



FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

DEPARTAMENTO DE FILOLOGÍA INGLESA

TESIS DOCTORAL:

***'WE FORGE THE CHAINS WE WEAR IN LIFE': THE INTELLECTION OF
SERVITUDE IN MARY PRICE (1851-1852) AND JOSEPH WILMOT (1853-1855) BY
G. W. M. REYNOLDS.***

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Those who would thrive, must rise by five

(English Proverb)

Declaración de Autoría Literaria Original

Yo, Lourdes Erea Salgado Viñal, con DNI número 44478214D y estudiante del programa de Doctorado en Estudios Ingleses Avanzados: Lenguas y Culturas en Contacto de la Facultad de Filología de la Universidad de Salamanca, en relación con la Tesis Doctoral presentada para su defensa y evaluación en el curso 2021-2022, declaro que asumo la originalidad de dicha Tesis, entendida en el sentido de que no he utilizado fuentes sin citarlas debidamente.

En Liverpool, a julio de 2022,

Lourdes Salgado

Fdo.: Lourdes Erea Salgado Viñal

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations may be used for the most frequently cited works by George William McArthur Reynolds (1814-1879):

MP *Mary Price; or, the Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1851-1852)

JW *Joseph Wilmot; or, the Memoirs of a Man-Servant* (1853-1855)

Abstract: (301 words)

The present research offers a comprehensive view of the manner in which G. W. M. Reynolds represented domestic servants in two of his sensation novels, *Mary Price; or, the Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1851-1852) and *Joseph Wilmot, or, the Memoirs of a Man-servant* (1853-1854). Given the absence of extensive research on the figure of Reynolds and the treatment of servants in his fiction, the aim of this thesis was to fill such a gap by focusing on the figure of the servant in Victorian Britain, gender and heterotopia, masculinity and Reynolds's political affiliations. With the aid of some theoretical and critical grids, such as New Historicism and Foucauldian analysis, the four chapters of this thesis illustrate Reynolds's engagement with the duress of servants's circumstances and his envision of a better society without the so-called "servant problem." Whereas the first chapter analyses the English literary domestic household in the 1850s with a focus on the servant figure, the second chapter provides a biographical and political background on Reynolds together with an emphasis on the translation of his fiction to many languages, especially in India and includes the reception of his fiction by both critics and readers. The third chapter focuses on gender polarity, heterotopian spaces, femininity and physiognomy of servants and mistresses and explores the concept of the "invisible hand" so as to portray the reality of the Victorian household. The last chapter is devoted to masculinity of servants and masters, the existential predicament of *JW* and *MP*, discourse and power and the latent ethics and explicit morals expressed in them. The findings from this thesis comprise a re-reading of *JW* and *MP* under a culturally poetic methodology, a revision of the reception and translation of Reynoldian fiction and the feasibility of the literary analysis of these novels through the Foucauldian lens.

Keywords: Aesthetics, Chartism, Foucault, heterotopia, New Historicism, servant problem, Victorian household.

Resumen (325 palabras)

El presente estudio ofrece una perspectiva integral de la manera en que G. W. M. Reynolds representa a los sirvientes en dos de sus novelas sensacionalistas, *Mary Price; or, the Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1851-1852) y *Joseph Wilmot, or, the Memoirs of a Man-servant* (1853-1854). Dada la ausencia de estudios sobre la figura de Reynolds y el trato de los sirvientes en su ficción, el objetivo de esta tesis ha sido el de llenar ese vacío a través del énfasis en la figura del sirviente en la Inglaterra Victoriana, el género y la heterotopía, la masculinidad y las afiliaciones políticas de Reynolds. Con la ayuda de algunas bases teóricas y críticas, como el Nuevo Historicismo y la perspectiva de Foucault, los cuatro capítulos de esta tesis ilustran el compromiso de Reynolds con las difíciles circunstancias de los sirvientes y su visión de una sociedad mejor sin el llamado "problema de los sirvientes". Mientras el primer capítulo analiza el hogar victoriano literario de la década de 1850 con un particular énfasis en la figura del sirviente, el segundo ofrece un contexto biográfico y político de Reynolds, destacando la traducción de su ficción a diferentes idiomas, especialmente en la India e incluye la recepción de su ficción entre críticos y lectores. El tercer capítulo se centra en la polaridad de géneros, espacios heterotópicos, femineidad y fisionomía de sirvientes y damas y explora el concepto de la "mano invisible" para representar la realidad del hogar victoriano. El último capítulo se dedica a la masculinidad de sirvientes y amos, al predicamento existencial de *JW* y *MP*, a los discursos de poder y a la ética implícita y la moral explícita presentes en ambas. Los resultados de esta tesis incluyen una relectura de *JW* y *MP* bajo una metodología de poética cultural, la revisión de la recepción y traducción de la

ficción de Reynolds y la posibilidad del análisis literario de estas novelas a través de la perspectiva de Foucault.

Palabras clave: Chartismo, esteticismo, Foucault, heterotopía, Nuevo Historicismo, problema del sirviente, hogar victoriano.

Introduction

Why Victorian servants in G. W. M. Reynolds's fiction?

Area of Research

An age of paradox and sovereignty, the Victorian Era was indeed a period that challenged the tenets inherited from its predecessor, the Georgian era. Accordingly, the fields of politics, religion, science, society and ideology in general faced massive changes which eventually forged the English society as we know it. The new social echelons that were being set up –especially those related to labour and the working classes— were metaphorically represented by the political satirist George Cruikshank (1792-1878) in his etching ‘The British Bee-Hive’ in 1840, which allocated status and importance to each profession of the period, based on the theories of the economist Adam Smith (1723-1790) in the previous century. Surprisingly enough, servants were deprived of a space in this pyramid, despite being ‘the invisible hands’, the proletariat without which Victorian domestic life would most certainly be doomed. Precisely, the hierarchical representation of these marginalised voices within the narrative of the 19th century popular literature has been the starting point or, in other words, the area of interest for the present research.

Other researchers who have looked into this question observed that as a whole, servants were considered tokens of social respectability, according to census figures of the time, to the increased number of periodical literature and monographs which targeted domestic workers, such as *The Servants' Magazine* (1838-1866), edited by the London Female Mission Society, or the various tracts written by Rev. Henry George Watkins – founder of the London Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Female Servants, instituted

1813—;¹ or to the idolisation of domesticity resulting from the reforms that were taking place in this period.

A quick example, the 1851 census revealed that 575,162 females and 74,323 males were in service in England at the time. This means the domestic workforce in Victorian Britain was the largest when compared to other periods in history. Over 1.5 million British people worked as servants during the 19th century and in Edwardian Britain, subsequently. With no employment rights, shifts from 5 am to as late as 11.30 pm, a never-ending list of drudge, menial tasks to be performed every day, harshly treated and severely chastised by both their employers and the law, living in poor, unlighted and damp accommodation conditions, one wonders whatever pushed them to pursue a life in service:

*The poor creature, who was a good-natured and really kind-hearted woman, was worked like a slave and paid like a pauper, -her wages being 7l. a year and to find her own tea and sugar- [...]*²

But these crude, real facts were not to be ardently depicted in Victorian fiction. Why? Only some cases of autobiographical narratives by servants have occurred and only certain writers, such as one of the most acclaimed and prolific novelist of the time –as evidenced by the outselling of his works to more eminent, coetaneous writers—, George William MacArthur Reynolds (1814-1879) devoted some novels, precisely in the decade of 1850-

¹ London Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Faithful Female Servants, *Seventh Report of the London Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Female Servants, by Annual and Other Rewards, Instituted 1813* (London: W. Gilbert, 1820).

² G. W. M. Reynolds, *Mary Price, or the Memoirs of a Servant Maid*, Vol. I (New Delhi: Isha Books, 1853): 39. According to The National Archives, 7l or £7 in 1853 would correspond to £562 in 2017 (“Currency Converter: 1270-2017,” <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result>).

1860, to raise awareness of this fact, i. e., *Mary Price; or, the Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1851-1852) and *Joseph Wilmot, or, the Memoirs of a man-servant* (1853-1854). However, it seems that Reynolds always remained the shadow of his contemporaries, especially Charles Dickens, with whom he sustained a lifelong enmity,³ and on few occasions does he appear mentioned in either compilations of Victorian literature or literary chronologies of the period.

Problem statement

By placing emphasis on the detailed reading and study of the aforementioned novels, this research will attempt to provide some answers to certain issues such as the reason, within novelistic fiction, for a certain transition in the behaviour and attitude of Victorian domestics towards their lords and ladyships; the unquestionable, blind loyalty these servants proffered to their masters and mistresses; the lack –or gap — in the literary depiction of the servant problem in the decade of the 1850s; the freedom that these servants enjoyed or were deprived of; the portrait of domestics given by the prurient, sensational Reynoldian narrative as one of the few writers who addressed this problem; the role played by Reynolds’s readership in the understanding of this issue and by his critics in preventing his novels from being universally acclaimed and last but not least, the foundation of the (un)justified accusations of plagiarism directed against Reynolds by Charles Dickens.⁴

³ ‘If “Mr G.W. Reynolds” be the Mr Reynolds who is the author of the *Mysteries of London*, and who took the chair for a mob in Trafalgar Square before they set forth on a window-breaking expedition, I hold his to be a name with which no lady’s, and no gentleman’s, should be associated’ (Dickens, “Letter to W C Macready”, August 30, 1849).

⁴ Cf. Russell Hodgson, “G. W. M. Reynolds and Charles Dickens, 1837–1870: The Construction of a Rivalry,” PhD thesis (University of Reading, 2019). Thesis embargoed until 4 November 2024.

As there has been limited study carried out on the topics listed above, it is my intention to examine in the present research, resorting to the New Historicist viewpoint, but without shadowing or excluding other views, the depiction in 19th century popular literature of the social conditions servants were made to endure in order to make a living not only for themselves, but for their masters and mistresses.⁵ And it was precisely within society where one of the major changes took place, i. e., the domestic service, the basal foundation of Victorian household life. Victorian servants, according to *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*—edited by Isabella Beeton in 1861—were characterised or idealised as meek, humble, contented and devoted.⁶ But some time along the 1870s, they would stop being loyal, compliant and respectful to their masters and mistresses and they would become insurgent, uppity, unruly... The so-called-Victorian ‘servant problem’ had begun. What happened and what were the causes of this behavioural change? What would make some of these domestics go so far as to even kill and boil their masters, as in the case of the notorious Kate Webster in 1879? What made them realise they had the ‘option’ of not devoting their lives to the service of others? Was it the chance of finding a better job in ironmonger shops, factories, railways, mines or even foundries? ...⁷ Perhaps, Reynolds’s literature added to the ignition of such uprising; indeed, some of his contemporaries would likewise capture the aspirations of the

⁵ K. Ledbetter, “Regulating Servants in Victorian Women's Print Media,” in *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s–1900s: The Victorian Period*, ed. A. Easley, C. Gill and B. Rodgers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019): 32-45.

⁶ M. Beetham, “The Rise and Rise of the Domestic Magazine: Femininity at Home in Popular Periodicals,” in *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s–1900s: The Victorian Period*, ed. A. Easley, C. Gill and B. Rodgers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019): 18-31.

⁷ Cecil A. Meadows, *The Victorian Ironmonger* (Bloomsbury, USA: Shire Library, 1978).

working-class in novels with a clear Chartist ideology such as *Sybil* (1845) or *Alton Locke* (1850).⁸

Scope

In general, all writings by Reynolds are rather difficult to get hold of due to the limited number of editions remaining in print and available at libraries, online, or at a reasonable price in the current literary market.⁹ There also appears to be scarce bibliography about this author and his works, except for the critical studies carried out by Margaret Dalziel, Louis James, Virginia Berridge, Edward Jacobs, Sally Powell, Ian Haywood, Anne Humpherys and Mary L. Shannon.¹⁰ None of these, however, centre on the power relations

⁸ Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil; or, The Two Nations* (London: Henry Colburn, 1845) and Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850).

⁹ Thanks to the editing work of John Mark Ockerbloom, most novels by Reynolds can be read online. See "Online Books by George W. M. Reynolds," *The Online Book Page*, <https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Reynolds%2C%20George%20W%2E%20M%2E%20%28George%20William%20MacArthur%29%2C%201814%2D1879>. Further to this, Project Gutenberg and the Internet Archive also offer digitised versions of his best-selling novels.

¹⁰ Margaret Dalziel, *Popular Fiction One Hundred Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History* (London: Cohen and West, 1957); Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1974); "The View from Brick Lane: Contrasting Perspectives in Working-Class and Middle-Class Fiction of the Early Victorian Period," *Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 87-101; and "The Trouble with Betsy: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Mid-19th Century England," in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1982), 349-366; Virginia Berridge, "Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society," in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable, 1978), 247-264; Anne Humpherys, "Popular Narrative and Political Discourse in Reynolds Weekly Newspaper," in *Investigating Journalism: The Press in the Nineteenth Century*, ed.

between master and servant. For these reasons, I have decided to study this particular aspect in some of Reynolds's literary works written within a specific time frame, the decade of the 1850s, and with such power relations as the main theme so as to contribute towards filling that gap in as much detail as possible. Accordingly, those literary works include the novels *Mary Price, or The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1851-1852); *Joseph Wilmot, or The Memoirs of a Man-Servant* (1853-1855); and the short story "The Greek Maiden, or The Banquet of Blood" (1850).¹¹

These novels and short story focus either direct or indirectly on the figures of both male and female servants in the mid-Victorian era and as such, they have served me as the primary sources to look into relations of power between master and servants. Two of them, *Joseph Wilmot or the Memoirs of a Man-Servant* and *Mary Price, or The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid*¹² focus essentially on the lives of two particular domestics, whereas the rest of

Aled Jones, Laurel Brake and Lionel Madden (London and New York: MacMillan, 1990), 33-47; Anne Humpherys and Louis James, eds., *G. W. M. Reynolds: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008); Edward Jacobs, "Bloods in the Street: London Street Culture, 'Industrial Literacy,' and the Emergence of Mass Culture in Victorian England," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts. An Interdisciplinary Journal* 18, no. 4 (1995): 321-347; Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790-1860* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and "Encountering Time: Memory and Tradition in the Radical Victorian Press," in *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*, ed. Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 69-87; Sally Powell, "Black Markets and Cadaverous Pies: The Corpse, Urban Trade and Industrial Consumption in the Penny Blood," in *Victorian Crime, Madness, and Sensation*, ed. Andrew Maunder and Grace Moore (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 45-58; Mary L. Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street: The Print Culture of a Victorian Street* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2015).

¹¹ This short story seems to have been inspired on *The Hebrew Maiden, or, The Lost Diamond: A Tale of Chivalry* (1841), a novel by Thomas Peckett -or Preskett- Prest (c.1810-1859).

¹² Please see *List of abbreviations* on page vi.

the novels and the short story portray servants around the main characters but not as main characters themselves; this is to say, servants are used as an aid in the narrative but not as central and active characters in each of the plots.¹³

Reynolds wrote many other novels and short stories in this decade but the reason why I have decided to leave them out of this research is in a way self-explanatory; they do not pay attention to the figure of the domestic as such, despite including some as characters in the background.

As for the choice of the time frame, the years comprised between 1850 and 1860 proved to be vital not only in the life of Reynolds but also for all Victorians as well, i. e., the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales, the Great Exhibition in London, the death of the Duke of Wellington, the end of the Crimean War and the passing of the Matrimonial Causes Divorce Act gave gradual rise to a restructuration of society which saw an increase in the standards of social decorum for the upper classes with a consequential increase in the need for servants. All these events, but most importantly the passing of the Master and Servant Act in 1823, the social revolt of the middle classes in 1830, or the 1832 Reform Acts played an important role in the inspiration that led Reynolds to write many of his best-selling novels at the time. And it should also be noted that he, ‘the man who wasn’t Dickens’, had even outsold not only Dickens’s novels but also Edward Lloyd’s ‘penny bloods’.¹⁴

¹³ Alexis Easley, ed., “(Re)Imagining Domestic Life: Introduction” (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 15-17. Also, Kathryn Ledbetter, “Regulating Servants in *Victorian Women’s Print Media*”, in *Women, Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s-1900s*, ed. Alexis Easley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 32-45.

¹⁴ See Stephen Carver, “The Man who wasn’t Dickens: A Profile of G.W.M. Reynolds (1818 – 1879),” *Ainsworth and Friends. Essays on 19th Century Literature and the Gothic* (blog), February

Furthermore, the literature published at the end of the 1850s was referred to as “the literature of the kitchen” or “kitchen literature”, which was followed in the 1860s by the appearance of “sensationalism” or the “Sensation Novel.”¹⁵ The former terminology derides the sensation fiction of the time as initially fit only for servants in the kitchen and eventually for ladyships as well, whereas the latter refers to a new sub-genre that centred on crime and mystery novels and described romantic triangles, heroines under physical danger, drugs, potions, disguises and heightened suspense throughout the narrative. Now, Reynolds’s novels include all these elements and more and can be classified as appertaining to both sensation fiction and kitchen literature. However, in the third chapter of this study I discuss the negative view and contempt with which this kind of literature was regarded by the critics of the time; despite Reynolds being singled out, he was the most read novelist in the mid-Victorian era to such an extreme that his works were pirated and plagiarised in the US, while being regarded as English literary classics in India. His writings were addressed to a proletarian readership, which took in the new literate men and women of the new working class by means of his personal concern on cultural freedom, parity and tolerance amongst classes being transferred onto his writings.

With this in mind and in order to attempt to provide an explanation for the questions above, the viewpoint of New Historicism comes to the front as a necessary interpretive tool. By studying and construing the above novels within the socio-historical context of both author and critics, the present research intends to establish and ponder on the degree of

13, 2013, <https://ainsworthandfriends.wordpress.com/2013/02/13/the-man-who-wasnt-dickens/> and “G. W. M. Reynolds” [obituary] *The Bookseller*, July 3, 1879, 600-601.

¹⁵ Graham Law, “Reynolds’s ‘Memoirs’ Series and ‘The Literature of the Kitchen,’” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 199-210.

devotedness in Victorian servants; to show how blind loyalty was originated in the first place from the lower class towards the upper class, and to study the existing void between reality and fiction as regards the divergence between historical and cultural representations of the figures of domestic servants in that particular time frame.

Contextual background

The fact that it was mostly women who occupied these menial positions is particularly indicative of gender distinctions. Women outnumbered men in domestic service and were depicted accordingly in literature by Reynolds. But how this depiction by a male writer was able to produce an impact on the subsequent novels involving household plots written from the 1860s onwards? Was he influenced by the historical events taking place at the time or was he influencing the society and predisposing it against or in favour of domestic service by adding wood to the fire of the servant problem or by defending the loyalty and acknowledgement of their sense of place showed by these meek servants?¹⁶ The present study is, therefore, an attempt to provide, on the one hand, a New Historicist perspective on power relations between masters and servants in the popular fiction penned by Reynolds and, on the other, to fill in the void originated within broader work accomplished by the few experts on Reynolds's oeuvre.

As we will see in depth in the first chapter, various critics have studied certain aspects of Reynolds's works. During the author's lifetime, scholars like Alexander Andrews, H. R. Fox Bourne, Thomas A. Clark, John Ross Dix and Charles Mitchell carried out studies which focused on Reynolds's journalism or on his adherence to Chartism. Eventually, other

¹⁶ Leonard Schwarz, "English Servants and Their Employers during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 52, no. 2 (1999): 236-56.

specialists renewed the interest on Reynolds's figure and writings, such as Dalziel –one of the first scholars who expressed an interest in the figure of Reynolds as a best-seller writer—; James –who compared the figures of Dickens, Thackeray and Reynolds; provided an extensive bibliography on secondary sources based on the works by the latter and studied the importance of Reynolds's newspapers addressed to a working-class readership—; Berridge –who put forward certain negative content analysis on some Reynoldian newspapers—; Humpherys –who focused on Reynolds's achievements and influences on commodity culture—; Jacobs –who compared the “penny bloods” by Reynolds and the street culture of the time—;¹⁷ Haywood –who analysed Reynolds's critical reception and the imprint of his radicalism on published works in the press—; Powell –who centred on the massive novel *The Mysteries of London* (1844-1848) in relation to the commercialism depicted on the “penny bloods”—; Carver –who paid attention to the “urban underworld” of Reynolds's writings—; Diamond –who studied the journalistic and political interests sustained by Reynolds—; and Shannon –who analysed the influence shed by Wellington Street on the figures of Dickens, Reynolds and Mayhew and the impact of the Charing Cross revolution in Reynolds's life—. Accordingly, this broad research is broken down and analysed in the first chapter of the present study.

So far, the current understanding of the topic of this research remains still in a vague stand, which has prompted my decision in undertaking the enterprise of turning such vague stand into an accurate one. I came across Reynolds's narrative by researching the novels written by Dickens on a previous project and I must admit that as I set out to read Reynolds's

¹⁷ For a detailed compilation of published penny bloods and old-time periodicals, see Bill Blackbeard and Justin Gilbert, “Peeps into the Past: A Detailed 1919 History of Bloods and Journals,” *Peeps into the Past* (blog), 2001. <https://peepsintothepast.wordpress.com/about/>

novels, I deemed pertinent to look into the liminality and complexity of his writing. His socio-political radicalism and pursue of tolerance amidst classes, together with the morale which was imprinted in his dramatically, beautifully written novels, led me to the problem statement that subsequently gave birth to the present research.

Rationale

Why is then this research relevant? First and foremost, because it attempts to provide some detailed answers to the questions previously risen. Secondly, because a more in-depth and detailed analysis of the bio-bibliography of this shadowed Victorian writer is long overdue. Besides, given the fact that part of the critical reception created around Reynolds portrayed quite a negative image of the writer at some levels, it is important for the sake of impartiality to discuss the origins and *raison d'être* of such an unfavorable connotation. Further to this, there are three scholars whose approach to literary criticism I would like to apply to my analysis of Reynolds in the fourth chapter of this research.

The first one is Stephen Jay Greenblatt (née 1943) one of the founders of New Historicism, who once said that “[...] literature is conceived to mirror the period’s beliefs, but to mirror them, as it were, from a safe distance [...]”¹⁸ or, in other words, every sample of writing produced in a given period can be considered a social production, either collective or individual and can therefore be treated as a document. Following his idea, the novels by Reynolds in the decade of the 1850s are invaluable to help us understand the birth and evolvement of Victorian servanthood. The second one is Mikhail Bakhtin who conversely stated that “[...] we evaluate our exterior not for ourselves, but *for others through others* [...]”

¹⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, “The Forms of Power and Power of Forms in the Renaissance”, *Genre* 15 (1982): 5.

We almost invariably attitudinize a bit before a mirror, giving ourselves one expression or another that we deem to be essential or desirable [...] I am not alone when I look at myself in the mirror: I am possessed by someone else's soul."¹⁹ Thus, I will explore how far a servant became a servant when adhering to the dressing code of the guild and adopting the attitudes expected from them by their masters. Lastly, Michel Foucault, who affirmed that "[...] the history which bears and determines us has the form of war rather than that of language. The driving forces behind that history are relations of power, not relations of meaning."²⁰

It will be precisely the Foucauldian thought the one I will mostly adhere to as it shows strong connections between power relations and the relations exhibited between masters and servants. In his book *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (1975), Foucault explains how the physical body became the object and target of power and control by elaborating on the concept of "docility." This notion will be central in my research when attempting to explain the high degree of obedience shown by servants to their masters and mistresses as early as the eighteenth century:

What was so new in these projects of docility that interested the eighteenth century so much? It was certainly not the first time that the body had become the object of such imperious and pressing investments; in every society, the body was in the grip of very strict powers, which imposed on it constraints, prohibitions or obligations [...] These methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of

¹⁹ Mikhail Bakhtin, "Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity," in *Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays by M M Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov, trans. Vadim Liapunov (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 33.

²⁰ Alesandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino, "Truth and Power: An Interview with Michel Foucault," *Critique of Anthropology* 4, no. 13-14 (1979): 131-137.

docility-utility, might be called 'disciplines' [...] They were different from slavery because they were not based on a relation of appropriation of bodies; indeed, the elegance of the discipline lay in the fact that it could dispense with this costly and violent relation by obtaining effects of utility at least as great. They were different, too from 'service', which was a constant, total, massive, non-analytical, unlimited relation of domination, established in the form of the individual will of the master, its 'caprice' [...] The historical moment of the disciplines was the moment when an art of the human body was born, which was directed not only at the growth of its skills, nor at the intensification of its subjection, but at the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely. What was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviour. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it. A 'political anatomy', which was also a 'mechanics of power', was being born; it defined how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines. Thus, discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies. (Foucault 1975): 136-138.

Foucault then states that as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the concept of docility was beginning to adopt a crucial position in respect to power relations and of how to control and subdue a human being to render it economically useful. Thus, by undermining the freedom of the human body and mind, it became easier to dominate by those willing to dominate others for their own benefit.

Even though the New Historicist approach is not entirely Foucauldian, I would like to establish a connection between these two points of view in relation to my research question, which is not other than the examination of the depiction in literature of the social conditions servants were made to endure in order to make a living not only for themselves, but for their

masters and mistresses. Hence, I consider a cross-section of the narrative published by Reynolds between 1850 and 1860 to set my analysis within a chronological frame.²¹

Objectives

Comprising of four chapters, the first part of this study focuses on the literary treatment bestowed on servants insofar as characters of vastly acclaimed novels. The questions I address concern the plausibility of divergence in this precise treatment as regards a male writer living in a specific historical period; the (absence of) relevance that this group of characters acquire in these novels in order to aid and serve as basal pillars for each of the plots within hybrid and multiple constructions; the relationships amongst these characters, their age in terms of the earliest they were recruited; and their physiognomy, dress code, positions they occupied and wages they received whether in the professional, upper or lower staff of a Victorian household. The second part, on the other hand, analyses the particular usage of servants as fictional characters implemented by Reynolds in some of his novels. Do they convey humour in their portrayals? Do they imply some sort of social criticism and condemnation of servitude? What were the social reasons behind their creation as either expendable, minor characters in the background or their categorical opposite?²²

By adhering to the New Historicist approach, inasmuch as it considers literature as a social drive which commits to the making of individuals, as well as to the Post-Structuralist

²¹ Jonathan Rose, "The Function of Penny Dreadfuls," in *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 367-370.

²² Jessica Hinds, "Servants, Secrets and Sensation Fiction: Reynolds and the Nineteenth-Century Literature of Crime," in "Revealing Bodies: Knowledge, Power and Mass Market Fictions in G. W. M. Reynolds's *Mysteries of London*," PhD thesis (Royal Holloway: University of London, 2015), 179-243.

doctrines of the plurality of meaning and textuality, chapters in this research deal with topics such as

- a) the art of communication: the delivery of written or verbal messages amongst servants or between them and their masters/mistresses and its relation to the power of gossiping or even conferring;
- b) the roots of the -at times- apparently loyal, unquestionable submission of the self from servant to master; is there room for the servant to develop self-dependence or the ability to rely on their own strengths and skills when faced with a difficult task?
- c) the Victorian system created to manage servitude; could/should there be a, metaphorically speaking, 'invisible hand' rocking the cradle of Victorian domestic microcosm? and the literary depiction of such a system in Reynoldian novels;
- d) the diverse roles within servitude and their function in bringing forth a certain caste of individuals or, in other words, were those roles the ones which shaped servants' selves within Victorian society?

In order to endow those topics with a well-founded, cogent theoretical background, I follow Michel Foucault as the philosopher who put forward the notion of *épistémè* and as a believer in the conviction that violence is intrinsic to the gist of domestic ideology. Thus, by both adopting and debating his views on repression and control of certain individuals within society, I intend to reconsider the questions previously raised.

Precisely, the latter definition will allow me to ascertain how rational men and women could be possibly conditioned into entering this sort of relationship with other rational human beings and how this fact was depicted within a specific moment in history through the means

of literature. But why in a specific moment and not throughout history as a whole? In 1982, Foucault commented on an interview that

“[...] the main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning. If you knew when you began a book what you would say at the end, do you think that you would have the courage to write it? What is true for writing and for a love relationship is true also for life. The game is worthwhile insofar as we don't know what will be the end. My field is the history of thought. Man is a thinking being [...]”²³

When taking his affirmation that ‘man is a thinking being’ one step further and into the field of power relations amongst human beings, a crevice can be noted on the fact of the nascency and existence of servants and masters, as a ‘thinking man’ could never be suffered to enter into a type of relationship that involved a faithful allegiance to another human being which entailed the giving up of their personal freedom without obtaining anything in return. Thus, I have attempted to form a connection between the Foucauldian legacy of power relations and the depiction of domestic workers in some of Reynolds’s narrative. Besides, in considering a New Historicist approach I have taken for granted the fact that literature –and popular literature in this case— is an essential means of perceiving the significance of the intellectual history of a given period in time and considered to be the fundamental condition of the Foucauldian *épistèmes* shaping every human being within a given culture.

Additionally, I intend to establish a reciprocity between the ideology implicit in the New Historicist approach and the question of plagiarism on the part of Reynolds. It has been surmised that many characters which conform his novels were in fact penned from those born

²³ Martin, L. H. *et al*, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (London: Tavistock, 1988), 9-15.

out of Dickens's imagination. Dawning, therefore, from recent research, I attempt to explore whether Reynolds was indeed a plagiariser of Dickens in this respect, helping thus create or enhance the alleged 'servant problem' on the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, was Reynolds's literary depiction of servants compliant with the setup of a stereotypical image of the Victorian domestic? If so, did he achieve this on his very own or through some sort of sycophantic imitation of Dickens's characters? ²⁴

²⁴ Michael Slater, *The Great Charles Dickens Scandal* (London: Yale University Press, 2013).

Chapter 1

The Presence and Absence of Servants in the English Literary Domestic Household between 1850 and 1860.

Topic review

The decade of the 1850s was most certainly enveloped in what subsequently would prove to be major sociohistorical events, such as the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851,¹ the publication of Darwin's *The Origins of Species* in 1859² and the warming up to the American Civil War and its repercussions on Britain,³ the expansion of the First Reform Act⁴ and the Disestablishment Act.⁵ Opening the decade, the summer of 1851 saw the success of the Great Exhibition which took place in the Crystal Palace in Knightsbridge, London, with over 10,000 miles of exhibits focusing on the English manufacturing industry and the British Empire. Printing presses, textile machines, folding pianos and steam engines were some of the artefacts that caused the most sensation amongst

¹ *Great Exhibition 1851. Official Catalogue* (London: Spicer Brothers for the Royal Commission on the Great Exhibition, 1851).

² Charles Darwin, *On the Origins of Species, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: John Murray, 1859).

³ Donald Bellows, "A Study of British Conservative Reaction to the American Civil War," *The Journal of Southern History* 51, no. 4 (1985): 505-526.

⁴ Robert Saunders, "The Politics of Reform and the Making of the Second Reform Act, 1848-1867," *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 3 (2007): 571-591.

⁵ F. Nigel Forman, "The Irish Question," in *Constitutional Change in the United Kingdom*, ed. F. Nigel Forman (London: The Constitution Unit, 2001), 43-76.

the over six million visitors the Exhibition attracted until its closure in October that year.⁶ Eight years later, the publication of *The Origins of Species* by Charles Darwin would bring about social repercussions such as the appearance of eugenics –a radical change in biology— an accentuated defence of capitalism and even a crisis of faith at an economic, political and religious level.⁷ Moving on to the 1860s, the American Civil War which ensued from an elongated dissension over slavery resulted in an invigorated dominance of the U.S. abroad and most particularly in England, who resorted to passing the Second Reform Act of 1867 on the enfranchisement of the male working class and the abatement of the upper-class gentry.⁸ A couple of years later, the Disestablishment Act was passed by Gladstone in order to relieve poverty and to effectuate the dissolution of the Church of Ireland, which meant that its ecclesiastical law would no longer be the law of the land.⁹

As a result of this newly established socio-political atmosphere, a shorthand was created to describe the dominant and overtly disciplined attitude towards labour that characterised the ‘Gospel of Work’ in Victorian Britain; a gospel indeed that preached the divinity of Work as the ultimate goal of every single human being. With new social echelons on the rise, the idealisation of the working classes and the criticisms against the upper ones,

⁶ *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851. From the Originals Painted for H. R. H. Prince Albert by Messrs. Nash, Haghe, and Roberts, R. A.* (London: Dickinson Brothers, 1854).

⁷ Donald MacKenzie, “Eugenics in Britain,” *Social Studies of Science* 6, no. 3-4 (1976): 499-532.

⁸ The Representation of the People Act 1867, 30 &31 Vict. c. 102, also known informally as the “Second Reform Bill”, the “Second Reform Act” or the “Reform Act of 1867” was the main topic in the plot of the novel *Phineas Finn. The Irish Member* (1869), by Anthony Trollope, another literary rival of Dickens. In this respect, please cf. Sheen Ben Philip, “Trollope and Dickens: Can Nuance Survive Centuries?” *Binge Mad* (blog), June 17, 2020, <https://bingemad.com/2020/06/17/trollope-and-dickens/>

⁹ The Disestablishment Act or Irish Church Act 1869, 32 &33, Vict. c. 42.

Victorian society endured an important transformation on its approach to labour and this somehow conveyed an impact on the family structure.

Every household member experienced a certain degree of change in their role(s). The gradual reform that had initiated around 1846 and which included the creation of the Law Society in 1827,¹⁰ the Institute of British Architects in 1834¹¹ and the British Medical Association in 1856¹² prepared the way for the coming into being of new professions, new selves and the so-called 'New Woman'. This whole process culminated in a strengthened bureaucratic activity between 1868 and 1885 with the domestic –and often characterised as histrionic— legislation of Gladstone and Disraeli,¹³ with the former being responsible for conducting a moral crusade especially concerned amongst other aspects with the Matrimonial Causes Act previously passed in 1857.¹⁴ Ladyships now had to ensure that their homes were

¹⁰ The Law Society of the United Kingdom was instituted in 1827 and incorporated in 1831 and 1845. Formed by solicitors, attorneys and proctors, it offered lectures for articled clerks and students in 1833.

¹¹ Founded in 1834, the Institute of British Architects would be granted its Royal Charter three years later and promoted architectural education in the United Kingdom as well as establishing the Architects' Registration Council of the United Kingdom (ARCUK) and the Board of Architectural Education under the Architects (Registration) Acts 1931 to 1938.

¹² The creation of the British Medical Association in 1856 and the General Medical Council in 1858 contributed to the regulation of medical practice throughout the United Kingdom after the cholera epidemic that took place in 1854. This meant the formalisation of medical training and the increase in the number of doctors and medical schools.

¹³ Cf. Philip Magnus, *Gladstone* (London: Murray, 1963) and Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966) for a detailed biographical account of these two politicians.

¹⁴ The campaign launched by English social reformer Caroline E. S. Norton was the one leading to the passing of the Matrimonial Causes Act 1857, which granted divorce not by the ecclesiastical courts, but through the Law Courts provided that the husband managed to make evident his wife's adultery or that the wife was able to prove her husband's adultery together with incest, bigamy, cruelty or desertion. Clearly, the Act showed a differential gender treatment at this stage.

regarded as oases of peace by their husbands upon their returning from work by becoming the leaders of the household or ‘the commanders of an army of servants’ in the words of Mrs Isabella Beeton:¹⁵

Her spirit will be seen through the whole establishment; and just in proportion as she performs her duties intelligently and thoroughly, so will her domestics follow in her path. Of all those acquirements, which more particularly belong to the feminine character, there are none which take a higher rank, in our estimation, than such as enter into a knowledge of household duties; for on these are perpetually dependent the happiness, comfort, and well-being of a family (Beeton 1861, 1-2).

The success and concept of the Victorian nuclear family –the so called ‘home, sweet home’— was therefore solely dependent on the figure of the ladyship, the mother, the commander. Thus, when mulling the relationship between the domestic events taking place in real life and shaping history and society and those portrayed in popular representations, a series of theories and writings come to the front. In the next pages, I critically analyse them in order to ascertain what is indeed already known about the topic of domestic household in Victorian Britain in the 1850s. Did its literary representations at the time –centred on the servant as the new ‘must have’ of the household— helped consolidate society? Did that cause an eventual schism with the notion of nuclear family and help with the progression towards the ‘ruptured’ or dyadic family of the 21st century? ¹⁶

The current research in the context of existing literature

¹⁵ Mrs Isabella Mary Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London: S. O. Beeton Publishing, 1861).

¹⁶ Deleire and Kalil (2002) have classified the 21st century family into twelve different types. See “Good Things Come in Threes: Single Parent Multigenerational Family Structure and Adolescent Adjustment” *Demography*, 39, no. 2 (2002): 393-414.

So far, the literature produced around the problem statement of the present research – the depiction in literature focusing on a New Historicist viewpoint without shadowing or excluding other views of the social conditions servants were made to endure in order to make a living— comprises a series of studies ranging from the topics of autobiographical accounts penned by servants to the so-called ‘servant problem.’ Therefore, before I attempt a critical systematisation of such literature, I would like to explore the position of the present, original research in such a context. British social and cultural historians of the 18th century overlooked the figure of the servant as regards their function in society.¹⁷ As a matter of fact, it would not be until the decade of 1970 that some demographers started to devote this ‘occupational group’ some particular attention, which was likely to have surfaced from their study of the psychological concept known as ‘life-cycle service,’ originated in early modern England and which showed that half of all young women were employed as servants in the households of middle-class families.¹⁸

At the end of the 19th century, however, historiographers such as Lucy Maynard Salmon remarked the need for looking into how servanthood had indeed become an intrinsic part of the working class in America.¹⁹ Her study was the seed that gave rise to further research and speculation on domestic workers as crucial beings for the development and progress of the social echelon of the labouring class. A good example of this was the research

¹⁷ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: England, 1991).

¹⁸ Laura Betzig, “The Helpless. Women Who Raised Other Women’s Children”, *The Political Animal* (blog), *Psychology Today*. September 18, 2011, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-political-animal/201109/the-helpless>. This Darwinian historian mentioned that “Something called ‘life cycle service’ was common in early modern England. More than half of all young women were ‘in service,’ working as domestics in the houses of their betters, between the ages of 15 and 24. They were usually unmarried. But they were helpful, among other things, as nannies.”

¹⁹ Lucy Maynard Salmon, *Domestic Service* (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd, 1901).

carried out by J. J. Hecht in 1956, which focused on the servants' duties by resorting to epistolary resources and written daily accounts of their routines yet this time in England.²⁰

Already in the 21st century, the historian Carolyn Steedman confirmed this by stating the following:

Domestic servants were used –more than any other social group— to write histories of the social itself. This was an important aspect of their function, not the same as dusting, boot-cleaning and water-carrying but, rather, an involuntary labour, by which they were employed by all manner of legal theorist and political philosophers, to think (or think-through) the social and its history (Steedman 2009, 13-14).²¹

Therefore, weighing up the studies conducted by pioneer researchers in the field of domestic service throughout the 18th century as well as the main ones that followed opens up the possibility of carrying on with their research adhering instead to different and more contemporary approaches such as New Historicism with Jeanne Clegg in 2015²², which facilitates the exploration of literary mechanisms of docility and subjugation deployed in Reynoldian novels embedded in the specific time period of 1850-1860. Apart from the standpoint of New Historicism, there are other relevant disciplines that can be taken into consideration for the classification of the existing literature that follows, i. e., Cultural Materialism on the one hand and opponents of New Historicism, who aim for a return to textual meaning in any given literary work, on the other. Some scholars have already accomplished similar studies to the one I have currently undertaken, as in the case of the

²⁰ Joseph Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956).

²¹ Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost: Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²² Jeanne Clegg, “Good to Think With: Domestic Servants, England 1660-1750,” *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4, (2015): 43-66.

above-said Clegg in relation to the 17th and 18th century literature or, as early as 2002, Jennifer Liethen Kunka, whose doctoral dissertation focused on novels written by diverse authors in the Victorian period.²³

Previous research

Servants in the English Domestic Household

Raffaella Sarti in her “Final Report. Conclusions. Domestic Service and European Identity”²⁴ analyses in detail the chronological evolution of servants and slaves from the 18th to the 21st century not only in England and Wales but also in other European countries such as Spain, Italy, Norway, France, Germany, Belgium and Czech Republic. Setting out from the “Servant Project”, brought about for the purpose of looking into the comprehensive history of the domestic service together with its roles, functions and links to current crucial topics such as emigration, (un)employment, or even the existing relationship between citizens and the State through the starting point of family unit, she tackles the research statement of the role played by the domestic household in the formation of European identities. Basing her argumentation on quantitative and statistical data –with the exception of probate inventories—, Sarti succeeds in adhering to an even-handed perspective when presenting the information, without excluding a series of conflicting factors that affect the development of her research statement. Some of the most persuasive theses that she makes use of have to do with the reasons why people were sent into service both in past and present times; the

²³ Jennifer Liethen Kunka, “Acts of Distinction: Victorian Servants and Constructions of British Middle-Class Subjectivity,” PhD thesis (Purdue University, 2002).

²⁴ S. Pasleau, Raffaella Sarti and I. Schopp, *The Socio-Economic Role of Domestic Service as a Factor of European Identity*. PDF file. 2005. [Microsoft Word - Raffaella Sarti-Final Report-Servant Project-deposito lega. \(uniurb.it\)](#).

different status between apprentices and servants within a given household; the educational function of domestic service; Daniel Roche's affirmation of the figure of servants as cultural mediators in the 18th century and the ulterior motives for servant keeping.²⁵ Her report is highly beneficial for a better understanding of the evolvement of domestic workers from the 18th century onwards as regards their role in setting up the formation of social identities.²⁶

In another article written in collaboration with Delpiano, Sarti feedforwards in its introductory lines some papers included in the aforementioned volume that focus on the influence that domestic workers had on the upbringing of the children whose families they served.²⁷ By resorting to literary narratives and other geographical material in England and France from the 17th to the 21st century as their main supportive evidence, all authors study the assignment of different roles to servants as regards the potentially negative or positive influences they could have on the children of the house. This is one of the focal points I have found here. The other one deals with the identification of an important difference in the terminology, i. e., the authors recommend that whereas the words 'servant' and 'maid' are to be used when referring to the past, the expression 'domestic worker' is to be used when referring to more recent times out of political correctness. This introduction is extremely useful when researching on the discernment of the perils of certain relationships between

²⁵ Daniel Roche, "Les Domestiques Comme Intermédiaires Culturels," in *Les Intermédiaires Culturels: Actes du Colloque du Centre Méridional d'Histoire Sociale, des Mentalités et des Cultures*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Aix-en-Provence, Paris: H. Champion, 1978), 189-202.

²⁶ In this respect, the doctoral thesis by Fae Ceridwen Dussart establishes a very interesting comparison between the servant figure and that of their master and mistress in the dual context of female servants in Britain and male servants in India. Fae Ceridwen Dussart, "The Servant/Employer Relationship in Nineteenth Century England and India," PhD thesis (University of London, 2005).

²⁷ Patrizia Delpiano and Raffaella Sarti, "Introduction", *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 4, (2007): 485-491.

servants and masters/mistresses and other household members, culturally and emotionally speaking. Interestingly enough, Sarti presents in an ensuing study an overview on the history of servants from the 1960s until 2014 by adopting a global, demographic perspective and relies on the fact of the initially expected decline and the eventually unexpected revival of the domestic service as her main argument.²⁸ Her review of the work by Lucy Maynard Salmon is certainly compelling, as are her ideas on the ‘servant shortage,’ the transformation of the service in the 20th century²⁹ and the journey towards further research on those fields.³⁰ In this respect, the following excerpt provides a clearly summarised view,

By 1901, fewer boys from poor families wanted to trudge through the mud as farmhands, or dress up in antiquated knee-breeches and fetch and carry as footmen. Fewer country girls flocked to London to work day and night as cooks, cleaners and nurserymaids. And, instead of complaining about their servants’ poor performance, rich women in 1901 worried whether they could find any servants at all. In fact, there was a ‘servant shortage’! As a result, servants’ wages were rising, compared with the overall

²⁸ Raffaella Sarti, “Historians, Social Scientists, Servants, and Domestic Workers: Fifty Years of Research on Domestic and Care Work,” *IRSH*, no. 59 (2014): 279-314.

²⁹ Fanny Louvier, “Beyond the Black and White: Female Domestic Servants, Dress and Identity in France and Britain, 1900-1939,” *Cultural and Social History: The Journal of the Social History Society* 16, no. 5 (2019): 581-602.

³⁰ Some examples include the impermeability of Victorian separate spheres for male and female servants; the extension of universal rights to these servants in terms of their working conditions; the elaboration of a global history of domestic service; and an answer to the question formulated by Joan C. Tronto, “Are there alternatives to hiring domestic servants?” in “The ‘Nanny’ Question in Feminism,” *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 17, no. 2 (2002): 34-51. See also Joan C. Tronto, *Caring Democracy: Markets, Equality, and Justice* (New York: NYU Press, 2013); Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk and Silke Neunsinger, eds., *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015); Lynette Felber, ed., *Clio’s Daughters. British Women Making History, 1790-1899* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007); and Louise Fargo Brown, *Apostle of Democracy: The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943).

cost of living. This meant that some people could no longer afford to employ a live-in domestic help. In 1901, a smaller proportion of families had servants than in 1851: around one in six, rather than one in four. Even so, there were still more people working as servants than in any other kind of job -except farm labourers. But times were changing fast.”³¹

Also engaging is the amount of bibliography included in her paper, as it covers a wide range of studies by demographers, social scientists and feminist scholars throughout Europe and the US. Her conclusions are convincing in that she calls for attention to the still unanswered question of the appropriateness of developing a new theoretical framework to research the figure of the domestic worker as a worker with universal rights.

Carolyn Steedman studies a similar topic to Sarti but is more concerned with a re-reading of the functions and roles of servants throughout the 18th century with an emphasis on female ones. Steedman ponders on the intertwining of the servants’ dream and the servants’ problem until nearly the turn of the century and examines the ethical conflict between obtaining a situation in a household and coming to terms with the crude realities of the job.³² By presenting evidence based on the written (self-)representations of servants such as *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740), by Samuel Richardson, she attempts to provide an explanation of how the social histories of England took shape in the period from 1760 to 1830. Her argument supporting the theories of Victorian labour and property is coherently put forward, as is her agreement with the researchers J. J. Hecht and Bridget Hill.³³ In addition, Hill’s consideration of servant labour as ‘the subject of a legally binding agreement between

³¹ Fiona Macdonald, *Victorian Servants, A Very Peculiar History* (Brighton, Great Britain: Book House, 2011), 178.

³² Carolyn Steedman, *Labours Lost. Domestic Service and the Making of Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³³ Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England*; Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 57.

two parties' (p. 57) is consistently developed with evidence from social history, especially in relation to their wages. One more argument I have found essential for the understanding of the servants' problem is the one referring to the *Proposal for the Amendment and Encouragement of Servants* (1752),³⁴ wherein she examines the possible solution of offering servants in London a savings and banking system as well as economic rewards for their employers. With her conclusions stating her reassembling of the social aspect of history regarding domestic service, she agrees with the views suggested by Bruce Robbins in that the presence of domestic service intrinsically implied the absence of the figure of the servant, represented in the new 19th century literary fiction as a kind of 'invisible hand' which cradled the extra-familial relationship between master/mistress and servant.³⁵

Starting from Steedman's findings, Clegg explores the fact of the servant figure having been disregarded by social and cultural historians until the 1980s and adds her own critical theories on the relationship between masters and domestic workers or the life-cycle service with the aid of evidence such as previous studies on material culture and the geospatial aspect of households, historiography and archival documentation.³⁶ She praises the exhaustive classification compiled by Sarti in 2014 about the roles and functions of servants and admits having been unable to take into account the entirety of the works mentioned in that study. Standing out from her research is the unbiased discussion on the works by Hecht and Hill, with the former being the first full-length analysis of the roles of servants in the 18th century and the latter focusing on the studies on that same subject by more modern historians

³⁴ Written anonymously and published in book format edited by J. Shuckburgh in London.

³⁵ Bruce Robbins, *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1986).

³⁶ Jeanne Clegg, "Good to Think With: Domestic Servants, England 1660-1750," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 4 (2015): 43-66.

of the 20th century. Her exploration is undoubtedly one that sheds the most light on the servanthood span in the two centuries prior to the Victorian period.

Further to this topic of domestic service, the scholar Jane Whittle goes back to the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries to rethink in a succinct paper the historical understanding of the term *work* and establishes a comparison between the workload assigned to women and that assigned to men as members of a household.³⁷ She bases her study on the defiance of the conclusions gathered by Tusser and Fitzherbert and provides evidence extracted from probate documents to sustain her disagreement.³⁸ Delving into that evidence, she delineates possible further research on her topic by pointing to diverse historical sources such as household accounts, advice books and depositions. This, together with her final remark about the shift in gender division of domestic labour up until the 18th century allows the readership to gain a more accurate discernment of the origins of the servant problem later in history.

Threading on the gender division chores, Heide Wunder puts together a brief reflection on the position of women servants within the domestic household as an independent economic and social unit.³⁹ Her arguments are evidenced by primary linguistic material as well as documents from the history of the legal system in Germany such as land registers. However, there is a lack of data contrary to this, which would have been useful in order to contextualise the opinion of the author. Two of the most convincing points of her

³⁷ Jane Whittle, “English Rural History, 1450-1650.” Paper presented at “Women’s Work in Early Modern Europe” (Jesus College: Cambridge, September 23-24, 2010), 7-11.

³⁸ See Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundredth Pointes of Good Husbandry* (London: Trübner & Co., [1573] 1878) and John Fitzherbert, *The boke of Husbandrie* (London: Thomas Berthelet, [1533] ca. 1540).

³⁹ Heide Wunder, “Unpacking Domestic Labour, Housewifery (Cultural Meanings, Training).” Paper presented at “Women’s Work in Early Modern Europe” (Jesus College, Cambridge, September 23-24, 2010): 2-6.

argumentation lie on the differentiation of the notions of *housework* and *domestic labour* within the concept of *oeconomia* –the management of household affairs— and the allusion to the life-cycle service endured by household servants. In a similar way to Whittle’s, Wunder’s study contributes in certain way to the understanding of the servant problem that would take place later on in the 19th century, as it explains the provenance of the need for the servant within the household.

Victorian servants

During the Victorian period, Sarah Stickney Ellis dedicated some chapters of her educational work *The Women of England* (1839) to explain the ethical attitude to be observed by mistresses towards their servants.⁴⁰ From the viewpoint of the Congregationalist indoctrination, Ellis takes the side of the servants to reflect on the moral bond between a mistress and her domestics arisen from their continuous, loyal service.⁴¹ Her narrative is in itself primary evidence which has proven to be an essential reading to understand the position of not only those in power but also those underneath within the Victorian household. Emphasising valuable knowledge and practical instruction, this periodical included a range of serial fiction –sometimes biographical— advice on birth control and other medical matters, gardening tips and fashion. Addressed to a female readership, the dress patterns soon became both its core content and trendsetting in Victorian London.⁴²

⁴⁰ Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The Women of England, Their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1839).

⁴¹ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters. Volume II: The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity 1791-1859* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

⁴² Rebecca N. Mitchell has commented on the second chapter of Ellis’s book, “Dress and Manners” (pp. 89-101) in her edition of *Fashioning the Victorians. A Critical Sourcebook* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018).

Likewise, one of the essential and most extensive guides to managing the Victorian household was first serialised under the joint editorship of the author, Mrs. Beeton, and her husband in *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1852-1879).⁴³ Almost in its entirety a cookery handbook, this work offers crucial information on how the mistress and her domestic servants were expected to behave according to their gender, roles and duties and, as such, I have considered this guide as primary historical evidence in my research, together with the key work of Henry Mayhew, who with his social observation and classification of a diverse marginalised section of Victorian society in 1862 was able to provide invaluable evidence regarding the customs, manners and way of living of the working class and of those below them.⁴⁴ He devotes some chapters to the examination of servants and the “Female Servants’ Home Society” in particular;⁴⁵ the training institutions for servants; maidservants who waited on prostitutes; and the robberies committed by some servants. One of his most impressive assertions is the classification of people into workers and non-workers, which places servants in the group of “Those who *will* work” and within that as ‘servitors’ in one division –defined as “those who render some temporary service, or pleasure, as Amusers, Protectors, and Servants”(p. 566)— and in another division, “All other Classes”, he places male servants as opposed to “Those employed in Agriculture” and “Those employed in Manufacturers.” In my opinion, Mayhew’s analysis constitutes the most accurate research of its time on the social

⁴³ Samuel Beeton and Isabella Beeton, eds., *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (London: O. Beeton Publishing, 1856).

⁴⁴ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics of World Literature, [1861-1862] 2008).

⁴⁵ The Female Servants’ Home Society was a charity scheme set up in the London of 1836 to save young girls coming into the city from the rural areas looking for domestic employment but who ended up being forced to work as prostitutes in brothels.

functions of people on the other side of the law and at the bottom of the pyramid of social echelons.

In a later study, Peter Laslett (1965) resorted to statistical analysis to argue that conventional assumptions put forward by previous scholars and presents his own vision on the history of population and society before and up to the Industrial Revolution in England.⁴⁶ A convincing argument of his is the one referred to young females entering service before getting married. In addition, his breakdown on the number and positions of servants within the Victorian home has helped clarify the need for servants to carry out certain roles within the household.⁴⁷

Another scholar that resumes the breakdown effected by Laslett but from a different viewpoint is Leonore Davidoff. Adopting the gradual substitution of the Master and Servant Act of 1867⁴⁸ with the Employers and Workmen Act in 1875⁴⁹ as her main thesis, she establishes a comparison between the shift in the employment of servants and the new relationship between a married woman and her role in society from the viewpoint of submission from the vulnerable to the powerful or woman/husband and servant/master.⁵⁰ Having gathered evidence from prior research carried out by sociologists, she addresses the

⁴⁶ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost. Further Explored* (London: Routledge, [1965] 2015).

⁴⁷ Edward Higgs, "Domestic Servants and Households in Victorian England," *Social History* 8, no. 2 (1983): 201-210.

⁴⁸ The Master and Servant Act 1867 (30 & 31 Vict. c. 141) was passed during the conservative government of Disraeli and criminalised any breach of contract by a worker against their employer.

⁴⁹ The Employers and Workmen Act 1875 (38 & 39 Vict. c. 90) was passed during Disraeli's Second Administration. It stated that both employers and workers were to be levelled on an equal stand and that Civil Law was empowered to resolve any given breach of contract between them.

⁵⁰ Leonore Davidoff, "Mastered for Life: Servant and Wife in Victorian and Edwardian England," *The Journal of Social History* 7, no. 4 (1974): 406-428.

neglect which Factory and Workshops Acts,⁵¹ Trade Unions⁵² and even Trade Boards showed to these members of society.⁵³ Of particular interest is the reference she makes to the concept of *potestas*, regarding the amount of time one person was ‘owned’ by another, either an indefinite, temporary one in the case of servants or for life in the case of wives.

Another scholar tackling the question of the servant problem from 1820 to 1920 by focusing on the relationship between them and their masters and mistresses whilst positioning herself amidst the formers is Theresa McBride.⁵⁴ From the point of view of social behaviourism, she identifies a pattern on the conduct of certain servants when reacting to certain domestic issues such as complaints from the master. In this regard, her comments on the rate of infanticides committed by servants based on historical evidence is of no small relevance. Another argument which she brings forward is the aspect of acquiescence observed by servants before the power exerted by the master/mistress in the shape of written characters for example, or of sexual exploitation in the case of young female servants.⁵⁵

⁵¹ A series of Factory Acts between 1844 and 1867 attempted to regulate the conditions of industrial occupations in Britain, i. e., Grahams’ Factory Act 1844 (7 & 8 Vict. c. 15) granted children and woman of all ages a shift no longer than twelve hours and banned night shifts; the second Ten Hours Act 1847 (10 & 11 Vict. c. 29) restricted shifts to ten hours only; the Compromise Act 1850 (13 & 14 Vict. c. 54) provisioned shifts of up to ten hours from Monday to Saturday until 2pm; and the Extension Act 1867 (30 & 31 Vict. c. 103), which restricted working hours for women in any manufacturing process in factories of up to 50 employees and forbade the employment of children under eight.

⁵² R. V. Clements, “British Trade Unions and Popular Political Economy 1850-1875,” *The Economic History Review* 14, no. 1 (1961): 93-104.

⁵³ Graeme J. Milne, *Trade and Traders in Mid-Victorian Liverpool. Mercantile Business and the Making of a World Port* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).

⁵⁴ Theresa McBride, *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France 1820–1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

⁵⁵ “On the sexual front, it was not until 1861, with the Offences against the Person Act (24 & 25 Vict. c. 100) that even a minimal degree of protection against sexual predators was placed into law. There

Similarly, starting from the premise of the ‘compulsory’ invisibility of servants within the household as another form of exploitation, Professor Bruce Robbins explores their functions as archaic appendages to their masters and mistresses instead of as independent social entities.⁵⁶ The innovative scholarly analysis of class that he offers in his arguments has been key to determine the precise object of the roles they were expected to undertake in the Victorian home. His evidence is based mainly on narratives, wherein he inspects their purpose in the plot, dialogue and end of the Victorian novel.

One more author who continues with the issue of servants’ invisibility is D. A. Kent, who studied in depth the work by Hecht and pointed out its internal discrepancies and absence of quantitative analysis so as to support two core arguments, i. e., the invisibility status of female servants despite the higher proportion of its number compared to that of male servants on the one hand and, on the other, the reasons why certain individuals would become servants.⁵⁷ He therefore draws his attention to the fact of these ‘skivvies’ having been neglected by social historians due to some extent to a lack of historical, documentary evidence. His only supporting data come from the settlement examinations of the parish of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, Westminster, between 1750 and 1760, although he succeeds in producing some valid conclusions about the interrelation between the wages earned by female servants, the roles for which they were hired –maids of all work in general— and the

were three relevant paragraphs; all of which dealt with girls. The idea that a boy could be abused seems to be more than British lawmakers were capable of comprehending.” (Dr Bruce Rosen, “Sexual Abuse and Sexual Exploitation of Victorian Children,” *Victorian History* (blog), October 13, 2010, <http://vichist.blogspot.com/2010/10/sexual-abuse-and-sexual-exploitation-in.html>)

⁵⁶ Bruce Robbins, *The Servant’s Hand: English Fiction from Below* (Durham: Duke University Press, [1986] 1993).

⁵⁷ D. A. Kent, “Ubiquitous but Invisible: Female Domestic Servants in Mid-Eighteenth Century London,” *History Workshop Journal* 28, no. 1 (1989): 111-128.

economic benefits of marriage. Contrary to the discrepancies observed by Kent, Hill also examines the work by Hecht and taking as her primary evidence the newspapers, diaries, memoirs and other narrative excerpts is able to produce an even more detailed study on the actual lives of servants in 18th century England.⁵⁸ She focuses on the stereotype of the male servant in a large household as well as on the sexual harassment frequently suffered by female servants from their masters, which enables her to move on to the topic of servants and sexuality. I have relied on these two arguments for my approach to power relations among servants and masters on the fourth chapter of the present research.

Moving on to an economic perspective, Matthew Woollard briefly considers the usage and changes of statistical and occupational data extracted from censuses from 1851 to 1951.⁵⁹ He starts from two distinctive viewpoints, the concept of domestic servant and the group of domestic offices wherein servants were classified. He shares the arguments put forward by Charles Booth in 1886 and Henry Baylis ten years later regarding the roles taken by servants and the legal relationship between them and their masters and mistresses.⁶⁰ The tables that Woollard includes in his paper are clear indications of the transformations that took place

⁵⁸ Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domesticity in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

⁵⁹ Matthew Woollard, "The Classification of Domestic Servants in England and Wales, 1851-1951," Paper presented at the *Proceedings of the Servant Project* (Oslo, June 13-15, 2002), 1-22. Cf. Sandra Stanley Holton, "Friendship and Domestic Service: The Letters of Eliza Oldham, general maid (c. 1820-1892)," *Women's History Review* 24, no. 3 (2015): 429-449; and Catherine Esther Beecher, *Letters to Persons Who Are Engaged in Domestic Service* (New York: Leavitt & Trow, 1842).

⁶⁰ Please see Charles Booth, "Occupations of the People of the United Kingdom, 1801-1881," *Journal of the Statistical Society* XLIX (1886): 314-444; and Thomas Henry Baylis, *The Rights, Duties and Relations (Legal and Social) of Domestic Servants and Their Masters and Mistresses: With a Short Account of Savings Banks, Government Annuities, Servants' Institutions, & C., and Their Advantages...* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., [1857] 2010).

within occupational data, especially amongst genders. Still within this economic overview, Rebecca Stern focalises her main thesis on the notion of fraud as intrinsic to Victorian popular fiction by deconstructing the Victorian home into different components and drawing her attention to the figure of the servant as a combination of reputation, labour and financial security within their roles.⁶¹ From the viewpoint of the marketplace as regards domestic employment and with a mixture of case studies as primary evidence and narratives as secondary evidence to support her statements, she discusses how servants contributed –or were presupposed to contribute— to fraudulent activities or even how they managed to place themselves in a position that enabled them to negotiate for power control within the household as a Gestalt. Her arguments on the professional mobility of servants, then, their possible ferrying ‘portable property’ out of the home, the perquisites and the dual, subconscious hostility that they conveyed from and towards masters/mistresses as well as the contrast between what actually made them good or bad servants are effective so as to understand the changes that the domestic service was undergoing at this period in history.⁶²

Similarly, Kristina Straub attempts to reinstate the figure of the servant in the historical research of the 21st century in her doctoral dissertation.⁶³ By placing emphasis on issues such as servant disloyalty, insubordination or the corruption of the morality of the 18th century household, this scholar addresses the origins in the making of the modern family. Her arguments follow those of Robbins, Hecht, Hill and Steedman in that servants were constitutive of social structure while adding those relative to the servant problem in literary

⁶¹ Rebecca Stern, *Home Economics. Domestic Fraud in Victorian England* (Ohio: The Ohio State University Press/Columbus, 2008).

⁶² K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008).

⁶³ Kristina Straub, *Domestic Affairs: Intimacy, Eroticism, and Violence between Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2008).

criticism first stated by Michael McKeon in his work *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (2005).⁶⁴ One argument that I have found particularly interesting—together with the case studies that Straub presents as her main source of evidence—is her elaboration on the emergence of the servant problem from the conduct literature of the 18th century. I have expanded in the third chapter of the present research on one of her case studies, the novel *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) by Samuel Richardson, in order to establish a comparison with another novel by G. W. M. Reynolds, *Mary Price, or The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1851-1852), as regards the solutions offered by each author to the servant problem.⁶⁵

Without leaving the above topic of conduct literature, Jean Fernández⁶⁶ takes into account the *Servants' Magazine* and the esteemed advice manuals written in the 19th century by Mrs Motherly, Mrs Isabella Beeton and William Kitchiner,⁶⁷ in order to evaluate a series of arguments on the field of domestic (il)literacy during the Victorian period, i. e., the contribution by servants to their households by means of their being able to read and write and its implications on the general well-being of the family; the unfolding of hysterical behaviour about mass literacy; the culture of orality among servants; and the connection between servant narratives (including autobiographies) and the bourgeois readership.⁶⁸ She

⁶⁴ Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2005.

⁶⁵ London: Penguin Classics, 1985.

⁶⁶ Jean Fernández, *Victorian Servants, Class, and the Politics of Literacy* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁶⁷ *The Servants' Magazine*, no. 1-29, (London: Ward and Co., Pater Noster Row, 1838-1866); Mrs Motherly, *The Servant's Behaviour Book* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1859); Isabella Mary Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London: S. O. Beeton Publishing, 1861); and William Kitchiner, *The Housekeeper's Oracle* (London: Whittaker, Treacher and Co., 1928).

⁶⁸ Reema W. Barlaskar, "Servants Voices and Tales in the British Gothic Novel, 1764-1847," PhD thesis (Wayne State University, 2017).

puts forward her theses by having a close look into the representations of the figures of servants and their occupational categories in some Victorian novels written by either female or male authors. The one referring to the autobiographical accounts by servants has been of significant interest as it discusses the taxonomies of class and the impairment of working-class subjectivity in the case of servants. To accomplish this, she relies on the following narratives, *The Life of a Licensed Victualler's Daughter, Written by Herself*, by Mary Anne Ashford;⁶⁹ *Poems*, by William Hay Leith Tester -La Teste-;⁷⁰ *Aunt Janet's Legacy to her Nieces. Recollections of Humble Life in Yarrow in the Beginning of the Century*, by Janet Bathgate;⁷¹ and *The Christian Watt Papers*, by Christian Watt.⁷² Also on the topic of autobiographical servant narrative, the analytical study carried out by Ellen O'Brien on the literary representation in England of the marginalised figure of the servant between 1870 and 1939, which includes autobiographical accounts by servants as her primary evidence is worth noting.⁷³ Taking as a basal point the educational reform carried out by Gladstone in the late Victorian period, she discusses the interpretations of such accounts inferred by some social historians later in history such as Lucy Lethbridge, Tessa Boase, Catherine Bailey, Pamela Sambrook, Jeremy Musson and Jill Franklin and concludes on the silent or invisible status of

⁶⁹ London: Saunders & Otley, 1844.

⁷⁰ Elgin: Jeans & Grant, 1865.

⁷¹ Selkirk: G. Lewis, 1894.

⁷² Published posthumously in Collieston in 1988 by Caledonian Books under the edition of David Fraser.

⁷³ Ellen O'Brien, "The Servant's Memoir: Remembering Life in the Victorian Country House," *The Victorianist: BAVS Postgraduates* (blog), May 23, 2016,

<https://victorianist.wordpress.com/2016/05/23/the-servants-memoir-remembering-life-in-the-victorian-country-house/>.

the servant figure, only broken when authors appertaining to the upper classes made use of them in their fictions for certain moralistic purposes.⁷⁴

In the case of Iman Sheeha,⁷⁵ another scholar who explores conduct literature, she unfolds in her doctoral dissertation the functions and roles performed by servants between 1590 and 1620 by closely examining five English tragic plays within the domestic narrative, *Arden of Feversham*,⁷⁶ *A Warning for Fair Women*,⁷⁷ *A Woman Killed with Kindness*,⁷⁸ *A Yorkshire Tragedy*⁷⁹ and *The Witch of Edmonton*.⁸⁰ Being those tragedies her primary evidence, she approaches her research from the standpoint of the socially belittled and intends

⁷⁴ Please cf. Lucy Lethbridge, *Spit and Polish: Old-Fashioned Ways to Banish Dirt, Dust and Decay* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016); Tessa Boase, “The Strange Ritual of the Servants’ Christmas Ball,” *Tessa Boase* (blog), December 29, 2018, <https://tessaboase.com/the-strange-ritual-of-the-servants-christmas-ball/>; Catherine Bailey, *The Secret Rooms* (London: Penguin Books, 2013); Pamela Sambrook, *The Servants’ Story: Managing a Great Country House* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2016); and *A Servant’s Place: An Account of the Servants at Shugborough* (Staffordshire: Shugborough Estate, 1989); Jeremy Musson, *Up and Down Stairs: The History of the Country House Servant* (Great Britain: John Murray Publishers, 2009); and Jill Franklin, “Troops of Servants: Labour and Planning in the Country House 1840-1914,” *Victorian Studies* 19, no. 2 (1975): 211-239.

⁷⁵ Iman Sheeha, “Staging the Servant: An Examination of the Roles of Household Servants in Early Modern Domestic Tragedy,” PhD thesis (University of Warwick, 2013).

⁷⁶ Attributed variously to Thomas Kyd, Thomas Watson, Christopher Marlowe and Shakespeare under the Shakespeare Apocrypha, *The Lamentable and True Tragedie of Mr Arden of Feversham in Kent* (London: Edward White, 1592).

⁷⁷ Thomas Heywood?, *A Warning for Faire Vvomen. Containing, The Most Tragical and Lamentable Murther of Master George Sanders of London Marchant, Nigh Shooters Hill. Consented Vnto by his Owne Wife, Acted by M. Browne, Mistris Drewry and Trusty Roger Agents Therin: With Their Seuerall Ends* (London: Valentine Sims, 1599).

⁷⁸ Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (London: William Jaggard, 1607).

⁷⁹ Attributed to Shakespeare and Thomas Middleton, *A Yorkshire Tragedy. Not so New as Lamentable and True* (London: Thomas Pavier, 1608).

⁸⁰ William Rowley, Thomas Dekker and John Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton. A Known True Story* (London: J. Cottrel, 1658).

to answer the question of whether these theatrical depictions had a part in bringing about certain transition in the society of the time or whether it was society itself the one which brought about these literary, stereotyped representations of people oppressed by others in power. Rooting her study on concerns of political nature, she revises ideologies inherent to the domestic microcosm and applies them to her re-reading of those fictional plays without finally settling the topic in her conclusions.

Entering now into the world of confrontation between master/mistress and servant, Christopher Frank re-examines the work of the Chartist William Prowting Roberts (1806-1871) directed against masters and magistrates regarding the Master and Servant Act first passed in 1823, with a focus on the legal battles that ensued from disputes between domestic workers and employers in the legal terrain of this law.⁸¹ Frank defends the arguments put forward by the labour historians Douglas Hay and Robert Steinfeld,⁸² and the evidence he gathered from the weekly journal *Justice of the Peace*.⁸³ Thanks to his accurate analysis of specific cases, he manages to fill the void left by previous trade union historians on the governing law clauses of the 1840s and more specifically on the opposition against the attempt to reform the Master and Servant Act 1823 in 1844.⁸⁴ In his conclusions, he notices an existing gap as to the reasons why prosecutions for the infringements of this Act were

⁸¹ Christopher Frank, *Master and Servant Law: Chartists, Trade Unions, Radical Lawyers and the Magistracy in England, 1840-1865* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

⁸² See Robert J. Steinfeld, *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, eds., *Masters, Servants and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

⁸³ Published in 1837, it was the first magazine on legal cases and criminal courts in England and Wales and is now known as *Criminal Law & Justice Weekly*.

⁸⁴ This Master and Servant Act Reform intended to extend and clarify the Master and Servant Act 1823 (4 Geo. IV c. 34).

quite significant whereas actual imprisonment was not and suggests further research on the applications of the law concerning industrial relations and the extent to which ideology is relevant.

New Historicism and Cultural Materialism

With the main line of his thesis being the expansion of disciplinary society as one entity, Foucault ponders with great detail on the systems created by the human being to control and repress his peers, i.e. the prison, the police and hierarchies in general.⁸⁵ His study has been crucial for the unfolding of my own, especially in terms of my re-reading of his philosophical reflections on systematic control procedures and policies within a given society and the application of his considerations to my research statement. Gathering evidence from many historical sources, Foucault manages to deconstruct the reasons for the gradual disappearance of physical punishment during the 19th century and the introduction of a psychological one which entailed methods of panoptical control and submission. His four statements regarding the functioning of the carceral system have been the ones I have followed in the present research to attempt to answer the question of the blind loyalty shown from servants towards their masters and mistresses. From his *History of Sexuality*,⁸⁶ I have chosen to follow the Foucauldian analysis of the types of disciplinary power that operate in any particular epoch and applied his demystifying reasoning to the literary depiction of the world of servants in some novels by G. W. M. Reynolds. Given that the Victorian was indeed a period when memoirs written by servants started to occupy a foremost place in literature and when in an equal manner confessions about sex lives began to come to light, the

⁸⁵ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1975] 1991).

⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality. Volume One. The Will to Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1976] 1990).

hierarchy of power began to shift from a vertical structure to a horizontal one; this is to say, the complex network of power relations was being transformed as regards the connection between the notions of knowledge and power.⁸⁷

Other New Historicists such as Gallagher and Greenblatt explain and demonstrate in their manual *Practicing New Historicism* how New Historicism delves into questions usually neglected by other disciplines such as marginal texts, events or any other anecdotal insights.⁸⁸ It is precisely this method the one I have chosen for my approach towards the unveiling of the literary representations that Reynolds carried out about the figure of the servant in some of his novels and whether this had an effect on or was an effect from the society of the time. One of the most convincing arguments they present is the re-examination of the classic status achieved by certain literary works. In the case of Reynolds, this has helped me to attempt to determine why, for example, despite his having outsold Charles Dickens on numerous occasions, he was never 'awarded' the status of canonical author. With evidence from historiographical contexts and counter-historical methodologies, these two New Historicists undertake the task of explaining how literature in the 19th century began to accept as normal what was considered abnormal in relation to the notion of cultural ideology.

Also adhering to the New Historicist approach, Liethen Kunka explores in her doctoral thesis⁸⁹ the servant problem by means of its depiction in certain fiction narrative of the 19th century, *The Greatest Plague of Life, or The Adventures of a Lady in Search of a*

⁸⁷ Ruth Robbins and Julian Wolfreys, eds., *Victorian Identities. Social and Cultural Formations in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Great Britain: MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1996).

⁸⁸ Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).

⁸⁹ Jennifer Liethen Kunka, "Acts of Distinction: Victorian Servants and Constructions of British Middle-Class Subjectivity", PhD thesis (Purdue University, 2002).

Good Servant,⁹⁰ *Bleak House*,⁹¹ *No Name*,⁹² *Lady Audley's Secret*, *Aurora Floyd*,⁹³ *The Hand of Ethelberta*⁹⁴ and *Esther Waters*.⁹⁵ Having collected evidence from previous studies by Pierre Bordieu and Michel Foucault and confronting the servant representations in the above novels with some others appertaining to neo-Victorianism such as *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, *Morpho Eugenia*, *Alias Grace* and the film *Mrs Brown*,⁹⁶ Kunka argues that the usage made of the absence of the servant figure by the latter serves to articulate an innovative definition of subjectivity within historiographic metafiction.

The scholar Donald Phillip Valeri explores the inception of the moral, servant leadership by also following previous theories and research by Robert K. Greenleaf and in the case of the 19th century, by Henry David Thoreau, Alexis De Toqueville, Georg Hegel, Ralph Waldo Emerson and John Stuart Mill.⁹⁷ Resorting to ethical, philosophical and historical tracts, Valeri focuses on several concepts such as transformational leadership or the contingency theory but excludes the history of ethics and any other theories on leadership that

⁹⁰ The Brothers Mayhew, eds., *The Greatest Plague of Life, or The Adventures of a Lady in Search of a Good Servant* (London: David Bogue, 1847).

⁹¹ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1853).

⁹² Wilkie Collins, *No Name* (London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co., 1862).

⁹³ Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (London: William Tinsley, 1862) and its sequel *Aurora Floyd* (Richmond: William Tinsley, 1863).

⁹⁴ Thomas Hardy, *The Hand of Ethelberta. A Comedy in Chapters* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1876).

⁹⁵ George Moore, *Esther Waters. A Novel* (London: Walter Scott, Ltd., 1894).

⁹⁶ John Fowles, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969); A. S. Byatt, *Morpho Eugenia* a novella published as *Angels & Insects* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1992); Margaret Atwood, *Alias Grace* (Canada: McClelland & Stewart, 1996); and the film *Mrs Brown*, DVD. Directed by John Madden (UK: Buena Vista International, 1997).

⁹⁷ Donald Phillip Valeri, *The Origins of Servant Leadership* (Missouri: Greenleaf University, 2007).

do not refer to servants. His conclusion that only servant leaders can save democracy and humanity is an debatable one given the lack of evidence manifest throughout his research.

G. W. M. Reynolds in critical context

The text by Margaret Dalziel, *Popular Fiction One Hundred Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History* is essential in this study as it was practically the first which appraised Reynolds as a preeminent, ‘voluminous’ writer within Victorian fiction.⁹⁸ After introducing the field of the commonly named ‘cheap literature’⁹⁹ before the 1840s, Dalziel defended the zeal with which Reynolds continued to write his penny weekly series together with his impeccable writing style as opposed to other contemporaries of his such as Edward Lloyd or Charles Dickens. She then moved on to describe Reynolds’ attitude to immorality, pornography and the depiction of cruelty and debauchery in some of his novels and ended with an allusion to his political radicalism. She hypothesised that his attitude may have been due to the frequent attacks on the ethos of cheap literature at the time, focusing mainly on the contrast between his fictional narratives and the sociohistorical events of the period as evidence.¹⁰⁰ This text has indeed been a great contribution to the current thesis, as it not only offers a detailed analysis on the role that the characters which inhabited the pages of the ‘penny dreadful’ novels were assigned within the plots but also brings forward the work of certain Victorian writers left in oblivion.

