

Notes

Place of publication is London, unless otherwise indicated.

Preface

1. By contrast, Julian Wolfreys's deconstructionist *Writing London: The Trace of the Urban Text from Blake to Dickens* (Basingstoke, 1998) is concerned exclusively with the textual 'London'.
2. On this distinction, see Malcolm Waters, *Modern Sociological Theory* (1994). Anthony Giddens's theory of 'structuration' seems to me a more appropriate model.
3. Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 84; my previous sentence draws on pp. 16–24, 83ff.
4. Amanda Anderson critiques the inconsistencies of Armstrong, Poovey and Langland in 'The Temptations of Aggrandized Agency: Feminist Histories and the Horizon of Modernity', *VS*, 43 (2000–1) 43–65.
5. John Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994) 179–202; 198.

1 Unruliness and Improvement

1. Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford, 1989); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 281–2, 290–1.
2. On Vauxhall as an 'early-modern consumer wonderland', see Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680–1780* (New York, 1998), Ch. 4.
3. Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* [1771], ed. Angus Ross (Harmondsworth, 1975), pp. 119–20; cf. pp. 65–6.
4. Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 78–85.
5. Amanda Foreman, 'A Politician's Politician: Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and the Whig Party', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (Harlow, 1997), pp. 183–7; Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, pp. 124–8.
6. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 230; M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (1967), p. 77; Donald, *The Age of Caricature* pp. 133–9, 230–1.
7. James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 3rd edition [1799], ed. R.W. Chapman and J.D. Fleeman (Oxford, 1970), pp. 959–60.
8. Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, p. 118. The discursive context is discussed in John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought* (Baltimore, 1977), pp. 90–100.
9. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 5th edition [1789], ed. Edwin Cannan, 2 vols. (1904; rpt. Chicago, 1976), II, p. 317.
10. William Hazlitt, 'On Thomson and Cowper' (1818), in *Lectures on the English Poets, and The Spirit of the Age* (1955), pp. 101–2.

11. Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (1994), pp. 261–5; 1805 *Prelude*, VII, 630–3, in William Wordsworth, *The Prelude: 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M.H. Abrams and Stephen Gill (New York, 1979).
12. ‘Composed upon Westminster Bridge’, in William Wordsworth, *The Poems*, ed. John O. Hayden, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1977), I, pp. 574–5; compare ‘[St Paul’s]’ (1808), pp. 798–9.
13. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* [1790], ed. Conor Cruise O’Brien (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 160–1.
14. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (1997), pp. 387–8; Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (1998), pp. 303–4.
15. See works in the Guildhall collection by Rowlandson, George Woodward, Robert Dighton and M. Egerton.
16. Compare Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* [1845], in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 4 (1975), p. 329; Edgar Allan Poe, ‘The Man of the Crowd’ (1840), in *The Portable Poe*, ed. Philip Van Doren Stern (Harmondsworth, 1977), p. 108.
17. Louis Hawes, *Presences of Nature: British Landscape 1780–1830* (New Haven, 1982), pp. 100–3, 193–4.
18. *The Paintings of J. M. W. Turner*, ed. Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, revised edition (New Haven, 1984), No. 97.
19. ‘London’, in *Nineteenth-Century Women Poets*, ed. Isobel Armstrong and Joseph Bristow with Cath Sharrock (Oxford, 1996), pp. 65–6.
20. Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 117–27.
21. Ralph Hyde, *Panoromania!* (1988); Stephan Oettermann, *Das Panorama* (Frankfurt a.M., 1980); Heinz Buddemeier, *Panorama, Diorama, Photographie* (München, 1970).
22. On the first point, see *London – World City 1800–1840*, ed. Celina Fox (New Haven, 1992), pp. 35–6, 51, 56–7.
23. *Getting London in Perspective*, ed. Ralph Hyde, John Hoole and Tomoko Sato (1984), No. 12 and p. 17.
24. *London – World City*, ed. Fox, Nos. 5, 6.
25. *Ibid.*, Nos. 117, 118; Mireille Galinou and John Hayes, *London in Paint: Oil Paintings in the Collection at the Museum of London* (1996), pp. 201–3.
26. See *London from the Roof of the Albion Mills: A Facsimile of Robert and Henry Aston Barker’s Panorama of 1792–3*. Introduction by Ralph Hyde. Keys by Peter Jackson (1988). The *Eidometropolis* is discussed in Hyde, *Panoromania*, pp. 67–8, and *London – World City*, ed. Fox, No. 230.
27. *London – World City*, ed. Fox, p. 54; Hyde, *Albion Mills Facsimile*, n.p.
28. The cartoon is reproduced in *London – World City*, ed. Fox, p. 55.
29. Robert Southey, *Letters from England* [1807], ed. Jack Simmons (1951), p. 408.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
31. On the contrast between ‘voyeurs’ and ‘walkers’, see Michel de Certeau’s influential *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, 1984), Ch. 7.
32. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, Chs. 3, 5, and 6; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (1989), Ch. 8.
33. Inwood, *History of London*, pp. 376–9, 594–7.
34. ‘Wakefield’, in Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Tales and Sketches* (New York, 1982), pp. 290–8.
35. For reproductions, see *London – World City*, ed. Fox, pp. 22, 27, 30, 31, 36, 101–2, 169, 187.

36. George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank*, pp. 166–9.
37. Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (1973), p. 23; George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank*, pp. 163–4.
38. Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp. 245–6.
39. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* [1992] (1996), pp. 226–30, 246–7. On the improvisation and pragmatic compromise involved, however, see J. Mordaunt Crook's revisionist essay in *London – World City*, ed. Fox, pp. 77–96.
40. Nash (1812), quoted in 'The Objects of Street Improvement in Regency and Early Victorian London', in H.J. Dyos, *Exploring the Urban Past*, ed. David Cannadine and David Reeder (Cambridge, 1982), p. 82.
41. See John Summerson, *Georgian London*, revised edition (Harmondsworth, 1978).
42. Reproductions from the former are in *London – World City*, ed. Fox, pp. 84–90.
43. Thomas Shepherd and James Elmes, *London and its Environs in the Nineteenth Century* [1829] (1983), pp. 1, 36.
44. Alex Potts, 'Picturing the Modern Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century', *History Workshop Journal*, 26 (Autumn 1988) 28–56; 52, 56, 50, cf. 37; third quotation from Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), p. 23, paraphrasing Will Vaughan.
45. Compare Gavin Stamp, *The Changing Metropolis: Earliest Photographs of London 1839–79* (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 65, 93, 96, 109–11, 114, 136, 176; Mike Seaborne, *Photographers' London 1839–1994* (1995), pp. 47, 74, 77.
46. Penelope J. Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Urban History*, 16 (February 1990) 132–74; 154–5.
47. G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992), Ch. 2; Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 20–35.
48. On plebeian culture, see Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, 1995).
49. In the Guildhall Library collection.
50. L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 85–7, 94, 102.

2 Gendered London

1. Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 50–1.
2. Jon Mee, *Dangerous Enthusiasm* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 220–4. See Stewart Crehan, *Blake in Context* (Dublin, 1984); Michael Ferber, *The Social Vision of William Blake* (Princeton, 1985); Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld* (Cambridge, 1988), and E.P. Thompson, *Witness against the Beast* (Cambridge, 1993).
3. William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* [1793; 3rd edition 1798], ed. Isaac Kramnick (Harmondsworth, 1976), p. 182; cf. pp. 148–9, 580–1.
4. *The Poems of William Blake*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (1971), pp. 60–1, 216, 219. Subsequent references to Blake's prophetic books in this edition use the following abbreviations: FZ (*Four Zoas*), J (*Jerusalem*), MHH (*Marriage of Heaven and Hell*), M (*Milton*), U (*Urizen*). The influence on his early work of the neighbourhoods in which Blake lived is traced in Stanley Gardner, *The Tyger, the Lamb, and the Terrible Desert* (1998).
5. *Poems*, pp. 212, 146, 216–17, 172–86.
6. Blake, *Complete Writings*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford, 1979), p. 393.

7. Revelation 13: 16–17. See Thompson, *Witness*, pp. 179–83, 189–90.
8. My interpretation is inevitably partial, given the recalcitrant idiosyncrasies of Blake's syncretic imagination and at times arcane sources. For an overview, see Leslie Tannenbaum, *Biblical Tradition in Blake's Early Prophecies* (Princeton, 1982) and the edition of *The Book of Urizen* by Kay Parkhurst Easson and Roger R. Easson (1979), pp. 94–7.
9. *Paradise Lost*, VII, 211–12, 224–37, in *The Poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (1968), pp. 787–9. What Milton referred to as Christ's 'golden compasses' appear in *FZ*, II, 239, 351–2.
10. Blake, 'To Nobodaddy', *Poems*, p. 155.
11. Urizen's attempt to kill Fuzon is described in the *Book of Ahania*, 1–131, in *Poems*, pp. 269–74. Earlier, in *Urizen* Ch. VII, Los binds Orc, in a typological parallel to Laius and Oedipus, to Abraham and Isaac, and to Zeus and Prometheus. The link between these oedipal anxieties and revolutionary politics is indicated in Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution (1789–1820)* (New Haven, 1983), p. 24.
12. *FZ*, VIIa, 27–39; cf. *Ahania*, 103–29.
13. This final rejection of the revolutionary violence which up to the end of *FZ* Blake had envisaged as the agent of social transformation is not a repudiation of his earlier radicalism. Instead, the struggle of the prophet-artist Blake/Los to overcome his vengeful Spectre (or integrate this aggression), which is paralleled by a plea for moderation in peace treaties with France, acknowledges that, without a change of heart to break the cycle of retaliation, one form of tyranny will merely be replaced by another.
14. *J*, 32. 23–4, 24. 23–5; cf. 4. 26–5. 15, 10. 7–16, 28, 29.
15. Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (1971), pp. 114–15. On late eighteenth-century millenarianism, see Clarke Garrett, *Respectable Folly* (Baltimore, 1975) and J.F.C. Harrison, *The Second Coming* (1979).
16. *J*, 27, 16. 28ff., 71.1–72.31; *M*, 1, 6.
17. See *The London Encyclopaedia*, ed. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (1987).
18. *J*, 24. 31–5; 45. 14–28; 83. 87–84. 12.
19. *J*, 34. 54–35. 3; 12. 15; cf. 37. 15–20.
20. L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation* (Cambridge, 1992), Ch. 7; Iorwerth Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London* (Baton Rouge, 1979), Chs. 4, 11.
21. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation*, p. 204.
22. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 119–31.
23. On Blake's depictions of women, see the essays by Susan Fox and Alicia Ostriker in *Essential Articles for the Study of William Blake, 1970–1984*, ed. Nelson Hilton (Hamden, Conn., 1986); and the bibliographical survey in Helen P. Bruder, *William Blake and the Daughters of Albion* (Basingstoke, 1997).
24. Revelation, 17:5, *FZ*, VIII, 318, *J*, 75. 1, 18–20. On 'maternal/Humanity' and Deism, see *J*, 66. 1–15, 90. 65–6, 93. 18–26.
25. Compare my comments on Wollstonecraft in Chapter 7.
26. *Boswell's London Journal, 1762–1763*, ed. Frederick A. Pottle (1950), p. 216.
27. For debate on this point, see the references in Chapter 8, nn. 13–19.
28. On the latter, see Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, pp. 51–2, 55–7.
29. Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* [1821], ed. Alethea Hayter (Harmondsworth, 1975), p. 50.

