



SERIALITY AND DOMESTICITY: THE VICTORIAN SERIAL AND DOMESTIC  
IDEOLOGY IN THE FAMILY LITERARY MAGAZINE

by

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*Abbreviations*  
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<i>BOHM</i>	<i>Book of Household Management</i>
<i>Blackwood's</i>	<i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i>
<i>Cornhill</i>	<i>Cornhill Monthly Magazine</i>
<i>EDM</i>	<i>Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine</i>
<i>ILN</i>	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
<i>Lippincott's</i>	<i>Lippincott's Monthly Magazine</i>
<i>Maga</i>	<i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i>
<i>Macmillan's</i>	<i>Macmillan's Magazine</i>

*Chapter One*

*An Ideal Home: Mrs. Beeton's Legacy and the Family Literary Magazine*

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The merry Homes of England!  
 Around their hearths by night,  
 What gladsome looks of household love  
 Meet in the ruddy light!  
 There woman's voice flows forth in song,  
 Or childhood's tale is told,  
 Or lips move tunefully along  
 Some glorious page of old.

~ Felicia Hemans

Pursuing the picture, we may add, that to be a good housewife does not necessarily imply an abandonment of proper pleasures or amusing recreation; and we think it the more necessary to express this, as the performance of the duties of a mistress may, to some minds, perhaps seem to be incompatible with the enjoyment of life.

~ Isabella Beeton<sup>1</sup>

Mid-nineteenth-century middle-class housewives, desperate for advice about everything from servants to stains to sauces, found comfort and guidance in *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management (BOHM)*. While the real Isabella Beeton has all but disappeared into the iconic image of Mrs. Beeton, whom Lytton Strachey erroneously envisioned to be a “small tub-like lady in black—rather severe in aspect, strongly resembling Queen Victoria,” her work still guides families today through the intricacies of managing the home (qtd. in Hughes 8).<sup>2</sup> Newlywed couples in England even now receive a modernized version of Beeton's *BOHM* as a traditional wedding present. Perhaps more than any other

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<sup>1</sup> From Felicia Hemans, “The Homes of England,” *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* Apr. 1827: 392, ll. 9-16 and Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> According to Kathryn Hughes, Strachey's misconception of what Beeton looked like stems in part from the paucity of biographical data on her and in part from how well her husband, Sam Beeton, and later Ward and Lock managed the image of Mrs. Beeton and the *BOHM* after her death. There were few notices of her death on 6 February 1865. *The Times* ran a short obituary, and Sam composed a longer, moving tribute that appeared in the *Dictionary of Everyday Cookery*. Most readers, however, either assumed that Mrs. Beeton was a construct of the magazine or that she was still alive, dispensing advice from her well-run home. See Hughes 8-9.

image, the picture of the middle-class Victorian home, drawn from the pages of the *BOHM* and other literary and non-fiction texts—crowded with chintz pillows, fans, needlepoint, tables of knick-knacks, flora, fauna, books, and magazines—is the one that endures.

Contemporary idealizations of the Victorian home from the cottage industry the BBC has developed in turning canonical Victorian fiction into television serials to the contemporary magazine *Victoria* (1987-2003, 2007-present) all have their roots in the nineteenth century's own idealization of the home.<sup>3</sup> Kathryn Hughes argues that “By representing ‘Home’—the place we go to be loved and fed—Mrs. Beeton has become part of the fabric of who we feel ourselves to be” (18). Indeed, we nostalgically see the nineteenth-century home as a crucial site of constancy for the Victorians, and possibly for ourselves. The home has seemingly stood against all visible changes, a testament to the work of Mrs. Beeton and other Victorian writers and editors of conduct manuals, cookbooks, literary magazines, and domestic fiction who figured the home as the center of Victorian middle-class life.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the middle-classes were rapidly expanding, tripling in size from 1851 to 1871. Anxious to secure their social position, the middle-classes used the home as a model of cultural stability. This ideal home, so nostalgically attractive to us now, was also compelling to the Victorians who created it. Robin Gilmour claims that “more than any previous generation the people we call Victorians were driven to find models of social harmony and personal conduct by means of which they could understand, control, and

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<sup>3</sup> Among the texts that have been adapted as television serials are Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* (1999), *North and South* (2004), and *Cranford* and *My Lady Ludlow* (2007), George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1994) and *Daniel Deronda* (2002), Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (2001), Thomas Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree* (2006), and Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* (2006). BBC 4 has even done a two part series on Isabella Beeton called *The Secret Life of Mrs. Beeton*, first aired on 16 October 2006 and 21 October 2006. *Victoria*, which ceased publishing in June 2003, has been relaunched by Hoffman Media, with its first issue appearing in November 2007. It advertises itself as a publication for women who yearn for the simple elegance of bygone days, and its homepage rather cloyingly suggests that women will be able to “connect with the sentiment and elegance of times gone by and be pampered with topics close to [their] heart, as [they] take *Victoria* into the reading room of [their] soul” (*Victoria* par. 3).



develop their rapidly changing world” (20). The home, effortlessly systemized and endlessly reproduced in paintings, illustrations, fiction, and periodicals, proved to be a supple model. Although most middle-class families, particularly those in urban areas, rented rather than owned their homes—or perhaps because of this fact—the home took on ideological significance as the bulwark of social and cultural solidity. It could encapsulate and, in a certain sense, seem to stabilize, other changing models such as the gentleman or the chatelaine. John Ruskin, in his lecture “Of Queens’ Gardens,” avers that the home is a peaceful, sanctifying space, one that keeps the changes of the world just outside the door. For Ruskin, the home “is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury but from all terror, doubt, and division” (77).<sup>4</sup> An ideal home was the best refuge from moral temptation. It was the best defense against the degradations of capitalism though well-provided with consumer spoils. It was the best corrective for a society that seemed to be constantly changing.

An ideal home was also extraordinarily difficult to establish and maintain. While it is relatively simple to construct what an ideal home, complete with the tender domestic scene of the family gathered around the hearth, would look like, the process of making this ideal a reality is complex at best. The numerous depictions of the home in periodical culture alone imply that the Victorians, particularly the members of the urban middle-classes who were the target audience for many of these texts, needed continuous guidance on how to make and maintain this model space. Periodical culture responded to this need. Domestic manuals, etiquette guides, periodical essays, and cookbooks all focused on the best way to manage the

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Henry Huxley makes a similar argument about the walled garden. He argues that “the garden is as much a work of art, or artifice, as anything that can be mentioned” (Huxley 1297). As such, the garden has to be constantly tended and protected from outside corrupting influences, much like the home. Huxley is concerned about the effects of evolution on social unity, and here he advocates artifice (the state) over Nature.

various parts of the home, while domestic serials, a popular component of the family literary magazines that proliferated in the mid-nineteenth century, also illuminated the Victorian home. Although domestic serials were more likely to concentrate on how the home was formed—the courtship narrative—rather than on how the home was managed, these texts, largely entrenched in the practices of literary realism, did their fair share of depicting interior spaces and the management of those spaces. Thus, directive, non-literary texts like the *BOHM* would have been read alongside the fictional representations of the home found in family literary magazines like the *Cornhill Magazine* and *Macmillan's Magazine*.

Collectively, all these vehicles served to reinforce a particular image of the urban, middle-class home and the family within it, one that positioned the family as a stabilizing influence and as the source of middle-class empowerment. The home, ostensibly separated from the marketplace as a center of production and refigured as the moral crux of middle-class life, was increasingly invoked as the lynchpin of social stability. The men and women of this upwardly mobile urban middle-class needed the idealized home to serve as a source of stability in the face of change. These urban middle-class professionals controlled and shaped many of the magazines in circulation, and the Victorian home and its values are repetitively presented in the pages of family literary magazines, instilling in families of readers the proper rituals and signifying practices of middle-class life. This bourgeois family espoused the values of education, professionalization, duty, honor, civility, and prudence. Periodicals and family literary magazines in particular did not merely reflect these middle-class values; instead, they acted as a “central component of that culture—an active and integral part” of their society (Pykett 102). Accordingly, we must read family literary magazines as not only mirroring bourgeois domestic ideology, but also as actively constructing that ideology.

Crucial to disseminating these signifying practices is the domestic serial, the centerpiece of most family literary magazines. The narrative conventions of serial fiction include stories that unfold over a long period of time with enforced narrative pauses, contain large casts of characters, focus on the patterns of everyday life, intertwine sub-plots, and interact with current issues; these features make magazine fiction well-suited to perform bourgeois domestic ideology repetitively. The accepted, everyday domestic pattern of middle-class life—courtship, marriage, child-birth, child-rearing, old age, and death—had its textual counterpart in serialization. I maintain that family literary magazines solidify this intersection of domestic rhythms and serial pacing.<sup>5</sup> Victorians wanted to believe in the artificial cadence and rhythm of serials that arrived each month, advancing the plot of middle-class normalcy.

This is a project about the role of domestic serials and family literary magazines in reflecting, shaping, and challenging the domestic ideology of the urban, middle-class family in the mid to late-nineteenth century. It is also project designed to trace the influence and evolution of the domestic serial and family literary magazines in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Graham Law argues that the emergence of the monthly family literary magazine in the 1860s is given “undue emphasis” by periodical scholars (24). To a certain extent, Law’s claim is correct; narratives of the shilling monthly can occlude the development of a vibrant weekly periodical market in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the monthly family literary magazines dominated the periodical market for most of the period. I suggest that a exploration of how the family literary magazine evolved from the explosion of magazines in the 1860s to the slow decline of the genre by the 1890s

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<sup>5</sup> Tania Modleski claims in *Loving with a Vengeance* that “soap operas are important to their viewers in part because they never end” (88). While her work here is on the contemporary soap opera, monthly serials and soap operas both integrating themselves into people’s everyday lives.

gives us a fuller picture of how these magazines and the domestic serials within them constructed domestic ideology for the middle-class home.

As Arlene Young claims, domestic serials in family literary magazines allowed the middle-classes to “reshape society and reinterpret cultural symbols” as well as “disseminat[e] its social philosophy” (1). I suggest that the domestic ideology espoused in the pages of family literary magazines was an evolving construct. As such, it allowed middle-class families to carve out a niche for themselves separate from the available class and gender models. Out of necessity, middle-class families rejected the weight placed on lineage by the aristocracy and the gentry as well as the insular and, at times, immoral upper-class lifestyle that emphasized leisure over productivity. Middle-class families also distanced themselves from their working-class counterparts by adapting the etiquette of the gentry, separating work from the home, and emphasizing the role of education and specialization in working life.

These middle-class families also discarded gender constructs that did not support the new domestic ideology of the bourgeois home. This ideology positioned well-educated, virtuous, and active women and men at the center of the home. Many middle-class women welcomed the capable, intelligent domestic manager depicted in the pages of Beeton’s *Book of Household Management* because it presented a model of femininity in keeping with the visibility, individuality, and intellect required to run the urban home. It also provided middle-class women with an active, responsible model of femininity in place of the passive model of the angel of the house and Eliza Lynn Linton’s flirtatious and vain “girl of the period.” For middle-class men, the new professional, family orientated man was a response to a variety of masculine models that did not support the core values of this new, bourgeois domestic ideology. According to John Tosh, “Energy, assertiveness, independence,

directness, and simplicity were [the] core attributes” of the doctrine of manliness that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century (*Manliness and Masculinities* 88-89). The aristocratic libertine, the romantic, the dandy, and some aspects of the polite gentlemen were all discarded in favor of this more appropriate model of masculinity.

Domestic serials in family literary magazines such as the *Cornhill Magazine* (1860-1975) and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817-1981)<sup>6</sup> embraced this new middle-class domesticity. The *Cornhill*, in particular, advocated a domestic ideology that positioned the values of the middle-class family as fundamental to social stability. In Chapters Two and Three, I examine how Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*, serialized in the *Cornhill* from August 1864 to January 1866 with illustrations by George du Maurier, and Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, serialized in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from January 1874 to February 1875, promote this new domestic ideology. I have chosen the *Cornhill* in part because it was the most successful of the new family literary magazines that began publishing in the 1860s and in part because it blended an appreciation for England's rural past with an urban sensibility. In order to explore how the older family literary magazines responded to the competition presented by the newer and cheaper magazines that emerged in the 1860s, I chose *Blackwood's* in the 1870s. I also wanted to look at a magazine that normally is not considered a family literary magazine because of its higher price and overtly conservative political bent.

In Chapter Two, titled “Gender Play ‘At Our Social Table’: The New Domesticity in the *Cornhill* and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*,” I examine how the *Cornhill*'s and Gaskell's domestic serial use the language of consumption, specifically meals, as a

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<sup>6</sup> *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* changed names to *Blackwood's Magazine* with the January 1906 issue.

means of reshaping gender roles within Victorian middle-class domesticity. I argue that the *Cornhill's* publication practices and the liberal general culture of the magazine allow for the slow revision of domestic ideology found in *Wives and Daughters*. By juxtaposing installments of *Wives and Daughters* with progressive articles like Harriet Martineau's two-part series on "Middle-Class Education in England" and George du Maurier's more conservative and traditional illustrations, the *Cornhill* worked to subtly reshape gender roles. I suggest that Gaskell and *Cornhill* teach the magazine's audience how to establish and maintain an ideal middle-class home based on a progressive conception of domesticity and gender roles as represented by Molly Gibson and Roger Hamley.

Chapter Three, "Domestic Hybridity in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*," explores domesticity on the margins. A Scottish inheritance tale, *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* appears to uphold a normative middle-class domestic ideology that would have been consonant with *Blackwood's* conservative, imperial viewpoint. The serial, however, depicts a more complicated version of domesticity. While Valentine and Dick reify middle-class values, their parents do not. The feminized Richard Ross, who is more interested in antiques and china than his sons, and Myra, a gypsy who literally suffocates when she is restored to her rightful place in Eskside Manor, represent extremes. Their presence in this domestic serial is a means of exploring the margins of domesticity and the domestic serial. Both of these characters are effectively edged out of the home, removed from the stable middle-class home formed by Valentine and Dick. Examining how Oliphant complicates marginalized femininity and masculinity provides a greater understanding not only of men's and women's

roles in the nineteenth century but also of how Oliphant's fiction functioned as part of *Blackwood's* collective voice.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the growing challenges to established class and gender constructions as well as the growing discontent exhibited by writers such as George Moore and Thomas Hardy with “the censorship of fiction in the name of family readers” resulted in more “aggressive” texts (Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges* xiii). Serial narratives and family literary magazines began to overtly address issues of class mobility and shifting gender roles. The changing role of family literary magazines is reflected in their waning popularity, willingness to publish more avant garde and risqué texts, and changes in publication format. In Chapters Four and Five, I examine Thomas Hardy's *The Woodlanders*, serialized in *Macmillan's Magazine* (1859-1901) from May 1886 to April 1887, and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, published in one installment in the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (1868-1915) as a means of charting how writers began to use the domestic serial in order to question the new domesticity. I choose to look at *Macmillan's* in the 1880s because, even though it began publishing at roughly the same time as the *Cornhill*, it did not become known for its quality of fiction until the 1870s and 1880s, particularly with the serializations of Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880-1881) and Hardy's *The Woodlanders* (1886-1887). An examination of *Lippincott's* allows for a reconsideration of the serial and its impact since the magazines fundamentally changed its publication practices to accommodate the literary trend for shorter texts.

To that end, I examine Hardy's serial against representations of women and fashion in Du Maurier's social cartoons in Chapter Four: “Dressing Ambiguities: Reading Fashion and Class in George Du Maurier's social cartoons in *Punch* and Thomas Hardy's *The*

*Woodlanders* in *Macmillan's Magazine*.” Fashion was a crucial indicator of class and position, and as such was a critical visual component of middle-class domestic ideology, particularly for women. The focus on dress in Du Maurier's illustrations and in Hardy's domestic serial delineates how Victorian women are objectified and how fashion can both reinforce and challenge traditional gender and class constructions. Here I have opted to read the work of Du Maurier in *Punch* against Hardy's domestic serial in *Macmillan's* as both a means of exploring fashion's mutability and a way of looking at how diametrically different periodicals were still in conversation with each other. This intra-textual approach allows for an exploration of how periodical texts would have been read alongside each other, not only within the same magazine but also across periodicals. *Macmillan's* had a more liberal and socially progressive political bent whereas *Punch* by the 1880s was markedly conservative in its political viewpoint. Consequently, these two magazines use fashion in the work of Du Maurier and Hardy in order to support conflicting ideas of domesticity. *Punch's* format is heavily dependent on cartoons, and the weekly employs these cartoons to make most of its arguments on fashion's role as social enforcer.<sup>7</sup> Hardy, on the other hand, uses only the text of *The Woodlanders* to make his argument that a woman's drapery is no longer a convenient or accurate signifier of class and marital position.

By the 1890s, a highly competitive market for monthly magazines necessitated changes in standard publication formats. *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, under the guidance of editor Joseph Marshall Stoddart, altered the traditional publication practices of the family literary magazine by publishing single-installment serials. In eschewing the multiple-part

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<sup>7</sup> These cartoons, with their exaggerated view of fashion, are different in kind from the fashion plates that had been in use for decades. No ambitious dress maker or mistress of the house would use Du Maurier's work as a model for the latest designs in hats, for example, unless she wanted a bonnet that wouldn't fit inside a carriage. See Du Maurier's "What Ladies' Hats are Coming To!"



format that was a staple of the family literary magazine, *Lippincott's* also broke with the domestic and gender ideologies that were integral to the form. Growing anxieties about gender roles in the 1890s made this change in publication format even more disturbing since it provided a space for a radical revision of gender codes. Thus, Chapter Five, “Aesthetic Domesticity: Serial Frames, Male Identity, and the House Beautiful in Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*” focuses on how the publication of Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in a single installment presents a version of masculinity and domesticity that is incompatible with the discursive practices of the family literary magazine. I argue that just as the portrait in *Dorian Gray* ultimately proves to be an inadequate frame for Dorian’s sins, so too does *Lippincott's* serve as an ineffective frame for Wilde’s combination of aestheticism and domesticity in the serial.

Here I want to detail the current state of periodical scholarship in order to explore how that scholarship tends to feminize family literary magazines, thereby overlooking the role of men in these periodicals. If we are to understand how family literary magazines and domestic serials reflected, re-envisioned, and challenged middle-class domesticity, we need to understand how these magazines positioned themselves as appropriate items for the whole family. I also explore the importance of treating domestic serials as a genre in their own right. Next, I delineate how the new domesticity embraced in the work of Isabella Beeton’s *Book of Household Management* became the dominant narrative of domestic ideology in family literary magazines. In so doing, I discuss how this domesticity moved beyond the construct of separate-spheres ideology, giving men and women the space to choose their own models.

Most scholars working in this field call the type of publication my project examines a “shilling monthly.” I, however, prefer Jennifer Phegley’s term “the family literary magazine.” While the term “shilling monthly” does denote the price and periodicity of the magazine, it does not encompass the magazine’s cultural positioning or influence. Phegley’s phrase, modified from Deborah Wynne’s work on sensation fiction and the family literary magazine, “emphasizes the cultural pretensions of these magazines,” gives weight to the domestic serial, and suggests who these magazines were marketed for: the middle-class Victorian family (13). The fact that family literary magazines were designed with a family of readers in mind makes them a unique commodity. The prestigious quarterly reviews, such as the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929) and the *Quarterly Review* (1809-1967), were aimed at elite audiences consisting primarily of male readers. Women’s magazines like the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* offered material directed to women readers, such as articles on cooking and fashion. Furthermore, penny weeklies, such as Charles Knight’s *Penny Magazine* (1832-45), *Reynolds’ Miscellany* (1846-68), and the *London Journal* (1845-1906), were designed for predominantly lower middle-class and some working-class readers. Even though Charles Dickens’ *Household Words* (1850-59) met some of the needs of this growing audience, the magazine’s weekly format and two penny price made it more overtly instructional than the exchange of ideas envisioned by Alexander Macmillan or George Smith’s cornucopia of “first-class literary material” (Eddy 19).

Well-priced monthly magazines were uniquely positioned commodities in the 1860s, providing the family with a wide variety of presumably suitable reading material within their distinctive covers. Typically of a higher production quality than the penny weeklies—printed on a heavier stock of paper, among other aesthetic improvements such as better

illustrations—these family magazines appealed to middle-class readers on a number of levels. They tended to publish serials by well-known or “star” authors, had quality illustrations, and circulated some of the influential essays of the day. Furthermore, the general policy established by George Smith, publisher and editor of the *Cornhill*, of excluding politics, religion, and sex from the pages of the magazine made the family literary magazine the ideal bourgeois commodity. The normalization of the middle classes means that its class rituals are constantly played out in “the press, the news, and literature” (Barthes, *Mythologies* 141). Furthermore, Roland Barthes argues that “the bourgeoisie is defined as *the social class which does not want to be named*” (*Mythologies* 138). The omission of politics, religion, and sex from the pages of the family literary magazine shapes this periodical into a commodity responsive to the needs of the middle-class family. It essentially does not name many of the issues that defined the differences between the middle-class, the aristocracy, and the working-classes.

Designating this type of periodical a family literary magazine allows for an examination of periodicals that would have appealed to middle-class Victorian readers but do not quite fit the shilling monthly mold. For instance, *Blackwood's*, which cost 2s 6d in 1860, does not fall precisely within the shilling monthly category because of its higher price. *Blackwood's* does, however, follow many of the other characteristics of this type of magazine; it was published monthly and used a miscellany format similar to magazines like *Macmillan's* or the *Cornhill*. Using the term family literary magazine also permits more problematic and down market periodicals like Dickens' two weekly magazines, *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* (1859-70), to be considered alongside more clearly middle-class productions such as the *Cornhill*, *Macmillan's*, *Good Words* (1860-1906), *Temple Bar*

(1860-1906), the *Argosy* (1865-1901), *Belgravia* (1866-99), and *Tinsley's* (1867-92), to name a few of the more prominent monthly family literary magazines. Despite the immense popularity of both Dickens' magazines and their ability to appeal to middle-class readers, these weeklies have posed problems for scholars since polite Victorian society associated weekly magazines with the working-class penny press. Yet Dickens's name gave both of his magazines a certain amount of cultural cachet. As Lorna Huett aptly states, "*Household Words* was an oddity: a cheap publication welcomed into the drawing rooms of the middle classes, and into the reading rooms of such reputable institutions as the first public library in the country, the Manchester Free Library" (70). Thus, moving away from looking at this type of periodical as merely a shilling monthly better illuminates the genre's impact as well as allowing for publications that serve many of the same functions as the shilling monthly but do not adhere to its price structure and periodicity.

Utilizing this terminology also underscores its defining attributes. Family literary magazines employed a miscellany format, publishing in a single issue an installment of a serial novel alongside a wide variety of other texts. Any given issue would include poetry, reviews of new fiction and non-fiction works, art exhibitions, and the theater. Original essays on Victorian politics, religion, art, science, and culture like those that made up Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* were also prominently featured in the pages of family literary magazines. Travel narratives detailing the culture and appearance of far flung parts of the British empire, Europe, and America were also featured alongside articles on historical figures such as those in Margaret Oliphant's series of "Historical Sketches on the Reign of George II" or her biographical work on people like Laurence Oliphant. Some family literary magazines, like *Cornhill*, were also illustrated, and some printed gossip

columns and other lighter fare. All carried numerous pages of advertising for a wide range of manufactured products—everything from corsets to soap to dishes—and new titles from the magazine’s publishers.

Since the miscellany format of family literary magazines juxtaposed domestic serials with a wide variety of other texts, I have chosen to use an intertextual approach. Julia Kristeva in “The Bounded Text” argues that “the ideologeme is that intertextual function read as ‘materialized’ at the different structural levels of each text” (36). A text is defined both in relation to extra-textual function and the text itself: e.g., a serial text would have been read not only against the other, extra-textual elements in the magazine but also against other texts. An intertextual method, in conjunction with my case-study approach, allows for a close examination of how domestic serials, articles, illustrations, advertising, and the disparate elements of periodical production—house style, editorial policies, and magazine format—work to shape class and gender ideology in family literary magazines. As John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten claim in their introduction to *Literature in the Marketplace*, “Future theorists of textual production may have to start by recognizing the physicality of the product and work from there outward to all the factors impinging on its creation, tracking the multiplicity of forces, tangible and intangible, personal and systematic, that enter into the production process” (13). In other words, scholars working in periodical studies must look at the material construction of a particular magazine as well as its contents; otherwise, periodicals can easily be seen as merely reflecting prevailing cultural norms rather than playing an active part in shaping those norms. Using an intertextual approach based on semiotic theory emphasizes the material elements of family literary magazines as well as the texts in the magazines. Semiotics knits together meanings. In other words, the materiality

and the visual aspects of family literary magazines tie together domestic idealism, gender, and class ideals.

I view family literary magazines and domestic serials as separate literary genres. As an object simultaneously reflecting and producing middle-class culture, family literary magazines perform the narrative of everyday bourgeois life through the domestic serial. George Saintsbury avers in *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature* (1896) that “Perhaps there is no single feature of...the nineteenth century, not even the enormous popularisation and multiplication of the novel, which is so distinctive and characteristic as the development in it of periodical literature” (166). Not all scholars in periodical studies agree on the precise definition of the term *serial*, however. Laurel Brake takes a broad approach, defining serials as “newspapers, periodicals, part-issues, and serial parts within periodicals which are dated and appear successively at regular intervals over time, no less frequently than annually, and usually quarterly, monthly, weekly or daily” (*Print in Transition* 30). In her estimation, the serial is tantamount to the periodical in general. On the other hand, Linda Hughes and Michael Lund, in *The Victorian Serial*, provide several definitions for the term serial, ranging from a “specific literary form (a continuing story over an extended period of time with enforced interruptions), to a body of work that appeared in the nineteenth century, and to a set of values bound up in the form and its traditions” (2). The advantages of Hughes and Lund’s definitions of the serial are the positioning of the serial as a literary genre in its own right. Throughout my study, I use the terms serial, serial fiction, and domestic serial to designate a long narrative published in installments; I use the term periodical to refer to the field as a whole.

It is also important to note here that while most serials were eventually published in volume form—becoming what we typically think of as a novel—I resist calling the form as it appeared in family literary magazines a novel. I agree with Margaret Beetham’s compelling point that labeling this form of narrative a *novel* removes it from the periodical “into a recognized genre,” and I want to keep this narrative form firmly within the framework of the periodical and the family literary magazine (“Open and Closed” 97). Nevertheless, serials are frequently ignored in favor of other, whole narrative forms such as the novel or film. Roger Hagedorn in “Technology and Economic Exploitation: The Serial as a Form of Narrative Presentation,” maintains that “in the history of narrative, the serial has been (with television a notable exception) a consistent loser” despite the fact that it has been the dominant narrative form since the nineteenth century (5). The sublimation of the serial as narrative form evolves out of the custom of calling serials by their eventual collected form. Brake argues that the family literary magazines themselves are partly responsible for the sublimation of the serial; the annual bound volumes devoid of adverts and cover illustrations move the magazine from the ephemeral to a more permanent form.<sup>8</sup> She goes on to claim that “the appearance of bound volumes fostered their association with *books* and with the status of ‘literature’, and denied their journalistic origins” (Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges* 40). Thus, the bound volumes that the publishers of family literary magazines put together as a way of increasing their profit actually undermine the narrative construction of the domestic serial.

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<sup>8</sup> Sean Latham and Robert Scholes argue in “The Rise of Periodical Studies” that one of the problems facing scholars working to digitalize current periodical archives is the absence of advertising from the existing archive. They found when they tried to do a digital version of *Scribner’s Magazine* that “librarians who believed they had substantial or complete runs of the journal actually had bound copies from which most of the advertising had been stripped” (Latham and Scholes 520). They go on to argue for libraries to correct note if they have editions of periodicals with advertising and for digital archives to include the “full texts, with the advertising included, because the cultural information in those pages is of considerable importance” (Latham and Scholes 520).

Examining the serial as a separate genre means refuting the assumption that serialization somehow damaged the “artistic unity of the novel” by rupturing and distorting the cohesiveness of the narrative (Tillotson 40). On the contrary, these texts were carefully crafted to work in parts. Kathleen Tillotson, writing about the part-issues of Dickens’ *Dombey and Son* and Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair*, argues that “within a single number [or installment], the balance is held between varieties of narrative method—summary, description, and presentation—and also between the fortunes of different sets of characters” (44). Similarly, Carol A. Martin maintains in *George Eliot’s Serial Fiction* that “a major problem for serial writers was how to structure the parts. Each part had to be both a whole and part of the larger design” (29). Serial writers had to carefully consider not only how to structure each installment but also how that installment would work to become part of the narrative whole. While all of this may seem like semantic hair splitting, these terms are even more important since it is the rhythms of serial fiction, the very starts and stops inherent in the form, that I find consonant with the constructions of Victorian domestic ideology.

Serials are often a “consistent loser” in narrative theory because the rhythms of serial production seem to lend themselves to women’s perception of time (Hagerdon 5). In “Open and Closed: the Periodical as a Publishing Genre,” Beetham argues that closed or self-contained—i.e., unserialized—narratives are aligned with the ‘masculine’ while the “open form, [that] allows for [...] possibl[e] alternative meanings is associated with the potentially disruptive, [...] creative [...] ‘feminine’” (98). Theorists like Kristeva and Michèle Mattelart assert that women perceive time as cyclical; thus serial forms “chime better with women’s experience than men’s” (Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?* 13). Kristeva connects women’s subjectivity with biological time and eternity: “On the one hand, there are cycles,



gestation, the eternal recurrence of a biological rhythm [...] On the other hand, and perhaps as a consequence, there is the massive presence of a monumental temporality, without cleavage or escape, which has so little to do with linear time (which passes) that the very word ‘temporality’ hardly fits” (“Women’s Time” 191). Kristeva and Mattelart align this “all-encompassing and infinite” experience of time with the rhythms of women’s daily lives (“Women’s Time” 191). In *Women, Media and Crisis: Femininity and Disorder*, Mattelart states that

The hierarchy of values finds expression through the positive value attached to masculine time (defined by action, change and history) and the negative value attached to feminine time which, for all its potential richness, is implicitly discriminated against in our society, internalized and experienced as the time of banal everyday life, repetition and monotony. (7)

Here women’s sense of time is devalued because it is repetitive; the same sort of devaluing occurs with serials. Other theorists argue that serials are feminine because “they resist closure. They thus correspond to an account of feminine psychology as more open than masculine, less marked by rigid ego boundaries” (Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?* 13). These two theories see the periodical as being in tension with “dominant ‘masculine’ values and power structures” rather than, as Beetham argues, “consonant with and reinforcing those structures” (*A Magazine of Her Own?* 13). These theories effectively feminize the serial, suggesting that essentialized men would derive no pleasure from serial narratives.

Working from a different theory of narrative and gender, Linda Hughes and Michael Lund argue in “Textual/Sexual Pleasure and Serial Publication” that both authors and readers could “have it all” since serial publication did “integrate female and male structures of experience” (159). For

even if, from material, cultural, and theoretical vantage points, serial fiction has particular relevance to female readers, the serial form did not subvert or

exclude dominant male experience or ideology; an individual installment, viewed as an independent entity, was both an apt commercial product and a single instance of aroused and discharged interest and textual pleasure” (Hughes and Lund, “Textual/Sexual Pleasure” 150).

The variety of textual experience provided by the serial can be configured in terms of both feminine and masculine narrative tropes. Serials, and family literary magazines in particular, conflate male and female narrative patterns, and in doing so, they address families of readers all the while performing Victorian domestic ideology.<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately, the academy’s continued fair-sexing or feminizing of family literary magazines belies their ability to address effectively these families of readers. Moreover, it occludes the full cultural impact of family literary magazines and the domestic serial. For example, Phegley’s work, while acknowledging that family literary magazines were not solely marketed to women, focuses almost exclusively on how these magazines “educated” women readers. Hence my study recovers how family literary magazines discursively construct male and female middle-class gender roles within the domestic space through the domestic serial.

Given my focus on how domestic serials function in family literary magazines, my project also looks at the changing conventions of domestic fiction. By figuring women as capable and intelligent domestic managers and men as the lynchpin of the family’s ethical

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<sup>9</sup> The work of Sigmund Freud on repetition compulsion to the pleasures of repetitive narratives offers another view on how the serial appeals to more than just women. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud looks at how children perceive narrative pleasure, even when the narrative might be of a painful memory. Repeating the experience actually avoids the “unpleasure which would be produced by the liberation of the repressed” (172). Freud argues that “there really does exist in the mind a compulsion to repeat which overrides the pleasure principle” (173). For Freud, children engage in such repetition, which can be pleasurable even when the memory or event being repeated is negative or tragic. Repetition compulsion comes out of the conflict with the ego’s mastery of repressed memories. In other words, the repetition of domestic serials can be viewed as a form of compulsion with audiences and authors repeating the patterns of everyday life. However, Freud’s theory only looks at narrative repetition. While serial narratives do repeat in the sense that they mimic the structures of everyday life, serials themselves do not repeat the same story line.

and financial stability, family literary magazines and domestic serials present a different kind of domestic fiction, one that has a different ideological issue at its center than the domestic fictions of Austen or the Brontës. While the domestic novel of the 1840s is widely considered the exemplar of domestic fiction, I suggest that the domestic serial that was a staple of the family literary magazine from the 1860s through the 1890s offered a different narrative trajectory from these earlier texts and thus presented a gradually changing discourse of domestic ideology. For instance, the domestic fiction of the 1860s tends to be concentrated more on the everyday than a text like *Jane Eyre*, which is more interested in the marriage plot. This shift in focus from courtship to how the home is managed suggests that the domestic fiction of the mid-Victorian period is concerned with solidifying class position. Furthermore, these magazine serials, influenced by newspaper accounts of crime, aristocratic scandal, murder, and social and economic pressures, balance concerns with maintaining and expanding bourgeois class and gender stability with sensational elements that simultaneously stretch those boundaries. In a sense, the family literary magazine and the domestic serial reiterate the permeable boundaries of the home highlighted by Beeton.

In *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, Nancy Armstrong argues that eighteenth-century domestic fiction “was concerned with representing the legitimate alliance of the sexes” (179). In other words, texts such as Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela* or Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* or *Mansfield Park* present a courtship pattern which channels aristocratic male desire to a woman of a lower class position who “embodie[s] the domestic virtues” aristocratic women seem to lack (Armstrong 109-110). For Armstrong, the domestic fiction that re-emerged in the 1840s, while still concerned with how the eventual marriage of the heroine challenges traditional social boundaries, has a different political problem at its center

than the eighteenth century narratives of Richardson, Austen, and Burney. Armstrong argues that the domestic fictions of Thackeray and the Brontës domesticate sexual desires that initially lie outside the legitimate couple. Thus the violent men and monstrous women who populate texts like *Vanity Fair*, *Jane Eyre* or *Wuthering Heights* need to be contained within the domestic space under proper female surveillance. Armstrong's assessment of the influence of domestic fiction from the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century elucidates how domestic fiction addressed cultural and political changes. As Margaret Anne Doody claims in *The True Story of the Novel*, there are "two meanings of 'domestic.'" On the one hand, we have the novel of the home, of the drawing-room, the woman's domestic sphere. But the realistic novel is 'domestic' in the other sense, too. Thoroughly localized whether in the capital or the provinces, it is nationally in-turned" (292). Domestic fiction looks at both the private and the public, at the state of the home and the state of the nation. Consequently, Armstrong argues for looking at cultural and political histories as consonant ways of knowing rather than separate historical systems.

Although Armstrong does look at the influence of Freud and psychoanalysis on modern fiction, her study of domestic fiction is incomplete because of her silence on the domestic fiction produced after the Brontës. In effect, Armstrong moves from the late 1840s to the *fin-de-siècle* and modern period, ignoring the fiction and conduct manuals of the mid-Victorian period. Instead, she argues that the rhetoric of desire that the work of the Brontës highlight is displaced into the sensation fiction of the 1860s. While sensation fiction was highly popular in the 1860s, it was not the only kind of fiction being written during this time period. Domestic fiction did not disappear; the work of Trollope, Dickens, Gaskell, and Oliphant—just to name a few—all dealt with domesticity. There are, however, substantial

changes between the domestic fiction of the 1840s and the domestic fiction of the mid and late nineteenth century, which may account for why Armstrong is silent about this period. Indeed, Harriet Martineau's complaint that novels like *Jane Eyre* made "love and marriage seem the main business of life" suggests that the expectations for domestic fiction have changed by the 1860s (Tillotson 122).

If, as Armstrong argues, "the ideal of domesticity has grown only more powerful as it has become less a matter of fact and more a matter of fiction" (251), then it is important to examine the changes in domestic fiction from the 1860s through the end of nineteenth century in order to understand why this ideal domesticity is still part of the fabric of contemporary society. Part of my project, then, is to reconsider the role of domestic fiction in the mid to late nineteenth century because it does have a different cultural and political purpose than the domestic fiction of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. The so-called traditional endings of *Jane Eyre* or *Wuthering Heights*, which Armstrong critiques as a "flattening" of the text, is precisely where the domestic fiction of the 1860s begins (201). Jane in *Jane Eyre* calls the home "the best thing the world has" (436), and the focus of the domestic fictions of the mid to late-nineteenth century on the home does not flatten these texts. On the contrary, I argue that these texts address the changing dynamics of the middle-class home and the ideology that informed this space. Crucially, this domestic ideology does not minimize the male role within the home. Rather, mid-nineteenth-century domesticity shows how the home was a space where male and female interest intersected. For example, *Framley Parsonage*, the first serial in the *Cornhill*, is more focused on the pressures of everyday life for Mark Robarts and his family than on the secondary courtship plot of his sister Lucy. Furthermore, I argue that domestic fiction is crucial to the family literary

magazine because it is closely aligned with the everyday life of the middle-class home, and the verisimilitude of domestic fiction makes it a supple medium for depicting and challenging domestic ideology.

Given my interest in the reciprocity of domestic serials and family literary magazines—i.e., how domestic serials and family literary magazines both reflect and construct Victorian class and gender ideology—I adopt a case study methodology. The sheer number of periodicals published from 1860 through the end of the century makes a thorough survey impossible. Roughly a dozen family literary magazines began publication in the 1860s, not to mention the many newspapers and weekly magazines that emerged during this time period.<sup>10</sup> William Tinsley, publisher of *Tinsley's Magazine*, averred that “there were more magazines in the wretched field than there were blades of grass to support them” (qtd. in Altick 359). A case study methodology effectively manages this wealth of archival material.

A case-study methodology also allows a greater degree of specificity when looking at a single family literary magazine. Each magazine, despite similarities, had its own publishers, editors, and contributors whose work shaped the constantly evolving house-style of the magazine. Editorial policies and even the magazine's audience could and did determine what kinds of texts were serialized. In one instance, Dr. Norman MacLeod, editor for *Good Words*, ultimately rejected Trollope's *Rachel Ray* despite having already agreed to publish it because the serial's attack “on the clergy's role as society's moral guardian” placed the text at odds with MacLeod's editorial policies (Turner, *Trollope and the Magazines* 51). (It did not help that several Evangelical groups circulated pamphlets before *Rachel Ray* was

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<sup>10</sup> *Macmillan's*, the *Cornhill*, *Good Words*, *Temple Bar*, *St James* (1861), the *Victoria* (1863), the *Argosy*, *Belgravia*, *Tinsley's*, *Saint Pauls* (1867), and the *Broadway* (1867-73) all began publishing in the 1860s, with Macmillan's publishing its first issue in November 1859.

to begin publication decrying the popularization of *Good Words* and accusing Trollope of writing sensation fiction.) Furthermore, the excess of periodicals on the market meant that publishers and editors had to be innovative in order to stay financially viable as well as to keep up with technological advancements. For example, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* made several format changes in the late 1880s that not only made it look different from previous decades but also affected the kinds of serials it published.

Thus, a comprehensive survey of even one family literary magazine during a given decade, much less from the peak of the form's popularity to its decline in the 1890s, would be an enormous task. Rather than attempt such a survey, write a house history of an individual magazine, or study publisher-editor-author-relationships, I have chosen to look at how four different family literary magazines establish their own form of domestic discourse through the publication of one domestic serial. Combining an examination of how class and gender ideology informs the discursive practices of family literary magazines with this case study methodology allows me to focus on the reflexivity of domestic serials and family literary magazines.

Part of the family literary magazine's appeal to female and male bourgeois readers is its association with the home. As Phegley notes, the success of the genre was based on "its ability to simultaneously address men and women and upper- and lower-middle-class readers by speaking instructively to those who needed it and confidingly to those who didn't" (16). M.G. Snow in "A Gossip about Novels," published in the April 1863 issue of *Harper's*, told readers that the serial is "one of the strongest bonds of social family enjoyment we possess [...] for it so encourages sympathy of taste in the family circle, and being short, [an individual installment] is usually read aloud" (qtd in Lund 53). A crucial component of the

family reading circle, family literary magazines function to bring the family together, united in communal pleasure. Families eagerly anticipated the reading aloud of new installments of their favorite serials. In Philip Collins's *Reading Aloud: A Victorian Metier*, a Victorian listener recalls "what anguish it was when his father would retreat into his study with the new Dickens instalment, shut the door, and begin his private perusal and rehearsal for the evening's family reading: the children could hear his chuckles and guffaws, but had to wait for hours before they could share the joke" (7).<sup>11</sup> Communal reading experiences were not the only way the family would enjoy the literary magazine. Richard Ohmann in *Selling Culture* charts more closely how family literary magazines would appeal to individual members of the family. The members of his fictional Johnson family each, in turn, read different sections of a magazine, finding something appealing in almost every article.

Family literary magazines did not just connect a family of readers. Michael Lund argues that "serial reading was a social act as well as a private one, for subscribers to magazines joined editors and reviewers in discussing, in print and in person, their ongoing stories" (Lund 87). In other words, family literary magazines and the domestic serial placed the family in contact with a wide variety of people, all engaged in a serial narrative. Sarah Grand in her 1893 novel *The Heavenly Twins* provides an interesting example of the ubiquity of the periodical in the Victorian home:

The thing [Angelica and Diavolo] respected him for most was the fact that he took in *Punch* on his own account, and could show you a lot of things in it that you could never have discovered yourself, [...]—so that "*Punch Day*" came to be looked forward to by the children as one of the pleasantest events of the week. Lessons were suspended the moment the paper arrived, if they had

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<sup>11</sup> Collins does not remember where the source for this anecdote came from. See the note on page 6 of Philip Collins, *Reading Aloud: A Victorian Métier* for more details. Family reading circles are not just limited to the nineteenth century. Joe Hill, author and son of Stephen King, states that he and his siblings "loved to have stuff read to us. As a family, my mom and my dad would sit down and the book would go around the circle—we'd sit and read all together. It sounds very 19th century, but it's true" (qtd. in Neihart par.16).



been good; but when they were naughty Mr. Ellis put the paper in his pocket, and that was the greatest punishment he could inflict upon them. (Grand 131)

Even though *Punch* is a weekly magazine, a monthly magazine would have an analogous effect. Magazine Day, the first day of the month when the monthlies magazines were published, was eagerly anticipated by families of readers. Paternoster Row printers had to “work flat-out to supply the retailers’ orders” for monthly magazines (Brake, *Print in Transition* 11). These images of the family gathered together as readers powerfully depict the cultural influence of family literary magazines.

By drawing in both male and female readers, family literary magazines blend together the public and private sphere, much as the Victorian home mediates between public and private life. In “Victorian Sexualities” James Eli Adams contends that “Despite the persistent assumption that Victorian public and private realms were ‘separate spheres’ divided along rigidly gendered lines, Victorian domestic virtues were charged with public significance (anticipating in this regard their late twentieth-century recrudescence as ‘family values’)” (128). As a disseminator of these domestic virtues in the public and private spheres, family literary magazines charted both male and female gender roles, and so transcend these supposedly rigid gender lines. A public commodity, purchasable at a wide variety of newsstands, booksellers, and railway stations, they are meant to be consumed in the home. Family literary magazines then blur the distinctions between male and female readers, subsuming individual readers “into the group identity of ‘the family’” (Wynne 1). Deborah Wynne argues that family literary magazines positioned men as well as women within the domestic sphere, “invariably address[ing men] in their domestic roles as fathers, grandfathers, uncles, husbands, brothers, and sons, rather than as professionals, public figures, or working men” (16-17). This is not to say that family literary magazines and

domestic serials position men only within the home. However, their domestic role is often emphasized over their professional one. For example, in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cousin Phillis*, Minister Holman is more often depicted reading with his daughter than engaged in his professions: the ministry and farming.

While most current scholarship, such as the work done by Wynne and Phegley, acknowledges the family literary magazine's ability to appeal to the whole family, it rarely explores this tension between public and private life, between male and female gender roles. Nor does it explore how the magazine appeals to both male and female readers. Works like Kathryn Shevelow's *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of Femininity in the Early Periodical* (1989), Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer, and Sandra Hebron's *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Women's Magazine* (1991), Kate Flint's *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (1993), and Beetham's *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (1996) focus on constructions of femininity and women's roles in Victorian print culture, specifically in women's magazines. Even more recent work like Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston's *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (2003) and Phegley's *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation* (2004) tend to focus on women as readers and writers. While all of this work is necessary in furthering our understanding of how Victorian periodicals worked to shape class and gender ideology, there is little comment on men's roles in that ideology. Kay Boardman argues in "Charting the Golden Stream': Recent Work on Victorian Periodicals," that the "study of gender has focused primarily on periodicals aimed at women or at studies of representations of the feminine across a broad range of texts; work on masculinity is still minimal" (515-16).

Claudia Nelson's *Invisible Men: Fatherhood in Victorian Periodicals, 1850-1910* (1995), Turner's *Trollope and the Magazines* (2000), and Wynne's *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (2001) have begun this crucial reassessment of gender roles in periodical culture. My study continues this work by looking at how the *Cornhill*, *Macmillan's*, *Blackwood's*, and *Lippincott's* represented changing gender constructions and the home, specifically in the domestic serial.

Admittedly, periodicals, and family literary magazines in particular, were perceived as feminized spaces by the Victorians themselves since these magazines overtly addressed female readers. Nor were the family literary magazines that emerged in the 1860s especially innovative in including female readers. On the contrary, "fair-sexing" a periodical was a fairly common editorial practice by the 1860s.<sup>12</sup> In the early 1700s, Richard Steele's *Tatler* and Steele and Joseph Addison's *The Spectator* both provided a space for female readers. Kathryn Shevelow argues that "the early periodical was one of the principal linguistic sites for the production of a new ideology of femininity and the family" (3).<sup>13</sup> In other words, "fair-sexing" the periodical changed the discursive practices of eighteenth century print culture to specifically include women. This early periodical discourse on femininity, however, tended to essentialize and homogenize women, presenting overly-determined feminine figures who were different in kind from men. For example, Addison writes in *Spectator* No. 128 that, "Women in their nature are much more gay and joyous than men; whether it be that their blood is more refined, their fibers more delicate, and their animal

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<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Swift coined this term in *Journal to Stella* in order to denote and decry the policy of overtly addressing a female readership.

<sup>13</sup> *The Tatler* was published three times a week, for two years, from 12 April 1709 to 2 January 1711. It was successful and established the conventions of the periodical essay. *The Spectator* was published daily and ran from 1711 to 1713. Both of these publications were single essay periodicals.

spirits more light and volatile; or whether, as some have imagined, there may not be a kind of sex in the very soul, I shall not pretend to determine” (2430-31). His argument that there is “a kind of sex in the very soul,” that there is an essential difference between men and women, allows women to be marginalized as the weaker sex. Such essays about gender roles were common in early periodicals. But “fair-sexing” a periodical did not necessarily mean that the whole periodical was designed for female readers; rather, the term denoted the editorial practice of including material of interest to women while the majority of the periodical consisted of articles for male readers. Consequently, an overt address to female readers eventually became code for a periodical’s ability to publish uncontroversial material.<sup>14</sup>

Family literary magazines, however, were not constructed solely as female friendly spaces, nor was one section of these magazines designed specifically for women. On the contrary, the monthly magazines that began publishing in the 1860s directly appealed to the whole family. Phegley argues that “family literary magazines marketed themselves as miniature select libraries that contained material appropriate for the entire family that was still stimulating for male readers” (16). For example, George Smith and William Thackeray designed the *Cornhill* around the idea that even though at their “social table, [they would] suppose the ladies and children always present,” the magazine would still want articles and fiction on a wide variety of subjects by “lettered and instructed men” (Glynn 124). This magazine was designed with male and female readers firmly in mind.




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<sup>14</sup> Constructing a periodical around specialized sections continues well into the nineteenth century. See Laurel Brake’s work on *The Academy* in *Subjugated Knowledges*, 36-50, for a good example of how specialized a periodical could be.

*Domesticity*

It is no mere coincidence of print culture, then, that the monthly family literary magazine emerged on the scene while Isabella Beeton's *Book of Household Management* was being serialized in twenty-four monthly parts from 1859 to 1861 in association with the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1851-90), which was published by her husband Sam Beeton.<sup>15</sup> Rather, the congruence of these phenomena in print culture attests to the cultural, political and economic influence of the middle-class family and the home in the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Smith and Thackeray's noisy but lively social table is rarely the dominant image of the Victorian home. Nor is Isabella Beeton's well-ordered, pleasant space always the most frequently evoked representation of nineteenth century family life. One of the more common images put forward is, rather, the idea that the home is a sphere separate from the corrupting influences of the public marketplace and political arena. Although this division was unfeasible until the middle part of the nineteenth century when the larger effects of the industrial revolution reshaped the home and the workplace, the home has invariably become associated with the private. Separate spheres ideology claimed that men were best suited to a role in the public sphere while women's talents were best employed within the home. The doctrine of separate spheres effectively confined women to the home and all but evicted men from it, beyond a nominal role as economic head of the house.

This conception of the Victorian home is a myth, one that we, as scholars and consumers of Victorian culture, continue to perpetuate. In claiming that separate-spheres ideology is a myth I do not intend to be dismissive; on the contrary, I think the separate

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<sup>15</sup> The *BOHM* was actually a separate publication from the *EDM*. The two are easily conflated since the *EDM* heavily advertised the *BOHM* and several of the features found in the *BOHM* were first published in the *EDM*.

spheres doctrine is a powerful myth that allows us to conceptualize nineteenth century class and gender roles. According to Roland Barthes, “myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us” (117).

Contemporary scholars accept the imposition of separate-spheres ideology, giving the concept a certain amount of “analytical primacy” (Gordon and Nair 2). It smacks of truth, cleanly accounting for most of the gender politics of the nineteenth century. It is simple in its structures. It neatly meshes with our own preconceived notions of repressive Victorian social and sexual norms.<sup>16</sup> It also elides the more complicated ideologies of class and gender that formed Victorian social structures. Like most myths, the ideology of separate spheres serves a symbolic function for both the Victorians and for us today. At its most basic, a myth is communicating a message; it helps name concepts. Cultural-studies critic Graeme Turner argues that Barthes does not use the word “myth” to suggest that these meanings “operate, as do myths in what we think of as more primitive societies, to ‘explain’ our world for us” (15). Rather, one of the functions of myth is to naturalize concepts. According to Armstrong, cultural myths or “stereotypes are real, not because they refer to real bodies, but because they allow us to identify and classify bodies, including our own, as image-objects with a place and name within a still-expanding visual order” (*Fiction in the Age of Photography* 31). Scholars work with these stereotypes even while recognizing their limitations because they aide us in making sense of a wide variety of peoples and cultural values. Thus, images of the Victorian

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<sup>16</sup> Simon Joyce in “The Victorians in the Rearview Mirror” argues that scholars tend to view the Victorians either through the lens of a “prevailing popular consensus” which sees the period as one of “confidently triumphalist imperialism, a rigid separation of public and private spheres, a repressive sexual morality, and an ascendant hegemony of middle-class values” (4). This perspective is in part formed by the writers of the Bloomsbury Group and other modernist writers, who tried to distance themselves from the supposedly “non-modern” Victorians (Joyce 7).

home as separate from the public sphere of men and dominated by an angelic female classify and map cultural myths of class and gender.

These cultural myths developed out of changes to the home and private life. The agrarian economy of the eighteenth century was a mode of production traditionally centered in the home. Britain's economy gradually shifted to factories and urban areas as industrialization changed the economic landscape, and production ceased to be located in the private sphere. The removal of production from the home corresponded to evolving views of the home's function. Michael McKeon argues that "the function of the household was greatly altered and augmented as it gradually became the seat of primary socialization, of Puritan discipline and gentle cultivation, through which it took on those nonprivative private values that we associate with the ethos of the domestic sphere" (10). What McKeon identifies is the transfiguration of the early-eighteenth-century household by the Evangelical movement, market forces, and changing gender roles into the nineteenth-century home.<sup>17</sup>

These cultural and social changes do not necessarily mean that Victorian society bifurcated itself along a public/private divide. It is important to note that, "however paradoxical it may seem, *myth hides nothing*: its function is to distort, not to make disappear" (Barthes 121). Separate spheres ideology is a distortion of the Victorian home, a myth that does not hide the binaries that form the home, but one that relies too heavily on the binaries of public and private, male and female. The home was never truly removed from the public sphere. When the Evangelical movement emphasized the home as the moral center of society, for example, it effectively thrust the home and the family into the public gaze.

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<sup>17</sup> The Evangelical movement or revival began in the late eighteenth century and continued into the early nineteenth century. It occurred in the Anglican church and in Dissenting communities. It was marked by an emphasis on the depravity of society, and the movement "stressed the importance of the conversion experience and individual spiritual life which could be transformed by an infusion of grace" (Davidoff and Hall 83).

Complicating matters is the fact that home embodies individual and cultural values. On one level the home is the place that we, both then and today, evoke as a sweet, soothing space from our childhoods, the place of refuge and rejuvenation. Gaston Bachelard argues that “the house protects the dreamer” (6). Here Bachelard implies that the house is a safe space, a dream space. The home becomes, for most of us, a space that we trust. On another level, the home writ large is the space that we, by popular consensus, think embodies our cultural values. We evoke the home and the family as a means of suggesting that society is changing too fast, that we need to hold on to some things. This double idealization of the home as both safe and reflective forms part of the underpinnings for the myth of separate spheres ideology. The home becomes a space where these cultural myths are encoded. As Thad Logan argues, “in the domestic interior, powerful (and contested) oppositions of male and female, public and private, self and other were being symbolically negotiated” (*The Victorian Parlour* xiii). The construction of these models within the home made it a contested space, one that had to be pure and removed from corruption in order to function properly.

Writers like Ruskin praised the ideal home as a space that kept the public sphere at bay. He claims that “so far as anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it, and the inconsistently-minded, unknown, unloved, or hostile society of the outer world is allowed by either husband or wife to cross the threshold, it ceases to be home” (77). Earlier in “Of Queens’ Gardens,” Ruskin argues that men and women have separate characters. Man’s character or “power is active, progressive, defensive,” whereas woman’s “power is for rule, not for battle,—and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision” (Ruskin 77). Crucially for Ruskin, the separate characters of the



men and women that occupied the home were important in keeping this outer world away from the door. Men were supposed to battle the corrupting influences of the public sphere, while women kept the home in order. Admittedly, some of Ruskin's claims about the sanctifying nature of the home and the roles of men and women within it seem almost naïve now.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, Ruskin's work has more often than not become the standard way of thinking about middle-class Victorian gender relations. This now canonical image of the home gives men no role within the home and women no role outside of it, effectively ignoring the communal pleasures of family life so frequently represented in mid-Victorian periodical culture.

I argue that periodical culture, notably the work of Isabella Beeton and the domestic serial in the family literary magazine, complicates the cultural myth of separate spheres ideology. These texts, designed to appeal to the whole family, do not merely show women how the middle-class home should look and what their roles in that space constitute, nor do they exclusively instruct men about the consequences of maintaining financial and social respectability in the public realm. Rather, domestic guides and domestic serials situate themselves within the dual discourse of class and gender in order to validate the possible advantages of adhering to such norms while recognizing that these norms are fluid. In other words, these texts educate readers in the "proper" forms of domestic management while

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<sup>18</sup> Robin Gilmour claims, however, that "Given the assumptions of the time, Ruskin's is not an undignified vision of married life, it just bore little relation to the reality of sexual relations or contemporary society" (190). It also bore little relation to Ruskin's own marital experiences. His marriage to Effie Gray was annulled in 1855 because he never consummated the union. He reportedly found something repellent about Effie's body, despite the fact that she was a renowned beauty. A.N. Wilson also argues that Ruskin possibly "masturbated while sharing the non-consummated marital bed with her. He wrote to his friend Mrs Cowper, 'Her words are fearful—I can only imagine one meaning to them—which I will meet at once—come of it what may. Have I not often told you that I was another Rousseau?'—i.e. a masturbator—'except in this—that the end of my life will be the best—has been—already—not best only—but redeemed from the evil that was its death'" (289). Effie went on to a happy marriage with John Millais. Ruskin later fell in love with Rose La Touche, reportedly when she was nine years old. He didn't propose until she was in her late teens, however. She refused him.

emphasizing the flexibility of these forms. After all, the good domestic manager was able to respond to any situation. Domesticity encompassed more than a well-run home, however. It was about negotiating between private life and the marketplace. Significantly, Isabella Beeton and the *BOHM* recognized that the home was not separate from the public sphere and that it needed to accommodate these negotiations.<sup>19</sup> Beeton's domestic ideology, one which I argue permeates the domestic serial too, systemizes the functions of the home, transforms the role of women from moral center to domestic manager, thereby aligning the work of the home with the public sphere, and reconfigures the home as a site of domestic pleasures for all members of the family. By focusing on the minutiae of daily life, Beeton is able to reshape domesticity into a system that allows for the negotiation of private and public life, of gender and class roles.

The *BOHM* was one of many texts dispensing advice to the middle-class family. Domestic manuals, etiquette guides, periodical essays, and cookbooks all focused on the management of the home. Sara Stickney Ellis's *The Women of England* (1839) and *Daughters of England* (1842) and Annie Cobbett's *The English Housekeeper* were just a few of the numerous guides available. Even the *London Journal* (1845-1906), a weekly magazine marketed to the lower-middle and working classes, ran a weekly feature from 2 May to 12 September 1857 on "The Science of Etiquette and Deportment and Dress." This series, addressed primarily to male readers, couches the "study of etiquette" as a scientific

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<sup>19</sup> For instance, the domestic handicrafts that were popular with middle-class women in the mid-nineteenth century exemplify the tensions between the marketplace and the home that Beeton's domestic ideology could negotiate. Berlin work, embroidery, weaving baskets, and even creating dioramas from fruit and other plants were all popular domestic handicrafts. Standardized by readily available patterns and premade kits, domestic handicrafts were nonetheless individual productions showing the ingenuity and ability of the individual. According to Talia Schaffer, "the domestic handicraft craft could articulate this critique by emulating industrial production and consumption while adding emotional meaningfulness. Through crafts, then, the women's sphere produced an alternative, rival version of the dominant economy" ("Craft, Authorial Anxiety, and 'The Cranford Papers'" 223).

endeavor worthy of “sensible men” (“The Science of Etiquette” 157). In framing etiquette, particularly fashion, as a learnable system, this series posits class as a taught, not innate, behavior. The series also suggests that class boundaries are more fluid. Thus, lower-middle-class families, unfamiliar with the codes of upper-class life, could learn this discursive system.

The series also connects proper behavior with morality: “a knowledge of etiquette and propriety in dress, bring with them a *moral advantage*. They are generally accompanied by scrupulous habits, promote tidiness and refinement, and are inimical to disarray and disorder” (“The Science of Etiquette” 141, emphasis mine). The juxtaposition of etiquette with morality stems from the elevation of the home as the center of Victorian moral life. According to Davidoff and Hall, “Middle-class men and women were at the heart of the revivals which swept through all denominations. Their most vocal proponents had their sights fixed not only on gentry emulation but on a Heavenly Home. The goal of all the bustle of the market place was to provide a proper moral and religious life for the family” (21). “The Science of Etiquette and Deportment and Dress” was not the only work to link domesticity with morality. Writers like Sarah Stickney Ellis and Mrs Warren also focused on the moral management of the home. Life was precarious; believing in a Heavenly Home and building financially fit, moral homes in the meantime not only protected the family from outside corruptions but also provided much needed social stability, particularly since the Victorians felt themselves to be in an age of transition. As Edward Bulwer Lytton claims in *England and the English* (1833), “Every age may be called an age of transition—the passing-on, as it were, from one state to another never ceases; but in our age the transition is *visible*”

(qtd. in Newsome 1). The work of Ellis, Warren, Beeton, and other writers on etiquette and household management addressed these visible changes.

Isabella Beeton and *BOHM*, however, assumed that “the moral was enacted” through the practical (Beetham, “Of Recipe Books and Reading” 20). Instead of simply portraying the home as the moral center of middle-class life, Beeton depicts it as the engine of that life. Beetham argues that Beeton’s emphasis on the practicalities of household management “redefined the task of managing the domestic so that attention to the minutiae of daily life” was a means of “mobilising a series of far-ranging social shifts” (“Of Recipe Books and Reading” 20). Moreover, the serialization of the *BOHM* allows Beeton to concentrate on the details of everyday life in ways that previous domestic manuals could not because of the importance they laid on morality. Designed to appeal to the thrifty, urban mistress, the separate parts of the *BOHM* addressed the various issues that any well-run home would face. Beeton’s focus on everyday life also chimes with the structure of the domestic serial in the family literary magazine. These texts, appearing at regular monthly intervals, were aligned with the rhythms of everyday life. It is this rhythm that allows for the reshaping of domestic ideology that occurred in the mid-nineteenth century since the serial was able to use the everyday as a mechanism for both challenging and supporting gender and class norms. The periodicity of these texts, their rhythmic nature, allows for an intersection of seriality and domestic ideology that mitigates against a rigid domestic ideology of separate spheres and moves towards an ideology of the home that assumes that it is a space for men and women. Furthermore, the material items and social practice that form the domestic language of the Victorian home—meal schedules, visiting etiquette, home décor, fashion, and the rituals of courtship—serve as a backdrop for how periodical culture constructs domesticity.

Consequently, examining how Beeton and *BOHM* reshape domestic ideology while still using this domestic discourse provides us with better understanding of how periodical culture moved beyond separate spheres ideology.