⁹⁸ Margaret Dalziel, *Popular Fiction One Hundred Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History* (London: Cohen and West, 1957).

⁹⁹ Ruth Richardson, “Street Literature,” *Discovering Literature: Romantics & Victorians*, May 15, 2014, accessed June 26, 2020, <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/street-literature>

¹⁰⁰ Madison Elizabeth Natt, “Mary Elizabeth Braddon's 'Unknown Public': The Penny Dreadful and the Sensation Novel,” PhD thesis (Florida State University, 2017).

As already mentioned in its title, the study by Louis James –*Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England*— centred on Victorian literary fiction designed for the working class in England.¹⁰¹ Some of the arguments that outstand in his study point to the reasons for the appearance of Edward Lloyd and G. W. M. Reynolds as plagiarisers of Charles Dickens; the domestic story as the core of the penny fiction published in the 1840s and the religious tracts read by the upper classes in that period.¹⁰² His evidence is based on an extensive bibliography on Reynolds and a measured evaluation of penny-issue novels in English fiction and their publishers in London.¹⁰³

Turning now to the field of Victorian journalism and its relation to a readership of domestic workers, Virginia Berridge –after identifying a gap in the mass-circulation of Sunday papers— analysed in a somewhat brief article the environs of the two leading papers, namely *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (1842-1930) and *Reynolds's Newspaper* (1850-1900) by resorting to quantitative data such as readership patterns, percentages of advertising and news content, references to social class in editorial material and the popularity in their circulation.¹⁰⁴ Of special interest are her arguments on the booming commercialisation of the traditions of the radical press and the connection between the loyal readers and those papers until the 1860s, which she discusses regarding the significance of the paper run by Reynolds

¹⁰¹ Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

¹⁰² G. H. G. Hewitt, "The Religious Tract Society in the Social History of the Nineteenth Century," *The Churchman: A Quarterly Journal of Anglican Theology* 63, no. 2 (1949): 97-103.

¹⁰³ Mary Shannon, "Spoken Word and Printed Page: G. W. M. Reynolds and 'The Charing-Cross Revolution', 1848," *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 19, no. 18 (2014): 1-19.

¹⁰⁴ Virginia Berridge, "Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society," in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable, 1978), 247-264.

in the Nine Hours' Movement which took place between 1859 and 1861¹⁰⁵ and of his active role in the Sunday trading riots of 1855. Her conclusions are particularly relevant to my research statement in that they expose the fact that Reynolds was convinced that the political dominance exerted by the aristocracy was the central problem of the poignant situation of the working class. It is precisely on the social system of class that Louis James established in one of his papers a class analysis comparison between the novels of *Oliver Twist*,¹⁰⁶ *The Mysteries of London*,¹⁰⁷ and *Vanity Fair*,¹⁰⁸ by Dickens, Reynolds and Thackeray, respectively. He began his argumentation by signalling a simultaneous appearance just before 1813 of the working class and popular fiction.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, he penned a discussion on another paper on a range of periodicals addressed to a working class readership with special emphasis on *Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art*¹¹⁰ and centred

¹⁰⁵ "It [*Reynolds's Newspaper*] was actively involved in many of the causes -anti-Sabbatarianism, anti-poor law, and so on- which attracted the support of the artisan working class in the 1850s and 1860s. And its appeal funds supported causes as varied as the Preston operatives in 1853, two young soldiers who had fallen foul of the police during the Sunday trading riots in 1855, the engineers' strike at Newcastle in 1871 and the Tichborne Claimant from 1871-3" (Berridge 1978, 252).

¹⁰⁶ Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist; or, The Parish Boy's Progress* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838).

¹⁰⁷ G. W. M. Reynolds, *The Mysteries of London, Containing Stories of Life in the Modern Babylon* (London: The Booksellers, 1890). Prior to being edited in book format, it was published in weekly penny issues between 1844 and 1846 and was subsequently titled *The Mysteries of the Court of London* until 1855.

¹⁰⁸ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair: Pen and Pencil Sketches of English Society* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1847).

¹⁰⁹ Louis James, "The View from Brick Lane: Contrasting Perspectives in Working-Class and Middle-Class Fiction of the Early Victorian Period," *Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981): 87-101.

¹¹⁰ First published in London from 7 November 1846 until 19 June 1869, at which point it merged with another periodical, *Bow Bells*, which ran until 22 February 1897.

on the input with which this readership contributed to the production and sales of this kind of serialised fiction.¹¹¹

As regards the field of print culture, Edward Jacobs addressed in one of his studies the urban street culture by drawing evidence from Victorian critics such as Charles Knight, Henry Mayhew, James Grant, James Greenwood and Hepworth Dixon, with the intention of establishing a comparison between that particular kind of culture, the penny gaff theatricals and the ‘penny bloods’ written by Reynolds and Lloyd between 1830 and 1870.¹¹² His argument stating the concern showed by the critics aforementioned regarding the pernicious influence of this fiction amongst the working and low classes in Victorian society is quite relevant when exploring the fact that hegemonic institutions such as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge¹¹³ were actually trying to include this echelon into the middle class, Christian ethos. He closed up his study by affirming the imposition of mainstream culture onto other types of culture which were seen as marginal due to the morals inherent to them.¹¹⁴ Further to this, Sara Felicity James compares in her doctoral dissertation the fiction by Eugène Sue and Reynolds in terms of their characterisations of the life in Paris and London

¹¹¹ Louis James, “The Trouble with Betsy: Periodicals and the Common Reader in Mid-19th-Century England,” in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1982), 349-366.

¹¹² Edward Jacobs, “Bloods in the Street: London Street Culture, ‘Industrial Literacy,’ and the Emergence of Mass Culture in Victorian England,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 18, no. 4 (1995): 321-347.

¹¹³ The SDUK was founded in 1826 by Lord Brougham and aimed to furnish people of scarce pecuniary means appertaining to both the working and the middle class with educational texts and publications.

¹¹⁴ Paul Schlicke, “Popular Culture and the Impact of Industrialisation,” *Discovering Literature: Romantics & Victorians*, May 15, 2014, accessed June 26, 2020, <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/popular-culture-and-the-impact-of-industrialisation>

respectively, through the lens of their literary representations in their novels *Les Mystères de Paris*¹¹⁵ and *The Mysteries of London*. To make some of her arguments more solid, she relies on previous research carried out by Louis James in 1963.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Stephen Carver studies the antagonistic and competitive, professional relation between Charles Dickens and G. W. M. Reynolds¹¹⁷ with evidence gathered mainly from their writings and from the research by Louis James and Trefor Thomas.¹¹⁸ Focusing on *The Mysteries of London*, Carver discusses these writers' response to the literary market and the plots they would employ accordingly. Continuing in this field of narrative culture and following a tripartite structure, Haywood approaches in his book the progression of popular literary fiction in Britain from the Romantic to the Victorian period by contrasting a wide range of archival documentation as well as primary, narrative resources.¹¹⁹ After dedicating the first two parts to the reflection on how print culture transformed the dissemination of knowledge at the end of the 18th century, the new modes of literary production, the wars of the 1830s, radical journalism, repression and monitorialism, Haywood pays special attention to Chartism and to the key role that G. W.

¹¹⁵ Eugène Sue, *Les Mystères de Paris* (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1844). See also Edward R. Tannenbaum, "The Beginnings of Bleeding-Heart Liberalism: Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 3 (1981): 491-507.

¹¹⁶ Sara Felicity James, *Capital Tales: The Urban Mysteries of Eugene Sue and G. W. M. Reynolds* (Birmingham: Birmingham University Press, 2001).

¹¹⁷ Stephen Carver, "The Man who wasn't Dickens: A Profile of G. W. M. Reynolds (1818-1879)," *Ainsworth and Friends Essays on 19th Century Literature & The Gothic* (blog), February 13, 2013, <https://ainsworthandfriends.wordpress.com/2013/02/13/the-man-who-wasnt-dickens/>.

¹¹⁸ Thomas Trefor, "G. W. M. Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*: An Introduction," in *The Mysteries of London*, ed. Thomas Trefor (Keele: Keele University Press, [1844] 1996), IX.

¹¹⁹ Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics, and the People, 1790-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

M. Reynolds played in it.¹²⁰ Thus, after reviewing the concept of Chartism and some chartist fictions of that period, he analyses the critical reception of the works written and published by Reynolds by establishing a comparison with Edward Lloyd, another populist, radical entrepreneur also described as ‘phobogenic’, in the words of Frantz Fanon,¹²¹ and convincingly argues the pertinence of the radical literary tradition to which both of their fictions adhered. On another study, Haywood reflects on how the radical press of the Victorian period attempted to solve the problem of the exclusion from the press of ideologies contrary to the hegemonic one and the addressing of the culture of remembrance or radical memory.¹²² Adopting the viewpoint of materialist historicism and the political formulations by Walter Benjamin, Haywood sheds light on the two issues above and focuses on the contributions by Reynolds from the paper named after him, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*¹²³ and Edward Lloyd through his *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*.¹²⁴ His conclusion asserts the impact of these two newspapers onto the collective, historical memory and how this reinforced the progress and evolution of the mass-circulation papers until the present day. In like manner,

¹²⁰ Rob Breton, “Portraits of the Poor in Early Nineteenth-Century Radical Journalism,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 21, no. 2 (2016): 168-183. As regards monitorialism, see Christopher Robert Bischof, “Making Good: British Elementary Teachers and the Social Landscape, 1846-1902,” PhD thesis (The State University of New Jersey, 2014).

¹²¹ See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1952).

¹²² Ian Haywood, “Encountering Time: Memory and Tradition in the Radical Victorian Press,” in *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers*, ed. Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 69-87.

¹²³ *Reynolds’s Weekly Newspaper* was published in London between 18 August 1850 and 19 June 1879.

¹²⁴ *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper* was published in London between 1842 and 1912 under different titles, i. e., *Lloyd’s Illustrated London Newspaper* (1842-1843); *Lloyd’s Weekly London Newspaper* (1844-1848); *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper* (1849-1902); and *Lloyd’s Weekly News* (1902-1912) (“Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper,” *The British Newspaper Archive*, last modified 2020, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/lloyds-weekly-newspaper>).

and placing special emphasis on urban journalism in the Victorian period, Mary L. Shannon analyses the figures and fiction by Richard Henry Horne, Douglas Jerrold, Dickens, Henry Mayhew, G. W. M. Reynolds, George Augustus Sala and Marcus Clarke from the viewpoint of print culture/network.¹²⁵ Following previous research by Anne Humpherys and gathering evidence from the Victorian press and more specifically by the digitised newspapers created and edited by the aforementioned authors, she argues how all of them –working from Wellington Street and the Strand in London and Collins Street in Melbourne— had a common way of representing and conceiving their readerships. Her chapter on Reynolds has been of particular interest to the present study, as it deals with the activist role he played within Chartism and the links he established in some of his novels, such as *The Mysteries of London*, between himself and his readers in order to favour his radical politics and make a transformation in society.

On the other hand, Sally Powell explores the commodification of the human body in the context of industrial commercialism and its literary representations on the penny blood fiction, especially on *The Mysteries of London*.¹²⁶ Her contextualisation of the penny blood fiction sheds new light on the fresh tastes that working class readers were acquiring in that period. This, together with her consideration on the ‘cadaverous trading’ (p. 46) is relevant for a better understanding on the basis of sensation fiction. In addition, the narrative evidence she provides, i.e. *Oliver Twist*, *Life in London* and *The String of Pearls* contributes to raise awareness of the terrible health problem at the time and how that found its way onto

¹²⁵ Mary L. Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds, and Mayhew on Wellington Street. The Print Culture of a Victorian Street* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

¹²⁶ Sally Powell, “Black Markets and Cadaverous Pies: The Corpse, Urban Trade and Industrial Consumption in the Penny Blood,” in *Victorian Crime, Madness, and Sensation*, ed. Andrew Maunder and Grace Moore (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 45-58.

serialised fiction.¹²⁷ Further to this, the compilation of essays centred on the life and works by Reynolds edited by Anne Humpherys and Louis James has been essential to understand the socio-political circumstances in which he wrote his novels and edited his periodicals.¹²⁸ With studies ranging from his populist fiction and politics to the translation of some of his novels into Bengali, Humpherys and James succeed in rescuing from the oblivion the figure of the author who outsold Dickens. Whereas James delves into the social and historical melodrama that Reynolds adhered to by following the steps of Edward Lloyd, Graham Law devotes his research to the ‘literature of the kitchen’ by focusing on the combination of realism, melodrama and sexual indecorum in Reynoldian fiction. Ellen Bayuk Rosenman, on the other hand, compares the central plots in *Mary Price, or The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* by Reynolds and *The Dark Woman* by Malcolm J. Errym, with the intention of discovering the relation between class and narrative conventions.¹²⁹ The extensive bibliographical appendices by James and Helen Hauser are indeed the most accurate to be found today.

¹²⁷ Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist; or, The Parish Boy's Progress* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838); Henry Thornley, *Life in London: A Romance* (London: E. Dipple, 1846); and either Thomas Preskett Prest or James Malcolm Rymer, *The String of Pearls; or, The Barber of Fleet Street. A Domestic Romance* (London: Edward Lloyd, 1850).

¹²⁸ Anne Humpherys and Louis James, eds., *G. W. M. Reynolds: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008).

¹²⁹ Malcolm J. Errym, *The Dark Woman; or, The Days of the Prince Regent* (London: John Dick, 1860). Apparently, ‘Errym’ was the anagrammatic pseudonym for Malcolm J. Rymer. A very informative article by Sarah Hackenberg compares Rymer and Reynolds in the context of the historical imaginary of popular romance as regards their novels *Varney, the Vampire; or, The Feast of Blood. A Romance* (London: E. Lloyd, 1847) and *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf* (London: John Dicks, 1848), respectively. See Sarah Hackenberg, “Romanticism Bites: Quixotic Historicism in Rymer and Reynolds,” in *Edward Lloyd and His World: Popular Fiction, Politics and the Press in Victorian Britain*, ed. Sarah Louise Lill and Rohan McWilliam (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2019), 165-182.

Other scholar who researched Reynoldian fiction was Trefor Thomas, who offers his personal re-reading of *The Mysteries of London* starting from a quote by Henry Mayhew about the figure of the costermonger.¹³⁰ He highlights the populist vision offered by Reynolds in this novel alongside the political discourse embedded in it and the political causes he supported such as the creation of a National Pension Fund,¹³¹ the abolition of death penalty,¹³² the reform of prisons¹³³ and women emancipation,¹³⁴ all of which formed part of his radical, social discourse. Apart from this, a chapter in the doctoral dissertation written by Suchetta Battacharya is devoted to the analysis of the Bengali novel *Haridaser Guptakatha* [*The Secrets of Haridas*], originally translated from Reynolds's *Joseph Wilmot or the Memoirs of a Man-Servant*¹³⁵ Her arguments coincide with those offered by Louis James, Anne Humpherys, Michael Shirley, Richard Maxwell and Ian Haywood in their respective

¹³⁰ Trefor Thomas, "Rereading G. W. Reynolds's *The Mysteries of London*," in *Rereading Victorian Fiction*, ed. Alice Jenkins and Juliet John (Hampshire, England: MacMillan Press Ltd., 2000), 59-80.

¹³¹ A National Pension Fund was created for nurses in 1887. See Norman McCord and Bill Purdue, *British History 1815-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹³² Between the late 17th century and the early 19th century, the British legal system was known as the 'Bloody Code', which comprised around 200 offences being punishable by death. Between 1688 and 1815 some of these offences included pickpocketing, shoplifting or tree-cutting. In the 1840s, Dickens and Thackeray expressed their disgust towards such penalty and in 1861 it was finally abolished for most of these offences except murder, high treason, piracy and arson. See Randall McGowen, "History, Culture and the Death Penalty: The British Debates, 1840-70," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 29, no. 2 (2003): 229-249.

¹³³ Randall McGowen, "A Powerful Sympathy: Terror, the Prison, and Humanitarian Reform in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 3 (1986): 312-334.

¹³⁴ Clare Midgley, "British Women, Women's Rights and Empire, 1790-1850," in *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Grimshaw, Katie Holmes and Marilyn Lake (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001), 3-15.

¹³⁵ Suchetta Battacharya, *Cultural Hybridity: A Study of Translations and Adaptations of G. W. M. Reynolds in 19th Century Bengal*, PhD thesis (Jadavpur University, India, 2012).

studies and she further introduces her next comparative literature project on the cross-cultural transformation of Reynoldian female characters in popular Indian culture.¹³⁶ Another doctoral dissertation by Jessica Hinds is devoted to the analysis of one of the novels by Reynolds, *The Mysteries of London*, in terms of cultural power and working class self-government.¹³⁷ The arguments she presents on surface reading, literary censorship as a method of repression and control,¹³⁸ the Anatomy Act 1832 in relation with servants' corpses¹³⁹ and the role of the servant within the plots of crime fiction constitute a source of reflection that points to previous research carried out by a long list of scholars.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Suchetta Battacharya, "The Mysterious Women of G. W. M. Reynolds and Their Indian Sisters: A Study in Cross-Cultural Transformations of the Female Figure in Popular Culture," *CRASSH Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2012, <http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/people/profile/sucheta-bhattacharya>

Unfortunately, this project has not gone ahead. The author has informed me in a very kind email that, "India is a country of 22 languages as you might know. When I did my PhD on Reynolds' reception in Bengal, I focussed on only one language which also happens to be my mother-tongue. I know Hindi too but the other languages that Reynolds was adapted in, I did not know at all. Reynolds was not only adapted in the languages of the south of India but also in a state like Kashmir. All with different languages. I was over-ambitious in conception of my project, little realizing that I actually needed a whole team versed in specific languages of India to take on something like that. So, I started it, but I couldn't wrap it up though my interest in Reynolds remains as keen as ever." Suchetta Battacharya, "Reynolds," email, 2020.

¹³⁷ Jessica Hinds, "Revealing Bodies: Knowledge, Power and Mass Market Fictions in G.W.M. Reynolds's 'Mysteries of London'", PhD thesis (University of London, 2015).

¹³⁸ Donald Thomas, *A Long Time Burning: The History of Literary Censorship in England* (New York, NY: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969).

¹³⁹ The Anatomy Act 1832 (2 & 3 Will. IV c. 75) allowed licensed doctors, medical teachers and their students to dissect donated bodies in order to end with the illegal trading of corpses.

¹⁴⁰ Sucheta Battacharya, Patrick Brantlinger, Walter Benjamin, Margaret Dalziel, Leonore Davidoff, Umberto Eco, Jean Fernández, Michel Foucault, Holly Fourneaux, Ian Haywood, Anne Humpherys,

Prior considerations around the depiction of servants in Reynolds's fiction

In the light of what has already been done, certain issues arise that must be addressed. First and foremost, there seems to be general agreement amongst most of the studies above on the fact that the figure of the servant has been neglected in the research carried out by social historians for a long time. Only towards the end of the 20th century and with the help of New Historicist approaches has this figure been brought back to surface in terms of its social importance. Second, the fact that studies centred on Reynolds only explore his most well-known novel, *The Mysteries of London*, shows how even when the scholars attempt to adopt a position that favours marginalised narrative as opposed to canonical literature, they are still leaving aside other novels that were still successful in that period and therefore incur in another kind of marginalisation within the writings of the same author. Surprisingly, only two extensive articles have been published on the analysis of the central plot of the novels written by Reynolds, *Mary Price, or The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* and *Joseph Wilmot or the Memoirs of a Man-Servant*, with *The Mysteries of London* receiving all the attention. The aspect of literary representation of servitude in other Reynoldian novels, apart from the ones already mentioned has not been given much consideration and this is something that the present research has aimed to cover. No contradictory cases on previous research have been found so far. Previous research has mainly continued with the hypotheses and theories presented by the initial scholars investigating the topic of servitude in the 19th century and its representations in the literature of the period.

Louis James, Sally Ledger, Brian McCuskey, David Payne, Sally Powell, Bruce Robbins, Ellen Rosenman, Michael Slater and David Vincent amongst others.

Chapter 2

G. W. M. Reynolds in Literature

The early life of a writer

George William McArthur Reynolds, son to Captain Sir George John Reynolds and Caroline Frances (née) Dowers, was born on 23 July 1814 in the parish of St Clement in Sandwich, Kent, where he was also baptised on 26 August that year. He was the eldest brother to another boy, Edward. After their father's death before 23 January 1823, when George was only eight, his will was granted probate and George received an inheritance which would mark his future not by the expanse of it but rather by the paucity of it.¹ Once the rest of the family had relocated to Canterbury, the fatherless boy started his education shortly afterwards, supposedly as a boarding student at a charity school in Ashford known as the Free

¹ Captain Sir George John Reynolds had signed his will on 16 October 1822. There has been much confusion within scholars around the exact amount of the inheritance both he and his wife bequeathed to their son George W. M. and when exactly he was made the recipient of it, but Dick Collins carefully examined on the biographical account he wrote about him all the information available on this regard and reached the conclusion that only £5,800 together with some land (and its income) of scarce value made up the whole of the legacy. Of this amount, George received £2,400, which included £1,000 to be exclusively invested on his education. When his mother died in 1830, she left him £400 only. He was also left an acre of land in Eastry and perhaps over £1,500 from her aunt Elizabeth, although this has never been confirmed. See Dick Collins, "George William McArthur Reynolds. A Biographical Sketch," in G. W. M. Reynolds, *The Necromancer*, ed. Dick Collins (Kansas City: Valancourt Books, 2007), vii-iv.

Grammar School² and run by Reverend John Nance, a Doctor of Divinity.³ Until 12 July 1828 and under his supervision, George developed a sound knowledge in the Liberal Arts before succeeding in his admittance at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, Berkshire,⁴ where he began his training as a Gentleman Cadet. This was a paramount transition in his education, given the renown of this Academy in producing British Army Officers. Dick Collins alludes to the possibility of his having obtained a scholarship to study here, given the lack of economic affluence of his family and favoured by the fact of his late father having been a Post Captain in the Royal Navy. Thus, at the age of thirteen, Reynolds had already started ascending the ladder of military training, following his father's career. However,

² This school was known as Ashford Grammar School since the 17th century and currently bears the name of The Norton Knatchbull School. An International School with Language and Science Specialisms. A report drawn by the Commissioners for the Education of the Poor in 1818 shows the apparent decline in the number of students attending it, "[...] There are now only three boys on the Foundation; there have been six or seven at one time since the appointment of the present Master... Dr Nance has about forty other scholars, most of them boarders, who receive exactly the same instruction as the Foundation boys. Each free boy pays 15s a quarter for instruction in writing and arithmetic; they are taught Latin and Greek gratuitously." *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Concerning Charities in England [and Wales] for the Education of the Poor*, 1-2 (1818), 83. Precisely, the fact that Reynolds studied in a charity school would perhaps determine his becoming an activist who wrote popular literature of struggle in his adult years.

³ Interestingly enough, there is the hypothesis that Rev. Nance made the acquaintance of Richard Harris Barham, whose *nom de plume* was Thomas Ingoldsby, the author of *The Ingoldsby Legends; or, Mirth and Marvels*, a compilation of pastiches first serialised in 1837 in *Bentley's Miscellany* (1836-1868) -edited by Charles Dickens from 1836 to 1838- and later in *The New Monthly Magazine* (1814-1884), before adopting the book format in ulterior publications between 1840 and 1847. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Barham was a teacher assistant at the school some time between 1812 and 1832.

⁴ The Royal Military College (RMC) was founded in 1801 in Buckinghamshire by Colonel John Le Marchant and eventually moved to Berkshire. In 1947, it merged with the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich, resulting in the current Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. Its purpose consisted in training cavalry and infantry regimental officers for Britain and its colonies.

Collins argues that not everything was going as well as it could be with Reynolds; he was transferred from the Second to the First Company on the grounds of being “withdrawn by his friends” (p. xiv), which suggested that he was either not suited to pursue a life in the military or that the achievement in his studies was deemed unsatisfactory.⁵ Following this transfer, Reynolds’s grandfather, Purser Dowers, apparently decided to take him out of the Academy on 13 September 1830, at the age of sixteen and not too long after the bereavement of his mother, Caroline. This decision clearly proves, as Collins put it, the impossibility of Reynolds having been present in the Revolution that took place in Paris in 1830,

Indeed, it was very unlikely that he was allowed to go there at all, until the situation calmed down. His guardians were not the sort to allow it. Duncan McArthur was a former Ship’s Doctor, now a surgeon in Walmer Road, Deal, and living in the nearby village of Walmer (one of his neighbours was the Duke of Wellington, at Walmer Castle); Thomas Brown King worked in the Royal Armaments, at the Tower of London. Neither seems obviously the type to allow a sixteen year old boy, who had just failed at military school, to go traipsing off to the Barricades in a foreign (and despised) land. And, of course, the finance for such a trip was lacking, for another seven years. We may add that if Purser Dowers was a typical English sailor of his time, having gone through the Napoleonic Wars at sea, he would not have been a great lover of the French, and no great advocate of his grandson going to live there (p. xv).

The next stage in Reynolds’s life begins with his coming of age at twenty-one during his stay in France. He was living in the Gallic country by 1835 and secured a job at the *Librairie des Étrangers*, located on 55, Rue Neuve Saint Augustin, Paris. This was a small bookshop, a reading room and a publishing house, whose lease he attempted to buy as a

⁵ Dick Collins, “George William McArthur Reynolds: A Biographical Sketch,” in *The Necromancer*, ed. Dick Collins (Kansas City, Missouri: Valancourt Books, 2007), vii-lvii.

foreigner, despite him claiming he had already become a French citizen.⁶ In time, he meets Susannah Frances Pierson,⁷ aged seventeen, the woman he would soon marry at the Anglican church of St Michael, near the British Embassy in France, on 31 July 1835. She was already pregnant with his child, George Edward, who was born only 54 days after the wedding and baptised on 20 January 1836 in that same church. Collins searched for the records throughout the period 1837-1858 that would prove that the marriage had actually taken place, but nothing could be found, presumably as it had been an underage marriage on the part of the bride and without obtaining the necessary permission from her parents.⁸ Also surprising is the fact of there not being any biographical details of her early life. Collins carried out an extensive and most minute research on her public records and found some remarkable contradictions. As Susannah enacted a crucial part in the life of Reynolds, sharing with him a deep interest in literature, politics and writing and being herself a minor novelist of radical inclinations, I have deemed it pertinent to adduce some of her biographic details in order to

⁶ Maha Atal, "G. W. M. Reynolds in Paris 1835-6: A New Discovery", in *Notes and Queries* 55, no. 4 (2008): 448-453. Reynolds claimed that he had obtained French citizenship shortly after his marriage with Susannah, but Collins disproved this on the grounds of his being married at the chapel of the British Embassy. Other scholars –including Humpherys– have since agreed with him and concluded that Reynolds would have fabricated this status in order to rebuff the intentions of his family to make him part of the British military system, following thus the extensive family tradition in that sector. Humpherys, for instance, contested a report of the Home Office which stated Reynolds's French naturalisation and service at the Garde Nationale (cf. "W. Weston to Sir George Grey", 18 April 1848, HO45. OS 2410, p. 345).

⁷ Some scholars –amongst whom I may cite E. F. Bleiler, Trefor Thomas and Louis James– have attributed to Susannah the surname Pearson instead of Pierson and differ on the year of her marriage with Reynolds, giving as possibilities those of 1833, 1837, 1844, or even 1848.

⁸ Heather Lee Nelson, "The Law and the Lady: Consent and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century British Literature," PhD thesis (Purdue University, 2015). Cf. Lisa O'Connell, "Dislocating Literature: The Novel and the Gretna Green Romance: 1770-1850," *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 35, no. 1 (2001): 5-23.

better understand the socio-personal context in which Reynolds brought his novels into existence. Setting out from the date of her demise, 4 October 1858, at the age of 40, Collins was able to theorise a possible birth-date between 5 October 1817 and 30 March 1819. As regards her place of birth, the Census taken in 1851 gives St Martin's-in-the-Fields, Middlesex. As Victorian censuses would only gather and accept information provided by the Head of the Household, Collins points out that the name of this location would have actually been given by Reynolds acting as Head, which is a significant fact inasmuch as other data supplied by him have been inconsistent or even concocted at times.⁹ The Christian name with which she was baptised has been the origin of some doubts concerning its spelling, with the only source for this being the Register of the British Embassy in Paris, where the surname Pierson can be read. Her marriage certificate, according to Collins, has been one of the most fruitful sources to ascertain more of her personal details. He was certainly gobsmacked to observe the lack of specific information on that document such as the name of her father, for example. Given that she was a minor when she got married to Reynolds, the question rises as to how -and whether- she obtained permission from her father. The signatures of the wedding witnesses are, on the other hand, conducive to the hypothesis that her marriage to Reynolds was the result of a previous elopement.¹⁰ As Collins puts it, the priest who conducted the ceremony –Matthew Henry Thornhill Luscombe— was a curate of dubious reputation to whom couples resorted when endeavouring to wed after secretly running off from home.

⁹ Please see footnote 6.

¹⁰ Those witnesses –Emelie de Baysen and F. Foucquet— were most likely friends of Susannah's. Collins explains that he has not been able to locate any such individuals in either the British or French records that he examined. Further to this, he indicates that the surname 'Baysen' was common in the Arab world and the fact that such a name was used as one of the witnesses of the ceremony is rather interesting as Reynolds –as we shall see later on in this chapter— was considered to be a pro-Arab or infidel.

Anyhow, Susannah not only proved to have been a loyal partner to Reynolds, but also an aspiring writer who received all possible support from her husband. Her only novel, *Gretna Green; or, All for Love*—first serialised between 8 September 1847 and 30 August 1848 in *Reynolds's Miscellany*— was based on the novel *Gretna Green*, written by Hannah Maria Jones, with both unfolding the story of an elopement, which bestows plausibility upon the conjecture aforementioned.¹¹ Other relevant writings by Susannah include a collaboration with W. E. Hall, *The Household Book of Practical Receipts*, and a song, “The Belle of the Village,” with music by Albert Dawes.¹² She would also offer invaluable help to Reynolds with the editorial revamp of the *Monthly Magazine*, a declining journal at the time, which quickly became one of the most read. After Reynolds’ falling out with some of his colleagues, however, he decided to resign and took Susannah with him, which marked the downfall of the journal.

Reynolds’s household

¹¹ Susannah Frances Reynolds (Mrs G. W. M. Reynolds), *Gretna Green; or, All for Love. A Domestic Tale* (London: John Dicks, 1849); and Hannah Maria Jones, *Gretna Green; or, the Elopement of Miss D--- With a Gallant Son of Mars. Founded on Recent Facts* (London: George Virtue, 1821), in two volumes. Cf. Lisa O’Connell, “Dislocating Literature: The Novel and the Gretna Green Romance: 1770-1850,” *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 35, no. 1 (2001): 5-23.

¹² Susannah Frances Reynolds (Mrs G. W. M. Reynolds), *The Household Book of Practical Receipts, in the Arts, Manufactures and Trades, including Medicine, Pharmacy, and Domestic Economy. Illustrated with Diagrams* (London: James Gilbert, 1847). Before being printed in book format, it had previously appeared in instalments in the *London Journal and Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art* (March 1845-November 1846). Regarding “The Belle of the Village,” it was published in *Reynolds's Miscellany* 2, (o. s.): 9. She also wrote “The Man-of-War,” published as well in *Reynolds's Miscellany* 1, (o. s.): 377; and another novel, *The Poacher's Daughter*, which appeared on *Weekly Magazine* 1 (1 January -1 July 1848).

In 1837, two years into their marriage, Susannah and George –after dwelling for a while in Paris at 12, Mont Thabor and unable to make enough money to live comfortably— saw themselves obliged to relocate to London, where they installed themselves in a house in Great Russell Street, in the Londonian district of Bloomsbury. A spell of economic catastrophes led them to change lodgings to 10, Upper Stamford Street, in the Borough, wherefrom they had to move, this time to number 36, up the road. Once again, economic struggles would take them to 193, Blackfriars Road, where their daughter Blanche was born in February 1839. Their next dwelling was at 8, Bedford Place, Bloomsbury. Unfortunately, following a rift with some of his colleagues at the *Tee-Totaller*, a magazine he set up on 27 June 1840, he decided to issue the last number on 25 September 1841 and unwillingly embarked on a journey through inebriety which in its turn led to his being declared bankrupt at the end of 1840 and his moving to 11, Suffolk Place, opposite Cambridge Heath Road in Bethnal Green, one of the most impoverished -yet most in vogue- districts in London at the time.¹³ They had four sons (George Edward, Frederick, Kossuth Mazzini and Ledru Rollin) and five daughters (Blanche, Theresa Arabella, Joanna Frances, Louise Clarice and Emily). With such large progeny, the need for servants to give them a hand at home would appear to be more than justified; however, Collins informs us that they were actually undergoing hardships which prevented them from hiring any domestics,

¹³ It is necessary to remember at this point that Reynolds had started a family of his own with exiguous savings inherited from his late parents. Despite his perseverance in procuring a well-established career in the literary field, fortune did not smile at him. This, together with his being impractical with the money he earned and quarrelling with colleagues in different appointments, led him into a route of subsequent bankruptcies, i. e., Paris in 1835 and London in November 1837, May 1839 and May 1840, with two stays at the Queen's Bench Prison for debt, one from May to November 1839 and another in 1840. In light of such a critical issue, the need for servants in his household had to be most certainly overlooked.

There were ten people in the house in all, in five different households, so that the Reynolds family cannot have had more than a single room, in which they would all live together. The ten may have shared a kitchen -it was a common arrangement- and washing facilities were probably at the sink, if there were any at all. Any money he earned was paid to the Official Receiver, through the Bankruptcy Office in Carey Street; his debts were serviced, and he was allowed the rest on which to subsist. It must have been a miserable life, especially for the children (Collins 2007, xxviii).

Some years go by and in 1844 Reynolds finally manages to secure some financial stability, which allows his family to settle in yet another but much better house in King Square, off Goswell Street and still in Bethnal Green, where his son Frederick is born in 1844 and his daughter Theresa Isabella in 1846. By 1848 they had moved again, this time to 7, Wellington Street, in the Strand, where his daughter Joanna Frances was born later on that year. Reynolds's brother Edward was also living there, in Lancaster Place. Two years later, in 1850, Reynolds financial situation is visibly improved and this allows the family to purchase a holiday country seat in Herne Bay, Kent, which probably helped Susannah's health, which had started to become somewhat shaky. Precisely in this year, the family was residing at Clinsby Villa, in Tollington Place, in the district of Islington. It was here where his son Kossuth Mazzini was born. Collins notes that the origins for such a name lie on the admiration his father felt towards the political ideology of both Lajos Kossuth and Giuseppe Mazzini.¹⁴ Withal, he would be known as 'George' in his adult years. Lamentably, around 15

¹⁴ Lajos Kossuth de Udvard et Kossuthfalva (1802-1884) was a talented Hungarian orator and political leader –Governor-President of the Kingdom of Hungary during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848— who devoted his life to fighting for freedom, eventually earning him the cognomen 'Father of Hungarian Democracy.' Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) was an Italian politician and radical activist who fought for the unification of Italy and his thoughts helped promote popular democracy within both Italian and European Republican movements. Reynolds argued on one of his papers, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, on 13 April 1862, that "While we look upon Garibaldi as the sword, we [...] look upon

September 1850, during a holiday stay in Kent, Reynolds's eldest son, George Edward, developed a rash accompanied by a persistent fever, typhoid, which would result in his premature death some days later, on 23 September, aged only fifteen. He was consigned to the grave in the cemetery of Christ Church in Herne Bay. Three years later and still at the family residence in Islington, another child would be born, Ledru Rollin, named after the French democrat.¹⁵ As Susannah's health was deteriorating, Reynolds decided that the family should permanently fix their residence in Herne Bay. This took place in 1854, thanks to his taking a lease on Belmore Hall, which elevated the family status to that of 'gentry.' Precisely at this residence Reynolds and Susannah's two last children were born, Louise Clarice in 1854 and Emily in 1856. Sadly, two years later Susannah's heart stopped beating after collapsing at the family home. A doctor's examination established the cause of death as a 'disease of the heart,' which explained the poor health that she had endured for some years.

Shortly after her death, Reynolds moved back to London and settled at 41, Woburn Square. A friend of the family, Mrs Esther Goodban, a dressmaker, was asked to go to Mr T. Pope, the Registrar, to inform him of Susannah's death. This could most likely evidence a lack of servants in Reynolds and Susannah's household, as otherwise one of them would have been sent on that duty. In fact, there are hardly any data about the presence of servants in their household, with the exception of Edward Tozer, a servant in the home of a friend of the family, James Brooke Irwin, who in 1851 resided at 3, Mill Street in St George's Hanover Square, not far from their house in Wellington Street. Edward, born in Exeter, Devon, in

Mazzini as the pen of Italian emancipation [...] The one is the head which conceives, the other the hand which executes" (p. 4).

¹⁵ Alexandre Auguste Ledru-Rollin (1807-1874) was a Paris-born politician who advocated for the working class in his country and eventually had to self-exile to London after the upshot of the February Revolution of 1848.

1826, was requested to register Reynolds's death with the corresponding Registrar. There is, however, some information relative to two servants in particular who shared the same name, Betsy Marshall, in the household of Reynolds's godfather and legal guardian, Duncan McArthur, which Collins noticed and which I must now refer to. McArthur was born on 9 January 1772 at Killin, Perthshire ¹⁶ and pursued studies in Medicine which led to his being appointed as surgeon at the Royal Navy in 1793. He made the acquaintance of Reynolds's grandfather, Purser Dowers, when transferred to the Naval Hospital in Deal and they sustained a lifelong friendship. McArthur always practised as a surgeon and would stay single and childless, which accounted for his substantial savings. Around 1818, he employed a housekeeper, Betsy Marshall, born in Chichester, Sussex on 13 December 1780, who would remain in his service until the end of his life. Her good work was rewarded in his will, which was signed on 26 January 1848,

I give and bequeath the dividends interest and annual produce of one thousand pounds three pounds five shillings percent Bank Annuities/part of the stock now standing in my name in the books of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England unto my said housekeeper Betsy Marshall who has served me more than thirty years for and during the term of her natural life independent of any and every husband with whom she may intermarry (Collins 2007, xvii).

McArthur added six codicils to his will and on each one he again had Betsy in his mind. On 5/6 April 1850, he leaves her £100, whereas his linen and cloths go to the rest of his servants; on 14 February 1851, he leaves her £100 more; on 12 August 1852 and yet again on 24 March 1853 he states as follows,

[...] I bequeath to my present housemaid Betsy Marshall the further sum of fifty pounds to the sums of one hundred pounds one hundred pounds and one hundred and fifty

¹⁶ His place of birth has not been confirmed as yet, but the archival research accomplished by Collins points at Killin as the most probable.

pounds respectively bequeathed to her by my will and first and third codicils and in addition to the other articles bequeathed to her by my said first codicil and I direct that the said several sums and articles so bequeathed to the said Betsy Marshall shall be free of legacy duty which I direct to be paid out of my residuary personal estate... (Collins 2007, xviii).

For some reason, on the fifth codicil dated 23 December 1853, she is not mentioned whatsoever. And on the sixth and last codicil, dictated on 7 February 1854, the following is revealed,

Whereas by my will and the first third and fourth codicils thereto I have bequeathed to my housemaid Betsy Marshall therein respectively named several legacies or sums amounting in the whole to the sum of four hundred pounds Now I revoke the said several bequests to her... and instead thereof I bequest to my executors William Walt and George Mercer... the sum of four hundred pounds And I direct and desire... in the first place to pay to the said Betsy Marshall the sum of fifty pounds sterling part thereof the same to be for her separate use free from marital control And upon further trust to lay out and invest the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds sterling the residue thereof in their or his names or name in or upon any of the parliamentary stocks or upon government or real securities in the United Kingdom with power to vary the same from time to time for other investments of the description aforesaid And upon further trust to pay to her the said Betsy Marshall and her assigns during her natural life or to such person and persons as she shall from time to time and not by way of anticipation appoint to receive the same [...] (Collins 2007, xviii-xix).¹⁷

As Collins very rightfully points out, from the dates and wording of this final codicil the assumption is that there were in fact, two Betsy Marshalls instead of one. The Betsy Marshall born in 1770 would have been passed the age of procreating and she died in 1853. According to the 1841 Census, McArthur had employed three young servants aged fifteen, Hannah Earidge, Hannah Decker and Betsy Marshall -the housemaid-; a cook, Elizabeth Wybourne;

¹⁷ I have adhered to the exact punctuation transcribed in Collins's citation.

and the older Betsy Marshall, the housekeeper, aged approximately sixty. The reason why McArthur decides to bequeath the young Betsy a £400 trust fund and the old Betsy two silver spoons remains unclear to this date. Collins suggests a different sort of relationship to that of master/employee between McArthur and the young Betsy, not only on the grounds of the benevolent behaviour he showed towards both women, but also on the fact of them having the same name.

Coming back to Reynolds's household, his economic difficulties may have proven an obstacle to hiring servants. J. H. Walsh establishes a correlation between the different wages in vogue during the mid-1850s and the servant(s) that could be accordingly employed in his *Manual of Domestic Economy* (ed. 1857), where he explains that the proportion of a domestic establishment was dictated by the proportion of the income earned by the Head of the Household.¹⁸ Hence, an income of £350,

will not allow even of the above domestics and a maid-of-all-work must be the means of doing what is required, aided in some cases by a girl, or in others, by the younger members of the family. Fourth- The income No. 4 [£150] is barely sufficient to provide what is required for the family in the shape of lodging, food, and raiment, and therefore no servant can be kept, or, at all events, only such a young girl as it is quite useless here to allude to [...] (p. 221).

This means that a lower middle-class family, for example, would be able to hire just one maid-of-all-work, although this may not have even been the case in Reynolds's household during his on-and-off insolvency years; hence, more archival research is needed to ascertain this supposition.

¹⁸ John Henry Walsh, *A Manual of Domestic Economy: Suited to Families Spending from £150 to £1500 a Year. Including Directions for the Management of the Nursery and Sick Room, and the Preparation and Administration of Domestic Remedies* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1874), 221.

Political Ideology

In the years he spent in Paris, Reynolds expanded his literary knowledge by closely following the writings of Alexandre Dumas, Victor Hugo, Paul de Kock, Alphonse de Lamartine, Marquis de Sade, Frédéric Soulié and Eugène Sue; the cooperativist ideology of Louis Blanc and the vibrant, mythologically inspired and somewhat mannerist paintings of Paul Jacques Aimé Baudry.¹⁹ Back in London, he modelled on the political theories of

¹⁹ Having carefully considered their works, it seems plausible that Reynolds could have read some of them in French; hence, the following could be possibilities given their falling into the categories of Republicanism, gothic fiction, pornography -sadism- and sensationalism, which marked Reynolds's writings. Of course, this is only an assumption which further research could perhaps be able to shed light on: Alexandre Dumas, *La Tour de Nesle, drame en cinq actes et en neuf tableaux* (Paris: J. N. Barba, 1832), which he rewrote after the original piece by Frédéric Gaillardet / *The Tower of Nesle; or, The Chamber of Death*, trans. George Almar (London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, 1832); Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris: Gosselin, 1831) / *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*, trans. Frederic Shoberl (London: Richard Bentley, 1833); Paul de Kock, *Le Barbier de Paris* (Paris: Ambroise Dupont et Cie., 1827) / *The Barber of Paris; or, Moral Retribution*, trans. Robert R. Brough (London: Whittaker & Co., 1839), with a review published on page 82 of the third volume of *The Monthly Magazine* in January 1827; Alphonse de Lamartine, *Histoire des Girondins* (Paris: Furne et Cie., & W. Coquebert, 1847) / *History of the Girondists; or, Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution*, trans. H. T. Ryde (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849); Marquis de Sade, *Justine; ou Les Malheurs de la Vertu* (Holland: J. V. Girouard, 1791) / *Justine; or, Good Conduct Well Chastised*, trans. Pieralessandro Casavini (Holland: Associated Booksellers, 1791) -written thirty years after Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or Virtue Rewarded* (London: C. Rivington & Osborn, 1740), clearly a source of inspiration for Reynolds's *MP*; Frédéric Soulié, *Les Mémoires du Diable* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1838) / *Memoirs of the Devil* (translated and serialised as a penny blood in numbers 65-77 of *The Illustrated Penny Novelist*, published by John Cleave and wherefrom Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* (Paris: Ch. Gosselin, 1843) / *The Mysteries of Paris*, trans. J. D. Smith (London: D. N. Carvalho, 1844) took shape); Louis Blanc, *Histoire de Dix Ans. 1830-1840* (Paris: Pagnerre, 1842) / *The History of Ten Years, 1830-1840*, trans. Louis Blanc (London: Chapman and Hall, 1844); and the painter Paul Jacques Aimé Baudry, *Supplice d'une Vestale* [*The Martyrdom of a Vestal Virgin*], 1857, oil on canvas, 443 x 304 cm, Paris, Salon.

Thomas Paine, the iconic figure of George Bryan ‘Beau’ Brummell, the Chartist leader James Bronterre O’Brien, their literary rivals William Thackeray and Charles Dickens and the revolutionary socialism of Karl Marx.²⁰ Some scholars affirmed that it was precisely Brummell who magnetised Reynolds towards embracing the Radical Movement or

²⁰ Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man: Answer to Mr. Burke’s Attack on the French Revolution* (London: J. S. Jordan, 1791) and *The Age of Reason; Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* (London: D. I. Eaton, 1794). George Bryan ‘Beau’ Brummell, an iconic figure in Regency England and the epitome of dandyism; his biography was first narrated by Captain William Jesse, *The Life of George Brummell, Esq., Commonly Called Beau Brummell* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1844) and Jules Barbey D’Aurevilly chose him as the core figure in his essay *Du Dandysme et de George Brummell* (Paris: Caen & B. Mancel, 1845) / *Of Dandyism and of George Brummell*, trans. Douglas Ainslie (London: J. M. Dent, 1897). James Bronterre O’Brien, member of the Radical Reform Association, the London Working Men’s Association and the Complete Suffrage Union who edited *The Poor Man’s Guardian* from 1832 until its publication ceased in December 1835; published *Bronterre’s National Reformer* from 1837 and collaborated in *Reynold’s Weekly*. Reynolds hired William Thackeray, author of *Vanity Fair: Pen and Pencil Sketches of English Society* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1848), “then a struggling art student in the city, [and facilitated] his first earnings as a writer” (Jean Guivar’ch, “Deux journalistes anglaise à Paris: G. W. M. Reynolds et W. M. T.,” *Études Anglaises* 28, no. 2 (1975): 203-214), during his literary editorship of the *Paris Literary Gazette* between 1835 and 1836. Enmity between Charles Dickens and Reynolds, his eternal literary rival, underwent three distinct phases according to Russel Hodgson, i. e., Reynolds’s publication of *Pickwick Abroad; or, The Tour in France* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1839?), following Dickens’s *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, Containing a Faithful Record of the Perambulations, Perils, Travels, Adventures and Sporting Transactions of the Corresponding Members* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1836); Reynolds’s success impacting Dickens’s sales in the literary market; and their open, reciprocated insults during the 1850s. See Russel Hodgson, “G. W. M. Reynolds and Charles Dickens, 1837-1870: The Construction of a Rivalry,” PhD thesis (University of Reading, 2019). His argument on their enmity based purely on commercial and political purposes somewhat opposes previous theories and provides a new insight into the inspiration behind their novels. Lastly, Karl Marx, who considered Reynolds a fake supporter of the working classes so as to obtain more readers in the literary market. Cf. Louis James, “From Egan to Reynolds: The Shaping of the Urban Mysteries in England and France, 1821-48,” *European Journal of English Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010), 94-106.

Radicalism which, initiated by the parliamentary Charles James Fox in 1797, sought to radically reform –hence the name— the electoral system in England by supporting and advocating Republicanism, the abolition of nobility and hereditary titles, the redistribution of property, income and wealth and the freedom of the press.²¹ However, Collins disproved that view on the grounds of first, not enough supporting evidence and second, the burgeoning Radical culture already taking place by 1835, mostly in the Strand, London.²² Further to this, there appears to have been certain similarities between the lives of Brummell and Reynolds, i. e., both left the army and spent great sums of money which led them into debt,

[Brummell] now commenced what is called the bachelor life in England; he took a house in Chesterfield Street, May Fair; gave small but exquisite dinners; invited men of rank, and even the Prince, to his table; and voiding extravagance -for he seldom played [wrong] and kept only a pair of horses- established himself as a refined voluptuary (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 1844), 773.

And according to an editorial footnote on page 62 of *A Sequel to Don Juan*, Reynolds “frequently met Brummell at Leleux Library in Calais, where the Beau occupied lodgings for a length of time,” which most likely accounts for Reynolds’s decision to include Brummell in

²¹ Republicanism as an ideology first gained ground in England during the time of the British colonies in North America, wherein revolts for independence eventually led to the American Revolution between 1765 and 1783. Republicans disputed the lack of freedom that smothered the press by instating a campaign against censorship. In 1869, for example, John Stuart Mill reflected on this particular issue in his book *On Liberty* (London: John W. Parker & Son, 1859), with which he helped spread the utilitarian rationale that every man is entitled to expressing his opinion as long as he does not harm his peers. In all, the Republican ideology proved to have a deep impact in respect of Reynolds’s works.

²² As Collins put it, “[...] the Radicals were known as Infidels, from their attacks on Christianity. They were also becoming notorious for bringing out pornography, sometimes with a Radical edge, often smut, pure and simple” (“George William McArthur Reynolds: A Biographical Sketch,” p. xv).

the first *Canto* of *A Sequel to Don Juan* and even characterise him as Meagles in *The Mysteries of the Courts of London*.²³

Thomas Paine, who had shadowed the imprint of the thoughts of Richard Carlisle, was an influential Infidel who would also mark Reynolds's ideology. The latter opened a bookshop in 1826 where, with the help of Francis Place, a Chartist founder, he used to sell *erotica* under-the-table and publish flyers backing up birth control. When Reynolds's first read *The Age of Reason* by Paine, he found himself a firm believer in Deism, a philosophical belief in one God as creator of all things and beings but devoid of any possibility of interference in His creation(s);²⁴ a doctrine not entirely atheist, but still contrary to the anti-clericalism displayed by French Radicals.

Apart from his Radicalism, Reynolds accommodated to the teetotal movement,²⁵ which endorsed full abstinence from intoxicating beverages, after a chance encounter in May

²³ *A Sequel to Don Juan* (London: Paget & Co., 1843), 62; and *The Mysteries of the Courts of London. Volume 1. Pauline Clarendon* (London: Privately Printed by The Oxford Society, no date), 274.

²⁴ *The Age of Reason* was published in three separate volumes, being Part I: *The Age of Reason; Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* (Paris: Barrois, 1794); Part II: *The Age of Reason. Part the Second. Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* (Paris: D. I. Eaton, 1794); and Part III: *Examinations of the Passages in the New Testament, Quoted from the Old and Called Prophecies Concerning Jesus Christ. To Which is Prefixed, An Essay on Dream, Shewing by What Operation of the Mind a Dream is Produced in Sleep, and Applying the Same to the Account of Dreams in the New Testament; With an Appendix Containing my Private Thoughts of a Future State, And Remarks on the Contradictory Doctrine in the Books of Matthew and Mark*. (New York: C. W., 1807).

²⁵ Teetotalism is said to have begun in March 1832 in Preston, England, with the Preston Temperance Society and founded by Joseph William Livesey, a social reformer and Christian activist. According to Iain Gateley, Livesey came up with the pledge that stated, "[...] We agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality whether ale, porter, wine or ardent spirits, except as medicine." Iain Gateley, *Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol* (New York: Gotham Books, 2009), 248. His work lived on with the appearance in 1835 of the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance.

1840 with the lecturer J. H. Donaldson, when he was exhorting some onlookers at Aldersgate Street Chapel. Prior to his becoming a teetotaler, his strenuous financial situation drew him to the path of alcoholism, from which he had a narrow escape. Convinced by the reasoning of Donaldson, he adhered to the practice and ended up by accepting the role of chairman of the London United Temperance Association that same year. Withal, the following year and amid strong dissensions with the leaders of Teetotalism, he set off on a fierce campaign against it with his role as director-general of the United Kingdom Anti-Teetotal Society.²⁶ Yet according to Robert Duncan, the temperance movement had given rise around 1838 to a practice known as ‘temperance Chartism’, whose supporters saw and used as the choicest course of action to clearly show that working-class citizens –by strictly adhering to a campaign against inebriety— were perfectly responsible to handle the right to vote.²⁷ And Reynolds was also to be counted within those supporters. Taking its name from the document *The People’s Charter*,²⁸ Chartism was, in the words of Malcolm Chase, ‘not a movement that failed but a movement characterized by a multiplicity of small victories.’²⁹ Many radicals

²⁶ See Humpherys and James (2008), 4.

²⁷ Robert Duncan, “Artisans and Proletarians: Chartism and Working-Class Allegiance in Aberdeen 1838-1842,” *Northern Scotland*, 4, no.1 (2015): 61.

²⁸ This document was drafted in 1837 by a committee formed by six Members of Parliament and six working-class men. William Lovett, who had founded the London Working’s Men Association the previous year with the help of Henry Hetherington, was amongst the men from the latter tier. The paper, which had originated in a parliamentary bill, established the six basic and main principles of Chartism, a) the right to vote for men aged at least 21; b) the right to vote by secret ballot in parliamentary elections, which led to the Ballot Act 1872, 35 & 36 Vict. c. 33; c) the nullification of the disposition that Members of Parliament had to own property, which originated the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament Act 1858, 21 & 22 Vict. c. 26; d) the introduction of parliamentary salaries, resulting in the Representation of the People Act of 1884, 48 & 49 Vict. c. 3; e) the right of all constituencies to an equal number of seats, achieving the Redistribution of Seats Act 1885, 48 & 49 Vict. c. 23; and f) the establishment of annual parliaments.

²⁹ Malcolm Chase, *The Chartists: Perspectives and Legacies*, (London: Merlin Press, 2015), 1-2.

with slightly different ideologies took the lead of the Chartist movement in various places and times, i. e., John Frost, Feargus O'Connor, William Lovett, James Bronterre O'Brien, George Binns, Samuel Kydd and Thomas Clark.³⁰ So what was Reynolds's position within this movement? In Chase's view,

Reynolds should be taken seriously as a novelist; and he should be taken seriously as a leading political figure. More-conventional Chartist scholarship has marginalized him due to his absorption with leadership in a quasi-military sense, and with platform oratory and conventional political literature. But as Henry Mayhew discovered during research into the cultural world of London costermongers: 'Reynolds is the most popular man among them... They all say he's "a trump," and Feargus O'Connor's another trump with them.' (Chase 2015, 25).

On this respect, there is an incident which actually proves Chase's stance. The social reformer Charles Cochrane had arranged a public protest against income tax to take place on 6 March 1848 in Trafalgar Square, London. The police immediately compelled him to abrogate it and he reluctantly obeyed. However, a multitude of approximately 10,000 supporters –including left-wing workers such as Republicans and Irish Confederals—³¹ did

³⁰ See Stephen Roberts, "Chartists A-Z," *Chartism & the Chartists. Musings, Information & Illustrations about the Chartists* (blog), June 3, 2014, <http://www.thepeoplescharter.co.uk/profiles.htm> for a complete, detailed list of Chartist leaders. According to Roberts, only three women were considered Chartist leaders. Margot C. Finn, on the other hand, pointed to James Bronterre O'Brien, William James Linton, Reynolds, George Julian Harney and George Jacob Holyoake as the six most importantly symbolic Chartist leaders at the time, "[who] continued to proclaim the fundamental identity of English and continental politics, remaining true to international sympathies born in earlier decades and consolidated by the events of 1848." Margot C. Finn, *After Chartism. Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 83; she explored the manner in which radicals took advantage of nationalist emotionalism to uphold class arguments.

³¹ The Irish Confederals formed part of the Home Rule movement within Irish nationalism, which clamoured for a self-rule for Ireland.

reunite at the agreed location and Reynolds –taking the chair of that meeting— rendered a speech which is said to have triggered the subsequent riots from later on that day until 8 March and which brought about a number of detractors such as W. W. Weston, who denounced him as,

the mob orator and sub Leader of the Chartists is an Avowed Atheist, and a scoffer of all things honest and proper men call good, he is a Naturalized Frenchman, and he has been in the Paris National Guard, and he has been heard to say that if the French invaded England he would be the first to hoist the Republican Flag, he is in the pay of the *Weekly Dispatch* as a writer of Revolutionary articles... and he is also quite likely to be in the pay of some of the lowest Republican clubs in Paris [...] The respectable classes of the community may well shudder at a Mob led by such a *patriot* as this.³²

I must express here my agreement with Chase and Haywood on the fact of considering Chartist fiction and by extension Reynolds’s Chartist fiction as intrinsically rooted in the ups and downs of the Chartist movement; Chartism connected on many levels with the literature of struggle, with the fiction that portrayed the problems of social minorities, because it was founded upon the reality of social radicalism, of rebelling against the system as oppressor of the individual. Thanks to his address, Reynolds was selected to represent Derby at the Chartists Convention on 4 April that year and, six days later, he succeeded in his intervention as a speaker when having to temporarily replace Feargus O’Connor on the chair and when seconding the motion proposed by Mr. Kidd to present the Great Petition –People’s Charter or Great Charter— to the House of Commons during the

³² Excerpt of a letter from Weston to Sir George Grey on April 18, 1848, HO45. OS 2410A, 345, as cited in Finn (1993), 65. Cf. footnote 6. Reynolds centred his brief but intense words, according to Collins (2007), on a diatribe against income tax and a eulogy of the French revolution and *The Great Charter of 1832*, an anonymous book presented as a Magna Carta and published shortly afterwards the passing of the Representation of the People Act 1832, 2 & 3 Wm. IV, c. 45, also known as the Great Reform Act or First Reform Act.

proceedings of a mass meeting in Kennington Common. His renown as a Chartist, however, would not last long. Shortly after the exposure of William Cuffay and his insurgent plans in August 1848, Chartism plunged headlong into decline and Chartists saw their hopes of attaining political rights for the working classes utterly overcome.³³ With many Chartists being arrested in 1849, an incident came up which would prompt the long-life enmity between Reynolds and Dickens. According to Collins, Dickens had arranged a fund to stand bail for a young Chartist who had been imprisoned; Reynolds did certainly help by sending out some money and so did some lady friends of Dickens.³⁴ It was precisely on one of the letters Dickens sent to Baroness Angela Burdett Coutts, dated 30 August 1849, that the issue arose, “[...] and while I feel for many working men who are Chartists, and mean no ill by it, I have no sympathy for the *Amateur* Members of that body [...]”³⁵ And yet again, on another letter dated the same day and sent to W. C. Macready,

Between ourselves, I must observe that I feel strongly for the *genuine* working men who are Chartists, but have no sympathy whatever with the *amateurs*. Let me, in confidence, call your attention and that of Mrs. Schwabe and Mrs. Cobden to the reason of my having separated the statement (in sending it to Miss Coutts) from the list of subscriptions. If ‘Mr. G. W. Reynolds’ be the Mr. Reynolds who is the Author of the *Mysteries of London*, and took the chair for a mob in Trafalgar Square before they set

³³ In 1839 William Cuffay was committed to forming the Metropolitan Tailors' Charter Association. Two years later he was elected first to the Chartist Metropolitan Delegate Council and in 1842 to the National Executive. Accused of “conspiracy to levy war” against Queen Victoria, he was finally sentenced to penal transportation. See Keith A. P. Sandiford, *A Black Studies Primer: Heroes and Heroines of the African Diaspora* (London: Hansib Publications, 2008), 137.

³⁴ See Dick Collins, “George William McArthur Reynolds: A Biographical Sketch,” in *The Necromancer*, ed. Dick Collins (Kansas City, Missouri: Valancourt Books, 2007), xxxv-xxxvi.

³⁵ Graham Storey and K. J. Fielding, eds., “To Miss Burdett Coutts,” *The British Academy/The Pilgrim Edition of the Letters of Charles Dickens. Vol. 5: 1847-1849* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 601.

off on a window-breaking expedition, I hold his to be a name with which no lady's, and no gentleman's, should be associated [...]³⁶

As Collins points out, the insistence by Dickens on these letters on the adjective 'amateur' as opposed to 'genuine' articulates the core of the emerging animosity between both writers. It looks like Dickens believed Reynolds to be a spurious supporter of the Chartist movement, negatively redounding on it by inducing the majority of its followers onto anarchic revolution(s) and distorting its true meaning.³⁷ Interestingly, Dickens did consider Reynolds to be a thought-provoking individual, capable of greatly influencing any given throng, as we shall see presently. On the other hand, as both Reynolds and Miss Coutts had donated some money, their names would be appearing on a public list of contributors, but Dickens was reluctant that it should be so, on account of the opinion that Miss Coutts – 'a millionaire philanthropist' and one of the main subscribers to some of Dickens's charity enterprises— would form.³⁸ This therefore explains Dickens's last sentence in the letter to Macready above. To be fair, however, Reynolds showed an amiable disposition to his literary rival, Dickens, when proffering a helping hand to him in one of his causes and presenting indeed a genuine Chartist spirit, contrary to Dickens's behaviour, as he finally decided to remove his name from the list of donors to avoid any confrontation with Miss Coutts. As regards the 'window-breaking expedition,' the common story has it that Reynolds led a mob to Buckingham Palace where he addressed them before being acclaimed and taken on their

³⁶ Graham Storey and K. J. Fielding, eds., "To W. C. Macready," *The British Academy/The Pilgrim Edition of the Letters of Charles Dickens. Vol. 5: 1847-1849* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 603-604.

³⁷ See Dick Collins, "George William McArthur Reynolds: A Biographical Sketch," in *The Necromancer*, ed. Dick Collins (Kansas City, Missouri: Valancourt Books, 2007), xxxvi.

³⁸ Michael Slater used this expression to refer to Miss Coutts in *Dickens and Women* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), 134. Subsequent scholars have since adopted it as well.

shoulders to his place of residence in Wellington Street, where he continued addressing the mob from the balcony until well into the evening. Collins and Shannon believe this possible despite the lack of detailed information about what actually happened.³⁹ In 1850, shortly before retiring from active participation in Chartist organisations, Reynolds had joined the Chartist Society of Fraternal Democrats movement initiated by George Julian Harney in 1846, which aimed at banding together English working-class radicals with expatriate sociopolitical activists in Italy, Germany, Poland and France.⁴⁰ As part of this campaign, a ‘Democratic Conference’ was organised in August 1850, with Reynolds taking part in it alongside Harney, Holyoake, Leno, Kydd and Lloyd Jones. The proceeds of this Conference resulted in the formation of the National Charter and Social Reform Association in October that same year, and Reynolds was listed amongst the most voted ones, which included Harney, Jones, O’Connor, Holyoake and Arnott, to form part of the executive committee. Eight years later, in February 1858, Chartism officially ceased to exist. Instead of giving rise to direct reforms, Chartist ideology was taken up again in February 1865, with the creation of the Reform League by Edmond Beales, with the objective of guaranteeing universal manhood suffrage and the ballot in England.⁴¹ Reynolds’s role in this Reform was merely figurative,

³⁹ Mary L. Shannon, *Dickens, Reynolds and Mayhew: The Print Culture of a Victorian Street* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁴⁰ “George Julian Harney, Chartism's enfant terrible [...] was firmly on the radical side of the movement, advocating the use of physical force and enjoying riling his conservative comrades by flaunting the red cap of liberty at public meetings. In and out of jail, endlessly feuding with fellow Chartists, and ultimately expelled from the party, the Robespierre-admiring Harney remained convinced that insurrection was the surest route to achieve the demands of the charter” Tristram Hunt, *Marx's General: The Revolutionary Life of Friedrich Engels* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2010), 90.

⁴¹ Edmond Beales campaigned for the working classes to be represented in parliament, which resulted in the Reform Act 1867, 30 & 31 Vict. c. 102. His presidency of the Reform League was marked with two demonstrations in Hyde Park on 23 July 1866 and 6 May 1867 which the Government unsuccessfully attempted to ban due to the large crowds that gathered there in protest. See Royden

allowing some room for new, radical consociates such as Benjamin Lucraft, George Odger, John Bedford Leno, Sir William Randal Cremer, George Howell and Robert Applegarth, who appealed once again to the nationalist posture from a more social democratic stance.⁴² And last but not least, apart from his embracing Radicalism, Chartism, Teetotalism –although temporarily— and the *démoc-soc* ideals, Reynolds was also considered a feminist, a pro-Arab and a Philo-Semite. Collins, in his introduction to one of the most acclaimed Reynolds’s novels, *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf*, defines the writer’s identity as,

Harrison, *Before the Socialists. Studies in Labour and Politics, 1861-1881* (Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 82.

⁴² Royden Harrison argued that the main difference between Chartism and the Reform League existed in the fact that, “[...] behind Chartism lay boundless, if inchoate dreams of social reconstruction and behind the Reform League lay little more than the expectation of ‘rising in the social scale’ [...]”, 80-81. Benjamin Lucraft took an active role in defending Fenianism, or Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) during the Reform League in 1867. George Odger aided in establishing the International Workingmen’s Association in 1864 and formed part of the governing body of its General Council until his resignation in 1872. See R. J. Hinton, *English Radical Leaders: Brief Biographies* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1878), 337. John Bedford Leno, also known as the ‘Burns of Labour’ and the ‘poet of the poor,’ was the son of a footman and a lady’s-maid. He served as a Delegate of the Chartist Movement and as a representative to the Christian Socialists, as well as leading an active role in the Hyde Park demonstrations next to Edmond Beales. Cf. Fred M. Leventhal, *Respectable Radical. George Howell and Victorian Working Class Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971). Sir William Randal Cremer was the secretary of the International Workingmen’s Association who fought for international arbitration and founded the International Arbitration League. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1903. See Mark Mazower, “The Empire of Law,” in *Governing the World. The History of an Idea. 1815 to the Present* (USA: Penguin Books, 2013), 65-93. George Howell was the secretary of the Reform League in 1865 and played an essential role in passing the Merchant Shipping Act 1894 (57 &58 Vict. Ch. 60) and the Reform Act 1867. Lastly, Robert Applegarth worked next to Howell within the Working Men’s Committee for Promoting the Separation of Church and State. See chapter 2, “From Illegality to Uneasy Acceptance (1800-1850),” in Mark Crail’s *Tracing your Labour Movement Ancestors. A Guide for Family Historians* (South Yorkshire, England: Pen & Sword Family History, 2009).

[...] passionately pro-Jewish; in an age when the emancipation of women was unheard of, or at best little better than a snickering joke, Reynolds admired and portrayed strong, independent women. And, not least, he was a great admirer of the Moslem empires of the East, when, to most other Victorians, their inhabitants were nothing but savages and ‘fuzzy-wizzes,’ just waiting for a British gunboat to go and civilise them (p. ix) ⁴³

This outline is evidenced in the plots of his novels, where the eternal condemnation of all things hypocrite, the defence of justice and ethicality and the final reward for an impeccably upright behaviour cultivated through the means of hard work and the ‘earning of the bread of one’s industry’ populate their pages.

Reynolds as a novelist

A passionate, revolutionary writer ahead of his time and one of the few who devoted himself to his readership in heart and mind by allowing them to behold, understand and embrace his moral beliefs, his prejudices, his commitments... that would be Reynolds. When he started writing and publishing, he probably envisaged how the repercussions of his thoughts and ideologies would spread amongst his readers. Humpherys suggests that Reynolds began shaping his literary audience by obliterating all reference to the canonical novels, dragging thus the middle-class out of the picture and focusing on the marginalised working-class instead,

[...] his texts contain clear and repeated ideological perspectives that were familiar to his readers, if an anathema to many middle-class readers, and outdated and reductive to his later readers. These are that power is held and abused by an oligarchy, which Reynolds identifies as the aristocracy and its stooges in the church, the law and the industrial and monied middle-classes, and further that this oligarchy is selfish,

⁴³ Dick Collins, “Introduction,” in *Wagner the Werewolf* [sic] (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 2006), vii-xvi.

hedonistic, irresponsible and arbitrary in its use of power, impoverishing and criminalizing the working and lower classes in general (p. 126).⁴⁴

Thus, by addressing a working-class –and Chartist— readership and depicting in fiction their struggles, their frustrated social ambitions and their oppression in life by an anti-Proudhonian system, Reynolds empowered them with a sense of sympathy and victimisation that progressively allowed them to better comprehend the decadent state of a degraded ruling establishment up the pyramid of social echelons. In order to discern the construction and meaning of his plots as a novelist and his global vision of his humane work as a writer, let us briefly unfold the contents of those publications of his, which were best-sellers at the time on five distinctive tiers, i. e., novels, journals, short stories, translations and other miscellaneous pieces of writing.

*Novels*⁴⁵

Prior to being published in such a format, his novels were serialised in weekly penny issues from 1844 onwards. Generally featuring a woodcut on the first page, their route into publication as volumes passed through their reselling and subsequent clustering into monthly instalments. Starting from 1864, they were issued by John Thomas Dicks, a publisher of affordable, ephemeral fiction who retired in the 1870s and left his sons to take over until the 1960s. Up to 1876, they were printed as part of the ‘Standard English Novels’ series and from that date as ‘The Complete Novels of G. W. M. Reynolds.’ Usually, they appeared first in a periodical, such as *London Journal* or *Reynolds’s Miscellany* and, with their final chapter

⁴⁴ Anne Humpherys, “An Introduction to G. W. M. Reynolds’s ‘Encyclopedia of Tales,’” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 123-133.

⁴⁵ Cover illustrations of Reynolds’s novels are available on *Appendix 1* at the end of the present study.

printed, they were then published in book format.⁴⁶ His first novel in three volumes was *The Youthful Impostor*,⁴⁷ which he started at the early age of 18 and finally managed to send it to the press when he was 21. Sara James has established a parallel between its central plot and the problematic relationship between Reynolds and his father on the grounds of his dislike of the naval tradition to which his father belonged. She further adds that in the 1847 edition of his novel, “he suppressed all literary allusions, and in its new form, the general tone of the narrative was simplified and sensationalized, while the language was deliberately vulgarized” (p. 25).⁴⁸ He implemented these modifications by resorting to linguistic changes such as ‘Mr.’ to ‘Lord,’ for example, which indicated a chastising of the aristocracy much enjoyed by his working-class readers and showing thus the type of target audience he exclusively wanted for his fiction.⁴⁹ As regards the main plot, Collins notes that it was taken from Edward Bulwer-Lytton, a novelist who supported Jeremy Bentham and a Member of Parliament from

⁴⁶ *London Journal and Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art*, edited by Reynolds and published in London from March 1845 until November 1846. *Reynolds’s Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science and Art* was also edited and most likely owned by Reynolds, who published it in London from 7 November 1846 until 19 June 1869, at which time it merged with *Bow Bells*, which ran between 12 November 1862 and 22 February 1897. Humpherys and James have indicated that Reynolds had most likely been the editor of the new series of the *Bow Bells* between August 1864 and 1868; see footnote 44.

⁴⁷ The first English edition appeared in 1835 and was translated into French as *Le Jeune Impostor* in 1836 by Auguste Jean-Baptiste Defauconfrêt -renowned for his translations of Sir Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper- and reissued and enlarged as *The Parricide, or, A Youth’s Career of Crime* in 1847.

⁴⁸ Sara James, “G. W. M. Reynolds and the Modern Literature of France,” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 19-32.

⁴⁹ Henry Mayhew, “The Literature of Costermongers,” in *London Labour and the London Poor* [London, 1861-1862], vol. 1, ed. Rosemary O’Day, (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics of World Literature 2008), 25-29.

1831 to 1836. James, on the other hand, indicates that Reynolds acknowledged on the preface to his novel the fact of having inspired himself in other writers' works such as Paul de Kock's *Sœur Anne*, Victor Hugo's *Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné*, and Dumas's *Angèle. Drame en Cinq Actes*, but she does not allude to Bulwer-Lytton.⁵⁰

His second most renowned novel was *Pickwick Abroad; or, the Tour in France*, which was based on Dickens's *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, Containing a Faithful Record of the Perambulations, Perils, Travels, Adventures and Sporting Transactions of the Corresponding Members* (1836); his comic exploitation of the main character granted his novel a best-seller status.⁵¹ The amount of visual intertexts included in the pages of the novel—40 steel engravings and 33 wood engravings designed by Alfred Henry Forrester, 'Crowquill,' John Phillips and George Wilmot Bonner—also played an important role in the reception of this novel. By resorting to a rebellious pastiche of Dickens's novel with the help of the engravers mentioned above, Reynolds managed to

⁵⁰ Paul de Kock, *Sœur Anne* (Paris: Gustave Barba, 1825); Victor Hugo, *Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné* (Paris: Gosselin, 1829); and Alexandre Dumas, *Angèle. Drame en Cinq Actes* (Paris: Charpentier, 1834). In the advertisement that follows the preface to Reynolds's *The Youthful Impostor; A Novel in Three Volumes* (Paris: G. G. Bennis, 1835), it can be read that, "It is but fair to inform the reader, that in the following pages the original idea of the young Surgeon's character is taken from that of *Henri Muller* in M. Dumas's excellent melo-drama, "Angèle." ' This novel was subsequently reissued, revised and enlarged in weekly instalments under the title of *The Parricide, or, A Youth's Career of Crime*," before being published in book format by John Dicks in London in 1847. However, there is an entirely separate novel by Frederic Mansel Reynolds's *The Parricide. A Domestic Romance. By the Author of "Miserrimus,"* which was published in London in 1836 by T. Hookham.

⁵¹ *Pickwick Abroad; or, the Tour in France* (1838-1839), initially appeared in the *Monthly Magazine of Politics, Literature, and the Belles-Lettres* (1796-1843) until chapter 25, from December 1837 to June 1838. Before being published as a single volume, it was serialised in monthly instalments in the London editions of Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper.

enthrall his readers by the picaresque and ludicrous lampoon idiom, which in turn helped to increase the sales of this novel.

