

THE NEW WOMAN'S NEW APPETITE:  
Cooking, Eating and Feeding in Sarah Grand's New Woman Fiction

by  
HEATHER ANNE EVANS

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in conformity with the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the roles of food and appetite in the changing constructions of women at the end of the nineteenth century, as evident in the fiction of the “New Woman” author, Sarah Grand. Four novels are considered against the socio-historical backdrop of *fin de siècle* debates about the roles of women and the nature of femininity, and a widespread fascination with food, evident in gastronomical treatises, cookery books, etiquette manuals, and food magazines. Grand’s independent protagonists are distinguished from traditional models of submissive and self-sacrificing femininity, yet challenge popular representations of the New Woman as a creature of voracious and womanly appetites. I argue that in *Ideala* (1888), scenes of eating at railway sites reveal the New Woman to be struggling with the incompatibility between her own needs and desires, and social conventions which associated feminine appetites with fallenness. Two sets of male-female couples in *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) demonstrate that appetites are social constructs shaped by education and experience, rather than biological attributes. *The Beth Book* (1897) suggests that knowledge of cookery and gastronomy could empower a woman, much as could literary talents. *Babs the Impossible* (1901) celebrates a feminine epicureanism representative of a growing acknowledgment at this time of feminine authority in culinary and gastronomical matters. Grand legitimizes feminine appetites, and encourages the modern woman to claim authority over her own appetites and relationships with food as part of the larger enterprise of emancipating women from social and legal strictures which denied them self-governance.

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## INTRODUCTION

“Personally, I don’t care to feel small,” said Babs. “When I compare myself to the universe, I don’t feel any pride in an attenuated body. Nor shall I shirk my food for the sake of my figure, nor squeeze a foot, nor cramp a hand. I’m here to have my own idea of a good time--not to conform to the idiotcies [*sic*] honoured by other people.”

(*Babs the Impossible*, 310-311)

In *Babs the Impossible* (1900), Sarah Grand scandalized her Victorian audience by legitimizing and celebrating vibrant feminine appetites. This, her fourth but least-studied New Woman novel, demonstrates that after two decades of exploring and experimenting in fiction with the roles of appetite, food, and consumption in the construction of her feminine ideal, Grand could envision a model of femininity in which the satisfaction of a woman’s appetites for food for the heart, mind, and body were balanced with her duties to address the appetites of people who were dear to her, and her responsibilities to the health of the human race. The novel is the most overtly and graphically food-centred of Grand’s New Woman novels, evidenced by the wealth of details she provides about her characters’ dietary preferences, eating habits, and the consequences of their patterns of consumption on their bodies, behaviour and morality. But as will become clear in my dissertation, *Babs* represents a distillation and crystallization of themes relating to women’s appetites and their relationships with food which characterize all of the politically-charged late nineteenth-century feminist novels of this controversial writer, notably the trilogy comprised of *Ideala* (1888), *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), and *The Beth Book* (1897), novels which share amongst them various



feminist themes and issues, their setting in the fictional provincial town of Morningquest, and several characters. Particularly when read in the order in which they were published, these three novels and *Babs* reveal Grand to have been acutely sensitive to the roles of food, eating, hunger and appetite in the construction of “woman” and in the gendered dynamics of power which limited the forms of knowledge, activity, and occupations available to women at the end of the nineteenth century.

Although it has to date not been noted in literary scholarship, in her writing Grand engaged food-related issues which were prevalent to an unprecedented degree in late nineteenth-century print culture, and infused her fiction with the language of food and appetite. The physical, psychological and intellectual health of female protagonists in Grand’s novels are expressed through these characters’ appetites, the conditions of their bodies, and their sensitivity to hunger as experienced by themselves and by other people: these women persistently are shown to be struggling to reconcile their own appetites and needs with social and cultural forces which consistently denied women authority over their own appetites. In this dissertation, I argue that the progression in Grand’s four most prominent novels of an exploration of the relationship between food, appetite and gender, constitutes a cumulative assertion of the imperative that feminine appetites be recognized and validated, and of the necessity for the modern woman to claim authority over her own appetites and relationships with food as part of the larger enterprise of emancipating women from social and legal strictures which denied them self-governance over their bodies, activities, and property. To Grand, the model of womanhood which was best qualified to nurture society into the new century was characterized by a degree of self-possession and a socially-responsible attitude towards appetites, eating and feeding which distinguished her from both the traditional nineteenth-century ideal of womanhood, and the derogatory representations of the

modern woman popularized through periodicals.

Through widely-publicized short stories, novels and essays, Grand established herself at the vanguard of those (primarily female) writers who actively campaigned for women's emancipation from the oppressive construction of Woman as a self-sacrificing "household nun" (to borrow a term from Bram Dijkstra's exploration of *fin de siècle* tropes of femininity (3)). In the past two decades, several scholars<sup>1</sup> have rediscovered these forgotten writers, historical women, and fictional embodiments of the scandalous challenges to the supremacy of the Angel in the House who were notoriously branded "New Women." Often used as a variation of appellations such as the "Advanced Woman," the "Woman of the Day," the "Girl of the Period," and other similar monikers liberally adopted by novelists, essayists and periodical press pundits, the "New Woman" had an especial vogue from the mid-1880s to the early years of the twentieth century. As a popular term, it was not unlike the modern label "feminist" for simultaneously invoking approbation and horror, empowerment and disquietude. As she was constructed by Grand and other sympathetic writers, the New Woman distinguished herself from the popular, rarefied angelic ideal of femininity characterized by an apparent lack of appetites and the transcendence of bodily needs, by claiming for herself the authority to express, satisfy, and responsibly govern her own appetites. The boldness in *Babs* of Grand's exploration of the place of food and appetites in constructions of femininity, as I will show, is in direct proportion to the fear engendered in the Victorian popular imagination by this challenge to the traditional ideal, a fear which was grounded on the assumption that the New Woman was a creature of voracious and unwomanly appetites who was, accordingly, a threat to the stability of the family, a menace to society and, perhaps worst of all, a challenge to the superiority of masculine authority. My study contributes to what yet remains a limited assortment of scholarship

pertaining to the New Woman as both a socio-historical phenomenon and as a literary construct; and more importantly, it highlights a feature of New Woman literature which has been ignored, namely the prominence of feminine appetites in the movement towards a reconceptualization of femininity and womanhood, and the expansion of the range of activities, professions, educations, legal rights and experiences available to, and acceptable for, *fin de siècle* women.

At the heart of the questions germane to the New Woman such as what property and knowledge a woman should be allowed to possess, what experiences she should be permitted, what pleasures she should be at liberty to enjoy, what physical activities she should engage, and what shape her body should take, were the more fundamental questions of what appetites a woman should claim, and the authority she should be granted to govern and satisfy those appetites. In fiction which endorsed the New Woman's mission to change the condition of women's lives, appetite figures most prominently through a heroine's voracious hunger for knowledge which was traditionally denied women, suggestions of a desire for pleasure, and efforts to claim power and authority over herself or others. Such cravings were often figured through imagery and language associated with food and consumption. While appetites other than those expressly for food could be metaphorically explored through the rhetoric of appetite and hunger, many New Woman writers--Grand foremost among them--were also concerned with women's actual relationships with literal food, a concern they shared with several writers of non-fiction in the final decades of the century. Throughout my discussion of Grand's novels, I will highlight the ways the issues associated with the Woman Question overlapped with what was often dubbed the great Food Question, particularly in the feminist and mainstream periodical presses. My intention is to demonstrate that Grand's strategy of using in her novels the language of food, hunger and appetite both

as a literary device through which to explore other, non-food-related appetites, and as a means of exposing the negative consequences of denying women authority over the literal food they procured, prepared, served and consumed, encapsulates contemporary debates about the relationship between gender, food, appetite and authority.

A similar study of the dynamic between food, appetites, hunger, and femininity might be fruitfully undertaken in connection with other recognized New Woman novels, including Mona Caird's *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894), Ella Hepworth Dixon's *The Story of a Modern Woman* (1894), George Gissing's *The Odd Women* (1893), Victoria Cross's *The Woman Who Didn't* (1895), and Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Marcella* (1894). With the possible exception of Caird, none of the writers of these novels attracted the degree of notoriety and debate associated with Grand and her work; Grand is therefore an especially compelling subject for this study, particularly as very few full-length studies of the woman or her work have yet been published.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Grand's four New Woman novels--her Morningquest trilogy and *Babs*--represent the most extensive and detailed examination in New Woman fiction of these issues, and are, consequently, the focus of the present study.

My project explores the convergence of two social and intellectual trajectories which gained prominence at the end of the nineteenth century, specifically debates surrounding the roles of women and the nature of femininity, and a widespread fascination with food, cookery and gastronomy. Such a study is aptly timed, I propose, as the remarkable increase during the final decades of the nineteenth century of publications concerned with these subjects is mirrored by a resurgence towards the close of the twentieth century--and continuing into the twenty-first century--of scholarly and mainstream interest in these same two sets of issues and the relationships between them. While contributing to a relatively small body of scholarship concerned with texts

which were integral to an early wave of feminism, more importantly, my approach is unique for locating the New Woman and the debates which surrounded her within medical, sociological, commercial, and culinary discourses pertaining to food which were manifested in the considerable number of gastronomical treatises, cookery books, manuals of household management, and periodical articles concerned with such issues as food adulteration, food distribution, food science, economical cookery, the feeding of the poor, and vegetarianism, which appeared with escalating frequency towards the end of the nineteenth century. Such a project has the potential to contribute to current debates about representations of women's bodies in print and visual media, the roles of women in domestic and public contexts, and the relationship between feminine empowerment and the increasing incidence of "disorderly eating." Additionally, this dissertation is situated within the recent surge of interest in food history evidenced by scholarly investigations into such subjects as the domestic science and home economics movements, women cookery book writers, and the role of cookery books in the shaping of national identity,<sup>3</sup> coupled with a notable explosion in reprints and facsimile editions of food texts.<sup>4</sup>

The backbone of this dissertation consists of close readings of Grand's novels, short stories, and essays. My arguments about the New Woman and the implications of her disruptive appetites, developed through readings of New Woman literature by Grand and other late-nineteenth century writers, are substantiated by material derived from a wide array of nineteenth-century mainstream women's magazines, feminist periodicals, journals associated with the catering and culinary trades, and periodicals expressly devoted to the subject of food, health, and epicurean matters. Additionally, information pertaining to late nineteenth-century eating habits, the codification of specific foods and activities involving food, assumptions about the relationships between food and gender,

and the culinary and gastronomical climate of the period has been culled from nineteenth-century cookery books, treatises on gastronomy and the art of fine dining, medical texts, texts pertaining to diet and health, and manuals concerned with intimate questions and sexual health.

My objective in the first chapter is to locate Grand and her New Woman novels within the nineteenth-century socio-political and literary landscapes, and the debates associated with the changing construction of femininity and the status of women; and to situate my own study within the context of recent scholarship concerned with the history of women's writing and women's place in nineteenth-century culinary history.

Subsequent chapters are each focused on one of Grand's New Woman novels. My discussion of the four novels is arranged chronologically so as to highlight the development of Grand's theories about the relationship between food and feminine authority, and her growing confidence in the viability of the New Woman's claim for governance over her own appetites and food consumption during the two decades of Grand's greatest popularity.

In chapter 2, I focus on *Ideala*, the novel which secured Grand's reputation as a polemical novelist, and earned her sufficient financial rewards to propel her to enact in her own life the emboldened independence of her New Women protagonists by leaving a stultifying marriage. In this, the first novel of her Morningquest trilogy, Grand depicts the New Woman recognizing the incompatibility between her own needs and desires, and social conventions which associate feminine appetites with fallenness. The embodiment of womanhood resisting the traditional bonds of femininity, *Ideala* is expressly linked with the railway, used by Grand in her fiction as an icon of modernity. As I will show, the structure of the novel, the especial emphasis on *Ideala's* eating habits in the second half of the novel after she has begun to travel regularly by train to the

Great Hospital where she studies and develops a potentially illicit relationship with a physician, and the setting of almost all of the detailed eating scenes at locales associated with the railway, contribute to the sense that to Grand, the New Woman was embarking on a journey towards a future where she would be at liberty to acknowledge and address her own appetites and dietary needs. At this stage, however, as I will reveal, while the New Woman is learning to articulate her needs, the progress of the New Woman is necessarily hampered, Grand suggests, by a social environment which is dominated by masculine authorities which demand feminine subservience to their own appetites.

In my third chapter, I propose that the discrepancies between masculine and feminine appetites, and the disparate degrees of authority permitted men and women to satisfy their own needs and desires are largely the products of social environment and education. In *The Heavenly Twins*, the second of her New Woman novels, Grand demonstrates even more extensively than in *Ideala* the prominence of food and appetites in the movement towards feminine emancipation. She particularly rejects the popular assumption that the appetites of boys necessarily entitle them to exploit a significantly disproportionate share of resources than might be allotted girls. In this chapter I contend that by juxtaposing the eating habits and the expressions of hunger and appetites of the twins, Angelica and Diavolo, and later, of Angelica performing as the Boy and her companion, the Tenor, Grand demonstrates that both boys and girls might equally be taught to discriminate between genuine need and self-indulgence, and to respectfully govern their own appetites.

While *Ideala* struggles against the growing recognition that conventions were unjustly imposed on her to restrict the satisfaction of her needs, and while Angelica resists these restrictions primarily for the pleasure such action affords her, Beth Caldwell

is the first of Grand's New Woman protagonists who actively works to subvert masculine authority over women's appetites and eating, in order to address the needs of others who are unable to act on their own behalf. In this sense, Grand's New Woman is exposed as a decidedly socially-responsible figure, radically different from the self-centred New Woman of the popular press. In chapter 4, I explore Beth's use of food, and particularly of cookery, as a means of civilizing and beautifying society, and of claiming for herself knowledge and independence to satisfy her own needs and to contribute in a wholesome manner to the lives of others. I argue that Beth's cooking skills are presented as analogues of her developing literary talents, and that both function synergistically in the New Woman's efforts to improve the conditions of women's lives while still being true to the terms of essential womanliness. The heroine of the final novel in the Morningquest trilogy indirectly participates in a feminine epicureanism which has been overlooked by food historians, yet which, towards the end of the nineteenth century, had begun to mark gastronomic literature. Through her use of food and cookery, as I will show, Grand's New Woman is revealed to be less revolutionary than she was supposed to be by nineteenth-century readers, which no doubt contributed to allaying the fears of those who believed the New Woman to be abandoning hearth and home in pursuit of her own selfish and anti-social interests.

*Babs the Impossible*, the final novel to be discussed at length in this project and the subject of Chapter 5, represents the apotheosis of Grand's exploration throughout her earlier work of the correspondences between a woman's authority over her own appetites, and the power she wields over other aspects of her life. "Women were awaking from their long apathy...like healthy hungry children," she wrote in "The New Aspect of the Woman Question"; and "as they awoke...they began to whimper for they knew not what" ("New Aspect" 271). By rejecting the conventions which denied feminine



hunger, and by claiming the right to acknowledge and to address her appetites, Grand reveals in *Babs*, the New Woman was arriving at a new understanding of herself and of what she needed to fully realize her potential as a contributing member of society. In the novel, Grand explores both the literal bodily starvation experienced by many Victorian women in their struggles to conform to a feminine ideal that demanded that they sacrifice often tragically scarce alimentary resources to meet the bodily needs of other people, and the relationship between the denial of feminine hunger and the negation of a woman's self. Building on the foundation set in my discussion of *The Beth Book*, I propose that Grand's celebration in *Babs* of feminine epicureanism is representative of a growing acknowledgment of feminine authority in culinary and gastronomical matters evidenced by the expanding body of food-related periodicals and regular columns dedicated to food in feminist magazines published during the final decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century which celebrated women's intellectual, aesthetic and sensual engagement with fine food and drink. Against this little-studied literary background, Grand's fourth New Woman novel is revealed to be blessing the new appetites of the New Woman who is poised to enter the dawning century with a determined spirit of independence balanced with respectful dedication to the needs of others, which distinguishes the New Woman from the Angel of the House revered by earlier generations.

Grand's optimism about the potential for the modern woman to freely authorize her own relationships with food may have been precipitous: recent sociological studies demonstrate that masculine authority continues to dominate women's choices in grocery shopping and menu planning, and that women consistently privilege the food preferences of their husbands and children over their own desires when preparing food for the family, and they testify to the perpetuation of the belief that the provision and

preparation of food is a responsibility which falls “naturally” on women (Charles and Kerr 40, 47). Likewise, studies which have shown that light eating is still associated with desirable femininity, and that expressions of larger appetites are perceived as unfeminine and masculine (Chaiken and Pliner 172), demonstrate that women’s appetites are still defined as aberrant and disruptive, just as they had been at the end of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, while the present dissertation contributes to the enterprise of reviving scholarly interest in an historically important woman writer, the implicit correspondences between the condition of women’s lives at the end of the nineteenth century, and the challenges faced by women at the outset of the twenty-first century, should also inspire grave consideration of the significance of our attitudes towards appetites and the roles of food in the negotiations of power which underlie interactions between men and women.

## Notes to Introduction

1. See for instance, Ann L. Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1990); Ann Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction. Women Writing First-Wave Feminism* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000); Lloyd Fernando, "New Women" in the *Late Victorian Novel* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State UP, 1977); Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1990); Lyn Pykett, *The 'Improper' Feminine. The Women's Sensation Novel and the New Woman Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman. Fiction and feminism at the fin de siècle* (Manchester UP, 1997); and Gail Cunningham, *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1978).
2. The only published texts focused solely on Sarah Grand and her literature are Joan Huddleston's *Sarah Grand. A Bibliography* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland, 1979); Gillian Kersley's *Darling Madame. Sarah Grand and Devoted Friend* (London: Virago Press Limited, 1983); and Teresa Mungum's *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant. Sarah Grand and the New Woman Novel* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998). Kersley remarks that she was granted permission to read Sandra P. Lister's manuscript 1977 Master's thesis, *Sarah Grand and the Late Victorian Feminist Novel*, produced at Manchester Polytechnic (Kersley xvii), but I have found no other reference to this work, nor any evidence that it was ever formally published. A substantial three-volume set of nineteenth-century journalism written by and about Grand, selections of her letters of the 1920s-30s, and her short stories, testifies to the developing interest in Grand's life and writing. Regrettably, the high cost of this collection (\$700.00 USD/\$1,050.00 CAD), severely restricts circulation of the vast range of material collected and edited by Ann Heilmann and Stephanie Forward in *Sex, Social Purity and Sarah Grand* (Routledge, 2000).
3. Characteristic of this scholarly trend are such works as Mary Anna DuSablon, *America's Collectible Cookbooks: The History, the Politics, the Recipes* (Athens: Ohio UP, 1994); Lucille Fillin and Walter Fillin, "Nineteenth-century Women Cook Book Authors," *Nineteenth-Century Women Writers of the English-Speaking World*, ed. Rhoda B. Nathan (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986. 61-78); Barbara Haber, *From Hardtack to Home Fries: An Uncommon History of American Cooks and Meals* (New York: The Free Press, 2002); Diane McGee, *Writing the Meal: Dinner in the Fiction of Early Twentieth-Century Women Writers* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001); Laura Shapiro, *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century* (1986; Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited, 2001); and Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave, 2002). Similarly indicative of the growing interest in cookery book history is the collection of seventy-five cookery books chosen from the holdings of the Michigan State University Libraries' Special Collection to represent American culinary history in the electronic collection *Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project* <<http://digital.lib.msu.edu/cookbooks/>>.
4. A partial bibliography of the increasingly extensive selection of reprints of nineteenth century food-related texts would include the ever-popular *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (now available in an abridged version published by Oxford

World's Classics, 2000). Cookery books and gastronomical texts which are available as facsimile publications, often supplemented with helpful modern introductions, include Elisabeth Luther Cary and Annie M. Jones, *Books & My Food: Literary Quotations and Original Recipes for Every Day in the Year* (1904: Iowa City: U. of Iowa P., 1997); Fanny Merritt Farmer, *The Original Fannie Farmer 1896 Cook Book* (1896: Owing Mills, MD: Thurman House, 2001; Charles Elmé Francatelli, *A Plain Cookery Book for the Working Classes* (London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1861; Whitstable: Pryor Publications, 1993); Mrs. [Hannah] Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747; 1776; Alexandria: Cottom and Stewart, 1805; Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1997); Vincent M. Holt, *Why Not Eat Insects?* (1885: Whitstable: Pryor Publications, 1992); Peter Lund Simmonds, *The Curiosities of Food or the Dainties and Delicacies of Different Nations Obtained from the Animal Kingdom* (London: R. Bentley, 1859; Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2001); Alexis Soyer, *A Shilling Cookery for the People: Embracing an Entirely New System of Plain Cookery and Domestic Economy* (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1860; Whitstable: Pryor Publications, 1999); Tabitha Tickletooth [Charles Selby], *The Dinner Question, or How to Dine Well & Economically* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1860; Blackawton: Prospect Books, 1999); *The Home Cook Book: Compiled from Recipes Contributed by Ladies of Toronto and Other Cities and Towns: Published for the Benefit of the Hospital for Sick Children* (Canada's first community cookbook) (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1878; Vancouver: Whitecap Books Ltd., 2002).

## CHAPTER 1

### **“The New Woman knows a thing or two”: Sarah Grand and the *Fin de Siècle* New Woman**

I am going to be very rude. Not one woman in a hundred can order a dinner at a restaurant. I've tried them, and I know. Not only can she not order a dinner with taste, discretion, and due appreciation of season, surroundings, and occasion; but she inevitably shows her character, or want of it, if she be allowed to choose the menu. The eternal feminine peeps out in the soup, lurks designedly in the entrées, and comes into the full glare of the electric light in the sweets and liqueurs. (Schloesser 20-21)

“The New Woman knows a thing or two,” declared one of a collection of sample advertisements collected in *The Liquor Book* (1899) for the benefit of merchants of alcoholic beverages: “Who ever saw a new woman who was pale and thin?” (Bates, ad. No. 1509). But who was this remarkable New Woman, pictured in the advertisement wearing a fedora and monocle, brashly smoking and drinking (*Illustration 1*)? How was it that to this emboldened woman was attributed a knowledge about comestibles such as “invigorating” “Rich Port Wine,” which distinguished her from the hapless models of the “eternal feminine” at the dinner table which frustrated Frank Schloesser, author of *The Greedy Book* (1906)? Why were these New Women, these “women who golf, [and] lady journalists” (Schloesser 25-26) particularly notable for their “remarkably good appetites” (26), yet they “[knew] nothing about cookery” (25)? Although the point has not been addressed in recent investigations into the history of the New Woman, I contend that

No. 1509.



### **The New Woman**

knows a thing or two. Who ever saw a new woman who was pale and thin? Rich Port Wine, pure and invigorating, will build up a woman quicker than anything else. It is Nature's own tonic. It fills out hollow cheeks and thus drives away wrinkles. It stretches the nerves taut, and makes the eyes bright. It gives permanent strength and health.

Ours is perfectly pure, it is not adulterated in any way, and tastes like cool crushed fruit.

**Illustration 1:** "The New Woman," *The Liquor Book*. Charles Austin Bates, ed. (New York: The Charles Austin Bates Syndicate, 1899). From The American Memory Historical Collections for the National Digital Library, Library of Congress, 25 Sep. 2002 <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/ea/printlit/Q0046/Q0046-01-72dpic.html>>.

these latter questions pertaining to feminine eating habits and appetites are implicated in the original question, who or what was the New Woman?

In this chapter I will address the identity and the role of the *fin de siècle* New Woman, and describe Sarah Grand's place in the nineteenth-century socio-political and literary contexts which produced and responded to this purportedly new model of womanhood. As part of this enterprise, I will delineate some of the main scholarly approaches which have been applied in recent decades to the subjects of the New Woman, the New Woman's place in debates surrounding the status of Victorian women, and women's literary innovations and productions in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Finally, I will introduce each of the four primary novels studied in this dissertation, and provide a brief account of the nineteenth-century receptions and the twentieth-century criticisms which have been accorded each.

In the broadest sense, the "New Woman" was a label applied to both real and fictional women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who challenged Victorian conventions of femininity and womanhood by demanding suffrage, enrolling in university courses, entering the paid work force, founding and attending women's clubs, questioning romantic constructions of marriage or abandoning unsatisfying marriages, riding bicycles, eschewing corsets, playing sports, celebrating women's sexuality, traveling without chaperones, or adopting ostensibly masculine habits such as smoking and drinking alcoholic beverages.<sup>1</sup> In part, the term "New Woman" was a blanket cognomen encompassing both popular anti-feminist labels such as "Wild Women," "Odd Women," the "Shrieking Sisterhood," and "Revolting Daughters," as well as more ambiguous terms such as the "advanced woman," the "New Lady," the "Girl of the Period," or the "modern woman." Debate continues to surround the question of the first use of the term "New Woman" as a formal label.<sup>2</sup> Lyn Pykett, for example, in her

plenary presentation at the recent “Feminist Forerunners” conference focused on the New Woman, argued that while the term did appear in 1893 in *The Woman’s Herald*, as revealed by Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, it is set within what Pykett calls “scare quotes” which contain and ironize the term, turning it into an abusive mockery. Accordingly, in Pykett’s opinion, Ouida’s use of the term in 1894, highlighted by Ellen Jordan, still stands as the first use of the term New Woman as a legitimate title worthy of attention, even if the New Woman herself is a model of femininity which Ouida denigrates. Attendees at the session, however, offered several earlier examples of the use of the New Woman label (most of which did not feature capital letters, admittedly) drawn from periodicals as early as 1865 in the Belles Lettres column of the *Westminster Review*.

Setting aside the question of the date of her “christening,” as a named entity and as a formal title, the New Woman had an especial currency in print and social cultures in the United Kingdom and in the United States<sup>3</sup> from 1894 to 1902, although the concept of a model of femininity which disrupted or threatened to destabilize the idealized construction of Woman as a submissive, docile, angelic embodiment of sweetness and light had been gaining momentum long before this period, and has continued its progressive trajectory since then. Countless novels, essays and journalistic reports of the period variously explored, dissected, celebrated and criticised this figure of fiction and of fact as a symbol of feminine liberation; while caricaturists, cartoonists and pundits ensured the New Woman iconic status by their lampooning and lambasting images and doggerel verses about her apparent propensity to imitate the activities and attitudes of men, and her threat to such social structures as marriage, church, and family. I locate the New Woman at the heart of late nineteenth-century changes to constructions of femininity and the expansion of women’s opportunities and experiences. My research suggests that the New Woman as the unconventional heroine of novels and as an iconic



figure depicted in popular and periodical publications had been generated by social and historical factors which increasingly provided middle-class women with the opportunity to choose to behave more independently than had earlier generations of women. I also contend that the tremendous abundance of pictorial and textual representations of this independent figure in the print landscape of the final decades of the nineteenth century fostered a cultural familiarity for feminine autonomy and independence which further encouraged women to challenge constrictive conventions and appropriate greater independence. This position is substantiated by the broad range of academic disciplines which have embraced as subjects of study not merely fiction about the New Woman, but also the New Woman as a socio-historical phenomenon. As evinced by the variety of disciplines, schools of thought, and methodologies represented, for example, by delegates to an international conference dedicated to the New Woman ("Feminist Forerunners"), held in Manchester in 2000, literary critics have been joined by historians, sociologists, geographers, art theorists, women's studies specialists, and others who have similarly legitimated the New Woman as an important subject of investigation.

Despite her undeniable presence in *fin de siècle* print culture, as a recognizable and named icon, the New Woman disappeared early in the twentieth century, and remained hidden in obscurity until recently, when scholars rediscovered her and reclaimed her as an exemplar of first wave feminism. In "New Women, Old and New," Sally Mitchell provides a valuable survey of the most important studies of the New Woman published during the twenty years prior to 1998. My review in this chapter of scholarship associated with the New Woman is intended to complement rather than reproduce Mitchell's survey, in part by providing a greater degree of background material about the *fin de siècle* New Woman than does Mitchell, who evidently assumes

her reader to be familiar with this historical figure. Mitchell identifies several issues and subjects which warrant further consideration as scholars continue to explore the history and literary presence of the New Woman, many of which I have endeavoured to address in the present dissertation. In particular, my project responds to Mitchell's appeal for more book-length studies of individual popular New Woman writers (Mitchell 585). And my readings of *Ideala* and *Babs the Impossible* expand the boundaries of the critical attention to Grand's novels which has tended to focus primarily on *The Heavenly Twins* and *The Beth Book*. Furthermore, by setting my analysis of Grand's fiction against the backdrop of contemporary print culture, I may justly claim to have addressed Mitchell's criticism of the many studies which have "fail[ed] to distinguish between positive and negative uses of the New Woman character" (586). Additionally, by focusing specifically on the roles of food and appetite in the nineteenth-century construction and reception of the New Woman, I offer a more detailed examination of a subject which has remained hidden in the "broad general studies of New Woman fiction" which as Mitchell rightly notes, have already adequately rediscovered the New Woman (583, 581).

The scholarly process of recovering the New Woman began in the late 1970s. Early studies such as those by Lloyd Fernando (*"New Women" in the Late Victorian Novel*, 1977) and Gail Cunningham (*The New Woman and the Victorian Novel*, 1978) concentrated on discovering the figure of the New Woman in novels by canonical and primarily male writers such as Thomas Hardy, and the Georges Eliot, Meredith, Moore, and Gissing. Cunningham however, was also instrumental in introducing readers to neglected novelists such as Grand, Olive Schreiner, Mona Caird, Mérie Muriel Dowie, George Egerton, and Grant Allen, and for situating them and the New Woman within late nineteenth-century popular print culture. These studies focused on the New

Woman as a social activist embroiled in issues associated with the Woman Question of the century: they present the New Woman in literature as the fictional representation of real women who were campaigning for such political and legal changes as the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866 and 1869, the granting of suffrage to women, the admission of women to colleges and universities (and later, the granting to them of degrees), the criminalization of vivisection, the instituting of the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, and reforms to laws governing divorce and the custody of children. Of the same vintage as the works of Fernando and Cunningham, Elaine Showalter's discussion of "The Feminist Novelists" (*A Literature of Their Own*, 1977) affirmed the historical significance of women novelists whose works championed the revolutionary *fin de siècle* woman, and according to Gillian Kersley, provided the first appearance in print of Sarah Grand's name since the novelist's death in 1943 (Kersley xv). Like many of the early New Woman scholars, however, Showalter perhaps over-emphasized the sexual radicalness of these writers.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, to nineteenth century readers, the New Woman was associated with sensuality and a "new" literature of sex<sup>5</sup>; but as studies of the 1980s and later have revealed, this figure was far more than a symbol of feminine sexual desire. If anything, most proponents of the New Woman as a viable role model for women refrained from ascribing to her any interest in sex beyond a virtuous dedication to generativity and maternity.

In *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (1990), Showalter developed the suggestion only hinted at in early studies of the New Woman that this literary icon of the women's movement was more radically a figure of the anarchic disruption to constructions of and assumptions about sexuality which Showalter argued characterized the final years of the nineteenth century. She addressed the popular nineteenth-century tendency to define the New Woman as a sexual "invert" or deviant

akin to the common perception of the aesthete, decadent or dandy typified by Oscar Wilde, which as Mitchell points out, had represented until the 1970s “virtually the only landmark in our literary map of the 1890s” (Mitchell 580). According to its proponents-- including Wilde, Aubrey Beardsley, Ernest Dowson, Algernon Swinburne, Charles Baudelaire, André Gide, and J.-K. Huysmans, among others, all of whom were notorious for their outrageously flamboyant personalities and extravagantly sensual lifestyles-- artists should focus in their work on style and technique, rather than the realism or social merits of the subject being depicted. Aestheticism and decadence were grounded on the credo of “art for art’s sake,” and the proponents of this movement privileged the aesthetics of art and literature, while flaunting immorality in their lives as well as in their own work. Most relevant to my study, these writers and artists reveled in extravagant and often opulent displays of self-conscious virtuosity and precious sensualism which were antithetical to the determined efforts of many contemporary women writers to represent the conditions of women’s lives, in all their glories and horror, in order to effect social change. As Grand made explicit, “To be true to life should be the first aim of an author” (Tooley 161).

The virtually libelous association of the New Woman with the aestheticism and decadence of the 1890s was encouraged by resistance to the institution of marriage, and the sexual inversion (and even perversion) which were supposed to similarly characterize both the effeminate decadent dandy, and the purportedly manly New Woman, a circumstance flagrantly exploited by *Punch* and other periodicals antithetical to challenges to the *status quo*.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the association of several prominent New Woman texts with the London publisher John Lane and the Bodley Head seemed to provide justification for linking these two figures and scandalous schools of thought.<sup>7</sup> The popular resistance to the New Woman’s innovative aesthetics was grounded on a

pervasive tendency to “conflate decadence with aestheticism” (6), which as Talia Schaffer observes, is mimicked by recent critics of the literature of the 1890s, a pattern which has given “decadence’s masculinist assumptions and male coterie a disproportionately large role in our critical consciousness” (Schaffer 6). It is true that some women writers who were committed to the progressive emancipation of women wrote fiction which, like the works by many male authors associated with decadence, challenged sexual hegemony and a construction of heterosexual marriage which subjugated feminine interests to masculine authority. But where the male decadents continued the tradition of denigrating women as purely decorative objects, and privileged same-sex love and desire between men, those female writers who were (dubiously) labeled decadents (including Victoria Cross, Kate Chopin, George Egerton, Vernon Lee, and other writers anthologized in Showalter’s 1993 collection, *The Daughters of Decadence*) explored a vibrant feminine sexuality and experimented in their writing with modes of expressing feminine sexual fantasies. More commonly, however, with the exception of a relatively small contingent of women writers, *fin de siècle* New Woman writers took pains to distinguish themselves from the scandalous writers of decadent and sexual literature.<sup>8</sup> Ultimately, the supposed relationship between the New Woman and the decadent dandy serves to underline the breadth of the social and cultural issues which were embodied by the New Woman as she was represented in the popular and print media, revealing her to be a focus for debates concerning not only those issues which obviously fall under the rubric of the Woman Question, but also those relating to sexuality and gender more generally, as well as art, literature, aesthetics, and identity. Many of these issues have been explored by recent critics. Linda Dowling, for example, in “The Decadent and the New Woman in the 1890’s”, attentively demarcates the ideological antagonism towards each other which is discernible in the works of

proponents of New Womanhood and of decadence. Elsewhere, in her emphasis on the sexual discourses associated with the New Woman and the popular Victorian fear of the New Woman's purported sexual passion and libertinage, the divisiveness between the New Woman and the Decadent is less clearly asserted by Showalter in her chapter on "New Women" in *Sexual Anarchy* (1990), although there is certainly justification for conjoining these two contentious figures within the broader debates concerned with the shifting parameters of gender and sexuality of the final decades of the century.

As the twentieth-century academy became increasingly receptive to studies of non-canonical texts, particularly works by women writers, and of periodicals and other media as literature, scholarship about the New Woman demanded a reconsideration of the histories of feminism, Victorian women, and *fin de siècle* literature which dominated academic discourses. Ann Ardis's extensive study *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (1990), attempts to account for the disappearance of the New Woman from the literature and scholarship of the early twentieth century, and proposes that not only was the New Woman ahead of her time in terms of her politics, but that the fiction by and about New Women anticipated literary innovation of later decades.<sup>9</sup> Ardis considers in particular the place of New Woman fiction in the early twentieth-century reappraisal of realism (Ardis, *New Women* 3), and highlights the "ideological self-consciousness, ... intertextuality, and ... disruption of the conventional distinction between popular culture and high art" as aspects of these novels which to her predate modernist experimentation of this nature. While Ardis links New Woman texts with subsequent literary developments, in *The 'Improper' Feminine* (1992), Lyn Pykett looks backwards to reveal the roots of New Woman narratives in the sensation novels of the 1860s. Both these genres, Pykett proposes, "participated in a rewriting of [the] script of the feminine, as ... they self-consciously explored or implicitly exposed the

contradictions of prevailing versions of femininity, or developed new styles and modes through which to articulate their own specific sense of the feminine" (Pykett, 'Improper' 5).

