INTRODUCTION

6. For a comprehensive examination of the values and ideas of the English bourgeoisie from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes:
Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850 (London: Hutchinson, 1987). Davidoff and Hall stress in particular the importance of gender and of Evangelical and Dissenting religion in the evolution of middle-class precepts and practices.

7. Coleridge was apprehensive about precisely this effect of leisure reading on the minds of the public at large. He refers with contempt to ‘the devotees of the circulating libraries’, whose ‘pass-time, or rather kill-time’ he refuses to dignify ‘with the name of reading. Call it rather a sort of beggarly daydreaming’, he continues, ‘during which the mind of the dreamer furnishes for itself nothing but laziness and a little mawkish sensibility; while the whole material and imagery of the doze is supplied ab extra by a sort of mental camera obscura manufactured at the printing office, which pro tempore fixes, reflects and transmits the moving phantasms of one man’s delirium, so as to people the barrenness of an hundred other brains afflicted with the same trance or suspension of all common sense and all definite purpose.’ This kind of passive absorption of impressions Coleridge classifies with mindless activities such as ‘swinging, or swaying on a chair or gate; spitting over a bridge; smoking; snuff-taking’. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Biographia Literaria, eds James Engell and W. Jackson Bate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), vol. I, 48–9; Coleridge’s note. Carlyle expressed similar reservations about the passivity of reading, with specific reference to Scott’s Waverley novels, which created a ‘beatific land of Cockaigne and Paradise of Doonings’, a world in which ‘there was no call for effort on the reader’s part. . . . The reader, what the vast majority of readers so long to do, was allowed to lie down at his ease, and be ministered to. . . . The languid imagination fell back into its rest; an artist was there who could supply it with high-painted scenes, with sequences of stirring action, and whisper to it, Be at ease, and let thy tepid element be comfortable to thee.’ ‘Sir Walter Scott’, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, 6 vols (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), V, 251–2; first appeared in London and Westminster Review 12 (1837), as a review of the first six volumes of Lockhart’s Life of Sir Walter Scott.


14. Arno Mayer, 'The Lower Middle Class as Historical Problem', *Journal of Modern History* 47:3 (September 1975), 409, 411. Subsequent references are in the text.

15. Ibid., and Geoffrey Crossick, 'The Emergence of the Lower Middle Class in Britain', *The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870–1914*, ed. Geoffrey Crossick (London: Croom Helm, 1977), pp. 11–60. Subsequent references are in the text.


1. 'A KIND OF A SORT OF A GENTLEMAN': THE GENTLEMAN'S PROGRESS FROM SIR CHARLES GRANDISON TO JOHN HALIFAX


11. This avenue of social advancement is indeed acknowledged by the eighteenth-century economist and divine Josiah Tucker (1712–99), who stated that the self-made man of business 'may not always meet with Respect equal to his large and acquired Fortune; yet if he gives his Son a liberal and Accomplished education, the Birth and calling of the Father are sunk in the Son; and the Son is reputed, if his Carriage is suitable, a Gentleman in all Companies'. R. E. Schuyler, ed., *Josiah Tucker: A Selection of his Economic and Political Writings* (New York, 1931), p. 264; as quoted by Nicholas Rogers, 'A reply to Donna Andrew' (to Andrew's 'Alderman and Big Bourgeoisie of London Reconsidered') *Social History* 6 (1981), 367. Tucker himself had risen from being the son of a small Welsh farmer to becoming the dean of Gloucester.
16. Kiernan observes that the duel 'grew into a ritual, as formal as a church service' (ibid., p. 135). The duel also conforms to the criteria
for ‘secular ritual’ – such as its explicit purpose, use of explicit symbolism, and involvement of specific social roles and identities – outlined by Sally F. Moore and Barbara Myerhoff in ‘Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings’, in Secular Ritual, eds Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), pp. 3–24. Such rituals, they argue, can ‘lend authority and legitimacy to the positions of particular persons, organizations, occasions, moral values, view of the world, and the like’ (p. 4). They further argue that ritual is ‘an attempt to reify the man-made. That which is postulated and unquestionable may but need not be religious. It may but need not have to do with mystical forces and the spirit world. Unquestionability may instead be vested in a system of authority or a political ideology’ (p. 22).