On account of his next novel, *The Mysteries of London*, Reynolds was lauded as a truly advocate of Chartism. Initially printed in weekly penny issues by George Vickers, this novel was the result of twelve years of intense work and consisted of two series of two volumes, the first one comprising the period between October 1844 and September 1846, and the second one that of October 1846 to September 1848, besides four series of eight volumes from 1848 to 1856 under the title of *The Mysteries of the Court of London*.⁵² Due to the impressive amount of sundry content included in his novel, i. e., journalistic data, political diatribes, popular literary genres and myriads of references to sociohistorical events of the time, Reynolds referred to it as an encyclopaedia, as he deemed every page to be instructive to his readers in one way or another. Indeed, starting from his own description on the postscript of the last volume as an “Encyclopaedia of Tales comprising six hundred and twenty-four weekly numbers” (p. 412), Humpherys retrieves the term of ‘encyclopaedic narrative,’ first used by Edward Mendelson in 1976 to refer to Reynolds’s literary production

⁵² The modification of the title is rooted in the fallout that Reynolds had with Vickers around the end of the first series. While Vickers continued to publish the first series with the help of Thomas Miller and E. L. Blanchard, Reynolds resumed the series under a new title and in partnership with John Dicks, who played an essential role in making Reynolds financially stable, “Dicks published a wide range of canonical literature –including a complete edition of Shakespeare’s plays selling for just one shilling— but he also served as printer to G. W. M. Reynolds, author of a number of phenomenally successful serially published novels, many of them based on sensationalist French originals. Additionally, Dicks was the printer for *Reynolds’s Weekly Newspaper*, ‘the leading working-class paper in England’, for many years, and the publisher, in his own right, of the highly popular periodical *Bow Bells*.” (p. 75). See Andrew Murphy, “Education and the Rise of Literacy,” in *Ireland, Reading Cultural Nationalism, 1790-1930. Bringing the Nation to Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 49-78.

as a work which was denied entry into canonical literature, but which was nevertheless imitated around the world and most especially in India.⁵³ With this terminology, Humpherys takes up the Reynoldian ideology of inclusiveness, central in his writing, by which he meant the embracement of all and every echelon of society, as can be clearly seen in his own words also on the postscript of the final volume,

In respect to the Third and Fourth Series of ‘THE MYSTERIES OF THE COURT OF LONDON,’ it may be alleged by some that the title is to a certain degree a misnomer, inasmuch as the incidents which they contain bear slightly any reference to the British Court. But a Royal Court, in the proper acceptance of the term, is limited not to the circle of the sovereign alone: it includes the aristocracy – the satellites revolving around about the central sun. In this sense, therefore, it will be seen that there is no actual misnomer in the titles of the Third and Fourth Series of ‘THE MYSTERIES OF THE COURT OF LONDON’; but that they constitute fitting pendants and sequences to the First and Second Series. (Reynolds 1856, 412)⁵⁴

Together with his ideology of social inclusion transpiring from every page in this vast work, its success owes much to the novel wherefrom Reynolds took inspiration, *Les Mystères de Paris*, written by Eugène Sue and serialised between June 1842 and October 1843. Chevasco has drawn attention to the reception of such an innovative novel, with a scope of readers that ranged from high-class noblewomen to working-class chambermaids.⁵⁵ She points out that

⁵³ Edward Mendelson, “Encyclopaedic Narrative: From Dante to Pynchon,” *Modern Language Notes*, 91, no. 6 (1976): 1267-1275. He associated the term “encyclopaedic narrative” with a group of novels that seemed to appertain to no literary genre in particular, such as *The Divine Comedy* (c. 1308-1320), by Dante; *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (c. 1532- c. 1564), by Rabelais; *Don Quixote* (1605-1615), by Cervantes; *Faust* (1808-1832), by Goethe; *Moby Dick* (1851), by Melville; *Ulysses* (1922), by Joyce; and *Gravity’s Rainbow* (1973), by Thomas Pynchon.

⁵⁴ G. W. M. Reynolds, *The Mysteries of The Court of London*, 8, “Postscript”, (London: John Dicks, 1856), 412.

⁵⁵ Berry Chevasco, “Lost in Translation: The Relationship between Eugène Sue’s *Les Mystères de Paris* and G. W. M. Reynolds’s *The Mysteries of London*,” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century*

the change in the market for literary fiction was partly brought about by the educational reforms in the early 19th century, with the *feuilleton* and newspapers securing a preeminent position amongst readers. Thanks to this fiction being serialised, these new readers from poorer classes could now afford to have access to it as they were actually eager to read about the redesigned subject matter which involved them to an utmost degree, i. e., the lifestyles of the urban poor embellished with sensationalism, subversion and even pornography. As Reynolds saw that Sue's cheap fiction had become a crowning stroke in France and other countries, he resolved to take up both that format and topic and adapt them to his Londonian readership; he had thus begun to form part of what Margaret Dalziel coined as 'literary revolution,' a radical change in the themes and plot of mainstream fiction generated by the voracious yearning for fiction from new readers within the working-class,

When it is added that in 1847 there began the first successful attempts at really cheap reprints of novels in volume form (as distinct from the novels published as serials in the early cheap periodicals, or in penny parts), it will be seen that the decade of the eighteen-forties brought about a literary revolution. For the first time in the history of England anyone could for the price of a penny buy up to sixteen large pages of reading matter, large pages of very small print, often illustrated into the bargain. It was a bargain that found plenty of takers.⁵⁶

However, the reception of this *au courant* popular fiction was not well received from canonical writers, whose readership was defined by elite classes,

Mysteries, it appears, are no longer to remain so. Authors [...] start up and show to the world that at least to them there have never been such things as mysteries. The veil of France is torn from her by a Frenchman, who certainly pays no high compliment to his

Fiction, Politics and the Press, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 135-147.

⁵⁶ Margaret Dalziel, *Popular Fiction One Hundred Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History* (London: Cohen and West, 1957), 2-3.

country, by exposing vices of the most hideous character, and which are certainly much better hidden both from the young and old. The moral to be drawn from melodramatic vice and virtue is very questionable. This mysterymania [sic] has crossed the Channel. Authors are manufacturing vices by the gross in their mysteriously-situated garrets; their only perigrination [sic] to discover them being from the before-mentioned garrets to the publisher's, and thence to some favourite rarebit and stout house.⁵⁷

Withal, Reynolds succeeded in his imitation of Sue and, as Mayhew evidenced, his merging of politics and fiction continued to mesmerise his readers and was crucial in securing the sale of his novels,

What they love best to listen to -and indeed what they are most eager for- are Reynolds's periodicals, especially the 'Mysteries of the Court.' 'They've got tired of reading Lloyd's blood-stained stories,' said one man, who was in the habit of reading to them, 'and I'm satisfied that, of all London, Reynolds is the most popular man among them' (Mayhew 1849, 25).⁵⁸

Reynolds proved indeed to be the most popular writer of serialised fiction at the time, outselling the very own Dickens, for example. Whereas Dickens and Sue pleaded for sympathy and unison among disparate social echelons, Reynolds craved for the obliteration of the high-class by instilling resentment against it in their readers with the aid of his serialised fiction. Another novel which continues with this topic of oppression is *The Seamstress; or, a Domestic Tale*, first serialised between 23 March and 10 August 1850, and subsequently re-titled as *The Seamstress; or, the White Slave of England* in 1853 in the printed edition by John Dicks. In this case, Reynolds is advocating for the need of self-education in women workers and more specifically needlewomen as a way to end their

⁵⁷ Alfred Crowquill, "Outlines of Mysteries," *Bentley's Miscellany*, 17 (1845): 529-532.

⁵⁸ Henry Mayhew, "The Literature of Costermongers," in *London Labour and the London Poor* [London, 1861-1862], vol. 1, ed. Rosemary O'Day (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics of World Literature 2008), 25-29.

exploitation in a capitalist system. His message was afterwards imitated by Azur Dutil in Paris in 1862, with his novel *Les Prolétaires de Londres et les Martyrs du Travail*. A most relevant aspect of the success of this novel is the body of readers to whom it was addressed which, according to Haywood, was none other than the radical yet decorous female reader. The figure of the needlewoman was seen and understood as an icon of female labour exploitation within the Victorian working-class and inasmuch as a feminist writer, Reynolds saw himself in the obligation of rescuing this long-neglected faction of society by means of his popular fiction. He portrayed her as a suffering, poverty-stricken woman, whose job was to produce sumptuous articles to be worn by the aristocrats. By resorting to the Old Corruption metaphor within Radicalism –wealth vs poverty—, Reynolds produced a story based on class relationship, which was greatly aided by his own political views on the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge.⁵⁹ Instead of following the conventionalities associated with the role of the victim, Reynolds made his main character an active heroine who eventually takes meaning of the origins of her economic subjection together with her social position as mediator or nexus between the proletariat and the consumer.

With *Faust, a Romance* –serialised between 4 October 1845 and 18 July 1846 and published in London in 1847 by George Vickers under the title of *Faust. A Romance of the Secret Tribunals—*; *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf, a Romance* –serialised between 6 November 1846 and 24 July 1847, and printed by John Dicks with the title *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf—*; and *The Necromancer, a Romance* –serialised between 27 December 1851 and 31 July

⁵⁹ Robert Owen was the founder of the Co-operative Movement, whose main tenet was the provision of education and a good ambience at work for employees and their families. The B. A. P. C. K. was founded in 1829 and by 1872 it had developed into the Co-operative Wholesale Society (CWS), which aimed to organise production amongst consumers' co-operatives.

1852—, Reynolds moved towards the Gothic and the historical melodrama, taking on the genre instated by Sir Walter Scott, without leaving aside his Radical views. This was an innovative literary approach wherein Reynolds inserted elements taken from Scott's historical realism, such as highly detailed character specification as well as romantic themes delivered from a realistic point of view and added episodes of social melodrama with the intention of capturing the readers' interest and keeping them intrigued about the possible *dénouement* to such an extent as to having to purchase the next instalment the minute it was published. The morale present in these three romances responds to the avowed proverb of 'knowledge itself is power,' coined by Francis Bacon in 1597 and chanted by the Radicals in the 1830s.⁶⁰

According to James, this was the tool that Reynolds used to present to his readers a demystification of the forces of good and evil, as well as the comprehension of the social outcomes of action;⁶¹ and he introduced these ideas through a reversal of stereotypical conventions, a profound sense of bathos and an unbounded sentimentalism.

His next two novels, *Mary Price; or, The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid*—serialised between 1 November 1851 and 7 October 1852— and *Joseph Wilmot; or, The Memoirs of a Man Servant*—serialised between 29 July 1853 and 4 July 1855, and printed in London by John Dicks— constitute the main sources of the present research and as such, I analyse them in detail in the third and fourth chapters. Reynolds put his vivid imagination and inventive skills to work when shaping the plots of these novels against the background of social melodrama, and he did this with such brilliancy that a variety of scholars have considered

⁶⁰ José María Rodríguez García, "Scientia Potestas Est – Knowledge is Power: Francis Bacon to Michel Foucault," *Neohelicon* 28 (2001): 109-121.

⁶¹ Louis James, "Time, Politics and the Symbolic Imagination in Reynolds's Social Melodrama," in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 181-200.

him the literary progenitor of sensation novelists from 1860 onwards. Robin Barrow, for instance, examines the impact of Reynolds's fiction on one of those sensation novelists, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, author of the acclaimed *Lady Audley's Secret*⁶² and establishes a contrast between some Reynoldian 'penny dreadfuls' of the 1830s and 1840s and the 'penny bloods' or middle-class sensation novels of the 1860s.⁶³ Reynolds attempted a new sequential route in these two novels by adopting the autobiographical format delivered by a first person narrator, thus making it likely for his readers to relate to the story being told and to identify with the leading characters of Joseph and Mary.⁶⁴

Related to these two novels are two other that Reynolds also wrote in memoir format, *Rosa Lambert; or, The Memoirs of An Unfortunate Woman*—serialised between 4 November 1853 and October 1854 and subsequently retitled as *Rosa Lambert; or, The Memoirs of a Clergyman's Daughter* and then to simply *Rosa Lambert*— and *Ellen Percy; or, The Memoirs of an Actress*—serialised between 21 July 1855 and September? 1857 and printed in London by John Dicks—. Even though another novel of his, titled *The Young Duchess; or, The Memoirs of a Woman of Quality. A Sequel to Ellen Percy*—serialised between 17 June 1857 and 9 June 1858, and also printed in London by John Dicks— seems to indicate the same memoir format, it was not actually written by means of a narrator in the first person and

⁶² Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (London: William Tinsley, 1862).

⁶³ Robin Barrow, "Braddon's Haunting Memories: Rape, Class and the Victorian Popular Press," *Women's Writing*, 13, no. 3 (2006): 348-368.

⁶⁴ Interestingly, Reynolds decided to give these two names to the male and female main characters of these two servant novels, which brings about biblical reminiscences certainly intertwined with the plots.

—as Graham Law has pointed out— was not the structural counterpart of the previous two.⁶⁵ These three novels portray a female character as the one in charge of slowly unfolding the interconnected plots that form the story within a binary structure wherein the readers can see for themselves the representation of the different social echelons, and amidst a background of countering opposites such as realism and romance, with elements of the uncanny. Whereas the plot of *Rosa Lambert* gives a turn towards the romantic comedy, that of *Ellen Percy* follows the cadence of the picaresque.⁶⁶ Law has intimated that Reynolds drew inspiration from Dickens's *Hard Times*⁶⁷ when writing *Ellen Percy*. Certain similarities occur in specific moments of their narratives, such as the labyrinthine, harrowing setting, with chimneys that seem to engulf the nearly non-existent fresh air and turn it into sickening gases which seem to defeat Nature and the presence of an oppressed working-class, confined to overcrowded dwellings.⁶⁸

On the other hand, *The Empress Eugenie's Boudoir*—serialised between 4 February 1857 and March? 1858— contains a series of narratives besides a translation of Paul de Kock's *Sœur Anne* done by Reynolds himself as he acknowledged in its preface,

The narrative which occupies the Fourteenth Chapter is not an original emanation from my pen; it is a translation (with much expurgation) of the beautiful novel of *Sœur Anne* by Paul de Kock. Having made this translation, several years ago, with great carefulness, I was unwilling that it should be lost, as it were, from amidst the assemblage

⁶⁵ Graham Law, "Reynolds's 'Memoirs' Series and 'The Literature of the Kitchen,'" *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 201-212.

⁶⁶ See previous footnote.

⁶⁷ Initially serialised in twenty parts in *Household Words* between 1 April and 12 August 1854, it was published in book format by Bradbury and Evans with the title of *Hard Times-For These Times*.

⁶⁸ G. W. M. Reynolds, "The Old House at Leeds", *Ellen Percy or, The Memoirs of an Actress. Vol. 1* (London: John Dicks), 2. Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1854), 22-23.

of my literary productions; and I therefore resolved upon introducing it, with proper explanations, into the present volume.⁶⁹

Reynolds's last recorded fantasy novel was *The Young Fisherman, or, The Spirits of the Lake and Other Stories*, published in London in 1864 by John Dicks, which had been previously serialised as "The Young Fisherman" in *Reynolds's Miscellany* between 5 October and 9 November 1861. The book included a series of short stories such as "The Young Fisherman," "Two Christmas Days," "The Baroness of Grandmanoir," "The Warrior's Love," "The Odalisque," "The Broken Statue," "The Gipsy-Boy," "The Worries of Mr. Chickpick," and "The Dangers of Circumstantial Evidence."⁷⁰ Another short story of the same genre and theme, "Lissa, The Fisherman's Daughter" appeared in *Reynolds's Miscellany* some years before on 3 March 1849.⁷¹

Journals

The ventures of Reynolds in the field of urban journalism brought about a certain transformation in the concept of the Victorian Sunday paper. His outset as literary editor can be traced back to the *London and Paris Courier*, a Parisian newspaper that ran between January and August 1838 and which Reynolds partially owned. As Susan Sheets-Pyenson explained, popular periodicals in France and England between 1820 and 1875 were being used by the supporters of cheap fiction to convey scientific information to their readership in order to prevent them from turning to other canonical, long-established political tracts.⁷² The

⁶⁹ G. W. M. Reynolds, "Preface," *The Empress Eugenie's Boudoir* (London: John Dicks, 1857).

⁷⁰ See section *Short stories* on page 94.

⁷¹ G. W. M Reynolds, "Lissa, The Fisherman's Daughter. A True Story," *Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art*, Vol. II, no. 34 (1849): 539-543.

⁷² For the concept of 'economic literature' and how cheap fiction was increased with Reynolds to mark the beginnings of a new phase in the literary market by shaping the reading taste of the working-classes, see John Wilson Ross, "The Influence of Cheap Literature," *London Journal and Weekly*

demand was therefore for literature at an affordable price that would keep them leisurely interested in the current affairs of their countries.⁷³ Thus, the next journal which saw Reynolds as an editor and contributor between August 1837 and December 1838 was the *Monthly Magazine of Politics, Literature, and the Belles-Lettres*. By publishing his novel *Pickwick Abroad; or, The Tour in France* in instalments in this journal and by drifting its tone towards Radicalism, Reynolds succeeded in reawakening both the sales and the fame of this periodical, until a confrontation with the managers put his editorship to an end.⁷⁴ Shortly afterwards, in 1840, having made his acquaintance with J. H. Donaldson, a temperance lecturer, Reynolds set forth as the editor and part-owner of *The Teetotaler, A Weekly Journal Devoted to Temperance, Literature and Science*, from 27 June 1840 until 25 September 1841. But yet again, another quarrel with the leaders of the temperance movement would have him relinquish the cause in 1842 and become director-general of the United Kingdom Anti-Teetotal Society⁷⁵ as well as editor of *The Anti-Teetotaler*,⁷⁶ acknowledged by I. G. Bingham and J. B. Wilson as,

Record of Literature, Science and Art 1, no. 8 (1845): 115 and Louis James, “‘Economic Literature:’ The Emergence of Popular Journalism,” *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* 4, no. 4 (1971): 13-20.

⁷³ Susan Sheets-Pyenson, “Popular Science Periodicals in Paris and London: The Emergence of a Low Scientific Culture, 1820-1875,” *Annals of Science* 42, no. 6 (1985): 549-572.

⁷⁴ Such confrontation was prompted by what was considered an indecorous continuation of the original novel by Dickens, which greatly offended the managers; hence, their decision of terminating Reynolds’s editorship of the journal. Under the new editorship of Abraham Heraud in 1839, the journal moved from Reynolds’s radical and pro-French attitudinal style to more conservative views.

⁷⁵ See Anne Humpherys and Louis James, “Introduction,” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 4.

⁷⁶ Rob Breton, *The Oppositional Aesthetics of Chartist Fiction: Reading Against the Middle-Class Novel* (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 92.

‘a journal of moderation’- and of the publicans! These moral, modest, and moderate gentlemen have discovered that they might as well attempt to stem a torrent with a straw, or hew down a forest with a feather, as to stop the march of teetotalism by means of a few foolish tales and paragraphs in their political organs, the Era, Statesman, and Advertiser, and, therefore, as a forlorn hope, they have, under disguise, which is not strange, got Mr. Strange, the former publisher of ‘The Teetotaler,’ to issue a very strange weekly journal in defence of moderation and the traffic!⁷⁷

From March 1845 to November 1846, Reynolds was appointed editor of the *London Journal and Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art* by George Stiff and the novels he serialised therein followed the pattern of social melodrama, according to James.⁷⁸ On the other hand, Andrew King gives a slightly different date –towards the end of July 1846— for Reynolds to have stepped down his job as editor in order to launch his own *Reynolds’s Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science and Art*, taking some of his contacts with him, such as the publishers John Anthony Galignani and his brother William as well as the translator John Taylor Sinnett.⁷⁹ *Reynolds’s Miscellany* set out on 7 November 1846 as *Reynolds’s Magazine* until its fifth issue; its original title was then adopted again until 19 June 1869, when the journal was merged to another weekly journal which bore the title of *Bow Bells*.⁸⁰ King has pointed out that one of the common practices that were undertaken in this periodical was to advertise a piece of writing, print a couple of extracts and then referring to them from time to time in the section “Notices.” Thus, the periodical was the perfect

⁷⁷ I. G. Bingham and J. B. Wilson, *Western Temperance Journal. New Series*, vol 1, no. 24 (1841): 189.

⁷⁸ See footnote 75.

⁷⁹ Andrew King, “*Reynolds’s Miscellany*, 1846-1849: Advertising Networks and Politics,” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 53-74.

⁸⁰ The *Bow Bells* ran from 12 November 1862 and 22 February 1897, with Reynolds as its editor between August 1864 and 1868.

means for Reynolds to showcase his work and that of his contacts, which included Henry Anelay, Edwin Brett, H. Carter, S. Y. Collins, Eliza Cook, W. Gorway, A. Miles and Edwin Roberts.⁸¹ As regards the political content of *Reynolds's Miscellany*, a series of “Letters to the Industrious Classes” –published between 13 January and 14 May 1847— stands out as representative of Reynolds’s party politics, which were concerned with the organisation of social relations, the distribution of economic resources within society, the support of free trade, private property and a national education system, the brunt of protectionism and the opposition to both communism and socialism. Another interesting aspect of this periodical is, in King’s words, the ‘sycophantic footnotes,’ which contributed to disseminate Reynolds’s political ideology by underpinning his defence of private intellectual property. Conversely, Collins is of the opinion that the success of *Reynolds's Miscellany* was not exclusively due to its editor’s political beliefs, but to the addition of sensation literature which acted as bait for the readers by ensuring they would get to comprehend and support his cause. Hence, each issue of the journal started off with an “Address to the Reader” followed by fiction stories. Amalgamated with this periodical, there was the *Weekly Magazine*, edited by both Reynolds and his wife Susannah from 1 January to 1 July 1848 and *Reynolds's Political Instructor*, edited and owned by Reynolds between 10 November 1849 and 11 May 1850, which offered content based on pieces of opinion instead of news. This journal underwent certain variations in its title, such as *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper, a Journal of Democratic Progress and General Intelligence*, between 18 August 1850 and 19 June 1879, before finally becoming *Reynolds's Newspaper*. With an impressive circulation, this periodical was described in 1862 by Marx as “one surviving mass circulation working-class organ in Britain,” due to its having

⁸¹ See footnote 61.

grown into the main vehicle of information of British socialist schemes.⁸² As Aled G. Jones has put it, this periodical followed in the steps of a preceding Chartist journal, the *Northern Star*, and continued with the same free-speech advocacy in its pages.⁸³ Indeed, during the declining stage of Chartism, *Reynolds's Newspaper* had become the most read weekly periodical and was considered a true stalwart supporter of radical ideology and social reform. One of its sections, "Reviews of Books," was of particular importance as it conveyed a political focus which primed over the book or pamphlet review itself, which in its turn helped forewarn the working-class of the latest good reads or of any other stratagem from the right-wingers. Another section, "Notices to Correspondents," was also essential to ascertain the nature of its readers, as its main function was to furnish them with answers to their questions. Regarding the thematic content which prevailed throughout this periodical, the main topics were the defence of the natural right of the citizen –meaning their entitlement to both political representation and economic stability— and the right of the citizen to own the freehold of their property.⁸⁴ Those can be seen in some of the advertisements throughout the journal, such as the following one, "By a mere saving of twopence per day, a working-man may place himself upon the same footing in the event of an election as the proudest aristocrat in the

⁸² Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "A London's Workers' Meeting," in *On Britain*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, [1862] 1971), 459-463.

⁸³ Aled G. Jones, "Chartist Journalism and Print Culture in Britain, 1830-1855," in *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press*, ed. Joan Allen and Owen R. Ashton (London: Merlin Press, 2005), 17.

⁸⁴ The leasehold scandal of residential properties has seen recent developments in the Law Commission Report issued on 21 July 2020, which states the ban on selling leasehold houses and, should it continue, the right to buy the freehold on a cheaper rate or converting to commonhold. In any event, Reynolds's defence of this particular right of the citizen shows how much of a pioneer and advocate of justice he truly was. See Law Commission. *The Future of Home Ownership*. PDF file. <https://s3-eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/lawcom-prod-storage-11jsxou24uy7q/uploads/2020/07/Summary-The-Future-of-Home-Ownership-final-N2.pdf>

country.”⁸⁵ Other advertisements covered incidents which are particularly *ad rem* to the plots of Reynolds’s novels, such as *Mary Price or the Memoirs of a Servant-Maid*, for instance.⁸⁶ As Reynolds also believed in self-instruction, he decided to include the section “Educational Columns,” which encouraged his working-class readers to attain the best education they could afford or to self-educate themselves if no other option was available. On a more global vision, Reynolds regarded his periodical as a metaphorical school of politics for their readers, “[...] the cheap press is the sole real educator of the masses. It teaches them to know their rights and their wrongs, and is thus gradually effecting the silent revolution of the heart in this great country.”⁸⁷ And according to *The New York Tribune*, he was not mistaken, as the journal indicated surprise at the knowledge of political thought attained by the working-class through their reading of cheap Sunday periodicals such as *Reynolds’s Newspaper*.⁸⁸

Short Stories

Reynolds published an extensive amount of short stories, most of which were pirated in the United States, according to E. F. Bleiler.⁸⁹ These short stories appeared in *The Young Fisherman, and Other Stories* (London: John Dicks, 1864) in volume format and on Reynolds’s periodicals such as the *Monthly Magazine*, *The Teetotaler*, the *London Journal*

⁸⁵ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 5 October 1851, p. 14.

⁸⁶ See ‘List of Abbreviations’ on page vi. The plot of *MP* will be analysed in detail on the third chapter of the present research. The advertisements were “Alleged Brutality to a Servant Girl,” *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 31 August 1851, p. 10; and “Ill Treatment of a Servant Girl,” *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 5 October 1851, p. 13.

⁸⁷ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 20 September 1857, p. 8.

⁸⁸ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 9 January 1859, p. 6.

⁸⁹ G. W. M. Reynolds, *Wagner, The Wehr-Wolf*, ed. E. F. Bleiler, (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1975).

and *Reynolds's Miscellany*.⁹⁰ James highlights the following ones in his comprehensive bibliography of Reynolds, “The Baroness” (1837; eventually retitled as “The Baroness of Grandmanoir”); “The Father” (1838; subsequently titled “The Mysterious Manuscript”); “Mary Hamel” (1838); “The Sculptor of Florence” (1838; later on reissued as “The Broken Statue”); “Noctes Pickwickianae” (1840); “Pickwick Married” (1841); “The Assassin” (1845); “Margaret Catchpole” (1845); “A Tale for Christmas” (1846); “The Matrimonial Advertisement” (1847); “The Castellan’s Daughter” (1850); “The Greek Maiden, or The Banquet of Blood” (1850); “The Janizary, or The Massacre of the Christians” (1850); “The Prophecy, or The Lost Son” (1850); and “The Young Fisherman; or, The Spirits of the Lake” (1861).⁹¹ Tinged with Radical ideology and indoctrination, the main topics of these stories were concerned with the depiction of pain, torture and pornographic passion in the context of class-consciousness with urban working-class victims.

Translations and other miscellaneous pieces of writing

Thanks to his deep knowledge of the French language, Reynolds was able to translate Victor Hugo’s *Le Dernier Jour d’un Condamné* and *Les Chants du Crépuscule* as *The Last Day of a Condemned* (London: George Henderson, 1840) and *Songs of Twilight* (Paris: Librairie des Étrangers, 1836) as well as *Sœur Anne*, by Paul de Kock, as *Sister Anne* (London: George Henderson, 1840). As regards other works of his, five must be mentioned here: *The Errors of the Christian Religion Exposed, by a Comparison of the Gospels of*

⁹⁰ Humpherys and James observed that most of Reynolds’s short stories were actually embedded in his novels or recycled under different titles, which increases the complexity of producing an accurate bibliography of his complete work. See Anne Humpherys and Louis James, *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 276.

⁹¹ Thanks to Scott Pell, these stories can be accessed online at *The FictionMags Index*, <http://www.philsp.com/homeville/fmi/t/t5929.htm>

*Matthew and Luke; The Modern Literature of France; The Anatomy of Intemperance: or, A Key to Teetotalism; A Sequel to Don Juan; and The French Self-Instructor.*⁹² Reynolds wrote the first of these works whilst living in France and it was soon considered controversial due to the steadfast anticlericalism and the denial of the divinity of Jesus it bespoke.⁹³ Also linked to his stay in France are the two volumes of *The Modern Literature of France*, on whose title-page the following words can be read, “George W. M. Reynolds, Member of the French Statistical and Agricultural Societies, &c., &c.” This has been studied by Collins as regards the connection that Reynolds could have had with such a society, if he was trying to make a living as a literary critic. Both volumes comprise an anthology of abridged texts by diverse authors which are preceded by some brief introductory words by Reynolds. This has proven to be of special interest in order to discover who was admired and appraised by Reynolds at the time, as well as influencing his writing, i. e., Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Alphonse de Lamartine and Frédéric Soulié occupied preferential positions, which left Sue to one side. Soulié was acclaimed for his *roman frénétique*, whereas Sue was celebrated for the absence of realism in his writing. As regards Lamartine, Reynolds observed that,

Religion made Lamartine a poet; but instead of inspiring him with fanatic and gloomy notions, and divesting his lips of smiles, and quenching the fire of his eye, it taught him to worship his God with gladness as frequently as with plaintive measures, and to depict

⁹² *The Errors of the Christian Religion Exposed, by a Comparison of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (London: R. Carlile, 1832); *The Modern Literature of France* (London: George Henderson, 1839); *The Anatomy of Intemperance: or, A Key to Teetotalism* (London: United Temperance Union, 1840); *A Sequel to Don Juan* (London: Paget and Co., 1843); and *The French Self-Instructor* (London: John Dicks, 1846)

⁹³ Please see Timothy Larsen, *Crisis of Doubt: Honest Faith in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

in happy and glowing colours the goodness and munificence of the majesty of Heaven [...] ⁹⁴

exposing thus his Deism and corroborating the views he had already expressed in his work *The Errors of the Christian Religion Exposed, by a Comparison of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*. With *The Anatomy of Intemperance: or, A Key to Teetotalism*, Reynolds explored from a moral and physical point of view topics such as abstinence from alcohol; Teetotalism as a doctrine; income tax; the Ottoman Empire –with special attention to Moorish Spain—; tyrannical institutions within society; intoxication and stimulants; and cases of deceased high-class men and women caused by heavy drinking, spontaneous combustion and even murder. Precisely, a passage on *The Terrific Register* describes the death by spontaneous combustion of the Countess Cesenate, a tragedy which Dickens would refer twenty-eight years later on his preface to *Bleak House*,

The possibility of what is called Spontaneous Combustion has been denied since the death of Mr Krook; and my good friend MR LEWES (quite mistaken, as he soon found, in supposing the thing to have been abandoned by all authorities) published some ingenuous letters to me at the time when that event was chronicled, arguing that Spontaneous Combustion could not possibly be. I have no need to observe that I do not wilfully or negligently mislead my readers, and that before I wrote that description I took pains to investigate the subject. There are about thirty cases on record, of which the most famous, that of the Countess Cornelia de Bandi Cesenate was minutely investigated and described by Giuseppe Bianchini, a prebendary of Verona, otherwise distinguished in letters, who published an account of it at Verona, in 1731, which he afterwards republished at Rome. The appearances beyond all rational doubt observed in that case, are the appearances observed in Mr. Krook's case.” ⁹⁵

⁹⁴ G. W. M. Reynolds, *The Modern Literature of France. Vol. 1*, (London: George Henderson, 1839), 130-131.

⁹⁵ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1853), 6. Cf. *The Terrific Register; or, Record of Crimes, Judgements, Providences and Calamities* 1, (1824-1825), 161-163.

R. D. McMaster noted that such periodical of the horror comic genre competed with the novels being sold at the time by both Dickens and Reynolds –considered the ‘Mickey Spillane of the Victorian Age’⁹⁶— and supposed another strand of rivalry between them.⁹⁷ This scholar studied how Dickens took over Reynolds’s sensational stories with topics such as spontaneous combustion or body snatchers, as in the case of the character Jerry Cruncher in *A Tale of Two Cities* and his counterpart the Resurrection Man in *The Mysteries of London*.⁹⁸

On a completely different stance, Rohan McWilliam has agreed that *A Sequel to Don Juan* was written in an attempt to imitate Lord Byron given that many references to him can be read throughout the novel.⁹⁹ And last but not least, *The French Self-Instructor*, a textbook to self-learn French grammar and pronunciation or, in Reynolds’s words,

Persons of defective education can improve themselves exceedingly by its use. Indeed it contains all the requisite lessons to constitute the groundwork of a really good education. The French language can be self-taught by its aid in a very short time, with

⁹⁶ George Ford, *Dickens and his Readers. Aspects of Novel-Criticism Since 1836* (Cincinnati: Princeton University Press, 1955), 79.

⁹⁷ R. D. McMaster, “Dickens and the Horrific,” in *The Novel from Sterne to James. Essays on the Relation of Literature to Life*, ed. Juliet McMaster and Rowland McMaster (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1981), 37-53.

⁹⁸ Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1859). G. W. M. Reynolds, “The Body-Snatchers,” in *The Mysteries of London. Vol. 1* (London: Geo. Vickers, 1845), 125-128; and “The Exhumation,” p. 328-331. For an account of the resurrection rig see chapter XI in Pierce Egan, *Real Life in London, Volume I; or, The Rambles and Adventures of Bob Tallyho, Esq., and his Cousin, the Hon. Tom Dashall, Through the Metropolis; Exhibiting a Living Picture of Fashionable Characters, Manners, and Amusements in High and Low Life* (London: Jones and Co., 1821); and Kate Ravilious, “Haunt of the Resurrection Men,” *Archaeology* 66, no. 3 (May/June 2013): 41-45.

⁹⁹ Rohan McWilliam, “The French Connection: G. W. M. Reynolds and the Outlaw Robert Macaire,” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 33-49.

the help of a dictionary and a grammar. All the requisite rules for composition, punctuation, &c., are given in this work, as well as the necessary instructions for poetical composition. Elegance of diction and correct manner of expression are to be acquired from the ‘Self-Instructor.’¹⁰⁰

Indeed, the above writings contribute to our understanding of Reynolds interest in the servant problem in terms of their exposé of life degradation and deviancy which constituted a threat to the sanctity and survival of the working-class individual.¹⁰¹ By establishing the contrast between two antagonistic behaviours –a contrast which conferred highest popularity to sensation novels at the time— Reynolds conveyed his vision of the servant problem moved perhaps by his Chartist idealisation of the working-class and his aim of providing a solution which was to benefit them so as to progress in the social ladder.¹⁰²

Reception of Reynoldian fiction: Critics, readers and plagiarisers

Interestingly enough, Reynolds was not only regarded as a ‘Leader of the Chartists’ nor as a Chartist politician by people like W. W. Weston, a London manufacturer;¹⁰³ others,

¹⁰⁰ *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 16 February 1862, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ See Sally Powell, “Black Markets and Cadaverous Pies: The Corpse, Urban Trade and Industrial Consumption in the Penny Blood,” in *Victorian Crime, Madness and Sensation*, ed. Andrew Maunder and Grace Moore (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2004), 45-58.

¹⁰² Brian W. McCuskey, “‘No followers:’ The Victorian Servant Problem,” *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 24, no. 1 (1997): 105-137.

¹⁰³ “The Alien Act raises the question of how fearful the government was over Chartist fraternization with foreigners in England in 1848. Frenchmen were somewhat feared, judging by newspaper editorials, speeches in Parliament, police reports, spy reports, and Home Office instructions to watch them.” (p. 17). Henry Weisser, “Chartism in 1848: Reflections on a Non-Revolution,” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 13, no. 1 (1981): 12-26. Weston –convinced that Reynolds was a ‘naturalised Frenchman’— informed about Reynolds being charged to write revolutionary articles for the *Weekly Dispatch*; see W. W. Weston to Sir George Grey, H. O. 45/2410, Part 2, London.

such as Ernest Charles Jones –a Chartist yet rival fellowman— despised him for writing fiction to make money at the expense of Chartist ideology and his momentous position therein,

When we sit down to the feast of democracy we must not have the table spread with garbage. The man whose taste has led him to dish up Chartism with such trash; and he who is satisfied with it, have alike mistaken their mission, and the nature of the principles they have adopted.¹⁰⁴

But the truth was that Reynolds had not only authored one of the bestsellers of the time, *The Mysteries of London*, but had also published one of the most circulated periodicals as well, *Reynolds's Newspaper*. For this reason, Devereux attempted to come up with a plausible explanation of the motives behind the enhancing of melodrama and sensationalism in Chartist fiction when he stated that

Chartism was the first mass political movement to find itself in competition with this new popular culture, the growth of which coincides with the movement's decline. It is perhaps not so surprising after all that all those Chartists who were seeking to revive the movement should attempt to do so, in part, by writing radical popular fiction.¹⁰⁵

Devereux's expression 'new popular culture' is key here, as it relates to the connection that Patrick Joyce established between 'populism' and the popular radicalism of the 19th century.¹⁰⁶ Joyce cited *Reynolds's Newspaper* as the metaphorical overpass that conjoined traditional and modern radicalism, providing as evidence the heterogeneous readership of that specific periodical, with London-based craftsmen and sundry workingmen from other parts of

¹⁰⁴ Sally Ledger, "Chartist Aesthetics in the Mid Nineteenth Century: Ernest Jones, a Novelist of the People," *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 57, no. 1 (2002): 31-63.

¹⁰⁵ Steve Devereux, "Chartism and Popular Fiction," in *Writing and Radicalism*, ed. John Lucas (London: Longman, 1996), 128-149.

¹⁰⁶ Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People. Industrial England and the Question of Class 1848-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 65.

England. The contemporary response to *Reynolds's Newspaper* commended it as a hotspot of 'ultra-radicalism' and Norman yoke ideology, with the aristocracy as its mortal enemy.¹⁰⁷ This, together with a manifest anti-statism that can be observed throughout this periodical, conferred on Reynolds and his fiction the label of 'populist.' Reynolds explored such topics as a dishonest ruling class and legal system next to warded-off citizens from a corrupt state apparatus in his novels, and these topics were clear indications of populism, although being tinged with a romantic conception of society which originated in the readings on liberal-nationalist Europe that Reynolds had done during his youth. Margot C. Finn also agreed on the fact that popular culture –by resorting to sensationalist devices— helped integrate literary fiction with political radicalism boosting thus the sales of Radical periodicals,

A typical sample from Reynolds's Newspaper in 1856 ranges from a 'Glance at the Political Condition of Europe' and an enthusiastic appraisal of the revolutionary potential of Spain to the 'LATE FATAL ACCIDENT AT BRYN MALLY MINE,' a 'SHOCKING CASE OF CHILD POISONING,' a 'DREADFUL ATTEMPT AT MURDER AT LIVERPOOL,' the 'OUTRAGE ON TWO EMIGRANT GIRLS IN NEW YORK,' and a 'FRIGHTFUL DEATH BY A LION.'¹⁰⁸

Such headlines may remind readers of certain popular broadside ballads and catchpennies of the time, i. e., "The Recent Murderers: A New Song," "Execution of Alice Holt," "Self-Destruction of a Female," "Fearful Colliery Explosion," and "Shocking Rape and Murder of Two Lovers."¹⁰⁹ Thus, combining ideals from Proudhon and Blanc such as 'property is theft'

¹⁰⁷ Gareth Stedman Jones, "The Language of Chartism," in *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60*, ed. James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson (London: The MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1982), 3-58.

¹⁰⁸ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 19 October 1856. See Margot C. Finn, *After Chartism. Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 112.

¹⁰⁹ See William Henderson, ed., *Victorian Street Ballads: A Selection of Popular Ballads Sold in the Street in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Country Life, 1937), 26-55; and Various Authors,

and ‘the rights of labour’, with sensationalism within the new wave of popular radicalism, led to an impressive number of responses to his writing, both from readers and critics alike.

However, the reaction from fellow writers were harsh and in dire contrast to that from the readers, who were absolutely eager and keen to read his fiction and non-fiction works. Let us have a look first at the feedback given by Reynolds’s contemporary peers.

W. E. Adams, a Radical editor, activist and admirer, like Reynolds, of the philosophy and political activism of Thomas Paine, commented the following about *Reynolds’s Political Instructor*, “I had previously read the “Rights of Man” and other political works of Thomas Paine [...] and now I was fairly in the maelstrom.”¹¹⁰ Adams was therefore admitting that Reynolds’s political thought had triggered in him fairly consistent doubts about the system, rather than leaving him in utter indifference. Reynolds’s discourse did not only influence young activists such as Adams, but also well-established writers such as Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray or Mary Elizabeth Braddon.¹¹¹ Robert Colby remarked the estimation that Thackeray held for Reynolds since the moment he made his acquaintance. Reynolds was the literary editor of the *Paris Literary Gazette* at the time and he was the first person who remunerated Thackeray for his writing. When Reynolds wrote the introduction to *The Modern Literature of France*, he was decrying English novelists on account of their withholding disreputable particulars of real life in their novels, and Thackeray supported him

Curiosities of Street Literature: Comprising “Cocks,” or “Catchpennies,” a Large and Curious Assortment of Street-Drolleries, Squibs, Histories, Comic Tales in Prose and Verse, Broad-sides on the Royal Family, Political Litanies, Dialogues, Catechisms, Acts of Parliament, Street Political Papers, a Variety of “Ballads on a Subject,” Dying Speeches and Confessions (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871).

¹¹⁰ W. E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom. Vol. 1* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1903), 118-119.

¹¹¹ Reynolds’s influence on Braddon can be best observed in her novel *The Black Band; or, The Mysteries of Midnight* (London: George Vickers, 1877).

by saying that “a French satirist has a certain advantage which, with our modest public, an English novelist cannot possess. The former is allowed to speak more freely than the latter.”¹¹² It was precisely Thackeray who mentioned, in one of his lectures, “Comedy and Humour,” delivered in 1852, an interview with a Brightonian bookseller who rooted the popularity of Reynolds in the literary vilification of aristocracy let out throughout his novel *The Mysteries of London*. Both Reynolds and Thackeray firmly believed that French writers furnished their readers with the necessary knowledge for real life by disclosing the truth of life in their fiction, instead of pulling a dark curtain over their eyes like English novelists did. Dickens, on the other hand, sustained a lifelong enmity with Reynolds. Apart from the episode on the true Chartist spirit previously discussed, there was the issue of plagiarism. Every novelist was imitating Dickens to the extreme of pirating his works, Reynolds included. The divergence between Reynolds and the rest of plagiarisers lied on the fact that Reynolds was very accomplished when doing so and quickly excelled them. Carver mentioned on this respect that,

Given Dickens’s take on the working class movement in *Hard Times*, with trade unionism demonized in favour of a rather insipid appeal to Christian brotherhood, it is obvious why he so disliked the revolutionary rhetoric of the popular author and Chartist Reynolds. Reynolds, in turn, resented Dickens’s image as a man of the people, feeling that his own voice much more accurately reflected the plight of the urban poor. The fact that Reynolds had successfully plagiarised Dickens in the past had not helped matters much either.¹¹³

¹¹² W. M. Thackeray, “The Thieves’ Literature of France,” *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 31, no. 1 (1843): 231-249. See also Robert Colby, *Thackeray’s Canvass of Humanity* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1979).

¹¹³ Stephen Carver, “G. W. M. Reynolds,” *The Literary Encyclopedia. Exploring Literature, History and Culture. Volume 1.2.1.07: English Writing and Culture of the Victorian Period, 1837-1901*.

Another plagiariser of Dickens was Edward Lloyd, a rival to Reynolds, with his most widely read periodical, *Lloyds's Weekly Newspaper*. Dickens sued Lloyd but lost due to the argument that Lloyd had brought forward, which was, in short, that his pirated copies were so poorly written that readers would instantly realise. Despite the efforts carried out by Dickens to put an end to these plagiarisers, he never succeeded and the fact that Reynolds's pirated copies were outselling his own work left him utterly defeated. There was also another factor that worsened the dislike between Reynolds and Dickens, which was the containment of three print culture networks within Wellington Street in the Strand area of London, over a period of ten years, the *Punch* office with Henry Mayhew at number 13; the *Reynolds's Miscellany* and later *Reynolds's Newspaper* office with Reynolds and his wife Susannah at number 7; and the *Household Words* office with Dickens at number 16. This meant the convergence on a specific geographical space of three periodicals in direct competition with each other and which attracted readers from different social echelons. One instance of this intrinsic competition which deteriorated even more the acrimony between Dickens and Reynolds was the negative review titled "Literature of the Lower Orders," published in 1847 on the *Daily News* –edited by Dickens until 1846— of the novel *Gretna Green; or, All for Love*, by Mrs G. W. M. Reynolds. Signed by Charles Dilke Jr., it was a point-blank review which criticised Susannah's eulogy of sex and violence in her novel. Even though a retraction took place immediately, Reynolds found a way of venting his anger in the second series of *The Mysteries of London*,

[...] the name of Charles Dickens was rather damnatory than useful to newspaper-speculation. Everyone must admit that Boz is a great novelist, [...] but he is totally

March 5, 2004, accessed 8 August 2020.

<https://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=5614>.

incapable of writing for a newspaper. The proprietors of the *News* made a tremendous splash with his name; but they only created a quagmire for themselves to flounder in.¹¹⁴

Another verbal assault on Reynolds ensued, this time in *Household Words*, with Dickens reviling him as one of those “Bastards of the Mountain, draggled fringe on the Red Cap, Panders to the basest passions of the lowest natures -whose existence is a national reproach.”¹¹⁵

In 1848, a weekly humorous magazine, *The Man in the Moon* –edited by Albert Smith and Angus Bethune Reach— published a satire on Reynolds’s rhetorical style titled “Dips into the Diary of Barrabas Bolt, Esq. (Late Delegate from Smokely-on-Sewer to the National Convention);”¹¹⁶ and yet again, in 1850, an article written by Thomas Clark caused an outrage amongst Reynolds’s fellow Chartist supporters and made it clear that he was not on Reynolds’s side. The title to its 35 pages read *A letter addressed to G. W. M. Reynolds: Reviewing his Conduct as a Professed Chartist, and also Explaining Who he is and What he is: Together with Copious Extracts from his Most Indecent Writings: Also, a Few Words of Advice to his Brother Electors of Finsbury*,¹¹⁷ and its contents cast all sort of doubts on Reynolds’s financial situation together with the depravity present in his novels. Another detractor of Reynolds’s was Robert Louis Stevenson who, after the writer’s death in 1879, referred to him as ‘un-utterable Reynolds’ (p. 126) and expressed his indignation at his novel *The Mysteries of London*.¹¹⁸ Charles Knight joined the list of Reynolds’s enemies as evidenced by his entry, “Cotton, Manufacture of” in the *Penny Cyclopaedia* and various references to that same topic in *The Progress of the Nation, in its Various Social and*

¹¹⁴ G. W. M. Reynolds, *The Mysteries of London*. Vol. 2 (1846-1848), 74.

¹¹⁵ Dickens, “Preliminary Word,” in *Household Words* 1, no. 1 (30 March 1850): 1.

¹¹⁶ *The Man in the Moon* 3, no. 17 (1848): 235.

¹¹⁷ London: T. Clark, 1850.

¹¹⁸ Robert Louis Stevenson, “Popular Authors,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 4, (1888): 122-128.

Economical Relations, from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Present Time, on his attack to aristocracy.¹¹⁹ William Hepworth Dixon was also on the same line of criticism against Reynolds's novels,

They poison the very fountains of human life, by confounding conscience, confusing the sense of right and wrong, and by corrupting and inflaming those passions whose regulation and co-ordination with duty constitute the basis of morals, and offer the only guarantee for the pace and well-being of the social body.¹²⁰

Reynolds replied to this attack by publishing the following in *Reynolds's Miscellany*,

We will explain the reason wherefore Messrs Bradbury and Evans, the proprietors of the Daily News have directed their literary scrub to pen the articles entitled "The Literature of the Lower Orders." The motive was purely a *trade* one. Bradbury and Evans are the proprietors of numerous works, which, being very dear, do not sell; and they therefore vent their spite on their cheap and successful rivals... in denominating cheap works "The Literature of the Lower Orders," Bradbury and Evans put a gross, vile and base insult upon the Industrious Classes of these realms. They wantonly throw dirt in the face of the honest artisan, and working man of every class and description. They moreover propagate an infamous falsehood when they represent such periodicals as THE MISCELLANY, the LONDON JOURNAL, and the FAMILY HERALD to be read only by the *lower orders*; for they circulate widely amongst the middle class, and the Volumes obtain a sale in the richer sphere.¹²¹

Yet more negative criticisms continued to reach Reynolds; this time by Ernest Charles Jones, who was his main rival in the press and who was offended at Reynolds's comments on aristocracy. He agreed with Dickens on warning their readers against becoming

¹¹⁹ Charles Knight, *The Penny Cyclopædia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* 8 (1833): 156; and Geoffrey Richardson Porter, *The Progress of the Nation, in its Various Social and Economical Relations, from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Present Time*, (London: John Murray, 1851).

¹²⁰ William Hepworth Dixon, *Daily News*, 1847.

¹²¹ G. W. M. Reynolds, "The *Daily News*," *Reynolds's Miscellany* 3 (1847): 63-64.

involved in any way, shape or form with “designing, middle-class agitators and sham liberals,”¹²² and he succeeded in suing Reynolds for libel in 1859. Next to these detractors, an 1880 reviewer published an adverse note in the *Quarterly Review* on the three most popular periodicals of the time, with two of them being *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper* and *Reynolds’s Newspaper*; and of the latter he wrote “even worse than Lloyd’s.”¹²³ In 1886, the *Saturday Review* condemned Reynolds’s novels for their opposition to the ruling classes.¹²⁴ Lastly, the London publishing houses in their vast majority were not in favour of Reynolds’s writing either. Having taken into account Reynolds’s detractors as a whole, Dalziel was of the opinion that their impugment on the lack of moral zeal, which they affirmed to be characteristic of Reynolds’s fiction, eventually drove him to tone down his writing style.

But not all of Reynolds’s contemporary responses to his writing was unfavourable. Scholars like Dalziel and Humpherys have called attention to an essay published by *The Bookseller* in 1868, “Mischievous Literature,” which focused on Reynolds’s having considerably outsold Dickens and on his witty fiction,

In too many instances this clever writer has, we regret to say, administered the poison and forgotten the remedy -pandered to his readers’ morbid love of excitement, without

¹²² Ernest Charles Jones, *People’s Paper*, 3 March 1856, p. 1.

¹²³ “The Newspaper Press,” *Quarterly Review* 150 (1880): 498-537. See also Martin Conboy, “Residual Radicalism as a Popular Commercial Strategy: Beginnings and Endings,” in *The News of the World and the British Press, 1843-2011. Journalism for the Rich, Journalism for the Poor*, ed. Laurel Brake, Chandrika Kaul and Mark W. Turner (Hampshire, England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 117-134.

¹²⁴ “G. W. M. Reynolds,” in *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 6 February 1886, p. 199.

attempting to point the moral that should always accompany the descriptions of successful vice or splendid villainy.¹²⁵

The magazine also distinguished him in its “Obituary” section in 1879 as “the most popular writer of our time.”¹²⁶ James cited Q. W. Miller as the person who –after establishing a comparison between Reynolds’s and Dickens’s novels— stated that, “[...] In [Reynolds’s] *Pickwick Abroad* we have the same brilliancy of colouring and the same force of feeling which characterises the works of Dickens.”¹²⁷ Even *Cleave’s Penny Gazette* admitted that Reynolds’s *Picwick Abroad* was “the best of the bad [Dickensian] imitations,” and *The Age* recommended Dickens to “look to his laurels.”¹²⁸ Another reviewer, referring to “The Retribution,” commented that “there is a terseness about the style which reminds us of ‘Boz.’”¹²⁹ Further to this, John Parke conceded that Reynolds’s novels were “well penned”

¹²⁵ *The Bookseller* 126, 1 July 1868, p. 448. *The Bookseller* started off as a magazine by the hand of Joseph Whitaker in 1858, with the additional title of *A Handbook of British and Foreign Literature*. In 1909, Whitaker’s sons –Joseph Vernon and George Herbert— decided to alter the frequency of publication from monthly to weekly.

¹²⁶ ‘G. W. M. Reynolds,’ [Obituary], *The Bookseller*, 3 July 1879, pp. 600-601.

¹²⁷ Q. W. Miller, *Dickensian*, p. 9; cited from Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

¹²⁸ *Cleave’s Penny Gazette of Variety*, 7 April 1838, p. 2; *The Age*, 4 March 1838, p. 67.

¹²⁹ *The Penny Sunday Chronicle*, 19 June 1842, p. 1. Some years later, other novels with similar titles and probably inspired in Reynolds’s “The Retribution” were published, i. e. Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte, *Retribution; or, The Vale of Shadows. A Tale of Passion* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849); James Malcolm Rymer, *Retribution; or, The Murder at the Old Dyke. A Romance* (London: E. Lloyd, 1846). Reynolds’s “The Retribution” was also translated into

Urdu https://brill.com/downloadpdf/journals/urds/1/1/article-p3_2.pdf?pdfJsInlineViewToken=1848222261&inlineView=true as “Pādāsh-e ‘Amal” as he was one of the most read and admired English writers there. See C. M. Naim, “The Magic-Making *Miṣṭar Rināld’s*” and the Development of Urdu Prose Fiction,” *Journal of Urdu Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020): 3-26.

and “artistically wrought” despite their “imperfect moral education.”¹³⁰ Now, the most welcoming response to Reynolds’s fiction and non-fiction alike came from his readers. One instance of his immense popularity amongst them was recalled by James Bertram, a newsagent in Edinburgh at the time, who had to order an extra coach to bring the copies from the station every time one of his novels or stories was approaching its *dénouement*.¹³¹

Another piece of evidence was given by a correspondent in *The Morning Chronicle*, who referred to six writers and publishers –Edward Lloyd, George Vickers, John Dicks, George Stiff, W. M. Clarke and G. W. M. Reynolds— who had escaped poverty and flourished financially thanks to the extensive idolisation of their cheap fiction.¹³² Richard D. Altick also agreed on Reynolds’s popularity amongst readers by alluding to the fact that the bestselling of his novels eventually obliged the ruling class to grant more supremacy to artisans and labourers.¹³³ Moreover, he gave an example of the type of readers who most enjoyed cheap fiction, including Reynolds’s,

Unemployed, dispossessed workmen gathering in alehouses to read radical papers that spell out the reasons for their misery and suggest desperate remedies. A rheumatic London crossing-sweeper crawling back to his cold, squalid room to pore over a copy of *Reynolds’s Miscellany*. Twenty men and women gathering in a locksmith’s shop to

¹³⁰ John Parker, “On the Literature of the Working Classes,” in *Meliora; or, Better Times to Come. Being the Contributions of Many Men Touching the Present State and Prospects of Society*, ed. Viscount Ingestre (London: John Parker & Son, 1853), 186. See also Victor E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature. A History and Guide. From the Beginning of Printing to the Year 1897* (London: The Woburn Press, 1977).

¹³¹ James Bertram, *Glimpses of Real Life as Seen in the Theatrical World and in Bohemia: Being the Confessions of Peter Paterson, a Strolling Comedian* (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1864), 140.

¹³² Fanny Mayne, *The Perilous Nature of the Penny Periodical Press* (Paddington: Oxford Printing Press, 1852), 8.

¹³³ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 4-5.

listen to the newest number of the *Pickwick Papers*, borrowed from a circulating library at 2d a day. A Cockney fishmonger smoking his pipe, late at night, over three prized books -the *European Magazine* for 1761, *Tristram Shandy*, and *Gil Blas*. A schoolboy putting down his penny for John Dicks's latest issue of a paper-covered play. A laborer meeting the hawker on Sunday morning to buy his Sabbath entertainment, a copy of the *Illustrated Times*, full of red-blooded murder. Apprentices trading well-thumbed numbers of *Cassell's Popular Educator* [...] ¹³⁴

Even Mayhew had to concede Reynolds's popularity amongst his readers,

What they love best to listen to -and, indeed, what they are most eager for -are Reynold's [sic] periodicals, especially the 'Mysteries of the Court.' 'They've got tired of Lloyd's blood-stained stories,' said one man, who was in the bait of reading to them, 'and I'm satisfied that, of all London, Reynolds is the most popular man among them. They stuck by him in Trafalgar Square, and would again.' ¹³⁵

However, there was one novel of his, *The Youthful Impostor*, that was not that successful. As Sara James has pointed out, Reynolds took very seriously the advice given to him by a literary reviewer, Joël Cherbuliez, who praised him for his uncluttered writing style, his agile and somewhat snappy narrative, and his respect for the moral truth,

M. Reynolds ne craint pas, il est vrai, de recourir souvent à l'arsenal de terreur, de meurtres et de crimes si généralement exploité par tous les romanciers du jour; mais on lui doit la justice de dire que du moins il ne s'écarte jamais trop de la vraisemblance et demeure toujours dans les limites que, sur cette terre, au milieu de notre état social, on

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³⁵ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor; A Cyclopædia of the Conditions and Earnings of Those that Will Work, Those that Cannot Work, and Those that Will not Work. The London Street-Folk* (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Company, 1861), 25. In Philadelphia, in the US, some publishers like T. B. Peterson and Brothers would list Dickens's and Reynolds's works side by side at the end of Reynolds's edition of his novels under headings like "Charles Dickens' Works" and "Reynolds' Great Works." Please see *Appendix 3* for an illustrated example.

ne voit jamais franchir par les passions même les plus désordonnées, par les criminels les plus audacieux.¹³⁶

but reproached him for the lack of clear focus on the plot, excessively long descriptions of the protagonists and the abundance of morally corrupted characters,

L'intérêt ne sait sur qui s'arrêter, et c'est surtout un grand tort de nous montrer, dès le début du roman, le héros déjà coupable d'un grand crime. Il aurait mieux valu, je crois, nous le peindre encore honnête et succombant graduellement aux appâts tendus à sa faiblesse vaniteuse.¹³⁷

More evidence that shows the love and admiration of his readers lies in the fact of his works being plagiarised –mostly in the US— and translated into other languages. *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf* and *The Mysteries of the Court of London* were amongst the most pirated, with a total of 44 and 20 editions, respectively.

Translations of Reynolds's novels

As regards the translations of his works, the most important ones have been into French –*Le Jeune Imposteur* and *Les Mystères de la Cour de Londres*—, German –*Die Geheimnisse of London* and *Pickwick in der Fremde, oder, Die Reise in Frankreich*—, Spanish –*Los Misterios de la Corte de Londres*—, Russian –*Secrets of London* and *Secrets of the Court of London*—, Marathi –*The Secret Deeds of the Elites of London* and *The Seamstress*—, Urdu –*Leila; or The Star of Mingrelia; Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf* and twenty-three other novels of his—, Bengali –*London Rahasya and Rabart Myakeyar*— and Hawaiian –*Kenete: He Moolelo no Sekotia*—. ¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Joël Cherbuliez, “Le Jeune Imposteur,” *Bulletin Littéraire et Scientifique. Revue Critique des Livres Nouveaux* (Paris: Cherbuliez, 1836), 206-207.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹³⁸ G. W. M. Reynolds, *Le Jeune Imposteur*, trans. A. J. B. Defauconfrêt (Paris: E. Renduel, 1836); *Les Mystères de la Cour de Londres*, no translator given (Paris: Achille Faure, 1866-1868); *Die*

Urdu translations deserve special attention. *Leila; or, The Star of Mingrelia* (1856) was translated as *فسانہ لیلے و دین الہ فسانہ Fasana-e 'Ala'uddin va Laila* by Munshi Muhammad Ameer Hasan¹³⁹ and considered *qissah* in Urdu fiction, “Nazir Ahmad probably chose the term *qissah* over novel because many nineteenth-century readers regarded the novel as a

Geheimnisse of London [literally, *The Secrets of London*], trans. William Harrison Ainsworth (Leipzig: C. Berger’s Buchhandlung, 1844); *Pickwick in der Fremde, oder, Die Reise in Frankreich*, trans. Ludwig Herrig (Braunschweig: Eduard Leibrock, 1841); *Los Misterios de la Corte de Londres*, no translator given (Madrid: Biblioteca de El Imparcial, n. d.); and *Los Misterios de la Corte de Inglaterra*, trans. Fernando Garrido (Barcelona: Salvador Manero, mid-19th c.) There are also two volumes which carry the title of *Los Misterios de Lóndres* [sic], written by Paul Féval under the pseudonym of Sir Francis Trollope and published in Madrid in 1848 by the Imprenta del Diccionario Geográfico under the direction of Don José Rojas, which is not a translation of Reynolds’s homonymous novel. The same happens with Cesáreo Hernando de Pereda, *La Costurera. Manual de la Costurera en Familia ó [sic] Libro para la Enseñanza de la Costura, del Corte, Armado y Confección de las Prendas de Vestir y de las Reglas para Aumentar ó [sic] Reducir Toda Clase de Patronos* (Madrid: José María Pérez, 1877) and the Italian *I Misteri di Londra*, trans. Féval (1844), by Feval. Still, they relate to the successful ‘urban mystery’ genre within cheap fiction coming from England at the time. In Russian, Тайны Лондона [*The Mysteries of London*], no translator given (Russia: no publishing house given, n. d.) and Тайны Суда Лондона [*The Mysteries of the Court of London*], no translator given (Russia: no publishing house given, n. d.)—the German version was highly regarded in the Russian black market—. In Marathi, *The Secret Deeds of the Elites of London*, trans. K. B. Mande (Maharashtra, India: no publishing house given, early 20th c.) and a translation/adaptation of *The Seamstress* was done in 1877 by Hari Nārāyaṇ Āpte. In Bengali, লন্ডন রহস্য - খন্ড [*London Rahasya/The Mystery of London*], trans. Haricharan Ray (Murshidābād, Pakistan: Rāmnāth Tālookdār, 1871); and *Rabart Myakeyar* [*Robert Macaire*], trans. Ambika Charan Gupta (Calcutta: The “Uchita-Vakta” Press, 1884). In Hawaiian, *Kenete: He Mooolelo no Sekotia* [*Kenneth, A Romance of the Highlands*], trans. John M. Kapena appeared on the newspaper *Au Okoa* from its inaugural issue on 24/4/1865 until 10/12/1866. Please see “Ka Puuhonua, The Observer,” Nupepa (blog), July 5, 2016, [Translation of G. W. M. Reynolds’ “Kenneth: A Romance of the Highlands,” 1865. | nupepa \(nupepa-hawaii.com\)](https://www.nupepa.com/translation-of-g-w-m-reynolds-kenneth-a-romance-of-the-highlands-1865/). Illustrations from the translations of Reynolds’s novels can be seen on *Appendix 2* at the end of the present study.

¹³⁹ Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India: Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, 1891.

genre associated with licentiousness and Westernization” (p. 302).¹⁴⁰ Hasan also translated *Wagner; or, The Wehr-Wolf* as *Wagnor Wansida*¹⁴¹ and *The Days of Hogarth; or, The Mysteries of Old London* (1847) as *Qadeem Landan ke Israr* [literally, *The Secrets of Old London*].¹⁴² Munshi Girja Sahay B. A. translated *Margaret; or, The Discarded Queen* (1857) and added the expression *jadu-nigar*, sometimes *jadu-raqam* to the name of Reynolds on the cover, which means “the magic-making Mr. Reynolds.”¹⁴³ Munshi Sajjad Husain Anjum translated *Master Timothy’s Book-Case; or, The Magic Lanthorn of the World* (1842) as *Dhoka ya Tilismi Fanoos* [literally, *Deceit of the Mystical Lantern*].¹⁴⁴ Mir Karamatullah of Amritsar translated *Mistar Je Dablu Rinalds ki Savanih- ‘umri*.¹⁴⁵ Munshi Amjad Husain Khan translated *Alfred; or, The Adventures of a French Gentleman* (1838) as *Shad Kaam* [literally, *The Happy Work*].¹⁴⁶ Abdul Halim Sharar translated *May Middleton; or, the History of a Fortune* (1855) as *Khubi e Qismat* (?). Pundit Bishambhar Nath translated *The Seamstress; a Domestic Tale* (1851) as *Fasana-e Sozan Ishq*.¹⁴⁷ Hazrat Riyaz Khairabadi translated *Loves of the Harem* (1855) as *Haram Sara* [literally, *Harem Palace*].¹⁴⁸ Munshi

¹⁴⁰ Jennifer Dubrow, “A Space for Debate: Fashioning the Urdu Novel in Colonial India,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 53, no. 2 (2016), 289-311.

¹⁴¹ Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India: Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, 1914.

¹⁴² Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁴³ See C. M. Naim, “The Magic-Making Mr. Reynolds,” *English Novels in Urdu*, last modified July 18, 2015. [English Novels in Urdu – CM Naim](#). Naim pointed out that the reception given to Dickens in Urdu differed greatly from that of Reynolds given that Dickens’s novels only started to be translated into Urdu in the 1950s.

¹⁴⁴ Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁴⁵ Lahore, Pakistan, c. 1910.

¹⁴⁶ Lahore, Pakistan: Deewan Printing Press, 1932.

¹⁴⁷ Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, c. 1918.

¹⁴⁸ Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, India: Riyaz-ul-Akhbar Press, n.d.

Siddiq Ahmad translated *The Necromancer, A Romance* (1851) as *Israr* [literally, *Secrets*].¹⁴⁹ Meer Karamat Ullah Amritsari translated *Pope Joan; or, The Female Pontiff* (1851) as *Sham e Gurbat* [literally, *Night of Despair*].¹⁵⁰ Dr Lakshmi Dutt translated *The Soldier's Wife* (1852) as *Sipahi Ki Dulhan*.¹⁵¹ Lala Deenanath translated *The Young Fisherman, and Other Stories* (1864) as *Jheel ki Maashooqa* [literally, *The Lover of the Lake*].¹⁵²

Maulvi Mohammad Siddiq Hasan translated *Kenneth, A Romance of the Highlands* (1851) as *Paadash e Amal* [literally, *The Reward of the Actions*].¹⁵³ Munshi Syed Ashiq Husain translated *Canonbury House; or, The Queen's Prophecy* (1857) as *Raz o Niyaz* [literally, *Secret Desires*].¹⁵⁴ Munshi Tirath Ram Firozपुरi translated the first three parts of *The Mysteries of London* (1844) as *Fasana-e Landan*.¹⁵⁵ He later translated *The Mysteries of the Court of London* (1848) as *Nazara Paristan* [literally, *The Scene of the Fairyland*];¹⁵⁶ *The Massacre of Glencoe, A Historical Tale* (1853) as *Khooli Talwar* [literally, *Bloodthirsty Sword*];¹⁵⁷ *Joseph Wilmot; or, the Memoirs of a Man-servant* (1854) as *Gardish-e-Afaq* [literally, *The Rotation of the Skies*];¹⁵⁸ and *Agnes; or, Beauty and Pleasure* (1857) as *Ghuroor-e-Husn* [literally, *Beauty's Pride*].¹⁵⁹ Munshi Shameem-ud-din Balhori translated *The Parricide; or The Youth's Career of Crime* (1847) as *Baap ka Qaatil* [literally,

¹⁴⁹ Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁵⁰ Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁵¹ Agra, Uttar Pradesh, India: Abu Alai Press, n. d.

¹⁵² Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁵³ Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India: Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, 1918.

¹⁵⁴ Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India: Qaumi Press, 1895.

¹⁵⁵ Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁵⁶ Lahore, Pakistan: Lal Brothers, 1924.

¹⁵⁷ Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁵⁸ Lahore, Pakistan: Lal Brothers, n. d.

¹⁵⁹ Lahore, Pakistan: Piyare Lal Publisher, n. d.

The Father's Murderer];¹⁶⁰ and Munshi Ahmaduddin translated *Omar, A Tale of the Crimean War* (1855) as *Umar Paashaa*.¹⁶¹

These Urdu translators were people of influence in India, i.e., poets, novelists and owners of important newspapers and their translations represented a major influence in the development of the Urdu novel.¹⁶²

Other translations, in this case from English to Bengali, were carried out in India by the poet Bihārīlāl Chakrabarty –*Abarodh Prem* [*Loves of the Harem*]—; the writer Kālīprasanna Chattopādhyāy –*Rāni Krishnakāmini* [*The Young Duchess*], *Mary Prais* [*Mary Price*] and *Sainik Badhu* [*The Soldier's Wife*]—; the eclectic writer Basumati Sāhitya Mandir –*Rāni Iujini-r Baithak* [*The Empress Eugenie's Boudoir*]—; and Bhubanchandra Mukhopādhyāy, the writer who made Reynolds famous in Bengal with his free translation of *Joseph Wilmot* as *Ei Ek Nutan! Bilāti Guptakathā!!* [*This is a New One! The Mystery of England!!*] and later retitled *Haridāser Guptakathā*.¹⁶³ He also adapted Reynold's translation

¹⁶⁰ Lahore, Pakistan: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.

¹⁶¹ Lahore, Pakistan: Munshi Ram Agarwal Press, n. d.

¹⁶² See also Christina Oesterheld, “Entertainment and Reform: Urdu Narrative Genres in the Nineteenth Century,” in *India's Literary History: Essays on the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Vasudha Dalmia and Stuart Blackburn (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 167-212; and Mukaram Irshad Naqvi, “Reynolds in Translation,” *G. W. M. Reynolds Society* (blog), March 2022, [Reynolds In Translation – G. W. M. Reynolds Society \(gwmreynoldssociety.com\)](https://www.gwmreynoldssociety.com/).

¹⁶³ Bihārīlāl Chakrabarty, *Abarodh Prem* (Calcutta, India: Bengal Library Catalogue, 1885). Kālīprasanna Chattopādhyāy, *Rāni Krishnakāmini* (Calcutta: Sarkar and Co., 1889); *Mary Prais* (Calcutta, India: Bengal Library Catalogue, 1893); and *Sainik Badhu* (Calcutta, India: Kar, Majumdār and Co., 1895). The poet and activist, Sufīa Kamal published the short story “Sainik Badhu” in the magazine *Tarun* (Youth) in 1923 which was not related to Reynolds's homonymous novel. Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, *Rāni Iujini-r Baithak* (Calcutta, India: no publishing house given, 1924). Bhubanchandra Mukhopādhyāy, *Ei Ek Nutan! Bilāti Guptakathā!!* (Calcutta, India: Pal and Co., 1888); and *Bhāratīya Rahasya: Āmār Mahishi* (Calcutta, India: Saradāprasād Neogi, 1887).

of *Sister Anne* as ভারতীয় রহস্য - খন্ড ১: *Bhāratīya Rahasya: Āmār Mahishi* [*The Mysteries of India: My Consort*] in 1887 and showed how the reception of Reynolds's novels was greatly welcomed, to the extent that the development of the Indian novel was very much influenced by him.¹⁶⁴ An example of such great influence lies in the appearance of *guptakathās* or secrets/mysteries, which started after the translation of *The Mysteries of London* and were moral tales based on urban mysteries of Bengali themes and within Bengali

¹⁶⁴ Please see Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 35-93; and Rimli Bhattacharya, *Public Women in British India: Icons and the Urban Stage* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018). Joshi cites twelve Reynoldian novels translated or adapted into Indian languages, i. e., *Mysteries of London*; *Mysteries of the Court of London* (translated into Urdu as *Durbar e London* [literally, *Courts of London*] by Ghulam Qadir "Fasih" between 1892 and 1897 at Sialkot, Punjab); *Mary Price; or, The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1852) (translated into Urdu as *Sarguzasht* [literally, *A Narration*] by Syed Nawazish Ali (Lahore: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d)); *The Seamstress*; *Loves of the Harem*; *The Soldier's Wife*; *Joseph Wilmot*; *The Rye House Plot*; or, *Ruth, The Conspirator's Daughter*; *The Young Duchess*; or, *The Memoirs of a Woman of Quality* (1858; translated into Urdu by Munshi Naubat Rai "Nazar" Lakhnawi as *Sham Jawani* [literally, *A Youthful Evening*] (Lahore: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d)); *Mary Queen of Scots*; *Rosa Lambert* (translated into Urdu by Munshi Nawal Kishore and after his death, his son Rai Bahadur Munshi Parag Narain Bhargava completed it and published it in 1898); and *Faust, A Romance* (1847) (translated into Urdu as *Fareb e Husn* [literally, *Beauty's Deception*] by Khwaja Akbar Husain (Lucknow: Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, 1925)) amongst a few novels by other English writers such as Bulwer-Lytton, Collins and Scott (p. 93). Further to this, Ian Raeside noticed that, "[...] The novelist, G. W. M. Reynolds, who is not worthy apparently of an individual entry in the encyclopaedias, had more influence in India than almost any other nineteenth century Western writer" (p. 801) and mentions Hari Nārāyaṇ Āpte as an "assiduous reader" of Reynolds, in "Early Prose Fiction in Marathi, 1828-1885," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 27, no. 4 (1968): 791-808. Some years later, Rājsekhar Basu indicated that [...] the works of Reynolds which once had flooded the market for fiction have disappeared without any trace [...] I remember some of the general features of his works. [The novels contained] liberal doses of adventure and mystery, accounts of adultery, murders, burglaries, robberies, and portrayals of the luxurious lifestyle of the aristocracy. The heroes and heroines usually possessed incomparable beauty and unimpeachable moral characters (p. 271) in "Galper Bāzār," in *Parashurām Granthābali* 3, no. 1 (1986).

contexts. Indeed, the Preface to the Bengali translation of this novel by Haricharan Ray constitutes a suitable representation of how this translator wished to emulate Reynolds both in prose and in moral purpose and how he also defended Reynolds's reformist ideology to be applied in his country,

The tales of *The Mysteries of London* are vividly narrated, delightful, and incorporate moral messages; reading them elevates one's inner feelings, illuminates the mind with the light of *dharma*, and fills one's heart with pleasure. It portrays the customs, manners, and traditions of the European people. Great men regard *London Rahasya* as a piece of immoral literature without going deep into its narrative -our earnest request is that those people should read it in its entirety [...] Perusal of this *rahasya* will enrich one with the knowledge of human psychology and morality [...] with the realization that virtue is always triumphant, vice always defeated [...] Almost all social scientists agree that exposure to social customs of different communities makes us civilized. The more we mix with different classes and peoples the better equipped we become to reform our society. If there is truth in this saying, if there is need for reformation of our own society, then reading *London Rahasya* is obligatory for us; because this book acquaints us with different social structures, different kinds of people, different communities [...] Some have condemned *London Rahasya* as stimulator of sensuality, breeder of malice, contributor to lowly desires. This condemnation is partial and wrong. The mystery which repeatedly makes the reader aware of the ugliness of vice can never be guilty of the above-mentioned charges. The mystery which projects the path of virtue as the source of all happiness, the only escape from all kinds of danger, is of force the inspirer of our nobler feelings.¹⁶⁵

Surprisingly, whereas England's contemporary responses to Reynolds from fellow writers condemned the lack of moral in his novels, Indian most acclaimed writers praised him for the abundance of moral in those same novels, and Indian readers welcomed those translations

¹⁶⁵ Haricharan Ray, "Bijñāpan," *London Rahasya* (Murshidābād, Pakistan: Rāmnāth Tālookdār, 1871).

accordingly.¹⁶⁶ In addition, Joshi has commented on the edificatory function of Reynolds's novels in India as being "speculatively, if not entirely consistent with the taste for eighteenth-century didactic fiction [...] Yet the precise nature of what edification Indian readers actually got from Reynolds has never really been fully fleshed out" (p. 81).¹⁶⁷ Despite the decision made by the Calcutta Public Library on a report in 1850 to destroy the copies of *The Mysteries of London* owned by the Library due to its pernicious contents, readerly preferences clearly indicated that Reynolds was considered a classic of British literature. This is proven by the fact that his novels were available at twelve public libraries in India between 1850 and 1901 with the status of best-sellers. On the other hand, Dickens's novels were available at thirteen libraries and also classified as best-sellers, which indicates a consistent trend in sensationalist fiction across India at the time. Given that Dickens's was considered canonical fiction and Reynolds's was not, it could be assumed that popularity and canonicity were two parameters that co-existed within Indian readership. Whilst the former parameter implies a reading response to certain trend(s), the latter conveys a somewhat retrospective appraisal; in other words, whilst Indian colonial authorities promoted canonical literature such as Dickens's, Indian readers preferred Reynoldian popular literature instead.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ C. M. Naim, "'The Magic-Making *Mis̄tar Rināld̄s*' and the Development of Urdu Prose Fiction," *Journal of Urdu Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020): 3-26.