After the initial identification of an extensive assortment of novels and short stories which depicted this extraordinary late-Victorian model of femininity, late twentieth-century scholars concerned with the New Woman began to consider the larger socio-historical and political factors which had generated the New Woman as a popular subject and icon. Many of the resultant studies reveal cartoons, caricatures, lampoons and satirical sketches which highlight the popularity during the 1880s and 1890s of the derogatory conceptualization of the New Woman (and her precursors) as an acolyte in a masculine cult of smoking, supping, sportsmanship and sartorial swaggering. In "The New Woman and the crisis of Victorianism," Sally Ledger expressly "open[s] up and extend[s] the parameters of Showalter's commentary on gender relations at the *fin de siècle* by considering the rise of the New Woman in her relationship with other social and cultural phenomena of the period" (Ledger, "New Woman" 23). Here, Ledger largely sets aside the longer New Woman fiction to focus on tracing the ideological climate which contributed to both the rise and the demise of the New Woman. In her full-length study, *The New Woman: Fiction and feminism at the fin de siècle* (1997), Ledger expands on her earlier necessarily brief "consideration of the New Woman's complex relationship to decadence, socialism, imperialism and emergent homosexual identities" (5). Ledger balances readings of New Woman novels against contemporary non-fiction representations and critiques of the New Woman, in order to emphasize the centrality of the New Woman in the literary culture of the 1880s and 1890s, and to consider the dynamic relationship between fictionalized versions of women who challenged Victorian conventions of femininity, and the real nineteenth-century women

who struggled to effect progressive change in the opportunities available to women. In *New Woman Fiction: Women Writing First-Wave Feminism* (2000), Ann Heilmann similarly situates New Woman fiction within a wider print, political and social culture to argue that “New Woman fiction...constituted, and concerned itself as, an agent of social and political transformation” (4). While I question Heilmann’s proposal that New Woman fiction was critical in “the reshaping of literature and (popular) culture for specifically political purposes” (4)--have not literature and culture, popular and otherwise, *always* been political?--I do concur with Heilmann’s conclusion that the roots of twentieth-century feminist discourses are evident in *fin de siècle* texts and other cultural artefacts which celebrate, or at least give credence to, the New Woman as an icon of social progress and a figure of feminist activism.

Scholars of the 1970s and 80s such as Fernando and Cunningham had been content to focus on the New Woman primarily as an unconventional heroine whose role was to embody in novels a spirit of feminist restlessness.<sup>10</sup> Yet as an increasing body of non-fiction material was added to the field of inquiry about the New Woman, it became evident that the New Woman had a life well beyond the confines of canonical fiction and even of popular novels. The New Woman, it came to be accepted, was more than merely a symbol of change to constructions of femininity and the status of women. Late twentieth-century writers began to grapple with the subtleties of the New Woman’s identity in wider discursive and cultural venues, and in so doing, began unwittingly to mimic late nineteenth-century writers whose frustrations with the concept are evident in the number of inquiries about the identity of this extraordinary figure: “Is there a `New Woman’?” enquired *The Woman’s Signal* (“Is there a `New Woman’?” 268); “What is the Role of the `New Woman’?” asked Nat Arling in the *Westminster Review* (Arling 576); “Is the New Woman a Myth?” queried Mrs. Morgan-Dockrell in *The Humanitarian*



(Morgan-Dockrell 339); “‘Captain, what do you think of the ‘new woman’?” prodded the speaker in Lois Neal’s vignette, “A Trifle Pessimistic” (Neal 480). Even Grand herself evidently believed the question of the New Woman’s identity to be sufficiently provocative as to warrant invoking it in *Babs the Impossible*: “‘They said you were a New Woman,’” Mrs. Kingconstance remarked to Barbara Land the day of the younger woman’s arrival in Danehurst. “‘But what is the New Woman after all?’” pondered Babs’ aunt, Lorraine Kingconstance (*Babs* 284).<sup>11</sup>

Nineteenth-century writers similarly anticipated more recent proposals that the New Woman was a discursive construct generated by the popular periodicals of the day: “‘Who made the “New Woman?” / Said the Journalist, ‘I, / When my fancy ran high, / I made the “New Woman,””” mocked one writer quoted in *The Woman’s Signal* (“Women at Work” 21). A century later, in her essay “Inventing the New Woman: Print Culture and Identity Politics During the Fin-de-Siècle” (1998), Michelle Elizabeth Tusan proposed that the New Woman was a feminist construction designed to conceptualize a more positive and more progressive version of the independent and outspoken women slanderously caricatured in mainstream periodicals of the 1880s and early 1890s. Tusan provides a persuasive reading of subtle shifts in the representations of this famously “‘new’ and totally reconstructed woman” (Tusan 171) from its roots as “an attempt to create a feminist identity,” through its more visible role “as a contested terrain over which competing cultural values were negotiated” (178).

The suggestion that the marked expansion of the periodical press trade evident in the final quarter of the nineteenth century played a significant role in the construction of the New Woman as a literary and cultural icon was substantiated by Patricia Marks: although her work, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (1990) is relatively thin on critical commentary, it does represent a wealth of *fin de*

*siècle* material which testifies to the prominence in periodicals of the New Woman as an iconic figure for both real and fictional women who challenged the foundations of the conventional Victorian ideal of womanliness. Marks's collection evinces the transposition of debates about the Woman Question on to evaluation of the New Woman, and is especially valuable for demonstrating the antipathy and horror which characterized much of the popular journalism concerned with the expansion of the sphere of women's activities. Offering a more succinct conclusion than does Marks, in her chapter, "The New Woman and the New Journalism," Margaret Beetham picks up on Ardis's earlier suggestion that by labeling the advancing or unconventional modern woman with the formal title "New Woman," journalists and other writers contained the challenge such a woman represented in real life, by casting her as a primarily literary character or type (Ardis 13). As Ardis observes, this deftly reduced debates about real revolutionary New Women to discussions about aesthetics and literary merit. Beetham, however, proposes that women readers' engagement with the debates associated with the New Woman--including the fundamental question of whether the New Woman was "merely" a fictional construct, or whether she was the embodiment of new female role models in the movement towards the emancipation of women--generated a discursive space which was instrumental in altering assumptions about gender and constructions of femininity (Beetham 118). In this sense, both Marks and Beetham may be invoked to substantiate my position that the New Woman was constructed out of a dynamic interplay between fiction, socio-political history, and the periodical presses, and that she functioned as a catalyst and a textual harbinger of historical change in women's lives.<sup>12</sup>

One of the most notable outcomes of the New Woman scholarship which has emerged since the 1980s is the rediscovery of Sarah Grand, one of the late nineteenth-century's most prominent writers.<sup>13</sup> Although Grand is most famous as the author of two

of the most widely-acclaimed and controversial New Woman novels, *The Heavenly Twins* and *The Beth Book*, her notoriety was promulgated through a prolific publication history which according to Joan Huddleston's bibliography (1979),<sup>14</sup> includes at least ten novels (many of which were published in several different languages), three collections of short fiction, seventeen short stories published independently, and nearly three dozen essays and other expository works and opinion pieces. Grand's work appeared in a variety of widely-read periodicals in England and the U.S., including *The Humanitarian*, *Temple Bar*, *The North American Review*, *Young Woman*, *Lady's Realm*, *Blackwood's*, *Littel's Living Age*, and *Phil May's Illustrated Winter Annual*. Her fiction and non-fiction alike attracted comment, both laudatory and condemnatory, in countless sites from the mid-1880s, well into the twentieth century. Her contemporaries accorded Grand extensive attention for having written fiction and essays which boldly addressed such contentious issues as venereal diseases, the appropriate age at which a girl should marry and the coercion often implemented to impel girls into unsatisfying marriages, women's paid employment, masculine immorality and "animal" appetites, vivisection, domestic violence, foot binding and other destructive manipulation and constriction of the female body, prostitution, women's dress and deportment, the education of women, women cyclists, and women's clubs. Grand's essays provide the most explicit and direct insight into her ideas about such issues, which are also developed and woven throughout her fiction, thereby providing a tremendous wealth of material from which to glean a coherent picture of her politics and ideology.

As important as she was as a writer, Grand was also very well-known, particularly in her mature years, for her political activism and involvement in organizations associated with the women's movement. As Kersley notes, in the first decade of the twentieth century, while Grand was lecturing throughout England and the

United States, she became “a member of the Women Writers’ Suffrage League, Women Citizens’ Association, Vice-President of the Women’s Suffrage Society, President of the local branch [at Tunbridge Wells] of National Council of Women, [and] President, Chairman and principal speaker of the Tunbridge Wells branch of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies” (Kersley xi). Additionally, Grand was also one of the most well-known members of the Pioneer Club,<sup>15</sup> one of the foremost of the many women’s clubs established in London during the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>16</sup> Not only was she one of the most popular of the club’s speakers, but she was acclaimed as “one of the best dressed women in the ... Club” (“Sarah Grand,” *Review of Reviews* 567), an accolade which challenged the widely-held assumption that members of modern women’s clubs resembled men in divided skirts.

Among nineteenth- and twentieth-century readers alike, Grand has been credited both with having popularized (if not actually coined) the term “New Woman,”<sup>17</sup> and with having “lived as well as [written] the often self-contradictory role of the New Woman” (Mangum, *Married* 3). Although she was not the first writer to use the New Woman label in her writing,<sup>18</sup> she was arguably the first writer to detail in positive terms the supposed personality or character of the model of femininity dubbed the New Woman. Developing and focusing many of her points made in “The New Aspect of the Woman Question,” in “The New Woman and the Old,” Grand explicitly describes the New Woman as she conceives her, and distinguishes this novel model of femininity from the Old Woman, whom Grand saw to be the product of destructively narrow constructions of gender.<sup>19</sup> To Grand, this new model of womanhood was the mother of new and progressive generations, committed to protecting the young and supporting them as they develop to their fullest extent (“New Woman” 470). Grand particularly emphasizes the New Woman’s “unimpeachable” morals, her “charming” manners, “radiant” health,

loving nature, intelligence, sense of humour, kindness, and her devotion to her womanly duties as wife and mother, while acknowledging that this was a creature in the process of developing who warranted sympathetic patience for her flaws and stumbles. The "most complex, most interesting creature on earth" (469), the New Woman "is a well-balanced creature, with innumerable interests in life, ... [who] enjoys them all without excess" (469-70), thereby representing a vast improvement over the Old Woman, whose limited skills and interests were directed towards satisfying her self-centred appetites: "The whole aim and object of [the Old Woman's] existence was sensual pleasure," we are told (470). The breadth of the New Woman's contributions to the lives of other people is juxtaposed against the Old Woman's selfishness: "The Old Woman cares only for others in so far as they have it in their power to add to her own pleasure in life" (468). Inverting the popular caricatures of the New Woman, Grand goes so far as to ascribe sensuality and self-indulgence not to the advanced woman, but to the outmoded model of femininity: The Old Woman "only recognised other women in their relation to men, and that only in the one sense, the sexual. She sees in our sacred humanity evidence of one function only, and deals with that principally in a state of perversion. The New Woman despises any intemperance; besides, she has no time to do more than sip a wholesome draught" (469). Marked by humourlessness, limited knowledge, dependence on men, and a hypercritical nature (which is particularly vicious when applied to evaluations of other women), the "Old Woman has had her day," Grand asserts decidedly (470). And turning on its head the popular argument that the modern woman had disqualified herself from the marriage market, Grand declares that ultimately, "man likes the New Woman best" (470). Throughout her work, Grand determinedly rejects any suggestions that the New Woman was the masculine harridan she was purported to be by *Punch* and other antagonistic publications. As one reviewer

summarized, Grand's "ideal women claim freedom for themselves, freedom to live the highest life, and secure the fullest development.... Yet with all their independence they are the most womanly of women. Sarah Grand has not the faintest sympathy with the bold and noisy female agitator. Her heroines have other things to do than to storm platforms" ("New Writers" 107).<sup>20</sup>

The little biographical material which is available about Grand suggests that readers were justified in recognizing her as a living version of her New Woman characters. The only comprehensive and extensive biographical study is provided by Gillian Kersley in *Darling Madame: Sarah Grand and Devoted Friend* (1983). This is the first published study of the diaries of Grand's "Devoted Friend," Gladys Singers-Bigger, and of other material related to Grand held at the Bath Reference Library. Thirty years younger than Grand, Singers-Bigger maintained an excruciatingly detailed record of her friendship with Grand whom she met in 1925 during Grand's term as Mayoress of Bath (1922-29). Although Grand appears to have been not the least bit enchanted with the besotted young woman (often seeming from the diaries to have been barely tolerant of some of Singers-Bigger's outrageous expressions of adoration), it is fortunate for modern readers that Grand nevertheless apparently derived at least some pleasure from the friendship during the nearly twenty years preceding her death in 1943 at the age of eighty-eight, as the diaries offer what may be the most extensive and candid body of insight available about Grand's recollections and life history. Although Kersley has reproduced only selections from the diaries, much of this material includes Singers-Bigger's records of her conversations with Grand about the elder woman's motivations for writing, her feelings about the public response to her novels and essays, and her social and political opinions about contemporary events and circumstances. While excerpts from Singers-Bigger's writings form the core of *Darling Madame*, Kersley

supplements this material with a substantial narrative history of Grand's life, which reveals much about the inspiration and sources for Grand's New Woman fiction. Nevertheless, Kersley's history should be read with a degree of critical skepticism, as she appears inclined to assume that those parallels between Grand's fiction and her life history which may be confirmed with evidence from other sources, signal that all of Grand's fiction may be read as almost wholly autobiographical.<sup>21</sup> It is unfortunately often not clear from *Darling Madame* where the boundaries lie between fact and fiction. A novelist herself (rather than an historian or researcher by profession), Kersley has relied heavily on Grand's fiction in her (re)construction of Grand's life, often explicitly choosing to privilege the authority of the novels when these do not agree with Grand's declared recollections (as, for instance, with respect to the question of whether the depiction of Caroline Caldwell in *The Beth Book* is "a faithful portrait" of Grand's mother, Mrs. Bellenden Clarke [Kersley 22]).

Elements of Grand's life story do seem to be written in to her fiction, however, ironically in some of the most controversial passages of the narratives. These suggest reasons for Grand's passionate concern about the limitations which were imposed on women's lives as a result of narrowly-defined and constraining constructions of femininity, as well as the imbalance of power which existed between men and women. Given that the parallels are particularly evident in *Ideala*, *The Heavenly Twins*, and *The Beth Book*, there is justification for perceiving Grand to have been herself very much a New Woman according to her own conceptualization of the term.

On June 10, 1854, like the fictional Beth, Grand was born in Ireland (at Bally Castle, Donaghadee, Co. Down), the fourth of five children of a naval coastguard and an educated woman.<sup>22</sup> Critics have often noted the echoes of Grand's own name, Frances Elizabeth Bellenden Clarke (later McFall), in Beth's full married name, Elizabeth

Caldwell Maclure. In 1861, a few years after the Clarke family had relocated to Co. Mayo, Grand's father died, forcing her mother to move the family closer to her own relatives near Scarborough, Yorkshire, where Grand may very well have been as miserable and as unsettled as is Beth when her family is obliged to establish itself near her uncle James' estate. Surprisingly for the woman who was to build her fame on her writing and knowledge, Grand's formal education was limited to two years divided between the Royal Naval School at Twickenham, and a finishing school in Kensington, London (1868-1870). Again in marked correspondence with Beth's story, and bearing also hints of Ideala's experiences, at the age of sixteen Grand escaped "the poverty, both real and spiritual, of family life" (Kersley 29), by marrying a thirty-nine year old widowed military surgeon with two children, David Chambers McFall, after a courtship of only a few weeks. Within the year, the girl gave birth to her own child, David Archibald Edward McFall, on October 7, 1871. As a young bride, from 1873-9, Grand accompanied her husband to postings and on holidays in Singapore, Ceylon, China, Japan, the Straits Settlements, Malta and Normandy, many of which provided experiences which contribute to the stories of Ideala's travels in China and other Asian countries, and of Evadne's sojourn in Malta with her army husband, Colonel Colquhoun, as presented in *The Heavenly Twins*.

Despite the glamour of travel to exotic locales, and the excitement of being fêted as the wife of a prominent military official, by all accounts, the marriage was an unhappy one for Grand,<sup>23</sup> and McFall is believed to have been a grim role model for Beth's husband, Daniel Maclure. Yet McFall may have been the conduit, if not the direct source, of much of Grand's knowledge about sexually transmitted diseases and other medical conditions, and about the appalling conditions to which women were routinely being subjected in government-certified Lock hospitals under the Contagious Diseases



Acts; such subjects are paramount in both *The Heavenly Twins* and *The Beth Book* (Kersley 36) and contributed to Grand's notoriety as a woman determined to delve head-first into controversy to improve the sufferings of women. It is likely that it was while the couple was stationed at Warrington, Lancashire (1881-1890), (the bleak town which likely provided the inspiration for Grand's descriptions of "the rough manufacturing district[]" [*Ideala* 93] where Ideala is especially miserable as she "made a number of small discoveries about her husband which had the effect of destroying any remnant of respect she may have felt for him" [*Ideala* 101]), that Grand was initially confronted with the ghastly effects of syphilis on women and their children. At Warrington, McFall became Honorary Brigade Surgeon and Medical Officer at the Orford Barracks (Kersley 44), which post likely involved him with the operations at the local Lock hospital "and, being the insensitive man he undoubtedly was," it is assumed by Kersley "that he made no effort to keep this connection from his wife" (Kersley 47). Having already gleaned a decade's worth of "army medical observation" since her marriage, the knowledge Grand gained at this time about sexually transmitted diseases placed "her well ahead of her time, though her interest in [syphilis] was to be typical of many of the progressive men and women of her class in the next decade" (Kersley 47).

Although Grand wasn't entrenched in "the movement for the Emancipation of Women" until after she had abandoned her marriage and relocated to London in 1891, at Norwich with her husband (1879-1880), Grand had involved herself in social concerns and had "started visiting the poor" (Kersley 42); at Warrington, Grand became more deliberately associated with the women's movement when "Lady Harburton, founder and president of the Rational Dress Society, had asked Sarah to serve on her Committee" (Kersley 67). With her circle of friends and associates in the women's movement expanding to include such notable women as Mrs. Massingberg (founder and president

of the Pioneer Club), Lady Henry Somerset (President of the British Women's Temperance Movement), and Mrs. Oscar Wilde (Kersley 67), Grand began to forge her literary social activism from the ground up. After several years spent regularly submitting short stories to publishers which were all just as regularly rejected, in 1873 Grand had seen her first work appear in print. *Two Dear Little Feet*, "a morality tale about tight boots" (Kersley 36), is the only example of Grand's work which was published under her married name of Frances E. McFall. Like the fictional Beth, Grand appears to have promised to not use a name which could be associated with her husband during his lifetime because, as she explained, "My husband had a gt. [sic.] dislike to having his name associated with my ideas" (Unpublished letter to F.H. Fisher, 10 May 1898, qtd. by Kersley 55). Accordingly, with the exception of *Two Dear Little Feet*, her earliest works (*Ideala* [1888], *A Domestic Experiment* [1891], and *Singularly Deluded* [1892]) were published anonymously: not until 1893, three years after she had left her husband and son (thereby giving ammunition to critics who were convinced that the New Woman was antagonistic towards marriage and maternity), did she apply her assumed name of Sarah Grand to the final proofs of *The Heavenly Twins*, and from thenceforward, she abandoned the nomenclature of her unhappy childhood and marriage.<sup>24</sup>

Grand's acclaim as a writer arrived after a hard-won battle. *Ideala: A Study from Life* had been largely written in 1879 while Grand and her husband were stationed at Norwich, the pastoral environment which is the model for the cathedral town of Morningquest (Kersley 42), the setting of the three novels which form the core of Grand's New Woman fiction, although it wasn't completed until after their move to Warrington in 1881. (Danehurst, the setting for *Babs*, is a similarly remote and peaceful variant on the Norwich/Morningquest region.) But it wasn't until 1888 that the novel was

published, at Grand's own expense, after being rejected by several publishers. Even with its limited circulation, *Ideala* was enough of a success to encourage Richard Bentley ("who had earlier rejected the manuscript" [Mangum, *Married* 60]) to republish it the following year. It was subsequently produced by William Heinemann in 1893, and it earned Grand sufficient financial resources and notoriety to provide her with the foundation to leave McFall, and to pursue her career on her own.

In *Ideala*, Grand explores the subjects of unhappy marriages, domestic violence, maternity, poverty, and sexual passion, all of which issues were to become increasingly prominent both in her own fiction, and in works written by other contemporary women writers, testifying to a growing determination among these writers to use fiction as a vehicle for stimulating social change and advancing the cause of the emancipation of women. The narrative is focused on *Ideala*, a New Woman constructed squarely on the principles later set out in Grand's essay, "The New Woman and the Old," and is told through the perspective of an unnamed male narrator and the heroine's older devoted admirer (later reintroduced in *The Heavenly Twins* as Lord Dawne, the twins's uncle). The first half of the history begins with the narrator's recollections of the vibrant, dynamic young woman *Ideala* had been in her teenage years; relates *Ideala*'s psychological decline in the early years of her marriage, during which she suffers the loss of her only child after her controlling husband persuades her to discontinue breast-feeding, and the infant starves and dies of diphtheria at six weeks of age; and describes the physical abuse which finally prompts *Ideala* to seek advice to address the burdens of her grievous marriage. The second half of the novel is concerned with *Ideala*'s struggle to balance her need for escape from her marriage and her craving for independence, her passionate love for a young and attractive physician, Lorrimer, and her obligations and responsibilities to propriety and social convention. Ultimately, the novel suggests

that at least at this stage, the New Woman is faced with what appears to be an irreconcilable conflict between her own needs and desires, and constructions of ideal womanhood which constrict women's liberties.

*Ideala*, like all of Grand's New Woman fiction, testifies to the constraints which convention and custom imposed on women's abilities to satisfy the hunger of their bodies. Although nineteenth-century reviewers only rarely remarked overtly on the prominence of food in Grand's novels, references in the reviews suggest that the critical reception of her fiction was often influenced by the degree to which a reader might be distressed by the eating habits or appetites exhibited by Grand's female characters. Typical of the response to almost all of Grand's work, the reception of *Ideala* was mixed. Not unexpectedly, *The Woman's Herald* championed the novel on the occasion of the publication of a second edition (1893): "The story of the wrongs which made shipwreck of Ideala's happiness, and nearly drove her into wild revolt against all established law, is the beginning of that fearless denunciation of social evils which later found such eloquent utterance in 'The Heavenly Twins'" ("Our Library Table" 537). At the same time, *The Nation* actually favoured *Ideala* over *The Heavenly Twins* as "a more perfect" work; although consistent with a trend apparent throughout comments on Grand's polemical novels, this reviewer cautioned that *Ideala*'s author "stands in some peril, as a reformer, of trying to cure all maladies with one medicine, the higher (and lower) education of women; and, as a novelist, of overloading her pages with irrelevant incident and wilful boldness where business-like calm would say more" (Rev. of *HT*, 1893 375).

While the reviewer in *The Spectator* perceives the novel to be essentially characterized by "that to which the expression of very high praise is due" (Rev. of *Id* 56), fault is found with the vagueness and "inappropriateness" of much of the description offered in the novel. The reviewer cites in particular, "the description of the Great

Hospital...where the chief consulter, as we have it three times forced upon our attention, cannot even get his lunch without going out to the refreshment-room of a neighbouring railway-station" (56). This reviewer, while arguing for the implausibility of an official staff member of a great institution being inconvenienced in his lunchtime practices, fails to notice the reason the chief consulter is forced to procure his meal off-site. While the frequency with which Grand draws attention to Lorrimer's midday meal evidently made an impression on the *Spectator* contributor, his obliviousness to the necessity that Lorrimer lunch with Ideala at the station, "Ladies not being allowed to lunch at the Great Hospital" (*Ideala*, 129), is testament to the widespread blindness towards the commonly-accepted limitations imposed on women's eating which Grand endeavours to expose.

More telling, however, of the distress engendered in the Victorian imagination of a woman who challenged social conventions which curtailed women's expressions of their appetites are the comments in *The Saturday Review* produced shortly after the publication of the first E.W. Allen edition of the novel in 1888. Much of this lengthy review merely outlines the plot of what is received as "the story of a nasty-minded woman" (Rev. of *Id* 277). But in substantiating his complaints about Ideala's "verbosity, dulness, and rudeness," and her "affectation and absent-mindedness," the reviewer describes in more detail than he had used to relate any other incident, part of Ideala's first encounter with Lorrimer: "The first time she met this personage she had lunch with him--at his expense--in a restaurant" (277), notes the reviewer, implying that there was something objectionable about Ideala accompanying a recently-met male acquaintance for lunch in a restaurant, and even worse, in permitting this new companion to pay the price of her meal. The lunchtime assignation, we are led to believe by this reviewer, initiates the downward spiral of "a depraved and despicable character" who "commits adultery in her heart with the first cleverish man she comes across after the rupture with

her husband, and fails to do so in fact only because she lacks the courage of her appetite" (277). Ironically, *Ideala*, representative of the "noisy," "odious," and "nasty-minded" New Woman, is faulted both for possessing an appetite which transgresses feminine propriety, and for failing to thoroughly reject her womanly sensibilities and allegiance to convention to actualize adulterous desire. The review reveals the widespread discomfort triggered by the prospect of a woman who exhibited appetites, and who strove to govern those appetites for herself according to principles which were both recognizably womanly for their deference to social responsibilities, and disconcertingly manly for their visibility and independence. In my second chapter, I will explore further the implications of these lunches with Lorrimer, and in particular their setting at a Railway Station restaurant, which were deemed so objectionable by *The Spectator* and *The Saturday Review*.

Despite being Grand's inaugural New Woman novel, *Ideala* has received a considerably smaller proportion of recent literary criticism than has been directed towards the two subsequent Morningquest novels.<sup>25</sup> To date, the only published extended study of *Ideala* is to be found in Mangum's *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant*. Locating "Grand's novels within the fractious debates over women's position in relation to the law, medicine, book publishing, periodical presses, and the multifaceted women's movement," Mangum "focus[es] on the reasons why Grand... hammered so relentlessly at marriage," and questions why Grand and other contemporary women writers "wrangled with the long-standing plots of heterosexual love and marriage rather than simply turning to more experimental plots and forms as vehicles for discontented, rebellious female characters, a strategy Modernists would deploy so soon thereafter" (6). Concentrating on Grand's reconfiguration of the traditional marriage plot of domestic fiction, Mangum sees *Ideala* as "mark[ing] a crucial turning point in Grand's

development as it dramatizes the fundamental problem of representing the experience of women in a culture under the governance of male authorities" (9). She particularly considers Grand to have in this novel highlighted the "friction between masculine and feminine perspectives on `reality' ... as a problem of narration" which develops out of the often contradictory interpretations provided by the novel's narrator, and his records of Ideala's own statements, supplemented by an alternative feminine perspective figured by the narrator's sister, Claudia (61). Mangum reads *Ideala* as a map of the "old world" whose "contours and boundaries" needed to be delineated "before women could invent a new world for new women" (61). Mangum's schema corresponds with my own reading of *Ideala* as a study of the New Woman's awakening recognition of her own appetites and hunger, the necessary preliminary stage to the process of learning to challenge conventions which restrict the satisfaction of feminine appetites, the appropriation of food as a tool of self-empowerment, and the celebration of a feminine epicureanism, which is developed in Grand's subsequent New Woman novels.

After the relative success of *Ideala*, Grand devoted herself to writing *The Heavenly Twins*, the project which was finally to secure her place in the history of New Woman fiction. Not surprisingly, given the prominence in the novel of syphilis, prostitution, madness, cross-dressing, a girl who proposes marriage to an older man, a woman who refuses to consummate a seemingly respectable marriage, and frequent remarks by the narrator and by individual characters on the nature of marriage and other contentious subjects such as Woman's Rights, the education of girls, and ideals of womanhood, *The Heavenly Twins* encountered a disconcerted audience even before the novel appeared in print.<sup>26</sup> For three years, publisher after publisher refused to accept the novel: "Blackwood's were nervous about taking the work, since syphilis figures centrally in the plot. George Meredith, as the publisher's reader, turned the work

down for Chapman and Hall, because he found it too clogged with “ideas”” (Sutherland 258, qtd. in Senf xxxi-xxxii; Kersley 89). Grand reported in her 1923 Foreword that one publisher had described her ideals as “antagonistic to all culture and refinement,” expounding on his theme to assert that “All delicately-minded women must feel themselves aggrieved, if not insulted, by the prominence which is given to the physical idea of marriage.... I could not, and would not dare to place your work in the way of ladies, who compose so large a proportion of the novel-reading public” (qtd. in Kersley 70). Prepared to publish the novel privately, as she had *Ideala*, it was not until the pre-print pages had been prepared that Grand was persuaded to present the manuscript to William Heinemann who had already established himself as a “champion [of] many *avant garde* writers” of the 1890s (Kersley 71).<sup>27</sup>

Heinemann issued *The Heavenly Twins* on February 7, 1893 (Kersley 72), sparking a frenzy of journalistic debate about the merits and horrors of the text. Despite, or perhaps because of, the scandalous nature of the novel’s subject matter, *The Heavenly Twins* was reprinted six times in the first year alone, with 20,000 copies having been sold in the United Kingdom by the time the single-volume edition was issued in 1894 (Kersley 72).<sup>28</sup> Almost immediately, *The Heavenly Twins* became the benchmark against which other New Woman fiction was judged, favourably and otherwise,<sup>29</sup> and punsters and pundits fueled the furor with their slanderous parodies and caricatures.<sup>30</sup> The impact of the novel was summarized by Amy Cruse, nearly half a century after its initial publication: “It created one of the greatest sensations of literature; it certainly caused tremendous excitement in the ranks of the Feminists and anti-Feminists, and the upholders of the new and the old morality. The general public read it with interest and pleasure mainly because of the pranks of the irrepressible twins.... But for the Feminists the importance of the book lay in its account of the



marriages made by two of the girl characters, Edith and Evadne” (Cruse; qtd. in Kersley 72).

One of the advantages of reading *The Heavenly Twins* as a study of the differences and unexpected similarities between male and female appetites, as I will do in my third chapter, is that the links are fortified between the three main narrative plots of the novel. Recent scholars, writing in the distant wake of modernist and post-modernist experiments in temporal disjunction, pluralities of narrative points of view or perspectives, and disjointed or disruptive narrative plotlines, are typically nonplussed by the sprawling expanse of Grand’s narrative. This is particularly true of writers concerned with the novel as a document of women’s history. But late nineteenth-century readers who were more exclusively familiar with the linearity and unity of the Victorian triple-decker (the format in which *The Heavenly Twins* was initially published) were distressed by a novel perceived to be “wanting in form” (Rev. of *HT*, *Spectator* 395), the construction of which was deemed to amount to “a tangle of themes and counter-themes worked out to a tangle of conclusions,” and composed of multiple stories which “clash like dissonances on the ear” (Rev. of *HT*, *Nation* 374).<sup>31</sup>

Readers’ frustrations are attributable to the novel’s construction around the stories of the education and marriages of three female characters: Evadne Frayling, Angelica Hamilton-Wells, and Edith Beale. Although Sally Ledger claims that “it is Angelica, rather than Evadne, who is the real New Woman of the piece (1997: 116),<sup>32</sup> nineteenth-century readers fixed on Evadne, rather than the female half of the infamous twins, as the real heroine of the novel (Rev. of *HT*, *Critic* 219).<sup>33</sup> According to my own reading, however, the novel doesn’t really have a single heroine, but offers instead a glimpse of multiple women who ought to be heroic exemplars and leaders, but whose heroism and lives are constrained by the limitations of the scripts which governed

women's lives in the nineteenth century. Evadne and Angelica severally embody a diverse range of the traits Grand associates in her essays with the New Woman, but neither is able to fully actualize her potential, a tragedy which the novel makes clear is characteristic of the lives of contemporary women. Evadne, for instance, while she is intellectually gifted and is blessed with an admirable graciousness and self-possession, notably lacks a "saving sense of humor" (*HT* 7), a trait which characterizes both the impetuous Angelica, and the New Woman described by Grand in her 1898 essay ("New Woman" 467). Similarly, while Evadne's manners are impeccable, in accordance with the standards set out in "The New Woman and the Old," Angelica is notoriously less scrupulous in her behaviour. While the weaknesses of each woman underline the New Woman's developing persona, the complementary natures of these two blossoming New Women parallel the complementariness Grand considers to be essential to constructive and generative relationships, the superlative model of which is heterosexual marriage.

Evadne's story revolves around her self-directed education, including her study of medical texts which alert her to the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases. This in turn compels her to refuse to consummate her marriage with Colonel Colquhoun after having received on her wedding day a letter informing her of his dissolute pre-marital activities; although she agrees to cohabit with Colonel Colquhoun, she maintains her determination never to permit sexual relations with him, thereby denying herself the maternity she craves. Angelica, the female contingent of the novel's eponymous twins, also defies convention, by refusing an education which differs from that which is granted her brother, Diavolo; but when she reaches an age where she can no longer control forces which decree that the twins must be separated--Diavolo to be educated at Sandhurst with a view to a military career (320), and she to remain at home as she

prepared for her prescribed role as wife—in an effort to maintain some degree of authority over her own future, Angelica takes it upon herself to command their neighbour, Mr. Kilroy of Ilverthorpe, “Marry me, *and let me do as I like*” (321). While the stories of Evadne and Angelica focus on the frustrations experienced by women who are denied authority over their own educations and the shape of their relationships, Edith’s story illustrates the tragic consequences of constructing Woman as an ethereal creature of innocence and purity, and of denying a girl sufficient knowledge to make informed decisions about her life, particularly with respect to marriage. Like Evadne, Edith marries a military officer whose behaviour, particularly his relations with women, was highly reprehensible. Armed with nothing more than naiveté and ignorance fostered by her mother, Edith dismisses Evadne’s warnings about Sir Mosley Menteith, only to be devastated physically, mentally, and spiritually by syphilis which she contracts from her husband and passes on to their son. Edith’s death, following a substantial period of extreme illness and a decline into violent madness, overshadows the bulk of the novel.

Given the emphasis in the novel, particularly in the stories of Evadne and Edith, on characters’ sexual proclivities and activities, it is perhaps not entirely to be wondered that James Ashcroft Noble was inspired to attack *The Heavenly Twins* as a typical example of the “fiction of sexual sensualism” which threatened and offended “ordinarily decent and wholesome readers” (490), and which painted life as dominated “by one colossal appetite” for sexual pleasure (Noble 493). I contest Noble’s position to propose instead that Grand refutes any suggestion that life is, or should be, *dominated* by appetites at all. The novel’s underlying scaffold of images, and the language of food and consumption, link the stories of Evadne, Angelica and Edith into a cohesive protest against “the inherited appetite for the vices” (*HT* 186) which Grand believed men were

erroneously encouraged to perpetuate. Adopting a metaphor of consumption and ingestion, Grand explained in her 1923 Foreword to the Heinemann edition of the novel that she had intended *The Heavenly Twins* to be “‘an allopathic pill’ that would be ‘mistaken for a bonbon and swallowed without a suspicion of its medicinal properties’” (qtd. in Mangum, *Married* 124). My chapter on the novel is in part dedicated to identifying the alimentary ingredients which constitute Grand’s therapeutic confection, and to showing that her strategy of improving society by feeding readers a healthy dose of wholesome intellectual food is repeatedly reproduced within the text itself.