By situating the home as a space that negotiates the tensions between public and private life, Beeton recognized that middle-class families needed a flexible domestic ideology. The strength of her legacy lies in how she situates the production of the home within the complex domestic ideology of mid-Victorian society. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair argue in *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* that nineteenth-century “men and women were enmeshed in a matrix of circulating discourses, some of which competed with separate spheres, cut across it, supplemented it or even supplanted it. Moreover, discourse could be resisted, subverted and refused” (2). The swirling discourses that Victorian middle-class men and women found themselves entangled in developed because class and gender are almost inseparable ideological systems for the Victorians.<sup>20</sup> Ideology does not merely reflect social constructions; rather, ideology is a site

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<sup>20</sup> Ideology is a key concept for cultural studies. For cultural studies, the work of Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci has changed Marx and Engels’ definition of ideology. Though Gramsci wrote before Althusser, Gramsci’s work was not published until the 1970s, and British cultural studies turned to Gramsci after moving away from what Brantlinger terms “the scientism of Althusser’s structuralism” (85). In “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” Althusser argues that “ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” and that “an ideology always exists in an [ideological State] apparatus, and its practice, or practices” (296). For Althusser, ideology is formed by ideological State apparatuses [ISA’s] and is “an inescapable aspect of social life” (Brantlinger 89). The difficulty with Althusser’s definition of ideology stems from this replacement of the individual with the subject since this shift does not allow for individual agency. Moreover, Althusser’s “psychoanalytic work on ideology generates an equally passive notion of subjectivity” that does not accommodate all sides of the “economic versus cultural determination versus individual agency” theoretical triangle that ousted the culturalism/structuralism split in cultural studies (Turner 177). Gramsci, on the other hand, looks at how cultural change is built into the system through his concept of hegemony. Gramsci views “ideology as an inevitable part of the give-and-take of politics (that is, of living together), but not as a structuralist abstraction somehow separated from human intentions and practices” (Brantlinger 95). According to Turner, Gramsci’s concept of “hegemony describes the attempt to produce uniformity and coherence, but it also implies that such attempts must always, eventually and necessarily, fail” (181). Additionally, hegemony disposes of class essentialism, providing a space for an examination of popular culture without being “critically elitist or uncritically populist,” flexibly accommodates and acknowledges the agency of the underclass, and has a elasticity of “political and ideological articulations of

of cultural struggle. Graeme Turner in *British Cultural Studies* claims that “ideological power is always contested: ideology becomes a site of struggle and a prize to be won, not a permanent possession of dominant groups” (172). In other words, ideology is constantly negotiated between people, cultural practices, and institutions. Furthermore, Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston argue that “the ideologies of gender and class were always connected, always competing and always under construction in writing periodicals” (1). For periodicals, and family literary magazines in particular, class and gender “tell”; these two ideological constructs form “the telling signifying” and discursive practices of the magazines (Langland 147). The conjunction of class and gender ideology that forms domesticity for the Victorians does not necessarily equate to separate spheres ideology. Rather, looking at class and gender as cultural constructs instead of economic and biological ones allows for a fuller understanding of how middle-class families were to control and modify their own cultural representations.

One of the key features of the *BOHM* is how systemizing the home “provide[s] middle-class women with an approach to their daily lives that matched the one increasingly expected from men” (Hughes 235-36). Just as middle-class men were expected to be industrious and efficient so too were middle-class women. Beeton’s domestic system depends on a discourse drawn from the public sphere, not from the more restrictive, yet prevalent imagery of Coventry Patmore’s *Angel in the House*.<sup>21</sup> She states that “As with the COMMANDER OF AN ARMY, or the leader of any enterprise, so it is with the mistress of a house” (Beeton 7). For Beeton, the mistress of the house performs a function just as crucial

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cultural practices” that allows popular culture to be adaptable (Turner 180). For a further account of ideology in cultural studies see Brantlinger’s *Crusoe’s Footprints* and G. Turner’s *British Cultural Studies*.

<sup>21</sup> According to Marelene Springer, Coventry Patmore’s book *The Angel in the House* “sold a quarter million copies before Patmore’s death in 1896” (Springer 131; qtd. in Dickerson xiv).

as the leader of an army or a captain of industry. While emphasizing the role that women play in the home is not new, Beeton rhetorically places the mistress of the house within the discourse of industry or management. For middle-class women who frequently had to manage their homes on thin budgets and with little outside help, Beeton's domestic commander was a more apt image than Patmore's passive, perennially pure angel. Though Virginia Woolf avers that women writers need to kill the angel in the house in order to free themselves to write,<sup>22</sup> Beeton's domestic commander has no time to waste with angels who wouldn't know what to do with an account book or a sauce pan. Moreover, by aligning the role of the middle-class housewife within the discourse of management—the discourse of the public sphere essentially—Beeton cleverly situates the bourgeois home as an ideological space capable of housing both female and male interests.

The domestic work of women was a crucial component of middle-class domestic ideology, which the conventional imagery of separate spheres ideology distorts and hides.<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Langland, in *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture*, argues that nineteenth-century middle-class women were active counterparts to their husbands, their work as domestic managers coinciding with men's professional production outside the home. The angelic image of the mistress of the house had little in common with the realities of dealing with dirty laundry and recalcitrant servants. Additionally, Langland suggests that the separate spheres binary occludes the domesticity of men; she claims that “the celebrated domesticity of nineteenth-century women tends to

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<sup>22</sup> Virginia Woolf, “Professions for Women,” in *The Harper Collins World Reader*, eds. Mary Ann Caws and Christopher Prendergast. New York: Harper Collins College Reader, 1994. 2122-25.

<sup>23</sup> Separate spheres ideology also ignores the work of working-classes women inside and outside the home. Additionally, as a farmer or artisan became more prosperous, his wives and daughters did tend to stop doing visible manual labor, which further hide their work outside and inside the home.

conceal the increasing domesticity of men, the expectation that a master would socialize at home in the evenings so that a couple could develop and cultivate mutual acquaintances within their social class” (39-40). As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall show in their *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class*, men were not divided from the home’s functions. Professional men—doctors and lawyers—frequently used their homes as offices. Men were also actively involved in the domestic life of the home, tending to be “responsible for buying certain [household] items: wine, books, pictures, musical instruments and wheeled vehicles,” as well as for certain areas of the home like the garden (Davidoff and Hall 387).<sup>24</sup> By looking at men as fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers—in effect, examining men as gendered beings—it is possible to locate men within both public and private domains. In other words, Beeton and the *BOHM* recast the home as a space were public and private, men and women intersected rather than as divided space.

Beeton and the *BOHM* did more than shape the home into an idealized space; rather, Beeton structured her system of household management around certain realities of urban middle-class life. Here was a wise voice that could speak to the concerns of the middle-class home without condescension. Asa Briggs, quoting Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in *Victorian Things*, says, “there was ‘more wisdom to the square inch’ in Mrs Beeton’s *Book of Household Management* than in ‘any work of man’” (187). The implication here is that

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<sup>24</sup> While our conception of the family derives from the Victorian age, families had not always been comprised of just parents and children. According to Raymond Williams, “the sense of the small kin-group, usually living in one house, came to be dominant” between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (*Keywords* 17). From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, then, the family became more inwardly focused as it eschewed large kinship groups in favor of close family ties. In his study, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, Lawrence Stone claims that the modern family exhibits several key characteristics such as “intensified affective bonding of the nuclear core [...] a strong sense of individual autonomy and the right to personal freedom in the pursuit of happiness; a weakening of the association of sexual pleasure with sin and guilt; and a growing desire for physical privacy” (8). While admittedly Stone’s history of the family overemphasizes the “cold and materialist approach of the English aristocracy” to their children and to marriage—his account at times reads like a primer on child abuse—it does so because his source material is primarily drawn from case histories of aristocratic families, thereby limiting his ability to provide a comprehensive account of the family (O’Day 80).



attention to the details of everyday life mattered. Beeton recognized that the home visually symbolized a family's class position, and she was one of the first to acknowledge the frequently diverging forces of class and gender that constructed domestic spaces. Sometimes stern in her advice, but always compassionate, Beeton envisioned the home as a site of communal pleasures.

In addition, part of the genius of Beeton's work lies in how she transfigures the middle-class home from a potentially amorphous mess into a well-regulated machine. In *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton*, Hughes argues that Beeton "turned [the home and its management] into that thing most beloved by the mid-Victorians, a *system* which, if properly applied, would produce a guaranteed result—in this case domestic well-being" (247). Beeton's emphasis on cleanliness, health, frugality, and effective time management all transformed the home into a kind of domestic factory where the product was merry homes. For a woman who raised eyebrows by taking the train into work with her husband and who grew up in a family that would have been considered large even by Victorian standards, Beeton would have been well aware of the need to systemize the home before it plunged into chaos.<sup>25</sup> Beeton was one of an extended clan of twenty-one children. Her mother, Elizabeth Jerrom Dorling, had four children by her first husband, Benjamin Mayson, the eldest of which was Isabella. After Mayson's death, Elizabeth married Henry Dorling, who also had four children by a previous marriage. Elizabeth and Henry had thirteen children together; the last, Horace, was born "in 1862 when Elizabeth was forty-seven"

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<sup>25</sup> F. M. L. Thompson argues that Victorian families became smaller throughout the period, as people conscientiously chose to have smaller families in order to maintain a certain standard of living. She states that "middle-class lifestyles were becoming more costly and ambitious, and it seemed more and more desirable to shift family expenditure away from numerous children and towards other things" (Thompson 61).

(Hughes 56).<sup>26</sup> In all, Elizabeth gave birth to seventeen children from 1836 to 1862. By the time Isabella came to work on the *BOHM*, she would have been well-versed in various aspects of domestic management; she even learned how to cook—a skill not usually included in the domestic education of middle-class English girls—at her boarding school in Germany.

In constructing her domestic system, Beeton acknowledged that Victorian middle-class homes were arranged around three principles: privacy, function, and social status. These families, unaccustomed to being constantly watched by servants, valued privacy to the point that new homes were designed with servant accommodations placed as far away from the family as possible. Such strict delineation was not always feasible, particularly in households that could not afford a large establishment. The need for privacy also led to each room within the house having a specific function. According to Logan, “on the ground floor the essential rooms for a middle-class home were a separate kitchen, a dining room, and a parlour” (23). In wealthier homes, ground-floor rooms could include a library, a morning room, sitting room, billiard room, and a conservatory. At the very least, middle-class families needed separate rooms for sleeping; parents and children no longer slept in the same room and children had their own rooms, preferably with male and female children being segregated when each child having his or her own room was impossible. Beeton acknowledges the need for rooms to have specific functions when she argues that one of the essential components of a good kitchen is that it is “sufficiently remote from the principal apartments of the house” (39). Placing the kitchen far away from the rest of house—ensuring

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<sup>26</sup> Having a family this large led to gossip outside and inside the family. In 1859, thirteen year old Alfred Dorling actually posted a condom to his father, an item he more than likely obtained from the crowds at the Derby. He was eventually found out and sent away to the Merchant Navy. He drowned in Sydney harbor three years later. Both Sarah Freeman’s and Hughes’s biographies detail this story.

that every dish arrives at the dinner table lukewarm at best—kept the servants and the smells and noise of the kitchen away from the rest of the family.

The need for privacy also meant that the home's functions needed to become better regulated. One way of producing such private but merry homes was to put the home on a standard schedule. By the mid-nineteenth century, professional, public life had become organized around factory clocks and railway schedules, and middle-class Victorians would have embraced such regularity in their domestic lives as well.<sup>27</sup> The spread of mass print culture also worked to create a society attuned to a communal social clock. Mark Turner argues that “the gradual development of the mass print media across the century—from the steam press to mass circulation tabloids—coincides with a culture in which being ‘on time’ and ‘in sync’ becomes important in a number of contexts” (Turner, “Periodical Time” 186). This sense of periodicity and regularity is part of Beeton's domesticity. For example, when making a call, Beeton says that “a stay of [...] fifteen to twenty minutes [is] quite sufficient” (18). Although contemporary readers marvel at her exacting system of calls, it is not constructed to prevent women from socializing on more than a superficial level. Instead, Beeton's fifteen-to- twenty-minute timetable is designed to ensure that socialization does not interfere with either woman's other duties, particularly if it is a more formal visit. Visits between friends can and should be longer. Beeton states that “if a lady be pressed by her friend to remove her shawl and bonnet, it can be done if it will not interfere with her subsequent arrangements” (18). Nevertheless, even conversations between friends need to take into consideration all the duties that the efficient domestic manager must perform.

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<sup>27</sup> By 1855, nearly all public clocks and the railways were on London or Greenwich Mean Time (GMT). Up until the late 1840s, most places in England still went by their own, local time, which could be problematic. According to Jo Ellen Barnett in *Time's Pendulum*, areas “west of London can be up to twenty minutes behind it, and to the east seven minutes ahead” (116). The lack of a standardized system of time made railway travel difficult; people never knew when a train would arrive.

Her meal plans alone suggest how carefully she constructed this household system, effortlessly combining the glamorous with the everyday. Menus for lavish, eighty-person dinners sit quite comfortably next to menus for simple, seasonal family meals. There are one hundred and eleven bills of fare or menus in the *BOHM*. These menus are arranged seasonally and by month, with each month offering menus for varying dinner parties of varying sizes along with a few weeks' worth of plain, two-to-three course family meals (dessert is always included). Beeton also includes menus for lavish supper parties and wedding feasts. A look at one week of the plain family dinners for January reveals Beeton's attention to frugality and order:

*Sunday*.—1. Boiled turbot and oyster sauce, potatoes. 2. Roast leg or griskin of pork, apple sauce, brocoli, potatoes. 3. Cabinet pudding, and damson tart made with preserved damsons.

*Monday*.—1. The remains of turbot warmed in oyster sauce, potatoes. 2. Cold pork, stewed steak. 3. Open jam tart, which should have been made with the pieces of paste left from the damson tart; baked arrowroot pudding.

*Tuesday*.—1. Boiled neck of mutton, carrots, mashed turnips, suet dumplings, and caper sauce: the broth should be served first, and a little rice or pearl barley should be boiled along with the meat. 2. Rolled jam pudding.

*Wednesday*.—1. Roast rolled ribs of beef, greens, potatoes, and horseradish sauce. 2. Bread-and-butter pudding, cheesecakes.

*Thursday*.—1. Vegetable soup (the bones from the ribs of beef should be down with this soup), cold beef, mashed potatoes. 2. Pheasants, gravy, bread sauce. 3. Macaroni.

*Friday*.—1. Fried whittings or soles. 2. Boiled rabbit and onion sauce, minced beef, potatoes. 3. Currant dumplings.

*Saturday*.—1. Rump-steak pudding or pie, greens, and potatoes. 2. Baked custard pudding and stewed apples. (369-70)

Each day's menu economically uses the leftovers from the previous day's meal, be it the bones from the rolled ribs or the extra pastry pieces from the damson tart. (Intriguingly, the pastry pieces seem to be the only dessert reused. Either Beeton apparently thought that all the dessert would be consumed at each meal or perhaps leftovers would have been eaten with the

midday meal.) Using this system would allow the prudent “domestic manager” to budget for the week as well as instruct the domestic servants on the menu for each day (Langland 151).

Although most of the *BOHM* centers on cooking, Beeton does not neglect the other corners of the home. Everything from what time to wake up to how to manage servants to what to do with the potentially awkward half hour before sitting down to eat at a dinner party has its own guidelines. She gives advice on how to remove stains from silks or ribbons. A solution consisting of a half pint of gin, a half pound of honey, a half pound of soft soap, and a half pint of water mixed together and scrubbed into the material; a cold water bath; and a hot iron apparently do wonders (Beeton 426). She tells nursing women that the “period of suckling” is not invariably “a season of penance” as long as the mother eats well and avoids “pickles, fruits, cucumbers, and all acid and slowly digestible foods, unless [she wishes] for restless nights and crying infants” (Beeton 492). Beeton even provides a buyer’s guide for an assortment of kitchenware. Apparently, the most reliable kitchen range is the Improved Leamington Kitchener, which could be bought from Messrs Richard and John Slack for anywhere from £5.15 s to £23.10s, according to size. (Presumably, the Messrs Slack are one of Sam Beeton’s advertisers.)

Beeton even advises families on what kinds of homes they should inhabit. The choice of house was crucial for the upwardly mobile middle-class family, since the type of house and its location signified class position. The vast majority of people, from the upper middle-classes to the working classes, rented their homes. Financially, renting made more sense. Housing was plentiful, and it cost less to rent a large house than to purchase one. Houses also tended to be “depreciating assets as age and the superior quality of newer houses knocked down their market value” (Thompson 171). Since houses did not retain or increase

in value, renting was financially prudent both in the short and long term. Renting also provided families with more flexibility, allowing them to move to larger or smaller homes as families grew or shrank or as fortunes changed. It also allowed families to move to more fashionable areas. Elizabeth and William Gaskell moved several times, upgrading as their finances improved and their family grew.<sup>28</sup> The positioning of the home as the cornerstone of social stability was also made possible in part because of the creation of limited liability in the 1860s, which separated the finances of the business from the home. If a business failed, for example, the house and all the household possessions were legally protected.<sup>29</sup>

Beeton, addressing a predominately urban audience, focuses on how to choose a town house, which was apparently a complex and horrendous process.<sup>30</sup> She commiserates with her audience, saying “many mistresses have experiences the horrors of house-hunting” (30). While she does not give advice as to which area of a specific city is the best location—an oddity given how specific she is about where in London one can purchase the perfect kitchen range—she does address issues such as soil drainage, how much sunlight the house gets, and the sanitation and water arrangements. Given that Beeton’s audience consisted primarily of urban lower middle-class and middle-class families, her silence on precise locations suggests her awareness that the most desirable neighborhoods were not always affordable for people

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<sup>28</sup> They first lived at 14 Dover St., at a rent of £32 a year, which was located in the Ardwick district of Manchester. They next moved to 121 Upper Rumford Street in 1842, just keeping ahead of Manchester’s rapidly expanding borders. The Gaskells’ last move was to 42 Plymouth Street in 1850, which was a large house with a small garden. It was an enormous expense at £150 per year, but they made the move because they felt that having a garden was a real advantage for their children’s health. Elizabeth also bought a house in Holybourne, near Alton in 1865. It was purchased as a surprise for William, but he never lived there. She died before she had finished setting the house up for him. See Jenny Uglow’s *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Habit of Stories*.

<sup>29</sup> See Leonore Davidoff, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink, and Katherine Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960*, 106-107.

<sup>30</sup> Homes in cities like London became taller even as individual rooms themselves became smaller in order to accommodate the new, various functions of the family. Terraced homes, which afforded more privacy, were popular among the lower middle classes, who could not afford to move out of the city. Wealthier middle-class families preferred suburban homes that had their own grounds.

outside the upper ranks. Neighborhoods near factories and the resultant pollution or “unwholesome effluvia or smells” were assiduously avoided by respectable families (Beeton 29). The Gaskells, for example, always lived on the southwest side of Manchester, since the prevailing winds blew the smoke from the factories away from this part of the city. Air pollution was not the only thing the Victorian home had to worry about. Beeton cautions that “bad or defective drainage [or sanitation] is as certain to destroy health as the taking of poisons [...] Let it be borne in mind, then, that unless a house is effectually drained, the health of its inhabitants is sure to [...] be susceptible of ague, rheumatism, diarrhea, fevers, and cholera” (31).<sup>31</sup> Her sensible and yet alarming advice here recognizes that the home could be deadly. Crowded Victorian cities with inadequate sewage systems were prime breeding grounds for killer epidemics; scarlet fever, typhus, tuberculosis, “smallpox, of which there was a virulent epidemic in 1871-2 [and] diphtheria (a notorious killer of infants),” were just a few of the diseases that plagued the home (Newsome 84).

None of these compared to the dangers of cholera, which was brought to England from India, striking Exeter first in 1831 and eventually spreading to London in 1832, where it killed 18,000 people.<sup>32</sup> The bacteria that cause cholera are transmitted through fecal matter, and the open sewers and poor sanitation of urban areas caused massive outbreaks, particularly in dry years since heavy rains could destroy the bacteria. While doctors and scientists did not fully understand how the disease was transmitted, there was a movement

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<sup>31</sup> The city of London was actually one of the first major European cities to build an underground sewage system complete with filtered and treated water systems. Completed in the 1870s, the system greatly reduced the effect of diseases like typhus and cholera. According to Judith Flanders, 93 percent of the 4,363 deaths from the last cholera epidemic in the summer of 1866 occurred in areas supplied by the East London Water Company, “which was still using improperly filtered water from the Thames” (339).

<sup>32</sup> There were three other waves of cholera to hit England. One outbreak of the disease in 1848 and 1849, affected London, Manchester, Hull, Leeds, and Liverpool. Another outbreak in 1853-54 affected Newcastle in particular, but London was also hard hit, and there was another, more contained wave of the disease in 1866-67. The deadliest outbreak was the epidemic in 1853-54.

for better sanitation and water purification systems, both of which helped fight the spread of the disease. These reforms took time, however, and a house located on ground that did not drain well, without an adequate amount of sunlight and ventilation, and without a good sanitation system could be deadly. Beeton's rather progressive advice to keep the home dry and clean might actually protect the family from such devastating epidemics.

The focus on how to regulate the home and where to locate the home were not the only progressive reforms Beeton made. Her systematic and economical approach to household management could elide class differences. Hughes argues that Beeton's "new discourse of domestic 'management' [...] went a long way towards obscuring older tensions to do with class and gentility" (235). In Beeton's system, even homes with large incomes were still supposed to operate on a budget:

FRUGALITY AND ECONOMY are home virtues, without which no household can prosper [...] The necessity of practising economy should be evident to everyone, whether in the possession of an income no more than sufficient for a family's requirements, or of a large fortune, which puts financial adversity in housekeeping to manage a little well. (Beeton 8)

In other words, the well-run, happy home is not a home that is extravagant. The fairly comprehensive list of servants and their pay scale further reiterates this idea. Beeton is extraordinarily clear that families who have only £200 to £150 a year can only afford a maid-of-all-work and an extra girl occasionally (16). Beeton even tells women to dress plainly, saying that "it is better to be under-dressed than over-dressed" (19).<sup>33</sup> Her specificity about the items in the home, about the virtues of modest dress, and how to spend money indicate that Beeton was well aware of the class differences that did divide nineteenth century British society and how to circumvent these differences. Her advice about practicing economy was

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<sup>33</sup> Ironically, one of the few photographs of Beeton shows her at nineteen, clad in a loud plaid dress. By the time she is editing the *BOHM*, however, her tastes had become considerably more refined.



practical for both the home on a budget and the wealthy home. When being specific could potentially alienate her mostly middle-class audience—such as when Beeton gives advice about where to rent a home—she remains purposefully vague. When exact details, such as what kitchen range to buy, actually helps the middle-class home appear to be on par with the upper-classes, Beeton gives specifics. This balancing of information highlights Beeton's acute awareness of her audience's needs while conscientiously emphasizing that the ideal home, no matter what income that home existed on, was a frugal one best maintained by a savvy domestic manager.

One of Beeton's motives in constructing the *BOHM* was to make sure the home was a site of communal pleasure. In the preface, she argues that "Men are now so well served out of doors,—at their clubs, well-ordered taverns, and dining houses, that in order to compete with the attractions of these places, a mistress must be thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of cookery, as well as be perfectly conversant with all the other arts of making and keeping a comfortable home" (Beeton 3). The efficient domestic manager wanted to make sure that the home was a viable and attractive alternative to public spaces for men. While this advice seems to suggest that men really were separated from the home, it recognizes that the home needs to serve as a space that accommodates the interests of men and women. It also admits that the home needs to be a space that allows for pleasure, both for men and women. Beeton avers that "to be a good housewife does not necessarily imply an abandonment of proper pleasures or amusing recreation; and we think it the more necessary to express this, as the performance of the duties of a mistress may, to some minds, perhaps seem to be incompatible with the enjoyment of life" (7-8). For Beeton, the mistress

of the house, while busy, is not a drudge. The systemization of the middle-class home is what makes space for those pleasures.

Thus, all of Beeton's attention to the management of middle-class life aligns the home with the regulation of the public sphere. In doing so, Beeton constructs a new domesticity, one that retains the home's moral function without needing to support the rigid boundaries between the domestic and public realms. Crucially, this new domesticity is disseminated through periodical culture. As a serial, the *BOHM*, entered the home in regular intervals, mimicking in a certain sense the regulation of home life that Beeton advocates.<sup>34</sup> This serial of domestic management would have been read alongside the domestic serials beginning to appear in the *Cornhill* and *Macmillan's* and the serials already appearing in magazines like *Blackwood's*.



*Mrs. Beeton's Legacy: Domesticity in Periodical Culture*

I began this chapter by analyzing how periodical culture, particularly the work of Isabella Beeton in the *Book of Household Management* and domestic serials, refashioned domesticity. I also looked at how periodical culture formed families and communities of readers, all engaged in the reading the textual—both written and pictorial—representations of the home and the family presented by family literary magazines. Michael Lund argues that this “sense of community could be triggered by the familiar cover of the monthly magazine” (78). As objects meant to be displayed as well as consumed, magazines needed to visually appeal to their audiences. One of the most prominent ways an individual magazine appealed to its audience was through its cover design. Here I juxtapose the cover of the *BOHM* and

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<sup>34</sup> The *BOHM* actually takes the stops between installments to an extreme; Sam Beeton would break installments in the middle of recipes because he did not want to reset the type for the volume version.

the cover of *Cornhill* as one way of examining how periodical culture constructed and reflected the complexities of domestic ideology. I have chosen to look at just these two covers, and not the covers for *Macmillan's*, *Blackwood's*, and *Lippincott's* as well, because I think that the cover for the *BOHM* and the *Cornhill* reflect the dynamics of balancing the ideal with certain realities of Victorian middle-class life.

Both of these covers seem to position the home within an idyllic rural setting, alluding to Felicia Hemans's "The Homes of England." In the case of the *BOHM*, the allusion is explicit as the caption for the frontispiece reads "The Free, Fair Homes of England." First published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1827, "The Free, Fair Homes" nestles the merry and stately homes of England in an agrarian utopia, one that ensures the nation's continuing dominance in the world while tempering national might with "the holy quietness / That breathes from Sabbath-hours!" (l.19-20). The homes Hemans depicts in her poem are slowly approaching the tipping point between England's agricultural past and industrial future. The evocation of Hemans's poem, then, does not mean that the *BOHM* and the *Cornhill* are mired in a nostalgic view of the home. Rather, I suggest that both the *BOHM* and the *Cornhill*, by seeming to uphold a rural past that both magazines' urban audiences would have found to be relatively unfamiliar, reposition the urban bourgeois home as a kind of natural evolution of England's homes and the ideology that shapes them. In other words, these scenes of productivity and immense bounty hint that the home found within the pages of these magazines is just as merry, wealthy, and safe, even if it does not necessarily resemble the older, rural life. Furthermore, the evocation of rural life allows these two periodicals to utilize the imagery of the country home (and the supposed wealth and abundance implied by living on a country estate) while still aligning the magazines with an

ethos of productivity, one that would be readily familiar to the magazines' urban, professional audience.

The cover of the *BOHM* is a good example of how these texts situate themselves within this discourse of productivity and plenty. It features a veritable cornucopia of domestic foodstuffs, all in their unprocessed form:

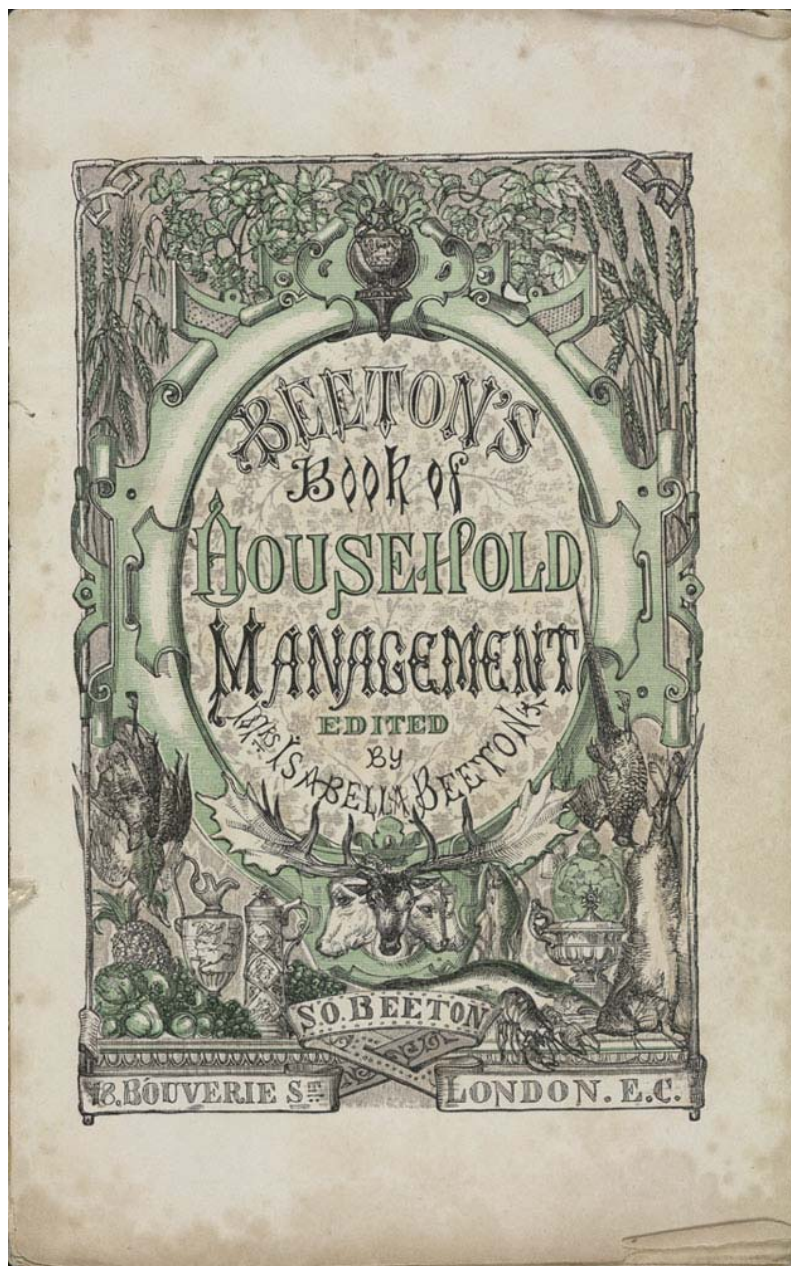


Figure 1.1: Harrison Weir, *BOHM*, Cover Page

Stalks of wheat and vines occupy the top corners of the cover. Along the bottom are a variety of fruits and vegetables. Rather morbidly, the bottom illustrations also depict a wide range of dead animals, including three game birds, a fish, a lobster, and a hare.<sup>35</sup> The birds and hare are almost like a still life, hanging by their feet, not unlike they would in any butcher's shop window or in the kitchen of a country estate after a hunt. Framing the title are the heads of a cow, a deer, and a sheep; the antlers of the deer span outwards, again suggesting an aristocratic hunt, form the lower portion of the center oval. These seem to be odd images for a book of household management; however, the greatest portion of the *BOHM* is on cooking, giving these images a dual purpose. On the one hand, these images connect the *BOHM* and its advice with an established tradition of cooking-lore, evoked by these relatively traditional images of the country kitchen. On the other hand, all of these images evoke the idea of plenty. The bourgeois Victorian home was one that admitted a wide range of consumer goods, including food stuffs.<sup>36</sup> The notion that the an urban household far removed from the source of production could afford all of these goods—beef, game, poultry, as well as seasonable fruits and vegetables—emphasizes the growing prosperity of the middle-classes

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<sup>35</sup> Apparently, hares were placed in the same category as poultry during the nineteenth century “because they were sold by poulterers as well as being hawked on the streets in towns and cities” (Paston-Williams 273).

<sup>36</sup> In addition, these images of fresh food also address the very real concern Beeton had about adulterated food. Most urban dwellers, particularly Londoners, were subjected to adulterated foods. Beeton would have been aware of the dangers both from general knowledge and from articles like the series the *Lancet* ran in 1851 and 1854 detailing the dangers of such impure goods. As early as 1771, Matthew Bramble, Tobias Smollett's irascible patriarch from *Humphry Clinker*, complains bitterly about the food available in London: “The bread I eat in London, is deleterious paste, mixed up with chalk, alum, and bone-ashes; inspid to the taste, and destructive to the constitution” (114). While Beeton does not invoke the kinds of panic that Bramble or the *Lancet* do, she is concerned that the family not be poisoned by goods that enter the house. Thus, her advice that the mistress of the house personally see to the purchasing of the weeks' groceries and the images of food unaltered from their natural state on the cover of the *BOHM* work together to reassure the middle-class family that the home can be protected from such domestic menaces.

Despite the fact that most of the animals on the cover are dead, the cover is reminiscent of a country market. Highlighted with a soft green hue, the center medallion is drawn not unlike a picture window, complete with a glimpse of a delicate vine leaf wallpaper inside. Harrison Weir's evocation of the pastoral in his cover design is not merely nostalgic. The scene blends the pastoral with a keen sense of change; the image could just as easily be a shop window in a London Street as a country market. Weir's illustrations throughout the *BOHM* maintain this dissonance, managing, "disconcertingly, to be both anatomically exact and romantically pastoral" (Hughes 178).

The dissonance produced by Weir's illustrations hints at how the *BOHM* marketed itself. Floating over this design is the title, *Beeton's Book of Household Management, edited by Mrs. Isabella Beeton*. The use of "Beeton" at the beginning would have signaled to readers that the work came from Sam Beeton's publishing house, effectively branding the publication.<sup>37</sup> This branding implies that the whole idea of pastoral life is somehow inextricably intertwined with the Beeton name. Purchase the *BOHM*, and you will receive not only expert advice but also a lifestyle consonant with country living. For the *BOHM*'s urban audience that often associated country life with aristocratic wealth, the idea of purchasing a serial that seemed to provide a way of living out that life for the small price of a shilling a month would have been very appealing. Thus, Weir's pastoral but scientifically accurate illustrations accomplish seemingly disparate goals; they simultaneously evoke a sense of rural wealth and abundance and a sense of industrial progress of which the *BOHM* is part.

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<sup>37</sup> The name also marked it as part of a series of encyclopedic compendia on Victorian life that Sam published; *Beeton's Dictionary of Universal Information*, *Beeton's Book of Birds*, *Beeton's Historian*, and *Beeton's Book of Songs* all appeared in the years following the *BOHM*. Not until Ward and Lock took over Sam Beeton's publishing company in 1866—after the collapse of Overend and Gurney, a discount house that held Beeton's accounts—did the *BOHM* become *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*.

While the *Cornhill* cover does not feature quite so many domestic goods—no dead animals here—it does still evoke England’s rural past. The cover, drawn by Godfrey Sykes, is designed around the idea of plenty the magazine’s name evokes. Constructed like a garden’s Greek pergola, the cover has large, possibly wrought iron urns and topiaries with vines cascading over the edges. The four medallion drawings each depict a season: the middle left shows the man sowing his crop, the top shows a man plowing, the middle right shows him reaping his crop, and the bottom medallion shows the man finishing his harvest.

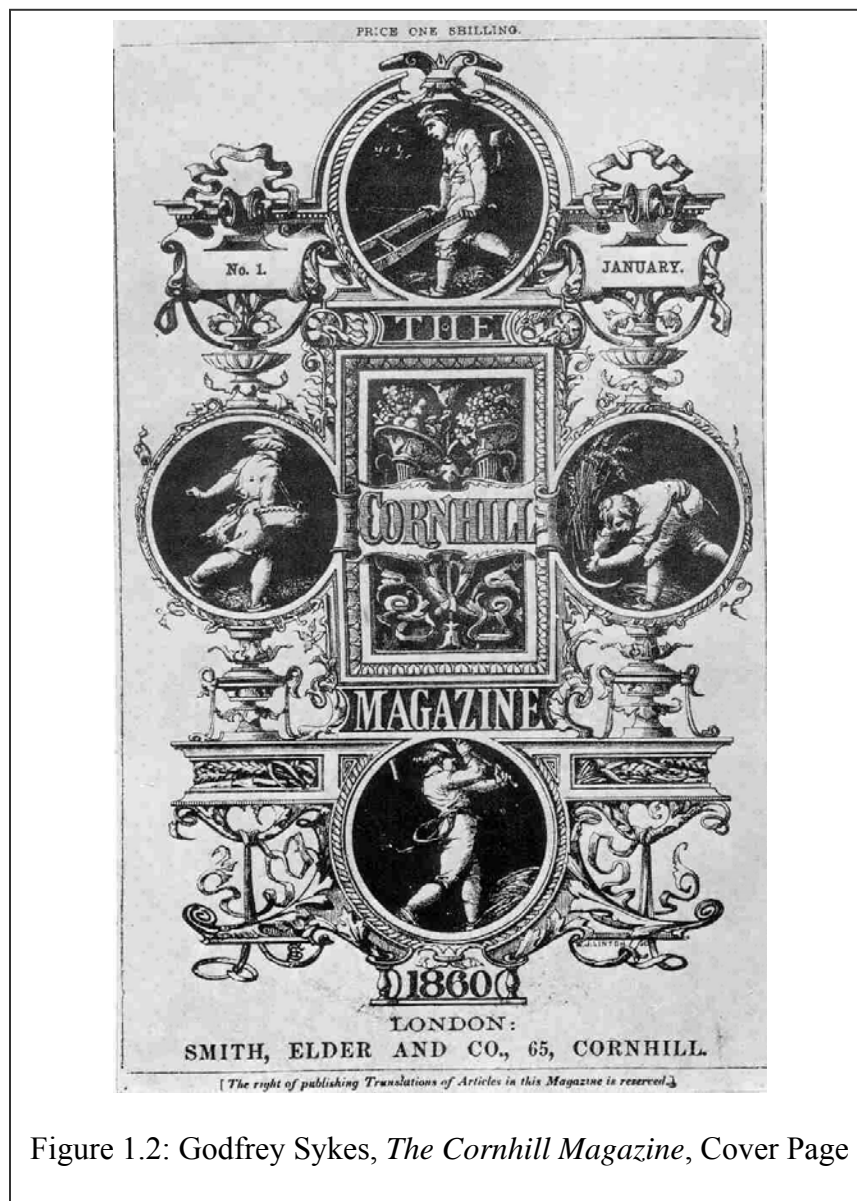


Figure 1.2: Godfrey Sykes, *The Cornhill Magazine*, Cover Page

Spencer L. Eddy, Jr. claims that “It is not unlikely that the magazine’s name and image, the sower, the hills of grain, the fruitful references to a ‘harvest perennial,’ suggested an attractive, almost bucolic and Virgilian innocence to which the reader might escape from the grime and grind of London 1860” (18). Every image of the man working his fields shows him in motion, implying a virility that can be derived from work. However, these images do not simply depict the idyllic nature of rural life. While they do situate the family literary magazine within the rural, they also show a man at work. The actual work of the land is thus aligned with the cultural work of periodical culture and the family literary magazine. The seasonal nature of the work depicted also emphasizes the magazine’s periodicity; it too is at work, so to speak, all year round, providing the family with an abundant plate of article and serials.

Ironically, the *Cornhill* was named after the London street where George Smith’s publishing firm was located, not the small, idyllic hamlet the name appears to invoke. Like Beeton’s audience, who would have been more familiar with London shops than the farm yard, the *Cornhill* blends pastoral imagery with progressive urbanity. Elizabeth Teare avers that “Thackeray’s pastoral claims might seem silly—imagine the ploughman jostling his way through one of London’s busiest streets—but these claims established the expectations of both readers and writers” (120). In so doing, both magazines appeal to the upwardly mobile middle-class home of the mid-nineteenth century. According to Barbara Quinn Schmidt, Thackeray and Smith deliberately “selected a title and a cover to remind readers that the staff of life was produced through work as always, but now celebrated in an elegant design to reflect their—readers, editor and publishers—rising status” (“Introduction” 203). Thus, the magazine is able to simultaneously evoke the rural past and appeal to the newly arrived and



predominantly urban middle-classes. Both magazines look back to England's agrarian past in order to situate the home and the family within a milieu that combines production with the domestic. Implicitly, these two images of middle-class life are tied together by the focus on the pleasures of the well-run home. They are happy, fulfilling images, hinting that within their pages they will represent the ideal home.

This ideal home, however, is not one that explicitly upholds separate-spheres ideology. For the *BOHM* and the *Cornhill*, the ideal home is a progressive one, based on the idea that the older aristocratic models of the gentleman and the lady do not quite suit the urban middle-class home of the mid-nineteenth century. By situating themselves simultaneously within an idealized view of England's past and an almost energetic view of England's future, these two magazines successfully address the anxieties facing the rising middle-classes. In Chapter Two, I argue that Elizabeth Gaskell's serial *Wives and Daughters* exemplifies this tension between the past and future, and in so doing, subtly reshapes Victorian domestic ideology to include more progressive gender constructions. Seemingly a country house narrative in the tradition of Jane Austen, Gaskell upends the conventions of such narratives, privileging individual ingenuity and scientific endeavors over more traditional virtues. Gaskell's domestic serial serves the *Cornhill's*, and effectively the *BOHM's*, larger purpose of advocating for an urban middle-class that is able to transform outmoded conventions of domestic ideology rather rejecting them entirely.

Chapter Two

*Gender Play “At Our Social Table”: The New Domesticity in the Cornhill and Elizabeth Gaskell’s Wives and Daughters*

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If we can only get people to tell what they know, pretty briefly and good-humouredly, and not in a manner obtrusively didactic—what a pleasant ordinary we may have, and how gladly folks will come to it! If our friends have good manners, a good education, and write in good English, the company, I am sure, will be all the better pleased; and their guests, whatever their rank, age, sex, be, will be glad to be addressed by well-educated gentlemen and women [...]. At our social table, we shall suppose the ladies and children always present; we shall not set rival politicians by the ears; we shall listen to every guest who has an apt word to say; and I hope, induce clergymen of various denominations to say grace in their turn.

~ William Makepeace Thackeray

Mrs. Gibson intended the Hamleys to find this dinner pleasant; and they did. Mr. Gibson was fond of these two young men, both for their parents’ sake and their own, for he had known them since boyhood; and to those whom he liked Mr. Gibson could be remarkably agreeable. Mrs. Gibson really gave them a welcome—and cordiality in a hostess is a very becoming mantle for any other deficiencies there may be. Cynthia and Molly looked their best, which was all the duty that Mrs. Gibson absolutely required of them, as she was willing enough to take her full share in the conversation.

~ Elizabeth Gaskell<sup>1</sup>

George Smith and William Thackeray, in writing to contributors for their new family literary magazine, imagined the *Cornhill Monthly Magazine* to be akin to a lively dinner party. Disparate but well-mannered voices would jostle against each other, discussing a wide variety of current subjects. At this social table, “the ladies and children [were] always present,” helping to shape and perhaps influence the conversation (Thackeray 346). The presence of ladies and children at the *Cornhill’s* social table did not mean that the magazine eschewed meaningful intellectual debate, a charge often leveled at this magazine in particular

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<sup>1</sup> William Thackeray, “To ‘A Contributor,’” in *The Selected Letters of William Makepeace Thackeray*, 345-46. Elizabeth Gaskell, “Mrs Gibson’s Little Dinner,” *Wives and Daughters*, *Cornhill Magazine* Apr. 1864: 434.

and the family literary magazine in general.<sup>2</sup> Rather, situating the magazine as a social space appropriate for the whole family allowed the *Cornhill* to juxtapose domesticity with public discourse.

In imagining the magazine to be akin to a dinner party, Smith and Thackeray aligned the family literary magazine with one of the vital social rituals of middle-class Victorian life. As Isabella Beeton contends, “Dinner, being the grand solid meal of the day, is a matter of considerable importance; and a well-served table is a striking index of human ingenuity and resource” (363). Moreover, the dining room, in many ways, served as the public face for the Victorian home. Thad Logan, in her work on the Victorian parlor, argues that the parlor serves a public and private function as the scene “for the performances of middle-class leisure, performances critical to the experience of everyday life” (27). I argue, however, that the dining room does much of this same work. Public and private life intersected in this room. A multi-purpose space, it was where the family entertained guests and ate their own daily meals. In smaller homes, it was where the family conducted business and gathered together in the evenings. The dining room’s multi-functionality serves as an apt metaphor for the family literary magazine. It too accommodated a multitude of functions and voices as long as these functions and voices did not stray too far from normative domesticity. And it too was a space designed for use by the whole family. Indeed, the *Cornhill*’s ability to appeal to families of readers, to men and women, to fathers and mothers, to husbands and wives, to brothers and sisters, is the source of its success in the 1860s.

The domestic serial in the *Cornhill* is a crucial component of this intersection of the domestic with the public. As fictional accounts of domestic spaces and habits, domestic

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<sup>2</sup> Andrew Maunder’s essay “‘Discourses of distinction’: The Reception of the *Cornhill Magazine*, 1859-60” charts the various viewpoints about the *Cornhill* in the 1860s.

serials constructed homes and families that seemed to reflect prevailing gender and class norms. These serials, in conjunction with illustrations and other articles, also worked to reshape norms, thereby stretching the boundaries of Victorian domesticity and domestic fiction. Critics and scholars tend to view the accumulation of domestic detail in these texts as buttressing traditional middle-class domesticity rather than critiquing and reshaping that domesticity. This view is particularly problematic when applied to Elizabeth Gaskell's use of the dining room and meals in *Wives and Daughters*, published in the *Cornhill* in eighteen installments from August 1864 to January 1866 and illustrated by George Du Maurier.<sup>3</sup> If, as Marie E. Warmbold claims, Gaskell uses the conventions of domestic fiction and domesticity “only to subvert them for her own purposes” (149), then it is important to explore the significance of different aspects of Gaskell's domestic tapestry, such as dining, and how Gaskell uses these aspects of everyday life as part of her re-visioning of domestic ideology.

To demonstrate how the *Cornhill*, Gaskell, and Du Maurier advance a more flexible domesticity, I focus on the interplay between the non-fiction articles of the *Cornhill*, the October 1864, November 1864, April 1865 installments of *Wives and Daughters*, and Du Maurier's illustration for these installments. By presenting more active and independent women and professional men in its non-fiction, serials, and illustrations, the *Cornhill* offers a version of domesticity that negotiates between the public and private sphere, between the restrictive images of the angel in the house and the so-called girl of the period, between the privileged position of the eldest son and the dandy. Reading in this intertextual manner not only highlights the “intersections and overlappings” that occur within a magazine but also allows for a recovery of Du Maurier's work (Turner 7). Largely overlooked by recent

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix A for the volume, chapters, and pages numbers for each monthly installment of *Wives and Daughters*.

scholars and publishers—Bill Ruddick being the notable exception— Du Maurier’s illustrations are important in the magazine’s visual and textual depiction of domesticity. Although Du Maurier is less interested in domestic habit—none of his illustrations depict a meal—these illustrations guided readers’ expectations for each installment and emphasized Gaskell’s thematic concerns about gender construction. In effect, Du Maurier’s illustrations function as a visual domestic serial, interpreting and expanding on Gaskell’s textual one.

Reading intertextually also provides a space for reconsidering Gaskell’s version of domesticity. Scholars frequently cite Gaskell’s rich and thorough knowledge of middle-class social codes and habits as evidence of her adherence to normative domesticity, especially when it comes to the portrayal of Molly Gibson and Roger Hamley. Henry James makes the case that Gaskell’s use of domestic detail almost occludes her characters: “the details are so numerous and so minute that even a very well-disposed reader will be tempted to lay down the book and ask himself of what possible concern to him are [...] these modest domestic facts” (156). Such scholars as Deidre D’Albertis, Hilary Schor, and Ruth Bernard Yeazell all seem to agree with James’s claim. While these scholars go on to complicate their readings of Gaskell’s text, all emphasize Molly as a docile embodiment of the angel in the house in part because of how they read these domestic facts.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, scholars and critics also rarely address how Gaskell’s domestic discourse shapes her male characters. For instance, “The Magazines” column in the 5 August 1865 issue of the *Illustrated London News*, while lauding Gaskell’s abilities to depict

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<sup>4</sup> All of these scholars read domesticity and domestic facts as supporting traditional constructions of femininity. Deidre D’Albertis claims that Molly “seems to stand for docility and domestic virtue” (149). And Hilary Schor maintains that the text’s “encouragement of [Molly’s] docility has left her better able to act on behalf of others than for herself” (190). For further information, see Deidre D’Albertis, *Dissembling Fictions: Elizabeth Gaskell and the Victorian Social Text* 137-59; Hilary Schor, *Scheherazade in the Marketplace: Elizabeth Gaskell and the Victorian Novel* 182-210; and Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Fictions of Modesty: Women and Courtship in the English Novel* 194-216.

femininity, claims that “It is amusing to observe what pains the authoress takes with her masculine personages” (110), implying that Gaskell’s male characters are somehow less believable than her female ones. Yet Frederick Greenwood praises the verisimilitude of the scene in the March 1865 installment where Roger and the Squire smoke an after dinner pipe together, claiming that this scene “is not excelled as a picture in all modern fiction” (January 1866 14). This quiet, homely scene allows Gaskell to position her new professional man as being at ease with domesticity, suggesting Gaskell’s awareness of how masculinity is also shaped by domestic habits.

If Molly is “a product, to a certain extent, of clean frocks and French lessons,” if Roger is a product of good pipes and the outdoor life of Hamley Hall (James 156), then these domestic facts are integral to understanding how Gaskell and the *Cornhill* define gender and class in the mid-nineteenth century. As the *Cornhill*’s and Gaskell’s “girl of the period,” a term I deliberately appropriate from Eliza Lynn Linton, Molly has a quiet strength, intellectual curiosity, and an ability to navigate the social constraints of middle-class life that make her a very different form of femininity from the flirty, self-aware, and superficial Cynthia. Linton’s girl of the period is artificial, flirtatious, and self-involved, while Gaskell’s girl of the period is intelligent, compassionate, and discerning. Roger, as the ideal new man, embodies the middle-class masculine values of persistence, intellect, loyalty, and virtue despite being a member of the gentry. Roger’s academic and professional successes set him apart from Osborne’s ineffective poetic musings and Mr. Preston’s aggressive social climbing. A close examination of how the *Cornhill* addresses changes in gender roles through its non-fiction, three key installments of *Wives and Daughters*, and Du Maurier’s

illustrations opens up our understanding of how the magazine recasts domesticity for the urban, middle-class home.



*Dine We Must: Gender and Class at the Cornhill's Social Table*

Smith and Thackeray's alignment of the *Cornhill* with social table of the dinner party served a practical and a metaphoric purpose. Concerned that the magazine might be perceived as "the property of a literary clique" (Eddy 19), Smith and Thackeray needed to stress the idea that the *Cornhill* would accommodate a variety of voices. Metaphorically, evoking the social table allowed Smith and Thackeray to position the magazine as an arbiter of a proper fictional diet.<sup>5</sup> The family literary magazine was designed, after all, as a rich table from which hungry readers could satiate their intellectual appetites. Each issue works not unlike a dinner party, with the various components of the magazine making up the dishes. The seeming abundance of food on the Victorian table offered everyone present something they liked; diners were not required nor expected to partake of everything presented. In the same way, the family literary magazine, while expecting its readers to partake of almost everything, juxtaposed a variety of voices in order to ensure that there would be a "dish" for everyone.

Although Gaskell did not serialize *Wives and Daughters* in the *Cornhill* until 1864, her voice was one of the first at the magazine's social table.<sup>6</sup> Thus, an examination of how the magazine formed its relatively inclusive social table from its inception in 1860 is important for understanding Gaskell's, Du Maurier's, and the *Cornhill*'s reshaping of

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<sup>5</sup> In his first installment of "Roundabout Papers," Thackeray specifically equates the fiction in the *Cornhill* with dessert: "Novels are sweets. All people with healthy literary appetites love them" (127).

<sup>6</sup> Gaskell's short story "Curious, If True" was published in February 1860, the second issue of the magazine. Her four-part story *Cousin Phillis* appeared from November 1863 to February 1864.

domesticity. Here I want to trace the editorial policies of the magazine and examine how the non-fiction articles during the serialization of *Wives and Daughters* created an environment well-suited to advocacy of progressive gender roles. The editors weighed and considered every detail, from the magazine's name to the house style and the quality of the illustrations. Smith claimed that the idea for the magazine "flashed upon [him] suddenly," although rival London publisher Alexander Macmillan had been circulating the idea of establishing his own monthly magazine since early 1858, which was probably a spur for Smith (qtd. in Glynn 121). His plan for the magazine was simple, but effective. He argued that "the existing magazines were few, and when not high-priced were narrow in literary range, and it seemed to me that a shilling magazine which contained, in addition to other first-class literary material, a serial novel by Thackeray must command a large sale" (qtd. in Glynn 121-22). Smith and Thackeray's policy of publishing high quality illustrated serials by well-known authors alongside high quality articles on a variety of intellectual but current topics proved to be exceedingly successful. The first issue of the *Cornhill* sold approximately 110,000 copies.<sup>7</sup>

Smith capitalized on the growing influence of the middle classes in designing his magazine and in commissioning serials. He sought articles and serials that reflected urban middle-class values: hard work, social virtue, honor, duty, civilized behavior, and politeness. These contributions did not necessarily codify these values. Andrew Maunder argues that *Cornhill* "managed to suggest that the meaning of civilised behaviour was to some degree fluid, that it shifted in relation to an individual's role and position in society" (45). As a

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<sup>7</sup> There is some debate over the *Cornhill*'s initial circulation numbers. Richard Altick cites the number as 120,000, but more recent work done by Deborah Wynne and Graham Law puts the number of copies at 110,000 and less than 100,000 respectively. Smith and Elder probably inflated their circulation numbers, a common practice among Victorian publishers, which accounts for the difference. By the end of the 1860s, circulation was down to around 40,000 per issue. See Altick 359, Wynne 24, and Law 32.



forum for education and entertainment for its urban middle-class audience, the magazine had broadly constructed objectives: “If we can only get people to tell what they know, pretty briefly and good-humouredly, and not in a manner obtrusively didactic—what a pleasant ordinary we may have, and how gladly folks will come to it” (Thackeray 346). From its inception, then, the *Cornhill* was designed as a place of knowledge, simply and pleasantly related, not unlike the flow of conversation at a good dinner party.

From August 1864 to January 1866, the magazine addressed a wide range of topics: middle class education, new farming methods, leisure activities like hunting, foreign travel destinations like Mount Blanc, art, science, technological advances, social criticism, the legal system, nursing, the criminally insane, the limited enlistment act, military history, and literary history. In his initial prospectus for the magazine, Thackeray purposefully comments that “There are points on which agreement is impossible, and on these we need not touch” (346). Eschewing points where agreement was not probable set the magazine apart from the older quarterlies and monthlies that did have a political or social bent, like the openly conservative position of *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*.

Just because politics and religion were not on the menu, however, does not mean the *Cornhill’s* fare was less piquant. Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston argue that the *Cornhill* was “politically liberal” (215), and despite the magazine’s guiding principle of deliberately avoiding controversial material, the magazine was socially progressive. The magazine addressed a variety of social issues. For example, William Gilbert’s article “A Visit to a Convict Lunatic Asylum,” from October 1864, argues that treating the criminally insane in a humane but controlled manner, with “kindness, and a very powerful staff of warders,” is more effective than harsh punishments (451). Catherine Helen Spence’s “An

Australian's Impressions of England," from January 1866, remarks on the disparity between the classes, particularly between laborers and proprietors. Spence notes that the differences between the classes "strike a colonist more forcibly" since "continental visitors are most impressed with the great numbers and the great importance of the middle class,—those with incomes of between five hundred and fifteen hundred a year, while we are most surprised at the large landed proprietors and the commercial millionnaires [sic]" (113). Such articles suggest that the *Cornhill* engaged in many of the contemporary debates of the day and that the magazine's general viewpoint was liberal and progressive, since discussions of class inequalities and medical reforms is of a piece with kind views advocated by liberal reformers.

The magazine's moderate viewpoint is even more pronounced when it turns to issues of gender. For instance, Anne Thackeray Ritchie's article "Heroines and their Grandmothers," from November 1864, claims that the heroines of mid-nineteenth century fiction—Jane Eyre, Margaret Hale, Maggie Tulliver, and Cousin Phillis—are too sentimental: "Does the modern taste demand a certain sensation feeling, sensation sentiment" (630). While these heroines are all strong characters, for Ritchie they and their respective texts are too focused on inner turmoil. She complains that modern heroines are "morbid, constantly occupied with themselves, one-sided, and ungrateful to the wonders and blessings of a world which is not less beautiful now than it was a hundred years ago" (640). Ritchie finds this preoccupation with the self detrimental to fiction, but she does not want a return to selfless, passive heroines. She values heroines who have an individual voice while still possessing compassion for others. Ritchie wants heroines that are "simpler, less spasmodic,

less introspective” but not less vocal (640). In short, Ritchie argues for a heroine like Molly Gibson, who looks outside herself.

Even when an article in the *Cornhill* appears to be lambasting independent women, the magazine maintains a progressive perspective on women’s roles outside the home. Richard Ashe King’s “A Tête-à-Tête Social Science Discussion” (November 1865), begins by suggesting that middle-class men are in danger of being drowned “in the tide of women steadily and inevitably [...] creeping under the doors of our printing offices, then rising into our dissecting-rooms, then sweeping over the bar, and at last, submerging the pulpit” (570). Despite the negative construction of public, intellectual women, King is not actually arguing that women be prevented from entering the workplace. At first, King’s narrator is overwhelmed by the birth of his ninth daughter, but he comes to realize that his daughters are quite capable. In the end, King’s article proposes that women be made “more independent—more capable of self support” by giving them “a wider and more bracing education” (574).

Indeed, much of the August 1864 to January 1866 run of the *Cornhill* stresses the importance of education and active professions in shaping the roles of women and men. The *Cornhill* generally favored educating and training women for life outside of marriage. In “Middle-class Education: Girls,” Martineau argues that girls need “a substantial and liberal development and training of the mind” as well as professional training for those who want or need to pursue a career, and she praises both the French and American system for providing this training in ways that the English system does not (560).<sup>8</sup> Martineau’s ideal system of education imitates the American one, where “it may be taken for granted that ladies who obtain their diploma as physicians, and who read Greek plays, and who thoroughly

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<sup>8</sup> Robin B. Colby claims that Gaskell’s daughter Meta “was sent to Harriet Martineau’s school, where she received an education that exceeded the limits normally set for middle-class women” (91). In fact, Meta went to a school run by Martineau’s elder sister Rachel. See Jenny Uglow 207 and 345.

understand the [sic] Differential Calculus are as dexterous in making beds, and turning out a good batch of bread and pies, and administering medicines and blisters, as ever their grandmothers were” (“Girls” 564).<sup>9</sup> The *Cornhill* emphasizes balance in constructing its model of femininity. Well-educated women should be able both to follow the same intellectual pursuits as men and be efficient domestic managers; they should read Greek and run their homes. Lady Harriet in *Wives and Daughters* exemplifies this combination of intellectual and domestic capabilities, thereby reinforcing the *Cornhill* model. When Lord Hollingford invites several prominent scientific scholars to a house party at the Towers, Lady Harriet arranges all the domestic details, including protecting Molly from over exertion, while still being knowledgeable about the work of the important visitors. Thus, the *Cornhill* argues that the proper education of women does not undermine social stability; in fact, educated women help society function more effectively.

In conjunction with its examination of feminine roles, the *Cornhill* also reevaluates the roles of men in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Jennifer Phegley, the *Cornhill* was “interest[ed] in the development of the new gentleman” (101). This new gentleman was well-educated, engaged in a professional career, had a respectable reputation, and managed money and his household prudently. Several articles during the eighteenth-month run of *Wives and Daughters* highlight the interests of the *Cornhill* new gentleman: Sir James Fitzjames Stephen’s “Bars of England and France” (December 1864) and “The Professions of Advocacy” (July 1865) discuss the legal profession; James Hannay’s “Bohemians and Bohemianism” (February 1865) examines the lives of men who choose to live outside social norms in a positive light; and Reginald Lewis’s “University Life” (February 1865) and

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<sup>9</sup> Martineau is not making an entirely new argument here. Mary Astell makes some similar claims in “A Serious Proposal to the Ladies” (part 1 1694, part 2 1697).

Martineau's "Middle-Class Education in England: Boys" (October 1864) emphasize the importance of education for men both professionally and socially.

For instance, in "Middle-Class Education in England: Boys," Martineau argues that the nine public schools provide an inadequate education for middle-class boys. Martineau advocates an education system that instills in students "the spirit and manliness [...] health and self-reliance" necessary to function in mid-nineteenth century society rather than a motley classical education ("Boys" 419). The distinction Martineau makes here between a poor classical education and the new gentleman is precisely the difference between Osborne and Roger Hamley. Consistently praised and rewarded for his scholarship at public school, Osborne is a distinct failure at Cambridge and as a poet. It is Roger, unassuming at public school, who excels at Cambridge and in his career as a natural scientist. Through Osborne's failure and Roger's academic and professional success, Gaskell implicitly critiques traditional male university training and advocates for a system not unlike the one put forward by Martineau.

In arguing for the education and independence of middle-class men and women, *Cornhill* professes the tenets of a progressive kind of domesticity. For the *Cornhill*, men and women needed to be strong, intelligent, and rational in order to be fully capable of grappling with the changes of the mid-nineteenth century. This viewpoint is not apolitical; it is a view informed by the debates of the day as regards gender and the growing influence of the middle classes. Nevertheless, the *Cornhill's* house policy of excluding overtly political content frequently leads to accusations that the magazine was somehow pandering to its middle-class female readers. Barbara Quinn Schmidt maintains that magazines like the *Cornhill* targeted the "comfortable, ill-educated middle-class who read for entertainment and easy instruction"

(143). Mark Turner in *Trollope and the Magazines* argues that in “choosing *Cornhill* contributions to suit a female audience, the editors were defining the magazine according to gender, and the exclusion of politics and religion was, in a sense, an emasculation” (12). Both Schmidt and Turner fault the magazine for trying to be more inclusive in whom it invites to its social table. Reconsidering the work done by Schmidt and Turner, Jennifer Phegley argues in *Educating the Proper Woman Reader* that “the *Cornhill* went beyond offering lightweight entertainment for its female readers to provide a more open forum for women, maintaining not only that women were educable, but also that they should be educated” (72). Nevertheless, she sees the magazine as espousing a “middle-of-the-road political stance” rather than a progressive one (Phegley 73). Moreover, Phegley claims that the *Cornhill* “stopped short of articulating how the public and the intellectual woman it imagined would fit into society” (72). The *Cornhill* was less pandering, voiceless, middling, or indeterminate than this. It did ardently argue for social changes, and articles such as Martineau’s “Nurses Wanted” (April 1865), for instance, plainly state that the intellectual women lauded in the *Cornhill* already had a position in society and that professions, like medicine, needed more such women. Martineau argues “that there is an immediate and urgent demand for many thousands—even tens of thousands—of trained nurses” and that nursing is a better and more respectable position than becoming a governess or any other occupation unmarried middle-class women resorted to (“Nurses Wanted” 412).