¹⁶⁷ Priya Joshi, *In Another Country. Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁸ On this regard, there is an anecdote which took place between Virginia Woolf and Mulk Raj Anand, a political radical who authored the novel *Untouchable* (1935). Over a cup of tea, Anand confesses a deep Reynoldian influence upon his writing to Woolf, who is instantly shocked at her ignorance of who Reynolds was. This has been observed as a representation of how the British novel was perceived in India at the time and its pervasiveness until well into the 20th century (Joshi, 36). Similar to Reynolds, Anand used the novel as a means of expressing class outrage. Whereas Reynolds made use of radical themes and Chartist plots in order to enkindle British society with the strength

Up to the early 20th century, Reynolds's literary reputation was regarded as scandalous and it would not be until mid-century that critics became aware of the important role of popular literature when attempting to interpret Victorian culture; hence the emergence of a renewed interest in Reynolds's works. In 1924, his fiction was evaluated by an anonymous scholar in *The Times Literary Supplement*, who highlighted that Reynolds's works "did no great good, they did no great harm, and unquestionably relieved a world which was somewhat drab at its best [...] his skill in developing a plot was undeniable."¹⁶⁹ A few years later, in 1931, Q. D. Leavis applauded Reynolds's 'impressive decorum' of *Reynolds's Miscellany*, *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf* and *Faust*.¹⁷⁰ In 1941, the first accurate bibliography of Reynolds's fiction was published by Montague Summers with the objective to untangle the embroiled reissuing of his novels. Another bibliography followed in 1947 by the hand of J. V. B. Stewart Hunter; unfortunately, this scholar still viewed Reynolds as someone who had a "talented pen to poison the minds of boys and girls."¹⁷¹ With the publication of the centenary edition of *Reynolds's News* in 1950, under the original title of "IT ALL STARTED WITH - A Young Man in Revolt," the research on this author was renewed with great intensity and in

needed to change, Anand's themes resonated with social reform. Earlier on in the 1820s, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, also known as the father of Indian renaissance, was responsible for the abolition in Hindu society of polygamy, child marriage and the Sati system, which involved burning the widow in the funeral pyre of her deceased husband. Although the translations of Reynolds's novels were not available in Indian languages until the 1870s, Hindu readers were able to perceive the sense of social reform inherent to his fiction and possibly to identify themselves with that need for change. See Priya Soman, "Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Abolition of Sati System in India," *International Journal of Humanities, Art and Social Studies (IJHAS)* 1, no. 2 (2012): 75-82; and J. V. B. Stewart Hunter, "George Reynolds: Sensational Novelist and Agitator," *Book Handbook: An Illustrated Quarterly for Owners and Collectors of Books*, no. 4 (1947): 225-235.

¹⁶⁹ "G. W. M. Reynolds," *The Times Literary Supplement*, 24 January 1924, p. 56.

¹⁷⁰ Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (Harmondsworth: Peregrine Books, 1979), 143-145.

¹⁷¹ J. V. B. Stewart Hunter, "George Reynolds," *Book Handbook*, 4 (1947): 234.

a more positive light than in previous years, due to the increased engrossment in history and literature from non-canonical writers.¹⁷² This was followed by Dalziel's factual chapter, "The Most Popular Writer of Our Time," published in 1957 as part of her research on the life and works of Reynolds.¹⁷³ Later on, in 1963, James elaborated a study which acclaimed Reynolds's innovative journal productions entitled *Fictions for the Working Man, 1830-1850*.¹⁷⁴ In 1972, Cyril Pearl brought about *Victorian Patchwork*, which included a chapter comparing Reynolds to Dickens which concluded with the following statement, "[Reynolds's] neglect by the pundits of his time is easily explained: he was a violent republican and radical and he wrote of sex with a lusty and exuberant freedom unique in the popular fiction of his time. No other novelist, not even Dickens, gives as good a picture of some aspects of London life in the 'forties' and 'fifties.'" ¹⁷⁵ In 1978, Berridge published a chapter that focused on *Reynolds's Newspaper* ¹⁷⁶ and three years later, another comparison between Reynolds and Dickens was published by James, this time including Thackeray as well.¹⁷⁷ Humpherys published an initial article on *The Mysteries of London* in 1983 and is still researching this author.¹⁷⁸ Further to this, the 1985 film *Young Sherlock Holmes*, directed by Barry Levinson and based on the original novel by Chris Columbus showed the front page

¹⁷² "IT ALL STARTED WITH -A Young Man in Revolt," "Century Souvenir," *Reynolds's News*, 7 May 1850, front page.

¹⁷³ Margaret Dalziel, *Popular Fiction One Hundred Years Ago* (London: Cohen & West, 1957).

¹⁷⁴ Louis James, *Fictions for the Working Man, 1830-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

¹⁷⁵ Cyril Pearl, *Victorian Patchwork* (London: Heinemann, 1972), 71.

¹⁷⁶ Virginia Berridge, "Popular Sunday Papers and Mid-Victorian Society," in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable, 1978), 247-264.

¹⁷⁷ Louis James, "The View from Brick Lane: Contrasting Perspectives in Working-Class and Middle-Class Fiction in the Early Victorian Period," *Yearbook of English Studies*, 2 (1981): 87-101.

¹⁷⁸ Anne Humpherys, "The Geometry of the Modern City: G. W. M. Reynolds and *The Mysteries of London*," *Browning Institute Studies*, 11 (1983): 69-80.

of *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* dated 12 December 1870 in one of the scenes.¹⁷⁹ The question arises as to why was that particular periodical chosen as illustrative of the Victorian era... By 1870, this paper was selling over 350,000 copies per week and it seems that on that precise date the playbill for the Royal Adelphi Theatre in London included the melodrama *The Green Bushes; or, A Hundred Years Ago* and the farce *The Milliner's Holiday*.¹⁸⁰ What all these scholars have in common in their research on Reynolds's fiction is the favourable response to not only his skill in putting together hybrid plots, but also his influence on the political sphere of his time. And this view continued in the research that was published in the decades of the 1990s and the 2000s, with important works by Trefor Thomas, Michael Shirley, Sara James, Priya Joshi, Rohan McWilliam, Berry Chevasco, Ian Haywood, Andrew King, Stephen James Carver and Mary L. Shannon.¹⁸¹

Already in the 21st century, scholars like Humpherys or Shannon are still carrying out research on different aspects of Reynoldian fiction, such as his narrative technique, class-consciousness, or his local, geographical network of popular culture, although they have not focused on specific novels apart from *The Mysteries of London*, which is why I have devoted the last two chapters of the present research to the analysis of the novels of *Mary Price; or, The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* and *Joseph Wilmot; or, The Memoirs of a Man-Servant*.

¹⁷⁹ Barry Levinson, *Young Sherlock Holmes* (United States: Amblin Entertainment, 1985), DVD.

¹⁸⁰ John Baldwin Buckstone, *The Green Bushes; or, A Hundred Years Ago. A Drama in Three Acts* (London: Webster and Company, 1845); and John Maddison Morton, *The Milliner's Holiday. A Farce in One Act* (London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, 1844). Morton used to take inspiration from French sources in order to write his farces and he did not received praise from his contemporaries despite being referred to as “the most prolific and happiest of our farce-writers,” Allardyce Nicoll, *The English Theatre* (New York, NY: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1936), 141.

¹⁸¹ See individual entries in the Bibliography section.

Further to this and as Hayley Braithwaite (2022) points out, Reynolds 's works have been gradually acquiring "collectible" status and they are worth a mint, i. e., the first edition of *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf* (1857) currently costs \$6,500, or the translation into Spanish of the first volume of *The Mysteries of the Court of London* (1848), which costs between 600 and 700 euros. Such prices are apparently justified by the availability of the editions, although in the rare books trade interest is growing fast.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Hayley Braithwaite, "Collectible Reynolds: Pennies to (Thousands of) Pounds," *G. W. M. Reynolds Society* (blog), April 2022, [Collectible Reynolds: Pennies to \(Thousands of\) Pounds – G. W. M. Reynolds Society \(gwmreynoldssociety.com\)](https://www.gwmreynoldssociety.com/collectible-reynolds-pennies-to-thousands-of-pounds-g-w-m-reynolds-society). See also, "Los Misterios de la Corte de Inglaterra. Reynolds-Garrido. Salvador Manero. Mitad s. XIX. Grabados!!!," *Todocolección*, last modified April 2022, [los misterios de la corte de inglaterra. reynol - Comprar en todocoleccion - 27507495](https://www.todocoleccion.com/los-misterios-de-la-corte-de-inglaterra-reynol-comprar-en-todocoleccion-27507495).

Chapter 3

Gender Polarity and the “Invisible Hand.” Physiognomy, Heterotopia and Femininity in *Mary Price* and *Joseph Wilmot*.

Narrative structure

Mary Price; or, The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid (MP) and *Joseph Wilmot; or, The Memoirs of a Man-Servant (JW)* certainly share several narratorial and content features which distinguish them from the rest of the novels penned by Reynolds. As such, they deserve particular analysis and I therefore expand on both in the present section of this study. At the moment of inception of *MP* (1851) and *JW* (1853)¹, Reynolds had to adapt to the conventions of his time in terms of the narrative structure most in vogue from a commercial viewpoint, that of sensation fiction, wherein novels were designed with a fixed moral purpose and intended to lay emphasis on a particular social injustice within the Victorian legal system or family hierarchy. Thus, the level of social critique intrinsic to these novels involved the “representations of the role of women and the way in which sensation breaches class boundaries, not only through its depiction of cross-class marriages, but also through its unification of the working-class and middle-class reader.” (Cox 2008, p. 84).² Certainly, these two novels were based on the core principle of power relations as seen through the lens of law and morality, which Reynolds externalised by means of a servant versus master/mistress duality in order to present before the middle-class readership a representative example of the hardships and life realities endured and/or experienced at each level in the

¹ See list of abbreviations on page vi.

² Jessica Cox, “Sensation fiction,” in “Literary and Cultural Contexts,” eds. Kirsty Bunting and Rhian Williams, in *The Victorian Literature Handbook*, eds. Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis (New York, NY: Continuum, 2008), 44-88.

chain of command wrapped, as it could not be otherwise, in the veil of melodramatic sensationalism. Still, a contradiction between Reynolds's political and narrative ideology lies dormant on the pages of these two novels. Without a doubt, his Chartist belief led him to promote the need for a political reform amongst his working-class readers; hence his choosing two servants as the main characters. Joseph and Mary aspire to ascend the social pyramid and they do so without criticising such pyramid wherein society seems to remain in a constant state of stratification. Thus, the question would be up to what extent did Reynolds intend to direct his social critique in his novels against the scourge that was such stratification?

Serialisation

Before being published as novels, *MP* and *JW* were serialised in weekly penny issues for one and two years respectively, providing thus a space for readers wherein a realistic epitome of the highlighted virtues and moral errors entwined in the fictional lives of two particular servants and their masters could be easily fathomed and pondered upon. In this regard, such narrative structure was serving a double means of (a) facilitating the acceptance and understanding of the reasons behind the power exerted by masters and mistresses over their devoted servants; and (b) conveying a realistic as opposed to an idealised account of the true meaning of being a servant. Precisely, the reception of these novels amongst the readers was crucial inasmuch as the value that they assigned to serialisation was determined by the fact that they were presented as autobiographical accounts as well as the exemplification of the Victorian home, history and empire together with the values of endurance, patience and perseverance they purported. In this respect, Hughes and Lund explained the difference in the reception of a novel published in book volume(s) as opposed to serialised novels across long periods of time as readers "lived on intimate terms with characters of the imagination... sharing their acquaintance with others outside the pages, and so extending a kind of intimacy

also associated with home.” (1991, p. 16).³ This translates as Victorian readers being able to echo the experience undergone by such fictional characters in their daily, real lives thanks to the connection established between the serialised narration and the sociohistorical period of the time.

Narrator and narratee

Was Reynolds shaping his readers’ response to *MP* and *JW*? Most likely, some sort of identification between the reader and the main character could be intended in order to allow the former to understand and empathise with the figure of the (abused) servant so that a change in society could be effected. According to Burt (1980), such symbiosis between reader and main character allowed Reynolds to depict certain social realities in need of transformation in a most hyperrealistic manner, “like the stage melodrama that is in part thrilling adventure and part morality play, Reynolds’s fiction is also a kind of all-purpose entertainment: a guided tour through brothels, lady’s boudoirs, elegant drawing rooms, and gin shops, in which the reader can get his full penny worth of practical advice, sentiment and terror that combines the tabloid and the tract” (p. 153).⁴ In *MP* and *JW*, however, the guided tour takes the reader through other settings without leaving the family home out of sight under the narrative perspectives of two reliable narrators –Mary and Joseph— who pen their memoirs in the literary style of a *Bildungsroman* enveloped in the *Zeitgeist* of Victorian England.⁵ Whereas Mary is the daughter of Robert, a journeyman-carpenter from Ashford

³ Linda K. Hughes and Michael Lund, *The Victorian Serial* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991).

⁴ Daniel S. Burt, “A Victorian Gothic: G. W. M. Reynolds’s *The Mysteries of London*,” in *Melodrama*, ed. Daniel L. Gerould (New York, NY: New York Literary Forum, 1980).

⁵ The *Bildungsroman* or novel of formation is centred on the moral growth and self-development of a specific character within a specific social order was used by Dickens as the narrative structure of *Great Expectations* (1860-1861). Descending directly from *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (1795-

married to a kind woman who taught their children to read and write instead of sending them to school, Joseph is an orphan who attended a seminary in Leicester. Both set the recollection of their memoirs at ages eleven and fifteen, respectively, when two traumatic events occurred that would shape their paths in life.

These fictional narrators bring to the attention of the readers a series of anecdotal, life experiences through which Reynolds explains the harmonious development of the individual's role within social echelons and the importance that this entails as a domino effect on society as a whole. Combining, therefore, the *Entwicklungsroman* –a specific form of *Bildungsroman*— with the genre of memoirs and the epistolary novel,⁶ Mary and Joseph make the readers participate either by identifying themselves with them or by empathising with their situations of conflict, struggle, eventual success or joy in the importance conveyed by Reynolds in terms of his concern with the individual, the childhood experience, the formation of personality, the growing human mind and the hypostasis of society. A type of *Bildungsroman* that can be observed in *MP* and *JW*, however, is that of *Entwicklungsroman*

1796) by von Goethe, the desired effect on the reader is achieved precisely by using such narrative as a catalyst for maturation in both the fictional character and the reader who has identified with him/her.

⁶ James Howell's *Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ; or, Familiar Letters, Domestic and Forren* (London: Hum. Moseley, 1645) is considered the earliest example of epistolary, historical writing in England. Published in four volumes or books between 1645 and 1655, the *sans-gêne*, rambling letters reveal imaginary correspondence between himself and his correspondents on diverse matters such as politics; the historical development of certain countries, e. g., Spain; Jewish religion in Europe; linguistic quandaries; moral science; witchcraft and demonology. Despite having lived in different centuries, 17th and 19th, respectively, Howell and Reynolds shared common arguments in terms of their narrative styles, i. e., the great length of their writings; a somewhat ineffectual accuracy on details such as time; anecdotal excesses; a lack of exaggerating or garbling the facts they presented to their readers; a combination of instruction and entertainment in their prose; and an apposite and sound sense of humour which pervaded their fiction.

or development novel, which focuses on the general growth of the character rather than on their self-culture (Köhn 1969). Thus, similar journeys of self-realisation are undertaken by Mary, Joseph, Wilhelm and Pip –the latter two from Dickens’s *Great Expectations* (1861)— within their corresponding socio-cultural settings. Indeed, the *Zeitgeist* or time-spirit of Victorian England at the time of serialisation of these novels involved grand values such as prudence in combination with excitement and belief in the progress of industrial technologies. Accordingly, Joseph and Pip –orphaned narrators— as well as Mary and Wilhelm –whose parents are presented as a journeyman and merchant, respectively, with little knowledge being shared about their mothers other than Mary’s mother’s death in the opening of the novel— introduce the readers to a humanistic ideal of self-education which was already in vogue during the 18th century. What seems to be innovative in Reynolds, therefore, is his combination of the *Entwicklungsroman* and the epistolary novel so as to interpolate his personal, socio-philosophical beliefs in the plot(s) facilitating thus a means of change within society through the re-education of his readers.

Further to this, the choice that Reynolds made in favour of adding the term “memoirs” in the titles of *MP* and *JW* contributes to the blurring of their narrative lines in terms of reality and fiction given that “memoirs” refers to nonfiction narrative only and has been categorised as a subgenre of autobiography. Precisely, this is what lures readers into a symbiotic status with the fictional narrators/memoirists Mary and Joseph. The effect which their biographical substrata produce in the readers is enhanced by the mixing of reality and melodrama and the constant counterpulls of realism and fiction which take place in the midst of tensions emerging in either domestic settings or as a result of uncanny, gothic events. In respect of melodrama as the core element in these memoirs, James (2008) noted that it

marked the death of the earlier tragic vision, and the birth of a new consciousness in which the human rights of individuals were pitted against the oppression of societies

corrupted by inequalities of inheritance, class and wealth. It emerged out of a period in which the old religious bases of morality were being challenged, and yet when social changes were foregrounding moral issues as never before (p. 182).

This translates as the emphasis being now laid upon human emotions rather than on intellectual values acquired through education, which means that from a New Historicist perspective, the social drive which commits to the making of individuals was being shaped partly by a literary narrative underlying on plots of self-development and implied relationships between fictional characters and real citizens.

Hybrid plots

Such plots coincide with the contents and aspects of a *Bildungsroman* offered by Hirsch (1979) in each of its two major genre strands, the German and the Franco-English, which can be applied in their entirety to *MP* and *JW*. These two memoristic novels are *Figurenroman* or focused on one central character, Mary and Joseph, respectively, thus leaving the rest of characters in the background with the role of influencing their personal circumstances throughout hybrid plots (Kayser 1951). Within their defined social echelons, the reader is presented with the story of personal growth and ontogeny of Mary and Joseph, two passive characters who are unable to control their destinies in an active manner. Consequently, the actions, decisions and life experiences they undergo within the social group they are part of or as outsiders in other social groups are scrutinised from a diversity of perspectives which aim to depict the gradual configuration of a complete, accomplished personality (Miles 1979). This gradual formation is therefore made possible by attending and confronting the school of life, a sort of antagonist, who is no other than society itself and whose values emanate through the *Moirai* of Mary and Joseph. Indeed, such bio-social values are the main concern of the *Bildungsroman* as they enable the main characters to unfold their selfhoods so as to accommodate themselves to the society in existence. Such stories of

apprenticeship are precisely the core principle in the novel of formation; however, Reynolds took this one step further by detailing a full biography of Mary and Joseph instead of solely focusing on their edification in the school of life. Yet he did not centre on every crucial event in their lives but rather on those events which impacted and determined their lives. And this can be seen in the closing of his narrative, with a summative assessment of Mary and Joseph's lives and the roles they managed to secure for themselves within society being presented to the readers.

Narrative voices and roles

In terms of the narrative voice and viewpoint, Reynolds chose the first person to present the reader with the life stories of Mary and Joseph and to reflect the dialogues between them and the rest of the characters. In direct contrast with the irony typically contained in the narrative voice of the *Bildungsroman*, Reynolds imbibed his with delicacy and respect so as to realistically introduce Mary and Joseph in a favourable light to the readers in order to emphasise his message of “earning the bread of one's industry”, which pervaded most of his novels. An example of this can be seen in the openings of *JW* and *MP*,

I was fifteen years of age when the schoolmaster, at whose establishment I had been brought up from my earliest infancy, was seized with apoplexy and died in a few hours. Beyond this seminary –which was situated in the neighbourhood of Leicester— I had no associations. I never remembered to have been elsewhere: no happy home received me when the half-yearly holidays came round. *I never had experienced any parental care*: I was told that my father and mother had both perished of some epidemic malady when I was a babe in my cradle. I had no relatives nor friends –at least not to my knowledge: for none ever came to see me. I was not aware how it had happened that I was placed at this school, nor who paid for my maintenance there. *All my experiences were those of a friendless orphan [...]* (*JW* vol.1, 1-2, emphasis mine).

With my earliest recollections are associated the kind and loving ways of good and affectionate parents; *and although they were poor, they maintained themselves in a*

respectable position. My father was a journeyman-carpenter; and from all that I have ever learnt, as well as from the many circumstances impressed upon my memory, he must have been a very steady, temperate, and hard-working man. That he was devotedly attached to my mother I have likewise the best possible reason to know; and that our little home was to all appearance one of the happiest in the town of Ashford, there could be no doubt. My mother was a very handsome woman, with fine dark hair and eyes, pale countenance, and a somewhat pensive if not positively melancholy expression [...] Certain it is that my mother took very great pains to bring up myself, my brothers, and sisters, as tenderly and as respectably as she could. She taught us to read and write – gave us lessons in arithmetic, history, and geography— and *imparted to us an amount of instruction which would alone be sufficient to prove that she was a very superior woman*, considering her stations as the wife of a humble journeyman-carpenter (*MP* vol. 1, 1-2, emphasis mine).

and in all dialogues throughout the novel,

“You don’t think he will suit, Mr. Jukes?” said the widow, in a low mysterious voice, but nevertheless perfectly audible to me, as I stood with my cap in my hand in the middle of the room : for I was not asked to sit down, and I did not dare do so of my own accord. “He is too slight and delicate for my business, ma’am,” replied the grocer (*JW* vol.1, 3).

“Robert— this from *you!*” exclaimed —nay, almost shrieked our mother; and I saw her step back a pace or two as if struck with a sudden blow of a hammer: then she stood gazing in the stupor of amazement at Robert, as if she dared not believe and yet knew not how to doubt the evidence of her own ears and eyes. “Lor, mother, don’t be foolish now,” he said with a look of indifference, slightly tainted with scorn: “we don’t want any sentimental nonsense now [...]” (*MP*, vol.1, 5).

The above excerpts clearly illustrate the lack of distance between the viewpoint of the narrator and that of Mary and Joseph as main characters which is typical of the *Bildungsroman*. By interlocking the discourses of the other characters with personal remarks and observations from Mary and Joseph, any such distance becomes effectively obliterated. Instead, the reader falls prey of a symbiotic relationship with the main characters as if their

lives were passing in front of the readers' eyes in real time. This symbiosis is brought about by an imminent sense of drama from the very onset of their memoirs; being an orphan in Joseph's case and being poor in Mary's case, which awakes a sentiment of empathy in the reader which will accompany them until the resolution of all plots at the closing of the novel. Accordingly, this sentiment is emphasised by the remarks uttered in the dialogues, which once again make the reader side in favour of the main character, as if they themselves were living the story instead of merely reading it as an outsider.

In addition, the rest of characters who populate the pages of these two novels have been endowed with specific roles in order to aid the formation of the protagonists, Joseph and Mary. This is another essential principle in the novel of formation, according to Hirsch (1979). Thus, the reader is presented with characters in the background fulfilling the role of (a) educators, mediators or interpreters between the confronting might of self and society; (b) companions, who surround Joseph and Mary serving them as a sort of cheval glass of their selves so as to provide them with further goals in life; and even (c) lovers, who help educate the protagonists in sentiment. Let us see some examples. In *JW*, Joseph is guided by the educator figure of Mr Delmar, one of his first masters and an alter ego of the paternal authority,

“No, Augustus,” interrupted *my kind master* — and his response relieved me from a feeling of acute suspense which had suddenly seized upon me; “the boy is happy here — he is a good boy too — and I mean to keep him. Perhaps it may sooner or later be discovered who he really is: *the mystery of his birth may be cleared up*; — [...]” (*JW* vol. 1, 18, emphasis mine).

The role of companion and friend is filled by Charles Linton, a fellow servant whose constancy and support are proven throughout the story line of the novel,

I became a favourite with the domestics generally, but this man, whose name was Charles Linton, took a particular fancy to me, and *treated me with considerable*

kindness. Sometimes when we had a leisure hour, he would invite me to ramble out with him [...] Though thoroughly good-natured, he was indeed somewhat reserved; and was in the habit of speaking more to me than to any other of his fellow-domestics (*JW* vol. 1, 43, emphasis mine).

And of course, the lover, Lady Calanthe Dundas, in direct opposition to his first and true love, Annabel,

“[...] Ah, dearest Joseph, you know not how I love you! But pray, pray do not think that I am bold — that I am deficient in becoming delicacy — when I tell you this! [...]” I hurried down stairs with the sensation of her last fond kiss still upon my cheek, and a strange excitement in the heart. Again I felt I had been *traitorous to the sentiment which I chose to cherish for Annabel*: again I accused myself of moral weakness; — but what was to be done? It was too late to remedy the past; and thus had I allowed incident to accumulate upon incident, all tending to confirm in the mind of Calanthe the idea that my heart was devoted to her (*JW* vol. 1, 124, 127, emphasis mine).

As regards *MP*, the educator figure in her life is that of her mother, yet only during her infancy. For the rest of the story, Mary acts as an educator herself in the lives of the other characters she interacts with,

She would not allow us to go to the Charity School, nor could she afford to let us attend any other school: but *she took a pride in teaching us herself* — and *very competent she was to do it*. That our father experienced the most affectionate gratitude towards her for the exemplary manner in which she thus sought to train us, was natural enough; [...] I have entered into all these particulars that my readers may understand the good influences under which the earlier portion of my life and that of my brothers and sisters was passed (*MP* vol.1, 2, emphasis mine).

Mary herself will be the companion of many a lady throughout the novel, with Miss Sybilla Trevanion and Mrs Kingston being her predilects,

“[...] I feel as if there were relief *in making you my confidante*. *I do not treat you as a dependant, Mary*: circumstances have made me regard you in another and more friendly light. Besides, without any fulsome flattery to yourself — which indeed I am thoroughly

incapable of offering — I must observe that you are so superior to your position in life, your notions and tastes are so refined, that I love to converse with you” (*MP* vol. 2, 163, emphasis mine).

Moreover, having been admitted to what might be termed *an intimate or familiar footing with so many of my mistresses* — Lady Harlesdon, Mrs. Antrobus, Mrs. Kingston, and Miss Maitland — I had not failed to profit by all that was good and valuable in their discourse, as well as by the example of their superior breeding and manners (*MP* vol. 2, 94, emphasis mine).

Yet there is a character, the Gipsy Queen, who will constantly act as Mary’s helper,

For instead of having fallen into the hands of Clavering, it appeared that *heaven had sent me a friend*, though under the most extraordinary and incomprehensible circumstances (*MP* vol. 1, 154, emphasis mine).

And similar to *JW*, Mary has found her true love in Mr Eustace Quentin, her saviour from the villain Sir Aubrey Clavering, who incessantly pursues her as a lover,

Dragging me to a seat, he placed me somewhat violently there, — saying in a hoarse tone of desperate resolution, “By heaven, Mary, you *shall* listen to me!” — and as his hand fell from my mouth and his arm from my waist, he seemed to be trembling all over with the violence of passion. Half-fainting, I had not power at the moment to cry out: my voice was stifled by the very strength of my emotions of shame, indignation, and astonishment [...] “Enough, sir — enough!” I exclaimed, now suddenly recovering the faculty of speech [...] The very next instant a third person appeared upon the scene. I heard the quick ejaculation of mingled wonder and anger followed by blows rapidly dealt; and the next moment I was rescued from the power of Clavering and in the arms of my deliverer (*MP* vol. 1, 26-27).

[...] “In a word, tell me, Mary — dearest Mary — do you love me?” [...] “I do,” was the answer which my lips softly breathed: and then with an enthusiastic rapture Eustace imprinted a kiss upon my forehead (*MP* vol. 1, 112).

All in all, these characters as a whole help unroll the hybrid plots present in both novels, *JW* and *MP*. Bearing in mind that the typical plot in the novel of formation is a

version of the quest story, whose main objective is represented by the search for a purposeful existence within society, the ontogeny of selfhood becomes the core principle to be attained.⁷ This quest story follows a linear chronological plot which represents, as Scholes and Kellogg put it, “a general movement to emphasise character in narrative, since it allows for free and full character development without interference from the requirements of a tightly-knit plot.”⁸ Thus, the events undergone by Mary and Joseph are embedded in a temporal structure which is both sequential and chronological as well as deeply rooted in the conception of life as a procedural form. This translates as those events being causally connected so as to delineate their individual process of becoming in the most transparent manner for the readers to observe. Interestingly, where in the German *Bildungsroman* such process is accretive, in the English and French it is not due precisely to the undermine of the teleological sense of development.

Ethic and morals

Despite Reynolds having been greatly influenced by French literature, he seems to have adhered to the German narrative; both Mary and Joseph are involved in a development of their selves which is bent into ultimately helping the readership learn that themselves. Accordingly, each scene in these novels appears to have been created so as to teach and

⁷ Thomas Mann defined the quest story as a heightened version of the German *Bildungsroman*, with the quest romance and the adventure tale being their main exponents. See David Myers, “Sexual Love and *Caritas* in Thomas Mann,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 68, no. 4 (1969): 593-604.

⁸ Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of the Narrative* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1966), 236.

enlighten the readers with a moral lesson based on the characters' experiences.⁹ Each moral lesson is reliant upon an "ethical basis" (Scholes and Kellogg 1966, 169), with each sequence being determined by its end point or target, i. e., marriage, integration in society. And each sequence, in its turn, is developed according to a specific order, duration and frequency (Müller 1947). In relation to order, the scenes ramify into prolepses and analepses separate yet parallel to the main narrative and which are sometimes reflected in the forms of letters or narrated by the characters themselves,

This event, which caused the removal of Violet from the paternal home, took place in the early part of the year 1836; and it was in September of that same year — consequently *some seven or eight months later*, that I became an inmate of Mr. Lanover's house on my abrupt removal from Delmar Manor (*JW* vol. 1, 146, emphasis mine).

What a change had taken place in my condition *during the last few weeks!* I was no longer a menial — I was now enabled to assume that rank to which I had been by education adapted, whatever were the mystery of my birth. *Two years would soon pass away*, considering the means of recreation and rational enjoyment which I had in my possession! [...] Oh! there was no doubt that when the memorable and happy day should come, I would present myself with the consciousness of integrity in the presence of those whom I had so recently left! (*JW* vol. 1, 362, emphasis mine).

It was in *the middle of October* — *wanting now but a fortnight* to the day on which I was either to see Eustace Quentin or receive a letter from him — when the incident I am about to relate took place (*MP* vol. 1, 253, emphasis mine).

"I now decipher something! *A day is approaching* — *it is not many months distant* — which will decide materially in favour either of your happiness or misery. There are lines here which indicate the month of *November*; and judging by your age, which I can pretty well guess," she added, raising her eyes, "it must be *the November of the present*

⁹ See Günther Müller, "The Significance of Time in Narrative Art," in *Time. From Concept to Narrative Construct. A Reader*, ed. Jan Christoph Meister and Wilhelm Schernus (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1947), 67-83.

year!” “Enough!” I exclaimed, now abruptly withdrawing my hand; for I was positively startled by the latter portion of the woman’s speech, as the reader will suspect it was indeed true that a particular day in *the approaching month of November* must exercise, by what it would bring forth, an important influence on the happiness of my after-existence (*MP* vol. 1, 219, emphasis mine).

As regards duration, the relation between story and discourse can be observed in terms of pauses and ellipses throughout both novels,

Punctual to the appointed time, I was joined by the young Marquis, — and now I felt it necessary to say a few words *which might prepare him somewhat for the scene to which he was about to be introduced* (*JW* vol. 2, 3, emphasis mine).

Time passed on — weeks and months glided away: the Spring gave additional beauty to the gardens upon which our dwelling looked — *Summer came* with its unclouded skies and its delicious fruits (*MP* vol. 2, 291, emphasis mine).

Frequency, on the other hand, emphasises the relation between the number of events in the story and the number of events narrated. The taxonomy of frequency as stated by Genette (1972),¹⁰ “singulative” –telling once what happened once—, “repetitive” – telling many times what happened once— and “iterative” – telling once what happened several times— can be systematically observed in both novels,

I ascended to my own bed-chamber; but not many moments had I been there, when I heard Mr. Lanover’s heavy footsteps tramping quickly up the staircase; and locking my door with a violence indicating the furious rage that filled his soul, he drew forth the key. (*JW* vol. 1, 34; singulative).

However, Morley had not attempted to follow me to that point; and I speedily forgot his presence there, in the more absorbing interest of the proceedings which now took place (*MP* vol. 1, 130; singulative).

¹⁰ Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972). See also Taisuke Akimoto, “Narrative Structure in the Mind: Translating Genette’s Narrative Discourse Theory into a Cognitive System,” *Cognitive Systems Research* 58, no. 1 (2019): 342-350.

I explained in a few hurried words that I had been in service in excellent families — that I had testimonials about me — [...] Tears started into my eyes as I expressed my gratitude [...] (*JW* vol.1, 265; repetitive).

Indeed, I was exhausted and worn out alike in mind and body; though when I lay down I was very far from fancying that sleep would soon visit my eyelids. It was however otherwise: for scarcely had my head touched the pillow, when, no doubt through great weariness, I fell into a deep slumber (*MP* vol. 1, 144; repetitive).

And often are these friends gathered beneath the roof of Eccleston House, or at one of the country-seats which embellish the domains that I possess (*JW* vol. 2, 413; iterative).

My spirits were elated — my heart was filled with a wild ecstatic joy: it was a sort of intoxication that I experienced; — and my feelings gave themselves audible expression (*MP* vol. 2, 405; iterative).

These instances show the narrators' superiority over the readership in regard of the significance of the events that they are relating; accordingly, only when everything has been revealed, the reader manages to acquire a knowledge that has grown retrospectively. Thus, the ethical basis behind the plot(s) is eventually achieved in the context of a literary social portrayal which imitates reality; or, in other words, an utopic resolution of the conflict in line with the *Entwicklungsroman* is effectuated.

Together with this linear chronological plot, Reynolds seems to have employed the hybrid plot, the plot of a double thread and the "Markan Sandwich". Supervenient to the concept of hybrid novel, which consists in the fusion of a wide spectrum of storytelling methods combined with poetry, engravings and other images, the hybrid plot comprises several subplots which run parallel to the main plot forming thus a labyrinth wherein the narrator guides the reader in the search for the treasure hidden in its centre: the moral lesson to be learnt. This technique certainly captures the attention of the readership to the extent of keeping them intrigued as to what the next twist of each plot is going to be. By merging central elements of melodrama, –pathos, overwrought emotional states, moral binaries,

paramount coincidences and *deus ex machina* — and sensationalism, —preeminence of action, violence and thrills— in combination with a series of stock characters such as the hero/heroine, the villain, an aged or deceased parent, the sidekick and the servant, the plot becomes exceptionally variable in terms of unravelling motifs and tropes, usually centred on the counterpulls of realism and romance with an articulating point in the tension between “commonplace domestic settings and outrageous or uncanny events” (Law 2008, 207).¹¹

Multiple constructions

Both of the main plots in *JW* and *MP* are enrooted in the morality of the triumph of good over evil whilst following the memoirs format in order to explore and restate three Reynoldian themes, i. e., topicalities¹² or incidents highlighted in the news from the papers of the period, the fusion of realism and melodrama and the ambiguous representation of sexual impropriety. Whereas *JW* opens with Joseph as a fifteen-year-old orphan focused on solving the mystery of his birth, *MP* begins with Mary as an eleven-year-old girl in charge of her four siblings after her mother’s passing and the disappearance of her father. They both recount the story of their lives and how they “earned the bread of their own industries” from their humble origins to their well-deserved superior positions in society. As their stories unfold, these main plots begin to branch out into a series of subplots which accentuate the unity of the story and the moral target it intends to inculcate in the readers: the victory of good deeds, spirituality and behaviour over evil.

¹¹ Graham Law, “Reynolds’s ‘Memoirs’ Series and ‘The Literature of the Kitchen’,” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 201-212.

¹² See Richard D. Altick, *The Presence of the Present* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 2.

These subplots are likewise formatted into a double structure within the narrative; this is to say, both Joseph and Mary have to earn their living by working as domestic servants in a wide range of households and under the attentive watch of their masters and mistresses, whose foibles and eccentricities convey a picaresque undertone much welcomed by the readers of the time.¹³ At the same time, the readers are proffered a global view of the social hierarchy by means of a course more like a circular maze than a linear journey, wherein backtracking is frequently used to refresh the reader of previous masters and mistresses in the lives of Joseph and Mary who keep interacting with them in order to aid the advance of the main plot. Parallel to this, such episodic structure “facilitates the intercalation of stories by others met along the way, together with the insertion of correspondence, diary entries and other personal documents that re-establish connections with places and people left behind” (Law 2008, 208). Cumulatively, this confers on the narrative a documentary, validated attribute that bespeaks the compelling captivation of the melodramatic and sensationalist in the readers. Such intercalation of stories is also known as the “Markan Sandwich” in biblical language, wherein a story is recounted by introducing other stories or independent episodes which rely heavily on the techniques of mystery and suspense with the aim of intentionally making the reader compare and contrast the stories so as to deduce from them a moral lesson. Thus, by resorting to a picaresque rhythm throughout this double structure, the overarching romantic plot is exposed. Such exposure highlights, therefore, the plot of double thread consisting in binaries or synecdoches being used as fundamental elements in the archetypal multiple constructions within the sensation formula.

One of the most frequent binaries in *JW* and *MP* is that of city versus country. From the outskirts of Leicester and the market of Ashford, the narrative moves towards London,

¹³ H. L. Mansel, “Sensation Novels,” *Quarterly Review* 113, no. 2 (1863): 481-514.

which works as a synecdoche for the whole of England by representing the “great nineteenth-century shift of power from the provincial landed aristocracy to the urban centres of finance and industry” (Humpherys 2008, 129).¹⁴ Inherent in these binaries lies a simplification of melodrama through the reiteration of generic scenes, i. e., cross-dressing for both men and women, slum gathering places, mansions and villas governed by outlandish masters and mistresses, gothic urban and rural landscapes... Again, cumulatively, these repetitions portray a context wherein “individualism run rampant and unchecked by a corrupt legal system, and the absence of what we would call a safety net for the vulnerable; selfish sensuality that gives free rein to the debaucheries of the powerful; urbanization itself with its crowding that facilitates both individual anonymity and the surveillance and chance encounters that make it impossible to hide” (Humpherys 2008, 130).

Distance, focalisation and mood

In terms of the narratorial mood in which these multiple constructions are put together, a combination of diverse types of distance and focalisation is used by the narrators in order to have an effect on the nerves of the readers so as to have them ponder upon the narratological assertion of the main plot. Hence, such distance can be small by means of behavioural mimesis or larger by means of diegesis,

He spoke the English language well; and though in his look and manner there was a certain blending of patrician pride and boyish self-sufficiency — a strange commingling of dignity and conceit — yet he was courteous enough, and appeared to

¹⁴ Anne Humpherys, “An Introduction to G. W. M. Reynolds’s ‘Encyclopedia of Tales’,” in *G. W. M. Reynolds. Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Politics, and the Press*, ed. Anne Humpherys and Louis James (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008), 123-133.

have every disposition to place himself at once on friendly and familiar terms with me (*JW* vol. 2, 130-131; Joseph describes the Viscount of Tivoli; behavioural mimesis).

One especially had secured his friendship — a young man of about his own age, and who was a perfect enthusiast in the prosecution of his studies. Mark Shelburne — for that was his name — was an orphan, entirely dependent upon an uncle, who was not particularly well off, and who, it was supposed, generously stinted himself in many respects for the purpose of providing the necessary funds to enable his nephew to qualify for the medical profession (*MP* vol. 2, 389; Mary describes a good friend of her brother William; behavioural mimesis).

I was so astonished by this conduct on the part of the Greeks — especially on that of the officer — that I was riveted to the spot; and I gradually found the strange, dim, and vague misgivings of the precious day reviving in my mind (*JW* vol. 2, 198; Joseph recounts the episode of the schooner; diegesis).

And now that I have so fully introduced my parents and my brothers and sisters to the reader, perhaps he will wish to know something concerning myself (*MP* vol. 1, 4; Mary has described her family; diegesis)

Focalisation, on the other hand, takes the form of internal, which subsumes a character's mental actions in the discourse of the narrator, or external, which excludes them,

Oh, it is shocking to die thus! — shocking to reflect that a fellow-creature had so alienated every heart that none sorrows for him when he is gone! (*JW* vol. 2, 311; Joseph reflects about the death of the villain, Mr Lanover; internal).

As I was sitting down to breakfast, the waiter handed me a note, with the intimation that he had received it from the Countess of Eccleston's maid, and that he was enjoined to give it me privately (*JW* vol. 2, 203; Joseph receives a note; external).

For a few moments I paused to reflect how I should manage in order to accomplish my aim [...] So, summoning all my firmness to my aid, I accosted my noble mistress, saying, "Will your ladyship spare me for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour?" (*MP* vol. 1, 74; Mary attempts to talk to her mistress; internal).

During the whole time they were at breakfast, they discussed and settled what should be ordered for dinner; and when the said breakfast was over, it was quite a formal and

solemn proceeding to have up the cook and give her instructions on that grand and important subject (*MP* vol. 1, 288; Mary describes the household organisation for dinner; external).

Cognitive systems

All of these aspects within multiple constructions can be translated into a cognitive system in an attempt to observe whether a story could be considered an integrative and multifaceted information in the mind of the reader. Thus, the above theoretical aspects of Genette's theory of narrative structure can be replaced by procedural elements in a cognitive system, i.e., temporal segmentation and abstraction; generalisation; non-verbal memory; memory organisation; sensemaking and relating; theory of mind and point of view; metacognition and consciousness; self-formation; and sociocultural aspects of cognition (Akimoto 2019).

Perhaps such translation into a cognitive system is the one that endows the mind of the readers with the unifying principle which prevents them from getting lost in the circular maze of subplots and multiple constructions. And this technique was not only employed by Reynolds but also by Dickens in *Bleak House* (1852-1853) or *Hard Times* (1854), probably influenced by Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740-1741). Plot looseness, highly (melo)dramatic events, multiplicity of intercalated, self-contained episodes helped create the "sensation formula", an attempt to align the novel with journalism. Such "up-to-the-minute plots [...] frequently made reference to the speed and anonymity of the railway and telegraph systems" (Wynne 2001, 6).¹⁵

¹⁵ Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001), 1-37. See also N. Daly, "Railway Novels: Sensation Fiction and the Modernization of the Senses," *ELH* 66, no. 2 (1999): 461-487.

Coming back to the binaries contained in these multiple constructions, the ambiguous depiction of sexual impropriety stands out in Reynolds's novels in sheer contrast to virginal purity. In *MP*, Reynolds portrayed a heroine of strong will yet virginal purity who endures many torments and relentless pursuit at the hands of the villain, Sir Aubrey Clavering. Mary succeeds in resisting lengthy assaults on her virtue, thus triumphing in her high moral purpose with an unsullied virtue. The moral scheme at play in *MP* is observed in the parable of Mary's siblings: two brothers serving as the good and bad apprentices and two sisters who walk in opposite paths. Whereas one follows her virtuous sister, the other, Sarah, falls down the path of ignominy by being kept as a mistress of several degenerate aristocrats. In many regards, this plot seems to have been inspired in Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740-1741), whereas the similar plot in *JW* seems to have breathed in the style of Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742). Sarah's end, however, is not the same as Joseph's. At some point in the plot, Joseph has fallen prey to the confusion created by his depraved twin sister Violet and neglects his true love, Annabel, by fathering a child with his lover Lady Calanthe Dundas. The solution of this twist is no other than the death of both Lady Calanthe and her son so that Joseph can carry on in his path of social elevation and marriage with the virtuous Annabel, who has been kept pure for him. Thus, Sarah and Lady Calanthe die as a punishment for their deviation from virtue, whereas Joseph undergoes little in the way of penance for having abandoned the virtuous woman. This sexual double standard is seemingly left unexplained in both novels, although the spatial frame in which these characters interact clearly show differences in term of gender and social status.¹⁶

¹⁶ See also the section *Gendered spaces* in the present chapter for further elaboration on this topic.

Heterotopian spaces

A prevalent feature in the multiple constructions within *JW* and *MP* is that of a gendered and heterotopian spatial framework. Everywhere in the plots of these two novels the reader finds themselves in liminal places which evoke and iterate the ultimate moral lesson to be reaped. Yet what is exactly a heterotopian space and why did Reynolds use them in his plots? ¹⁷ Michel Foucault (1986) came up with the concept of heterotopia by juxtaposing the medical definition of heterotopia, i. e., displacement of any given organ in the human body from its normal position and the philosophical notion of utopia, i. e., an unreal, chimerical and perfected space under the metaphor of the mirror. ¹⁸ This metaphor indicates the duality and contradictions posed by the coming together of heterotopia and utopia, this is, the mirror is a real object that relates the vision one has of oneself to the manner in which one behaves in a given context and time. In Reynoldian fiction, the mirror may well be the vision of society as shaped in the mind of the novelist, with utopia representing the attainment of an ideal and idyllic society wherein morality reigns supreme and heterotopia standing for the places and spaces which allow for the human behaviour to be pondered upon and eventually modified in order to bring about such utopia.

Foucault posited six principles to systematise different types of heterotopia and their transforming functions during diverse historical periods. First, the heterotopia of crisis, wherein sacred or privileged places are reserved for those individuals undergoing a crisis in

¹⁷ Although the concept of heterotopia was not philosophically elaborated until the 20th century, it is a construct that can be applied in retrospective to these two novels in order to understand the role played by the characters in fulfilling Reynolds's ideals and beliefs for the furtherance of his society in real life through the lens of literary fiction.

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22-27.

relation to society, i. e., boarding schools, old age homes... *JW* sets out precisely in a boarding school run by Mr and Mrs Nelson, an elderly couple,

Mr. Nelson's academy was what might be termed a *second-rate* one, — the boys for the most part consisting of *tradesmen's sons*; and thus *the education we received was far more of a commercial than of a classical nature* [...] It was a cheap school, the terms averaging from thirty to thirty-five pounds a year. There were altogether about twenty boarders, and double that number of day-scholars. Mr. and Mrs. Nelson, who kept this seminary, had no children of their own: they were *elderly* people, — practising a great deal of *meanness* under the name of economy, and *stinting* their pupils very much in respect to fare with the pretence of the most sedulous regard for their health. At the same time *there was no positive cruelty in their treatment towards us*; and during the holidays, when I was the only scholar who, having no home to go to, remained at the academy, I occasionally experienced some little indulgences (*JW* vol. 1, 2, emphasis mine).

Whereas Joseph is one of the inmates of the boarding school, Mary in *MP* is one of the servants helping temporarily at one of these institutions,

I have already said that Montpellier House was a spacious one; and so it well needed to be — for it had to contain sixty boarders, five teachers, and six servants [...] The advertisement had given me a tolerably fair insight into the nature of the duties which I was expected to perform: but it assuredly had not enlightened me as to the extent of those duties (*MP* vol. 1, 194).

Both Joseph and Mary are in a state of crisis when staying at these places: Joseph is anxious at the lack of knowledge about his situation in the future and Mary at not knowing what is expected of her. Alongside the heterotopia of crisis comes the heterotopia of deviance, which represents an isolated place, i. e., rest home, prison, psychiatric hospitals, wherein the individual can redress their deviations from the social norm and heal,

I entered that cell, which was narrow but long: it was lighted by a grating in the roof — or rather, I should observe, was only redeemed thereby from total obscurity: for the

gloom was so great that I could scarcely distinguish the countenances of the two men, though I could more easily trace the dark outlines of their forms as they sate together upon some straw at the farther extremity (*JW* vol. 2, 174).

He sent for Mark Shelburne, who visited him in the condemned cell at Horsemonger Lane Gaol; and falling upon his knees at the feet of Edwina's lover, the wretched young man besought his forgiveness in a paroxysm of the wildest grief (*MP* vol. 2, 407).¹⁹

¹⁹ Also known as Surrey County Gaol, Horsemonger Lane Gaol was a prison in use until 1878 in the vicinity of current Southwark, in the south of London. Henry Mayhew and John Binny described it as being

inclosed within a dingy brick wall, which almost screens it from the public eye. We enter the gateway of the flat-roofed building at the entrance of the prison, on one side of which is the governor's office, and an apartment occupied by the gate-warder, and on the other is a staircase leading up to a gloomy chamber, containing the scaffold on which many a wretched criminal has been consigned to public execution. Emerging from the gateway, the governor's house, a three-storied building, stands right in front of us, on the other side of the courtyard, having a wing of the debtors' prison on each side, all of them built of brick. The right wing of the prison contains sheriffs' debtors, who maintain themselves the left wing is set apart for county court debtors and those sheriffs' debtors who are unable to do so [...] The court-yard is flanked on the left hand by the infirmary, a detached building, containing wards for debtors and criminals on the right by the sessions' house, the front of which faces Newington Causeway (Mayhew and Binny, 1862, 623-624).

This Reynoldian subplot with Frederick Newton murdering his uncle and stealing his money was probably inspired by the public hanging in 1849 of Frederick and Maria Manning, who killed a friend of theirs for his money and buried him under the kitchen floor. Their execution took place at Horsemonger Lane Gaol and was attended by Dickens, who subsequently condemned such public acts in a letter to *The Times*,

I was a witness of the execution at Horsemonger Lane this morning [...] I believe that a sight so inconceivably awful as the wickedness and levity of the crowd collected at that execution this morning could be imagined by no man, and could be presented in no heathen land under the sun. The horrors of the gibbet and of the crime which brought the wretched murderers to it, faded in my mind before the atrocious bearing, looks and language, of the assembled spectators. [...] When the two miserable creatures who attracted all this ghastly sight about them were turned quivering into the air there was no more emotion, no more pity, no more thought that

Reynolds exploited the heterotopia of deviance as a way of allowing the character to pay their debt to society and redeeming themselves by obtaining pardon and being able to eventually heal, in accordance with Christian precepts and morality. In the case of medium or high-security hospitals, however, the character is allowed to heal not from a criminal offence but from a disordered mind in a secluded space which prevents them from escaping and hurting others,

I have already said that the mansion was an extensive one; and it stood in the midst of about an acre and a half of ground, laid out in lawns and gardens. But on the inner side of the four walls which completely enclosed the place, there was a line of *chevaux-de-frise*, or long iron spikes fixed upon revolving bars; so that it was impossible to climb the wall. At the entrance-gate there was a porter's lodge; and the gates themselves were kept locked. In addition to these precautions, there were three or four gardeners so interspersed about the grounds that every part of the premises could be thus watched by them; and I may farther observe that during those hours when the inmates of the asylum were principally accustomed to take exercise in the garden, three or four keepers were roaming about likewise. In respect to the *chevaux-de-frise*, they were not visible to passers-by outside the walls: the projecting irons which supported them, were about a foot and a half from the top — and, as I have already said, on the inner side. In each angle of the walls there were quantities of iron spikes, four feet in length, which came bristling down in a slanting direction from the masonry in which they were set; and these were in addition to the *chevaux-de-frise* (*JW* vol. 2, 344).

Foucault would eventually introduce the concept of the panopticon, “a ubiquitous form of monitoring and disciplining human behavior, a kind of invisible fence that provides simultaneous surveillance and disciplinary power over certain groups of people, notably

two immortal souls had gone to judgement, no more restraint in any of the previous obscenities, than if the name of Christ had never been heard in this world and there were no belief among men but that they perished like beasts (Charles Dickens to the Editor of *The Times*, November 13, 1849).

prisoners and students” (Sudradjat 2011, 32) to symbolise heterotopias of deviance. This can be clearly observed in the previous example, with the porter’s lodge acting as the panopticon, as whether the porter is inside or not is not mentioned and the invisible fence represented by the *chevaux-de-frise*, visible only for the inmates but not for the passers-by on the other side of the wall.

Cemeteries and morgues

Another principle implicates the function of society in customising heterotopias as places wherein the convergence of incompatible, contradictory spaces is rendered possible. Such is the case of cemeteries and morgues,

Notwithstanding the pitchy darkness of the night, I had no difficulty in finding the exact spot whence diverged the hedge which separated the compartment of the poor from that of the criminal. I had sufficiently observed the arrangements of the cemetery from my chamber-window to be aware that the point whence the hedge thus diverged at right-angles with the hedge skirting the lane, was precisely opposite the side-gate opening from the carriage-drive of the villa-grounds [...] (*JW* vol. 2, 312-313).

The death-bed — the Morgue — the condemned cell — the scaffold of the guillotine, have all contributed their peculiar associations thus to initiate me in every varied phase of feeling through which the human soul can possibly pass [...] The funeral was over: for I should observe that in France interments are precipitated, and take place generally within forty-eight or sixty-four hours after death. He had followed his daughter to a grave which had been hollowed for her reception in the picturesque cemetery of Pere la Chaise [...] (*MP* vol. 2, 284).²⁰

²⁰ Père Lachaise Cemetery is located in Paris and is currently one of the most visited necropolis in the world. Inaugurated in 1804 as the first non-denominational garden cemetery, it was designed by Alexandre-Theodore Brongniart, who included English flair gardens and uneven paths adorned with diverse trees and plants and lined with carved graves in a neo-Gothic style.

At the beginning of the 19th century, cemeteries were no longer being built in the city centre but on the outskirts in an attempt to improve health conditions in the cities. Thus, the suburban cemetery became a city of the asleep, wherein the soul of the human being could find eternal repose after leaving the corpse quarantined for death and lay in an individual tomb of their own. This is how the cemetery, according to Foucault, is a heterotopian space; each tomb and its location within the cemetery according to the social rank of the deceased confers the illusion of existence and status to its visitors in the manner of some sort of utopia of life after death in a symbiotic relationship with the real world through blood affiliation, wealth and influence of the eternally asleep and their family.

Gardens and theatres

The juxtaposition of one real place with different spaces that appear to be incompatible amongst themselves is also another principle within Foucauldian heterotopia. Accordingly, the theatre and the (oriental) garden are satisfactory epitomes of this: the former because it represents the convergence of innumerable spaces into one real place: the stage; and the latter because sublunary totality is depicted in its design,

Issuing forth from the theatre, I passed round into an obscure lane which divided it from the adjacent house — and speedily reached a little narrow door with an ascent of about a dozen dirty wooden steps, more like a ladder than a stair. Pushing open another door at the top, I found myself in the back part of the stage; and as the curtain was down, the carpenters and scene-shifters were busily preparing for the opening of the next piece. One of the “fairies” was standing near; and on beholding her thus close, I was struck — nay, positively shocked at her appearance. Beautiful as she had seemed in the distance, the *dispelling of the illusion produced a cruel effect upon my mind* (JW vol. 1, 51, emphasis mine).

I have already stated that the little theatre was fitted up in the most tasteful and elegant manner. The seats were all covered with crimson velvet, and on the floor they had been so arranged as to rise with a gentle ascent, so as to present an *amphitheatrical effect*

[...] Upwards of six hundred fashionably dressed gentlemen and elegantly apparelled ladies were congregated in the amphitheatre and in all that part of the gallery which was independent of *the portion allotted for the use of the domestics* [...] The exhilarating music swelled through the theatre; and every eye appeared to brighten at the inspiring sounds (*MP* vol.1, 327, emphasis mine).

These two excerpts offer a glimpse of how heterotopia aids the reader in grasping a greater and thorough understanding of the theatrical experience, the illusion that it creates in the mind of the reader through the perception of the characters, the context in which the performance betides and the hegemony behind the socio-political context it affords.²¹ On the other hand, the garden as heterotopian space facilitates the merging of diverse environments in a real space or, in other words, it conveys the reality of a physical space enclosing the idealisation of such a space in its attempt of re-creating an utopian nature. This is what Foucault termed as heterotopia of illusion, “[which] exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory...Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space” (Foucault 1977, 8),

From a peasant who was passing along, I learnt that this was Myrtle Lodge; and I must candidly confess that *I was considerably disappointed by its appearance. The cheerful name which it bore had led me to picture to myself an equally cheerful mansion, situated in the midst of smiling pleasure-grounds: whereas the scene that I beheld was quite the reverse* [...] There were many immense trees grouped around: but these were so situated that they added to the gloomy aspect of the mansion, instead of rendering it cheerful with their rich autumn-tinted foliage (*JW* vol. 1, 82, emphasis mine).

I had walked for nearly an hour, and was returning towards the house, when I heard footsteps in the same avenue of trees which I was at the moment threading. *It was pitch dark beneath the umbrageous canopy of evergreens;* and, stopping short, *I stood*

²¹ Please see Joanne Tompkins, *Theatre Heterotopias: Performance and the Cultural Politics of Space* (Sydney: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

irresolute how to act [...] That *instant of irresolution* on my part was most providentially fortunate, as will hereafter appear: for it was while I thus stopped short, and consequently when no sound of my own footsteps gave warning to the persons advancing that there was any one there to overhear them, I caught a name which in a moment enthralled all my senses (*MP* vol. 2, 69, emphasis mine).

Throughout *JW* and *MP*, the allusions and vague descriptions of gardens as described in the above examples are adumbrated with a sense of portending evil and eeriness borderline with Gothicism, which contradicts the ideal of utopian nature represented by the garden as heterotopian space. As Meyer put it, “the garden provides an image of the world, a space for simulation for paradise-like conditions, a place of otherness where dreams are realised in an expression of a better world (2003, 131). Yet this is not how Reynolds depicted gardens in these two novels. Instead of a mythical space of the collective imagination, the Reynoldian garden is employed as a lens which expedites spiritual healing and not as a mirror that merely transforms what is external to the human being. Indeed, when Mary or Joseph feel overwhelmed by life circumstances, they resort to these doleful and sombre gardens in an attempt to be taken back to a calm, peaceful state of mind,

I had lain awake the greater portion of the preceding night, *tossing restlessly and uneasily on my feverish pillow*; and I rose at a somewhat early hour in the morning *in a state of mind which could not possibly maintain an artificial serenity* [...] On reaching the hall, I found one of the domestics unlocking and unbolting the front door; and he said to me, “It is a nasty raw morning, Mr. Wilmot: I should advise you not to go out, sir — you may catch cold.” “You know,” I responded, “that whatever be the state of the weather, *I always take a certain amount of exercise — without which I could not keep myself in health.*” The man offered no farther remonstrance; and I passed out into the *garden* (*JW* vol. 2, 349, emphasis mine).

She offered to show me *the grounds*; and as *I felt restless, uneasy, and anxious*, for several reasons — and disliked the idea of remaining alone in my chamber for a number of hours — I accepted the proposal. It was now about half-past five in the evening; and

the weather was exceedingly beautiful. I therefore thought that *a little ramble would do me good*, and perhaps *cheer my spirits* as much as it was possible for them to be elevated under all circumstances (*MP* vol. 2, 207, emphasis mine).

Libraries and heterochrony

These heterotopian spaces also share the principle of heterochrony, which intersects and phases space and time in order to achieve a rupture of the traditional experiences of time and temporality. This is exemplified in spaces such as libraries and museums, wherein time seems to be infinitely accumulated so as to gather the whole of different times in one static place that is itself outside time,

The library of Delmar Manor was a spacious and lofty room — very handsomely furnished — and the shelves of which were crowded with books, being protected from the dust by glass doors [...] Communicating with this library by means of a glass-door, was a smaller room serving as a museum of curiosities and objects of *vertu*. In each of the four corners stood a suit of armour, — these panoptics belonging to four distinct periods of the age when such mail-defences were worn. There were cases containing specimens of polished marble — others filled with peculiar shells — others with tropical birds and insects, carefully preserved: — others, again, presented to the view a variety of mineralogical specimens; and in addition to these there was a miscellaneous collection of old jars, porcelains, and vases, of all sorts of shapes and belonging to all ages (*JW* vol. 1, 16).

Hasten you down stairs to the library, where Lord Harlesdon always examines prisoners who are brought before him. The proceedings are not private: you will find, on the contrary, that most of the servants will be there to listen, and so it will not seem strange that you should be present [...] As he [Lord Harlesdon] passed on to the farther extremity of the library and took his seat in a large arm-chair at the head of a writing-table, I watched his looks to ascertain, if possible, whether he himself had any personal feeling in the matter: but that cold, severe, inscrutable countenance afforded no indication of the kind (*MP* vol. 1, 130).

The library, therefore, acts as the place with the “curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect” (Foucault 1986, 24). This translates as the heterotopian space which, whilst maintaining a connection with neighbouring spaces, it is a secluded environment which facilitates the preservation of time and culture so as to allow the human being the possibility of challenging their cognitive perception of the society they are a part of and thus giving them the opportunity of adapting their behaviour accordingly.²²

In the examples above, whereas Joseph contemplates the library of his master in utter admiration of everything contained therein and all the different ages those objects belonged to, Mary witnesses how Lord Harlesdon, the magistrate, uses such a space to examine and judge a prisoner in front of his household servants. Conversely, other spaces such as leisure villages, vacations or fairs constitute opposed heterochronies to libraries and museums, given their nexus for a fleeting, transient time frame under which they operate,

I experienced strange and solemn sensations while wandering through the streets of the city founded by Romulus so many, many centuries back. I felt that wherever I was walking, had trodden the feet of some of the greatest men whose names belong to any history whether ancient or modern; and that though the same buildings by which I now passed, had not met their view, yet it was nevertheless upon this same soil which their feet had pressed, and the same heaven overhead to which they had looked up [...] Many, many other memories, gathered from my readings of the past, moved in solemn array through my mind: but, as I have before said, it is not my purpose in this book to inflict unnecessary digressions upon the reader (*JW* vol. 2, 127).

²² See Gary P. Radford, Marie L. Radford and Jessica Lingel, “The library as heterotopia: Michel Foucault and the experience of library space,” *Journal of Documentation* 71, no. 4 (2015): 733-751.

The town of Brighton is perhaps one of the handsomest and most interesting in all England; and certainly it is the most delightful of the watering-places. For the most part it is built upon heights overlooking the sea: the houses in the best quarters are spacious and lofty, usually having bow-windows and verandahs, and reminding one of the external aspect of Park Lane. There is a fine continuous walk, about three miles long, near the sea: one portion is called the Marine Parade — the other the King's Road; and these constitute the fashionable lounges for equestrians and pedestrians (*MP* vol. 2, 256).

In these two recreational cities, Rome and Brighton, the notion of time is perceived as temporal instead of eternal and is therefore mixed with the notion of space so as to produce “situated knowledge”, as Donna Haraway put it, a type of historical knowledge which aims to interrupt linear time so as to create other histories in a continuum.²³ Precisely, both Joseph and Mary are temporarily visiting these cities and creating new loops in the subplots by means of a break in linear time as well as new developments which will lead to the final resolution of the main plot.

The prison, the guesthouse and the ship

Another principle of heterotopia is that of their inherent system of opening and closing, which makes them isolated and impenetrable spaces with entry being only accepted by compulsory means in the case of barracks or the prison, or by necessity as in the case of hotels or guesthouses,

The hotel to which I allude, was by no means a first-rate one — but still very comfortable; and it was patronised by the commercial travellers visiting that town [...] I therefore ordered my valet to see that dinner was presently served up to me in the commercial room; and I proceeded to inspect my bed-chamber. It was on the second

²³ Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575-599.

storey, at the back of the house, and had the stable yard under the window (*JW* vol. 2, 392-393).

The apartments to which we now removed, consisted of a sitting-room on the first floor — a bed-chamber overhead for my master and mistress — and another chamber on the storey above for my use. The terms were two guineas a week, inclusive of attendance on the part of the servant of the house: for as I was in the capacity of a lady's maid, no menial duties were expected from me [...] (*MP* vol. 2, 139).

These hotels represent a space wherein linear time has been altered with a momentary existence of Joseph and Mary inasmuch as provisional characters in a liminal space; they inhabit for a short while a space which confronts them with a different world than their usual one. They are removed from their ordinary lives and daily routines for a short period of time so that they can feel the impermanence of their existence in such a space before eventually re-joining their homes. Similarly, the ship is also considered a placeless, liminal space serving as ligament between cultures,

The stairs leading down into the cabin, were of polished wood and had handsome brass handrails; and the cabin itself was exceedingly well furnished with ottomans, stools, tables, carpets, draperies, &c., I must confess that for a trading vessel I was astonished at the evidences of luxury which now met my view. The door of one of the state-rooms, or smaller side-cabins, stood open; and a glance flung therein showed me as comfortable and indeed as elegantly appointed a couch as could be met with in an English gentleman's yacht (*JW* vol. 2, 192, emphasis mine).

My looks, turning away from the sailors and the young officer, fixed themselves upon the *schooner*; and as I contemplated her long, low, beautifully shaped hull — her tapering spars — her masts so *mischievously raking* — the *web-like tracery* of her rigging — and as I remembered how its side might suddenly be made to bristle with cannon, I could no longer put away from my mind the idea that there was something *wicked* in the aspect of that *vessel* (*JW* vol. 2, 198, emphasis mine).

The *boat* was instantaneously pushed off; and *away it flew*, the *oars* (which were no doubt muffled) *no creating the slightest splashing sound* [...] A *dimness* came over my vision — I no longer beheld the *flickering lights of the town*, nor the *glimmering upon the water*: my *physical energies* appeared to be *dying out* — and *I sank down* in the *bottom of the boat*, not exactly in a swoon, but *crushed* beneath the weight of a *fearful consternation* (MP vol. 2, 114-115, emphasis mine).

Both the schooner and the boat represent floating pieces of an extreme heterotopian space which exists by itself on the vastness of the sea in some manner of disconnection from the land. Likewise, Joseph and Mary are temporarily disconnected from their time and space when on board these vessels in such a way that they have to confront another reality which is another twist of the main plot.

Religious orders and rhizomic heterotopia

The last principle on Foucauldian heterotopology refers to the role of these heterotopian spaces in creating illusions of unattainable utopias as well as allowing old illusions to be challenged. Here is where heterotopias of compensation or realised utopias come to the front, through the example of religious orders,

He has his *viceroys* and his *lieutenants*: the world is parcelled out into provinces, where *the spiritual rule of that old man prevails*, to a greater or less extent, through the medium of those *deputies*. He dwells not in a palace, but in a humble room partaking rather of the aspect of an anchorite's cell — he banquets not upon luxuries — the frugality which he just now observed was no exceptional affectation, but *in accordance with a general rule and practice*. He has *enormous revenues at his command* — and yet such is the life that he leads. “And who,” I asked, stricken with astonishment at all I had just heard, — “who, my lord, may be this *venerable old man* who wields *a power so tremendous and yet so mysterious* that it well nigh makes me shudder with *a feeling of solemn awe*? Who is he, my lord?” “*Father Boothan*,” replied *Cardinal Gravina*, — “*Father Boothan, the General of the Jesuits*” (JW vol. 2, 172-173, emphasis mine).

In short, heterotopian spaces are, as Foucault put it,

Real places, actual places, places that are designed into the very institution of society, which are sorts of actually realized utopias in which the real emplacements, all the other real emplacements that can be found within the culture are, at the same time, represented, contested, and reversed, sorts of places that are outside all places, although they are actually localizable' (Foucault 1998, 178).²⁴

and the topography of both *JW* and *MP* most certainly includes clear epitomes of such spaces, as analysed in the previous pages. Besides these heterotopian spaces, there is a social movement or constructed type of heterotopia known as *rhizomic heterotopia*, which represents submerged forms of resistance that can be observed in the intersection of politics in everyday life,²⁵

A motley assemblage was it too, — comprising the representatives, so to speak, of all grades of society, tracing them down from the fashionably dressed gentleman to the mechanic in his *blouse*, and including the tradesman of comfortable means as well as the shopkeeper of a humbler description. Then, in respect to the females, there was the lady, represented in the person of the beautiful young creature — and the poorest order typified in the fat, blowzy, but determined-looking fish-woman from the market; with the intermediate social divisions represented by a milliner, the wife of a wine-merchant, the spouse of a publican, and the sister of a foreman in a manufactory [...] I must not forget to add that amongst those present I observed a priest and a couple of soldiers, — the former in his cassock, the two latter in their gray overcoats, and with their swords by their sides [...] The priest advanced towards the table whereon reposed the ghastly skull; and the chairman, again speaking in measured accents, said, "You will now proceed, citizen, to take the oath of secrecy and fidelity which every new

²⁴ Michel Foucault, "Different Spaces," in *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology: Essential Works of Foucault Volume 2*, ed. J. D. Faubion (London: Penguin, 1998), 175-186.

²⁵ J. C. McKinney, *Constructive Typology and Social Theory* (New York, NY: Meredith Publishing Company, 1966).

member of the Central Republican Association is bound to record” (*JW* vol. 1, 403-404).

There we locked ourselves in: and the pistol-case being produced, I soon convinced my mistress that I had well profited by the lesson received from the gunsmith in the morning [...] We accordingly remained silent, seated together side-by-side near the fire-place, with our faces towards the door, and each holding a pistol in the right hand. I could not help feeling that it was indeed a strange position in which to find myself, — a strange position also for that young and beautiful lady to be placed in; and I inwardly prayed that the issue of the adventure might be as successful as we hoped and anticipated (*MP* vol. 2, 75).

In these examples, cases of rhizomic heterotopia can be observed in a norm-challenging nature of a determined social movement; therefore, the reader participates in Joseph’s being made to take an oath as a Republican and in Mary’s having to resort to defend herself and her mistress in a situation which was not normative at all. The Central Republican Association that Reynolds created was possibly his fictionalisation of the East London Democratic Association funded in 1837 by the Chartist George Julian Harney which would become the London Democratic Association the following year. With the help of secularist Charles Bradlaugh, English republicanism started to take the shape of an organisation grounded on the ideals of the French revolution, liberty, equality and fraternity. Although this association claimed to have reached three thousand members already in 1838, it eventually came to an end with the failure of the Chartist uprisings in 1840.²⁶ Similarly, in *JW* the Central Republican Association is ultimately brought to an end by the French police,

All was now confusion; and some of the male members of the Secret Society made a desperate resistance as the *gendarmes* endeavoured to capture them. Wounds were

²⁶ See A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge* (New York, NY: Heineman, 1958) and Norbert J. Gossman, “Republicanism in Nineteenth Century England,” *International Review of Social History* 7, no. 1 (1962): 47-60.

inflicted — in three or four parts of the room there were fierce scuffles — but I was not left long enough to behold the result: for amongst the very first to be surrounded and arrested, were the Marquis, Eugenie, and myself [...] On reaching the Prefecture, we were separated, and all three consigned to different apartments: but we shook hands warmly before our companionship was thus severed (*JW* vol. 2, 6).

As an inference from this type of heterotopia, the hierarchical organisation of capitalist, social relations that is described in these novels is duly challenged and being made to result in a schism from such hierarchy.²⁷ This influences, in its turn, human behaviour as it implies a restructuring of the social spaces which reflect the cultural diversity and identity, including gender, of the human being characterised as a fictional being in these novels.

Gendered spaces

Intertwined with heterotopian spaces, gendered spaces can be observed throughout *MP* and *JW* fulfilling the role of assigning or even forming identities and means of behaviour in their characters.²⁸ According to Michie and Thomas (2002), the specific spaces inhabited by characters in a novel and through which they move are related to their physiognomy and identity by means of a “lived experience of space and spatialised discourses” (p. 20).²⁹ Both put forward the idea of an existing “Victorian crisis of spatial division, produced in part [...] by the appearance of new spaces and new ways to negotiate and characterize them” (p. 17).

²⁷ A. E. Beckett, P. Bagguley, and T. Campbell, “Foucault, Social Movements and Heterotopic Horizons: Rupturing the Order of Things,” *Social Movement Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 169-181.

²⁸ Simon Gunn, “Public Spaces in the Victorian City,” in *The Victorian Studies Reader*, ed. Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam (London: Routledge, 2007), 149-64.

²⁹ Helena Michie and Ronald R. Thomas, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Geographies. The Transformation of Space from the Victorian Age to the American Century* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

Indeed, readers of Reynolds can observe an innovative use of spaces in *JW* and *MP* which differed and diverged from the lengthy, cinematic spatial descriptions used by Dickens.

Despite the rigid demarcation of the public and private spheres still being employed in fiction, Reynolds adopted an uncommon approach which offered the reader the possibility of a deeper understanding of each of the characters, not only of their physiognomy but also of their personality and behaviour, usually dependent on the space they would inhabit. Let us consider two characters in *MP*, Mad Tommy and the Gipsy Queen, a mad man and a Gipsy woman; certainly not much appreciated in the society of the time,

I gazed forth unconsciously and mechanically — and still was I gazing upon vacancy. Gradually however there came a clearness into my vision; and slowly did my looks settle upon a person who was leaning against the iron railings of the enclosure of shrubs in the middle of the Square. It being scarcely seven o'clock in the evening, and in the middle of June, it was of course perfect daylight; and indeed the slant beams of the sun came glinting against the windows from the western horizon. Therefore not only did I plainly perceive that figure posted against the railings opposite the window, but could at once distinguish the dilapidated scarecrow form of Mad Tommy! (MP vol. 1, 74, emphasis mine).

The spaces wherein Mad Tommy is usually described contain liminal features in accordance with his personality and behaviour, i.e., railings, window, Square... as if representing the prison of his own mind. On the other hand, the Gipsy Queen appears in very different spaces,

Presently we emerged from the fields into the main road, close by the *village of Herne*, which is *two miles inland from Herne Bay* itself, and has a most picturesque appearance, with its old church, and its little houses of antiquated architecture. I was standing upon a slight eminence just beyond the village, contemplating it from that point, — when a *respectably-dressed female*, approaching from behind, and therefore *coming from the direction of Canterbury or Sturry*, gave vent to an ejaculation of surprise as she came up

to the spot where I was lingering with my little companion. I looked round, and at once recognized the Gipsy Queen (*MP* vol. 2, 107, emphasis mine).

Once again, with an element of liminality included, the Gipsy Queen is described as a figure of superiority who does not dwell in a fixed, constricted space but rather on a space which allows for freedom. In *JW*, characters such as Violet Mortimer, an actress on her path to perdition, or Marco Uberti, the chief of the banditti,

But all in a moment I stopped short: for, on the opposite side of the stage — leaning against a piece of scenery — appeared the object of my presence there [...] It was therefore with a reviving anguish of heart that I gazed upon that *symmetrical form of sylphid shape*, yet giving promise of fulness in its proportions; — I gazed, too, upon that countenance which my mind had so faithfully treasured up: but I could not now catch the *sweet azure eyes* — for they were bent down; and *the long silken lashes*, so many shades darker than the *lustrous flood of her golden hair*, reposed upon her cheeks (*JW* vol. 1, 52, emphasis mine).

The *brigands* led me up *a stone staircase*, from the summit of which branched off a passage with an array of half-a-dozen doors; and now methought that it might be one of them which held Annabel captive. Philippo opened the first door; and I was led forward into a *spacious room*, where half-a-dozen more *banditti* were sitting at *a table covered with bottles and glasses*, and *at the head of which the terrible Marco Uberti was lounging in an arm-chair* (*JW* vol. 2, 84, emphasis mine).

Whereas Violet is depicted as embedded on a stage, with elements of fluidity and sweetness like the Muses, Marco appears as petrified in his role of chief of a band of criminals. On both cases, liminality is conveyed and the reader is able to decipher in a glimpse the (future) behaviour of the characters.

Indeed, spaces presented in *JW* and *MP* seem to conform to the idea posited by Marxist geographers Doreen Massey and Henri Lefebvre, that any space or place is a

construct of people making use of them in accordance with social pressures.³⁰ They proposed a joint control of spatiality which is indicative of the construction of gender, identity and gender relations inasmuch as reflecting the ways in which gender is understood. For instance, the limited mobility in space that women are shown to have in Victorian fiction may constitute a case of subordination to patriarchy, which in its turn could constitute a limitation on the formation and consolidation of their identity. Whilst this is true of Victorian fiction in general, it does not apply to Reynolds, defender as he was of feminism and ethnic minorities. Indeed, he respected the literary conventions of his time although he added his own ideology by assigning other spaces and places to his female and other minor characters. An example of this is his altering the space of a home as intrinsic to women only by making it the sole possession of a Lord on occasions. Thus, the home is still seen as an anchor, as a place of stability, although not for women only.

Similarly, Lefebvre and Soja stressed the discursive and ideological nature of the spatial framework and coincided with the concept of heterotopia put by Foucault. With his spatial triad of perceived space, representational spaces and representations of space, which Soja coined as “thirding-as-Othering,” Lefebvre denoted how spatial dialectics are linked to power relations in a celebration of multiplicity and difference.³¹ Thus, Reynolds could be seen as a pioneer of feminist geocriticism by his modifications of traditional gendered spaces in literature so as to expose the power hierarchies intrinsic to them and therefore resist the

³⁰ Doreen Massey, “Space, Place and Gender,” in *Space, Place and Gender*, ed. Doreen Massey (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1994), 185-191.

³¹ Cf. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004); Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1996) and Theda Wrede, “Theorizing Space and Gender in the 21st Century,” *Rocky Mountain Review* 69, no. 1 (2015): 10-17.

dominant, deterministic gender-space paradigm. In short, the perception of spatial frameworks entails a perception of socio-cultural roles as well as of physiognomic traits which enable a certain identity to be formed.