Although, as I have noted, the form, structure and artistry of the novel attracted considerable attention, by far the greatest proportion of the “tremendous excitement” caused by the novel was focused on the question of whether the contentious subject matter was fit for a literary text, and on the controversial ideological stance of its author. Typically, an evaluation of *The Heavenly Twins* was blatantly dependent on the reviewer’s personal opinions about the status of women and their need for emancipation. Many readers formulated their protest against the politics being represented in a novel “filled...with shrieking” ([Barry] 295)<sup>34</sup> as an objection to the use of literature as a forum for airing political grievances. The review in *The Spectator* is characteristic of this strain of complaint: “A literary column,” and likewise, we are led to believe, a novel, “is...not the place for discussing the question [of whether Evadne’s refusal to consummate her marriage was warranted]; and, indeed, Sarah Grand explicitly or implicitly raises a number of questions which cannot be adequately discussed in any column of a journal with a mixed *clientèle*. Suffice it to say that in the opinion of the present writer she raises a prejudice against the very conclusions which she strives to commend, and it is certain that her polemics have gone far to spoil her novel” (Rev. of *HT* 395).<sup>35</sup> Of those who were comfortable addressing the subject

matter of the novel, few readers were as unequivocal in their praise of the novel as was George Cotterell, who deftly skirted the question of the style of the novel and focused instead on the merits of a text which addressed the author's "intelligently serious" point of view (368). More often, enthusiastic readers hinted at a nearly compulsive desire to forgive the textual failings of the novel in view of Grand's progressive politics. As one reviewer explained, "in spite of its chaotic and haphazard arrangement and its unsatisfactory ending, [the novel] is so full of interest, and the characters are so eccentrically humorous yet true, that one feels inclined to pardon all its faults, and give oneself up to unreserved enjoyment of it" (Rev. of *HT*, *Athenæum* 342). Similarly, *The Academy* remarked on the socio-political influence of *The Heavenly Twins*, while disparaging it as "a bad novel--artistically vicious in its crudity, violence, unfairness, literary indecorum, improbability, impossibility" ("The Author of `Babs'" 347). But the novel was ultimately "saved, instead of damned, by its purpose," by being "a brilliant, though unscrupulous, argument against the `criminal repression of women' for the selfish ends of men" (347).

Backed by the *fin de siècle* sensation stirred by the novel, *The Heavenly Twins* has attracted a considerable proportion of the recent critical interest in New Woman fiction, and has been the subject of the greatest bulk of material focused specifically on Grand's writing. Scholars have been especially concerned to reclaim *The Heavenly Twins* as an important artefact of the women's movement and of women's expanding participation in the literary landscape at the turn of the century. Carol A. Senf, in her introduction to the most recent edition of the novel, summarizes the socio-political reasons, citing in particular the novel's significance primarily "from the perspective of literary history" (xii), for its role as a fictionalized tract which "demonstrates what happens when people [notably women] are prevented from exercising their full

humanity,” and which “reveals both the psychological and the social damage that occurs when women are kept in `their place’” (Senf xvii).<sup>36</sup> Like many other New Woman novels, *The Heavenly Twins* has been enthusiastically read as an exemplary *fin de siècle* feminist critique of marriage. This is a central component of Teresa Mangum’s monograph on Grand’s work, in which she demonstrates that the overlapping marriage plots of *The Heavenly Twins* were integral to Grand’s demand for a cultural revision of the construction of womanhood.

Of particular interest to feminist scholars has been the novel’s subversion of traditional Victorian sexual ideology, and the challenge to conventional gender roles and stereotypes figured by the twins (Showalter, *Literature* 205-6; Ledger, *New Woman* 115-117). My reading of the novel relies on Mangum’s careful delineation of the function of “The twins’ comic experiments with gender switching, even gender blending, [to] illustrate the power of individuals to unsettle the dichotomous logic that reproduced sexual difference as gender roles, a structuring process that, as the twins’ insights make clear, benefits men” (Mangum, *Married* 126). Recognizing that the novel challenges assumptions about gender, critics have particularly focused on “The Interlude,” both as an extended study of the constraints produced by the popular construction of femininity, and as a vehicle for an appeal for tolerance of sexual pluralities to exist alongside a multiplicity of models of femininity and of womanhood. To Sally Ledger, the episode is the “most significant section of the novel with regard to gender roles” (Ledger 116), and features Grand’s investigation of the parameters of a relationship between a man and a woman which is relieved of conventional gender constraints (Ledger 117). More provocatively, Ann Heilmann explores in detail “the homosexual encoding” of the relationship between the Tenor and the Boy (Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction* 133). While I contend that Grand’s emphasis throughout her essays and fiction on sexual

purity as part of a trajectory of moral behaviour striving for generativity and reproduction is at odds with Heilmann's conclusion that the episode promotes a utopic vision of sexual pluralities,<sup>37</sup> I am persuaded by Heilmann's argument that Angelica's cross-dressing is designed "to challenge patriarchal essentialism" and constricting constructions of femininity (Heilmann 141, 131). In my discussion of "The Boy and the Tenor," I build on the foundation set by Mangum and Heilmann to show that Angelica negotiates not simply the garments of a man's body, but also the "clothes" of masculine appetites; and to reveal the Interlude as a central episode in Grand's demonstration of the mutability of constructions of appetite.

Sexuality, sexual behaviour, and the status of women converge in the subject of Grand's contribution to the social purity movement in her bold exposure of the sexual double standard which contributed to the spread of venereal diseases of which women were ill-informed (Ledger, *New Woman* 111-113). Emma Liggins, for example, reads the introduction of syphilis into the novel as having "encouraged an uneasy struggle for power between doctors and husbands, as both seek to undermine the New Woman's desire to exist outside a conventionalised marital union" (Liggins 176). This power struggle was ratified in *The Heavenly Twins* by an affirmation of a model of matrimony grounded on mutual trust and dedication by both husband and wife to high standards of morality and purity (Liggins 189). *The Heavenly Twins*, and Grand's work more generally, has also been situated within nineteenth century eugenics discourses, most compellingly by Angeliqe Richardson. Opposing Mangum's conclusion that Grand "ultimately reject[s] eugenics" and "biological essentialism at the heart of ideal womanhood" (A. Richardson, "Eugenization" 228), Richardson argues that Grand's novels "ultimately represent sex as fixed, and character as largely determined by heredity" (228). Despite Grand's evident invocation of eugenics discourses through, for

example, allusions to Darwin and Francis Galton, Richardson's conclusions sit uncomfortably with my own conviction that the sorrows of Evadne and Angelica, together with the education of the twins, suggest a desire to emphasize the minimal influence of biological sexual differences on gender differences, and to stress instead the responsibilities of the individual, regardless of sex, to strive towards achieving his or her highest potential to contribute constructively to society.

Finally, critics have begun to consider the style, aesthetics and literary innovations which Grand is deemed to have contributed to modern literature, and her place in the canon of experimental Victorian fiction.<sup>38</sup> This reclamation of *The Heavenly Twins* from the shroud of "critical neglect" (Kucich 195) was initiated by John Kucich who sees the novel as displaying considerable features of modernist aesthetics, including the use of "cyclic repetition, micro-realism, and plot disjunction to frustrate the momentum of linear narrative" (199), as well as occasional forays into "a kind of stylized pastoral mode," the breaking of "the novel's realist frame by creating a shadowy world of artificial sexual being" (198), and the reliance in the final book of the novel on an "unreliable narrator," Dr. Galbraith, which particularly "bring[s] to the foreground the tangled relations between nature, culture, and literary artifice" (199).<sup>39</sup> Kucich's foregrounding of Grand's tendency to strive for a meaningful compromise among seemingly irreconcilable contradictions in late nineteenth-century feminism--such as "the tension between women's sexual expression and their autonomy,... or between the claims of nature and culture on women's conduct" (196)--resonates with my own reading of Grand's use of food and appetite in *The Heavenly Twins* as a means of unifying disparate facets of the nineteenth-century debates about women.

By the mid-1890s, excitement about the New Woman was reaching a feverish pitch, fuelled in part by *The Heavenly Twins* and Grand's assorted supporting essays.



In an eighteen month period in 1895-6, Grand wrote “her most autobiographical novel,” *The Beth Book: Being a Study from the Life of Elizabeth Caldwell Maclure* (Kersley 92). The novel is Grand’s most extended *Künstlerroman*, the story of Beth Caldwell as she develops from a feisty young girl who suffers agonies of deprivation while her brothers are well-provided for with financial resources; endures an unhappy marriage with a man she discovers to be not only a philanderer, but a vivisectionist; and leaves her husband and begins an independent life as a writer and public speaker committed to the women’s movement. Finally, as she attains a certain degree of respect for her art, Beth learns the supposed joys of womanly self-sacrifice as she nurses a sick fellow rooming-house resident, Arthur Brock (also an artist), whom we are left to believe at the close of the novel, may be the princely New Man who to Grand could be a fit partner for the New Woman. Throughout the novel, Beth is so markedly fascinated by food, and so consistently devoted to cookery, eating, and the provision of food to other people, and so many narratorial interjections and comments are crafted around metaphors of eating and hungering, as to leave one bewildered by the utter neglect in scholarly studies of the work of Grand’s food ideology.

Established as a commercial success by this time, Grand had little trouble persuading her publisher to produce this, her third New Woman novel. But like its predecessors, *The Beth Book* incited very opinionated, and often very aggressively-defended, reviews. Few reviewers could offer whole-hearted praise, however; and those that offered any substantial applause were far fewer than those critics who attacked the novel for its “irrelevant and foolish drive!” (Danby 557), its length, its over-emphasis on women’s issues, the grotesqueness of virtually all of the male characters, the “enormous mass of largely repulsive details” (Rev. of *BB*, *Nation* 446), the “lugging in of gratuitous grossness” (“Sarah Grand’s Captious Beth” 11), and the novel’s

supposed sensuality. A melodramatic review in *Shafts*, for example, is less effusive in its praise than one might expect from the feminist magazine, and focuses instead on the verisimilitude of Grand's detailed representation of "the heart-breaking, brain-shattering struggles, created by sex despotism, and by *something else*, which make more or less to all women whose clearer seeing and deeper feeling is awake, the great tragedy of their lives" (Rev. of *BB* 10). In *The Review of Reviews*, *The Beth Book* was similarly praised as "a singularly powerful and extraordinarily clever story of the Sacrifice of the Daughter," although the culpable authority who wields the destructive power is seen to be Beth's mother, rather than any of the men in the novel ("Two Notable Novels" 619). In direct opposition to the tenor of most of the reviews of the novel, *The Review of Reviews* argued that *The Beth Book* is in fact "hardly at all a sex novel" (620) as it fails to develop the real issues of woman's plight. In particular, Grand is accused of having left Beth bereft of the natural womanly instincts of self-preservation and inclinations to love (621) which would have saved the girl from most of the trials of her adult life.

Many of the numerous antagonistic reviewers seem to be launching their assaults against *The Beth Book* fuelled by their own sense of being already inundated with texts which threatened to disrupt the social landscape by their suggestions that women were being cruelly disadvantaged by masculine dominion, and by their call for a feminine revolution. Many expressly complained of *The Beth Book* as a degraded manifestation of *The Heavenly Twins*: "its purpose is not so well served as it might be, not half so well as in 'The Heavenly Twins,' for instance. Sarah Grand's hand has coarsened since then" (Rev. of *BB*, *Bookman* 100); "Sarah Grand is getting a very heavy hand; she always has written with a purpose, but in one book at least--'The Heavenly Twins'--she produced some good reading in spite of her purpose. But here she sacrifices everything to vague rodomontade about--well, that is the trouble; it is

difficult to know exactly what about" (Rev. of *BB*, *Athenæum* 743). While *The Review of Reviews* begged for "a resurrection of the real Beth" in a sequel (622), most reviewers declared the novel to be too much of a bad thing: "the author's arguments have all been set forth in one of her previous novels," railed *The Spectator*. "All that she has done is to give them a cruder and more lurid setting" ("Some New Novels" 692). *The Academy* reviewer angrily summed up the general frustration with *The Beth Book* and other similar works obsessed with sex in the declaration that "Books like this are not wanted. They do not amuse; they do not instruct; they do not edify" (Rev. of *BB*, 393).

Most recent critics of the novel have chosen to brush aside such vicious attacks as the expressions of late nineteenth-century anti-feminist rage, and have instead read *The Beth Book* as an exemplar of the New Woman-as-artist apprenticeship novel, or as a site of contestation about the gender of writing and creativity. This is essentially Pykett's position (Pykett, 'Improper' 178): she argues in particular that the novel's radicalness lies in its emphasis on "the fact that the attributes which make Beth a writer are precisely those that unmake her as the conventionally socialised woman, and thus consign her to the improper feminine of the unwomanly woman" (180). The New Woman's struggle to resolve the apparent conflict between a vocation as an artist and her desire, or the pressures imposed on her to subjugate her art in the performance of her role as wife, has received some critical attention, particularly as feminist scholars have struggled to defend the ambiguity of the ending of *The Beth Book*. Terri Doughty, for example, traces the novel's resistance to the traditional romance plot, but reads the final pages to signal Grand's resistance or inability to fully abandon the romance ending. Both Heilmann (*New Woman*) and Mangum (*Married*; "Style Wars") address the explicit engagement in *The Beth Book* of contemporary discourses pertaining to art and aesthetics, reading the novel as Grand's effort both to distinguish her work from the

writings produced by other contemporary and controversial writers such as the decadents (Mangum, "Style Wars"), and as a revision of feminine creativity and a "feminist reconceptualization of art and literature" (Heilmann 68). While I acknowledge the ground which has been mapped by these scholars, my study of food and appetite in *The Beth Book* represents a significant departure from the extant New Woman studies.

*The Beth Book* represents the last of Grand's "serious" New Woman novels and as a result, typically has been the last of her works to be studied by scholars interested in the New Woman. But even though Grand was increasingly absorbed by her public lectures and social activism, she continued to write fiction well into the second decade of the twentieth century, and she produced at least one more New Woman novel after the Morningquest trilogy. One of only two of Grand's novels to have been published serially, *Babs the Impossible* appeared in both *Harpers Bazaar* and *The Lady's Realm* in 1900-01. Kersley records Grand as having described *Babs* "as `palpably a pot-boiler'" (Kersley 103), so it is not surprising that like *Singularly Deluded*, which had appeared serially in *Blackwoods* in 1892, *Babs* comments on the condition of women's lives by invoking popular literary genres.<sup>40</sup> But *Babs*, even more than *Singularly Deluded*, is a product of its popular periodical medium, infused as it is with explicit commentary on many of the women's issues which had been hotly contested in periodicals throughout the 1880s and 1890s. The novel is a coming-of-age story of Lorraine Kingconstance--popularly known as "Babs"--as she develops from an irrepressible fifteen-year old with a reputation for subverting authorities which threaten to curtail her pursuit of "a good time" (*Babs* 40; 311), to a thoughtful yet adventurous seventeen-year old young woman embarking with her brother on world travels and a journey of self-discovery. Babs's adolescent sexual awakening and her quest for satisfaction of her vibrant appetites is set amidst a community of women who are similarly starved for sensual and amorous

pleasures, and yearn for tasty comestibles. But the novel demonstrates that the nascent New Woman *Babs* represents is most thoroughly endowed with the determination, self-confidence, open-mindedness, and generous nature necessary to actualize her desires without jeopardizing her essential womanliness.

Despite being poised directly between Grand's New Woman trilogy (*Ideala*, *The Heavenly Twins*, and *The Beth Book*), and the novels of what Mangum describes as Grand's (incomplete) eugenics trilogy (*Adnam's Orchard*, 1912, and *The Winged Victory*, 1916), *Babs* has received remarkably little scholarly attention. Mangum, for example, makes no reference to the novel anywhere in her extensive study of Grand's work. Describing *Babs* as "a link between [Grand's] feminist trilogy and the later novels,"<sup>41</sup> Kersley provides a succinct synopsis of the novel's plot, making tantalizing references to the elaborate picnics and fantasies about food which are offered by the novel (Kersley 103-105), but she generates no critical commentary *per se*. Although Susan R. Gorsky inexplicably casts aside *The Beth Book* in declaring *Babs* the *Impossible*, together with *Ideala* and *The Heavenly Twins* to constitute the trinity of novels which "form the core of [Grand's] work" (291), her entire discussion of the novel is contained within four sentences in her article (291, 298). Stephanie Forward notes that the novel features a tower, which evokes a romantic incarceration of a knightly figure who needs to be released in order to be actualized as a New Man, the counterpart to the New Woman (Forward 443), but she doesn't develop this idea beyond a single paragraph. Heilmann makes one oblique reference to the novel in her substantial study, *New Woman Fiction: Women Writing First-Wave Feminism* (75), but the novel is evidently not deemed sufficiently significant as to warrant inclusion in her bibliographic notes or index. Heilmann has recently acknowledged in a personal correspondence, however, that she has devoted a small section to *Babs* in her forthcoming study of New

Woman fiction (Heilmann 2001, 2002); but to my knowledge, the only published studies specifically concerned with Grand's 1900 novel are my two articles (Evans 2000, 2001).<sup>42</sup> No other of the major studies of New Woman fiction mentions the novel.<sup>43</sup> Accordingly, the material presented in my fifth and final chapter alone constitutes an addition to New Woman scholarship and the study of Grand's corpus.

Early reviews of the novel substantiate my claim that *Babs* does have an important place in a study of Grand's work, and further belie the neglect of the novel in modern studies of New Woman fiction. The initial critical response to *Babs* was mixed. The reviewer in *The Athenæum* generously declared the novel "to be Sarah Grand's best book" (494), yet grumbled about the unconvincing caricature of woman drawn in *Babs*'s mother, Mrs. Kingconstance, and what was perceived to be the author's exploitation "for the purposes of her arguments" of the weakness and "miserable triviality of most of the other women." But J.E. Hodder Williams, writing in *The Bookman* (1901: 55) attacked the novel as "another manifesto of revolt against the domination of mere man." Williams concluded his review with some self-indulgent vitriol. Focusing on the descriptions of the seventeen-year old protagonist's unabashed delight in kissing not one, but *two* men (both near forty, and both long-time friends of her family), Williams ranted:

Babs' kisses may have been innocent, were probably innocent enough. Babs herself may have been innocent, but her creator points and underlines and explains the suggestiveness of innocent remarks, innocent gestures, in a manner we can only characterise as offensive. We have hesitated at the word, but the plain truth is that the whole atmosphere of the book is suggestive of sensuality. Few novels

published of recent years are more thoroughly unwholesome and unhealthy, in tone and tendency, than "Babs the Impossible." (Williams 55)

Williams's concluding remarks, together with complaints against what he saw as the vulgarity of "Mrs. Kingconstance, who lurks in our memory as a creature of `cooking, cordial, cigarettes and coffee'" (1901:55), suggests that his horror was inspired by the novel's representation of feminine appetites. "Cooking, cordial, cigarettes...coffee," and even kisses, are of themselves not especially alarming (even to a Victorian); however, when consumed with evident relish by women, particularly women of the respectable classes, they are perceived to be the raw ingredients for a most unappetizing dish. Williams's reaction to *Babs* is consistent with the vocal segment of fin de siècle society which vehemently resisted the New Woman and the challenge she embodied to a model of femininity which was defined as a clear counterpoint to masculinity.

Having now in this chapter situated Grand and her work within the late nineteenth-century cultural climate, and provided a background history of the figure of the New Woman firmly associated with Grand; having located my own scholarly approach to Grand's fiction within recent studies of New Woman fiction; and finally, having demonstrated the importance of the present study as an attempt to reveal facets of novels which have been largely neglected, even by scholars who have acknowledged the legitimacy of Grand's place in cultural and literary history, I turn now in Chapter 2 to my analysis of Ideala's awakening appetites, and Grand's exploration of the implications of social, economic and technological changes on women's efforts to authorize their own appetites and consumption.

## Notes to Chapter 1

1. Ironically, while her attackers in *Punch* and *Pick-Me-Up* and other publications with inclinations towards the parodic and the satirical depicted the New Woman rivaling the men of Clubland in her consumption of alcoholic libations, more often than not, feminists and New Women themselves, like Grand, advocated not only moderation, but abstinence. While the problem of alcoholism, particularly among the working poor had been a frequent subject in the pages of *The Woman's Herald*, and while temperance had been frequently endorsed, by early 1893, the publication declared itself to be officially "identified with the cause of Temperance" and "bracket[ed] Temperance on its flag with Suffrage" (Feb. 23, 1893. 1?), conceiving the two causes as inextricably linked, suggesting that the new model of femininity being constructed in its pages was explicitly a creature who eschewed the consumption of unwholesome substances which did not directly contribute to the health of the individual or of the nation. Two weeks later, a poem entitled "Food" ("Food" 1) attacked the Archbishop of Canterbury's March 3, 1893 claim "that he considered alcohol to be 'food'," and associated the consumption of beer with the Conservative politics which undermined the women's emancipation movement, and cast aspersions on the potential for the Church to offer guidance for improving the condition of women's lives in the thralldom of masculine authority. (It is therefore somewhat ironic that while they rejected the authority of the church to define the New Woman, women continued to appeal to theology and spiritual teachings to substantiate their argument that women were the moral leaders, being naturally more virtuous and pure.)

2. Until recently, Ellen Jordan had been credited with having located the "christening" of the New Woman with an official label marked by upper-case letters in a print dialogue between Ouida and Sarah Grand which had appeared in *The North American Review* in the early months of 1894 (Jordan 19-21). This dating of the first usage of the term "New Woman" as a cognomen of the advancing or modern woman was pushed backwards to August 17, 1893, by Michelle Elizabeth Tusan who claimed that an article published on that date in *The Woman's Herald* ("The Social Standing of the New Woman") "appears to be the truly first capitalized use of the term" (Tusan 181).

3. Although in this dissertation I am primarily concerned with the history and construction of the New Woman in the United Kingdom and the United States, it should be recognized that the New Woman also had a colonial presence, most famously in Olive Schreiner's 1883 novel, *The Story of an African Farm*. Although it was not published until after Schreiner (born in Cape Colony) had moved to England in 1881, the novel is set in South Africa, and had been written while its author was still residing in her native country.

On the other side of the world, however, Canadian author Lily Dougall, was credited in *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography* (1898) for having produced in her novel, *The Madonna of a Day* (originally published in *Temple Bar*), what was "said to be unequalled as a picture of the 'New Woman'" (H. Morgan 279). With a conclusion reminiscent of the ambiguity of *The Woman Who Did* (1895), the contentious novel (dubiously categorized as a New Woman text) by fellow Canadian-born writer Grant Allen, Dougall's novel tells the story of a young lady journalist whose life-threatening adventures in the wintry wilds of British Columbia after she sleep-walks off a Canadian Pacific Railway train lead her to question



some of the tenets of New Womanhood.

Several women writers whose essays were compiled by the National Council of Women of Canada in *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work*, a collection which was published for distribution at The Paris International Exhibition in 1900, refer to the place of the New Woman in Canadian culture: "The 'new woman,'" we are informed, "was old in the Republic before she crossed the border to emancipate her Canadian sisters" ("Women of Canada--Historical Sketch," 13); the activities of French Canadian women, reported Madame Dandurand, "cause[d] some people to fear an invasion of 'the new woman,'" although "many audacities and eccentricities [of the New Woman] ... would never be acclimatised" in Quebec (Dandurand 26); and Mlle. Bélanger, also of Montreal, saw the New Woman's legacy in a new respect and spirit of cooperation between men and women (Bélanger 416). The New Woman even made an appearance in a Canadian book of games in a sample verse parody, albeit derived from an American source, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1855 poem, "The Song of Hiawatha" (White 42-3).

4. Despite her valuable contribution to the study of New Woman novels, Showalter has become notorious for her suggestion that the genre was significant for its polemics rather than for its artistry. Although she was enthusiastic about the spirit of revolution which characterized New Woman fiction, Showalter's praise was qualified by her assertion that "The feminist writers [including Grand] were not important artists. Yet in their insistence on exploring and defining womanhood, in their rejection of self-sacrifice, and even in their outspoken hostility to men, the feminist writers represented an important stage, a declaration of independence, in the female tradition" (Showalter, *Literature* 31). Elsewhere, Showalter similarly complained of the ideology of late nineteenth-century feminist writers as having "'made good politics but bad fiction'" ("Syphilis, sexuality, and the fiction of the *fin de siècle*" 110, qtd. by Pykett, *Improper* 193). Since then, it has become rather fashionable to dismiss Showalter's assessment. Heilmann rejects Showalter's "scathing remark" about the limitations of the New Woman fiction and her homogenization of these narratives (Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction* 44). In a similar vein, Ardis remarks on Showalter's almost ironic sympathy for the "condescension" with which New Woman fiction traditionally had been received, while Showalter "herself treats the work of late-nineteenth-century women writers with enormous condescension" (Ardis, *New Women* 6), although she does come to Showalter's defense by reminding her readers that *A Literature of Their Own* was "written at a point in time when feminist criticism was making its first inroads into the academy," and that it should "be recognized as [a] landmark[] in the history of feminist criticism" for having at least introduced non-canonical feminist works to the academy (Ardis 7). Showalter's own introduction to the short stories collected in *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin de Siècle* (1993) suggest that she herself has reconsidered her earlier reticence about the literary status of the feminist writers of the 1880s and 1890s. Although Showalter continues to highlight "issues of sexuality, aesthetics, [and] 'decadence'" (xiii) as the dominant trends in New Woman writing, she is now prepared to assert that the fiction produced by women writers such as Egerton, Schreiner, Grand, Victoria Cross, and Ada Levenson is valuable for the calibre of its art, as much as for its politics and polemics: these writers may now be celebrated as "the missing links between the great women writers of the Victorian novel and the modern fiction of Mansfield, Woolf, and Stein" (Showalter, 1993, viii). Accordingly, it now seems redundant to commemorate Showalter's earlier criticisms of New Woman fiction, which

speak more about the scholarly climate of the 1970s than about her own ideological or critical stance. Curiously, although Showalter has been widely attacked for her dismissal of the New Woman writers, fewer critics have remarked on Cunningham's similar condescension towards the works of what she calls "minor New Woman novelists--minor only in the sense that they produced nothing of lasting literary merit" (G. Cunningham 19; A.R. Cunningham 186).

5. This association was most famously underlined by Hugh E.M. Stutfield. In "The Psychology of Feminism" (104-117), Stutfield complained about the obsessiveness with which "women writers of the neurotic school" (109) delve into the nature of feminine psychology in the "sex-problem" novels of the day (104). He specifically names *The Heavenly Twins* (107) as one of the most objectionable of texts which comprise "the literature of hysteria" (109), featuring as it does a heroine of the modern type who fixated on the satisfaction of her appetites, and who "is consumed with a desire for new experiences, new sensations, new objects in life" (105). Works following "the Sarah Grandian school" (107), Stutfield believes, are characterized by "[m]orbid pessimism" (112), which contributes to destructive antagonism between men and women. Stutfield invokes the authority of several famous psychologists, including Max Nordau, to support his assault on the perceived sexual-obsessiveness of the New Woman and the "immense mass of 'revolting' literature" associated with her (115).

Two years earlier, James Ashcroft Noble had attempted to eradicate the literature of "sex mania" on the grounds that it was nothing more than "a mere fashion," the popularity of which was motivated by "a deliberate intention to win notoriety and its cash accompaniment by an appeal to the sensual instincts of the baser or vulgarer of the reading public" (490-1): as Noble saw it, the best strategy for quelling the "new fiction of sexuality" which (significantly for my study) depicted life as dominated "by one colossal appetite" (493), was to make it ridiculous (491). He, too, identified *The Heavenly Twins* as one of the most reprehensible of the aggressively moralising books in which "the sexual passion provides the main-spring of their action," and which are characterized by the "persistent presentation of the most morbid symptoms of erotomania" (493).

In a similar vein, the Dean of Rochester was recorded in *The Humanitarian* ("The Dean and the New Woman" 383-4) as having made a veritable hero of himself at a Church Congress by holding "the New Woman responsible for the 'sex' novel," although as this journalist remarked, the Dean was conveniently "forgetting that quite half of these abnormal flowers of literature have been produced by men" (383). In an unusual spirit of deviance against those who attacked the New Woman, this reporter proposed that "If the Dean really wants to argue it out with the New Woman, why does he not go down and meet her on her own ground--for instance at the Pioneer Club, where she can withstand him to the face, as of old, Peter withstood Paul. We have no doubt she would prove more than a match for him, for in those halls ordination availeth not" (384).

6. Linking the New Woman with these notorious consumers of excess, the decadents, were several images drawn in a grotesque style in imitation of Aubrey Beardsley's well-known black and white drawings of women. Despite the fact that Beardsley appears from those of his drawings available for my review never to have drawn a woman smoking (and only very rarely to have depicted male figures smoking), the popular periodical press frequently imposed a cigarette on to Beardsleyesque women. In the image of Mrs. Patrick Campbell in *Pick-Me-Up* ("Mrs. Patrick Campbell"

407), for instance, the parodist has substituted a cigarette for the gloves which the subject held limply in Beardsley's original Portrait of Mrs. Patrick Campbell, a drawing which had incited considerable public derision when it had appeared in the highly contentious avant-garde periodical, *The Yellow Book* in April 1894. In an attack more specifically directed towards the New Woman, at least two of the illustrations which accompanied the *Punch* "She-Notes" stories by "Borgia Smudgiton," a serial parody of George Egerton's *Keynotes* (the John Lane 1893 edition of which had featured a book cover design by Beardsley), feature lurid New Women nonchalantly blowing cigarette smoke rings into a garish atmosphere evidently reeking with warped music notes and whirling flourishes, representative of the cultural stench associated with Beardsley and other decadent artists and writers (*Punch*. Mar. 10, 1894, 109, and Mar. 17, 1894, 129). Such images branded the New Woman as a creature not only of excessive appetites more appropriately manifested by men, but more particularly of perverse appetites which no self-respecting Victorian man would claim to possess, such as homosexual desire or a taste for opiates, both of which, by the early 1890s had been associated with the decadents, associations which were confirmed by the end of the century through the much-publicized trials of Oscar Wilde.

7. John Lane was well-known to be the publisher of *The Yellow Book*, an illustrated quarterly which appeared between April 1894 and January 1896, featuring cover designs and illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley: Beardsley's own infamy had been greatly magnified by his status as illustrator of Wilde's *Salome*, as well as rumours of a more intimate association between the artist and the highly visible spokesman of the philosophy of art for art's sake. Several writers associated with aestheticism and with feminism were published in the magazine. The venture was cut short abruptly in part because of a media report that Wilde had been carrying a "yellow book" (assumed to be an issue of *The Yellow Book*) at the time of his arrest leading to his widely-publicized trials for sodomy.

Additionally, John Lane instituted the *Keynotes* series of works to present avant-garde texts by innovative writers. Each of the texts in the series was marked with a distinctive title page and "keynote" monogram designed by Beardsley, further underlining a relationship between writers of the "new" school and the highly sensationalized sexual imagery crafted by the author of the never-completed erotic novella, *The Story of Venus and Tannhäuser*. Fiction in the *Keynotes* Series which featured the New Woman, or which was perceived to advocate a feminine decadence included Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did*; George Egerton's *Keynotes*, and *Discords*; Ella D'Arcy's *Monochromes*; Victoria Cross's *The Woman Who Didn't* (itself a response to *The Woman Who Did*); and Netta Syrett's *Nobody's Fault*. John Lane was also the publisher responsible for the Mayfair Set books, which were designed to appeal to the fashionable reader of the moneyed classes, and included Elizabeth Robins Pennell's collection of essays on gastronomy, *The Feasts of Autolycus: The Diary of a Greedy Woman*, in which Pennell invoked the New Woman in her celebration of feminine appetites.

8. As a case in point, Teresa Mangum has convincingly argued that much of Grand's attention to literature and language in *The Beth Book* is designed to highlight the differences between the New Woman's commitment to feminine creativity and the social function of language, literature and art, and the aesthetics of the Decadents, or "Stylists," as they are labeled in the novel, embodied by the effeminate Alfred Cayley

Pounce (Mangum, *Married* 144-149; 172-189. This material had formed the foundation of Mangum's 1994 article, "Style Wars of the 1890s: The New Woman and the Decadent").

9. Ardis' bibliography alone might be argued to have significantly expanded the corpus of New Woman literature, featuring as it does many contemporary journal articles, and over a hundred novels published between 1883 and 1900 which might be categorized as New Woman fiction, as well as dozens published between 1900 to 1920 which suggested that the influence of the New Woman had been more extensive than had been previously assumed.

10. Precedent for the conclusion that the New Woman was primarily, or had developed out of, a literary phenomenon might be found in late nineteenth-century journalism. Among those articles and lampoons which explore this issue are: M. Eastwood, "The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact," *The Humanitarian* 5.5 (1894): 375-379; Edna Kenton, "A Study of the Old `New Women,'" *The Bookman*, 37 (1913): 154-158 and 261-264; W.H., "The New and the Old," *The Living Age* 22 Aug. 22, 1896: 450.

11. Even writers of New Woman fiction and celebrated women social activists struggled to define the New or "Advanced Woman," evinced by the "How to Court the `Advanced Woman'" special issue of *The Idler* (1894). Mrs. Craigie, who published *A Study in Temptations* under the name of John Oliver Hobbes, asserts that the "New Woman" does not interest ... [her] at all," and states that "I myself have not met any members of the new sex, so I am unable to advise others how to approach them" ("How to Court" 199). Similarly, George Egerton is recorded as having confessed to being at a disadvantage to provide an answer to the central question of the magazine, "as I do not quite know what the term `Advanced Woman' implies; to me it is a puff-ball of a word I see in newspapers" (195); and she calls into question her own authority on the issue by asserting that "you see I don't know if I am an Advanced Woman!" (196). Mrs. Kathleen Mannington Caffyn, better known as Iota, author of the notorious New Woman novel, *The Yellow Aster*, similarly distances herself from the subject by disclaiming that she "in no sort of way pose[s] as `advanced'" (197).

12. The foregoing survey of the scholarship related to the New Woman can hardly aspire to be comprehensive or exhaustive. Innumerable monographs and articles devoted to specific New Woman authors are available. Additional study of the figure and/or the phenomenon might include the following texts: *Masculinities, Maternities, Motherlands: Defining/Contesting New Woman Identities*, a special issue of *Nineteenth-Century Feminisms* devoted to the New Woman (Spring/Summer 2001), guest-edited by Ann Heilmann; Susan C. Shapiro, "The Mannish New Woman, *Punch* and its Precursors," *Review of English Studies* (n.s. 42.168 (1991): 510-522), in which Shapiro proposes that examples of independent and unconventional women who have striven for equality with men, and corresponding lampoons which attacked the supposed manliness of these ostensibly revolutionary variants on the New Woman, are evident in the popular presses as far back as the early seventeenth century; Constance Harsh, "Reviewing New Woman Fiction in the Daily Press: The *Times*, the *Scotsman*, and the *Daily Telegraph*" (*Victorian Periodicals Review* 34.1 (2001): 79-96), in which Harsh distinguishes the tenor of the reviews of New Woman fiction in the major weekly and monthly periodicals (the favoured sources for material for most of the current reception

studies of New Woman texts), from the less polemical and alarmist reviews found in daily newspapers. Among the more disappointing of the studies of the New Woman which has received some critical attention is Carolyn Christensen Nelson's study, *British Women Fiction Writers of the 1890s* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), which provides little more than a sweeping summary of material examined by previous scholars. Ardis observes credibly in her review in *Victorian Studies* (41.2 (1998): 293-4) that Nelson's text is also weakened by a failure to acknowledge indebtedness to earlier studies of New Woman fiction, notable gaps in her survey of related material, and historical inaccuracies (Ardis 1998: 294). (Mitchell also remarks on the "outright errors" which "riddle[]" Nelson's book (Mitchell, 1999, 586.) For pedagogical purposes, Nelson's anthology, *A New Woman Reader: Fiction, Articles, Dramas of the 1890s* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press Ltd., 2001) is more valuable than her own scholarship, since it collects together in a reasonably-priced and accessible volume, a respectable selection of some of the most widely-quoted late nineteenth-century articles about the New Woman and related issues covered by the Woman Question, as well as Sidney Grundy's popular 1894 play, *The New Woman*, and a fairly meagre assortment of short stories by some of the most prominent New Woman writers (although one might have hoped that Nelson would have endeavoured to expand the number of such texts which are widely available, rather than reprint at least three which are also available in Showalter's *The Daughters of Decadence*).