17. This is not to say that the example of Sir Charles is necessarily opposed to aristocratic ideals, especially those embodied in the courtesy literature. However, as John Edward Mason notes, these ideals were often at odds with social practice: ‘With regard to the relation of the courtesy books to the social life of their time, it may fairly be said that the author’s attitude often represents an ideal rather than an actual condition.’ Hence Richardson’s emphasis on Sir Charles’s actual conduct in social situations, on his ‘acting uniformly well’. Mason’s comment is from his Gentlefolk in the Making (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 292. Subsequent references are in the text.

18. Clark, p. 94.

19. For comprehensive treatments of the debate over dueling, see Andrew (passim) and Kiernan, pp. 165–84. David Castronovo provides a brief but incisive account of the duel and resistance to it in The English Gentleman: Images and Ideals in Literature and Society (New York: Ungar, 1987), pp. 21–5. W. Lee Ustick discusses the increasing emphasis on the ‘good man’ and the opposition to dueling in early conduct manuals for gentleman, especially Brathwait’s The English Gentleman (1630), in ‘Changing Ideals of Aristocratic Character and Conduct in Seventeenth-Century England’, Modern Philology 30:2 (November 1932), 147–66; see especially 154–61. Lawrence Stone discusses early attempts to control dueling in The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558–1641 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), pp. 242–50. Stone argues that the development of the ‘code of the duel’ was initially beneficial to society because it reduced faction fighting and local blood-feuds. He also suggests that the duel acted as a social leveler, ‘blurring the distinction between gentry and nobility’ because the wealthy nobleman, surrounded by his retainers, could no longer ‘insult a mere gentleman with impunity’ (p. 245). Thus the duel played a significant role both in the transition from a society controlled by the high nobility to one dominated by a broader based aristocracy, and in the later transition from aristocratic to middle-class hegemony.

20. For Addison and Steele’s treatment of the duel, see The Tatler nos 25 (7 June 1709), 26 (9 June 1709), 28 (14 June 1709), 29 (16 June 1709), 31 (21 June 1709), 38 (7 July 1709), 39 (9 July 1709), 162 (22
April 1710) and The Spectator, nos 84 (6 June, 1711), 97 (21 June 1711), and 99 (23 June 1711). In ‘On Good Manners and Good Breeding’, Jonathan Swift makes a brief but caustic comment: ‘I can discover no political evil in suffering bullies, sharperes, and rakes, to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law has not been able to find an expedient’; The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, ed. Herbert Davis, 14 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), IV, 214. In ‘The Duel of Lord Mohun and the Duke of Hamilton’, Review 1:34 (29 Nov. 1712), Defoe makes a strong statement against dueling as a response to the most notorious duel of the period: ‘I call the Quarrel Unjust and Dishonourable, not as to the Cause of the Quarrel, which I have nothing to do with, but as to the Manner of Duelling, which I undertake to be Unjust and Dishonourable, because Illegal and Unchristian.’ See also Jeremy Collier, ‘Of Duelling,’ in Essays upon Several Moral Subjects, 2nd edn (London: Sare & Hindmarch, 1697) and William Jackson, ‘On Riches, Cards, and Duelling’, in Thirty Letters on Various Subjects, 2nd edn (London: Cadell & Thorn, 1784). Those who argue against dueling far outnumber those who argue in favor. Bernard Mandeville presents the pro-dueling position, without endorsing it, in An Enquiry into the Origin of Honour, and the Usefulness of Christianity in War (1732) and in The Fable of the Bees (1729). Samuel Johnson’s position on dueling is similarly ambiguous.