Physiognomy, dress code and domestic roles

A common scientific practice and popular discourse in Victorian England consisted in assessing the personality of an individual from their outer appearance or facial characteristics. Such practice was known as physiognomy, whose main concern revolved around the idea of an unconscious shared subjectivity which attempted to seek clarification on an increasingly chaotic urban environment wherein the Victorians led their lives. Thus, being capable of reading the personality of others just by a rapid evaluation of their physical features became essential so as to facilitate the blending in of many citizens appertaining to different social echelons. Pearl (2010) explained this shared subjectivity as follows:

we learn that they [the Victorians] were searching for community and looking for ways to connect to others. We discover, unsurprisingly, that they created hierarchy and separated the good from the bad, the mad, and the sad [...] We chronicle their growing insistence on thinking of themselves and others as contributors to a whole rather than individual parts [...] We know that their vision was mediated through literature, theatre, caricature, and photography. We see the dawning of their obsession with interiority and othering (p. 222).³²

Precisely, physiognomy played an important role in the emergence of a psychological discourse in which personality traits were figured out purely on the facial and bodily aspect of the other as opposed to oneself. Many aspects were merged into this practice, i. e., Freudian notions of interiority, composite photography, fingerprinting, portraiture and

³² Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2010).

hysteria as photographed by Charcot. In terms of psychological development and psychic health, the phenomenology of interiority indicates a series of interrelated themes that configure the inner nature of a person, i. e., temporal continuity, imagination, responsibility, ownership, privacy and self-reflection.³³ Temporal continuity refers to object constancy or the structure of oneself as being in the world and opposed to other human beings.³⁴ Imagination comes into play at this point as a further dimension of interiority which indicates the ethical perspective of the lives of others as opposed to one's own. This implies a dialectical, Bachelardian tension between private thoughts and public face; hence the importance of physiognomy emerges once again.³⁵ As regards responsibility and ownership, the implication that one's world is one's own becomes factual in the Heideggerian notion of the *Dasein* or the world which each individual owns and is responsible for.³⁶ In this respect, privacy reinforces interiority as a psychic space which is not fully reachable to others, which means that the world that is one's own is not visible to others nor completely transmittable to them. Indeed, this aspect is particularly well-expressed in Reynolds's characters, whose inner worlds are only communicated to the reader by means of their inner monologues. As Boss (1963) indicated, "The lines of one's inner life—even one's primary process—are etched on one's face and carried in the gestures and even the somatic conditions of one's body as

³³ Roger Brooke, "Notes on the Phenomenology of Interiority and the Foundations of Psychology," *International Journal of Jungian Studies* 5, no. 1 (2013): 3-18.

³⁴ M. Klein, "Love, guilt, and reparation," in *Love, hate, and reparation*, ed. M. Klein and J. Riviere (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1964), 57-119.

³⁵ Please see Bachelard and the philosophy of imagination in Caroline Joan ("Kay") S. Picart, "Metaphysics in Gaston Bachelard's "Reverie"," *Human Studies* 20, no. 1 (1997): 59-73.

³⁶ M. Heidegger, *Being and time*, trans. J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962).

degrees of hiddenness, but they are still expressive” (p. 168).³⁷ Finally, the capacity for self-reflection is indicative of the process through which the individual ponders on the structure of one’s engagements with one’s inner world and begins to realise the existence of one’s self.³⁸

The phenomenon of hysteria, on the other hand, also adds to physiognomy inasmuch as the central construct of psychoanalysis in terms of physiological functioning. Charcot is considered the author of the vulgarised image of hysteria characteristic of the latter part of the Victorian period in his study of hysteria using photography as his main tool, given that portraiture of female patients diagnosed with hysteria was constructed as evidence of the disorder.³⁹ Thus, estimating intelligence and character from this type of portraiture was befitting to a time marked by the confluence of dress codes and the lessening of sumptuary laws.⁴⁰ Traditional temperament theory indicated the vulnerability of women to hysteria due to physiological conditions and this in turn led to the specification of gender roles in society,

[the] natural nervous temperament to women which barred them from abstract mental reflection and heavy manual labor. Uterine sensitivity during menstruation, pregnancy, nursing, and menopause left women perennially vulnerable to hysteria or lassitude, and

³⁷ M. Boss, *Psychoanalysis and Daseinsanalysis*, trans. L. Lefebvre (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 1982).

³⁸ M. Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. C. Smith (New York, NY: Routledge, 1962).

³⁹ Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*, trans. Alisa Hartz (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

⁴⁰ Sumptuary laws were those which restricted ordinary people in their expenditure. With the first one passed in the City of London in 1281, which regulated the clothing of workers given to them by their employers as part of their wages, the rulers intended to control the behaviour of the masses in terms of clothing, food and other luxurious items as well as to ensure the preservation of social hierarchies. The Act titled “Enforcing Statutes of Apparel” promulgated in Greenwich on the 15 June 1574 (16 Elizabeth I) was repealed in 1597. See Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, “Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England,” PhD thesis (John Hopkins University, 1923).

therefore well-advised to avoid heavy reading or alarming spectacles and to contain expressions of anger. The only dangerous passion permitted women was love itself (Staum 1995, 445-446).⁴¹

Physiognomy, however, went beyond this theory and bifurcated into dynamic and static physiognomy; whereas the former was known as pathognomy in Fine Arts, the latter permitted certain features of personality to be revealed through the study in detail of the image of a person. Precisely, the study of photographs of inmates at lunatic asylums would allow for a taxonomy of those features indicative of excessive passions.⁴² Further to this, composite photography or combination printing, –assembling multiple photographs into one print— consisted in a hybrid entity combining facial images with an attempt to simultaneously narrate a story and edify the viewer. This also facilitated and helped promote physiognomy at the time, as the language of bodily gestures initially studied in painting eventually found its way into theatre and melodrama in the form of elaborate pantomimed gestures in order to endow the actor with a specific characterisation for his role.⁴³ Thus, melodrama in literature started to echo such language manifested in composite photography, which called perception, self-knowledge and realism into question.⁴⁴ Alongside melodrama,

⁴¹ Martin Staum, “Physiognomy and Phrenology at the Paris Athenee,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 3 (1995): 443-462.

⁴² See Joan K. Stemmler, “The Physiognomical Portraits of Johann Caspar Lavater,” *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 1 (1993): 151-168.

⁴³ William Notman (1826-1891), Henry Peach Robinson (1830-1901) and Oscar Rejlander (1813-1875) were pioneers in the art of composite photography and precursors to Dadaist photomontage in the early 20th century. For a more detailed analysis of their art, please see Jeanne Willette, “Composite Photography in Victorian Times,” *Art History Unstuffed* (blog), September 18, 2015, [Composite Photography in Victorian Times | Art History Unstuffed](#).

⁴⁴ Jennifer Green-Lewis stated on this aspect that,

Victorian literature echoes photography’s call to look and its promise of new vision in questioning perception, self-knowledge, and realism itself. In romance and melodrama of the

physiognomy was also preponderant in newspaper reports, with journalists analysing and commenting on the features of any given criminal as a means of decoding their personalities and ulterior motives for the crime.⁴⁵ Fingerprinting was also deemed a companion to physiognomy in this respect and as exemplified by the Bertillon report, which kept track of criminals in the prison system by including detailed information of their fingerprints, facial characteristics (with a photograph) height and weight.⁴⁶

middle to late century such questions are often confronted through the magical extremism of the camera, whose products are frequently capable of extraordinary feats. Photographers in such works [composites] are not sober agents of realism but artists of the fantastic, figures of wild and questionable science. Realism, on the other hand, tends not to figure the camera or photographers much at all but rather to sue the idea of photography as a structuring principle or standard of truth to which the language itself aspires (*Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 53).

⁴⁵ A famous example of this was the case of Christiana Edmunds, who was found guilty of poisoning people in Brighton with chocolate creams covered in strychnine in 1871. Instead of being hanged, she was sentenced to spend the rest of her life at Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum. Thus, for the Victorian court, physiognomy provided a way to differentiate between the criminal and the non-criminal type,

The profile is irregular, but not unpleasing; the upper lip is long and convex; mouth slightly projecting; chin straight, long and cruel... From the configuration of the lips the mouth might be thought weak, but at a glance the chin removes any such impression and Christiana Edmunds has a way of compressing the lips occasionally, when the left side of the mouth twists up with a sardonic, defiant determination, in which there is something of a weird comeliness (*Daily News*, 16 January 1872).

⁴⁶ Alphonse Bertillon (1853-1914) was the founder of anthropometry –with the “portrait parlé,” in which each section of the face and body was given a corresponding sign and transcribed in succession so as to obtain a descriptive card which would then be summarised into a notice— and dactyloscopy and responsible for the creation of a filing system for prisons known as “the Bertillon report” or “bertillonage”, which proved essential in the assessment of delinquency and criminality as early as the 1850s. See Pierre Piazza, “Alphonse Bertillon and the Identification of Persons (1880-1914),” *Museum of the History of Justice, Crime and Punishment*, August 26, 2016, accessed August 26, 2021, [Alphonse Bertillon and the Identification of Persons \(1880-1914\) | Criminocorpus](#).

In short, having considered the above aspects as a whole, interiority refers to existence itself as a unified structure of being in the world. In this sense, physiognomy would mean the possibility of ascertaining what type of inner world defines any given person and what type of personality and behaviour is such person going to display accordingly. Precisely, Freud emphasised the importance of this internal realm or interiority as the unconscious, conditioning factor for behaviour. Thus, the behaviour displayed by a master or mistress would be significantly different to that displayed by a servant inasmuch as their interiorities differed in terms of the social echelons each belonged to. With physiognomy, therefore, behaviours and personality could be easily and quickly determined, although not always as accurate as it should be. Let us analyse some examples of Reynoldian fictional physiognomy within the paradox of servants and their masters/mistresses. In *JW*, Joseph is presented as follows,

I was called *Pretty Joe* because I was considered to be the best-looking boy in the school. *I was not tall for my age* — and was *slightly built*: but I believe I may say without vanity, that I had *a very genteel appearance* and was *symmetrically shaped*. I can well remember what I was *at fifteen: a profusion of dark hair clustered in natural curls* about my head, and was parted over *a high pale brow*: my *dark eyes* had an *expression of softness*, without being absolutely melancholy: my features were *delicate*, and *of even feminine regularity*. The boys used to say what *nice teeth* I had; and for personal cleanliness Joseph Wilmot was invariably quoted by Mrs. Nelson as an example. I was considered to be *intelligent and quick*; and as *I generally mastered my lessons* more readily than most of my schoolfellows, I never hesitated to assist them in their tasks. *Naturally good-natured and obliging*, I was an almost universal favourite; and I do not remember that I was ever bullied or ill-treated by those who were older and bigger than myself (*JW* vol. 1, 2, emphasis mine).

Whereas in *MP*, Mary is introduced to the readers in this way,

At the age and under the circumstances which I am thus penning my autobiography, it may be permitted for me to say, without the imputation of vanity, that I was considered

to be a *good-looking girl*, in the same style as my mother and sister Sarah: that is, with *dark hair and eyes, very little colour upon the cheeks, and somewhat delicate features*. I have already hinted that through the care of our mother we possessed *good teeth*; and I was not an exception to this rule. As for my *stature*, when I grew up to womanhood I was what is termed *above the middle height and the least thing inclined to be stout* (*MP* vol. 1, 5, emphasis mine).

Both protagonists are portrayed as comely, with fine teeth and of adequate height and in the case of Joseph, a few comments are added regarding his personality. Comparing their descriptions to those of other secondary yet important characters in these novels, Reynolds seemed to have established a particular physiognomy for heroes and heroines in sharp contrast to that of villains; and he carried this out by creating characters with believable personalities and vivid physical descriptions emulating individual types in real life with remarkable photographic accuracy. The question rises here as to whether Reynolds imitated or was inspired by Dickens in this respect, given that Dickens was an expert in this matter; in any event, both Dickens and Reynolds succeeded to get a character instilled in the mind of the reader by means of their physical descriptions combined with their actions and mannerisms.⁴⁷ Hence, the depictions of male and female hero/ines in both novels,

The *Captain* was a tall, handsome man, of about *five-and-thirty*, with *dark hair* and a *glossy moustache* [...] He was *reserved*, and *somewhat haughty* — but by no means

⁴⁷ Issuing a commentary on Dickens's work, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* stated that, "we are engrossed with a few favorite personages, and are delighted when they appear, look with eagerness for their return, and when the book is closed, we have some vague impression that we may possibly catch sight of them somewhere about the world" (83, no. 1 (1858): 59-60). Personally, I believe this comment can also apply to Reynolds's work. What is more, Reynolds's descriptions, whether topographical, physiognomic or narrative, are practically always followed by a comment indicating the unnecessariness of considerably digressing from the plot, which may be interpreted as a particular dislike for Dickens's dilatory descriptions, "The reader perhaps will not expect that I shall enter into many details relative to the wedding: but yet his curiosity may be gratified by the assurance that all the arrangements at Heseltine Hall were of the most splendid description" (*JW* vol. 2, 389).

stern nor unkind in his manner; and it was invariably in a *gentlemanly* way that he addressed me. He did not seem to be so wedded to dissipated habits as I had been led to judge from the circumstances of our first interview: it was only when he fell in with fellow-countrymen of his own, of a similar position in life, that he would plunge into a conviviality bordering upon an extreme (*JW* vol. 2, 44-45, emphasis mine).

I may here add that Mr. Quentin was certainly the *handsomest young* gentleman I had ever seen in my life. He was *tall, slender, and as straight as a lance*: his hair was of a *rich brown, very thick, glossy, and naturally arranging itself in large wavy curls*; — his eyes were of a *fine hazel, large, bright, and serving as resplendent mirrors to reflect the intelligence that beamed upon his high pale forehead*. *His features were small* — his *nose straight* — his *upper lip short and curving with a haughty expression* — and he had a *brilliant set of teeth*. His father was said to be a great lord, immensely rich; and the Hon. Eustace was the second son (*MP* vol. 1, 24, emphasis mine).

Certain features are shared by the two heroes depicted, Captain Raymond and Mr. Eustace Quentin, i. e., glossy hair, tall, dark eyes, intelligent, of pleasant dispositions and from wealthy family backgrounds. As regards the female heroines,

Annabel was about my own age — namely, *fifteen*: just at that interesting period for one of her sex when beauty is in its first virginal blossom [...] Her countenance was one in which *girlish simplicity* was beginning to blend with a more *thoughtful and serene expression*; and over all there was a *certain air of pensiveness* — either the result of sorrows of her own experience, or else caught by reflection from a beloved mother's features. Nothing could exceed *the softness of the large azure eyes*; while *myriads of ringlets of a golden hue* waved around the *exquisitely-shaped head*. *Her forehead was high and open*: the *softly rounded chin* completed the *perfect oval of the face*. Her complexion was of the *purest white* [...] The carnation wet with dew, would afford but a poor simile for the vivid carmine and moist freshness of her *classically cut lips*; and when these parted, they disclosed teeth which, for want of a better similitude, we must liken to *two rows of pearls*. Then her *shape*, — it was *chastely delicate* in its *taper slenderness*, as that of a young girl of her age should be: but yet its *fairy lightness and sylphid symmetry* denoted the incipient expansion of charms budding towards the contours of womanhood. Thus the *gentle undulations of the bust* were defined by the

neatly fitting dress; and nothing could exceed the *admirable slope of her shoulders*. She was *tall for her age — upright as a dart —* with a *lithe willowy elasticity of figure* properly belonging to girlhood, and yet fully consistent with *mingled elegance and grace* [...] The *innocence* of her age, the *ingenuous candour of her disposition*, and the warmth of feeling of which her generous heart was susceptible, were all expressed in the *limpid azure of those large eyes*, which, *swimming in their clear whites*, were fringed with *dark brown lashes*. And these lashes, as well as the *arching brows*, formed an agreeable contrast with the *golden hues of her lustrous and luxuriant hair*. I must not omit to add that her head was as gracefully poised on the *delicate, slender, and flexible neck* as a tulip on its graceful stalk; or that her *hands were small even to a fault*, with the *fingers long and tapering*, and *crowned by pellucid nails, almond-shaped and rose-tinted*: while her *feet and ankles afforded no exception to the exquisite symmetry of all her other proportions* (JW vol. 1, 28-29, emphasis mine).

[...] for this second gipsy-woman [the Gipsy Queen/Barbauld Azetha] was of *remarkable beauty*. Not only *tall in stature*, she was *upright as a dart* and of *handsome figure* [...] Her *hair, though coarse*, struck Jemima as being of the *deepest and most perfect blackness, with no gloss nor lustre upon it, but black as ebony or as night*. *Parted in smooth masses above her swarthy forehead*, it was gathered up behind her ears, and hung down beneath the silk handkerchief over her back, not in curls, nor even with a wavy flow, but perfectly *straight*, and yet *without the slightest appearance of being hard or wiry*. Her *eyes were of the deepest black, and piercingly bright*, fringed so thickly with the *long ebon lashes* that the *lustre of those orbs was much subdued and even shaded thereby*. Her *lips were thin and red*, revealing *two rows of teeth which though somewhat large were white as ivory, and so regular and even* that the proudest lady of quality might have envied them. Her complexion was of *true Egyptian duskiness, with a tinge of carnation on the cheeks*; and the woman altogether had not only a very *handsome but also a bold and masculine appearance* (MP vol. 1, 71, emphasis mine).

As can be duly noted, the depiction of female heroines is twice as long as that of their male counterparts; moreover, whereas both male heroes share common physiognomic and personality features, the heroines are described in sharp contrast to each other: one is angelical, blue-eyed, blonde and the other is bold, dark-eyed, swarthy. Despite appertaining

to different ethnics, the contrast of personalities and social echelons is clear, too; whereas Annabel appears to be firmly rooted in her provincial town and very much protected by her middle-class family, the Gipsy Queen leads a dangerous low-class life, travelling far and wide and in direct association with Egypt as a foreign country. This instance of dual heroines can also be observed in the case of Annabel and her twin sister Violet who, although sharing the exact physiognomic traits, may be classed as a flawed heroine, exactly like the Gipsy Queen,

It is now necessary to observe that the remarkable similitude which existed between the twins in respect to their personal appearance, did not extend to their dispositions. *Annabel was timid, shrinking, and bashful* — ever *anxious* to avoid the chance of giving her father the slightest offence, or of incurring those terrible invectives and brutal upbraidings which the most trivial circumstance would often elicit. On the other hand, *Violet was on an impatient spirit — haughty and petulant* — and one which never would endure a wrong without rebelling against it (*JW* vol. 1, 144, emphasis mine).

According to Wynne (2001), flawed heroines elicited more positive responses from the readers than the more traditional type of ideal heroine.⁴⁸ Thus, notwithstanding her deviation from a virtuous path in the plot, Violet is still portrayed as a heroine once she admits her errors of a life period governed by debauchery, “But still there was this consolation — that she was deeply penitent, and that she had solemnly determined to make such atonement for the past as her future good conduct could render” (*JW* vol. 1, 153). Such literary technique of the dual heroines seems to have been actioned in order to explore Victorian codes of femininity; hence, the demonstration of potential downfalls and recompense of feminine behaviour was crystal clear to the readers. However, in spite of

⁴⁸ Anonymous review of *Wives and Daughters*, *Spectator*, 17 March 1866, p. 300. Although this review was subsequent to Reynolds’s *JW* and *MP*, the use of antithetical heroines had already been popularised by Thackeray in his novel *Vanity Fair* (1847-1848), with Becky and Amelia.

Violet's intention to redeem herself, Reynolds did not offer her the possibility of being reincorporated into family life, as she was never incorporated to it from the outset: her rejection of domesticity because of a negligent and abusive father —Mr. Lanover— had turned her into a social outcast.⁴⁹

As regards male and female villains, Reynolds epitomised them as the direct opposite of the hero/ines,

He was, as Edward had described him, *a very short man, much deformed, with a humped shoulder greatly protruding*. He was apparently *about fifty years of age — with harsh iron-gray hair— shaggy overhanging brows — and a cadaverous countenance, marked with the small-pox*. He had a *cunning, apish, disagreeable look— not merely disagreeable, but repulsive, and one from which it was impossible to help recoiling*. His *deep-set eyes* partly resembled those of the *weasel* and partly those of the *snake*. The light seemed hanging as it were in their depths; *and he looked out with a cold but searching gaze, penetrating and hideously fascinating*. He was apparelled in a suit of black, evidently quite new: *his hands were of enormous size — his arms exceedingly long: his legs were very short — and his enormous feet* were cased in shoes with the strings tied in large bows. Altogether he had the appearance of a *baboon dressed up* (*JW* vol.1, 19, emphasis mine).⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Given that Collins and Reynolds shared genuine sympathy for women and servants without status, could Collins have been inspired by Reynolds in the literary use of dual heroines? According to Richard Barickman, Susan MacDonald and Myra Stark,

Collins turns away from the domestic setting of most Victorian fiction. Even his courtship plots are transformed into bizarre stories of fraud, crime, prostitution, murder, impersonation, and madness [...] Collins thoroughly parodies the values and practices of the Victorian middle-class family [...] He focuses on those who are outcasts of the family-centred system, who have broken with it openly, who manipulate it for their secret advantage, or who are victims of it (*Corrupt Relations: Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Collins and the Victorian Sexual System* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982), 147).

⁵⁰ These physiognomic traits of Mr. Lanover certainly remind the reader of those of the villain Mr. Daniel Quilp in Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-1841),

The child was closely followed by an *elderly man of remarkably hard features and forbidding aspect, and so low in stature as to be quite a dwarf, though his head and face were large enough for the body of a giant. His black eyes were restless, sly, and cunning; his mouth and chin, bristly with the stubble of a coarse hard beard; and his complexion was one of that kind which never looks clean or wholesome. But what added most to the grotesque expression of his face, was a ghastly smile, which, appearing to be the mere result of habit and to have no connection with any mirthful or complacent feeling, constantly revealed the few discoloured fangs that were yet scattered in his mouth, and gave him the aspect of a panting dog. His dress consisted of a large high-crowned hat, a worn dark suit, a pair of capacious shoes, and a dirty white neckerchief sufficiently limp and crumpled to disclose the greater portion of his wiry throat. Such hair as he had, was of a grizzled black, cut short and straight upon his temples, and hanging in a frowzy fringe about his ears. His hands, which were of a rough coarse grain, were very dirty; his fingernails were crooked, long, and yellow* (p. 22, emphasis mine).

Both Mr. Lanover and Mr. Quilp share low, dwarf-like stature, sly dark eyes, coarse hair, large hands and feet and shabby garments. A comparison between them and animals, i. e., weasel, snake and a fierce dog, respectively, confer on them the status of fairy-tale monsters in pursuit of the main characters, Joseph and Little Nell, who represent honesty and virtue. And both will undergo similar, agonising endings,

In the *wretched poverty-stricken chamber*, faintly and dimly burnt the light: but yet its beams were sufficient to enable me to embrace with a glance the *misery and destitution which characterized the place, — the scant articles of furniture, the dirty carpetless floor, the blackened walls, and the broken panes with rags thrust through to keep out the night air.* Sufficient likewise were those beams — and in their *sickliness* appropriately suited likewise — to show the *haggard, ghastly, wan, and death-stricken countenance* of him who in his time had been one of my bitterest enemies. Yes — it was indeed Lanover, — Lanover who lay upon the verge of that gulf which separates mortality from eternity — that dark abyss, unfathomable to human eyes, which divides things terrestrial from things celestial — that mighty ocean, formed of the waters of oblivion, over which the soul when loosened from its earthly tenement is wafted from the known shore that lies on this side to the unknown shore which lies beyond! [...] In this better frame of mind I kept him, — until at about three o'clock in the morning, when the light was flickering in its socket, and the grey dawn was peeping through the window, the spirit of Lanover fled for ever (*JW* vol. 2, 384, 386, emphasis mine).

One loud cry now — but the resistless water bore him down before he could give it utterance, and, driving him under it, carried away a *corpse*. It toyed and sported with its *ghastly freight*, now *bruising it* against the slimy piles, now *hiding it* in mud or long rank grass, now *dragging*

On being conducted by the waiter to that apartment, we found Mr. Twisden seated at the fire, in company with a military officer in his blue undress uniform. He was *tall in stature*, certainly *very handsome and of elegant appearance*: his age was about *three or four-and-twenty* — *his hair and eyes were dark* — *his whiskers were carefully curled* — and he had a *moustache which, though as jetty as his hair, was nevertheless as delicately pencilled as his eyebrows* [...] This is Sir Aubrey Clavering, Major in command of His Majesty's ——— regiment of infantry stationed at the barracks of this city (*MP* vol. 1, 20, emphasis mine).

Such a depiction of Sir Aubrey Clavering as a villain clashes with that of Mr. Lanover in that he is portrayed as handsome, tall and neat and as a figure of authority being an infantry officer. Perhaps Reynolds's dual intention in this case was to, (a) alert the readership of the existence of wolves dressed as sheep who acted as seducers and ruined

it heavily over rough stones and gravel, now feigning to yield it to its own element, and in the same action luring it away, until, tired of the *ugly plaything*, it *flung it on a swamp* — a *dismal* place where pirates had *swung in chains*, through many a wintry night — and left it there to *bleach*. And there it lay, alone. The sky was *red with flame*, and the water that bore it there had been tinged with the sullen light as it flowed along. The place the *deserted carcase* had left so recently, a living man, was now a *blazing ruin*. There was something of the glare upon its face. The hair, stirred by the damp breeze, played in a kind of *mockery of death* — such a *mockery* as the *dead man* himself would have revelled in when alive — about its head, and its dress fluttered idly in the night wind (*TOCS*, 500, emphasis mine).

Both deaths present the elements of light and water, yet there is a significant difference between them: the confession of a penitent. Whereas Mr. Quilp attempts to evade justice, Mr. Lanover sends a woman in search of Joseph to ask for forgiveness. This highlights another essential difference between these two villains, Mr. Lanover is miserable and twisted by his obsession, although he redeems himself in the very end; Mr. Quilp is, on the other hand, capable of enjoying his own malice when contemplating his evil actions and he does not eventually repent, which renders him on a similar level to that of other Shakespearian villains such as Iago (*Othello*) and Richard III (homonymous play). See Peter Preston, "Introduction," in *The Old Curiosity Shop* (Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Classics, 1995), v-xxx.

women's reputations; and (b) reinforce his message of morality about how women's duty was to resist these attempts of seduction and preserving thus their reputations whilst meriting a reward for their righteous behaviour. In this respect, Sir Aubrey might as well be considered similar to a Dickensian character, James Harthouse, who unsuccessfully attempted to seduce Louisa Gradgrind,

Five and thirty, good-looking, good figure, good teeth, good voice, good breeding, well-dressed, dark hair, bold eyes... who had tried life as a Cornet of Dragoons, and found it a bore; and had afterwards tried it in the train of an English minister abroad, and found it a bore; and had then strolled to Jerusalem, and got bored there; and had then gone yachting about the world, and got bored everywhere (*Hard Times* 1854, 94, emphasis mine).

In line with these male villains, Reynolds limned female villains as follows,

At a work-table sat a *short, thin, very plain-looking female*, in a rusty black silk dress — a not over clean cap, with faded blue ribbons — and an old dingy-hued scarf, thrown over her shoulders. She wore mittens — and was knitting. She was about *five years younger than Lady Georgiana; but had a similarly old-maidish look*. [...] But that glance showed me that she had become all in a moment as white as a sheet: she was literally quivering too with rage. From that time forth *Miss Dakin was a mortal enemy of mine* (*JW* vol. 1, 84, 93, emphasis mine).

Yes — altered she was indeed. She was then *somewhat good-looking, very respectable in appearance*, and with a *discreetness of look* that would have thrown the most wary and suspicious off all guard. Now she was a *dirty, slatternly, brazen-faced wretch, with the evidences of debauchery and profligacy hanging about her as palpably as loathsome rags hang on the squalid form of the vagrant*. Her *countenance was bloated, red, and blotched; her hair was all bushy* as if it had not been smoothed down for a week, nor had a comb passed through it for a month: a soiled, torn, and faded cotton gown hung loosely upon her form; and a miserable little shawl neckerchief was thrown over her shoulders. *Utter degradation* was stamped upon her. *Bad* as she might have been, and as she really was at the time when I first knew her, *she nevertheless was neither a drunkard, nor shameless and brazen-faced; but now the fiend of intemperance* had

affixed its indelible brand upon her — and *so fallen, so sunken had she become*, that she no longer thought it worth her while to veil *the hideousness of her character* beneath *a gloss of hypocrisy* (MP vol. 2, 41-42).

In these instances, the features of youth, beauty and good comportment have been converted into old age, repulsiveness and immoral demeanour, according to the role of the character in the plot. A role, which serves as an aid in emphasising the moral virtue that must be regarded as essential in the spiritual transformation of the hero/ine in their journey through the pages of the novel. Acting also as guides alongside these characters, the figures of the master, mistress and fellow servants —whether benevolent or malevolent— become substratal for such inner renewal. Thus, the prototypical altruistic master and mistress are portrayed as follows,

Mr. Vennachar was about *sixty years of age*: but so well did he carry his years — *so upright was his fine tall form, so florid his complexion, so well preserved his teeth, and so bright his dark eyes* — that he could have easily passed for *fifty*. His hair, which had evidently once been dark, had only changed half-way towards the whiteness of old age: that is to say, it was of an *iron-gray* — and *there was not the slightest appearance of baldness on the crown*. *His profile was haughtily handsome: his looks expressed the consciousness of distinction and riches, mingled with generosity and high-mindedness*. The *pride*, too, which that countenance denoted was blended with the *intelligence* that sat upon his *wide open forehead* (JW vol. 1, 202, emphasis mine).

When he [Mr. Kingston] took it off, he displayed a head *entirely bald on the crown*, though his *hair and whiskers were quite dark and unstreaked with silver*. Doubtless it was through the habit of almost constantly wearing his hat, that the premature loss of the hair on the crown of his head was occasioned. He was a *good-looking, good-humoured gentleman, with laughing blue eyes, and an invariable smile upon his lips* (MP vol. 2, 3).

Mrs. Kingston was a *fine tall woman, about five-and-thirty years of age*. She was formed upon a large scale, but *by no means inclined to stoutness: the symmetry of her figure was perfect*, and the riding-habit set it off to the utmost advantage. She had

handsome blue eyes and dark brown hair — an aquiline countenance — bright scarlet lips — and a very rich bloom upon the cheeks (MP vol. 2, 3, emphasis mine).

She [Duchess de Paulin] was *six-and-thirty years of age — above the medium height — and of that embonpoint which is perfectly consistent with symmetry. She was indeed superbly handsome. Her hair was of a dark brown [...] Her eyes were blue — large and clear — with an habitually pensive expression that sometimes made them seem languishing: her complexion was dazzlingly fair, with the slightest tinge of the rose upon the cheeks. Her forehead — white as alabaster, but yet with the animation which the marble cannot have — was high and open: her nose perfectly straight — the mouth small — the lips classically chiselled. She had a magnificent set of teeth, and a softly rounded chin. Nothing could exceed the elegant arching of the swan-like neck, nor the statuesque slope of the shoulders. The bust was gorgeously developed — the arms magnificently though robustly modelled, and of milky whiteness (JW vol. 1, 384, emphasis mine).*

Whereas the ill-disposed master and mistress are described in the following manner, As I was proceeding along the carriage-drive, I encountered a *short, thin man, — very shabbily dressed — about fifty years of age — and with a sharp suspicious look. He [Mr. Tiverton] had a mean appearance, and none of the prideful assumption which blended therewith — or rather glossed it over — on the part of her ladyship (JW vol. 1, 86, emphasis mine).*

He was a *tall thin man — with a pale, or rather sallow complexion — long sharp features — and iron-grey hair brushed straight upright off his forehead. He wore a white cravat, and high shirt collars, very stiff and projecting in sharp points like gills beyond the corners of his lips, which by the bye were thin, compressed, and gave an expression of prim sanctimoniousness to his countenance (MP vol. 1, 37-38, emphasis mine).*

As for her [Mrs. Tiverton] personal appearance, I may as well add that she had a *pale face, with sharp angular features — light blue eyes, altogether lacking in lustre — and thin lips, which she retained very much compressed. Her age might be about forty: her look was severe and proud, at the same time prim and old maidish. Blended therewith, too, was a certain expression indicative of meanness, ill-nature, and narrow-mindedness. She was decidedly ugly and unprepossessing, without a single redeeming*

feature, — and likewise *without a ray of any better feeling shining through that disagreeable and sinister aspect* (JW vol. 1, 83, emphasis mine)

[...] I was not much cheered on observing at the first glance that Mrs. Twisden was a *cross-looking, sharp-eyed, vixenish lady*, whose real disposition could not possibly be mistaken even by an observer so inexperienced as I was at the time. She was *about thirty-two years of age* — most gaily, indeed gaudily dressed, and wore a profusion of jewellery (MP vol. 1, 11, emphasis mine).

These masters and mistresses contribute to shaping both the moral amelioration as well as social rise of Joseph and Mary throughout both novels. Although the Chartist Reynolds revealed a dislike for aristocracy in his novels, he wisely illustrated a society in transition and represented the bourgeois values in the midst of class struggles; those values were the ultimate aspiration of Joseph and Mary and symbolically, of all domestic servants whose ethical principles led them in their journey of ascent within the society of their time. Apropos of servants, both virtuous and execrable ones are characterised under diverging physiognomies,

The Hon. Mr. Walter's principal valet [Charles Linton] was a man *about thirty years of age* — *good-looking* — *and of very smart appearance*. He was always genteelly dressed in black, and was *scrupulously neat* in his person (JW vol. 1, 43, emphasis mine).

[...] and Luke the groom was an *elderly hard-featured man*, who bore the appearance of being almost incessantly out of doors, the *traces of winter's storm and summer's heat all blending in his pippin-coloured cheeks* (MP vol. 2, 5, emphasis mine).

A *young country-looking* servant-girl, [Lucy] with *cheeks as red as cherries and good-humour dancing in her blue eyes* like sunlight in the depths of a lake, opened the door [...] That smile which she gave showed that *she* also possessed *a brilliant set of teeth* [...] (MP vol. 1, 168, 169, emphasis mine).

He [John Roberts] was a *hard-featured man, with a sallow complexion*, and certainly did not seem as if he were fed on roast beef and drank strong beer: indeed he had a *certain hungry look*, and also as if he were labouring under *a sad depression of spirits*. One would have thought him *an unhappy man, of lugubrious disposition* —

discontented and dissatisfied with all things in general, and his own place in particular (*JW* vol. 1, 83, emphasis mine).

Her companion, whom I have denominated *a toady*, was *about twenty years younger* — that is to say, *about thirty*; and in many respects she reminded me of that *abominable Miss Dakin* of whom I have spoken in some of the earliest chapters of my narrative, and who behaved so *spitefully* towards me when I was a humble page in the service of the Tivertons. Miss Cornwall, the Scotchwoman's companion, was *a little thin ugly creature, pitted with the small-pox, and having a very red nose* (*JW* vol. 2, 331, emphasis mine).

These consisted of Mrs. Thornton, the housekeeper — *a prim, taciturn, and even sour-looking woman* — *not very tall, but excessively thin* — or to use a more vulgar but expressive term, *scraggy* (*MP* vol. 2, 63, emphasis mine).

His name was John Morley: he was *short in stature*, but what is called *dapper-made*, and exactly suited for a groom who at times had to stand behind a cabriolet or accompany his master in a light gig. He had *red hair*, and was *much marked with the small pox* — therefore *not very prepossessing*. Nevertheless, he was a person of *inordinate conceit* — fancied that every female was in love with him — and was *most impudent* in his familiarity. His age was about *six-and-twenty*; and he enjoyed his master's unlimited confidence (*MP* vol. 1, 98, emphasis mine).

Accordingly, common physiognomic traits in servants considered malicious and immoral combined scar marks, low height, emaciation and a hostile semblance overall, whereas features of decorous servants were simply the opposite: clear skin, high in stature, slender and of noble mien. Interestingly enough, Reynoldian, respectable servants seemed to be part of the household of likewise seemly masters and mistresses whereas vile servants were not. Perhaps this technique of distinguishing between excellent and iniquitous servants by appropriately placing them in either welcoming or unwelcoming households was intended

to portray the eternal fight between good and evil as part of Reynolds's preceptive, moral education of his readers.⁵¹

Another important feature in correlation with physiognomy so as to ascertain the personality traits of servants, masters and mistresses was the dress code implemented during the Victorian period. On this subject of dress and fashion, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was considered the most important publication in which middle-class women could find useful tips and advice.⁵² Further to this, Mrs. Beeton indicated that the dress of the mistress was of the utmost importance and therefore,

[...] whether it be a silk dress, a bonnet, shawl, or riband, it is well for the buyer to consider three things: I. That it be not too expensive for her purse. II. That its colour harmonize with her complexion, and its size and pattern with her figure. III. That its tint allow of its being worn with the other garments she possesses [...] [It] should always be adapted to her circumstances, and be varied with different occasions. Thus, at breakfast she should be attired in a very neat and simple manner, wearing no ornaments. If this dress should decidedly pertain only to the breakfast-hour, and be specially suited

⁵¹ "Suffice it to say that all my [Mary] experience, not a tithe of which is however yet recorded, goes to prove that what servants *are*, such they have been *made* by their masters and mistresses, and that all the faults which characterise the former have sprung from the example or treatment of the latter" (*MP* vol. 1, 123).

⁵² Prior to this magazine, there were two other magazines addressed to women appertaining to high class or to lower class. The former was *The New Monthly Belle Assemble* (1834-1870), which aimed to develop and enhance moral sensibility in its wealthy readers; the latter was *Family Herald* (1843-1940), which highlighted the domestic leading role of not so well-off females. Conversely, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* set a divergence from these two magazines in that it supported the archetype of women as individuals of leisure with moral management as their essential responsibility. It began its serialisation in 1852, the same year that Dickens's *Bleak House* (1852-1853) and Reynolds's *MP* (1851-1852) and *JW* (1853-1855) were being introduced to the readers. Given that these novels had similar subplots on the skills of young women to find a husband and start a family, it would be understandable to believe that both writers may have found inspiration for the dress code of their female characters in the pages of such magazine.

for such domestic occupations as usually follow that meal, then it would be well to exchange it before the time for receiving visitors, if the mistress be in the habit of doing so. It is still to be remembered, however, that, in changing the dress, jewellery and ornaments are not to be worn until the full dress for dinner is assumed (Beeton 1861, 4).

In this respect, the mistress was completely dependent upon the lady's maid, whose role was to be a "tolerably expert milliner and dressmaker, a good hairdresser, and possess some chemical knowledge of the cosmetics with which the toilet-table is supplied, in order to use them with safety and effect" (Beeton 1861, 1018). Thus, the emergence of a space of secluded intimacy between the lady's maid and her mistress—the toilette in the mistress' bedroom— and the time spent in the act of one dressing the other creates a maid-mistress relationship that has been depicted differently in real life and in fiction. Whereas in real life, according to Janet Horowitz Murray, there was no female comradeship between women belonging to different social echelons due to the opposing interests of each class, which amounted to insuperable obstacles in the case of servants and mistresses, in the case of literary fiction, i. e., Reynolds's *MP* and *JW*, the relationship between a lady's maid and her mistress was one of closeness and loyalty.⁵³ Thus, the preoccupation with dress in the methodical exchange between the lady's maid and the mistress engenders a moment of intimacy which could be observed from a homospectatorial perspective.⁵⁴ Reynolds experimented with representations of pornography in some of his novels and *MP* are no exceptions to this. Certainly, through the eyes of the memoirist, Mary, narrations of the lady's toilette are given in such a manner that the reader may be led to believe there may exist

⁵³ Janet Horowitz Murray, *Strong-Minded Women: And Other Lost Voices from Nineteenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).

⁵⁴ See Tara Puri, "Fabricating Intimacy: Reading the Dressing Room in Victorian Literature," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 41, no. 3 (2013): 503-525.

certain infatuation between the maid and the mistress, although the subsequent development of the plot indicates it was merely extreme, blind loyalty from Mary towards her mistress, as in the case of Sybilla Trevanion,

I do not know that I ever beheld a more *beautiful creature* [...] *Her gait, her attitudes, and her gestures, were all replete with a grace as unstudied as their elegance* [...] Altogether, she was *the handsomest as well as the loveliest — the most beautiful as well as the most charming creature* that mortal eyes ever gazed upon [...] Such was Sybilla Trevanion — the young lady on whom I was now to attend [...] She soon showed an inclination to converse in a friendly way with me; and when she found that I was able to discourse with her upon many of her own favourite topics, she would frequently seek opportunities of being alone with me in her chamber for the purpose of conversation (*MP* vol. 2, 156, 158, emphasis mine).

“Impossible, dear Miss Trevanion!” I exclaimed, now embracing her of my own accord. “I sympathize with you so sincerely — I commiserate your misfortunes so deeply, that I can only entertain one feeling towards you — and that is friendship!” (*MP* vol. 2, 172).

In these portraiture, Reynolds seems to have naturalised their class disparity into a difference of beauty, wherein Mary worships her mistress as if she were a goddess, although Reynolds subsequently places both of them on an equal level through the development of friendship, which was something not to occur between a maid and her mistress; as Mrs Beeton advised, “friendships should not to be hastily formed, nor the heart given, at once, to every new-comer” (Beeton 1861, 3).⁵⁵ However, this type of friendship usually began with the choice of dress as a bonding activity between maid and mistress which left the employee-employer configuration to one side in favour of a deeper intimacy. In addition, the confined yet flexible space of the dressing room favours the exchange of secrets between both women

⁵⁵ Let us indicate at this point that Mary had just entered into the service of Sybilla’s aunt, Mrs. Summerly.

which may threaten to bring disorder into the hierarchical organisation of the household. This emphasises the anxiety experienced by the servant in terms of finding their correct place within the domestic structure, which is reflected by the dress code amongst other aspects; this is to say, the contrast of the simplicity of the servant's uniform and the elegant and luxurious dress of the mistress. Let us see some examples of this polarity in both male and female servants and masters in Reynolds,

This footman was dressed in a *dark livery, very shabby*, and the gold lace of which was *considerably tarnished* (*JW* vol. 1, 82, emphasis mine).

He [Rev. Mr. Dorchester] was dressed in *black, with a white cravat: his linen was scrupulously clean* (*JW* vol. 1, 237, emphasis mine).

This figure [Mrs. Tibenham, a charwoman] was clothed in an *old dirty cotton gown, patched with odd pieces* in divers places: *a coarse apron* had the corner so turned up that it descended into an angle: her *sleeves were tucked up* — and *her great brawny arms* bore unmistakable evidence of having just emerged from a pail [...] She had an *old rusty black bonnet* perched on the top of her head, just as if it had fallen there by accident; and *her grizzly hair* peeped forth from underneath *a cap which looked as if, by mistake for the flannel, it had wiped down the very stairs she had been scrubbing* (*JW* vol. 1, 316, emphasis mine).

The two young ladies [Lady Lester and Lady Wilhelmina] were both exquisitely formed, — their *rich dresses of dark velvet setting off the sylphid symmetry of their shapes*; and they had *light hair, showering in myriads of ringlets upon their bare shoulders* (*JW* vol. 2, 270, emphasis mine).

While we were thus engaged, an elderly, sedate-looking man, dressed *in black, with a white neck-cloth*, rode up to the spot on a short, compact, strongly-built horse, which my experience in these matters, gleaned at Kingston Grange, enables me to describe as a very handsome cob (*MP* vol. 2, 102; Mary describes Mr. Tufnell, a steward, emphasis mine).

Then there was a quick trampling of steps up the said stairs; and *a very dirty-looking female of middle age* made her appearance [...] My fellow servant [Betsy] fulfilled the duties of cook and woman-of-all-work. She made the beds, prepared the food, cleaned

down the house, and did the washing every Monday for the whole family. No wonder, then, that *she was always dirty*: it would have been a greater wonder if she ever had time to be clean (*MP* vol. 1, 39, emphasis mine).

She [Mrs. Twisden] was about *thirty-two years of age — most gaily, indeed gaudily dressed, and wore a profusion of jewellery* [...] He [Mr. Twisden] was dressed *quite plainly, wore brown knee-breeches and gaiters, and looked like a gentleman-farmer* (*MP* vol. 1, 11, emphasis mine).

As it can be observed in the above excerpts, servants, masters and mistresses adhered to the dress code appertaining to their social status and the economic status of the master dictated the quality of the dress code of the servant. Thus, the uniform of the servant would indicate the economic status of the master/mistress. According to Mrs. Beeton,

The footman only finds himself in stockings, shoes, and washing. Where silk stockings, or other extra articles of linen are worn, they are found by the family, as well as his livery, a working dress, consisting of a pair of overalls, a waistcoat, a fustian jacket, with a white or jean one for times when he is liable to be called to answer the door or wait at breakfast; and, on quitting his service, he is expected to leave behind him any livery had within six months (1861, 615).

Although her description is subsequent to Reynolds' novels, examples can be found in *JW* and *MP* which indicate that it was customary to provide the servant with a livery and that it should be returned when leaving the household or being dismissed,

The footman, coachman, and the grooms were furnished with *magnificent liveries — a trifle too much bedizened with gold lace*, and therefore having *a little smack of the parvenu style* about them. But then this *extreme richness in the decoration of the liveries* might be the fashion in France; and after all, who could dispute the taste of a nobleman who had been for so many years the reigning star of the *beau monde* in the French capital? (*MP*, vol. 1, 246, emphasis mine).

It happens that a few days back one of my father's pages left us suddenly: he was precisely of your height and make — and I see that his apparel fits you well enough. If you choose to take his place, you can do so (*JW*, vol.1, 40).

“Well then, Joseph Wilmot, we will say twelve guineas a-year — and two suits of livery. The liveries, be it well understood, are to be your master’s — or rather mine — for I and your master are the same thing ——” [...] “The liveries, I say, to be mine when you leave...” (*JW*, vol. 1, 85).

In the case of female servants, however, they had to tailor their own uniforms or adapt an old one from a servant who was no longer part of the household. Sometimes they would receive clothes as part of their wages,

What say you to *5l.* a-year, with an occasional left-off gown of Mrs. Messiter’s and an increase at the end of the first year if mutually satisfied? (*MP*, vol. 1, 38).

Besides, *you must always be very neatly and nicely dressed*; as it is his lordship’s resolve as well as my own, *that our servants shall be a credit to our establishment* — is it not so, Victor? [...] “You see, Mary,” continued the Countess, “that his lordship is resolved to have everything *consistent with his rank and fortune*; and as we shall be visited by all the nobility and gentry of Kent — that is to say, for miles around — it is imperative that *our servants should maintain the most creditable appearance* — is it not so, Victor? (*MP*, vol. 1, 242, emphasis mine).

The pairing between the dress code of servants and that of their masters/mistresses; that is to say, the well-off master with richly dressed servants and the impoverished master with poorly dressed ones, possibly indicates an umbrageous criticism of the elite as well as a begrudging detail of the aristocratic lifestyle that charms the reader. Sometimes, such criticism is reinforced by revengeful acts, i. e., theft, fraudulent perquisites... effected by a resented servant,

I may add, however, that it is of course their study to promote extravagance on the part of their masters; and if they are in the service of very careless persons, or of masters too proudly aristocratic to condescend to inquire about the state of their wardrobe, they commit tremendous depredations. Numbers of valets, on leaving service, take substantial shops, or else become the proprietors of first-rate hotels; and a man of this class who without a farthing enters the service of a master whom he may thus rob, is

certain to amass a considerable sum of money in eight or ten years. It is just the same with regard to lady's-maids and the wardrobes of their mistresses (*MP*, vol. 2, 64).

Although constantly reproving the aristocracy, Reynolds did not stereotype all masters and mistresses as arrogant and neglectful to their servants; and similarly, he did not postulate that all servants were thieves,

But let me not be misunderstood: I do not mean to stigmatize all valets and all lady's-maids as tricksters and cheats — much less level a sweeping denunciation against the whole of them as a class of thieves and plunderers. Heaven forbid! [...] And lastly, ere I conclude my remarks on this subject, let me add that the system which I have been exposing is as much, if not more, the fault of masters and mistresses themselves than of their servants. This system is known to exist: it is tolerated — it may even be said to be winked at and encouraged: seldom it is that ever an attempt is made on the part of masters and mistresses to put a stop to it; and by their very indolence in looking after their own affairs, or else through the ridiculous pride which makes them consider any such interference to be beneath them, they wilfully shut their eyes to what is going on, and thus tacitly assent to the practice. Thus it is that the laziness and absurd vanity of aristocratic and wealthy families are both alike most demoralizing in their effects, and at least as culpable as the knavery of the systems which they generate or allow to exist (*MP*, vol. 1, 65-66).

Speaking through the voice of Mary, Reynolds's is an acuminous yet forthright critic against the system, the machine that has been set up by the hierarchy of masters and servants; each with their dress codes and domestic roles, creating the illusion of aristocracy and class division. By adopting the position of first-person narrator, Reynolds manages to convey credibility to such a statement as the reader interacts with a voice that is speaking to them directly and from experience. Thus, the subjective and restricted viewpoint of Mary regarding the ultimate culpable of the deficiency of the system in place between masters, mistresses and servants is disclosed in a manner that, although respectful of both echelons, nonetheless exposes their liability and determinates the course for a plausible solution.

Indeed, dress codes and domestic roles are depicted as being the source of such deficiency.

Dress code was very specific as to the domestic roles inasmuch as they epitomised their position and value within the household and the reputation for the employer(s),⁵⁶

The person who exercised the highest authority in this household was his lordship's "gentleman" — a sedate, elderly, well-mannered person, who always dressed in black and was very neat and precise in his appearance. It was his duty to be in attendance in his lordship's dressing-room, and to superintend *everything*, but to do *nothing* himself (*MP*, vol. 1, 63).

This "gentleman" or house steward did not wear livery and earned between £10 and £80 per year. He was ranked as an upper servant, together with the valet and the butler. Only employed in large households, his main duty consisted in keeping the household accounts up to date, which he would do in a sitting-room or separate dwelling allocated for his personal use. Here, he would sometimes perform other duties appertaining to a Land Steward, whose role he would usually assume. He was in charge of hiring, dismissing and paying the wages of other servants except for the lady's maid, the nurse and the valet.

The next in rank was the butler, having an adjutant with the denomination of under-butler, and an assistant in the wine-department called the cellarer" (*MP*, vol. 1, 63). The domestic duties of the butler —also an upper servant— included waiting on the family during breakfast with the help of the footman; supervises the setting of the dinner table; announces that dinner is ready; superintends the proper treatment of the different wines under his charge and ensures the wine cellar is always well-supplied. The under-butler aids him in taking care of all gilt and plated articles and has other duties of his own such as attending the carriages and being in charge of the "under-butler pantry," which contains gold and silver plates and a

⁵⁶ See Madeleine C. Seyes, *Fashion and Narrative in Victorian Popular Literature: Double Threads* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017).

press for keeping the silver of daily use. This pantry is considered the safest place in the household and the under-butler is responsible for the security of those expensive items. The cellarer, on the other hand, was the person responsible for bartering wine deals with local businesses and the maintenance of the wine cellar.⁵⁷

Then there were two valets, who were under the orders of the “gentleman,” and who *did* everything which *he* superintended. But in their avocations was included nothing absolutely menial; so that under them there were two pages; and as there were certain things which these pages were too genteel to perform, the footmen were at the beck and call of the pages (*MP*, vol.1, 63).

Another upper servant who did not wear livery and earned between £20 and £30 per year was the valet, whose duties comprised brushing his master’s clothes and shoes; putting up his clothes for dressing and assisting him in so doing; carrying up the water for his bath; shaving him; prepare his luggage when travelling; waiting on him at each meal of the day and on hunting occasions; and attending on his general health. He usually slept in the next room to his master’s. Next level down the hierarchy of servants was the page or footboy, who had several duties to attend to such as taking care of the vestibule steps, pavement and surrounding area; cleaning the front doorknobs; washing up the pantry; helping other female servants with cleaning the dining room floor and windows; attending the front door and carrying coal or wood. The footman, on the other hand, was considered an under servant and his main duties involved cleaning the knives, furniture and shoes; answer calls at the front

⁵⁷ A song titled “Simon the Cellarer” composed by John Liptrot Hatton and with lyrics by W. H. Bellamy was published in 1860 in the *Community Book of Fireside Songs* authored by Dudley E. Bayford (London, UK: EMI Music Publishing Ltd., 1977). The song tells a humorous story of a wily cellarer who evades the matrimonial advances of Dame Margery, an old maid. In January 1889 there was a film issued by Phillip Wolff, “Mr. Wolff,” one of the largest suppliers of films in Europe, under the same title.

door as well as the parlour and drawing-room bells; trim the lamps; setting the breakfast, lunch and dinner table; and waiting on his master during such meals.

But again, as in the lowest depths there is a lower still, so there were offices and duties too menial for even the footmen; and these were delegated to the shoe-black and stable boys. Then the stable-boys themselves were under the grooms; and the grooms bowed to the authority of the coachman; while the coachman had to take his orders from his lordship's "gentleman" (*MP*, vol. 1, 63).

The coachman was ranked as a senior servant in charge of the stables. Having superior knowledge on horses was essential for his position, which involved the purchasing of provender for the horses, their grooming and feeding and his attending to their general health. The groom –an under servant— was to report to him at all times. His duties included keeping the horses in excellent condition by exercising them when possible; riding out with his master at times; cleaning the stables, carriages, bridles and harnesses; and helping with their feeding. The stable-boys were to report to the groom and responsible for cleaning the carriages and putting the horses to them.

A similarly graduated scale was applied to the female hierarchy of the household, the highest authority in this sphere being Mrs. Brandon, the housekeeper. Immediately under her were the lady's maids, who were much too genteel to do any work that properly belonged to the housemaids; and the housemaids again would not think of "lowering themselves" by performing any work that came within the province of the under-house-maids (*MP*, vol. 1, 63).

The housekeeper was an upper servant whose main duty was to engage, pay the wages and dismiss the female servants. Earning an annual wage of between £18 to £40, she was regarded as the immediate representative of the mistress. Her other duties comprised the detection of any wrong-doing on the part of the domestics; keeping the books updated with the expenses of the household; tending the house linen; overlooking the bedrooms; presiding over the servants' hall dinner; and doing most of the needlework. The housemaids would

report to her. Ranked as under maids, their duties involved making the beds and tidying the bedrooms; ensuring rooms were supplied with linen, candles and in good state of repair; arranging flowers and dusting the china ornaments. On the other hand, the under-housemaids or lower housemaids, also under servants, had to report to them and their duties consisted in lighting the fires; cleaning the living rooms; polishing the brass; carrying water upstairs for washing; and emptying the chamberpots.

In the kitchen the man-cook gave his orders to the two kitchen-maids, who in their turn kept their own duties as distinct as possible from those of the scullions (*MP*, vol.1, 63).

The cook, another under servant, was solely responsible for cooking. The ingredients for his or her dishes had to be readied by the kitchen maids or under-cooks, whose other duties included doing the dairy work; baking the bread; making desserts and cleaning the kitchen. Lastly, the scullions or scullery maids had to clean and scour pots, pans, all cooking utensils, the scullery and larders, the servants' hall and the kitchen passages.⁵⁸

From Mary's description of the above domestic roles, there seems to be a very thin line separating the duties and responsibilities allocated to each role that all servants are afraid to trespass. This can be regarded as another possible trigger threatening to deflate their hierarchical system; in fact, this line alludes to the Foucauldian concept of power relations and their immanence within any given social hierarchy. This is how Mary explains such concept amongst her fellow servants,

Having thus explained the constitution of the household, I think that the reader will be at no great loss to understand how such an organization contained within itself all the

⁵⁸ Please see Jan Barnes, *The Duties of Servants. A Practical Guide to the Routine of Domestic Service* (East Grinstead: Copper Beech Publishing, Ltd., 1984); Daniel Pool, *What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew. From Fox Hunting to Whist: The Facts of Daily Life in 19th Century England* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1994); and Margaret Willes, *Household Management* (UK: The National Trust, Ltd., 1999).

elements of *jealousy, envy, and hatred* — and how such passions could not fail to lead to *endless bickerings, contentions, and complainings*, together with the *turmoil and excitement of petty tyrannies* inflicted on the one hand and *resented* on the other. For instance, if ever his lordship's "gentleman" gave any instructions of his own accord to the steward, there was an *immediate clash of the two authorities*, the "gentleman" *asserting his rank as superior* to that of the steward, and the steward looking very much inclined to snap his fingers in the face of the "gentleman" [...] Then the valets on one side and the butler on the other did not seem at all to entertain either mutual respect or friendship; and there were *incessant disputes* as to whether a valet had the power to order a butler about, or whether on the contrary the butler was not a *superior officer* to the valets. The pages generally took part with the valets against butler and under-butler; but all united in *common contempt* for the footmen; and these again *vented their spleen* upon the stable-boys (*MP*, vol. 1, 63, emphasis mine).

Wrapped in a very fine, sarcastic humour, Mary portrays the crude, flawed reality of the hierarchy of servants upspringing precisely from the Foucauldian notions of power and discourse.⁵⁹ As each servant is being under strict surveillance by another servant from a superior rank, the discourse of each domestic is based accordingly on certain hegemonic assumptions which prompt them to behave and act in a particular manner towards each other. This, in its turn, creates in them a sense of belonging which originates an illusion of power over the other servants; an illusion indeed, as the only ones with categorical power are the master and mistress. However, even the power of the latter is rendered fragile, as it relies on the correct functioning of the hierarchy of servants and, as Reynolds pointed out, masters and mistresses are the ones causing a breakdown of the system. Indeed, there is a clash between the ideals projected by masters, mistresses and servants and the reality of life which comes to the fore precisely by and through this hierarchy. Most importantly, the ideals of femininity entertained by mistresses and female servants as depicted in Reynolds's *JW* and *MP* proffer a

⁵⁹ Dan Beer, *Michel Foucault: Form and Power* (Oxford: Legenda, European Research Centre, University of Oxford, 2002).

transparent outlook on how such hierarchy in real life truly operated and how society was influenced by it.

Ideals of femininity: Rewarded virtue, corrected vice and state-of-the-art rebellion.

In the epilogue of *The Mysteries of London* (1844-1856), Reynolds observed as follows,

‘Tis done. VIRTUE is rewarded—VICE has received its punishment. Said we not, in the very opening of this work, that from London branched off two roads, leading to two points totally distinct the one from the other? Have we not shown how the one winds its tortuous way through all the noisome dens of crime, chicanery, dissipation, and voluptuousness; and how the other meanders amidst rugged rocks and wearisome acclivities, but having on its way-side the resting-places of rectitude and virtue? The youths who set out along those roads, — the elder pursuing the former path, the younger the latter, — have fulfilled the destinies to which their separate ways conducted them. The one sleeps in an early grave: the other is the heir-apparent to a throne (p. 424).

These lines constitute one of the premises that Reynolds actuated as one of the basal pillars of all his novels and most especially *JW* and *MP*; the other being the perennial conflict between wealth and poverty in accordance with his radical Chartist ideology. Precisely, the startling dramatisation of such conflict became a core feature of mid-Victorian sensational fiction. What Reynolds added to it was his original twist of justifying the flouting of the laws of a corrupted society and his attempt to indoctrinate the masses against such corruption by providing them with the alternative of rebellion in order to collapse the system and start anew. His reading of Thomas Paine’s *The Rights of Man* (1791)⁶⁰ during his youth possibly facilitated and impelled his desire to help construct an idealised society with no space for

⁶⁰ Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke’s Attack on the French Revolution* (London: J. S Jordan, 1791).

class nor racial divisions. Hence, the introduction in his novels of certain characters who did not appertain to the institutional, white patriarchal system of mid-Victorian London yet who constituted real heroes and heroines with the power to help the main characters achieve their goals and thus overturn social oppression. Mainly, the figure of the heroine in Reynolds deserves special attention as it appears portrayed under two dissimilar views: the virtuous and delicate though spiritually strong and the physically strong with manly attributes. Perhaps this decision of such a portrayal of his heroines relied on his reading of Richardson's *Pamela* (1740),⁶¹ wherein the main character is a young maidservant who in order to ascend the social echelons will have to confront many dangers, not only spiritual but also physical. Indeed, the similarities between the plots and the characterisation of heroines in *Pamela* and *MP* and *JW* are striking.⁶²

The moral purpose contained within these two novels is in essence, the same. Whilst *Pamela* is an epistolary novel and *MP* a memoiristic one, both are narrated from the autobiographical viewpoint of the main characters. Pamela recounts her life in a series of letters to her parents, whilst Mary informs the reader about her vicissitudes in life through her memoirs. Both novels became the best-sellers of their time and both were controversial in many respects, i. e., pernicious levelling tendencies between aristocracy and servanthood; questioning of hierarchy; heroines defying the world of masculine authority; and perceived licentiousness and pornography. Nonetheless, both address a high moral purpose that can only be obtained through sacrifice and virtue: marriage and love as the victorious goal

⁶¹ Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* (London: C. Rivington & J. Osborn, 1740).

⁶² Although in *JW* the main character and hero is a male servant, there are secondary characters who act as heroines, such as Joseph's love, Anabelle. Parallel to Mary's, Joseph's journey in his ascent of the social ladder abounds in all sorts of perils, moral as well as physical. This will be examined in detail on the fourth chapter, together with the concept of masculinity in both *MP* and *JW*.

conducive to eternal family bliss in a society respectful of lawful norms and citizens from varied backgrounds coexisting peacefully.

Pamela is a fifteen-year-old servant subject to the improper sexual advances of her master, Mr. B. She suffers greatly in the hands of her master and knows that the only possible happy ending for her position is marriage, so that her value as a human being takes priority over her value as a mere servant, invisible in the background. Marriage is the only condition that will permit equality and integrity for her as a citizen of the society of her time. Mary is, on the other hand, an eleven-year-old daughter in a modest family whose only option is to become a servant, a governess, due to the tragic death of her mother and the disappearance of her father. At fifteen, she already has four siblings under her charge and is therefore presented as the motherly figure. The opening of *MP* already alludes to the concept of nuclear family and class,

With my earliest recollections are associated the kind and loving ways of good and affectionate parents; and although they were poor, they maintained themselves in a respectable position (*MP*, vol.1, 1).

Similarly, the opening of *Pamela* apprises the reader of her situation and that of her family,

My dear Father and Mother,

I have great trouble, and some comfort, to acquaint you with. The trouble is, that my good lady died of the illness I mentioned to you, and left us all much grieved for the loss of her; for she was a dear good lady, and kind to all us her servants. Much I feared, that as I was taken by her ladyship to wait upon her person, I should be quite destitute again, and forced to return to you and my poor mother, who have enough to do to maintain yourselves; and, as my lady's goodness had put me to write and cast accompts, and made me a little expert at my needle, and otherwise qualified above my degree, it was not every family that could have found a place that your poor Pamela was fit for [...] (*Pamela*, vol.1, Letter I, 43).

The concept of death is already present from the outset in both novels, as Mary's mother will be dead by the end of the second chapter. Her mother and Pamela's ladyship have acted as the initial carers of these girls by educating them both in morality and basic literacy in the case of Mary and in needlework in the case of Pamela. These misfortunes represent the germinal step in their arduous journey to better themselves in society. Indeed, their journeys begin by having to endure sexual persecution from the villains of each novel with Mary being allowed to escape and preserve her virtue,⁶³

A cry now broke from my lips; but he held me with a sort of maddened tenacity. I struggled violently— and yet I could not cry out so loudly as I wished. I was choking — my throat felt as if filled with ashes. At length I succeeded in again breaking away from him: again he pursued and caught me just where the avenue terminated in an open walk — and now with a wild cry of terror I sank down. The very next instant a third person appeared upon the scene. I heard the quick ejaculation of mingled wonder and anger followed by blows rapidly dealt; and the next moment I was rescued from the power of Clavering and in the arms of my deliverer (*MP*, vol.1, 27).

Equally, Pamela has to be constantly fending off groping and attempts of rape by her new master, Mr. B,

He then, though I struggled against him, kissed me, and said, 'Who ever blamed Lucretia? [...] He then offered to kiss my neck. Indignation gave me double strength, and I got from him by a sudden spring, and ran out of the room; and the door of the next chamber being open, I rushed into it, and threw-to the door, and it locked after me; but he followed me so close, he got hold of my gown, and tore a piece off, which hung without the door; for the key was on the inside. I just remember I got into the room. I knew nothing further till afterwards, having fallen down in a fit; and there I lay, till he, as I suppose, looking through the key-hole, 'spied me upon the floor, and then he called

⁶³ In both cases, Mr. B. and Sir Aubrey Clavering experience a transformation as the novels unfold by becoming repentant of their actions and making great efforts to undo their wrongdoings.

Mrs. Jervis, who, by his assistance, bursting open the door, he went away, seeing me coming to myself; and bid her say nothing of the matter, if she were wise (*Pamela*, vol. 1, Letter XV, 64).

Throughout both novels, their journey towards self-realisation in society is motivated by virtue and the moral reward it entails. These heroines will suffer kidnapping, physical danger and incessant attempts to ruin their reputation, but they never give up; on the contrary, they rebel against their persecutors and, by leading with their example of virtue and morality, they will achieve the impossible when the villains mull over their actions and eventually repent. Not only have they transformed themselves by learning from experience and personal tragedy, but also managed to correct the vice of the offenders,

What more have I to relate? Is it necessary for me to add that I experience an amount of happiness which seldom falls to the lot of a human being? I possess a magnanimous-hearted and chivalrous-souled husband, whose love has known no diminution, and with whom no angry look nor word has ever been exchanged: I possess rank and wealth — and therewith, thank heaven, the power and the means to do good: those whom I love and in whom I feel interested, are equally the objects of Fortune's kindest smiles: I have many tried, sincere, and valued friends; — what, then, is wanting to complete my happiness? Nothing: and in laying down my pen, I can conscientiously assure my readers that the bliss which I enjoy is far more than sufficient to compensate for the many trials, vicissitudes, and afflictions which have occupied so large a portion of these MEMOIRS OF A SERVANT-MAID (*MP*, vol. 2, 414).

Let the desponding heart be comforted by the happy issue which the troubles and trials of PAMELA met with, when they see, in her case, that no danger nor distress, however inevitable, or deep to their apprehensions, can be out of the power of Providence to obviate or relieve; and which, as in various instances in her story, can turn the most seemingly grievous things to its own glory, and the reward of suffering innocence; and that too, at a time when all human prospects seem to fail [...] Are all so many signal instances of the excellency of her mind, which may make her character worthy of the imitation of her sex. And the Editor of these sheets will have his end, if it inspires a laudable emulation in the minds of any worthy persons, who may thereby entitle

themselves to the rewards, the praises, and the blessings, by which PAMELA was so deservedly distinguished (*Pamela*, vol. 2, Journal Continued, Friday, 517).

Pamela seems to be pioneering into the realm of the Woolfian “stream-of-consciousness”, although she does not fully enter it as the format Richardson has chosen to convey his message to the readers was that of epistles, wherein a sense of structure and order prevents thoughts from showing themselves in their truest form. Instead, Pamela articulates them clearly and wakefully. Mary, on the contrary, allows the message conveyed by Reynolds to emerge to the surface through her memoirs and recollections, coming and going freely and in a manner that allows the reader to become part of the muddle of her thoughts and emotions. The voices of both heroines have been chosen to carry the narrative by means of two fictional dialects or different voices, i. e., their own and that of the authors, Richardson and Reynolds.⁶⁴ Thus, the convergence of these dialects facilitates a discourse which is specific to diverse clusters of characters in each novel such as masters/mistresses and servants which in turn originates some sort of power politics in each group which conditions its members as to the way they conduct themselves.⁶⁵ Again, the ideals embedded in social positions become apparent, especially those of virtue and femininity, which may be related to what Foucault termed the aesthetics of existence.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Margaret Anne Doody, *A Natural Passion: A Study of the Novels of Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974).

⁶⁵ The influence of conduct books or conduct literature can be clearly observed at this point. Intent on educating the reader on social norms, they remained popular until the end of the 18th century and the popularisation of the novel as genre.

⁶⁶ Michel Foucault, “The Ethics of Care of the Self as Practice of Freedom: An Interview with Michel Foucault on 20th January 1984,” trans. J. D. Gautier, in *The Final Foucault*, ed. James Bernauer and David Rasmussen (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1987), 1-20.

Based on the Aristotelian or Nichomachean virtue ethics apparently inherent in Reynolds's novels, this mode of ethical thought calls upon the reader to cultivate desirable character traits in the same way that the fictional character has cultivated them by learning from vicissitudes and suffering. Thus, actions must display virtue out of concern for others and not simply because any given rule or principle dictates so.⁶⁷ This moral duty of sacrificing oneself for others latent in Catholicism is therefore codified and ingrained in language and thought; hence the power attached to moral judgements, for instance. Withal, virtue ethics reflects the Foucauldian notion of the care of the self, which translates as behaving morally correct to oneself consequently implies behaving morally correct towards others; and this entails the correction of vice in oneself and others and the reward of virtue also in oneself and others.

Indeed, the correction of vice acquires special importance in Reynolds's *JW* and *MP* and is strongly connected to impulse control or control of the will. Certain female characters in these novels appear to have come into existence with the sole purpose of exemplifying the many benefits of a vice being exposed and subsequently and permanently corrected. This is the case of Jemima, a fellow servant of Mary's and Mary's own sister, Sarah, whose morals were endangered by extreme naïvety, licentiousness and debauchery.

Jemima is an upper nurse-maid working for Lord and Lady Harlesdon and in charge of taking care of their three children under the orders of Mary, the governess. She is introduced to the reader as a naturally "good-tempered" servant with a constant "pleasantness of humour" (*MP*, vol. 1, 68). However, Jemima is also characterised as a dreamer and

⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, "The Concern for Truth," trans. A. Sheridan, in *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984*, ed. Lawrence Kritzman (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), 255-267.

believer in fortune-telling, which was practically considered witchcraft in mid-Victorian society, “Every person pretending or professing to tell fortunes, or using any subtle craft, means, or device, by palmistry or otherwise, to deceive and impose on any of his Majesty’s subjects, shall be deemed a rogue and vagabond” (The Vagrancy Act, F4, 1824).⁶⁸ Presented as a moral corruption, Jemima’s obsession with fortune-telling will bring about a tragedy when one of the children under her care is kidnapped by a gipsy who is telling her fortune in the park. Thus, the punishment for having indulged in this particular vice at the time is exerted not only affecting both mistress and servant on a moral level but also on a physical one in the case of the latter,

The hope thus held out served to some extent to console poor Lady Harlesdon, or at all events to enable her to bear up under the cruel blow: but as for Jemima, she was taken very ill — was seized with hysterical fits — became delirious — and in a few hours was pronounced by the doctors to be in great danger (*MP*, vol. 1, 73).

Mary, as the heroine, takes it upon herself to rescue the child and the tragedy is restored with a happy ending and a lesson learned,

But I soon forgot that source of annoyance — or rather experienced a mitigation of it — when on reaching the Nursery Floor I became the first to impart to poor Jemima the intelligence that the child was brought back. She was very seriously ill: but the happy tidings of which I was the bearer filled her soul with a joy which must have done her good to experience, as it did me to contemplate its reflection in her features (*MP*, vol. 1, 91).

⁶⁸ Vagrancy Act 1824, 5 Geo. IV. c. 83. It made it an offence to sleep rough, beg for money or prostitute oneself under punishment of one month’s hard labour, which was divided into productive or industrial and any given pointless physical task such as working the treadmill or tread-wheel, grinding grain, turning the crank machine, carrying cannonballs, oakum picking and making caulking material for sailing vessels. See *The Housekeeper's magazine, and Family Economist for the Employment of Prisoners, and Recommended by the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, & c.* Vol. 1 (London: Knight & Lacey, 1826).

Mary's virtue is rewarded by her mistress, although the reader is immediately made aware that material reward is not to be desired and that the most important goal in life is spiritual reward,

Vainly did I assure her ladyship that I should prefer remaining in my present humble situation; that as for fine clothes and jewels, my ambition did not tend in that direction; and that all I sought and all I hoped for in life was to eat the bread of honest industry. However, her ladyship, thinking perhaps that I should entertain another opinion if duly put to the test, procured an immense assortment of jewellery from the establishment where she dealt, and insisted upon my making a selection. Resolutely did I refuse. I trembled indeed at the bare thought of taking so sudden a flight and becoming a fine lady all in a moment. My noble mistress was evidently astonished: she could not understand how it was possible I refused the rich ornaments which she declared would become me so well — especially, she remarked, as my two years of mourning were nearly expired, and in a few weeks I was to lay aside my black garments. But I explained to her ladyship that as it was repugnant to my feelings to become a dependant eating the bread of indolence, I preferred to remain in active service in her household [...] (*MP*, vol.1, 92).

Yet that is the opposite of Jemima's desire, which means that her vice has still not been corrected. Another awful experience ensues in order to make her understand the error of her vice. A gentleman pretending to be a French Prince of Chantilly cons her into giving him £76 by making her believe he will marry her. He succeeds because Jemima is still obsessed with fortune-telling and material rewards, "All night long I dreamt of Princes with moustachios, and carriages with four cream-coloured horses, and Gipsy Queens, and Norwood Gipsies, and all kinds of extraordinary things" (*MP*, vol. 1, 260). Eventually, with the exposure of his fraud, Jemima feels the weight of her actions, "But after all it was not so much the loss of the money that annoyed me, as to think what a fool I was made of. Oh, it is

so vexing!” (*MP*, vol.1, 259).⁶⁹ Once she has understood the consequences of following a non-virtuous path, Jemima is rewarded with marriage by becoming Mrs. Hunter; hence, her ascent in society has been accomplished.

Parallel to Jemima, the reader is presented with Sarah, Mary’s sister, who falls into the path of perdition by ignoring her sister’s advice in regards of Mr. Selden, the nephew of Lord and Lady Talbot, master and mistress of the household where Sarah works as nursery governess. Sarah elopes with Mr. Selden to Gretna Green and Mary rushes to find them before they consummate their marriage.⁷⁰ When she finds them living together and unmarried in some lodgings in London, however, she remonstrates to Mr. Selden for being the culpable behind her sister’s perdition and demands them to be married,

If, sir, it be by such detestable sophistries as these,” I exclaimed, my blood suddenly boiling with indignation, “that you have beguiled my sister from the path of virtue, there can indeed be little hope that you will do her the justice I demand [...]” (*MP*, vol. 2, 150).

From this moment onwards, Sarah’s strayed journey becomes a spiral of debauchery wherefrom her sister will not be able to rescue,

“Have I not already told you, Mary, that I was ashamed? Oh, you know not what I have suffered for these two months past! I have been terribly punished! Shudderingly do I

⁶⁹ This confidence trickster has also duped another lady, Mr. Appleton’s niece, by posing as the Count of Montville, “Foolish woman that she has been! She married this Count, as he calls himself, against the wishes of myself and her best friends” (*MP*, vol. 1, 269). Once again, the concept of family is key in correcting vices and rewarding virtue; going against family wishes will only lead to tragedy and the perdition of the soul. Cf. Barbara Walter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966):151-174.

⁷⁰ In this part of the narrative, Reynolds quoted part of a story authored by his wife, Mrs. G. W. M. Reynolds, *Gretna Green: or All for Love* (London: John Dicks, 1848) and advertised it as a footnote on *MP*. On Reynolds’s defence on her story, please see pages 46, 47 and 95 in volume 3 of *Reynolds Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art* (London: John Dicks, 1850)

look back to that day—— Oh! and how regretfully! —— it is but two short months back — when you besought and implored me to turn from the path of error, and you would receive me with open arms. But I had not the courage nor the power to endeavour to be good: I accepted the protection of one of those whom you saw with me — but it was only for two days that we were together [...] (*MP*, vol. 2, 357).

Minutes before she passes way from the ill health brought about by her being left alone and penniless from her lovers, she repents and asks for her siblings' forgiveness,

But you will tell them both, Mary, that from my death-bed — No, I dare not say that I send them my blessing! Such a word from my lips would be a mockery —— But this you can tell them, that I entreat their forgiveness for any pain I may have caused them, and for the dishonour I have brought upon our name [...] It is better that I should die thus young after all that has happened, than live on for years to feel my heart corroding with remorse [...] (*MP*, vol. 2, 358, 359).