13. Testifying to the popularity of Grand's corpus, a recent search of "S. Grand" and "Sarah Grand" in the electronic version of the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1994) generated a list of fifty quotations from Grand's fiction, primarily from *Ideala*, *The Heavenly Twins*, *The Beth Book*, although even the less-popular *Babs the Impossible* warranted eleven citations (OED on-line, accessed with the Queen's University subscription, 26 Oct. 2002 <<http://dictionary.oed.com/entrance.dtl>>).

14. Huddleston's record of works published by and about Grand remains the core of subsequent bibliographies, and represented a remarkable scholarly accomplishment, given the obscurity into which Grand had fallen by the 1970s. However, with the flurry of scholarship which has been devoted in the last twenty years to Grand and other New Woman writers, it has been revealed to be merely a starting point for any thorough study of Grand's work. More representative of Grand's literary and expository productivity, and the material which was written by others in response to Grand's work, is the three volume set, *Sex, Social Purity and Sarah Grand*, edited by Ann Heilmann and Stephanie Forward (Routledge, 2000). Volume three, for example, features twenty short fiction works (including many which were published in multiple sites), and is expressly described as being merely a selection of Grand's short stories. At least nine of these were not cited by Huddleston. But even Heilmann and Forward's imposing collection is incomplete, and fails to account for several of Grand's works. For example, neither Huddleston nor Heilmann and Forward cite "The Salisbury-Stuart Treatment," Grand's record of "A Chat with Mrs. Elma Stuart of Toutley Hall, Wokingham, Berks.," which is a striking gap, given both that it was published in *The Humanitarian* (Aug. 1896: 108-111) which featured both Grand's essay "The Morals of Manner and Appearance" (Aug. 1893: 87-94), and Sarah Tooley's interview with Sarah Grand about "The Woman's Question" (Mar. 1896: 161-169), both of which have been frequently cited in nineteenth and twentieth century contexts. The lapse is particularly remarkable when one remarks that Beth Caldwell applies the famous Salisbury Diet in her treatment of

her would-be lover, Arthur Brock. Of course, it would be next to impossible for any collection to comprehensively represent all of the innumerable varied essays, reviews, cartoons, and other textual sites which commented on or made reference to Grand and her works.

15. That Grand may have been the Pioneer Club's most famous member is hinted at in "A Slight Adaptation," a doggerel *Punch* poem based on Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, and "Suggested by the recent Debate (Ladies only) at the Pioneers Club on the Shortcomings of the Male Sex" ("Slight Adaptation" 228). Although the club's president, Mrs. Massingberg, is alluded to through a desiccated version of her name, "Mrs. M-ss-ngb-d," "Madame Sarah Grand" is the only member specifically named in the relatively lengthy verse assault.

16. The establishment of women's clubs was one of the social innovations which was most widely attributed to the advanced or emancipated woman in the final decades of the century. The extent of the journalistic coverage accorded these institutions, the amount of slanderous copy which attributed the New Woman's abandonment of her home responsibilities to the lure of the clubs, and the congratulatory praises poured on these establishments by women's magazines, testify to the social upheaval the women's clubs implied. The New Woman was deemed to be "born of women's clubs" (Croly 126). As Jane Cunningham Croly (who published under the pseudonym "Jenny June"), one of the founders of the American club Sorosis declared, "[t]he nineteenth century has been remarkable in many ways," notably because "it has developed a new woman--the woman who works with other women; the woman in clubs, in societies; the woman who helps to form a body of women' who finds fellowship with her own sex, outside of the church, outside of any ism, or hobby, but simply on the ground of kinship and humanity" (Croly 124). As a social institution, the women's clubs in many ways imitated the long-established men's clubs by offering facilities for members to socialize, and to enjoy quality meals and refreshments in elegant settings defined as the exclusive province of a single sex: as such, they were provocative factors in the changing relationships of women with food, extending the sites of respectable feminine consumption beyond the domestic parlour and dining room, into the public world of politics and commerce. Women's clubs differed from men's clubs, however, in being largely philanthropic in their organization, committed to offering informative lectures, intellectual debates, and being the centres of political innovation and social change for women: as Jeannie June explained, "Women of thought and culture will not band themselves merely for recreation, simply to eat and drink and chat, and unless they had found a higher use, [clubs such as] the Woman's Club of New York would never have been started, or, if started, would have been quickly abandoned" (June 900-1).

But while they challenged convention by granting women public space to commune with other women and to participate in the emerging discourses of the day, the establishments were also significant for validating women's appetites and the alimentary needs of their bodies. Few of the countless journal pieces on the subject failed to make reference to the comforts of the catering facilities, or the calibre of the comestibles available at the clubs to satisfy the clubwoman's appetites. Amy Levy, for instance, noted the "simple meals at moderate charges" and the "more luxurious cates" available at the University Club for Ladies, which relieved women of having to endure "the discomfort of the pastry cook's or the costliness of the restaurant" (Levy 365). Likewise, the origins of the County Club were attributed to its founder's sympathetic

desire to rescue ladies from having to rely on “some aërated bread shop” for “wishy-washy tea, poor coffee, or poor cocoa” (Knollys 203). The Pioneer Club in particular, of which Grand was one of the more notable of an illustrious membership, received considerable approbation for its elegant eating facilities. Julian Arnold was at pains to defend both the quantity and the quality of the provisions available at the Pioneer Club, testifying to the confidence of the New Woman to appease a cultivated gastronomical appetite: “*The Daily Graphic* correspondent gave many people the idea that these dinners [at the Club] consisted solely of one joint and rice pudding. This is quite a mistake; from five to six courses are always given, and the cooking is excellent” (Arnold 23). And perhaps giving fodder to the popular idea that the clubs satisfied indelicate cravings, the Honourable Coralie Glyn intimated that the club allowed members to “[defy] the whole medical faculty by a reckless indulgence in the most advanced of scones” (Glyn 203-4).

While members defended the clubs for addressing women’s fundamental needs, critics perceived them as contributing to the unsexing of women, and as factors in the assault on the family. As Grand explained, “[i]t was thought by certain people, when clubs for women were first talked about, that family life was threatened, that the wife and mother would be beguiled from her home duties, and the household would suffer neglect. This was quite a natural supposition,” she remarked with her characteristic directness, “because it was very much what had happened in the case of men’s clubs” (“On Clubs” 840). The distress triggered by the emergence of the women’s clubs may be attributed in part to the fact that they validated women’s appetites, and provided space for the addressing of hungers on which depended masculine authority over women. As Nickie Charles and Marion Kerr argue, even in the late twentieth century, patriarchy is maintained in part by social practices which discourage women from sharing meals with other women exclusively, and instead encourage women to confine their eating to meals presided over by men (Charles and Kerr 234).

17. *Punch* routinely lampooned Grand in a manner which made clear the popular assumption that she was one of the most important proponents, if not the leader of this new manifestation of the women’s movement. In “A Ballade of the New Manhood,” for example, “New Womanhood,” is explicitly described as “The Programme of grim Madame Grand!” (“Ballade” 249).

18. The popularity of the notion that Grand had coined the term “New Woman” is understandable, particularly when one recognizes that Grand herself may have believed that she was the mother of the New Woman. Accepting that Grand’s 1894 essay in *The North American Review of Reviews* provided the first published appearance of the term (please see footnotes #3 above, for further detail about this matter), Kersley reports Grand as having alluded to the essay as “the first of several [essays], with which I followed it, on the development of the woman of the day - whom I called “The New Woman”” (Kersley 76, qtd. from C. Whitby’s unpublished work, *Sarah Grand, The Woman and Her Work*, n.d.).

Many of her contemporaries also accepted that Grand had generated the New Woman. In *The Lady’s World*, the clergyman Athol Forbes related having remarked to Grand in a luncheon interview that with respect to the New Woman, “You invented her” (Forbes 880-83; qtd. by Kersley 105).

19. A critic in the *Review of Review* grumbled that while “The New Woman and the Old” was “perhaps more jubilant and ‘eupletic’ than some of the things [Grand] has written[, it] is one incessant antithesis, in which nearly all that is bad is ascribed to the Old and nearly all that is good is put down to the New” (“Sarah Grand on the New Woman,” 18 (1898): 161). Begrudgingly, even the most ardent of Grand’s fans must acknowledge some element of truth to the complaint, since apart from noting that the New Woman is prone to err as she develops, there is little evidence to substantiate Grand’s claim that the New Woman “is full of faults” (“The New Woman,” 467).

In “The Modern Girl” (one of a quartet of essays published both separately and in a single volume collection, *The Modern Man and Maid* (1898), Grand offers a somewhat more objective critique of the strengths and weaknesses of the developing model of femininity relative to the traditional model of womanhood.

20. Elsewhere, Grand is reported as having declared very clearly that she “Should disapprove as strongly as any one of women undertaking any duties which would make them unwomanly” (“Madame Sarah Grand” 114).

21. Kersley declares that “*The Beth Book* is the only source from which we can glimpse the young Frances,” for instance (20).

Grand’s nineteenth-century compeers were similarly impressed with what they perceived to be the autobiographical nature of her fiction. A contributor to *The Woman’s Herald* concluded that Grand “appears, as seems natural from the glimpses we get of her in her books, to be of a somewhat mystical nature” (“Two Women who Write” 309). In its review of one of Mrs. Sarah Tooley’s interviews of Grand, *The Review of Reviews* sardonically remarked that “If Sarah Grand had ever intended to disguise the autobiographic character of her latest novel [*The Beth Book*], she should not have allowed Mrs. Tooley to publish the story of her life. As, however, the secret is a very open one, possibly she did not care” (“The Life Story of Sarah Grand” 595).

22. Except where otherwise indicated, I am indebted to Kersley’s work for the biographical details I have provided.

23. Despite her own unfortunate matrimonial experiences, Grand consistently asserted the importance of marriage as the ideal context for a woman to perform her womanly duties. “[T]here can be no higher calling, none richer in self-sacrifice, nobler or more ennobling,” Grand insists, than the roles of wife and mother: “The new woman’s ideal of life makes altogether for the sanctity of marriage and the perfecting of the home” (“Should Married Women” 258). While insisting on the imperative that girls be educated and permitted to choose their partners carefully, Grand nevertheless stresses marriage as a girl’s primary goal, ironically while invoking her own experience to bolster her authority in the matter: “My own experience as to the age at which a girl should marry is that a well-educated self-reliant modern maid does well to marry as soon as she finds the right man. A good husband will help even a very young girl to make a success of marriage.” The problem, if there be any, of marriage, she suggests, is the unpreparedness of the girl in the initial decision-making process: “I think that a girl of the old-fashioned type runs a great risk of making a mistake, both in the choice of a husband and in the matter of marrying at all, if she marries before five-and-twenty” (“At What Age” 163-4).



24. Reveling in the romance of it all, *The Bookman* reported that "The *nom de plume* 'Sarah Grand' was suggested in a vivid dream," and that "By her express desire her real name remains a secret from the public. The reason for its concealment is no doubt a sorrowful one, and the persistent curiosity on the subject has caused her much annoyance" ("New Writers" 107).

25. Pykett (*'Improper'*), for example, never refers to *Ideala*, although she does examine *The Heavenly Twins* and *The Beth Book*; Cunningham (*New Woman*) and Showalter (*Literature*), and even Ardis (*New Women*) limit their comments about Grand's work to *The Heavenly Twins*; Ledger (*New Woman*) makes only passing reference to *Ideala*'s profession as a writer (27). Heilmann (*New Woman Fiction*) frequently refers to the novel by name, but does not discuss *Ideala* other than to remark extremely briefly on the potential suggested by the novel "of cross-cultural/racial feminism by having the protagonist draw inspiration for her work with the British women's movement from Chinese women's resistance to foot-binding" (122); and on the relatively "bleak outlook" of the novel's conclusion (a characteristic feature, Heilmann argues, of the New Woman *Künstlerroman*), produced by *Ideala*'s removal "from the demands of a conventional womanhood by moving into spiritualised and untouchable femininity, supplanting artistic with political agency" (165-6). I have not yet located any published scholarly articles or essays which focus primarily on *Ideala*.

26. Kersley provides the most detailed history of the development of the novel, from its early incarnation as "The Tenor and the Boy," written in 1879 while Grand was living with her husband in Norwich (42). She cites Grand's Foreword to the 1923 edition of the novel to explain the inspirations for Evadne's character and name, and for the twins themselves. As Kersley relates, "It took two years to write and three to find a publisher, but was even longer in gestation. Her first theme for the new novel was the creation of a heroine who could see 'the bewildering clash of human precept with human practice', and who wanted to know the truth behind the prejudice. Her heroine's name, Evadne, was suggested by Arthur Clementi Smith, the schoolboy son of a friend. And some other children, clamouring for stories about an African zodiac ring she wore, discovered the twins in a fairy story woven about the ram, the bull, the heavenly twins: 'I pictured two delightful imps to whom the epithet 'heavenly' applied with amusing irony. I felt it an inspiration and pounced upon the title.... They would necessitate re-writing the book, but that was nothing'" (Kersley 58-9).

27. The history of rejections which plagued the manuscript was reported in *The Woman's Herald* after Grand herself had remarked on the subject in *The Daily Chronicle*. *The Woman's Herald* cheered Heinemann's well-justified acceptance of the contentious manuscript, and smugly challenged the authority of the "sapient gentlemen" who previously had refused it, by representing the publication history of *The Heavenly Twins* as "a satire ... on the commonly-asserted dictum of publishers, that they are always on the lookout for really satisfactory work, and that such work needs only to be presented for trial to be at once eagerly accepted!" ("The Heavenly Twins' Again" 462).

28. A.R. Cunningham asserts that 20,000 copies of the novel were sold the first week (Cunningham, "New Woman Fiction" 179; Showalter, *Literature* 205). The novel's popularity is evidenced by its having been published in at least six distinct editions between 1893 and 1901, by Heinemann in the United Kingdom, and by Cassell in the

United States (Huddleston, 14-15). Joan Huddleston also lists two editions of the novel translated into Dutch and German, published in 1895 and 1989 respectively. A cheaper English edition was published by Hodder & Stoughton (London) in 1912, after which interest evidently waned until Heinemann issued one final edition in 1923, complete with a Foreword by the author. The novel fell out of print until 1992 when it was republished by The University of Michigan Press. Regrettably, this edition is now also out of print.

29. For example, Ellen Idström was applauded as “A Swedish Sarah Grand” for her collection of short stories *Vind-drifne* (“Wind-driven”), which had a “moral aim[...]” and at least one narrative plot which was deemed “somewhat reminiscent of the ‘Heavenly Twins’” by the *Review of Reviews* (“Swedish” 529). Jeannette L. Gilder in the *New York World* praised John Oliver Hobbes’ novel *A Bundle of Life* by disparaging *The Heavenly Twins* as lacking “Mrs. Craigie’s condensation.” (“John Oliver Hobbes” was the *nom de plume* of Pearl Richards Craigie.) And surprisingly, *The Woman’s Herald* reviewer similarly lauded *The Odd Women* by proclaiming it to have excelled *The Heavenly Twins* in its treatment “of the questions which are rendering difficult the paths of women,” and praised George Gissing’s faithful realism over Grand’s impossible unrealism (“Study in Average Women” 281).

30. *Punch*, naturally, had a field day with the sensational novel, and made innumerable references to it. In one of its less satiric moments, “Baron de Book-Worms” marked the occasion of the novel’s having “not only reached its Nineteenth Thousand, but [having] also passed into the enormous circulation of a cheap edition in one volume,” begrudgingly acknowledging a fondness for the twins as a delightful diversion, while grumbling about “all the other characters in the somewhat meandering story as rather--excuse me--wearisome intruders” (24 Feb. 1894: 93). Even the student contributors to *The Oxford Magazine* participated in the parodies by situating Diavolo and Angelica in the midst of the excitement of the annual rowing competitions in “The Earthly Eights (And Not Very Grand at That)” (C.E.B. 4-5).

31. More specifically, *The Nation* reviewer asserted that “The account of the twins and their diabolically mischievous pranks from the cradle to the grave has nothing to do with the life-history of Evadne” (Rev. of *HT* 374). The reviewer for *The Athenæum* likewise remarked on the “chaotic and haphazard arrangement” of the novel in which “there are at least two stories”; Evadne’s story, this writer commented, “is really quite unconnected with the other [concerned with Angelica and Diavolo] except from the accident that Evadne happened to know the twins” (Rev. of *HT* 342).

32. Ledger challenges the earlier assertion by Elaine Showalter that Evadne is the figure for the New Woman, with Edith bearing tragically the mantle of the Old Woman, and Angelica occupying some sort of place seemingly outside of this division between Old and New (Showalter, *Literature* 207).

33. George Cotterell similarly asserted that “the particular story which furnishes [the novel’s] chief motive is that of Evadne” (368). *The Woman’s Herald* was evidently so persuaded that Evadne was the central figure in Grand’s “remarkable book” (Rev. of *HT* 123), that they provided a detailed serialized synopsis of “The Story of Evadne” (13 Apr. to 11 May, 1893), limiting their attention to the stories of Edith and Angelica to little more than brief glosses in the final of the four instalments of the series. A

correspondent to the magazine subsequently affirmed that “Evadne is the central figure of interest” in the novel (220).

34. According to Mangum, “The Strike of a Sex” essay in *The Quarterly Review* (1894) “is generally attributed to William Barry, although Grand’s letters indicate that she believed it was written by the staunch antifeminist Mrs. Humphrey Ward” (Mangum, *Married* 112), whose own novel, *Marcella* (published 1894), is also reviewed in the article.

35. A remarkably similar complaint was expressed by *The Critic*, which likewise appears to have entirely disregarded Grand’s assertion of the need for women to be enlightened, for their own safety, about the risks they ran as a product of the socially-sanctioned sexual double standard: “This is certainly not the place in which to discuss the complicated and painful question as to the respective morality of men and women, and whether an equal standard should be exacted, and an equal penalty imposed,” pronounced this reviewer; “but we protest that neither is it in place as the central motive of a novel meant for general readers of both sexes” (Rev. of *HT* 220). A slightly more moderate, but equally sexually-discriminating position was offered in *The Englishwoman’s Review* which acknowledged that while “this book may be of right and real service” to “fathers and mothers who would be in touch with their children’s inner feelings,” it most definitely was “not healthy reading for the growing youth or maiden”: in particular, the “impressionable ... young girl” reader risked reading “till her soul became clouded with morbid suspicion” about life (Rev. of *HT* 198). By contrast, Frederic M. Bird defended the polemical novel on the grounds that “it is quite correct in these days to cover the pill of one’s contention with the sugar-coating of fiction” (Bird 639), an image which Grand herself subsequently appropriated in her explanation that *The Heavenly Twins* was intended to be “an allopathic pill” against the injustices perpetrated against women (Mangum, *Married* 124).

36. In her review of the University of Michigan Press 1992 edition introduced by Senf’s essay, Marilyn Bonnell likewise celebrates *The Heavenly Twins* as a feminist text which is historically significant for being both evocatively expressive “of the rights-oriented liberal feminism” which characterized the 1890s, and provocatively singular amongst New Woman novels for its simultaneous endorsement of a “more responsibility-oriented cultural feminism” (Bonnell, “Legacy” 471).

Less useful is Carolyn Christensen Nelson’s discussion of the historical significance of *The Heavenly Twins* (*British Women Fiction Writers of the 1890s*, 1996: esp. 4-20), which provides little more than a sweeping summary of material examined by previous scholars. Ann Ardis observes credibly in her review that Nelson’s text is also weakened by a failure to acknowledge indebtedness to earlier studies of New Woman fiction, notable gaps in her survey of related material, and historical inaccuracies (Ardis, Rev. of *British Women* 294).

37. I am inclined to agree with Ledger that “If same-sex desire is hinted at in the relationship, it is not clear-cut, for the appeal of the Boy for the tenor is that ‘he’ appears to be androgynous” (*New Woman* 116). Lyn Pykett is similarly hesitant to brand the Tenor’s love for the Boy as definitively homosexual, noting that “it is unclear whether [the Tenor’s attraction for the Boy] is a homoerotic attraction, or an attraction to Angelica’s essential femininity (Pykett, ‘Improper’ 160). Heilmann, however, in

highlighting the distress engendered by the Tenor at the revelation of the Boy's true sex--a horror which seems to be magnified more than the alarming prospect of the Tenor's having been enamoured with an individual who is inaccessible primarily by her/his marital status--is more persuasive in her argument that the entire "Interlude" is certainly charged with homoerotic desire, even if it is not an express endorsement of homosexuality.

38. Marilyn Bonnell proposes that what may pass as Grand's literary radicalism is grounded primarily in her commitment to a "morality of caring" which "forced her categorically to reject the solely aesthetic purpose of literature and to embrace instead literature as an instrument of social concern" (Bonnell, "Sarah Grand" 124). Certainly, in her novels, Grand is evidently determined to use fiction "as an instrument of care, as a way of creating conditions for change for the better" (129) by being a vehicle of protest against social injustices and constraining cultural conventions. But in her emphasis on the pro-active realism of Grand's novels as a determined rejection of the theories of the "Art for Art's sake" aestheticism, Bonnell virtually negates any artistic or aesthetic merit in Grand's work, an assessment which unfortunately--and unjustly--undermines the status of *The Heavenly Twins* as a carefully-executed work of literature, and not merely an expression of the ideology of a particular historical moment.

Susan Navarette, in her efforts to lend credibility to Grand's work for its literary merits, applies the well-worn technique of delineating correspondences and parallels between *The Heavenly Twins* and classic literature, notably Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. Navarette cites in particular Grand's use of a trio of couples through which to explore the subjects of love and marriage; the initial resistance of "those wooed" to romantic advances, followed by an acceptance of and appreciation for their roles as companions to their opposite-sex counterparts in the narrative; the way the relationships of the three couples comment on each other; feminine cross-dressing; the development of relationships by women "with their would-be lovers" which are "at once more satisfying and less constrained than would otherwise have been possible" (43); nomenclature which reveals the natures of characters; and "key lexical connections" and "textual paraphrases" (45), such as Colonel Colquhoun's choice of a house for his wife which is named "As-You-Like-It" (44). The allusions identified by Navarette are interesting and underline the greater disappointment in marriage experienced by Evadne, Edith and Angelica than by Shakespeare's ladies, but they do little towards defending Grand as an innovative novelist.

39. Like Kucich, Ann Ardis is concerned to demonstrate that many of the factors which had been held as "aesthetic deficienc[ies]" of New Woman fiction are in fact strengths. Ardis doesn't discuss *The Heavenly Twins* in detail, but her broad comments about the aesthetic characteristics of New Woman novels are equally applicable to this text as to many of the others which she does explore, particularly the genre's "ideological self-consciousness, its intertextuality, and its disruption of the conventional distinction between popular culture and high art" (Ardis, *New Women* 3).

40. Mangum examines Grand's exploitation in *Singularly Deluded* of "popular rather than highbrow literary forms...to communicate her discontent with the position of Victorian middle-class women" (*Married* 50), particularly her use of the masculinist adventure plot.

41. Kersley notes that Grand herself hinted that she had written *Babs* “as a serial very quickly, before *Ideala*’ (in the 1870s) when she ‘thought she could write without revising.’.... ‘I dug it out of a book I wrote when I was a girl,’” Grand is reputed to have confessed, “and must have been unwittingly infected with the mood and manner of that time of life” (103). While it is possible that Grand did sketch portions or the outline of the story in the early years of her writing, I am inclined to agree with Kersley’s assessment that *Babs* “is more accomplished and detailed than her earlier work” (103), which suggests that she may have made far more revisions to the early manuscript than she could recall, or wanted to admit to Singers-Bigger. Certainly, her explicit references in the novel to the New Woman and to other discursive artefacts of the 1890s suggests that Grand consciously crafted *Babs* to appeal to the tastes of her readers at the turn of the century.

42. Much of the material presented in my article, “Nor Shall I Shirk My Food”; The New Woman’s Balanced Diet and Sarah Grand’s *Babs the Impossible*” has been incorporated into chapter 5 of this dissertation.

43. Given that an increasing body of material is accumulating which considers Grand’s earlier novel, *A Domestic Experiment* (1891), and her novella *Singularly Deluded* (1892), both of which were published in the intervening period between her private publication of *Ideala* (1888) and the appearance of *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), it may be argued that the omission of *Babs* from New Woman scholarship is attributable to its relatively late publication date. (For discussions of *A Domestic Experiment*, see for example, Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction*, 122-4; and Mangum, *Married* 36-49. For material relating to *Singularly Deluded*, see for example, Mangum 49-58.) Not having been published until 1900, it is possible that the novel has been overlooked or cast aside on the basis that it falls just outside the parameters of most New Woman studies which generally define the New Woman’s life as spanning the 1880s and 1890s. Nevertheless, with scholars also increasingly examining Grand’s so-called “eugenics novels,” *Adnam’s Orchard* and *The Winged Victory*, *Babs* remains anomalously ignored. The present study redresses this scholarly gap, and is warranted to heighten an appreciation for Grand’s oeuvre, and to complete the picture of Grand’s place in cultural discourses at the turn of the century, particularly those which were concerned with changing literary values and the roles of women.

## CHAPTER 2

### **“Awaking ... like healthy hungry children”: Journeys of Hunger and the Stirring of the New Woman’s Appetite in *Ideala***

“Have you felt the fascination of the trains? My favourite seat here is a lovely spot just above where they pass. I can look down on them, and into them.... And the trains rush past--some slow, some fast; and now and then comes one that is just a flash and roar, and I cling to the railing for a moment till it passes, and quiver with excitement, feeling as if I must be swept away. I look at the carriage windows, too, trying to catch a glimpse of the people, and I always hope to see a face I know. In that lies all the charm.”

*(Ideala 177)*

In her fiction, Grand frequently makes allusions to railways as indices of the degree of cultivation or sophistication of a character or collective. But in no other of her long works is Grand’s use of trains as pervasive as it is in *Ideala*, the 1888 novel which established Grand as a boldly polemical feminist fiction-writer. Among the many references to railways we are told explicitly that *Ideala* regularly travels by train (97); that a horse she is riding is spooked by a rushing freight train (98); that she delights in companionable conversations with fellow train travelers (46); that she is thrilled by a lesson in the “block system” provided by a railway pointsman (170-1); that she demonstrates her kindness by relinquishing her seat to a sick poor woman while she herself rides in a third-class car (63); and the inclusion in the poem “The Passion of Delysie” (later revealed to have been penned by *Ideala*) of an allusion to the “rush and

ring” of the trains is pointedly remarked upon by Ideala’s friends (73). Just as the novel’s unnamed male narrator (later introduced in *The Heavenly Twins* as the character Lord Dawne) experiences the rhythmic “rush and rattle of the train” as “a sort of sub-chorus to [his] thoughts” about Ideala’s relationship with her would-be-lover Lorrimer (226), so too do trains and railway sites function in the novel as a kind of chorus to Grand’s study of a woman awakening to a new appreciation of her own needs, desires, and appetites.

While trains rush and roar through the novel, of even greater importance to the structure of the narrative and the persuasiveness of Grand’s arguments in *Ideala* are the passenger stations and other sites associated with the railway at which are set all but one of the scenes in the novel which represent Grand’s New Woman protagonist eating or participating in a meal, notably Ideala’s two lunches with Lorrimer at the station restaurant near the Great Hospital (113, 129), and a nighttime meal enjoyed with two male railway employees at an inspector’s home (155). This pattern locates women’s changing roles and activities within the cultural landscape which witnessed the expansion of the railway systems and of the catering and other facilities associated with train travel, and establishes a relationship between new technology and women’s claims for authority over their bodies and activities.

Furthermore, all of the eating scenes presented in *Ideala* (including the formal dinner party related towards the close of the narrative, the only meal described in the novel which is not set at a railway site) are confined to the second half of the novel<sup>1</sup>. Grand’s attention to Ideala’s eating and subsequent self-starvation is initiated at the middle of the novel when the narrative narrows to focus on Ideala’s efforts to contend with her husband’s abuses by cultivating her involvement in public activities beyond the reach of the violence which threatens her within her domicile. Ideala’s first lunch at the

station restaurant with Lorrimer represents the first extended description of food consumption in the novel: located in the fifteenth of the thirty chapters of the novel, the episode situates the issues associated with the New Woman's appetite and eating habits at the structural and thematic centre of the text. This inaugural meal is juxtaposed with an evening repast with railroad station employees when Ideala is forced to seek refuge after having missed the final train of the night. The discomfort Ideala associates with eating in the public restaurant—including the necessity of permitting her escort to pay for the food, and the dreadful possibility of being perceived as a licentious woman—precipitates her self-starvation. By contrast, the midnight snack she helps to prepare in a remote railway inspector's kitchen constitutes the only food in the novel from which Ideala explicitly derives pleasure. Although Ideala's refusal to eat and the consequent wasting of her body invoke the spectre of anorexia nervosa (a condition which had entered medical discourse a few years prior to Grand's writing of the novel, and with which Grand may have been acquainted through her readings and interactions with physicians, including her husband)<sup>2</sup>, the meal Ideala shares with railway employees represents one of the ways Grand hints that Ideala's selective refusal to eat is to be read as symptomatic of a broad social disease—a clash between dissonant interpretations of feminine autonomy and independence—rather than the illness of an individual woman.

All of the meals set in railway contexts highlight Grand's assertions that the New Woman was a figure journeying between the socio-historical past and the future, literally traveling between private and public settings, and learning to bring with her on her journey towards an improved version of womanhood only those aspects of the conventional womanly ideal which could constructively contribute to an improving society, while leaving behind the "baggage" of the Old Woman described in Grand's



essays. Most of the attention in the novel on food and appetites is associated with Ideala's interactions with Lorrimer, a man with whom she is tempted to enter into an adulterous relationship, and with her train travels between her home and the Great Hospital where Lorrimer is employed, and where Ideala conducts her own archival research. Even more particularly, almost all of Ideala's eating (what little she does of it) takes place at railway accommodations, sites traditionally associated with male travelers and masculine enterprise. Grand's use of this relatively new technology of transport suggests that she intends Ideala's consumption, and her anxieties about eating in public and in the company of Lorrimer, to function as barometers of Ideala's unease with her forays into the masculine economies of the public realm.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter I argue that Ideala's struggle to negotiate an uneasy transition between the hermetic domestic interior epitomized by the "Scotch" inspector's kitchen (154), and the infinite possibilities and potential pitfalls of the public realm figured by the station restaurant near the Great Hospital, underscore Grand's conviction that while the New Woman certainly was entering environments previously reserved for men, and was rejecting restrictive elements of more traditional models of Victorian femininity, her essential womanliness remained grounded in the values of hearth and home. Moreover, as I will demonstrate towards the end of this chapter, Ideala's instinctive desire to alleviate hunger suffered by other people or creatures casts blame for the death of Ideala's only child on masculine selfishness and on a social system which persistently subjugated women to masculine authority, and defends the New Woman against accusations that her progress into public life jeopardized the sanctity of motherhood.

In the *North American Review* (1894), Grand had celebrated women's awakening "like healthy hungry children" from stultifying constrictions on their activities and the scope of their appetites ("New Aspect" 271); but many of her contemporaries

were alarmed by the possibility that the modern woman would commit herself so determinedly to the bustle and excitement of the busy world epitomized by trains and railways that she would refuse to attend to her domestic duties and the mothering of the household which was widely held to be the especial purview of the fairer sex. In 1888 when *Ideala* was published, the term “New Woman” had not yet entered popular discourses, yet in many ways, the novel’s independent and spirited heroine reflects the popular fears engendered by the movement towards feminine emancipation. Most evidently in the first half of the novel, *Ideala* deviates from the traditional Victorian feminine ideal by being notoriously absorbed by her own thoughts, prone to disrupting social gatherings by articulating her frustrations with the present status of women, and by bewailing conventions which constrict her activities and generate what she perceives to be a “grievous waste of Me” (*Id* 38). Pointedly, *Ideala* has little interest in traditional feminine occupations and pastimes such as cookery or dancing (51); she fails to protect and nurture her sole child beyond the first few weeks of his life (58); and she comes within a hair’s breadth of succumbing to the temptation to satisfy the cravings of her heart by entering into an adulterous relationship, all of which hint at the unwomanly self-centredness and the absence of maternal instincts which came to be hallmarks of popular constructions of the advancing woman.

However, against the backdrop of the railways--potent icons of modernity--*Ideala*’s refusal to consume food which is not procured or presented in a manner which is consistent with the values of pure-minded, virtuous and self-respecting womanhood belies the popular perception of the New Woman as a sexual virago chomping at the bit to escape her domestic responsibilities, eager to pillage and conquer masculine roles and occupations. Instead, Grand offers a New Woman who at this early stage in her development is acutely disoriented in settings which are not

governed by the customs and conventions which regulate relations between men and women in the familiar domestic interior and who, while she is desirous to extend the scope of her influence and the range of her occupations, is still primarily committed to her responsibilities to nurture and help--in effect, to mother--others, and "to set the human household in order" (Grand, "The New Aspect" 276).<sup>4</sup>

Although railways had been operating in Britain since the 1830s, *fin de siècle* Victorians retained ambivalent sentiments towards this rapidly developing technology of transport, constructing it as a boon to trade, commerce, and recreation; a blight on the rural landscape; a menace to urban neighbourhoods destroyed to accommodate track and train stations; and a danger to travelers wounded or killed in train collisions and derailments. *Ideala* reminds us that the railways also represented a mixed blessing to people with a vested interest in changing the status of women, or regulating relations between men and women. Opportunities for employment, for shopping, and for gathering communities of women were facilitated by the development of the railways which "eas[ed] all conditions of travel ... to many people — women included — who had never felt able to travel before" (Simmons, *Victorian Railway* 333). Whereas previously, an upper class woman had been required to travel in the company of household servants and/or with a male escort (typically a husband or male relative), the railways provided staff to assist with the arrangement of heavy baggage, and large numbers of fellow travelers offered a degree of security which had not been available to earlier generations of women traveling alone in public carriages, thereby granting the modern late-Victorian woman unprecedented independence (Simmons, *Victorian Railway* 333). As railway historian Jack Simmons remarks, "[t]he 'ease of travel' that the railway supplied, was [therefore] an essential element in the claim that many [women] were then putting forward; in fact, and no less in idea, a symbol of liberation" (Simmons, *Victorian*

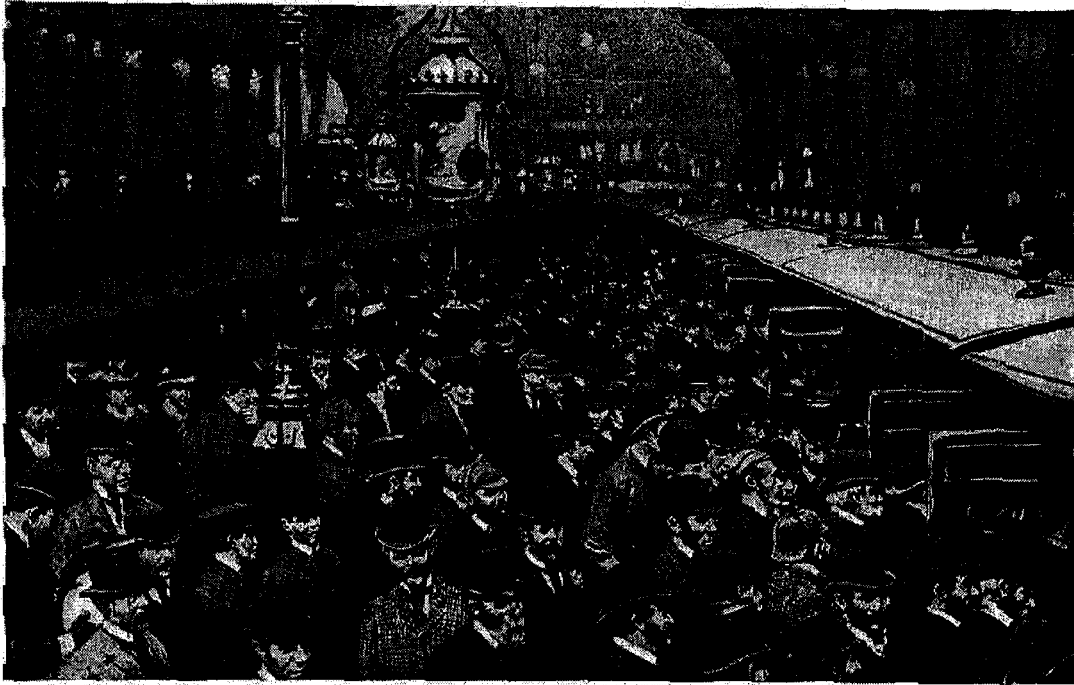
*Railway* 336).