Avoiding overtly political issues was a shrewd move by the *Cornhill* editors. From a marketing standpoint, deliberately adopting a more neutral, while still progressive, tone meant that the magazine stood out from more partisan venues like *Blackwood’s* or *Macmillan’s Monthly Magazine*. Smith and Thackeray, and later editor Frederick

Greenwood, never intended the *Cornhill* to be an ideological battlefield. There was no strict “gentlemen’s club” here, even though Turner makes this claim about the non-fiction (39).<sup>10</sup> The pleasant nature of the *Cornhill*’s social table depended on a balance of voices and interests, not unlike the dependence of the Victorian dinner table on the careful balance of savory and sweet dishes. We should not view this balance as middling. Steering clear of pointed political and religious issues allowed the magazine to appeal to a variety of family readers while still advocating social change. As Turner later notes, the *Cornhill*’s focus on social issues allowed the magazine to “[broaden] the range of subjects within culture and society available to be discussed” (25). Viewing the *Cornhill*’s family of readers as somehow limiting occludes the ways in which the magazine used the nonfiction and the domestic serial, a key component of its appeal to the whole family, as a way of showing how the “public and intellectual woman” and man operated within society (Phegley 72).

One reason behind the charge that the *Cornhill* pandered to middle-class female readers lay in its focus on serial fiction. For instance, during the eighteen-month run of *Wives and Daughters*, the *Cornhill* had an average of 127 pages per issue, with the June and December issues being shorter.<sup>11</sup> On average, each issue contained 63 pages of fiction, meaning that roughly half, or 49.67%, of the issues during this time period, consisted of fiction. The February 1865 issue had the most fictional content, with 64% of the issue

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<sup>10</sup> Granted, Turner examines the *Cornhill* during the September 1862 to April 1864 serialization of Anthony Trollope’s *The Small House at Allington*, which had a paucity of female non-fiction contributors. Seventeen of the twenty issues that comprised the *Small House at Allington*’s serial run had no non-fiction contributions from women. This imbalance is lessened during the serialization of *Wives and Daughters*, where ten of the eighteen issues included non-fiction contributions from women. When the fiction is also taken into account, some issues become almost evenly divided between male and female contributors. The October 1864 issue has more contributions by women than men, for example. Furthermore, the *Cornhill*’s anonymous publication policy would have elided this imbalance as readers would more than likely been unaware of the gender of the contributor. See chapter one in Turner’s *Trollope and the Magazines*, specifically pages 25-43.

<sup>11</sup> For a complete chart of the percentage of fiction per issue during the serialization of *Wives and Daughters* see Figure 2.1.





comprising installments of the two serials—*Armada* and *Wives and Daughters*—and the short story “Tid’s Old Red Rag of Shawl.” The house style of the magazine also emphasized the fiction over the non-fiction; one of the two serials was the first item in every issue of the magazine. Furthermore, the one-column format—a distinct departure from the two-column format of magazines like *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*—made the magazine look more like a novel. This format also emphasized the one-page illustrations that typically accompanied each serial installment.

Aware of the propensity for fiction to seem to overrun an issue, Thackeray conscientiously solicited non-fiction works of the same caliber as the serials. For example, he wrote to Trollope to ask him for nonfiction work as well as fiction:

You must have tossed a deal about the world, and have countless sketches in your memory or your portfolio [sic] Please to think if you can furbish up any of these besides the novel: When events occur on wh. [sic] you can have a good lively talk, bear us in mind. One of our chief objects in this Magazine is the getting out of novel-spinning, and back into the world—Dont [sic] understand me to disparage our craft, especially *your* wares. (Harden 343)

Thackeray emphasizes the magazine’s need to balance fact and fiction so that the *Cornhill* could speak to current events and issues. Novel-spinning—as Thackeray termed it—was only one way in which the *Cornhill* addressed issues of class and gender.

Even so, the magazine’s practice of publishing two installments of a serial per issue made fiction a large part of the magazine’s discursive practices. When Smith commissioned a serial from Trollope for the first issue of the *Cornhill*, he told Trollope that he wanted serials “the scenes of which ... [were] designed to be descriptive of contemporary English life, society, and manners” (qtd. in Maunder 47). The serials that focused on contemporary English life—rural and urban—performed the best in the magazine, increasing sales and garnering good reviews. The reviewer for the *Illustrated London News* calls the November

1865 installment of *Wives and Daughters* “better than ever—more delicately subtle, more exquisitely pathetic” (“The Magazines” 438). The review also claims that “public opinion has pretty much placed [Gaskell’s serial] at the head of the serial literature of the day” (“The Magazines” 438). George Eliot’s historical serial *Romola* and Wilkie Collins’s sensation story *Armadale* did not produce the same laudatory reviews, sales, or prestige. The same *Illustrated London News* review called *Armadale* “better this month than there is less Machiavelism and more human feeling,” but it continues to object to the “stifling moral atmosphere” of the serial (“The Magazines” 438).

Although the domestic serial has seemed to be the “consistent loser” (Hagedorn 5), always marginalized as somehow lesser, the prominence of domestic fiction in the magazine and readers’ preference for this type of fiction suggests that the serial actively negotiated public and private views. The domestic serial of the mid-nineteenth century showed how professional men and women were better able to cope with the social and cultural changes of the day within and outside the home. This type of domestic fiction was especially well-suited to encompassing the divergent changes of the period that the primarily urban middle classes composing *Cornhill*’s audience faced, particularly as regards class and gender roles. Terry Eagleton maintains in *The English Novel* that fiction “is committed to the present, but to a present which is always in the process of change. It is a this-worldly rather than an other-worldly phenomenon; but since change is part of this-worldliness, it is not a backward-looking one either” (7). In other words, the domestic serial’s focus on the everyday did not render it toothless. Rather, the focus on the everyday allowed for a gradual reshaping of domesticity. In effect, the domestic serial helped the urban middle-class professionals who found themselves part of the new social order delineated in the pages of the *Cornhill*

negotiate the often divergent forces that made up life in the mid-nineteenth century. With their focus on everyday life, domestic serials both reflected the lived existence of this new type of family and offered subtle alternatives to that existence. Including domestic serials like *Wives and Daughters* and the voice of writers like Elizabeth Gaskell at their social table provided the *Cornhill* a way of actively restructuring mid-nineteenth century middle-class domesticity.



*Gender Play: Family Meals and Dinner Parties in Gaskell's Everyday Story*

The *Cornhill* drew the codes of social table from already circulating discourse on the home and on dining. Periodical culture actively shaped the significance of everyday activities like dining. Writers on household management and the home, such as Beeton, M.J. Loftie, Mary Eliza Haweis, and Charles Eastlake, situated the home as capable of negotiating status for the urban middle classes,<sup>12</sup> for the kinds of goods and domestic habits suggested by these writers would have been more feasible in an urban setting. Logan argues that we should “think of the home [...] as a kind of speech act, and [...] consider objects [in the home] as part of a vast semiotic system” (93). In other words, the china, tea sets, foot stools, parquet floors—the whole wealth of domestic items that circulated in the marketplace—spoke to the family’s class position and understanding of the social mores of the mid-

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<sup>12</sup> M.J. Loftie wrote *The Dining Room* (1878) as part of the twelve-volume Art at Home series edited by her husband, William John Loftie. Mary Eliza Haweis was a writer on design, art, and fashion. Exhibiting paintings at the Royal Academy when she was eighteen, Haweis later turned her attention to the home, writing a series of articles for magazines like *Saint Pauls*. These articles were eventually compiled into three books—*The Art of Beauty* (1878), *The Art of Dress* (1879), and *The Art of Decoration* (1881)—on the subject. According to Margaret Connolly, “these books also provided a forum for the expression of her wholesome views on the dangers fashion posed to health, and on the necessity that decoration should be both useful and in harmony with natural proportion” (par. 2). Charles Eastlake trained as an architect, but he is best known for his work as a freelance journalist of interior design. His series of controversial articles, published in *The Queen* in 1868, showed “readers how to ‘furnish their houses picturesquely, without ignoring modern notions of comfort and convenience’” (qtd. in Gibson par. 4). These articles, edited and expanded, were compiled into *Hints on Household Taste, in Furniture, Upholstery, and other Details* (1868).

nineteenth century. Having the “right” goods and meticulously following the domestic rules delineated by writers on the home were almost necessary for the upwardly mobile middle-class family. Everything from the number and order of dishes on the table to the kind of glassware being used spoke to the family’s social standing.

The dining room was a multifunctional room for most middle-class families. On a regular basis, the family could use the dining room as an impromptu study, a sewing room, a school room, a family sitting room, or as a place for family meals. As the space where the family congregated, it allowed for the intersection of male and female interests. Frequently, men kept a writing desk in the dining room for any household business, while women wrote their household accounts and correspondence in the dining room. Gaskell herself wrote in the dining room, since the “doors in all directions [kept] her in touch with the flow of activity in the house” (Stoneman 24). Many women used this room as Gaskell did, making it into a makeshift study, which allowed them to tend to their private business while also keeping an eye on the rest of the home.

While Gaskell emphasizes how the social table serves as a stage for the elevation of professional men and intelligent women, she also encapsulates the social importance of the dining room and the meals themselves in *Wives and Daughters*. For example, Mrs. Gibson, in an attempt to “squeeze herself into ‘county society,’” shifts the Gibson family dinner to a later hour (August 1865 160).<sup>13</sup> This seemingly small rearrangement of the Gibson family’s domestic habits has profound implications. As more and more middle-class professional men began working long distances from home—commuting to work was a byproduct of the rapid urbanization of the mid-nineteenth century—and innovations like gaslighting became

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<sup>13</sup> All citations from *Wives and Daughters* are from its serialization in the *Cornhill*. Since the *Cornhill* repaginates for each six-month volume, I have included the issue date as well as the page number.

more common in homes, dinner moved from being a substantial midday meal to later in the evening, around six or seven o'clock. For instance, Sara Paston-Williams gives the account of how, in 1855, Charles Dickens "asked Wilkie Collins to dine with him at his normal hour of 5:30pm, yet, ten years later, a similar invitation to Browning begs him to be punctual at 6:30pm" (320). This evening meal could be even later in upper class households where family members did not have to rise early, emphasizing the family's leisure time. Astute domestic managers like Gaskell's Mrs. Gibson, wanting to move their families up the social ladder, adopted the late dinner hour.

Moving this meal to a later hour affected other meals and social habits. Tea, which was either a late afternoon/early evening meal or a meal between dinner and bedtime, moved to earlier in the day as a stop gap between the light luncheon normally taken by the mistress and the household dinner. The older custom of tea as an evening meal, however, was a more economical way to entertain than a dinner party. Judith Flanders claims that Thomas and Jane Carlyle kept up the custom of after dinner tea, inviting people to come "at about seven o'clock: this was thriftier than having them for the meal itself; and made an evening entertainment" (269). For the fictional community of Hollingford, evening tea is a crucial component of the town's social activities. Consequently, Mrs. Gibson's new dinner hour excludes the Gibsons, especially Molly, from most of Hollingford's social engagements since the townspeople still have dinner as a midday meal and take tea in the evenings: "How ask people to tea at six, who dined at that hour? How, when they refused cake and sandwiches at half-past eight, how induce other people who were really hungry to commit a vulgarity" (August 1865 160). Changes in something seemingly as small as meal times had real social

consequences; it could shrink or enlarge a social circle as families used the dinner hour as a means of social advancement.

Prudent and socially astute domestic managers used family meals as a training ground for more formal occasions. Beeton suggests that family meals be conducted with “the same cleanliness, neatness, and scrupulous exactness” as if the meal were for a party of sixty (27). Gaskell’s Mrs. Gibson so strictly follows this advice that she insists on dessert being served at every meal, even though neither Molly nor Mrs. Gibson eats dessert (typically a course consisting of fruit and nuts):

for it was one of Mrs Gibson’s fancies—one which Molly chafed against—to have every ceremonial gone through in the same stately manner for two as for twenty. So, although Molly knew full well, and her stepmother knew full well, and Marie knew full well, that neither Mrs Gibson nor Molly touched dessert, it was set on the table with as much form as if Cynthia had been at home, who delighted in almonds and raisins; or Mr Gibson been there, who never could resist dates, although he always protested against ‘persons in their station of life having a formal dessert set out before them every day.’”  
(October 1865 388)

Observing these forms trains the domestic staff (and the family, if necessary) in the proper rituals of the table and shows the family’s social standing. These forms were especially important for the families of professional men whose class position could be inexact. A surgeon like Mr. Gibson would have been of a higher social standing than merchants and farmers of Hollingford, but he was not on an equal footing with the county families because he was educated outside the Oxbridge system and because the dispensing of drugs placed him in direct contact with trade.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, a surgeon did not have the same social

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<sup>14</sup> While the terms are used synonymously today, in the 1820s and 1830s—the time period in which the serial takes place—a surgeon was only licensed to treat external complaints, like broken bones, as opposed to a physician who could treat internal complaints, like typhoid fever. Surgeons could, however, dispense drugs; charging for medicines was one way a surgeon received remuneration since he could not charge for any diagnosis of an internal complaint. A surgeon typically trained outside the Oxbridge system, which emphasized classical education over the study of “anatomy, surgery, botany, chemistry, pharmacy, and midwifery” (Furst 348). Lilian Furst, in her article “Struggling for Medical Reform in *Middlemarch*” gives a brief overview of

standing as a physician even though he was more than likely to be better trained in medical and scientific innovations. Many professional men and their families inhabited the same imprecise class position as the Gibsons, and strict adherence to social rituals was one way of separating a family from the lower ranks.

The October 1864 installment of *Wives and Daughters* clearly illuminates the dining room as a classed and gendered space, a space that allows for the kinds of gender play necessary to the *Cornhill*'s and Gaskell's vision of domesticity. Structurally, Gaskell uses the dismal luncheon that Mr. Gibson must give to Lord Hollingford in the October 1864 installment as a means of arranging the doctor's eventual marriage to Hyacinth Clare Kirkpatrick.<sup>15</sup> Although Mr. Cox's love letter spurred Mr. Gibson into thinking more carefully about his domestic affairs, the badly cooked early family dinner that he serves Lord Hollingford in this installment causes him to think about marrying again. The dismissal of Bethia after her involvement in passing the love note to Molly results in the Gibson family cook's giving notice and generally sulking. The meal, late and almost unclean, opens Mr. Gibson's eyes to the irregularities of his domestic management. Apologizing to Lord Hollingford, Mr. Gibson lays the blame for the meal on his widowhood: "You see a man like me—a widower—with a daughter who cannot always be at home—has not the regulated household which would enable me to command the small portions of time I can spend there" (October 1864 406). He cannot regulate his household and keep his professional obligations because he does not have a wife to act as a domestic manager. Lord Hollingford suggests

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medical reforms in the early nineteenth century and delineates the differences between physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries.

<sup>15</sup> Domestic habits function as part of the narrative structure for the whole serial. Each installment begins and ends with a scene of everyday life, creating a specific and self-contained narrative arc. See Linda Hughes and Michael Lund, *Victorian Publishing and Mrs. Gaskell's Work* 11-34 for an examination of how Gaskell uses "lived time" (51).

marriage as the solution to Mr. Gibson's domestic troubles, which prompts Mr. Gibson to think seriously about remarrying. In essence, one ill-managed family meal sets the stage for his proposal to Hyacinth Clare Kirkpatrick.

Gaskell does not deploy meals merely as a structural element in this installment. The Hamley family dinner in honor of Roger's homecoming establishes the tensions between the *Cornhill's* new professional man and the traditional, landed gentleman. It also depicts the early friction between Molly and Roger, thereby emphasizing Molly's growing independence. The tension and misery surrounding this meal stem from Osborne's failure at Cambridge. The Squire and Mrs. Hamley are devastated, having elevated Osborne and his career as the symbol of all their ideals: "In his father's eyes, Osborne was the representative of the ancient house of Hamley of Hamley, the future owner of the land which had been theirs for a thousand years. His mother clung to him because they two were cast in the same mould" (October 1864 391). Falling back on custom, the Hamleys persist in having a family dinner despite Mrs. Hamley's sadness and the Squire's anger.

The pressures of this family meal—the attempt to keep up appearances and the struggle with real disappointment—elucidate the reasons why Gaskell has positioned Roger as her new, progressive man and delineated the limits of classical education. The Hamleys have such high expectations for Osborne's academic success because of the prizes he won at Rugby. Gaskell is specifically vague here about what these prizes were for, but Osborne's early academic success is more than likely in Greek and Latin.<sup>16</sup> This classical education and

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<sup>16</sup> Schools like Rugby followed a Classical curriculum, emphasizing the rote memorization of Greek and Latin grammar and syntax. Thomas Arnold (1795 to 1842), headmaster of Rugby from 1828 to 1841, instituted a slightly more comprehensive curriculum. It still relied heavily on teaching Greek and Latin, but it also included mathematics through "simple and quadratic equations, plane trigonometry and conic sections," French, history, and scriptural history (Newsome 65). According to David Newsome, a boy would finish his career at Rugby with "a general knowledge of biblical history from his scripture lessons and would have read



his failure in the mathematical tripos do not give him the skills to run Hamley Hall. Osborne, as the eldest son, is supposed to be able to run the estate, and yet his failure in arithmetic suggests that he is not capable of managing the estate's complex financial situation, particularly the government loan Squire Hamley takes to improve the estate.<sup>17</sup> Roger, on the other hand, who did not excel in classics, does have the necessary skills to run the estate and successfully pursue a professional career in the sciences. The difference in the two brothers' skill sets is key here. In "Middle-Class Education in England: Boys," which immediately follows this installment, Martineau argues that the purpose of public school education should be about "enabling the pupils to read intelligently, spell accurately, write legibly and easily, and work figures to practical purposes" (425). Osborne's skills in the classics have no practical use; he does after all obtain his degree, just not with a fellowship. He cannot even turn them into a profitable career as a poet.

It is Roger, the second son whose family has no expectations for him, who is capable of not only representing "the ancient house of Hamley" but also of succeeding in the complex marketplace of the mid-nineteenth century (October 1864 391). Admittedly, Roger's interests in the natural world are a separate pursuit from his academic endeavors; neither Oxford nor Cambridge offered training in the sciences in the 1830s, when the serial is set.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, Gaskell, well-versed in the scientific debates and theories of her day,

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the most recent studies in French on the English Civil War and the French Revolution" (65). The study of the latter would presumably prepare the student for current politics.

<sup>17</sup> The narrative of the more capable and adept second son edging out the aristocratic and lazier elder son was fairly common of the country house novel, a narrative pattern Gaskell employs in *Wives and Daughters*.

<sup>18</sup> Cambridge and Oxford were both undergoing substantial changes in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Thomas William Heyck, "Oxford and Cambridge became much more 'professional' institutions in the 1850s and 1860s" as the two universities began to offer course work in the "natural sciences, law, modern history, and moral science" (197). The Oxbridge system also became more oriented to training in the

makes her man of the period a natural scientist for a reason.<sup>19</sup> According to D’Albertis, “Younger sons like Roger [...] hope to make their way in an environment hostile [or indifferent] to their success” (144). Many middle-class men would have recognized that their professional education, not unlike Roger’s self study, better fitted them for mid-nineteenth century life than did the classical education emphasized in the Oxbridge system. For the *Cornhill*’s upwardly mobile, middle-class audience, the idea that inherited position or Oxbridge education is not enough for Gaskell’s man of the period would have been appealing. Being a natural scientist, being a man whose career combines the appreciation of the natural world necessary to effectively manage an English country estate and the intellect and stamina to adapt to new advances in theory and technology, means that Roger is able to understand both the world his father moves in and the new domesticity that informs his own ideology.

Like the professional men and their families who are the driving force behind the rise of the middle-classes, Roger knows how to balance the social conventions of the period and his own ambitions. Furthermore, Roger’s self-education in the natural sciences makes him an astute reader of people and domestic norms, giving him the ability to soothe his father’s distress. While he is not entirely successful, Roger tries to steer the dinner conversation away from Osborne’s failure. After dinner, he listens sympathetically to his father, giving the Squire a chance to readjust his thinking. Although Molly finds Roger’s “constant flow of words” during the meal jarring and unsympathetic, Roger uses these forms—polite

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professions after the abolishment of “the requirement of subscription to the Anglican Thirty-Nine Articles” in the 1860s and of the “subscription by the fellows” in 1871 (Heyck 197).

<sup>19</sup> Roger’s trip to Africa is, according to Shirley Foster, based in part on Mungo Park, “accounts of whose travels were published at the beginning of the nineteenth century” (168). His trip and work as a naturalist also reference the work of Charles Darwin.

conversation and enjoyment of his father's company—as a means of deflecting his parents' disappointment (October 1864 395).

Molly, unschooled in the formalities that govern life at Hamley Hall, misreads her own role at the table. As a guest in the house, she is a buffer at dinner. Mrs. Hamley even tells Molly that her presence will be a comfort, since “being a fourth at dinner will keep us off that sore subject; there are times when a stranger in the household is a wonderful help” (October 1864 393). Predisposed to dislike Roger as the messenger of Osborne's humiliation, Molly refuses to help him carry on any sort of conversation. Molly has adopted the family trait of thinking of Osborne first, and even in his disgrace, she remains loyal to the mental image she has built. For example, when the Squire requests a particular Burgundy usually reserved for Osborne, Molly stubbornly puts her hand on the top of the glass, refusing to take any. Admittedly, Molly's behavior here is reminiscent of a petulant schoolgirl—she would not have been served the wine anyway—but her quiet act of rebellion implies that Molly is capable of making independent choices, a key component of Gaskell and the *Cornhill's* girl of the period. Furthermore, Molly's somewhat petulant behavior comes from her own keen observation of the Hamleys. She clearly sees how much pain the news of Osborne's failure causes. Her small actions are a vigorous response to what she views as Roger's and the Squire's callousness.

Molly's refusal to speak and refusal to drink Osborne's favored wine illuminates how she embodies Gaskell's girl of the period. While her inadvertent attempt to shake Roger's hand, her wearing of the “terrible, over-smart plaid gown,” and her rejection of the wine speak to her naiveté in the social rules of higher society—she is, after all, a middle-class girl tutored in the manners of Hollingford, not the manners of the gentry—her flouting of the

small etiquettes of the family table also indicates her capabilities (October 1864 393).<sup>20</sup> In this regard, her silence, a real social faux pas, is a mark of strength, not passivity. For Gaskell, the girl of the period can learn the social rules—Molly quickly corrects her attempted handshake and never wears the plaid dress again—but needs inner strength and quiet intelligence.

Du Maurier's illustration "Væ Victis," placed at the beginning of the installment, depicts the aftermath of this family meal, emphasizing Gaskell's and the *Cornhill*'s reshaping of gender dynamics. All the illustrations for *Wives and Daughters* emphasize character development over plot. According to Ruddick, Du Maurier's illustrations are particularly "consistent in [their] establishment of character and character differentiation in both male and female characters" (53). "Væ Victis" is perhaps one of the best in the series, showcasing Du Maurier's skill in the sixties-style, a form of wood engraving and illustration influenced by Pre-Raphaelite artists like John Everett Millais, who "made their livings by both painting and designing plates to accompany literature" (Thomas 3). According to Stuart Sillars, this style of illustration "stress[ed] dark, close textures caused by infinite variation of the spacing of engraved lines, often alternating with free and imaginative use of white paper to give the characteristic lighting effect referred to in the name of 'black and white art' by which it was also known" (31-32). This style of illustration also emphasized "graceful figures" who are "perfectly related to their setting" (Ormond 148). Du Maurier employs many of these techniques in his work for the *Cornhill*, particularly the contrast between light and shadow.

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<sup>20</sup> Even though plaids were popular in the mid-nineteenth century, Gaskell herself did not think highly of dresses made of materials or patterns that would not wear well or were not fitted properly. She wrote to her daughter Marianne, who was visiting in London, that she needed to be cautious about having dresses made: the dresses need to be "*well made* [...] form is always higher than *colour* &c. I don't mean that I would ever have you get a *poor* silk instead of a good one; but I had rather you had a brown Holland, or print gown made by a *good* dress maker, than a silk made by a clumsy, inelegant badly-fitting one" (qtd. in Flanders 296).



VÆ VICTIS!

Figure 2.1: George Du Maurier, “Væ Victis!”

Molly, who sits in the foreground of the illustration, is in the light; her profile and the book lying open on her lap, both emphasized by the use of white space, stand out in comparison to the dark silhouettes of the Squire and Roger. Even the folds of Molly's dress pick up the light, directing the gaze to the opulence of her clothing. Standing in the dusk outside the window, Roger and the Squire are barely visible. The large amount of white space above their heads as well as Molly's body position, however, draws the eye away from Molly and to the two men walking outside.

Molly's dress here, transformed from the awkward plaid, more closely reflects the fashions espoused by the Pre-Raphaelites. Although the Pre-Raphaelites were avant-garde in their views on gender, Du Maurier is not advocating a radical revamping of femininity by using this style of dress.<sup>58</sup> Rather, Du Maurier uses this fashion in part because he is working in the sixties style and in part because he preferred drawing members of the upper classes. Throughout the serial, Du Maurier depicts Molly and the Gibson as being upper middle class. According to Ruddick, "Just as Du Maurier increases the height of Mrs Gaskell's characters, so he (characteristically) ups the social level. Houses are bigger, rooms better furnished. But the gradations between display and simplicity, ostentation and honest integrity of character are nicely maintained throughout" (52). Thus, even though such a garment is at odds with her middle-class background and untutored tastes, Molly's dress is consonant with her character. She is both feminine and casual with that femininity; her dress pools carelessly around her legs, suggesting that Molly is uninterested in fashion. Furthermore, Molly's

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<sup>58</sup> According to Elizabeth Wilson, the Pre-Raphaelites preferred women's clothes to be less confining, doing away with "the fashionable dropped shoulder seam and tight lacing, which together prevented the fashionably dressed woman from raising her arms to their full height or extent. The Pre-Raphaelite style incorporated sleeves with a very high armhole, and the sleeves themselves were often full at the top" (209-10). The illustrations show this style of dress; Molly's sleeves are full, allowing for movement. Her dress fits, but is not cinched so tightly that she cannot move.

visual elevation to a slightly higher class position visually yokes her to Roger; they need to occupy similar class positions in the illustrations since Gaskell's fine distinctions in class are not easily rendered in a drawing.

The juxtaposition of Molly seated indoors and the men walking outdoors serves to underline the themes and events of this installment and to accentuate the reshaping of gender roles that occurs here. The image in particular emphasizes the themes of dislocation in this installment. By situating Molly in the foreground of the image and framing her in the window, Du Maurier heightens Molly's feelings of displacement and loneliness, effectively hinting at Mr. Gibson's potential remarriage and Molly's own discomfort after that first dinner with Roger. Even the caption, "Væ victis!" or woe to the vanquished, addresses this theme of displacement. While this phrase is in reference to Roger and his father's easy talk despite Osborne's failure, it also refers to Molly's appearance of self silencing at dinner. She, too, has been vanquished in a way, unable to do more than look out the window at Roger and the Squire, at the easy parent-child relationship she will soon lose.

Yet the book in her lap hints at her independence and self sufficiency; she can occupy herself. So too does Molly's intense gaze out the window. Indeed, the serial emphasizes the merits of keen observation. Roger and Mr. Gibson both make careers out of their ability to penetrate the mysteries of nature and the body respectively. Looking is not a passive activity for Gaskell or Du Maurier—nor would it have been for *Cornhill* readers unpacking the meanings of this image. Gaskell says in a letter of advice to a beginning writer, "I think you must observe what is *out* of you, instead of examining what is *in* you" (qtd. in Yeazell 210). This admonishment to observe the outside world is precisely what Molly does. Close looking allows her to learn the social codes in which she has no training. Moreover, looking

in Roger's microscope in the next installment, looking outside herself, helps to ameliorate Molly's frustration and sadness with her father's remarriage. For Molly, observation becomes a form of empowerment.

Thus, her intense observation of Roger and the Squire is telling. Structurally, her gaze draws the eye to the figures outside the window. If we consider the illustration a visual narrative, however, then Molly's gaze serves dual purposes. On one level, her gaze depicts her nascent interest in Roger. On another level, Molly's intense observation of the Squire and Roger functions to align the landowning gentry with the professional men and women who composed the *Cornhill's* audience. Roger and the Squire lean in to each other, and Roger has his head cocked to hear the Squire. This comfortable moment—a father and son enjoying each other's company after dinner—suggests that the new professional man embodied by Roger is the natural heir to the landowning gentry. Osborne, the real heir, never has this easy relationship with the Squire. In some ways the visual yoking of Roger and the Squire here foreshadows Osborne's death. The kind of masculinity embodied by Osborne is simply not a good fit; it does not complement the values of the old gentry or the values of intellectual women like Molly who can clearly see the evolution of social norms.

The November 1864 installment of *Wives and Daughters* builds on the idea of looking outside the self as a form of empowerment for both women and men. Again meals function structurally, bringing Molly and her "new mama" into contact with each other and placing Roger and Molly on more equitable and friendly footing. These meals also function to highlight the ways in which Roger and Molly both grapple with definitions of femininity. Distressed over her father's decision to remarry, a series of meals—luncheon and tea—detail



Molly's growing independence and powers of observation. It is at these meals that Molly clearly defines her role as being different from the self-sacrificing angel of the house.

Luncheon at the Hamleys serves as the social table for Molly's first real encounter with the idea of self-sacrifice. Roger, trying to comfort Molly, tells her that she should think of "her father's happiness before she [thinks] of her own" (November 1864 593). It's a bracing thought for Molly, even though she doubts that Hyacinth Kirkpatrick will be able to make her father happy. Molly does try "to think more of others than herself" (November 1864 595). Her first enactment of this principle is to go down to lunch, "unwilling to distress Mrs. Hamley by the sight of pain and suffering" (November 1864 595). Although her distress is still obvious, Molly makes an effort to look normal, going even so far as to answer Mrs. Hamley's questions about her prospective new stepmother. Later, at tea with the future Mrs. Gibson, Molly again tries to think of her father's happiness before her own. She readily tells Mrs. Gibson about her father's meal preferences, even though her efforts go awry when it comes to Mr. Gibson's liking for cheese and bread. Mrs. Gibson sneers at such fare, calling it "a strong-smelling, coarse kind of thing" (November 1865 601).

Nevertheless, such efforts in thinking of others do not make Molly passive as James, D'Albertis, Langland, Schor, and Yeazell, among others, suggest or somehow a less interesting character (a claim made by both James and Greenwood.) Molly tries on being self-sacrificing, similar to how she tries on the plaid dress in the previous installment, only to find it does not suit. Nor does the principle of thinking of others before herself necessarily entail Molly's sacrificing her own interests for others. There is a difference between thinking of others—being compassionate—and being self-sacrificing. Thinking of others does not entail a loss of individuality. She is conscious of Mrs. Hamley's frailty, and Molly tries not

to burden her. When Lady Cumnor suggests that Molly go live with Mrs. Gibson as a parlor boarder, Molly immediately voices her opposition, arguing that to give up the last few months with her father would harm her own happiness. But, at the tea/early dinner Molly has with her father and Mrs. Gibson, she feels that thinking of others only leads to a “deadness” of emotion (November 1864 606). If thinking of others means “giving up her very individuality, quenching all the warm love, the true desires, that made herself,” then Molly wants no part of it (November 1864 606). After the painful tea at the Towers, Molly tells Roger:

It will be very dull when I shall have killed myself, as it were, and live only in trying to do, and to be, as other people like [...] I daresay it seems foolish; perhaps all our earthly trials will appear foolish to us after a while; perhaps they seem so now to angels. But we are ourselves, you know, and this is now, not some time to come, a long, long way off. And we are not angels, to be comforted by seeing the ends for which everything is sent. (November 1864 607)

Molly has profoundly identified the crux of the problem with being the angel in house. She has no desire to wear herself out trying to be an ideal. Nor does Gaskell espouse such a self-defeating notion of femininity, which would have been at odds with the *Cornhill*'s own advocacy of women's being self-sufficient. For Gaskell, femininity is not about performing the role of the angel in the house. Rather, femininity is about preserving and representing the integrity of the individual, a line of thinking that meshes well with the *Cornhill*'s progressive view on women.

In effect, Molly differentiates between thinking of others and self-sacrifice, between compassion and giving up her individuality. Her preference for Roger's “roughness” of manner is telling (November 1864 596). Although Roger's words resonate with Molly, his brusque manner helps her manage her feelings about her father's remarriage and her new

role. Importantly, Roger listens to Molly and he feels for her situation. He thinks her reaction to Mr. Gibson's remarriage to be melodramatic, but he also sees that Molly is in real pain. By listening to her and by validating Molly's emotions, he allows Molly to rebel against the idea of self-sacrifice and to embrace the idea of compassion. He finds Molly's speech about the effort involved in doing as others like compelling, confirming her idea that "it is *now* we have to do with" (November 1864 608). He too thinks of others without losing sight of who he is; he purposely interests Molly in his scientific endeavors, letting her look at his findings through his microscope and giving her texts to read. By distracting her from her real unhappiness at the prospect of Mrs. Gibson as a stepmother, Roger comforts Molly.

In "The New Mama," which precedes this installment of *Wives and Daughters*, Du Maurier captures Molly's resistance to the idea of self-sacrifice. Again, Du Maurier's illustration serves to highlight a key event in the text and as a visual interpretation of that event. By juxtaposing a defiant Molly with her suppliant, domestic code following new mama, Du Maurier visually reinforces Gaskell's and the *Cornhill's* gender play. In this illustration, Molly sits next to Mrs. Gibson, her back rigidly against the wall. Mrs. Gibson is a supplicant here; she holds Molly's hand, her head is tilted back, and her gaze is lifted up to Molly in a fawning manner. Clearly uncomfortable with the conversation, Molly is in the process of removing her hand from Mrs. Gibson's grasp. The discontentment on Molly's face foreshadows Molly and Mrs. Gibson's quietly contentious relationship throughout the rest of the serial.

Du Maurier uses white space to great effect in his depiction of Molly. Molly's white dress—a simple, slightly out of style muslin in the text—here is of the latest fashion with puffed sleeves. Its stark whiteness coupled with Molly's hair being down suggests Molly's



Figure 2.2: George Du Maurier “The New Mama”

purity of character as well as her youth; the white also accentuates Molly's ramrod posture here. The white background behind Molly, a sharp contrast to Mrs. Gibson's dark dress and the dark wall behind her, further emphasizes Molly's stiffness of posture. By directing the viewer's gaze to Molly and her quiet, yet still defiant body language, Du Maurier reinforces the idea that it is Molly's kind of femininity that Gaskell and the *Cornhill* privileges, not Mrs. Gibson's traditional femininity.

The pliant stylization of Mrs. Gibson's body visually represents her own adherence to domestic norms. Like the angel in the house, Mrs. Gibson visually yields to convention. (The irony is that Mrs. Gibson uses those social norms for her own self-serving ends.) After all, Molly learns here that the coarse meal of cheese and bread will no longer be served at the Gibson family table. By appearing to listen to Molly's advice, Mrs. Gibson enacts the role of the good stepmother. Her leaning posture also echoes the Squire's and Roger's easy and companionable stance in the previous illustration. Molly's defiant body language, however, implies that Mrs. Gibson's performance of the interested and caring parent—one of the roles the angel in the house was supposed to perform—is not convincing. The position of both women's bodies and gaze directs the viewer's eye to the center of the image, to the conflict of wills enacted between Mrs. Kirkpatrick and Molly.

The tension here is more than just a battle of wills between a daughter and her stepmother, however. The stiff stylization of Molly's body hints at her individuality and self-possession, as does her steady gaze. Molly's eyes are the focal point of the illustration. Just as the previous illustration and installment of the serial emphasizes the importance of observation, so too does this illustration and installment. Thinking of others without losing the self involves keen observation, and Molly has been trained to look even more closely by

Roger's microscope. Her piercing gaze in this illustration serves to emphasize that observation is a form of empowerment; she clearly sees the problematic nature of Mrs. Gibson's obsequiousness.

Molly's clear sight is further emphasized at Mrs. Gibson's dinner for Roger and Osborne in the April 1865 installment of *Wives and Daughters*. Given that meals in the nineteenth century were about visual display more than appeasing the appetite, this formal meal becomes a vehicle for Mrs. Gibson's social pretensions. Formal dinner parties displayed the prosperity of the home. Everything from the master of the house's tastes in wine and port to the mistress's taste in china were conspicuously on display. Even the meal itself was part of the visual depiction of the family's social standing. The wide variety of dishes, symmetrically laid out on the table, was designed to tantalize the eye and accommodate every appetite.<sup>1</sup>

Despite Mrs. Gibson's social and matrimonial aspirations—she wants to interest Osborne in Cynthia—the dinner is meant to be a pleasant affair among friends:

Mrs. Gibson intended the Hamleys to find this dinner pleasant; and they did. Mr. Gibson was fond of these two young men, both for their parents' sake and their own, for he had known them since boyhood; and to those whom he liked Mr. Gibson could be remarkably agreeable. Mrs. Gibson really gave them a welcome—and cordiality in a hostess is a very becoming mantle for any other deficiencies there may be. Cynthia and Molly looked their best, which was all the duty that Mrs. Gibson absolutely required of them, as she was willing enough to take her full share in the conversation. (April 1865 434)

The meal fits Isabella Beeton's idea of a good dinner party in many ways. For Beeton, a dinner party was primarily a venue for good, intellectual conversation: "Many celebrated

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<sup>1</sup> It was expected that diners would not partake of every dish on the table. A dinner for six people included five courses, with anywhere from two to seven dishes in each course. This method of dining, the *à la française* method, entailed all of dishes for each course of the meal being put on the table at the same time. Between courses, everything would be removed and then all the new dishes brought out. This method allowed diners to pick what dishes appealed to them most, but it also required a variety of dishes for each course. This method of dining also meant that the food served as the decoration for the table, necessitating that no two like dishes be placed next to each other.

men and women have been great talkers; and, amongst others, the genial Sir Walter Scott, who spoke freely to every one, a favourite remark of whom it was, that he never did so without learning something he didn't know before" (22). The conversation at the Gibsons' social table is lively and intellectual. Mr. Gibson and Roger debate comparative osteology and Osborne and Mrs. Gibson discuss the latest gossip and news. This social table serves as the platform for Gaskell's gender play, and Mrs. Gibson's haute bourgeoisie dinner party becomes a stage for examining the difference between Molly and Roger—Gaskell's man and girl of the period—and Cynthia and Osborne—the passive coquette and fading dandy. Crucially, the Gibson family social table serves as a space not where these progressive forms of masculinity and femininity are in conflict with more traditional forms. Instead, the social table serves as the platform for the evolution of these roles.

While Molly and Cynthia are both relatively silent here—Mrs. Gibson, after all, only needs them to put their best face forward—Molly's observation of and engagement in the conversation is a crucial difference. Molly, already intrigued by the natural world because of Roger's influence, follows closely, "trying to understand with all her might" (April 1865 435). While she may not understand the intricacies of the topic at hand, Molly hangs on every word. Molly wants to comprehend the conversation her father and Roger have about bones; she wants to be included in the later conversation between Roger and Cynthia at the piano. Her interest in things beyond the superficiality of traditional femininity, however, brings Mrs. Gibson's condemnation. Molly's taste for scientific books causes Mrs. Gibson to playfully call her a blue-stocking, a derogatory term for a woman having literary aspirations.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The term blue-stocking, in this context, refers to the literary assemblies of Elizabeth Montagu and Elizabeth Vesey in the 1760s; while these gatherings included women and men, women were at the fore front of the conversation. According to Barbara Brandon Schnorrenberg, "bluestocking was probably meant to describe

Tactically, using the term “blue-stocking” allows Mrs. Gibson to rebuke Molly for not adequately performing her gender role. The irony here is that the *Cornhill*, as a literary magazine specifically appealing to intellectually progressive men and women, assumes that its readers want to be part of a literary coterie.

Molly is still learning how to navigate a social system which requires constant performance, constant thinking of others’ enjoyment and pleasure. Showing her intellectual abilities at the table is not enacting the principle of thinking of others as Mrs. Gibson understands it. Nor is Molly comfortable displaying her skills for the company’s after dinner amusement. When it becomes Molly’s turn to play the piano— in effect showcasing her skills for the available gentlemen—she does so reluctantly: “Cynthia had played and sung, and now [Mrs. Gibson] must give Molly her turn of exhibition [...] But she was shy of playing in company” (April 1865 438), even when that company is amiable to her. She plays dutifully, almost ploddingly. At the end of “the eighteen dreary pages,” Molly vehemently declares “I think will never sit down to play again” (April 1865 439), effectively rejecting this kind of dutiful performance of her gender role.

Molly’s quiet rejection of performance suggests that Gaskell’s and the *Cornhill*’s girl of the period is one that eschews empty forms just as she discards the angel in house policy of self-sacrifice. Eliza Lynn Linton argues in “The Girl of the Period,” published in the March 1868 issue of *The Saturday Review*, that this kind of girl “is a creature who dyes her hair and paints her face, as the first articles of her personal religion; [her] sole idea of life is plenty of fun and luxury; and [her] dress is the object of such thought and intellect as she possesses” (340). The quiet, reserved, self-contained Molly has no interest any of these

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the informality of the assemblies and the emphasis placed on wit and conversation rather than on dress and etiquette” (par. 10).



things. She rejects both the self-sacrifice expected in traditional constructs of femininity and the performance of her femininity. Again Molly's astute observations of the social norms belie her seemingly quiet passivity. Mrs. Gibson's words at dinner have hurt her, and she acutely feels for Osborne when Cynthia sings her comic song about misalliance in marriage. Unlike Cynthia, Molly cannot hide her emotions under a veneer of femininity. Molly is quieter and more discerning because Linton's "girl of the period," as embodied by Cynthia, is so loud and artificial.

And Cynthia knows intimately how to perform her gender role. A passive coquette, Cynthia does not overtly court the male gaze. Nevertheless, she does present herself as an object to be looked at, admired, and appreciated, enjoying her ability to attract Roger's attention.<sup>3</sup> For instance, when she plays the piano after dinner, Cynthia is not merely displaying her musical skills. Rather, her performance is based on her ability to charm her audience, particular Roger: "Cynthia's singing and playing was light and graceful, but anything but correct; but she herself was so charming, that it was only fanatics for music who cared for false chords or omitted notes" (April 1865 438). (Apparently, those expensive masters in France have not taught her well.) In effect, Cynthia herself, not her error-filled playing, is the attraction, and she succeeds in attracting the consuming gaze of Roger.

Cynthia's faults are palatable, however, because Gaskell not only makes Cynthia aware of these flaws but also positions Cynthia as Molly's defender. Consequently, Cynthia simultaneously embodies Linton's girl of the period and provides a critique of her girl. At dinner, she states that "I read some of Molly's book; and whether it was deep or not I found it very interesting—more so than I should think [Byron's] the 'Prisoner of Chillon' now-a-

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<sup>3</sup> The chapter where Cynthia is being pursued by both Roger and Mr. Preston in the June 1865 installment is entitled "A Passive Coquette."

days. I've displaced the Prisoner to make room for [Cowper's comic poem] Johnnie Gilpin as my favourite poem" (April 1865 435). By mocking her own poor taste in literature and intellectual habits, Cynthia neatly defends Molly and performs traditional femininity. Like Molly, Cynthia is a keen observer of the world around her. Astutely aware of the hollowness of Mrs. Gibson's brand of femininity, Cynthia works to protect Molly from such limiting constructs. While Cynthia advises Molly to follow some of the social norms, telling her to hide her emotions from Mrs. Gibson, she also encourages Molly's intellectual pursuits. Her devotion to Molly comes from her recognition of Molly as the kind of girl who should be admired. It is Cynthia's admiration of Molly, her appreciation for a femininity free from the constant performance she has been trained in, that allows Gaskell to present Molly as the natural evolution of femininity.

Just as Molly's quiet, intelligent independence functions a rejection of incongruous feminine models of passivity and coquetry, so too does Roger's new man function as rejection of other, unsuitable male models such as the romantic, the aristocratic gentleman, and the dandy. Gaskell blends several unsuitable masculine models in her characterization of Osborne. He is too introspective, which Ellen Moers calls "a romantic, not a dandy failing" (37). Osborne is also too closely aligned with the aristocratic eldest son who discards family responsibilities and pleasures for the more dangerous attractions of social opportunities outside the home such as the tavern or club. According to John Tosh, Regency society had embraced such places, and "Men who both worked and slept at home had every reason to go elsewhere for their leisure" (124). Part of Squire Hamley's frustration with Osborne is his time spent from home. Although Osborne is spending time with his secret wife when he is way from Hamley Hall, the Squire, in the dark about his daughter-in-law, assumes that

Osborne is spending time and money on social pursuits in London. Osborne's wife complicates Gaskell's depiction of Osborne as a dandy. Moers claims that "The dandy has neither obligations nor attachments: wife or child would be unthinkable, and other relatives are unfortunate accidents" (18). By choosing to have these familial obligations, even though he cannot support his wife, Osborne is not a complete dandy. Nevertheless, Osborne is also a dandy in his mannerisms and fastidious dress. James Eli Adams claims in *Dandies and Desert Saints* that the dandy in the mid-nineteenth century was seen "less as an emblem of moral indolence or economic parasitism than as an image of the hero as spectacle [...] The dandy is a fundamentally theatrical being, abjectly dependent on the recognition of the audience he professes to disdain" (22). In other words, Osborne's role as hybrid romantic-dandy-aristocratic eldest son is constructed through performance in the same way that Cynthia's femininity is enacted through performance. Both disdain the performance required of them, and yet both persist in enacting their roles.

If we think of masculinity as being constrained by traditional domestic ideology in the same way as femininity, then examining social codes here is fundamental to understanding the progressive nature of Gaskell and the *Cornhill's* new, professional man. Mrs. Gibson's dinner is one of the few instances where Roger forgets to follow the social norms. He becomes too involved in his dinner conversation with Mr. Gibson, he ardently argues with Molly and Cynthia about the nature of pleasurable reading, and he openly stares at Cynthia. When it comes to Cynthia, Roger's powers of observation seem to be untrustworthy. As a point of comparison with Osborne's behavior, however, Roger's lapses in social awareness serve to emphasize the fundamental difference between the new,

professional men and the gentlemen of the gentry, the dandy, or the romantic: performance of social codes.

As the embodiment of Gaskell's and the *Cornhill's* progressive man, Roger is grounded, intelligent, responsible, and loyal. When Roger tells Molly that "a man must take the consequences when he puts himself in a false position," he is not judging Osborne or merely sermonizing—a tendency he does have with Molly (April 1865 438). Roger keeps Osborne's secret because he acutely feels for the position that Osborn has place himself in, even though he would never have entered into a secret marriage with a French nursery maid. Despite being captivated by Cynthia's beauty, by her artificiality, Roger is keenly aware of what he owes his family and his own position. When he proposes to Cynthia in the July 1865 installment, he insists on the engagement being made known to her parents, even though Cynthia wants it kept secret. Roger also prevents the engagement from being formalized, not wanting to bind Cynthia to him because of the perilous nature of his journey to Africa.

Roger embodies a very different kind of masculinity than Osborne, one that emphasizes the honest integrity of professional life over the romanticism of the poet. Even though Osborne does perform his role as the urbane, sophisticated dandy well, he is entirely unable to support himself financially. For all his knowledge of the social forms, Osborne cannot compete with Roger's professional efficiency. D'Albertis argues that "weak males such as Osborne Hamley who deplete their hereditary stock are persistently [...] feminized in the" serial (145). Osborne's fine habits and delicate health do feminize him to a certain extent. His weakness comes from his embodiment of a more traditional form of masculinity,

one that accepts performance of social norms as all that is expected. Ultimately, Osborne's older form of masculinity is entirely usurped in the serial by Roger's professional man.

While Osborne's performance of his gender role is more subtle than Cynthia's, he—like Cynthia—is knowingly playing a role. First and foremost, his is posing as a suave, urbane sophisticate. His manners and dress are all copied from the Romantic poets, and he knows all the latest news from London. Second, Osborne is posing as an unattached man. Only Molly and Roger know that Osborne is married, although Cynthia has enough discernment to recognize that he is not interested in her. Despite his pose as a single man, Osborne is not a womanizer or a misogynist, a facet of the dandy that domestic fiction tends to emphasize. His secret marriage to Aimee is honorable; he loves her even if he cannot support her. (And the *Cornhill's* readers would have found a secret marriage more palatable than an outright seduction.) Required to appear single, Osborne plays this role. In this case, the only person he attracts is Mrs. Gibson, who uses all her wiles and domestic skills in a vain attempt to win him for Cynthia.

In his illustration for this installment Du Maurier focuses on the after dinner entertainments that were integral to the performance of gender, selecting the scene where Cynthia plays ““Tu t'en repentiras, Colin” to Osborne. This juxtaposition highlights one of the more emotional scenes in the installment since the song warns against matrimonial entanglements. Instead of focusing on Molly's confusion and misery and Roger's wry acceptance of the situation, the illustration emphasizes a quiet pathos between Cynthia and Osborne. This visual alignment of Cynthia and Osborne works to emphasize the hollow nature of performing normative domestic ideology.

Unlike “The New Mama” there are no sharp contrasts between light and dark here, and the entire background of the image is in a soft shadowy light. Molly and Roger are silhouettes off to the left. Roger’s face is not even visible here, although it is possible to make out an extra long sideburn, a clear visual of Roger’s outdoor habits and less fashionable



Figure 2.3: Tu t'en repenitras, Colin

tastes. The book on the table near Molly suggests the cluttered nature of the drawing room, while its proximity to Roger and Molly visually reinforces their intellectual pursuits.

Cynthia and Osborne occupy the center of the illustration. Both figures are fully illuminated. Although she is clearly corseted, Cynthia's white dress falls in graceful folds, echoing the Pre-Raphaelite style. The gown pools on the floor; the skirt is almost excessively long. Osborne is also carefully dressed in light colored clothing. Wilson claims that the dandy pioneered a new style of men's fashion, since he was devoted "to an ideal of dress that sanctified understatement [and] inaugurated an epoch not of no fashions for men, but of fashions that put cut and fit before ornament, colour and display" (180). This new fashion included skin-tight woolen breeches, neat tailoring, and an artfully tied cravat, all of which are depicted here. The effect of both of their white clothing is to draw the viewer's eye to the center of the image, to their sad faces.

Standing behind Cynthia, his eyes deeply downcast, Osborne looks on as Cynthia plays. Du Maurier infuses the drawing with a sense of melancholy. Osborne is a thin, wisp-like figure here, and his whole posture suggests deep sadness. Cynthia's profile expression is almost as sad as Osborne's, perhaps hinting at Cynthia's secret romantic entanglements. The pathos here suggests that the performance of gender is a sad, empty business. The tilt of Cynthia's head moves inward towards Osborne, and the two almost lean into each other. This positioning of their bodies echoes the ease of the Squire and Roger from "Væ Victius." Despite the sadness of their expressions, there is a sense of comfort between these two forms. The ease here suggests that the displacement of older gender constructs is not a disruptive process. Cynthia and Osborne, embodiments of gender constructs that no longer work in the

new middle-class domestic ideology and in the pages of the *Cornhill*, are to be pitied, not condemned.

The work of Gaskell and Du Maurier exemplify how the domestic serial uses the rituals of everyday life as way of positioning different constructions of gender. The kind of domestic serial that Gaskell crafts allows different constructions of gender to rub against each other, providing a space where these roles are in play and in flux. The domestic serial in the family literary magazine, then, allows for the gradual and subtle reshaping of domesticity, a domesticity more in tune with the pressures and anxieties of mid-nineteenth-century middle-class life. Ultimately, the domestic serial and the family literary magazine are able to espouse a more progressive form of domesticity through the use of domestic habits like dining. Consequently, the *Cornhill's* invocation of the social table not only serves as an apt metaphor for the discursive practices of the family literary magazine but also functions as the means by which the magazine situates professional, educated men and women within the home.



#### *The New Domesticity in the Family Literary Magazine and Its Challenges*

The *Cornhill* was not the only periodical to imagine the family literary magazine as a gathering of a like minded group of people around a table, dining or otherwise. In employing the image of the social table as part of the *Cornhill's* appeal, Smith and Thackeray obliquely refer to their own business practices. Dinner parties were a critical part of Smith's editorial and business arsenal, and he and Thackeray planned the magazine, conducted business, and courted writers over the dinner table.<sup>4</sup> Smith's *Cornhill* dinner parties were most likely

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<sup>4</sup> Edmund Yates actually criticized Smith for these parties, claiming that Smith merely used them as a social vehicle. In an article for the *New York Herald*, he said Smith was "a very good man of business, but



modeled on the famous dinners held by the regular staff of *Punch*. The dinners were begun “ostensibly to discuss the subject of the large political cartoon for the next issue, but more to enjoy a pleasant and amusing evening together” (Ormond 162). *Punch*’s infamous weekly dinners were so crucial to the magazine that when they moved offices in 1865, they built a banquet hall at 10 Bouverie St., Whitefriars. The hall housed the table upon which every inner-circle staff member carved their initials.<sup>5</sup> *Macmillan’s Magazine* also developed and used dinners as part of its editorial process. The weekly “tobacco parliament” meetings at the firm’s London offices were dinners as well as productive meetings. Although Alexander Macmillan used the Arthurian image of the round table in the magazine’s cover art and suggested two Arthurian inspired titles for the magazine, *King Arthur* and the *Round Table*, *Macmillan’s*, like the *Cornhill*, worked from the same congenial and inclusive model.<sup>6</sup>

The miscellany format employed by the *Cornhill* that allowed it to bring together a variety of progressive voices had its origins in older monthly magazines like *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*. Founded by William Blackwood (1776 to 1834) in 1817 and based in Edinburgh and London by the mid-nineteenth century, *Blackwood’s* was a pioneer in the form, uniting an ardent political voice with an astute sensibility about cultural norms.

*Blackwood’s* or *Maga*, as the magazine was affectionately known, was not the first magazine to use a miscellany format, although Innes Shand claims that “‘Maga’ was beyond dispute

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totally unread; his business has been to sell books, not read them, and he knows little else” (qtd. in Wynne 131). Thackeray defended him in his August 1860 “Roundabout Papers,” stating that Smith “is a gentleman to the full as well informed as those whom he invites to his table” (256). Yates and Thackeray had previously tangled over an unflattering profile of Thackeray that Yates had written for his gossip column in *Town Talk*. The column was so scathing that Thackeray demanded an apology and managed to get Yates expelled from the Garrick Club when he refused to apologize. It is likely that Yates’s comments about Smith and the *Cornhill* dinner parties were really designed to irk Thackeray, but they also highlight the pivotal role dining played for the *Cornhill*.

<sup>5</sup> [Punch.co.uk](http://www.punch.co.uk/table.html) includes a replica of the *Punch* table, complete with a guide to the initials. See <http://www.punch.co.uk/table.html>.

<sup>6</sup> See Figure 3.3 for the *Macmillan’s* cover page.

the parent and the model of the modern magazine” (“Magazine-Writers” 225). It did, however, employ this format to its advantage, juxtaposing a variety of voices and styles. In the pages of *Blackwood’s*, domestic fiction was positioned alongside travel narratives, military histories, Conservative political tracts, and numerous reviews.

Despite its similar format and appeal to an urban middle-class audience, *Blackwood’s* is rarely considered alongside other family literary magazines from the mid-nineteenth century. Most scholarship on the magazine focuses on its politics, its early days, or its reviews. The magazine’s longevity, price, Conservative political orientation, and emphasis on scholarly reviews all seem to distance *Blackwood’s* from fiction dominated family literary magazines like the *Cornhill*. I suggest that Maga’s hybrid identity as a Scottish, English, Tory, family literary magazine leads it to employ a different model than the social table. Instead of the image of a lively dinner party, *Blackwood’s* aligned itself with the image of a select scholarly enterprise or improving club that provided readers with informed opinions about current politics and other issues. With an image of Scottish scholar George Buchanan (1506-82) as an emblem of its contents and scholarly appeal, *Blackwood’s* positioned itself more as a select club library in an exclusive club.<sup>7</sup> Oliphant claims in *Annals of a Publishing House* that “it has been [William] Blackwood’s desire from the beginning to make his place of business a centre of literary society, a sort of literary club where men of letters might find a meeting place” (I 100). According to Charles Snodgrass, the first offices of William Blackwood and Sons were across the street from Fortune’s tavern, where the Friday Club met. The Friday Club was a monthly gathering of Edinburgh literati, and like *Blackwood’s*

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<sup>7</sup> George Buchanan was a Scottish poet, scholar, and politician. Buchanan took the king’s side after Mary Queen of Scots forced abdication and imprisonment, and he was also one of the tutors to James VI. *Rerum Scotticarum historia*, a history of Scotland, is his best known work.

magazine the club discussed “historical, political, fictional, local, scientific, agricultural, (Scottish) national, commercial,” and literary issues (93).

*Blackwood's* club-like atmosphere was not akin to the popular all male clubs that offered men an alternative to the home; rather, *Blackwood's* was more like the volunteer and philanthropic organizations and societies of the mid-nineteenth-century that gave men socialization opportunities outside the home and presented them with a public-minded, improving enterprise.<sup>8</sup> Eleanor Gordon and Gwynth Nair claim that links between middle-class families were forged by “Common membership of a matrix of civic, philanthropic, professional and business related organizations” (32). In other words, the select club library provided by *Blackwood's* allowed the magazine to function as a meeting place for Conservative, Scottish, and English middle-class values. *Blackwood's* adaptation of such a model provided the magazine with a space in which to struggle with divergent constructions of middle-class British domesticity.

Maga's brown cover and cover image of George Buchanan seems to bear out the magazine's scholarly exclusivity.<sup>9</sup> Buchanan's stern image stares out almost confrontationally from the cover, a sharp contrast to the joyous images of productivity on the cover of the *Cornhill*.<sup>10</sup> The Neo-classical border with its architectural flourishes in the

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<sup>8</sup> Masonic lodges; philosophical, literary, and musical societies; and voluntary associations for “political reform, moral reform, missionary work, welfare provision (notably hospitals) and civic amenities” (Tosh, *A Man's Place* 134) all provided men with social experiences that complimented middle-class domesticity. While most of these organizations excluded women, the philanthropic and improving goals of these groups meant that the work of the home was being carried out in the public arena. In other words, the club model is not necessarily hostile to domesticity.

<sup>9</sup> The designer of the cover image and the illustration is unknown. The folklore is that William Blackwood resused the image from another book his firm was publishing. Thomas Bewick's firm did the engraving. Bewick was published *Bewick's Book of Birds*, which is what Jane is reading at the beginning of *Jane Eyre*.

<sup>10</sup> See Figure 1.2 for the cover image of the *Cornhill*.

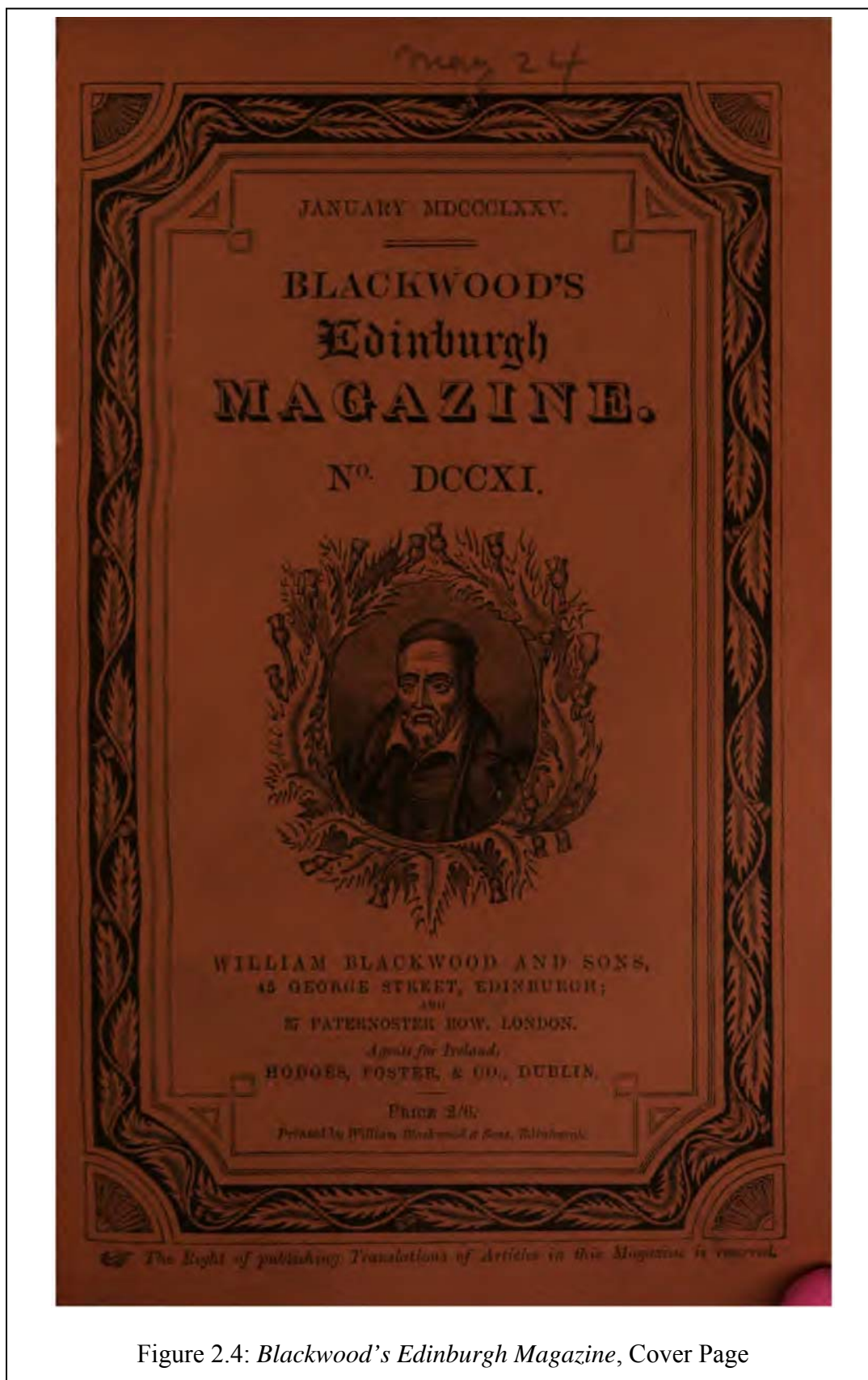


Figure 2.4: Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Cover Page

corners reinforces a sense of stability and endurance. The laurel wreath around Buchanan echoes the design of the border, again reinforcing a sense of stability. His image also emphasizes the magazine's Scottish roots, but the magazine, particularly by the mid-nineteenth century, never positioned itself as merely a Scottish periodical. *Maga* was an arbiter of culture and issues for English and Scottish families.<sup>11</sup> Taking Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* as a case study, Thomas Dochtery argues that such texts "mediat[e] between" the two worlds of Scottish and English history and identity (236). He goes on to say that

One world is historical and shaped by Enlightenment ideas of the possibility of progress [...] 'progress' in this case represented by England, though England as a psychological state of affairs and not a place. [...] The other is a world entirely 'out of history' and shaped by its exclusion from the centres of power that shaped historical being itself (Dochtery 236).