30. Charles Lamb, letter 15 February 1802, in *The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. Edwin W. Marris, Jr. (Ithaca, NY, 1975–), II, p. 57.
31. *Don Juan*, XI, 30, cancelled stanza, in *Lord Byron: Don Juan*, ed. T. G. Steffan, E. Steffan and W. W. Pratt (Harmondsworth, 1977), p. 696.
32. Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1994), p. 90.
33. Lamb, *Letters*, II, pp. 57–8.
34. Lamb, *Letters*, I, p. 267.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 248; cf. Boswell, *London Journal*, pp. 227, 237, 255.
36. Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* [1768], ed. Graham Petrie (Harmondsworth, 1975), pp. 73–8, 89–92, 115–18, 120–2.
37. M. Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (1967), fig. 65.
38. For reproductions, see Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art* (Rutherford, 1987) fig. 112; and Celina Fox, *Londoners* (1987), p. 167. Although Hunt's painting is signed and dated 1881, the costume depicted is of the period 1858–60.
39. Penelope J. Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Urban History*, 16 (February 1990), pp. 138, 164. Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven, 1996), p. 224 lists prints depicting aristocratic rakes.
40. Boswell, *London Journal*, pp. 64–5; references below to pp. 230–1, 241, 255–6, 272–3, 280, 332–3.
41. Byron, *Don Juan*, XII, 46.
42. 1805 *Prelude*, VII, 634–42.
43. For alternative interpretations, see Lawrence Kramer, 'Gender and Sexuality in *The Prelude*: The Question of Book Seven', *ELH*, 54 (Fall 1987) 619–37; and Mary Jacobus, *Romanticism, Writing and Sexual Difference* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 206–23.
44. Cf. OED 'gay' adj. 2.
45. John Worthen, *The Gang: Coleridge, the Hutchinsons and the Wordsworths in 1802* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 121–4, 225–34.
46. That his poetry in the 1790s dwells frequently on the fate of abandoned women, is a critical commonplace.
47. De Quincey, *Confessions*, p. 65.
48. Wordsworth was seven when his mother died and he was separated from his sister, Dorothy, whom he did not see again for nine years. The traumatic impact on Wordsworth of his mother's death is the theme of Richard J. Onorato, *The Character of the Poet: Wordsworth in 'The Prelude'* (Princeton, 1971), with whose interpretation of the child at Sadler's Wells I concur.
49. William Wordsworth, *The Poems*, ed. John O. Hayden, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1977), I, p. 364.
50. 1799 *Prelude*, II, 267–310; *The Prelude: 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. Jonathan Wordsworth, M.H. Abrams and Stephen Gill (New York, 1979), pp. 20–1.
51. Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, pp. 48–62; Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (Cambridge, 1980).
52. 'Jenny', in *Rossetti's Poems*, ed. Oswald Doughty (1961), pp. 67–8.
53. See Dorothy Dinnerstein, *The Mermaid and the Minotaur* (New York, 1976); Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering* (Berkeley, 1978); Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Jessica Benjamin, *The Bonds of Love* (New York, 1988).

54. Elisabeth Badinter, *Die Identität des Mannes* (München, 1993), Erster Teil; Chodorow, *Reproduction of Mothering*, Ch. 11.
55. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather* (New York, 1995), p. 29. The equivalent in orthodox Judaism would be infant circumcision, excising the fleshly trace (the vagina-like foreskin) of an original bisexuality (Badinter, *Die Identität des Mannes*, p. 71).
56. Quoted in Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989), p. 606.
57. On 'hegemonic masculinity', see Tim Carrigan, Bob Connell and John Lee, 'Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity', in *The Making of Masculinities*, ed. Harry Brod (Boston, 1987), pp. 91–5, and Connell's later work.
58. Leonore Davidoff, 'Class and Gender in Victorian England', in *Sex and Class in Women's History*, ed. Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan and Judith R. Walkowitz (1983), pp. 23–30.
59. Theresa McBride, "'As the Twig is Bent": the Victorian Nanny', in *The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses*, ed. Anthony S. Wohl (1978), p. 51.
60. Sigmund Freud, *Briefe an Wilhelm Fließ 1887–1904*, ed. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson (Frankfurt a.M., 1986), pp. 290, 288.
61. McClintock arrives at similar conclusions in *Imperial Leather*, Ch. 2. On Munby, see Derek Hudson, *Munby: Man of Two Worlds* (1974); Davidoff, 'Class and Gender', pp. 30–64; and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, Chs. 2 and 3. Victorian marriages could, however, be sexually much more passionate than the façade of propriety suggested. See Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, vol. 1, *The Education of the Senses* (New York, 1984); Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality*.
62. Quoted in McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 87, from Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, *The Rise and Fall of the British Nanny* (1972), p. 78.
63. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998), Ch. 7.
64. Even conservative commentators regarded this as self-evident. See Hannah More, 'The White Slave Trade' (1805), in *Women's Writing, 1778–1838*, ed. Fiona Robertson (Oxford, 2001), pp. 157–62.
65. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, pp. 600–7; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (1996), pp. 254–6, 260–3.
66. G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago 1992), Ch. 1.
67. Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830–1980* (1987).
68. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).
69. On this final point, see Jeff Nunokawa, *The Afterlife of Property: Domestic Security and the Victorian Novel* (Princeton, 1994).
70. See John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, 1999), Chs. 1 and 2, and pp. 68, 80–1, 86–9, 93.
71. Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750–1810* (Chicago, 2000), pp. 236–7, 251, and Ch. 13.
72. Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Historical Journal*, 36.2 (1993) 383–414. The following sentence is based also on her *Gentleman's Daughter*.
73. Clark, *Struggle for the Breeches*, p. 199.
74. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 153–4, 161–5; Vickery, 'Golden Age', p. 389.

3 Capital City

1. See John R. Kellett, *Railways and Victorian Cities* (1979); and T.C. Barker and Michael Robbins, *A History of London Transport*, vol. 1 *The Nineteenth Century* (1963). On the dynamics of metropolitan expansion, see H.J. Dyos and D.J. Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, 2 vols. (1973), pp. 359–86.
2. Kellett, *Railways and Victorian Cities*, p. 327.
3. *DS*, pp. 120–2, 289–90.
4. David Kynaston, *The City of London*, 3 vols. (1994–9), I, pp. 151–4; Norman Russell, *The Novelist and Mammon* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 31–3.
5. Kellett, *Railways and Victorian Cities*, pp. 326–37, 293; Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Harmondsworth, 1984), *passim*.
6. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, pp. 167–9.
7. P.J. Waller, *Town, City, and Nation: England 1850–1914* (Oxford, 1983), p. 28; Kellett, *Railways and Victorian Cities*, p. 299.
8. John Summerson, *The Architecture of Victorian London* (Charlottesville, 1976), pp. 16–17, 19–21.
9. David Morier Evans, *The City; or, The Physiology of London Business* (1845), quoted in Kynaston, *City of London*, I, p. 140.
10. Francis Sheppard, *London 1808–1870* (1971), pp. 8–10.
11. John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, 29 (May 1873), in *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (1903–12), XXVII, pp. 528–30. Compare *Works*, XXXIV, pp. 265–9, lamenting the urbanisation of Croxted Lane, and XXVIII, p. 655 which, like *Praeterita*, Ch. II, deprecates the excursionist squalor which the Crystal Palace has brought to Dulwich.
12. On the final point, see the essays by Keith Hanley and David Carroll in *Ruskin and Environment*, ed. Michael Wheeler (Manchester, 1995), pp. 10–37, 58–75. Ruskin also fulminates against the unsightliness of London's suburban approaches in *Works*, XIX, p. 362 and XX, pp. 112–13.
13. Quoted in Ruskin, *Munera Pulveris* (1862–3, 1872), *Works*, XVII, p. 233.
14. F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society* (1988), pp. 330–2.
15. Philip Collins, *Dickens and Crime*, 3rd edition (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 5.
16. Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man* (1963; Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 14–31; Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader* (Chicago, 1963), pp. 332–9; Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790–1860* (Oxford, 1991).
17. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, pp. 241–70, 183–8.
18. Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (1978).
19. F.M.L. Thompson, 'Town and City', in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950*, ed. F.M.L. Thompson, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1990), I, pp. 1–86; pp. 55–60.
20. W.D. Rubinstein, 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain', *Past and Present*, 76 (August 1977) 112.
21. Thompson, *Rise*, pp. 172–4, and 'Town and City', pp. 63–4.
22. Quotations from 'Mending Wall', in *The Poetry of Robert Frost*, ed. Edward Connery Lathem (1971), pp. 33–4.
23. The seminal treatment of this topic is Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (1986).
24. See 'Precautions against Cholera', *ILN*, 23 (22 October 1853) p. 352; and Andrew Sanders, *Charles Dickens, Resurrectionist* (New York, 1982), pp. 10–14.

25. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 26.
26. Compare Dickens, *OT*, p. 136, and his polemic against Smithfield, 'A Monument of French Folly', *Household Words*, 8 March 1851, in *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens's Journalism*, ed. Michael Slater *et al.*, 4 vols. (1994–2000), II, pp. 327–38.
27. On dung, dust and street mud, see Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. [1861–2] (New York, 1968), II, pp. 185–202.
28. Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'The Culture of Poverty', in *The Victorian City*, ed. Dyos and Woolf, p. 719.
29. George Godwin, *London Shadows: A Glance at the 'Homes' of the Thousands* (1854), quoted in Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (1991), p. 37.
30. *The Evangelical and Oxford Movements*, ed. Elisabeth Jay (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 100–1. On 'contagion' in *BH*, see Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), Ch. 3.
31. Himmelfarb, 'The Culture of Poverty'; see also 'The Slums of Victorian London', in H.J. Dyos, *Exploring the Urban Past*, ed. David Cannadine and David Reeder (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 129–53.
32. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, Part III; W.J. Fishman, *East End 1888* (1988), pp. 52–4.
33. *The People of the Abyss*, in Jack London, *Novels and Social Writings*, ed. Donald Pizer (New York, 1982), p. 31; cf. p. 28. Subsequent page references are given in my text. To perceive London's melodramatic heightening, contrast his probable source, Llewellyn Smith, quoted in Stedman Jones, pp. 131–2.
34. *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (1969), pp. 1367–8.
35. Similar statements had been made by Dr Letherby, the Medical Officer to the City of London ('The Plague-Spots of Great Cities', *ILN*, 30 (18 April 1857) 351–2) and by Sir John Simon in 1865 in his medical officer's report to the Privy Council. See also Françoise Barret-Ducrocq, *Love in the Time of Victoria* (1991), pp. 15–24; and Anthony S. Wohl, 'Sex and the Single Room: Incest among the Victorian Working Classes', in *The Victorian Family*, ed. Anthony S. Wohl (1978), pp. 197–216. As Freud discovered in 1897, however, when he felt compelled to revise his 'seduction theory', the unconscious makes no distinction between fantasy and actual events (Sigmund Freud, *Briefe an Wilhelm Fließ*, ed. Jeffrey Masson (Frankfurt a.M., 1986), pp. 283–4). From Freud's self-analysis and his clients' memory retrieval one might conclude that incest was as widespread in bourgeois Vienna or London as in working-class London, and that the middle-class obsession with working-class sexuality also involved the projection of their own oedipal fantasies.
36. Fishman, *East End 1888*, p. 303.
37. Page 165. The references are to tragic cases detailed elsewhere in London's text.
38. 'Invention about 1880 of the term "East End" was rapidly taken up by the new halfpenny press, and in the pulpit and the music hall'. *The Nineteenth Century*, XXIV (1888) 262, quoted in Fishman, *East End 1888*, p. 1.
39. Arthur Morrison, *Tales of Mean Streets* [1894], ed. Michel Krzak (Woodbridge, 1983), pp. 19–21.
40. Arthur Morrison, *A Child of the Jago* [1896], ed. Peter Miles (1996), p. 11.
41. Subsequent footnote references are to stories in *Tales of Mean Streets*.
42. Compare the frustrated attempts to earn money through piano lessons or shirt-making in 'Behind the Shade'; or, in "'All that Messuage'", old Jack's ostracism as a supposed exploitative capitalist landlord, compounded by his blacklegging as he struggles to meet his mortgage repayments. Similarly, in *Jago*, Weech the fence selfishly destroys Dicky's attempt to make an honest living.