But the new opportunities available to women travelers were not without risks to their reputations and bodies. Although by the end of the century, daytime train travel within large urban centres such as London “remained a small adventure, but ... was reckoned safe even for unaccompanied ladies” (Simmons, *Railway in Town* 53), elsewhere, and at other times, female railway clients were confronted by similar dangers as those which were encountered in any public environment. “Entering public space placed women of all classes, whether shopgirls or shopping ladies, in a vulnerable position,” Judith Walkowitz explains (Walkowitz 46), a point illustrated by Grand in the description of Ideala’s encounter with an English soldier on the York station platform (*Id* 47). On this occasion, the ostensible “gentleman” misinterprets Ideala’s absent-minded eye contact, as evidenced by the absence of “any apology or show of respect” when he approaches her (47). That Ideala promptly dismisses the stranger is due, the narrator suggests, not to any appreciation “of the real significance of the position in which she found herself placed on this occasion” (48), but simply to her own faith in the popular disrepute of “Englishmen in the 5<sup>th</sup>, and some other regiments” (47). Ideala’s naive conclusion that the man’s sudden withdrawal from the scene of their conversation betokened a sensation of illness and a need for “refreshment” might have been intended as a covert reminder that York station—one of very few actual geographic locales specifically named in the novel—was the designated dining stop on the East Coast railway route from King’s Cross into Scotland (Richards 291); here passengers were allowed as much as twenty or thirty minutes to purchase and eat meals (Simmons, *Victorian Railway* 354), which was double the amount of time typically scheduled for “an undignified scramble” for refreshment at other stations (Richards 292). The oblique reference anticipates Grand’s exploration later in the novel of the challenges faced by

solitary female travelers in railway catering facilities.

By situating the most detailed of the novel's scenes of eating at railway facilities, Grand draws on the historical associations of such places as unfamiliar and often incommensurable locales for women, particularly for unchaperoned women. Even late in the century, when Grand had begun to expostulate in fiction on the merits of the New Woman, public transportation and facilities associated with trains remained largely masculine territory, and "[s]tations were invariably seen as places of danger for women" (Richards 158). A.B. Frost's illustration, "Passengers Entering a Train" (*Illustration No. 2*), reproduced in *Scribner's Magazine* (1894) evinces the concentrated masculinity of the railway clientele, especially at certain times of the day when men converged into and departed from urban business centres, which discouraged many women from traveling far from home: several contemporary images of second- and third-class passengers traveling to and from work in industrial towns, or to races and other popular sporting events, bespeak even greater alienation and discomfort undoubtedly suffered by female travelers.<sup>5</sup> The masculine temper of railways was further reinforced by the employees of the industry who were almost all male, with the exception of a relatively small contingent of female employees hired as clerks and staff in the hospitality<sup>6</sup> and telecommunications sectors.<sup>7</sup>

While men seemed easily to negotiate this technology, railway travel imposed novel challenges on women as they began increasingly to take advantage of this form of transport. Consequently, railways were at the center of many discussions about the expansion of the range of women's activities and the supposed feminine intrusion into masculine domains. In fiction and in fact, many New Women infamously adopted such masculine habits as traveling without chaperones, and smoking in designated cars.<sup>8</sup> On their journeys, these independent modern women were also required to navigate in



DRAWN BY A. B. FROST.

PASSENGERS ENTERING A TRAIN.

**Illustration 2:** A.B. Frost, "Passengers Entering a Train." From "Railroad Travel in England and America," by H.G. Prout. *Scribner's Magazine* 16.4 (1894): 399-419. From The American Memory Historical Collections for the National Digital Library, Library of Congress 18 Jan. 2002 <<http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/>>.

railway restaurants, grill rooms, and refreshment counters. Economics, the temporal constraints of train travel, and the presence of masses of alienated people, stripped the railway restaurant of the rituals and customs which governed and ordered private home meals, and imposed unfamiliar interpersonal and commercial transactions on members of a sex for whom eating and drinking had been primarily contained within domestic environments.

The railway station restaurants such as are represented in *Ideala* were part of an extensive expansion of catering outlets of all sorts throughout England, especially in the urban areas. According to the Post Office Directories, for instance, by the end of the 1870s, London had witnessed an increase in catering facilities from three hundred and forty-five dining rooms listed in 1848, to “four hundred Dining Rooms and three hundred Refreshment Rooms,” figures which by 1902 had escalated to “over one thousand Dining Rooms and eight hundred Refreshment Rooms and Cafes” (D.J. Richardson 162). The demographic most particularly affected by the expansion of such public eating venues were women, since prior to these changes during the latter half of the century, catering outlets had been primarily limited to the “male preserves” of “[c]lubs like the Reform [which] provided meals for the wealthy” or “chop houses”: “ladies were not acceptable in the former and the latter were not acceptable to ladies” (D.J. Richardson 161-2). As Martha Vicinus reminds us, “[a] lady was simply not supposed to be seen ... eating alone; indeed, for many years she had nowhere to eat, since she could not enter a pub or chop house” (Vicinus 297).

Some of these new railway facilities were models of *fin de siècle* comforts<sup>9</sup>; many more confronted women with rude patrons, dyspepsia induced by rapid consumption of low-quality comestibles, and deplorable labour conditions for female staff, particularly at stations in outlying regions away from cosmopolitan centres such as London or New

York City. While adjusting their behaviour as they navigated the shift from private to public eating venues, women, particularly those of the moneyed classes, were also often required to lower their gastronomical expectations to conform with the generic standards of the station restaurants. Several railway historians have recently remarked on the relative scarcity of scholarship that explores the social histories of passenger stations and would complicate and expand investigations into the socio-cultural impacts and implications of these new facilities (Richards vii; Faith 2-3; Simmons, *Railway in Town* 15-17; Carter 3). But the one aspect of this history which can be spoken of with some assurance is the nature of the food to which women travelers were almost invariably subjected, and which fell well below the quality they could expect within domestic contexts (Richards 291; Carter 293; Simmons, *Railway in Town* [133] 184n.).

Particularly in Britain--where "station refreshment rooms... [were] never commended" by Baedeker and other Victorian travel authorities, unlike analogous catering facilities in Europe (Simmons, *Railway in Town* [133] 184n.)--the accommodations likely encountered by the train-traveling New Woman were suggested by a satirical balladier who wrote of the station restaurants where one could "eat with the ravening flies,/Those sandwiches, those nightmare cakes, and oh, those nameless pies!" which would make the traveller "env[y] the eaters of clay and the cannibals happy and free" as s/he consumed "the infernal drinks they call their coffee and tea" (W., "The Ballad of Sir Ball" 332). No less an authority than Dickens frequently vented his disgust with the typical meal available at refreshment stations, "the last repast known to this state of existence of which any human creature would partake, but in the direst extremity," characterized by "stale spongecakes that turn to sand in the mouth.... shining brown patties, composed of unknown animals within, and offering to my view the device of an indigestible star-fish in leaden pie-crust without.... [or] a sandwich that has long



been pining under an exhausted receiver" ("Refreshments for Travellers 172-3).<sup>10</sup>

In America, the situation was hardly better than it was in Britain. As Barbara Haber explains, until Frederick Henry Harvey had instituted his chain of Harvey Houses, his extraordinarily-efficient restaurants and refreshment rooms situated along railway lines in the American west during the final quarter of the nineteenth century, North American travelers could expect little more than abysmal food which they were expected to bolt down in the ten or twenty minutes allowed for meals during train stopovers (Haber 88-90). Haber reports the *New York Times* as having complained in 1857 of "[t]he consequences of such savage and unnatural feeding" which characterized the experience of the railway "Refreshment Saloons" and eateries "as railroad disasters" which could very well "be found much more serious than any that are caused by the smashing of [train] cars, or the breaking of bridges" (Haber 90-91).

As a result of the unpalatable aspects of the facilities, the restaurants and refreshment rooms at railway stations offered fit settings for Grand's exploration of the tensions between the New Woman's principles--cultivated within the sanctified and feminized space of the home--and the manifestations of masculine authority which marked the facilities, sites which were perceived to offer satisfaction for a range of masculine appetites.<sup>11</sup> Railway restaurants represented an even greater threat to femininity and the sanctity of domesticity than did the women's clubs with which the New Woman was consistently associated: unlike women's clubs which offered intellectual resources, well-organized social events, dependable quality accommodations, and a safe haven from the hurly burly of the shopping district or the dust of the city streets, station restaurants and refreshment rooms were designed solely to address immediate physiological needs, bringing men and women together in close confines to address the appetites of bodies on the move. Ideala's lunch with Lorrimer at "the refreshment-room

of a neighbouring railway-station" (*Spectator* 12 Jan. 1889, 56) which was so objectionable to *The Spectator*, would have evoked discomfort and temptations notoriously associated with such facilities.

Public attention was drawn to the plight of female employees of the Metropolitan Railway Company, for example, who were subjected to "deplorably insanitary and comfortless condition[s]" ("Girls at Railway" 557), which predisposed them to ill-health, and the temptation to turn towards less savoury means of securing financial or other forms of remuneration than the mere serving of food and drink to refreshment-room patrons. One approach to the problem had been to establish off-site refreshment facilities, such as that which was established by the Young Women's Christian Association for the "200 young ladies of the `bar'" who "frequent[ed] the home established for their benefit...[in] Bedford Row" ("Railway Restaurants" 188). But such exigencies could barely meet the need, and often even contributed to the girls' discomfort. Their association with the railway stations opened them to "serious annoyance from men who hang about the bars, drinking, and think it amusing to follow the young ladies" as they walked to and from their place of employment ("Girls at Railways" 557), evidence of the assumption that railway catering rooms facilitated the satisfaction of a range of masculine appetites. "Trains and stations were convenient places of meeting, by chance or by design" (Simmons, *Victorian Railway* 336), and even the most well-intended or innocuous encounter between a man and a woman was tainted by the potential for restaurants and refreshment rooms to facilitate illicit relations.

Within the domestic environment, rituals of dining served to detract "from the fundamental realities of eating both as a bodily function and as the fulfilment of desire" (McGee 40). But transplanted to the novel setting of the railway restaurant whose function was overtly designed to satisfy bodily needs in short order, female patrons were

confronted with the spectacle of “the primal act of feeding” (Geis 217) potentially governed more by the demands of bodily appetites than by social convention. This focus on the exigencies of the body and the apparent corporeal permissiveness of the railway environment is hinted at in Grand’s fiction by the noisy emanations of “the dangerous gale,” the old gentleman who shared Ideala’s table, and who “marked his enjoyment of [his newspaper] by inhaling his breath and exhaling it again in that particular way which is called ‘blowing like a porpoise’” (*Id* 114). Instead of being corrupted by an environment associated with ungentle wolfing of food and masculine appetites unconstrained by the social niceties which could be ostensibly relied upon to protect women and their pure-mindedness within the feminine domain of the home, Ideala distinguishes herself from the “unsexed” or manly versions of the New Woman which were popularly supposed to be fostered by Woman’s entry into commercial and industrial arenas.

That Grand chose to focus more of the narrative on scenes of eating (or refusals to eat) set at railway facilities rather than on meals consumed in familiar domestic settings distinct from the public domains of transportation and commerce, calls attention to the novelty of women’s increasing presence in public catering facilities: but more importantly, it points to the need for women to learn to negotiate such environments without jeopardizing their womanliness, the very essence of Woman which to many conservative critics of feminine emancipation was deemed to be sacrificed by the New Woman as she entered contexts dominated by masculine economies. As Lyn Pykett observes, one of the most persistent defenses mounted by feminist writers against the purported unwomanliness of the New Woman was the affirmation of “True Womanhood” (Pykett, *‘Improper’ Feminine* 158). True Womanhood, or simply “Womanhood,” Pykett explains, was understood to represent an essential, fundamental sex-based nature or

predisposition different from socially-constructed concepts of womanhood which emphasized women's supposed weaknesses and limitations (158). Womanhood was characterized by "special aims and power" particularly suited "for the advance of the cause of humanity" (Brooke 380).

This essential predisposition was often invoked as feminist writers set about to overthrow arguments against women's engagements with activities and roles outside the domestic realm. "True womanliness is not in danger," Grand insisted ("New Aspect" 274): "when a woman is strengthened she is strengthened in womanliness, which surely is a desirable consummation," she elaborated (Grand, "Modern Girl" 11).<sup>12</sup> While alarmists decried Woman's entry into ostensibly masculine domains on the grounds that such would transform women into manly perversions, feminist writers such as Grand argued instead that True Womanliness permitted genuinely womanly women--of which the New Woman was their prototype--to navigate a range of public environments with no more threat to their virtue or pure-mindedness than would be encountered within the feminine sphere of the home. Such a notion, I propose, is operating behind the railway meal scenes in *Ideala* which highlight Ideala's strengths and virtues, while countering the popular perception that women's entry into the public sphere spelled doom to Womanhood and disaster to society.

Throughout her work Grand wrote against the grain of popular opinion that held that womanliness could only be maintained by preventing women access to potentially polluting or corrupting ideas, situations, or individuals. She argued instead that womanly virtues were most effectively cultivated and preserved by giving girls and women sufficient knowledge of their own bodies and of the world (particularly of the nature of men) to choose for themselves to behave in a virtuous manner, rather than to rely on ignorance, naivety, or masculine authority to prevent feminine falls from grace. This is

most evident in Grand's persistent assertions of the need for girls to be enlightened about the nature of men in order to make well-reasoned and conscientious choices of husbands, and to protect them from the scourge of sexually-transmitted diseases which had proliferated in large part through a genteel mythology of womanly immunity to the consequences of carnality.<sup>13</sup> The luncheons in *Ideala*, particularly the first meal Ideala shares with Lorrimer and his brother Julian, reveal that feminine virtue was threatened by exposure to base (and particularly masculine) appetites, even in seemingly mundane--but to women, unfamiliar--contexts such as public eating facilities. The threat was especially acute, Grand hints, when women were disadvantaged by being denied knowledge about the nature of masculine desires, and of the non-food-oriented transactions and forms of illicit traffic which were associated with some station refreshment rooms.

In the descriptions of Ideala's meals with Lorrimer no reference is made to Ideala's appetite, to the food she eats, or to any inclination on her part to deport herself in a manner not befitting a respectable lady, leaving every reason to assume that we are to receive Ideala as a model of cheerful feminine graciousness at table. If anything, Grand is at pains to underline the appropriateness of Ideala's behaviour when in Lorrimer's presence, whether at the restaurant or not. Ideala agrees to a post-prandial stroll with her new companions because "no question of propriety suggested itself" (116); and as she worked in Lorrimer's company, "[t]here was nothing to suggest a thought of impropriety" (140). Any impropriety, Grand hints, which might be attached to Ideala was the product of other people's assumptions about the (anonymous) solitary female traveler or restaurant patron, which were imposed on the woman without due consideration of her behaviour or intentions.

While a guest in the old inspector's kitchen, Ideala easily "adapted herself to the

circumstances” in accordance with the dignity and gentlemanly politeness of her hosts, apparently unhesitatingly adopting the womanly role of cook when “Tom had somewhat neglected” the baked potatoes (157). And yet, in emphasizing the propriety of Ideala’s intentions in her relations with Lorrimer and with other men, Grand calls attention to the risks Ideala ran simply as a consequence of her attendance in public facilities, particularly while in the company of one or more men who were not properly or legally bound to her, and unarmed with the insight to recognize that she was being received as an object available for the service of masculine appetites. The novel hints that Ideala’s vulnerability is a consequence of a clash between discordant conceptualizations of masculine and feminine appetites and attitudes towards consumption, which could be manifested in different kinds of behaviour related to eating.

Exhibitions of essential womanliness and womanhood, like gentlemanliness or manhood--or gentility more generally--were especially critical at meals, which justifies Grand’s consideration in a novel concerned with negotiating shifting gender paradigms of what social anthropologist Mary Douglas identifies as the messages encoded in food and “the pattern[s] of social relations being expressed” through meals (Douglas 61). These patterns include “the small-scale social relations” enacted as intimate meals shared by couples or small groups of diners such as are represented in *Ideala*, “which generate [and are sustained by] the codification” of large-scale social relations (Douglas 62). Conduct books and etiquette manuals, popular throughout the century, prescribed in minute detail virtually every component of a meal in a private setting, including the clothes to be worn, the hours of dining, the seating arrangement, the placement and usage of dishes and utensils, as well as the behaviour of diners, and the types and quantities of comestibles to be consumed. Readers were instructed, for example, that the “hostess of a formal dinner party, given under her own roof, wears a trained and

décolleté evening gown,” and her “hair must be elaborately dressed” (*Correct Social Usage* 387); at breakfast parties--“favorite reunion[s] with literary people, who generally take the morning hours for leisure, leaving brain work until later in the day” (Cooke 275)-  
-“the mistress of the house often occupies the seat at table taken by the master at dinner” (Campbell 118); dinner usually begins at 8:30, although it might be an hour earlier in the country (Member of the Aristocracy 98); the “viands must never be chosen as a topic” for dinner conversation, “for either praise or blame” (Humphry 66); curry is the only meat dish appropriately eaten with a spoon and a fork, all others being eaten with a knife and fork (Humphry 68); and “[w]hen eating cheese, small morsels of the cheese should be placed with the knife on small morsels of bread, and the two conveyed to the mouth with the thumb and finger, the piece of bread being the morsel to hold, as cheese should not be taken up in the fingers, and should not be eaten off the point of the knife” (Member of the Aristocracy, 106).

The performative aspects of dining and of the table as a form of theatrical setting in which participants demonstrated their demographic allegiances and affiliations (class, social status, wealth, age, and sex among them) effectively superseded the ostensible purpose of a meal, which was simply to satisfy the needs of the corporeal body by eating and drinking. Middle-class Victorian meals in the home were so thoroughly ritualized and regimented as to explain the almost thorough absence in *Ideala* of descriptions of the novel’s protagonist at table within a private home, and the complete exclusion of any scene depicting *Ideala* as a dinner hostess within her own home, even though her class and social status would have required of her frequently to entertain at her own table. As Diane McGee explains in her discussion of *Mrs. Dalloway*, “[w]e do not need to be shown the dinner table,” or many of the details of the meals the novel’s heroine attends within her own home, “because in this class, the form of meals is

unvarying, and their excellence assumed" (McGee 128).

But while literal and literary domestic meals could be relied on to follow a familiar format, *Ideala* reveals that the railway station restaurant was a site where late nineteenth-century women, particularly those of the middle and upper classes, were forced to reconfigure their behaviour and assumptions about food as they moved from private to public dining rooms. While private meals were meticulously orchestrated to conform with conventions entrenched in the etiquette texts and social practices of the nineteenth century, the expansion of public catering facilities had outpaced the production of texts which formalized behaviour in these new environments. Very few manuals of manners or social protocol offered guidance for female patrons of public catering facilities, where a woman might find herself, like *Ideala*, seated at table alone with men she has only recently met, or even sharing the space with a man who is a complete stranger to the entire party, yet who is compelled to beg for permission to join the group in order to secure a seat in a crowded dining room (*Id* 113). This too, was a context in which no shade of rudeness was ascribed to a diner who absorbed himself in reading a newspaper while lunching (114), an action which was frowned upon at a lunch or dinner in a private middle-class residence. Against the abundance of material which prescribed behaviour at meals within domestic settings, the relative scarcity of space in manuals and guides of social conduct devoted to delineating appropriate public eating behaviour is striking. This gap in the scripts governing conduct deprived ingenué patrons of restaurants and refreshment rooms, particularly women (the greatest consumers of etiquette manuals) of the security of being able confidently to assert their social status and perform their allegiance to models of "respectable" femininity through conventionally-encoded behaviour at table and modes of consumption. Grand points towards this social lacuna through *Ideala*'s failure to recognize in the behaviour of her



hosts, Lorrimer and Julian, cues that the context of their first luncheon together casts her in a precarious role which belies her social status and her construction of herself as immune to the taint of feminine fallenness.

Removed from her customary environment, Ideala apparently fails to appreciate the inappropriateness of Lorrimer's gesture when he responds to the old gentleman's having inadvertently helped himself to the entire dish of early-season peas by spilling all of the pepper on his place, behaviour which "disconcerted" the elder man (114), and which even Lorrimer was soon to regret (115), testament to its disruptive rudeness. The old gentleman had already been the inspiration for Ideala's own social *faux pas*, her mockery of the man's peculiar breathing which she boldly declared to be "[t]he next gale developing dangerous energy on its way to the North British and Norwegian coasts" (114), which somewhat juvenile jesting hints that Ideala may have already begun slightly to be infected with the relaxing of social protocol associated with the railway refreshment facilities. More critically, however, Ideala is naively ignorant that the circumstances of her attendance at the restaurant with two male strangers subject her to the assumption that she may be inclined to indulge or satisfy more appetites than merely a yen for lunch, and it is not until after lunch that she recognizes with alarm Julian's salacious interests.

A public eating facility such as the Great Hospital station restaurant where Ideala, Lorrimer, and Julian have lunch, hinted at a liberation from the dining protocol which governed private meals: as McGee observes, a meal in a public facility offered the tantalizing opportunity for a woman to explore new forms of behaviour and attitudes--virtually, new identities, if so desired--because it "represent[ed] freedom from domestic fetters and liberation from such potentially onerous tasks as organizing, cooking, and serving meals" (McGee 89). Accordingly, like her male companions, Ideala easily

“hid[es] ... her[] self beneath the light froth of easy conversation” (*Id* 113), effectively camouflaging her struggles with “Black Care” and the anxieties associated with the “black bruise” which she bore as a victim of domestic violence. Her behaviour is so informal as to persuade the elderly gentleman at their table that she and Lorrimer are a happily married couple looking forward to starting a family together (115).

More dangerously, however, Ideala’s “reckless” casual merriness (113), bolstered by her ignorance of the world (as emphasized elsewhere by her striking lack of understanding about the nature of the “demi-monde,” for example [122]), encourages Julian to enquire suggestively about the “`chance”” his brother might have with Ideala (115). To her ladylike credit, the “tone” of Julian’s precocious query “made her feel ill at ease” (115), although she does not fully appreciate the import of his words until later, after Julian has signaled his lack of respect for her by “li[ghting] a cigarette without asking her permission” and indulging in “the unwonted familiarity” of “coolly” handling and examining “a bunch of charms that were attached to Ideala’s watch-chain” (116). Only then does Ideala realize “[w]ith a sudden revulsion of feeling” and some fear that she had behaved in a manner of which she should be “`ashamed”” (117), and which placed her at the mercy of men who were not obligated by blood, law or social status to defend or preserve her honour: “`I have made some dreadful mistake. I have done something wrong,” she laments; and Lorrimer’s response--“`I am very sorry for you,’ he answered gravely”--underlines the transgressiveness of Ideala’s predicament, a situation the novel suggests was fostered by the same social constrictions and assumptions which hampered her freedom to participate in a public meal on equal terms with men.

Ideala’s experience at the station restaurant reveals her to be ill-prepared to negotiate on her own the novel demands of a public environment driven by commercial

pressures, the imperative to attend to the needs of the physical body, and masculine authority untempered and unrestrained by the orderliness of the prescriptive protocol which governed intercourse between men and women in private contexts. Grand remarked in "The Modern Girl," that "[a] rigid etiquette simplifies social relations, just as a place for everything and everything in its place simplifies the business of life, and adds to our comfort" (*Modern Man and Maid* 16); without an established code of appropriate behaviour, relations between men and women were necessarily complicated.

With her training and experience limited to scenarios of eating which privileged the performative and ritualistic aspects of dining over consumption of food as part of the alimentary process, Ideala is startled by a context which apparently requires her to perform a role other than decorative gatekeeper of conservative decorum and mores. Her gentrified and feminized domestic values conflict with those of the public realm dominated by the masculine economies and appetites embodied by Lorrimer the physician, and Julian the lawyer, representatives of two professions from which women were largely excluded, yet which dictated the terms of women's experiences with, and authority over their bodies, property, and identities.

This struggle for power and authority over women's bodies is embodied, literally, by Ideala's wasting physique as she begins habitually to refuse to eat--most notably on the occasions when she attends at the Great Hospital to conduct her research--a condition to which the reader's attention is expressly called through Lorrimer's scurrilous accusations that Ideala must be taking sedatives or stimulants, and/or be suicidal (161-2). Ideala's body and her habits of (non-)consumption are raised as the contested site for power between Lorrimer, backed by the authority of his sex as well as his profession (together with the authority of a male medical colleague whom he had consulted about Ideala's condition), and Ideala herself, who has little more to rely on as

self-defense than the indignity of a woman of her class when affronted by charges of deviant behaviour. Her powerlessness is figured by her physical collapse when she returns to her room, entirely alone and unattended, the evening after she had quarreled with Lorrimer about her eating habits and her emotional state, and after Lorrimer had introduced an element of illicit eroticism into their relationship when he “yield[ed] to an irresistible impulse, ... went to her, grasped her folded hands in both of his, and looked into her eyes for one burning moment” (162). But while the pronounced self-starvation which contributes to Ideala’s physical and emotional breakdown reveals women’s bodies to be contested sites, it also functions as part of Grand’s protest against the popular construction of the New Woman as a figure grasping indiscriminately at masculine privileges and power.

The symptoms of Ideala’s condition hint provocatively at the possibility that Grand may have intended to represent her heroine as grappling with anorexia nervosa. In their study of the history of self-starvation, *From Fasting Saints to Anorexic Girls*, Walter Vandereycken and Ron Van Deth dubiously name Grand as the author of the first representation in fiction of anorexia nervosa. They suggest that this “first public appearance” of anorexia nervosa in fiction occurs in *The Heavenly Twins*, but the credibility of their proposal is undermined by their description of this more than six hundred-page work as a “short novel” (Vandereycken 215). Given the more overt attention in *Ideala* on the heroine’s weight loss, her explicit refusal to eat and subsequent fainting fits, and the direct concern these raise for a character who is a medical practitioner, I question Vandereycken and Van Deth’s conclusion. In view of the relatively little attention that Grand’s earlier novel has received even in scholarship concerned with New Woman fiction, it is reasonable to assume that Vandereycken and Van Deth were merely oblivious to the existence of an antecedent to Evadne’s physical

wasting as she struggles to adhere to her own principles and mores in a social environment which was antagonistic towards the woman of advanced ideas. Yet further discrediting Vandereycken and Van Deth's hypotheses is their failure to in any way associate Grand with the women's movement, even though they explicitly proclaim anorexia nervosa to have been an affliction fostered by the disruption and conflicts stimulated by the new woman (whom they name without inscribing the term with the popular upper-case initials), and the related possibilities and pitfalls to which women were exposed as they were presented with alternative career options which conflicted with the "'natural vocation' to motherhood" (196-7). Frustratingly, these theorists only cursorily write of this tantalizing proposal, and fail to develop or substantiate the hypothesis convincingly.<sup>14</sup>

I contend, however, that a diagnosis of Ideala's condition--like Evadne's in *The Heavenly Twins*--as anorexia nervosa could only be, at best, constructed on a relatively unstable foundation. Certainly, Ideala's prolonged fasting and routine refusal to eat, her sensitivity to cold, her faintness, nervousness, and her resistance to talking about her eating habits (*Id* 161) are consistent with modern profiles of the anorectic. But many other characteristics of the disease are either only dubiously exhibited or are entirely lacking in the narrative of Ideala's persistent refusal to eat. She never expresses any driving desire for slenderness, for example, or for any particular alteration to her body shape or size, nor does she adhere to the "pursuit of thinness" which is typically associated with anorexia nervosa (Székely 16), or what Kim Chernin dubs the "tyranny of slenderness." In fact, the novel fails to provide any especial information about Ideala's own conceptions of her body or body image, which distances her case from the conventional profile of the modern anorectic. Radically unlike many of the other women in Grand's corpus who are clearly hungering literally and metaphorically (Miss Spice and

Mrs. Kingconstance for instance), Ideala displays no obsession with food, nor does she take pleasure in her hunger, a trait frequently cited as characteristic of the anorexic condition (Bruch 4). Even Dr. William Withey Gull, one of the “fathers” of the medical construction of “Apepsia hysterica” or Anorexia hysterica, which he identified in 1868 (Gull 310), cautions that not every instance of loss of appetite due to “mental states” necessarily represents a case of this “peculiar form of [affective] disease” (Gull 305). Just as it was important to discriminate between a loss of appetite caused by an unfortunate psychological state and *bona fide* anorexia nervosa--“otherwise prognosis will be erroneous, and treatment misdirected” (Gull 311)--care must be taken to avoid misapplying modern theories about this condition to nineteenth-century fictional characters.

One of the dangers of labeling a fictional representation of feminine self-starvation specifically as anorexia nervosa is the ease with which the disease itself is then constructed primarily as a symbolic form of protest against authority, whether it be the authority figured by a parent, a male sexual partner, or society more broadly. Kim Chernin, among others, reminds us that anorexia had been until recently conceived of as “a symbolic illness. Where hunger is imposed by external circumstances, the act of starvation remains literal, a tragic biological event that does not serve metaphoric or symbolic purposes. It is only in a country where one is able to choose hunger that elective starvation may come to express cultural conflict or even social protest” (Chernin 101; cf Bruch viii). Accordingly, I argue that Ideala’s self-starvation ought not to be received as a representation of anorexia nervosa because it does appear to be intended to be read symbolically as the destructive consequence of specific constructions of femininity.

In the two decades since Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar proposed that

anorexia nervosa was a prominent theme in nineteenth-century novels written by women (Gilbert and Gubar 25; 390)<sup>15</sup> and that a fictional heroine's self-starvation embodied nineteenth-century women's desires to escape the confines of their gender (85-86), references in fiction to feminine refusals to eat have been frequently and often over-zealously diagnosed as literary manifestations of a disease which has notoriously been construed as emblematic of feminine resistance to the powerlessness imposed on them by the patriarchal dictates of society.<sup>16</sup> Gilbert and Gubar had confidently diagnosed Caroline Helstone's self-starvation in Charlotte Brontë's 1849 novel *Shirley* as anorexia nervosa, but evidently had been working with a model of the illness as an affective disorder representing Caroline's silent hunger for love at war with her resistance to subjugating herself to a man (390).<sup>17</sup> While it is reasonable to argue that mid-century novelists such as Brontë were dramatizing characters' frustrated psychological or emotional states through literal starvation, it is less tenable that the condition manifested in these works was necessarily anorexia nervosa, in part because of the symbolic uses to which the authors evidently put their characters' refusals to eat. When a fictional character's self-starvation is constructed as a form of protest against restrictions, as is arguably the case in *Shirley*, and when that refusal to eat is decidedly labeled anorexia nervosa even in instances when insufficient detail is provided on which to ground a definitive medical diagnosis, the disease itself is all too easily construed as primarily a form of literary hunger strike.

Remarking on the trend in the literature on anorexia nervosa of venerating the condition as a symbolic gesture or exhibition of resistance against restraint, Joan Jacobs Brumberg points out that "thinking about anorexia nervosa as cultural protest leads to an interpretation of the disorder that over-emphasizes the level of conscious control at the same time that it presents women and girls as hapless victims of an all-

powerful medical profession” or other male-dominated institutions of authority (Brumberg 36).<sup>18</sup> Brumberg’s reminder that the clinical anorectic does not actively or consciously choose to be subject to a consuming disease or debilitating obsession provides the impetus to reflect that Grand appears to be encouraging her readers to receive Ideala’s refusal to eat not as a medical illness suffered by an individual woman, but primarily as a form of protest against subjugation to masculine authority.

Grand’s emphasis on Ideala’s conscious refusal to eat food purchased by men who claim an objectionable form of authority over her suggests that we are to read the self-starvation represented in the novel as precisely the kind of cultural construction which Brumberg and others assert is not the defining feature of genuine anorexia nervosa. Furthermore, Brumberg also reminds us that throughout the nineteenth century, “anorexia” or “want of appetite” (Brumberg 101) was primarily “a general medical symptom, a sign of disease, but not a disease in its own right” (Brumberg 102). Accordingly, although Ideala exhibits clearly disordered and disorderly forms of eating habits during her relationship with Lorrimer, and it is possible that Grand had encountered medical literature which specifically addressed the emerging disease anorexia nervosa (or “anorexia hysterica,” as Gull had named it), she may simply have been working with the more common model of anorexia--merely an “absence of appetite” (*OED*)--as a product or symptom of broader psychological or medical conditions.

*Ideala* makes clear that Ideala’s refusal to eat was not a rejection of food *per se*, but strictly a rejection of food paid for or provided by men such as her husband and Lorrimer, who did not warrant the New Woman’s admiration, friendship and whole-hearted respect. In this light, a reading of Ideala’s self-starvation as a medical illness would unfortunately overshadow the emphasis in the novel on Ideala’s refusal to eat as



a conscious refusal to participate in the masculine commercial governance and commodification of women's bodies. Instead of ascribing Ideala's anorexia to an individual woman's medical illness, Grand constructs it as the product or the symptom of the wider social disease which denied women authority over their own bodies--legally and socially granting men the right to dictate the terms of women's experiences in the world--yet which also failed to offer male authority figures who were worthy subjects for the New Woman's subjugation.

Ideala's flight to Lorrimer had been initiated by her compulsion to claim her body and her self as her own to govern, independent of her husband's violent authority, so not surprisingly, she recoils from permitting a man the authority over her body which was implicit in his purchase of the food she consumed: "Then came an awful moment--for her--the moment of going and paying," we are told on the occasion of Ideala's second and final lunch with Lorrimer (133). It was hateful to let him pay for her lunch, but she could not help it. She was seized with one of those fits of shyness which made it just a degree less painful to allow it than to make the effort to prevent it" (133).<sup>19</sup> This horror of permitting Lorrimer the opportunity to interpose financially on her consumption, to engage in a commercial transaction which was designed to purchase comestibles to satisfy her bodily needs, or to be involved materially with her body is at the root of Ideala's refusal to continue eating at the station restaurant, and contributes to her debilitating malnutrition. Grand particularly calls attention to the authority implicit in Lorrimer's purchase of Ideala's lunch in her explanation for the cessation of their meals together: "...Ideala could not go through the ordeal of who should pay for lunch again. She preferred to starve. The *camaraderie* between them was mental enough to be manlike already, but only as long as there was no question of material outlay" (139).