22. The stage is another obvious venue where the duel could have been, and was, represented visually. The performance of the duel in eighteenth-century plays, however, is generally perfunctory, and typically functions as an integral part of a classical setting, as in Joseph Addison’s Cato and Nicholas Rowe’s The Fair Penitent, thus circumventing the issue of dueling in contemporary society. Richard Steele, however, attacks the morality of dueling in The Lying Lover and The Conscious Lovers, both of which have contemporary settings. But the protagonist in The Lying Lover questions that morality only after having apparently killed his friend. The protest against dueling in The Conscious Lovers is more focused and explicit; Steele in fact claims that ‘the whole was writ for the sake of the Scene of the Fourth Act, wherein Mr. Bevil evades the Quarrel with his Friend’, with the hope that ‘it may have some Effect upon the Goths and Vandals that frequent the Theatres’ (see ‘The Preface’ to The Conscious Lovers in The Plays of Richard Steele, loc.cit, p. 299). As with Sir Charles, Bevil Junior’s opposition to dueling is part of his virtue, but he lacks Grandison’s supreme self-assurance and conviction in his resistance
to 'Tyrant Custom' (IV, i, 114). Moreover, Bevil avoids the duel through the dubious expedient of showing to his challenger a letter he has been implored to keep secret. Contemporary dramatic conventions, as discussed above, no doubt limited the extent to which dueling could be deconstructed on the stage, whether verbally or visually. The novel proves to be the ideal medium for the visual reinterpretation of the duel, not just because of the genre's suitability for bourgeois expression, but more importantly because it allows the author greater control over what can indeed be 'seen' and how it is interpreted.


25. Despite finding both the novel and its hero to be failures, Eagleton acknowledges that Richardson played a major role in the class struggle between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie and that Sir Charles Grandison is 'the logical culmination of Richardson's ideological project, a necessary move in the whole middle-class cultural enterprise' (p. 95).


27. Women writers in this period indeed often belittle dueling. Austen, for example, has Elinor sigh over Colonel Brandon's 'fancied necessity' of calling Willoughby out. Jane Austen, Sense and Sensibility, ed. Claire Lamont (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 184. And only the empty-headed Mrs Bennet imagines that her husband might duel with Wickham after his elopement with Lydia (Pride and Prejudice, p. 259). Maria Edgeworth completely undermines the duel as an enactment of manliness and honor by featuring a farcical female duel between the scandalous Lady Delacour and Mrs Luttridge in Belinda (1801).


Notes

35. The characterization of Ursula, as well as that of Anna in *Anna St. Ives*, undercuts Nancy Armstrong’s claim that ‘through marriage to someone of a lower station, the male but not the female of the upper gentry can be redeemed.’ See Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: a Political History of the Novel* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 113.

2 THE LITERARY EVOLUTION OF THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS:
THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE GENT TO LITTLE DORRIT


2. The extent to which the nineteenth-century British novel embodies a middle-class ideology is most obvious in the ways in which it proves problematic for the mediation of the values of other classes, or for the representation of the stories of characters whose lives do not conform to essentially bourgeois novelistic structures. As Regenia Gagnier points out, the middle-class ‘plot’ that shapes both nineteenth-century autobiographies and novels traces ‘ordered progress’, from education to career and family life for men, or from life with father to life with husband for women. According to Gagnier, the structure and ideology inherent in this plot – or cultural ‘master narrative’ – is often unworkable for the self-representation of working-class writers. Working-class authors who do adopt the middle-class plot are frequently frustrated in telling their stories, or even in sustaining their identities because the ‘gap between ideology and experience leads not only to the disintegration of the narrative the writer hopes to construct, but . . . to the disintegration of personality itself.’ Regenia Gagnier, *Subjectivities: a History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832–1920*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 6, 44–6. Subsequent references are in the text.


5. Charlotte Brontë draws attention to the suspiciousness of inappropriate dress in *Jane Eyre*. When Jane is reduced to destitution after fleeing from Rochester, her attempt to exchange her gloves and


7. T. B. Tomlinson goes so far as to describe ‘the nature of the middle class, from pre-1832 days onwards’, as ‘in part that of a defensive alliance of ‘conflicting interests’ that set itself ‘not so much against Tory landowners or the big industrialists, as against the working class’. See T. B. Tomlinson, The English Middle-Class Novel (London: Macmillan, 1976), p. 14.


9. Malthusian doctrine also influenced the self-perception of at least some members of the working classes, such as Charles Shaw, who bitterly identified his place in the socio-economic structures of his youth as ‘a part of Malthus’s “superfluous population”’. Charles Shaw, When I Was a Child (1893; rpt East Ardsley, Wakefield: SR Publishers, 1969), p. 97. Quoted in Gagnier, p. 42.


11. Himmelfarb stresses the effects that the ‘anxiety and insecurity generated by the rapidity of change’ had on attitudes to poverty and the poor during the 1830s and 1840s. Ibid., pp. 137–44.

12. Himmelfarb suggests that Ainsworth glamorized the dangerous classes, while Reynolds engaged in a ‘pornography of violence’. Ibid., pp. 434, 441.


