapter also addresses the increasing convergence of girls' and boys' secondary schooling and the issue of coeducation. Finally, authors were asked to consider to what extent their country contributed to the emergence of girls' secondary education within the colonies.

This book takes seriously the dialectic between education as a conservative force and as a force for change as expressed in both democratic and authoritarian political agendas across Europe. By examining struggles to learn and to acquire knowledge, the book explores the experience of pupils, teachers, and administrators over the past three centuries and the impact of their struggles on the cultural and economic life of women and nations.

The treatment of these themes depends not only on national histories but also on the existing historiography, the strength of women's history, and the availability of sources. Statistical sources vary tremendously within individual countries. Centralized states, such as France, produced educational statistics from the early nineteenth century, but often left out the private sector and hence the vast majority of girls' schools. In Belgium, triennial reports concerning public education presented before Parliament were published from 1842 onward, containing information about institutions, personnel, student numbers, as well as inspection reports. The British colonial state kept statistics for many British colonies. Educational and missionary associations, individual institutions, and regional or municipal governments all provide grist for the social, political, and institutional aspects of girls' education. Increasingly scholars are also drawing on a wealth of other sources including letters, diaries, petitions, and memoirs that demonstrate how individuals circumvented gendered cultural norms.

Secondary Education: Definitions and Debates

The collection's focus on girls' secondary education represents in part a pragmatic decision to narrow the investigation to specific social and age groups, notably the middle and upper classes and girls between the ages of twelve and eighteen. The wealth of sources concerning secondary education, compared with primary education, in addition to the dearth of comparative analysis, justifies the focus on this level. Individual authors provide definitions of what constituted secondary education in their countries and highlight how the meaning changed over time. Readers will discover the complexities of terminology, as similar names often masked institutional differences. The democratic American high school fascinated European observers but had no equivalent in Europe before the second half of the twentieth century. The discussion about how Europeans defined secondary education in chapter 12 provides an illuminating introduction to national understandings of educational levels. School systems were often finely differentiated by class so that in individual countries contemporaries sent their children to institutions that corresponded to a specific social and educational ethos. In general, the most prestigious and elitist of these institutions—the German *Gymnasium* and the French *lycée*—were not available to girls until the end of the nineteenth century, as was largely the case with the British public schools. Because secondary education carried such a strong class connotation in most countries, it did not always strictly apply to pupils over the age of twelve. In this volume, however, authors focus for the most part on the schooling of adolescents and trace a similar pattern of democratization within educational systems.

If secondary education was associated with the bourgeoisie and elites throughout most of the period under consideration in this volume, the focus of individual chapters is on the gendered characteristics of this secondary system. Many of the contributions show that throughout Europe secondary education was oriented toward the training of "public" men. This vision left little room for middle-class women whose primary mission was assumed to be that of good wife and mother. Why, many contemporaries argued, should such a woman study the classics, or learn mathematics and physics? Instead, girls' secondary education should focus on appropriately feminine subjects, most notably foreign languages, sewing, and painting, in addition to the indispensable religious and moral messages. The emergence of a feminine program that was seen as secondary and its relationship to the masculine system form the backbone of each of the following national chapters?

Commonalities and Differences: A Brief Comparative Discussion

Certain common themes emerge in all the chapters and constitute a relatively familiar narrative for women's historians. For girls of the middle and upper classes, "secondary" education involved lessons in domesticity, although the skills necessary for running a home might vary from country to country. The importance of producing