43. A legacy is drunk away in 'Squire Napper'; in "'All that Message"' the fatal house purchase seals old Jack's downfall.
44. Morrison's comment, from an interview in 1900, is quoted in *Jago*, p. 241. Genteel pretensions are treated satirically in 'In Business' and pathetically in 'Behind the Shade'; in *Jago* the boilermaker's daughter, Hannah Perrott's degradation is confirmed by her gradual assimilation to the 'low' ways of the slum.
45. 'To Bow Bridge', 'Squire Napper', 'Lizerunt'. More frequently Morrison, like Gissing, depicts domineering wives and uxurious, hen-pecked husbands: see 'That Brute Simmons', "'A Poor Stick'" and 'In Business'.
46. 'Lizerunt', 'Without Visible Means', 'A Conversion', *Jago passim*.
47. See 'The Red Cow Group', which anticipates the revolutionaries of Conrad's *The Secret Agent*; "'All that Message"' and 'Without Visible Means'.
48. In *Jago*, however, the commonsensical, muscular Christianity of Father Sturt (based on Morrison's friend, Revd. Jay, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Shoreditch) succeeds in redeeming Kiddo Cook.
49. Peter Mills records this critical debate in *Jago*, pp. 218–20, 232–8.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 228–9.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–1.
52. *Spectator*, 9 March 1895, quoted in *Jago*, pp. 218–19.
53. On alarmism, see Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (1992), pp. 28–38; P.J. Keating, 'Fact and Fiction in the East End', in *The Victorian City*, ed. Dyos and Woolf, p. 595–7.
54. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, I, in *Into Unknown England 1866–1913*, ed. Peter Keating (Manchester, 1976), pp. 113–24.
55. *Latter-Day Pamphlets* [hereafter LD], No. 1 *The Present Time* [1 February 1850], p. 25, in *Thomas Carlyle's Works, The Standard Edition*, 18 vols. (1904), vol. III.
56. *Past and Present* [1843] [hereafter PP] in *Works*, III, pp. 116, 127.
57. PP, pp. 115–16; 'Signs of the Times' [1829], in *A Carlyle Reader*, ed. G.B. Tennyson (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 46–9; LD, pp. 221–2.
58. 'Hudson's Statue' [1 July 1850], in LD, p. 221; cf. pp. 220–2, 227–8, 237–9.
59. 'Chartism' [1839], in *Works*, VII, p. 292, cf. pp. 293, 297; PP, pp. 28, 124, 157, 159.
60. For the rise and fall of the notion of 'Captains of Industry', see PP, pp. 227–32; LD, pp. 30–9; 'Shooting Niagara: And After?' [August 1867], in *Works*, VII.
61. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* [1848], trans. Samuel Moore [1888], ed. A.J.P. Taylor (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 82.
62. Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 101–14, 419–20.
63. L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 56–7.
64. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, Ch. 2; Schwarz, *ibid.*, Ch. 4.
65. On London's casual labour market, see Mayhew, II, pp. 297–307, 311–17, 323–7.
66. *The Unknown Mayhew: Selections from the Morning Chronicle 1849–1850*, ed. E.P. Thompson and Eileen Yeo (1971), pp. 196–223.
67. Mayhew, II, p. 304. The 'silent system' in Victorian prisons combined strictly enforced silence with a punitive regime, intended as a deterrent. The alternative was the 'separate system', where a limited period of solitary confinement was coupled with training for a trade.
68. Mayhew, III, pp. 223–31; p. 230.
69. *Unknown Mayhew*, pp. 349–55.
70. 'Shooting Niagara', pp. 614–16.
71. Compare Ruskin, *Works*, XII, p. 430.
72. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, pp. 241–61.

73. J.H. Stallard, *London Pauperism among Jews and Christians* (1867), quoted in W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipose* (1968), p. 122.
74. *Fors Clavigera*, 4 (April 1871), in *Works*, XXVII, p. 67.
75. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London*, pp. 19–32, 99–126, 152–4; C.H. Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 34 (1981) 448–52; W.D. Rubinstein, *Capitalism, Culture, and Decline in Britain 1750–1990* (1993).
76. *Works*, VII, pp. 403, 408, 437, 376.
77. *Fors Clavigera*, 2 (February 1871) and 24 (December 1872), in *Works*, XXVII, pp. 42, 431. The *Morning Post* report on the inquest into the death 'from want of food and the common necessities of life; also through want of medical aid' of Michael Collins, who lived with his wife and son in a room at 2 Cobb's Court, Christ Church, Spitalfields, is printed in red ink in *Sesame and Lilies* (1865). See *Works*, XVIII, pp. 90–3. Friedrich Engels (*The Condition of the Working-Class in England* [1845], in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 4 (1975), pp. 334–5) had summarised reports of similar misery. Ruskin's self-condemnation as a 'usurer' is in *Works*, XXVIII, pp. 138–9. In *John Ruskin, Social Reformer* (1898), pp. 148–51, J.A. Hobson indicates Ruskin's failure, in condemning interest per se, to distinguish money-lending from investment with a productive character.
78. *Fors Clavigera*, 44 (August 1874), in *Works*, XXVIII, p. 137. Cf. *Works*, XVIII, p. 406, and XIX, p. 210.
79. 'Illth' is Ruskin's coinage in *Unto this Last* [1860; published 1862 in book form], in *Works*, XVII, p. 89; cf. pp. 105, 275–8. Subsequent page references to *Unto this Last* and *Munera Pulveris* [1862–3; revised as book, 1872] are to this volume and are given directly in the text. On Ruskinian economics, see James Clark Sherburne, *John Ruskin or the Ambiguities of Abundance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); and P.D. Anthony, *John Ruskin's Labour: A Study of Ruskin's Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1983).
80. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan, 2 vols. (rpt. Chicago, 1976), I, pp. 294ff., 306; II, p. 120.
81. Ruskin's notion of 'labour' as distinct from 'opera', i.e. enjoyable, creative work, is similar to the early Marx's concept of alienated labour.
82. I am grateful to Hans Christoph Binswanger for drawing this to my attention. See Aristotle, *Politics*, I, Chs. 8–10. My summary has benefited greatly from the notes in Aristoteles, *Politik*, Buch I, trans. and ed. Eckart Schütrumpf (Berlin, 1991). By contrast, in *John Ruskin's Political Economy* (2000), Chs. 4 and 5, Willie Henderson discusses the influence of Plato and Xenophon.
83. Ruskin defines 'economy' in this Greek sense in *Works*, XVI, p. 19.
84. Aristotle apparently overlooked the increase in utility to consumers that results from the efficient distribution of products.
85. Karl Marx, *Selected Writings*, ed. David McLellan (Oxford, 1977), pp. 445–51; *Das Kapital*, 4th edition [1890] (Berlin, 1972), I, pp. 161–70. Marx cites Aristotle, *ibid.*, pp. 167, 179.
86. The insufficiency of Marx's labour cost theory of value does not, I believe, invalidate his ethical argument.
87. Marx, *Selected Writings*, pp. 354, 365–8, 374–7, 393–4, 508–10, 515–18.
88. *Kapital*, I, p. 247.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 168, 280. Ruskin makes a similar point in *Works*, XVII, pp. 264–5.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 281.
91. Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 100, 105.
92. Compare *Unknown Mayhew*, pp. 428–35.

93. *Kapital*, I, pp. 269–70. Compare the first-hand comments on sweated female tailoring in Mayhew, II, pp. 314–15.
94. *Kapital*, I, pp. 263–6.
95. *Works*, XVIII, p. 107.
96. Cf. p. 219; and *Works*, XVI, pp. 401–2.
97. *Works*, XI, pp. 226–30, X, pp. 192–8, 200–2. His criticism was anticipated by Smith, II, pp. 302–4.
98. Pages 86–9, 98–9, 113, 151–2, 154, 167, 269, 275; *Works*, XVI, pp. 48–53.
99. See Sherburne, *John Ruskin; Ruskin and Environment*, ed. Wheeler; and Jeffrey L. Spear, *Dreams of an English Eden* (New York, 1984).
100. *Walden* (1854), in *The Portable Thoreau*, ed. Carl Bode (Harmondsworth, 1981), p. 286.

4 A Tale of Two Cities: Dickens's 'London'

1. For surveys, see Philip Collins, 'Dickens and London', in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, 2 vols. (1973), pp. 537–57; Alexander Welsh, *The City of Dickens* (1971; Cambridge, Mass., 1986); F. S. Schwarzbach, *Dickens and the City* (1979); Andrew Sanders, *Dickens and the Spirit of the Age* (Oxford, 1999), Ch. 3; Efraim Sicher, *Rereading the City/Rereading Dickens: Representation, the Novel, and Urban Realism* (New York, 2003). John Forster's first-hand *Life* is indispensable, as is Peter Ackroyd's *Dickens* (1990).
2. *The Observer* (8 May 1836), quoted in John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson, *Dickens at Work*, 2nd edition (1968), p. 57.
3. 'Branch' in this sense dates from 1817 (OED). Fraudulent insurance promoters of this period are discussed in Norman Russell, *The Novelist and Mammon* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 86–99.
4. The original opening of 'The Prisoners' Van', later excised from *SB*, quoted in Butt and Tillotson, *Dickens at Work*, p. 44.
5. Pierce Egan, *Life in London; or, the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn, Esq. and his Elegant Friend Corinthian Tom, Accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis*, 2nd edition (1822), pp. 23–4.
6. Dana Brand, *The Spectator and the City in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 14–63.
7. On urban legibility, see Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (1960; Cambridge, Mass., 1985). On the symbolic order of city spaces, see David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 248–52.
8. Dana Arnold's otherwise perceptive account of city planning in *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London, 1800–1840* (Aldershot, 2000) overstates the degree of self-conscious coordination on the part of hypostatised but undocumented class interests.
9. See Juliet John, *Dickens's Villains: Melodrama, Character, Popular Culture* (Oxford, 2001).
10. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* (1836), Ch. IV 'Language', in *Selected Essays*, ed. Larzer Ziff (Harmondsworth, 1982), pp. 54–5, 50.
11. Compare De Quincey's futile quest for the prostitute Ann: 'If she lived, doubtless we must have been sometimes in search of each other, at the very same moment, through the mighty labyrinths of London; perhaps even within a few feet of each other – a barrier no wider in a London street, often amounting in

- the end to a separation for eternity!' (*Confessions of an English Opium Eater* [1821], ed. Alethea Hayter (Harmondsworth, 1975), p. 64).
12. The geographical restriction is noted in J.C. Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency England* (1971), p. 68.
 13. J. Hillis Miller, 'The Fiction of Realism: *Sketches by Boz*, *Oliver Twist*, and Cruikshank's Illustrations' in *Dickens Centennial Essays*, ed. Ada Nisbet and Blake Nevius (1971), p. 96.
 14. OCS, p. 222; DC, p. 759; PP, p. 235.
 15. The OED cites Tindale's 1526 translation of 2 Corinthians xiii. 5: 'Knewe ye not . . . how that Jesus Christ is in you excepte ye be castawayes'. Compare Cowper's famous poem 'The Castaway' (1799), the OED quotations from Scott (1818) and Southey (1829), and also Augusta Webster's poem 'A Castaway' (1870).
 16. Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1994), p. 89.
 17. Lynda Nead also discusses this passage and its accompanying engraving in *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 125–8.
 18. Philip Collins, *Dickens and Crime*, 3rd edition (Basingstoke, 1994), Ch. 4.
 19. 'A Sleep to Startle Us' (13 March 1852) in *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens's Journalism*, ed. Michael Slater et al. (1994–2000), III, p. 50.
 20. 'An Unsettled Neighbourhood', *Household Words*, 11 November 1854, *ibid.*, pp. 241–7.
 21. OCS, pp. 170–3. Cruikshank's *London Going Out of Town – or – The March of Bricks & Mortar!*, is reproduced in Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, *London: 2000 Years of a City and its People* (1983), p. 294.
 22. Compare the no man's land, presumably up the Finchley Road, inhabited by the Carkers in DS, pp. 554–5.
 23. OT, p. 59 and Chs. 10 and 15; DS, p. 132.
 24. 'Gone Astray', *Household Words*, 13 August 1853, in *Dickens's Journalism*, III, p. 158.
 25. John Ruskin, *Complete Works*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (1903–12), XVIII, p. 122.
 26. Catherine Waters, *Dickens and the Politics of the Family* (Cambridge, 1997) discusses the ambivalence of Dickens's attitudes to the home and to domestic ideology.
 27. SB, p. 78; compare the 'poor little drudge' of Dickens's autobiographical fragment (*Life*, I, p. 51).
 28. George Eliot, *Middlemarch* [1871–2], ed. W.J. Harvey (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 460.
 29. BH, p. 97. Bone-grubbers and rag-gatherers are described in Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. [1861–2] (New York, 1968), II, pp. 138–42.
 30. The narrator explicitly associates Mrs Brown with witchcraft on pp. 566–7.
 31. Compare Little Nell's encounter at a racecourse with a fallen woman (like that of another child-woman, Little Dorrit, with a prostitute), which suggests the street-walker both might have become: OCS, pp. 213–14; LD, pp. 217–18.
 32. The parallel is reinforced by Mrs Skewton's and Edith's recognition in Florence (like Mrs Brown's earlier) of Edith's former innocence, prior to her decline into marital prostitution (pp. 505, 514) and by Mrs Skewton's and Edith's encounter with their lower-class 'shadows' (pp. 662–5).
 33. Characteristically, there is a class element in David's anxieties. The dealer's reiterated curse 'Oh goroo', 'goroo', combines 'ogre' with the 'vulgar' Cockney 'Oh gor'. On Dickens's ogres and fascination with cannibalism, see Harry Stone, *The Night Side of Dickens: Cannibalism, Passion, Necessity* (Columbus, 1994).