15. Catherine Gallagher, The Industrial Reformation of English Fiction: Social Discourse and Narrative Form 1832–1867 (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 67. Gallagher argues that Gaskell ‘seeks refuge’ in formal multiplicity because of ‘an ambivalence about causality’ that resulted from the influence of conflicting Unitarian philosophies. ‘A dominant impulse in Mary Barton’, Gallagher maintains, ‘is to escape altogether from causality, to transcend explanation. Mary Barton expresses both stages of the Unitarianism of the 1840s; it was inspired by both the “Religion of Causality” that Harriet Martineau advocated and the “Religion of Conscience” that her brother eloquently preached.’

19. B. G. Orchard, *The Clerks of Liverpool* (Liverpool: Collinson, 1871), p. 49. Orchard’s own contempt for clerks, it transpires, had recently been confirmed by the failure of the Provident and Annuity Association, a self-help group for clerks of which he had been secretary.
22. Arno Mayer, ‘The Lower Middle Class as Historical Problem’, *The Journal of Modern History* 3 (September 1975), 409–36; Geoffrey Crossick, ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870–1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1977). In a later essay, Crossick argues, much as Thompson does, that the petite bourgeoisie was influential in urban politics in the nineteenth century. Crossick emphasizes, however, that he is referring to the ‘classic petty bourgeoisie of small businessmen – primarily shopkeepers and small manufacturers’, and not the white-collar workers who manned the growing bureaucracies that were servicing industry and formed the ‘new’ lower middle class. See Geoffrey Crossick, ‘Urban Society and the Petty Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *The Pursuit of Urban History*, eds Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp. 307–26. Crossick also argues for the importance of the petite bourgeoisie to
the economic development of Britain, in ‘The Petite Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-Century Britain: the Urban and Liberal Case’, _Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe_, eds Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (London & New York: Methuen, 1984), pp. 62–94. Unlike the ‘new’ lower middle class, the ‘classic’ petite bourgeoisie had a history and tradition to draw on and to give its members some sense of collective identity, something that white-collar workers seemed to lack. The petite bourgeoisie has received greater attention by historians of continental Europe, especially in France and Germany, and is perceived to be a more significant entity. See, for example, the essays in _Shopkeepers_. Art historian T. J. Clark goes so far as to describe the members of the petite bourgeoisie of late nineteenth-century Paris as the ‘perfect heroes and heroines’ of the ‘myth of modernity’. _The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers_ (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 258.

23. See Richard N. Price, ‘Society, Status and Jingoism: the Social Roots of Lower Middle Class Patriotism, 1870–1900’, _The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870–1914_, ed. Geoffrey Crossick (London: Croom Helm, 1977), pp. 89–112. Price concentrates on the clerk as the ‘representative example of the lower middle classes’. Clerks, he affirms ‘are universally recognized to be archetypal lower middle class workers, and they were, perhaps, the fastest growing occupational group of the period’ (pp. 97–8).

24. According to the _Oxford English Dictionary_, the first appearance in print of the term ‘lower middle class’ was in 1852, in a letter from Harriet Martineau to G. J. Holyoake; ‘petit bourgeois’ and its variations appeared around the same time, the first recorded instance being in Charlotte Brontë’s _Villette_ (1853).

25. Mary Cowling notes that artists and cartoonists, as well as authors, take up the representation of the Gent, commenting that ‘from about 1840 he had received constant attention from both writers and artists’. _The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art_ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 274.


27. Paul Pindar, ‘Malachi Meagrim, the Teatotaler’, _Bentley’s Miscellany_ 11 (1842), 228–32.


30. ‘Regular Habits’, anon., _Bentley’s Miscellany_ 14 (1843), 393–401.

31. Moreover, the original dandy, Beau Brummell, was a small man. See Ellen Moers, _The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm_ (New York: Viking, 1960; rpt Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 17.

32. [Charles Dickens], ‘Mr. Robert Bolton’, _Bentley’s Miscellany_ 4 (1838), 204–7.
33. ‘Concerning the Gent’, anon. but probably Albert Smith *Punch* 3 (1842), 60–1.