In its "manlike" nature, the public rapport Lorrimer and Ideala displayed at the

meals they shared at the station restaurant early in their relationship marked Ideala as a New Woman, and also bespoke Ideala's ostensible unavailability to Lorrimer as a woman because of her marital status. But Ideala's independence and her claim for autonomy were compromised by her accession to the social conventions which prevented her from boldly proclaiming herself as an equal participant in the commercial activities of the restaurant as her male companion, which would be implied by her active assertion of her determination to evade the sense of obligation owed to a man who claimed a financial right over the substances which were ingested by Ideala's body. Because she cannot risk attracting the criticism that she is behaving in an unwomanly manner by paying for her own lunch, Ideala chooses instead to cease dining with Lorrimer, thereby sacrificing her alimentary needs and jeopardizing the health of her body.

The text hints that Ideala refuses on similar grounds to consume substances purchased by her husband: although she agreed to cohabit with her husband to protect his reputation and social status, "she would accept nothing from him but house-room, for she held that no high-minded woman could take anything from a man to whom she was bound by no tie more sacred than that of a mere legal contract" (179). While we are not told explicitly that Ideala refuses to eat food purchased by her husband, the possibility is invoked that she could no more tolerate to dine indebted to a man she loathed for his vile and immoral behaviour, than she could to a man to whom she had no formal or socially-sanctioned bond. Ideala's objection to allowing herself to be the visible escort of a man who effectively purchases her company by paying for her meal is justified on the grounds that as a married woman, her blossoming relationship with Lorrimer carries the germ of illicit desire or adulterous eroticism which is underlined by the unsavoury associations of railway stations with prostitution and other manifestations

of feminine fallenness. Caught between aligning herself with an unattractive model of the aggressive, manly New Woman, or of quietly submitting to the dominion of conventions which constructed a woman's body as a passive subject to masculine authority and privilege, Ideala claims for herself the only means of dictating the terms of her consumption by refusing to eat in any situation which would leave her obliged to a man in a manner which would require her to compromise her convictions.

For Ideala herself to effect the cash transaction involved with the purchase of lunch at the station restaurant would imply her engagement with the masculine domain of commerce and economics, a world where power is signaled by the capacity to purchase goods for the satisfaction of appetites--the extent of the possible satisfaction, and the range of the appetites which might conceivably be addressed being commensurate with the authority to garner and spend money. Grand here hints at a desire to emphasize the New Woman's resistance to entering masculine domains at the expense of womanly responsibilities and duties, a point she made patently clear in "Should Married Women Follow Professions?" In this 1899 essay in *The Young Woman* Grand argued that although "Home is essentially the human sphere," rather than the woman's sphere in particular, and although "[a] woman should have the same chances in the professions as a man," ultimately a woman's proper employment ought to be the "never ending" "work about the house" ("Should Married" 259). As much as she advocated for women's education, for suffrage, and for women's freedoms to make informed decisions about their lives and marriages, she nevertheless believed that women--at least women of the moneyed classes--ought not to be venturing out to compete against men in the professional world unless their survival depended on engaging in paid employment: "that woman is neglectful of her best interests who goes out into the world to work when she can get a nice man to do the work for her," she

concluded (259).

To reinforce her argument that the New Woman was fundamentally committed to the values of "Home," and ventured into masculine domains only in order to make them more home-like and wholesome, Grand juxtaposes Ideala's luncheons with Lorrimer with a late-night meal to which Ideala is invited when "she found herself alone in the middle of the night at a little railway junction, with no chance of a train to take her on for several hours" (*Id* 154). The passenger station being closed for the night, an elderly inspector invites Ideala to join him and his companion, Tom the porter, for rest and refreshment at his home near the station. The contrast between Ideala's immediate comfort with the domestic sanctuary she discovers in the Scotch inspector's home and the discomfort she suffered in the restaurant at the Great Hospital station hints at the fundamental dis-ease which hampered women's efforts to bridge the gap between the domestic and public realms.

Significantly, Ideala is trapped at the remote station as she returns from a period of self-imposed quarantine (153-4) which had been designed to protect her friends and loved ones from possible exposure to scarlet fever to which Ideala had been subjected when she had attended at the deathbed of Mary Morris, her husband's former mistress (149-152). Sandwiched between a train journey from the Great Hospital where she had been working blissfully with Lorrimer, and her sojourn in the private residence of a railway employee, Ideala's encounter with the dying girl may be read as a brush with the contagion of feminine fallenness which was popularly brandished as the inevitable fate of the unescorted woman who defied convention by entering public spaces. "Being out in public," Walkowitz reminds us, "was for a woman to enter an immoral domain `where one risked losing virtue, dirtying oneself, being swept into a "disorderly and heady swirl'" (Walkowitz 46). The independent female patron of a railway passenger station

restaurant or refreshment room, like a solitary woman anywhere in public in the city centre, had “entered a place traditionally imagined as the site of exchange and exotic activity, a place symbolically opposed to orderly domestic life” (Walkowitz 46). Through the description of Ideala’s visit with two benevolent male railway employees, however, Grand proposes that the New Woman’s principles and essential womanliness, complemented with straightforward knowledge of women’s vulnerability in environments dominated by masculine interests, could minimize both the risks incurred by the solitary woman traveler, and the disturbance to relations between men and women figured by independent women.

Like her first meal with Lorrimer and his brother, Ideala’s experiences at the distant station place her in a vulnerable position with a pair of strange men; and just as the first lunch had been occasioned by her compulsion to seek counsel after her husband’s physical abuse, the midnight meal occurs immediately after Ideala has witnessed the horrific evidence of her husband’s violent determination to subjugate women to his will when she attends at the deathbed of the man’s abandoned mistress. Whereas the railway refreshment room where Ideala lunched with Lorrimer represented a site of unfamiliar interactions and uncomfortable transactions, the accommodations offered to Ideala at the remote station junction are reassuringly familiar, even though the accommodations and its inhabitants belong to a socio-economic group far removed from Ideala’s own household. While the catering facilities at the station by the Great Hospital embodied masculine economies and were directed in large measure to satisfy masculine appetites, the inspector’s homely kitchen is shown to be governed by rules of feminine decorum and the conventional propriety of domestic spaces which almost seems to transcend the parameters of class, and reveals the potential for the ostensibly feminine values of the hearth and home constructively to infuse the public (and

essentially masculine) arenas of industry and commerce, for the benefit of both men and women.

The difference in the manner of the authority which reigns over the two sites is evident even before Ideala has arrived at the scene of eating. In both instances when Ideala joins Lorrimer for lunch, she is commanded to do so. On the first occasion, Ideala accedes to her host's assertion, "You had better come and have some luncheon before you go back" (*Id* 113); and in the second case, Ideala's acquiescence is motivated by her fear that Lorrimer would be detained from his own lunch if she did not authorize his declaration, "You ought to have some lunch.... If you will come now and have some, we can return and look at the books afterwards" (129). At no time does Lorrimer invite or ask Ideala to have lunch with him. By contrast, the Scotch inspector frames his invitation as a question which permits Ideala a degree of choice, and grants her authority in the decision to accompany the inspector to his home: "Tom, he'll come 'ome and sit over the kitchen fire with me," he relates. "I suppose, now, you wouldn't like to do that?" (155). The construction of the proposal gives Ideala the opportunity to display her appreciation of the offer, and graciously to express her consideration of her host: "Indeed I should be very glad to," Ideala answered; "that is," she added quickly, "if it would not inconvenience you" (155). The contrasts between the inspector's and Lorrimer's modes of address testify to the different degrees of authority and liberty each is willing to permit Ideala, and bespeaks their different perceptions of Ideala's willingness or desire to satisfy different forms of appetites: the inspector recognizes Ideala's unwitting predicament, and is concerned entirely for her safety and comfort, whereas Julian's behaviour reveals Lorrimer to have grounds to entertain the possibility that Ideala's own appetites extend to the sexual, or that she would be amenable to satisfying his carnal desires.

Grand provides considerably more detail about the physical arrangement of the inspector's kitchen than she does about the station refreshment room, hinting at a desire to emphasize the domestic interior as the most appropriate environment for her New Woman, despite her endorsement of the expansion of the range of education, knowledge, and activities available to women. Significantly, the inspector's house is dominated by "[t]he kitchen [which] was large for the size of the house" (155-6). While restaurants at the larger railway stations were necessarily modern structures with relatively new fixtures, this little house with its wood paneling "darkened by age" bore the signs of having been well-tended for a considerable period of time by people who adhered to long-standing conventions about masculinity and femininity, but who prioritized the values of dignity, courtesy and mutual respect over strict divisions of gender. The house itself represents a comfortable merging or balancing of masculinity and femininity, with its heavy old oak furniture accommodating faintly perfumed flowers, a skillfully-carved panel above the mantel depicting a masculine "design of dogs and horses in a wood" backing "a row of brass candlesticks of good design... and china," and a pair of "high-backed old-fashioned chair[s]" cozily arranged by the hearth for reading or for pipe-smoking (156). In striking contrast with the presumptuous and unduly familiar behaviour of the two professional men who had hosted Ideala at lunch at the Great Hospital station restaurant, the inspector and his companion Tom the Porter courteously welcome their guest and respect her comfort as much as they respect the need for peace and quiet of the inspector's wife sleeping in the next room (156-7). Despite being far more rustic and humble an environment than Ideala's own home, its conservative assertion of domesticity is congenial to the New Woman's graciousness, her consciousness of her own needs, and her willingness to attend to the alimentary or nutritional needs of others as she participates in the preparations for their simple meal.

Grand never reveals the nature of the dishes consumed at lunch with Lorrimer--with the exception of peppered peas, all of which are consumed by the elderly stranger--and neglects to offer evidence that Ideala consumed anything at all at these meals. By contrast, much is made of the meal Ideala shares with the inspector and Tom, which reinforces my claim that we are to read Ideala's self-starvation as the consequence of a conscious choice to refuse food only under specific circumstances. Although Ideala is expressly resistant to eating food which is provided to her by men who claim authority over her, she willingly and happily shares dinner with the railway employees, signaling her appreciation for their evident comfort with receiving her as a guest without having in any way to dominate or to indemnify her for their gentlemanly generosity by the pleasure she derives from the meal: "She always declared afterwards that there was nothing so good in the world as baked potatoes and salt, provided the company was agreeable" (157), an enthusiastic gastronomical review--the only substantive evidence in the novel which hints at a capacity to derive pleasure from food--which is radically different from the discomfort and anxiety she associates with her lunches with Lorrimer.

Nineteenth-century culture valorized feminine frailty and invalidism, and therefore representations of starving and physically debilitated women were often perceived to be embodying an ethereal feminine ideal, rather than resisting narrow constructions of womanhood. But Ideala's (mental) invocation of commercial terms in her rejection of meals with Lorrimer juxtaposed against her quiet acceptance of food proffered by male railway employees, and her eventual return to a state of robust physical health (rather than death, as is so often the fate of invalid heroines of domestic fiction), underline the suggestion that her starvation is induced by a resistance to her particular situation, and to a relationship in which she is being put into a position which undermines her status as a responsible and virtuous woman. In light of the more congenial scene in the railway



inspector's kitchen, the narrative of Ideala's earlier meals with Lorrimer functions as a cautionary tale which encourages the New Woman to proceed with care as she expands the range of her activities, and to curtail the impulse to claim new freedoms and to rush out into the public realm, ill-equipped with the knowledge and expertise required to negotiate the unfamiliar masculine environment. Together, the meals taken at railway facilities reinforce Grand's assertion that the New Woman is ultimately committed to fostering the values of hearth and home, and derives no pleasure in engaging in activities which compromise her essential womanly impulse to care for others and to beautify her environment.

While Ideala's discerning eating patterns reveal her to be a model of femininity resistant to subjugation to masculine appetites and forms of authority which disempower women, Grand also relies on the language of food and eating--or in this case, feeding--to demonstrate that the New Woman was not only committed to the principles of domesticity, but also differed from the popular viraginous version of the New Woman by her devotion to motherhood. Although Ideala's only child dies in infancy (57-58), the alimentary subtext of the narrative helps to defend its protagonist against the charge that her "advanced" ideas were a handicap to her abilities as a mother.

While *Punch* and *Pick-Me-Up* regularly questioned the likelihood that the New Woman would choose to pursue motherhood once she had had a taste of life in the public realm, feminist magazines persistently emphasized the centrality of maternity in constructions of woman. As they encouraged women to explore new forms of education, employment and experience, these magazines nevertheless maintained that the primary role of woman was to be a mother, and all her other responsibilities and interests were to fall into secondary positions. *Shafts* cites the *North American Review* in assuring readers that modernity was easing the burdens associated with motherhood,

which made maternity increasingly attractive to women: “The great problem of the age, how to emancipate woman and preserve motherhood, is already more than half solved,” the magazine declared. “Not that the woman of the future will cease to be a mother, but that that state will be less arduous, and that its past disabilities will diminish, until they finally disappear. The world has no longer need of the enormous sacrifices required of the past; the eras of strife and cruelty are gone, and in the perfect social order that is coming, woman is to do something more than to suffer and to toil; she is to live” (“*The North-American Review* says” 68).

As an antidote to the anti-feminist barrage of mainstream periodicals, in these feminist publications the New Woman was specifically offered as the model of femininity best suited for motherhood. As Mrs. Harrison Lee wrote in *The Woman's Signal*, echoing the sentiments of other writers like Grand, “We need the surest bright ‘New Woman’ to be the mother of the new child, and no woman with half-developed mind, foolish, irrational impulses, petty, childlike fancies can hope to be the mother of a grand and glorious ‘perfect man’” (Lee 114). To a writer in *Woman*, the emancipated woman could only be faulted for “not utiliz[ing her] own education” in the training of children, and for instead transferring the responsibility of caring for and educating children to domestic staff: “What a boon it will be to both boys and girls when they shall have as mothers women who are acquainted with occupations with which they can make the children familiar and in which they may have to take part. The modern mothers will be superior to those they have succeeded, in spite of the superficiality of the present time” (“Modern Mothers” 5).

Curiously, although Grand was adamant that the New Woman was characteristically maternal (“New Woman” 470), remarkably few of the New Woman figures in the Morningquest trilogy appear to succeed as biological mothers: more than

eight years into her marriage, when Ideala's greatest hopes were realised by the birth of a son, her husband persuades Ideala to give up nursing the babe (*Id* 57). Whether her husband's demand was motivated by spite or jealousy, or was merely an ill-conceived experiment is left unresolved, but Ideala's distress at the proposition drives her into "such a nervous state" that her physician concurs with Ideala's husband's opinion that "it will do the child harm" to continue to breastfeed the boy (58). "[A]s the milk slowly and painfully left her, [Ideala's] last spark of affection for her husband dried up too," and shortly thereafter the child dies of diphtheria (58). Ideala's failure as a mother is particularly poignant as the male narrator's account of Ideala's brief maternity and the death of her son is skipped through in a chapter of less than two pages in length (*Id* 57-58). Yet the apparent marginalization of Ideala's experiences with maternity is countered by hints scattered throughout the novel which emphasize Ideala's desire to mother and to nurture, and her ultimate fitness--or the suitability of women like her--for the role of mother of a new race, all of which flew in the face of the widespread horror that the New Woman championed liberation from maternity.

Nevertheless, *Ideala* demonstrates the truth of the assertions made by such advanced women as Josephine Butler that women "are all mothers or foster-mothers," including those women who are not biological mothers. All women, Butler had argued, possessed an "abundance of generous womanliness, of tender and wise motherliness," and childless women in particular were "free to bring their capacities to bear where they are most needed" (Butler 151). As part of her attempts to avert slanderous misrepresentations of the New Woman which became increasingly overt in the textual landscape of the decade following publication of *Ideala*, Grand's mapping of Ideala's appetites (or lack thereof) underlines her heroine's commitment to mothering. Ideala's mothering nature is particularly revealed through her attentions to the alimentary needs

of others around her, even while she herself is suffering hunger pangs of the heart and body.

Ideala's need to nurture is especially evident in her activities while living with her husband "in one of the rough manufacturing districts" to which the couple had relocated ostensibly for business purposes (93). She is passionately devoted to providing the "infinite care and tenderness" required "to keep [her flowers] alive in this uncongenial climate" (96); and feels herself blessed by the joyous songs of her thrushes which she "brought up by hand on bread and milk and scraped beef" (96). The efforts of having "to get up at daylight, and feed them every hour until dark" attest to her maternal capacity to nourish life. And Ideala's assertion that the "thrushes have well repaid the trouble" involved with feeding them is Grand's sly reminder that it is in the best interests of those with power and authority over themselves and others to ensure that women, like small hungry birds, be attentively fed and nourished.

Likewise, even when confronted by the tragic spectacle of Mary Morris, who discloses to Ideala the revolting (but already familiar) nature of Ideala's husband's adulterous activities and his beastly efforts to satisfy his intemperate and lascivious appetites, Ideala's response is distinctly maternal: "All the mother in her was throbbing with tenderness for this poor outcast," and she "looked round for something to revive her," Ideala's immediate thoughts being to provide whatever food or drink the young girl might be able to consume to ease the agonies of her final moments (151). Ideala's response to Mary Morris is consistent with her tendency to mother children who figure as substitutes for the child she was prevented from nourishing with her love and body. She is notable for gathering about her young children who love her as they would a mother (266), and the narrator is among those who are impressed by the extraordinary joy Ideala manifests in the opportunity to shower these children with her love and

affection.

Strikingly, even Ideala's love of Lorrimer is expressed as a desire to tend to his needs as would a mother. "I wish I had been his mother," Ideala confides to an anonymous lady with whom she has tea one afternoon (173). Later, she borrows a "fair-haired boy, with eyes that remind [her] of [Lorrimer]" (212) to comfort her in her sorrow. And in the early days of their relationship, it had been because of her concern that she might be compromising his liberty to procure his much-needed lunch that Ideala agreed a second time to accompany Lorrimer to the station restaurant (129), despite her disconcerting experiences with Lorrimer and Julian some weeks before, and the discomfort engendered by the necessity of permitting Lorrimer to pay for Ideala's lunch (133). She recognizes that "there must be something almost maternal in [her] feeling for [Lorrimer], which is why it does not change" (233). But it is also the reason why Lorrimer and Ideala would not likely have been happy together. His passions cry out for someone who would match and meet his physical and sexual passions, who would permit him the freedom to exercise his carnal appetites (128); and he in all likelihood would not have found this match in a woman who like his mother was "noble" and primarily concerned to nurture rather than to stimulate him. In all of these instances, Grand makes manifest her faith in the New Woman as a creature whose true womanly nature compels her towards the nurturance and care of others, and who must learn not to abandon this maternal instinct as the "shrieking sisterhood" was purportedly encouraging women to do, but to learn to fulfill her duties towards others without entirely sacrificing herself or denying her own needs for the nourishment required to perform her role most productively.

In the final pages of the novel, Grand again sets a scene of eating in order to reaffirm the New Woman's capacity to positively influence her environment without

radically disrupting the etiquette which regulated social intercourse. For the first time, she details a dinner party within a private residence entirely removed from any associations with modern travel, and she describes Ideala actively engaged in the business of eating (246). But in Ideala's inadvertent misplacing of the dining utensils, as she absent-mindedly "put her serviette beside her plate and her bread on her lap mechanically, and took up her knife and fork to eat her soup" (246), Grand hints at the reconfiguration of familiar resources which is possible through the New Woman's new perspective, gleaned as a product of her claim for self-authorization. As she realizes her mistake and laughs "[s]uch a fresh, girlishly laugh" (246), Ideala is revealed to have returned from her journeys--both her emotional and psychological travels stimulated by her challenging relationship with Lorrimer and her literal adventures in China--visibly a changed and more vibrant woman: "She showed the change in every gesture, but most of all in her clear and steady eyes, which made you feel she had a purpose now, and a future yet before her. She looked as women look when they know themselves entrusted with a work, and have the courage and resolution to be true and worthy of their trust" (244). Rather than confirming the fears of *fin de siècle* anti-feminist alarmists, Ideala's new-found confidence and self-possession provide her with both the skills necessary to deport herself graciously and with ease in the familiar environment of a dinner party, and to infuse--almost to feed--people around her with an invigorating, generative vitality which transforms "the most commonplace and prosaic party imaginable" into an event which energizes and propels participants into a potentially happy future. As the narrator relates, whereas such a dinner would have been

only remarkable for a degree of dulness which would have astonished us  
by its bulk could it have been measured--to-night, for no apparent reason,

we suddenly woke up and astounded ourselves by more originality than we had been accustomed to believe was left in the world altogether—while something put into our conversation just the right amount of polite friction to act as a counter-irritant, so that, when we left the table, each felt that he had been at his best—had been brilliant, in fact, and shone with lustre enough to make any man happy. (246-247)

Ultimately, Grand's use in *Ideala* of the language of food exposes both the challenges which women confronted as they learned to navigate new physical and social settings for familiar activities such as eating and drinking, and the potential for the New Woman who is granted the privilege of embarking on journeys of self-discovery to be the nurturing mother of an improved society.

## Notes to Chapter 2

1. Although possible objection to this statement might be raised by noting that reference is made two chapters earlier to Ideala having “dined alone with her husband that evening” (102), I would counter that such hardly constitutes a description of a meal. No attention is paid in this passage to food consumption, and the narrative of the meal is swiftly glossed over with a few words to focus instead on Ideala’s polite conversation and her husband’s lies which precede his enraged physical abuse towards her. It is perhaps more significant, however, that Grand chose to link a meal with the domestic violence which impels her New Woman on her psychological journey towards independence and self-governance.

2. Modern histories of anorexia nervosa typically attribute the naming or “invention” of the condition to the English physician William Withey Gull (1816-90) who in 1868 presented a paper at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association (which paper was published in *The Lancet* in August 1868) in which he referred to “hysteric aepsia,” as a condition of wasting leading to emaciation (Vandereycken 156; cf Bruch vii; Brumberg 111-120). In 1873, however, the French psychiatrist Ernest Charles Lasègue (1816-83) published an article which revealed an anorexic condition he called “hysterical inanition” (Vandereycken 157): the original French article appeared in an English translation a few months later. The following year, Sir William Gull presented two more lectures to the Clinical Society of London, the first of which was concerned with “Anorexia Hysterica (Aepsia Hysterica),” followed by two articles. In one of these, Gull explicitly refers to Lasègue’s article, asserting that while the two may have arrived at their conclusions about the disorder simultaneously and independently, Gull had ultimately been the one who had really assigned the “Anorexia” label to the condition he had previously referred to as “Aepsia hysterica” (Vandereycken 159). Vandereycken and Deth conclude that “parenthood” of anorexia nervosa should be understood to have been shared by Gull and Lasègue, and assert that “the modern medical history of anorexia nervosa commences in 1873,” not 1868 (the date of Gull’s first allusion to the condition by another name) as is often claimed (Vandereycken 161). According to Vandereycken and Deth, “the British medical press only occasionally paid attention to the ‘new’ illness” (166). A noteworthy exception, however, is the substantial 1880 report on anorexia nervosa, published by the London physician Samuel Fenwick. Fenwick “attributes the disorder to ‘either anaesthesia or a perversion of the sensibility of the nerves distributed to the stomach, analogous to what we sometimes observe with respect to the cutaneous nerves in hysterical females’” (cited by Vandereycken 166). The debate about paternity aside, for my purposes it is important to recognize that anorexia nervosa had been receiving some (albeit relatively contained) attention in medical publications for at least a decade and a half by the time Grand published *Ideala*.

3. Despite the prominence in Grand’s fiction of railway settings and imagery, and my contention that railways also figure significantly in other contemporary novels in relation to social changes, particularly those developing out of the women’s movement, surprisingly few scholars have attended to the social and literary implications and impact of nineteenth century railway systems and the various facilities and cultural artefacts which developed out of this revolutionary mode of transport. In *Railways and culture in Britain: The epitome of modernity*--apparently the only full-length study currently available of British railway literature, visual art and film--Ian Carter endeavours to



address the scant attention which railway historians have traditionally given "to social issues and ... culture" associated with the railways (Carter 3), and hints that this scholarly gap may be a consequence of "railway historians' deep concerns about patrolling respectability's boundaries" (Carter 6), which has discouraged examination of a technology which challenged the policing of propriety by bringing together people who had previously been separated by barriers of geography, gender, and class.

In her critique of Dickens' fiction, "Trauma, Memory, and Railway Disaster: The Dickensian Connection," Jill Matus reveals the role of railway disasters in an emerging nineteenth-century discourse of trauma" (413-436). Matus' article bespeaks the need to consider further literature which hints at the ways railways changed not merely the physical landscape and human mobility, but also impacted on the collective and individual psyche in radically disruptive ways.

4. Frances E. Willard similarly asserted that "the mission of the ideal woman...is to make the whole world home-like" (Willard 3).

5. Several such images are reproduced by Michael Freeman in *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*. See, for instance, a representation of "the three classes of railway excursion traffic to Epsom Races" from the *Illustrated London News*, May 1847 (Freeman 113); a photograph of the "Departure of the 12.55 p.m. train to Enfield, Saturday, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1884" at London's Liverpool Street station (138); and the "Arrival of the work-men's penny train at the Victorian station," from the *Illustrated London News*, 1865 (139).

6. Barbara Haber's essay "The Harvey Girls: Good Women and Good Food Civilize the American West" is an engaging introduction to the history of the "impeccably groomed waitresses called Harvey Girls" (87) who were employed and rigorously trained by Frederick Henry Harvey, the entrepreneurial force behind a chain of high-quality food service facilities which were allied with the American railways between 1883 and the late 1950s. Haber credits the efficient and professional catering services provided by the Harvey Girls and their male compeers with having significantly contributed to the appeal of rail travel, which in turn had a positive impact on the expansion of commerce and settlement across the western states. Haber relies heavily on Lesley Poling-Kempes' study, *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West*. Recipes for dishes served at the Harvey Houses, and some historical material about early American railroad culture are available in George H. Foster and Peter C. Weiglin's *The Harvey House Cookbook: Memories of Dining Along the Santa Fe Railroad*. Additional studies of the history of the railways include August Mencken, *The Railroad Passenger Car: An Illustrated History of the First Hundred Years with Accounts by Contemporary Passengers*; and Juddi Morris, *The Harvey Girls: The Women Who Civilized the West*.

7. Jeffrey Richards and John MacKenzie briefly survey the history of female employment as carriage-cleaners, waitresses in refreshment rooms, clerks, and station announcers on European and English lines (Richards 157-8). Jack Simmons provides a slightly more detailed history of women's employment history with nineteenth-century railway companies, noting that women could find employment "in telegraph offices, and later at telephone switchboards, where their quickness and manual dexterity were valued," although "They were of course engaged at lower rates of pay than those given to men" (Simmons, *Victorian Railway* 335). Michael Freeman notes that the relative

scarcity of female employees was especially acute in Britain: "at the 1851 Census, there were just 54 female workers recorded for the whole industry. As late as 1891, *Chamber's Journal* remarked that female railway clerks, very common on the Continent, just did not exist in Britain" (Freeman 181).

8. The unchaperoned lady traveler was the subject of the controversial "Mrs. Grundy" series of letters to the editor of *The Woman's Herald* in the early months of 1891. Although some writers continued to object vehemently to the growing trend towards unchaperoned female train travelers, the general tenor of these letters was established by one of the earliest of the correspondents who asserted "that a girl, or woman, properly brought up, may with perfect safety travel from one end of the world to the other provided she possesses common-sense, that, according to her conduct, she can preserve her own dignity and compel the respect of those with whom she associates" ("Mrs. Grundy," *The Woman's Herald*, 17 Jan. 1891: 202), an argument which Grand no doubt would have endorsed.

"The Invasion of Women" into the smoking carriages stimulated countless assaults on feminine emancipation, as men and women defended the right of men to enjoy their fumigatory indulgences unencumbered by feminine company or "prattle." (See, for example, "The Invasion of Woman," a verse lampoon in *Punch*, 29 Sept. 1894: 145.) The alarm engendered by the smoking female train traveler is represented in a full-colour illustration of the New Woman which was reproduced on the cover of the Jan. 2, 1897 (vol. 17) issue of *Pick-Me-Up*, which features a trim, knickerbockered New Woman boldly entering a railway smoking car, brandishing her lit cigarette, apparently oblivious to (or defiant of) the evident amazement of the two gentlemen already comfortably ensconced in the car.

*Punch*, of course, gleefully leapt on the women's issues associated with the railway, and posed the (hopefully rhetorical) question "Ought Women to Travel by Train at All?" (5 May 1894: 208): "Why should women want to travel by train at all?" grumbled "A Mayfair Mother." "I've been brought up to think that a woman's place is *her home*, and if that's true, what does she want to go trapesing [*sic.*] about in a railway carriage, smoking or not smoking?" The magazine hinted that while men *must* travel by train, such was not the case for women, who ought to be able to claim husbands to provide private transport, hastening the "glorious day when the Male Train becomes a reality, instead of a Post-Office fiction."

9. Although the majority of catering facilities associated with the railway provided services of a quality ranging from deplorable to acceptable, luxurious accommodations and refreshment could be obtained from the coffee rooms and restaurants housed in the opulent London hotels established by the railway companies. According to Edwina Ehrman, the first large-scale hotels in London were built near Euston Station by a syndicate of the London and Birmingham railway companies, and opened in 1839. Most of the major English railway companies followed suit by building hotels at many of the large London terminals during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Many of these hotels, such as the Midland Grand constructed near St. Pancras station (and opened in 1873), were designed in high Gothic style, and featured opulent coffee rooms and dining rooms, including separate (and typically smaller) rooms reserved for the exclusive use of ladies (Ehrman 81-82).

10. "Refreshments for Travellers" was first published 24 March 1860, in *All the Year Round* (Thomas 419). Dickens's most scathing, and most-frequently cited indictment of the deplorable service and food provided by railway refreshment rooms is found in "Main Line. The Boy at Mugby," part of the larger narrative of *Mugby Junction*, published in the 1866 Christmas number of *All the Year Round* (Thomas 431).

11. Grand is one of several New Woman writers who drew on the negative associations of the railway refreshment rooms to explore the issue of feminine appetites. It is at the restaurant at Charing Cross Station, for instance, that George Gissing's *Odd Woman*, Virginia Madden (*The Odd Women*, 1893) endeavours to relieve her loneliness and poverty-induced desolation through increasingly frequent doses of brandy. While the railway refreshment room is the scene for Virginia Madden's decline towards dissipation and alcoholism, Victoria Cross uses such a site for a consideration of the contestation of masculine desire over feminine virtue. She relies on the popular associations of station restaurants with feminine fallenness to highlight the virtue of Eurydice, the New Woman protagonist in *The Woman Who Didn't*, one of several novels which responded to Grant Allen's ambiguous *The Woman Who Did* (Cross 100-101).

12. Echoing Grand, Millicent Garrett Fawcett asserted in "Politics in the Home" that "by strengthening the independence of women, I think we shall strengthen their true native womanliness" (Fawcett 45). "I advocate the extension of the franchise to women because I wish to strengthen true womanliness in women," Fawcett concluded (48-9). She did, however, concede sheepishly that there were occasions when "women are all too apt to forget their womanliness... and allow their aspirations [for political power] to be guided by those of the masculine part of the society in which they find themselves" (Fawcett 45). (This passage was also cited in *The Woman's Herald* synopsis of Fawcett's article, 6 Jul. 1893: 315-6.)

13. Grand's most extensive exploration of this need to educate girls about the risks of syphilis is, of course, *The Heavenly Twins*. But both *Ideala* and *The Beth Book* also provide literary evidence of Grand's concerns about a social system which permitted and even encouraged girls to marry reprobate men, oblivious to the taint of sin and corruption, and the dangers they faced. In her essays, however, Grand left no room for misinterpretation about her objection to persistent social pressures to preserve feminine virtue and innocence through ignorance. To Sarah A. Tooley Grand confessed that the response to *The Heavenly Twins* had convinced her "that the evil [of sexually transmitted diseases] was far greater than [she] had imagined," and that she "hope[d] that we shall soon see the marriage of certain men made a criminal offence" ("Tooley, "The Woman's Question" 162). And in two essays in *The Young Woman* Grand spoke out directly against the all-too-common practice of abandoning girls to their feelings and other unreliable sources for guidance in the choice of a husband. "Of men [a girl] has no knowledge at all," and in "her misguided ignorance" many a girl has been "victimised" by "a glib scamp, who, as he protests, marries her for the pleasure of possessing her, there being no other way, but casts her aside without compunction when the pleasure palls and the money is spent" ("On the Choice of a Husband" 1). The fault for the "ruthless sacrifice[...]" of girls lay in their lack of insight and understanding: "Instead of having her mind formed, and her judgment developed by knowledge, so as to enable her to think and act for herself when ... it was most essential that she should think and act for herself..., by her training the girl was rendered incapable of judging" ("At What

Age” 161-2). “The knowledge must come first, to prevent her falling in love with” an unworthy man, or making similarly misguided decisions with her life (“On the Choice” 1).

14. Paula Marantz Cohen’s work also casts doubt on the idea that Grand may have inaugurated fictional depictions of anorexia nervosa. She locates the first appearance in literature of the disease in the previous century, and proposes that “Clarissa Harlowe can be called literature’s original anorexic” (Cohen 132), a position that might be substantiated by Donnalee Frega’s book-length study, *Speaking in Hunger: Gender, Discourse, and Consumption in Clarissa*.

15. Cohen goes so far as to hyperbolically assert that “The heroines of most nineteenth-century novels are indeed anorexic daughters controlled to a greater or lesser degree in the service of the family” (Cohen 133). This, in my opinion, is an unjustified sweeping generalization.

16. More recently, the condition has been conceptualized according to several different theoretical models. Joan Brumberg identifies three different explanatory models: “the biomedical, the psychological, or the cultural” (Brumberg 24). Research-oriented physicians have been the greatest proponents of the biomedical model, and have proposed as the cause of anorexia nervosa various endocrinological and neurological conditions, including “hormonal imbalance, dysfunction in the satiety center of the hypothalamus, lesions in the limbic system of the brain, and irregular output of vasopressin and gonadotropin” (Brumberg 24-25). Brumberg contends that while biomedical conditions might predispose an individual to developing anorexia nervosa, some form of “cultural patterning” or social, or “environmental stress” appears to be necessary to trigger the pathologic changes which lead to the condition (Brumberg 25). While there remains considerable debate as to whether the condition has a biomedical origin, there does appear to be more foundation for arguing that physiological abnormalities characteristic of anorexia contribute to the continuation of the disorder (Brumberg 26).

“Psychological models of anorexia nervosa fall into three basic groups born of psychoanalysis, family systems theory, and social psychology” (Brumberg 27-8). According to proponents of these models, “[r]efusal of food is understood as an expression of the adolescent’s struggle over autonomy, individuation, and sexual development,” and focus on the anorectic’s relationships with her family (particularly the mother) (Brumberg 28).

The cultural model expands the social context or environment which “generate[s]... a powerful cultural imperative that makes slimness the chief attribute of female beauty,” and casts blame for the rising number of incidents of anorexia nervosa on the demands of fashion and popular media (Brumberg 31). Ultimately, as Brumberg explains, no one of these three models satisfactorily explains the pathogenesis of anorexia nervosa. Of greater concern to this dissertation, no one of these models can be comfortably applied to impose a diagnosis of anorexia nervosa on Ideala, since the novel fails to provide sufficient substantive evidence to produce more than tenuous conclusions.