34. Mayhew, *London Labour*, II, p. 110.
35. *BH*, p. 683; cf. 'A December Vision', *Household Words*, 14 December 1850, in *Dickens's Journalism*, II, pp. 305–9.
36. Compare David Copperfield's attempt to 'rub off' Uriah Heep's hand (*DC*, p. 281).
37. *Barnaby Rudge* [1841], ed. Gordon Spence (Harmondsworth, 1977), p. 373. Such clothes were a traditional requisite of the executioner.
38. See *The Selected Melanie Klein*, ed. Juliet Mitchell (New York, 1987), pp. 115–204.
39. On this recycling, see Catherine Gallagher, 'The Bio-Economics of *Our Mutual Friend*', in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, vol. 3, ed. Michel Feher (New York, 1989); and Michal Peled Ginsburg, *Economics of Change: Form and Transformation in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Stanford, 1996), Ch. 7.
40. 'Of the Street-Finders or Collectors', Mayhew, *London Labour*, II, pp. 136–81, provides an essential gloss on *OMF*.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 171; quotation about 'sewage', p. 136.
42. Committal from The Burial of the Dead in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*.
43. Imagery of petrification is also applied to Florence Dombey (*DS*, pp. 393–5, 741) and to Arthur Clennam and Flora Finching, the 'statue bride' (*LD*, p. 331); similarly, Mrs Steerforth in her self-righteous pride is 'like a stone figure' (*DC*, pp. 870, 873). Dickens clearly associated ice and stone. The Dombeyes are often described as frozen, while for Mrs General 'retirement for the night was always her frostiest ceremony, as if she felt it necessary that the human imagination should be chilled into stone to prevent its following her' (*LD*, p. 669).
44. Compare Ginsburg's account of the implosion of another hoarder, Krook.
45. There is a similar therapeutic pattern with Esther Summerson in *BH*, and in *GE* where the relationship between Pip and Magwitch enables both to overcome their feelings of guilt towards the natural father and the natural child whom they never knew, and where, during Pip's regression in illness to a helpless child, Joe has the chance to become the father to Pip that he was unable to be during Pip's actual childhood.
46. In 'Good Mrs Brown's Connections: Sexuality and Story-telling in *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son*', *ELH*, 58 (1991) 405–26, Joss Lutz Marsh suggests that Mrs Brown is modelled on her procuress namesake in John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*.
47. Like Steerforth's 'playthings', Marwood has been Carker's 'short-lived toy' (*DS*, pp. 847–8).
48. *DS*, p. 865. For Carker's literary pornography and Etty-like paintings, see p. 554.
49. Lady Honoria Dedlock's *alter ego* is the passionate Hortense, in whose clothes she dresses when Jo shows her her lover's lodgings and grave. It is Hortense who asks maliciously apropos of her mistress Honoria: 'Can you make a honourable lady of Her?' (*BH*, p. 799).
50. Her masochism is emphasised in incidents on pp. 653, 692.
51. On gender relations in *DS*, compare Helene Moglen, 'Theorizing Fiction/ Fictionalizing Theory: The Case of *Dombey and Son*', *VS*, 35 (1991–2) 159–84.
52. My discussion of capitalism in *DS* draws on Robert Clark, 'Riddling the Family Firm: The Sexual Economy in *Dombey and Son*', *ELH*, 51 (1984) 69–84.
53. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1962), I, p. 208.
54. This latter point is made by Marsh, 'Good Mrs Brown's Connections'.
55. *OMF*, pp. 776, 867, 767. In an earlier version of this symbolic pattern, the murderer Jonas Chuzzlewit is likewise witnessed sinking a bundle at London Bridge (*MC*, p. 748).

56. *OMF*, p. 453; this is what Riderhood cynically recommends (p. 872). Charley Hexam plans for himself a similar marriage of convenience (p. 781).
57. *DC*, pp. 350, 353–6, 493.
58. *DC*, pp. 785–91, 350. Anorexia nervosa was first diagnosed in 1873–4 by Lasègue and Gull. It is possible, however, that before this nosological category was established earlier cases went unrecognised. See Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Fasting Girls: The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as a Modern Disease* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); and Tilman Habermas, *Zur Geschichte der Magersucht: Eine medizinspsychologische Rekonstruktion* (Frankfurt a.M., 1994).
59. Charles Dickens, *The Public Readings*, ed. Philip Collins (Oxford, 1975), pp. 465, 483.
60. Compare Julian Moynahan, 'The Hero's Guilt: The Case of *Great Expectations*', *Essays in Criticism*, 10 (1960) 60–79; and Alexander Welsh, *From Copyright to Copperfield: The Identity of Dickens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 147–8.
61. The argument in this sentence derives from Gail Turley Houston, *Consuming Fictions: Gender, Class, and Hunger in Dickens's Novels* (Carbondale, 1994).
62. On sexuality as the weapon against oppression of Dickens's dark women, see Moglen, 'Theorizing Fiction', pp. 170–1.
63. Compare, for example, in *LD* Harriet Beadle's penitent return to the patriarchal fold, having rejected the criticisms of her alter ego, the Self-Tormentor Miss Wade.
64. On Dickens and women, see Michael Slater, *Dickens and Women* (1983); Patricia Ingham, *Dickens, Women, and Language* (1992); Waters; Hilary M. Schor, *Dickens and the Daughter of the House* (Cambridge, 1999).
65. George Robb, *White-Collar Crime in Modern England* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 24–6; Barbara Weiss, 'Secret Pockets and Secret Breasts: *Little Dorrit* and the Commercial Scandals of the Fifties', *Dickens Studies Annual*, 10 (1982) 67–76.
66. See the subtitle to Mayhew's *London Labour*.
67. Compare Trollope's apostrophe in *The Struggles of Brown, Jones, and Robinson* [1861–2], ed. N. John Hall (Oxford, 1992), p. 12 – 'O Commerce, how wonderful are thy ways, how vast thy power, how invisible thy dominion! . . . Thou art our Alpha and our Omega, our beginning and our end . . . We are built on thee, and for thee, and with thee. To worship thee should be man's chiefest care, to know thy hidden ways his chosen study' – with the similar apostrophe to 'Shares' in *OMF*, p. 160, and 'A.D. had no concern with anno Domini, but stood for anno Dombei – and Son' (*DS*, p. 50). Clough's equally ironic 'The Latest Decalogue' dates from 1862.
68. 'A Slight Depreciation of the Currency', *Household Words*, 3 November 1855, in *Dickens's Journalism*, III, p. 333.
69. Thomas Carlyle, *Works, The Standard Edition*, 18 vols. (1904), III, pp. 238–9.
70. Dickens's notorious comments on *Christ in the Carpenter's Shop* (RA 1850) are reprinted in *Dickens's Journalism*, II, pp. 242–8.
71. See Hans Christoph Binswanger, *Money and Magic: A Critique of the Modern Economy in the Light of Goethe's 'Faust'* (Chicago, 1994).
72. David Morier Evans, *The History of the Commercial Crisis, 1857–58, and the Stock Exchange Panic of 1859* [1859] (New York, 1969), pp. 64, 68, 81–2.
73. The assessment of *The Annual Register, or a View of the History and Politics of the Year 1857* (1858).
74. *Punch*, 34 (9 January 1858) 18–19.
75. Russell, *The Novelist and Mammon*, pp. 132–9. There is a complication: the novel is explicitly set 'Thirty years ago'. Dickens seems to have been reliving the financial

- crash of the later 1820s and the tribulations of his father who in 1824 was imprisoned, like Dorrit, in the Marshalsea.
76. Evans, *The History of the Commercial Crisis*, pp. 73–4, 77–8.
 77. *Household Words*, no. 404 (19 December 1857) 1–4.
 78. Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830–1864* (Chicago, 1995), p. 157.
 79. David Kynaston, *The City of London*, 3 vols. (1994–9), I, pp. 220–5; Robb, *White-Collar Crime*, pp. 70–1 and Ch. 5; Michael Cotsell, 'The Book of Insolvent Fates: Financial Speculation in *Our Mutual Friend*', *Dickens Studies Annual*, 13 (1984) 125–42.
 80. OMF, pp. 244, 126, 351, 524, 191.
 81. Lisa Surridge puts a Foucauldian spin on this in '“John Rokesmith's Secret”: Sensation, Detection, and the Policing of the Feminine in *Our Mutual Friend*', *Dickens Studies Annual*, 26 (1998) 265–84.

5 The Painting of Modern Life

1. For surveys of Victorian representations of London, see *Victorian Artists and the City*, ed. Ira Bruce Nadel and F.S. Schwarzbach (New York, 1980); E.D.H. Johnson, 'Victorian Artists and the Urban Milieu', in *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, ed. H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff (1973), pp. 449–74; Alex Potts, 'Picturing the Modern Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century', *History Workshop Journal*, 26 (Autumn 1988) 28–56; Mireille Galinou and John Hayes, *London in Paint: Oil Paintings in the Collection at the Museum of London* (1996).
2. Will Vaughan, 'London Topographers and Urban Change', in *Victorian Artists and the City*, ed. Nadel and Schwarzbach, pp. 63, 68.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 76.
4. When British artists did turn to the Embankments, as in John O'Connor's *The Embankment* (RA 1874), they remained firmly in a topographical tradition.
5. Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (Harmondsworth, 1979); and *The City as a Work of Art* (New Haven, 1986). See *Getting London in Perspective*, ed. R. Hyde, J. Hoole and T. Sato (1984), pp. 30–1, 56–7 and front cover; and *London – World City 1800–1840*, ed. Celina Fox (New Haven, 1992), no. 155, for illustrations of sublime but unrealised projects to transform the riverside.
6. 'The Boiled Beef of New England' (1863), in Dickens, *Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens's Journalism*, ed. Michael Slater *et al.* 4 vols. (1994–2000), IV, p. 279.
7. *Getting London in Perspective*, pp. 32, 60–1.
8. Henry C. Selous's painting of the opening ceremony is reproduced in Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, *London: 2000 Years of a City and its People* (1983), p. 283. Thomas Colman Dibdin's *Crystal Palace in Hyde Park* (1851) is cat. no. 90 in Galinou and Hayes, *London in Paint*. The two royal commissions by James Duffield Harding and William Wyld are cat. nos. 300 and 1050 in Oliver Millar, *The Victorian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1992).
9. Jonathan Richardson (1719), quoted in Elizabeth K. Helsinger, *Ruskin and the Art of the Beholder* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), p. 170.
10. Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression* (1975); John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape* (Baltimore, 1976).
11. On changing attitudes to narrativity in painting, see Wendy Steiner, *Pictures of Romance* (Chicago, 1988), Ch. 1.
12. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (1966), p. 62.