35. Albert Smith, *The Natural History of the Gent* (London: Bogue, 1847), pp. vi–vii. It is not clear whether Albert Smith is the only writer contributing to this volume. He uses the editorial ‘we’ in his preface in a most awkward manner, suggesting that some of the material he uses may be from a *Punch* contributor who wishes to remain anonymous, or even that Smith is plagiarizing. Plagiarism eventually lost him his berth at *Punch*; see R. G. G Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p. 41. Some of the material in *The Natural History of the Gent* originally appeared in a sketch by Smith called ‘The Gent’ in *Bentley’s Miscellany* 19 (1846), 316–22, but several passages appeared earlier and unsigned in *Punch*. The book was well received; although only one edition was ever published, all two thousand copies sold out in one day. John Parry was a popular singer and entertainer who performed at the Lyceum and in concert rooms. Some of the songs he performed were written expressly for him by Smith. See the entries on Smith and Parry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

36. In the Victorian period, as in our own, details of dress were often used to identify specific groups within anonymous urban settings in which styles of dress were increasingly uniform. In her autobiography, Mary Somerville describes how, by dressing in a particular way, she inadvertently identified herself as an Evangelical. Note also the significance of the style of speech:

[A new acquaintance] came to ask me to go and drive in the Park with her, and afterwards dine at her house, saying, ‘We shall all be in high dresses.’ So I accepted, and on entering the drawing-room, found a bishop and several clergymen, Lady Olivia Sparrow, and some other ladies, all in high black satin dresses and white lace caps, precisely the dress I wore, and I thought it a curious coincidence. The party was lively enough, and agreeable, but the conversation was in a style I had never heard before – in fact, it affected the phraseology of the Bible. We all went after dinner to a sort of meeting at Exeter Hall, I quite forget for what purpose, but our party was on a kind of raised platform. I mentioned this to a friend afterwards, and the curious circumstance of our all being dressed alike. ‘Do you not know’, she said, ‘that dress is assumed as a distinctive mark of the Evangelical party! So you were a wolf in sheep’s clothing!"

37. The supposed self-conscious striving of members of the lower middle class to speak with refinement becomes a fixed idea in late Victorian culture. James Fitzjames Stephen’s assessment of lower-middle-class speech expresses an attitude toward clerks and shop assistants typical of his class. The commercial clerk, according to Stephen

constantly tries to talk fine. He calls a school an academy, speaks of proceeding when he means going, and talks, in short, much in the style in which the members of his own class write police reports and accounts of appalling catastrophes for the newspapers. The manners of a sailor, a non-commissioned officer in the army, a gamekeeper, or of the better kind of labourers . . . are much better in themselves, and are capable of a far higher polish, than the manners of a bagman or a small shopkeeper.

[James Fitzjames Stephen], ‘Gentlemen’, Cornhill Magazine 5:27 (March 1862), 337.
41. Charles Dickens, ‘The Noble Savage’, Household Words 7 (11 June 1853), 337. Dickens does rank the Gent above a savage in this send-up of the notion of the ‘noble savage’.
43. ‘Mr. Robert Bolton’, 205.
51. Alexander Welsh, in his influential *The City of Dickens* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), sees Amy Dorrit, in her littleness, as one in a series of Dickens’s child/women heroines, like Florence Dombey (pp. 153–4). As William Myers argues, however, Little Dorrit ‘is not a child; on the contrary Dickens is repudiating very subtly his earlier faith in immaturity. . . . Amy [Dorrit] may have a childish form, but she has an adult personality.’ Myers goes on to point out that Little Dorrit is frequently described as ‘womanly’. In ‘The Radicalism of “Little Dorrit”’, *Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Lucas (London: Methuen, 1971), pp. 77–104; p. 101.
52. The Marshalsea and the lower middle class are indirectly associated elsewhere in Dickens’s work. Micawber – a figure who, incidentally, ‘turns up’ repeatedly in lower-middle-class memoirs later in the century as representative of the class’s financial marginality – is taken to the Marshalsea in *David Copperfield*. See Frederick Willis, *Peace and Dripping Toast* (London: Phoenix House, 1950), p. 29 for an example of a lower-middle-class invocation of Micawber. Dickens’s own father was imprisoned in the Marshalsea at the instigation of a baker, for a sum owing of forty pounds. See Ackroyd, p. 69 and Johnson, I, 34.
54. Gaskell, *North and South*, op. cit., p. 64. Subsequent references are given in the text by page number.