In Dochtery's assessment, Scotland and Scottish history become objects of romanticization, particularly for English audiences, but also for the Scottish middle-classes in cities like Edinburgh or Glasgow. *Blackwood's*, in praising Scotland's historical past and English domesticity and imperialism, crafts a family literary magazine designed for hybrid audience.

"Under the beard of Geordie Buchanan," *Blackwood's* knit together its Scottish identity, pro-English perspective, and political stance with an intellectual heft and cultural acumen that allowed the magazine to appeal to a Scottish and English as well as a less partisan audience (qtd. in Oliphant, *Annals*, II 1). It did not always hew close to the Conservative line. In a letter to his eldest son discussing the political situation around the 1832 Reform Bill, William Blackwood claimed that "'Maga' has kept on her own course, cutting up both sides when they deserved it, and consequently her independence has

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<sup>11</sup> It had London agents from its inception, and in 1840, the Blackwoods set up their own London premises. John Blackwood (1817 to 1879), editor from 1845 to 1879, apprenticed in London and spent his early career in that city.

preserved her character and influence” (qtd. in Oliphant, *Annals*, II 103).<sup>12</sup> Preserving the magazine’s independence political and in regard to its national affiliation allowed it to adapt to changes while preventing the magazine from being a purely partisan vehicle.

Even though competition from the newer family literary magazines began to cut into the *Blackwood’s* market share, the magazine retained its core sensibilities and its focus on the “key values of respectable society and the balanced constitution” (Michie 119). Given the magazine’s conservative political and social views, an examination of *Blackwood’s* complicates our understanding of how the family literary magazine reflected and constructed urban, middle-class domesticity in the mid-nineteenth century. I have chosen to look at the magazine ten years after the advent of the less expensive monthlies as a means of examining how *Blackwood’s* continued to appeal to the middle-class family in the face of competition from magazine like the *Cornhill* and *Macmillan’s*. I suggest that *Blackwood’s* presented a more traditionalist image of the home and of gender roles, one that struggled with the new, progressive professional domesticity found in magazines like the *Cornhill*. It did not, however, reject this new domesticity; rather, *Blackwood’s* tempered that domesticity to fit the magazine’s hybrid perspective.

The domestic serial provided a space for the magazine to grapple with this changing construction of middle-class domestic ideology. Nevertheless, the role of domestic fiction in *Blackwood’s* is also often overlooked by scholars. While domestic fiction lightened the tone of the magazine and John Blackwood assiduously courted star authors like George Eliot, fiction never dominated the magazine in the same way as the *Cornhill* did. For *Blackwood’s*, the non-fiction was the more important component of the magazine’s fare. Moreover, the

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<sup>12</sup> This letter was to William Blackwood II, who was stationed in India. He eventually achieved the rank of Major. William Blackwood I kept his son abreast of how well the business was doing, and his letters frequently recommend the current issue of *Blackwood’s* for his son’s perusal.

club-like atmosphere of *Blackwood's* coupled with the uneven distribution of fiction in the magazine occludes the domestic serial. Consequently, domestic fiction sits a little uneasily within the pages of *Blackwood's*. Exploring domestic fiction in *Blackwood's*, then, allows us to examine the constraints on the genre as well as how *Blackwood's* struggles with the new middle-class domesticity of the mid-nineteenth century. To that end I look at how Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, serialized in *Blackwood's* from January 1874 to February 1875, shows that the natural progression of gender construction depicted in Gaskell's serial is not quite so simple in the mid-1870s. For Oliphant and *Blackwood's*, the ideal British professional man must also be a hybrid of Scottish and English identities.

Chapter Three

*Domesticity and Hybridity in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine and Margaret Oliphant's  
The Story of Valentine and his Brother*

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It is that 'Maga' has had a steadier continuity of character than anything of the kind that can be named. Change with the times, of course; by only as the times measured by years and generations change the faithful and sincere. Minds change under the same influences; and it might almost be that the same mind, so influenced, has carried on the Magazine from first number to the thousandth. So that it is natural, too, that 'Maga' has a personality more individual, more constant and pronounced than is seen in any other creature of its kind; and what I mean by personality in a publication (strong clear character is one interpretation of the word) is a great thing.

~ Frederick Greenwood

Dick had transmogrified himself; in his working dress he looked more a "gentleman" than he had done in his Sunday coat. [...] How workmanlike he was in his element, knowing exactly what to do, and how to direct the other who looked to him! and yet, Lord Eskside thought, so unlike anyone else, so free in his step, so bold in his tranquil confidence, so much above the level of the others [...] (for rank will out, like murder)

~ Margaret Oliphant<sup>1</sup>

Anthony Trollope declared that "Nothing certainly has been done better than *Blackwood's*" (qtd. in Patten and Finkelstein 155). While he expressed these sentiments after the failure of his own family literary magazine, *Saint Pauls*, Trollope's appreciation for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* is a testament to the magazine's abilities to navigate the competitive mid-nineteenth-century periodical marketplace. Despite its longevity, *Blackwood's* is not known for embracing progressive views about mid-nineteenth-century class and gender roles. Conservative in its politics and heavily dependent on non-fiction, *Blackwood's* distinctly masculine and scholarly atmosphere make the magazine appear

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Greenwood, "The Looker-On (No. XII)," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (February 1899): 428, and Margaret Oliphant, *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, "Part XIII," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (January 1875): 94-95. All references to *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* refer to the text from the original run in *Blackwood's*. Since the pagination rennumbers per six month run, I've also identified all quotations from *Blackwood's* with the issue date.



hostile to the new middle-class domestic ideology advocated by magazines like the *Cornhill* and *Macmillan's Magazine*.

Described by Graham Law as a “salty Tory review” (14), *Blackwood's* staunch political perspective has often seemed to make the magazine be less in tune with the mid-nineteenth century family literary magazine market than other titles. This scholarly view of *Blackwood's* seems to imply that the magazine was somehow intractable in its views, rejected the work of women in its pages, or ignored domesticity. As a family literary magazine with an established, upper-middle-class and middle-class audience, *Blackwood's* moved more slowly in adapting to the new urban, middle-class domesticity, but it did address changing ideas of domesticity while retaining its core sensibilities. *Blackwood's* was, after all, where Felicia Hemans first published her poem “The Homes of England” (April 1827), which celebrates middle-class domesticity. Maga possessed “a strong clear character” that allowed *Blackwood's* to balance its various identities as a Scottish publication, Conservative review, intellectual forum, and family literary magazine (Greenwood, “The Looker-On (No. XII)” 428).

While domestic fiction never dominated the magazine, it did form a critical part of *Blackwood's* publication practices, particularly in the mid-nineteenth century. Domestic fiction both complemented and complicated the views expressed in the non-fiction of *Blackwood's*, which allowed the magazine to reflect the struggles of middle-class society with the new professional domesticity. *Blackwood's* also presented a more complicated version of domestic ideology than rival titles, one that amalgamates traditional views and the new professional domesticity advocated in family literary magazines like the *Cornhill*. Thus, the magazine embraced education for women but did not envision real roles for these

educated women outside of the home. It valued professional men while still accepting and valuing lineage and rank.

To demonstrate how *Blackwood's* blended domestic ideologies, I juxtapose the non-fiction in *Blackwood's* with Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, serialized in the magazine from January 1874 to February 1875.<sup>2</sup> I suggest that Oliphant's domestic serial reflects the challenges *Blackwood's* itself faced in addressing changing conceptions of domesticity. *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* marks a departure in Oliphant's domestic fiction. Written in what Innes Shand terms "a very different style" (337), Oliphant carefully crafted a domestic serial that grapples with divergent domestic ideologies. For in *Valentine and His Brother*, the gentry landowner, the professional new man, and the emerging dandy-aesthete occupy the same space, and the tensions between these models of masculinity are never fully resolved. By maintaining the tension between these complex and contradictory gender constructions, Oliphant to positions Valentine and Dick, with their Oxbridge education, as the more natural inheritors of the Scottish Eskside estate than their dandy-aesthete father, Richard Ross. In so doing, Oliphant makes the case that the future of Scotland's ruling class is tied to English domesticity.

The role domestic fiction played in shaping *Blackwood's* discourse is rarely considered in studies of the magazine. The collection *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1900* (2006) looks primarily at the magazine's history, reviews, and politics. In "Editing *Blackwood's*; or, What do Editors Do?" Robert L. Patten and David Finkelstein examine John Blackwood's role as editor, but they largely ignore the domestic fiction Blackwood published in the magazine. Laurel Brake's "Maga, the Shilling Monthlies, and

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B for the volume, chapters, and pages numbers for each monthly installment of *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*.

the New Journalism” explores the amount of fiction in the magazine as a means of studying the competition between *Blackwood's* and the new, cheaper family literary magazines that began publishing in the 1860s. Carol A. Martin's *George Eliot's Serial Fiction* (1994) examines George Eliot's relationship with John Blackwood and the print history of her work, but does not look at how her fiction functioned as a component of the magazine. Even studies of Margaret Oliphant, who called herself *Blackwood's* “general utility woman,” do not look at her domestic fiction as part of *Blackwood's* discursive practices. If we are to understand the ways domestic serials reshaped and reflected urban, bourgeois domesticity within the family literary magazine, then it is important to examine how *Blackwood's* balanced at times divergent ideologies within its pages. Thus, my examination of *Blackwood's* concentrates on how the magazine balanced its divergent identities and how domestic fiction was positioned within *Blackwood's* pages.

A focus on Oliphant's domestic fiction in *Blackwood's* also allows for a recovery of her marginalized domestic fiction. Deidre D'Albertis, David Finkelstein, J. Haythornthwaite, Dale Kramer, Barbara Onslow, and Solveig C. Robinson, among others, all look at Oliphant's work as reviewer for *Blackwood's*, but they do not address her fiction.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, much of Oliphant's fiction is out of print in volume version, which accounts for the small amount of work done on her fiction outside of the *Chronicles of Carlingford* series. For instance, Elizabeth Langland and Laurier Langbauer both critically examine Oliphant's use of domestic detail, but they only look at texts from her *Chronicles of Carlingford* series.

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<sup>3</sup> See Deidre D'Albertis, “The Domestic Drone: Margaret Oliphant and a Political History of the Novel” 805-29; David Finkelstein, “‘Long and Intimate Connections’: Constructing a Scottish Identity for *Blackwood's Magazine*” 326-338; Dr. J. Haythornthwaite 78-88; Dale Kramer, “The Cry that Binds: Oliphant's Theory of Domestic Tragedy” 147-64; Barbara Onslow, “‘Humble comments for the ignorant’: Margaret Oliphant's Criticism of Art and Society” 55-74; and Solveig C. Robinson 199-220 for work on Oliphant's role as a reviewer and literary critic for *Blackwood's*.

As Anne McManus Scriven notes, the lack of scholarship on Oliphant's domestic fiction stems in part because "Despite the fact that Oliphant penned and published over ninety novels in her lifetime, the only two novels still in print are *Miss Marjoribanks* (1998) and *Phoebe Junior* (2002)" (170).<sup>4</sup> Critics who focus on Oliphant's Scottish texts tend to see this work as regional, a claim made by Elisabeth Jay and Vineta Colby and Robert A. Colby. Nor does BBC 2's 2004 *Writing Scotland* series look at Oliphant's writing beyond the context of other Scottish women writers. Critics who recover Oliphant's Scottish work from the "regional" dustbin, however, do not study *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*. Scriven and Margarete Rubik examine *Kirsteen*, among other Scottish texts. Colby and Colby do not even include *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* in their essay reviewing Oliphant's Scottish fiction, although they do briefly discuss the text in their longer examination of her work.<sup>5</sup> I suggest that the critical void that *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* seems to inhabit results in part because the text focuses on masculine domesticity and in part because the portrayal of masculinity embraces a hybrid of Scottish and English identity that is at times contradictory. A close examination of the non-fiction during the January 1874 to February 1875 run of *Blackwood's* and Oliphant's marginalized domestic serial allows for an exploration of how the magazine used domestic fiction to mediate between divergent

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<sup>4</sup> Scriven is not entirely accurate here. *Miss Marjoribanks* (Penguin), *Phoebe Junior* (Broadview), and Oliphant's *Autobiography* (Broadview) are the only works available in mass market paperback editions. Elibron Classics has been assiduously publishing paperback facsimile editions of Oliphant's work, but these texts are only available through Elibron or haphazardly through online retailers like Amazon. For example, it is possible to purchase volume two of Elibron's reprint of the 1875 Tauchnitz Edition of *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* through Amazon, but volume one is unavailable.

<sup>5</sup> See Vineta Colby and Robert A. Colby, "Mrs. Oliphant's Scotland: The Romance of Reality" 89-104; Elisabeth Jay, *Mrs. Oliphant: 'A Fiction to Herself'* 139-91; Laurie Langbauer, *Novels of Everyday Life*; Elizabeth Langland 149-82; Anne McManus Scriven 167-81; Margarete Rubik, *The Novels of Mrs. Oliphant: A Subversive View of Traditional Themes*; and the *Writing Scotland* homepage, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/arts/writingscotland/>>.

domestic ideologies in order to craft a version of domesticity consistent with Maga's hybrid identity.



*Conservative Politics and the Domestic Serial in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*

Begun in 1817, *Blackwood's* was a prominent and steady component of nineteenth-century print culture. Lively and acerbic in its early days, by the 1870s Maga—the magazine's affectionate nickname—had become less polemical; according to Oliphant, “the slashing article had died out” in the magazine (*Annals* 2: 454). Indeed, the range of topics addressed by the magazine from January 1874 to February 1875 bears this out. The magazine printed articles on women's education, the 1874 elections, current politics, reviews of current books, articles on Scottish history, biographical portraits, scholarly tracts, extensive travel narratives on South East Asia, and a review of a volume of translated Greek classics for “intelligent [but] ignorant” readers (Oliphant, “The Ancient Classics” 367). Most of these articles, except for the travel narratives and political articles, are reviews of scholarly works. Thus, *Blackwood's* in the mid-nineteenth to late-nineteenth century situated itself as an authoritative select library, providing its urban middle-class readers with a primer to the intellectual culture of the day.

Despite the challenges presented by the advent of cheaper, monthly family literary magazines like the *Cornhill* and *Macmillan's Magazine*, reviews like the *Fortnightly Review* (1865-1934) and the *Nineteenth Century* (1877-1901),<sup>6</sup> and the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s, *Blackwood's* managed to retain its personality and editorial vision. Frederick

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<sup>6</sup> The magazine changed names to the *Nineteenth Century and After* in 1901. It changed names again, to the *Twentieth Century* in 1951, and it ceased publishing in 1972.

Greenwood praised *Blackwood's* ability to change with the times in his article in honor of *Maga's* one thousandth issue in February 1899. Greenwood writes

‘Maga’ has had a steadier continuity of character than anything that can be named. Change with the times, of course; by only as the times measured by years and generations change the faithful and sincere. Minds change under same influences; and it might almost be that the same mind, so influenced, has carried on the Magazine from first number to the thousandth. So that it is natural, too, that ‘Maga’ has a personality more individual, more constant and pronounced than is seen in any other creature of its kind; and what I mean by personality in a publication (strong clear character is one interpretation of the word) is a great thing. (“The Looker-On (No. XII)” 428)

This steadiness of character can be misleading. Laurel Brake claims in “Maga, the Shilling Monthlies, and the New Journalism” that she had to re-evaluate her own conception of *Maga*. Instead of viewing the magazine as stubborn for its adherence to anonymity, Brake argues that “Like many journal titles that survive the breadth of the century—the *Spectator* is another—the character of even this relatively stable journal changes, though the title, like Dorian Gray’s face, remains the same” (“Maga, the Shilling Monthlies, and the New Journalism” 184). *Blackwood's* may have been slow to change with the times, but it did change. By employing a scholarly voice that complimented and mediated the magazine’s Conservative perspective, *Blackwood's* was able to put forward a more conservative and vexed version of the new domesticity, one that allowed the magazine to balance its hybrid identity.

Elisabeth Jay notes that “John Blackwood had been known as a clubbable man” (78), and the positioning of the magazine as a type of club can be seen in his editorial practices during the January 1874 to February 1875 run of *Maga*. He edited the magazine collectively with his “Edinburgh and London managers George Simpson and Joseph Munt Langford, respectively” (Patten and Finkelstein 153). Blackwood, at the very least, looked at

everything published in the magazine, and *Annals of a Publishing House*, jointly written by Oliphant and Mary Porter, highlights Blackwood's involvement with his contributors.<sup>7</sup> Blackwood's close relationship with the magazine's contributors means that any given issue of *Blackwood's* tended to be full of the work of this select coterie of writers. Oliphant's own association with *Blackwood's* is a good example of the kind of long term relationship John Blackwood fostered with writers.<sup>8</sup> Although an issue of the magazine never consisted entirely of her work—a claim often made about Oliphant and *Blackwood's*—she did contribute “more than two hundred critical articles and essays” to the magazine (Colby and Colby 3).<sup>9</sup> During the serialization of *Valentine and His Brother*, for instance, Oliphant published seven non-fiction articles in *Blackwood's*.<sup>10</sup> Nor was Oliphant the only writer to contribute so prolifically during the January 1874 to February 1875 run of *Maga*. William George Hamley and Herbert Cowell also published seven articles in *Blackwood's* during this time period. Several writers contributed two articles during this period, including two short stories by Julian Sturgis, the two installment story “Giannetto” by Margaret Majendie, and

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<sup>7</sup> See Margaret Oliphant *Annals of a Publishing House*, volumes 1 and 2, and Mary Porter, *Annals of a Publishing House*, volume 3 for excerpts from John Blackwood's letters which detail his carefully developed relationships with his contributors.

<sup>8</sup> Oliphant has a long relationship with the Blackwoods and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. John Blackwood helped Oliphant out financially after her husband's death, and Oliphant relied on his literary judgment. During the serialization of *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, she wrote to Blackwood, telling him that “I wish I could have the advantage of reading this out to you: even the mere fact of hearing how it reads is such an advantage to a writer” (Coghill 243).

<sup>9</sup> The idea that Oliphant wrote a whole issue of the magazine persists because “her industry and versatility were so legendary” (Rubik 1).

<sup>10</sup> “The Indian Mutiny: Sir Hope Grant” (January 1874): 102-120; “*Fables in Song* [by Edward Bulwer-Lytton]” (February 1874): 248-266; “New books: Victor Hugo's *Quatre-Vingt-Treize*” (June 1874): 750-69; “Two cities [Florence and Venice] — two books [*Romola* and *Consuelo*]” (July 1874): 72-91; “The Ancient Classics” (September 1874): 365-86; “Ancient Classics—Latin Literature” (November 1874): 599-620; “*The Life of the Prince Consort*, Vol. I [by Theodore Martin]” (January 1875): 114-31.

various articles by Charlotte Dempster, Elizabeth J. Hasell, Henry King, and A.W.C. Lindsay.

Crucially, this coterie of writers included the work of women and men. According to Porter, John Blackwood “had always held out a steady helping hand to feminine literary talent,” even though he did not support the suffrage movement (159).<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, women were part of the club-like atmosphere of *Blackwood’s*. Finkelstein argues that the whole publishing firm “functioned as tightly run, male-dominated space, yet also suggested itself to prospective authors, both male and female, as an open, welcoming, and inclusive club of sorts” (*The House of Blackwood* 16). Contributions by women appear in every issue of *Blackwood’s* during the serialization of *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*.<sup>12</sup> The work of women writers makes up half or almost half of the contents in the June and July 1874 issues alone.<sup>13</sup> Only the April 1874, August 1874, and December 1874 issues contain a single contribution from a woman writer, which is the installment of Oliphant’s domestic serial. The February 1874, June 1874, July 1874, and January 1875 issues all have three items from women writers. In each of these cases, two of the contributions are by Oliphant and one of the articles is from another woman writer.

These women did not merely provide content for female readers; their work is in keeping with the magazine’s more scholarly ethos. For example, Elizabeth J. Hasell’s

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<sup>11</sup> Margaret Oliphant claims in the first “Old Saloon” (January 1887) that *Maga* “has her ladies too, but shall we own it, loves them less” (127).

<sup>12</sup> See Table 3.1 for a chart of fiction and non-fiction contributions to *Blackwood’s* by women writers.

<sup>13</sup> *Maga* was not always so inclusive. Lisa Niles notes that “From 1817 to 1825, fewer than five percent of *Blackwood’s* contributors were women” (103).



Figure 3.1: Contributions to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine from Women Writers, Fiction and Non-Fiction, January 1874- February 1875

Issue Date	No. of Contributions From Women	No. of Contributions From Men or Unattributed <sup>1</sup>	Women Writers who Contributed Fiction and Non-Fiction
January 1874	2	5	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Oliphant, "The Indian Mutiny: Sir Hope Grant"
February 1874	3	6	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Oliphant, "Fables in Song [by Edward Bulwer-Lytton]" Charlotte Dempster, "The Two Spearsky: a page of Russian Official Life," Part I
March 1874	2	6	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Charlotte Dempster, "The Two Spearsky: a page of Russian Official Life," Part II
April 1874	1	7	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i>
May 1874	2	7	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Elizabeth J. Hasell, "Hercules"
June 1874	3	4	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Oliphant, "New books: Victor Hugo's <i>Quatre-Vingt-Treize</i> " Anne Mozley, "The Poets at Play"
July 1874	3	3	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Oliphant, "Two cities [Florence and Venice] — two books [ <i>Romola</i> and <i>Consuelo</i> ]" Elizabeth J. Hasell, "Family Jewels"
August 1874	1	7	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i>
September 1874	2	7	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Oliphant, "The Ancient Classics"
October 1874	2	7	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Alice Cowell, "School-board Religion"
November 1874	2	5	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Oliphant, "Ancient Classics—Latin Literature"
December 1874	1	7	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i>
January 1875	3	5	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Oliphant, "The Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. I [by Theodore Martin]" Margaret Majendie, "Giannetto," Part I
February 1875	2	3	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> Margaret Majendie, "Giannetto," Part 2

<sup>1</sup> Since *Blackwood's* did not sign articles, I have used the Wellesley Index for the attributions. The Wellesley Index does not include poetry, some of which was signed in *Blackwood's* and some of which was unsigned. See Figure 3.1 for poetry in the January 1874 to February 1875 run of *Blackwood's*. "New Books (No. XV)," from the April 1874 issue, and "New Books (No. XVI)," from the August 1874 issue, are unattributed in the Wellesley Index.

“Family Jewels” (July 1874) dissects the Homeric origins of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, while Oliphant’s work ranges from a review of a new biography on Prince Albert to a discussion of the implications of the Indian Mutiny as part of a review on a new book on Sir Hope Grant. The presence in *Blackwood’s* of the work of women writers should not necessarily be viewed as progressive. Maga readily accepted the idea that women were intelligent; it just did not support women’s rights nor accept the notion that women could be as intelligent as men. The main political article was never written by a woman during this thirteenth month run of the magazine. Furthermore, the policy of anonymous publication occluded the gender of contributors for readers. I suggest that a dual gendering of journalism occurs that can conceal the real complexities of a family literary magazine like *Blackwood’s*. Scholars tend to read the inclusion of politics within the pages of a periodical as somehow masculinizing a magazine, while the inclusion of domestic fiction supposedly feminizes a periodical. This either/or dichotomy simply does not work when examining the family literary magazine, particularly one like *Blackwood’s*, which published both political articles and domestic serials.

The magazine also published a large number of its non-fiction articles in installments. For example Frederick Marshall’s “International Vanities,” which discusses international customs, titles, and diplomacy, ran to eight parts, from December 1873 to December 1874, while Andrew Wilson’s extensive travel narrative “The Abode of Snow” ran for ten installments, from August 1874 to July 1875.<sup>14</sup> Employing the conventions of serialization with the non-fiction articles allowed the magazine to maintain a continuity of voice over a

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<sup>14</sup> The December 1874 issue is largely comprised of items published serially. Of the eight items in the issue, four of them are continuations of either a serial or non-fiction article: Part XII of *Valentine*, which runs for 22 pages; Part IX of *Alice Lorraine*, which runs for 27 pages; “The Abode of Snow. Chinese Tartars,” which runs for 20 pages, and “International Vanities. No. VIII.—Glory,” which runs for 18 pages. 87 of 130 pages of this issue are made up of these four items.

long period of time. The continuity of *Blackwood's* non-fiction and the regularity of the male and female voices in the magazine tended to give the magazine a scholarly air that *Blackwood's* policy of anonymity accentuated. More so than the *Cornhill*, which emphasized its "star" authors, and *Macmillan's*, which signed most of its contents, *Blackwood's* presented a collective voice. Anonymity gave writers and the magazine cover during its early, raucous days when it almost gleefully attacked political opponents and gave the magazine a definitive personality at mid-century. Thus, the serialization of non-fiction, its scholarly ethos, the continuity provided by the magazine's political articles and scholarly works, the collaborative nature of the editing, the magazine's coterie of writers, and its policy of anonymous publishing all supported the magazine's scholarly atmosphere.

Such an atmosphere actually gave the magazine the means of balancing its hybrid identity as a Scottish publication, Conservative review, and family literary magazine, since *Blackwood's* could position itself as an arbiter of cultural authority. Most of the non-fiction articles are reviews of current books, usually on historical, military, or biographical topics, or detailed analysis of current politics. These types of articles give the magazine an authoritative voice. For example, John Skelton's "The Elections of 1868 and 1874" (March 1874) examines the 1874 parliamentary election. Although Skelton favors a Conservative position, he presents a detailed analysis of the political situation of the day instead of merely hewing to Conservative principles. Skelton also does more than declaim against the suddenness of Gladstone's decision to hold Parliamentary elections, although he does think that "if the Tories had been allowed another week to organise, they would have secured a large number of these [close] seats" (365-66). He takes the time to analyze the political climate in the 1874, and how that climate relates to the shift in the prospects of the

Conservative party since the Reform Bill in 1868. It is a scholarly and astute analysis of a decade's worth of political trends.

G. R. Gleig's "The Great Problem: Can it be solved?" (January 1875) is of a piece with Skelton's political analysis. Gleig summarizes the current religious debates of the day and in so doing charts a middle course between the dogmatism of the Evangelicals and the "flippant objections of Strauss and the followers of his school" (133). The article charts the various scholarly works on the Life of Christ, and Gleig rationally argues for Christ's divinity. The article is measured in tone. His whole purpose is to assuage "those in whom [...] their principle of faith has been shaken" (Gleig 132). The focus on faith is in keeping with the magazine's conservative principles as is Gleig's scholarly tone.

The magazine's scholarly ethos is part of the consistency of character that Greenwood praises. It also allows the magazine to position itself as an arbiter of urban British middle-class culture. In the pages of *Blackwood's*, readers could find reviews and articles that worked to shape an educated middle-class. For example, Oliphant's "The Ancient Classics" (September 1874) reviews a new translation of classical Greek texts. She makes the argument that, although W. Lucas Collins's translation and abridgement of classical Greek texts cannot replace the experience of reading the *Iliad* in the original Greek, male and female readers without access to Classical education will find these translations valuable.<sup>15</sup> Oliphant claims that "Intelligence, as distinguished from knowledge, gets but little recognition these days" ("The Ancient Classics" 367). In other words, professional middle-class men and women who do not know the *Iliad* because they do not have access to the

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<sup>15</sup> Oliphant's review of Collins's Ancient Classics series shows the interrelated nature of the Blackwood coterie. Oliphant proposed a similar series on continental literature to John Blackwood three years before Collins's Ancient Classic series. She was indignant when Collins wrote to her asking for a contribution to a new series on continental authors. Eventually Oliphant was named as editor of the Foreign Classics series.

public school system and Classical education are not unintelligent. Rather, Oliphant is offering them the means of educating themselves. Her distinction between intelligence and knowledge is highlighted in her characterization of Dick Brown in *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*. Dick, through Valentine's intervention, has access to all of Val's old books; he educates himself, following the path of the professional middle-class man to a large extent.

Even when *Blackwood's* looks at social issues like marriage or women's education, it at least maintains a veneer of a scholarly perspective. Herbert Cowell's review "John Stuart Mill: An Autobiography" (January 1874) is an even handed account of Mill's biography and life, surprisingly so since *Blackwood's* frequently villanized Mill's work and life.<sup>16</sup> Cowell avers that "it is due to the memory of a great and distinguished man to judge it with impartiality" ("John Stuart Mill" 75). The article for the most part maintains this impartiality, except when Cowell addresses Mill's relationship with Harriet Taylor. At this point, the article becomes an intriguing argument for fidelity in marriage, but it also becomes a diatribe on Mill's philosophical views. Cowell claims that

Husbands and wives who have 'true esteem and strong affection,' owe one another much more than mere legal loyalty. Marriage could never correspond to the high ideal which Mr. Mill himself described, if avoiding the divorce court fulfilled all its conditions, and no demand were made for constancy and fidelity on the part of both husband and wife in mind, heart, and thought. ("John Stuart Mill" 85)

For Cowell, fidelity in marriage reflects an equality of affection and commitment. Cowell's argument in favor of companionate marriages is in keeping with *Blackwood's* complex

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<sup>16</sup> Cowell took issue with Mill's *On Liberty* in his 1873 review of J.F. Stephen's *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*. John Blackwood also took the opportunity to attack Mill and encouraged Anne Mozley to do the same when he wrote to her in 1868 about her proposed essays on the current condition of women and on Mill: "Confound the fellow, he argues as if mankind, male and female, were equally stocks or stones, or, if positively not equal at first, to be made so by the teaching of him—Mill! The man is blinded by arrogance, and instead of loving his fellow-creatures, he hates and would domineer over every one who did not agree with him. I wish you could throw in some fun and scourge him" (qtd. in Porter 164).

domesticity. It situates marriage as an equal relationship in regard to intent and commitment, but it avoids issues of women's rights. Lord and Lady Eskside in *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* exemplify the kind of companionate relationship. Their constancy and similarity of mind and purpose is a direct contrast to the fractured marriage of Richard and Myra.

Cowell's "Sex in Mind and Education: A Commentary" (June 1874) evinces this same scholarly balance (except for a several-paragraph rant on Mill, which is out of place in the article). The article is actually three reviews in one. It reviews Dr. Edward Clarke's book claiming that the co-educational system in America is detrimental to the health of girls. The article also addresses the response in the April 1874 and May 1874 issues of the *Fortnightly Review* by Dr. Maudsley and Dr. Garrett Anderson. Ultimately, Cowell's main aim is to condemn the *Fortnightly Review* for utilizing the serious topic of girls' education as a substitute for discussing the debate about women entering the medical professions, a debate raging in Edinburgh at the time. In so doing, Cowell develops a nuanced argument on women's education that rejects more progressive gender constructions but does not fully espouse separate spheres ideology or overtly malign women's intellectual abilities.

Cowell does not dispute Clarke's analysis that the sexes have different learning capacities based on their genetic differences; in fact, Cowell firmly agrees with Clarke that women's intellectual abilities are designed to make them good mothers and wives. Both are appalled by "The new gospel of female development [that] glorifies what she possesses in common with him, and tramples under her feet, as a source of weakness and badge of inferiority, the mechanism and functions peculiar to herself" (qtd. in Cowell 741). Neither, however, makes the claim that women are less intelligent than men. They claim only that coeducation produces weak women because not enough attention is paid to the physical well-

being of girls. In effect, Cowell agrees with the opinion that constant competition weakens the female body.

Yet Cowell also concurs with Dr. Maudsley that ““a system of education which is framed to fit [women] to be nothing more than the superintendents of a household and the ornaments of a drawing-room, is one which does not do justice to their nature, and cannot be seriously defended”” (qtd. in Cowell 745). Elaborating on Maudsley’s argument, Cowell avers that “It is quite impossible to state on stronger terms than this the right of women to the highest attainable culture, so long as it is obtained by appropriate training; their right to enter new fields of activity, so long as they are appropriate to the sex” (745). Here Cowell suggests that women should have access to education, just as long as they are trained differently from men. In other words, neither Cowell nor *Blackwood’s* is progressive in its view on women’s education.

Cowell’s article is reflective of *Blackwood’s* hybridity. It embraces a conservative perspective in arguing the biological difference between men and women, but it does not suggest that women are unintelligent or incapable of learning. It fully supports educating women in “a separate-but equal” system. While English readers would have found Cowell’s article topical, it also addresses an issue of particular interest for *Blackwood’s* Scottish readers, since it was Scottish universities that were allowing women to study medicine.<sup>17</sup> This type of scholarly work allowed the magazine to adopt the stance of a British family literary magazine.

The scholarly tenor of *Blackwood’s* often belies the presence of domestic fiction in the pages of *Maga*. Domestic fiction had always been part of the magazine’s publication

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<sup>17</sup> In 1874, William Cowper-Temple introduced the Scottish Universities Bill to Parliament in an attempt “to give the universities of Scotland the powers to admit women if they so wished” (Witz 95).

practices. Patten and Finkelstein argue that “Maga pioneered in the publication of serials, though their instalments were not particularly well designed” in the magazine’s early days (170). Although domestic fiction never came to dominate the magazine in the same way as it did the *Cornhill*, John Blackwood’s editorial guidance meant that the magazine handled fiction more adroitly. Shand’s lament that “Fiction is that staple of those most frivolous of serials” and that cheaper magazines treat non-fiction as “padding” is not a complaint that can be leveled at *Blackwood’s* (“Magazine-Writers” 245). John Blackwood was placed in charge of the family firm’s London publishing interests at an early age, allowing him to foster literary connections with a wide variety of literary talents. In the third volume of *Annals of a Publishing House*, Mary Porter praises her father’s inclusive editorial methods, saying “A magazine with him was a magazine, meaning a collection of everything, where authors, professional or non-professional, soldiers, politicians, clergymen, travelers—all might exhibit their wares” (21). The work of R. D. Blackmore, George Eliot, Alexander Kinglake, Margaret Oliphant, and Charles Reade, among others, appeared in Maga during Blackwood’s editorship.

His emphasis on domestic fiction did not always mean that fiction was evenly dispersed in the pages of Maga. As Brake notes, the contents of *Blackwood’s* before the advent of *Macmillan’s* and the *Cornhill* in late 1859 and early 1860 placed a heavier emphasis on non-fiction than on fiction. According to Brake, fiction “took the position of the lead article only once in that year (in January [1859]); there was usually one serial novel a month, occasionally two, but in one number there was none” (“Maga, the Shilling Monthlies, and the New Journalism” 197). The January 1860 and the May 1860 issue shows the haphazard publication of fiction in Maga directly after the emergence of the cheaper monthly



magazines. The January 1860 issue includes installments from two serials—the beginning of William Edmonstoune Aytoun’s *Norman Sinclair* (January 1860 – August 1861) and the continuation of William Lucas Collins’s *The Luck of Ladysmede* (March 1859 – March 1860)—as well as excerpts from *The Last French Hero* by Alexander Sue-Sand, fils (pseudonym for Sir Edward Bruce Hamley). It also includes part one of Bulwer-Lytton’s three-part narrative poem *St. Stephen’s*, which presents sketches of various Parliamentary orators, as well as the one page satiric political poem “Mr. Bull’s Song. The Sly Little Man.” Out of 126 pages, 72 pages of the January 1860 issue are devoted to fiction, with 40 of those pages being devoted to serial fiction. That is over half, 57 percent, of the issue consists of fiction. In contrast, the May 1860 includes two poems, “Narcissus” and “Snowdrops,” by P.S. Worsley and Sir Henry Drummond Charles Wolff’s short story “A Feuilleton.” The next installment of *Norman Sinclair* does not appear until the June 1860 issue. The May 1860 issue only has 16 pages of fiction out of 127 pages total; only 13 percent of this issue consists of fiction.

By the 1870s, the distribution of fiction per issue is more even, with the magazine publishing installments from two serials for the majority of the issues in the January 1874 to February 1875 run of the magazine. There is an average of 131 pages per issue during the time period, with an average of 41 percent of each issue being devoted to fiction.<sup>18</sup> At 144 pages, the January 1875 issue is the longest, and the August 1874 issue is the shortest with 122 pages. The February 1875 issue has the most fictional content with 80 of its 134 pages devoted to fiction. The distribution of fiction in the magazine is even enough for the reviewer for *The Illustrated Review* to declare that the February 1874 issue of Maga

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<sup>18</sup> See Table 3.2 for a complete chart of the distribution of fiction in *Blackwood’s* from January 1874 to February 1875.

Table 3.2: Percentage of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* Devoted to Fiction

Issue Date	No. of Items in Issue	Title(s) of Fictional Items in Issue, Inclusive Page Numbers, and Number of Pages	No. of Pages and Issue Pagination	No. of Pages Devoted to Fiction	Per. Devoted to Fiction
January 1874	7	Edward Bulwer-Lytton, <i>The Parisians</i> , 1-34, 34 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 35-54, 20 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 139-56, 17 William George Hamley, "Disorder in Dreamland," Part I, 204-22, 19 Julian Sturgis, "The Philosopher's Baby," short story, 232-36, 4	138 (1-138)	54	39%
February 1874	9	R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 269-287, 19 Knappdale, "Horatian Lyrics—No. III.," poem, 299-300, 2 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 324-41, 18 William George Hamley, "Disorder in Dreamland," Part II, 342-64, 23	130 (139-268)	40	31%
March 1874	8	R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 397-416, 20 William George Hamley, "Disorder in Dreamland," Part III, 417-42, 26 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 464-85, 22	128 (269-396)	61	48%
April 1874	8	R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 578-606, 29 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 525-44, 20	128 (524-397)	68	53%
May 1874	9	R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 678-606, 29 Henry King, "Convivium Templare: A Sketch of the South Side of Fleet Street," 568-77, 10 Lord Lytton, "Dates and Dates," poem, 625-27, 2 "A Knight of the Rhineland," poem, 641-42, 2	130 (525-654)	63	48%
June 1874	7	R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 655-77, 23 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 713-35, 23	129 (655-783)	46	36%
July 1874	6	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 1-23, 23 R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 42-71, 30 H.K. "Quid Sit Orandum," poem, 92-95, 3	126 (1-126)	56	44%
August 1874	8	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 146-65, 20 R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 184-206, 23 "Seven Village Songs," poem, 207-10, 3 "Montero's Flight," poem, 231-232, 2	122 (127-248)	48	39%
September 1874	9	Julian Sturgis, "The Disappointing Boy," 298-303, 6 R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 267-85, 19 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 319-41, 23 W. W. Story, "To Charles Sumner," poem, 342-46, 5	138 (249-386)	53	38%
October 1874	9	R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 387-409, 23 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 473-92, 20 Knappdale, "Horatian Lyrics, No. V.," poem, 498-500, 2	132 (387-518)	45	34%
November 1874	7	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 540-59, 20 "British Association, 1874. Notes of the President's Address," poem, 582-83, 2 T.D.C. "No Highlands this Year. A Parson's Apology," poem, 621, 1	126 (519-644)	23	18%
December 1874	8	Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 645-66, 23 R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 676-702, 27 J. S., "Aegathon," poem, 760-61, 1	130 (645-774)	51	39%
January 1875	8	Margaret Magendie, "Giannetto," Part 1, 1-31, 31 R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 44-68, 25 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 88-113, 26 Johannes Broustrophedonides, "Idas; or, Antichristus Britannicus. An Extravaganza," poem, 32-43, 12	144 (1-144)	69	48%
February 1875	5	Margaret Magendie, "Giannetto," Part 2, 145-71, 27 Margaret Oliphant, <i>The Story of Valentine and His Brother</i> , 188-218, 31 R.D. Blackmore, <i>Alice Lorraine</i> , 238-259, 22	134 (145-278)	80	60%

“surpasses itself this month. There is not a heavy, or unreadable article, and most of the contents are unusually pleasant” (“Magazines of the Month” 122).

Nevertheless, John Blackwood’s editorial policies and the scholarly club-like atmosphere meant that fiction was often marginalized in the magazine. Unlike the *Cornhill*, where the lead article was always the installment of a serial and where fiction was dispersed throughout the magazine, *Blackwood’s* frequently placed serial installments together, lessening their efficacy; the fiction frequently runs together, making the magazine seem unbalanced. For example, the January 1875 issue begins with Margaret Majendie’s short story “Giannetto,” and then it moves to A. W. C. Lindsay’s hybrid article “Idas; or, Antichristus Britannicus,” which is both a scholarly essay on the dangers of Materialism and a one act play expressing disgust at the emerging influence of the working classes. The next item is an installment of R. D. Blackmore’s *Alice Lorraine*. It is not until page 69 that a non-fiction article appears, Andrew Wilson’s “The Abode of Snow.” Immediately following this article, however, is the next installment of *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*. The rest of the issue is comprised of Oliphant’s review of Theodore Martin’s *The Prince Consort* and G.R. Gleig’s “The Great Problem: Can it be Solved?” on the effects of modern science on faith. *Blackwood’s* typically reserved the last item for its most influential items, and this article was almost always political. Brake notes that the reservation of this position for the political article meant that this article functioned “as a kind of leader” (“Maga, the Shilling Monthly, and the New Journalism” 197).

While domestic fiction never dominated the magazine in the same way as it did the *Cornhill*, domestic fiction did play an important role in how the magazine established its hybrid identity. John Blackwood chose domestic serials that “were aimed at a mainstream,

essentially middle-class reading public” (Finkelstein, *House of Blackwood* 77). In other words, Blackwood carefully selected domestic serials that focused on everyday life experiences that his Scottish and English middle-class readers would have found familiar. The magazine was not a purveyor of fictional treats in the same way as the *Cornhill*; Maga’s focus on politics and current issues defined the magazine’s character as conservative and scholarly. Nevertheless, domestic fiction did shape the magazine’s perspective, allowing the *Blackwood’s* mediated its Conservative, English, Scottish, and scholarly identities.



#### *Blackwood’s and Oliphant’s Hybrid Identity*

Admittedly, the term ‘British’ is vexed at best since it is a political term that elides Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English nationalities. In this instance, I think it an appropriate designation for this Edinburgh based magazine because *Blackwood’s* political stance was one that was supportive of the England’s imperial endeavors, generally in favor of English Conservative principles and politics, and minimized the Scottish elements in the magazine. As Finkelstein argues in “‘Long and Intimate Connections’: Constructing a Scottish Identity for *Blackwood’s Magazine*,” the magazine needed to be able to celebrate its heritage “as cultural product of Edinburgh and as a direct inheritor of the more general heritage of the Scottish renaissance movement” while moving beyond its Scottish identity in order to appeal to “a wider national and colonial audience” (331). Christopher Harvie claims that “Scots identity was to say the least part of a complex weave, in which national identity and ambitions were tangled up with English and imperial relationships” (*Scotland* 171-72). *Blackwood’s* is part of this complex and hybrid national identity. It embraces a Scottish heritage while simultaneously connecting Scotland’s continued importance to England’s imperial reach. Thus, articles in the January 1874 to February 1875 run of *Blackwood’s* like

A.W.C. Lindsay's review "The Book of Carlaverock" (February 1874), which celebrate Scotland's past while writing Scotland into England's imperial future, and Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, which explicitly links Scotland's ruling class with English domesticity and institutions, position *Blackwood's* as a family literary magazine for the British family.

According to Murray G. H. Pittock, it was "particularly important to incorporate Scotland into British consciousness" (*Celtic Identity* 44), since Scotland was crucial to Britain's continuing imperial might. He suggests that "a touch of the Celt' in one's ancestry has at least since the eighteenth century, been a frequently desirable designer accessory of Britishness" (*Celtic Identity* 11). While Pittock is referring to the tartans, kilts, "Scotch bonnets," and other so-called Celtic commodities that proliferated during the nineteenth-century, print culture also participated in incorporating Scottish identity into British identity. Designed to enter the middle-class home be that home in Edinburgh or London, family literary magazines like *Blackwood's* and domestic serials like Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* mediated British identity as a component of domesticity.

While not all of *Blackwood's* contributors were Scottish, based in Edinburgh, or even living in the British Isles, for that matter, they did typically have some sort of connection to Scotland. For example, A. W. C. Lindsay was the twenty-fifth earl of Crawford and the eighth earl of Balcarres as well as an avid scholar of Indo-European history and language, "book collector and writer on art" (Brigstocke par. 1).<sup>19</sup> Travel writer Andrew Wilson was born in Bombay, studied at universities in Edinburgh and Tübingen, and traveled the world as journalist. He worked as a journalist for *Bombay Times* and edited the *Times of India* for a

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<sup>19</sup> The Earl of Crawford is one of the oldest aristocratic titles, created in the Peerage of Scotland for Sir David Lindsay in 1398. The Earl of Balcarres was created in the Peerage of Scotland in 1651.

brief time.<sup>20</sup> Sir John Skelton, a frequent contributor to *Maga*, was born in Edinburgh and studied at St. Andrews and Edinburgh universities. His greatest scholarly work was on Mary Stuart, whom he defended “against her accusers with ability and careful restraint” (“Skelton, Sir John” par. 3). Oliphant herself was born in Lasswade, a small town near Edinburgh. Her family, however, moved to Glasgow and then to Liverpool. As an adult, Oliphant lived in London, among other cities in England, and traveled extensively in Europe. She eventually established a base in Windsor so she could be near her sons at Eton. The Scottish connections of the *Blackwood’s* coterie allowed the magazine to present itself as a Scottish publication while still positioning itself as arbiter of British culture.

It is as if *Blackwood’s* has its Scottish identity stored in a box, ready to display when the magazine feels inclined to support a romanticized idea of a Scottish past but neatly packed away when the magazine wants to support its British, imperial worldview. Arthur Hermann argues that John Wilson and James Hogg, two influential contributors to *Blackwood’s* in its early days, “wanted to offer to their audience a new way of seeing the world, which was actually an old way: through the lens of custom and a reverence for the past, including the vanishing folkways of rural Scotland” (307). By displacing the real differences between Scotland and England through a reverence for the past, *Blackwood’s* managed to knit together an identity for itself that was more representative of the hybrid identities of its urban middle-class audience.

E. J. Hobsbawm in *Nations and Nationalism* claims that “In the nineteenth century the English were quite exceptional in boasting of their mongrel origins (Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, Normans, Scots, Irish, etc.) and glorying in the philological mixture

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<sup>20</sup> See Janette Ryan, “Wilson, Andrew (1831-1881)” in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* for more details.

of their language (108). What Hobsbawm fails to recognize is how that so-called “glorying” in disparate origins is in fact a means of knitting these disparate racial origins together. For critics like Matthew Arnold, boasting of the past and the polyglot origins of the English language was a means of integrating Celtic identity into the dominant narrative of Englishness. Arnold’s points about Celtic identity are useful in thinking about how *Blackwood’s* and Oliphant define the character of the magazine and its middle-class family audience.

*Blackwood’s* hybrid identity is based on the premise that Scotland’s Celticism is not at odds with Anglo-Saxonism or Englishness; rather, these two identities are fused together. Lyn Innes suggests that Arnold codifies this position in *On the Study of Celtic Literature* when he insists “on racial fusion or hybridity, the racial and cultural intermingling of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon” (147). Arnold claims that “there is no such original chasm between the Celt and the Saxon as we once popularly imagined” (17). While he is primarily discussing Ireland and Wales, Arnold’s discussion of how the differences in the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon temperaments are melded together into a kind of perfection in the English is similar to the hybridity embraced by *Blackwood’s*. Arnold differentiates between the Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Norman temperaments:

The Germanic genius has steadiness as its main basis, with commonness and humdrum for its defect, fidelity to nature for its excellence. The Celtic genius, sentiment as its main basis, with love of beauty, charm, and spirituality for its excellence, ineffectualness and self-will for its defect. The Norman genius, talent for affairs as its main basis, with strenuousness and clear rapidity for its excellence, hardness and insolence for its defect. (87)

For Arnold, the Celt is too feminine and sentimental, the Anglo-Saxon too common, and the Norman too hard, or masculine. Nevertheless, by appreciating the variety of identities that make up Englishness, Arnold is able to fold these different identities into one composite

English identity, which celebrates the past while burying differences in a narrative of English progress. Wedding these different identities together makes one composite, ideal identity.

Oliphant makes a similar case in her article “Scottish National Character” (June 1860) for *Blackwood’s*. In the article, she presents a complicated argument for the linking together of national identities. At first, Oliphant separates the two nations, arguing that Scotland’s historic competition with England forms part of the Scottish national character: “We do not suppose that any just estimate of the Scotch character of former generations can be formed, without keeping in perpetual recollection this juxtaposition with the richer nations, which the poorer one never can forget her perennial opposition and antagonism to” (“Scottish National Identity” 717). The “thread of contradictoriness” that Oliphant locates in the national character is, however, not the defining feature of Scottish identity. She goes on to argue that

“To believe [...] that Edinburgh has any real quarrel with London, or that a passing twinge of mortification or momentary grudge entertained by the ancient little capital against her imperial neighbour implies the existence still of the strenuous old impulse of opposition, the bitterness of a brother’s quarrel, is simply ridiculous” (718).

By diminishing the historical divide between Edinburgh and London, between Scotland and England, Oliphant aligns the interests of the two cities and smoothes out national differences.

Lowland Scotland had a long history of alignment with the British which made *Blackwood’s* and Oliphant’s embrace of a hybrid identity possible. Scottish Enlightenment figures had already distanced themselves from Scottish nationalist movements as early as the 1750s.<sup>21</sup> According to Pittcock, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

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<sup>21</sup> There were nationalism movements in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century, including the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR), founded in 1853, and the Scottish Home Rule Association, which formed in 1886. These movements were disorganized and never had the strength of similar movements in Ireland and Wales. For instance, Murray G.H. Pittcock claims that “a slightly unreal air of romanticist flag-waving attended many of the [NAVSR’s] activities” (*Scottish Nationality* 94). See Pittcock, *Scottish Nationality*, British History in Perspective (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 94-102.



“Anglophone Scots were increasingly adapting themselves to life and opportunities in England” (*Celtic Identity* 54). As Linda Colley charts, Scottish soldiers manned Britain’s armies and Scottish merchants powered Britain’s economy. The relative political and social stability of Scotland in the 1870s and expanding rail and communication lines improved Scotland’s links with England. By 1876, the railway journey to London was nine hours, and the advent of the electric telegraph made it possible to conduct business from London. These innovations also made Scotland a tourist destination for members of the British middle-classes, with Thomas Cook and David MacBrayne marketing Scotland as a convenient and romantic vacation. According to Harvie, upper and middle-class tourism accomplished two things: “it enhanced the sentimental, tartan and Kailyard image,”<sup>22</sup> and “and by making Scottish holidays part of British upper- [and middle-] class life it fostered the illusion that integration was a two-way process” (*Scotland and Nationalism* 57). The increase in tourism coupled with the Scottish middle-classes’ own romanticization of Highlandism and adoption of English upper-middle-class customs such as sending their sons to Oxbridge meant that a family literary magazine like *Blackwood’s* could embrace the now safe imagery of the Scottish past while still promoting England and the imperial project.

A. W. C. Lindsay’s “The Book of Carlaverock,” which reviews the work of William Fraser for the Historical MSS. Commission and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, is typical of how *Blackwood’s* combined its scholarly voice with a focus on Scottish history in the mid-1870s. According to Lindsay, many “old castles and halls of Scotland and England” contain a charter-room where many families of name deposited “written documents which defined [each generation’s] tenure of possession, and the domestic papers which chronicled

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<sup>22</sup> The Kailyard literary movement in the late nineteenth century idealized rural Scotland. According to Harvie, later Scottish nationalists and the Scottish renaissance movement in the early twentieth century railed against this movement’s romanticization of rural Scotland.

their lives” (194). Fraser’s three-volume *The Book of Carlaverock* is a compilation of these papers from the Maxwells of Nithsdale, a powerful family from the western border with England. In detailing this family’s long history, which stretches back to before Robert the Bruce, Lindsay gives voice to a portion of Scotland’s history while also presenting an article that would have been appealing to the Scottish portion of *Blackwood’s* audience. By situating Scottish identity as part of the past, however, Lindsay’s article marries Scottish identity to Britain’s imperial future. Oliphant’s *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* bears out this point. Valentine is sent to Eton and then to Oxford for his schooling instead of going through the well-established Scottish education system. Being educated in the English system makes Valentine the perfect parliamentary candidate; his heritage ties him to Scotland while his education fits him for life in English society.

Furthermore, as a family literary magazine, *Blackwood’s* explicitly courted an urban, Conservative middle-class audience, be that audience in Edinburgh or London. Class in this instance trumps nationality. Nor were the Scottish middle-classes markedly different in their habits and homes than the English middle-classes. Glasgow and, to a lesser extent Edinburgh, experienced the same kind of industrialization as Manchester or Liverpool did. Glasgow was also a shipping center, with global business interests. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair’s study *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (2003) uses the Claremont/Woodside estate of Glasgow as a case study for nineteenth-century middle-class cultural and social mores. This area of Glasgow offered a heterogeneous sampling of the middle-classes, and the city of Glasgow was at the center of the Scottish and British industrial and shipping economy in the nineteenth century. The examination of middle-class life that Gordon and Nair provide highlights how similar domesticity was for

the Scottish and English middle-classes. The inventories of the households Gordon and Nair examine show domestic spaces filled with furniture and decorated in the same styles as those being advocated in household manuals like Isabella Beeton's *Book of Household Management* and Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste* and being depicted in domestic serials like *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*.

The continuity of middle-class cultural norms between the two nations means that Oliphant is able to craft a domestic narrative that draws from both traditions. Colby and Colby claim that Oliphant's purpose in her Scottish domestic fiction in *Maga* was "to break down what she regarded as naïve stereotypes retained by English readers about Scotland and the Scottish people" ("Mrs. Oliphant's Scotland" 93). According to Finkelstein, Oliphant "wishes to celebrate the qualities which differentiate Scots from the neighbouring English, but at the same time operate within a conservative ideological framework emphasizing British unity and a single national identity" ("Long and Intimate Connections" 329). I suggest that *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* grapples with domestic ideology because it is fusing together Scottish and English middle-class identity. Oliphant's astute reading of domestic detail and her role as an observer of both Scottish and English cultural mores and habits are key to Oliphant's construction of middle-class masculinity and femininity in *Valentine and His Brother*. For Oliphant, this hybrid identity was the way forward, and she uses domestic details, such as the respectable appearance of Dick Brown's drawing room in order to yoke Scotland's ruling class with English identity and domestic practices. Oliphant's Scottish family is not markedly so beyond the speech of Lord and Lady Eskside, both of whom occasionally use the odd Scottish phrase or word and who speak with a Scottish accent. The Ross's upper-middle-class status works to elide the regional

differences. Moreover, sending Val to Eton and Oxford positions the Ekskides as part of the English establishment.



*Hybrid Identities in The Story of Valentine and His Brother*

Margaret Oliphant possessed a keen sense of the signifying functions of domestic detail. Rank and status were indelibly written in white frocks worn high, embellished, handcrafted bookcases, and shawls draped over tables. Many scholars have commented on Oliphant's astute sensibility about domesticity and cultural values. According to Barbara Onslow, Oliphant was a "keen observer of social mores and "was sensitive to cultural changes and their potential for good or evil" (56). More often than not, however, her privileging of domestic detail is read as supporting separate spheres ideology. Both J. Haythornthwaite and Sarah Bilston view Oliphant's work through a conservative lens. Haythornthwaite argues that Oliphant "believed that the novelist should uphold the claims of the ideal, the sanctity of marriage and the gentlemanly virtues" (81). According to Sarah Bilston, "Like many Victorian conservatives, Oliphant believed for much of her life that the ideal of feminine purity chastened men, stimulating them to behave better and thereby improving the moral character of society as a whole" (29). Critics also view Oliphant's work as commodifying the home. Deirdre D'Albertis claims that Oliphant's "market-driven domestic writing" (2) turned "hearth and home into the site of mass production" (6). Even her contemporaries viewed her domestic fiction through a traditionalist lens. Shand avers that

Although she has varied her subjects almost indefinitely, she has never been tempted into extravagant sensationalism, nor has she invented a scene or written a page which could lay itself open to the censure of the most punctilious of moralists. And for a woman of the world, who is fully alive to its follies—for a practical novelist, who knows better than most people what is likely to gratify the fashion of the day—that is exceedingly high praise. ("Novelists" 337)

This assessment of Oliphant's work marginalizes her complex shaping of domesticity, however, particularly in regards to gender roles. While Oliphant cannot be said to be an advocate for women's rights, she was not necessarily against them either. Oliphant gradually changed her views regarding suffrage; at one point she was able to aver that "I think it is highly absurd that I should not have a vote, if I want one" (qtd. in Williams 108). For Oliphant, domesticity could embrace intelligent, women and the new professional man without necessarily discarding traditional constructs.

According to Margarete Rubik, Oliphant's "fiction is informed by the tension between traditionalism and subversion, between adhering to conventional values and radically challenging Victorian ideals" (2-3). In *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, Oliphant juxtaposes divergent masculinities. Lord Eskside represents a more traditional masculine model while Valentine and Dick unite aspects of the new professional man with that model. Conversely, Richard Ross embodies masculine models that Oliphant ultimately abhors but cannot fully displace.

The ways that Oliphant constructs a complex domestic ideology in *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* are not often addressed by recent critics. Indeed, the text is rarely considered at all, which is unsurprising since it was overshadowed by R. D. Blackmore's *Alice Lorraine*, which was serialized in *Blackwood's* almost concurrently with the run of *Valentine and His Brother*. *The Illustrated London News* claimed that Blackmore's serial "is one of the most charming novels of the season," but it barely mentioned Oliphant's serial (591). Merryn Williams in *Margaret Oliphant: A Critical Biography* notes *Valentine and His Brother* as a text that "is good, or at least interesting" (202), but provides no real commentary on the work. She is not the only recent scholar to note that the text is

“extremely readable and well written” (Williams 101). In *Mrs Oliphant: ‘Fiction to Herself’*, Elisabeth Jay mentions that the serial “ponders the extent to which nature and nurture are respectively responsible for an ability to handle life’s sudden reversals”(201), but she does not go beyond classing it as a one of Oliphant’s Scottish texts. Colby and Colby call the domestic serial “delightfully sentimental” and class it as a “bright, cheerful, thoroughly engaging story of boyhood” (*The Equivocal Virtue* 136). Designating *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* as regional or “delightfully sentimental” belies the complex negotiations between traditional domestic ideology and the new domesticity, between Scottish and English identity that occur in the text. Examining this marginalized text broadens our understanding of Oliphant’s complex and evolving middle-class British domestic ideology, particularly in regards to masculinity.

*The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, part Scottish inheritance tale and part *Bildungsroman*, emphasizes the strength of blood and lineage in establishing status. The identity of the rightful heir of Eskside, Valentine, is firmly established, and he is vindicated from his supposedly corrupting friendship with the lower-class Dick Brown, who turns out to be his twin brother. Even Myra Ross, the boys’ gipsy tramp-mother who initially causes all the problems in the text by running away with the infant Valentine and Dick, seems to be restored to her rightful position as a respectable, middle-class woman. This happy ending, however, occludes the ways that Oliphant constructs a hybrid masculinity that enfolds Scottish identity into English domesticity.

In *Valentine and His Brother* Oliphant draws fine distinctions between manliness and gentlemanliness, positioning the middle-class professional man as the more appropriate inheritor of rank and wealth. Valentine and Dick unite the ethos of the Scottish aristocracy

with the attributes of the professional man. Valentine's Eton and Oxford education equip him to be a Member of Parliament, while Dick's more haphazard education as an apprentice boatman gives him the practical skills to be able to run an estate like Eskside. Nevertheless, other models of masculinity are not rejected outright by Oliphant. While the worldly Richard Ross is implicitly disinherited in favor of his sons, Oliphant cannot write him out of the text in the same manner that Gaskell employs the narrative of the more appropriate second son in order to gently push aside Osborne Hamley in *Wives and Daughters*. Richard's combination of English professional man, worldly gentleman, libertine, and aesthete complicates the narrative of manliness Oliphant constructs in the serial; Richard contradictorily embodies English domesticity and aestheticism, which Oliphant deplored as inculcating idleness, egocentricity, and bachelorhood. Examining these divergent constructions of masculinity allows us to explore how Oliphant crafts a composite of the British home in the pages of *Blackwood's*.

For Oliphant, the ideal middle-class man combined Scottish and English features. In *Annals of a Publishing House*, Oliphant praises the Scottish and English education of John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart, early contributors to *Maga*: "They were both of that class which we flatter ourselves in Scotland produces many of the finest flowers of humanity, the mingled product of the double nation—pure Scot by birth and early training, with the additional polish and breadth of the highest English education" (1: 102). For Oliphant, the ideal man combined these aspects. Furthermore, Rubik argues that Oliphant "fuses the concepts of birth, profession and conduct, whereby one or the other element may be in the forefront, as circumstances decree" (92). In her depictions of Valentine, Dick, Richard, and Lord Eskside, Oliphant continuously jostles these different elements. She places a premium

on race and being well-born, but Oliphant expands the definition of being well born through the attitudes of Lord Eskside: “He believed not only in the efficacy of being well-born, but extended that privilege far beyond the usual limits allowed to it. He had faith in the race of ploughman as well as in that of his own noble house” (December 1874 660). In other words, Lord Eskside reverences longevity of origins and the stability provided by the past, a stance in accord with *Blackwood’s* own Scottish origins. Oliphant also highlights conduct, particularly self-control, as a crucial signifier of masculine identity and domesticity.