13. Helsinger, *Ruskin*, Ch. 3, illuminates the continuing importance in early nineteenth-century England of excursive vision.
14. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1974), p. 268; Richard D. Altick, *Paintings from Books* (Columbus, 1985), pp. 82–5.
15. Altick, *Paintings from Books*, pp. 62–3.
16. Graham Reynolds, *Victorian Painting* (1966), p. 14; Altick, *ibid.*, p. 92.
17. John Brewer, 'Cultural Production, Consumption, and the Place of the Artist in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Towards a Modern Art World*, ed. Brian Allen (New Haven, 1995), pp. 17–18.
18. Altick, *Paintings from Books*, p. 93.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 64; Graham Reynolds, *Paintings of the Victorian Scene* (1953), pp. 9–10; John Steegman, *Victorian Taste* (1970), pp. 50–3.
20. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste* (1961), pp. 109–10.
21. George Eliot, *Middlemarch* [1871–2], ed. W.J. Harvey (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 225.
22. *Richard Redgrave 1804–1888*, ed. Susan P. Casteras and Ronald Parkinson (New Haven, 1988), pp. 18–19, 111–14.
23. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, Tate Gallery catalogue (1984), no. 58; Christopher Wood, *Victorian Panorama: Paintings of Victorian Life* (1976), pls. 225, 226.
24. An exception to my generalisation is G.F. Watts's *The Seamstress* (c. 1850), pl. 5 in Helene E. Roberts, 'Marriage, Redundancy or Sin: The Painter's View of Women in the First Twenty-Five Years of Victoria's Reign', in *Suffer and Be Still*, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington, 1973), pp. 45–76. On visual responses to Hood's poem, see T.J. Edelstein, 'They Sang "The Song of the Shirt": The Visual Iconology of the Seamstress', *VS*, 23 (1980) 183–210.
25. Wood, *Victorian Panorama*, pls. 36–40, 1. On the implicit censorship in Victorian painting, see Raymond Lister, *Victorian Narrative Paintings* (1966), pp. 10–13; Altick, *Paintings from Books*, pp. 98–102, 123.
26. Patrick Conner, *Savage Ruskin* (1979), pp. 29–31; George Landow, 'There Began to Be a Great Talking about the Fine Arts', in *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, ed. Josef L. Altholz (Minneapolis, 1976), pp. 124–45.
27. *Complete Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (1903–12), III, pp. 25, 27–34, 40.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 620–6.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 159–64.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 161; cf. pp. 294–5. In *The Darkening Glass* (1963), pp. 11–13, John Rosenberg likewise draws attention to the *tour de force* of painterly observation in *Works*, III, pp. 327–42.
31. *Works*, XII, pp. 319–27, 339–93; quotation from p. 339.
32. Review of *Pre-Raphaelitism*, November 1851, in *Ruskin: The Critical Heritage*, ed. J.L. Bradley (1984), p. 128.
33. Tim Hilton, *John Ruskin: The Early Years 1819–1859* (New Haven, 1985), p. 152.
34. *Works*, XXXIII, pp. 272–3.
35. *Works*, III, pp. 259–72.
36. Allen Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape* (Oxford, 1973); Elizabeth Prettejohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites* (2000), Chs. 4 and 5.
37. Quoted in Staley, *Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, p. 64.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
39. Quoted in *Works*, XIV, p. 147. Similar comments in *The Leader*, 22 May 1858, are quoted *ibid.*, p. xxv.
40. *Works*, XIV, pp. 47, 151–4.

41. *Works*, XII, p. xxiv.
42. *Works*, XIV, p. 237.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
44. *Works*, XII, pp. 159, 161–3, 388; V, pp. 62, 173, 186–8.
45. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, pp. 176, 175.
46. Review quoted *ibid.*, p. 175.
47. *Ruskin: Critical Heritage*, ed. Bradley, pp. 319–20.
48. 'Laura Savage' [Frederick George Stephens], 'Modern Giants' *Germ*, 4 (May 1850), rpt. with Preface by Andrea Rose (Oxford and Birmingham, 1979), p. 170.
49. On these, see Staley, *Pre-Raphaelite Landscape*, pp. 28–9, 37–43; Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740–1860* (1987), pp. 174–80.
50. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, p. 94.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
52. *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*, ed. Virginia Surtees (New Haven, 1981), p. 144.
53. See Richard Wollheim, *Painting as an Art* (1987), pp. 342–7 and pls. XXV, XXVI.
54. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, no. 43.
55. Wood, *Victorian Panorama*, pls. 187, 188.
56. See John House, 'London in the Art of Monet and Pissarro', in Malcolm Warner *et al.*, *The Image of London* (1987), pp. 73–98.
57. Alan Bowness and Anthea Callen, *The Impressionists in London* (1973), p. 13.
58. Wood, pp. 187–94, gives other examples of the vogue for seaside paintings.
59. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, nos. 106, 103. Dickens, 'The Tuggses at Ramsgate', *SB*, pp. 346–9.
60. Wood, *Victorian Panorama*, pls. 31, 180, 220, 222, 228.
61. Conversely, Frith's panoramic canvases were themselves translated or 'realized' into *tableaux vivants* in popular melodrama. See Martin Meisel, *Realizations* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 380–2.
62. Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (Cambridge, 1989).
63. *Ibid.*, p. 270; cf. pp. 250, 271.
64. 'Conventionalities', *Saturday Review*, 9 December 1865, p. 723, quoted in Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988), p. 155.
65. Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian England*, (Oxford, 1988); Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art* (Rutherford, 1987), pp. 131–43.
66. See Nead, *ibid.*, and Casteras, *ibid.*, for stereotypical illustrations of Thomas Hood's poem 'The Bridge of Sighs' (1844), with its drowned harlot. The obsessive depictions of Ophelia and the Lady of Shalott also evoke the death by water of 'compromised' women.
67. Nead, *ibid.*, p. 48; Wood, *Victorian Panorama*, pls. 145–7.
68. *Art Journal* (1858) 168, quoted in Nead, *ibid.*, pp. 133–4.
69. Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20 (1959) 195–216; pp. 209–12; Ursula Vogel, 'Whose Property? The Double Standard of Adultery in Nineteenth-Century Law', in *Regulating Womanhood*, ed. Carol Smart (1992), pp. 147–9, 160–5.
70. Quotations from Hansard, 145, 147 (1857), in Gail L. Savage, "'Intended Only for the Husband": Gender, Class, and the Provision for Divorce in England, 1858–1868', in *Victorian Scandals*, ed. K.O. Garrigan (Athens, Ohio, 1992), p. 14.

71. *The Athenaeum*, 1 May 1858, quoted in Nead, *Myths of Sexuality*, p. 132. Compare George Moore's polemic against the libraries' censorship, *Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals* (1885).
72. Brown's conscious intention was celebratory: the painting began as a 'study from Emma with the head back laughing'. See his *Diary*, p. 78.
73. Jan Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood* (1985), pp. 37–42.
74. In Thackeray's *The Newcomes* (1853–5; rpt. 1908) the 'wine-dealer' and moneylender Mr Sherrick, who 'has boxes at the Opera whenever he likes, and free access behind the scenes' (p. 212) has a villa in Abbey Road, St John's Wood, where Tissot would later live with his common-law wife. Frith likewise kept a mistress in St John's Wood, as did Jolyon Forsyte, the underwriter cum amateur artist, in Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga*.
75. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, no. 199.
76. Letter of 12 October 1853, quoted *ibid.*, p. 121.
77. My biographical information comes from Marsh.
78. *Works*, XII, pp. 334–5.
79. The studies for *Found* (c.1858–9) are discussed in Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882): A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1971), no. 64 and pls. 65–76.
80. Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood*, pp. 32–3. On the female model, see Paula Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 155, 182–5.
81. Gillett, *ibid.*, p. 95.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 269; W.J. Fishman, *East End 1888* (1988), pp. 66–74; *The Unknown Mayhew: Selections from the Morning Chronicle 1849–1850*, ed. E.P. Thompson and Eileen Yeo (1971), pp. 120–5, 147–52, 178–80.
83. Quoted in Marsh, *Pre-Raphaelite Sisterhood*, p. 54. The fantasised 'rescue' of vulnerable, sometimes scantily clad women is a thematic preoccupation in Pre-Raphaelite painting.
84. OCS, p. 44. For tropes comparing fallen women with the Thames's lack of 'harm' in 'country places' but metropolitan 'defilement', see DC, p. 749 and OMF, p. 567.
85. By contrast, the socioeconomic determinants of prostitution are emphasised in Augusta Webster's dramatic monologue of a defiant courtesan, 'A Castaway' (1870), in *Nineteenth-Century Women Poets*, ed. Isobel Armstrong and Joseph Bristow with Cath Sharrock (Oxford, 1996), pp. 602–17.
86. Quoted in Galinou and Hayes, *London in Paint*, p. 309.
87. See Brown's 1865 exhibition catalogue in Kenneth Bendiner, *The Art of Ford Madox Brown* (University Park, 1998), Appendix 3.
88. Helene E. Roberts, 'Exhibition and Review: The Periodical Press and the Victorian Art Exhibition System', in *The Victorian Periodical Press*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester and Toronto, 1982), p. 91; Wood, *Victorian Panorama*, p. 176.
89. See Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 68–9.
90. Bracebridge Hemyng, 'Prostitution in London', in Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. [1861–2] (New York, 1968), IV, pp. 234–5.
91. See two studies by Paul Hogarth entitled *Arthur Boyd Houghton* (1975) and (1981).
92. For reproductions, see Wood, *Victorian Panorama*, pl. 251; Celina Fox, *Londoners* (1987), p. 58; Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*, pl. 225.
93. Hogarth, *Arthur Boyd Houghton* (1975), p. 8.
94. Osborn's painting is discussed in Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (1993), pp. 78–81.

95. *ILN*, 35 (23 July 1859) 92.
96. A point made by Olsen in *The Growth of Victorian London* and *The City as a Work of Art*.
97. See Kirk Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte* (New Haven, 1987).
98. Two notable exceptions are George Clausen's *Schoolgirls* (1880) and *A Spring Morning, Haverstock Hill* (1881), which juxtapose middle-class girls and women with working-class flower-sellers, a milk-seller, and street pavers. For reproductions, see Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood*, fig. 24 and plate; Wood, *Victorian Panorama*, pl. 161. Compare also Edward Clegg Wilkinson's *Spring – Piccadilly* (1887), in Wood, pl. 160; and Logsdail's contemporaneous painting (figure 38 *infra*). At a more facile level, Augustus E. Mulready's mawkish paintings of the haves and the have-nots offer a trite moral commentary on social inequalities.
99. *Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian Art*, ed. Julian Treuherz (1987), p. 83.
100. H.J. Dyos and D.J. Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', in *The Victorian City*, p. 372.
101. Fildes was joining an artistic colony in the Melbury Road area, including Leighton, Watts and Marcus Stone. See Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The 'Queen Anne' Movement 1860–1900* (1977; New Haven, 1984), p. 92.
102. Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World*, pp. 110–13, 118–19, 130.
103. Alexander Robertson, *Atkinson Grimshaw* (Oxford, 1988).

6 Aesthetes and Impressionists

1. See Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 268–71.
2. Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882): A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1971), p. 92.
3. J.B. Bullen, *The Pre-Raphaelite Body* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 94–105.
4. Stephens, *Athenaeum*, 21 October 1865, quoted in *The Pre-Raphaelites*, Tate Gallery Catalogue (1984), pp. 209–10.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
6. Compare the remarks by George Rae and William Graham in Dianne Sachko Macleod, 'Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste', *Art History*, 10 (September 1987) 339, 341.
7. Surtees, *Paintings and Drawings of Rossetti*, nos. 205, 224, 249; 'Lilith (For a Picture)', alternatively 'Body's Beauty', sonnet LXXVIII from *The House of Life*, in *Rossetti's Poems*, ed. Oswald Doughty (1961), p. 142. For Rossetti's most haunting castration fantasy, see 'The Orchard-pit', p. 307.
8. On this topic, see Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (Oxford, 1986). There is an intriguing similarity in expression and attitude between Rossetti's *Lady Lilith* (as altered in 1873) and the sulky wife in Orchardson's *Mariage de Convenance I* (1883). But the woman's passivity was only assumed; in Orchardson's sequel, *Mariage de Convenance – After* (1886) she has left her husband, demonstrating the gap between patriarchal fantasy and real life.
9. See *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, ed. Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1980) and the section 'The Thames' in Richard Dormant, Margaret MacDonald, *et al.*, *James McNeill Whistler* (1994), pp. 98–108.
10. *London – World City 1800–1840*, ed. Celina Fox (New Haven, 1992), nos. 146, 389, 391; Mireille Galinou and John Hayes, *London in Paint: Oil Paintings in the Collection at the Museum of London* (1996), pp. 158–9.