In regard of these fallen women, J. W. Croker strongly criticised the influence exerted on the female readership by circulating libraries at the time with French novels such as those written by Balzac and Sand. He contended that these novels contributed to the decline in female morality by positioning their female fictional characters in favour of the doctrines of the Saint Simonists, who advocated profound changes in society thanks to a rapid growth in industrialisation and scientific discovery.⁷¹ Contrary to Croker, Reynolds systematically refuted his argumentation by ridiculing his assumption of a strong connection between such decline in female morality, sensationalist fiction and political revolution. Most particularly, Reynolds objected to his belief that women would stray from the path of virtue simply by allowing themselves to be influenced by the contents of Sandian and Balzacian novels, the adulterous relationships exhibited by their heroines and the exaggeration of other

⁷¹ Please see J. W. Croker, "French Novels," *Quarterly Review* 56, no. 1 (1836): 65-131; and Richard Keir Pethick Pankhurst, *The Saint Simonians, Mill and Carlyle: A Preface to Modern Thought* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1957).

secondary characters.⁷² Precisely, Reynolds included in *MP* a female character who personifies the state-of-the-art rebellion, following the emancipation brought about by the French Revolution and embraced a positive change in the characterisation of literary heroines.

Thus, the reader is introduced to Barbauld Azetha, the Gipsy Queen, a seeker of justice who will deliver vengeance to redeem an obscure secret of her past; heroines are then rebelling from a passive role and the distinction between the passive heroine and the more active one can be observed when contrasting her character with that of Mary,

Not only *tall in stature*, she was *upright as a dart and of handsome figure* [...] Her hair, though *coarse*, struck Jemima as being of the *deepest and most perfect blackness*, with *no gloss nor lustre upon it, but black as ebony or as night* [...] Her eyes were of the *deepest black, and piercingly bright*, fringed so thickly with the *long ebon lashes* that the lustre of those orbs was much subdued and even shaded thereby. *Her lips were thin and red*, revealing *two rows of teeth which though somewhat large were white as ivory, and so regular and even* that the proudest lady of quality might have envied them. Her complexion was of *true Egyptian duskiness, with a tinge of carnation on the cheeks*; and the woman altogether had not only a very handsome but also a bold and masculine appearance [...] “I am the Norwood Gipsy, and this is my daughter,” whispered the old woman in Jemima’s ear. “She is the Queen of her tribe [...]” (*MP*, vol. 1, 71, emphasis mine).

From the very beginning, the Gipsy Queen adopts the role of heroine in aid of another heroine, Mary. Interestingly enough, Reynolds resorts to the creation of female character of exotic beauty and strong willpower who does not belong to aristocracy in the institutional patriarchal system of mid-Victorian society. Her strength is depicted as masculine to the point that she is actually disguised as a man in one of the plots,

⁷² Cf. Balzac’s *Le Père Goriot* (1835); *Études de Moeurs* (1834-1837); and *Histoire des Treize* (1833-1835); and Sand’s *Indiana* (1832); *Valentine* (1832); and *Lélia* (1833).

Good heavens! was it possible? — the Gipsy Queen, disguised in male attire dressed so as to make her resemble the Baronet, and with a false moustache aiding to complete the illusion! (*MP*, vol. 1, 154).

When both heroines meet in a session of palmistry, Mary describes her not as an outcast but as a human being with a spiritual background despite social stereotypes,

I thought, too, that notwithstanding the treacheries in which she had been engaged on the two first occasions of our meeting — namely, the stealing of little Bella, and the affair down in the country — that *she was not unsusceptible of generous emotions*, though these might be triumphed over by the ardent love of gold which beyond all doubt characterized her: but if left to her natural course it struck me that the Gipsy Queen was quite capable of good, humane, and even elevated actions (*MP*, vol. 1, 219, emphasis mine).

The rebellion that this heroine embodies is brought about by her thirst for justice in an oppressive society wherein men are dominant and women suffer the consequences.

Reynolds was a revolutionary novelist in that he advocated precisely the humanity and spirituality present in those whom society condemned as not being virtuous enough, i. e., gypsies, foreigners, fallen women, the insane... And of all of them he creates heroes in his novels; they are not mere secondary characters but essential ones for the correct development of his hybrid plots. Justice will be served together with a happy ending at the end of both *MP* and *JW*, for example and this will be made possible thanks to the invaluable help of these characters. By presenting the Gipsy Queen with those physical and psychological traits, Reynolds manages to engage the reader by luring them into the world of this heroine, palmistry included. The secret that envelopes the Gipsy Queen will be finally revealed at the time of her administering of justice; and it is a secret being kept during most part of *MP* by means of unarticulated emotions and experiences of her past.

In terms of the sensational rhetoric used in her creation as a character, she belongs to the “social imaginary”, a realm of fantasy, desire and dream behind the formation of social

doctrines, according to C. Castoriadis.⁷³ From this social imaginary, certain imaginary significations make their appearance by taking the form of aristocratic illegitimacy, for instance, as part of a symbolically significant plot. This is to say, an impoverished female character better and rights her life by recovering what is and has always been hers: a rightful place in family and society. Her recovery will be, however, full of obstacles, sacrifices and much suffering; but it seems to be the price to pay to redeem what belongs to her by human right. Therefore, what it appears to be a simple utopian ideal eventually becomes a compelling and plausible reality. The social imaginary of the middle-class, passive heroine becomes secondary to that of the heroine of the working-class.

Reynolds, however, managed to accommodate both types of heroine without one overshadowing the other; instead, they complement each other and this is absolutely necessary for the evolution of the hybrid plots so as to bring about the expected happy ending that they deserve. Thus, the imaginary signification of illegitimacy is portrayed as something satisfactory as it enables these heroines to ascend in the social ladder without neglecting their identities and virtues. The state-of-the-art rebellion of these heroines, especially the Gypsy Queen centre on the reversal of the meaning of illegitimacy in previous canonical novels such as Dickens's *Bleak House* (1852-1853), with female characters such as Lady Dedlock being paralysed by the fear of remorse and social exposure. Rebellion is not possible in them, but it is so in the case of a strong-willed heroine such as the Gypsy Queen, through whom Reynolds achieved a transformation of the traditional significance of aristocracy in radical politics as a corrupt establishment devouring the nation's resources. Thus, whilst in the canonical novel the middle-class passive heroine is not worthy of the enjoyment brought

⁷³ Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. Kathleen Blamey (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987).

about by her re-acquired social status, in Reynolds's novels the opposite is achieved: the heroine is allowed to indulge in her well-deserved triumph. Similarly, male heroes are equally rewarded in his novels as we shall see in the following chapter.

The “invisible hand”

Parallel to the aforementioned concept of heroine, that of the “invisible hand” put forward by Adam Smith in 1776⁷⁴ can be observed in Reynolds's fiction so as to suggest, as Courtemanche stated, “an ironic mode of social action in which the results of individual actions are displaced to some indefinite spatial and temporal distance, creating by implication an unimaginably complex and detailed web of moral causality” (2011, 1).⁷⁵ This translates as a narrative being capable of modelling emergent behaviour by means of its narrator's creation of individual perspectives combined with an overarching viewpoint which result in a series of shifts that compels readers to examine their own distance from the text in spatial terms. Thus, certain social complexities evoked by the text are indeed glimpsed by the reader within the context of gendered spaces. Courtemanche adapted Smith's economic concept to the literary field by renaming it as the “invisible hand social theory” (2011, 2), which intertwined virtue

⁷⁴ During his position as Chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow from 1752 until 1765, Smith delivered a successful course of lectures divided into four parts, with the first one focusing on Natural Theology. What follows is an excerpt of one of those lectures in which he first mentioned the concept of the “invisible hand”,

By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain; and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an *invisible hand* to promote and end which was no part of his intention (emphasis mine).

See also Adam Smith, *An Inquire into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776).

⁷⁵ Eleanor Courtemanche, *The ‘Invisible Hand’ and British Fiction, 1818-1860: Adam Smith, Political Economy, and the Genre of Realism* (New York, NY: Palgrave, MacMillan, 2011).

and vice in hybrid plots. This model of causality, however, differed from non-Reynoldian novels in that the moral consequences of such virtue/vice duality could not result in anything other than salvation or damnation.

The category of gender, therefore, plays an important role as regards the “invisible hand” by elucidating the interstice created between the action at a distance and personal behaviour. The social complexity and multiplicity of social perspectives in real life appears to be incompatible with the story of the characters in *MP* and *JW* because of the “worm’s-eye view” of the characters and the “bird’s-eye view” of the narrator (2011, 3). Both of these terms are widely used in the field of aerial photography, drawing and graphical projection and can be similarly adapted to Reynoldian narratology. Whereas the former entails a three-point perspective, with two vanishing points on top, left and right, the latter represents the opposite, with a top-down perspective or overhead view. Thus, when these two views are extrapolated to *MP* and *JW*, both characters and narrator seem to be mirrored within the narrative so as to present the reader an implicit, binary context. Precisely, those unseen interconnections between both are reflected in these novels especially in the descriptions of servants frequently in the first person “[...] But then, what was a poor servant girl? Nothing at all! — a complete nonentity, whose presence was not to be thought of for a moment” (*MP* vol 1., 61); and concluded actions in gendered spaces,

In a few days the mansion was entirely put to rights; and very splendidly furnished it was. Everything that had been sent down from London was quite new, and of the handsomest description. Not only were the apartments themselves thus sumptuously and elegantly decorated, but all the other appointments and circumstances of the establishment seemed fully to match (*MP* vol 1, 245).

Whereas the servant’s self-description corresponds to the worm’s-eye view, the description of the mansion being in readiness exemplifies the bird’s-eye view. In both cases, servants have acted in their own self-interests by adopting choices that benefit their masters, i. e., Mary lets

go of her entity in order to enlarge that of her master whereas the servants as a whole get the mansion perfectly ready for the arrival of their master and mistress. Thus, the “invisible hand” is at play by turning the individual actions of the servants into a satisfactory result that benefits themselves and their masters.

Such beneficial result or the belief in harmony encompassing every human being is stated in the law of the heterogeneity of purposes, also known as “the doctrine of the invisible hand” within the field of Philosophy of the Enlightenment. Greatly influenced by Christian thought, the doctrines of Natural Theology contained in this field revolved around the conception of divine goodness, which can be regarded as the engine behind any given society; such society would then be acting as a machine that would produce harmonious effects or motions for all of its members.⁷⁶ Under this view, this doctrine is in direct relation to Smith’s notion of the invisible hand, which can be interpreted as the theoretical possibility for progress and harmony within society. Coming back to Reynoldian fiction, it seems plausible that divine goodness could be the ultimate goal that Reynolds wanted to instil in his readers by means of the virtuous servants, Mary and Joseph. With their moral choices functioning as harmonious motions or ripples, society could indeed be transformed.

This Smithsonian invisible hand, therefore, could well be paraphrasing the first fundamental welfare theorem according to Arrow and Hahn (1971), which is based on a social choice theory by which the combination of individuals’ preferences or welfares gives rise to a social welfare centred on a Pareto-optimal efficiency⁷⁷ or “the principle by which a

⁷⁶ Kwangsu Kim, “Adam Smith: Natural Theology and Its Implications for His Method of Social Inquiry,” *Review of Social Economy* 55, no. 3 (1997): 312-336.

⁷⁷ K. J. Arrow, and F. H. Hahn, *General Competitive Analysis* (Holden-Day, San Francisco: Elsevier Science, 1971). See also Vilfredo Pareto, *Compendio di Sociologia Generale* (Firenze, Italy: G. Barbèra, 1920).

beneficent social order emerged as the unintended consequence of individual human action” (Kim et al, n. d.).⁷⁸ Such social welfare would imply the coexistence of good, God and worldly evil as its antithesis or, in short, the question of theodicy.⁷⁹

Indeed, a link can be established between theodicy or the vindication of God in the face of suffering and political economy if the emphasis is placed upon the consequences of human impulses and the use of free will in the social sphere. Evensky (1993) explained this connection by the metaphor of the invisible hand put forward by Smith, wherein a benevolent Deity or God sets in motion the machine of the universe with invisible, interlacing principles that affect human beings and their roles in society.⁸⁰ This leads to the question of the manner in which this is depicted in Reynolds’s *MP* and *JW*. Through the Foucauldian, New Historicist lens, for instance, the mechanism of markets and economic individuality in Victorian England created a system of truth that originated a biopolitical conduct as well as economic practices that resulted in new forms of control and power relations. Thus, any given individual choice would be swayed by the network of economic and socio-political rules in place at the time, which seemed to leave God outside as a mere observer.⁸¹

This new system of biopolitics, according to Foucault and Hume (1739), implied that the interests of an individual were subjected to a change towards the interests of the

⁷⁸ Hyun Kim, Jung Hoon Hong, Daiki Kim, Meejoo Song, and Wooseung Sohn, *The Price Mechanism*, PDF file, [The price mechanism \(mskright.com\)](http://mskright.com).

⁷⁹ Luigino Bruni, and Paolo Santori, “The Other Invisible Hand. The Social and Economic Effects of Theodicy in Vico and Genovesi,” *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 29, no. 3 (2022): 548-566.

⁸⁰ Jerry Evensky, “Retrospectives: Ethics and the Invisible Hand,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 2 (1993):197-205.

⁸¹ Danielle Guizo, and Iara Vigo de Lima, “Foucault’s Contributions for Understanding Power Relations in British Classical Political Economy,” *Economia* 16, no. 2 (2015): 194-205.

collective as imposed by the State or government, which once again leads to the invisible hand in the Smithsonian sense.⁸² His metaphor, however, did not imply the rejection of the State but its responsibility in providing goodness for the citizens through social measures and institutions. Reynolds, on the other hand, fought against its authoritarianism by praising the good actions and moral choices of the characters in his novels so as to confer on each individual the uniqueness of their being; hence, the individual sphere was more important than the collective one inasmuch as each person contributed towards the collective good.

An economic historian, Cipolla (1976), studied human behaviour as a group in a controversial essay wherein he distinguished between four groups of people –helpless, intelligent, stupid and bandits— and their contributions to society.⁸³ He looked into the benefits and losses that each group caused to themselves and to society and observed that intelligent people were the group which contributed the most, helpless people contributed less and were usually taken advantage of, especially by bandits, who did not contribute at all as they were only interested in their own gain. The final group, that of stupid people, was regarded as a group which did not contribute at all due to their efforts being counterproductive to themselves and to society and were classified as the most dangerous group of all.

These groups can be clearly observed in Reynolds's novels, with characters appertaining to each one of those as if to exemplify stereotypes within society or to prove that such stereotypes were not so at times. Thus, in *MP*, Mary, Eustace Quentin and the Gipsy Queen would be classed as intelligent people; Betsy, a cook and woman-of-all-work, Mad

⁸² David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects* (London: John Noon, 1739).

⁸³ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Le leggi fondamentali della stupidità umana*. PDF File. [Le leggi fondamentali della stupidità -Carlo M. Cipolla.pdf \(google.com\)](#) (1988). See Figure 2 in Appendix 3.

Tommy and Mrs. Messiter as helpless people; Nick Sawbridge and Ben Bulldog as the bandits; and Mr Messiter as the stupid. Similarly, in *JW*, Joseph and Annabel are classed as intelligent; Mr. Lanover as the bandit; Mrs Lanover and Mr. Cooper as helpless; and Miss Cornwall as the stupid. The combination of these groups in these two novels help ascertain the invisible hand acting on the background; however, parallel to this is the concept of the “hidden hand,” which refers to the working-class women whose hands earning the wages remained invisible behind those of the working-class men in the 1850s. Indeed, the dominance of men in the working-force during the first part of the 19th century facilitated the construction of the ideal of the “male bread-winner”, relegating female workers back to the domestic sphere, wherein they would work as servants for a very low pay.

Precisely, narrating this constituted a challenge for a novelist at the time as it would entail confronting the cost of enforced domesticity and exposing exceptions to the ideal of the “male bread-winner”, such as sick or alcoholic men, men who neglected their families, men who were unable to make enough money, unmarried women or widows. The manner in which Reynolds accomplished this was to make use of multiple perspectives whilst dramatising to the extreme the unforeseeable fates of moral actions in heterogeneous societies. Thus, whilst adopting the Smithsonian metaphor of the invisible hand to show the benefits of a collective effort made by the servants to please their masters, he highlighted individuality through the effort made by the hidden hands of both female and male servants to achieve the same goal. In this sense, the epistemological distance he creates between himself and his characters is viewed through a double lens of tragedy and comedy but always under the umbrella of optimism and belief in divine goodness. And this is what the following and final chapter explores in detail; the dramatisation of the domestic sphere with an emphasis on such ideal of masculinity and how it affected power relations and literary consciousness.

Chapter 4

Depictions of Masculinity in Masters and Servants: (Dis)Similitude in Language and Thoughts Between Oppressive and Oppressed Minds.

Masculinity and the making of men in Reynolds's *Joseph Wilmot* and *Mary Price*

Identity formation through reading

The role of classical literature in the formation and articulation of identities, especially gender identities, was of foremost importance in Reynolds's time. Clearly, the relationship between schooling, the act of reading and the development of manhood is evident throughout *JW* and *MP* in the depiction of both masters and servants. From the outset of each novel, the main character is initially described as to their education status,

I was fifteen years of age when the schoolmaster, at whose establishment I had been brought up from my earliest infancy, was seized with apoplexy and died in a few hours [...] Mr. Nelson's academy was what might be termed a second-rate one, — the boys for the most part consisting of tradesmen's sons; and thus the education we received was far more of a commercial than of a classical nature. The scholars in the higher classes, however, learnt Latin; — while such accomplishments as drawing and dancing were considered as *extras*, to be paid additionally for, — and for which no provision was made on my account (*JW*, vol. 1, 1-2).

Certain it is that my mother [...] taught us to read and write — gave us lessons in arithmetic, history, and geography— and imparted to us an amount of instruction which would alone be sufficient to prove that she was a very superior woman, considering her station as the wife of a humble journeyman-carpenter. She would not allow us to go to

the Charity school, nor could she afford to let us attend any other school: but she took a pride in teaching us herself — and very competent she was to do it (*MP*, vol. 1, 2).

As it can be observed in these two examples, the power of classical education was still present as a signifier of social standing and elite masculine identities formed through the re-emergence of the public school in Victorian England. In local schools, however, such as the one in the case of *JW*, there was a more “practical and commercial knowledge, including book-keeping, navigation, and modern languages” (Stray, 2015, p. 80).¹ Whereas learning the classics, such as Latin, was intended to mark and exclude outsiders as well as to give a sense of belonging, a more commercial knowledge involved the preparation of boys for trials and realities of life within the socio-cultural change brought forward by the rise of new industries and the growing power of the middle-class. In Mary’s case, on the other hand, education is imparted by the mother figure and valued as superior to that of any given school of the time. This is precisely where Reynolds’s support of women can be observed in direct contrast with other contemporary writers of his and with later feminist reassessments of Victorian literature and culture, which overestimated “the differences between men and women at the expense of the differences between men” (Ellis, 2011, p. 183).²

Reading, besides schooling, was regarded as essential in the formation of masculine identity and therefore some moral message had to be included in the literature to be read at the time, apart from the usual adventure and excitement to engage the young reader. Such

¹ Christopher Stray, “Education and Reading,” in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception IV, 1790-1880*, ed. Norman Vance and Jennifer Wallace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 80.

² Heather Ellis, “Boys, Semi-Men and Bearded Scholars: Maturity and Manliness in Early Nineteenth-Century Oxford,” in *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. S. Brady and J. H. Arnold (London: Palgrave, 2011), 183.

message was thought to contribute towards maturity and virtue.³ Equally, literature which was considered pernicious was thought to corrupt and emasculate the minds of the youth. Thus, there seemed to be a direct correlation between reading and the forging of manliness given that the language to which the boys were exposed to when reading provided them with social discourses to be used in real life; this is to say, the codes that were used in social interactions were continually formed through language absorbed from texts.

Fragmentation of conventional models of elite masculinity

Such codes were used impeccably in Reynolds's *JW* and *MP* by means of heteroglossia and a wide range of stock characters. With the professionalisation of knowledge into new careers for men, a more pragmatic, functional education was imperative. This, in its turn, involved a fragmentation of the masculine identity and a need to renegotiate masculine hierarchies based on diverse criteria, i. e., commercial or literary success, physical prowess, domestic values, aesthetic tastes and religious or civic virtue (Eastlake, 2019). Indeed, Reynolds must have been aware of such fragmentation when he revealed it in the heteroglossia of male characters and even in what could be construed as the masculinisation of female characters such as the Gipsy Queen in *MP*, when she disguises as a man and adopts manly features both physical and intellectual to rescue Mary in one of the subplots.

Therefore, the concept of elite or classical masculinity bequeathed by classical languages and literature gave way to different types of manliness, i. e., the gentleman, the pious, or the industrialist, who were depicted by Reynolds in these two novels so as to render a view of the diverse personality types which formed the complex English society of his time. Yet even with this fragmentation, there still remained some sort of antagonistic relationship

³ See Laura Eastlake, *Ancient Rome and Victorian Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

between classical masculinity and its new types. This could be observed in the case of masters and servants in Reynolds, for example, with the masters adhering to the elite masculinity wherein knowledge of classical language(s) and literature served as a means of validating and legitimising their high, social status and the servants, on the other hand, representing the more practical knowledge –or even the lack thereof— of men who had to, in Reynolds’s words, “earn the bread of their own industry.”

The construction of manliness, therefore, involved the achievement of a masculine social status which would determine the foundations to create contact networks and acquire a prestigious career in the masculine public domain. This included youth from dubious birth and background, as in the case of Joseph, an orphan who would discover the aristocratic origins of his family and become the Earl of Eccleston, “by the latter part of the century, it was almost universally accepted that the recipient of a traditional liberal education based largely on Latin at one of the elite public schools [...] would be recognized as a gentleman, no matter what his origins had been” (Cody, 2019).⁴ This can be seen in the case of Charles Linton, in *JW*, a valet who becomes Joseph’s inseparable companion,

The Hon. Mr. Walter’s principal valet was a man about thirty years of age — good-looking— and of very smart appearance. He was always genteelly dressed in black, and was scrupulously neat in his person. I became a favourite with the domestics generally: but this man, whose name was Charles Linton, took a particular fancy to me, and treated me with considerable kindness. Sometimes when we had a leisure hour, he would invite me to ramble out with him; *and as he himself had received a tolerably good education, his discourse was something above ordinary commonplace style* (*JW*, vol. 1, 43, emphasis mine).

⁴ David Cody, “The Gentleman,” *The Victorian Web*, May 19, 2019, [The Gentleman \(victorianweb.org\)](http://victorianweb.org).

In Reynolds, even those servants with a good education and manly behaviour are also worthy of gaining social status and receiving a reward for their virtuous conduct. Charles, for example, gets married and becomes a successful wine-merchant. Alongside this narrative of masculinity, Reynolds included another one based on a failed or impaired masculinity of those men who lacked the correct educational background. In *MP*, for instance, Mary's eldest brother, Robert, responsible for the family after their mother's death and their father's disappearance, is portrayed as precisely the antithesis of what a gentleman should be like,

There was something sinister in his looks; and when he was speaking, an unpleasant feeling would arise in the mind that he was not telling the truth— or at all events that duplicity and artifice were in his language and his intentions [...] My mother frequently remonstrated with him, — pointing out the value of good habits and an honest character as evidenced in the example of our father; and showing how irregularity of conduct was certain to undergo opprobrium and reproach [...] (*MP*, vol. 1, 4).

Similarly, in *JW*, Mr. Tiverton, one of Joseph's masters, is described as a man lacking manliness,

As I was proceeding along the carriage drive, I encountered a short, thin man, — very shabbily dressed — about fifty years of age — and with a sharp suspicious look. He had a mean appearance, and none of the prideful assumption which blended therewith — or rather glossed it over — on the part of her ladyship. At the very first glance I experienced a dislike for this individual [...] I had thus acquired the certainty that it was my new master whom I had thus spoken to: but I was left in a strange condition of bewilderment and doubt as to whether he or his wife would prove the supreme authority (*JW*, vol. 1, 86).

In any event, Reynolds as a male novelist was probably concerned with manliness and how to depict it in his novels. Although it could be said that masculinity as a concept in Victorian England is anachronistic, previous research in this area shows that the meaning of masculinity changed partly through culture and it was down to the novelist to establish a

relationship between that representation in his fiction and the social significance it would acquire amongst his readers. Thus, when analysing the discourse of manliness present in Reynolds's *JW* and *MP*, interest arises as to how and up to what extent he was able to portray the English manhood in each societal group whilst maintaining the distinction between classical masculinity and its fragmentation into other types of masculinity models.

Styles of masculinity

In order to be able to discuss this fragmentation of the conventional modes of masculinity, Sussman (2008) first studied the terminology of the concept,

I use the term “male” only in the biological sense and the term “maleness” for fantasies about the essential nature of the “male,” for that which the Victorians thought of as innate in men. I reserve the terms “masculinity” and “manliness” for those multifarious social constructions of the male current within the society [...] Such a distinction is especially important for the Victorians for whom the hegemonic bourgeois view defined “manliness” as the control and discipline of an essential “maleness” fantasised as a potent yet dangerous energy. Furthermore, I reserve the term “manhood” for the achievement of manliness, a state of being that is not innate, but the result of arduous public or private ritual and, for the Victorian bourgeois, of continued demanding self-discipline (p. 13).⁵

Sussman, as well as Eli Adams (1995), structured the question of masculinity around what they considered a controlling metaphor of discipline embedded in a series of dominant codes of masculinity.⁶ Whereas Sussman focused on the traditional feminist distinction between the biological and social concepts of manliness or “male” versus “masculinity”, Eli Adams

⁵ Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁶ James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

centred on opposing styles of manhood, i. e., the “dandy” –theatrical and superficial— or the “desert saint” – ascetic and intense— with a common tendency to self-display.⁷ Their views, in this sense, implied an ideal of manliness that was rendered through a metaphor of control and discipline which consisted in diverse images or codes such as dress, speech and dissimilar ideologies of the domestic sphere. However, this metaphor also contained the idea of deviance; this is to say, the discipline and control that defined masculinity brought about male deviance as a notion intrinsically united with it.

Indeed, this duality of self-discipline and rebellion was depicted through the aforementioned codes. As regards the first one, dressing, black was the colour of choice at the time and as it represents not only death but also self-control, masculinity was then made visible to the eye of society in terms of empowerment.⁸ Whereas women would wear black only when grieving, men wore black to signify social outstanding and status. In addition, black was the colour worn by knights in Ancient Greece and Rome, whose culture was idolised in Victorian schools and by Victorian painters. Thus, the armoured male clad in black was the symbol of masculinity within the controlling power of the iron armour.

Kestner (1995) studied the representation of the male figure in Victorian art in depth and discovered that this art instilled in the viewer certain hegemonic ideals of masculinity. Accordingly, he distinguished five paradigms of masculinity according to the black garments men wore, i. e., the classical hero, the gallant knight, the challenged *paterfamilias*, the valiant soldier and the male nude.⁹ With the classical hero, the image represented “Virtus” or “manly

⁷ Please see Andrew Dowling, *Manliness and the Male Novelist in Victorian Literature* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016).

⁸ John Robert Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).

⁹ See Joseph A. Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1995).

character”, which consisted in the four specific virtues of prudence, bravery, justice and self-restraint according to Plato and Cicero or, in other words, the four cardinal virtues as specified by Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century.¹⁰ In *MP*, a good example of this paradigm can be observed in the character of Eustace Quentin, Mary’s soulmate,

The very next instant a third person appeared upon the scene. I heard the quick ejaculation of mingled wonder and anger followed by blows rapidly dealt; and the next moment I was rescued from the power of Clavering and in the arms of my deliverer [...] “You have nothing to thank me for,” he replied, in a voice that was so kind and encouraging, at the same time so full of a *manly music*, that it seemed to sink down into my very heart. “I only did for you precisely what I should have done for any other female under similar circumstances. The outrage was gross—the more so because *so evidently unprovoked by you*” (*MP*, vol. 1, 27, emphasis mine).

Eustace, a lieutenant in the regiment of Sir Aubrey Clavering, saves Mary from being raped by Clavering himself. From his first appearance in the plot, he is described with features that correspond to that of a Roman or Greek hero, including speaking in a “soft though *masculine* tone” (*MP*, vol. 1, p. 24, emphasis mine),

He was tall, slender, and *as straight as a lance*: his hair was of a rich brown, very thick, glossy, and naturally arranging itself in *large wavy curls*; — his eyes were of a fine hazel, *large, bright*, and serving as resplendent mirrors to reflect the *intelligence* that beamed upon his *high pale forehead*. His features were small — his *nose straight* — his upper lip short and curving with a *haughty expression* — and he had a *brilliant set of teeth*. His father was said to be *a great lord, immensely rich*; and the Hon, Eustace was the second son (*MP*, vol. 1, 24, emphasis mine).

¹⁰ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. H. D. P. Lee (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1905); Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De amicitia*, trans. J. F. Stout and W. F. Masom (London: W. B. Clive, 1895); and Thomas Aquinas, *Collationes in decem praeceptis. Explanation of the Ten Commandments*, trans. Joseph B. Collins, New York, 1939, [Thomas Aquinas: The ten commandments: English \(isidore.co\)](http://www.isidore.co.uk/Thomas_Aquinas/The_ten_commandments/English).

The second paradigm, the gallant knight, embodies qualities such as “self-control, greatness, patriotism, virtue” (Kestner, 49) and again reaffirms the sense of empowerment and manliness. Captain Raymond, in *JW*, one of Joseph’s masters, conforms to this ideal,

I have said that Captain Raymond was a *tall, handsome man*, of about five-and-thirty — with dark hair and eyes. I gathered from a few occasional observations which he made, that he *belonged to an old aristocratic family*, and that he had been a *captain in the Guards* — but that having sold out on inheriting a tolerably handsome fortune, he now retained his military title from mere *courtesy*. He was *reserved*, and *somewhat haughty* — but *by no means stern nor unkind* in his manner; and it was invariably in a *gentlemanly* way that he addressed me (*JW*, vol. 2, 45, emphasis mine).

Next, the paradigm of the challenged paterfamilias depicts the ideal of man as breadwinner and basal pillar of the household. Nonetheless, intrinsic to this is the questioning of manliness when male behaviour changes under economic pressures; hence, the destabilisation of the male perceived as hegemonic (Kestner 1995). In *MP*, Mr. Trevanion epitomises this paradigm,

He was a man of middle stature, apparently about sixty years of age, with gray hair; and so far as I could judge from that distance, with a *serious look bordering upon sternness*. He walked *slowly*, but with *firmness* of step; and therefore I concluded that this deliberation of pace arose from a *thoughtfulness of mind* rather than from a physical decrepitude [...] (*MP*, vol. 2, 170, emphasis mine).

Having mortgaged his estate, the creditors now demand their money from him and his only way of paying it back is by marrying his daughter, Miss Sybilla, to Mr. Woodville, “a very wealthy gentleman [...] of a stern, harsh, and repulsive disposition [...] a widower and childless [...]” (*MP*, vol. 2, 163), despite her being in love with another man,

Yes, Mary — my own father gave me to understand — *me*, his daughter — that he seeks to barter me at a price — to sell me as a wife to the man who will give his gold to purchase me! O heavens! what would the world think of such a father? what would

the world think of that other man who would consent to become a husband upon such terms? [...] then, my father, while admitting that he himself entertained a mean and miserable opinion of Mr. Woodville, pointed to the painful imperiousness of the circumstances that ruled him: and, O Mary! all my indignation changed into the deepest grief, when I heard my sire proclaim that if he were not saved by my means he should sink broken-hearted into the grave! [...] He said that he was well aware of the immensity of the sacrifice he demanded at my hands; but still he implored me to consent to that sacrifice, as the only alternative to save him from utter ruin (*MP*, vol. 2, 171).

Thus, the head of the Roman family, the man with legal powers to exert autocratic authority over his household members, sees himself in a position where his empire can collapse under the force of economic pressure; his manliness is threatened and can only be saved at the expense of his very own daughter. It should be noted at this point that the term *paterfamilias* derived from the Roman concept of *familia* or “body of slaves” which excluded wives and daughters. With time, it came to denote the authority or *potestas* of the father as the owner of the slaves working in his household as well as his love and kindness for his wives and daughters.¹¹ In this light, therefore, Mr. Trevanion’s masculinity is put to the test or even transferred to Sybilla, who has to demonstrate courage, one of the four virtues of manly character, to save his father’s.

As regards the valiant soldier, Kestner pointed out that the focus in this case was not on the invincibility of the male but his fragility and by extension, that of patriarchy itself. Let us see an example of this paradigm in the character of the Italian, medically educated Signor Angelo Volterra in *JW*,

[...] when a gentleman on horseback rode into the premises. He appeared to be about seven-and-twenty: his height was nearly six feet — he was *upright as a dart* — and his

¹¹ Richard P. Saller, “‘Familia, Domus,’ and the Roman Conception of the Family,” *Phoenix* 38, no. 4 (1984): 343.

slender form was as admirably proportioned as that of the *Belvidere Apollo*. He had hair as dark and as glossy *as the wing of a raven*; and it clustered in *natural curls* about a high open forehead and round his head. His complexion was congenial with the *Italian* climate, — not swarthy like that of a Spaniard, but of what may be termed a delicate duskiness, as if with a tint of bistre. He wore whiskers, and a slight moustache, curling at the extremities: and as he spoke to the hostler who hastened forward to receive his *steed*, his lips of vivid red revealed a *splendid set of teeth*. There was something in this individual which at once struck and interested *the beholder*. *Intelligence sat enthroned* upon his *high and open forehead*, and flashed from his *superb dark eyes*. The profile of his countenance was of *classic perfection*, with a nose entirely straight, and with that *oval* configuration of the face [...] He was dressed with *simple elegance*, — his *admirably-fitting garments* setting off the *symmetry* of his tall, upright, slender form, and his *sweeping length of limb* (*JW*, vol. 2, 47, emphasis mine).

Although part of the medical profession, his role in one of *JW*'s subplots is that of the soldier who rescues not only damsels in distress like his love, the Hon. Miss Olivia Sackville, but also Joseph himself from the hands of the banditti,

Volterra proceeded towards the angle of the building where the sentinel was posted: but ere he reached it, the sentinel himself, with shouldered firelock, and otherwise armed to the teeth, emerged from round the corner [...] Volterra stopped as if in an easy leisurely manner to exchange a few friendly words with the sentinel: but all in an instant — as quick as the eye can wink — he tore his musket from his grasp, and with the butt-end of it struck him down [...] (*JW*, vol. 2, 108).

With such physical and intellectual depiction of this valiant soldier — as well as with most of the physiognomic descriptions of his characters — Reynolds seemed once again to present to his readers a visualisation of Victorian painting based on the classics in order to allude to the manliness of man and the social expectations and codes that he had to fulfil. This leads to the last of the paradigms proposed by Kestner, the male nude, whose literary depiction is usually absent in mainstream sensationalist fiction, but not in Reynolds. What follows is the comment of a well-known detractor of Reynolds's, Dr. William Sanger,

Not less dangerous than the directly obscene publications is a class of voluptuous novels which is rapidly circulating. Some are translations from the French; but one man, now living in England, has written and published more disgustingly minute works, under the guise of honest fiction, than ever emanated from the Parisian presses. *He writes in a strain eminently calculated to excite the passions, but so carefully guarded as to avoid absolute obscenity, and embellishes his works with wood-cuts which approach lasciviousness as nearly as possible without being indictable.* It is to be regretted that publishers have been found, in this and other cities, who are willing to use their imprints on the title-pages of his trash, and sell works which can not but be productive of the worst consequences. Those who have seen much of the cheap pamphlets, or “yellow-covered” literature offered in New York, will have no difficulty in recalling the name of the author alluded to, and those who are ignorant of it would only be injured by its disclosure. There can be but one opinion as to the share obscene and voluptuous books have in ruining the character of the young, and they may justly be considered as causes, indirect it may be, of prostitution (emphasis mine).¹²

As he indicated, Reynolds did include passages in his novels, especially in *The Mysteries of London* (1844-1856), which alluded to not only the male nude but also the female and even to the act of love; he accomplished this, however, by omitting descriptions of genitalia, in exactly the same way that Victorian painters did. Whereas Kestner noted that this omission in painting did not derive from prudery but intended instead to avoid the exposure of the fragility of manliness through the vision of the male organ, Hinde focused on how Reynolds’s portrayals of eroticism helped confront the derogating notion that lower class readers should be protected from certain literary material which could lure them away from divine goodness.¹³ Both of them, however, coincided in that censorship of the nude body in literary fiction exposed a mechanism that enforced the existing power or hegemonic

¹² William W. Sanger, MD, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extents, Causes, and Effects Throughout the World* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1858), 522.

¹³ Hinde, 2015.

structures put in place to preserve masculinity and patriarchy. Conversely, it seems plausible to think that Reynolds attempted to endow objectified characters with autonomy once again.

Coming back to the codes put forward by Sussman and Eli Adams, that of speech bears an interesting portrayal of the inner tensions between self-restraint and rebellion in manliness. If a connection is established between this code and that of the ideology of spheres, the stoic silence observed by men and the emotional language used by women revealed the duality of an active masculinity versus a passive femininity. This, sometimes is reversed in Reynolds, such as in *JW* in the relationship between Lady Calanthe Dundas and Joseph,

With the desperate recklessness of a man who having taken one false step, plunges madly on in the career to which it leads, I abandoned myself to that passion: or, to borrow another similitude from actual life, like the man who having passed the boundary of temperance, recklessly swallows glass after glass, did I yield myself up to the intoxicating influence of Calanthe's arms [...] I wonder how I could have fallen — wondered how I had ever succumbed to the spells which had been wrought upon me [...] What I meant to express, was that a passion may be inspired by any female possessed of brilliant or winning charms which constitute the influencing power: but a sentiment can only be inspired by the purest and chastest of women — such an one as Annabel! (*JW*, vol. 1, 175, 176).

Through an inner dialogue with himself, Joseph finally understands that his true love is for Annabel and that his mistake was to subserviently surrender to Lady Calanthe's passion. The problem, however, is that as a result of that passion a child is born. Joseph is now faced with the dilemma of attending to his moral duty towards her or abandoning himself once more to passion. As Joseph eventually learns from his mistake and tries to reconvene the path of good, the manner in which Reynolds solved this issue and granted marital bliss to him and

Annabel is by getting rid of Lady Calanthe and their son by means of an unexpected twist in the plot,

I imprinted one kiss upon the marble forehead of the perished Calanthe, while the tears, flowing down my cheeks, dropped upon her own [...] Lifting the pall — in a state of mind where the bitterness of affliction suddenly became subdued and attempered by a feeling of solemn awe and reverence — I contemplated the small black-covered box which contained my dead boy (*JW*, vol. 1, 371).

Still, male identity seemed to be expressed through action rather than words, which were left to indicate female identity. Woman was thus protected by the actions of man so as to allow each one to remain in their respective spheres. This can be clearly observed in *JW* and *MP* as in the former Joseph runs into all sorts of adventures throughout Europe which include banditti, pirates, Gothic castles and dungeons, whilst in the latter, Mary stays in the southeast of England and briefly in Scotland subjected to varied domestic episodes instead of action adventures. And this is in line with Ruskin's division of spheres when he differentiated between the active male and the passive female,

Her great function is Praise; she enters into no contest, but infallibly adjudges the crown of contest. By her office, and place, she is protected from all danger and temptation. The man, in his rough work in open world, must encounter all peril and trial; — to him, therefore, must be the failure, the offence, the inevitable error: often he must be wounded, or subdued; often misled; and *always* hardened. But he guards the woman from all this; within his house, as ruled by her, unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offence.¹⁴

¹⁴ John Ruskin, "Of Queen's Gardens," in *Sesame and Lilies. Two Lectures Delivered at Manchester in 1864* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1865), section 68.

Indeed, this is what Reynolds constantly evinced in *JW* and *MP*; yet he would always reward the moral choices of his characters just in the same way as Jane Austen, for example, allowed his male characters to explain themselves after having caused an offence.¹⁵

Political masculinity

As Eastlake put it, popular protest during the French Revolution –to which I should add English Chartism— brought along a bearing of legitimacy in their political discourse which classed with the always idolised classical tradition, which embedded certain notions of republican manliness. Such notions, which included gentlemanliness characterised by oratorical skills, were perceived as a type of political masculinity that represented the collective masculinity of the British political elite. However, the idea of hegemonic masculinity hid behind this collective masculinity.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) explored such idea as a sociological concept in their gender order theory starting from the analysis of power relations put forward by Gramsci and Foucault.¹⁶ Derived from the cultural hegemony put forward by Gramsci, hegemonic masculinity comprises multiple masculinities that vary within society, culture and time and which legitimises the male dominant position in any given society. Thus, a status of hegemonic masculinity is sought after as it is set above other forms of gender identities that cannot match up to this dominant ideal. As a result, the concept of alternative masculinities

¹⁵ See Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue. A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

¹⁶ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 829-859; Quintin Hoare, ed., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1971); and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).

comes to the fore as types of masculinity that do not meet the expectations of that dominant ideal nor present any resistance to it.¹⁷ Nonetheless, hegemonic masculinity sets a normative standard and against which individual men can assess their identities. As has already been noted above, Reynolds depicted both the hegemonic masculinity and alternative masculinities in *JW* and *MP* and even included some characters who deviated from these. Withal, Reynolds's depictions were construed within political masculinity in the sense of a global vision of his Chartist ideology and ideas for social change to be presented to the reader.

Deviant or toxic masculinity

Connell's four types of masculinities differed considerably from the paradigms proposed by Kestner; she distinguished between hegemonic, complicit, subordinated and marginalised and indicated that they were hierarchical, with the hegemonic male being the ideal type. This section focuses on the marginalised category which can be regarded as deviant or toxic according to current research. Reynolds, as an advocate of minorities, included marginalised males in *JW* and *MP* in the form of mentally unstable men and villains mostly against women. This category would also accommodate men of colour, although it seems that in these two novels there were no such men depicted amongst either masters or servants. The villain in the main plot in *JW* is Mr. Lanover,

[...] a *very short* man, *much deformed*, with a *humped shoulder greatly protruding*. He was apparently fifty years of age — with *harsh iron-gray hair* — *shaggy overhanging brows* — and a *cadaverous countenance*, marked with the *small-pox*. He had a *cunning, apish, disagreeable look* — not merely disagreeable, but *repulsive*, and one from which

¹⁷ Chris McVittie, Julie Hepworth, and Karen Goodall, "Masculinities and Health: Whose Identities? Whose Constructions?," in *The Psychology of Gender and Health. Conceptual and Applied Global Concerns*, ed. M. Pilar Sánchez López and Rosa M. Limiñana Gras (London: Elsevier, 2017), 119-141.

it was impossible to help recoiling. His *deep-set eyes* partly resembled those of the *weasel* and partly those of the *snake* [...]. He was apparelled in *a suit of black*, evidently quite new: his hands were of *enormous size* — his arms *exceedingly long*: his legs were *very short* — and his *enormous feet* were cased in shoes with the strings tied in large bows. Altogether he had the appearance of a *baboon dressed up* (JW, vol. 1, 19, emphasis mine).

Mr. Lanover is characterised in animalistic terms and is therefore deviant from hegemonic masculinity or, in other words, he exemplifies a failed or perverse departure from the masculine norm. In this respect, Dr. Nordau's seminal work on decadence and atavism in 1891 may offer an interpretation on how the origins of such deviation. Having been instructed by the Parisian neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot and influenced by the founder of criminal anthropology, Cesare Lombroso (1876), he argued about the possibility of decay and decline of the individual and society at the hands of degeneration as induced by art in terms of certain types of abnormalities in masculine traits that deviated from the norm.¹⁸ With this in mind, as well as the principle posited by Haeckel, "ontology recapitulates phylogeny,"¹⁹ this deviance from masculinity transforms the male body into a metonym for civilisation

¹⁸ Max Nordau, *Degeneration*, trans. Howard Fertig (London: William Heinemann, 1895). Within psycho-physiognomy, degeneration was considered a serious medical term that was only contested by Freud and psychoanalysis. Physiognomic factors, as discussed in the third chapter of the present study, were contemplated as causative in mental malfunctions and conditions. Nordau, however, criticised his former professor, Charcot, for his systematisation of hypnosis, which would later be acknowledged by Freud and Jung and used Oscar Wilde as a case study of immorality, sin and crime. See also Cesare Lombroso, *The Criminal Man* (London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1911); and Jerome M. Schneck, "Jean-Martin-Charcot and the History of Experimental Hypnosis," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 16, no. 3 (1961): 297-305.

¹⁹ M. Elizabeth Barnes, "Ernst Haeckel's Biogenetic Law," *The Embryo Project Encyclopedia*, May 3, 2014, [Ernst Haeckel's Biogenetic Law \(1866\) | The Embryo Project Encyclopedia \(asu.edu\)](https://www.asu.edu/embryo-project-encyclopedia/entry/haeckel-1866).

wherein decadence gives way to degeneration and eventually to death. And such is the end of Mr. Lanover.²⁰

Similarly, one of the villains in *MP* is Mr. Messiter, a grocer who mistreats his wife, their six children, two shopmen under his charge, Betsy, their cook and woman-of-all-work and Mary, their nurse-maid,

He was a *tall, thin* man — with a *pale*, or rather *sallow complexion* — *long sharp* features — and *iron-grey hair* brushed *straight* upright of his forehead. He wore a white cravat, and *high shirt collars*, *very stiff* and *projecting in sharp points* like gills beyond the corners of his lips, which by the bye were *thin, compressed*, and gave an expression of *prim sanctimoniousness* to his countenance. He was dressed in a *complete suit of black*, his trousers being *short* and showing his *black cotton stockings* and *rather clumsy* shoes. A hat, *very low* in the crown and *very broad* in the brim, lay upon the table [...] (*MP*, vol. 1, 37-38, emphasis mine).

His shopmen are equally depicted as lacking in personal hygiene and manliness,

One was a young man of about seven or eight-and-twenty — tall, *lank*, prim-looking, and sanctimonious, like his master — with a canting, *whining* tone, and a *servile* obsequiousness of manner. He walked on tiptoe, or as if he were treading on eggs — had an habitual bend in his gait — and seemed altogether one of those individuals who prefer *gliding snake-like* through the world, rather than walking *manfully* along their path, neither afraid of seeing or being seen. His companion was a younger man, shorter and stouter — but also quiet in his manner, though sufficiently insinuating — or shall I say *insidious?* — in his discourse (*MP*, vol. 1, 39, emphasis mine).

It appears that this masculine deviance behaves as a contagious disease communicable between men, from master to servants and with features of wild animals such as the snake in this case. Mr. Messiter's evolution throughout the novel takes the shape of a spiral

²⁰ For a detailed account of Mr. Lanover's harrowing end, please see footnote 50 in chapter 3.

downwards the road of perdition via bankruptcy and alcoholism. Once again, the only possible ending to this deviance is the privation of life,

Inveighing against the gratitude of the world universally, and his Snargate Street votaries particularly, he took to drinking again, — alleging it to be “for his stomach’s sake:” but his stomach was so insatiable that he was literally hurried in a flood of gin to the grave (*MP*, vol.2, 411).

Whereas Mr. Lanover repents moments before his last breath and seems to regain his masculinity for doing so, Mr. Messiter does not and the reward for all the suffering at his hands goes to Mrs. Messiter, who takes possession of the grocery as the new owner thanks to Mary. In this case, masculinity is returned to the wife in terms of the necessary qualities to be successful in the public sphere so as to become the breadwinner in the family or a woman *sui iuris*, “of one’s own right,” and not under the authority of the paterfamilias.

The other type of masculine deviance is that of the mentally unstable men such as Mad Tommy in *MP* and Mr. Cooper in *JW*,

Besides those gardeners I at first beheld no one: but at the expiration of a few minutes I perceived an old gentleman emerge from a sort of shrubbery. He was dressed in black; and his toilet indicated the utmost neatness and precision [...] He had a most respectable as well as venerable appearance; and there was something exceedingly kind and benevolent in his looks. I surveyed him steadfastly in the hope of ascertaining which of my conjectures was the right one: but I quickly came to the conclusion that at all events he could not be one of the deranged inmates of the place, for his full clear blue eyes were expressive of completest lucidity (*JW*, vol. 2, 344).

I saw Robert, in his working-dress and with his brown paper cap upon his head, holding by the collar a short, thick-set, half-loutish, half-idiot youth who did odd jobs about the outskirts of the town and was known as Mad Tommy. This individual, who was about twenty years of age and dressed in coarse, dirty, and patched corduroy, was gazing with an air of stolid and yet savage defiance at Robert [...] (*MP*, vol. 1, 5).

Reynolds, by means of these two depictions of deviant masculinity, managed to surprise the readers when their expected roles and projected outcomes are reversed; hence, whereas Mr. Cooper, who reflects features of hegemonic masculinity turns out to be insane, Mad Tommy, who reflects the stereotypical mentally disturbed in any given town, turns out to be a hero. Death, however, is the only way out for Mad Tommy; Mr. Cooper, as he continued to adapt to the social norm, is forgiven yet forgotten in the lunatic asylum and separated from the rest of society.

Literary consciousness, *ethos* and *pathos*

The consciousness of Reynoldian fiction

In the problem statement section of the current study, I indicated that Reynolds's literature may have added to the ignition of a behavioural change in servants which gave rise to the servant problem in Victorian society; indeed, some of his contemporaries would likewise capture the aspirations of the working-class in novels with a clear Chartist ideology. The question is, therefore, the nature, from the viewpoint of New Historicism and Post-Structuralism, of the particular usage of servants as fictional characters implemented by Reynolds in *JW* and *MP* and the social reasons behind their creation as either expendable, minor characters in the background or their categorical opposite.²¹

Since New Historicism considers literature as a social drive which commits to the making of individuals, another question arises as to the difference between literary consciousness and the consciousness of literature in Reynolds. Robert Hollander (1975) answered such question by stating that

²¹ Please refer to the sections "Problem Statement" and "Objectives" in the Introduction to the current study.

The difference between literary consciousness and consciousness of literature is that the first is always aware, not only that literature is artifact, but that there is a curious and strained (or even impossible) relationship between literature and life. Consciousness of literature is what we all, and rightly so, teach our children: “It’s only a story, Cornelia” (p. 116).²²

Many times throughout *JW* and *MP*, Reynolds alluded directly to his readers, thus making them conscious of his literature and waking them up for a moment from the reverie induced by his plots until the final call back to reality at the closure of the novels,

Reader, my task is done. Faithfully have I fulfilled it; and for whatsoever labour it has cost me, shall I be more than adequately rewarded if through its medium I have succeeded in *pointing a moral* that may be useful to those who have followed my adventurous course *through the pages of this narrative* (*JW*, vol. 2, 413, emphasis mine).

[...] and *in laying down my pen*, I can *conscientiously* assure my readers that the bliss which I enjoy is far more than sufficient to compensate for the many trials, vicissitudes, and afflictions which have occupied *so large a portion of these MEMOIRS OF A SERVANT-MAID* (*MP*, vol. 2, 414, emphasis mine).

These excerpts show the relationship between the subjectivity and objectivity of literary consciousness and are somewhat reminiscent of Descartes’s dilemma, dream-experience or waking sense-experience?²³ For Descartes, the nature of an individual can only come from God or programmed by fate; hence, the individual is either living in the dream created by God or falling prey to the world of senses as dictated by fate. He supports the former idea and it is plausible to believe that so did Reynolds. By constantly reminding the readers of the

²² Robert Hollander, “Literary Consciousness and the Consciousness of Literature,” *The Sewanee Review* 83, no. 1 (1975): 115-127.

²³ Robert Stoothoff, “Descartes’ Dilemma,” *The Philosophical Quarterly* (1950-) 39, no. 156 (1989): 294-307.

importance of moral choices and introducing certain twists in the plot and subplots so as to reward those choices made by his characters, he managed to instil in the reader the idea of divine goodness and the quality of life it bestowed upon its followers. In this sense, he created a literary world that was transposed from its form and meaning back into the real world or, in Hollander's words, "[...] Art is not life, but is governed by life, and governs back life again" (p. 119).

Reynolds portrayed human experiences in the world to his readers through the figure of the servant and did this in memoirist form, which facilitated the identification between reader and character and blurred the lines of literary consciousness and the consciousness of his fiction. Such identification was further enhanced by alluding to some contemporary writers and etchers of his such as Dickens and Cruickshank; whether the readership knew about their enmity and rivalry cannot be ascertained although it is clear that referring to real life events broke for a moment the spell of his fiction,

But as if the writers of these accounts were anxious to practise their fulsome vein in more ways than one, they chronicled the following circumstances: — "We observed amongst the crowd Mr. Charles Diggins and Mr. George Spindleshank, who happened to be returning from an evening party at the time the fire broke out. Mr. Charles Diggins, with that admirable readiness to seize upon every passing circumstance which characterizes the eminent and popular author of the *Licksnick Papers*, instantaneously took out his note-book and began making copious memoranda; so that we have no doubt the public will enjoy the fruits of his observations through the medium of a piquant paper in his weekly serial *Household Stuff*. While this great man was thus usefully engaged in front of the burning mansion, at the time that the gallant Joseph Wilmot was perilling his life in the rescue of a fellow-creature, Mr. George Spindleshank, the eminent artist, was eliciting roars of laughter from a group collected around him, and

to whom he was relating with his characteristic facetiousness, an anecdote [...] (*JW*, vol. 1, 364).²⁴

Literary “humanness”

Such incorporation of life in literary art as rendered by Reynolds in *JW* and *MP* points in the direction of the notions of imitation, mimesis and literary humanness. Imitation of classic authors, as previously discussed, afforded Reynolds the means of conveyance of moral precepts to their readers through the figure of the character, either servant or master. Auerbach, on the other hand, contested that such imitation was in fact a cognate of Aristotelian mimesis.²⁵ His unified theory of representation sought to understand and explain how everyday life was depicted in Western literature under the view of Historicism. Hollander referred to his perception of mimetic imitation as a twofold schema likely to share equal priority, “[...] 1) I wish to describe in my fiction a place or an action so that my audience will believe in its literalness; 2) the place or action I will describe shall have previously been described in one of the books I love” (p. 122).

Adding the New Historicism lens to this definition, literature is then empowered with the gift of creating new individuals or, in other words, it becomes part of the human thought; hence the notion of literary humanness. Reynolds’s fiction conformed to those two aspects aforementioned by embedding his novels in the context of real life under the format of memoirs and was inspired in writers that he idolised. Precisely, the fact that he engaged in

²⁴ Dickens, according to Allingham, disliked intensely the moralising and teetotaling tendencies that Cruickshank, his main illustrator, showed in his caricatures. Reynolds, on the other hand, had those same tendencies as Cruickshank, although he eventually swerved from teetotalism. See Phillip V. Allingham, “George Cruickshank and Charles Dickens,” *The Victorian Web*, July 10, 2017, [George Cruickshank and Charles Dickens \(victorianweb.org\)](http://victorianweb.org)

²⁵ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

mimetic imitation created a bond between himself and his readers that reminded them and us of the unstudied experience of our world. This translates as Reynolds being able to deal with the servant problem of his time by circumventing it in *JW* and *MP* by means of elaborating a literary solution which involved a happy ending for those characters who had proven themselves in morality. Thus, although the problem in real life had no easy solution, its literary representation through humanness made it easier to be assimilated in real life and perhaps contributed to actually solving it there.

Now, the notion of literary humanness comprises three human aspects that are transferred to characters, i. e., human consciousness or awareness, the theory of mind and an ecodialogic context. In terms of the first one, Eysenck and Keane (2015) attributed a series of functions to it, such as perception of the environment, social communication or engagement with others, control of one's actions, reflection about issues outside of the present and the integration and combination of diverse information in order to be informed of what is taking place around oneself.²⁶ Each of these functions appear to be taken account of in Reynolds's characterisation of masters and servants, both as groups and as members in each group,

But who can blame those valets, those footmen, and those grooms for thus mercilessly laying bare the characters and lacerating the reputations of their masters and mistresses, when it is remembered that these menials are in every way spoilt by the examples of their superiors? How can servants have any regard for matters which ought to be kept secret, when masters and mistresses are constantly feasting themselves with scandal relative to their neighbours? (*MP*, vol. 1, 123).

Further to this, the theory of mind within the field of psychology involves the attribution of mental states –beliefs, desires, intentions, emotions or thoughts — to others in order to

²⁶ Michael W. Eysenck and Mark T. Keane, *Cognitive Psychology. A Student's Handbook* (Oxon, England: Routledge, 2020).

surmise what is happening in their minds; hence, predicting or manipulating the behaviour of others is intrinsic to this theory. A clear example of this is the transformation of Joseph and Mary as characters from the very beginning of their journeys in each novel. Both are subjected to great difficulties, pains and afflictions in order to become their new selves at the end of their journey; and this is related to what Foucault commented regarding the transformation of the self, “[...] the main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning. If you knew when you began a book what you would say at the end, do you think that you would have the courage to write it?” (Martin, Gutman & Hutton, 1982, p. 9).²⁷ And for this to occur, it is necessary to be immersed in an ecodialogic context.

Such a context permeates the ideological power of class relations in society, with a system reinforced by hegemonic political and cultural values by means of an invisible or third power according to Marxist tradition, which originates a “false consciousness” or theory of power that consists in the working-class being prevented from recognising and rejecting their oppression.²⁸ Thus, literary humanness is perhaps central to Gramsci’s notion of “counter-hegemonic” or “civil society strengthening” when building the capacity of the (literary) self to think and act differently and therefore beginning the implementation of social change.

Ethos or character credibility

In Aristotelian rhetoric, ethos accounts for the knowledge, trustworthiness, morality and good will of the speaker. By means of these qualities, the rhetorician asserts their

²⁷ Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton, eds., *Technologies of the Self. A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Massachusetts, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 9-15.

²⁸ See Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideas and Concepts: An Introduction* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1994); and Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York, NY: Herder & Herder, 1970).

legitimacy, prestige and credible authority on their audience.²⁹ Some authors like Copeland (2017) believe the art of rhetoric was aimed at textual composition and contributed to literary thought.³⁰ Certainly, some key aspects of rhetoric can be recognised in Reynoldian novels. As a contemporary of Dickens's, Reynolds had to compete with him to sell his novels and make a living, yet Dickens was the novelist with the most credibility amongst the readers; despite this fact, Reynolds's novels outsold Dickens's, so how could he have possibly managed such an accomplishment? Could he have made use of ethos as a means of persuasion—together with pathos and logos—in *JW* and *MP*?

By combining those *pisteis*, Reynolds effectively managed to convey his Chartist ideology and morals to his readers. He demonstrated ethos in *JW* and *MP* by means of its three core elements, i. e., *arete*, *eunoia* and *phronesis*. The concept of *arete* refers to the double notion of excellence in moral virtue and the fulfilment of purpose or function; hence, if Reynolds established his *arete* clearly throughout strong reasoning within his arguments, then his readership would understand the need of supporting such argument and trust him as a worthy novelist. Also considered the ethical principle of voluntary choice, *arete* epitomises the act of effectuating one's entire potential in life; in this sense, Reynolds accomplished his highest abilities as a writer of justice when he was able to transmit to his readers his beliefs in moral and divine goodness through the notion of *arete* with the intention of solving class issues within society,

²⁹ Aristotle, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, trans. Richard C. Jebb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909).

³⁰ Rita Copeland, "Rhetoric and Literary Criticism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, ed. Michael J. MacDonald (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 341-353.

Thus is it that the laziness and absurd vanity of aristocratic and wealthy families are both alike most demoralizing in their effects, and at least as culpable as the knavery of the systems which they generate or allow to exist (MP, vol.1, 66).

Apart from expostulatory remarks like these, which abound in the pages of *JW* and *MP*, the figures of Mary and Joseph can actually epitomise the notion of arete; in Ancient Greece Arete, “Virtue,” was a minor goddess of excellence and virtue who formed the *Praxidikai* or “Exacters of justice” together with her sister Homonoia, “Concord”.³¹ Her main qualities were fortitude, bravery and wit which, although considered manly, were also applied to females. These qualities are the ones displayed by Mary and Joseph from the beginning to the end of their journeys and in every single subplot they are indeed exacters of justice with the help of divine goodness as a reward for their moral choices.

Eunoia, on the other hand, refers to the condition of receptivity from the readers to what the writer asserts based on his good intentions.³² This creates a rapport in which the readers believe the writer will not lead them astray or persuade them with manipulated information. In the case of *JW* and *MP*, Reynolds applied eunoia by adopting the memoirist format, which allowed for a closer connection between the main characters and the readers, as well as by addressing the readers themselves to guide them back to the main plot at the end of a subplot so that they cannot get lost in the labyrinth of the narrative.

Such connection also stimulates the emergence of particular emotions on the readers which can cause them to alter or change their opinions and judgments. This is known as pathos, another means of persuasion that goes hand in hand with ethos. Thus, the emotional

³¹ Werner, Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture. Volume I: Archaic Greece. The Mind of Athens*, trans. Gilbert Highet (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1939).

³² Eugene Garver, *Aristotle's Rhetoric: An Art of Character* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1994).

appeal to the readers elicits sentiments that already reside in them and redirects them in the manner intended by the writer; in Reynolds's case, his intention was to support and disseminate Chartist ideology so as to find a solution for the servant problem inasmuch as working class at the lowest end of the social pyramid. In order to implement this, he adopted the three foci of Aristotelian pathos, i. e., the frame of mind of the readers, the variation of emotion amongst them and the influence of the writer in those emotions. Together with logos or the pattern(s) of reasoning, Reynolds succeeded in awakening all kind of emotions in his readers which varied from mercy to hatred, as he comprehended a wide range of clear-cut social situations which he made good use of so as to persuade them into understanding what the problem was and the ways in which it would be possible to solve it. The appeal to pity or the arousal of anger in the readership is therefore based on a combination of pathos, ethos and logos so as to achieve the intended persuasion in them.³³ He conveyed such emotional appeal by introducing hooks (stories and metaphors), personal anecdotes through invented ethos or characters suitable for specific occasions and by displaying passion in the delivery of his writing throughout the pages of *JW* and *MP*.

With logos being the demonstration of logical proof or a rational appeal found in enthymemes, which can be signs, examples, cause and effect(s), analogies, definitions or even deductions,³⁴ Reynolds managed to illustrate the *telos* or *raison d'être* of *JW* and *MP* as well as *eudaimonia* or welfare, happiness, which acted as the ultimate and essential reward for those characters who observed morals in a constant manner despite the obstacles they

³³ Christopher Gill, "The *Ēthos/Pathos* Distinction in Rhetorical and Literary Criticism," *The Classical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1984): 149-166.

³⁴ Edward Schiappa, *Protagoras, and Logos: A Study in Greek Philosophy and Rhetoric* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

existence. He also made use of phronesis, or intelligence applied to practical action; his main characters needed to be prudent as well as wise to succeed.³⁷ In this sense, Reynolds performed the role of the rhetorician who spoke to an audience or the author of a pedagogical fairy tale to be read by/to children. By combining ethos, pathos and logos, he swayed their readers towards supporting his stance and established a relationship of trust between them.

The existential predicament of Joseph Wilmot and Mary Price

According to Samadzadeh (2020), from the late seventeenth century until mid-nineteenth century, both the concept of childhood and the fairy tale as a secular genre were powerful control tools that were used to target “not only children, but also women, the underclass, the social outcast, and the colonized as they were all deemed ‘incompletely human’” (p. xiv).³⁸ Accordingly, the narrative structure of the fairy tale was altered with the inclusion of two opposing ideological currents: one deemed the child oppressed and another a figure of redemptive qualities. This led to a new consideration of childhood wherein the rights and status of the child were recognised not only in society but also in literary depictions. Given that such narrative mirrors sociohistorical events that have already taken place or that could still occur in the future and that the characters in those tales carry the imprint of the social history of the period in which they were written, they might as well be considered sources of historical inquiry apart from their outer format of stories for children. What, then, if *JW* and *MP* were envisaged as moralistic fairy tales for adults?

³⁷ Robert Lambert Bernasconi, “Heidegger’s Destruction of Phronesis,” *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* 28, no. 1S (1989): 127-147.

³⁸ Mehrdad F. Samadzadeh, *European Fairy Tales from the Renaissance to the Late Victorian Era: The Child of the Fairy Tale* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2020).

There seems to be certain parallelism between the psychological problems that a child must overcome to become a self-worthy adult and the many obstacles and perils that Joseph and Mary must overcome in order to ascend the social ladder. Here resides a common, existential predicament to both the fairy tale and the memoirist novel; first and foremost, the belief that the reader must not be confronted with images that would stir anxiety, chaos, anger or any other negative emotion in themselves and instead be presented with the sunny side of life or, in other words, the belief of literature as a way of escaping reality and its concerns. Precisely, some detractors of Reynolds's criticised him for the amount of evil and immorality portrayed in his novels; however, Reynolds deemed it imperative to show both sides of good and evil so that the reader could have a global vision of how evil was always condemned whereas good was always rewarded, just as in fairy tales. Unknowingly, he coincided with future psychoanalysts who would held the same opinion regarding the imposition by the dominant culture of an optimistic meliorism.

Reynolds designed his characters with a sense of moral obligation that allowed them to determine whether they were doing good or not and he also gave them opportunities to redeem themselves. Thus, the predicament that can be distinguished in *JW*, *MP* and fairy tales is none other than struggles in life are unavoidable inasmuch as intrinsic to human experience, but if one bravely faces and masters them, victory will be achieved in the end. Let us now see some elements that are similar in *JW* and *The Irish Cinderlad*, on the one hand, and in *MP* and *Cinderella*, on the other.³⁹

³⁹ *The Irish Cinderlad* was written by Shirley Climo and illustrated by Loretta Krupinski (US: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996). A re-telling of an age-old Irish folk tale, it narrates the story of Becan, a boy with a mean stepmother and even worse stepsisters from whom he runs away. He is troubled by his big feet although this does not prevent him from slaying a dragon and rescuing a princess. The plot is the equivalent to that of *Cinderella* with a happy ending after many perilous

In all four outsets, the death of a parental figure marks the most traumatic experience for the main characters, the persecuted hero/ines, who are thus squarely confronted with the most basic of human predicaments. This predisposes them to further existential dilemmas that may come down the line whilst allowing them to handle such issues in a straightforward and simple manner.⁴⁰

Difficult situations are simplified in these stories and so are the characters that populate their pages: the figures are plainly depicted and all details, unless essential for the advancement of the plot(s) are eliminated. It was common for Reynolds, for example, to present unconvoluted descriptions, so as not to bore his readers. Secondary characters are typical instead of unique and both evil and virtue are omnipresent in the stories. Such dual omnipresence is, precisely, the cradle of the moral problem that the hero/ine must solve. Evil is introduced in the plot under many guises such as the forceful dragon, the puissant witch or other cunning characters whose mission is to deceive and entrap the valiant soul of the hero/ine. This is also the case with Reynolds, in whose novels the villain is depicted with animalistic features and a grisly countenance. Besides, evil gradually increases throughout the story although this is something impermanent; for instance, the evildoer or villain thrives in taking hold of the position that rightfully belongs to the hero/ine and does not seem

adventures. *Cinderella*, on the other hand, tells the story of a woman of unrecognised attributes who succeeds after a burdensome period of neglect. Its earliest version dates back to the seventh century before Christ when it was known as the story of a Greek slave who marries the king of Egypt. All subsequent versions are based on the figure of the persecuted heroine as the main character. See Ruth Bottigheimer, "Before *Contes du Temps Passé* (1697): Charles Perrault's "Grisélidis" (1691), "Souhais Ridicules" (1693), and "Peau d'Asne" (1694)," *The Romanic Review* 99, no. 3-4 (2008): 175-189.

⁴⁰ Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment. The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (London: Penguin Books, 1991).

deterred by fear of punishment. Yet payoff will occur and the evildoer will be punished accordingly. Although what instils morality in the reader is not this fact alone, but the conviction that evil is never worthy and the identification of the reader with the hero/ine in all their struggles. Thus, with the victory of the hero/ine in virtue, the reader fully understands the moral choice and what and how they should do in real life to overcome any issue. Perhaps this is what Reynolds intended to show to his readers, that moral change begins in an individual and if all individuals act in unison, problems are solved and society improves.

Together with this dual omnipresence of good and evil, the characters are polarised into good or bad and cannot be both as it happens in real life. This juxtaposition can be misunderstood for emphasising correct behaviour, but it is not so; instead, it serves the purpose of differentiating right and wrong behaviour so that it is easily comprehended by the reader and a decision can be made as to what type of person the reader wants to become. This distinction arouses sympathy or antipathy amongst the readers towards the characters, which is what helps in forming the readers judgment about who is acting morally right and who is not. Reynolds clearly succeeded in this aspect; Joseph is good, Mr. Lanover is not; Mary is good, Sir Aubrey Clavering is not. However, Reynolds did give the chance to these two villains to redeem themselves before final punishment was given and they did repent.

A fundamental objective in these stories seems to be the elimination of existential anxieties, such as separation anxiety and other inner conflicts. By providing the reader with images of hero/ines who have to, as Reynolds would say, “eat the bread of their own industry,” in utter solitude or with some help when needed by specific allies, the reader understands that having to proceed in isolation through life perhaps for prolonged periods of time is ultimate in their benefit, as it allows them to meet their goals such as a rewarding relation with the world that surrounds them. Given that religion and/or spirituality is another

similar element in these stories, the readers are able to evoke certain associations with it that allow them to acquiesce in their deep inner conflicts and take the necessary steps to sublimate them.

Both the fairy tale and Reynolds's *JW* and *MP* can be considered works of art in the sense that, psychologically, they help the reader understand and come to terms with existential problems specific to their time and age. Thus, the reader can extract the meaning that they need depending on their needs and issues at the time of reading. Furthermore, they are crucial for gender formation as they reinforce masculinity and femininity in a non-repressed way.

In the next section of the present study, I analyse how the language used in these Reynoldian novels is another crucial element in the representation of masculinity across certain areas such as infirmity, both mental and physical or criminality and how communication between masters, between servants and between masters and servants portrays power relations of manliness.

The art of communication: Discourse and power

Madness and sensation

At the beginning of the “age of sensation” in 1850, those novels based on plots which included adultery, mistaken identity, murder and poisoning started to be considered harmful for the moral values of the readers, especially female ones, as well as a form of cultural malaise,

The sensation novel was seen as a collective cultural nervous disorder, a morbid addiction within the middle class that worked directly on the body of the reader and as

an infection from outside, continually threatening to pollute and undermine its boundaries through this process of metaphoric transference and analogy (Bourne Taylor 1988, p. 4).⁴¹

Professors and philosophers such as Bourne Taylor and Mansel condemned both the blatant trading of sensation fiction and the atavistic modes of conduct it portrayed by alluding to the effect of moral debilitation and degeneration that it had on the readers,

A commercial atmosphere floats around works of this class, redolent of the manufactory and the shop. The public wants novels, and novels must be made — so many yards of printed stuff, sensation-pattern, to be ready by the beginning of the season (p. 482).⁴²

Withal, sensation fiction remained highly successful amongst readers with Reynolds being the most read novelist at the time. Most likely, one of the key aspects that kept attracting his readers was the passion intrinsic to his writing, “[...] The possibility of madness is therefore implicit in the very phenomenon of passion” (Foucault 1988, p. 83).⁴³ This connection between passion, reader demands, madness and discourse is what needs to be explored so as to discern how social anxieties were depicted in sensation fiction and fed back into representations of masculinity and power.

In *JW* and *MP*, Reynolds, like Collins yet unlike Dickens, used certain characters to illustrate what it meant to be cast as a deviant other and relegated to the margins of society.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Jenny Bourne Taylor, *In the Secret Theatre of Home: Wilkie Collins, Sensation Narrative, and Nineteenth-Century Psychology* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁴² Henry Longueville Mansel, “Sensation Novels,” *Quarterly Review* 113, no. 1 (1863): 481-514.

⁴³ Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, NY: Vintage, 1988).

⁴⁴ See Maria K. Bachman, “‘Furious Passions of the Celtic Race’: Ireland, Madness and Wilkie Collins’s *Blind Love*,” in *Victorian Crime, Madness and Sensation*, ed. Andrew Maunder, and Grace Moore (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2004), 179-194.

Despite his portrayal of such characters as somewhat stereotypical, it could be argued that he did not caricature them like Dickens did for a comic or ludicrous effect; instead, he showed to his readers the feelings of such characters within a society that had completely ostracised them. The use that Reynolds gave to insanity as a narrative strategy in some subplots of these two novels was applied, in the words of Bourne Taylor, “in a context in which the fictional mediation of madness helped to shape its cultural meaning” (1988, p. 10). This translates as madness being employed literarily as both a political and psycho-medical disorder, which is actually exemplified in the scene of the lunatic asylum in *JW* between Joseph and Old Cooper, wherein a sarcastic depiction of English bureaucracy and rigidity of its system can be clearly ascertained.

Further to this, in the 1870s, Henry Maudsley and Andrew Wynter (1874) highlighted the existence of a “Borderland of Insanity,” or people who were compelled to dwell on the borders of society,

It is of great importance then to recognize a borderland between sanity and insanity and of greater importance still [...] to study the doubtful cases of which it is peopled. There are a great many people, who without being insane, exhibit peculiarities of thought, feeling and character [...] they bear in their temperament the marks of their peculiar heritage (p. 23).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Please see Henry Maudsley, *Responsibility in Mental Disease* (London: H. S. King, 1874); and Andrew Wynter, *The Borderlands of Insanity and other Allied Papers* (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1875). Maudsley was a psychiatrist who supported social degeneration theory as well as Lamarckism, which defended that “hereditary taints” were passed from one generation to the next. He pointed out how alcoholism was the trigger in one generation which would be passed on as a propensity to drunkenness in the second, hypochondria in the third and idiocy in the fourth. Although his theories acquired reputation after Reynolds, some depictions in *JW* and *MP* already show this to be the case. In this respect, see Joanne Dawn Woiak, *Drunkenness, Degeneration and Eugenics in Britain, 1900-1914*, PhD Thesis (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998).

This type of characters is precisely what Reynolds attended to in his novels. As secondary male characters with a determinate role in some subplots, their function was probably to identify sensible and insensible masculine behaviour within the known patterns of masculinity at the time. Under the Foucauldian lens, however, this identification rested not on an inability to reason but on “unreason” or faulty reasoning, “it is not reason diseased, or as reason lost or alienated, but quite simply as *reason dazzled*” (1988, p. 108). And this is the case with Mad Tommy and Mr. Cooper; whereas the former is able to reason in an emergency situation to save Mary, Mr. Cooper functions perfectly well in his context of the lunatic asylum. None of them, however, are depicted as characters on the land of overt insanity.

Prichard (1835), for example, differentiated between a tendency towards irrationality or partial insanity and complete insanity or “*raving madness*, in which the mind is totally deranged, and the individual affected talks nonsense, or expresses himself wildly and absurdly on every subject” (p. 4).⁴⁶ Similarly, Conolly related such tendency towards irrationality or passion and an unstable state of mind or madness so as to establish a dissimilitude between partial and full insanity,

It is only when the passion so impairs one or more faculties of the mind as to prevent the exercise of comparison, that the reason is overturned; and then the man is mad. He is mad only whilst this state continues; but whilst it continues or a short or a long time, he is mad on the subject of his fear. He ceases to be mad when he can correct the erroneous judgment of his excited state; and not before. We see many madmen whose malady consists in their peculiar excitability to anger, and in the impossibility of correcting the judgments of their angry state: seeming to have become tranquil, the renewal of the subject of their anger renews the passion; and as they are never able to

⁴⁶ James Cowles Prichard, *A Treatise on Insanity and Other Disorders Affecting the Mind* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1835).

reason upon it, to compare and to judge, they continue to be mad on that subject (1830, p. 227).⁴⁷

The reader can observe in *JW* and *MP* many cases of this type of madness in characters other than Mad Tommy and Mr. Cooper; however, the depictions indicate some correlation between physical and mental illness, i. e. a fever which derives in mental exhaustion...And such states affected, of course, the literary representation of masculinity.