educated mothers extended far beyond national borders, as imperial states carried European representations of motherhood to the colonies. Domesticity implied a range of gendered attitudes that were reflected not just in course content but also in prevailing moral ideals that built upon religious values in all of the European countries. While Italian Catholic boarding schools bore little resemblance to the Danish Lutheran daughters' schools, both sorts of institutions placed religious instruction and values at the core of the educational system. Challenges to this domestic and religious orientation came from both male and female feminists and acquired an increasing audience in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Feminist movements varied within individual countries, but all the chapters testify to how feminist ideas about women's ability to reason circulated in the educational world and encouraged the opening of schools or the organization of campaigns, beginning in the 1860s and 1870s. The first international congresses of women placed women's education at the heart of feminist demands. As early as 1871 the *Association Internationale des Femmes* (International Association of Women) in Geneva proclaimed its goals: "To work for the moral and intellectual advancement of women, for the gradual amelioration of her position in society by calling for her human, civil, economic, social and political rights."[5] As a result, while feminist demands were not always the leading force in providing access to secondary education (in Britain, for example, some headmistresses were supporters of the anti-suffrage movement), they almost always had an impact on the tenor of the debate. No single feminist doctrine about what constituted girls' secondary education emerged, but most countries witnessed debate about its content (should it be identical or not with boys), its location (coeducational or single-sex schools), and its goals (to train mothers, citizens, or professionals).

If the final quarter of the nineteenth century represents a moment of intense educational ferment for middle-class girls, the second moment of widespread change occurred after World War II, as demands for secondary education spread. The chapters highlight repeatedly in different contexts how the democratization of the educational system and the widespread extension of coeducation opened new opportunities for women without erasing the historical weight of gendered visions of femininity and women's relationship to knowledge and the public sphere.

Beyond these broad similarities, however, the different chapters reveal the extent to which national contexts determined the nature of the debate about girls' secondary education and the forms it took. Religion emerges here as one of the common threads whose influence had very different impact on girls' schooling throughout Europe. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal, Catholicism played a very conservative role and nuns did little to improve significantly the quality of girls' educational opportunities. In France, however, liberal currents within Catholicism, as well as competition with an active lay sector, encouraged innovation, notably with respect to teacher training. In countries such as Ireland, Belgium, Greece, and Bulgaria, competing religious associations opened schools and sought to attract a clientele; in the process, they established standards with respect to girls' schooling and helped spread the perception that girls should indeed be sent to schools like their brothers. In Ireland the religious rivalry between Catholics and Protestants provided the impetus for reform, enhanced the academic nature of girls' schooling,

and raised girls' examination achievements. In Southeastern Europe, innovation came from Catholic and Protestant missionaries seeking to spread their vision of what constituted serious girls' education. The complexity of these national studies should caution us to associate progressivism with Protestantism and conservatism with Catholicism.

If domestic motherhood constitutes a unifying thread to discussions about girls' education throughout most of the three centuries, in some countries nationalism and the concern to form the patriotic mother played a particularly significant role in the emergence of opportunities for girls. The chapter on Southeastern Europe makes this clear notably with the creation of the first modern women's high school (*Visa zenska skola*) in Belgrade in 1863, where nationalist rhetoric underwrote the curriculum. In territories under the rule of the Habsburg and Russian empires, the politics of cultural nationalism gave pedagogues and feminists a discourse about girls' education that resolutely connected the family and its values with the public sphere. In Finland, for example, the educator Lucina Hagman (1853–1946) participated actively in the national movement from the 1880s in addition to opening the first coeducational school for Finnish-speaking students, Helsinki's Suomalainen Yhteiskoulu, in 1886. In a speech to the Stockholm Feminist Congress of 1897, Hagman predicted that coeducation would ultimately "raise the moral standards in our human societies, build character and [...] without straying from the path Nature has indicated, allow men and women cordially to take one another by the hand and work together at the great common project of perfecting the human species."[6] In certain countries in Western Europe, such as France, Belgium, and Portugal, the politics of anticlericalism more than nation-building influenced the development of secondary schools' for girls. Republicans or liberals, supported by feminist associations, created public institutions for girls in an effort to wrest their education from the hands of the Catholic Church.