11. Paintings by Sebastian and Henry Pether (1800–80) are in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Guildhall Museum and the Museum of London.
12. Allen Staley, *The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape* (Oxford, 1973), p. 110.
13. Robin Spencer, 'The Aesthetics of Change: London as seen by James McNeill Whistler', in Malcolm Warner *et al.*, *The Image of London* (1987), pp. 49–72. There are French parallels. As T.J. Clark notes, in *The Painting of Modern Life* (1985), p. 163, the boys in Seurat's *Baignade à Asnières* are swimming opposite the mouth of a *grand égout collecteur*.
14. Thomas Hardy, *The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved and The Well-Beloved*, ed. Patricia Ingham (Harmondsworth, 1997), p. 139.
15. The other main stylistic ingredient comes from the atmospheric Nocturnes that Whistler painted at Valparaiso in 1866.
16. John House, 'London in the Art of Monet and Pissarro', in Warner *et al.*, *The Image of London*.
17. Jules Antoine Castagnary (April 1874), quoted in Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism* (Chicago, 1984), p. 3. The derogatory label 'Impressionism' itself was of course not coined until 1874.
18. Quotations from Whistler's court testimony in Linda Merrill, *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in Whistler v. Ruskin* (Washington, 1992), pp. 149, 154; my emphasis. These were terms with specific connotations in French art discourse: 'the impression took place in the spectator-artist, while the effect was the external event. The artist-spectator therefore received an impression of the effect' (Shiff, *Cézanne*, p. 18).
19. Ludovic Rodo Pissarro and Lionello Venturi, *Camille Pissarro. Son Art – Son Œuvre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939), nos. 105–16, 145.
20. The subjects of Pissarro's paintings are identified by Martin Reid in 'The Pissarro Family in the Norwood Area of London, 1870–1: Where Did They Live?', in *Studies on Camille Pissarro*, ed. Christopher Lloyd (1986), pp. 55–64; and in 'Camille Pissarro: Three Paintings of London of 1870–1', *Burlington Magazine*, 119 (April 1977) 251–61.
21. For these paintings by Camille and Lucien Pissarro, see Warner *et al.*, *The Image of London*, nos. 176, 177, 183, 184.
22. Pissarro's *The Crystal Palace, London*, now in the Art Institute of Chicago, was, however, bought by one Charles Galloway of Thornyholme, Cheshire. See Kenneth McConkey, 'Impressionism in Britain', in Kenneth McConkey *et al.*, *Impressionism in Britain* (New Haven, 1995), p. 209.
23. See Alan Bowness and Anthea Callen, *The Impressionists in London* (1973).
24. On the cultural amenities of later Victorian London, see Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (1998), pp. 648–71.
25. Warner *et al.*, *The Image of London*, p. 146.
26. For reproductions, see James Tissot, ed. Krystyna Matyjaszkiewicz (Oxford, 1984) and Michael Wentworth, *James Tissot* (Oxford, 1984).
27. 'The Royal Academy', *Athenaeum* (30 May 1874) 738, quoted in Wentworth, *James Tissot*, p. 109.
28. Compared with the 2,500 great landowners in 1873 with rentals of over of £3,000, there were in 1850 under 2,000 businessmen with profits of £3,000. By 1880 there were over 5,000. And if 866 of the landlords had over £10,000 and 76 over £50,000, the corresponding figures for businessmen had risen from 338 to 987 and from 26 to 77 respectively. See Harold Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society* (1972), p. 431.
29. *Punch*, 52 (27 April 1867) 176; 53 (13 July 1867) 14.

30. *Punch*, 59 (13 August 1870) 74; 65 (16 August 1873) 69; 60 (21 January 1871) 24; 58 (25 June 1870) 254.
31. David Kynaston, *The City of London*, 3 vols. (1994–9), I, p. 385.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 381; W.D. Rubinstein, 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain', *Past and Present*, 76 (August 1977) 114–15.
33. M.J. Daunton, 'Financial Elites and British Society, 1880–1950', in *Finance and Financiers in European History, 1880–1960*, ed. Youssef Cassis (Cambridge and Paris, 1992), pp. 138–9; Ranald C. Michie, *The London Stock Exchange: A History* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 99–101.
34. Y. Cassis, 'Bankers in English Society in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 38 (1985) 210–29; p. 225.
35. Albert M. Hyamson, 'The First Jewish Peer', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society* (1951–2), quoted in Kynaston, *The City of London*, I, p. 252.
36. Kynaston, *ibid.*, p. 382; Perkin, *Origins*, pp. 431–2.
37. Wentworth, *James Tissot*, pp. 97–8.
38. *Ibid.*, from where *The Times* quotation *infra* is also taken.
39. *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (1903–12), XXIX, p. 161. What Ruskin implied by 'coloured photographs' is elucidated in Katharine Lochnan, 'The Medium and the Message: Popular Prints and the Work of James Tissot', in *Seductive Surfaces: The Art of Tissot*, ed. Katharine Lochnan (New Haven, 1999), pp. 8–10.
40. *James Tissot*, ed. Matyjaszkiewicz, p. 117.
41. On the character of the Grosvenor and its public, see Paula Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 229–41.
42. Wentworth, *James Tissot*, p. 148. 'Fair Rosamund' Clifford was Henry II's concubine. See also Nancy Rose Marshall, 'Image or Identity: Kathleen Newton and the London Pictures of James Tissot', in *Seductive Surfaces*, ed. Lochnan, pp. 31–41.
43. See *James Tissot*, ed. Matyjaszkiewicz, no. 115, and Mary Pittaluga and Enrico Piceni, *De Nittis* (Milan, 1963), pls. XXV, XXII, XXIV and nos. 419, 321, 417 and 407.
44. See also *Buckingham Palace, De Nittis*, no. 366.
45. *Art Journal*, June 1879, cited in Mariella Basile Bonsante, 'Immagini di Londra nella pittura di De Nittis', in Rosanna Bossaglia *et al.*, *Giuseppe De Nittis: Dipinti 1864–1884* (Firenze, 1990), p. 53.
46. *De Nittis*, nos. 405–6, 425, 427–9, 461–3.
47. Compare *De Nittis*, no. 421 and Kirk Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte* (New Haven, 1987).
48. *Works*, XXIX, p. 160. Ruskin had similarly lambasted paintings exhibited by Whistler in 1872: 'I never saw anything so impudent on the walls of any exhibition, in any country, as last year in London. It was a daub professing to be a "harmony in pink and white" (or some such nonsense); absolute rubbish, and which had taken about a quarter of an hour to scrawl or daub – it had no pretence to be called painting. The price asked for it was two hundred and fifty guineas' (*Works*, XXIII, p. 49).
49. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (1873; 6th edition, rpt. London, 1904), p. 138; Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, p. 151.
50. Merrill, *ibid.*, p. 145.
51. *Works*, X, pp. 215–16.
52. See 'Ruskin's Instructions to Defense Counsel' (Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, pp. 289–93), later revised in *Works*, XXIX, pp. 585–7.

53. Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World*, pp. 54, 110–11.
54. The former was not a new charge. Twelve years earlier the *ILN* critic had set the terms of debate: 'Mr. Whistler, in a view of "Battersea Bridge" (343) [presumably *Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge* (1859–63)], with all its usual accompaniments of soot and fog, shows his unrivalled power of matching subtle hues and gradations; and renders these with a breadth singularly suggestive, but that approaches the ostentatious slovenliness which is so offensive in his figure-pictures'. See 'Exhibition of the Royal Academy', *ILN*, 46 (20 May 1865) 490.
55. Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, p. 186.
56. Gareth Stedman Jones, 'The "Cockney" and the Nation, 1780–1988', in *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations since 1800*, ed. Gareth Stedman Jones and David Feldman (1989), pp. 274–5, 281, 289–90.
57. Comments by 'Arry's creator, E.J. Milliken, quoted *ibid.*, p. 290.
58. 'Une cause célèbre', *Punch*, 75 (7 December 1878) 257; 'Our Guide to the Grosvenor Gallery. (First Visit)', *Punch*, 74 (22 June 1878) 285.
59. Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, p. 292. The *Times* critic, Tom Taylor, also voiced the opinion that the *Nocturnes* 'only come one step nearer pictures than delicately graduated tints on a wall paper would do' (*ibid.*, pp. 179, 180).
60. James, *PE*, p. 165; Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, pp. 177, 243.
61. *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, no. 178.
62. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 278.
63. Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, p. 170.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 292.
65. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, pp. 232–3.
66. Robin Spencer, 'Whistler's Early Relations with Britain and the Significance of Industry and Commerce for his Art. Part II', *Burlington Magazine*, 136 (1994) 673.
67. 'Sensation Novels', *Quarterly Review*, April 1863, rpt. in Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Aurora Floyd*, ed. Richard Nemesvari and Lisa SurrIDGE (Peterborough, 1998), p. 574; reviews from 1865 and 1866, cited in David Skilton, *Anthony Trollope and his Contemporaries* (1972; Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 54–6.
68. Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, pp. 147, 157; cf. p. 145.
69. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, pp. 69–73, 249–50, 320–4.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 237–8; *The Pre-Raphaelites*, pp. 222–3.
71. Macleod, *ibid.*, p. 309.
72. Agnew's is illustrated in *ibid.*, p. 235.
73. The extravagant decorations are described in Christopher Newall, *The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibitions* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 11–13.
74. *Works*, XXIX, pp. 157–8, 161.
75. *James McNeill Whistler*, no. 33.
76. Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, p. 167.
77. Acton, *Prostitution* [1857], 2nd edition, 1870, ed. Peter Fryer (New York, 1969), p. 47.
78. Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1994), p. 98; *James McNeill Whistler*, pp. 132–5.
79. Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 245.
80. *ILN*, 44 (9 April 1864) 350.
81. Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, p. 194.
82. *The London Encyclopaedia* (1987), ed. Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, pp. 208–9. Since an earlier version of this Whistler section was published in 1997, Lynda Nead has also made some of the points in these last two paragraphs in her

- wide-ranging discussion of Cremorne in *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 109–46.
83. Merrill, *A Pot of Paint*, p. 168. Compare ‘Modern Aesthetics’, *Punch*, 72 (10 February 1877) 51.
 84. On the former, see Julie F. Codell, ‘Artists’ Professional Societies: Production, Consumption, and Aesthetics’, in *Towards a Modern Art World*, ed. Brian Allen (New Haven, 1995), pp. 169–87.
 85. See *Impressionists in England: The Critical Reception*, ed. Kate Flint (1984); McConkey, *Impressionism in Britain*; Alan Robinson, *Poetry, Painting and Ideas, 1885–1914* (Basingstoke, 1985) [US: *Symbol to Vortex* (New York, 1985)], Ch. 2.
 86. Flint, *ibid.*, pp. 36–7.
 87. Quoted in Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, p. 300.
 88. Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (1978), pp. 80–1, 103–5.
 89. George Eliot, *Selected Critical Writings*, ed. Rosemary Ashton (Oxford, 1992), p. 346.
 90. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* [1869], ed. J. Dover Wilson (Cambridge, 1960), p. 105; cf. pp. 76–7, 80–1.
 91. Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p. 173.
 92. F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society* (1988), p. 260.
 93. See Duranty’s *La Nouvelle peinture* (1876) in *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886*, ed. Charles Moffett (Oxford, 1986), pp. 37–49; and Joris-Karl Huysmans’s reviews of 1879–80 in his *L’Art moderne* (1883; Paris, 1908), pp. 13–17, 89–91, 101–19, 137–8.
 94. By E.M. Rashdall and D.S. MacColl; see *Impressionists in England*, ed. Flint, pp. 80–1, 305–9, 116.
 95. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–3.
 96. ‘Locksley Hall Sixty Years After’ (1886), lines 139–46, in *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (1969), pp. 1364–5.
 97. On the NVA, Vizetelly and censorship, see Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel 1875–1914* (1989; 1991), Ch. 4.
 98. Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800* (1981), pp. 87–9, 106–7.
 99. The loudest salvos in the skirmish over *L’Absinthe* are rpt. in *Impressionists in England*, ed. Flint, pp. 279–96.
 100. Frank Rutter, *Art in My Time* (1933), quoted in Flint, *ibid.*, pp. 194–5.
 101. Kenneth McConkey, ‘The Bouguereau of the Naturalists: Bastien-Lepage and British Art’, *Art History*, 1.3 (1978) 371–82.
 102. See Dennis Farr, *English Art 1870–1940* (Oxford, 1984); Wendy Baron, *Sickert* (1973); and *Sickert: Paintings*, ed. Wendy Baron and Richard Shone (New Haven, 1992). The ‘London Impressionists’ are discussed by Anna Gruetzner Robins in ‘The London Impressionists at the Goupil Gallery: Modernist Strategies and Modern Life’, in McConkey, *Impressionism in Britain*, pp. 87–96; and in ‘Britischer Impressionismus: “Magie und Poesie des alltäglichen Lebens”’, in *Impressionismus: Eine internationale Kunstbewegung 1860–1920*, ed. Norma Broude (Köln, 1990), pp. 70–91; and by Kenneth McConkey, *British Impressionism* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 84–92.
 103. Christopher Wood, *Victorian Panorama: Paintings of Victorian Life* (1976), p. 150; Celina Fox, *Londoners* (1987), p. 266.
 104. Walter Sickert, ‘Modern Realism in Painting’ (1891), in *Jules Bastien-Lepage and His Art*, ed. A. Theuriet (1892), rpt. in *Sickert: Paintings*, ed. Baron and Shone, pp. 87–90.