Physical malady

Coming back to the concept of unreason in Foucault, it appears to be twined to that of physical disease. The exact degree in which unreason can be found in pathology is still unknown, although current healing paradigms such as biodecoding establish a clear bond between both.⁴⁸ Yet Foucault added two more aspects to this, i. e., fear and evil leading to crime. Indeed, the literary representation of physical illness that Reynolds makes differs between male and female characters, with males suffering from fevers and females from hysterical paralysis which seem to be related to mental exhaustion or fear of preternatural occurrences. In *JW*, when Joseph thinks he has seen the corpse of Annabel, he falls prey of a fever that lasts ten days,

[...] the horrible word smote with such *terrible power upon my brain*, and sent a pang of such *ineffable agony piercing through my heart*, that I lost all control over myself [...] Onward I flew — *madly!* [...] a *dizziness* seized upon my *brain* — the room

⁴⁷ John Conolly, *An Inquiry Concerning the Indications of Insanity, with Suggestions for the Better Protection and Care of the Insane* (London: John Taylor, 1830).

⁴⁸ Based on the logic of biology and the intrinsic organ-psyche-brain connection as studied by the New German Medicine, this healing paradigm created by the psycho-bio-therapist Christian Flèche in the 1990s focuses on past traumas that have not been (un)consciously resolved, which produce the physical disease. Once the trauma is resolved, the physical symptom(s) disappear and health is re-established. See Marta Canadell, “Biodecoding,” *The People’s Health Alliance*, April 2022, [Biodecoding - The People’s Health Alliance \(the-pha.org\)](https://the-pha.org).

appeared to be turning round — the *corpse itself seemed moving* likewise — and with a *heavy groan* I sank *senseless* upon the floor. When I awoke to consciousness, I was undressed, and in my bed in my own attic chamber. It was broad daylight; and it appeared as if I were *awakening from some horrible dream*, but the nature of which I could not immediately remember [...] “Ah! my poor young man, you are really awake now?” said the old woman; and though her features were so ugly, her manner was kind and her tone soothing. “You have been ill about ten days — very, very ill indeed; and you must not talk much — no, not at all; for you are yet *excessively weak*” [...] “Poor youth, the *fever* has not yet left him!” (*JW*, vol. 1, 138, 140, emphasis mine).

Joseph is described as being very weak and in a confused mental state due to the fever due in turn to his shock at seeing what he thought the corpse of her beloved. A nurse takes care of him physically and also emotionally, as she is the one that reveals the truth to him that it was not Annabel but her twin sister Violet who had died. At that precise moment, once the trauma/shock is resolved, Joseph starts to recover and his masculinity has not suffered given that his illness was justified. Conversely, in *MP*, Mary experiences a shock that leaves her paralysed and then ill,

[...] I felt that my last moment was come. There was a shriek of mortal agony which rose up into my very throat, but remained stifled there, as if it had encountered a wall barring its egress. I was palsied with horror — and yet consciousness was vivid within me: but I could neither afford utterance to a syllable of entreaty, nor give vent to a cry for help — no, nor move hand nor foot in a struggle to save myself. I was powerless — and every faculty of life was suspended, save the poignant feeling of life itself! [...] For I was in the most wretched plight it is possible to conceive — my hair all floating in the wildest disorder, and the scanty clothing which I had on covered with mud and chalk-stains, and hanging about me like damp rags [...] And then a sudden sensation of giddiness came over me: I felt myself reeling, and remember to have been caught in the arms of the now terrified and startled Betsy [...] (*MP*, vol. 1, 53, 55).

Contrary to Joseph, Mary is described as having no one else to rely on and in a deplorable physical state. She has nearly been thrown down a cliff but miraculously managed to save her

life on her own and return back to her master's. Once there, she is not offered the same quality of care that Joseph has had,

I was *not in the nursery*, but in a *spare bed-room* which I immediately recognized [...] Sleep then visited my eyes; and I did not awake until a late hour in the day, when I found myself much refreshed though *still suffering from the effects of cold and exhaustion* — so that I gladly followed Mrs. Messiter's kind recommendation to remain in bed and *nurse myself* until thoroughly recovered (*MP*, vol. 1, 55, 58, emphasis mine).

Thus, whereas Joseph's masculinity remains victorious under the circumstances, Mary has been given masculine traits such as bravery and courage to fight for herself and to nurse herself. In both cases the element of fear is present, fear of seeing death and fear of death itself, which causes the trauma and the physical decay. Once the trauma has been overcome, physical recovery ensues. In addition, the element of evil leading to crime makes an appearance in these scenes. As Foucault put it, "[...] what is originaire is the caesura that establishes the distance between reason and non-reason; reason's subjugation of non-reason, wresting from it its truth as madness, crime, or disease, derives explicitly from this point" (1988, p. xii). Let us see this in more detail.

Oppressive minds, oppressed thoughts

The Dangerous Lunatic Act, passed without parliamentary debate in Ireland in 1838, unequivocally linked insanity with criminality and was aimed at protecting citizens from the dangers posed by the mentally ill. As its terms of confinement were too vague and nonspecific, it allowed for people who showed signs of mental illness to be committed to prisons or bridewells and eventually transferred to asylums. In a brief space of time, it became the preferred admission pathway for those seeking institutional care for family

members with mental disorders.⁴⁹ The fact that committal required medical corroboration in an admissible yet not mandatory manner facilitated that many offenders would allege madness to avoid being sent to prison.

In Reynolds, however, characters are clearly depicted as either criminal or mentally ill, although the common motif that renders them criminals is passion and this can be observed in their ways of communicating with their victims and the power relations they establish through these discourses. Let us examine in this respect the characters of Marco Uberti, the leader of the banditti in *JW* and his interpreter and second in charge, Filippo,

Three of my captors had entered the vehicle with me: the other had leaped upon the box; and no sooner had the equipage started off, when the well-known voice of Filippo, speaking with deep ferocious rage in my ear, said, “We have got you at last — and no human power shall save you now! If you dare raise your voice, that moment you are a dead man!” (*JW*, vol. 2, 96).

Filippo’s illocutionary force leaves Joseph unable to exert any resistance to the banditti; he is in their power. Precisely, a power relationship is being imposed between him and Joseph in this scene, although one that does not include the key aspect that Foucault indicated for a relationship of this type to be formed: freedom.⁵⁰ Any power relationship between two individuals, including a controlling one, must comprise the binary power-freedom, with the latter being a precondition without which the former cannot be exercised. Filippo has

⁴⁹ Criminal Lunatics Act (Ireland) (1838) 1 & 2 Vict. c. 27. The Lunacy Act (1845) 8 & 9 Vict. c. 100 for England and Wales established a change in the status of mentally ill people to patients. The provisions in this Act stated that patients had no right of access to court to challenge their detention, which could only be reviewed by the Commissioner in Lunacy. See Pauline M. Prior, “Dangerous Lunacy: The Misuse of Mental Health Law in Nineteenth-Century Ireland,” *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry & Psychology* 14, no. 3 (2003): 525-541.

⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” *Critical Enquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982): 777-795.

threatened Joseph yet he has the freedom of actioning several options, i. e., resisting, imploring for mercy, shouting for help, fighting back...Philippo, who has gagged Joseph's mouth with a handkerchief to prevent him from screaming for help, eventually removes it for some reason. Here is where his power has been fully exerted: he gives him the possibility of entering into a conversation. Joseph engages in one with him although Philipppo is indeed the oppressive mind with a perlocutionary effect on Joseph's.

Philipppo is constantly characterised by a ferocious voice and staring gaze and so is Marco Uberti,

Marco Uberti now spoke at some length in Italian to those immediately around him; and when he had ceased, three or four addressed him in their turns [...] When the bandit-chief had listened to the sentiments of his myrmidons, he addressed Philipppo in a serious strain, but keeping his piercing eyes fixed on me the while. I knew that it was a judgment he was pronouncing; and the solemnly awful conviction was forced upon me that it was a death-sentence. "Young man," said Philipppo, now turning towards me to interpret his Captain's speech, "listen to the decree which has issued from the lips of Marco Uberti [...]" (*JW*, vol. 2, 85).

Once more, the perlocutionary effect on Joseph is similar to that of a godlike figure passing sentence upon a sacrificial victim. It is interesting to note at this point the duality of good and evil present in Reynolds's fiction; he presents the reader with a Captain of evil, Uberti, and a Captain of good, Raymond, and bestows upon each the ultimate reward that each deserves. Both enter power relations with their subjects and friends by means of the language of crime and honour, respectively. Whereas Uberti's power involves resistance against it as it is based on domination and forced submission, Raymond's involves dignity and respect as it is based on integrity. Again, two styles of masculinity emerge, yet only one would be victorious,

As for the culprit himself, his demeanour was that of a *ferocious sullenness* throughout: but sometimes his countenance relaxed into a *grimly fierce smile* at any particular

salient point of the testimony adduced against him. He knew that the talisman of his safety was gone — he knew that *his doom was sealed*; and as he had lived *recklessly*, so had he evidently made up his mind to die with a *brutal indifference as to his fate*. At length a little before six o'clock in the evening, sentence of *death* was pronounced upon him; and when the presiding judge had finished a brief but impressive address, in which *his doom was conveyed*, Marco Uberti looked round him with an air of *fierce defiance*. He was conducted back to the *gaol* amidst the *execrations* of the assembled populace (*JW*, vol. 2, 118, emphasis mine).

Conversely, Captain Raymond, one of Joseph's masters, is bestowed happiness in marriage and as a valued citizen, "It was a daughter of a good family whom Captain Raymond had led to the altar; and he had obtained a considerable fortune with her" (*JW*, vol. 2, 387).

Throughout *JW* and *MP* there are other power relations based on discourse that must be explored from the viewpoints of both New Historicism and Foucault, i.e., masters communicating with other masters; masters communicating with servants and servants communicating with other servants.

Master-master

Although it would seem that Reynolds, being a Chartist, would defend the working class no matter what, he acknowledged that certain issues resulted from immoral behaviour from those in power or from those in lower echelons of society. Accordingly, he portrayed good masters in *JW* and *MP* as well as evil and or idiotic ones; he praised the former and punished the latter so as to show the readers the difference that each individual can make in and for society. Such portrayal had the contradictory intention of parading and fending off stereotyping and stock characterisation. Thus, the discourse of power that accompanied the literary representation of masters is essential to differentiate the levels of power inherent to each type of master in the context of peer relations.

The good masters that appear through the pages of these two novels never seem to abide in competition with their peers in society; on the contrary, they enjoy their own peace and tranquillity,

As a matter of course, all Miss Maitland's acquaintances existed amongst the higher grade; and when out riding in the carriage, she was compelled occasionally to stop and converse with those who were most intimate: but she neither went into society nor received guests at her own house (*MP*, vol. 2, 66).

Other masters, however, are good only in appearance and only the words of their servants allow the reader to unveil the truth,

“In the first place, the family has been brought up to certain habits which it cannot possibly shake off: they can no more get out of their extravagant ways than an inveterate drunkard can all in a moment become a water-drinker. In the second place, they doubtless flatter themselves that by keeping up these appearances, they conceal their real position from the knowledge of the world generally; — and in the third place, it is absolutely necessary for Mr. Walter to prop up the falling fortunes of his house by means of some brilliant alliance, which he can only hope to form by keeping his position in society (*JW*, vol. 1, 44).

These masters enact their upbringing to reinforce the conditions of his class in their progeny, transforming thus such a convention in an endemic, generational defect,

The fact is, the moment he came of age he joined his lordship in a number of securities, and bonds, and fresh mortgages, and so forth; and in different ways he has pledged beforehand, as it were, all his own life-interest in the property. There never was such a cruel thing, between you and me, Joseph, than this conduct on the part of his lordship. Not contented with ruining himself, he ruins his son. I do believe that Mr. Walter naturally possessed some good qualities: but he has been spoilt — totally spoilt by the mode of his bringing-up (*JW*, vol. 1, 44).

Depictions like these abound on the pages of *JW* and *MP* and prepare the way for the reader to other type of masters who are a shame to their class; this is the case of the Hon. Captain

Lavender and Ensign Bergamot of the Guards, whose names already offer the reader an insight of their characters. Their own servants ridicule them when conversing with other servants and it is this discourse which provokes great laughter in servants and readers alike and reveals who exactly is in power,

“I think your master, young Bergamot, is very sweet upon one of old Lady Davenport’s daughters?” “Well, and if she manages to hook him,” replied Mr. Bergamot’s valet, “a nice conceited young jackanapes of a coxcomb she will get. But she herself looks like a wax-doll with the colour washed off the cheeks. Now I will just give you an idea of how my young master goes on; and if you don’t agree that he’s the most affected fool in all England, I will undertake to eat my own head” [...] “Ah! mine is the master for being the very prince of coxcombs and affected fools,” exclaimed the Hon. Captain Lavender’s valet, addressing himself especially to Mr. Bergamot’s domestic: “your’s is not a bit worse than mine, nor yet so bad — though *we* shouldn’t criticise their extravagances, since we profit by them (*MP*, vol. 1, 120, 122).

Even when disagreeable masters are depicted through discourse, there can be observed a total lack of power in their personas,

Mr. Boustead was a purse-proud man; but though he would have given one of his eyes — and heaven knows what besides — to have been enabled to talk of his ancestors, he affected to make it his boast that he had risen from nothing. Yet he spoke of the “common people” as if he had never had anything to do with them — much less as if he had sprung from their very dregs. The words “riff-raff” and “mob,” “rabble” and “unwashed,” frequently interlarded his discourse. It appeared that he was a county magistrate; and he gave his lordship to understand “that he couldn’t a-bear a poacher — that a vagrant was his abomination — a gipsy his horror — and a workhouse pauper a being of a degree infinitely below the most noxious of varmint.” He was a rank Tory in politics [...] (*JW*, vol. 1, 47).

The sarcastic manner in which Reynolds portrays this master is evident, especially in his remarks of his political affiliation as well as his hatred of the working and low classes. He is

thus devoid of any power and is even prevented from interacting with other members of the high society by other masters,

No other guests were invited to meet the Bousteads: it was evidently to be a family-party — and doubtless for more reasons than one. In the first place, the Ravenshills could not be overanxious to bring the vulgarity of the Bousteads in contact with the exquisite aristocratic fastidiousness of their wonted circle of acquaintances [...] (*JW* vol. 1, 47).

These depictions clearly convey the intrinsic complexity of the power of discourse and the discourse of power; the words that Reynolds put in the mouths of masters transmitted the influence of the master and the reactions of their peers to it as well as of the readers, who could discern the real control that they exerted upon their servants and in their own circle of acquaintances. This, in turn, influenced the readers by allowing them to perceive a comprehensive vision of the reality of being a master or a servant from a literary, sensationalist viewpoint.⁵¹

Master-servant

Hierarchical socialisation as depicted by Reynolds indicated an in-depth knowledge of knowing and respecting the place of the self, especially in the rank of servants. It was considered virtuous as well as appreciated by the master when a servant knew how to behave appropriately as to their level within the domestic system. Even if the servant was mistreated or neglected by the master, they still had to acknowledge their position.

⁵¹ Michael Karlberg, “The Power of Discourse and the Discourse of Power: Pursuing Peace Through Discourse Intervention,” *International Journal of Peace Studies* 10, no. 1 (2005): 1-23.

In this regard, Lindner (2003) put forward a theory of humiliation which distinguished between conquest, relegation, reinforcement and exclusion.⁵² According to her theory, interconnected with psychohistory in that a stated intention may differ from actual behaviour, after a master has conquered power by subjugating the servants in his household, he resorts to reinforcing humiliation to keep the hierarchy into place. This reinforcement may take the form of orders or even beatings, which would be accompanied by relegation humiliation or lowering the rank of a servant or eventually excluding them from the household altogether as the ultimate punishment together with the refusal of giving a character for their next employer.

Some options for servants included learned helplessness, outrage or subservience, which would account for their blind loyalty to their masters when they had the option to look for another employment. These options have all been represented by Reynolds in *JW* and *MP* in a variety of subplots entailing each one a specific ending according to the (mis)treatment proffered by the master to his servants. Learned helplessness, for example, can be observed in servants like Betsy, a cook and woman-of-all-work in *MP*, or John Robert, a footman, in *JW*. Coined by Martin Seligman as part of his theory of depression, helplessness is a learned state produced by exposure to noxious, unpleasant situations in which there is no possibility of escape or avoidance.⁵³ At the other end, outrage can be found in the cognitive appraisal theory of emotions, which explores how emotions are connected with the manner in which any given situation is appraised. However, there is no depiction of this instance in *JW* nor *MP*. A hypothesis for this could very well be that the reader, influenced by such an example,

⁵² Evelin Gerda Lindner, "The Theory of Humiliation: A Summary," *Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies*, last modified December 2003, [Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies - Who We Are](#).

⁵³ Martin E. P. Seligman, and Dennis P. Groves, "Nontransient learned helplessness," *Psychonomic Science* 19, no. 3 (1970): 191-192.

would be tempted to imitate it in real life with the nefarious consequences that such an act would entail. And whereas outrages did indeed happen at the time, considering homicides of masters committed by servants of which Reynolds would have most likely be aware of, he did not portray any such instance in these two novels.

As regard good masters, Reynolds presented them to the readers as having a discourse of power which involved treating the servant with respect and sympathy, i. e., Mr. Delmar and Joseph, [...] spoke to me in the kindest and most soothing manner, —Mr. Delmar promising that he would not consent to part from me unless forced by the strong arm of the law (*JW*, vol. 1, 21). Yet there is also a reciprocal feeling of gratitude towards the master that Reynolds constantly portrayed in these novels, such as when Charles, the footman, comments this to Joseph, his fellow servant,

There are times when I really pity Mr. Walter; and when I see all that is going on, I wish that I was on terms sufficient to warrant me in giving him some advice. But great folks look down upon us servants, and imagine that we care nothing at all for their interests as long as we are well dressed and well fed (*JW*, vol. 1, 45).

Servant-servant

Such theory of humiliation can also be noted in the interactions amongst servants, especially from servants higher up in their hierarchy. Again, these interactions are binary, with some being expressive of adoration and extreme friendship between them and others reflecting inner despise,

As I was descending the stairs, I was somewhat startled by the appearance of a dark woman, clad in a white dress, which at the first glimpse struck me as being a shroud: for she had a piece of linen thrown over her head, only just leaving her dusky face visible. She was hideously ugly; and as far as I could judge of her age, about forty. She hurried past me, without taking any notice of my presence; and as the maid of the house let me out at the front-door, she said with the air of one who was making a very

important revelation, “That woman in white is Mrs. Robinson’s ayah.” “Ayah?” I repeated, never having heard the term before. “Yes — her Hindoo maid. She is such a queer creature — eats nothing but rice — and speaks such wretched broken English, it’s impossible to understand her” (*JW*, vol. 1, 156).

Thus, depictions of lower servants condemning higher up servants are frequent, as in the case of Mary, the governess and confidante of her mistress, Miss Maitland, in one of her positions, being envied by her fellow servants,

But it was not so much these annoyances that made me think seriously upon my position in the household: it was the constant insults, abuse and even threatenings of personal chastisement, to which I was subjected — especially by Janetta and the cook. Even Old Dick, the gardener, did his best to exhibit his ill-temper towards me, and made grunting noises as I passed him. But what was I to do? Poor Miss Maitland was too much absorbed in her own grief to suspect what was going on ; and indeed, even if she were not, how could she have suspected that I was patiently enduring such treatment? [...] After serious deliberation I resolved to seize the first opportunity of testifying my spirit, and convincing my fellow-servants that I would no longer submit to their persecutions. Such an occasion was not long in presenting itself, as the reader shall now be informed (*MP*, vol. 2, 67).

In this instance, Mary shows an inner moral based on patient endurance yet rebelling against injustice by means of communication instead of vengeance or respite. Precisely, this is what Reynolds considered the best option when solving a problem: communication based on power relations. Therefore, both ethic and morals are present throughout these two novels either implicit or explicitly but always with the intention of make the reader understand of the ultimate reward they convey.

Latent ethics and explicit morals

Religion or spirituality?

One of the few moments wherein the figure of a priest is mentioned in *JW* is the scene of the Secret Society conclave during Joseph's time in France,

The members of the meeting were for the most part sitting on forms — a few however on chairs— ranged on either side of the room; so that a passage was kept clear towards the little table with the death's head. I must not forget to add that amongst those present I observed a priest and a couple of soldiers, — the former in his cassock, the two latter in their gray overcoats, and with their swords by their sides [...] The priest advanced towards the table whereon reposed the ghastly skull [...] and I saw the priest and the bearded gentleman contemplating me with looks wherein surprise and suspicion were blended (*JW*, vol. 1, 403, 404).

Joseph, by mistake, has been brought to a meeting of a secret political society where he is asked to become a member by taking an oath of secrecy. The gothic setting and elements of this meeting, including the figure of the priest, seem reminiscent of the masonic lodges that were said to be behind the French Revolution and upheaval of the 18th century. Birch (2007) studied in detail the world of secret political societies in France and Europe and how Adam Weishaupt, founder of the Illuminati, propagated clandestine doctrines which remained controversial to this day.⁵⁴ Precisely, two of the rituals of this order are the oath of secrecy and the drinking from a human skull, which although not explicitly indicated in this scene in *JW*, it is left to the reader to assume.⁵⁵ Joseph himself admits to be an interloper and does not

⁵⁴ Una Birch, *Secret Societies, Illuminati, Freemasons, and the French Revolution* (Lake Worth, Florida: Ibis Press, 2007).

⁵⁵ “In this room [...] the neophyte took his oath of secrecy and piety upon the naked blade of a sword. He drank the sanctified mead from a bowl made of a human skull and, having passed successfully through all the tortures and trials designed to divert him from the course of wisdom, he was finally permitted to unveil the mystery of Odin [...]” Manly P. Hall, *The Secret Teachings of All Ages. An Encyclopedic Outline of Masonic, Hermetic, Qabbalistic and Rosicrucian Symbolical Philosophy* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2010), 26.

become a member of the society, “and heaven knows that I had been led into an adventure which was full well calculated to produce a powerful revulsion of feelings” (*JW*, vol. 1, 406).

As freemasonry and the Illuminati had declared war against the Church and State, they obviously received opposition mainly from Catholicism and Evangelicalism, although they were supported by Republicans mainly. Chartists, on the other hand, with secular leaders, opposed the Church of England, but no records have been found to demonstrate they supported freemasons. During the 1850s, the hierarchy of Catholicism was being re-created and this may explain the absence of allusions to it in *JW* and *MP*. It is true that Reynolds advocated divine goodness and an ultimate reward bestowed by faith in God, although he was not specific as to any religion in particular. There is, however, a reference to Protestantism in *JW* during Joseph’s journey to Rome, “You are an Englishman — and therefore a Protestant,” she murmuringly said, with another swiftly darted look of deepest gratitude; “and I who have been taught to regard Protestants —— But no matter! I could say much ——” (*JW*, vol. 2, 126); and another to Jesuitism,

Without being one of the recognised sovereigns of the world, he nevertheless wields a power which is more or less felt in every corner of the earth — a power which though often unseen and unknown, nevertheless makes itself felt in the councils of Ministers and in the cabinets of Princes — a power which is exercised through the secret instrumentality of blindly obedient agents. In all countries — the savage as well as the civilised, the remote as well as the near — there are subjects of the reigning monarch of those nations who yield an occult and implicit submission to the decrees or the instructions forwarded to them from that venerable old man who has just quitted our presence [...] “Father Roothan, the General of the Jesuits” (*JW*, vol. 2, 173).

As Cardinal Gravina has just explained to Joseph, the real power behind religions in England and abroad is Jesuitism.⁵⁶ That was the time of the revolutions of 1848, when Jesuits were not ingratiated with the support of the people. The literary character of Father Roothan was in fact Father Jan Philipp Roothaan in real life, a Dutch Jesuit elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus, who attempted a pedagogical reform in 1832 with his revision of the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599), wherein he reasserted the benefits of traditional Jesuit education.⁵⁷

Although Reynolds did not go into more detail as regards the figure of the Jesuit holding all power in the background as some sort of omnipotent God, the Jesuit was a stock villain in Victorian sensationalism which served different purposes, i. e., “the dangerous alien, the arch-criminal within the British underworld, and the symbol of unresolved tensions embedded in Victorian models of social relations” (Moran 2007, p. 29).⁵⁸ The Jesuit is here latently depicted as the archetype of Catholic underground criminality without saying it overtly and like the invisible hand who rocks the cradle... Father Roothan is actually a metaphor of the intricate cultural politics and ideology behind modes of social conduct of the time; he is perceived as the enemy lurking in the background and against whom the citizens must fight in order to recover their national identities and their subjecthood. In *JW*, he is the person at whose hands lies the happiness of a couple in love; Francesco cannot marry

⁵⁶ In real life, he was probably Pietro Cardinal Gravina, archbishop of Palermo, Italy, from 10 July 1816 until his death (16 December 1749-6 December 1830).

⁵⁷ See G. M. Pachtler, S. J., *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes collectae concinnatae dilucidatae*, Tomus 2. Ratio studiorum ann. 1586, 1599, 1832. ed. Karl Kehrbach (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Comp., 1887); and Robert G. North, S. J., *The General Who Rebuilt the Jesuits* (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1944).

⁵⁸ Maureen Moran, “Sensational Invasions: The Jesuit, the State and the Family,” in *Catholic Sensationalism and Victorian Literature*, ed. Maureen Moran (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 28-76.

Antonia unless he becomes a patrician and only Cardinal Gravina can grant him this with the permission of Father Roothan; hence, the Jesuit is the eminence whose permission must be obtained and Joseph is the one who will make it happen, like the hero helping to restore peace in his country. By allowing Joseph to defeat the Jesuit through morally correct options, Reynolds relieved in his fiction the feeling of anxiety and concern over the exaggerated ambitions of the Jesuits to conquer the globe that pervaded the Victorian era.

Prudery and ruling-class secrecy

Besides the fact that no nuns were depicted in *JW* and *MP*, the question of prudery and its representation on those novels remains paramount as to understand Reynolds's ethical views on Victorian morality across different social echelons. From the false prince that attempts to seduce Jemima in *MP* to Violet acting in the theatre or the Duchess de Paulin and his lover in *JW*, the reader was presented with a range of situations that encompassed a distinctive lack of morality; how this was nuanced by the social classes that read Reynolds can be observed in the amount of critical detractors that he had as well as in the fact of his outselling Dickens. Indeed, the reception of such explicit immorality depended in great measure on the social purity movement that was taking place throughout the nineteenth century. Reynolds did include some passages in *MP* exposing immoral settings and groups in contrast to the virtue of the main character, i. e., Mary descends to the dark side of London to rescue the Harlesdon's baby kidnapped by the gipsies,

The sounds of *drunken revelry, brawling, and debauchery* issued forth from those *loathsome* habitations, in which human masses appeared to be pent up, — huddling close together — crowding, agitating, squeezing, and jostling in redundant numbers, like countless *reptiles* in a *morass*. Looking through the windows, the inmates of those dens might be seen with their countenances bearing the stamp of *vice, demoralization, debauchery, and crime*, — there being something *frightful* even in the *shadows* which their *forms* threw upon the *blackened walls*. At some of the doors *ill-looking men* were

seated on the steps, *smoking* and talking to women whose faces, either *bloated and red*, or *ghastly and emaciated*, denoted the different stages and varieties of *debauchery*. I shuddered — shuddered to the innermost confines of my being: for, young and inexperienced as I was, especially in the contemplation of a scene which presented so *frightful* a novelty to my view, yet did the population of this *vile* alley *strike* me as possessing every attribute that was *thievish* and *depraved* (*MP*, vol. 1, 80, emphasis mine).

The regulation of conduct in an individual and the differentiation between the conduct of the self and the conduct of others was something studied by Foucault under his notion of government. Such a notion can be used to understand reform within any given moral movement which seeks to model conduct either by law enforcement or self-transformation. In what may be considered a neo-Foucauldian approach, Hunt (1999) looked into the Vice Society and the Societies for the Reform of Manners (SRM) and discovered that middle class was usually the basal pillar which intended the reform upon members of the lower classes so as to govern their morals by influencing them with their own.⁵⁹ The Vice Society was established in 1802 by William Wilberforce and intended to promote public morality by prosecuting “excessive drinking, blasphemy, profane swearing and cursing, lewdness, profanation of the Lord’s Day, and other dissolute, immoral, or disorderly practices” (Hochschild 2005, p. 126).⁶⁰ The SRMs, on the other hand, was founded in 1691 and aimed

⁵⁹ See Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals. A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Nikolas Rose, and Peter Miller, “Political Power Beyond the State: Problematics of Government,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (1992): 173-205.

⁶⁰ Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire’s Slaves* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2005).

to suppress profanity, immorality and all lewd activities, especially those committed in brothels and through prostitution.⁶¹

Later on, the social purity movement challenged the so-called “double standard,” which excused pre- or extra-marital relations in men while condemning them in women. Such double standard can be observed in Reynolds in the case of Joseph and his pre-marital relations with Lady Calanthe, whereas Mary remains pure until her marriage with Eustace Quentin. Withal, Hunt contended that the issue with these attempts of moral reform entailed a dangerous form of repression disguised in discourses of elimination, suppression or eradication rather than incorporating other non-punitive alternatives.

Accordingly, morality would involve self-governance in terms of not only self-control but also self-presentation or being aware of personal actions and how they can be interpreted by others. Prudery, in this sense, would be perceived as hypocritical; although, as Clements (1998) indicated, Victorians gained their “acquisition of sexual knowledge through his [Freud’s] concepts of factitious innocence, learned ignorance and platonic libertinism” (p. 4).⁶² This means that they reinforced and maintained their masculine or feminine identities by keeping to their separate spheres.⁶³

Fictions of consent

In 1762, Rousseau put forward his social contract theory, which stated that citizens had surrendered their freedoms to the government in exchange for protection to keep their

⁶¹ Karen Sonnelitter, “The Reformation of Manners Societies, the Monarchy, and the English State, 1696-1714,” *The Historian* 72, no. 3 (2010): 517-542.

⁶² Nina Clements, “The Myth of Victorian Prudery: Promoting an Image,” *Articulāte* 3, no. 3 (1998): 12-19.

⁶³ See Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud, Volume I: Education of the Senses* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1984).

rights and maintenance of the social order.⁶⁴ Such contract re-emerged in the nineteenth century as the basis for political legitimacy and was a source of inspiration for reform movements all throughout Europe on the grounds that the monarchy was actually not empowered to legislate by any divine entity or being. Thus, with this new image, social contract theory constituted the threshold to a system of social relations wherein everyone could take part. In this regard, the metaphorical consent given by the citizen upon which this contract rested was questioned as to its being integral to social relations.

Another aspect of importance in this contract is that of coercion. As Davenport (2019) suggests, Victorian novels served as the exposure mechanism which unveiled the consent given by the citizen as a means of political fantasy.⁶⁵ Novelists like Reynolds were able to imagine unique situations which challenged the ethics of the individual by making them choose under extreme tension. Such situations could be involuntary predispositions, environmental tragedies or psychological states of abnormality; hence, coercion would be linked to those in order to represent the customary logic of liberal political theories. Examples of these situations can be observed throughout *JW* and *MP*, i. e., shipwrecks, palmistry and the paranormal, homicidal tendencies....,

“Never!” I ejaculated, my heart swelling with rage at the treatment I had just experienced. “I will leave you:” — and as he had now let me go, I rushed to the door. “Not so fast, my boy!” he said, with a sneer, as he caught me by the arm and pulled me back. “You are as much in my power as if you were my own son; and if you have any more of your nonsense, I’ll take you up before a magistrate — make you confess that

⁶⁴ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract; or, Principles of Political Right*, trans. George Douglas Howard Cole (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1913).

⁶⁵ Emma Davenport, “Fictions of Consent: Contract and the Victorian Novel,” *The Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke University*, November 22, 2019, [Fictions of Consent: Contract and the Victorian Novel - The Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke University](#).

you have run away from your home, your master, or whatever the real truth is — and have you sent back again.” “No, no — for heaven’s sake don’t!” I cried, thoroughly believing that he would put his threat into execution, and resolving to make almost any sacrifice of feeling rather than incur the risk of being sent back to Leicester, to the tender mercies of Mr. Jukes, and be locked up in the workhouse (*JW*, vol. 1, 10-11).

In this instance, Joseph intends to leave Mr. Taddy, his new employer, after a beating he has given him in accordance with his inner ethics, but coercion stands in the way and he has to choose whether put up with his mistreatment and abuse or risk being taken to the workhouse. Within consent, inasmuch as a component of ethical human relations, autonomy and paternalism are two key ethical aspects.⁶⁶ An autonomous person would be that who is able to assess situations and adapt to them although always under a series of norms of propriety and profit that have been passed on from parents, teachers or peers. From this follows that autonomy is indeed heteronomy, which permits an individual to govern themselves under a *nomos* or set of norms. In this sense, both Mary and Joseph are autonomous, as they have firm personalities with the principle of integration and a set of beliefs, values and other moral principles which govern their actions and choices.⁶⁷ Being autonomous, then, equates being conscious of oneself as a person with a project of life that is based on self-perfection, which involves the awareness and recognition of personal responsibility, appraisals, resolutions, hopes and mistakes. Even incurring on a mistake can motivate the person to try harder at bettering themselves so as to achieve self-perfection. However, such self-assessment is carried out against a *nomos* taken over from society. This social(ised) individual has got two options, namely, to accept the role(s) that society imposes on them without any appraisals, or

⁶⁶ Franklin G. Miller and Alan Wertheimer, eds. *The Ethics of Consent: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁶⁷ S. I. Benn, “Freedom, Autonomy and the Concept of a Person,” *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 76, no. 1 (1975-1976): 109-130.

to seek for coherence within that role. And this is precisely what Reynolds has done with Mary and Joseph when they initially have to accept their roles as servants yet they search for coherence and purpose in them; eventually, their concepts of person and autonomy emerge through the overcoming of difficult situations comprising power and coercion and so they gain social status and personal happiness as the ultimate reward.

The concept of paternalism, on the other hand, distinguishes between moral and legal paternalism. Whereas the former asserts that the welfare of an individual presupposes changes in their moral behaviour that may not necessarily result in their being happier, the latter implies that the state stands *in loco parentis* of an individual as it claims to know what is best for them.⁶⁸ The issue here lies on the latent coercion within legal paternalism as some paternalistic interferences from the state seem altogether unjustified.⁶⁹ In Reynolds's case, he probably resorted to conceal in his fiction certain deontological theories that were based on the moral autonomy of a person and which emphasised their dignity and inviolability as such. Thus, the ability of the individual to adhere to self-imposed laws is praised inasmuch as they possess the ability to deliberate and reason. Moral autonomy, in this sense, would be opposed to paternalism despite their connection via consent and the social contract.

Foucauldian ethics and freedom

Instead of understanding ethics as moral philosophy, metaethics or normative ethics, Foucault considered it as an intentional means for the individual to work on the self so as to constitute their own moral being through "subjectivation."⁷⁰ When he lectured on the

⁶⁸ Please see Gerald Dworkin, "Moral Paternalism," *Law and Philosophy* 24, no. 3 (2005): 305-319; and Joel Feinberg, "Legal Paternalism," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 1, no. 1 (1971): 105-124.

⁶⁹ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: John W. Parker & Son, 1859).

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

condition of tutelage put forward by Kant, he highlighted the emerging process of the individual to come out of such tutelage. Could such a process be equated with the relationship between a master and his servants in Reynoldian fiction? First, the condition of tutelage cannot be confused with that of natural powerlessness; this can be seen in the free choice that servants, and most particularly Mary and Joseph had when confronted with leaving their jobs or remaining in them. Most certainly, they did learn many positive and negative lessons with each of their masters. Second, the individual must not make their duty dependent on any given subsequent fate; on the contrary, they must use their conscience to determine their ethical conduct.⁷¹ However, and as Foucault noted, tutelage is characterised as a vitiated relationship between one's self-government and the government of others; hence, the coercion of authority and its superimposition on the subject who consents to it.

The question is, therefore, where is the ethical freedom that allows the individual, or servant in this case, to get out of a condition of tutelage? Such condition involves an unjustified obedience and absence of any reasoning as well as a confusion between the public and private spheres of society.⁷² Precisely, that obedience comes out of an absence of reasoning, which is implemented by the consent of the servant to the orders of their master under the coercion of not to lose their job. As regards the two spheres, the private one signifies the use of one's own faculties of reasoning and judgment, whereas the public one stands for the use that is made of them in public, with others.

⁷¹ Immanuel Kant, *Kant's Critique of Practical Reason and Other Works on the Theory of Ethics*, trans. Thomas Kingsmill Abbott (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1889).

⁷² Michel Foucault, *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the Collège de France 1982-1983*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Another key aspect of Foucauldian ethics that is connected to the freedom of the individual is that of parrhesia, or absolute frankness of speech,⁷³

[...] a kind of verbal activity where the speaker has a specific relation to truth through frankness, a certain relationship to his own life through danger, a certain type of relation to himself or other people through criticism (self-criticism or criticism of other people), and a specific relation to moral law through freedom and duty. More precisely, parrhesia is a verbal activity in which a speaker expresses his personal relationship to truth, and risks his life because he recognizes truth-telling as a duty to improve or help other people (as well as himself). In parrhesia, the speaker uses his freedom and chooses frankness instead of persuasion, truth instead of falsehood or silence, the risk of death instead of life and security, criticism instead of flattery, and moral duty instead of self-interest and moral apathy (Pearson 2001, 19-20).

This translates as the observance of moral law via parrhesia being the possibility of freedom for the individual who has chosen to defy legal paternalism so as to fight coercion and a condition of tutelage. Indeed, the characters of Mary and Joseph embody the parrhesian concept to the tee, as they act as *parrhesiastes* in a constant manner throughout the plots and subplots of the novel.

Besides his understanding of ethics, Foucault distinguished between ethical conduct, or those actions performed by the individual in order to engage in a morally approved conduct within society; and moral conduct, or obligation under a moral code to either forbid or necessitate a specific type of conduct.⁷⁴ Thus, the mode of subjection consists in the establishment of a binding relationship between the individual and the moral code, which

⁷³ Michel Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, ed. Joseph Pearson (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2001).

⁷⁴ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality. Volume Two. The Use of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1990).

entitles him/her to a free choice of forming their lives through self-mastery and so achieving perfect happiness. This mode, then, forms part of ethical work or ascetics, in Foucault's view, with ascetic practices such as self-restraint, self-discipline and self-denial. Indeed, Mary and Joseph embody such practices in their journeys towards self-mastery,

It struck me at the instant when Mrs. Summerly left the alternatives in my own hands, that perhaps poor Sybilla would be glad to have me with her at a time when she would so much need the consolation of one whom she had made a confidante and whom she regarded as a sincere friend. I would certainly have rather remained at the villa on purely personal considerations: but it occurred to me that it was almost a duty which I owed the unhappy young lady to be near her at the trying period through which she was about to pass. I therefore informed Mrs. Summerly that I would accompany her (*MP*, vol. 2, 206).

The more I saw of human nature, the more I was astounded, and the more deeply was I impressed with the necessity of enlarging my experiences as much as possible. I felt that for one of my youthful years to be presumptuous enough to judge of human nature, and to define the instances where virtue and vice should have their limits drawn, were as preposterous as for the human intellect, when standing on the shore of Time, to contemplate the great ocean of Eternity, with the hope of discovering an horizon in the far-off distance (*JW*, vol. 2, 274).

Indeed, these practices conducive to self-mastery aimed at a state of moderation which meant freedom of the self; thus, caring for the self would be essential for one's ethical development as well as for that of others. As a corollary, the fact that Reynolds made use of latent ethics and explicit morals in *JW* and *MP*, brings the attention of the reader towards the role that sensation fiction had in conveying literary humanness and reflections on humanity, masculinity and cultural hegemony across a diversity of social backgrounds.

Conclusion

After Reynolds

Literary treatment of servants

The present dissertation sought to go beyond the scope of previous research on the literary treatment bestowed on servants insofar as characters of universally acclaimed novels by investigating the plausibility of divergence in this precise treatment as regards male writers living in the 1850s; the (absence of) relevance that this group of characters acquired in these novels in order to aid and serve as basal pillars for each of the plots within hybrid constructions; the relationships amongst these characters, their age in terms of the earliest they were recruited, their physiognomy, dress code, the positions they occupied and the wages they received, whether in the professional, upper, or lower staff of a Victorian household.

Further to this, the particular usage of servants as fictional characters implemented by G. W. M. Reynolds in some of his novels were analysed in terms of a) the art of communication; b) the roots of the apparently loyal, unquestionable submission of the self from servant to master; c) the Victorian system created to manage servitude and its literary depiction, and d) the diverse roles within servitude and their function in bringing forth a certain caste of individuals.

The current study, therefore, has attempted to add new knowledge to the existing literature by exploring the use and purposes of the servant figure in novels that were excluded from hegemonic literature despite being widely read and having even outsold renowned novelists such as Charles Dickens.

Foucault and New Historicism

In order to endow the topics under study with a well-founded, cogent theoretical background, I followed Michel Foucault and, drawing from recent research, established a parallel connection between the ideology implicit in the New Historicist approach and the question of plagiarism on the part of Reynolds which helped create or enhance the alleged ‘servant problem’ on the second half of the 19th century.

Despite the risk of incurring in anachronism, some of the key assumptions that constitute the basis for New Historicism have been observed in the two novels upon which this study was formed, *JW* and *MP*, i. e., any given discourse cannot alter human nature and its truth, or the description of any given culture is embedded in the economy it describes. What Foucault added to New Historicism was a more nuanced view of power as pervasive throughout society, instead of belonging exclusively to a specific social echelon. This has been made clear in Reynolds’s depiction of servants and masters, which attempted to illustrate the so-called “servant problem” at the time.

Reynolds, therefore, did expose the problem as part of his Chartist ideology, although he did not seem to go against the monarchy; instead, he promoted respect for the high class without leaving aside the dignity and integrity of the individual according to a set of moral principles and ethical values. He showed how any individual appertaining to the working class was more than able to ascend the social ladder if and only if they were willing to work hard and act morally and ethically at all times. Indeed, both Aristotelian and Foucauldian ethics were explored as to demonstrate the ethos, pathos and logos of Reynoldian novels. In addition, psychohistory and interpretive history were considered in order to reveal some of the reasons behind the portrayal of servants and masters in accordance with the ideology of the time.

The “servant problem”

The question of whether Reynolds’s literary depiction of servants was compliant with the setup of a stereotypical image of the Victorian domestic can be answered in the affirmative, although with caution. It is true that Reynolds portrayed many different types of the stock character of the servant as well as the master; however, he did so by highlighting the differences between fellow servants and masters. He enhanced the features that made some of them truly human and humane so as to warn the readers of the perils of stereotyping.

Servants who were considered to be meek and loyal were beginning to act immorally by stealing from their masters, laughing at them behind their backs or not attending to their chores as they should. Others, however, continued to be blindly loyal to their masters and sacrificing their lives for them. Withal, finding and retaining good domestics had become a major problem by the end of the 19th century. Did Reynolds fire up such an issue through his literary depictions or, on the contrary, was he trying to find a solution by exposing a global view of the problem?

It seems likely that, according to his Chartist ideology, he advocated for finding a solution that would accommodate all classes. He praised the virtuous servant as well as the pious master and he revealed how immoral servants and masters were the real problem for society. Accordingly, the ultimate reward for those acting ethically was personal happiness and a comfortable economic and social position for life; whereas for those who did not act according to moral law death or prison was their end. Perhaps Reynolds had already seen that servants remained a subset of the working class, given the unique nature of their recruitment and the discreet or rather restrained class consciousness they maintained.

What seems contradictory, however, is the extent up to which Reynolds intended to convey his political ideology in his narrative. Despite his explicit critique of a stratified

society wherein meek and loyal servants aspire to ascend so as to obtain a better position, Reynolds did respect the system instead of attempting to replace it with an alternative provision in accordance with his Chartist views. The fact that Chartism was already in decline around 1848, a few years before he wrote *JW* and *MP*, probably toned down his political ambition so as to avoid the repressive measures that had been instated by Parliament.

Implications of findings

One of the novel findings in this study has been the confirmation of the absence of any prior research on the figure of the servant in the novels of *JW* and *MP*. Given the “status” of Reynolds as archenemy of Dickens, his fiction was relegated to the background of literature and never considered part of the canon. Although some recent studies, such as that of Knight (2019) have focused on some of Reynolds’s main characters, practically most of the existing research has been conducted on Reynolds’s *The Mysteries of London* (1844-1848). In this respect, Reynolds transformed the invisibility of servants in these two novels by placing them in the spotlight and giving them a voice with which to express the hardships they had to endure. Thus, by representing these figures as protagonists in his fiction, readers would be able to understand such duress and hopefully society could become more humane. Unfortunately, whereas Reynolds intended to make them visible as the minority on whom higher classes were dependant, society as a system was not ready to accept them as visible and essential; on the contrary, they had to remain silent and out of sight for the common good.

Another important finding was the feasibility of adopting the New Historicist approach and Foucauldian perspectives on power relations, ethics, morality, government of the self and discourse to analyse Reynoldian characterisation of leading roles in *JW* and *MP*. As this is something that has not been done before, this study has been the first in facilitating

a re-reading of these two novels of Reynolds under a culturally poetic methodology. Precisely, the difference between masculinity and femininity in terms of characterisation has been crucial to better comprehend the system of power relations implemented amongst masters and servants. Despite Reynolds's ideology of parity between men and women, he stood within the boundaries determined by the public and private Victorian spheres and by the household manuals in vogue at the time. Withal, he instilled a twist in his female characters which differed greatly from their depiction in mainstream patriarchal literature. In addition, the analysis of the system of power relations in place between male and female servants and masters has shed light on the strategies of struggle by which an individual became a subject of power and which Reynolds fought against.

Also of great importance is the reception and translation of Reynoldian fiction into different Indian languages and even Hawaiian as recent as 2016. The second appendix at the end of this study shows the different covers and some of the first pages of the translations into Bengali, Urdu and Hawaiian, which reveal interesting details such as subtle differences in the titles in accordance with the culture of the country. Perhaps the critics who supported mainstream literature purposefully ignored the fact that Reynolds's novels were outselling those written by acclaimed novelists. This is an aspect that needs to be studied further in future research.

And last but not least, the fact that Reynolds is slowly but steadily being rescued from neglect mainly through the figure of his literary rival, Dickens, and through other figures such as the English Garibaldian Hugh Forbes, a personal friend of Reynolds's who was also highly involved in radical Chartism. This is, in fact, how many researchers, including myself, have discovered Reynolds's fiction. Hopefully, this study will add to the existing yet scarce literature on Reynolds memoir novels and open the door to further reflection and investigation on both his fiction and journalism.

Strengths and limitations of this research

In relation to the review research question and problem statement, a New Historicist approach was used. Thus, the importance of the current findings in a literary context are based on a series of strengths with the first one being the application of the New Historicist method to review the selected novels by Reynolds. This is positive because it has allowed for the provision of an in-depth analysis and critique of the included novels.

Another strength has been the concise overview of issues surrounding the depiction of servants and masters presented in the sections of each chapter. The underlying evidence of this point is formed by the possibility of acquiring a better, global view of the key insights brought forward by the existing literature under a new perspective. Again, this is positive in terms of observing global findings and commonplaces as well as gaps or unanswered questions related to the problem statement.

The present study, however, is not exempt of certain caveats. First, the inability from a methodological perspective to broad the generalisability of the findings to other sensationalist fiction in the Victorian era. Second, the impossibility of finding more specific literature related to the depiction of servants at the time and the servant problem, together with literature on Reynolds as a novelist. Third, due to time constraints, the initial text string search was reduced to those two novels, *JW* and *MP*, which could have been extended to other novels equally important although not in memoirist format. This limited considerably the number of novels studied here.

Future research

In view of the above considerations, certain paths for future research include the attempt of gathering new evidence on a) Reynolds's depiction of ethnic minority characters in his novels during the 1850s and 1860s; b) the plagiarism that Reynolds was subjected to

and the relative innocence of his plagiarism of Dickens; c) the translation and reception of his novels in Indian and other languages as compared to Dickens's; d) the punishments to which servants were subjected from masters and other fellow servants; and e) natural medicine and remedies administered to and amongst servants for physical maladies together with psychoanalytical therapies given at asylums at the time.

Concluding remarks

So far, this doctoral dissertation has provided an overview of the available literature on Reynolds and the lack thereof of more specific research on the novels of *JW* and *MP*. Despite the limitations aforementioned, this study has attempted to show how mainstream-in-the-making novelists such as Reynolds were able to focus on literary characters not generally approved amongst the higher echelons of society and confer human dignity and integrity on them.

Nowadays, with the re-emergence of inclusion and diversity and the embracing of multiculturalism, novelists like Reynolds are being rescued from oblivion thanks to their efforts to make society a better place.

Overall, and to end on a positive note, the findings obtained in this study are consistent with most of the previous yet scarce research and include new evidence on the no longer unstudied novels of *JW* and *MP*.

Appendix 1

Acknowledgments: *Internet Archive*, “Text Archive,” last modified December 31, 2014. [Free Books : Download & Streaming : eBooks and Texts : Internet Archive.](#)



Figure 1. Cover pages of the first edition in book format of *Pickwick Abroad; or, The Tour in France* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1839). Illustrated by Alfred Henry Forrester, “Crowquill,” and John Phillips. The inscription on the left page reads, “Mr. Pickwick’s triumphant entry into Paris.”

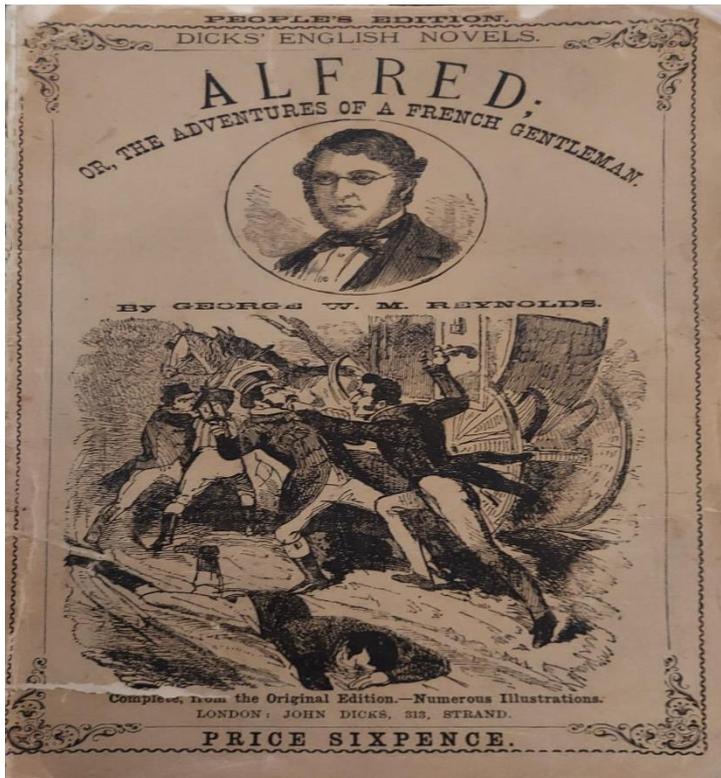


Figure 2. Front cover of the first edition in book format [reissue] of *Alfred; or, The Adventures of a French Gentleman* (London: John Dicks, c. 1838). Illustrated by T. Phillips.



Figures 3 and 4 (From left to right). A (potential) lithograph or sketch created for the first edition in book format of *Grace Darling; Or, the Heroine of the Fern Islands* (London: George Henderson, 1839). The inscription reads, “Mr. Darling & his Daughter rowing to the wreck;” and cover page of such first edition.

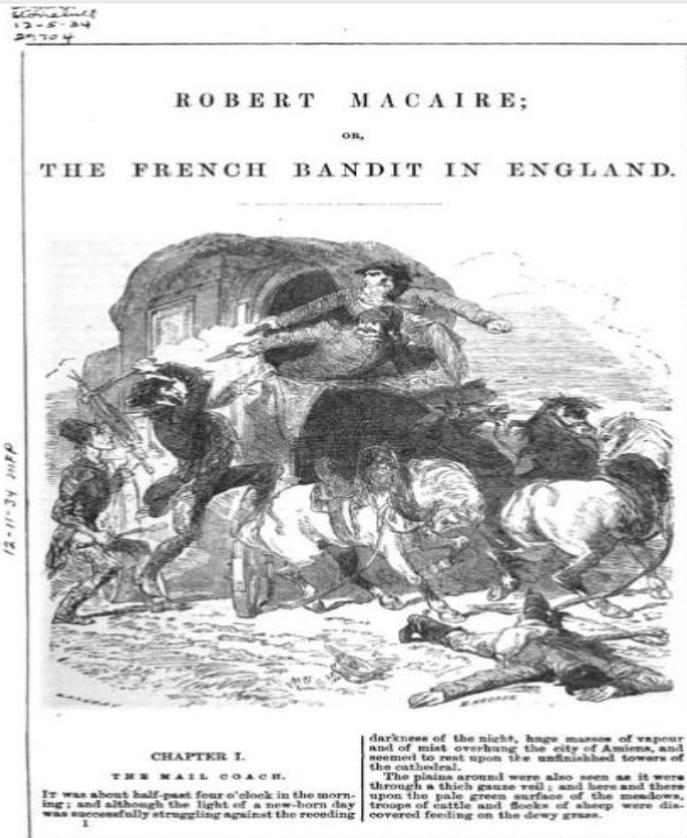


Figure 5. First page of the edition in book format of *Robert Macaire; or, The French Bandit in England* (London: John Dicks, 1871). Wood-engraved by Henry Anelay.

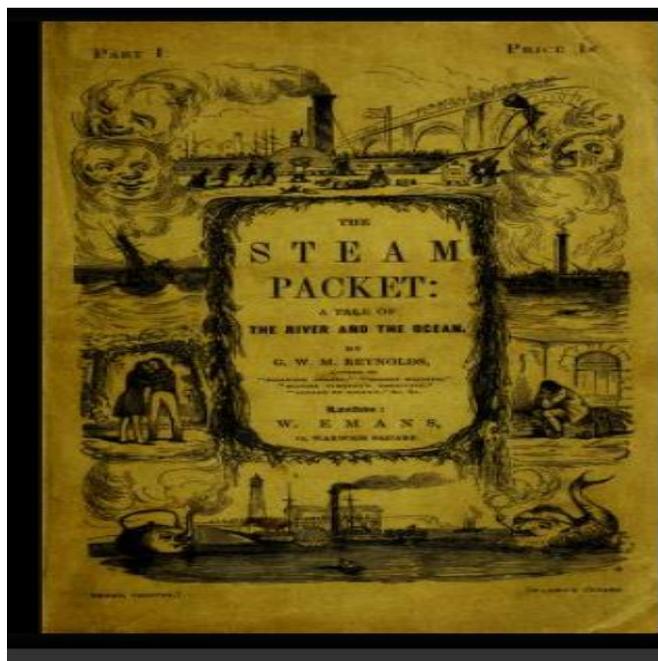


Figure 6. Front cover of the edition in book format of *The Steam Packet: A Tale of the River and the Ocean* (London: W. Means, 1844). Engraving on steel and wood.



Figure 7. Illustration by Henry Anelay in the edition in book format of *Master Timothy's Book-case; or, The Magic Lanthorn of the World* (London: Office of Reynolds's Miscellany, 1847).

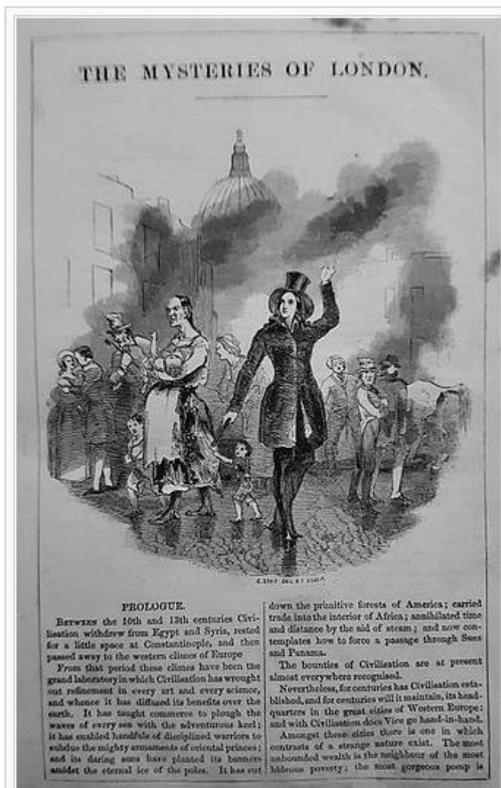


Figure 8. First page of the edition in book format of *The Mysteries of London* (London: George Vickers, 1844). Illustrated by G. Stiff.



Figure 9. First page of the edition in book format of the first series of *The Mysteries of The Court of London* (London: John Dicks, 1849, vol. I). Illustrated by Henry Anelay and engraved by E. Hooper.

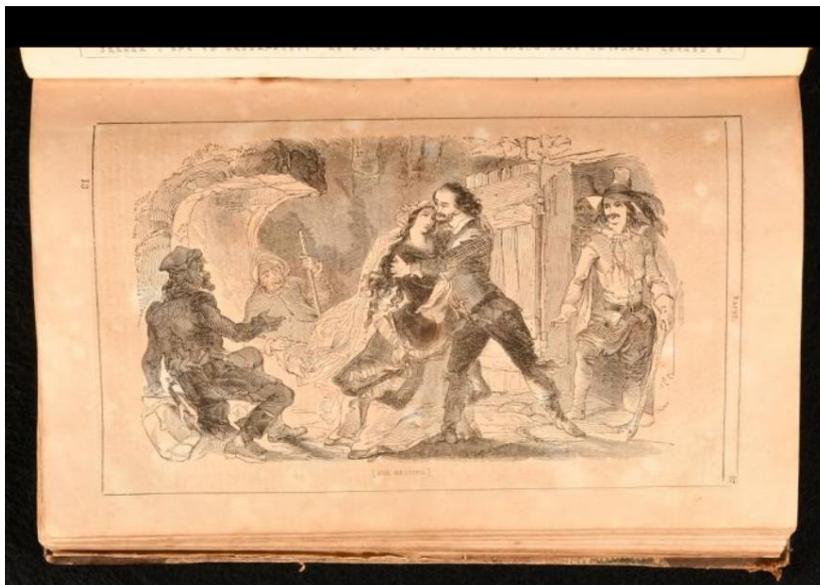


Figure 10. Illustration by Sir John Gilbert and Henry Anelay in the edition in book format of *Faust: A Romance of the Secret Tribunals* (London: George Vickers, 1847).

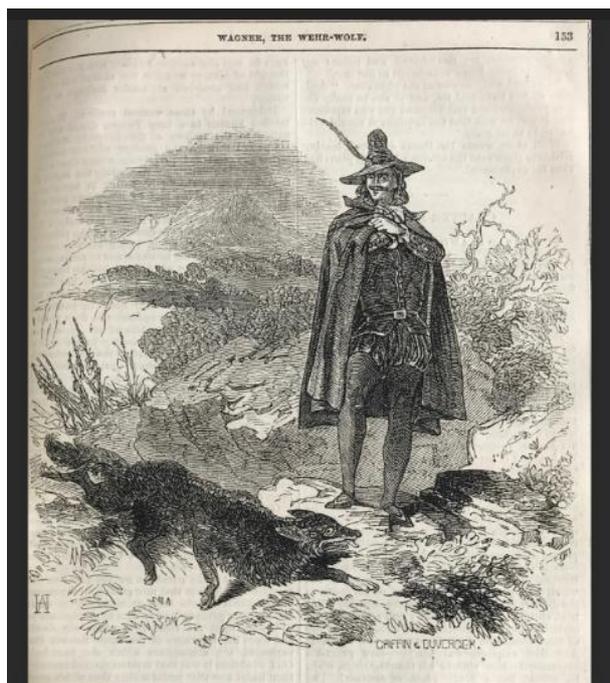


Figure 11. Illustration by Criffin and Duverger in the edition in book format of *Wagner, the Wehr-Wolf* (London: John Dicks, 1857).

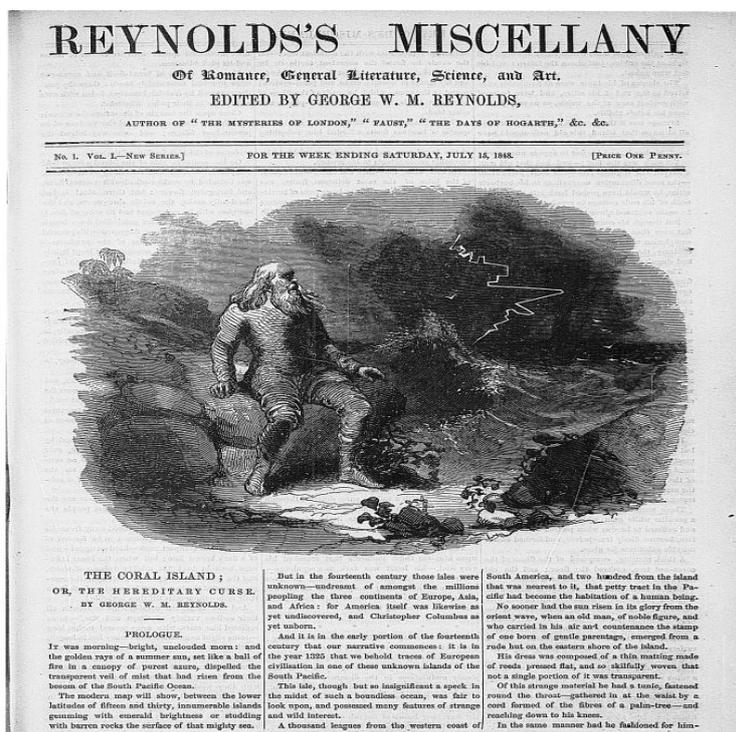


Figure 12. First page of the serialisation of *The Coral Island; or, The Hereditary Curse* (*Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art* 1, no. 1, 1848). Illustrated by Henry Anelay.



[THE PIXY.]

Figure 13. Illustration in the edition in book format of *The Pixy; or, The Unbaptised Child. A Story for Christmas* (London: John Dicks, 1848). The inscription reads, “[The Pixy].” This short story was originally printed on a green paper cover so as to imitate Dickens’s Christmas books.

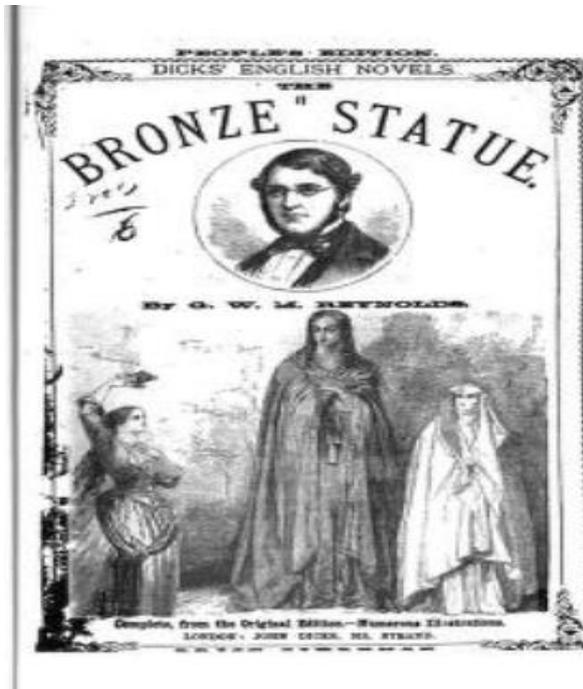


Figure 14. Front cover of *The Bronze Statue; or, The Virgin's Kiss* (London, John Dicks, 1849). Illustrated by Henry Anelay.



Figure 15. Illustration by Henry Anelay in the edition in book format of *The Seamstress; or, The White Slave of England* (London: John Dicks, 1853).

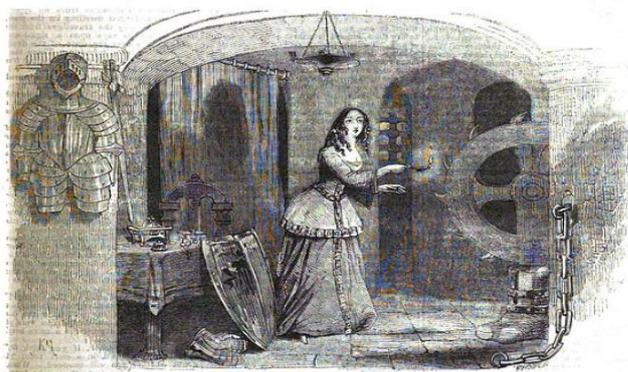
REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY

Of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art.

EDITED BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS.

AUTHOR OF THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF "THE MYSTERIES OF LONDON," "FAUST," "THE DAYS OF HOQAHEH," &c. &c.

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POPE JOAN; OR, THE FEMALE PONTIFF.

BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS.

CHAPTER I.

TEN DISSENTED TRAVELLERS.

Our tale opens in the year 853 of the Christian era. It was towards the close of the month of September—at that season when many-coloured Autumn tinges the trees with its mellow hues and waves them with its sweeping winds,—that two travellers were wending their way along the high road leading from the Pyrenees to Madrid. One was a man whose age bordered upon sixty; the other was a young female who had in reality only numbered her twentieth year, although in appearance she was somewhat older. They were mounted upon sure-footed steeds; and the lady

sate on her animal with an easy assurance and managed it with an expertise that denoted the accomplished horsewoman. The male traveller was tall in stature, of slender and graceful shape, and of very handsome countenance; but his limbs were evidently deficient in muscular power, and his bearing evinced that languor or species of lamitude which a long illness leaves behind it, or which is the forerunner of the characteristic of falling health. His face was pale—almost waxen; but upon his high and noble forehead that marble pallor stole like a diadem which Gloriana bestows upon her cheek. Contrary to the prevailing custom of the age, he wore neither beard nor mustache; and thus nothing marred the perfect oval of his Grecian countenance, or concealed the exquisite chiselling of his classic lip. His dark black eyes burnt with the fire of that intellect which had set its diamond crown upon his brow,—those fire which too often consume the gifted being whose imagination they light up so woodroily and whose soul they warm with such impassioned ardour!

The expression of the traveller's countenance was pensive, and at times even mournful; but when he turned his looks upon his fair companion, if she smiled and gazed lovingly on him, his whole features would suddenly become animated with a fervid joy—as if all the thrilling transports of an idolatrous passion were in a moment excited in his breast. Then did it seem as if he really felt that divinity of incarnate bliss which here often can engender in the human heart and which even transcends all the emotions of genius in the hour of its triumphs and all the gratification of intellect in the moments of success. Yes—the love which that young man cherished for the female who rode by his side, amounted to a worship—an adoration. And no wonder that his sensitive nature was thus under the dominion of passion's most potent spells; for the object of this idolatry measured in every way worthy to be so fondly loved. She was tall and admirably formed. Her vesture was so fashioned as to display the symmetry

Figure 16. First page of the serialisation of *Pope Joan; or, The Female Pontiff* (Reynolds's *Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art* 5/New Series, no. 109, 1850).

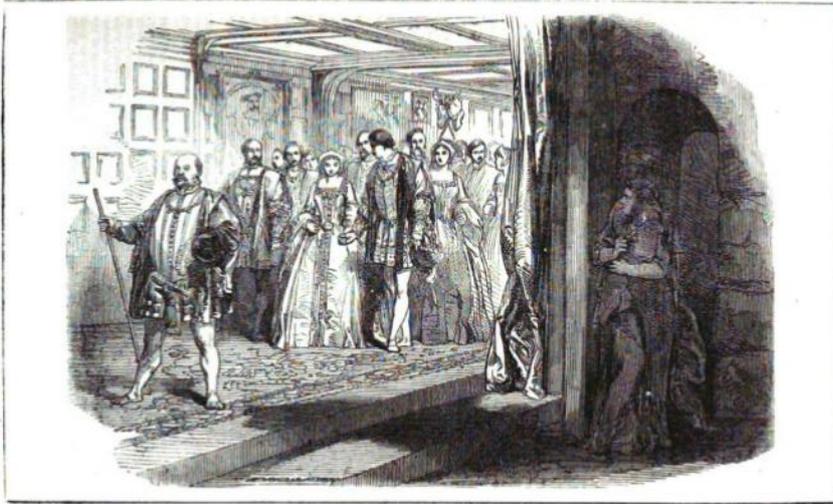


Figure 17. Illustration by Henry Anelay in the edition in book format of *Kenneth: A Romance of the Highlands* (London: John Dicks, 1856).



Figure 18. Illustration in the edition in book format of *The Necromancer. A Romance* (London: John Dicks, 1857). The inscription reads, “Musidora.”



Figure 19. First page of *Mary Price; or, The Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (London: John Dicks, 1853). Illustrated with engravings by Frederick Gilbert.

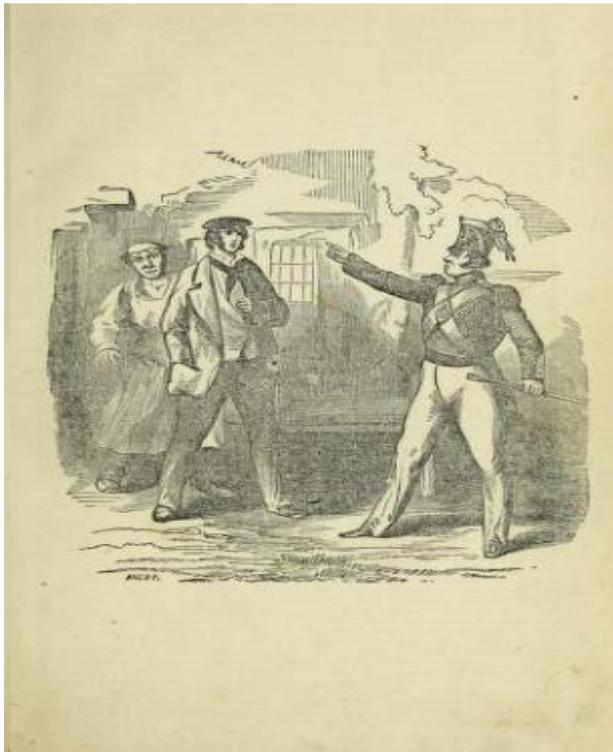


Figure 20. Illustration in the edition in book format of *The Soldier's Wife* (London: John Dicks, 1853).

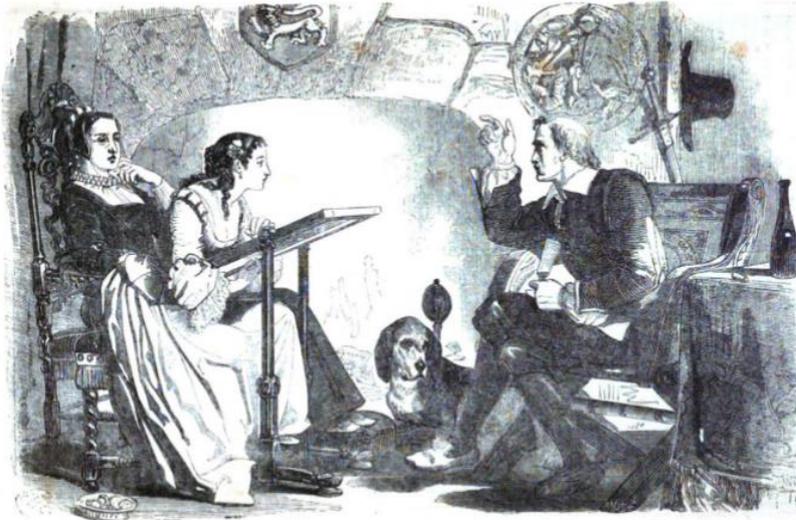


Figure 21. Illustration by Edward H. Corbould in the edition in book format of *The Rye House Plot; or, Ruth, The Conspirator's Daughter* (London: John Dicks, 1857).

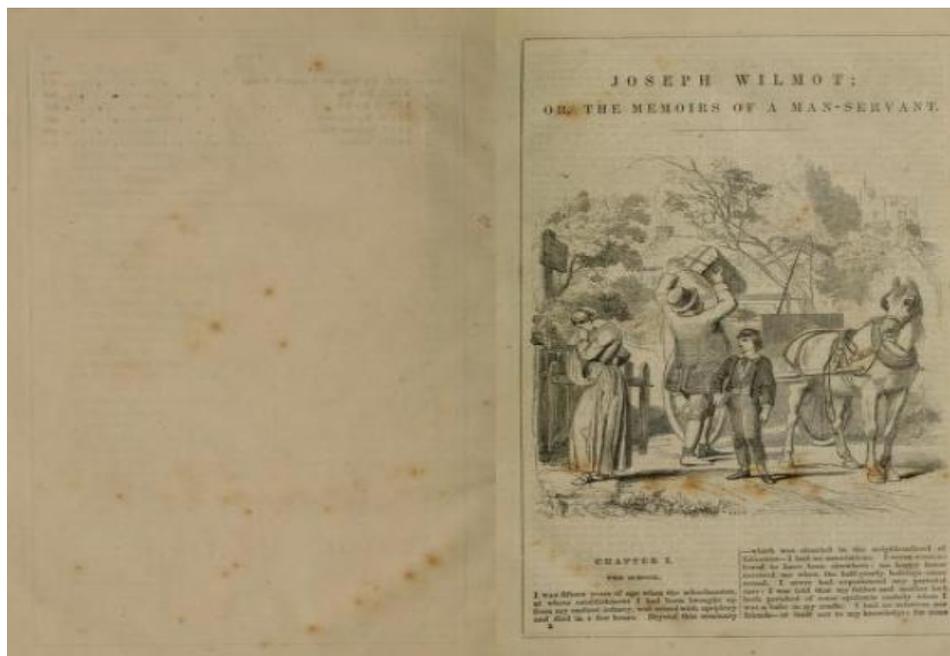


Figure 22. First page of the edition in book format of *Joseph Wilmot; or, The Memoirs of a Man-Servant* (London: John Dicks, 1854). Illustrated by Edward Corbould.



Figure 23. First page of the edition in book format of *Rosa Lambert; or, The Memoirs of an Unfortunate Woman* (London: John Dicks, 1854). Illustrated by Frederick Gilbert.



Figure 24. Illustration by Henry Anelay in the edition in book format of *May Middleton; or, The History of a Fortune* (London: John Dicks, 1858).

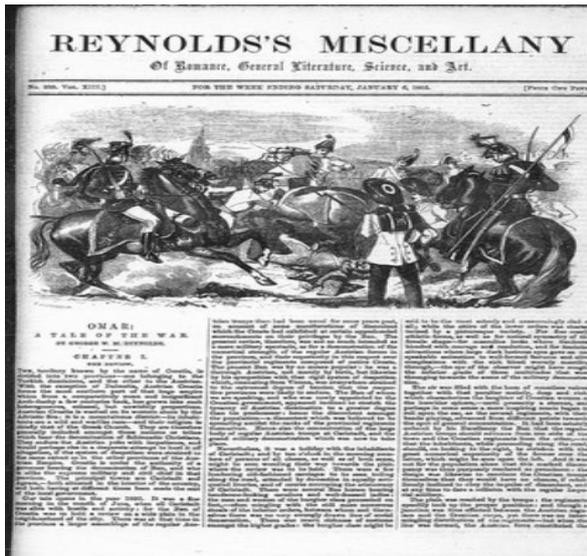


Figure 25. First page of the serialisation of *Omar, A Tale of the War* (*Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art* 13, no. 339 (1855)).



Figure 26. Illustration by Frederick Gilbert and Henry Anelay in the edition in book format of *The Loves of the Harem: A Tale of Constantinople* (London: John Dicks, 1855). The inscription reads, “‘There is hope, dearest — there is hope!’” (See p. 15).