Oliphant positions Valentine and Dick as the rightful inheritors of Eskside because of their English education, experiences, and grounding in domesticity. Crucial to the complex and contradictory masculine identities she depicts in the serial is her doctrine of self control. For Oliphant, self control is the fundamental link that elides the disparate backgrounds and experiences Valentine, Dick, and Lord Eskside. There is a certain naiveté in Oliphant’s portrayal of Val and Dick, which is part of the reason why Colby and Colby suggest that the narrative is a sparkling portrayal of boyhood. Oliphant apparently felt that she was too attached to the characters, particularly Val. She wrote to Blackwood, telling him:

I meant my Val to be the least good of the two lads, but I am getting to like him! The other must turn out to be the eldest. I will revise it all carefully, and if I can find anything to shorten will do so. I want to have an election for the county with Valentine, grown up, as candidate, which should bring up all the floating stories about him, and give the other side a chance of saying their worst; but the boyhood is perhaps too attractive to me, surrounded as I am by boys. (Coghill 244)

The attractiveness of boyhood does not mean that Oliphant is not constructing a complex version of masculinity that embraces aspects of Scottish and English identity while rejecting others aspects, from impulsiveness to an over fond appreciation for antiques and fine china.



Since the two are twins, the experiences of Valentine, to a certain extent, substitute for those of Dick, since it is not until Valentine goes to Eton in the May 1874 installment that the two meet. Furthermore, Dick's life on the road must be lightly addressed but not dwelt on because of the irregularities and potential corruption of such a life; hence, the narrative emphasizes the idyllic nature of Valentine's childhood in Scotland while glossing over Dick's hardships as a tramp. Returned to the Esksides by Myra at the age of seven, Valentine lives the bifurcated existence that Oliphant so clearly cherishes and that *Blackwood's* promotes. His childhood is spent studying and playing at Rosscraig. As a child Val learns to value domesticity without losing his individual identity or playfulness. For instance, Val escapes from his Oxford trained tutor in order to explore the countryside around Rosscraig and to escape from his studies. Lord and Lady Eskside worry that his disappearance means that Val's tramp heritage is somehow taking hold or that his mother has returned for him; Lady Eskside fears "some gipsy rescue—some wild attempt of the boy's mother to take him away again" (April 1874 479). Val's play actually reinforces his appreciation for domesticity. He and Violet Pringle, whom he coaxes into playing truant with him, essentially play house.

Valentine does, however, feel a divide in his personality between his impulsive, adventurous spirit and the carefully inculcated respectability imparted by his grandmother. Like Dorian in Oscar Wilde's, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Val fears the more reckless side of his nature. This divide between romantic spirit and rational self can be read as the divide between Scottish and English identities. Val struggles with his adventurous side, "with this Frankenstein of himself" (April 1874 482). The realization that he is responsible for Violet's safety and getting her home after their day out on the linn prompts his boyhood deliberations

and recognition of these two personalities. In a twist of identity, it is Edinburgh that wins out here, a fact that Blackwood's *Scottish* audience would have enjoyed. Val's Oxford tutor, Mr. Grinder, is too effete, too interested in antiques and his position to be an effective tutor for Val. It is the Edinburgh College trained tutor who "marche[s] [Val] through [the] battle and tempest" of Homer while keeping a firm eye on him who provides Val with the rigorous structure that gives him the space to reflect on his bifurcated identity and reconcile the two parts (April 1874 481). Unlike Dorian or his father, Val learns control. He never loses his impulsive nature, but Val tempers it, channeling it away from adventure and into generally charitable impulses. When he meets Dick for the first time, his instinct is to help Dick find steady work. Dick and Val take "a liking" to each other on the spot," and Val finds him a position with one of the boatmen in Windsor (May 1874 541). His interest in Dick does not end there; he contributes largely to Dick's education by giving him books.

Val feels responsible for Dick, and this sense of responsibility is key to Val's character and the hybrid masculine identity Oliphant is constructing here. According to John Tosh, "Boys became men not only by jumping through a succession of hoops, but by cultivating the essential manly attributes [of] Energy, will, straightforwardness and courage" (*A Man's Place* 111). Val's combination of impulsiveness and responsibility, of energy and straightforwardness, allows him to mediate the different parts of his nature. When Val first leaves for Eton, Lord Eskside praises his combination of spirit and abilities. Yet, he cautions Val that he needs to learn control:

If you once learn to get the whip-hand of yourself that's the best education. There is nothing in this world like it, Val. Prove to me that you can control yourself, and I'll say you're an educated man; and without this other education is good for next to nothing. Other people, no doubt, can do you harm more or less, but there is no living creature can do you the harm yourself can. I would write that up in gold letters on every school, if I had it in my

power. Not that I like asceticism—far from it—but a man is no man that cannot rule himself. (May 1874 526)

On the one hand, Lord Eskside is cautioning Val from giving into his impulsive side—his wandering Scot side, as it were—but he is also cautioning him from learning idleness from the other students at Eton. For Val, who is to go into public life, learning how men in a similar position think and act is important. More important than being educated in such a system, however, is learning self control. When Alexander Pringle, a distant relation to the Rosses and a potential heir to the Rossraig estate, publicly declares that Valentine is illegitimate during Val's election campaign, Lord Eskside is proud of Val's self control. When Val reads the newspaper announcement published by Pringle questioning his parentage, he reacts, but he does not lose his self possession. Val refuses to show how hurt he is by Pringle's revelation: "He made a brave stand; he smiled and bowed to the people he knew, and spoke here and there a cheerful word, restraining his sense of shame, his wounded pride, the horror in his mind, with a strong hand" (December 1874 475). For Oliphant and *Blackwood's*, control is the crucial signifier of middle-class masculinity, one formed here by Val's English education and Scottish heritage. Lord Eskside values self-control, and in order to please his grandfather, Valentine controls his emotions and stands for the Conservative party with honor.

The only time Val gives into impulse completely is immediately after he wins the election. Exhausted by the mental and physical effort of maintaining his composure and haunted by the idea that his mother has abandoned him, Val returns to Oxford, blindly going to a familiar place. Yet more impulsively, he takes a boat out on the river and nearly drowns. Even in this emotional moment, however, Valentine is not violating Oliphant's careful construction of masculinity. His impulse is not to wander aimlessly; rather, Val feels the

need to reflect and reorient himself to his own history. His home is no longer a place of refuge, since the act of his grandfather solemnly reassuring Val that he is his grandson actually makes Val doubt his own identity: “Heaven above! what must his condition be, when his grandfather, the old lord himself, whose idol he was, had to say this to him” (November 1874 540). Nevertheless, Val’s giving into his impulsive nature, his Scottish or wandering side, is problematic. Val evinces a lack of self control here that seems to contradict Oliphant’s careful hybrid construction of masculinity. The contradiction is made moot because Val’s wandering puts him into contact with his mother, who saves him from drowning and nurses him back to health. Thus, Val’s impetuous decision to leave Eskside is redeemed by Oliphant because it is the means for bringing his family back together and re-establishing his identity.

By emphasizing control as the crucial component of upper middle-class and middle-class education, Oliphant is able to ameliorate the unsuitable parts of Dick’s more haphazard background. In many ways, Dick is a quieter and more complex portrayal of masculinity. Dick’s life on the road makes him appreciate responsibility and domesticity, and Dick, more so than Val, evinces almost reverent appreciation for the home. He takes pleasure in the small domestic details his mother ignores. For instance, he learns carpentry in order to make handcrafted furniture and bookshelves for the books Val gives him, and he is proud of the comfortable home he is able to make for Myra. It is his domestic sensibilities that first allow Lady and Lord Eskside to accept Dick. Lady Eskside dismisses his humble appearance, arguing that “If you go by the clothes and the outside [...] how could he be a gentleman? That poor creature’s son—nothing but a tramp—a tramp! till the fine nature in him came out, and he stopped his wandering and made a home for his mother. Was that like a gentleman or

not” (December 1874 644)? In this regard, Dick’s domestic habits prove his birthright as a member of the Eskside family.

It is also his domestic sensibilities that make Dick an embodiment of Oliphant’s ideal man. Unlike Val, Dick does not war with conflicting inner personalities; Dick possesses only a responsible, domestic side. Instead, Dick’s conflict is with his upbringing as a tramp boy and his own thorough embrace of the middle-class ethos of work. Oliphant is also very clear that Myra is not the type of woman to be randomly seduced, a fact she must reiterate throughout the serial in order to be able to position Dick, who is raised by Myra, as an embodiment of the proper domestic man. Lady Eskside pointedly tells Mary, “She was good, as people call good; there was no wickedness in her, as a woman” (January 1874 37). In other words, Myra is sexually pure, a point Lady Eskside drives home to Mary: “She would have put her knife into the man who spoke lightly to her, as soon as look at him” (January 1874 44).

Nevertheless, Dick is more aware of the realities of the world than Val because of his time spent on the road. When Richard turns up on their doorstep in Oxford in search of Val, Dick’s only concern is that his mother is protected. He is astute enough to discern from Myra’s actions and from Richard’s presence that he and Val must be brothers, but his upbringing as a tramp only allows him to think that he is an illegitimate son. Consequently, Dick has conflicting emotions. He wants to protect his mother from shame, but he is also jealous of Richard and Myra’s preoccupation with Val: “it did wound the good fellow to think that his mother could forget and set aside himself for the stranger [Val] who was nothing to her” (November 1874 548). Yet he also feels immeasurable tenderness for Val: “To think that it was to his brother he owed so much kindness—a brother who had no

suspicion of the relationship, but was good to him out of pure generosity of heart and subtle influence of nature, was a very affecting idea” (November 1874 549). Torn between his brotherly feelings for Val, his jealousy, and his own sense of displacement, Dick buries his emotions in work.

It is through Dick’s dedication to work that Oliphant is able to bridge his hybrid identities. Quickly rising in his chosen profession as boatman, Dick learns every aspect of the business from dealing with the Eton boys and the river to actual boat building. As Val tells him, “Brown, you mind what I am going to say. You must rise in the world; you have made a great deal of progress already, and you must make still more. Heaps of fellows not half so good as you have got to be rich, and raised themselves by their exertions” (261). Val makes sure that Dick is well-positioned to rise in rank through his patronage. When Val goes to Oxford, he finds a situation for Dick. Dick does so well that he is positioned to take over the business. Dick’s initiative and drive combined with Val’s patronage would have been an appealing construct for Maga’s audience, who valued self-education as long as it was also tied to the privileges of rank. (Val actually has to defend his friendship with Dick to his grandfather’s friends because, as a Tory, having lower-class friends smacks of democratic impulses.)

Nor is Dick’s lack of formal education problematic for Oliphant’s construction of hybrid masculinity. Lord Eskside did not attend Eton, and Oliphant is less concerned with Eton’s actual curriculum than with the morals and values the school supposedly instilled, which Dick learns from Valentine. Dick’s ability to essentially absorb every aspect of his chosen profession speaks of an intelligent and quick mind, which is what Oliphant sees as the purpose of schooling. Dick not only learns his profession, but he also absorbs the manners,

habits, and language of an Eton schoolboy. There is no distinction between Val and Dick's conversational styles, and Dick dresses much more fashionably and neatly than the other boys he works with.

Furthermore, Dick's work as a boatman becomes the means by which Oliphant signals Dick's inherent gentlemanliness. When he is bewildered and a little hurt by the odd and mysterious behavior of Lord and Lady Eskside, who have figured out that he is their grandson without letting him know the relationship, Dick instinctively returns to his work as a boatman: "His work, after all, was the thing that was most important. *That* would not deceive him" (November 1874). Work is Dick's means of evincing self-control; he does not shirk his professional or domestic duties. Moreover, it is while watching Dick work that Lord Eskside truly discerns Dick's character:

Dick had transmogrified himself; in his working dress he looked more a "gentleman" than he had done in his Sunday coat. [...] How workmanlike he was in his element, knowing exactly what to do, and how to direct the others who looked to him! and yet, Lord Eskside thought, so unlike anyone else, so free in his step, so bold in his tranquil confidence, so much above the level of the others [...] (for rank will out, like murder). (January 1875 94-95)

Seeing Dick's quick and assured movements, witnessing his professional acumen, makes Lord Eskside realize that Dick is indeed his grandson. This moment of recognition comes from Lord Eskside's observation of Dick, but also from the idea that rank is somehow written in the body. Dick's self control and mastery of his profession ultimately come from his rank as a member of the Ross family.

In her construction of these two boys, Oliphant is careful to make sure that Dick does not possess the same kind bifurcated personality as Val. His rank is too precarious for him to have wild impulses, particularly for *Blackwood's* more conservative audience. While Val embodies the conflicting split between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon identities, Dick personifies

the ways in which Scottish identity is folded into English domesticity in the pages of *Maga*. His love of order and neatness and distaste for the mysterious are posited as Scottish traits. Indeed, Dick and Lord Eskside are remarkably similar in personality; both bury emotion in active duty and both deplore mysteries and secrets. Dick's Scottish traits are what make his meteoric rise in his profession possible. When Val marries Violet and takes up his position as an MP, Dick stays at Eskside in order to help Lord Eskside run the estate, his managerial skills as boatman uniquely suiting him to life on a country estate.

Dick and Valentine's preference for a quiet family life coupled with an active professional life, while embodying the foundations of the new domesticity, is at odds with Oliphant's most English character in the serial, Richard Ross. At first, Oliphant's narrator praises his domestic leanings, making them part of his personality:

Richard Ross was a year or two over thirty—a young man, though he did not feel young—tall and fair, with a placid temper and the gentlest manners; a man to all appearance as free from passion and as prone to every virtuous and gentle affection as a man could be. His aspect, indeed was that of a very model of goodness and English domestic perfection. (February 147 1874 )

His appearance as a model of “English domestic perfection” is misleading at best. In the same passage, the narrator meditates on the fact that if Mary Percival had married Richard, she “would have wearied of him without knowing why, and found life—had she had him—a somewhat languid performance” (February 1874 147). At the crux of Richard's personality is this idea of performance. He plays the ideal gentleman well. When he returns to Eskside, all of the family's friends and neighbors remark on his composure and authority. Richard is not at all penitent for causing so much scandal by marrying Myra. This veneer of respectability occludes much in Richard, and for Oliphant such false men are not true embodiments of her hybrid masculinity.



Richard is too English in some respects and not enough in others. The narrator implies that Richard's decision to marry Myra versus merely seducing her stems from his Scottish nature. (*Blackwood's* more conservative audience and John Blackwood would have also found a seduction and illegitimate heirs a bit too sensational.) Nevertheless, this one right impulse cannot make up for his English aesthetic tastes and his raging jealousy. For instance, he eyes with disconcerting shrewdness an old and valuable oak chest that he sees at his old nurse's house, and he is more excited by this chest than he is at seeing Valentine again. According to Talia Schaffer, "After 1870, late-Victorian intellectuals worked to turn themselves into connoisseurs who monitored the 'collections' in their own homes" (79), and Richard is very much an intellectual connoisseur or an early aesthete. In effect, Richard is "a *dilettante*, loving china better than child or wife" (July 1874 15). Jay claims that Oliphant's "fictional world may have been emptied of heroes and villains and her theological world devoid of absolute sin, but [Walter] Pater's cultivated aestheticism was capable of raising her religious hackles" (94). Indeed, Oliphant harshly critiqued Pater's *The History of the Renaissance*, and she lambasted the influence of aestheticism on men and the home, reducing the aesthete to a mere collector of bric-a-brac in her January 1876 article "Lace and Bric-a-brac" in *Blackwood's*. Oliphant argues that false worship of the past as shown by the imitation of past decorative styles has "plunged" the age into "chaos and confusion" (72). In her view, aestheticism made men idle and work is a crucial component of her domestic ideology.

Furthermore, Richard views his wife and children as part of his domestic collection. They are the accoutrements of respectability. Without them, he cannot live comfortably in England. He exiles himself to the Florence diplomatic core because he cannot present the

respectable family that his social position requires. Marrying Myra was also part of his collecting impulse. It was an idle fancy; he was captivated by her looks, but never bothered to learn about who she was. As Jay claims “Sexual attraction, in Mrs Oliphant’s view, was an inadequate recipe for a happy marriage. For one thing it too often took no account of social class: therefore, once sexual gratification had been obtained, there were no shared cultural assumptions upon which to build marital companionship” (109). In this instance, Richard’s attraction to Myra causes him utterly to overlook their real incompatibilities. He completely ignores that Myra’s background as a gipsy would have made her almost incapable of adapting to middle-class domesticity, a fact that Lady Eskside recognizes instantaneously. In telling the story of Richard’s misalliance to Mary Percival, Lady Eskside comments, “She had to be tamed first out of her gipsy ways, tamed like a wild beast, and taught to live in a house, and wear decent clothes as she had never done in her life” (January 1874 37). Richard, on the other hand, assumes that pretty dresses and a nicely furnished drawing room are all that is required to transform her into a respectable middle-class woman.

If she happened to have been merely an item to display in said drawing room, then yes, dressing her up would have been enough. She is not, however, an object. Uneducated in middle-class domestic codes, Myra almost suffocates when she tries to live according to these standards. She can live indoors with Dick because it puts her into contact with Val and because Dick is cautious about designing their domestic space with her comforts in mind. The fineness of Rossraig and the regularity of the life there, which she submits to because she recognizes the right of the Esksides, literally kills her. Richard marries her without thinking through the consequences. It is a selfish action, since the marriage is merely part of his performance of respectability and not because he loves Myra.

Richard has no proper self control, and in Oliphant's estimation, his collections of fine china and antiques are outward markers of this lack of self-discipline. The difference between Richard's collections and Dick's domestic decorations lies in the fact that only Richard derives pleasures from old oak chests whereas Dick not only makes most of his furnishings, but also uses these items to form a comfortable home for his mother. For Oliphant, Richard's aesthetic impulses are of a piece with his irrational temperament. Richard is jealous of his mother's love, his wife's attention, and his sons in general. Incapable of understanding Myra when they were together, Richard is even less equipped to comprehend her primal maternal instincts when he discovers the ill Valentine in her charge. He laments to her, "'Myra, ' can you think of nothing but your children? Have you forgotten that you are my wife, and that I have some claim upon you too?'" (January 1875 113). This kind of lament shapes Richard's character; all he wants is to be placed first. His narcissism is anathema to the self-reliant, hybrid masculinity Oliphant constructs in her portrayals of Dick and Val.

Nor can Richard conceal his real jealousy of both his sons, particularly of Valentine. He whines that Val "seems to have supplanted me with all my friends—even my mother is more interested, a great deal, in Val's digestion, than she is in my tastes, nowadays" (February 1874). This jealousy eats away at him to the point where he cannot do anything but lash out his sons. When Valentine seeks his grandparents' and father's consent to marry Violet Pringle—the daughter of the man who publicly humiliated him—Richard is possessed by irrational rage:

I cannot tell how it was that this natural noble attitude in which his son stood, asking, like a loyal soul as he was, for that consent, without which he could not be wholly happy, to his happiness—affected almost to rage the mind of Richard, whose mode had been entirely the reverse; who had plucked in hot

haste, without sanction or knowledge of any one, the golden apples which had turned to ashes and bitterness. To marry as he had done, wildly, hotly, in sudden passion,—is not that much more easily condoned by the great world in which he lived, which loves a sensation, than a respectable mediocre marriage, equally removed from scandal and distinction? To marry a gipsy, or an opera-dancer, or a maid-of-all-work, is more pardonable, as being a piquant rebellion against all law and order, than it is to marry a virtuous person out of the lower circles of good society, sufficiently well-born and well-bred to make no sensation. (February 1875 203-204).

He refuses on the grounds that Violet is merely the daughter of an Edinburgh lawyer and no fit match for Lord Eskside's heir, completely ignoring that his own marriage was made without his family's consent or with any concern for the stability of the Ross line. Crucially, Richard's jealousy lies in the ordinariness of Val's choice. By embracing the Scottish-English hybrid middle-class domesticity that Richard actually abhors, Val is in effect rejecting his father and the type of masculinity that Richard represents. While neither Lord nor Lady Eskside is particularly supportive of the match, Lord Eskside recognizes not only the propriety of Val's asking for their consent but also the power of Val's argument. Self-possessed and articulate, Val makes a compelling case for his companionate marriage to a respectable Scottish woman. His case for marrying Violet is made even more persuasive by the fact that he desires his family's approval. Lord Eskside actually mediates on how well Val will do in Parliament given his ability to make such a rational and impassioned case.

Richard's jealousy is not entirely irrational, since Val and Dick effectively displace him. Unlike Gaskell's divergent depictions of masculinity in *Wives and Daughters*, Oliphant does not gently edge Richard's unsuitable masculinity out of the domestic space she is constructing. The aggressiveness of Richard's behavior speaks to Oliphant's real concerns about the kind of masculinity he embodies. She has to vilify him in order for her ideal construction of masculinity to work. The enfolding of Scottish identity into English

domesticity is only possible if that English domestic ideology is purged of all aesthetic impulses. Just as she scrubs Scottish identity clean, so too must English masculinity be purified from the contaminating influence of aestheticism. Nevertheless, she cannot kill him off in the same manner that Gaskell quietly slays Osborne. Richard is a presence in the serial until the end, and there is no question that he will inherit the estate, even though Val and Dick are clearly Lord Eskside's heirs in a way that Richard never will be. Nor can she give Richard a moment of vindication the way she allows Mary to reject Richard's marriage proposal in the end, which is a real moment of autonomy for Mary. For Oliphant and *Blackwood's*, Richard is a vexing depiction of masculinity. He combines the worst aspects of the rash Scottish identity with the idleness of the English aesthetes that both Oliphant and *Blackwood's* deplored.

By positioning Val and Dick as the more rightful and ultimate inheritors of Eskside, Oliphant implies not only that the aesthetic movement will quickly pass (an erroneous assumption upon her part) but also that masculinity is defined in relation to the home. Both Val and Dick value the stability provided by the home and their professional obligations. Even though they have questionable blood from their mother, they are able to transcend race in order to embrace the fundamentals of middle-class life: respectability, work, and duty. Furthermore, Val and Dick's embodiment of Scottish and English identity represents the ideal urban, middle-class masculine construction for *Blackwood's*. Val and Dick meld together the Scottish values with English domesticity, forming a stable home within the pages of *Maga*.



In “Scottish National Character,” Oliphant argues that it is easy “to caricature the homely fireside of English domesticity” (716). For Oliphant, the domestic serial served as a medium for depicting this “homely fireside” (716). More and more, however, writers moved away from the kind of depictions of middle-class home found in Gaskell and Oliphant’s domestic serials. Ellen Moers argues that the “middle class appeared to lose its hold on the imagination (perhaps because so much of the community had become in fact middle class)” (288). As I argued in Chapters Two and Three, domestic serials in the 1860s and 1870s posited a new domestic ideology that aligned the home with the ethos of work and education, advocating masculine and feminine models that moved away from separate spheres ideology.

Although domestic serials in the family literary magazine stretched the boundaries of middle-class domestic ideology, these serials were still dedicated to depicting the materiality of the urban, middle-class family. By the late nineteenth century, however, family literary magazines and domestic serials were facing challenges from writers who found the strictures of writing for the family, particularly the so-called Young Reader or Mrs. Grundy, confining in a number of ways. Eliza Lynn Linton queries, “To whom ought Fiction to be addressed?—exclusively to the Young Person? or may not men and women, who know life, have their acre to themselves” (“Candour in English Fiction” 11). Men and women should have a fiction that reflected more accurately their daily lives than the domestic serial in its current incarnation afforded.

For instance, in *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, Oliphant carefully constructed Myra Ross to avoid casting her as a fallen woman. Oliphant typically avoided such characterizations because she felt that the “growing trend to treat women as sex objects” was destroying fiction (Williams 107). In other words, Oliphant resisted the kind of

evolution in domestic fiction proposed by Linton and other writers who wanted domestic fiction to be less tied to middle-class domesticity. As part of a feature article called “Candour in English Fiction” published in the *New Review* in January 1890, Linton, Thomas Hardy, and Walter Besant all claim that fiction must represent society accurately, particularly when it comes to the interactions of men and women. All three lament the strictures that circulating libraries and family literary magazines place on writers. They argue that if domestic fiction is to engage in verisimilitude and not sensation, then writers need to be free to explore domesticity on the border, where social norms blur.

Chapter Four looks at how Thomas Hardy in his domestic serial *The Woodlanders* uses this more realistic or naturalistic form of domestic fiction in his portrayal of Grace Melbury’s rise into the middle-classes. According to Suzanne R. Johnson, “Hardy generally followed—however reluctantly—the pattern of traditional [narratives] of domestic realism” (131). By following the traditional narrative pattern of domestic fiction, Hardy is able to critique the form. Grace, Giles, and Marty are made miserable by Grace’s adherence to middle-class domestic ideology. Decrying the censorious nature of family literary magazines in the late nineteenth century, Linton, Besant, and Hardy, in particular, are also reacting to aestheticism. Thus, in Chapter Five, I examine how Oscar Wilde parodies the conventions of the domestic serial in his aesthetic serial *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Here I want to briefly chart these two divergent literary movements—the naturalistic domestic fiction of Linton, Besant, and Hardy and aestheticism—and how these movements challenged and, at times, rejected the domestic serial’s focus on middle-class domestic ideology in the late nineteenth century.

Proponents of aestheticism like Oscar Wilde and Walter Pater advocated a philosophy of art for art's sake. Aestheticism functioned as a kind of anti-thesis to domestic fiction. In the "Decay of Lying" Wilde argues for a fiction divorced from the realistic depiction of everyday life. Wilde's argument against domestic fiction is in part based on class and in part based on his philosophy of art. For Wilde, the focus of domestic fiction on the rising middle-classes is part of the problem with realism because this concentration on the material daily life of the bourgeois entails engaging with and exploring middle-class domesticity. He also maintains that the highest order of art or literature is to "attempt to teach Nature her proper place" ("Decay of Lying" 35). Wilde considers the idea of art for art's sake as the guiding principle behind literature.

In the "Decay of Lying," he also argues that people bring what they see in art not what the artist intends them to see. Indeed, the artist has no intention beyond the creation of the beautiful for himself. When he defended *The Picture of Dorian Gray* against the accusations of immorality made by the *Scots Observer*, Wilde averred that "What Dorian Gray's sins are no one knows. He who finds them has brought them" ("202). In other words, if readers saw something immoral in *Dorian Gray*, it was their own immorality that they were seeing. Since domestic fiction is structured to reflect the values and lived existence of its readers, the separation of art from life is a repudiation of this narrative form.

When he argues against realism in fiction in "The Decay of Lying," Wilde cites Oliphant as one of the writers perpetuating the use of truth or realism in story-telling: "Mrs. Oliphant prattles pleasantly about curates, lawn-tennis parties, domesticity, and other wearisome things" (38). Oliphant, in turn, detested aestheticism. Her son Cyril did badly at Oxford, and Oliphant blamed aestheticism, although Cyril did not in fact move in the same



circles of Walter Pater or Wilde. Nevertheless, Oliphant frequently attacked aestheticism and its tenets, typically taking issue with aestheticisms focus on material items like blue china and antiques. According to Jay, Oliphant held “domestic prejudices against such innovations as antimacassars, the tyranny of William Morris patterns, and Liberty design concepts” (192).

In reviewing Walter Pater’s first edition of *History of the Renaissance*, Oliphant specifically criticizes the text as the product of a rarified and claustrophobic intellectual environment. She attacks the text as the product of a writer who is isolated by “the collected prettiness of modern-antique decoration,” who put “up [his] delicate atheisms, like [his] old china, on velvet shelves and conspicuous brackets to meet they eye” (“New Books” 604). In “Lace and Bric-a-Brac” (January 1876), Oliphant claims that the age been “plunged” in “curious chaos and confusion” by the preference for antiques and reproductions of these items (72). She goes one to lament “its incapacity either to originate, or even to see the necessity of working with its own materials for its own uses” (“Lace and Bric-a Bric” 72). While she is arguing against the aesthetic trend for decoration, Oliphant is also suggesting that the ersatz re-creation of the past—she despises the falsity of the “newly-fabricated old china” and “the newly-made-up old furniture”—is damaging (72). Folding the past into a progressive narrative of domesticity makes use of the past; valuing and reproducing the past without a specific purpose is anathema to Oliphant’s world view. For Oliphant, these artistic or aesthetic details stand in stark contrast to the domestic details she valued and how these domestic details, such as handcrafted book cases or dress, represented middle-class domesticity.

Domestic fiction was not the only type of art that aestheticism took issue with. In “The Decay of Lying,” Wilde also argues against a more realistic or natural portrayal. He claims that “In literature we require distinction, charm, beauty, and imaginative power. We don’t want to be harrowed and disgusted with an account of the doings of the lower orders” (“Decay of Lying” 39). Here Wilde argues against the work of writers like Thomas Hardy who depicted the lived existence of the lower middle and working classes. Hardy, however, advocates for a different kind of fiction, one that “expresses truly the views of life prevalent in its time, by means of a selected chain of action best suited for their exhibition” (“Candour in English Fiction” 15). Instead of a fiction that eschewed realism or a domestic fiction that only centered on middle-class domesticity, Hardy wanted fiction to be more naturalistic and accurate in its portrayal of the home and the men and women that occupied it. He goes on to argue that “the most natural method of presenting, [the realities of life] the method most in accordance with the views themselves, seems to be by a procedure mainly impassive in its tone and tragic in its developments” (“Candour in English Fiction” 16). This type of fiction is markedly different than the aestheticism of Wilde, and it is a nuanced evolution of the domesticity typical of the family literary magazine.

In Chapter Four, I explore how Hardy portrays the interaction of men and women in nature in his domestic serial, *The Woodlanders*, serialized in *Macmillan’s Magazine* from May 1886 to April 1887. For Hardy, middle-class domestic ideology confined men and women to particular roles, which did not allow them space for individuality. By employing painterly terms in his character descriptions, Hardy constructs textual paintings of each of his characters that allows him to dissect the tenets of middle-class domesticity. He also uses dress in his textual paintings as means of complicating his characters’ class positions and to

suggest that the appearance of belonging to the middle-classes does not always equate to following the principles laid out by such writers of domestic fiction as Gaskell and Oliphant. James Sully argues in “The Natural History of Dress,” published in the *Cornhill* in November 1880, that “dress has a very close connection with the human organism to which it has to mould itself, and of which, as has been remarked, it may be viewed as a kind of extension or enlargement” of the self (562). Dress functions as a signifier of the person wearing it, visually telling of the wearer’s class position. For Hardy, dress may speak to class, but it also can be misleading, particularly as more and more members of the working classes and the lower middle classes had access to fashionable attire. I also read Hardy’s textual paintings against George Du Maurier’s social cartoons in *Punch*. In his social cartoons, Du Maurier explores the importance of policing class borders while mocking upper class society for being competitive. Dress and its signifying functions are crucial to Du Maurier’s construction of upper class social mores. Reading these two artists and these two periodicals against each other provides us with a glimpse of how periodicals were in conversation with each other.

*Chapter Four*

*Dressing Ambiguities: Portraying Class and Gender in George Du Maurier's Social Cartoons in Punch and Thomas Hardy's The Woodlanders in Macmillan's Magazine*

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As in our age and climate the human body is habitually and completely veiled, the veil assumes an artistic importance second only to the forms that are hidden. In nothing are character and perception so insensibly but inevitably displayed, as in dress, and taste in dress. Dress is the second self, a dumb self, yet a most eloquent expositor of the person.

~ Mary Eliza Haweis

There was nothing remarkable in [Grace's] dress just now, beyond a natural fitness, and a style that was recent for the streets of Sherton. But, had it been the reverse, and quite striking, it would have meant just as little. For there can be hardly anything less connected with a woman's personality than drapery which she has neither designed, manufactured, cut, sewed, nor even seen, except by a glance of approval when told that such and such a shape and colour must be had because it has been decided by others as imperative at that particular time.

~ Thomas Hardy<sup>1</sup>

At several points in Thomas Hardy's rural, domestic serial *The Woodlanders*, the narrative pauses to paint vivid textual portraits of the central characters: Grace Melbury, Edgar Fitzpiers, and Giles Winterborne.<sup>2</sup> Crucial to Hardy's narrative painting here is his use of dress, even though his narrator takes great pains to emphasize that dress does not indicate personality, particularly Grace's personality. In these narrative paintings, dress simultaneously functions to signify personal taste and class position. For these characters from the border class—a term I take in part from Raymond Williams's description of Hardy's Wessex as a border country and in part from the ill-defined class position these

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Eliza Haweis, *The Art of Beauty*, 11, and from the June 1886 installment of Hardy, *The Woodlanders*, 84. All references to *The Woodlanders* refer to the text from the original run in *Macmillan's*. Since the pagination rennumbers per six month run, I've also identified all quotations from *The Woodlanders* with the issue date.

<sup>2</sup> One of the small alterations Hardy made to the subsequent volume versions of *The Woodlanders* was to change Fitzpiers's first name from Edgar to Edred.

characters occupy—dress becomes the crucial signifier, capable of indicating taste, class, social mobility, education, profession, and a certain flexibility of mind and values.

Always an important signifier of urban middle-class domesticity in the nineteenth century, fashionable dress's ability to represent class position became even more important as it became less exclusive. By the 1880s, department stores like Whiteley's, personal sewing machines, paper patterns, and periodicals made fashionable dress more readily available to people who previously could not afford such items.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the rise in real wages during the later part of the nineteenth century meant that members of the border class—the farmers, clerks, yeomen, and salesmen previously on the margins of middle-class society—increasingly had more disposable income to spend on fashionable dress. Goldwin Smith in “England Revisited,” published in the October 1886 issue of *Macmillan's*, argues that the “newly-made wealthy” are purchasing clothing at an alarming rate: “Low profits and reduced rents to the people mean cheap clothing and cheap bread. Articles of popular consumption are very cheap, while the range of popular consumption is evidently growing” (405). For Smith, the availability of cheap but fashionable goods elides class boundaries. A clerk's daughter could wear the same fashions as a surgeon's daughter, making dress an unreliable visual indicator of class position. If, as Mary Eliza Haweis suggests, “In nothing are character and perception so insensibly but inevitably displayed, as in dress, and taste in dress” (*The Art of Beauty* 11), then exploring the ways family literary magazines, other

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<sup>3</sup> Whiteley's, the first English department store, opened in the London suburb of Bayswater in 1863. Joseph Singer patented the sewing machine in 1851. In 1863, American businessman Ebenezer Butterick invented the graded tissue paper pattern, which allowed the sewer to adjust the pattern for size. Butterick opened a British branch of his company in 1873. According to Judith Flanders, such paper patterns “meant that clothes no longer had to be judged by eye and cut out in cheap fabric” (295), a time consuming process. The Butterick company still sells paper patterns.

periodicals, and domestic serials use dress is invaluable for understanding the increasingly mobile society of the late nineteenth century and the cocommitant anxieties of this fluidity.

Neither Hardy nor *Macmillan's Magazine*, where *The Woodlanders* was first published in twelve installments from May 1886 to April 1887, are notable for their attention to fashionable dress.<sup>4</sup> Readers wanting to glean details about the latest fashions would turn to periodicals like *The Lady's Pictorial* or the revamped *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* for such information. For lower-middle-class families, the advice gleaned from these periodicals might be the only training they received in the codes of middle-class domesticity. The cartoons in *Punch, or the London Charivari* also provided commentary on dress. According to M. H. Spielmann, “every habit and custom, every change of dress, down to the minutest detail—all is recorded with faithfulness and humor” in the pages of *Punch* (124). The satirizing of Bloomers, weeping whiskers, feathered bonnets, ivory-handled canes, and hard bustles large enough to balance tea trays on allowed *Punch's* social cartoonists to utilize dress as a form of commentary on the consumer habits of the upper and middle classes. Many of the cartoons in *Punch* functioned as a kind of visual domestic serial. George Du Maurier's social cartoons, in particular, repeated characters, themes, and the focus on daily life found in textual domestic serials.

Domestic serials frequently employed dress as a structural device and as a means of exploring changing class positions. Readers were accustomed to encountering dress as a textual component of domestic fiction. As Elizabeth Wilson notes, “Fashion offers a rich source of irrational and superstitious behaviour, indispensable to novelist and social commentator” (56). For a magazine like *Macmillan's*, with a relatively dense, unillustrated,

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix C for the volume, chapters, and pages numbers for each monthly installment of *The Woodlanders*.

two-column format, the ways in which fashion codes were appropriated by writers provided it with the means of discussing dress's functions. Hence the absence of illustrations from the pages of *Macmillan's* did not prevent the magazine from depicting or commenting on dress and its social functions. Unillustrated magazines like *Macmillan's* and heavily illustrated magazines like *Punch* could, through their discourse on dress in their visual/textual domestic serials, address the visibly changing society of the late nineteenth century.

I juxtapose George Du Maurier's three-part "Feline Amenities" series with Hardy's *The Woodlanders* as a means of charting the divergent discourses on dress, class, and domesticity in late nineteenth-century print culture. Working from René Girard's triangular schema on desire and fiction, I argue that both Du Maurier and Hardy view dress as part of a schema of class desire. Du Maurier constructs dress as part of the repetitive social maneuvering of the drawing room. While Du Maurier never challenges dress's ability to signify class position, he does maliciously satirize the upper class women and men who situate dress and other social rituals as the crux of nineteenth century domesticity. The brittle and cruel nature of these cartoons emphasizes the ambiguities of dress and social ritual while also highlighting the importance upper class society placed on these visual markers as a means of mitigating class anxiety. Conversely, Hardy shows how people on the border between the working and middle classes can use dress to negotiate class boundaries. In Hardy's domestic serial, dress is never a stable construct, in part because of the way Hardy appropriates the language of painting as a means of complicating dress's visual significance. Instead of solidifying the class positions of Hardy's social climbers, dress actually serves as

part of a visual discourse on the complex negotiations that are necessary to make domestic ideology work, even if the results do not end in happy, stable, middle-class homes.<sup>5</sup>

While reading Du Maurier's social cartoons against Hardy's text pairs disparate media, I suggest that juxtaposing these two serials illuminates the evolution of the domestic serial during the period and shows how a renewed focus on lived existence in domestic fiction gave the genre the ability to explore the ramifications of rapidly changing social norms and boundaries.<sup>6</sup> The domestic serial, with its focus on the lived existence of the middle-classes, was at a crossroads in the late nineteenth century. As seen in the 1860s and 1870s, domestic serials in family literary magazines were already engaged in stretching and testing the boundaries of middle-class domesticity. By the late 1880s and 1890s, domestic

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<sup>5</sup> Hardy's general preoccupation with the decay of rural life and values means that dress, with its ability to elide the differences between class, tradition, and work, fits well into Hardy's schema.

<sup>6</sup> Hardy himself was a reader of *Punch*. According to Paul Turner in *The Life of Thomas Hardy: A Critical Biography*, Hardy found entertainment in the magazine after Hardy and his wife Emma's disastrous move to London in the 1879. Both Hardy and Emma felt isolated and unhappy, and the miserable, inadequately weatherproofed house did not help matters. Turner claims that the thirty-nine-year-old Hardy "wrung what amusement he could from a conversation heard in a bookshop, studied jokes in *Punch*, and later suggested one for George du Maurier to illustrate" (67). Furthermore, there is some speculation by H. A. T. Johnson and Philip V. Allingham that Hardy's "The Ruined Maid" (1866, 1901) was inspired by John Leech's *Punch* cartoon "The Great Social Evil" (10 January 1857). Both Hardy's poem and Leech's cartoon address the subject of the fallen woman and both focus on the narrative of the country girl moving to the city and being corrupted there. (William Hogarth uses a similar narrative motif in his six-part series *The Harlot's Progress*, painted in 1731, engraved and published in 1732.)

In "The Great Social Evil," Leech decries society's seeming causal acceptance of prostitution. By using the narrative of the country girl corrupted by the city, Leech suggests that the middle-classes need to be aware their own culpability in the degradations that befall these woman. Hardy, in "The Ruined Maid," inverts this narrative. Instead of the country girl moving to the city and ending up a prostitute, she comes to the city and becomes a member of the middle-classes. The poem is a dramatic dialogue between the supposedly ruined Amelia and her country friend. The friend is shocked at Amelia's "fair garments," "gay bracelets," and "bright feathers three" ("The Ruined Maid" l. 3, 7). She marvels at how fashionable her friend has become. Unlike Fanny in Leech's "The Great Social Evil," Amelia is not disheveled or gaudy; rather, she has fully adopted middle-class fashions.

For Hardy, Amelia's movement into the middle-classes robs her of her language—she no longer says "thee" and "thou"—and her dress ("The Ruined Maid" l. 9). She effectively loses her identity by moving up the social ladder. In this poem and in *The Woodlanders*, Hardy suggests that social mobility is about more than merely moving up the social ladder. Dressing the part of a middle-class woman, while important, is not enough to secure your class position. People from the border classes making this journey, like Grace Melbury, often have to sacrifice their original identities in order to effect class transformation.



serials were overtly exploring the boundaries of domesticity, and in some cases, these serials rejected domesticity altogether.

Examining Hardy's naturalistic portrait of rural middle-class domesticity against Du Maurier's realistic depictions of the drawing room allows for an exploration of how domestic serials not only entered into contemporary debates on class through their use of dress, but also allows for an examination of how domestic serials complicate and reject prevailing domestic ideology. Realism and naturalism are interconnected but divergent literary movements. According to Richard Lehan, "realists wanted to depict middle-class reality, the life of ordinary people" (3). In describing Du Maurier's cartoons as realistic, I mean that his cartoons function in a similar manner to domestic serials like Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* or Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*; he pays detailed attention to the functions of domestic detail.

Naturalism developed out of literary realism. It depicts "the social environment and [dwells] on its deficiencies and on the shortcomings of" people ("Naturalism" 537-38). Lehan argues that naturalism "caught the nineteenth-century struggle between ideal and material realms, between a belief in progress and entropy, religion and science" (33). For Hardy, naturalism was not the anti-thesis of domestic fiction; rather, naturalism allowed Hardy to more accurately portray the "position of man and woman in nature" ("Candour in English Fiction" 21). Consequently, Du Maurier is more focused on the social functions of dress and on depicting this dress accurately while Hardy uses dress to reveal the nature of his characters.

Reading across periodicals is especially important if we are to consider the ways in which domestic serials connected with a variety of texts within and outside of family literary

magazines. Most middle-class homes took more than one periodical, meaning that families of readers would have engaged with a variety of texts not only within an issue of a given magazine but also between magazines. I have selected *Punch* and *Macmillan's* because both began as overtly political magazines—i.e. actively dissected politics—that were still designed to entertain the middle-class family. Moreover, they both became more conservative and more invested in social commentary by the 1880s.

I examine the discourse on fashion occurring in the 1886 – 1887 runs of *Macmillan's* and *Punch* in order to show how dress was discursively constructed both as a visual protector of class boundaries and as a means of eliding those same class boundaries. This discourse informs the treatment of dress in Hardy and Du Maurier's domestic serials. Using the work of Julia Thomas and Nancy Armstrong on narrative painting in fiction and art as well as Girard's theories on desire, I explore how Du Maurier's and Hardy's domestic serials use dress as a means of parodying, reinforcing, reshaping, and challenging middle-class domesticity. The increasing ambiguity of dress's class significance suggests that class is not written in the body, but in fashion.



*Circulating Discourses on Dress, Class, and Domesticity in Periodical Culture*

*Macmillan's Magazine* and *Punch* were well-established contributors to Victorian print culture in the 1880s. The two magazines cultivated high quality writers, critics, and artists at their respective social tables. *Punch* attracted some of the best satirists and illustrators of the day, including Charles Keene, Hablôt K. Browne, John Tenniel, E. T. Reed, Richard Doyle, and George Du Maurier. Meanwhile, the work of Matthew Arnold, R. D. Blackmore, Dinah Mulcock Craik, Thomas Hardy, Thomas Hughes, Charles Kingsley, Henry James, Harriet Martineau, Walter Pater, and Frances Power Cobbe, among others,

graced the pages of *Macmillan's*.<sup>7</sup> Both magazines had grown more politically neutral under the guidance of Mowbray Morris, *Macmillan's* editor from November 1885 – 1907, and Sir Francis Cowley Burnand, the editor of *Punch* from 1880 – 1906.<sup>8</sup> The shift away from overtly political topics such as current parliamentary debates allowed both magazines to concentrate more on contemporary social issues, situating *Macmillan's* and *Punch* as commentators and documenters of social trends, such as changes in dress and dress's role as a signifier of class.

Commentary on dress and other aspects of everyday life, such as dancing or diet, provided each magazine with a means of critiquing middle-class domesticity and class pretensions. Hardy's *The Woodlanders*, the shorter fiction, and some of the nonfiction in *Macmillan's* as well as Du Maurier's "Feline Amenities" series and other social cartoonists by Charles Keene, A. Chantrey Corbould, and J. Priestman Atkinson in *Punch* all use dress as part of a narrative of class desire.<sup>9</sup> In mocking fashion trends and upper-class society, lamenting the uniformity of fashion in the 1880s, and charting how fashion functions to

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<sup>7</sup> Publisher Alexander Macmillan conscientiously solicited work from women journalists. According to Rosemary T. Van Arsdell, from 1859 – 1974 "sixty-three women made contributions [to the magazine], including 11 serials, 61 pieces of poetry, and 120 prose articles" (7). Christina Rossetti, Margaret Oliphant, Caroline Norton, Dinah Mulock Craik, and Millicent Garrett Fawcett, among others, contributed substantial work to the magazine.

<sup>8</sup> The editor of the magazine for twenty-two years, Morris (1847–1911) was the longest serving editor of *Macmillan's*. Burnand (1836– 1917) was forced out of the editorship in 1906, although he had not been actively working on the magazine since 1902. According to Jane W. Stedman, there was an unsuccessful attempt to force Burnand out as early as 1891, in part because of his waning interest in the responsibilities of editing and in part because Burnand's style of humor "became increasingly prolix and anecdotal, devoted to more and more far-fetched, sometimes almost unintelligible, puns" (par. 2). See Stedman's entry on Burnand in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Keene (1823-91) began working for *Punch* in 1851, becoming a full staff member in 1860. He was the chief social cartoonist after John Leech's death in 1864, although he shared the role with Du Maurier. Corbould was a nephew of Keene's, and while he contributed to *Punch* regularly, he never became part of the inner staff. J. Priestman Atkinson, nicknamed Dumbo Crambo, Junior by editor Sir Frances Cowley Burnand, was a regular outside staff contributor from 1864 on. His work, originally sketches done in his free time as clerk at the Derby, was introduced to the magazine through Harry Lemon, Mark Lemon's son. See Spielmann, 544-45; 524-25.

represent the desire for class transformation, *Macmillan's* and *Punch* emphasize the permeability of the middle-class home.

Like many other elements of material culture, dress visually indicates class position. Because it is linked to the body, dress also represents the individual wearer's tastes. Scholars consider these two different but consonant aspects of dress's visual signification almost inextricable. Wilson claims in *Adorned in Dreams* (1985, 2003) that dress "cements social solidarity and imposes group norms" (6) since dress "does 'speak' status" (9). Working in the same vein, Judith Flanders avers in *Inside the Victorian Home* (2003) that women in particular could read the meaning of other people's clothes, since "in a society with permeable class boundaries, clothes were important: every nuance was examined and decoded" (293). Anne Hollander argues in *Seeing Through Clothes* (1993), "if dress expresses status, not only actual rank but also the desire for a change in rank may be safely expressed in clothing, if not in speech or action" (355). In this regard, dress is both a signifier of class and a signifier of changing class position. Tall hats, tight fitting men's clothes, and enormous bustles, among other trends, prevented fluid or easy movement, made these fashions impractical for members of the working classes who needed freedom of movement in order to work. By wearing these impractical fashions, members of the working classes and lower middle classes, those on the border of so-called respectability, were able to bridge the divide between the classes, fundamentally undermining middle-class domesticity.

Scholars of dress also acknowledge its ability to speak of the still classed but individual body. Indeed, dress's function as a signifier of the individual complicates its ability to represent social status. In Valerie Steele's estimation, dress is both socially constructed and part of a carefully crafted persona. She suggests in her work *Fashion and*

*Eroticism* (1985) that “since people judged in large part by appearances, rather than by perhaps unknown realities, it was possible to use dress to create a persona, to appear to be what one wanted to be” (138). In this regard, dress functions as an extension of the individual and speaks to the individual wearer’s taste and discernment, even though taste tends to be constructed by society as a whole.

The common link that brings these views on dress together is the notion that dress is socially constructed. In “Clothing History,” reprinted in *The Language of Clothes* (2006), Roland Barthes argues that any item of clothing “is always conceived, implicitly, as the particular signifier of a general signified that is exterior to it (epoch, country, social class)” (5-6). He goes on to claim that “Dress is, in the fullest sense, a ‘social model’, a more or less standardized picture of expected collective behaviour; and it is essentially at this level that it has meaning” (Barthes 14). In Barthes’s construction, social expectations form the meaning of dress. As a material item, dress is imbued with the social mores and class values of the society that produces it, but because each item is designed for individual use, it also represents the wearer. According to Lars Svendsen in *Fashion: A Philosophy* (2006), the “‘democratization’ of fashion did not mean that all distinctions were erased, rather that almost everybody was incorporated into the social interplay of fashion” (38). For members of the lower middle class and working classes, access to fashionable dress meant that they entered more fully into the existing signifying system, even though their inclusion destabilized that system.

Nineteenth-century writers and critics recognized and struggled with the dual functions of dress. Print culture devoted a considerable amount of time and space to perpetuating current trends, critiquing the function of fashion, and decrying the potential loss

of individuality. As access to fashionable clothing increased, people of the border classes required the advice offered by magazines. The latest fashions “and news of them [were] quickly and efficiently disseminated through numerous fashion magazines,” newspapers, family literary magazines, and other periodicals (Walkley 168). The press covered everything from the current way to drape a flounce to royal wedding trousseaus. The *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, moreover, carried on a lively, and erotic, debate on the merits of tight lacing. Letters on the issues flooded the “Conversazione” section of the magazine.<sup>10</sup> The pages of household advice and ladies’ magazines, such as the *Ladies’ Companion* (1849-1901), the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* (1852-1890), *The Queen* (1864-1922), and *The Lady’s Pictorial* (1881-1921), to name a few, all dissected the latest fashions for the predominantly middle-class, female consumer.<sup>11</sup>

Fashion journalism went beyond telling readers what colors to wear or what kind of feathers best trimmed a hat. According to Margaret Beetham, “fashion journalism depended on simultaneously identifying what was exclusive and making it widely available” (*A Magazine of Her Own?* 90). And as LuAnn McCracken Fletcher argues, the articles of advice on dress circulating in periodical culture inculcated “a ‘cultured’ [and classed] sensibility” (71). In instilling a “cultured sensibility” (Fletcher 71), the discussion of dress in print culture worked to shape dress into an object of class desire and placed that desire within a narrative of acquisition. In other words, dress’s ability to depict the classed body made dress a focal point of class anxiety and the desire for class transformation.

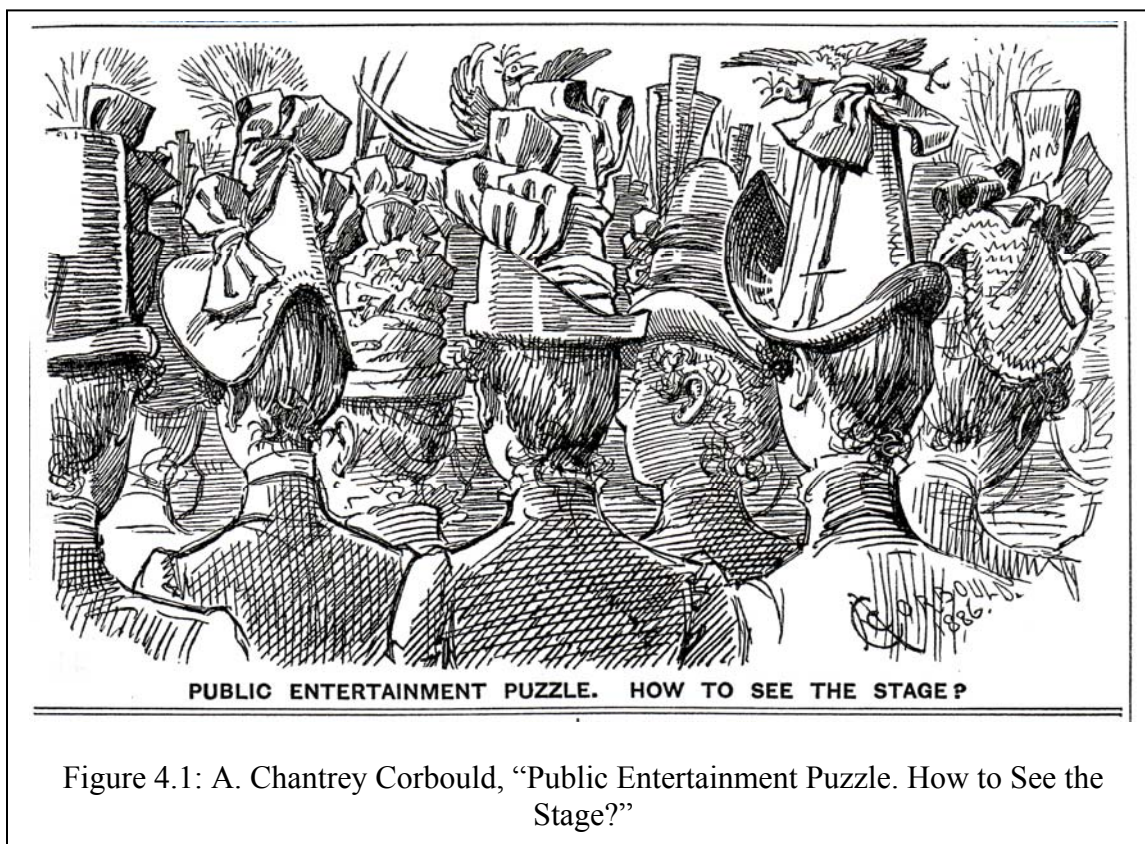
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<sup>10</sup> For a brief history of the tight lacing controversy in the *EDM*, see Kathryn Hughes, 324-27.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Beetham’s *A Magazine of Her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman’s Magazine, 1800-1914* charts the history and influence of woman’s magazines in the nineteenth century and how these magazines were instrumental in shaping gender construction during the period, particularly femininity.

The fashion plates, illustrations, advertisements, and paper dress making patterns circulating in these magazines functioned as part of a dual discursive system on class and on the individual. Most advice centered on educating socially mobile women in upper-middle-class signifying practices. For example, Isabella Beeton advises women to dress neatly and simply during the day, specifically emphasizing that “jewelry and ornaments” not be “worn until the full dress for dinner is assumed” (12). Her advice, while sensible, is suggestive about the fine class distinctions demarcated by dress. The conventional commentary emphasized how ostentatious lower-class women were in their dress. Women of discernment and taste—upper-class women—dressed simply during the day.

The discourse on dress and its functions in illustrated weekly magazines such as *Punch* and family literary magazines like *Macmillan's* is subtly different from the work done by fashion journalists in papers marketed as purveyors of fashion. While both use current fashions in their treatment of dress, neither *Macmillan's* nor *Punch* seeks to circulate accurate representations of those trends. A woman hoping to discover the latest in bonnet trends would be ill advised to follow the example set in the pages of *Punch*, which mercilessly parodies the increasing height of bonnets in the late 1880s. A. Chantrey Corbould's cartoon “Public Entertainment Puzzle. How to See the Stage?” (26 June 1886) depicts a sea of women, all facing a stage the viewer cannot see because of women's towering hats. Drawn from the audience's perspective, the cartoon emphasizes the wide variety of hat possibilities, even though all the hats are tall, beribboned, and feathered. Two hats in the foreground have miniature birds perched on top, with their wings fully extended, and one bird has a tiny foot angled outwards. The addition of the birds mocks the trend of



voluminous feathers adorning ladies' hats, making the hats elaborate perches.<sup>12</sup>

In this illustration, dress sacrifices functionality for classed tastes. The beribboned and be-feathered hats sit snugly on the heads of these otherwise fashionable, middle-class women. Only middle-class and upper-class women could afford the feathers and taxidermy involved in creating such bonnets. Asa Briggs notes that real concerns about the extinction of some bird species promoted the founding of the Society for the Protection of Birds in 1889. According to Briggs, the Society worried that “ostriches and other birds like the osprey and the egret might suffer in the course of feminine adornment and [they] strongly objected to birds' heads and even whole birds becoming parts of a woman's plumage” (231-

<sup>12</sup> Elaborate feathered hats and high hairstyles were fairly common features of eighteenth and nineteenth century fashion. Georgiana Spencer, Duchess of Devonshire introduced a number of towering hat and hairstyle trends in the 1770s. According to Amanda Foreman, Georgiana “creat[ed] the three-foot hair tower” and created an overnight demand for “drooping ostrich feather[s]” (36). Marie Antoinette was also known for wearing tall and intricate powdered headdresses.



32). Corbould's parody of these hats is a good example of the difference between fashion journalism and general advice in magazines like *The Lady's Pictorial* or the *EDM*, which would have told consumers how to add feathers to their bonnets, and the treatment of fashion in *Punch* and *Macmillan's*. In these two magazines, dress works to illuminate social foibles and class positions. The exclusivity of fashion remains—Corbould's nest-like hats perch atop the heads of middle-class women—but instead of training readers in how to obtain these fashions or the right ways or times of day to wear certain items, *Macmillan's* and *Punch* employ fashion in order to comment on and mock those trends.

Magazines also use fashion as a plot or structural device. Dress in *The Woodlanders* forwards the plot in crucial ways. Grace's middle-class dress is integral to the structure of the narrative. The fashionable nature of her dress initially convinces Fitzpiers that she is worthy of pursuit (and that she might be the mistress of Hintock House). Grace's light, white dress makes her stand out at the Midsummer's eve ritual of the village girls, which solidifies Grace's surreal fascination to Fitzpiers. It is also the catching of Grace's skirt in a man trap that facilitates Grace and Fitzpiers's reconciliation after he leaves her.

The two-part ghost story "The Strange Story of Margaret Beauchamp," published in the January 1887 and February 1887 issues of *Macmillan's*, by George Fleming (pseudonym for Julia Constance Fletcher) also uses dress as a plot device. The story details the haunting or vamping that causes Margaret's death. Sir William Balfour, the narrator, first notices a change in Margaret in part because she is wearing an odd gold bracelet: "She was bareheaded, dressed all in white with no ornament about her except a broad new band of gold around her left wrist. I noticed how new it looked and how it shone in the sun. [...] There was no doubt that within the last fortnight she had grown thin, and there were faint marks

like stains under her full white eyelids” (Fleming 181). When Margaret reveals to Balfour her fears about the shadow haunting her, she confirms the reality of the tale by having him remove the bracelet. He is horrified to find that the shining gold bracelet covers “three dull red stains, the clutch of some unspeakable thing upon her shrinking flesh” (Fleming 284). Accoutrement here emphasizes the horrors of Margaret’s haunting.

In Charles Keene’s “Shopping!” in the 25 December 1886 issue of *Punch*, dress facilitates a humorous exchange between a lady and a shopkeeper. In this cartoon it serves as



Figure 4.2: Charles Keene, “Shopping!”

the means for juxtaposing the lady's misreading of fashion and desire to look younger with the shopkeeper's (and viewers') merriment at the older lady's attempts to improve her looks. When the older, stout woman tries to purchase what she thinks is an "improver," the confused shopkeeper informs her that what she thinks is an improver is in fact a fencing mask. The shopkeeper stands in the far right corner, his hand up to his mouth in an attempt to hide his smirk. His expression is both amused and conciliatory.

The lady more than merely misreads the fencing masks as improvers. Her stoutness, emphasized by her tightly laced corset and hard bustle (which became popular in 1883), and her age make her seem desperate. The white space at the center of the illustration further accentuates the woman's curves, particularly her ample bosom. The improver the lady seeks may be a hair scalp shield. Hair scalp shields were mesh, circular items placed over the scalp to help add fake hair and to hide thinning spots. Fake hair extensions and wigs produced a lucrative business in the late nineteenth century. Briggs claims that chignon-makers used upwards of "100,000 pounds of hair a year," and by 1873, "one firm was turning out two tons of artificial hair each week" (238). The older, stouter woman is obviously looking for some fashionable aid to make her look younger, and adding fake hair to fill out one's own was a common technique. Felice Charmond wants Marty's hair in *The Woodlanders* for precisely this reason. The woman's search for an "improver" suggests that dress only classes the body; it does not improve it, make it younger, or thinner.<sup>13</sup>

Du Maurier's "Happy Thought" (5 March 1887) also makes structural use of dress, in this case as a double entendre. (The whole "Happy Thought" series, developed by Burnand in 1866, is a witty and often piercing series of cartoons that uses double entendre to great

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<sup>13</sup> The prevalence of tight-lacing and close fitting sleeves and bodices during this period suggests that the late nineteenth-century idea of beauty was a relatively thin body. However, the Victorians had typically frowned on cosmetics and other artificial means of making the body looking younger.

effect.) The cartoon works on one level as comic commentary on the unnatural lengths of boas. The lady in the center of the cartoon dresses demurely in a warm outdoor costume and muff. The boa, long normally, here extends to such a length that it neatly wraps around the necks of the two gentlemen accompanying the demure lady. The extended boa ostensibly snakes around the necks of the gentlemen in order to keep all three warm as they promenade through the park.

On another level, however, the cartoon is a scathing examination of the morals of upper class society, a condemnation that the unnaturally long boa facilitates. The relationship between the characters is unclear, but the caption “Happy Thought!” implies that the pleasant idea being entertained by the presumably demure young lady is either having both men or switching from the older, mustachioed gentleman to the younger one.



Figure 4.3: George Du Maurier, “Happy Thought!”