105. Charles W. Furse, 'Impressionism – What It Means' (1892), in *Impressionists in England*, ed. Flint, pp. 107–12. Furse's comments are located within the English debate about Impressionism in Robinson, *Poetry, Painting, and Ideas*, Ch. 2.
106. The latter two works are reproduced in Warner *et al.*, *The Image of London*, pp. 178–9.
107. Preface rpt. in *Sickert: Paintings*, ed. Baron and Shone, pp. 58–9.
108. Sickert, 'Where Paul and I Differ', *Art News*, 10 February 1910, quoted in Baron, *Sickert*, p. 11.
109. Compare his comments on the tradition represented by Millet, and later Degas, in *Sickert: Paintings*, ed. Baron and Shone, p. 48.
110. See, for example, *L'Etoile* (c. 1878) and *The Curtain* (c. 1880).
111. *Sickert: Paintings*, ed. Baron and Shone, p. 96.
112. Baron, *Sickert* p. 30.
113. On the 'Glorified Spinster', see Chapter 8.
114. Cited in Anna Gruetzner Robins, 'Sickert "Painter-in-Ordinary" to the Music Hall', in *Sickert: Paintings*, ed. Baron and Shone, pp. 13–24; p. 13.
115. Review quoted *ibid.*, p. 15.
116. See Penny Summerfield, 'Patriotism and Empire: Music-Hall Entertainment 1870–1914', in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. J.M. Mackenzie (Manchester, 1986), pp. 22–3.
117. On the LCC's measures, see Penelope Summerfield, 'The Effingham Arms and the Empire', in *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590–1914*, ed. Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (Brighton, 1981), pp. 216–20; and Susan Pennybacker, "'It was not what she said but the way in which she said it": The London County Council and the Music Halls', in *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, ed. Peter Bailey (Milton Keynes, 1986), pp. 118–40.

7 Property and Propriety

1. George Levine, 'Can You Forgive Him? Trollope's "Can You Forgive Her?" and the Myth of Realism', *VS*, 18 (September 1974) 5–30; p. 7; John Hagan, 'The Divided Mind of Anthony Trollope', *NCF*, 14 (1959–60) 1–26.
2. Robert Tracy, *Trollope's Later Novels* (Berkeley, 1978); Juliet McMaster, *Trollope's Palliser Novels: Theme and Pattern* (Basingstoke, 1978).
3. James Kincaid, *The Novels of Anthony Trollope* (Oxford, 1977).
4. John Halperin, *Trollope and Politics: A Study of the Pallisers and Others* (Basingstoke, 1977), pp. 38–45; David Aitken, 'Anthony Trollope on "the Genus Girl"', *NCF*, 28 (1973–4) 417–34.
5. Jane Nardin, *He Knew She Was Right: The Independent Woman in the Novels of Anthony Trollope* (Carbondale, 1989), p. 18.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 210 and *passim*; Deborah Denenholz Morse, *Women in Trollope's Palliser Novels* (Ann Arbor, 1987).
7. Nardin, *He Knew She Was Right*, p. 177.
8. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, 1977).
9. Bill Overton, *The Unofficial Trollope* (Brighton, 1982), p. 2 and *passim*.
10. Trollope, *The Three Clerks*, ed. Graham Handley (Oxford, 1989).
11. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* [1596], ed. A.C. Hamilton (1980), II. vii. 24.
12. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 126. 'Easy is the slope of hell' later provides the title of Ch. XXIX, where it is twice reiterated on p. 352. *Paradise Lost*, I, 684–92, in *The Poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (1968), p. 501.

13. Trollope, *Doctor Thorne* [1858], ed. David Skilton (Oxford, 1980), pp. 12–13.
14. Trollope, *The Struggles of Brown, Jones, and Robinson* [1861–2], ed. N. John Hall (Oxford, 1992).
15. *The Unknown Mayhew: Selections from the Morning Chronicle 1849–1850*, ed. E.P. Thompson and Eileen Yeo (1971), pp. 201–2, 216–17, 221–3, 436–7.
16. Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping 1800–1914* (1964), pp. 142–3.
17. John Sutherland discusses sources for Melmotte in his edition of *The Way We Live Now* (Oxford, 1982), pp. xvii–xxi, and in *TLS*, 4 August 1995. Subsequent page references are to this edition.
18. This scam had been pioneered by railway promoters in the 1840s.
19. Trollope was incensed by Peel's about-turns on Catholic emancipation and the Corn Laws and by the Tories' passing of the 1867 Reform Act to dish the Whigs.
20. Halperin, *Trollope and Politics*, pp. 46–8.
21. J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History* (Cambridge, 1985).
22. See note 13 above.
23. See J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History* and *The Machiavellian Moment* (Princeton, 1975), on which my summary is based.
24. In 'Land, Money, and the Jews in the Later Trollope', *SEL*, 32 (1992) 765–87, Paul Delany reaches similar conclusions by a somewhat different route.
25. Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (1981).
26. On Trollope's social beliefs and his ideal of the gentleman, see Tracy, *Trollope's Later Novels*, pp. 70–105.
27. Review of *Lotta Schmidt and Other Stories*, 21 September 1867, in David Skilton, *Anthony Trollope and his Contemporaries* (1972; Basingstoke, 1996), p. 22.
28. *Trollope: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Donald Smalley (1969), pp. 407–9.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 397–400, 419–23.
30. Trollope, *An Autobiography* [1883], ed. Michael Sadleir, Frederick Page and P.D. Edwards (Oxford, 1980), p. 360.
31. Ranald C. Michie, *The London Stock Exchange: A History* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 102–3.
32. Donald J. Olsen, *The Growth of Victorian London* (Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 119.
33. His prejudices are most apparent in his virulent attacks on Disraeli. It seems that in private life (as in his friendship with the Rothschilds) and in his fiction (e.g. his positive characterisation of Brehgert and Mme Max Goesler) Trollope's tolerance towards individuals could transcend his mistrust of Jews in general, apparent enough in the racist descriptions of Rev. Joseph Emilius, the converted Jew. Like Disraeli, Emilius had, in Trollope's view, reduced his religious affiliation to a matter of expediency: a 'dishonesty' of which Melmotte is also guilty. See also Jonathan Freedman, *The Temple of Culture: Assimilation and Anti-Semitism in Literary Anglo-America* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 73–88.
34. I, pp. 31, 36, 117, 138–9, 141, 146, 153. Although Lopez is assumed to be Jewish, the narrator never explicitly states this; Lopez's business partner, Sixty Parker, also sees no trace of Jewish ethnicity (II, p. 58).
35. This allusion to *Hamlet* is repeatedly applied to Grey and Vavasor in *CY*.
36. For what is meant by this, see I, pp. 293, 352–4, 369–71, 374, 378; II, pp. 65–9.
37. *PR*, II, pp. 248–53; *The Prime Minister* [1875–6] (Oxford, 1973), I, p. 371; II, pp. 61–2.
38. *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800–1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester, 1987), pp. 1–4, 102–4.
39. Compare similar comments in *Autobiography*, pp. 357–60, and *The Duke's Children* [1879–80] (Oxford, 1973), p. 3. There is a similar contrast between Chiltern and Finn, who has a more differentiated personality but cannot cope with the

mudslinging of political opponents and the gutter press (*PR*, II, p. 250). Fawn, who lacks Palliser's principled idealism and the integrity that Finn has acquired by the end of *PF*, is a weaker version of this character type. Compare *EuD*, pp. 180, 303, 538.

40. In *Women, Marriage and Politics 1860–1914* (Oxford, 1986), Pat Jalland analyses the aspirations and accommodations of their real-life counterparts.
41. McMaster, *Trollope's Palliser Novels*, p. 122, makes the latter point.
42. Tracy, *Trollope's Later Novels*, p. 51.
43. *The Way We Live Now*, I, p. 34.
44. Gatherum's construction is described in *Doctor Thorne*, Ch. XIX, and referred to in *CY*, I, p. 191.
45. John Hagan, 'The Duke's Children: Trollope's Psychological Masterpiece', *NCF*, 13 (1958–9) 1–21, remains the seminal account.
46. On Trollope's and James's treatments of the 'international' theme, see Halperin, *Trollope and Politics*, pp. 247–54.
47. John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, ed. John Gray (Oxford, 1991), pp. 515–16.
48. *Punch*, 21 (1851) 189, 192, 203–6, 208.
49. *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens's Journalism*, ed. Michael Slater *et al.*, 4 vols. (1994–2000), III, pp. 42–9.
50. *BH*, pp. 478–9.
51. Letter, March 1854, quoted in *Charles Dickens: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Stephen Wall (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 95.
52. *Punch*, 30 (8 March 1856) 98.
53. *Punch*, 33 (3 October 1857) 140–1. On this 1857 controversy, see Harriet Martineau, 'Female Industry', *Edinburgh Review*, 109 (1859) 293–336, in 'Criminals, Idiots, Women, and Minors': *Victorian Writing by Women on Women*, ed. Susan Hamilton (Peterborough, 1995), pp. 29–70; pp. 46–7.
54. Compare ' "Rotten-Row." – Painted by G.H. Thomas', *ILN*, 40 (17 May 1862) 516; and Eric Trudgill, *Madonnas and Magdalens* (1976), pp. 179–81.
55. This point is made in Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Aurora Floyd*, ed. Richard Nemesvari and Lisa Surridge (Peterborough, 1998), pp. 24–6. William Fraser Rae's review is quoted *ibid.*, p. 587.
56. Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1994), Ch. 4.
57. *Woman's Mission* is discussed in *The Woman Question*, ed. Elizabeth K. Helsinger, Robin Lauterbach Sheets and William Veeder, 3 vols. (Manchester, 1983), I, pp. 3–14.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–20. Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, pp. 499–501, made the same point in characterising marriage as 'Hobson's choice' for women.
59. 'Queen Bees or Working Bees?', *Saturday Review*, 12 November 1859, quoted in Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988), p. 154.
60. Quoted in *Woman Question*, II, p. 148. For other contemporary comparisons of marriage to prostitution, see Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England, 1850–1895* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 60–2.
61. [George Drysdale], *The Elements of Social Science* [1854/5, 1860], 23rd edition (1884), p. 357. See pp. 355–7, 364–6, 402–5.
62. *Fraser's Magazine*, 65 (1862) 594–606.
63. Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, pp. 254–5; Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, p. 4.
64. Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (1975), pp. 3–4.

65. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, pp. 149–63.
66. W.R. Greg, 'Why Are Women Redundant?', *National Review*, 14 (1862) 434–60.
67. Contemporary articles exposing this contradiction are cited in Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, pp. 157–8, 236.
68. William Acton, *Prostitution*, [1857], 2nd edition, 1870, ed. Peter Fryer (New York, 1969), pp. 74, 121–5, quoting a letter and editorial commentary in *The Times*, May 1857.
69. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, pp. 76, 224.
70. Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20 (1959), p. 212.
71. On the husband's right to his wife's body, see Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, Ch. 6.
72. Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on The Laws of England* [1765–9], 19th edition (1836), I, p. 442.
73. This simplifies somewhat the legal complexities. For more details see Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (1989), pp. 10–19.
74. Perkin, *Women and Marriage*, p. 66. The economics of settlements and trusts are discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 65–7, 70–2; and Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics* pp. 58–60. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, pp. 71–2, emphasises the shortcomings of equity provisions.
75. Perkin, *Women and Marriage*, pp. 301, 304–6; *Woman Question*, II, pp. 21–2; Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*, Chs. 2 and 4.
76. Frances Power Cobbe, 'Criminals, Idiots, Women, and Minors', *Fraser's Magazine*, 78 (1868) 777–94; pp. 780, 788.
77. Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. Miriam Brody Kramnick [1792] (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp. 83–4, 100. Compare the comments on 'power' and 'influence' of Marion Reid and John Stuart Mill, in *Woman Question*, I, pp. 15–16 and II, p. 43.
78. Cicely Hamilton, *Marriage as a Trade* (1909), quoted in Carol Dyhouse, *Feminism and the Family in England 1880–1939* (Oxford, 1989), p. 152. Little had changed since Wollstonecraft's similar observation (p. 147).
79. Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, pp. 496–7.
80. Henry James, 'Modern Women', *Nation*, 22 October 1868, in *LC1*, p. 22.
81. *Autobiography*, pp. 353–6.
82. See *Duke's Children*, PF and PR.
83. Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics*, pp. 22, 79.
84. Greystock and Herriot debate this point in *EuD*, Ch. 24.
85. Greg, 'Why are Women Redundant?', p. 460; cf. pp. 446–50.
86. Eliza Lynn Linton, 'The Girl of the Period', *Saturday Review*, 25 (1868) 339–40.
87. Norton's plight is described in her polemics, *English Laws for Women in the Nineteenth Century* (1854) and *A Letter to the Queen on Lord Chancellor Cranworth's Marriage and Divorce Bill* (1855); see also Poovey, *Uneven Developments*; Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law*; Perkin, *Women and Marriage*.
88. Norton, *English Laws*, p. 2; *A Letter*, pp. 98–9, cf. pp. 171–5. In *A Plain Letter to the Lord Chancellor on the Infant Custody Bill* (1839) Norton had made clear (pp. 5–7) that she accepted male 'authority' but not male 'oppression'.
89. Compare her jaundiced comments to Hetta on II, pp. 322–6.
90. *Brown, Jones and Robinson* is full of such misogynistic anxieties. There is a similar passage on the engaged man's 'clipped wings' in *EuD*, p. 204.

8 In the Cage

1. 'Lady Barberina', *T*, 5, pp. 195–301, is a further response to Trollope. Through the misunderstandings between Lemon and his wife's family over her marriage settlement, his profession and his money from 'trade', it engages with the topical debate about what constitutes a 'gentleman'. Just as Trollope's bolder Lopez arouses xenophobic anxieties about miscegenation, so 'Lady Barberina' is concerned with 'breeding'. But James reverses the perspective: it is the foreigner, Lemon, who applies eugenic criteria to 'the intermarriage of races'.
2. I discuss these tales in 'Social Spaces in Some Early Tales by Henry James', in *The Space of English*, ed. David Spurr and Cornelia Tschichold (Tübingen, 2004).
3. Parenthetical references to 'A London Life' are to *T*, 7, pp. 87–212.
4. *CTW*, pp. 144–7; *L*, II, pp. 197, 261; III, pp. 66–7, 251–2.
5. *A*, p. 175; *CTW*, pp. 15, 29–30, 35, 112–21.
6. *L*, III, pp. 66–7, 98–9, 115–16, 146–7.
7. As Heath Moon proposes in 'James's "A London Life" and the Campbell Divorce Scandal', *American Literary Realism*, 13 (1980) 246–58.
8. Fleda Vetch in *SP*, who half-hopes to earn her living as a painter, has as little chance of economic self-sufficiency.
9. 'Marriage', *Westminster Review*, 130 (August 1888) 186–201.
10. Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (1992), pp. 167–8.
11. (Alice) Mona Caird, 'Marriage', pp. 189–95, quotation from p.195; *The Morality of Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman* (1897), pp. 41–91.
12. *Morality of Marriage*, pp. 98–9.
13. On independent women in late Victorian London, see Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (Chicago, 1985); Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, Ch. 2 and *passim*; Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), Chs. 6 and 7.
14. 'The Glorified Spinster', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 58 (1888) 371–6; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 63–5.
15. Lynne Walker, 'Vistas of Pleasure: Women Consumers of Urban Space in the West End of London 1850–1900', in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester, 1995), pp. 70–85; Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (1998), pp. 650–1; Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 261; Mica Nava, 'Modernity's Disavowal: Women, the City and the Department Store', in *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, ed. Mica Nava and Alan O'Shea (1996), pp. 38–76; Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, 2000).
16. On what was involved here, see Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 50–2; Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 96–7, 120–2; Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 179–81; and *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 62–79.
17. Judith Walkowitz, 'Going Public: Shopping, Street Harassment, and Streetwalking in Late Victorian London', *Representations*, 62 (Spring 1998) 1–30.
18. *Dickens's Dictionary of London 1888* (Moretonhampstead, 1993), p. 144.

19. An American reviewer of 'Daisy Miller' commented: 'A few dozens, perhaps a few hundreds, of families in America have accepted the European theory of the necessity of surveillance for young ladies, but it is idle to say it has ever been accepted by the country at large. In every city of the nation young girls of good family, good breeding, and perfect innocence of heart and mind, receive their male acquaintances *en tête-à-tête*, and go to parties and concerts with them, unchaperoned.' See [John Hay], *Atlantic Monthly*, 43 (March 1879) in *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews*, ed. Kevin J. Hayes (Cambridge, 1996), p. 69.
20. In *The Reign of Wonder* (1965; Cambridge, 1977), pp. 272–3, Tony Tanner also emphasises the symbolic importance of this scene.
21. On scenic form, see Emrys Jones, *Scenic Form in Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1971).
22. For these and related images, see Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 92, 96–103.
23. On the contrasting American conventions, see 'The Point of View', *T*, 4, pp. 480–2.
24. On the social context, see Elizabeth Owen, 'The Awkward Age and the Contemporary English Scene', *VS*, 11 (1967–8) 63–82.
25. Unsigned review in *Athenaeum*, May 1899, in *Henry James: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Roger Gard (1968), p. 290.
26. Stead's exposé was first published in July 1885 in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, favourite reading in the London Clubs that James frequented. It is reprinted in *The Metropolitan Poor: Semi-Factual Accounts, 1795–1910*, ed. John Marriott and Masaie Matsumura, 6 vols. (1999), III, pp. 2–55; my quotations are from pp. 10, 15, 18, 21.
27. The affront to bourgeois morality constituted by Nanda's reading of Zola is indicated by the fact that in the published version of Beardsley's *The Toilette of Salome* (1894), Salome's bookshelf contains Zola's *Nana*, in addition to *Manon Lescaut* and the Marquis de Sade. In the unpublished version, Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* stands beside an apocryphal novel that Beardsley attributes to Zola: *La Merde*.
28. Anne T. Margolis, *Henry James and the Problem of Audience* (Ann Arbor, 1985), pp. 110–12, 118–43.
29. See contemporary reviews in Hayes, pp. 238–4, 288–9, 295, 297 (quotation from p. 288), and in *James: Critical Heritage*, ed. Gard, pp. 272–3, 276.
30. On this aspect of 'The Turn of the Screw', see James's Preface in *LC2*, pp. 1187–8, and reviews in *Henry James*, ed. Hayes, pp. 304, 307–8, and in Deborah Esch and Jonathan Warren's Norton Critical edition (New York, 1999), pp. 149, 155–6. For *AA*, see *Henry James*, ed. Hayes, pp. 318–20, 322, and *James: Critical Heritage*, ed. Gard, p. 282.
31. William Lyon Phelps, 'Henry James', *Yale Review* (July 1916), in *Turn of the Screw*, ed. Esch and Warren, p. 157.
32. *Henry James*, ed. Hayes, p. 289.
33. Michael Anesko, *Friction with the Market: Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (New York, 1986).
34. On James's responses to these issues, see Richard Salmon, *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity* (Cambridge, 1997).
35. Page references in my text are to *T*, 7, pp. 213–84.
36. Paula Gillett, *The Victorian Painter's World* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 12, 15.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 243; *L*, III, p. 107.
38. *PE*, p. 169. On Langtry's early career in London, see Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (Harmondsworth, 1988), pp. 106–12.
39. Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 190, 195, 268.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 341–4.
41. Regenia Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public* (Stanford, 1986), p. 85.
42. See Chapter 6.
43. Letter to Grace Norton, 29 March 1884, quoted in Leon Edel, *The Life of Henry James*, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1977), I, pp. 716–17; and Fred Kaplan, *Henry James: The Imagination of Genius: A Biography* (1992), p. 271.
44. On James's financial anxieties in the later 1880s, see Anesko, 'Friction with the Market', pp. 119–39.
45. *N*, pp. 987, 1170; cf. *Matt* 6: 24.
46. *N*, pp. 1091–2, 1218–20. Compare also the publicity machinery of posters and photographs that accompanies Verena Tarrant's lecture tours in *The Bostonians* (1885–6).
47. Shlomith Rimmon, *The Concept of Ambiguity – the Example of James* (Chicago, 1977), Ch. 3.
48. Compare James's account of how the 'curiosity' about Hugh Vereker of the narrator-critic of 'The Figure in the Carpet' is increasingly aroused and begins to emerge 'from the limp state', 'vaguely to throb and heave, to become conscious of a comparative tension' (*LC2*, 1235).
49. On James and Symonds, see John R. Bradley, *Henry James's Permanent Adolescence* (Basingstoke, 2000), Ch. 4.
50. *Selected Letters of Henry James to Edmund Gosse 1882–1915*, ed. Rayburn S. Moore (Baton Rouge, 1988), pp. 31–2.
51. *L*, IV, pp. 9–10. James's responses to Wilde are discussed in Jonathan Freedman, *Professions of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism, and Commodity Culture* (Stanford, 1990), Ch. 4; and Hugh Stevens, *Henry James and Sexuality* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 126–34.
52. Alfred Habegger, *Henry James and the 'Woman Business'* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 54–62.
53. Kaplan, *Henry James*, pp. 403–4; Edel, *The Life of Henry James*, II, p. 192.
54. For his views on Zola in 1878 and 1880, see *LC2*, pp. 862–70. By 1903, however, he had revised his opinion of *L'Assommoir* (pp. 880–1). His strictures on Maupassant on pp. 528, 531, 547–9 resemble those of 1901 on Matilde Serao (pp. 963–7). The comments to Bourget are in Edel, II, pp. 48–9.
55. *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Vyvyan Holland (1966), p. 117. See Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side: Toward a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (1993), pp. 121–5; Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (1981), pp. 109, 113–14. On the wider context, see Neil Bartlett, *Who Was That Man? A Present for Mr Oscar Wilde* (1988); and Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (1994).
56. See Salmon, *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity*, Ch. 3.
57. *T*, 9, pp. 273–315; pp. 276, 283, 281.
58. *T*, 6, pp. 275–382.
59. This is also true to some extent of 'John Delavoy' (1898).
60. Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Harmondsworth, 1984), pp. 222–5, 281–96.
61. Walter Besant, *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* [1882], ed. Helen Small (Oxford, 1997), pp. 69–71, 83–6, 174–6.
62. *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* is reprinted in Marriott and Matsumura, VI, pp. 80–100. For related publications in 1884–6, see III, pp. 56–124; VI, pp. 101–253.

63. The OED first records the verb 'slum' in this sense from 1884. The *New York Times* reviewed *The Princess Casamassima* under the title 'A "Slumming" Romance'; see *Henry James*, ed. Hayes, pp. 178–81.
64. See *N*, pp. 57–8, 397, 545, 438, Chs. 11 and 41. The topography of *The Princess* is covered in Charles R. Anderson, *Person, Place, and Thing in Henry James's Novels* (Durham, NC, 1977), pp. 124–72, and John Kimmey, *Henry James and London* (New York, 1991), pp. 87–105.
65. In autobiographical writings James applied the 'window' image to his own experience, as Anderson, pp. 126–9, remarks.
66. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* [1873] (1904), pp. 236–8.
67. *T*, 10, pp. 139–242.
68. Eric Savoy, '“In the Cage” and the Queer Effects of Gay History', *Novel*, 28 (1995) 284–307; references below to pp. 288–9, 292. On the Cleveland Street scandal, see Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society*; and Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side*.
69. Compare John Carlos Rowe, *The Other Henry James* (Durham, NC, 1998), pp. 165–6.
70. For the first view, see Joel Salzberg, 'Mr Mudge as Redemptive Fate: Juxtaposition in James's *In the Cage*', *Studies in the Novel*, 11 (1979) 63–76; and Carren Kaston, *Imagination and Desire in the Novels of Henry James* (New Brunswick, 1984), pp. 108–20. For the second, see L.C. Knights, *Explorations* (1946), pp. 155–69.

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