Figure 27. First page of the edition in book format of *Ellen Percy; or, The Memoirs of an Actress* (London: John Dicks, 1856). Wood-engraved and illustrated by Frederick Gilbert.



Figure 28. First page of the edition in book format of *Agnes; or, Beauty and Pleasure* (London: John Dicks, 1857). Illustrated by Frederick Gilbert.

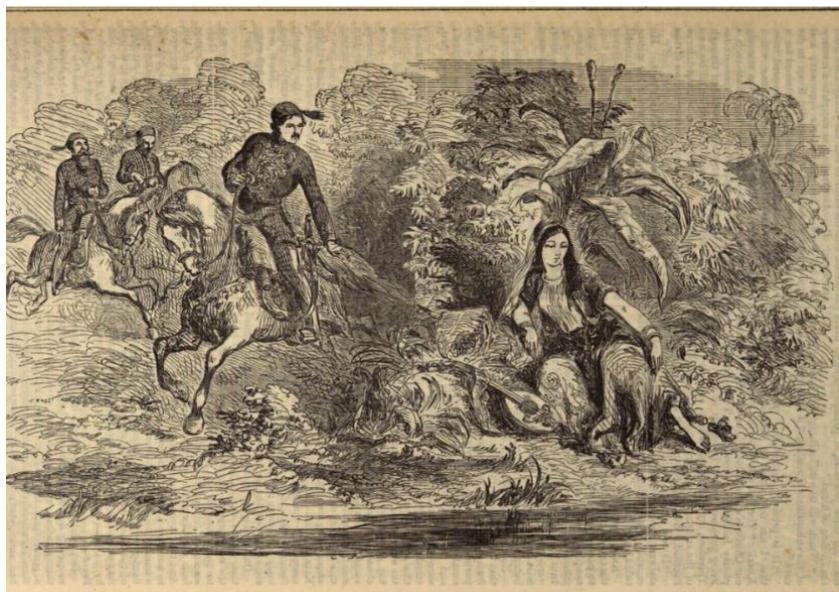


Figure 29. Illustration by Frederick Gilbert in the edition in book format of *Leila; or, The Star of Mingrelia* (London: John Dicks, 1856).

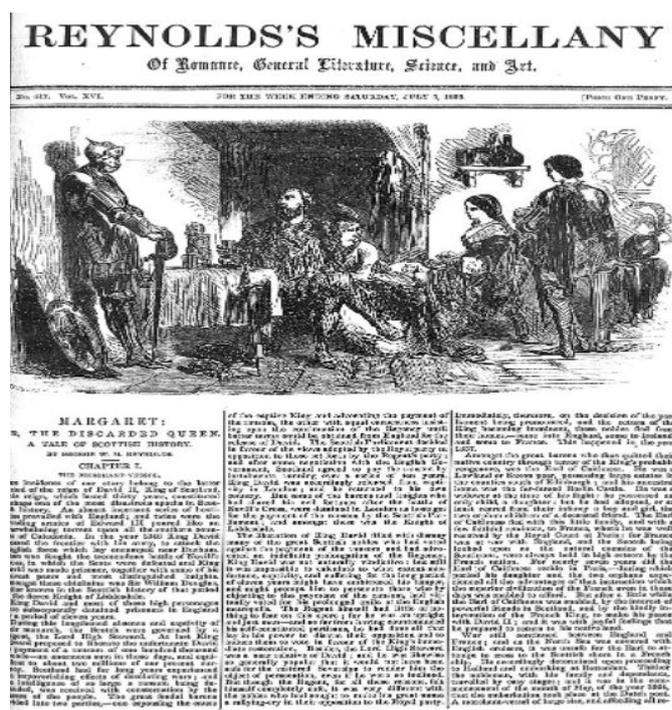


Figure 30. First page of the serialisation of *Margaret; or, The Discarded Queen* (*Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art* 16, no. 417 (1856)). Illustrated by Frederick Gilbert.



Figure 31. First page of the edition in book format of *The Young Duchess; or, Memoirs of a Lady of Quality. A Sequel to “Ellen Percy”* (London: John Dicks, 1858). Wood-engraved.

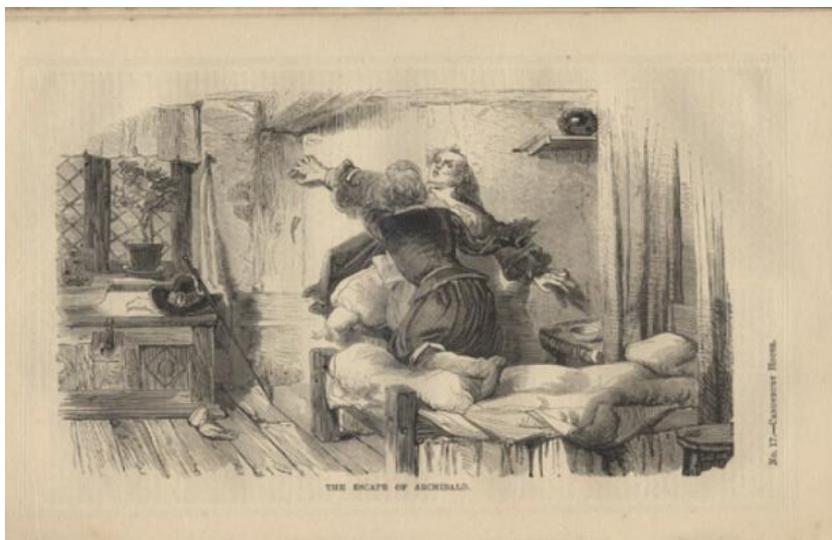


Figure 32. Illustration by Edward H. Corbould in the edition in book format of *Canonbury House; or, The Queen’s Prophecy* (London: John Dicks, 1870). The inscription reads, “The escape of Archibald.”

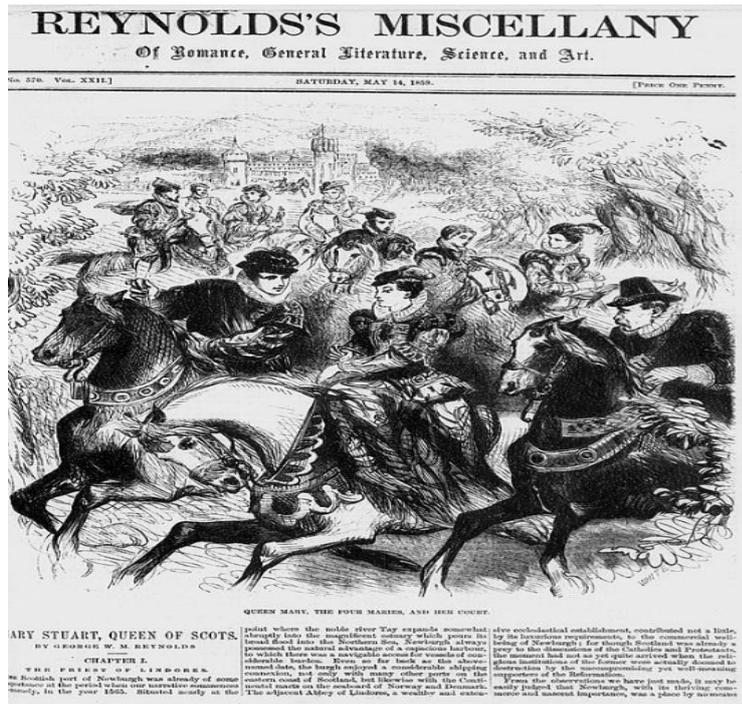


Figure 33. First page of the serialisation of *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots* (Reynolds's *Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art* 22, no. 570, 1859).

Appendix 2

Acknowledgments: *Internet Archive*, “Text Archive,” last modified December 31, 2014. [Free Books : Download & Streaming : eBooks and Texts : Internet Archive](#); and *Rekhta*, “ebooks,” last modified 2022, [Urdu Books | Rekhta](#).

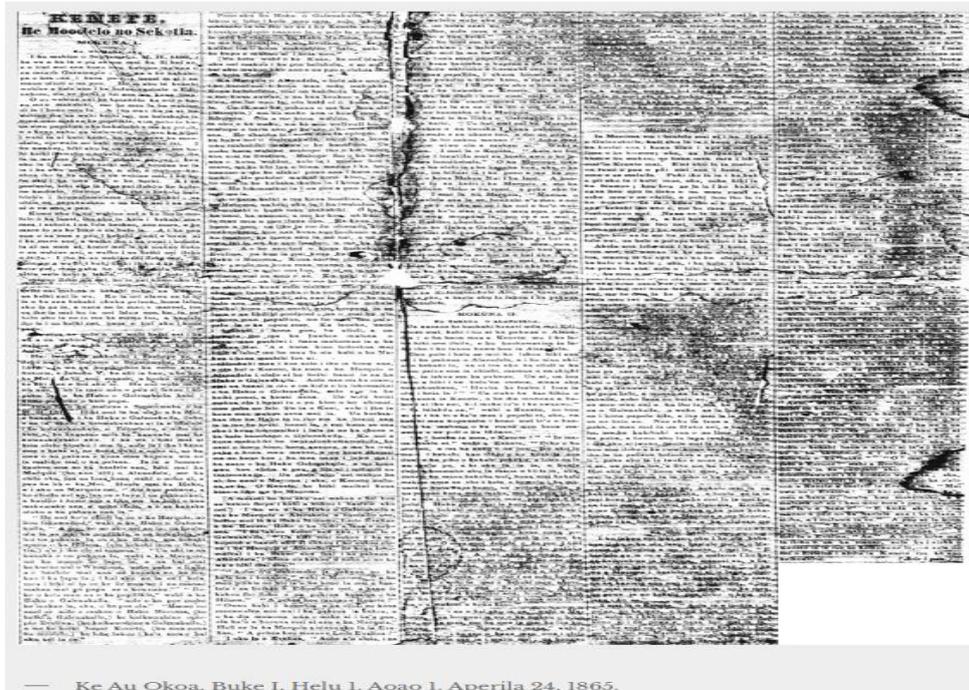


Figure 1. First page of the inaugural issue of the newspaper *Au Okoa*, with the first installment of *Kenneth, A Romance of the Highlands*, translated into Hawaiian by John M. Kapena (1865).



Figure 2. Front cover of *Leila; or, The Star of Mingrelia* (1856). Translated into Urdu as *Fasana-e 'Ala'uddin va Laila* by Munshi Muhammad Ameer Hasan (Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India: Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, 1891).

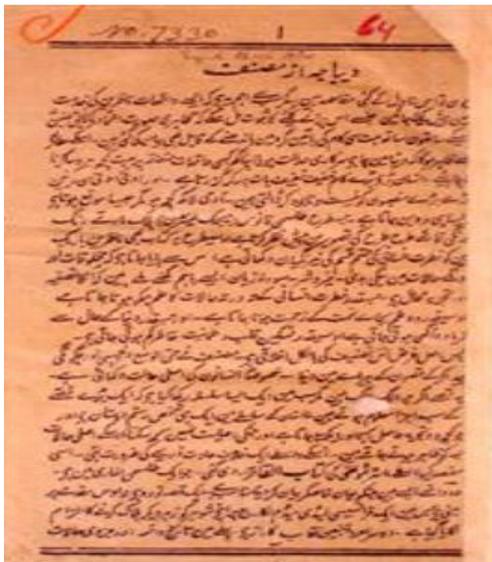


Figure 3. Front cover of *Master Timothy's Book-Case; or, The Magic Lanthorn of the World* (1842). Translated into Urdu as *Dhoka ya Tilismi Fanoos* [literally, *Deceit of the Mystical Lantern*] by Munshi Sajjad Husain Anjum (Lahore: Babu Pyare Lal Publishers, n. d.).

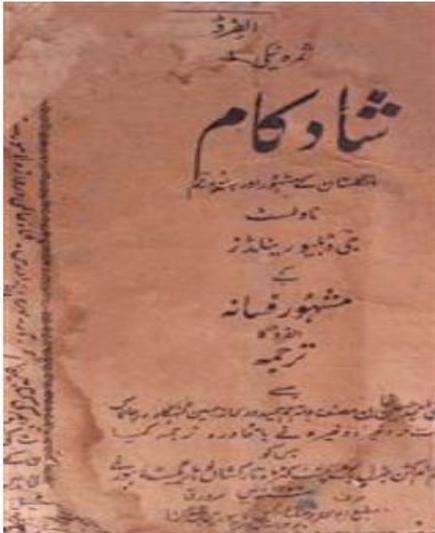


Figure 4. Front cover of *Alfred; or, The Adventures of a French Gentleman* (1838). Translated into Urdu as *Shad Kaam* [literally, *The Happy Work*] by Munshi Amjad Husain Khan (Lahore, Pakistan: Deewan Printing Press, 1932).



Figure 5. Front cover of *Loves of the Harem* (1855). Translated into Urdu as *Haram Sara* [literally, *Harem Palace*] by Hazrat Riyaz Khairabadi (Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, India: Riyaz-ul-Akhbar Press, n.d.).

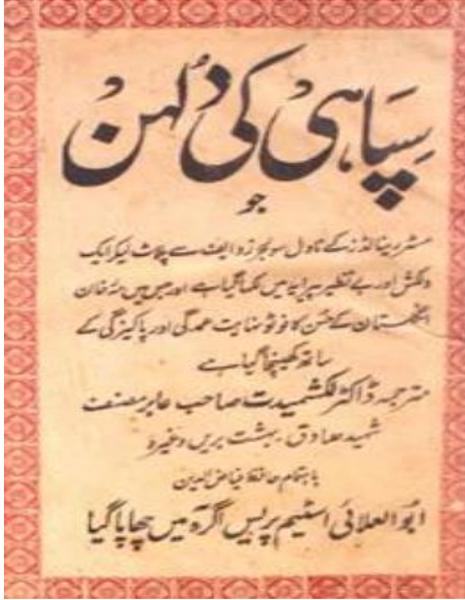


Figure 6. Front cover of *The Soldier's Wife* (1852). Translated into Urdu as *Sipahi Ki Dulhan* by Dr Lakshmi Dutt (Agra, Uttar Pradesh, India: Abu Alai Press, n. d.).

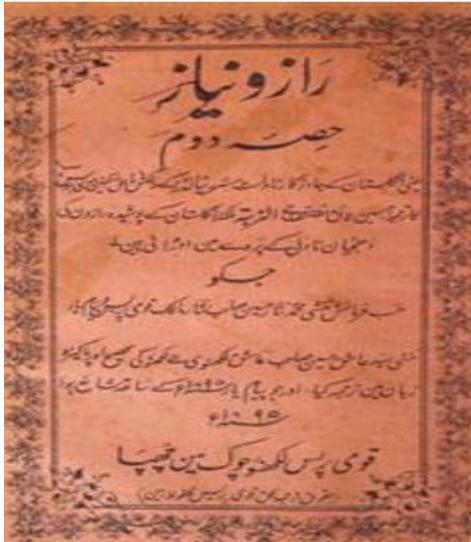


Figure 7. Front cover of *Canonbury House; or, The Queen's Prophecy* (1857). Translated into Urdu as *Raz o Niyaz* [literally, *Secret Desires*] by Munshi Syed Ashiq Husain (Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India: Qaumi Press, 1895).

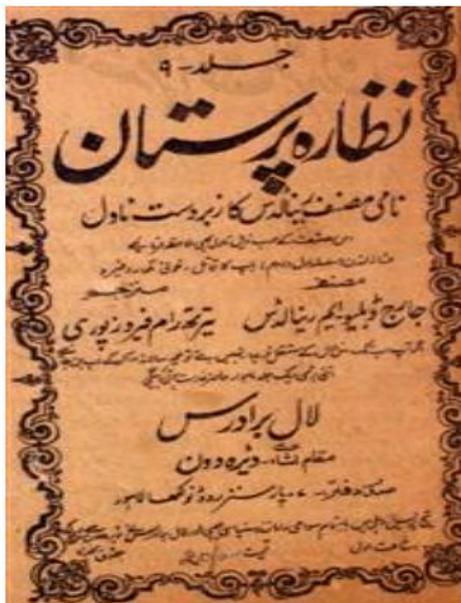


Figure 8. Front cover of the ninth volume of *The Mysteries of the Court of London* (1848). Translated into Urdu as *Nazara Paristan* [literally, *The Scene of the Fairyland*] by Munshi Tirath Ram Firozपुरي (Lahore, Pakistan: Lal Brothers, 1924).

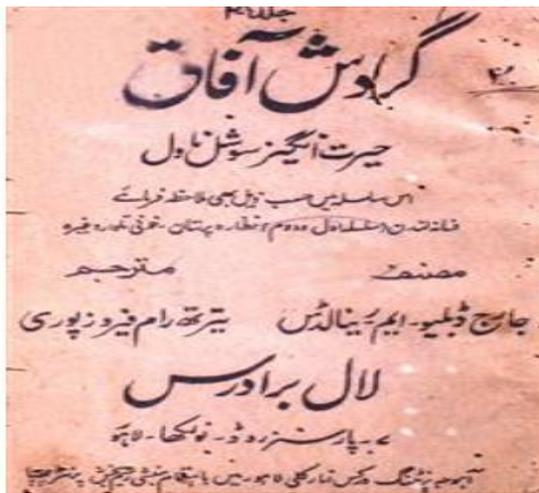


Figure 9. Front cover of the second volume of *Joseph Wilmot; or, the Memoirs of a Manservant* (1854) Translated into Urdu as *Gardish-e-Afaq* [literally, *The Rotation of the Skies*] by Munshi Tirath Ram Firozपुरi (Lahore, Pakistan: Lal Brothers, n. d.).

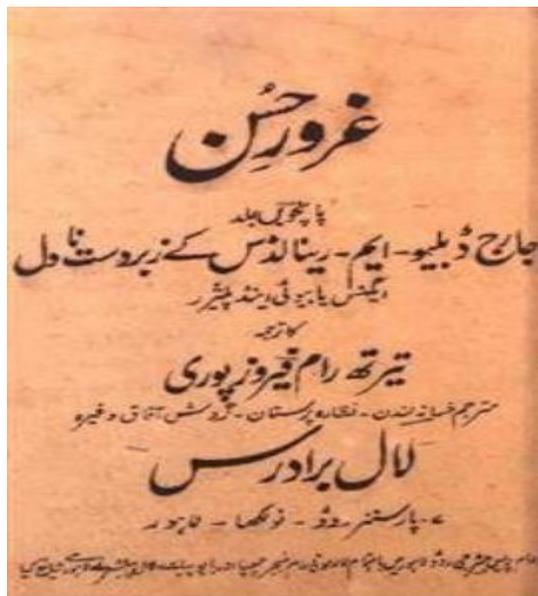


Figure 10. Front cover of *Agnes; or, Beauty and Pleasure* (1857). Translated into Urdu as *Ghuroor-e-Husn* [literally, *Beauty's Pride*] by Munshi Tirath Ram Firozपुरi (Lahore, Pakistan: Piyare Lal Publisher, n. d.).

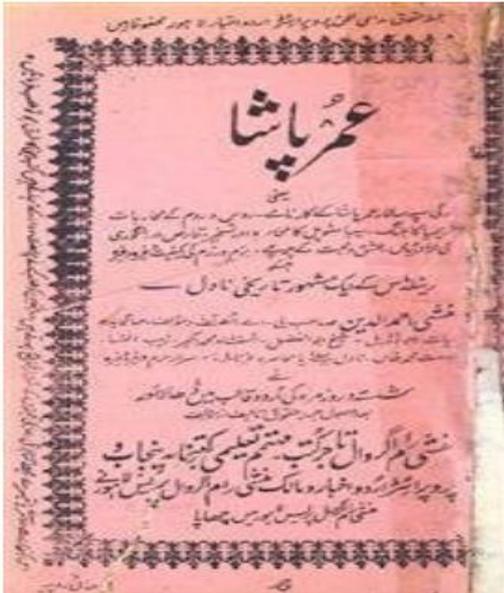


Figure 11. Front cover of *Omar, A Tale of the Crimean War* (1855). Translated into Urdu as *Umar Paashaa* by Munshi Ahmaduddin (Lahore, Pakistan: Munshi Ram Agarwal Press, n. d.).

আমন্ত্রণ।

ভারতীয় রহস্যের প্রথম খণ্ড প্রচারিত হইল। এ খণ্ড যদি সাধারণের একটুও ভাল লাগে, দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড প্রকাশে বিলম্ব করা হইবে না। সেই খণ্ডে পাঠকমহাশয়েরা অনেক আশ্চর্য্য আশ্চর্য্য, অনেক অপূর্ণ কৌতুকাবহ, অনেক পোকা-বহ, দুঃখাবহ এবং মহিষী অলপকাল মৃতন মৃতন কাণ্ড দেখিতে পাইবেন। শারদীয়া পুঙ্কনিমেষেই পাঠকমহাশয়গণের অভিপ্রায় ও নামধাম জানিতে ইচ্ছা করি। প্রথম খণ্ড অপেক্ষা দ্বিতীয় খণ্ডের মূল্য অল্প হইবে।

—

এই এক মৃতন।

বিলাতী গুপ্তকথা !!

অতিবড় মৃতন আশ্চর্য্য !!!

হরিদাসের গুপ্তকথায়, বাঙ্গালী হরিদাস দেখিতেছেন, বিলাতী গুপ্তকথায় বিলাতী হরিদাস পাইছেন। বাঙ্গালী হরিদাস অপেক্ষা বিলাতী

হরিদাসের কত ভেজ, কত সূক্ষ্ম, কত বুদ্ধি, কত বিপাক, কতই অদ্ভুত অদ্ভুত মনবিত্তা ও নির্ভীকতা, কতই স্বভাবানুকীর্ণ বীরত্ব এবং কতই দুর্ভাগ্যের সঙ্গে যুদ্ধ, বিলাতী গুপ্তকথায় তাহা পাঠ করিয়া সকলকেই চমৎকৃত হইতে হইবে। যে হস্ত হইতে বাঙ্গালী হরিদাসের উদ্ভব, সেই হস্ত হইতেই বিলাতী, হরিদাস উদ্ভূত হইতেছে। বঙ্গভাষায় ইহা হইতে আখ্যানকর্তা অমৃত বাবু তুহিনচন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায়। বিলাতী গুপ্তকথায় বিলাতী হরিদাসের যেমন কার্য বৈশি, কীর্তি বৈশি, ভয়ঙ্কর ভয়ঙ্কর কাণ্ড বৈশি, মূল্য তত বৈশি হইবে না। বিলাতী “বোকেব্ উইল মট” পুস্তকের একটু একটু ছায়া পাইয়া হরিদাসের গুপ্তকথার অক্ষ, বিলাতী উইল-মটের সম্পূর্ণ সার লইয়া ছাঁকা বিলাতী গুপ্তকথা বাঙ্গালী স্বাক্ষরে প্রদর্শন করা যাইবে। আগামী শারদীয়া পুঙ্কনিমেষে পত্র লিখিয়া গ্রাহক হইলে বিনা ডাকমাগুলে পাইবেন।

মৃতন পুস্তকখানির আকার হরিদাসের গুপ্তকথার বিস্তার হইবার সম্ভাবনা। হরিদাস ডিসাই ৯-পেইসী ১০৯ কর্দায় সমাপ্ত, এখানি বোধ হয়

Figure 12. First two pages of the Preface to the edition in book format of Reynolds’s translation of *Sister Anne* (1840). Translated into Bengali as *Bhāratīya Rahasya: Āmār Mahishi* [literally, *The Mysteries of India: My Consort*] by Bhubanchandra Mukhopādhyāy (Calcutta, India: Saradāprasād Neogi, 1887).

দ্বিতীয় উদ্ভাস

শেষ-বাক্য

১৮৪৬ সনের ফেব্রুয়ারি মাসের প্রথমভাগে কুলাচী রাসা: লক্ষ্য নগরে উপস্থিত হইয়াছিল, নরিক সন্ধানের ইচ্ছা: লক্ষ্য নগরে, রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে, দেখা যাইতে।

রাসা: একদিনে কতিপা বিচারে, লক্ষ্য নগরের কিছু: প্রত্যক্ষিত লক্ষ্য: নরিকগণের একটি আশ্রয়স্থলে একজন কুলাচী রাসার লক্ষ্যকে ধরিতে গিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে।

কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে।

কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে। কুলাচী রাসা: এখন কি করিয়াছে।

১৮

মুদ্রণ-সংক্রান্ত

মুদ্রণ সংক্রান্ত প্রস্তাব করিয়াই মুদ্রণের প্রথমভাগে প্রবেশ করিয়া, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল। মুদ্রণের প্রথম ভাগে, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল। মুদ্রণের প্রথম ভাগে, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল।

মুদ্রণ সংক্রান্ত প্রস্তাব করিয়াই মুদ্রণের প্রথমভাগে প্রবেশ করিয়া, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল। মুদ্রণের প্রথম ভাগে, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল। মুদ্রণের প্রথম ভাগে, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল।

মুদ্রণ সংক্রান্ত প্রস্তাব করিয়াই মুদ্রণের প্রথমভাগে প্রবেশ করিয়া, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল। মুদ্রণের প্রথম ভাগে, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল। মুদ্রণের প্রথম ভাগে, প্রথম ভাগে লক্ষ্যের পরিচয় হইল।

Figure 15. First two pages of the second chapter of the first volume in book format of *The Mysteries of London* (1846). Translated into Bengali as *London Rahasya* by Haricharan Ray (Murshidābād, Pakistan: Rāmñāth Tālookdār, 1871).



Figure 16. Illustration in the edition in book format of *The Mysteries of the Court of London* (1848). Translated into French as *Les Mystères de la Cour de Londres* (Paris: Achille Faure, 1866).

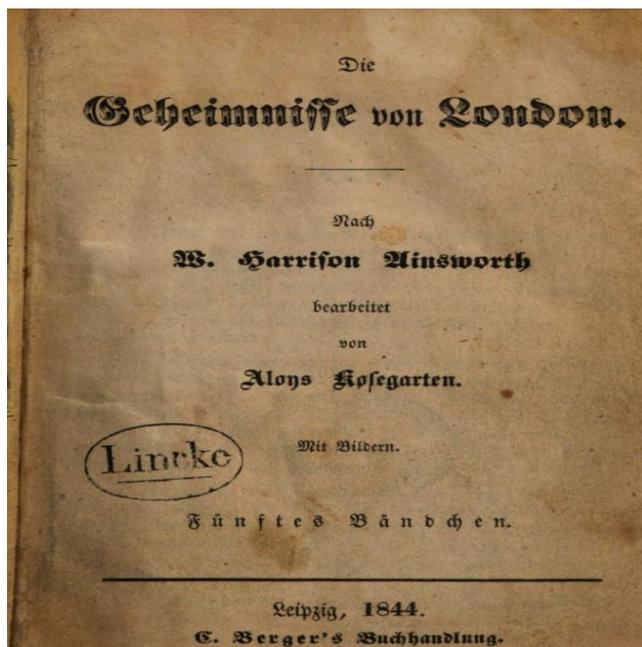


Figure 17. Front cover of the edition in book format of *The Mysteries of London* (1844). Translated into German as *Die Geheimnisse von London* by William Harrison Ainsworth (Leipzig: C. Berger's Buchhandlung, 1844).

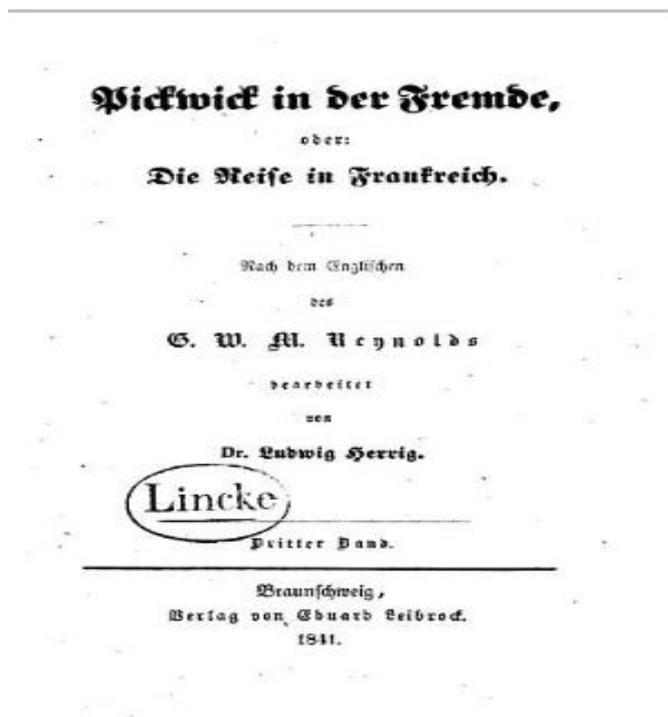


Figure 18. Front cover of the edition in book format of *Pickwick Abroad; or, The Tour in France* (1839). Translated into German as *Pickwick in der Fremde, oder, Die Reise in Frankreich* by Ludwig Herrig (Braunschweig: Eduard Leibrock, 1841).

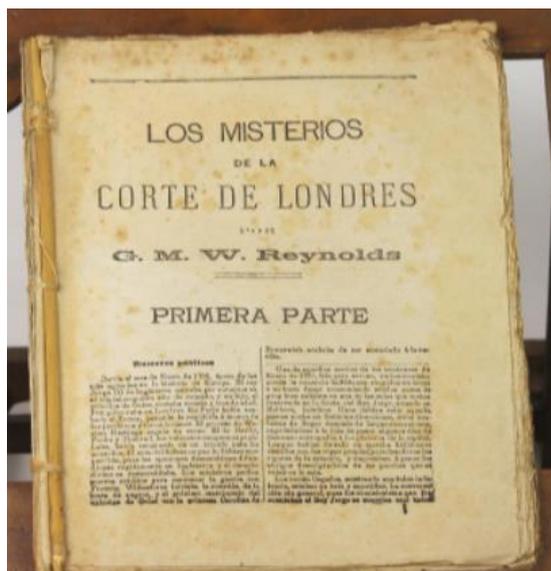


Figure 19. Front cover of the edition in book format of *The Mysteries of the Court of London* (1848). Translated into Spanish as *Los Misterios de la Corte de Londres* (Madrid: Biblioteca El Imparcial, n. d.).

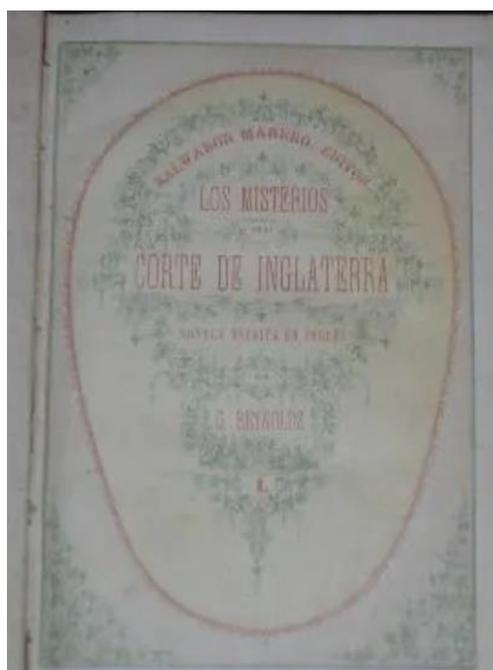


Figure 20. Front cover of the first volume of *The Mysteries of the Court of London* (1848). Translated into Spanish as *Los Misterios de la Corte de Inglaterra* by Fernando Garrido (Barcelona: Salvador Manero, mid-19th c.). Illustrated by LLOPIS?

Appendix 3

Acknowledgments: *Internet Archive*, “Text Archive,” last updated December 31, 2014. [Free Books](#) : [Download & Streaming](#) : eBooks and Texts : [Internet Archive](#).

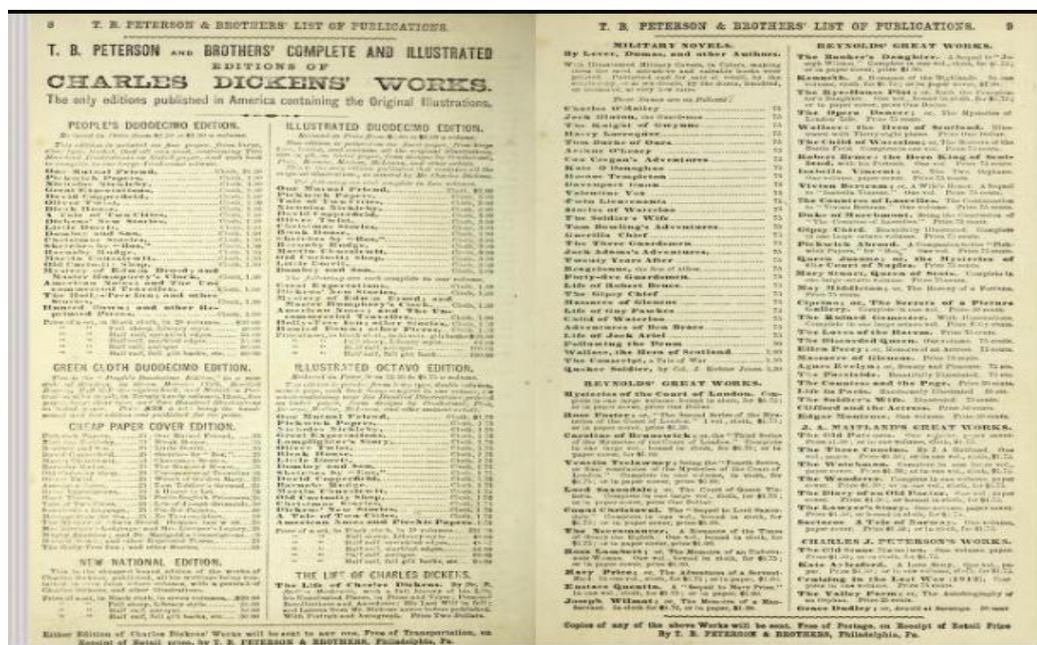


Figure 1. Eight and ninth pages of the edition in book format of *The Soldier's Wife; Scenes in Canteen and on the Battlefield* (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson and Brothers, n. d.).

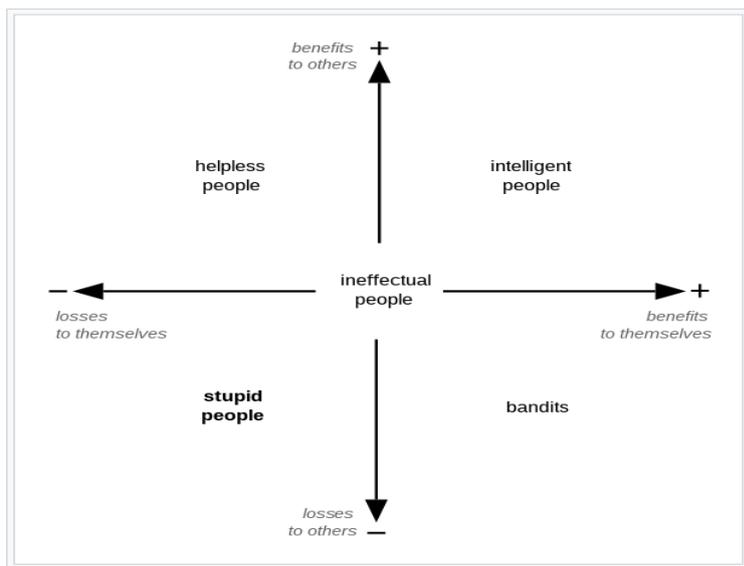


Figure 2. Graph by Carlo M. Cipolla (1976) showing the benefits and losses that an individual causes to themselves and to others.

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TESIS DOCTORAL:

***“NOSOTROS MISMOS FORJAMOS LAS CADENAS QUE LLEVAMOS EN VIDA:” LA
INTELECCIÓN DE LA SERVIDUMBRE EN MARY PRICE (1851-1852) Y JOSEPH
WILMOT (1853-1855) DE G. W. M. REYNOLDS.***

Presentada por LOURDES EREA SALGADO VIÑAL
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Introducción:

El presente estudio ofrece una perspectiva integral de la manera en que G. W. M. Reynolds representa a los sirvientes en dos de sus novelas sensacionalistas, *Mary Price; or, the Memoirs of a Servant-Maid* (1851-1852) y *Joseph Wilmot, or, the Memoirs of a Manservant* (1853-1854). Dada la ausencia de estudios sobre la figura de Reynolds y el trato de los sirvientes en su ficción, el objetivo de esta tesis ha sido el de llenar ese vacío a través del énfasis en la figura del sirviente en la Inglaterra victoriana, el género y la heterotopía, la masculinidad y las afiliaciones políticas de Reynolds. Con la ayuda de algunas bases teóricas y críticas, como el Nuevo Historicismo y la perspectiva de Foucault, los cuatro capítulos de esta tesis ilustran el compromiso de Reynolds con las difíciles circunstancias de los sirvientes y su visión de una sociedad mejor sin el llamado “problema de los sirvientes”.

Al poner el énfasis en la lectura y el estudio detallados de las novelas mencionadas, esta investigación ofrece algunas respuestas a cuestiones como la razón, dentro de la ficción novelística, de una cierta transición en el comportamiento y la actitud de los sirvientes victorianos hacia sus amos; la incuestionable y ciega lealtad que estos les ofrecían; la ausencia en la representación literaria del problema de los sirvientes en la década de 1850; la libertad de la que gozaban o estaban privados estos sirvientes; el retrato de los criados que ofrece la narrativa sensacionalista de Reynolds como uno de los pocos escritores que abordó este problema; el papel desempeñado por sus lectores en la comprensión de esta cuestión y por sus críticos en impedir que sus novelas fueran universalmente aclamadas y, por último,

pero no por ello menos importante, el fundamento de las (in)justificadas acusaciones de plagio dirigidas contra Reynolds por Charles Dickens.

Dado que los estudios realizados sobre las cuestiones citadas son limitados, examino, recurriendo al punto de vista del Nuevo Historicismo, pero sin ensombrecer ni excluir otras perspectivas, la representación en la literatura popular del siglo XIX de las condiciones sociales que debían soportar los sirvientes para ganarse la vida no solo para ellos, sino para sus amos. Precisamente, fue en el seno de la sociedad donde se produjo uno de los mayores cambios, el del servicio doméstico, fundamento básico de la vida doméstica victoriana. Los sirvientes victorianos, según el *Libro de la Administración del Hogar de la Sra. Beeton*, editado por Isabella Beeton en 1861, se caracterizaban o idealizaban como mansos, humildes, contentos y devotos. Pero en algún momento a lo largo de la década de 1870, dejarían de ser leales, complacientes y respetuosos con sus amos y se convertirían en insurgentes, altaneros, revoltosos... Había comenzado el llamado “problema de la servidumbre” victoriana. ¿Qué ocurrió y cuáles fueron las causas de este cambio de comportamiento? ¿Qué hizo que algunas de estas empleadas domésticas llegaran a matar y hervir a sus amos, como en el caso de la tristemente célebre Kate Webster en 1879? ¿Qué les hizo darse cuenta de que tenían la “opción” de no dedicar su vida al servicio de los demás? ¿Fue la posibilidad de encontrar un trabajo mejor en fábricas, ferrocarriles, minas o incluso fundiciones? ... Tal vez, la literatura de Reynolds contribuyó a intensificar ese levantamiento; de hecho, algunos de sus contemporáneos también captarían las aspiraciones de la clase obrera en novelas con una clara ideología cartista como *Sybil* (1845) o *Alton Locke* (1850).

En general, todos los escritos de Reynolds son bastante difíciles de conseguir debido al limitado número de ediciones que quedan impresas y disponibles en las bibliotecas, en línea o a un precio razonable en el mercado literario actual. También parece ser escasa la bibliografía sobre este autor y sus obras, salvo los estudios críticos realizados por Margaret

Dalziel, Louis James, Virginia Berridge, Edward Jacobs, Sally Powell, Ian Haywood, Anne Humpherys y Mary L. Shannon. Sin embargo, ninguno de ellos se centra en las relaciones de poder entre amo y sirviente. Por estas razones, estudio este aspecto concreto en dos novelas de Reynolds, *MP* (1851-1852) y *JW* (1853-1855), escritas dentro de un marco temporal concreto, la década de 1850, y con dichas relaciones de poder como tema principal, a fin de contribuir a llenar ese vacío con el mayor detalle posible, Estas novelas se centran, directa o indirectamente, en las figuras de los sirvientes, tanto masculinos como femeninos, de mediados de la época victoriana y, como tales, me han servido como fuente primaria para examinar las relaciones de poder entre el amo y sus sirvientes. Dichas novelas se centran esencialmente en la vida de dos domésticos concretos, Joseph y Mary, mientras que el resto de las novelas de Reynolds presentan a los sirvientes alrededor de los personajes principales pero no como personajes principales en sí mismos; es decir, los sirvientes son utilizados como ayuda en la narración pero no como personajes centrales y activos en cada una de las tramas.

En cuanto a la elección del marco temporal, los años comprendidos entre 1850 y 1860 resultaron ser vitales no solo en la vida de Reynolds, sino también para todos los victorianos, es decir el restablecimiento de la jerarquía católica en Inglaterra y Gales, la Gran Exposición de Londres, la muerte del duque de Wellington, el final de la guerra de Crimea y la aprobación de la Ley de Divorcio de Causas Matrimoniales dieron lugar a una reestructuración de la sociedad que supuso un aumento de las normas de decoro social para las clases altas con el consiguiente incremento de la necesidad de contratar criados. Todos estos acontecimientos, pero sobre todo la aprobación de la Ley del Amo y Sirviente en 1823, la revuelta social de las clases medias en 1830, o las Leyes de Reforma de 1832, desempeñaron un papel importante en la inspiración que llevó a Reynolds a escribir muchas de las novelas más vendidas de la época. Y también hay que tener en cuenta que él, “el

hombre que no era Dickens”, había llegado a vender más que las novelas de Dickens e incluso más que las “penny bloods” de Edward Lloyd.

Además, la literatura publicada a finales de la década de 1850 se denominó “literatura de la cocina”, a la que siguió, en la década de 1860, la aparición del “sensacionalismo” o la “novela de sensaciones”. La primera terminología ridiculiza la ficción sensacionalista de la época por considerarla inicialmente apta solo para los sirvientes de la cocina y, con el tiempo, también para las damas, mientras que la segunda se refiere a un nuevo subgénero que se centra en las novelas de crimen y misterio y describe triángulos románticos, heroínas en peligro físico, drogas, pociones, disfraces y un elevado suspense a lo largo de la narración. Ahora bien, las novelas de Reynolds incluyen todos estos elementos y más y pueden clasificarse como pertenecientes tanto a la ficción sensacionalista como a la literatura de cocina.

Con esto en mente y para intentar dar una explicación a las cuestiones anteriores, el punto de vista del Nuevo Historicismo pasa al frente como una herramienta interpretativa necesaria. Mediante el estudio y la interpretación de las novelas citadas en el contexto socio-histórico del autor y la crítica, la presente investigación establece y reflexiona sobre el grado de abnegación de los sirvientes victorianos; muestra cómo se originó la lealtad ciega en primer lugar de la clase baja hacia la clase alta y estudia el vacío existente entre la realidad y la ficción en cuanto a la divergencia entre las representaciones históricas y culturales de las figuras de los sirvientes en un marco temporal concreto. El hecho de que fueran mayoritariamente mujeres las que ocuparan estos puestos serviles es especialmente indicativo de las distinciones de género. Las mujeres superaban en número a los hombres en el servicio doméstico y así fueron representadas en la literatura por Reynolds. Pero ¿cómo esta representación por parte de un escritor masculino pudo producir un impacto en las posteriores novelas con tramas domésticas escritas a partir de la década de 1860? ¿Se vio influido por los

acontecimientos históricos que se producían en la época o influyó en la sociedad y la predispuso en contra o a favor del servicio doméstico, añadiendo leña al fuego del problema de los sirvientes o defendiendo la lealtad y el reconocimiento de su sentido del lugar que mostraban estos mansos sirvientes?

El presente estudio es, por tanto, un intento de aportar, por un lado, una perspectiva neohistoricista sobre las relaciones de poder entre amos y sirvientes en la ficción popular escrita por Reynolds y, por otro, de llenar el vacío originado dentro de un trabajo más amplio realizado por los pocos expertos en la obra de Reynolds.

Resumen:

El primer capítulo analiza el hogar victoriano literario de la década de 1850 con un particular énfasis en la figura del sirviente. Hasta ahora, la literatura producida en torno al planteamiento del problema de la presente investigación, la representación en la literatura centrada en un punto de vista del Nuevo Historicismo sin ensombrecer o excluir otros puntos de vista de las condiciones sociales que los sirvientes debían soportar para ganarse la vida, comprende una serie de estudios que van desde los temas de los relatos autobiográficos escritos por sirvientes hasta el llamado “problema de los sirvientes”. Por lo tanto, antes de intentar una sistematización crítica de dicha literatura, exploro la posición de la presente investigación original en dicho contexto a partir de la filosofía de Foucault.

Siendo la línea principal de su tesis la expansión de la sociedad disciplinaria como una entidad, Foucault reflexiona con gran detalle sobre los sistemas creados por el ser humano para controlar y reprimir a sus semejantes, es decir, la cárcel, la policía y las jerarquías en general. Su estudio ha sido crucial para el desarrollo del mío, especialmente en lo que respecta a mi relectura de sus reflexiones filosóficas sobre los procedimientos y políticas de control sistemático dentro de una sociedad determinada y la aplicación de sus

consideraciones a mi planteamiento de investigación. Recogiendo pruebas de muchas fuentes históricas, Foucault consigue deconstruir las razones de la desaparición gradual del castigo físico durante el siglo XIX y la introducción del psicológico, que implicaba métodos de control y sumisión panópticos. Sus cuatro afirmaciones sobre el funcionamiento del sistema carcelario han sido las que he seguido en la presente investigación para intentar responder a la cuestión de la lealtad ciega mostrada por los sirvientes hacia sus amos.

Este capítulo se centra en el análisis que Foucault llevó a cabo sobre los tipos de poder disciplinario que operaban en cualquier época concreta y he aplicado su razonamiento desmitificador a la representación literaria del mundo de los sirvientes en dos novelas de Reynolds. Dado que la época victoriana fue, en efecto, un período en el que las memorias escritas por sirvientes empezaron a ocupar un lugar destacado en la literatura y en el que, de la misma manera, empezaron a salir a la luz confesiones sobre la vida sexual, la jerarquía del poder empezó a pasar de una estructura vertical a una horizontal; es decir, la compleja red de relaciones de poder se estaba transformando en lo que respecta a la conexión entre las nociones de conocimiento y poder.

Asimismo, haciendo uso del Nuevo Historicismo, que profundiza en cuestiones habitualmente descuidadas por otras disciplinas como los textos marginales, los acontecimientos o cualquier otra percepción anecdótica, me aproximó al desvelamiento de las representaciones literarias que Reynolds realizó sobre la figura del criado en ambas novelas y si esto tuvo un efecto o devino un efecto en la sociedad de la época. Uno de los argumentos más convincentes que presento es una nueva examinación del estatus clásico alcanzado por ciertas obras literarias. En el caso de Reynolds, esto me ha ayudado a intentar determinar por qué, por ejemplo, a pesar de haber superado a Charles Dickens en numerosas ocasiones, nunca se le “concedió” el estatus de autor canónico.

Otro de los aspectos de este capítulo consiste en el análisis de un supuesto acuerdo general entre la mayoría de estudiosos sobre el hecho de que la figura del siervo ha sido descuidada en las investigaciones realizadas por los historiadores sociales durante mucho tiempo. Solo a finales del siglo XX y con la ayuda de los enfoques del Nuevo Historicismo se ha vuelto a sacar a la luz esta figura en cuanto a su importancia social. Además, el hecho de que los estudios centrados en Reynolds solo exploren su novela más conocida, *Los misterios de Londres*, muestra cómo, incluso cuando los estudiosos intentan adoptar una posición que favorezca la narrativa marginal frente a la literatura canónica, siguen dejando de lado otras novelas que seguían teniendo éxito en esa época e incurren, por tanto, en otro tipo de marginación dentro de los escritos del mismo autor. Sorprendentemente, solo se han publicado dos artículos extensos sobre el análisis de la trama central de las novelas escritas por Reynolds, *MP* y *JW*. El aspecto de la representación literaria de la servidumbre en otras novelas de Reynolds no ha sido objeto de mucha consideración y esto es algo que la presente investigación ha pretendido cubrir.

El segundo capítulo ofrece un contexto biográfico y político de Reynolds, destacando la traducción de su ficción a diferentes idiomas, especialmente en la India, e incluye la recepción de su ficción entre críticos y lectores. A partir de un análisis de la biografía de Reynolds, se concluye que la necesidad de contar con sirvientes que ayudaran a Reynolds y su familia parecería más que justificada debido a su numerosa progenie; sin embargo, pasaban apuros que les impedían contratar a ningún empleado doméstico.

Durante los años que pasó en París, Reynolds amplió sus conocimientos literarios siguiendo de cerca los escritos de Alexandre Dumas, Victor Hugo, Paul de Kock, Alphonse de Lamartine, el Marqués de Sade, Frédéric Soulié y Eugène Sue; la ideología cooperativista de Louis Blanc y las pinturas vibrantes, de inspiración mitológica y algo manieristas de Paul Jacques Aimé Baudry. De vuelta a Londres, se inspiró en las teorías políticas de Thomas

Paine, en la figura emblemática de George Bryan “Beau” Brummell, en el líder cartista James Bronterre O'Brien, en sus rivales literarios William Thackeray y Charles Dickens y en el socialismo revolucionario de Karl Marx. Algunos estudiosos afirman que fue precisamente Brummell quien imantó a Reynolds para que abrazara el Movimiento Radical o Radicalismo que, iniciado por el parlamentario Charles James Fox en 1797, pretendía reformar radicalmente, de ahí su nombre, el sistema electoral en Inglaterra apoyando y abogando por el republicanismo, la abolición de la nobleza y los títulos hereditarios, la redistribución de la propiedad, la renta y la riqueza y la libertad de prensa. Sin embargo, otros estudiosos consideran la ficción cartista y, por extensión, la ficción cartista de Reynolds, como intrínsecamente enraizada en los avatares del movimiento cartista ya que el cartismo conectaba a muchos niveles con la literatura de lucha, con la ficción que retrataba los problemas de las minorías sociales, porque se fundaba en la realidad del radicalismo social, de la rebelión contra el sistema como opresor del individuo.

Un escritor apasionado, revolucionario y adelantado a su tiempo y uno de los pocos que se dedicó a sus lectores de corazón y de mente permitiéndoles contemplar, comprender y abrazar sus creencias morales, sus prejuicios, sus compromisos... ese sería Reynolds. Cuando empezó a escribir y publicar, probablemente previó la repercusión que tendrían sus pensamientos e ideologías entre sus lectores. Así, al dirigirse a un público obrero y cartista y describir en la ficción sus luchas, sus ambiciones sociales frustradas y su opresión en la vida por un sistema anti-proudhoniano, Reynolds les dotó de un sentimiento de simpatía y victimismo que les permitió progresivamente comprender mejor el estado decadente de un gobierno degradado en la pirámide social. Para discernir la construcción y el sentido de sus tramas como novelista y su visión global de su obra humana como escritor, este capítulo despliega brevemente el contenido de esas publicaciones suyas, que fueron éxitos de ventas

en su momento en cinco niveles distintos: novelas, diarios, cuentos, traducciones y otros escritos varios.

Reynolds exploró en sus novelas temas como una clase dirigente y un sistema legal deshonestos junto a ciudadanos protegidos por un aparato estatal corrupto; estos temas eran claros indicios de populismo, aunque estaban teñidos de una concepción romántica de la sociedad que tenía su origen en las lecturas sobre la Europa liberal-nacionalista que Reynolds había realizado durante su juventud. La cultura popular, al recurrir a dispositivos sensacionalistas, ayudó a integrar la ficción literaria con el radicalismo político impulsando así las ventas de las publicaciones periódicas radicales.

Este capítulo también analiza la cuestión del plagio a Dickens. Todos los novelistas le imitaban hasta el extremo de piratear sus obras, Reynolds incluido. La diferencia entre Reynolds y el resto de plagiadores residía en el hecho de que Reynolds era muy hábil a la hora de hacerlo y los superaba rápidamente. A pesar de los esfuerzos realizados por Dickens para acabar con estos plagios, nunca lo consiguió y el hecho de que las copias piratas de Reynolds se vendieran más que su propia obra le dejó totalmente derrotado.

En cuanto a las traducciones de sus obras, otro aspecto importante de este capítulo, las más importantes han sido al francés, al alemán, al español, al ruso, al maratí, al urdu, al bengalí y al hawaiano. Hasta principios del siglo XX, la reputación literaria de Reynolds se consideraba escandalosa y no sería hasta mediados de siglo cuando los críticos tomaron conciencia del importante papel de la literatura popular a la hora de interpretar la cultura victoriana; de ahí la aparición de un renovado interés por las obras de Reynolds. Ya en el siglo XXI, estudiosos como Humpherys o Shannon siguen investigando sobre diferentes aspectos de su ficción, como su técnica narrativa, la conciencia de clase o su red local y

geográfica de cultura popular, aunque no se han centrado en novelas concretas aparte de *Los misterios de Londres*.

El tercer capítulo se centra en la polaridad de géneros, espacios heterotópicos, femineidad y fisonomía de sirvientes y damas y explora el concepto de la “mano invisible” para representar la realidad del hogar victoriano. *MP* y *JW* comparten ciertamente varias características narrativas y de contenido que las distinguen del resto de las novelas escritas por Reynolds. Como tales, merecen un análisis particular y, por lo tanto, me extiendo sobre ambas en este capítulo. En el momento de su creación, Reynolds tuvo que adaptarse a las convenciones de su época en cuanto a la estructura narrativa más en boga desde el punto de vista comercial, la de la ficción sensacionalista, en la que las novelas se diseñaban con un propósito moral fijo y pretendían hacer hincapié en una determinada injusticia social dentro del sistema legal victoriano o la jerarquía familiar. Ciertamente, estas dos novelas se basaban en el principio básico de las relaciones de poder vistas a través de la óptica de la ley y la moral que Reynolds exteriorizaba mediante la dualidad amo/sirviente para presentar ante el lectorado de clase media un ejemplo representativo de las penurias y realidades vitales soportadas y/o experimentadas en cada nivel de la cadena de mando envuelto, como no podía ser de otra manera, en el velo del sensacionalismo melodramático. Aun así, en las páginas de estas dos novelas se esconde una contradicción entre la ideología política y la narrativa de Reynolds. Sin duda, su creencia cartista le llevó a promover la necesidad de una reforma política entre sus lectores de clase trabajadora; de ahí que eligiera a dos criados como protagonistas. Joseph y Mary aspiran a ascender en la pirámide social y lo hacen sin criticar dicha pirámide en la que la sociedad parece permanecer en un estado constante de estratificación. Así, la pregunta sería hasta qué punto Reynolds pretendía dirigir su crítica social en sus novelas contra la lacra que suponía dicha estratificación.

La estructura narrativa de ambas novelas servía para (a) facilitar la aceptación y la comprensión de las razones que subyacen al poder ejercido por los amos sobre sus devotos sirvientes y (b) transmitir un relato realista, en contraposición a un relato idealizado, del verdadero significado de ser sirviente. Precisamente, la recepción de estas novelas entre los lectores fue crucial en la medida en que el valor que asignaban a su previa serialización estaba determinado por el hecho de que se presentaban como relatos autobiográficos, así como por la ejemplificación del hogar, la historia y el imperio victoriano junto con los valores de resistencia, paciencia y perseverancia.

¿Estaba Reynolds modelando la respuesta de sus lectores a *MP* y *JW*? Lo más probable es que se pretendiera algún tipo de identificación entre el lector y el personaje principal para que el primero entendiera y empatizara con la figura del sirviente (maltratado) y así se pudiera producir un cambio en la sociedad. Además, la decisión de Reynolds de añadir el término “memorias” en los títulos de *MP* y *JW* contribuye a desdibujar sus líneas narrativas en términos de realidad y ficción, dado que “memorias” se refiere únicamente a la narrativa de no ficción y se ha clasificado como un subgénero de la autobiografía.

Precisamente, esto es lo que atrae a los lectores a un estatus simbiótico con los narradores/memoristas ficticios Joseph y Mary. El efecto que sus sustratos biográficos producen en los lectores se ve potenciado por la mezcla de realidad y melodrama y los constantes contratiempos de realismo y ficción que se producen en medio de las tensiones que surgen en los entornos domésticos o como resultado de sucesos góticos e inquietantes.

A pesar de que Reynolds recibió una gran influencia de la literatura francesa, pareció haberse ceñido a la narrativa alemana; tanto Joseph como Mary se ven envueltos en un desarrollo de su yo interior que se empeña en ayudar, en última instancia, al lector a aprenderlo por sí mismo. En consecuencia, cada escena de estas novelas parece haber sido creada para enseñar e iluminar a los lectores con una lección moral basada en las experiencias

de los personajes. Junto a esta trama cronológica lineal, Reynolds parece haber empleado la trama híbrida, la trama de doble hilo y el “sándwich de Markan”. Siguiendo el concepto de novela híbrida, que consiste en la fusión de un amplio espectro de métodos narrativos combinados con poesía, grabados y otras imágenes, la trama híbrida comprende varias subtramas que corren paralelas a la trama principal formando así un laberinto en el que el narrador guía al lector en la búsqueda del tesoro escondido en su centro: la lección moral que debe aprender. Esta técnica capta sin duda la atención del lector hasta el punto de mantenerlo intrigado sobre cuál va a ser el siguiente giro de cada trama. Al fusionar elementos centrales del melodrama como el patetismo, los estados emocionales sobreexcitados, los binarios morales, las coincidencias supremas y el *deus ex machina*, y el sensacionalismo, como la preeminencia de la acción, la violencia y el suspense en combinación con una serie de personajes de serie como el héroe/heroína, el villano, un padre anciano o fallecido, el compinche y el sirviente, la trama se vuelve excepcionalmente variable en términos de desentrañar motivos y tropos, generalmente centrados en los contrapuntos del realismo y el romance.

Tanto la trama principal de *JW* como la de *MP* están arraigadas en la moralidad del triunfo del bien sobre el mal, al tiempo que siguen el formato de las memorias para explorar y reafirmar tres temas básicos de Reynolds: los tópicos o incidentes destacados en las noticias de los periódicos de la época, la fusión de realismo y melodrama y la ambigua representación de la incorrección sexual. Ambas novelas relatan la historia de las vidas de sus protagonistas, Joseph y Mary y de cómo “se ganaron el pan de su propio esfuerzo” desde sus humildes orígenes hasta sus merecidas posiciones superiores en la sociedad. A medida que sus historias se desarrollan, estas tramas principales comienzan a ramificarse en una serie de subtramas que acentúan la unidad de la historia y el objetivo moral que se pretende inculcar a los lectores: la victoria de las buenas acciones y la espiritualidad sobre el mal.

Una característica predominante en las múltiples construcciones de *JW* y *MP* que se explora en este capítulo es la de un marco espacial heterotópico y de género. En todas las tramas de estas dos novelas, el lector se encuentra en lugares liminales que evocan e iteran la última lección moral que hay que cosechar. Pero ¿qué es exactamente un espacio heterotópico y por qué Reynolds lo utiliza en sus tramas? Michel Foucault (1986) creó el concepto de heterotopía yuxtaponiendo la definición médica de heterotopía, es decir, el desplazamiento de cualquier órgano del cuerpo humano de su posición normal y la noción filosófica de utopía, es decir, un espacio irreal, quimérico y perfeccionado bajo la metáfora del espejo. Esta metáfora indica la dualidad y las contradicciones que plantea la unión de la heterotopía y la utopía, es decir, el espejo es un objeto real que relaciona la visión que uno tiene de sí mismo con la forma en que se comporta en un contexto y un tiempo determinados. En la ficción de Reynolds, el espejo puede ser la visión de la sociedad tal y como se ha configurado en la mente del novelista, representando la utopía la consecución de una sociedad ideal e idílica en la que reina la moralidad, y la heterotopía los lugares y espacios que permiten reflexionar sobre el comportamiento humano y modificarlo eventualmente para hacer real dicha utopía. Foucault propuso seis principios para sistematizar los diferentes tipos de heterotopía y sus funciones transformadoras durante diversos periodos históricos que se han analizado también en este capítulo.

Otro aspecto destacable de este capítulo es el concepto de la “mano invisible” planteado por vez primera por Adam Smith en 1776. Esto se traduce en una narrativa capaz de modelar el comportamiento emergente mediante la creación por parte de su narrador de perspectivas individuales combinadas con un punto de vista global que dan lugar a una serie de desplazamientos que obligan a los lectores a examinar su propia distancia del texto en términos espaciales. Así, ciertas complejidades sociales evocadas por el texto son efectivamente vislumbradas por el lector en el contexto de los espacios de género. El

concepto económico de Smith sería posteriormente adaptado al ámbito literario rebautizándose como la “teoría social de la mano invisible”, que entrelaza la virtud y el vicio en las tramas híbridas. Este modelo de causalidad, sin embargo, se diferenciaba de las novelas no reynoldianas en que las consecuencias morales de esa dualidad virtud/vicio no podían resultar más que en la salvación o la condenación. La categoría de género, por tanto, desempeña un importante papel en lo que respecta a la “mano invisible”, al dilucidar el intersticio creado entre la acción a distancia y el comportamiento personal.

El último capítulo se dedica a la masculinidad de sirvientes y amos, al predicamento existencial de *JW* y *MP*, a los discursos de poder y a la ética implícita y la moral explícita presentes en ambas. El papel de la literatura clásica en la formación y articulación de las identidades, especialmente las de género, era de suma importancia en la época de Reynolds. Está claro que la relación entre la escolarización, el acto de leer y el desarrollo de la virilidad es evidente a lo largo de *JW* y *MP* en la representación tanto de los amos como de sus sirvientes. Estos códigos se utilizaron de forma impecable en dichas novelas mediante la heteroglosia y una amplia gama de personajes estereotipados. Con la profesionalización del conocimiento en nuevas carreras para los hombres, era imperativa una educación más pragmática y funcional. Esto, a su vez, implicaba una fragmentación de la identidad masculina y la necesidad de renegociar las jerarquías masculinas basadas en diversos criterios, es decir, el éxito comercial o literario, la destreza física, los valores domésticos, los gustos estéticos y la virtud religiosa o cívica. De hecho, Reynolds debió de ser consciente de dicha fragmentación al ponerla de manifiesto en la heteroglosia de los personajes masculinos e incluso en lo que podría interpretarse como la masculinización de personajes femeninos como la Reina Gitana en *MP*, cuando se disfraza de hombre y adopta rasgos varoniles tanto físicos como intelectuales para rescatar a Mary en una de las subtramas. Por lo tanto, el concepto de masculinidad de élite o clásica legado por las lenguas y la literatura clásicas dio

paso a diferentes tipos de hombría, es decir, el caballero, el piadoso o el trabajador, que fueron representados por Reynolds en estas dos novelas para dar una visión de los diversos tipos de personalidad que formaban la compleja sociedad inglesa de su tiempo.

Otro aspecto importante en este capítulo es el análisis de la inclusión que Reynolds llevó a cabo en *JW* y *MP* de masculinidades alternativas y personajes que se desviaban de ellas. Con todo, las representaciones de Reynolds se interpretaron dentro de la masculinidad política en el sentido de una visión global de su ideología cartista y de las ideas para el cambio social que se presentaban al lector. Esta sección se centra en la categoría de marginados que pueden considerarse desviados o tóxicos según la investigación actual. Reynolds, como defensor de las minorías, incluyó a los varones marginados en ambas novelas en forma de hombres mentalmente inestables y villanos en su mayoría contra las mujeres.

Dado que el Nuevo Historicismo considera a la literatura como una pulsión social que se compromete con el hacer de los individuos, surge otra pregunta sobre la diferencia entre la consciencia literaria y la consciencia de la literatura en Reynolds que se explora en este capítulo. Muchas veces, a lo largo de *JW* y *MP*, Reynolds aludía directamente a sus lectores, haciéndolos así conscientes de su literatura y despertándolos por un momento de la ensoñación inducida por sus tramas hasta la llamada final a la realidad en el cierre de las novelas. Esta incorporación de la vida en el arte literario, tal y como la realiza Reynolds en *JW* y *MP*, apunta en la dirección de las nociones de imitación, mimesis y humanidad literaria. La imitación de los autores clásicos permitió a Reynolds transmitir preceptos morales a sus lectores a través de la figura del personaje, ya sea sirviente o amo. Añadiendo la óptica del Nuevo Historicismo a esta definición, la literatura adquiere entonces el don de crear nuevos individuos o, en otras palabras, se convierte en parte del pensamiento humano; de ahí la noción de humanidad literaria. La ficción de Reynolds se ajustaba a esos dos aspectos

mencionados al insertar sus novelas en el contexto de la vida real bajo el formato de memorias y se inspiraba en escritores a los que idolatraba. Precisamente, el hecho de que se dedicara a la imitación mimética creaba un vínculo entre él y sus lectores que les recordaba a ellos y a nosotros la experiencia no estudiada de nuestro mundo. Esto se traduce en que Reynolds fue capaz de abordar el problema de los sirvientes de su tiempo sorteándolo en *JW* y *MP* mediante la elaboración de una solución literaria que implicaba un final feliz para aquellos personajes que habían demostrado su moralidad. Así, aunque el problema en la vida real no tenía una solución fácil, su representación literaria a través de lo humano facilitó su asimilación en la vida real y quizás contribuyó a resolverlo allí. Ahora bien, la noción de humanidad literaria comprende tres aspectos humanos que se transfieren a los personajes, es decir, la consciencia o conocimiento humano, la teoría de la mente y un contexto eco-dialógico que se analizan con sumo detalle en este capítulo a partir de algunos aspectos clave de la retórica que demostraban el *ethos* por medio de sus tres elementos centrales, *arete*, *eunoia* y *phronesis*. ¿Podría haber utilizado Reynolds el *ethos* como medio de persuasión junto con el *pathos* y el *logos* en *JW* y *MP*? Combinando esas *pisteis*, Reynolds consiguió transmitir eficazmente su ideología y moral cartista a sus lectores.

Dado que esa narrativa refleja acontecimientos sociohistóricos que ya han tenido lugar o que podrían ocurrir en el futuro y que los personajes de esas novelas llevan la impronta de la historia social de la época en la que fueron escritos, *JW* y *MP* bien podrían concebirse como cuentos de hadas moralistas para adultos. Reynolds diseñó sus personajes con un sentido de la obligación moral que les permitía determinar si hacían el bien o no, y también les dio oportunidades para redimirse. Así, el predicamento que se distingue en *JW*, *MP* y los cuentos de hadas no es otro que el de la inevitabilidad de las luchas en la vida en tanto en cuanto son intrínsecas a la experiencia humana, pero si uno las afronta y domina con valentía, al final se alcanzará la victoria.

Aunque parece que Reynolds, al ser cartista, defendería a la clase obrera a toda costa, reconocía que ciertas cuestiones eran consecuencia del comportamiento inmoral de los que estaban en el poder o de los que se encontraban en los escalones inferiores de la sociedad. En consecuencia, retrató a los buenos amos de *JW* y *MP* así como a los malvados y/o idiotas; elogió a los primeros y castigó a los segundos para mostrar a los lectores la diferencia que cada individuo puede hacer en y para la sociedad. Esta representación tenía la intención contradictoria de desvelar y evitar los estereotipos y la caracterización de serie. Así, el discurso del poder que acompañó a la representación literaria de los amos es esencial para diferenciar los niveles de poder inherentes a cada tipo de amo en el contexto de las relaciones entre pares y así se ha examinado en este capítulo.

La socialización jerárquica, tal y como la describió Reynolds, indicaba un conocimiento profundo del lugar que ocupaba cada uno, especialmente en el rango de los sirvientes. Se consideraba virtuoso y apreciado por el amo cuando un sirviente sabía comportarse adecuadamente según su posición dentro del sistema doméstico. Incluso si el criado era maltratado o descuidado por el amo, debía reconocer su posición. Esta teoría de la humillación también puede observarse en las interacciones entre los sirvientes, especialmente entre los que están más arriba en su jerarquía. De nuevo, estas interacciones son binarias, siendo algunas expresivas de la adoración y la extrema amistad entre ellos y otras que reflejan el desprecio interno y así se explica en esta sección.

Otro aspecto importante aquí es la cuestión de la mojigatería y su representación en ambas novelas, la cual sigue siendo primordial para entender las opiniones éticas de Reynolds sobre la moral victoriana en los diferentes estratos sociales. Al lector se le presentaba un abanico de situaciones que englobaba una inconfundible falta de moralidad; cómo esto fue matizado por las clases sociales que leían a Reynolds puede observarse en la cantidad de detractores críticos que tuvo, así como en el hecho de que vendiera más que Dickens. De

hecho, la recepción de una inmoralidad tan explícita dependía en gran medida del movimiento de pureza social que estaba teniendo lugar a lo largo del siglo XIX.

Como corolario, el hecho de que Reynolds hiciera uso de la ética latente y de la moral explícita en *JW* y *MP*, llama la atención del lector hacia el papel que la ficción sensacionalista tenía en la transmisión de la humanidad literaria y en las reflexiones sobre la humanidad, la masculinidad y la hegemonía cultural a través de una diversidad de orígenes sociales.

Conclusiones:

La presente disertación ha pretendido ir más allá del alcance de investigaciones previas sobre el tratamiento literario otorgado a los sirvientes en tanto que personajes de novelas universalmente aclamadas, investigando la plausibilidad de la divergencia en este tratamiento preciso en lo que respecta a los escritores masculinos de la década de 1850; la (ausencia de) relevancia que este grupo de personajes adquirió en estas novelas para ayudar y servir de columna central a cada una de las tramas dentro de las construcciones híbridas; las relaciones entre estos personajes, su edad en cuanto a lo más temprano que eran contratados, su fisionomía, código de vestimenta, los puestos que ocupaban y los salarios que recibían, ya fuese en el personal profesional, superior o inferior de un hogar victoriano. Además, el uso particular de los sirvientes como personajes de ficción implementado por Reynolds en algunas de sus novelas se analizó en términos de a) el arte de la comunicación; b) las raíces de la sumisión aparentemente leal e incuestionable del sirviente al amo; c) el sistema victoriano creado para gestionar la servidumbre y su representación literaria y d) los diversos roles dentro de la servidumbre y su función en el surgimiento de una determinada casta de individuos. El presente estudio, por lo tanto, ha intentado añadir nuevos conocimientos a la literatura existente explorando el uso y los propósitos de la figura del sirviente en novelas que

fueron excluidas de la literatura hegemónica a pesar de ser ampliamente leídas y haber superado incluso a novelistas de renombre como Charles Dickens.

Con el fin de dotar a los temas objeto de estudio de un trasfondo teórico bien fundado y convincente, he seguido a Michel Foucault y, a partir de investigaciones recientes, he establecido una conexión paralela entre la ideología implícita en el enfoque del Nuevo Historicismismo y la cuestión del plagio por parte de Reynolds, que contribuyó a crear o potenciar el supuesto “problema de los criados” en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. A pesar del riesgo de incurrir en el anacronismo, algunos de los supuestos clave que constituyen la base del Nuevo Historicismismo se han observado en las dos novelas sobre las que se ha formado este estudio, *JW* y *MP*, es decir, que cualquier discurso no puede alterar la naturaleza humana y su verdad, o que la descripción de cualquier cultura está incrustada en la economía que describe. Lo que Foucault añadió al Nuevo Historicismismo fue una visión más matizada del poder como algo omnipresente en toda la sociedad, en lugar de pertenecer exclusivamente a un escalón social específico. Reynolds, por tanto, expuso el “problema de los sirvientes” como parte de su ideología cartista, aunque no parecía ir en contra de la monarquía, sino que promovía el respeto a la clase alta sin dejar de lado la dignidad e integridad del individuo según un conjunto de principios morales y valores éticos. Demostró que cualquier individuo perteneciente a la clase trabajadora estaba más que capacitado para ascender en la escala social si y solo si estaba dispuesto a trabajar duro y a actuar moral y éticamente en todo momento. De hecho, tanto la ética aristotélica como la foucauldiana fueron exploradas para demostrar el *ethos*, el *pathos* y el *logos* de *JW* y *MP*. Además, se han tenido en cuenta la psichistoria y la historia interpretativa para revelar algunas de las razones que subyacen a la representación de sirvientes y amos de acuerdo con la ideología de la época.

Uno de los hallazgos novedosos de este estudio ha sido la confirmación de la ausencia de cualquier investigación previa sobre la figura del sirviente en dichas novelas. Dado el “estatus” de Reynolds como archienemigo de Dickens, su ficción quedó relegada a un segundo plano literario y nunca se consideró parte del canon. Aún así, Reynolds transformó la invisibilidad de los sirvientes en estas dos novelas colocándolos en el centro de la atención y dándoles una voz con la que expresar las penurias que tenían que soportar. De este modo, al representar a estas figuras como protagonistas en su ficción, los lectores serían capaces de comprender tal coacción y, con suerte, la sociedad podría humanizarse más.

Desgraciadamente, mientras que Reynolds pretendía hacerlos visibles como la minoría de la que dependían las clases superiores, la sociedad como sistema no estaba dispuesta a aceptarlos como visibles e imprescindibles; al contrario, debían permanecer en silencio y fuera de la vista por el bien común.

Otro hallazgo importante ha sido la viabilidad de adoptar el enfoque del Nuevo Historicismo y las perspectivas foucauldianas sobre las relaciones de poder, la ética, la moral, el gobierno del yo interior y el discurso para analizar la caracterización de los papeles protagonistas en *JW* y *MP* por parte de Reynolds. Como esto es algo que no se ha hecho antes, este estudio ha sido el primero en facilitar una relectura de estas dos novelas bajo una metodología culturalmente poética. Precisamente, la diferencia entre masculinidad y femineidad en cuanto a la caracterización ha sido crucial para comprender mejor el sistema de relaciones de poder implementado entre amos y sirvientes. A pesar de su ideología sobre la paridad entre hombres y mujeres, Reynolds se mantuvo dentro de los límites determinados por las esferas públicas y privadas victorianas y por los manuales domésticos en boga en la época. Además, imprimió un giro a sus personajes femeninos que difiere en gran medida de su representación en la literatura patriarcal dominante. Por otro lado, el análisis del sistema de relaciones de poder vigente entre sirvientes y amos ha arrojado luz sobre las estrategias de

lucha por las que un individuo se convertía en sujeto de poder y contra las que Reynolds luchó.

Y por último, pero no por ello menos importante, debe destacarse el hecho de que Reynolds está siendo lenta pero constantemente rescatado del olvido principalmente a través de la figura de su rival literario, Dickens, y a través de otras figuras como el garibaldino inglés Hugh Forbes, un amigo personal de Reynolds que también estaba muy involucrado en el cartismo radical. De hecho, así es como muchos investigadores, incluida yo misma, han descubierto la ficción de Reynolds. Es de esperar que este estudio se sume a la escasa bibliografía existente sobre las novelas de memorias de Reynolds y abra la puerta a nuevas reflexiones e investigaciones tanto sobre su ficción como sobre su periodismo.

Hasta ahora, esta tesis doctoral ha proporcionado una visión general de la literatura disponible sobre Reynolds y de la falta de investigaciones más específicas sobre las novelas de *JW* y *MP*. A pesar de ciertas limitaciones, este estudio ha intentado mostrar cómo Reynolds fue capaz de centrarse en personajes literarios no aprobados generalmente entre las altas esferas de la sociedad y conferirles dignidad e integridad humanas. Hoy en día, con el resurgimiento de la inclusión y la diversidad y la aceptación de la multiculturalidad, novelistas como Reynolds están siendo rescatados del olvido gracias a sus esfuerzos por hacer de la sociedad un lugar mejor.