If politics and nationalism explain differences between the different countries in their approach to girls' education, the characteristics of national educational systems also played an important role. This is apparent in attitudes toward coeducation among pupils, as the chapter on the Netherlands demonstrates, but also with respect to the sex of school teachers. In France and England, girls' secondary schools developed under the direction of strong women teachers who argued that only women could run schools for girls. This allowed women directors to achieve positions of importance in the educational hierarchy, in contrast to Germany or the Scandinavian countries where men contested women for school headships. As in Scotland, men headed girls' schools in Austria and Russia, and for many years women taught only in the lower grades. Similarly, in Calvinist Geneva the *École secondaire et supérieure des filles* (the secondary and higher school for girls) founded in 1847 established a seven-year program of study, but only men taught within the school.[7] Paradoxically, male teachers and directors encouraged the early development of girls' schools but prevented women from achieving positions of responsibility. In general, throughout Europe, women teachers found it difficult to lead fulfilling lives as both professionals and mothers, so that even when bans on marriage did not exist, the model for the secondary woman teacher was that of the celibate woman, or the nun in Catholic countries.[8]

Access to secondary education for girls took very different routes throughout Europe. In some countries, such as France, Germany, or Belgium, girls' schools emerged alongside an existing male system and shared many of the latter's characteristics, notably a conviction that secondary studies should be "disinterested" and not professional. In Italy and Spain, however, the emergence of more serious studies for girls took a more vocational path via teacher training schools, ostensibly oriented toward training primary schoolteachers. In these countries, girls aspiring to postprimary education took advantage of existing structures that did not challenge gender norms, since throughout Europe education was seen as an acceptable profession for women. In England, opportunities for lower-middle-class girls also came via teacher training, while girls from higher social classes followed a more "liberal" education track. More audaciously in some countries, families used the absence of girls' secondary schools as an argument to place their daughters in boys' secondary schools. This was the case in the Netherlands, as early as 1871, but also in the educationally "backward" Mediterranean countries of Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In Italy, historian Marino Raichich has described this relatively early access to boys' secondary institutions (1883) as one of the "advantages of backwardness."[9]

State of the Field: Orientations

The historiography concerning girls' secondary education varies tremendously from country to country and this is naturally reflected in the following chapters. For some countries, notably England, France, and Germany, broad studies of this level of schooling already exist, although none cover three centuries (see bibliography). Other countries have only begun to explore the complexities of this history, often through the lens of women's history and a focus on specific figures. The recent proliferation of biographical dictionaries undoubtedly has fostered an interest in women pedagogues and educators, although no European equivalent to Linda Eisenmann's *Historical Dictionary of Women's Education* exists to date.[10] The focus on biography, however, has not yet modified durably the dominant narrative in the history of education, which continues to judge girls' schooling in comparison to that of boys without querying how the two developed in tandem and the ways the analytical category of gender might rewrite understandings of boys' schools and masculinity. This no doubt remains a goal for the future.[11]

The volume reflects most strongly the strength of scholarship on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is when the most important girls' institutions emerged, but recent work on the period of the Enlightenment has shown the importance of debates about girls' education that modern historians need to acknowledge.[12] Renewed interest in the Enlightenment and the early nineteenth century is evident across Europe and merits the type of transnational approach adopted in the last two chapters of this volume. Ideas as well as educational models circulated well before the first international education congresses. The Smolny institute in Russia (founded in the 1760s), for example, drew on the example of its predecessor, the school for noble girls in Saint-Cyr, France (founded in 1686). In Poland,

prior to 1795, Enlightenment ideas influenced the Commission for National Education in 1773 that insisted on the need to provide education to both sexes (although it did not create specific institutions for girls).[13]

At the chronological end of the period under investigation, the individual chapters skip quickly over the post-Second World War years when democratization of "middle schools" and coeducation ended the most apparent differences between boys' and girls' secondary education. As the analyses of Germany and Portugal suggests, however, these years of massive change in the educational system merit more careful attention. Up until now sociologists have largely dominated the scholarly production for this period and it is clearly time to integrate a more historical perspective to understand why the end of girls' secondary education, as it was understood, has not eliminated gender inequalities in the educational system.