17. Although she does not cite these other researchers, Deirdre Lashgari’s conclusions in her analysis of *Shirley* are reminiscent of Gilbert and Gubar’s argument (Lashgari 141-152). Lashgari contends that “Individual eating disorders in ... *Shirley* ...

are portrayed as part of a much larger picture, in which a dysfunctional society starves women, literally and metaphorically, and women internalize that dis/order as self-starvation" (Lashgari 141). Lashgari reads *Shirley* as a critique of a social environment which denies women "food" for the hungers of their hearts and minds, a reading which might also be applied to *Ideala*. Ideala's self-starvation, however, is configured not simply as the reaction to her unassuaged hungers--these had been most acutely stressed in the early half of the novel, well prior to her diminished diet--but more particularly as a reaction to a conflict between her definition of herself as an independent and active woman, and her lover's perception of her as available for his consumption because she deviates from the normative model of femininity characterized by dependence and passivity.

18. Cohen also provides reasons for hesitating to diagnose every case of fictional feminine self-starvation as a feminist strike against patriarchal domination of women. She remarks that "Insofar as male authors [such as Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Anthony Trollope, Thomas Hardy] also represented frail or sickly women as heroines, this representation of the heroine cannot be understood simply as a form of protest against constraint," unless we are to assume that these male authors were engaged in a feminist enterprise of liberating women from these constraints (Cohen 128). Cohen argues instead that "the heroines' symptoms must be seen as functional with respect to the effective resolution of the narrative, the stabilization of the family ideal which the novel generally depicted in its conclusion, and the facilitation of the heroine's own happiness" (Cohen 128).

19. In *Manners for Men*, Mrs. "'Madge' of 'Truth'" Humphry advises that "When accompanying ladies" to a restaurant or confectioner's, "The young man must pay for what his companions eat and drink" (88), although allowances are made for the possibility that the young man might be imposed upon beyond his means. In such instances where the financial resources of a gentleman are constrained, he ought to acknowledge such, and he could reasonably expect that "[a] really well-bred girl or woman would make it clear that she intended to pay for her own meal, and that only on that condition would she accept the escort of the young man" (89). However, Lorrimer's professional status and social class would undoubtedly have provided him with ample resources to pay for Ideala's luncheon, thereby placing her in the inverse conundrum of risking for herself a charge of being ill-bred were she to declare an intention of paying for her own meal (which itself would also have represented a slur against her perception of his ability to finance the refreshment).

### CHAPTER 3

**“She ... has an excellent appetite,  
and is not at all inclined to pose as a martyr”:  
An Education in Healthy Appetites and *The Heavenly Twins***

But everything in the world that is worth a thought becomes food for controversy sooner or later... (*HT*, Proem xl)

Cooking has “everything” to do with Woman’s Rights, explains Sarah Grand’s enlightened Mrs. Malcomson to the naive Mrs. Beale: “If only Mr. St. John and a few other very good men would stand up in their pulpits boldly and assure those who dread innovation that their food will be the better cooked, and the ‘Sphere’ itself will roll along all the more smoothly for the changes we find necessary; there would be an end of their opposition” (*HT* 182). Ironically, while Mrs. Malcomson foregrounds cooking as an all-embracing figure for women’s issues, very few instances of cooking appear in *The Heavenly Twins*, Grand’s most sensationalized novel, considered by some to be “the most representative New Woman novel” (Bonnell, “Legacy” 468). Cookery, as I will discuss in chapter 4, was not addressed substantively by Grand until she wrote *The Beth Book*. Yet it would not be remiss to adjust Mrs. Malcomson’s statement to propose that in *The Heavenly Twins*, food--and more precisely appetite and eating--has everything to do with the emancipation of women from the inequities imposed upon their sex.

As I demonstrated in my previous chapter, in *Ideala* Grand asserts that women were hampered by the lack of autonomy permitted them over the expression of their needs, and the satisfaction of their appetites. In *The Heavenly Twins*, her second Morningquest novel, Grand investigates the childhood education and social training

which generates this damaging situation by gradually silencing girls' appetites, while encouraging boys to satisfy their appetites as a right of maleness. With its emphasis on the educations of two New Woman characters, Evadne Frayling and Angelica Hamilton-Wells, *The Heavenly Twins* is a feminized apprenticeship novel which, like Grand's other New Woman novels, "expos[es] ... the operations of gender privilege and suppression" (Mangum, *Married* 16; cf. Heilmann 66), and confirms that "[b]y implicitly defining male experience as 'normative,' a society prevents serious consideration of female experience or the knowledge it produces" (Mangum 111). Through the language of food and appetite, Grand invites readers to consider the relationships between gender, knowledge, and appetite, and the ways in which girls' educations customarily hindered them from learning to distinguish healthy appetites from destructive desires.

The first book of the novel is largely concerned with the educations (or lack thereof) received by the three female protagonists, Evadne, Angelica, and Edith Beale. The very title of "Childhoods and Girlhoods," the first of the six books of *The Heavenly Twins*, draws attention to the construction of normative childhood as implicitly masculine, and as radically distinct from the more marginalized (or secondary) conceptualization of the early years of a girl's life. The semantics of the title point towards a divisive gendering of the educations and experiences of children in their formative years, which Grand explores in depth through Evadne's efforts to educate herself much more broadly than was considered appropriate for a girl, and through Angelica's determination to thwart all efforts to segregate her from her brother. In the early chapters, Grand particularly details Evadne's self-directed education which challenges the conventional wisdom of the day which contended that a woman ought not to be exposed to such "nasty" (22) subjects as anatomy, physiology and medicine. The "acquisition of knowledge ... [is] her favourite pastime, her principal pleasure in life"

(24), testament to a woman's capacity to profit by the form of education customarily reserved for boys of her class: and more critically, Evadne's "extraordinary knowledge of the digestive processes and their ailments" (23) and other medical matters, arms her with the knowledge about venereal diseases to save herself from "what would have been the shipwreck of [her] life" (84), her ill-fated marriage to a man whose dissolute activities may have left him infected with syphilis.

Like the "novel's treatment of Evadne," Angelica's story "implies that for women's education to be balanced and productive their minds must be cultivated in space and time provided within the larger, public world" (Mangum, *Married* 107). As I will demonstrate, the novel affirms that this is as valid with respect to the training of appetites, as it is for the development of the intellect. To paraphrase Mrs. Malcomson, *The Heavenly Twins* suggests that "the 'Sphere' itself [would] roll along all the more smoothly" (182) if both boys and girls were educated and encouraged to experiment so as to provide them equally with the knowledge and self-control to recognize and address healthy appetites, while avoiding people whose appetites compelled them to prey on other people. Although appetites are explored in connection with each of the three main narrative strains of the novel, Angelica, the focus of this chapter, is the only one of the three heroines whose tastes and eating habits are extensively described. I propose that Grand highlights the arbitrariness and the injustices inherent in denying girls and women the liberties accorded boys and men to express and to address their needs and wholesome desires by juxtaposing the eating and feeding patterns of two male-female pairs, linked by Angelica's presence in both.

In the first of these pairs, Angelica is twinned with her brother Diavolo, and together they exert themselves to subvert popular assumptions and expectations about the intellects, abilities, aspirations, appetites, and tastes of boys and girls. Angelica and



Diavolo are for the most part given (or demand for themselves) similar opportunities and comparable forms of (characteristically ineffectual) discipline and tutelage until they reach the age when conventionally girls and boys were segregated to receive different educations. Angelica speaks on behalf of both twins when she declares “they” did not like having different teachers, a governess for her and a tutor for Diavolo, an arrangement which had been instigated by Mr. Hamilton-Wells, who shares with Evadne’s father “old-fashioned ideas about the superior education of boys” (123). The twins’ scheme to scuttle the educational segregation by each performing the supposed intellectual aptitudes of the other gender (124) highlights the gross injustices imposed on women by a patriarchal system which refuses to acknowledge a feminine capacity to learn, to reason, and to engage disciplines and discourses traditionally held to be masculine territory (125-6; 13). Analogously, Angelica’s fascination with food, and her self-confident verbalisation of her appetites which rival, often exceed, and frequently even dominate her brother’s interests in the matter, challenges the popular assumption that appetites were “naturally” attributes of maleness.

In the second key male-female pairing or “twinning” in the novel, Angelica is paired with the Tenor, Julian Vanetemple, in a scenario in which the expression and satisfaction of appetites is governed more by the moral fortitude of individuals rather than by preconceptions of masculinity and femininity. Here, in “The Tenor and the Boy,” as I will discuss later in the chapter, gender becomes more fluid than elsewhere in *The Heavenly Twins*. While the twins reveal the arbitrariness of the assumption that pronounced appetites are natural facets of masculinity, the Angelica/Boy-Tenor pairing exposes the dangers of perpetuating the denial of feminine appetites and its consequent failure to provide girls with the knowledge to negotiate them. Masquerading as the Boy, Angelica is at liberty to exercise her appetites to the extent customarily only available to

“real” boys; yet although she does entertain her appetites to a greater degree than she feels comfortable doing in public, her eating and drinking, and her involvement with food preparation and service, are carefully self-monitored to avoid the unwholesome over-indulgence popularly associated with boys, men, and the manly New Women of the popular press. Likewise, the Tenor evinces more self-control and judicious restraint in his eating habits than is characteristic of the majority of the men in the novel. Ultimately, the patterns of eating and feeding in the Interlude reveal Angelica’s cross-dressing to be part of a narrative experiment in the relaxing of the parameters of gender to assert the need for both men and women to cultivate the best features of both masculinity and femininity.

The use of a pair of boy-girl twins provides the novel with more than mere comic relief, although most nineteenth-century commentators focused on the degree to which the Hamilton-Wells offspring entertained or irritated the reader.<sup>1</sup> To readers who, like Grand, were concerned with the discrepancies between the liberties permitted boys and the restrictions imposed on girls, the twins provide a compact forum for a consideration of the implications of the traditional Victorian construction of ideal womanhood as ethereal and submissive. Represented as determinedly resistant to traditional gender roles, Angelica and her brother Diavolo provide Grand with an opportunity to explore the influence of culture and more specifically, of education, on the construction of femininity and masculinity, and of the impact of these forces in prescribing very limited realms of experience for women. In part because it is the only one of Grand’s novels to feature either a literal or a figurative twinning of a boy and a girl character over a lengthy period of narrative time, and because it is the only one of her novels prior to 1900 in which Grand develops the character of a young boy (choosing instead to focus almost entirely in her early fiction on the development and education of girls), *The Heavenly Twins*

offers the most extended and studied juxtaposition in Grand's oeuvre of the restraints imposed on girls and women relative to the liberties permitted boys.

The twins notoriously subvert assumptions and gender stereotypes in their appearance and behaviour: "Angelica was the dark one, and she was also the elder, taller, stronger, and wickeder of the two, the organizer and commander of every expedition" (*HT* 7, 126, 247). As Mangum explains, "the twins demand a surprising degree of control over their 'gendering' by structuring how they *look*, in both senses of the word. By dictating the terms of their education, they determine how they will look *at* others. Moreover, in the best Shakespearean style they put gender on and off not like, but as, clothing, thus controlling how they are looked at *by* others" (Mangum, *Married* 126-7). Angelica defies conventions of femininity by being more mischievous (leading the disruptive cross-dressing at Evadne's wedding, for instance [60]), more decisive (as when asserting that she and her brother –"we"-- did not appreciate having different instructors [123]), or in expressing her mind about political matters (255), and by being more "consumed by the rage to know" (126) than her brother; and similarly, she subverts the traditional model of femininity characterized by silent or non-existent appetites by exceeding her devilish brother in boldly voicing and addressing her (or, as often is the case, their) appetites and gustatory preferences.

Historically, the sexual discrimination which denied girls the same education as was received by their brothers, and which similarly robbed them of the freedom to choose the directions of their lives, also manifested itself in an unfair privileging of the appetites and alimentary needs of boys over girls, often at the expense of girls' physical health. Grand was hardly alone in criticizing gendered alimentary injustices, and the institutionalized "general female fashion for sickness and debility" (Brumberg 171) which reinforced strictures against demonstrations by women that they possessed appetites,

and betrayed the goal of the women's movement to expand the opportunities available to women. Charlotte Smith, for instance, a public health authority, admonished readers of *The Woman's Herald* for hindering "the progress of women" by persistently imposing malnourishment on girls, simply because they were girls (Smith 708). Citing several preventable diseases which disproportionately struck more girls than boys, Smith contended that particularly in households where resources were limited, "it is invariably the girls who are underfed, and not the boys," because mothers took for granted the adage that "boys need so much more than girls" (Smith 708).<sup>2</sup>

I wish to underline Smith's suggestion that the allocation of food resources within a family can be read as an analogue for the distribution of power and authority between boys and girls, because it is very much this kind of correspondence which I am endeavouring to trace between Grand's use in fiction of images of food and episodes of eating to represent the dynamics of power which impeded the young New Woman's development and self-actualization. As Smith concludes in a manner reminiscent of Grand's method, the problem of underfed girls "is a question of man's rights" as well as of woman's rights: "it must not be forgotten that by this process our souls are ruined as well as our bodies, for none of us in after years can escape the effects of our childhood's influences; and the boy who sees his sister put aside for himself will naturally imagine that girls are somehow contemptible creatures" (708). This situation, Grand asserts, privileges boys and penalizes girls, even such a girl as Angelica who is determined "to get over" "the disabilities which being a girl imposes upon her" (*HT* 73). In a characteristic instance, observing the likelihood that their mother's "heroic" but severely tight-laced guest would not be able to "eat both pudding and meat," never mind dessert (which concerns Diavolo even more) (132-3), Angelica emphatically pronounces her intention "to have a *good* figure..., like the Venus de Medici," whose

physique appeals to the girl because “she’d be able to eat more with that kind of figure” (132).<sup>3</sup> Although Angelica’s declaration is motivated by the anticipation of the pleasures of eating, the text also hints that in refusing to subject her body to the “deformity” (132) produced by tight-lacing, complemented with a restricted diet, Angelica is rebelling against the submissive and self-sacrificing model of womanhood evinced by the fragile, wasp-waisted female body.

A remarkably high proportion of the antics for which the twins are most notorious are set at meals, or otherwise involve food, which places food in their arsenal of weapons against conventions which discriminate by gender, or which unfairly circumscribe a girl’s, or woman’s range of experience. Angelica and Diavolo make their first appearance in the novel at a dinner party at Fraylingay at which Diavolo is severely injured as a consequence of their uncontrollable fascination with the mirrored table decorations (9-10). The episode sets the stage for the twins’ food-based hijinks, including the theft of apples from the storeroom at Fraylingay (27); “giving the school children a treat” by pelting them with confectionary (141); persuading Dr. Galbraith to entertain them in the style of *Arabian Nights* with “fresh fruits and dried fruits, choice wines, cakes, sweets, and nuts” (136); and initiating their uncle, Lord Dawne (the narrator of *Ideala*, and devoted friend of that novel’s protagonist), into the “mysteries” of his father’s castle in a nighttime forage for food (308). Much as the New Woman’s autonomous appetites were perceived to be ruinous to established conventions, so the twins’ mischievous adventures with food disturb the quiet cathedral town of Morningquest.

Featuring multiple instances of cross-dressing, discussions and debates between characters about the relative strengths and weaknesses of men and women, and the natures of masculinity and femininity, as well as a female character who

explicitly refuses to curtail her pursuit of pleasure and adventure to conform to traditional models of idealized femininity, the novel seems designed to affirm the truth of Grand's pronouncement that "[a] woman cannot be developed into a man" ("Modern Girl" 11), regardless of how "self-reliant," self-confident, independent, or even voracious she might become. Grand's manipulations of Angelica's engagement with food and her eating habits particularly reinforce the suggestion that there is no correlation between either the expression or the regulation of appetites and biological sex.

Just as Angelica dominates the twins' entry into the novel by being proven correct in her assessment that the dining table at Fraylingay was dressed with a looking-glass and not, as her brother had surmised, a more innocuous puddle of water (and she reigns supreme by surviving the tumultuous incident unscathed while Diavolo is wounded for life and nearly dies of a hemorrhage of his femoral artery), so throughout the novel, Angelica's desires and appetites dominate those of her brother in a remarkable reversal of the conventional masculine dominion over feminine interests against which Grand rails in her New Woman literature. Angelica's domination over her brother is perhaps most intriguingly evident in Diavolo's peculiar deferral to the girl for the decisive response to Dr. Galbraith's inquiry as to whether the children are hungry. "'Are we [hungry], Angelica?' Diavolo whispered anxiously," evidently hesitant to give voice to his hunger or lack thereof. "'Of course we are,' she retorted," leaving the boy "murmur[ing] apologetically" (135). Moreover, Angelica is demonstrably entirely comfortable charging into a populated room and loudly demanding tea (262), whereas Diavolo rarely makes an independent assertion of his own appetites.

Angelica's zealous participation in these escapades--usually as the leader or mastermind of the hijinks--is presented approvingly (albeit with tongue somewhat in cheek) by Grand as a valuable part of an education based on lived experience which is

a significant improvement over the traditional training given Victorian girls of conservative families such as is embodied in Edith Beale, “a lovely specimen of a well-bred English girl” (155), whose inexperience with the potency of appetites--specifically masculine appetites--leaves her vulnerable to the machinations of a rapacious man. Edith’s tragic death of syphilis might have been averted, the novel suggests, had she not been nourished on little more than the “spiritual food” of “faith and hope” (155), while being starved of knowledge about the corporeal world populated with men such as her husband Mosley Menteith, whose destructive appetites are stimulated by the girl’s religious beliefs and innocence, as by “an excellent *sauce piquante*” (198, 199). Angelica’s unusual, largely self-designed (if haphazard), form of education represents an attempt to empower women to resist being victimized by self-indulgent men. As Evadne explains, emphasizing the role of education in the evolution of improved relations between the sexes, “[t]he mistake from the beginning has been that women have practised self-sacrifice, when they should have been teaching men self-control” (92).<sup>4</sup> However, in order to become a fit instructor of the New Man, as *The Heavenly Twins* reveals, the New Woman needs to learn for herself the mechanics of appetites and their responsible management.

Throughout her fiction, Grand endeavours to demonstrate that the New Woman as she envisions her represents a refined model of womanhood which has the potential not only to improve the conditions of women’s lives, but to benefit men as well by cultivating harmonious relations between men and women which are founded on mutual respect between equals, rather than on blind adherence to conventions which regulate behaviour according to an unequal distribution of power between the sexes. Angelica’s shameless declarations about her desires for food--and very tasty food at that--distinguish her from women such as Evadne’s mother, Mrs. Frayling, who subscribe to

the angelic "Old" model of femininity. Anticipating the considerably graver results of feminine submissiveness represented by Edith as she dies of syphilis contracted from her husband, Grand illustrates the consequences of the pernicious idealization of womanly subjugation and the denial of feminine appetites in a detailed breakfast scene at which Mrs. Frayling suffers cold coffee and anxiety as she waits to ensure that her husband didn't want the last cup: "she knew that the moment she" took the last cup herself, "her husband would want more. The emptying of the urn was the signal which usually called up his appetite for another cup. He might refuse several times, and even leave the table amiably, so long as there was any left; but the knowledge or suspicion that there was none, set up a sense of injury, unmistakably expressed in his countenance, and not to be satisfied by having more made immediately" (100). Mr. Frayling's childish performance and petulant demand for additional coffee which he would ultimately not consume is a reminder of the patriarchal authority over food distribution and the primacy of masculine appetites reinforced by women's denials of their own desires.

Mrs. Frayling's efforts to silence her own appetites, figured by her frantic exercise to balance her own craving for a single cup of coffee with her pitiful commitment to satisfying her husband's every whim at the table, are especially pathetic following so soon as they do after the report that her daughter, Evadne, "is quite well, has an excellent appetite, and is not at all inclined to pose as a martyr" (83) in the wake of her alarming discovery on her wedding day that her husband, Major Colquhoun is tarnished by his disreputable pre-marital activities. Evadne's fortitude in the face of this catastrophe is attributed to her determination to address the needs of her body, and the self-possession and equanimity due to her peculiar, illicitly-gained education. As she explains to her husband in light of disclosures about his history, "my taste is cultivated



to so fine an extent, I require something extremely well-flavoured for the dish which is to be the *pièce de resistance* of my life-feast. My appetite is delicate, it requires to be tempted, and a husband of that kind, a moral leper'--she broke off with a gesture, spreading her hands, palms outward, as if she would fain put some horrid idea far from her" (79). The traditionally submissive Old Woman figured in Mrs. Frayling refuses all food as a demonstration of protest against the challenge to the status quo enacted by Evadne's refusal to consummate her marriage (a gesture later imitated in Grand's fiction by Mrs. Kingconstance when Babs equally thwarts the matron's authority [*Babs* 256]) (*HT* 87). By contrast, Mrs. Frayling's daughter maintains a healthy appetite, refusing to martyr herself (83) to a man's degenerate "devouring vanity" (86) and destructive patterns of heterosexual relationships. Far from being the "Poor Misguided Child" her mother perceives her to be (86), at this stage Evadne is for Grand the prototype of the New Woman blessed with a carefully-managed equanimity towards her own appetites which is characteristic of her determination to balance her needs with her duty to contribute to her environment.

In the early books of the novel, while Grand celebrates Angelica's enthusiasm for food, she details the condition of Evadne's appetites primarily to emphasize the careful restraint the young woman exercises even as she defies conventions of womanly behaviour by educating herself about worldly matters, and refusing to consummate her marriage. In this manner, Grand demonstrates that in authorizing her appetites and redefining her relationships with food, the New Woman needed to cultivate both the courage to acknowledge her needs, and the conscious application of moral restraint, which to Grand is not equivalent to the traditional denial of feminine appetites. Fresh from "her first season in town" (44), Evadne awakens to the new senses and opportunities offered "to an attractive young lady of good social position" (44). She

indulges her sensuous, dreamy inclinations, but never compromises her healthy mind or body by exploring appetites which a youthful male contemporary would almost invariably have entertained as a matter of course or a form of rite of passage: "had she been a young man at this time," Grand pointedly asserts, Evadne "would not improbably have sought to heighten and vary her sensations by adding greater quantities of alcohol to her daily diet; she would have grown coarse of skin by eating more than she could assimilate; she would have smelt strongly enough of tobacco, as a rule, to try the endurance of a barmaid... *probably*--had she been a young man" (47). Evadne's self-imposed limitation of her indulgence to nothing more than the wholesome sensualism of the sublime experience of the natural environment and equivalent pleasures of the joyful spirit (48), illustrates Grand's argument that the regulation of one's own appetites is largely a question of choice, rather than of an individual's innate qualities.

To emphasize her argument that a woman's self-control over her appetites and consumption is not simply a natural outcome of her sex, but rather is the product of learned habits, Grand offers examples of women who, like their corrupt male counterparts, display an inability or an unwillingness to curtail destructive or unwholesome forms of indulgence. These women choose instead to defy conventions of social propriety by reveling in forms of consumption akin to those exhibited by male characters who in Grand's opinion are clearly compromising the evolution of the race. Mrs. Guthrie Brimston, for example, whose name evokes a guttery brimstone,<sup>5</sup> or a muddy virago (a figure ironically in keeping with popular lampoons of the New Woman featured in the periodicals of the day), is an infamous example of someone who boldly delights in self-indulgence, and who hoards morsels of unwholesome food and drink (205), as well as the figurative "food" of scandalous gossip. Although she is a devoted advocate of conventional signs of propriety and social decorum--as evidenced by her

slandrous treatment of the supposed history of Mrs. Clarence at Malta (210-214)--she is nevertheless "a fecund source of corruption in others" (202), particularly as a product of her appetite for unwholesome conversational fodder: "her husband fed her fancy from the clubs liberally," and she "retail[ed]" her husband's scandalous stories "to her lady friends at afternoon teas. She told them remarkably well too, and knew exactly how to suit them to palates which were only just beginning to acquire a taste for such fare, and were still fastidious" (202). Not surprisingly, Mrs. Guthrie Brimston's appetites are entirely at odds with both the pure-mindedness of spiritual women of the old school, such as Edith and her mother, and with the balanced wholesomeness of advanced women such as Evadne. Vulgar and coarse-minded women such as Mrs. Guthrie Brimston, and the even more obviously-named Mrs. Drinkworthy, Colonel Colquhoun's mistress (336), hint that to Grand, it is the woman who markets her appetites as a source of entertainment or amusement for men's consumption who is dangerous, not the New Woman whose appetites are judiciously moderated.

"It is time," Grand declared, "that each individual one of us began to attach importance to all that we do and say," in recognition that even the smallest gestures and expressions are implicated in the status of women as "nonentities" or fully-engaged and contributing members of society ("On Clubs" 839).<sup>6</sup> Angelica's disruptive expressions of her appetites and her determination to accommodate them to the best of her talents constitute a resistance to standards of decorum, etiquette and education which prescribe the diets of the mind, body and soul based not on an individual's aptitude, abilities or needs, but simply on the basis of sex, a distinction Angelica and her author feel no shame in declaring to be wholly unjust. Angelica demonstrates Grand's conviction that to improve the condition of real women's lives necessitated both ideological and logistical changes throughout the fabric of women's daily realities.

Accordingly, Angelica's behaviour frequently defies nineteenth-century advice texts, etiquette manuals, and dietary guides which prescribed meal-time behaviour, and delineated the appetites deemed appropriate for girls and boys by marking the sex-based parameters of patterns of eating. Meals themselves were gendered, with a breakfast party constituting an appropriately mixed meal, while "the luncheon is an entertainment given to ladies" (Cooke 274). As late as 1920, Charles Ranhofer in his expansive prescriptive treatise, *The Epicurean*, instructed that if a "menu be intended for a dinner including ladies, it must be composed of light, fancy dishes with a pretty dessert; if, on the contrary, it is intended for gentlemen alone, then it must be shorter and more substantial" (Ranhofer 1).<sup>7</sup> Specific foods and dishes were marked as masculine or feminine: at afternoon tea, women might nibble on "wafers, maccaroons, fancy cakes, or small delicate sandwiches," while "masculine callers" (Cooke 289) preferred "invigorating hot bouillon" (291).<sup>8</sup> With her hankering for fried potatoes and eggs (*HT* 393), and her preference for crisp cakes with substance and bite instead of more effeminately soft ones (150), Angelica's appetites deviate from this conventional association of femininity with dainty nibbles, and point towards the arbitrariness of a gendered food taxonomy.<sup>9</sup>

While a girl or young woman was typically cautioned against "appear[ing] to be an epicure" (Newcomb 54), Angelica's appreciation of food is notably more astute than is Diavolo's, and her discriminating taste is evidently more refined. She distinguishes between "nice" green apples, and the "big cooking fellows" which are "not nice" (26), while her brother is more concerned with the adventure of obtaining illicit foodstuffs. And she proudly arranges cakes into a kind of hierarchy, noting that "ours at Hamilton House are generally nice; but at Morne they're sometimes sodden" (154), thereby revealing more determination to assert a gustatory preference than was generally

thought to be suitable for girls.<sup>10</sup> Pointedly, it is Angelica who articulates the rationale for visiting their grandfather at Morne before attending at the bishopry, sagely observing that the cakes they would be served at the bishopry would be superior to those proffered by the Duke's household, and would therefore stimulate their appetites sufficiently to permit them to eat double the quantity of cake they might otherwise have eaten (142). As Diavolo concurs, catching the wisdom of Angelica's logic, "I notice myself, that, however much I have had, I can always eat a little more of something better" (142). The careful explication of the reasoning behind Angelica's food choices reveals the orderliness of her appetites, and underlines Grand's New Woman's characteristically intelligent and responsible approach to consumption and the pursuit of one's appetites. Certainly, while Angelica's behaviour evokes some of the bolder and more aggressive forms of revolutionary gestures which characterized participants of the late nineteenth-century women's movement, it also hints at Grand's confidence in a woman's capacity to rationally conceive of her appetites and tastes independently of her relationships with men or other authorities, and to assert control over her own consumption without jeopardizing her femininity.

The New Woman's capacity to put into perspective the relative merits of the attainment of her desires, and to value knowledge over sensual pleasure, is hinted at by Angelica's privileging of a scrap of paper on which she had copied a passage by Francis Bacon which encapsulated her hunger for knowledge over the piece of toffee around which the paper had been wrapped (125-6).<sup>11</sup> By contrast, Diavolo, whose self-governance is consistently revealed to be somewhat less developed than his sister's, is more distracted by the loss of the confectionary (a conventionally feminine food, ironically) than he is impressed by the wisdom of Angelica's argument. Rather than educate boys and girls separately, Grand suggests here and throughout *The Heavenly*

*Twins*, children's early training should be designed to encourage them to recognize each other as different in kind, but not in degree or in value. As she remarked to Sarah Tooley, the "nursery is the proper place to teach the equality of the sexes, and a system of co-education would greatly help in this direction" (Tooley 166). "I entirely deprecate rivalry and the spirit of war between the sexes," she asserted; "what we want is to work together for the good of each" (Tooley 162). But such a comradely arrangement, she recognized, was not possible in a social environment which devalued one half of the population, and relegated women to the roles of servants rather than of partners in the enterprise of advancing society.

The New Woman's determination to define her own relationship with food and eating in cooperation with men, rather than in opposition to them, is suggested in Grand's narration of the schoolroom tea experienced by Mr. Ellis the tutor on his first day in the employ of the Hamilton-Wells household, an episode which adroitly links education with the performance of eating rituals. A tea-time setting is especially apt to invoke subversive challenges to gender expectations, since tea was popularly held to be *de facto* the "most feminine food--or meal" (Michie 15). As the narrator of Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* remarks, "Surely a pretty woman never looks prettier than when making tea. The most feminine and most domestic of all occupations imparts a magic harmony to her every movement, a witchery to her every glance.... At the tea-table she reigns omnipotent, unapproachable"<sup>12</sup> (Braddon 222). And yet, just as Lady Audley's dainty ministrations at the tea table belie her murderous guilt, so tea-time might provide an opportunity for discursive or behavioural deviancy from the traditional Victorian ideal of womanhood. Such an idea is suggested in the inaugural issue of the feminist magazine, *Kettledrum*, in which the "humanising influences of five o'clock tea" and the boundless "topic[s] of interest which may ... be touched in the course of our tea-

table gossip" (2) are invoked as genteel foils for the magazine's goal of calling women to action to make "a noise in the world" ("Kettledrum" 2).<sup>13</sup>

Invited to the schoolroom, the unsuspecting Mr. Ellis finds "a square table, just large enough for four, daintily decorated with flowers, and very nice china," a scene which appears to portend a conventional afternoon meal. Such a setting would comfortably accommodate the familiar Victorian feminine mistress of the tea-table who reverences without question the accessories of the respectable tea-table.<sup>14</sup> And yet, Angelica's relationship with the accoutrements of the meal is curiously ambiguous. She is both proud of the "very nice china" which she reports that she and her brother have had to purchase for themselves, and apparently equally proud of the violence and destruction that she (together with her brother, although he drifts into the background of this scene) was notorious for perpetrating on the dishes her father had provided, ostensibly on the grounds of striving for more tastefully decorous china (128-129). Here, Angelica is shown both to reject her father's authority ("Papa has no taste at all" [129]) in defiance of the subservient model of femininity favoured by the status quo, and to demonstrate a classically feminine appreciation for attractive table settings, floral arrangements, and fine china. I highlight this particular scene, because it betokens both Angelica's characteristically New Womanish resistance to having the tastes and preferences of other people imposed on her--preferring instead to freely choose her modes of consumption and engagement with food--and her conventionally feminine inclinations. This New Woman, as Grand shows, is like the reassuring model of the New Woman of her 1898 *Lady's Realm* essay who is "new in the perfection of her physique," her self-assurance, her appetite for knowledge, and her zest for life, and yet "old in her home-loving proclivities," evidenced by her commitment to arranging for her husband's tea ("The New Woman" 466).

Although Mr. Hamilton-Wells routinely exhibits his eccentricity by presiding over the tea service of the household (488),<sup>15</sup> more commonly the pouring of tea represented the ultimate opportunity for a Victorian woman to demonstrate her womanliness, “for ever since tea became famous in our society, men have found much to admire in a girl who can serve it gracefully” (Cooke 292). And yet in the schoolroom, rather than uphold tradition, “[t]he children decided that it would balance the table better if [Mr. Ellis] poured out the tea, and he good-naturedly acquiesced, and sat down with Angelica on his right, and Diavolo on his left” (*HT* 129). This seating arrangement deliberately places Angelica in the traditional (male) seat of honor, and relegates Diavolo to a position “of minor importance” (Ranhofer 6)<sup>16</sup>. Accordingly, both in the assignment of seats, and in the delegation of responsibilities at the meal, the twins demonstrate an inclination to govern their behaviour and activities according to their own ethos, their own sense of fairness and equity based on the strengths and weaknesses of the individual and the authority each is prepared to wield or to relinquish to maintain harmony within the community. As children, Diavolo and, even more determinedly Angelica, refuse to be manipulated or constrained by the parameters of conventional gender roles, suggestive of Grand’s optimism that both girls and boys might be trained equally to seek a responsible equilibrium between the satisfaction of their own desires, and the health of society.

Angelica is more fortunate than most Victorian women for receiving up to her sixteenth year the same formal tutoring as is provided to her brother. That she not only is capable of profiting intellectually from such instruction, but actually greatly excels her brother, is frequently noted in the novel. By insisting on the same privileges and the same education as are given to her brother (124-5), Angelica dodges the more traditional form of feminine instruction typically provided to economically-privileged girls



by a governess committed to inculcating the girl in the conservative conventions of genteel femininity. As a result, Angelica also succeeds in garnering for herself the liberty to experiment and to cultivate her relationship with food, and her appetites and their governance, unencumbered by the suppressive influences which drove into silent submission the personal desires of more conventionally-trained girls such as Edith.

In a characteristic instance of Angelica's capacity to learn by consuming, the twins help themselves to a bottle of wine when they are left to their own devices at Evadne's wedding breakfast. Although Diavolo quaffs enough alcohol that he is commanded by his sister to go to sleep under the table ("It's the proper thing to do when you're drunk," she explains), and "suffer[s] badly" the following day "from headache and nausea, the effect of his potations" (61-62), Angelica demonstrates her mastery over her own consumption by taking no more of the wine once it had "made her begin to feel giddy" (61). "She said afterward she saw no fun in feeling nasty, and she thought a person must be a fool to think there was" (62), a declaration which indirectly refutes the popular lampoons of the New Woman as a consumer of extravagant quantities of alcoholic beverages.<sup>17</sup>

In a similar vein, on her own, Angelica typically proves herself to be well-endowed with the womanly sympathies so prized by mainstream conservatives, as is evident in the pleasure she derives from sharing food with other people such as her brother (248), and of serving others, again contradicting representations of the New Woman as a selfish virago. The most obvious instance of Angelica's seemingly compulsive inclination towards acceptance of her womanly responsibilities and duties is her sudden desire to graduate to wearing long dresses (274), which was explicitly triggered by her having donned in jest the garments of adult femininity as her costume when she presided with her brother over a feast for "the hungry" of the neighbourhood,

a motley crew gathered to witness the twins' performance (270). Angelica's "vague desire to have her own [dresses] lengthened" (271), after having ministered at the tea-table wearing "a long black dress, borrowed [no doubt illicitly] from her Aunt Fulda's wardrobe" (270), is presented as an organic component of her transition from girlhood to womanhood. Significantly, we are led to believe that the relative smoothness within a matter of days of the transformation of "Angelica, the tom-boy" in to "Miss Hamilton-Wells" who "astonished the neighbourhood" with her elegance and beauty (274), was the result of Angelica's innate womanliness, which was allowed to blossom without coercion or manipulation. "It was not that she had any actual objection to [such feminine rites of passage as] going to Court and coming out [or, presumably, to presiding at the tea-table], but only to the way in which the arrangement had been made--to the coercion in fact" (321). That the event is initiated by Angelica's role as hostess to a dinner party (of sorts) supports my argument that to Grand, the development of the New Woman required opportunities to experiment with a variety of different roles relative to eating and feeding. However, Angelica is effectively left without a role model of a woman with vibrant yet healthy appetites who has learned the fine art of balancing the satisfaction of her needs with her social responsibilities. Not surprisingly, therefore, in an education by trial and error, the New Woman makes mistakes, the most tragic consequences of which in Angelica's case culminate with the death of her beloved friend, Julian Vanetemple, the Tenor.