3 VOICES FROM THE MARGINS: DICKENS, WELLS AND BENNETT

9. J. A. Roebuck, address to the Salisbury Literary and Scientific Institution, 19 January 1862; as reported in The Times (20 January 1862).
12. G. S. Layard, ‘A Lower-Middle-Class Budget’, Cornhill Magazine 10 n.s. (1901), 656, 663.
14. Like many writers around the turn of the century, including Gallichan and Crosland, Masterman generally uses ‘middle classes’ to designate that segment of society that earlier and later writers call ‘lower middle class’.
26. Arnold Bennett, A Man from the North (New York: Doran, 1911), pp. 263–4; ellipses in the original. Subsequent references are given in the text by page number.
Subsequent references are given in the text by page number.


4 BACHELOR GIRLS AND WORKING WOMEN: WOMEN AND INDEPENDENCE IN OLIPHANT, LEVY, ALLEN AND GISSING

3. Diana Merion in George Meredith’s *Diana of the Crossways* (1885) is, of course, an interesting exception, but her unconventionality and the difficulties she encounters being accepted in society more or less prove the general rule. Miss Bunion in *Pendennis* (1848–50) and Lady Carbury in *The Way We Live Now* (1875) are more typical of female authors in fiction. Blanche Amory is, of course, neither a minor nor an entirely comic character, nor does she have the other common dispensations of being old and homely, like Miss Bunion, or of being a widow in need of support, like Lady Carbury. But Blanche’s writing, along with her other affectations, is arguably part of what makes her unsuitable as a true heroine and unfit to become Pen’s bride. In the 1890s, the New Woman sometimes takes up writing – typically journalism – but usually only as a more or less unpalatable means of survival – Herminia Barton in Grant Allen’s *The Woman Who Did* (1895), for example, and Mary Erle after failing as an artist in Ella Hepworth Dixon’s *The Story of a Modern Woman* (1894).
15. That many white-collar jobs – such as typist – were new phenomena was also what made them available to women, because these jobs, unlike most civil service clerkships, were not seen as well-established male preserves. See Rosalie Silverstone, ‘Office Work for Women: An Historical Review’, Business History 18:1 (January 1976), 101, 105. Gregory Anderson discusses the opening up of clerical work to women and the resulting feminization of that sector of the work force in 'The White-Blouse revolution’, The White-Blouse Revolution: Female Office Workers since 1870 (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 1–26.
17. See Margaret E. Harkness, ‘Women as Civil Servants’, Nineteenth Century 10: 55 (September 1881), 369–81; and Silverstone, passim.
19. Ibid., pp. 164–5. The novels cited by Zimmeck are George Gissing's *The Odd Women* (1893), Grant Allen's *The Typewriter Girl* (1897), and Tom Gallon’s *The Girl Behind the Keys* (1903).


23. Penelope Fitzgerald, ‘Introduction’, *Phoebe Junior*, ibid., p. viii. The resemblance of *Kirsteen*'s full title to Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*; or, *'Tis Sixty Years Since* is undoubtedly intentional. As Fitzgerald notes, Oliphant indirectly acknowledges her debt to Trollope – the obvious parallels between her Chronicles of Carlingford and his Chronicles of Barsetshire – by having Phoebe read *Barchester Towers*. Similarly, Oliphant playfully acknowledges her debt to Scott not only in the title of *Kirsteen*, but by having Miss Jean read *Waverley* aloud to the seamstresses in her workroom. See *Kirsteen: the Story of a Scotch Family Seventy Years Ago*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1891), II: 90. Subsequent references are given in the text by volume and page number.


25. The resistance to teaching as an acceptable option as a career is manifested later in the novel by the appearance of an 'ex-Girtonian without a waist, who taught at the High School for girls hard-by'. She drifts silent and phantom-like through the text, seen by the Lorimers from the window of their shop. The sisters 'indulged in much sarcastic comment on her appearance; on her round shoulders and swinging gait; on the green gown with balloon sleeves, and the sulphur-coloured handkerchief which she habitually wore.' The Lorimers' unfair aversion to the ex-Girtonian is supposed to be the result of her having taken over the rooms previously occupied by their friend Frank Jermyn, but on another level is a further rejection of one of the roles that convention would have imposed on them had they been conformists. Amy Levy, *The Romance of a Shop* in *The Complete Novels and Selected Writings of Amy Levy 1861–1889*, ed. Melvyn New (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), p. 164. Subsequent references are given in the text by page number.