Both men gaze at the woman, consuming her fashionably dressed and classed body. The front view of the woman emphasizes her tightly cinched waist, but instead of mocking the tight lacing trend, the image accentuates her curves, sexualizing the woman's body. White space at the top and center of the cartoon emphasizes the woman's central position in the illustration. Although she is gazing at the younger man on the right side of the cartoon, the woman stands markedly closer to the older man on her left. This positioning of the woman combined with the yoking of the three together with the boa almost implies a *ménage-a-trois*.

*Macmillan's* and *Punch* both comment on the general drive towards uniformity in fashion that elides class differences. In *The Woodlanders*, Grace's fashionable dress functions as a kind of middle-class uniform, presumably marking her as a middle-class woman, particularly whenever she is in Sheraton or someplace outside her home. When Giles first sees Grace upon her return home he is struck by her new appearance, which is "glorified and refined to much above her former level" (June 1886 83). Felice initially wants to have tea with Grace and considers taking Grace to Europe as a companion based on her appearance. Grace looks the part so well that a side by side comparison, in a mirror, actually makes Felice look older. When Grace returns to her border class home and family in Little Hintock, her class position is called into question. For example, when Melbury and Grace encounter an upper class hunting party in the woods, one of the riders chastises Grace for not shouting when she sees the fox dart by. Melbury is outraged at the rider's rude treatment of Grace, but instead of blaming the rider, he turns his anger back on his own lower-class position: "The woman who looks an unquestionable lady when she's with a polished-up fellow looks a tawdry imitation article when she's hobbing and nobbing with a homely

blade” (July 1886 233). This incident strengthens Melbury’s resolve that Grace marry someone more overtly middle-class than the yeoman Giles Winterbourne.

While Hardy’s domestic serial situates uniformity in dress as a means of effecting the rise into the middle classes, other articles in *Macmillan’s* and some of *Punch’s* social cartoons lament and mock this uniformity. Augustine Birrell’s “Worn-out Types” (May 1886), an examination of the decline in comedic literature. He argues that the absence of comic characters results from society’s own eroding of external differences. According to Birrell, men all dress the same, despite their different professions, because uniformity in dress erases fine class distinctions. According to Birrell, “Distinctions of dress are found irksome” and “The passion for equality in externals cannot be denied. We are all woven strangely in the same piece” (20).<sup>14</sup> Modern types are smoothed or worn down by social expectation, eroding individuality.

For *Punch*, the middle-class uniform serves as a ripe object for parody. J. Priestman Atkinson’s “The Hat Difficulty Solved” (29 January 1887) depicts a large gathering of similarly dressed people, presumably at a church service. All the men’s top hats are suspended from long ropes hanging from the ceiling. The ropes actually mimic the Tombs of the Cardinals in Rouen Cathedral, where the Cardinal’s hats are suspended above their tombs, a fact noted in the caption. The illustration depicts one man hanging his hat, showing the relative simplicity of the solution. (The ladies’ bonnets are apparently not problematic since the women are still wearing them.) One man in the far left corner has his face buried in

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<sup>14</sup> Linda Colley notes in *Britons: Forging a Nation, 1707-1837* that military uniforms served as a patriotic symbol during the Napoleonic Wars and functioned to elide overt class differences: “As far as individuals were concerned, military uniform did what it always does when sufficiently splendid and well cut: enhance the physical impressiveness of the wearer however inadequate he might be in fact” (185). She goes on to claim that “Uniforms were the embodiment of authority, but they also denoted service to the nation” (Colley 186-87).

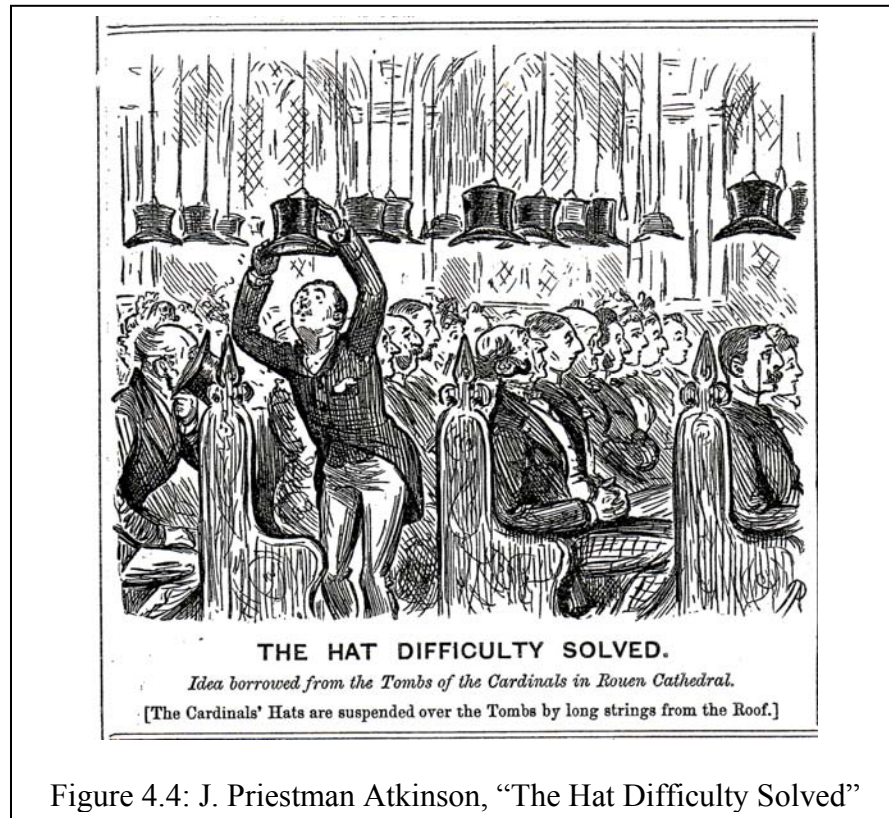


Figure 4.4: J. Priestman Atkinson, “The Hat Difficulty Solved”

his hat; either he is sleeping or shaking his head at the strange hanging hats. The humor in the cartoon lies in the way Atkinson not only makes the environment adjust to fashion but also in how Atkinson presents the uniformity of the men’s dress.<sup>15</sup> The men wear severe coats and tight fitting trousers, and almost all of the suspended hats are top hats, with a few bowlers in the background. These men wear the male uniform that Birrell laments, but the “passion for equality in externals” (20) leads these men to the silly action of hanging their hats from ropes instead of following a more common sense approach.

Examining and parodying uniformity in dress was one means by which *Macmillan’s* and *Punch* grappled with dress’s role in the expanding middle-classes. These magazines also

<sup>15</sup> *Punch* never focused on men’s fashions in the same way it did women’s dress. Christina Walkley suggests that *Punch* staffers did not mock male fashions as frequently because the majority of “*Punch*’s contributors were male themselves, and therefore disinclined to make jokes at their own expense” (85). Walkley does not take into account that men’s dress tends to change less rapidly. It also rarely alters the body shape as radically as fashions for women, making it visually less humorous.

explored dress as part of a narrative of class desire occurring in the domestic serial. Exploring the significance of dress and the classed body was one way the domestic serial, focused on representing the rhythms of middle-class daily life, addressed the growing instability of domesticity. While serials like Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* and Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* stretched the boundaries of domesticity, realigning it with the values of the growing number of professional men and women in the nineteenth century, they never fully challenged that domesticity. Domestic serials such as Thomas Hardy's *The Woodlanders* and Du Maurier's "Feline Amenities" problematize domestic ideology by either overtly questioning middle-class domesticity by exploring the effects of its tenets on the border classes, or mocking it in order to reify and assure the middle-classes of their dominance.



*Destabilizing Domesticity: Dress in Visual and Textual Domestic Serials*

Dress's ability to denote class position makes it into an object of desire for people aspiring to a higher class position. René Girard, in *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel*, argues that the object of desire stands in the place of the mediator or what is actually desired. His point that desire is a mimetic process means that desire can be focused on objects and class position as well as a person:

The triangular structure is no less obvious in social snobbism than it is in love-jealousy. The snob is also an imitator. He slavishly copies the person whose birth, fortune, or stylishness he envies. [...] The snob does not dare trust his own judgment, he desires only objects desired by others. That is why he is the slave of the fashionable. (Girard 24)

For the snob, desiring fashionable items such as dress is a means of imitating what he or she really wants, which is the class position such items denote. Haweis laments "the existing prejudice that everybody must be dressed like everybody else" (*The Art of Dress* 15), which



in her view stifles individuality and the development of an artistic sensibility or taste in dress. The number of women readily following and adopting current fashions, however, hints at the prevalence of dress as an object of class desire. Wearing the correct attire can, at least temporarily, obfuscate a person's real class position, making it the perfect object for embodying class desire. *Macmillan's* and *Punch* use the schema of mimetic desire throughout their treatment of dress. In so doing, they construct a textual and visual narrative that treats dress as either a means of reifying class boundaries or effecting class transformation.

The textual/visual narrative of class desire imbued in periodical discourse on dress takes on more significance in the 1880s. A higher class position seemed to be attainable for people like Hardy's timber merchant, George Melbury. Despite the deplorable, degrading poverty detailed by Charles Booth in his survey of the London slums and the agricultural depression of the 1870s, many working class and lower middle class people experienced a real rise in disposable income in the late nineteenth century. Briggs notes that "An official report of 1889 suggested that working men's expenditure on clothes had risen from 6 per cent of wages in 1845 to 8 or 9 per cent" (248-49). For the commercial clerks, civil servants, minor clergyman, teachers, "landowners, tenant farmers, dealers, craftsmen, and labourers" (Williams 199) that comprised the growing group of people on the border between the working classes and the middle classes, this rise in disposable income worked to confuse the line between the classes.

This border class is not defined by income, although money is part of this class's growing visibility. In 1867, Dudley Baxter used the Census Tables of 1861 to divide the population of England and Wales according to class and income distinctions. In his

estimation, approximately 150,000 members of the middle class made between £300 and £1,000 per year (Picard 95). This group constitutes people on the upper end of the middle classes. The majority of people Baxter classifies as middle class had incomes of under £300 per year: 850,000 people made £100 to £300 per year and 1,003,000 people made under £100 per year. Since the working classes also made under £100 per year, the line dividing middle class and working class blurs at this income marker (Picard 95). While education, occupation, background, and lifestyle all work to mark the difference between the classes, dress is the first key visual marker of class position. “The top-hat-and-black-coated” clerks looked decidedly different from a rural merchant, even though the rural merchant might have a larger income (Picard 96). Rural merchants and yeoman like Giles Winterborne belonged to the emerging lower middle class.

Arlene Young argues that “The force of historical development thus brings me to a consideration of the lower middle class as a newly emerging and rapidly growing social group that presented an especially vexed problem in class relations and that has been unjustly neglected both as a literary and as a historical phenomenon” (2). Young’s assessment that the lower middle classes or border classes, as I term this group, has been critically ignored stems in part from the fact that domestic fiction tends to focus on the middle-classes and the upwardly mobile and in part from the fact that the Victorian critics of class relations did not tend to distinguish this group from the working classes. In *London Labour and the London Poor* (1849-1850) Henry Mayhew documents the various occupations available to the London working classes. His comprehensive study looks at a variety of jobs ranging from street sellers of ginger-beer, dustmen, doll’s eye makers, and omnibus drivers, among a multitude of other occupations (Mayhew 89, 221, 344-46, and 347-63). While some of the

jobs Mayhew details are quite respectable, he does not include lower middle-class occupations such as domestic service in his survey since he is focused on the occupations available to the London poor only. Friedrich Engels in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845) argues that this border class was actually pushed down into the working-classes, disenfranchised and discarded by the capitalists: “We have seen how [industrialization] has crowded out the small farmers by means of the large farm system, reduced them to the rank of the proletarians, [...] how it further ruined the small bourgeoisie in great measure and reduced its members also to the rank of the proletariat” (87). In *Past and Present* (1843), Thomas Carlyle rails against the factory system, advocating for so-called Captains of Industry who would “be a noble Master, among noble Workers” instead of “a rich Master” (268). Like Engels, Carlyle views the class divide as being a binary of master versus worker, the wealthy upper and middle classes versus the working classes.

This binary does not account for the stratification of the middle classes. All three of these texts were written at the height of the economic crisis of the 1840s and early 1850s. As David McClellan argues, Engels “misassesses the nature of the bourgeoisie [...], vastly underrate[ing] its drive and vitality” (xvii). While I am not suggesting that the deplorable and demoralizing conditions facing the working classes disappeared after the 1850s, real economic changes brought about stability for many and a large lower middle class did exist that the binary of middle-class versus working class occludes. Young, drawing from the work of Arno Mayer and Geoffrey Crosswick, argues that the lower middle classes or border classes

define[d] themselves against the working class and its culture. They rejected both formal and informal collective association, the pub and street life as well as professional organizations, in favor of the ideal of individualism and self-help. [...] Unlike manual laborers, members of the lower middle class did not dirty their hands

or clothing at work and so could wear, and indeed were expected to wear, the same uniform of a dark coat and white linen that their employer did. (10)

Dress became a signifier of movement up or down the class ladder. In effect, the top hat, black coat, feathered bonnets, and kid gloves of the middle classes both marked the class divide and provided a way of eliding divisions. According to Young, it is “at the points of entry into the class that its definition becomes most problematic” (11). Hence, Grace’s dress classifies her as a middle-class woman, but her position is vexed without the proper domestic space to house her middle-class body. Mr. Melbury’s pleasure in Grace’s fashionable appearance also comes from his own desire to be part of the middle classes in which his income places him even though his education, manners, occupation, and background mark him differently.<sup>16</sup>

This narrative of class desire is also entwined with the visual culture of nineteenth century periodicals. Nancy Armstrong claims in *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism* that “The iconography of the period clearly shows that individuals were ‘hailed’ into various social categories [...] by recognizing themselves in an image” (22). In this assessment, dress provides an invaluable visual code for “hailing” or situating people into these social categories. As dress became more readily available, more and more people recognized themselves as members of the middle class because of their dress and the codes of dress gleaned from the pages of periodicals. The fashion plates, advertisements, cartoons, illustrations, articles, reports, and domestic fictions that depicted dress participated in this iconographic system, imbuing dress as the object of class desire in Girard’s mimetic schema.

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<sup>16</sup> Raymond Williams notes that Hardy himself was acutely aware of the slippery nature of class position along the border: “Outside his writing [Hardy] was one of the many professional men who worked within this [class] structure, often with uncertainty about where they really belonged in it” (*The Country and the City* 200).

For the Victorians, the visual and the textual depiction of dress was one part of their larger multi-media print culture. While we do not usually conceptualize nineteenth century print culture as being multi-media, the Victorians were well-trained in reading a variety of images and texts from a wide range of sources. Julia Thomas maintains that different modes of visuality were “part of the web of practices and discourse that circulated in their rich multi-media culture” (4). Although Peter Sinnema argues that “images and words can be best understood as modes of presentation, [which are] frequently at odds with each other” (40), late nineteenth century readers understood that printed text and illustration were interrelated media of narrative. For instance, immediately following the end of Walter Besant’s serial *Armored of Lyonesse* (28 June 1890) in the *Illustrated London News* is an advertisement for the next serial, *The Wonderful Adventures of Phra the Phœnician*. The notice advertises both the name of author Edwin Lester Arnold and illustrator H. M. Paget. The yoking together of author and illustrator suggests that readers were familiar with the work of both and expected the interplay between visual and textual narratives. Gerard Curtis, Julia Thomas, Kate Flint, and Nancy Armstrong, among other scholars, connect printed text with illustration. Curtis argues that “Drawing was linked to calligraphy, calligraphy to words and words to printed text” (11). Thomas complicates Curtis’s work, claiming that “Victorian narrative painting and illustration crossed the boundary between text and image [...] [;] words themselves were frequently part of these images, whether as the writing that accompanied an illustration, the title of a painting, or texts that appeared in the picture and told its story” (5). The relationship between drawing and printed text suggests that nineteenth century readers were equally adept at reading visual and textual narratives. A

story was not the exclusive provenance of the writer, nor was the language of painting and illustration the purview of the artist only.

The intertwining of text and drawing means that domestic serials, dedicated to representing everyday life, frequently employed the language of painting. Earlier in *Fiction in the Age of Photography*, Armstrong argues that “the novel’s use of painterly technique, perspective, detail, spectacle, or simply an abundance of visual description served to create, enlarge, revise, or update the reality shared by Victorian readers” (6). The realistic depiction of dress in domestic serials contributes to the text the sense of authenticity and places the characters within the extant discourse on dress. While domestic serials do not typically provide the kind of detailed descriptions found in fashion journalism, they do depend on readers’ understanding the social codes of fashion. Hollander claims that “in most fiction [dress] is tacitly supplied. It is assumed to be provided by the mental image the writer has and expects the reader to have, which both of them will have acquired through current pictorial style” (422). In other words, writers, readers, and artists work from the same visual representations of dress already circulating in print culture.

Just as the tenets of textual narrative inform Du Maurier’s domestic serial in *Punch* so too do the tenets of painting inform Hardy’s work in *The Woodlanders*. Both domestic serials employ dress as part of their textual/visual narratives on class desire. As noted earlier, Du Maurier uses dress’s signification of class position to mock upper-class society. The women that populate his “Feline Amenities” series are vindictive, sardonic, and ruthless in policing social borders. Nevertheless, their steely grip on social rituals suggests that dress, calls, dinner parties, and other aspects of upper-class life are crucial to the stability of that life. In Hardy’s domestic serial, dress’s ability to denote class creates ambiguities. Grace

may dress like a middle class woman, but her transformation into such a creature is always questioned by those around her. Furthermore, Hardy's textual painting employs dress as a mean of exploring the permeability of the middle-class home. In these textual paintings, dress destabilizes domestic ideology since this ideological construct depends on the impregnability of the middle-class home. I use the term textual painting instead of narrative painting in referring to Hardy's use of painterly terms because the term narrative painting typically refers to actual paintings that tell a story. For example, William Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* (1732-33, 1735) is a series of paintings accompanied by explanatory text that traces the rise, decline, and fall of his central character, Tom Rakewell.<sup>17</sup> In contrast, textual paintings are moments in a text where Hardy's narrator pauses to "provide an 'object' view of his characters" (Byerly 153). Hardy's textual painting serves to both distance the reader from the character and to give insight into the character's personality and class position.

Although Du Maurier is perhaps best known for his illustrated novel *Trilby*, he spent the greatest part of his career, over thirty years, as a social cartoonist for *Punch*. Leonée Ormond argues that scholars tend to ignore his work for *Punch*:

The critics of black-and-white art have dismissed his later work as stereotyped and disappointing, while the historians of humor have castigated him as a cartoonist without a true comic sense. Only the social historians have blindly and thankfully seized on his drawings as contemporary visual evidence, illustrating them without giving his name, and making no attempt to understand his viewpoint. (309)

The marginalization of Du Maurier's work belies the ways in which his social narratives present a discrete perspective on class and dress in the late nineteenth century. By using

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<sup>17</sup> The eight-painting series was painted from 1732-31 and engraved and published in 1735. According to Julia Thomas, "it is Hogarth who provides the closest link between narrative painting and illustration because, in addition to his moralistic and symbolic images, which inspired Victorian painting, he came increasingly to be regarded as the founder of the British illustration" (3).

similar characters and themes across cartoons, Du Maurier in effect creates a visual domestic serial on late Victorian social life. In the three-part “Feline Amenities” series, Du Maurier portrays the fierce and vicious nature of London society. His parvenus and dilettantes, ambitious women and naïve men all desire status, and policing social boundaries is at the core of his society cartoons.

The juxtaposition of fashion commentary, social satire, and everyday life makes Du Maurier’s “Feline Amenities” series crucial to understanding how *Punch* employs dress in visual domestic serials to reinforce class boundaries. These cartoons build a narrative of the dangers of allowing appearances to substitute for middle-class domestic virtues. As a former painter—a detached retina in his left eye forced him to cease painting—Du Maurier’s cartoons tend to be more realistic in content than the other cartoons in *Punch*. His social satires were in keeping with *Punch*’s general urban, middle-class perspective and Burnand’s more conservative sensibilities. Du Maurier, Charles Keene, and Sir John Tenniel, all three long time staff illustrators, divided the main illustration work of the magazine between them, although there were many other illustrators on staff in the 1880s. According to Simon Houfe, Keene preferred “to illustrate the comedy of the street and the country” (par. 2) while Du Maurier specialized in the comedy of the drawing room. Du Maurier also repeated themes and characters. Leonée Ormond claims that “the recurrence of familiar figures” such as the aesthetes Maudle and Postlethwaite, the society gentlemen Sir Gorgius Midas and Sir Pompey Bedell, and the social climbers Lady Clara Robinson née Vere de Vere and Mrs. Ponsonby de Tomkyns “helped to extend the range of the cartoons by allowing simple and effective contrasts to be made, and stories to be continued” (327). Du Maurier’s social



cartoons, with their repeated characters and themes, operate as a series of still lives from an ongoing narrative of Victorian social life.

Du Maurier's society ladies are fierce social climbers, steeped in the codes of fashion, even if they are brittle, acerbic creations. Maintaining their position is an almost obsessive focus for these women. While the men are equally aware of class position, Du Maurier's women actively involve themselves in maintaining class boundaries. By mocking these upper class women, Du Maurier balances a devaluing commentary on upper class society—which would have been appealing to *Punch*'s middle class audience—with a keen recognition of the importance of maintaining class boundaries. Dress, for Du Maurier, functions as a uniform for upper class society. Homogeneity of dress allows him to depict what fashionable society looks like while still parodying that society and its habits; all three cartoons depict typical upper-class social activities and all three emphasize appearance as part of society's signifying system. In these cartoons, the dress serves as the palette on which Du Maurier paints his narrative of social policing and catty female behavior in the upper classes.

The trope of feline or catty women was a well-established one that typically followed the rivalries and social intrigues of society women. The plot of Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801) is driven in part by the bitter rivalry between Lady Delacour and Mrs. Luttridge. “Rakish-society” women like Lady Delacour and Mrs. Luttridge, or even Felice Charmond in *The Woodlanders*, used the codes of domesticity and fashionable dress as a means of competing with each other over men and the admiration of society (Kirkpatrick xvi). According to Kathryn Kirkpatrick, Edgeworth “denounced the aristocratic woman's social intrigues as destructive to domestic happiness” (xviii). For Edgeworth, the catty competition

between women was anathematic to constructing the ideal home, and dress was part of this feline behavior. Kirkpatrick argues that “Lady Delacour’s gay public drapery hides her private deformity” (xvi). In Lady Delacour’s case, her sumptuous dress and makeup literally conceal her wounded breast, but they also occlude her real pain and suffering that stems in part from her lack of a stable home environment. The trope of catty women differentiated between the ideal middle-class woman and the corrupting influences of the aristocracy. As Jessica Gerard maintains, “Fearing the loss of their ascendancy, the early Victorian landed classes reformed themselves, adopting middle-class piety, morality and seriousness. To justify their wealth and power, the landed classes emphasized that the privilege carried with it the obligation to serve family, class, the poor and the nation” (180). In other words, catty society women such as Lady Delacour, Felice Charmond, and Du Maurer’s feline women are not justifying their position when they are competitive.<sup>18</sup> Du Maurier, in mocking the rivalries of society women, constructs a domestic narrative that reinforces middle-class stereotypes of upper-class behavior. His narrative paintings would have appealed to *Punch’s* urban, middle-class audience, who would have been familiar with the London social season without being part of it.

In “Feline Amenities” (10 July 1886), two fashionable ladies sit in the drawing room of a fashionable home watching another woman be escorted into dinner, a common feature of late Victorian social life. All of the women and men depicted are elegantly attired in evening dress. As is typical of Du Maurier’s style, the women are tall, with elongated necks

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<sup>18</sup> According to Linda Hughes, the Literary Ladies, founded by Honnor Morten, deliberately “inverted” the trope of catty women in their illustration for the back of menus for the inaugural dinner: “Under the ‘device of two cats rampant over a saucer of milk’ and other ‘cats in various contortions fighting over’ the scarce resource” are lines from Keats and Burns that reinforce the idea of women fighting (“A Club of Their Own: The ‘Literary Ladies,’ 238).

and pleasant features. The men are also pleasantly drawn, although the man leading Mrs. Scudamore into dinner is strangely still holding his hat, which typically he would have given to the housemaid. The whole scene seems like a pleasant social gathering typical of London upper class society.

The cartoon layers different gazes: the couple on the far left gaze at each other, the two women in the center of the cartoon gaze at the couple going into dinner, and the man on the far right gazes in a sneering manner at the two women. The focus of the cartoon and the caption is ostensibly on the conversation of the two seated women. In layering these gazes, however, the cartoon condemns the flirtatious behavior of the couple on the left and the conversation of the women in the center. Neither of the seated women disparages the husband for supposedly falling prey to Mrs. Scudamore's dangerous attractions; rather, they

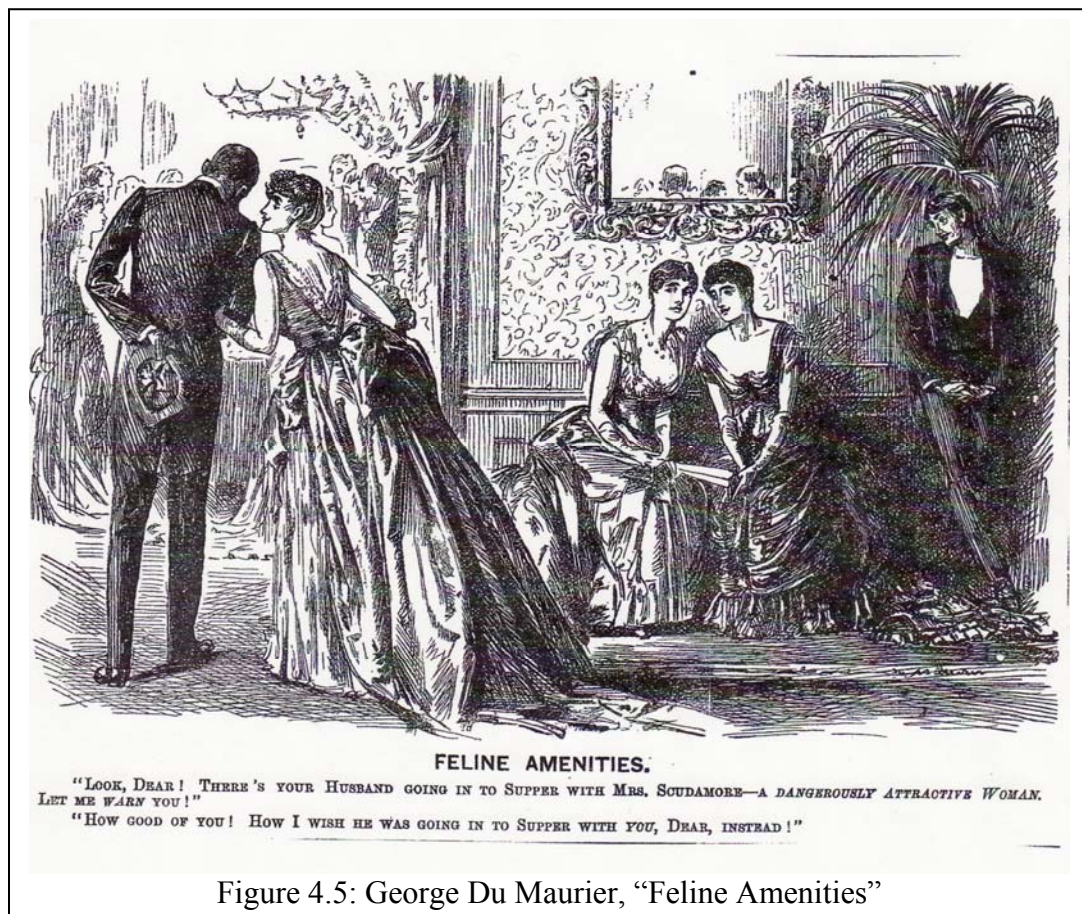


Figure 4.5: George Du Maurier, “Feline Amenities”

choose to attack each other, highlighting the competitive nature of London upper-class society for the admiration of men. Their gaze at Mrs. Scudamore and the husband focuses the viewer's attention on Mrs. Scudamore's dress. Although all three women are uniformly dressed in fashionable evening wear, Mrs. Scudamore's dress is depicted the most prominently. The train of Mrs. Scudamore's dress falls in graceful folds, chiming harmoniously with her beautiful profile. The long train of the dress, stretching to the bottom center of the cartoon, simultaneously directs the eye to the caption and emphasizes how she leans into her companion's arm, her head tilted upwards to speak to him. The man and Mrs. Scudamore's whole attitude is intimate and exclusive.

The man standing at the far right of the combative scene overhears the conversation of the two women. His gaze serves a similar function to the laughing of the shopkeeper in Charles Keene's "Shopping!"; it is a reflection of the audience's reaction to the image. The man leans against the wall with his hands clasped in front. For *Punch's* middle-class readers, this man's smirking observation of the two women's "feline" or antagonistic behavior would have reinforced the idea that upper-class women are only concerned with maintaining their social position rather than be concerned about the corrupting influence of a woman like Mrs. Scudamore. Attractive women like Mrs. Scudamore (or Felice Charmond) who openly flirt with other women's husbands are a danger since they upset normative domesticity, not because they are social rivals.

The next "Feline Amenities" (1 January 1887) focuses on the social ritual of the call. Calls were the engine of social life for Victorian women, and these fifteen minute formal visits—the length of time suggested by Isabella Beeton—were part of the duties and pleasures of the mistress of the house. Both women are fashionably attired in morning

clothes, with the woman making the call still in her outerwear. Morning clothes were the uniform of day-time wear; shorter skirts without trains, slightly smaller bustles, and higher necklines made these clothes more practical. Women making calls typically did not remove their coat and hat so that they could move on to the next call. Both women are shown in profile, a stance that emphasizes their bustles and the flounces at the back of their dresses. The form fitting coat of the woman on the left is cut to allow room for her large bustle, accentuating her straight posture and small waist. The woman on the right leans forward, ostensibly explaining the two photographs that the other woman is holding.



Figure 4.6: George Du Maurier, "Feline Amenities"

The focal point of the picture is on the tension between the two women, which the white space at the center emphasizes. The caption elucidates the reason for the tension in the cartoon. The visiting lady insults the other woman, who is making a gift of one of the photographs: “Now which of these two photographs of you may *I* have, dearest? The beautiful girl, or the one as I know you?” (“Feline Amenities” 10). The woman on the left has a haughty expression, while the woman on the right appears surprised at her comment.

The fact that the visiting lady makes the insult during a normal social function is telling. The call, paid to the right people while observing the rules of etiquette and deportment, could help a woman and her family rise up the social ladder. Calls also could be calculated to put down other women; they were part of the society lady’s social arsenal. By suggesting that the hostess is less than attractive, the visiting woman asserts her social dominance over a less socially aggressive woman. With the hand in the foreground held out in a giving manner, the hostess appears gracious, but this gesture coupled with her forward bending stance suggests that she is cowed by the other woman. As in the previous “Feline Amenities” cartoon, the combative nature of the relationship between the two women serves dual functions. It reiterates the idea that society women invest only in disparaging each other, and it emphasizes the key role dress and other social rituals play in reinforcing domesticity. The acerbic nature of the cartoon is only possible because these rituals are in fact in flux. Such assertion of social dominance via a condemnation of appearance in a magazine primarily aimed at the middle-classes hints at the corrupting nature of upper-class society.

Du Maurier’s “Feline Amenities: Two Cases of Mistaken Identity” (30 July 1887) again mocks the combative nature of upper-class society while also highlighting a key social

ritual, a walk in the park. Seemingly, the cartoon portrays a chance meeting between two acquaintances out on a stroll in the park with their husbands. The two women even shake hands cordially in the cartoon. Again, both women are fashionably attired, although their walking costumes still push the body forward into the Grecian bend (the much derided curving of the body caused by tight lacing and the large, hard bustle). The dresses are quite detailed here. The woman whose face is visible is wearing a spotted lawn with a tightly cinched belt. The other woman's dress is a delicately drawn check pattern. The woman whose face is visible is attractive, and the height of the other woman implies her beauty.

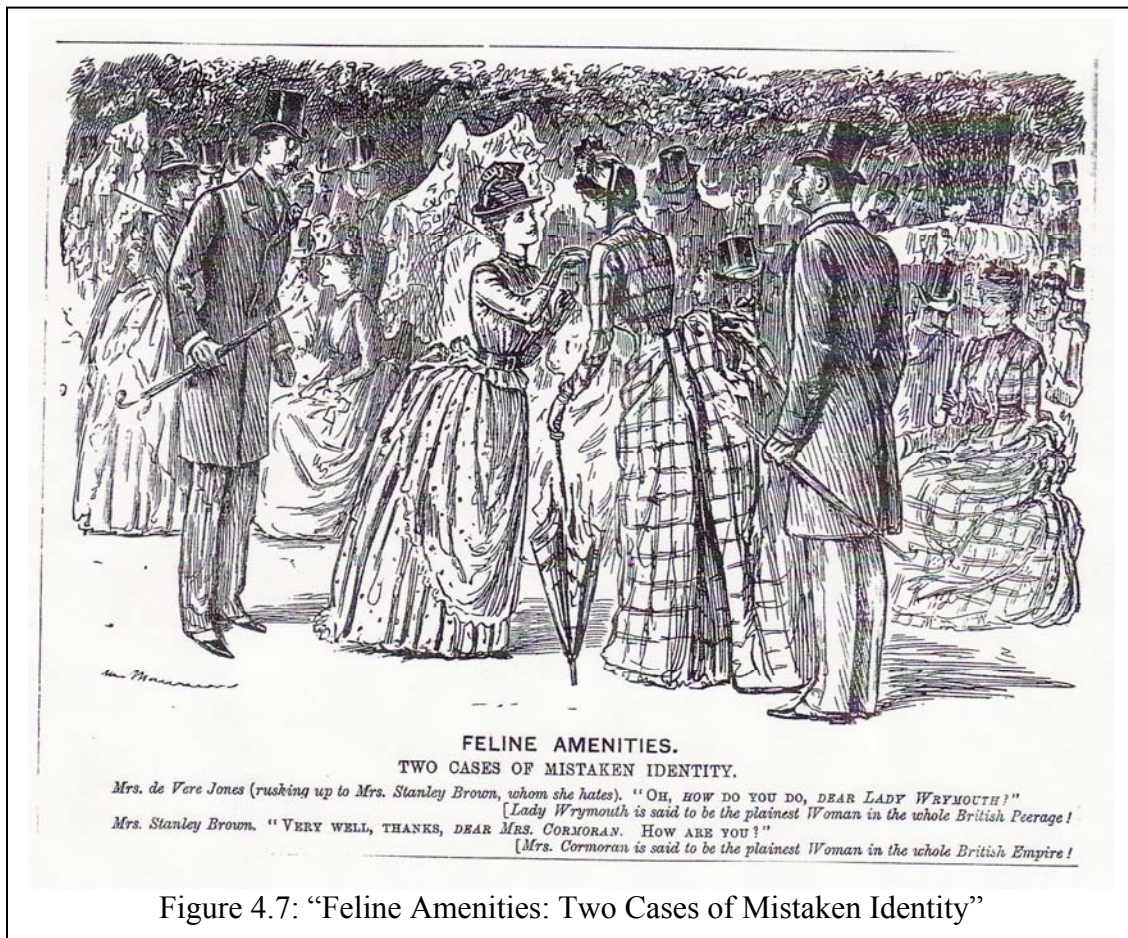


Figure 4.7: "Feline Amenities: Two Cases of Mistaken Identity"

Their husbands are rendered in less detail, although they too are fashionably attired in top hat, long coat, and cane. The tension between the two women is palpable in the cartoon, and

such an overt display of aggressiveness is jarring. The two women could have employed the cut, “a form of social discouragement that involved pretending not to know or see a person who was trying to be acknowledged” (Poole 296). Instead, Mrs. de Vere Jones passive-aggressively insults Mrs. Stanley Brown.

The position of the two couples in the cartoon causes a layering of gazes. The two husbands focus inward on the two women, who in turn are gazing at each other in mock politeness. The effect of this double movement to the center of the illustration is to emphasize the hostility between the two women. The repetition of this theme of catty feminine competition in these visual domestic serial works simultaneously to mock the upper classes and to highlight how important appearance and following the social rituals are for maintaining the boundaries of that class.

Dress in Du Maurier’s visual domestic serial serves to portray these upper-class women as uniformly belonging to the same group. Their caustic rivalries do not undermine their fundamental function as arbiters of the class divide. The repetition of the social rituals and dress necessary to belong to the upper classes, and the alacrity with which these women critique each other serves as a discreet, if humorous warning to all social pretenders. For Hardy, such uniformity of dress is suspect, and social pretenders have easy access to the necessary skills and attire to effect class transformation. Through the use of intense textual portraits of the central characters, Grace Melbury, Edgar Fitzpiers, and Giles Winterborne, Hardy challenges the idea that fashionable dress accurately denotes class position or even personality.

Scholars on Hardy have noted the discourse of painting in his work. Alison Byerly’s *Realism, Representation, and the Arts in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (1997) and Ruth



Bernard Yeazell's *Art of the Everyday: Dutch Painting and the Realist Novel* (2008) both discuss Hardy's use of painterly terms and adoption of the realism of the Dutch School. Hardy's contemporaries also noticed his use of painterly terms. R. H. Hutton praised Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd* as being replete with "pictures of the most delicate and vivid beauty—watercolours in words, and every fine ones too" (1597, qtd. in Byerly 151). These critics did not always view Hardy's character portraits in a positive light. In his review of *The Woodlanders* for the *Spectator*, Hutton argues that the text "is a picture of shameless falsehood, levity, and infidelity, followed by no true repentance, and yet crowned at the end with perfect success; nor does Mr. Hardy seem to paint his picture in any spirit of indignation that redeems the moral drift of the book" (153). According to Byerly, these same critics were "not impressed by his allusions to actual paintings" because of a "perceived disparity between Hardy's rustic characters and the 'cultured' terms in which he describes them" (151, 152). In other words, critics found his actual textual paintings compelling even if they found his appropriation of artistic terminology jarring.

Hardy's use of painterly terms in his fiction comes from his own fascination with and study of art. Hardy was apprenticed to Dorchester architect John Hicks when he was sixteen, and part of his training included working on the drawings for the restorations that Hicks's firm specialized in. When he moved to London for a brief time in the 1860s, he spent "twenty minutes each day in the National Gallery, 'confining his attention to a single master on each visit'" (Yeazell, *Art of the Everyday* 127). Hardy maintained keen interest in the visual aspects of his settings and characters throughout his career. When *Far from the Madding Crowd* was being serialized in the *Cornhill*, Hardy supplied drawings of "smockfrocks, gaiters, sheepcrooks" and other items to help illustrator Helen Paterson

accurately depict the characters in the text (qtd. in Pite 202). He was also influenced by different schools of art, including the seventeenth-century Dutch school and the work of the Impressionists. Yeazell notes that Hardy actively used the tenets of the Dutch school of painting, a type of critical “shorthand for a type of painting that itself [...] is a painting of types” (*Art of the Everyday* 2). Yeazell argues that “the detailed rendering of material particulars” and “the close attention to the habits and rituals of daily life, especially the domestic life of the middle classes” (“Hardy’s Rural Painting of the Dutch School” 136) that are key features of Dutch painting, made this style of art attractive for Hardy’s accurate depictions of rural domestic life. By the time *The Woodlanders* was being serialized in *Macmillan’s*, the Impressionists were making an impact on the English art world. The Impressionists proved influential for Hardy, and he “rushed to see the first London exhibitions” at the Society of British Artists Exhibition of Impressionist pictures in December 1886 (Pite 293).

In *The Woodlanders*, Hardy combines both schools of art in his textual paintings. His textual portraits are as accurate as Du Maurier’s social cartoons. The magazine reviewer for the *Illustrated London News* claims that *The Woodlanders* “promises to be worthy of his best skill as a painter of rural manners” (“The Magazines for May” 473). Yet the textual portraits are also “impressionistic” with “many elements in the picture that one would normally expect to find [...] left out entirely or sketched in only vaguely” (Pite 295). For instance, the first description of Marty South concentrates on her hair: “In her present beholder’s mind the scene formed by this girlish spar-maker composed itself into a post-Raffaelite [sic] picture of

extremest type, wherein the girl's hair alone, was the focus of the observation" (May 1886 67).<sup>19</sup> The rest of Marty's features blur, all "lost in haze and obscurity" (May 1886 67).

As the *ILN* reviewer notes, *The Woodlanders* "is rather adapted for the student of character than for the average novel reader" ("The Magazines for May" 473). In his textual portraits, Hardy is less concerned in *The Woodlanders* with how dress appears and more focused on how the dress illuminates character. To that end, Hardy only gives general sketches of attire, concentrating on color, fabric, and the general newness of the dress rather than what the clothes actually look like. Unlike Gaskell, Hardy is not interested in the materiality of the clothes; he has no detailed discussions on the color of ribbons, the styling of a bonnet, or on the difference between a poor silk plaid dress and a white muslin gown. According to Claire Hughes, Hardy was particularly conscientious "to indicate colour and texture rather than style" in his use of dress (3). The attention paid to the materiality of dress versus its style (how it actually looks in relation to trends) stems from Hardy's use of the painterly terms of the Dutch School.

Hardy's focus on small details of color and fabric can be seen in the first description of Grace and her fashionable, middle-class attire, which occurs in the second installment of the serial. Giles has gone to Sherton to sell his cider and wait for Grace's arrival home from her travels on the Continent. The narrative pauses as Giles sees Grace emerge from the crowd:

In simple corporeal presentment she was of a fair and clear complexion, rather pale than pink, slim in build and elastic in movement. Her look expressed a tendency to wait for others' thoughts before uttering her own: possibly to wait for others' deeds before her own doing. In her small, delicate mouth, which had hardly settled down to its matured curves, there was a gentleness that might hinder sufficient self-assertion for her own good. She had well-formed

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<sup>19</sup> In the 1887 volume edition, Hardy changes the phrase "post-Raffaelite [sic] picture" to "impression-picture," which highlights his growing interest in Impressionism. See Ingham 11 and n. 4, 381 and Kramer 9.

eyebrows which, had her portrait been painted, would probably have been done in Prout's or Vandyke brown. (June 1886 84)

This textual painting of Grace draws its language from different schools of painting. For instance, the dark brown of her eyebrows is specifically described by two different shades of dark brown, one developed by the Dutch painter Sir Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) and the other developed for watercolorist Samuel Prout (1783-1852).<sup>20</sup> As in Impressionism, certain features are more prominent, in this instance Grace's eyebrows, mouth, and skin. Drawing out these specific details allows Hardy to emphasize Grace's elasticity and hesitancy. Her mouth and face, in general, express an inability to assert herself. Sent away to an expensive boarding school—her father frequently boasts of the £100 per year cost of this education—in order to be trained as a middle-class woman, Grace's passivity stems from her sense that she is not what she appears to be and the pressures placed on her by her father to fulfill the role of middle-class parvenu. Domestic serials typically focus squarely on overtly middle-class heroines who come to understand and expand their role. Grace's nebulous position as a timber merchant's daughter and a fashionably dressed middle-class woman unsettles this narrative focus. Unlike Molly Gibson, Grace never asserts herself. Her much vaunted education has only trained her to please, and as such, it has ill-equipped her to be either the working wife of a man like Giles Winterborne, to be the patient wife of a man like Fitzpiers, or to function on her own.

This portrait of Grace as hesitating and passive is extended by the next paragraph. In effect, there are two portraits of Grace in this installment. Instead of focusing on Grace herself, this portrait looks at her attire, and in so doing, it clearly classes her:

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<sup>20</sup> Vandyke brown is actually derived from Cassel or Cologne earth, making it a naturalistic hue. Prout's brown is frequently used in describing birds.

There was nothing remarkable in her dress just now, beyond a natural fitness, and a style that was recent for the streets of Sheraton. But, had it been the reverse, and quite striking, it would have meant just as little. For there can be hardly anything less connected with a woman's personality than drapery which she has neither designed, manufactured, cut, sewed, nor even seen, except by a glance of approval when told that such and such a shape and colour must be had because it has been decided by others as imperative at that particular time. (June 1886 84)

The description of Grace's dress simultaneously separates Grace from what her dress signifies and identifies her as a member of the middle-classes. The narrator takes great pains to separate Grace from her dress by belittling the meaning of what she wears. The newness of her dress is considered unremarkable and the style impersonal. Penny Boumelha argues that there is "something fetishistic about Hardy's textualization of sexuality, and it is often expressed in a slightly disturbing way through the disembodied gender significations of clothes" (*Thomas Hardy and Women* 133). The disconnection of Grace from her clothes' meaning makes her appear to be a packaged doll, dressed up in attire that has nothing to do with her personality. Boumelha contends that "In this disturbingly mobile social environment, Grace is repeatedly described in economic terms, as a valuable gift, as yielding a return, as raw material or value added" ("The patriarchy of class" 141). Thus, Hardy's textual portrait of Grace's dress uses the language of production as well as the language of art. Her clothing is clearly part of a process of production; it has been "designed, manufactured, cut, [and] sewed" by hands other than Grace's (June 1886 84). For Hardy, ready made clothing is divorced from the wearer. In effect, Grace's garments disembodied her even while they represent her class position.

The dress may not represent Grace's personality, but it does embody her father's obsessive class desires. She has no agency other than as a proxy for Mr. Melbury's own rise into the middle-classes. As Elizabeth Rouse claims, "dress acted as status symbol for male

relatives in the sense that it demanded expenditure and thus indicated wealth” (117). In other words, Melbury broadcasts his own financial means by dressing his daughter in such overtly middle-class garments. The economic language used here combined with the frequent displaced viewing of Grace—she is often seen through a window, an eyeglass, or through trees—make her into an object of desire, particularly for her father and Fitzpiers.

While Melbury recognizes that he will never be part of the middle-classes, he still possesses class desire. When she wears fashionable middle-class dress, Grace is both the object of his desire and the mediator of that desire. Melbury’s desperation that she solidify her class position comes from his need to transcend his border class position. He comprehends that educating and dressing Grace in a certain manner and style visually displays class, and Melbury understands that his own appearance can call her position into question. He is incapable of grappling with what true class transformation would mean for him and for Grace. His own vacillations make Grace’s portrait of middle-class respectability ambiguous. Unable to let her fully merge into the middle-classes and unable to prevent himself from wanting that merger, Melbury continuously calls Grace’s position and actions into question. It is only when Grace chooses to return to Fitzpiers that she is able to fully embrace her position as a middle-class woman, and it is the only option that resolves the ambiguities of status, classed and marital, that swirl around her.

For Fitzpiers, Grace represents the unattainable. She visually belongs to his class, and in initially mistaking her for the mistress of Hintock House, Fitzpiers allows himself to believe that Grace can actually help him rise up the social ladder. The realization that Grace is the timber merchant’s daughter and not a wealthy landowner only temporarily deters Fitzpiers in his pursuit of Grace. Her appearance captivates him, and he persists in

objectifying Grace as part of his own narrative of class desire, even though Fitzpiers realizes that marrying her will not bring him the kind of position he wants. Fitzpiers at first thinks that they are a perfect match despite Grace's background, since their "ideas, tastes, and habits" coincide "so unerringly" (October 1886 476). She looks and acts the part so well that he allows himself to believe that she is in fact what she only appears to be: a middle class woman.

Although Grace may have had nothing to do with the manufacture of what she is wearing, she does choose to wear these clothes, despite the narrator's protests. The narrator might try to divorce her from her dress's meaning, but there is a "natural fitness" to her unremarkable dress in Hardy's textual portrait (June 1886 64). Nor does Grace's unease with her class position and her father's ambitions prevent her from wearing these clothes. She regrets that her father seems to be so obsessed with her solidifying her class rise: "She wished that she was not his worldly hope; the responsibility of such a position was too great" (July 1886 235). Her regret here is more because of the pain she is inadvertently causing Giles and her father than because she truly wants to give up her class position: "If I had only come home in a shabby dress, and tried to speak roughly, this might not have happened" (July 1886 235-36). Yet her choice to remain dressed as a middle-class woman contradicts her own desires. She too wants to be part of the middle-classes; as Patricia Alden argues, Grace's middle-class dress makes her "a demonstrably unsuitable wife for a laboring man" such as Giles Winterborne (42). Her class desire is more important, more entrenched, than her romantic desires.

Grace's desire to cement her own class transformation causes her to trust the middle-class, respectable appearance of Fitzpiers. His loose association with the Fitzpiers family

that owned a manor near the village of Buckbury Fitzpiers gives him an aristocratic sheen: “The idea of so modern a man in science and aesthetics as the young surgeon springing out of relics so ancient was a kind of novelty” (October 1886 467). Trained in the codes of middle-class domesticity, Grace has been taught to doubt her own border class instincts, and Fitzpiers’s mendacious roots in the community gives Grace a reason to doubt her own feelings. Hesitant and yielding, Grace follows the path of her class desires even when those desires take her away from what she is sure of and away from Giles. Fitzpiers seems to be a good match. As a doctor, he appears poised for professional and economic success. His profession, interest in science, and appearance all make him the embodiment of the ideal man in the domestic serial. Roger Hamley, Valentine Ross, and Dick Brown all peruse their professions ardently, and Gaskell and Oliphant emphasize their appearance as respectable, upstanding men. Hardy’s textual portrait complicates the identity of the middle-class professional man, however, since Fitzpiers is an ineffective doctor, a distracted researcher, and a man more interested in fulfilling his own desires—class and carnal—than those of others.

As with the textual portrait of Grace, the narrator emphasizes the ambiguities of Fitzpiers’s position and the stylishness of his attire:

His face was rather soft than stern, charming than grand, pale than flushed; his nose—if a sketch of his features be *de rigueur* for a person of his pretensions—was artistically beautiful enough to have been worth modeling by any sculptor not over busy, and was hence devoid of those knotty irregularities which often mean power; while the classical curve of his mouth was not without a looseness in its close. Either from his readily apparent mien, or his reflective manner, his presence bespoke the philosopher rather than the dandy—an effect which was helped by the absence of trinkets or other trivialities from his attire, though this was more finish and up to date than is usually the case among rural practitioners. (August 1886 302)



Fitzpiers in this textual painting seems to be as yielding as Grace. They are both soft, pale creatures without any real power. The softness of his sculpted features feminizes him. Like Osborne Hamley and Richard Ross, Fitzpiers is an aesthete of sorts, and he embodies a kind of masculinity that the domestic serial struggles with. Fitzpiers pays attention to appearances, placing more emphasis on the surface of things than on the reality underneath. The stylishness of his clothing supports Fitzpiers's preoccupation with appearance. He trusts that Grace belongs to his class because of her appearance; he expects that he can use his father-in-law's money while disdaining Melbury's lower-class company; and he believes that his pseudo-aristocratic roots and appearance will forward his profession without any effort of his own. The metaphysical studies Fitzpiers engages in do give him a certain allure for the people of Little Hintock, but the narrator's comment that "Strict people of the highly respectable class, knowing a little about him by report, said that he seemed likely to err rather in the possession of too many ideas than too few" (August 1886 302) implies that these respectable people would perhaps not rely on his professional skills.

Hutton references Hardy's use of painterly terms when he criticizes the portrayal of Fitzpiers: "Mr. Hardy has painted nothing more thoroughly disgusting than this mendacious, easygoing, consciousnessless, passionate young doctor, with his fastidious selfishness and his scientific acuteness, and his aristocratic self-esteem" (153). Yet, Hardy employs a different language of art in his depiction of Fitzpiers. While Grace, Marty, and Giles are textually represented in the painterly terms of the Dutch School, the Pre-Raphaelites, and Impressionism, Fitzpiers is described in the terms of sculpture. Hardy constructs Fitzpiers's attention to etiquette and appearances as part of a sculptural discourse. By using the language of sculpture, Hardy not only suggests that Fitzpiers is cold and unmoving—a

distinct departure from his use of warm colors in his textual paintings of Grace, Giles, and Marty—but he also implies that Fitzpiers is merely superficial since there are no visible layers to sculpture.

The difference in the textual painting (or in this case, work of art) hints at Fitzpiers's fundamental embodiment of a different kind of masculinity, one that is at odds with middle-class or even lower middle-class domesticity. Hardy divides him from the dandy, since Fitzpiers's appearance is not part of a calculated performance of masculinity per se, but Fitzpiers does exhibit aristocratic habits. As far as appearances go, Fitzpiers is a sculpted and perfected gentleman, and he understands how polite society works. According to John Tosh, the politeness of the aristocratic gentleman “was a critical faultline between the gentlemanly and manly ideals” (*Manliness and Masculinities* 86). Politeness merely entails following the rules of etiquette. Unlike Isabella Beeton's advice in the *Book of Household Management*, the rules of etiquette in polite society are not grounded in middle-class domestic ideology; rather, these rules are about social maneuvering. After all, Du Maurier's catty society women follow the rules of etiquette even while they compete with each other. For Fitzpiers, keeping up a fastidious appearance and seeming to be dedicated to his profession, all thought to be important attributes for the ideal middle-class man, occludes his sexual promiscuity and rejection of the middle-class ideal of manliness.

Offset against this sculptural portrait of Fitzpiers is the textual painting of Giles in the November 1886 installment. Yeazell argues that the Dutch School of painting was often denigrated by nineteenth century critics for being too concerned with “the representation of low or vulgar subjects both as to the class of the persons depicted and as to the nature of their activities” (*Art of the Everyday* 9). Hardy turns the notion that the class of the person

depicted makes the subject “vulgar” on its head in his textual painting of Giles. Here Giles is described as some sort of woodland god:

He looked and smelt like Autumn’s very brother, his face being sunburnt to wheat-colour, his eyes blue as corn-flowers, his sleeves and leggings dyed with fruit-stains, his hands clammy with the sweet juice of apples, his hat sprinkled with pips, and everywhere about him, that atmosphere of cider which at its first return each season has such an indescribable fascination for those who have been born and bred among the orchards. (November 1886 12-13)

While Hardy does not directly reference an artistic school in this textual painting, the impressionistic nature of the portrayal and the focus on color suggests that he is working from Impressionism. This portrait of Giles employs a more active language than either textual portrait of Grace or Fitzpiers. He is tangibly present here, his dress is covered with the evidence of his labor. As the brother of Autumn, Giles is aligned with the rhythms of woodlands, not the rhythms of middle-class life, suggesting that those values have no place in the woodlands. Grace, neglected and all but abandoned by the middle-class husband she was told to obtain, responds to the vibrancy of seeing Giles in this manner. Giles’s “undiluted manliness” (November 1886 13) is a stark contrast to the soft, professional Fitzpiers.

Giles, despite his lower-class position, is the embodiment of the nineteenth-century ideal manliness. As Tosh notes, manliness required “Energy, will, straightforwardness and courage” (*A Man’s Place* 111). Giles evinces all of these qualities except for energy. He is incapable of closely attending to his own business interests when it comes to making sure he can keep his lands. Giles is, however, gifted when it comes to understand trees, apples, and cider, all of which comprise the actual work of his profession as a woodlander. Hardy’s textual painting emphasizes Giles’s profession since he is covered in apple piths, peels, and

juice. For Hardy, Giles's work as a woodlander supersedes his lack business acumen, but it is not enough for Giles to be successful. Engels's argument that yeoman Giles are being edged out by larger farmers like Mr. Melbury is apt. Although Hardy paints a vibrant portrait of Giles, it is also one of decay, of labor done. Unlike *Wives and Daughters* and *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, in which softer, more feminine masculinity is edged out by new professional masculinity, Hardy supplants Giles's vibrancy and knowledge of the woodlands with the questionable Fitzpiers.

Hutton claims that "Mr. Hardy will say that in painting Winterborne, he has given us the standard to try Fitzpiers and find him wanting, which would be true, if only there were not a positive vein for liking him that penetrates [the domestic serial] and annuls all the effect of Winterbourne's faithfulness [and] manliness" (153-54). While Hutton is right that the death of Giles eliminates the ideal masculine model, his supposition that this occurs because Hardy prefers Fitzpiers is inaccurate. This portrait not only hints at Giles's death but also the erosion of the woodland community. Hardy also depicts Marty in this same, decaying vein. Giles and Marty, more so than Grace, clearly belong to the lower middle classes, and in this rural environment that is rapidly changing both of them are at the precarious border between sinking and surviving.

The description of Marty in the last installment of the serial disembodies her but also reinforces the idea of decay. In the last installment of the serial, after describing how Mary has waited in vain for Grace to keep her vigil at Giles's, the narrator pauses to describe Marty again, echoing the initial description in the first installment of the serial:

As this solitary and silent girl stood there in the moonlight, a straight slim figure, clothed in a plaitless gown, the contours of womanhood so undeveloped as to be scarcely perceptible, the marks of poverty and toil effaced by the misty hour, she touched sublimity at points, and looked almost

like a being who had rejected with indifference the attribute of her sex for the loftier quality of abstract humanism” (April 1887 428).

Again, Hardy does not directly employ painterly terms, but it still a complete and abstract textual portrait of loss and longing. Both the portrait of Giles and Marty deal in abstracts, but they also emphasize how both characters transcend their class position. Giles is woodland god; Marty sublime in her devotion. Crucially, both portraits craft Giles and Marty into ideals. Giles embodies Hardy’s ideal masculinity, while Marty is not precisely the ideal of femininity, but of humanity as whole. While the textual painting of Giles is sexually charged, particularly since Grace responds to the image of manliness presented to here, Marty’s textual painting purposely de-sexualizes her body. Her womanly curves are indistinct, and she is almost a ghost. In this textual painting Hardy suggests that middle-class domesticity, by emphasizing the sexual role of women, in fact ensnares women. Grace is forced to play the same social game as Du Maurier’s social climbers, even though she recognizes what she is losing. Marty, never given a real change to rise above her situation, chooses instead to become one with the woodlands. Her devotion to Giles’s memory hints at the true fidelity that was supposed to buttress the ideal home.

Through these textual paintings Hardy crafts a domestic serial that questions the foundations of middle-domestic ideology. When the accoutrements of fashion and education are so easily obtained without retaining the guiding principles of the rural community or adopting the principles of middle-class domesticity, relationships and the home are as empty as the catty competition of Du Maurier’s social climbers. As a domestic serial, the lack of a concrete resolution to the central tensions of the text and the absence of any narrative punishment for Fitzpiers’s actions is troubling. Giles demise and Grace’s return to Fitzpiers at the end of the serial critiques middle-class domesticity. Domestic fiction is ostensibly

designed to reify or expand the purview of middle-class domestic ideology. Du Maurier and Hardy both challenge that domesticity. Du Maurier's satire on catty social climbers hints at the emptiness of following etiquette. Hardy is able to shift the purpose of domestic fiction away from a narrative driven by a marriage-plot to an intense character study of people and the ways they negotiate middle-class domestic values.

Du Maurier's and Hardy's use of dress in their domestic serials allows both serials to grapple with the changes facing the middle-class Victorian home. Moreover, the work of Du Maurier and Hardy highlights the divergent discourse on dress and class occurring in and between periodicals. Readers of these two domestic serials would have seen the break-down of class boundaries on both ends of the social spectrum. The narrative of class desire occurring in both of these texts also illuminates the ways in which the domestic struggled to depict all aspects of real life while still appeasing the at times prudish family literary magazine public. Domesticity, family literary magazines, and domestic serials were all in transition by the 1880s, and the move by Hardy and other writers to a literature that explored "the position of man and woman in nature" signaled a growing tension between the family literary magazine and the domestic serial.



### *The Domestic Serial in Transition*

The words "to be continued" appear at the end of every installment of *The Woodlanders*. This small, seemingly helpful phrase denotes a fundamental evolution in the periodicity of the domestic serial. Admittedly, *Macmillan's* and many other magazines had long used this phrase at the end of its serial installments. It was a useful practice when the house style of the magazine meant that there was not a page break between the beginning and ending of articles. In the November 1859 issue, the end of the first installment of Thomas

Hughes's *Tom Brown at Oxford* is on the same page as George Wilson's "Paper, Pen and Ink"; the phrase "to be continued" signaled to the readers that the story would have another installment unlike the article that immediately followed. By the 1880s, *Macmillan's* had ceased crowding articles together in this manner but still maintained the practice of "to be continued." They were by no means the only magazine to do so. Each installment of James Payn's *The Heir of the Ages*, which was serialized in the *ILN* while *The Woodlanders* appeared in *Macmillan's*, also ended with this phrase. Nevertheless, the installments of earlier serials like Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* and Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* did not end with these signal words. Furthermore, the erratic distribution of fiction from May 1886 to April 1887 in a magazine that Spencer Eddy claims "was, in principle, an organ of liberal opinion rather than a purveyor of fiction" (11) is telling about the decline of the domestic serial and the family literary magazine.

Ostensibly, *Macmillan's* built a reputation for publishing quality fiction in the 1880s. Indeed Henry James's *A Portrait of a Lady* (October 1880 – August 1881); Margaret Oliphant's *A Beleaguered City* (November 1879 – November 1880), *A Little Pilgrim in the Unseen* (May and September 1882), *The Wizard's Son* (November 1882 – March 1884), and *Kirsteen, A Story of a Scottish Family* (August 1889 – August 1890); and Hardy's *The Woodlanders* all appeared in *Macmillan's* during this decade. During the serialization of *The Woodlanders*, there was an average of 26.33 pages of fiction per issue, or an average of 32 percent of the magazine. Fiction never dominated *Macmillan's* the same way that it did the *Cornhill* or other family literary magazines, meaning that this distribution of fiction seems to be in keeping with the magazine's editorial practice of placing a greater emphasis on the non-fiction. Calculating the average number of pages devoted to fiction by *Macmillan's*,

however, belies the erratic distribution of fiction in this twelve-month run of the magazine. For example, the June 1886 issue has 11 pages of fiction, the July 1886 issue has 26, the August 1886 issue has 36, and the September 1886 issue only has 16. There is a difference of 15 pages between the June and July issues, 10 between the July and August issues, and 20 between the August and September issues. The variations in the percentage of fiction per issue are even more suggestive, since each issue is a consistent 80 pages; only 13.75 percent of the June 1886 issue consists of fiction where 32.5 percent of the July 1886 issue is fictional, a difference of 18.75 percent.<sup>21</sup> The reason behind this irregular distribution of fiction lies in the eight short stories or short serials that appeared in *Macmillan's* from May 1886 to April 1887.