Despite the postcolonial turn in the English-speaking world, these chapters reveal that much remains to be done on the subject of colonial schools and the ways governments, associations, and women teachers contributed to the civilizing mission. Closer attention to the cultural work of colonization should provide a useful corrective to a history that remains dominated by a British narrative.[14]

The effort to provide a concise synthesis over 300 years for each chapter has led to regrettable absences. The chapters say very little about physical education or girls' classroom experiences, and the material aspects and the physical setting of schooling are not the focus of any sustained analysis. Information about informal education, in general, be it at home or in school, is only briefly mentioned in several chapters, despite the fact that such education was an important aspect of girls' self-development, as biographical approaches have shown. Source material is not always available for such studies, but our hope is that this volume will stimulate others to pursue threads only briefly touched upon. The broad scope of this volume, both in chronological and geographic terms, ultimately should stimulate reflection about the complexity of historical periods and the importance of cross-national discussions and borrowing; it also points in interesting ways to the historicity of national ideas about the curriculum and what was deemed necessary for cultured young European woman to know. By pushing readers to compare across borders and to consider the effects of including girls in the history of individual systems, the book aims to stimulate research conversations and a research agenda for scholars interested in history, education, and women's lives.

Notes

1. Theodore Stanton, ed., *The Women Question in Europe: A Series of Original Essays* (New York: Putnam, 1884 [reprint New York: Source Book Press, 1970]); Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer, *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung.*, vol. 3: *Der Stand der Frauenbildung in den Kulturländern* (Berlin: W. Moeser, 1902); Käthe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement: A Historical Survey*, trans. Carl Conrad Eckhardt (New York: Macmillan, 1912).
2. Amélie Arato, *L'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles en Europe* (Brussels: J. Lebèque, 1934).
3. Phyllis Stock, *Better Than Rubies: A History of Women's Education* (New York: Putnam, 1978).
4. For studies from widely different eras, see Ferdinand Zehender, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des öffentlichen Unterrichts für Mädchen in der Stadt Zürich von 1774 bis 1883* (Zurich: Schulthess,

1883); Gottlieb Rothen, *Hundert Jahre Mädchenschule in der Stadt Bern* (Bern: Mädchensekundarschule, 1936); and Chantel Renevey-Fry, ed., *En attendant le prince charmant: L'éducation des jeunes filles à Genève, 1740–1970* (Geneva: SRED, 1997).

5. See Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700–1950: A Political History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), especially chapters 5 and 6, here 152–153.
6. Lucina Hagman, "La Coéducation des sexes en Finlande," *Revue de morale sociale* (1899): 42.
7. Renevey-Fry, *En attendant le prince charmant*, 125–141.
8. Leslie Page Moch, "Government Policy and Women's Experience: the Case of Teachers in France," *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988): 301–324.
9. Marino Raichich, "Liceo, università, professioni: un percorso difficile," in *L'educazione delle donne. Scuole e modelli di vita femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, ed. Simonetta Soldani (Milan: Francoangeli, 1989), 113.
10. Linda Eisenmann, ed., *Historical Dictionary of Women's Education in the United States* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998).
11. Ruth Watts, "Gendering the story: change in the history of education," *History of Education* 34, 3 (May 2005): 225–241; and Rebecca Rogers, "The Politics of Writing the History of French Girls' Education," *History of Education Researcher* 80 (November 2007): 136–144.
12. Carol Strauss Sotiropoulis, *Early Feminists and the Education Debates: England, France, Germany, 1760–1810* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007).
13. Maciej Serwanski, "Les formes de l'éducation des filles nobles en Pologne aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," in *L'éducation des jeunes filles nobles en Europe, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Chantel Grell and Arnaud Ramière de Fortanier (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 75–85.
14. For an initial effort in this direction, see Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda, *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1998). This collection provides a great deal of information about girls' education, but none of the chapters deals explicitly with the subject.