30. Ann Ardis interprets Herminia’s situation – a single mother living in a London boarding house and working in the public sector as a journalist – as a challenge 'not only [to] bourgeois Victorian sexual ideology but also [to] the related ideology of domesticity, the normalization/standardization of both the nuclear family and the independent middle-class household.' New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism (New Brunswick, NJ & London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p. 14. I feel that this is giving Allen credit for progressive social principles that he did not espouse. Herminia’s situation after the death of her affluent lover is the curse visited upon the philosophically pure heroine by an unenlightened society; it is what she is reduced to, not what she or her creator would embrace as a progressive or even satisfactory option.


35. 'The Woman Who Wouldn’t Do’, Punch 108 (March 1895), 153. Both authors of the novelistic spin-offs, incidentally, used pseudonyms. Victoria Cross was in reality a man, Vivian Cory, and Lucas Cleeve was a woman, Adelina Georgina Isabella Kingscote.

36. 'The Anti marriage League’, pp. 144-5.


38. 'The Anti-Marriage League,’ p. 142.


40. Vivie Warren, in George Bernard Shaw’s play, Mrs. Warren’s Profession, makes a similar choice, although there is no truly tempting
suitor to divert her from her commitment to a career. Shaw's play was written in the same year that *The Odd Women* was published, but was not as palatable to Victorian tastes. It was not published until five years later, and was prohibited from being performed, ostensibly because of the nature of Mrs Warren's profession, although I suspect that Vivie's assertiveness and complete inability to find anything appealing in what were seen as normal feminine interests, along with her declaration that she liked to relax with whisky and a cigar, were equally offensive to the censors.

41. Most New Woman novels — and as a result most criticism of the New Woman novel — focus on sexuality and the perversity of Victorian sexual mores to the virtual exclusion of other themes. For insightful discussions of these novels and themes see Ann Ardis, op. cit., and Lyn Pykett, *The 'Improper' Feminine: the Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992).

42. George Gissing, *The Odd Women*, op. cit., p. 50. Subsequent references are given in the text by page number.

43. Sally Ledger also argues for the fundamental significance of Monica to the social ideologies at play in *The Odd Women*, specifically to 'the masculine domination of the city', observing that 'the main New Woman figures in the novel' challenge that domination 'far less dramatically than does Monica Madden'. *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the fin de siècle* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 162–3.

44. For a contemporary account of the deplorable working conditions in shops in the 1890s, see Bulley and Whitley, pp. 49–65. See also the report to the Royal Commission on Labour, 'The Employment of Women' (1893), especially the section by Clara Collet on shop assistants. Poor working conditions in shops was also the topic of a lengthy study a decade earlier: Thomas Sutherst, *Death and Disease Behind the Counter* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1884).

45. Collet, ibid., p. 89.


48. Cunningham, p. 58; *Nation* (17 May 1894), pp. 369–70, as quoted in Cunningham.

49. Ardis, p. 3.

50. Ibid., pp. 86–90, 110–11.

5 MODERN PROMETHEUS UNBOUND: MAY SINCLAIR AND THE DIVINE FIRE

1. 'The Clerks' Mass Meeting' and 'Chit-Chat for Our Lady Clerks', *The Clerk* 1:4 (1 August 1890), 61–2. *The Clerk* disappears after the 1 August issue, although a publication of the same name reappears in

2. 'The Clerks' Union', *Daily Telegraph* 23 June 1890, p. 4.


5. Hrisey Zegger, *May Sinclair* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), pp. 77, 55, 23–5. Subsequent references are in the text. Zegger also claims that Sinclair’s writing, both in fiction and philosophy, influenced the work of Lawrence and Eliot. See pp. 77 & 141.


**CONCLUSION**


2. Although there has been an upsurge of scholarly interest in Wells in the last ten to fifteen years, most of the attention has focused on his utopian and science fiction novels. This critical bias is especially evident in special issues of *Cahiers Victoriens et Edouardiens* 46 (October 1997) and *English Literature in Transition* 30:4 (1987) devoted to Wells. See also David Y. Hughes, 'Recent Wells Studies', *Science-Fiction Studies* 11:1 (March 1984), 61–70.
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