Short fiction had long been gaining popularity. George Newnes's *Strand Magazine* (1891 – 1950) and *Pearson's Magazine* (1896 – 1939) specialized in short stories and serials. According to Graham Law, Newnes's editorial policy was to “avoid longer items and articles altogether,” making “complete short stories [...] the dominant narrative form” (33). *The Strand* was noted for its short stories, particularly Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories, which gave readers the best of the short story and the serial; they were self-contained but still provided character and narrative continuity over a lengthy period of time. The growing preference for short stories and short serials meant that readers needed more direct guidance as to where the serial ended. Many family literary magazines began to use the phrase “to be continued” “because without the tag readers could not tell what works were completed short stories and which were ongoing serial stories” (Lund 118). Michael Lund claims that serials by Henry James “and others in the 1880s and 1890s were sometimes made

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<sup>21</sup> For a complete chart of the percentage of fiction per issue of *Macmillan's Monthly Magazine* during the serialization of *The Woodlanders* see Figure 4.8.



Table 4.1: Percentage of *Macmillan's Monthly Magazine* Devoted to Fiction

Issue Date	No. of Items in Issue	Title(s) of Fictional Items in Issue, Inclusive Page Numbers, and Number of Pages	Total No. of Pages and Issue Pagination	Total No. of Pages Devoted to Fiction	Percentage of Issue Devoted to Fiction
May 1886	10	"The Sentis," poem, 27, 1 Herbert Kynaston, "The Examiner's Dream," 55-62, 8 Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 63-80, 18	80 (1-80)	27	33.75%
June 1886	9	Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 81-90, 10 "Not Glad, Not Sad," poem, 125, 1	80 (81-160)	11	13.75%
July 1886	9	Charles Hannan, "My Friend the Professor," 192-98, 7 "The Wanderer's Return," poem, 198, half page Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 222-40, 19	80 (161-240)	26	32.5%
August 1886	9	Samuel Thomas Heard, "Ballalrai Durg," 266-75, 10 "Pausanias and Cleonice," poem, 280-86, 6 Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 301-20, 20	80 (241-320)	36	45%
September 1886	9	Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 385-400, 16	80 (321-400)	16	20%
October 1886	9	"Vigil of Venus," poem, 424-25, 2 Mrs. Stanford Harris, "My Success in Literature," 435-45, 11 Mowbray Morris, "In the Doctor's Den," 458-65, 8 Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 466-80, 15	80 (401-80)	36	45%
November 1886	10	Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 1-18, 18 "Dreams," poem, 63, 1	80 (1-80)	19	23.75%
December 1886	10	Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 81-96, 16 "Sonnet," poem, 105, 1 "Keepsakes," poem, 142, 1 Julian Sturgis, "My Ghost," 143-60, 18	80 (81-160)	36	45%
January 1887	8	George Fleming (pseudonym for Julia Constance Fletcher), "The Strange Story of Margaret Beauchamp," 174-82, 9 "The Lament for Bion," poem, 183-86, 4 Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 224-40, 17	80 (161-240)	30	37.5%
February 1887	9	"Hope," poem, 274, 1 George Fleming (pseudonym for Julia Constance Fletcher), "The Strange Story of Margaret Beauchamp," 282-91, 10 Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 306-20, 15	80 (241-320)	26	32.5%
March 1887	10	"A Psalm of Life," 357, 1 Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 385-400, 16	80 (321-400)	17	21.25%
April 1887	7	Alfred Lord Tennyson, "Carmen Seculare. An Ode in Honour of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria," poem, 401-406, 6 Hardy, <i>The Woodlanders</i> , 407-28, 22 Christian Chubb, "Het; a Romance of the Bush," 463-69, 7	80 (401-80)	80	43.75%

up of individual parts that [more closely] resembled short stories” (118) than the serial installments of the mid-nineteenth century. The line between short story and serial installment blurred without this signal phrase.

The growing preference for short fiction was just one challenge family literary magazines faced during the *fin-de-siècle*. At the end of the nineteenth century, the deterioration of the three volume novel market, a buttress of lengthy magazine serials, competition from weekly, illustrated miscellanies, and cheaper monthly magazines more carefully niche marketed all worked to reshape the family literary magazine and the domestic serial within its pages. *Macmillan's* is a good example of a family literary magazine in decline. Developed in the late 1850s during Alexander Macmillan's so-called “tobacco parliaments,” weekly informal gatherings held at the Macmillan & Co.'s London offices,<sup>22</sup> it was a decided advocate for political reform without supporting militant positions on enfranchisement or the Condition of England question. Regularly attended by Thomas Hughes, David Masson, Herbert Spencer, and J.M. Ludlow, the “tobacco parliaments” frequently focused on the plight of the working classes.<sup>23</sup> Influenced by the work of Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice and the Christian Socialist movement, the men of the Henrietta Street meetings all embraced the cause of the working classes.<sup>24</sup> Thomas Hughes, who was

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<sup>22</sup> The firm's headquarters were in Cambridge from 1843-1863, but Alexander Macmillan opened London offices at 23 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden in 1858, the year after Daniel Macmillan's—his brother and business partner—death from tuberculosis. Macmillan moved the headquarters to London in 1863, but for five years, he would travel down to London on Thursdays to tend the firm's London interests and for these weekly informal round-table gatherings.

<sup>23</sup> Ludlow, Hughes, Masson, Macmillan, and George Grove (the second editor of *Macmillan's*) all belonged to the Council of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, and Hughes and Ludlow wrote and edited various Christian Socialist publications throughout the 1850s. See George J. Worth, *Macmillan's Magazine, 1859-1907, 'No Flippancy or Abuse Allowed'* 9-14.

<sup>24</sup> The Christian Socialist movement addressed the social inequalities between the upper classes and the underprivileged through a program of gradual reform and mutual cooperation rather open antagonism between the classes. For more details on the founding of *Macmillan's*, see Worth 9-14.

critically involved in shaping the magazine in its early days, wanted “Everyone to sign his own name and no flippancy or abuse allowed” (qtd. in Worth). In other words, the magazine was designed to spark thoughtful conversation and debate without offending readers.

The cover image for the magazine reinforces *Macmillan's* character as a gathering of intellectuals. Designed by William James Linton, the cover depicts includes four small inset pictures of in the middle of each of the four sides. These illustrations of King Alfred, William Shakespeare, John Milton, and Geoffrey Chaucer serve to align the magazine with England's literary past.<sup>25</sup> According to Spencer Eddy, *Macmillan's* cover, “with its ruled frame and cramped medallion pantheon of literary greats, [...] conveys a sense of stricture, rigidity, and priggishness” (18-19). I think Eddy is projecting too much of the magazine's supposed prudish character on to the cover. Nevertheless, the Pre-Raphaelite border with its different flowers in each corner and the images of past literary “greats” does not strike the same joyous mood as the *Cornhill* cover. The gathering together of Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Milton under the image of King Alfred suggests that *Macmillan's Magazine* will be a space for English literary masterpieces.

Despite the liberal tone of the magazine and its wide range of contributors, *Macmillan's* actually had a reputation for being “prudish,” in part because Algernon Charles Swinburne and Macmillan disagreed about the nature of poetry. While this charge was inaccurate during *Macmillan's* early days, it is an apt description of the magazine under the direction of its last editor, Mowbray Morris. By the 1880s, *Macmillan's* had become more conservative, shifting its focus from social reform to comfortably reflecting the middle-class

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<sup>25</sup> Eliza Lynn Linton was William James Linton's second wife. According to Worth, Linton did other work of the publishing company, including illustration Thomas Hughes's *The Scouring of the White Horse* and engraved Dante Gabriel Rossetti's cover design for Christian Rossetti's *Goblin Market*. See Worth 96, n. 99.

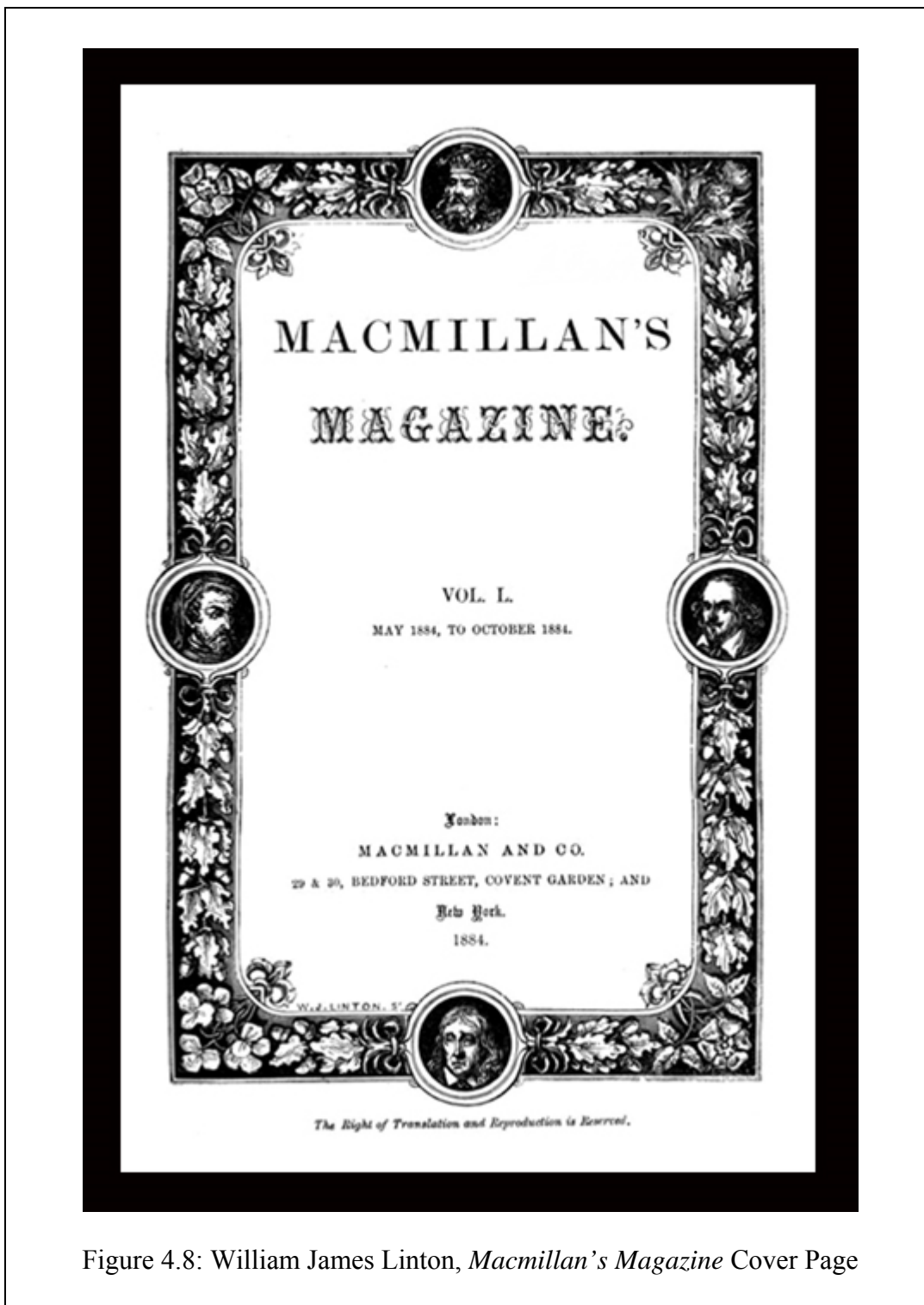


Figure 4.8: William James Linton, *Macmillan's Magazine* Cover Page

values of its reading public and its more conservative contributors. Altogether mellow and more conscious of the influence of the middle-class home, *Macmillan's* in the 1880s strove to maintain a balance of opinion, an unsuccessful move designed to keep the magazine competitive in the rapidly changing periodical market of the late nineteenth century.

Morris's emphasis on reviews, social essays, literary history, and literature over political topics also contributes to the view of the magazine as being more cautious if not more conservative. Goldwin Smith's "Election Notes" (August 1886), a scathing, pro-Union diatribe on the defeat of the First Home Rule Bill, and A. H. Paterson's "Lynch Law" (March 1887), which explicitly details the lynching of two men acquitted of murder in New Mexico, were atypical of the magazine under Morris. More common were essays such as James McAlister's "The Philosophy of Dancing" (November 1886). In this essay, McAlister examines ancient dancing, waltzing, ballet and other kinds of dancing on the stage, and calisthenics, all in the search of ideal dancing. This still intellectual but less political fare is decidedly different from the sweeping arguments made in *Macmillan's* early days.

By his own admission, Morris saw himself as being "too old fashioned" (qtd. in Worth). Morris cautioned Thomas Hardy during the serialization of *The Woodlanders* to be careful with how he portrayed the affair between Suke Damson and Fitzpiers.<sup>26</sup> He wrote to Hardy on 19 September 1886 about Suke and Fitzpiers, telling him

I am not afraid (as you may imagine) for my own morals: but we have, I fancy, rather a queer public: pious Scottish souls who take offence wondrous easily...Of course, it is very annoying to have to reckon for such asses [sic]: still, I can't help it: an editor must be commercial as well as literary; and the

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<sup>26</sup> Morris probably decided the installment breaks, but this may have been due to space issues rather than any artistic differences. The other substantial change Morris and Frederick Macmillan made was to choose the title *The Woodlanders* over *Fitzpiers at Hintock*, but Hardy offered the choice of titles.

magazine has scarcely so abundant a sale that I can afford to disregard any section of its readers. (qtd. in Worth 158)<sup>27</sup>

Hardy's manuscript copy of *The Woodlanders* indicates that he was keenly aware of the potential outcry from *Macmillan's* "queer public" or of his editor's old fashioned nature or both. Visible in the margin of the manuscript copy is Hardy's note that the last sentence of chapter twenty should be omitted from the serial.<sup>28</sup> This sentence clearly implies that Suke Damson and Fitzpiers have a sexual relationship: "It was daybreak before Fitzpiers and Suke Samson re-entered Little Hintock" (Ingham 150). Nor is this passage the only place where Hardy mutes Fitzpiers's sexuality proclivities. The confrontation between Grace and Felice Charmond purposely masks the sexual nature of Felice and Fitzpiers's liaison, a fact that all editions after the 1896 volume version of *The Woodlanders* make clear when Grace, in response to Felice's whispered communication, exclaims "He's had you!" (Kramer 184).<sup>29</sup>

Given the more conservative nature of the magazine's contributors, the lessening of its political voice, and Morris's prudery about sex and other matters in the magazine's domestic serials, it is not surprising that *Macmillan's* became less and less viable for the Macmillans publishing house at the end of the nineteenth century. Even though Morris attracted the work of key writers, such as Walter Pater and Rudyard Kipling, to the magazine, he could not make the magazine competitive. *Macmillan's* ceased publishing in 1907.

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<sup>27</sup> Morris's reference to "pious Scottish" souls is probably in regards to Alexander Macmillan, who was both Scottish and devout, more than the general audience for the magazine.

<sup>28</sup> For the publication history of *The Woodlanders* in *Macmillan's* see Worth 157-60, Pite 289-90, Millgate 249-58; Kramer, "Note on the Text" xxiv-xxxi, and Ingham, "A Note on the History of the Text" xxxvii-xlii.

<sup>29</sup> Mary Ellen Chase in her 1927 study *Thomas Hardy from Serial to Novel* on textual variants between Hardy's serials and volume versions actually excludes *The Woodlanders* on the basis that the sexual nature of Felice's and Fitzpiers's relationship is "handled so conventionally that they could not offend any magazine editor or reader. As to other alterations from serial to book, they are so few as to be negligible" (7).

While I have highlighted *Macmillan's* decline, it was hardly the only family literary magazine facing these problems. For example, the *Cornhill's* circulation numbers had dwindled since the 1870s. By the 1890s, the circulation was under 20,000 per issue, down 90,000 from its initial circulation of 110,000. In an attempt to revive its flagging circulation numbers, then editor James Payn (January 1883 – June 1896), made several changes to the magazine's house style, including using a larger print, reducing the price to sixpence, and giving "the public fewer essays and more short stories, with plenty of illustrations" (Glynn 148). Financial constraints forced the *Cornhill* to abandon illustrations altogether in 1886. The *Cornhill* continued publishing until 1975, unlike *Longman's* and *Temple Bar*, both of which ceased publishing in the early twentieth century.

It would be easy to view the decline of the family literary magazine as the death knell of the domestic serial. Law argues that monthly family literary magazines became less popular as early as the 1870s because of the growing preference for illustrated, weekly magazines with shorter fiction, although I think he overstates the case given that most of these magazines continued publishing well past the 1870s. The decline of the family literary magazine by the 1890s, however, is undeniable. I find the supposed failure of the domestic serial to be less certain.

In Chapter Five, I examine Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* in order to illuminate how family literary magazines and the writers of serials responded to the changes in the marketplace. I argue that the waning of the family literary magazine and the growing preference for short serials did not herald the end of the domestic serial; rather, these changes were part of the necessary evolution of the serial form. Just as the emergence of the monthly, shilling family literary magazine in the 1860s "did

much to eclipse the weighty quarterlies that were increasingly offbeat in the new rhythms of modernity” (Turner, “Periodical Time” 192), so too did the turn to shorter serial installments, serials in single installments, and short stories realign the family literary magazine with the media rhythms of the late nineteenth century. The experiment in single installment serials made by *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine* was one way of trying to restructure the family literary magazine and the domestic serial with these media rhythms. While this experiment did not substantively extend the life of the magazine—*Lippincott’s* was folded into *McBride’s* in 1916—it did mark a break with previous serial forms that suggests the serial is a more adaptive form than it usually given credit for.



*Chapter Five*

*Aesthetic Domesticity: Serial Frames, Male Identity, and the House Beautiful in Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray in Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*

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The serial is a form not unique to television or the cinema. But history, as someone once remarked, is written by the conquerors, and in the history of narrative, the serial has been (with television a notable exception) a consistent loser.

~ Roger Hagedorn

From the corner of the divan of Persian saddle-bags on which he was lying, smoking, as usual, innumerable cigarettes, Lord Henry Wotton could just catch the gleam of the honey-sweet and honey-colored blossoms of the laburnum, whose tremulous branches seemed hardly able to bear the burden of a beauty so flame like as theirs; and now and then the fantastic shadows of birds in flight flitted across the long tussore-silk curtains that were stretched in front of the huge window, producing a kind of momentary Japanese effect.

~ Oscar Wilde<sup>1</sup>

Monthly, urban, middle-class family literary magazines were at a crossroads in the 1890s. As I have argued throughout this study, domestic serials echoed the dominant linear narrative of middle-class life, reflecting back to its middle-class family audience a realistic depiction of that life and the home. Linda Hughes and Michael Lund provocatively suggest in *The Victorian Serial* that there is an “alignment of domestic and serial sensibilities,” since members of the late nineteenth century urban middle classes thought of life as a “gradually occurring and non-reversible sequence of events” (17, 18). By the 1890s, however, the dominance of this narrative was being challenged. The agricultural depression of the 1870s, shifting urban demographics, the rise in real wages for the working-classes, the 1884 Reform Bill and other political challenges to middle and upper-class dominance, and the strains of the empire all contributed to a general sense of anxiety that pervaded periodical culture.

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<sup>1</sup> From Roger Hagedorn, “Technology and Economic Exploitation: The Serial as a Form of Narrative Presentation,” *Wide Angle* 10:4 (1988) 5, and Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 3. All references to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* are from the July 1890 *Lippincott’s* version.

Compounding this anxiety was the faster pace of the daily and weekly news, which brought sensational stories of crime and scandal into the middle-class home.

The increasing pace of the daily and weekly papers generated a preference for shorter forms of fiction. Short serials, short stories, and single-installments of short novellas all became popular and challenged the publication practices of the family literary magazine, which had long been aligned with a slower, monthly rhythm. Such writers as Thomas Hardy, Walter Besant, Eliza Lynn Linton, and George Moore all advocated for a domestic fiction that realistically portrayed the struggles of the individual with society. This realistic depiction of daily life needed to be able to address sex and love outside of marriage in a rational manner. Proponents of aestheticism, like Oscar Wilde, maintained that art needed to be “rich, vital, and complete” (“Art and Morality” 279). For Wilde, art is created for personal pleasure, not for moral or ethical purposes; thus, texts should not be invested in representing daily life at all. As writers began to reject the professionalized, but still moral middle-class domestic ideology that informed the family literary magazine and as aesthetic serials became more popular, domestic serials and family literary magazines underwent fundamental changes.

*Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* was at the forefront of addressing the challenges facing the family literary magazine and the domestic serial. A transatlantic periodical, *Lippincott's* was based in Philadelphia, but it was also published in England by Ward, Lock, and Company, “with wrappers, advertisements, and features of interest to British readers supplied in London” (Lawler 13).<sup>2</sup> In 1886, managing editor Joseph Marshall Stoddart

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<sup>2</sup> *Lippincott's* was not the only magazine to employ a different publishing company to put out the magazine in the British market and vice versa. For example, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was reprinted by Leonard Scott & Company from “1850s until 1891, when Blackwood's took advantage of the Chase Act to begin producing its own American edition in conjunction with Leonard Scott” (Finkelstein 46).

initiated the policy of publishing a complete, short serial per issue. This change in house style developed out of perceived reader needs and a progressive eye to changes in the marketplace and in the serial itself. Stoddart's policy attracted the work of Amélie Rives, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, and Oscar Wilde, giving *Lippincott's* a reputation for publishing quality, if sometimes avant-garde and sensational, fiction. Because this publication format favored more sensational kinds of fiction, it circulated texts that more overtly challenged and rejected middle-class domesticity into the middle-class home. Rives's *The Quick and the Dead* (April 1888) caused a stir because of its depiction of a widow falling in love, with "Many critics denounc[ing] her tempestuous romance as overstepping the bounds of good taste" (Becket par. 9). *Lippincott's* gambled on the idea that the sensation caused by these texts would be brief and profitable since they would only be in the magazine for one installment.

At first glance, Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's* is a good fit. The text's length, controversial subject matter, and Wilde's popular name all make it the kind of text that *Lippincott's* would commission and publish. Nevertheless, *Lippincott's* change in format did not fundamentally change the ideological structures of the family literary magazine. It was still designed to appeal to the respectable, middle-class home. Consequently, Wilde's focus on an all male environment and the depiction of homoerotic desire coupled with his parodying of the conventions of the domestic serial and of middle-class domesticity make the single installment of *Dorian Gray* ill-suited for a magazine specifically aligned with providing entertainment for the whole family. The negative and often venomous criticism of the magazine version of *Dorian Gray* on the grounds that the text is immoral and inappropriate for family readers bears this out. In the

end, Wilde's serial is a failure, since a serial, even one in a single installment, was meant to be part of the magazine's appeal, not to alienate readers and reviewers.

Although I consider Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian* a failed serial experiment, I have elected to use it as a case study because I think it emphasizes the complex interconnection of middle-class domesticity, the family literary magazine, and domestic serials. In calling *Dorian Gray* a failed serial experiment, I am not suggesting that we overlook its publication in a family literary magazine; rather, I am arguing that we should explore how Wilde tests the limits of the serial form. Examining *Dorian Gray* as one element of the whole July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's* provides a reassessment of the intersection of seriality and domesticity in the 1890s. While each text that *Lippincott's* published in a single installment is not, in and of itself, a serial—i.e. not published in parts over a lengthy period of time—the whole publication concept does function as a serial, adhering to many serial conventions.<sup>3</sup> Readers would expect to find a complete text in every monthly issue of the magazine, creating the same kind of repetitive reading patterns that serialization of a long narrative produces. For example, a reader who liked Doyle's *The Sign of Four* might expect *The Picture of Dorian Gray* to be in a similar vein, and indeed, there are similarities of setting and action between the two serials. Nevertheless, *The Sign of Four* ultimately reifies middle-class domesticity—Watson gets married in the end—while *The Picture of Dorian* subverts and parodies that domesticity.

Wilde constructs his serial to be an aesthetic serial, not a domestic one. Talia Schaffer argues that *Dorian Gray* is an aesthetic text, one that conscientiously works against conventional domestic fiction. In Schaffer's estimation, aesthetic fiction employs

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<sup>3</sup> *Lippincott's* practice is not dissimilar to the one employed by PBS's *Masterpiece Theater*. Viewers know that *Masterpiece Theater* will provide a certain type of programming for roughly two hours on Sunday nights, even if the actual program is different from week to week.

epigrammatic language. It is set in locales removed from middle-class daily life, such as “an aristocratic establishment composed of rare and priceless artifacts” (Schaffer, “The Origins of the Aesthetic Novel” 212). Wilde’s aesthetic serial parodies the conventions of the domestic serial. In detailing Dorian’s movement from young adult to his setting up of his domestic life and his eventual decline and demise, Wilde ostensibly follows the linear narrative structure of domestic fiction. Just like a domestic serial, Wilde focuses on the materiality of the home and the people who inhabit that home. As an aesthetic serial, however, the text presents a particular kind of everyday life, one at odds with middle-class domestic ideology and the kinds of domestic serials typical of family literary magazines.

Wilde takes the idea of art for art’s sake and extends it to the home; the home is beautiful for its own sake, not made so by the morality of the people who inhabit it. Indeed, these new aesthetic interiors seemingly admit violent crime and sexual degeneration into the well-appointed, respectable home. The dandy-aesthetes that populate this home reject the ethos of work and respectability that defined middle-class masculinity. Dorian never enters, finds, or even contemplates a profession, never marries, never has children, and never establishes a proper middle-class home; rather, he lives a life of extravagance and luxury, eschewing everything that the middle-classes valued. In the end, only the painting that reflects Dorian’s sins, degradations, and age is a true domestic serial. For Wilde, domestic serials are ultimately too truthful. The aesthetic serial is the only method that is capable of representing beauty.

Key to Wilde’s aesthetic experiment is the publication of *Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott’s*. Wilde argues in “The Decay of Lying” that “As a method realism is a complete failure” (44). In order to prove that domestic fiction is an artistic failure, Wilde must

appropriate the dominant vehicle for the form, the family literary magazine. I contend that Wilde purposely positions his aesthetic serial within the pages of a family literary magazine because it allows him to subvert the urban middle-class domesticity that informed so many of the family literary magazine's publication practices. By publishing *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott's*, Wilde essentially frames his aesthetic serial within the textual milieu of middle-class domestic ideology. Victoria Rosner in *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life* argues that frames are crucial to how a work of art is received and that "For the aesthetes, the picture frame was an exemplary decorative object" (21-22). The effect of such framing is to give Wilde's text the sheen of respectability. Given Wilde's penchant for presenting a "confusing mixture of conformity and insubordination" (Bristow, *Effeminate England* 22), it seems appropriate that Wilde would place a text that overtly challenges many of the conventions of domestic ideology within the framework of a text accepted by the bourgeois family.

Joseph Bristow argues that "any analysis of his writings needs to bear in mind this contradictory pattern of his readiness to exploit and antagonize English cultural conventions" (*Effeminate England* 25). Just as Margaret Oliphant constructed a hybrid Scottish and English identity that embodied the ideal domestic masculinity in *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, so too does Wilde assemble a hybrid identity for his dandy-aesthetes from a variety of masculine models (the dandy, the aesthete, the polite gentleman), national models (Irish and English), and class models (upper class and lower class in opposition to the middle-classes). In this regard, *Lippincott's* single installment format is actually the perfect serial format for Wilde. It allows him to parody the domestic serial and the various models that made up the ideal home and enter into the middle-class discourse of the family literary

magazine while still adhering to the tenets of aestheticism which valued experience a whole work of art.

Most current scholarship on *The Picture of Dorian Gray* ignores or glosses over its publication in *Lippincott's*. Richard Ellman, in the midst of praising *Dorian Gray*, cursorily acknowledges its publication in a magazine, but does little more: "The publication of *Dorian Gray*, though it had taken place only in a magazine, brought Wilde all the attention he could desire" (320). Donald Lawler's 1988 study, *An Inquiry into Oscar Wilde's Revisions of The Picture of Dorian Gray*, is one of the first scholarly works to look at the critical differences between the *Lippincott's* version and the 1891 volume. Lawler sees merit in both texts, arguing that "the revised version of 1891 is more subtle, complex, and artistic, while the *Lippincott's* version has its own character and integrity" ("A Note on the Text" xxii). The Norton Critical Edition from 1988 prints both texts as does Joseph Bristow's recent edition for Oxford University Press. Nevertheless, even Lawler emphasizes "the primacy of the revised edition of the novel as the more complete and more mature expression of the author's intentions for the novel. Because the revised version represents Wilde's final intentions, it has become the primary reading text" ("A Note on the Text" x).

I suggest, however, that treating the publication of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in a family literary magazine merely as a detail of the text's print history and concentrating primarily on the 1891 volume as the authoritative text elides what I view as the evolved serial nature of the *Lippincott's* version. As Mark Turner claims in his study *Trollope and the Magazines: Gendered Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain*, it is crucial when studying family literary magazines and serials that we consider what "ways we might read the fiction both as an integral part of the magazines and as only one element of the single narrative issue

rubbing up against all of the other contributions” (7). Looking at *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as part of the *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine* and as a component of the larger periodical culture resituates the text within its original print milieu, allowing us to explore how this single installment narrative functions as part of the magazine.



*Cultural Anxieties and Aestheticism in Fin-de-siècle Print Culture*

*The Picture of Dorian Gray* begins not with the eponymous painting in the title of the work; rather, it opens with an opulent description of Basil Hallward’s home and studio:

From the corner of the divan of Persian saddle-bags on which he was lying, smoking, as usual, innumerable cigarettes, Lord Henry Wotton could just catch the gleam of the honey-sweet and honey-colored blossoms of the laburnum, whose tremulous branches seemed hardly able to bear the burden of a beauty so flame like as theirs; and now and then the fantastic shadows of birds in flight flitted across the long tussore-silk curtains that were stretched in front of the huge window, producing a kind of momentary Japanese effect. (3)

Filled with foreign or foreign-feigning objects, Basil’s home represents one of the many male aesthetic interiors Wilde depicts in his text. Astute readers, familiar with the codes of Aestheticism from the work of Charles Eastlake, Mary Eliza Haweis, home décor manuals, and the parodies of the dandy-aesthetes in W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan’s *Patience* and the pages of *Punch* would have recognized the many aesthetic objects in Basil’s studio, from the silk curtains to the Japanese effects. These items are also Orientalist, representing the far-flung reach of the British empire. Gathering these items together in the house beautiful allowed Wilde to recast the home as hybrid place that housed multiple and contradictory identities. Lord Henry’s study is equally aesthetic and Orientalist in its design with “its high panelled wainscoting of olive-stained oak, its cream-colored frieze and ceiling of raised plaster-work, and its brick-dust felt carpet strewn with long-fringed silk Persian rugs [...] Some large blue china jars, filled with parrot-tulips, were ranged on the mantel-shelf” (22).



While the dark, subdued colors here immediately imply an aesthetic interior, it is the blue china jars that would have signaled to most readers an aesthetic room. The late nineteenth century saw a positive craze for blue china.<sup>4</sup> Wilde, himself, was known for his blue china collection as student at Oxford.

Dorian's home, with its elaborate collections and carefully planned interiors, is a primer on late nineteenth century interior decoration. One of the lectures Wilde gave on his successful American tour in 1882 was on the house beautiful, which espoused aesthetic design. In this lecture he advocated that ceilings "be broken up in texture" and that beautiful homes should use Japanese effects (qtd. in Blanchard 39).<sup>5</sup> Dorian's home is replete with aesthetic objects and rooms designed in the aesthetic style advocated by Wilde. For instance, Dorian gives concerts in "a long latticed room, with a vermillion-and-gold ceiling and walls of olive-green lacquer" (69). Wilde's homes are perfect aesthetic spaces in every detail, from the perfumed air to the Japanese effects so popular in the late nineteenth century.

The followers of aestheticism, like Wilde and the dandy-aesthetes in *Dorian Gray*, may have celebrated the decorative arts, fashion, and other "domestic minutiae" (Schaffer and Psomiades 1) that began to populate the middle-class home, but those same followers were not always a welcome presence in the middle-class drawing room. Even the term aesthetic was problematic. According to Charlotte Gere, "retail catalogues [and] publications

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<sup>4</sup> In *The Art of the House*, Rosamund Marriott Watson devotes a whole chapter to blue china. She avers that blue china is "never incongruous, never inopportune, admirable alike in the mass and the isolated instance, it is one of those good things of which it were impossible to have too much" (Watson 103).

<sup>5</sup> It was Wilde who commissioned E.W. Godwin to decorate his and Constance's house at 16 (now 33) Tite Street, a modern, red brick terrace house. And it was Wilde who chose the color schemes and the decorative elements, which included "peacock feathers imbedded in the [ceiling] plaster" and "a frieze of prints and drawings by Whistler, Menpes and Burne-Jones—and later Beardsley" (Gere 101). Although Wilde's initial designs for the Tite Street house were ambitious, his chronic financial problems prevented him from realizing many of his schemes. As his family life "began to pall," Wilde spent less time at home, and the house assumed a less artistic, more ordinary appearance (Gere 102).

on decoration” (110) renamed aesthetic objects “artistic” as a way of making them more palatable for the middle-class consumer. Fashionable middle-class families decorated their homes with William Morris wallpapers, Liberty fabrics,<sup>6</sup> blue glass, and other objects made popular by the Arts and Crafts movement and aestheticism while simultaneously rejecting the art for art’s sake ethos of the dandy-aesthete.

In her survey of scholarship on aestheticism and Wilde, Allison Pease argues that English aestheticism functioned on two levels. As an ideological construct, English aestheticism was a reaction to urban middle-class domesticity. Pease claims that “Aestheticism is the concern with developing a heightened awareness and responsiveness to life and art” in the face of industrialization, middle-class professionalism, “middle-class conformity,” “democratic leveling, athleticism, sexual mores, and oppressive moralism” (98). Proponents of aestheticism, such as Wilde and Walter Pater, advocated an individualized, sensual, and yet material experience of art. This construction of art went beyond using aesthetics or discourse on the beautiful as a means of inculcating a cultured sensibility in the rising middle-classes. It reinserts art and taste into an elite construction that excludes the middle-classes. The idea of art for art’s sake implies a constant rejection of what becomes normative. For the aesthetes, the domestic interior was not only a form of personal expression but also a means of fighting against “stifling bourgeois complacency” (Gere 40). Good taste became the purview, not of the upper-classes, but of an elite artistic group who could appreciate the true beauty of medieval furniture and blue glass.

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<sup>6</sup> Liberty fabrics take their name from the department store which sold them. Liberty and Co. was begun by Sir Arthur Lasenby Liberty in 1875. The company and department store exists today, and it is housed in a Tudor revival Arts and Crafts building on Great Marlborough Street, London. Liberty fabrics are also available through specialty retailers.

As a movement in popular culture, however, aestheticism manifested itself as “the idea of making conscious, individual consumer choices in homage to the beautiful” (Pease 98).<sup>7</sup> In other words, the objects lauded by the aesthetes as reflecting this individualized sensibility could be purchased and displayed in the middle-class home. The periodical press and the fiction of the period provided middle-class readers with numerous examples of what an aesthetic lifestyle looked like. Schaffer avers that “it sometimes seems that characters wear sage-green velvet, show fastidious tastes, play violin, express a preference for medieval furniture, or exchange bon mots in almost all the novels of the *fin de siècle*” (*The Forgotten Female Aesthetes* 2). For instance, one of the key characteristics of aesthetic interior design is to transform the home into an appropriate space to display collections of rare artifacts. In *Dorian Gray*, Dorian collects a variety of objects: “strange instruments, including the *juruparis* of the Rio Negro Indians, that women are not allowed to look at” (69); rare, expensive jewels; embroideries; tapestries; rare ecclesiastical vestments; and five first edition copies of the yellow book given to him by Lord Henry, all “bound in different colors, so that they might suit his various moods” (65).<sup>8</sup> Collecting blue glass, buying William Morris wallpaper, and painting rooms in a particular, rich hued palette of colors allowed middle-class families to embrace the idea of beautiful living without actually following all the tenets of Aestheticism, many of which were in conflict with middle-class domesticity.

Writers on the home recognized the troubled fusion of Aestheticism, aesthetic commodities, and middle-class domesticity. In *The Art of Decoration* (1881), Mary Eliza

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<sup>7</sup> The commodification of Aestheticism is similar to the commodification of environmentalism in the twenty-first century. Buying green has become a marketing scheme as well as an ethical consumer choice.

<sup>8</sup> Most scholars think this book was Joris-Karl Huysmans’ *A Rebours* (1884) or Walter Pater’s *Marius the Epicurean* (1885). According to Ellmann, Wilde probably read *A Rebours* on his honeymoon or shortly thereafter. Talia Schaffer suggests that the “poisonous book” could also be an allusion to Ouida’s *Princess Napraxine* or its sequel *Othmar*, both of which follow a similar plot structure to the one Wilde outlines in *Dorian Gray*.

Haweis lauds the turn to a more aesthetic palette of colors interior decoration and the revival of medieval design in furniture, while also decrying “the present aesthetic craze” (26). She argues that the turn to aestheticism is only valuable in so far as it does not become a commodity. For Haweis, the home should represent individual taste (a taste thoroughly informed by her advice) not the taste of the marketplace. Harry Quilter makes a more vehement and pointed case against Aestheticism and aesthetic styles, averring in “The New Renaissance; or, The Gospel of Intensity,” published in the September 1880 issue of *Macmillan’s Magazine*, that the aesthetic movement embodies “the lowest theory of art-utility, and the most morbid and sickly art-results. And as might be expected, the evil is spreading into private life; it has attacked with considerable success the decoration of our houses” (392). Quilter’s opinion about the so-called vile spread of aestheticism into interior design did not prevent middle-class families from adopting the designs into their own homes.

Aestheticism was not the only challenge to middle-class domestic ideology in the late nineteenth century. The New Woman tested traditional conceptions of femininity. Aristocratic divorce cases such as the 1888 Crawford v. Crawford case, which detailed the seducing of Virginia Crawford by Radical MP Sir Charles Dilke, titillated middle-class readers while also undermining the traditional conception of marriage. The newspaper coverage of the five gruesome Jack the Ripper murders in the fall of 1888 and “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon,” W. T. Stead’s 1885 four part series for the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the traffic in young girls in London, brought the seedy, sexual underworld of London into middle-class homes. The Cleveland Street scandal, a male brothel uncovered by police at a quiet house owned by Charles Hammond in the upper-class neighborhood of Fitzroy Square, London, heightened anxieties about male sexuality. The press ardently covered the four

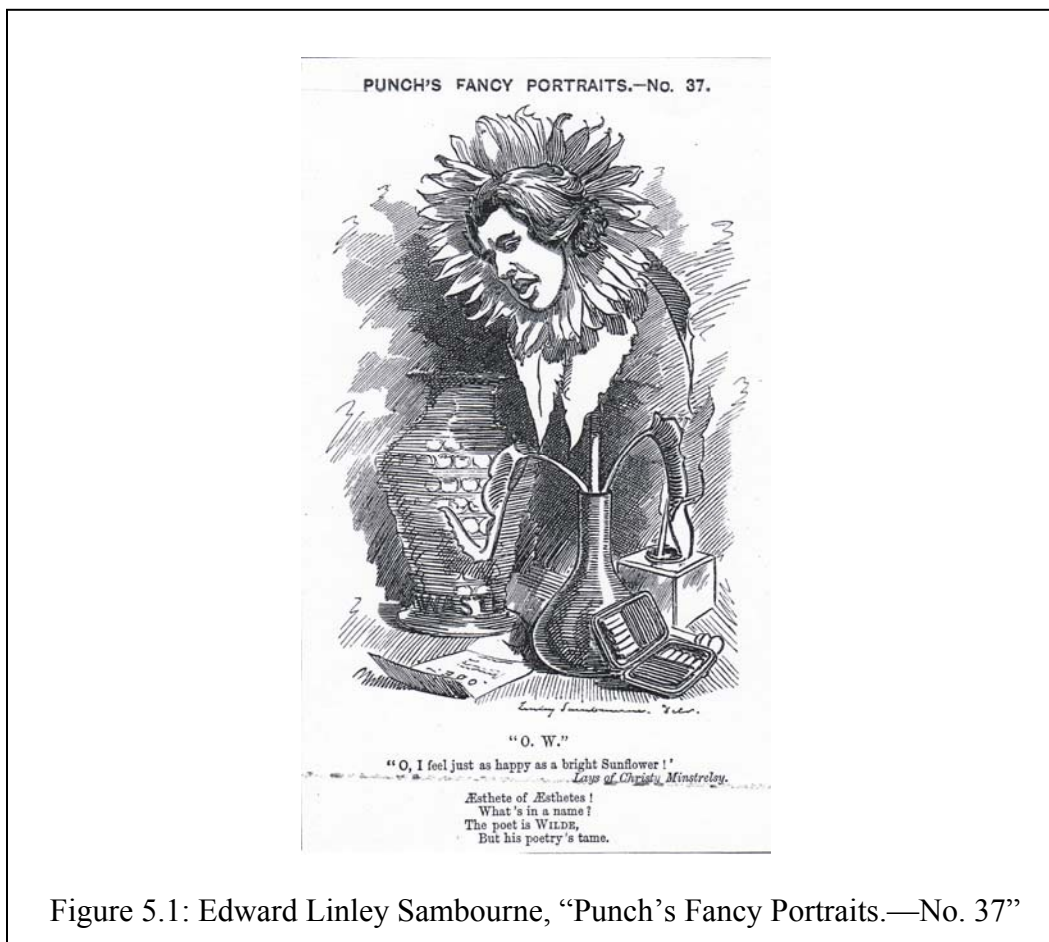
trials resulting from the raid on the brothel in Cleveland Street.<sup>9</sup> Laurel Brake suggests that “the issue of homosexuality raised by the Cleveland Street affair was completely displaced in representations in the press and Parliament” (138). Nevertheless, the press only concealed the exact nature of the brothel, not the upper-class men whose names came to light during the investigation. Disturbingly for the members of the middle-classes reading the newspaper accounts, this brothel hid itself behind the respectable façade of the middle-class home, meaning that the home was no longer a bulwark against depravities, if it ever was.

The dandy-aesthetes, with their taste for china, flowers, and domestic interiors, were a visible target for the cultural anxieties of the middle-classes. Gilbert and Sullivan’s comic opera *Patience*, which opened on 23 April 1881, and Frances Cowley Burnand’s *The Colonel*, which opened two months earlier, both employed popular aesthetic decorative styles, including William Morris wallpaper, blue and white china, lilies, and Japanese items, as part of their satiric commentary on the dandy-aesthete. The commentary on the dandy-aesthetes and aestheticism in the pages of *Punch* suggests that the dandy-aesthete destabilized the middle-class home even while those homes embraced aesthetic elements. Dennis Denisoff claim that “parodists of aestheticism and dandy-aesthetes did not, as is often assumed, try in some clumsy, hostile fashion to eradicate their subject. Rather, in many instances, they attempted to modify or revamp the subject while acknowledging its beneficial contributions to contemporary culture” (3). The parodies of aestheticism and the dandy aesthete derided and circulated those codes in periodical culture.

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<sup>9</sup> On 4 July 1884, police raided a male brothel at 19 Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square in London. The brothel came to police attention after a “fifteen-year-old messenger boy called Charles Swinscow’ was noticed to have an unusual amount of spending money” (Dellamora 206). His employers originally thought that Swinscow was stealing from the Post Office, but after the police questioned him, they discovered that he was working as a male prostitute at the Cleveland Street house. Several prominent members of the upper-classes were named in the scandal, including Lord Arthur Somerset, who eventually had to flee the country after a warrant for his arrest was issued on 12 November 1889. The four trials occurred on 11 September 1889, 23 December 1889, 15 January 1890, and 16 May 1890.

Edward Linley Sambourne and George Du Maurier, among other artists, produced several series of cartoons lampooning the dandy-aesthetes and Wilde in particular. In “Punch’s Fancy Portraits.—No. 37,” published on 25 June 1881, Sambourne depicts Wilde as a disembodied sunflower in a large vase surrounded by an inkwell, a cigarette case, and an urn. Although one of a series of caricatures that Sambourne did of popular people in the media—he also caricatured W.S. Gilbert among others—this specific sketch also unfavorably reviewed Wilde’s new volume of poems:



A caricature of Wilde’s head occupies the center of the image, serving as the center of the sunflower. This particular flower was favored by followers of the aesthetic movement. The expression on Wilde’s face is languid and vacuous; his longish, wavy hair blends easily with

the sunflower's petals. The angle of his head suggests Wilde's habitual slumping posture. Lying open next to the vase is an open cigarette case, the preeminent aesthetic personal object. Set back in the far left of the cartoon is an urn with the word "Waste" inscribed at the bottom; the word and image are in reference to Wilde's just published volume of poems. The caption below mocks the aesthetes and Wilde's poetry: "Æsthete of Æsthetes!/ What's in a name?/ The poet is WILDE, / But his poetry's tame" ("Punch's Fancy Portraits.—No. 37). Superimposing Wilde onto the sunflower echoes the last lines of this poem. In a certain sense, the image implies the literary lion—the sunflower petals resemble a mane—that Wilde sees himself as. Yet, the lion is in essence tamed into an aesthetic wild-flower.

*Punch's* satirization of aestheticism and the dandy-aesthete was relatively good natured compared to the rancorous comments made by reviewers in response to the publication of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*. Wilde's aesthetic domestic serial became the focal point for many of the fears of the late nineteenth century. Charles Whibley's review of *Lippincott's* and Wilde in the *Scots Observer* taps into the cultural anxieties already circulating in late-nineteenth-century print culture. In "Reviews and Magazines" (5 July 1890) Whibley directly references the Cleveland Street scandal, averring the serial was only fit for "the Criminal Investigation Department or a hearing *in camera*" (181).<sup>10</sup> He goes on to argue that that the serial "is discreditable alike to author and

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<sup>10</sup> The "Reviews and Magazines" was a column that appeared irregularly, beginning in 1889. Although the article is unsigned, most scholars think that Henley's close associate Charles Whibley probably wrote the 5 July 1890 article. The article looked at family literary magazines, reviews like the *Fortnightly*, and art magazines. The title of the column varied—one week it was "March Reviews" and another it was "The Magazines"—and sometimes art magazines were separated from the other types of magazines. The column did not review every magazine issued in a month, although it did cover the more popular publications, including American magazines like *Scribner's*. Invariably following the same format, the column devoted roughly a paragraph to each magazine it reviewed. The column published at fairly regular intervals during the first three quarters of 1889, but it ceased to be a regular feature after the 2 November 1889 issue. In 1890, it only appeared twice, once in the 8 March issue and once in 5 July 1890 issue. The 5 July 1890 article reviewed *The Nineteenth Century*, *The Contemporary*, *The National Review*, *Lippincott's*, *Blackwood's*, *Macmillan's*, the

editor” and that the story is for “outlawed noblemen and perverted telegraph boys” (Whibley, “Reviews and Magazine” 181). In “Art and Morality” (19 July 1890), his response to Wilde’s first letter of rejoinder, Whibley aligns *Dorian Gray* with Jack-the-Ripper and Piers Gaveston, the presumed lover of Edward II. He argues that “Mr. Wilde has proved that he lacks the tact and restraint to give us an artistic representation of a hero who is half Jack-the-Ripper, half Gaveston” (Whibley, “Art and Morality” 227). Whibley’s reviews and Wilde’s letters in response sparked a heated conversation on art and morality in the *Scots Observer*’s letter column that lasted for three months.<sup>11</sup> The last letter, “The Long Arm of Coincidence,” appeared in the 6 September 1890 issue, and it accuses Wilde of borrowing the plot of *Dorian Gray* from J.K. Huysman’s *A Rebours*, Balzac’s *Massimilla Doni*, Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Prophetic Pictures*, and Ouida’s *Strathmore*.

Although the most vitriolic, the *Scots Observer* was by no means the only magazine to review harshly the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott’s* and Wilde’s aesthetic domestic serial. The *St. James’s Gazette* called it “so stupid and vulgar a piece of work” that it was surprised that any young man would want to publish his name to it (“A Study in Puppydom”). *Punch*, in a cruel parody drawn by E. T. Reed, portrays Wilde as Joe, the fat boy in Charles Dickens’ *Pickwick Papers*. The evocation of Mrs. Grundy allows Reed and *Punch* to parody the delicate and prudish sensibilities of “British Matron” evoked in Eliza Lynn Linton’s “Candour in English Fiction,” but the cartoon is primarily an attack on Wilde (14). Here Wilde is rotund and badly dressed in tight pants and a military jacket, trying to thrust his text

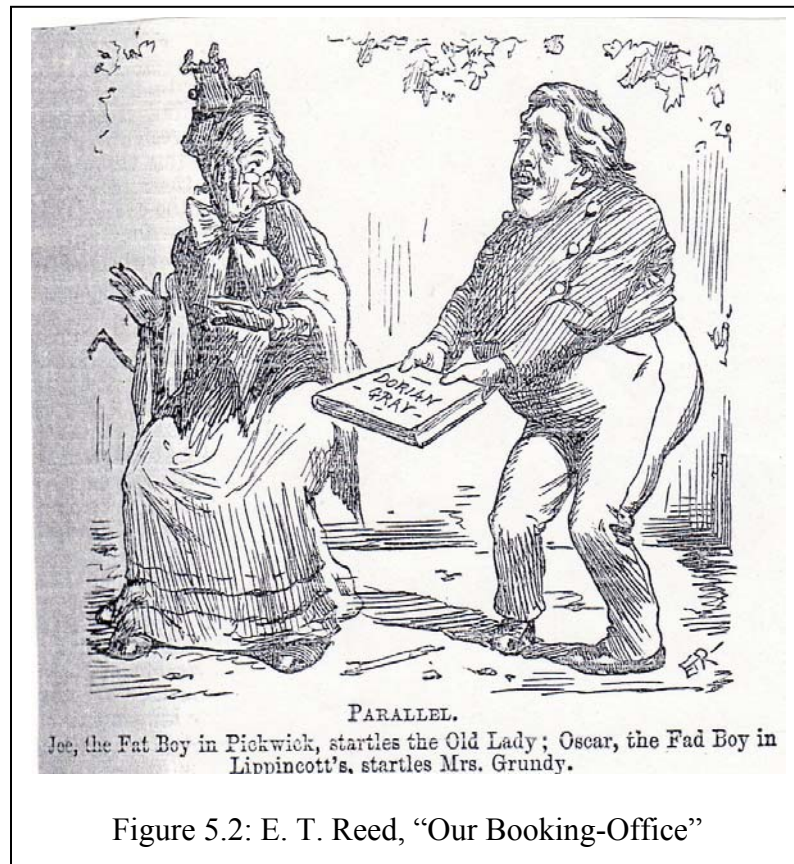
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*Cornhill*, *Murray’s*, and *Scribner*. As the article progresses, the reviews become shorter; most of the reviews are roughly five sentences. The longest review is for *Blackwood’s*, at eight sentences; *Scribner’s* is the shortest at one sentence.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix D for a chart of the letters to the editor on Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* and art and morality.



(a volume with *Dorian Gray* inscribed on it) on to Mrs. Grundy. Although the caption calls Oscar “the Fad Boy,” suggesting that Wilde is merely following a literary trend in crafting his aesthetic serial, the illustration clearly implies that Wilde himself is fat. This personal attack so upset Wilde that he refused to go on a day trip to Boulogne since Francis Cowley Burnand, the editor of *Punch*, was to be one of the party.



Although Wilde and Joseph Marshall Stoddart, the editor for *Lippincott's*, were both aware that the text challenged middle-class domestic ideology, particularly its problematic construction of masculinity, neither was full prepared for the vehemence of the press. Whibley makes a point of stating that “the story [...] is discreditable alike to *author and editor*” (emphasis added), implying that a more astute and family oriented editor would not have exposed family readers to such a “foul, fallen” and “unnatural” tale (“Reviews and

Magazines” 181). Wilde’s aesthetic domestic serial sparked so much controversy in part because middle-class readers were anxious about overt challenges to domesticity and in part because Wilde parodies the conventions of the domestic serial too closely. These dandy aesthetes in Wilde’s text build their own domestic spaces, excluding women and middle-class professional men from their homes. Appearing at a particularly anxious time for middle-class Victorians who were grappling with rapid social changes, Wilde’s serial was ill-suited to the family literary magazine, particularly for urban, middle-class readers already primed to find the mixture of aestheticism, the dandy-aesthete, and the domestic disturbing.



#### *Lippincott’s Serial Experiment*

As these anxieties about gender and domesticity circulated in *fin- de- siècle* print culture, family literary magazines and the domestic serials within them were also undergoing substantial transformations. Long engaged in stretching the boundaries of urban middle-class domesticity, family literary magazines and domestic serials did not always readily adapt to or accept the changes of the 1890s. In *Sexual Anarchy*, Elaine Showalter argues that for the Victorians of the 1890s, “there was a call to reaffirm the importance of the family as the bulwark against sexual decadence” (3), and family literary magazines played a part in reifying the boundaries of the middle-class home. As David Newsome claims, “The rejection of Victorian standards [in the 1890s] tended to be confined to the upper classes and the intellectuals” (55), making the bourgeois family literary magazine a good medium for critiquing this rejection of middle-class domesticity, but not necessarily the best place for a serial highlighting the daily lives of these upper-class intellectuals who spurn middle-class domestic ideology.

Thomas Hardy, Walter Besant, Eliza Lynn Linton, and George Moore, among others, declaimed against the hegemonic control of the family literary magazine and circulating library system. These writers felt that this system gave too much control to the “British Matron” and the “Young Reader,” especially when writers turned to exploring issues on family-life and marriage. Central to their complaint was that the circulating library and the family literary magazine did not allow writers to realistically discuss love and sex outside the confines of marriage. Mudie’s Select Circulating Library, in particular, was eviscerated by George Moore for refusing to carry his novel *A Modern Lover*. In “Literature at Nurse, or Circulating Morals,” Moore disparages the censorship of “the British Matron” (16) and “the censorship which a mere tradesman assumes to exercise over the literature of the nineteenth century, and how he overrules the decisions of the entire English press” (17).<sup>12</sup> At one point in the essay he goes so far as to aver that he hates Mudie because of his censorious policies. Family literary magazines and their audience were not exempt from this view. Besant argues in “Candour in English Fiction” (January 1890) that “Average Opinion” is wrong in thinking that domestic fiction cannot address “Love free and disobedient” to society’s rules (9). In the same article, Linton points out the ironic paradox that the British Matron accepts “Murder, forgery, lies, and all forms of hate and malevolence” in fiction, but cannot abide the subject of “uncertificated love” (11). Besant, Linton, and Hardy all advocate a realistic turn in domestic fiction that allows writers to portray “Things as they are—human nature as it is—the conflict always going on between law and passion, the individual and society” (Linton 10). According to Besant, Linton, and Hardy, writing for a family audience precluded writers from being able to deal openly with such subjects.

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<sup>12</sup> When Charles Edward Mudie died in 1890, the circulating library had roughly 25,000 subscribers.

The efforts of writers such as Moore to assert more independence from what they saw as oppressive publication practices that depended too much on the opinions of family readers were not the only the challenges to the family literary magazine and the domestic serial. Financially, the three-volume novel and the family literary magazine became less and less viable. Family literary magazines across the spectrum saw their circulation numbers fall as readers flocked to new magazines that specialized in shorter fiction, like *The Strand*. Circulating libraries could no longer sustain the practice of purchasing and lending first edition novels in three-volumes, as publishing companies began issuing cheap, one volume versions six months after the first edition, meaning that subscribers could afford to obtain and read the whole novel at once rather than wait for the first edition from the circulating library. Mudie was pleased with the move to one-volume novels, stating that one-volume novels “satisfy my subscribers much better, . . . & . . . give them also which I am most anxious to do a far better supply of literature of *all* sorts” (qtd. in Griest 174). Mudie read the need for one-volume novels right; Showalter states that “from 193 triple-decker novels published in 1884, the number dropped to merely four by 1897” (16). Since the book trade and periodicals, particularly family literary magazines, were interrelated, the decline in the number of three-volume novels affected domestic serials and family literary magazines.

The decline in three-volume novels and the emergence of a vibrant one-volume novel market was of a piece with an equivalent shift in the format of serials being published in family literary magazines. *The Strand*, which specialized in shorter fiction, rapidly eclipsed the popularity and sales of the more established family literary magazines. Magazines that did not radically change their house style, like *Lippincott's*, had to balance long, typically twelve-month, serials with shorter fiction. An eighteen-installment serial like Elizabeth

Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* would not have performed well in the publishing climate of the late-nineteenth century. While short stories and shorter serials had long been part of the fare offered by family literary magazines, they became more important as these magazines tried to remain competitive.

Many magazines changed their publication practices in the late-nineteenth century, responding to the various pressures of the new marketplace. The *Cornhill* and *Macmillan's* began publishing more short fiction and serials. Several magazines lowered their price from a shilling per issue to 6d. and lower in order to remain competitive with new, cheaper magazines. While several family literary magazines experimented with shorter installments, *Lippincott's* was the only one to radically shift away from traditional serialization practices. In November 1886, the editor for *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, Joseph Marshall Stoddart, initiated a new policy of publishing a single installment of a serial or "a complete novel, of a popular size, [to] be published with every issue of the magazine" ("Book-Talk" 554). The change to a serial in a single installment made sense in practical and aesthetic terms. The magazine had already made substantive changes to its house style including ceasing to illustrate fiction and moving from a two-column to a one-column format. Publishing a single installment of a serial was in keeping with the magazine's efforts to remain competitive with weekly and monthly magazines. This practice also reduced the price the magazine would have to pay for a serial, cutting the magazine's overhead costs.

While different periodicals employed different payment scales, magazines usually paid one sum for both the serial and volume copy-rights of a text. The name of the author and length of the text could determine the price, but not always. When the *Cornhill* was at the height of its popularity, George Smith paid George Eliot £7,000 for the serial and copy-

rights to *Romola*, and he paid Wilkie Collins £5,000 for *Armadale*. By the 1890s, family literary magazines simply could not pay writers these large sums for both serial and copy-rights. Stoddart paid Sir Arthur Conan Doyle £100 for *The Sign of Four*, and Wilde was paid £200 for the serial rights to *Dorian Gray*. Wilde's text is 10,000 words longer and his name was better known, which accounts for the difference. In contrast, Margaret Oliphant ultimately received £400 for the serial and copy right of *Kirsteen*. The serial ran in *Macmillan's Magazine* for twelve installments, from August 1889 to August 1890; *Macmillan's* published the penultimate installment at the same time as *Dorian Gray* appeared in *Lippincott's*. George Lillie Craik, who managed the financial side of *Macmillan's*, felt that he could not offer Oliphant much more, even though she was a well-established writer for the magazine and publishing company.<sup>13</sup> Wilde later received £500 for the volume version of *Dorian Gray*. Thus, the separation of serial and copy-rights could result in higher a profit for the writer, especially since many magazines could no longer afford to pay premium prices for serials.

The single installment format also made the magazine fashionable given the growing popularity of shorter forms of fiction. Writers preferred the shorter narrative form because it gave them greater control over their text. Hughes and Lund argue in "The Decline of the Serial" that "the serial form lost its place as a primary medium for" literature "since the

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<sup>13</sup> Oliphant initially sold the copyright for £300, not realizing that *Kirsteen* was intended for publication in *Macmillan's*; she thought it was being published in volume version only. She balked when informed that the magazine expected the first installment by July 1889. Craik eventually offered her an additional £100 in order to serialize *Kirsteen*. Oliphant never made a huge profit from her serials for *Macmillan's* or *Blackwood's*. For example, the £1,500 John Blackwood paid her for the serial and copyrights of *The Perpetual Curate* was the most she ever earned for one text. According to Elisabeth Jay, Blackwood only offered her "two-thirds of" the *Perpetual Curate's* price for *Miss Marjoribanks* (279). Oliphant took £1,000 for *The Story of Valentine and His Brother*, and "she agreed with Blackwood that [the price] was about right for the serialization" (Jay 282). Only four years later, she accepted £800 from *Macmillan's* for the twelve-month serialization and copyrights of *Young Musgrove*. See Elisabeth Jay, pp. 278-88 and George Worth, *Macmillan's Magazine, 1859-1907: 'No Flippancy or Abuse Allowed'*, pp. 98-146 for accounts of Oliphant's, at times, shrewd business dealings with William Blackwood and Sons and Macmillan and Co.

modernist tradition privileged the work grasped all at once as an autonomous, seamless, aesthetic whole” (168). Astute magazine editors, like *Lippincott's* managing editor Joseph Marshall Stoddart, tried to accommodate this shift in literary culture by experimenting with different serial forms.

This new serialization method presented editorial problems for *Lippincott's*, however. Short serials had to be actively commissioned, making it difficult to maintain the quality of the fiction from issue to issue. When Stoddart traveled to England in 1889, it was in order to commission texts for *Lippincott's* from several British writers. On a practical level, Stoddart's commissioning of work from American and British writers proved to be a good business model, allowing the magazine to appeal to its transatlantic audience. (*Lippincott's* had a reputation for publishing quality fiction from American and British writers.) Wilde was just one of the writers with whom he met. Stoddart and Wilde already had a professional and social relationship, having met during Wilde's 1882 American lecture tour. At a dinner party, Stoddart obtained promises for work from both Wilde and Doyle. Doyle submitted his second Sherlock Holmes story, *The Sign of Four*, and Wilde eventually submitted *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.<sup>14</sup>

The other problem with single installment serials was the length. A single installment serial is considerably longer than a typical serial installment, and *Lippincott's* found it

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<sup>14</sup> Although Wilde had pitched to Stoddart the basic outline of *Dorian Gray* at the 1889 dinner party, he initially offered the fairy tale “The Fisherman and His Soul.” In his letter to Stoddart, Wilde obviously was concerned about the length of the work and how soon Stoddart wanted the text: “You ask me to try and send my story ‘early in October’; surely you mean ‘early in November’? If you could be content with 30,000 words I might be able to post the manuscript to you the first week in November, but October is of course out of the question” (Holland 119). Stoddart did reject the story “on the grounds that the ‘piece [at 30,000 words was not] long enough to satisfy the terms of [...] commission’” and that it was ill-suited to an adult audience (Guy and Small 233). Wilde wrote back to Stoddart offering “a new story which is better than ‘The Fisherman and his Soul’” in early December of 1889, but an illness in the same month forced Wilde to set aside his work until the spring of 1890 (Holland 120). In a letter dated 19 December 1889—two days after writing to Stoddart about his new story—Wilde wrote to an unidentified correspondent requesting that he “telegraph at once to Mr Stoddart and say that the story cannot be ready for some months” (Hart-Davis 252). This new story was *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

difficult to maintain the collective voice of the magazine when one writer's voice so dominated each issue. For example, *Dorian Gray* was 50,000 words and took up the first 98 pages in an issue that was only 178 pages long. At 40 pages, Valentine Cameron Prinsep's *Virginie* in *Longman's* is the second longest serial or short story in any of *Lippincott's* British competitors; the July 1890 issue of *Longman's* was 111 pages. Comparatively, *Dorian Gray* is 55 percent of the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's* where *Virginie* is 36 percent of the July issue of *Longman's*. At 24, 19, 13 pages respectively, the serials in the July 1890 issues of the *Cornhill*, *Blackwood's*, and *Macmillan's* are all considerably shorter than *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

Such long installments meant that the magazine was unbalanced at best; at worst it was merely a vehicle for fiction with the rest of the magazine considered filler. The reviewer for the *Daily Chronicle* called the rest of the July 1890 issue "harmless padding" ("Magazines" 7), relegating the rest of the magazine to the background. The other articles in the July 1890 issue are all substantially shorter than *Dorian Gray*. "Round-Robin Talks" is the second longest article in the July 1890 issue at sixteen pages. Edward Heron-Allen's "The Cheiromancy of To-Day. The Evolution of an Occult Science" and Clara Jessup Bloomfield-Moore's "Keely's Contributions to Science" are seven and twelve pages respectively. The four poems in the issue—Elizabeth Stoddard's "A Unit," Curtis Hall's "Echoes," Rose Hawthorne Lathrop's "Wait But A Day," and Emily Hickey's "A Primrose"—seem to be space fillers, particularly Hall and Lathrop's short, one stanza poems. While four poems for one issue of a family literary magazine is unusual, none of the poetry is a substantial contribution. Even though emphasizing fiction over the rest of the magazine



was never *Lippincott's* intent, the brevity of the other material inevitably made the serial for the month the focal point for the magazine.

Although the text itself undermines normative constructions of male identity and domesticity, visually, at least, *Dorian Gray* appears to conform to the discursive practices of family literary magazines. Frankel intriguingly argues in *Oscar Wilde's Decorated Books* that in appearance, the *Lippincott's* edition of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* "is one of the least remarkable and most 'Victorian' of all Wilde's major works," despite the challenge to heterosexual, bourgeois identity presented in the serial text (139). Unlike his book publications, which endeavored to represent Wilde's aesthetic principles visually as well as textually, the *Lippincott's* text necessarily adhered to the magazine's established house style. In other words, Wilde had little to no control over how his text looked, and this "throws into still sharper relief the extent to which any text is structured by the prevailing social order" (Frankel 141). As a result, the standards of family magazine publication allow the text to visually adhere to domestic and serial sensibilities, even if the text does not do so in content or installment form.

Published in a one column format, with a modern type face, on machine-made paper, and with no illustrations, *Dorian Gray* looks no different from any other serial published in the magazine or any of the other articles in the issue. The cover of *Lippincott's* specifically aligns the serial with the publication practices of the magazine. The serial's title and Wilde's name are emblazoned at the top, with the title of the magazine in an attractive, aesthetic graphic below. The graphic print surrounding the magazine's name echo the medieval designs made popular by William Morris, among others. In the issue itself, Wilde's name appears on a separate title page. The first page on which the text of the story begins has

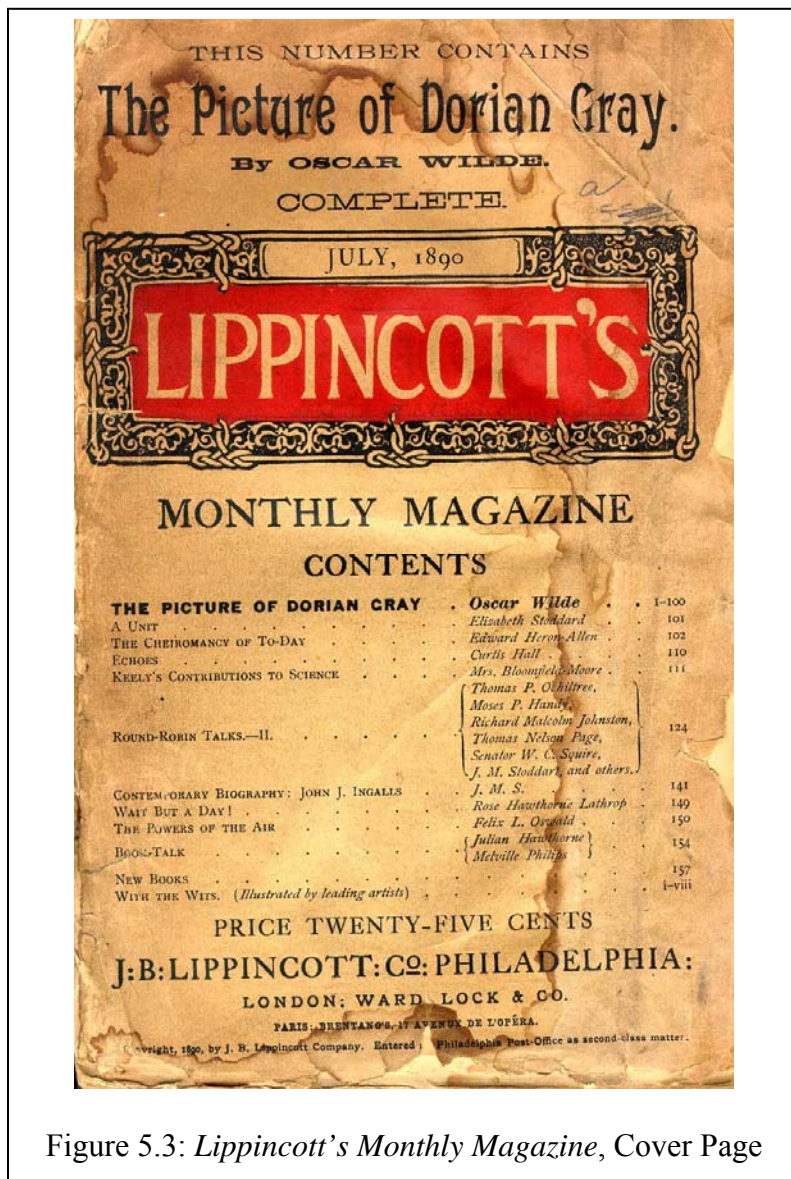


Figure 5.3: *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, Cover Page

*Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* across the top, not Wilde's name, effectively situating the text as one element in the magazine since all of the other articles begin with their title, not the author's name. According to Frankel,

if we had no knowledge of the controversy that was to surround Wilde's novel on hitting the magazine stands, there would be good reason to suppose its publishers thought they were publishing a story, expressly written for them, entirely consistent with their own cosmopolitan if vaguely sensationalist agenda. (140)

Wilde's aesthetic serial is visually constructed as one text among many, but its placement as the lead item, a place typically reserved for the article or serial that the editor thought would attract the most readers, and its length sets the tone for the magazine. The amount of fiction in a particular literary magazine tends to give the magazine a certain character; the fact that an issue of the *Cornhill* offered more fiction than an issue of *Macmillan's* worked to establish the *Cornhill's* character as a "lighter" magazine while *Macmillan's* was considered more scholarly. Thus, *Lippincott's* character was that of a magazine dominated by fiction.

Despite these problems, *Lippincott's* change in house style did more than put the magazine on stronger financial footing; it also allowed the magazine to be more responsive to the perceived needs of its readers, predominantly the magazine's male readers. As the "Book-Talk" article avers, "magazine-subscribers themselves, especially the male portion, are beginning to weary of the serial reading of fiction. They are too hurried, too busy, they read too much and forget too easily, to care to have their fiction doled out in monthly portions" (554). The increasing pace of life and periodical culture in the late nineteenth century meant that readers wanted, and in some sense needed, different serial rhythms. Traditionally one of the key features of the serial is the installment break. Turner argues that "the pause is a constitutive feature of periodical-ness, of all periodicities—there must be a break in time" ("Periodical Time" 193). Serials necessarily break, providing readers with space to reflect, comment, and anticipate the next issue of the magazine. Turner also suggests, however, that although "the media provides the rhythm of modernity in everyday life, there is no single rhythm, and the periodical press in particular moves to a number of different beats" ("Periodical Time" 187-88). The type of long serials favored in the 1860s and 70s, while attuned to advances in technology, were no longer "in sync" with the daily

lives of *fin-de-siècle* readers accustomed to receiving information more rapidly. Newspapers were printing multiple editions by the end of the period. As suburban areas spread, more and more people commuted by train to jobs in the city. Short serials, serials in one installment, and short stories all seemed to chime better with this faster paced lifestyle, especially for middle-class men, who could now finish a story during their daily commutes. Implicit in *Lippincott's* format change is the idea that readers, particularly men, wanted to be able to finish a story in one sitting.

By suggesting that the traditional serial structure no longer corresponds with the daily existence of readers, *Lippincott's* subtly reshaped how the serial functioned. The serial, previously attuned to the rhythms of everyday life, no longer needed to hew so closely to the linear narrative of middle-class existence. Nevertheless, the single installment structure did not necessarily reject prevailing domestic ideology. It was still part of the family literary magazine, and the family magazine was still marketed to the whole family in the 1890s. In other words, while the single installment serial did allow more avant-garde and “sensational” texts to appear in the family literary magazine, the serial also needed to mesh with the collective voice of the magazine. Readers who wanted shorter fiction did not necessarily also want narratives that abandoned middle-class domestic ideology. Serials like *Dorian Gray*, which radically broke with normative domesticity even while adhering to other serial conventions, were difficult for *Lippincott's* to accommodate as part of the discursive practices of the family literary magazine.



*The Aesthetic Serial: Male Identity in the House Beautiful*

Joseph Marshall Stoddart was not unaware of the problems Wilde's aesthetic serial posed for the family literary magazine he edited. While he was by no means as prudish or

old fashioned as Mowbray Morris, the editor of *Macmillan's*, according to Josephine M. Guy and Ian Small, Stoddart made several emendations to the text. Some were changes to syntax so that the text conformed to American punctuation and usage. Stoddart also deleted sections and lines in order to mute the homoerotic tones of the text. For example, a line in chapter seven is changed from “something so infinitely tragic in romance that was at once so passionate and so sterile” to “something tragic in a friendship so colored by romance” (Guy and Small 233). Bristow notes that Stoddart was not excising references to Basil’s passion for Dorian. (If so, large swaths of text would have been excised by Stoddart’s editing pen.) Rather, it is references that are too sensual or too close to hint at sexual contact that are muted in the aesthetic serial. For example, Bristow speculates that the remove of the word “sterile” might have been “because it intimated same-sex desire” in a much more explicit and unacceptable way than Basil’s effusions (“Introduction” xl). Basil’s romantic language can be read as akin to the erotically charge language of friendship in Shakespeare. The word sterile, however, implies that the passion between Dorian and Basil may be sexual in nature. According to Bristow, it is not just same-sex desire that Stoddart took issue with:

Altogether clearer is Stoddart’s unwillingness to permit explicit references to Dorian Gray’s illicit relations with women. In Chapter III, for example, the American editor deleted Lord Henry’s question: “is Sybil [sic] Vane your mistress?” This query was tactfully rephrased as follows: “what are you relations with Sibyl Vane?” (“Introduction” xl-xli)

Changes such as these indicate that Stoddart was cognizant of the fact that Wilde’s aesthetic serial was would have been problematic for *Lippincott's* urban, middle-class audience who did not necessarily want fiction to represent the interactions of men and women, or men and men, in nature.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Additionally, Stoddart probably did not have a great deal of time to edit Wilde’s text. Lawler suggests that Wilde did not submit *Dorian Gray* until April or May of 1890, and since the magazine was typeset

Aesthetic fiction tended to focus on an effeminate, young and beautiful male dandy-aesthete, who is interested in fulfilling personal pleasures. Given the centrality of the dandy-aesthete to aesthetic fiction, these texts typically have a strong homosocial and homoerotic tones. Thus, in centering his aesthetic serial on a group of male dandy-aesthetes, Wilde shifts the serial away from the typical Victorian family and home, thereby reshaping the domestic serial into an aesthetic one. Dorian Gray, Basil Hallward, and Lord Henry Wotton all embody aspects of the dandy-aesthete that the family literary magazine is not able to accommodate adequately. According to Rosner, “whatever smacks of the radical—transgressive sexuality, feminism, or the spirit of the avant-garde” in an aesthetic text is “accommodated with difficulty by the domestic” (2). Dandy-aesthetes never fared well in periodical culture or in domestic serials. Osborne Hamley in Elizabeth Gaskell’s domestic serial *Wives and Daughters* is a composite of several different, unsuitable masculine models, one of which is the quintessential early-nineteenth-century dandy. Gaskell’s domestic serial holds up the more masculine and progressive Roger as the masculine ideal. Oliphant also deems the dandy-aesthete an unsuitable model of masculinity; she all but disinherits the dandy-aesthete Richard Ross, preferring to have the true heirs of Eskside be Val and Dick, both of whom embrace family life.

While homoeroticism and male-male desire are at the center of Wilde’s aesthetic serial, and the negative reviews of the text were most certainly sparked by the male-male desire in the text, homoerotic desire is not the dominant way that *Dorian Gray* challenges the conventions of the domestic serial. Rather, it is one of several elements in Wilde’s subversion of the conventions of the domestic serial. He discards the middle-classes entirely

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in America, the text would have needed to be edited rapidly, since the July 1890 issue would have been typeset well before its press date of 20 June 1890.

by focusing exclusively on an upper-class world without mocking or condemning that world the way that George Du Maurier does in his “Feline Amenities” series. He also parodies the domestic serial’s focus on the materiality of everyday life with detailed descriptions of Dorian’s home and collections. He redefines the ideal of masculinity as the dandy-aesthete, not the middle-class professional man. Wilde satirizes the marriage plot with Dorian’s courtship of Sibyl and Basil and Henry’s courtship of Dorian. In *Dorian*, Wilde creates a character who cannot follow the linear narrative of middle-class life because he cannot age. And he aligns the realism of the domestic serial with the supernatural painting that depicts Dorian’s decay.

Homoerotic desire and the idea that Wilde’s dandy-aesthetes are effeminate are most certainly in the background, but as Alan Sinfield argues, what “was perceived as effeminate” in the 1890s was not necessarily considered “queer” (vii). Sinfield is making a fine but crucial distinction. According to Sinfield, “Effeminacy is founded in misogyny. Certain manners and behaviours are stigmatized by associating them with ‘the feminine’—which is perceived as weak, ineffectual and unsuited for the world of affairs” (26). For a man to be denoted as effeminate means that he is not upholding the manly ideal, and it can be, and often is, separate from his sexuality. The aristocracy had long been associated with effeminacy as the Evangelical movement in the 1830s realigned masculinity with the concepts of duty, sobriety, work, and family life, making the ideal male a component of the ideal middle-class home.

The dandy was in many respects the complete obverse of the ideal professional middle-class man. Regenia Gagnier argues that in the early nineteenth century, the dandy “embodied the bourgeois gentleman’s superiority over a declining aristocracy,” but the dandy

was not a manifestation of middle-class masculinity (“Introduction” 3). Part of the problem with Gagnier’s assessment of the early dandy is that she separates the polite gentleman from the aristocracy. Politeness was not a virtue embraced by the mid to late nineteenth century ideal of middle-class manliness. In addition, Gagnier, who is modeling her narrative on the quintessential Regency dandy Beau Brummell’s biography, misreads his class position. His father was the secretary to Lord North, not precisely a valet.<sup>16</sup> Brummell, as Ellen Moers terms it, “descended from the upper-servant class,” and he was educated at Eton and Oxford and moved in aristocratic circles (24).

The dandy is an aristocratic model, and he is a reaction to the sensibility of the Romantics and the morality of the middle-classes. Ellen Moers defines the dandy as a man who “has neither obligations nor attachments: wife or child would be unthinkable, and other relatives are unfortunate accidents” (18). The dandy was anathematic to a professional man like Roger Hamley, who took his professional and family obligations seriously. Moers goes on to argue that

The dandy’s achievement is simply to be himself. In his terms, however, this phrase does not mean to relax, to sprawl, or (in an expression quintessentially anti-dandy) to unbutton; it means to tighten, to control, to attain perfection in all the accessories of life, to resist whatever may be suitable for the vulgar but improper for the dandy. (18)

The devotion of the dandy to controlling the surface appearances is part of what made him an attractive figure for the aesthetes, who valued the perfectionism of the dandy. It is also what placed the dandy in opposition to urban middle-class masculinity.

The binary of dandy/effeminate aristocrat (these were conflated for the middle-classes) versus manly, family oriented middle-class professional man began to fray by the

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<sup>16</sup> See Ellen Moers, *The Dandy: Brummell to Beerbohm* and Ian Kelly, *Beau Brummell: The Ultimate Man of Style*.



1890s. Josh Tosh notes that “Among the professional and business classes who had lived by the code of [middle-class] domesticity for two generations or more, there was evidence of growing restlessness, amounting in some instances to outright rejection of marriage” and the co-committant embrace of domestic life (*A Man’s Place* 172). The exclusive all male clubs in London and other cities offered excitement, entertainment, and the possibility of sexual outlets. The demands of the empire meant that a large number of men left England to work abroad, typically eschewing family life in the process. According to Tosh, “26.5 percent of all emigrants from Britain” came from the middle and upper classes, and he suggests that these men were perhaps also seeking an escape from domesticity as well as employment (*A Man’s Place* 176). The public school trained boys in self reliance and to appreciate the camaraderie of all male society while shunning the feminized home. In this regard, the all male world of *Dorian Gray* is of a piece with the rejection of middle-class domesticity that was already occurring during the late nineteenth century.

The dandy-aesthete at the center of Wilde’s aesthetic serial are an amalgamation of the unsuitable middle-class masculine models. Scholars tend to use the terms dandy and aesthete somewhat interchangeably. Martin Green in *Children of the Sun* argues that “the aesthete *is* crucially different from the dandy in being more concerned with something outside himself—art, beauty, the cultural heritage” (11). The aesthete borrowed elements of the dandy—the anti-establishment role and the ethos of doing nothing—and subtly shifted them to an elite artistic world. For my purposes, I use Green’s term the dandy-aesthete since it acknowledges that dandies and aesthete are “very often [...] alternative ways of embodying the same idea, the same temperamental drive” (11). Coupled with the confessional narratives of sexual degeneration already circulating in the press, these images of less masculine men,

which were clearly associated with Wilde and the aesthetic movement, worked to create a sense of social instability, since aestheticism was in many ways a protest against middle-class values and rationality.

As Declan Kiberd argues, for Wilde, “the only way to intensify personality was to multiply it” (443). While Kiberd is focused on the ways that Wilde brought together his Irish and English identities, his point about Wilde multiplying or bifurcating identities is apt. He suggests that Wilde’s “entire art was an attempt to dissolve the manic Victorian urge to create an antithesis between England and Ireland, male and female, good and evil, and so on” (Kiberd 441). The serial explicitly omits any direct mention of what Dorian’s sins are; the text implies that he corrupts both men and women, suggesting that he is involved in both homo- and heterosexual acts.<sup>17</sup> Sinfield claims that “Like the rake, the dandy might debauch himself in any direction” (69). The text’s silence on the exact nature of Dorian’s sins leaves also his sexual orientation open for speculation. Sinfield argues that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, aristocratic men could be with men and women. In effect, Dorian is on the borderline, one of the people who have “only developed a few qualities of sex” (Showalter 9). Thus an aesthetical serial focused on the dandy-aesthete, who brought together a variety of identities, provided Wilde with a medium to explode urban, middle-class domesticity.

The upper-class world of Wilde’s aesthetic serial is carefully constructed to neatly cut out the middle-classes all together. None of the social settings or the homes depicted could be called middle-class. Nor does Wilde’s text emphasize the kinds of domestic details so critical to the construction of domesticity in Gaskell and Oliphant’s domestic serials. Dorian

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<sup>17</sup> Denisoff argues that “many people did not simply tolerate but admired the male dandy-aesthete for his assumed prowess with women” (7). This prowess, however, would not be championed in the domestic serial since these texts are for the most part engaged in upholding the stable home.

is not a character defined by domestic details such as white dresses and French lessons. Instead, he is defined by the rare gems he collects and the education provided to him by the book Lord Henry gives him. Nor does Dorian have a profession, a crucial component of middle-class masculinity that domestic serials typically define. Wilde's focus on the aristocracy, however, allows him to posit male identities outside of the narrow confines of middle-class domesticity. Lady Brandon's précis of Dorian emphasizes the do-nothing ethos of the dandy-aesthete. She gushes to Basil that Dorian is a "Charming boy—poor dear mother and I absolutely inseparable—engaged to be married to the same man—I mean married on the same day—how very silly of me! Quite forget what he does—afraid he—doesn't do anything—oh, yes, plays the piano—or is it the violin" (8)? The key phrase here is "doesn't do anything." The lack of occupation, while indicative of the figure of the dandy-aesthete, serves to further distance Dorian from middle-class domestic ideology. Respectable middle-class men worked, even if they did not necessarily need the income. Even respectable upper-class gentlemen eschewed idleness; a gentleman worked in some capacity for the good of the nation, be it in politics or in effectively managing his estate. An aristocrat, like Lord Henry, does not have to work and chooses not to. Dorian never has a true occupation. He collects rare gems and books, he travels with Henry, he attends plays, operas, and lavish dinners, and he corrupts other young men and women, but Dorian never works. Ironically, the closest he comes to actually doing something with use-value is when he sits for Basil's painting.

The domestic ideology of the mid-nineteenth century also positioned the home as a space capable of housing male and female interests. The home, then, while having specific functions delineated as more masculine or more feminine, did not separate the home into

strict male and female spheres. So men could be influential in designing the appearance of the home; after all, the way the home looked signified the whole family's good taste. All the same, the acceptance of William Morris wallpaper on their well-appointed parlor walls did not mean that middle-class families also accepted the idea that these rooms would only be occupied by an all male artistic elite. Excepting the lower-class Sibyl and the brief mention of Henry's wife and sister, women are also absent from the text. The overt marginalization of women and the middle-classes in the serial creates a decidedly different domestic space from the one envisioned by Felicia Hemans when she describes happy hearths and family gatherings in "The Homes of England" (1817). In Wilde's aesthetic serial there is no family hearth to gather around. The closest thing to a home would be Basil's studio at the beginning of the text since it is where all three of Wilde's dandy-aesthetes gather.

By eliminating communal family spaces as a possibility, Wilde shifts the focus his aesthetic serial firmly away from middle-class domesticity. In its place, Wilde constructs an aesthetic ideal of the home with Dorian Gray as the mistress and master of the house. According to Rosner, "Dorian Gray is a fictional incarnation of the new homemaker. While he has a full complement of servants to do the housework, his London home is very much Dorian's own creation. Like the best hostesses, he is renowned among London society for his skill in entertaining" (27). Dorian spends a great deal of time decorating and designing his home, engaging in a middle-class activity usually performed by newly married couples. The homes in *Dorian Gray* would have been much sought after by bourgeois families of taste and discernment despite being occupied only by men. They are replete with Japanese tables, Georgian urns, and "onyx paved bath-room[s]" (44). The carefully detailed domestic

interiors exemplify the art of beautiful living; none of these items have a use-value beyond adornment.

Dorian becomes obsessed with collecting after the death of Sibyl Vane and after Henry gives him the book that changes Dorian's view. Dorian becomes a connoisseur of art and the house beautiful. He collects instruments from South America and Indian jewels. In some ways, Dorian is akin to the boy in William Thackeray's first "Roundabout Paper" for the *Cornhill* who cannot stop consuming fictional treats. Dorian obsesses over every item in his collection. When he starts to collect jewels, he spends whole days "settling and resettling in their cases the various stones that he had collected, such as the olive-green chrysoberyl that turns red by lamplight" (70). In Dorian's case, his incessant consumption of beautiful items allows him to follow the tenets of aestheticism. He moves from sensation to sensation, work of art to work; he is collecting experiences more than items. The fact that his collection comes from colonized places highlights the ways that Dorian's home was a space that accommodated hybrid identities just as long as that identity was not associated with the middle-classes.

He also collects men and women to their ruin, although Wilde is silent on what that ruin entails. This list of aristocratic men he has wrecked is almost as long as the list of jewels his has in his possession. The Duke of Bewick leaves the room when Dorian enters. Lord Cawdor tells Basil that Dorian "might have the most artistic tastes, but that [he was] a man whom no pure-minded girl should be allowed to know, and whom no chaste woman should sit in the same room with" (79). At least two men—the young Guardsman and Alan Campbell—commit suicide because of the things the Dorian makes them do. In Alan's case, it is destroying Basil's body for Dorian that proves to be the suicidal catalyst. He even turns

Henry's sister Lady Gwendolen into a social pariah; she cannot even see her children. This collection of people Dorian has destroyed is the obverse of his collection of jewels and antiques. Just as Dorian possesses a hybrid identity, so too does his collection.

All the things in Dorian's collection display his taste—even the men and women he collects highlight his taste in beautiful and elite people—but they also conceal the one item in his collection he cannot display, Basil's painting. Instead, Dorian hoards the painting away in the old school room at the top of his house, carefully wrapping his age and sin in the mantle of his lonely childhood. The painting serves as the ultimate obsession, and it allows him to again embody dual identities. Dorian is both the decrepit old man in the painting and a beautiful youth. Moreover, Dorian's seemingly permanent youth is the greatest element in his aesthetic collection. Indeed, Dorian avers that "Youth is the only thing worth having" (19). He carefully preserves his youth, his ultimate aesthetic object, by following Basil's flippant, but prophetic remark: "Well, as soon as you are dry, you shall be varnished, and framed, and sent home. Then you can do what you like with yourself" (20). Dorian does indeed do what he likes with himself once he realizes that the painting and not his body narrates the story of his sins.

By situating Dorian Gray as the mistress and master of the house and as old man and beautiful youth, Wilde suggests that one person can embody both all of these roles. He is not constructing Dorian as transsexual or degenerate so much as an embodiment of multiple identities. Dorian Gray is pivotal in Wilde's redefinition of male identity and rejection of middle-class domesticity within his aesthetic serial. Situating Dorian so that he represents a multitude of identities allows Wilde to illuminate the available identities outside of the middle-class construction of masculinity. Specifically, Wilde refuses to construct an

idealized masculinity. Rather, Dorian is a collection of identities in the same way that his house is a collection of beautiful objects.

Feminized via his looks and expressions and his beautifully constructed home, yet also aligned with the dandy, the rake, and the aesthete, Dorian's identity is fluid. For example, when he becomes overwrought over seeing Basil's painting for the first time He thinks, "He was not a schoolboy or a girl," but he also resists asserting his masculinity in front of Basil and Henry because he recognizes their desire (16). It is also in this moment that Dorian realizes that he will never stay as beautiful as he is in Basil's painting. His bifurcated identity here comes from his own desiring of himself. According to Kathy Psomiades, dandy-aesthete "figures are constructed as desirable precisely through the employment of the structures of surface and depth associated with the representation of femininity" (7). This hybrid identity that blends the masculine and feminine allows Wilde to position Dorian as both an object of desire and a person acting out their desires.

Dorian's liminality can be traced specifically through the various masculine and feminine descriptions of his dress and physical appearance. The first description of Dorian—via Henry gazing at the painting—depicts him as a "young Adonis, who looks as if he was made of ivory and rose-leaves" (4). While this description codes Dorian within the idealized language of masculine beauty, the description of Dorian's skin tone troublingly mimics the ideal complexion for women.<sup>1</sup> Henry places a great deal of emphasis on Dorian's perfect, white complexion. He later tells the flesh and blood Dorian to come into the shade so the sun will not ruin his skin: "if you stay any longer in this glare you will be quite spoiled, and Basil will never paint you again. You really must not allow yourself to become sunburnt. It would be very unbecoming to you" (16). Henry's comment about Dorian's complexion confines

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<sup>1</sup> See Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment*, 31-32.

Dorian's self worth solely to his youth and looks, although the reference to "rose-leaves" also feminizes him since blushing tends to be associated with the feminine. The emphasis on his whiteness differentiates him from the working classes since tanned skin traditionally denotes an outdoor and working life. It is due to his combination of schoolboy and girl, then, that Dorian is deemed attractive.

The scene when Dorian first looks on the painting of himself is crucial to understanding the kinds of gender play Wilde engages in. Here Henry and Basil seem to argue over who gets the painting as a substitute for who gets Dorian:

"Of course he likes it," said Lord Henry. "Who wouldn't like it? It is one of the greatest things in modern art. I will give you anything you like to ask for it. I must have it."

"It is not my property, Harry."

"Whose property is it?"

"Dorian's, of course."

"He's a very lucky fellow." (19)

The double objectification of Dorian that occurs in this scene establishes Dorian's feminization. He has no agency in the scene, and yet he owns himself; he is situated as two pieces of property that can be traded between Basil and Henry. The multiplication of his identity between male and feminine, desirer and desired, Dorian and the painting makes him passive in this instance.

This scene also establishes the homoerotic tensions among the three men. I find Eve Sedgwick's "graphic schema" of the triangle useful in situating the structures of homoerotic desire that Wilde has established among Basil-Dorian-Henry, Basil-the painting-Henry, and Dorian-the painting-Basil (21).<sup>19</sup> This scene maps these complicated erotic triangles. As a

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<sup>19</sup> I omit the potential triangle connecting Dorian to the painting and the painting to Henry because the painting only serves as a conduit between Basil and Henry or Basil and Dorian. If it functioned as an instrument linking Henry and Dorian there would be no point in Dorian's killing Basil without killing Henry as well.



liminal character, Dorian occupies the feminine space in Sedgwick's erotic triangle with Henry and Basil functioning as the rivals. I would also add that the painting occupies the same position as Dorian in that it, too, is an object of male desire. The schematic of this desire is immediately evident. Basil shows the painting to Henry and Dorian, a servant brings in tea: "There was a rattle of cups and saucers and the hissing of a fluted Georgian urn. Two globe-shaped china dishes were brought in by a page. Dorian Gray went over and poured the tea out. The two men sauntered languidly to the table, and examined what was under the covers" (21). Wilde typically equated food and appetite with sexual desire. In pouring out the tea, Dorian takes on the feminine, servile role. The slow movement of Basil and Henry to the table suggests that their desires have been temporarily satiated by looking at the painting and at Dorian.

Throughout this scene, Dorian registers his emotions and embarrassment in the form of red cheeks or emotionally flinging himself onto a couch. For example, Dorian's mortification upon realizing his own objectification causes him to blush violently: "His face was flushed and his cheeks burning" (19). When he first sees Lord Henry, "a faint blush colored his cheeks for a moment" (13). After falling in love with Sibyl—or Juliet, or Rosalind, or any other of Shakespeare's heroines, take your pick—Dorian excitedly visits Henry to tell him of his new passion, and "Hectic spots of red burned on his cheek. He was terribly excited" (29). These moments of blushing, typically used to signify female modesty and emotion, work to emphasize Dorian's feminized position and over emotional nature. Ruth Bernard Yeazell in *Fictions of Modesty* historically situates the blush as signifier of feminine sexual purity: "the modest woman can be recognized by her downcast eyes, her head turned aside, and above all by the blush that suffuses her cheek—an 'innocent paint'

more attractive than any rouge, and mysterious proof that she has neither done nor thought anything for which she genuinely need blush” (5). Dorian’s blushing here signifies both his relative purity and his desirability. As he moves further into Henry’s lascivious world, Dorian ceases to blush so frequently. Hence, Dorian’s ability to blush—or rather his inability to blush when he has need to—serves as an index of his corruption.

In establishing Dorian hybrid identity, Wilde effectively prevents his aesthetic serial from being able to form a stable, middle-class environment. Dorian may be an object of desire, he may corrupt others, and he may even actively court Sibyl, but he cannot marry. Domestic serials typically resolved complicated gender constructions or transgressive behavior in marriage. Even though reviewers like R. H. Hutton abhorred the fact that Grace returned to Fitzpiers at the end of *The Woodlanders*, the re-establishment of their marriage is a necessary step for a domestic serial committed to a realistic depiction of domesticity. Resistance to marriage is just one more way the text plays with the principles of domesticity and seriality. Henry’s is the only marriage in the serial. It does not provide an imitable or even stable model of matrimony, since it is a marriage of convenience and ends in divorce. Henry’s wife figures very little in the story. Dorian does not even meet her until a month, and twenty-seven photographs of himself, after Henry’s and his first meeting.

By the third page of the serial, marriage is actively being subverted. Lord Henry tells Basil, “You seem to forget that I am married, and the one charm of marriage is that it makes a life of deception necessary for both parties” (5). After Dorian tells Henry about his passion for Sibyl Vane, Henry merely says, “Never marry at all, Dorian. Men marry because they are tired; women, because they are curious: both are disappointed” (24). Later, Henry amuses himself by contemplating Dorian’s marriage to Sibyl: “I hope that Dorian Gray will make

this girl his wife, passionately adore her for six months, and then suddenly become fascinated by someone else” (33). Here, Henry describes marriage as a fleeting relationship, one that is easily discarded for other passions. Given his negative view of marriage, Henry’s impending divorce from his wife at the end of the story is unsurprising, although the text offers no explanation for why their marriage dissolves. (Like Dorian’s, Henry’s sins are left undefined.) Presumably, Henry’s dissipated lifestyle is to blame, but the reason here makes divorce seem as normal a social function as marriage itself. While easier to obtain by the 1890s—particularly for upper-class men—it was still costly and still carried a social stigma. Henry’s divorce is just one way in which Wilde narratively unravels the marriage plot that is at the center of the domestic serial. Although the domestic serial did depict unhappy marriages, it tended to reaffirm this relationship. Wilde’s serial always resists marriage as a positive narrative outcome.

Even the relatively respectable character of Basil offers a negative view of marriage, despite all his admonishments to Henry that marriage is not really as vulgar as Henry claims. When Basil tells Dorian that he wants to exhibit the painting, Dorian balks, since the first signs of cruelty have already been inscribed on the canvas. Dorian, stalling for time, asks Basil to explain to him why he originally did not want to show the painting. Eventually, Basil admits his passion for Dorian, and in so doing manages to present a different view of courtship than the courtship of domestic fiction normally follows:

It is quite true that I have worshipped you with far more romance of feeling than a man usually gives to a friend. Somehow, I had never loved a woman. I suppose I never had time. Perhaps, as Harry says, a really “*grande passion*” is the privilege of those who have nothing to do, and that is the use of the idle classes in a country. Well, from the moment I met you, your personality had the most extraordinary influence over me. I quite admit that I adored you madly, extravagantly, absurdly. I was jealous of every one to whom you spoke. I wanted to have you all to myself. I was only happy when I was with

you. When I was away from you, you were still present in my art. It was all wrong and foolish. It is still all wrong and foolish. (57)<sup>20</sup>

From the heteronormative perspective of the family literary magazine, Basil's confession at least has the saving grace of admitting that his emotions are "wrong and foolish"; otherwise, it sounds as if he is or was courting Dorian. (This is the only confession in the narrative; even after Dorian murders Basil, he does not explain to Alan Campbell precisely how the dead man in his attic came to be there.) The fact that Basil claims to have adored Dorian from their first meeting closely aligns his dialogue here with conventional romance stories.

Even though Basil is professing his love for Dorian, he is also denigrating courtship. He argues only the idle classes can have true passion because they are freed from the demands to do anything. As an artist who actually needs to work, Basil cannot devote time to a *grande passion*. Basil even suggests that he could have fallen in love with a woman if courtship were not so time-consuming. In other words, courting a woman would have taken him away from his art. Here, Basil's rejection of courtship is one more way the text breaks down serial aesthetics in the family literary magazine. Ideally, middle-class men were supposed to be able to balance work with family life. While Basil does not seem to mind the time he has spent worshipping Dorian, the fact that he painted Dorian as a means of showing his passion, rather than more traditional forms of declaration, allows Basil to reject courtship. By separating passion from marriage, Wilde critiques of the way that middle-class domestic ideology positions marriage as the only acceptable pattern for love and desire.

Dorian does have time for courtship or a grand passion since, unlike Basil, he does not work. By aligning this essential social function with the ambiguous sexuality of the

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<sup>20</sup> Frankel aptly states that "some time between the magazine and the book editions, Wilde muted or suppressed Hallward's professions of love, almost certainly because he feared the legal consequences of leaving them unchanged" (138).

dandy-aesthete, with an ethos of nonproductivity, Wilde challenges the tenets of courtship and marriage, and he does so in a medium designed to support these pillars of middle-class domestic ideology. Superficially, then, Dorian tries to follow the proper narrative for middle-class respectability by falling in love and courting a woman. Sibyl Vane's lower class position—signaled by her occupation as an actress—disqualifies her as an appropriate, and potentially redemptive, love object for Dorian. Dorian is aware of the class difficulties, since he initially wants to establish Sibyl as a premier actress at a West End theater, not marry her. And although Dorian does eventually engage himself to Sibyl, it is Sibyl's performance as the cross-dressing Rosalind in *As You Like It* that prompts his proposal. In fact, Dorian only speaks to Sibyl after she has been playing Rosalind, and it is her exquisite appearance as a boy that he describes to Basil and Henry:

When she came on in her boy's clothes she was perfectly wonderful. She wore a moss-colored velvet jerkin with cinnamon sleeves, slim brown cross-gartered hose, a dainty little green cap with a hawk's feather caught in a jewel, and hooded cloak lined with dull red. She never seemed to me more exquisite. (Wilde 34)

Part of what makes Sibyl so wonderful as a boy is the materiality of her dress—it is rich, colorful, and in keeping with Wilde's own idea of perfect masculine attire. (Wilde, in his American lecture tour and in a series of letters he wrote to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, argued that modern male dress was ignoble and unflattering.) For Wilde, aesthetic dress, like the aesthetic home, should echo early modes. Renaissance dress represents the ideal. Early in the story, Wilde, through Henry and Basil, specifically attacks modern male dress: “‘It is such a bore putting on one's dress-clothes,’ muttered Hallward, ‘And, when one has them on, they are so horrid.’ ‘Yes,’ answered Lord Henry, dreamily, ‘the costume of our day is detestable. It is so somber, so depressing. Sin is the only real color-element left in modern

life” (21). This scene establishes what Wilde considers horrible about modern male dress, its dour colors and general dullness. It also sexualizes colorful dress, placing dress and the person wearing them within a signifying system of romantic desire. Sibyl’s male attire is highly colored in moss, cinnamon, and dull red.<sup>21</sup> Not only is she an object of Dorian’s desire but visually, at least, she also represents Wilde’s male ideal.

Once she becomes Sibyl—a woman in love—she is unable to embody these cross-dressing characteristics. Sibyl realizes that her abilities as an actress are predicated on her ignorance of love. She tells Dorian that she can no longer act because she loves him: “You have made me understand what love really is [...] Even if I could do it, it would be profanation for me to play at being in love” (39-40). In other words, as an actress, Sibyl constantly portray heroines in courtship plots, but the roles she plays all end before a happy marriage can take place. Awakened by Dorian’s proposal, Sibyl wants the traditional happy marriage she never performs on stage. The engagement frees her emotionally, but kills her gift. As Gagnier claims, “Sibyl Vane embodied Wilde’s ideal—until she thought to give it all up for a part in a middle class marriage. For that Wilde killed her” (“Sexuality, the Public, and the Art World,” 44). Her inability to dissemble results in her actual demise. It is her ability to embody these heroines who never reach the point of marriage and motherhood

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<sup>21</sup> Wilde wrote extensively about men’s fashion. In “More Radical Ideas Upon Dress Reform” published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 11 November 1884, Wilde talks about how men’s attire should look. He says that the

rationally dressed young man can turn his hatbrim down if it rains, and his loose trowsers and boots down if he is tired [...] the arms and legs are not made awkward or uncomfortable by the excessive tightness of narrow sleeves and knee-breeches, and the hips are left quite untrammelled, always an important point; and as regards comfort, his jacket is not too loose for warmth, or too close for respiration, his neck is well protected without being strangled, and even his ostrich feathers, if any Philistine should object to them, are not mere dandyism, but fan him very pleasantly. (Wilde, “More Radical Ideas Upon Dress Reform,” 11)

His ideal dress for men described here more closely resembles seventeenth century attire, not the current fashions of his day. As such, Wilde’s conception of the perfect male attire chimes well with his description of Sibyl Vane as a boy. She, like Wilde’s rationally dressed young man, wears a loose shirt and a cloak instead of a close fitting jacket. Her “dainty little green cap” even has a feather in it.

that makes her attractive and exquisite to Dorian—and to Wilde. Dorian cruelly rejects her because as a dandy-aesthete he cannot accept the constraints of respectable middle-class productivity that she ultimately comes to represent; he cannot collect her and her various incarnations that same way he can amass jewels or tapestries or even his own hoarded youth.

It is after the rejection of Sibyl, and the productive relationship that she symbolizes, that Dorian first notices the changes in the painting. Realizing that his fervent prayer that “the picture could change, and I could be always what I am now” has been granted, Dorian embarks on a dissipated lifestyle (19). While Dorian successfully circumvents “the great cult of the family and, with it, much of the enforcing machinery of his class and time,” he does so at great cost (Sedgwick 173). His Faustian pact may render him forever young, but it does not exempt him from the consequences of his actions. The ramifications of his refusal to follow middle-class domestic ideology can be read in the painting. Ironically, only the painting truly adheres to the domestic ideology espoused by the domestic serial and the family literary magazine.

On the painting’s surface is inscribed every sin committed by Dorian. In an odd echoing of the framing function of the family literary magazine, the painting frames the real story of Dorian’s life. When Dorian looks at the painting, trying to see if he has managed to expel any sign of his sin from the painting, he sees “no change, unless that in the eyes there was a look of cunning, and in the mouth the curved wrinkle of the hypocrite. The thing was still loathsome,—more loathsome, if possible than before,—and the scarlet dew that spotted the hand seemed brighter, and more like blood newly spilt” (99). The painting of the degenerate man could easily have been a portrait of W. T. Stead’s English Tiberius in the “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon.” Dorian’s need for confession here also mimics

Stead's confessional narratives, and middle-class readers familiar with Stead's work and the Cleveland Street Scandal would have seen the similarities between a degenerate older man taking advantage of young women and men.

The painting as a form of serial, then, illuminates the effects of Dorian's failure to follow the norms of middle-class domestic ideology established by the family literary magazine. Laurie Langbauer argues that "Dorian Gray attempts to base himself and his sexuality on a (masculine) fantasy of the control of the everyday, on the attempt to co-opt its featureless interminability for his own private and unchanging immortality" (156). Dorian, however, has no real control over his everyday narrative since every action, every sin is etched on to the painting. Moreover, by destroying the painting, Dorian destroys himself and ends the text. Without the painting, the story has no other means of inscribing Dorian's narrative.

Just like Dorian, the painting possesses hybrid identities. It is the embodiment of Dorian's sins, and as such, the embodiment of Dorian's hybridities. It also effectively serves as form of domestic serial. While Wilde's aesthetic serial deliberately parodies middle-class domesticity, the painting realistically portrays Dorian's life. Both the painting and the family literary magazines serve as material frames for this domestic serial within an aesthetic serial. This nominal reasserting of middle-class domesticity, however, does not sufficiently reintegrate Wilde's aesthetic serial into the ideological framework of the family literary magazine. The painting's narrative is not the serial that Wilde presents. His serial is one that parodies middle-class domesticity, using the conventional tropes of the domestic serial and the family literary magazine to reshape domestic ideology.



Ultimately, Wilde's aesthetic experiment did not work. A family literary such as *Lippincott's* is just not able to serve as the proper frame for Wilde's aesthetic serial and hybrid construction of masculinity. The serial, Wilde, and *Lippincott's* were vilified by magazine reviewers. The heated reaction of the British press was so virulent that "Ward, Lock and Company [...] felt obliged to withdraw the remaining copies from the newsstands" (Lawler, "Preface" viii).<sup>22</sup> As reviewer himself, Wilde would have been keenly aware of how influential these negative reviews could be.<sup>23</sup> Wilde defended his aesthetic serial to reviewers by expanding on his theory of aestheticism, arguing that art is not meant to depict morality. He also made a variety of changes to the text before it was published as volume.<sup>24</sup> The revisions for the volume publication in 1891 both censor and change the text in an attempt to make the story more firmly about art than about hybrid identities and rejecting middle-class domesticity.

Wilde's aesthetic serial challenges middle-class domestic ideology too much to fit with the collective voice of the magazine. Connections can be made between Wilde's serial and the rest of the contents of the July 1890. Clara Jessup Bloomfield-Moore "Keely's Contributions to Science" discusses American inventor John Ernst Worrell Keely's work on energy, electricity, and motors. Bloomfield-Moore's defense and discussion of Keely's

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<sup>22</sup> Ironically, Ward and Lock would have been familiar with how to exploit such a scandal to their advantage. A highly sexual series of letters to the editor on tight lacing and corporal punishment that appeared in the spring of 1867 in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, which they acquired in 1866 after Sam Beeton's bankruptcy, caused a public scandal. Despite the general condemnation of the erotic letters from people advocate the pleasures of tight-lacing, the company published the letters as a part of a separate volume entitled *The Corset and the Crinoline*, later renamed *Freaks of Fashion*.

<sup>23</sup> Wilde's began his career as a journalist in April 1877 by reviewing the opening show for the Grosvenor Gallery.

<sup>24</sup> He wrote three separate times to the *St. James's Gazette* and complained to the owner vehemently enough for the newspaper to stop publishing letters on *Dorian Gray*. He also wrote three times to the *Scots Observer*, but Wilde did not ask Henley to stop publishing letters on *Dorian Gray* or the topic of art and morality.

sometimes dubious science echoes the strange chemistry used in Wilde's aesthetic serial to dispose of the Basil's body. "The Cheiromancy of To-Day. The Evolution of an Occult Science" by Edward Heron-Allen explores the science of palm reading. The vast majority of the article is a primer in palm reading, and its "occult" science focus echoes the supernatural elements Wilde's story. None of these articles, however, provided balance for Wilde's parody of domestic ideology. Nor did *Lippincott's* experiment in single installment serialization keep the magazine afloat. The magazine was bought out by *McBride's* in 1915, and it was folded into *Scribner's* in 1916. Nevertheless, it outlasted many of its competitors, and highlighted how the domestic serial was a more dynamic form than many scholars give it credit for.

Single installment serialization and Wilde's aesthetic serial was an innovation of the serial form, even if this instance was a failure. From a genre view point, the failure of Wilde's aesthetic serial and *Lippincott's* quiet closing of its doors suggests that the domestic serial and the family literary magazine were not viable in the competitive and faster paced periodical market of the late nineteenth century. To a certain extent, this is true. Monthly family literary magazines could not keep up with the changes in technology. Nevertheless, the act of experimenting with the conventions of the domestic serial highlights how adaptable and mutable the form could be. While the single installment serial was not successful, short series stories like Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories were able to adapt and thrive in the periodical marketplace of the late nineteenth century.

Wilde's parody of the conventions of the domestic serial also serves to illuminate the fissures in middle-class domestic ideology. He accurately elucidates the contradiction and constrictions of middle-class gender and class roles. The ideal home posited by Isabella

Beeton in 1859 was, by the 1890s, evolving and changing. Wilde's dandy-aesthetes challenged the hegemony of middle-class domestic ideology of writer like Beeton, helping the ideology evolved and expand. While Beeton's domestic ideology based of middle-class professionalization no longer quite answered the needs of the late nineteenth century home, the image of the ideal home drawn from the pages of *Book of Household Management*, for better or worse, is the one that endures.



*Coda: Seriality and Domesticity*

Isabella Beeton argues that there is no “pleasanter” way to spend an evening at home “than in such recreative enjoyments as those which relax the mind from its severer duties, whilst they stimulate it with a gentle delight [...] It has often been remarked, too, that nothing is more delightful to the [...] members of a family, than the reading aloud of some good standard work or amusing publication” (27-28). At the beginning of this study, I argued the family literary magazines were designed for the amusement and edification of the whole family. In tracing the evolution of the monthly family literary magazine from its heyday in the 1860s to its decline in the 1890s, I suggest that this publication form reflected, expanded, and challenged the tenets of middle-class domesticity.

As a commodity that circulated within the home, family literary magazines had to engage and to appease whole families of readers, men and women, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, parents and children. Domestic serials were a key component of these magazines' appeal to the family. As a space for intellectual debate and education, however, family literary magazines were able to subtly re-view and revise domesticity. I argue that these magazines complicate domestic ideology by espousing a professional, urban sensibility in their shaping of women's and men's roles. Consequently, these magazines and the serials

within them grapple with the social changes of the latter half of the nineteenth century, advocating for a domesticity radically different from the myth of separate spheres ideology that informed analysis of the Victorian period so long. Crucially, these texts define masculine and feminine roles within the home, a shaping of domesticity often overlooked in periodical scholarship.

I began this study with two premises. First, I argued that domestic serials were not, in fact, as Roger Hagedorn claims, “a consistent loser” (5). While Hagedorn is primarily discussing television and radio serials, I thought his claim about serials losing out against self-contained works, like the novel or film, was particularly apt. A text’s publication as a serial is often relegated to a note in its publication history. While most domestic serials became novels, my aim in this project was to show how the domestic serial was the dominant narrative form of the mid-nineteenth century and worthy of being studied as genre in its own right. Throughout this study I have argued that looking at how the domestic serials of Elizabeth Gaskell, Margaret Oliphant, Thomas Hardy, and Oscar Wilde functioned as part of the discursive practices of the family literary magazine would allow us to better understand how these magazines reflected, shaped, and challenged middle-class domesticity in the mid to late nineteenth century.

The movement of domestic serials into volume form often means that works like Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, which was originally serialized, are not considered in their periodical context. Exploring how Wilde’s aesthetic serial participates in *Lippincott’s* experiment with single-installment serialization allows us to see how the family literary magazine struggled to adapt the faster paced periodical market of late nineteenth

century. It also provides for an examination of how Wilde, in parodying the conventions of the domestic serial, also challenges the hegemony of middle-class domesticity.

Moreover, domestic serials like Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His Brother* inhabit gaps in scholarship because they are out of print in volume form. Outside of its periodical context, *Valentine and His Brother* can be read as an English boarding school tale. Situating Oliphant's domestic serial as part of *Blackwood's* discursive practices, however, places the serial within Maga's complex positioning as a Scottish and English magazine.

Reading domestic serials like Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* within its periodical context also opens up our understanding of how a serial can use domestic detail and a family literary magazine's character—in this instance, the *Cornhill's* lively social table—as a means of subtly reshaping domestic ideology. By reading Gaskell's domestic serial against the non-fiction and the original illustrations by George Du Maurier, I suggested that the advocacy of progressive forms of masculinity and femininity done in the serial is reinforced by the other elements in the magazine.

This intertextual approach also provided a method for reading across periodicals. Most families engaged with a wide variety of texts, and magazine review articles like the ones in the *Scots Observer* typically reviewed a number of family literary magazines, reviews, and other periodicals. Consequently, I read Thomas Hardy's *The Woodlanders* in *Macmillan's Magazine* against Du Maurier's social cartoons in *Punch*. In so doing, I explored how domestic serials used the discourse on dress in periodical culture as a signifier of class position. I argued that Du Maurier's acerbic cartoons of catty upper-class women highlights the importance of social norms while mocking the upper-classes for being devoted

to those norms. Hardy, on the other hand, delves into the ambiguities caused by dress not accurately representing the class position of the wearer. Grace's transformation into middle-class lady is always in question because while her dress classes her body, her home and family mark her as belonging to the lower middle classes. Reading these two texts against each other also illuminated the ways in which domestic serials engaged with the discursive practices of painting and visuality.

While this is a study about the evolution and decline of the family literary magazine and the domestic serial in the nineteenth century, I am not suggesting that textual serials simply disappeared at the end of that century, although television has become the primary medium for a wide variety of serial narratives, from domestic serials to procedurals and soap operas. Many family literary magazines did continue publishing well into the twentieth century. Both the *Cornhill* and *Blackwood's* were in circulation until 1975 and 1981, respectively. Neither magazine had the same cultural cachet as it did in the nineteenth century. Recent writers have resurrected the form to mixed results. Thomas Wolfe's *The Bonfire of the Vanities* was published in twenty-seven monthly installments in *Rolling Stone* beginning in 1986, but he revised it substantially before publishing it in volume form because he was not happy with the serialization. Stephen King's *The Green Mile* was published in six part-issues from March 1996 to August 1996, and it was fairly successful, in part because it was issued in expensive paper back parts. The part issue in Britain of Gordon Dahlquist's *The Glass Books of the Dream Eaters* was a deliberate marketing scheme upon the book's British publisher, Viking; the book has been badly reviewed in the US and only sold 21,000 copies (Deahl 8). Marketing it as a part issue was a way to create "buzz" around the publication. Alexander McCall Smith's one hundred and ten part daily serial *44 Scotland*

*Street for The Scotsman* (2003) was so popular that Smith has done two follow ups—*Espresso Tales* and *Love Over Scotland*—using the same format. It is even possible to download audio files of Smith reading an installment of the serial from the *Scotsman* website, a sort of postmodern version of going to hear Dickens perform his work. Thus, while the textual domestic serial is not a dominant narrative form in the twenty-first century, it is still part of publication practices.

As part of my focus on family literary magazines, I argued that the feminizing of the family literary magazine meant that scholars were not fully addressing the ways these magazines defined middle-class masculinity and femininity. Indeed, Deborah Wynne argues that “Recent critics have maintained that the ‘family’ reader is synonymous with the female reader, suggesting that men were marginalized as readers of family magazines. This was not the case: editors attempted to integrate the contents of their magazines to appeal to all family members, although whether they were successful or not is open to debate” (16). This scholarly feminizing of the family literary magazine occludes the ways in which the family literary magazine balanced fiction and non-fiction within its pages, carefully crafted each issue to appeal to male and female readers. While the work of Wynne, Jennifer Phegley, Mark Turner, and Claudia Nelson has complicated how we study gender in family literary magazines, I wanted to explore how these magazines represented middle-class men and women within their pages. I also suggested that the construction of class and gender roles in the family literary magazine was not based on separate spheres ideology; rather, magazines like the *Cornhill* and *Macmillan’s* advocated for a domesticity that tempered and reshaped traditional gender roles.

I found that the feminization of the family literary magazine was closely tied to the perceived character of the magazine and to how much fiction the magazine regularly published within its pages. For a magazine like the *Cornhill*, the relatively equal distribution of fiction and non-fiction in each issue of the magazine in the 1860s is actually mitigated by the prominence of the two serial installments that appeared in every issue. The placement of a serial installment in the front position of an issue made the magazine seem more like a purveyor of fiction than a balanced diet of fiction and non-fiction, even though the magazine did strive to achieve that balance. Consequently, the *Cornhill*, more so than the other magazines in this study, is perceived to be feminine. The prominent placement of fiction and the magazine's policy of eschewing political topics made the magazine seem to be more accommodating to female readers.

Conversely, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* had a reputation for being a masculine club. The work of women, however, appears regularly in the magazine during the 1870s. While fiction never dominated the magazine in the same way it did the *Cornhill*, it was a steady third of the magazine per issue, with few fluctuations. The regularity of the magazine's political commentary and its Conservative perspective causes the role of fiction to be minimized in discussions of the *Maga*. By examining the domestic fiction as one component of a family literary magazine's discursive practices, it is possible to explore how fiction played a role in shaping that magazine's character and reputation. From *Lippincott's* serial experiments to *Maga's* Scottish and English hybrid identity and *Macmillan's* round table discussions and the *Cornhill's* lively social table, family literary magazines were defined by the domestic serial within their pages.



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Appendix A  
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*Wives and Daughters in Cornhill Monthly Magazine*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Volume No.</b>	<b>Chapters</b>	<b>Pages</b>	<b>Illustration Title</b>
August 1864	10	I – III	130-53	
September 1864	10	IV – VI	355-84	
October 1864	10	VII – IX	385-408	
November 1864	10	X – XI	583-608	
December 1864	10	XII – XIV	695-721	
January 1865	11	XV – XVII	65-87	
February 1865	11	XVIII – XX	197-222	
March 1865	11	XXI – XXIII	320-45	
April 1865	11	XXIV – XXVI	434-60	
May 1865	11	XXVII – XXIX	564-90	
June 1865	11	XXX – XXXII	682-705	
July 1865	12	XXXIII – XXXVI	1-29	
August 1865	12	XXXVII – XL	129-64	
September 1865	12	XLI – XLV	257-95	
October 1865	12	XLVI – L	385-425	
November 1865	12	LI – LIV	513-46	
December 1865	12	LV – LIX	641-78	
January 1866	13	LX	1-16	



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Appendix B  
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***The Story of Valentine and His Brother in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine***<sup>1</sup>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Volume No.</b>	<b>Parts</b>	<b>Pages</b>
January 1874	115	Part 1	35-54
February 1874	115	Part 2	139-56
March 1874	115	Part 3	324-41
April 1874	115	Part 4	464-85
May 1874	115	Part 5	525-44
June 1874	115	Part 6	713-35
July 1874	116	Part 7	1-23
August 1874	116	Part 8	146-65
September 1874	116	Part 9	319-41
October 1874	116	Part 10	473-92
November 1874	116	Part 11	540-559
December 1874	116	Part 12	644-66
January 1875	117	Part 13	88-113
February 1875	117	Part 14	188-218

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<sup>1</sup> The Wellesley Index lists Oliphant's serial as *The Story of Valentine* after the first entry.

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Appendix C  
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*The Woodlanders in Macmillan's Monthly Magazine*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Volume No.</b>	<b>Chapters</b>	<b>Pages</b>
May 1886	54	I-IV	63-80
June 1886	54	V-VIII	81-99
July 1886	54	IX-XIII	222-40
August 1886	54	XIV-XVIII	301-20
September 1886	54	XIX-XXII	385-400
October 1886	54	XXIII-XXV	466-80
November 1886	55	XXVI-XXIX	1-18
December 1886	55	XXX-XXXIII	81-96
January 1887	55	XXXIV-XXXVII	224-40
February 1887	55	XXXVIII-XL	306-20
March 1887	55	XLI-XLIII	385-400
April 1887	55	XLIV-XLVIII	407-28

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Appendix D  
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**Letters on Art and Morality in the *Scots Observer***

Author	Article/Section Title	Publication Date
Charles Whibley	"Reviews and Magazines,"	5 July 1890
Oscar Wilde	"Mr. Wilde's Rejoinder," p. 201-202	12 July 1890
Charles Whibley	"Art and Morality"	19 July 1890
The Writer of 'Crumbs of Criticism'	"Art and Morality," p. 253	26 July 1890
Theristes	"Art and Morality," p. 253	26 July 1890
H.	"Art and Morality," p. 253-54	26 July 1890
Charles Whibley	"Art and Morality," p. 279	2 Aug. 1890
Oscar Wilde	"Art and Morality," p. 279	2 Aug. 1890
Vernon Blackburn	"Art and Morality," p. 279-80	2 Aug. 1890
William Archer	"Art and Morality," p. 280-81	2 Aug. 1890
Charles Whibley	"Art and Morality," p. 303	9 Aug. 1890
H.	"Art and Morality," p.303-304	9 Aug. 1890
T.E. Brown	"Art and Morality," p. 304	9 Aug. 1890
J. MacLaren Cobban	"Art and Morality," p. 304-305	9 Aug. 1890
Walter Whyte	"Art and Morality," p. 332	16 Aug. 1890
Oscar Wilde	"Art and Morality," p. 332-33	16 Aug. 1890
Statistician	"Art and Morality," p. 356-57	23 Aug. 1890
J. MacLaren Cobban	"Art and Morality," p. 357	23 Aug. 1890
P. Anderson Graham	"Art and Morality," p. 357-58	23 Aug. 1890
H.	"A Disclaimer," p. 384	30 Aug. 1890
G.	"The Long Arm of Coincidence," p. 410-11	6 Sept. 1890

## VITA

Lindsay Michelle Lawrence was born 8 April 1977, in Dallas, Texas. She is the daughter of Craig Allen Lawrence and Leslie Ann DeWees Lawrence. A 1995 graduate of the Talented and Gifted Magnet High School, Dallas, she received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in English and a specialization in Secondary Education from Schreiner College, Kerrville, TX in 1999.

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## ABSTRACT

SERIALITY AND DOMESTICITY: THE VICTORIAN SERIAL AND DOMESTIC  
IDEOLOGY IN THE FAMILY LITERARY MAGAZINE

by Lindsay Michelle Lawrence, Ph.D., 2008  
Department of English  
Texas Christian University

Dissertation Advisor: Linda Hughes, Addie Levy Professor of Literature

*Seriality and Domesticity* examines how domestic serials and family literary magazines both reinforced and reshaped domesticity. As a commodity that circulated within the home, family literary magazines had to engage and to appease whole families of readers, men and women, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, parents and children. Domestic serials were a key component of these magazines' appeal to the family. As a space for intellectual debate and education, however, family literary magazines were able to subtly re-view and revise domesticity. I argue that these magazines complicate domestic ideology by espousing a professional, urban sensibility in their shaping of women's and men's roles. Consequently, these magazines and the serials within them grapple with the social changes of the latter half of the nineteenth century, advocating for a domesticity radically different from the myth of separate spheres ideology that informed analysis of the Victorian period so long. Crucially, these texts define masculine and feminine roles within the home, a shaping of domesticity often overlooked in periodical scholarship.

Specifically, my project looks at how four domestic serials—Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*, serialized in the *Cornhill* from August 1864 to January 1866 with illustrations by George Du Maurier; Margaret Oliphant's *The Story of Valentine and His*

*Brother*, serialized in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* from January 1874 to February 1875; Thomas Hardy's *The Woodlanders*, serialized in *Macmillan's Monthly Magazine* from May 1886 to April 1887; and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, published in one installment in the July 1890 issue of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*—engage in or disrupt domestic discourse in the family literary magazine. I situate each of these domestic serials as part of a larger, on-going conversation about class and gender identity that occurs within and between periodicals. I also focus on these four texts and these four magazines as a means of charting the evolution of the family literary magazine and the domestic serial from the 1860s through the 1890s.