One reviewer wrote that "Nothing in recent literature is at once more startling and more high-minded than the episode of 'The Tenor and the Boy'" (Bird 640), despite the narrative's foundation on a transgressive masquerade. Here, Grand offers justification for greater acknowledgment of feminine appetites, complemented by an ethical education or training which encourages girls to consider and to question the implications

and consequences of their behaviour, rather than to simply swallow blindly a patriarchal prescription for the parameters of their experience. A reading of this episode based on food and on the patterns of consumption developed by the fascinating pair of musicians (the Boy, Angelica, and the Tenor, Julian) reveals a greater degree of mutuality in the crossing of gender boundaries than has been remarked upon in the extant scholarship. Specifically, as I aim to demonstrate in the following pages, the Tenor's willingness to perform the traditionally feminine role of feeding others, and particularly of sacrificing his own alimentary needs in order to satisfy another person's appetites, corresponds with Angelica's capacity to stretch the parameters of her womanliness to accommodate inclinations and abilities more typically described as masculine.

Despite her childish voraciousness, Angelica, we learn in the Interlude, is perfectly capable of regulating the indulgence of her appetites, even when liberated by the appropriation of a masculine identity; but she lacks the space in which to practice her skill in self-governance. As she explains after her identity has been revealed to the Tenor, "I had the ability to be something more than a young lady, fiddling away her time on useless trifles, but I was not allowed to apply it systematically" (*HT* 450). The narrow boundaries of experience permitted Angelica by the conservative authorities which shape her life drive her into an illicit performance of masculinity in order to explore those aspects of her nature which do not conform neatly to the dominant prescriptive model of femininity. In essence, Angelica craves a kind of experience akin to that which was freely available to young men, the opportunity to "see the world as men see it" (451), and to "associat[e] with a man intimately who did not know [she] was a woman" (458). The novel suggests that the tragedy of Angelica's relationship with the Tenor is not caused by the "real" sex of the Boy, but rather by the necessity for the girl to seek desperate measures to address the needs of her heart, and mind, and body, "to *do* as

well as to *be*” (450). After the exposure of her femaleness, Angelica locates the “fault” for her escapades in masculine training: “you are all of you educated deliberately to think of women chiefly as the opposite sex” (458), Angelica remarks to the Tenor, suggesting that to Grand, it is by changing the way that boys and men are instructed to think about women that relations between men and women might be improved to the benefit of both sexes.

As Grand develops her theory of the complementariness of the sexes, the Interlude demonstrates the consequences of perpetuating rigid constructions of gender which do not allow for the development of the “individuality” that would have quelled the urgency of Angelica’s transgressive behaviour (450). The death of the Tenor after an illness exacerbated by hunger and thirst--deprivation motivated by a desire to satisfy the appetites of others--underlines the important lesson that to teach men the necessary self-restraint required to improve society (“New Aspect” 273), the New Woman must herself learn to exercise her appetites with the utmost responsibility. In this section of the novel, through the language of food, Grand also encourages greater tolerance of flexible constructions of masculinity and femininity. She highlights the mutability of gender by hinting that even the physical body is subject to interpretation influenced by assumptions about gender which do not necessarily accord with biological sex.

As she emphasizes the virtues and morality of her vision of the New Woman, Grand responds to objections to the physical consequences of expanding constructions of womanly appetites by frequently drawing attention to Angelica’s robust physique and athletic vigour. Although they are ultimately implicated in the success of the young woman’s performance as the Boy in her/his relationship with the Tenor, Angelica’s physical strength and athleticism never undermine her womanliness. Angelica herself could “hardly have thought it possible to convert a substantial young woman into such a

slender, delicate-looking boy as [she made]” (452). Although the Boy can “row like a ‘Varsity man” (421), Angelica represents the Tenor’s “ideal of purity, his goddess of truth, his angel of pity” (446). The novelty of Angelica’s well-nourished and strong body is underlined by the narrator’s report that the children’s tutor, Mr. Ellis, “was as careful of Angelica’s physical as of her mental education, being himself strongly imbued by the then new idea that a woman should have the full use of her limbs, lungs, heart, and every other organ and muscle, so that life might be a pleasure to her and not a continual exertion” (132). Persuaded that Angelica was the twin of the Boy, the Tenor “noticed ... how like in feature the brother and sister were,” yet perceived the “girl [to look] taller as well as older,... altogether on a larger scale, her figure being amply developed for her age, while the Boy’s was fragile to a fault” (384). The Tenor’s observations remind us that preconceptions about a body’s sex determined valuations of the body itself.

Angelica may pass as a boy convincingly enough to deceive the Tenor and even, for a period, her Aunt Fulda (522); but her behaviour towards food and drink are kept within bounds appropriate for a respectable young woman, so much so that it might have been read to compromise her performance of masculinity. The Boy “demanded food,” but delighted in its consumption only “so long as he could cook it and serve it himself” (399); and as is attested by her performance with eggs and fried potatoes, Angelica is almost as much a virtuoso with such humble ingredients as she is with her violin (391-2). The Boy eats frequently in the evenings when he visits the Tenor, but only when he is genuinely hungry, the result, we are led to believe, of Angelica’s accession to such conventions as those alluded to earlier in this chapter which curtailed public displays of feminine appetites at table. Only when she eats at home is Angelica sufficiently comfortable satiating her hunger as to preclude her craving further food on her nocturnal adventures: “‘No, I am not hungry,’ he answered” in response to the

Tenor's query: "I dined at home to-night for a wonder, and when I do that I don't generally want any more for some time. By home I mean at my grandad's, where they always have seven or eight courses, and I can't resist any of them. I lose my self-respect, but satisfy my voracity, which has the effect of improving the greediness out of my mind" (416). The Boy's slightly jocose, but self-reflective observation about the mental improvements gleaned by eating handsomely hint at the potential benefits of permitting a woman the opportunity to address wholesome appetites.

While the Boy justifies his appetites as a feature of boyishness ("I say, I'm hungry.... Boys always are, you know" [390]), Angelica is nevertheless careful to keep her consumption moderate. She chooses to cook for herself half as many eggs as she prepares for the Tenor, for example, ensuring that she leaves a sufficient quantity for her host's breakfast (391). When challenged by the Tenor--"But do you mean me to understand that the voracity of the growing animal will be satisfied with less than I can eat?"--Angelica crafts the barely plausible explanation that her appetite has been exhausted by the heat of the fire (391). That ultimately the Boy eats not only his own allotted trio of eggs, but the three he "was disgusted" to discover the Tenor was himself incapable of eating (393), is likely to be understood less as a manifestation of a voracious appetite, than as evidence of Angelica's having absorbed the abhorrence of wastefulness central to the principles of economic housekeeping espoused by the authors of nineteenth-century manuals of household management and cookbooks, which we know Angelica at least occasionally reads, as she produces one to read aloud to her husband in a spirit of exasperated boredom (477).

Even more overtly illustrative of Angelica's self-control is her restrained sipping of Burgundy, a potation more congenial to feminine tastes than the beer she rejects (concurring ironically with the Tenor that "A boy like me wouldn't, probably" know the

difference between beer and Burgundy [393]). As the Boy, Angelica “made a great pretence of sipping his wine, but he [did] not in reality take[...] much of it” (395); “he loved to sip: he did not more than sip, and, therefore, the Tenor indulged him” (404). But Angelica never drinks more than a single glass in an evening. Presumably, Angelica’s experience at Evadne’s wedding had taught her the virtues of limiting her consumption of wine, testament to the merits of permitting girls an opportunity to experiment with the indulgence of their appetites.

Viewed through the lens of her cooking, eating and drinking, Angelica’s cross-dressing is less comprehensive or “complete” (446) than is commonly accepted. Even the Tenor notes the effeminacy of the Boy’s eating habits and his “epicurean niceties of taste” (400). These, the Tenor excuses with the conclusion that the youth “is delicate” (400), and he applies himself zealously in his garden with a view to helping his companion “develop more manliness” (400): “He worked in his garden early and late, cultivating the succulent roots which the latter loved, the fruits and the vegetables, and, last, but not least, the flowers, for he could never feed without flowers, he said” (400). That the Tenor would have responded differently to the Boy’s appetites had he known sooner that “he” was “she” is indicated by his deliberate watering down of the therapeutic brandy toddy he prepares for Angelica, and his reluctance to make her swallow it after the dousing which blights their relationship (446). Angelica’s consumption throughout the Interlude, however, underscores Grand’s repeated assertions in her works that the New Woman was not, and would not become mannish. Grand herself “regard[ed] with disgust the pleasure some women [took] in dressing like men” (“Sarah Grand,” *Review* 567), and insisted on the importance of dressing in a becoming and womanly manner (“Morals of Manner” 91; Tooley 166). But Angelica’s self-restraint demonstrates the curiously conflicting point that while the clothes might

make the man, carefully-cultivated “true womanliness” (“New Aspect” 274) governs the behaviour of a woman, regardless of her apparel.

While the language of food in the Interlude shows the Boy to be more feminine than is commonly accepted, so too does it reveal the Tenor to be traversing the boundary between masculinity and femininity. This is especially striking from a man whose habitation, while “It was a luxurious apartment,” was explicitly “not effeminate. The luxury was masculine luxury.... It was the abode of a cultivated man... who was essentially manly” (362). Grand evidently wants to leave little doubt about the Tenor’s essential masculinity, even while she develops in him traits which were traditionally viewed as feminine. I propose that the curious feminine impulse to feed and to sacrifice himself to appease someone else’s (dubiously masculine) appetites--particularly someone who is sufficiently rich in resources to satisfy his (or her) own appetites--is at the root both of the Tenor’s demise, and of Grand’s vision of the New Man, “the representative of another and higher race” (359), who was to become a more fully-realized model in her twentieth-century novels in such characters as Adnam Pratt in *Adnam’s Orchard*.

Like a woman (according to traditional stereotypes), “it became one of the pleasures of his life to prepare for this terrible hungry Boy” (399). The Tenor devotes himself to pleasing the Boy by satisfying the youth’s appetites. He ensures his stores are stocked with wine and tasty foodstuffs, procured by sweat of his own labours and self-denial of “some of the bare necessities of life” (404). To challenge the popular modern speculation that the Tenor’s attentions to the Boy were motivated by homosexual desire (Heilmann, *New Woman* 132), the Tenor’s almost maternal nurturing nature is also evidenced by the generous breakfasts he provides every morning to the young choir boy who came to him for singing lessons, “such a breakfast...as a small boy



loves" (*HT* 502), while the Tenor's own breakfasts consisted of "dry bread and coffee, without neither sugar nor milk...and his dinner an ounce of meat at noon, with never a bite nor sup to speak of at tea, as often as not" (517).<sup>18</sup>

As much as he sacrificed to meet the alimentary needs of the choir boy, the Tenor endured even greater deprivations to please his evening companion. As the "constant self-denial he had been obliged to exercise in order to indulge the fancies of that rapacious Boy, although a pleasure in itself" began "to tell upon him" (412), the Tenor's appearance grew even more "exceptional[ly] refine[d]", even more feminine than previously (412). "His features had sharpened a little, his skin was transparent to a fault, and the brightness of his yellow hair, if it added to the quite peculiar beauty, added something also to the too great delicacy of his face" (412). The Tenor becomes increasingly physically attractive to observers for the very reasons slender women were prized: the delicacy adds to the impression that he is the embodiment of an ethereal, transcendent nature, which is removed from the base concerns and corporeality of the common man. Just as the Boy's appearance is crafted to permit Angelica to slip into the identity of the opposite sex, so too the Tenor's body is marked with his capacity to operate within the feminine realm of caring, nurturing and giving, implicit in the acts of nourishing and feeding other people.

What appears in the Interlude to be a mutual exchange or sharing of gender traits between the Tenor and the Boy, particularly evident in the pattern of their relationships with food and feeding, may be read as an experiment in the harmonizing of masculinity and femininity, and of relations between men and women. In "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," Grand expressed her belief "that there are in ourselves, in both sexes, possibilities hitherto suppressed or abused, which, when properly developed, will supply to either what is lacking in the other" ("New Aspect" 272).

Her faith in the moral unification, conjoining, or merging of the sexes is echoed in the Boy's definition of genius as "the attributes of both minds, masculine and feminine, perfectly united in one person of either sex" (HT 403). Grand's New Woman, as her fiction and her essays reveal, strove for this ideal state of balance with the New Man, an arrangement which depended on the respectful appreciation of, and a commitment to cultivate, the complementary strengths of masculinity and femininity. As long as the elder man remained oblivious to the Boy's true sex, Angelica hints, the Tenor and his companion were at liberty to create together--to make music together (399), to construct beautiful perfumed atmospheres of "Pipes and tobacco and roses" (434), and to cook together--and thereby to create "about [themselves] the moral atmosphere" conducive to social progress ("New Woman" 469). The blissful fantasy of the relationship between the Tenor and the Boy, both of whom embody attributes associated with both sexes, betokens Grand's optimism that if the imbalances of power between men and women could be righted--if men and women were equally committed to nourishing the other, rather than consuming, or being consumed by the other--the result would be more productive and creative relations than could be conceived under a system which lent to men the socially-sanctioned right to dominate women.

The failure of the experimental attempt to strip a relationship between a man and a woman of the imbalanced power dynamics which characterized relations between the sexes was not due, we are encouraged to believe, to Angelica's cross-dressing, but rather to her failure to fully acknowledge her womanly responsibilities to her friend. As Grand makes clear in "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," in her opinion, both men and women were guilty of "neglecting [their] duty" ("New Aspect" 272) and of "shirking [their] responsibility" (273) towards the other by clinging to prescriptive models of masculinity and femininity. In *The Heavenly Twins*, both Angelica and the Tenor are

guilty of relating to the other based on their perceptions of the other as men, and of blithely denying, or choosing to dismiss aspects of the other's performance which bespoke of femininity or feminine virtues which were hinted at through their relationships with food and feeding. The Tenor chooses to interpret the Boy's dainty epicureanism as eccentricity, rather than as an indicator of genuine womanliness; and likewise, Angelica unthinkingly accepts the Tenor's generosity as the product of financial wealth, rather than the result of self-denial more typically associated with femininity. Angelica had "broken no commandment" by her antics (*HT* 454), but her sheltered and privileged upbringing had failed to educate her to the signs of self-sacrifice and, as a result, she fails to recognize the significance of her host's magnanimity:

"O Israfil! Israfil" she moaned when she thought of it. There had always been food, and wine too, for that other hungry "Boy," food and wine which the Tenor rarely touched--she remembered that now. To see the "Boy" eat and be happy was all he asked, and if hunger pinched him, he filled his pipe and smoked till the craving ceased. She saw it all now. But why had she never suspected it, she who was rolling in wealth? His face was wan enough at times, and worn to that expression of sadness which comes of privation, but the reason had never cost her a thought. And it was all for her--or for "him" whom he believed to be near and dear to her. No one else had ever sacrificed anything for her sake, no one else had ever cared for her as he had cared... (*HT* 517)

Angelica's education--both formal and experiential--as exceptional as it is, has nevertheless been sufficiently constrained as to leave the girl incapable of reading the

signs of the Tenor's self-sacrificing and essentially loving nature which contravenes conventional constructions of masculinity.

Just as Angelica's assertions of her appetites for food are anticipated by Evadne's informed self-governance, so too, the resolution of Angelica's relationship with the Tenor in many ways follows the precedent of Evadne's experiences with Colonel Colquhoun. In her second marriage to Dr. Galbraith, Evadne appears to reject the tenets of Grand's independent New Woman when she dedicates herself to "live on the surface of her life, as most women do.... [to] do nothing but attend to [her] household duties and the social duties of [her] position" (672). This seemingly retrogressive gesture reveals not the faults of the New Woman's claim to "female education both as a right and as a defense against misery and injustice" (Mangum, *Married* 89-90), but rather the toll exacted by a hostile society resistant to feminine authority. Like Evadne, after the Tenor's death, Angelica found herself "tired of action" (*HT* 525); but for the first time in her marriage, she discovered herself to be passionately in love (551) with the husband she had commanded to marry her in exasperation with the limitations imposed on her life because of her sex. Both endings have troubled critics, as they suggest a capitulation to the demands of the conventional romance ending, and hint at the failure of the New Woman to thrive independently of men. I contend, however, that both endings--but most especially, Angelica's newfound commitment to her marriage--are consistent with Grand's theory of the complementary nature of generative relations between the sexes which is developed through the exploration of appetites concentrated on two sets of male-female pairs or "twins," as each member of the pairs learns to balance the satisfaction of his or her own appetites with the respectful consideration of the needs and desires of the other. Angelica's story in particular suggests that the happiness she eventually finds in her marriage is a product of her having secured for

herself the opportunity to define herself and her relationships with other people, in part through her experiments with food and appetite.

### Notes to Chapter 3

1. *Black and White* magazine declared the passages devoted to the children “and the pranks played by them” to be “delightful reading” (Rev. of *HT* 298); and *The Athenæum* described them as “young barbarians utterly devoid of all respect, conventionality, or decency, [yet who] are among the most delightful and amusing children in fiction” (Rev. of *HT* 342). By contrast, Mark Twain is reported to have scribbled scathingly in the margins of his copy of the novel that “the twins are valueless lumber, and an impertinent and offensive intrusion.... Blank paper, in the place of these twins, would be a large advantage to the book.... these disgusting creatures talk like Dr. Johnson and act like idiots” (“Heavenly Twins,’ Mark Twain’s Copy” 1911).
2. This privileging of boys’ needs would have struck Grand as contributing towards the inequality of the sexes in other facets of their lives, as is suggested by her observation that “It has been the custom in the past to encourage a boy to regard his little sister as, “only a girl,” and it is small wonder that he ends by assuming that women are his inferiors” (Tooley 166).
3. Demonstrations of women’s appetites were constrained by injunctions against the immoral privileging of unwholesome corporeal cravings which would be exposed by the well-fed female body. Then, as now, warnings abounded in periodicals and handbooks of health and deportment about the horrors of fleshliness. Octave Thanet’s short story, “The Stout Miss Hopkins’s Bicycle” recounts the efforts of two women to subdue “the dread of growing stout,” a fear associated with dubious morality: “They were more afraid of flesh than of sin. Yet they were both good women” (Thanet 409). “Perhaps of all the minor evils that the *modern woman* [italics, mine] prays to be delivered from more than another, chiefest is the evil of growing `too fat,’” admonished “A.C.W.” in *The Englishwoman*: “Obesity is a misfortune for a man, but for a woman it is an unmitigated calamity. It means the loss of so much that makes life happy” (A.C.W. 333). Such a remark no doubt resonated with the modern New Woman as she endeavoured to wrestle control over her own eating habits from misogynistic authority and the dictates of physically-deforming fashion, without jeopardizing her access to all “that makes life happy” by carrying the evidence of her appetites on her body in the form of supposedly excess flesh.
4. In one example of the potential for girls and women to be taught new ways of looking at the world other than as submissive domestic angels devoid of independent desires or the power to pursue them, even Mrs. Frayling comes to recognize the merit of her daughter’s ideas, and is impelled to counter her husband’s “lust of power” with her own observation that the differences between the sexes have been used “for untold ages [as] the masculine excuse for self-indulgence at the expense of the woman” (*HT* 121). Although confined to verbally challenging her husband’s assault on Evadne’s good character and a determination to defy her husband by continuing to write to her daughter, Mrs. Frayling’s rebellion is indicative of the degree to which the woman is entrenched in the patterns of conservative Victorian feminine subjugation; but her “one act of overt rebellion,” which comforted Mrs. Frayling “and taught her husband a little lesson which she ought to have endeavoured to inculcate long before” (121), nevertheless reveals, in its small way, the potency of the New Woman to lead by example and empower other women to claim authority over their own activities.

5. According to *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1993, vol. 1 of 2), from the late seventeenth until at least the early nineteenth centuries, the term “brimstone” was used to denote “A virago, a spitfire; a promiscuous woman.” It is not impossible that Grand had this meaning in mind as she constructed the character of Mrs. Guthrie Brimston.
6. Elsewhere in “On Clubs and the Question of Intelligence,” Grand makes a similar point about the need to alter both attitudes and behaviour when she comments that “We insist that the highest, holiest, and noblest position on earth is the position of wife and mother, and we demand that the fact shall be recognised practically as well as theoretically” (841).
7. The authority which might be attributed to Ranhofer is evident in *The Manufacturer and Builder* review of *The Epicurean*, which declared the massive tome to be to “the entire field of the culinary art... what the ‘Encyclopedia Britannica’ is to the world of letters, the highest and best expression of what human effort has achieved in the art of making life better worth the living.” Ranhofer himself was canonized as the “high-priest in that temple of Epicurus known of all men as Delmonico’s” who spoke decidedly “as one having authority and not as the scribes” (Rev. of *The Epicurean* 95).
8. Helena Michie and Joan Jacobs Brumberg both associate the marking of specific foods as forbidden to female eaters with a fear of the supposed “inflammatory” properties of these foods. Foods which had the potential to stimulate “the sensual rather than the moral nature of the girl” (Brumberg 176) included “condiments and acids..., coffee, tea, and chocolate; salted meats and spices; warm breads and pastry; confectionery; nuts and raisins; and, of course, alcohol” (Brumberg 176). Citing Eugene Beckland’s *Physiological Mysteries and Revelations of Love* (Philadelphia, 1845), Michie adds purported aphrodisiacs to this list, including “syrup of pine apples...port wine...mushrooms roasted and steeped in salad oil...artichokes, figs, potatoes, shell-fish, peaches, eggs, oysters” (Michie 15).
9. That the fried potatoes Angelica cooks for the Tenor are to be recognized as “masculine” food is suggested by the young woman’s regret that she had not been able to share them with her brother: “Poor dear Diavolo!...; how he would have enjoyed those fried potatoes!” (HT 452).
10. As one etiquette manual cautioned, girls ought “not [to] be particular in the choice of food” as it was considered “not agreeable to good breeding” (Newcomb 54). Maud Cooke similarly recommends feminine passivity at table, advising genteel womanly readers to “Always take the food offered in a course,” rather than assert preferences. “Quietly wait and talk while others eat, rather than call the attention of the table to your likes and dislikes, and disarrange the whole order of serving” (Cooke 222). Likewise, girls and ladies were instructed “never [to] look up in a waiter’s face while giving an order, refusing wine, or thanking him for any special service. This savors of familiarity, and should be avoided” (Cooke 222); such rules did not apply to gentlemen, of course. Notice the emphasis on the importance of watching other people eat and strategically directing one’s gaze, in lieu of encouragement to engage in eating itself, which is characteristic of advice texts of the age.

11. The toffee-paper lines which fascinate Angelica are extracted from Francis Bacon's essay "Of Studies" from *Essays, Civil and Moral* (1597 and 1625): "'Histories make men wise; poets witty; mathematics subtle; natural philosophy, deep, moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend'" (HT 126; cf. Bacon 1542). Here, as elsewhere in Grand's fiction, the original text from which is extracted the passage provides an intriguing gloss on Grand's aims in the novel. Grand's argument in *The Heavenly Twins* that boys and girls would profit equally from judicious formal education supplemented with lived experience is substantiated by Bacon who remarks that studies "perfect nature, and are perfected by experience; for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience" (1541). Bacon's essay also provides an interesting supplement to the interconnectedness of food and the New Woman writer's enterprise of writing new scripts for women's lives, in the comment that "Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention" (Bacon 1542). Bacon's theory intersects neatly with the theme running throughout Grand's fiction of the need for individuals to learn to consume only the most wholesome diets for their minds and bodies.

In the Ovidian dictum which immediately follows the lines quoted by Grand--"Abeunt studia in mores"--lies a classical authority which supports Grand's assertion in the novel that the individual, man or woman, is improved in manners and the graciousness of the most advanced and civilized society. (The phrase is translated in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* as "'Studies culminate in manner'" (1542); a variation is "Studies pass into and influence manners" (From "Of Studies," *Essays, Civil and Moral. The Harvard Classics*. Cited at <http://www.bartleby.com/3/1/50.html>, access 31 Jul. 2002)). Women, Grand hints by gesturing towards this passage, will not only not be un-sexed by being formally educated, but will actually be improved in manners and deportment, virtues which make them especially womanly.

12. Horace Wyndham expressed a similar sentiment in her survey of "Ladies' Tea-Shops in London" (Wyndham 736-740): "Officiating at the tea-table, a lady seems to be in her natural sphere" (736). Ironically, it is to the innate womanliness of tea-table ministrations that Wyndham attributes the success of the feminine incursion into the masculine domains of business and commerce represented by the growing number of lucrative tea-shops and tea-rooms being established and managed by women in London at the turn of the century.

13. The association of tea-drinking with alarming feminine rebellion is highlighted in a report in *The Woman's Herald* of the opinions of a Dr. J. Murray-Gibbes who "sees a distinct connection between the movement to secure women's rights and too great a consumption of congou. To tea-drinking the doctor appears to trace the growing desire felt on the part of the fair sex to enter the professions, and, in fact, 'to take the place of man as bread-winners.' He views with alarm what he regards as a struggle for supremacy between man and woman" which, evidently, he locates in large part at the tea-table ("Tea-Drinking and 'Women's Rights!'" 326).

14. Writing in *Scribner's Monthly*, "Sacharissa" posits that much of the appeal of the five o'clock meal lies in the forum it provides for exercising "the china mania" of the day,



which drives women “to rash and desperate lengths” to obtain and amass china treasures to “display[...] to the eyes of envious friends” (Sacharissa 906). Although Angelica evidently delights in the procurement of elegant dishes, her pleasure seems primarily derived from the beauty of the pieces themselves, rather than from a craving to draw affirmation of her own worth through their display. Such auto-aesthetic pleasure runs counter to the more traditional image of the idealized Victorian woman who was typically held to be more concerned to give delight to others, rather than to satisfy her own appetites for beautiful objects.

15. Likewise characteristic of Grand’s challenge to rigid constructions of gender, and of the slippage of gender assumptions and boundaries which pervades *The Heavenly Twins*, Father Ricardo also deviates from conventional Victorian models of masculinity through his “innocent hobby” of collecting old china, of which he “had made a beautiful collection” (HT 269).

16. Charles Ranhofer in *The Epicurean* decreed that at table, “[t]he host should always be seated so as to face the door leading into the dining-room. The hostess on the other end of the table directly opposite, their respective seats being at the top and bottom of the table. The seat of honor for a lady is on the right hand of the host, and naturally on the right hand of the hostess for a gentleman. The left hand may also be utilized as seats of honor but of minor importance” (Ranhofer 6).

17. Many readers would undoubtedly have been horrified by Grand’s description of a girl consuming alcohol at all, particularly enough—however little she drank—to make her giddy. More commonly, conduct books advised that “Young ladies, if they drink wine, had best content themselves with one glassful. ‘Rosebuds’ should not indulge” (Cooke 223).

18. This diet would have been considered to be especially destructive for a professional singer. Dr. Edward Baron Shuldham’s works on health management of the voice, in particular “The Diet for Singers and Speakers” chapter which he added to E. Harris Ruddock’s posthumous edition of *Essentials of Diet* (London, 1876; NY, 1879), represents the singer’s dietary as being in need of assiduous attention, very much reminiscent of the attentiveness required to attend to a woman’s diet, but of a more masculine proportion in order to address the songster’s “large expenditure of vital force” which stimulates “vigorous” appetites (Shuldham, 1879, 253). (Shuldham evidently specialized in throat medicine, as evidenced by his moderate volume, *Chronic sore throat: or, Follicular disease of the pharynx, its local and constitutional treatment; with a special chapter on hygiene of the voice* (Chicago: W.A. Chatterton, 1885). In addition to his contributions to *Essentials of Diet*, Shuldham claims to have authored *The Voice and its Management in Health and Disease; or, Clergyman’s Sore-throat; its Local, Constitutional, and Elocutionary Treatment*. I have been unable to locate a copy of this work, however.)

## CHAPTER 4

### ***The Beth Book: The Woman of Genius as Cook***

.... Surely GENIUS SHOULD FURNISH EXEMPTION FROM DOMESTIC LABOURS. It does in the case of man, and it should in woman's case too. When a literary man contemplates matrimony his fiancée's friends and relatives do not rise in a body to inquire whether he is a good pastry-cook [... But] MAN, EXACTING EGOTIST THAT HE IS, has no hesitation in demanding double, triple, nay, quadruple service from woman. Does his better half make poems? Let her make pies, also, if she would be accounted a model wife .... Is there a novel simmering in her brain? Drive her at once to the kitchen, and set her brains to simmering over a hot range until the novel evaporates and she develops that mild form of mental aberration that comes from an unrealised ideal. .... If she evolves the products of her genius at all let her do it "among the pots, kettles and pans." Our idea of perfect wifehood and motherhood, "the ever-womanly," as Goethe puts it, has always included pots, kettles, pans, ...and cooking-stoves, and this idea, so ancient and honourable, has got to be maintained intact regardless of the yearnings of womanly genius. (Obenchain 117-118)

In the pages of *The Woman's Signal* in 1897, Lida Calvert Obenchain gave credence to the popular belief that the modern woman rebelled against expectations that a woman's duties necessarily "included pots, kettles, pans, ... and cooking-stoves." Throughout the same year, however, a flurry of reviews introduced readers to Sarah

Grand's new novel, *The Beth Book: Being a Study from the Life of Elizabeth Caldwell Maclure, A Woman of Genius* (1897), in which Grand demonstrated that not only was feminine genius compatible with, kitchen activities, but that culinary expertise could empower the New Woman--perhaps most especially the New Woman writer--in a manner which was both emancipated and comfortably appealing to proponents of the Angel of the House model of femininity who railed against the changes to gender roles being instigated by the modern writing woman. Cookery was presented by Grand as a vital bridge between conflicting conceptualizations of femininity and feminism, as its successful execution both revealed a fundamentally womanly instinct to serve and to nurture others, and demanded extensive knowledge and applied expertise in food sciences, aesthetics, and economics.

In her emphasis on the potency of culinary knowledge, Grand aligned herself with the sentiments expressed in 1892 in *The Woman's Herald*, the precursor of *The Woman's Signal* in which Obenchain later protested against the association of femininity with kitchen drudgery. Answering in the affirmative its own question "Ought All Women to Learn to Cook?", *The Woman's Herald* hinted--as Grand was soon to do in the third instalment of her Morningquest trilogy--that to realize the Advanced Woman's reputed rebellion against the traditional womanly responsibilities associated with the kitchen would undermine the achievements of the women's movement. "It is strange, and little to our credit as a sex," remarked *The Woman's Herald* contributor, "that it is *just* this moment, and no other, that we choose to appear as too conceited, too superior, altogether too good to cook ... food properly" ("Ought All Women," 28 Oct. 1892, 4). Published roughly contemporaneously and in related periodicals, the "Ought All Women to Learn to Cook?" articles and Obenchain's "Married Women and Literature" essay encapsulate the conflict which even within avowedly feminist contexts was associated

with the question of the role of cookery in women's lives; together, the articles hint at the reasons that Grand's most thoroughly-developed fictional New Woman, Beth Caldwell, is both "A Woman of Genius," and a highly-accomplished cook.

To this point in the present dissertation, I have been primarily concerned with the New Woman as a consumer or non-consumer of food. In this chapter, I shift the focus to consider the New Woman's capacity to produce food, and the creativity and generativity which is attributed to the New Woman through her culinary productions. More specifically, I explore the correspondences developed in *The Beth Book* between the New Woman's engagement with print media as a vehicle of protest and as a gateway towards emancipation, and her aptitude for producing nourishing dishes and elegant meals which satisfy a womanly need to nurture the sick, the needy, and the disenfranchised. Beth's lifelong efforts to define her own identity and to find her own place in the world are characteristic of the female *Bildungsroman*: by pointedly figuring her protagonist as a writer, Grand reinforces the popular association of scribbling women with the feminist protest and social disruption implied by the independent, self-actualizing woman whose growth and development was frequently depicted in late-century novels of the genre, and which came to be an especially prominent feature of the New Woman novels and the controversies surrounding them. But Beth's development as a writer is intimately bound up with her development as a cook whose culinary confidence and skills far exceed those of every other character in the novel, even the most domesticated or conventionally feminine characters, which counters the popular notion that "a woman could only become an artist by first becoming 'unwomanly'" (Mangum, *Married* 145). Although the adult Beth does not write professionally about food, as a child she constructs--or "writes"--her identity and shapes her relationships with other people through food. Many of Beth's efforts to improve her

situation or the living conditions of people she loves revolve around ventures in food acquisition and cookery; and frequently such activities, which were conventionally ascribed to the Victorian ideal of femininity, are transposed by Grand into acts of protest as Beth rebels against the strictures imposed by her mother, uncle, teachers, and other authority figures who constricted her capacity to satisfy her own appetites and to provide food. As I will show, *The Beth Book* exposes Grand's New Woman to be a hybrid figure of conservatism and revolution, of servility and independence, whose intelligent domesticity had the potential to complement and foster the strengths and virtues of a New Man who, like Arthur Brock at the end of the novel, had begun to cultivate the attributes which Grand identifies in "What to Aim At" as being conducive to "the graces of life" ("What to Aim At" 361). To Grand, "the exquisite kindliness," "gentlehood," "grand simplicity," "high-bred restraint," and "perfect sincerity" that were embodied in Christ were character traits which the New Woman strove to cultivate in herself, and which she sought in a partner ("What to Aim At" 361). Such attributes, I propose, were acknowledged by Grand to be revealed through a person's behaviour at table, eating habits, and attentiveness to the alimentary needs of others.

Grand's attention to the development and often altruistic application of Beth's cookery skills, and to the girl's knowledgeable appreciation for exquisitely-prepared, refined, yet wholesome foods, situates the novel within debates raging in the wider culture about the role of cookery in constructions of femininity and womanhood. Her yoking of Beth's cooking with writing both reinforces the rebellion implicit in feminine epicureanism and womanly gastronomics and, paradoxically, feminizes the New Woman by representing her as disarmingly sympathetic to, and compatible with conventional ideals of domestic womanhood. Beth is the beneficiary of a legacy of feminine dissatisfaction with the lack of credibility which compromised nineteenth-century

women's status as cooks and as food writers. Although domestic cookery was assigned to women as one of their primary responsibilities, popular culture perniciously discredited the feminine aptitude for the culinary arts. "Not one chef in a thousand can make a salad, not one man in fifty thousand or one woman in a million," grumbled Anna Leach in "The Delightful Art of Cooking" (523): "They imagine they can. What victim of woman's lunches does not know that awful thing, a chicken salad--that aggregation of sawdusty white meat, hard celery and greasy mayonnaise? Who has not suffered from a mustardy cooked 'dressing'?" (523). While asserting that the claim was largely "much exaggerated," Ethel Earl, the author of the regular "Housekeeping" column in *The Englishwoman*,<sup>1</sup> also acknowledged that "[t]here is some truth in the accusation" that "English cooks cannot cook a dinner, English mistresses cannot order one, each is equally ignorant of her art;--such is the eternal burden of the complaint of man" (Earl 73). A contributor to the *Saturday Review* complained similarly that "Born for the most part with very feebly developed gustativeness, [women] affect to despise the stronger instinct in men, and think it low and sensual if they are expected to give any special attention to the meals of the man who provides the meat.... For one middle-class gentlewoman who understands anything about cookery, or who really cares for it as a scientific art or domestic necessity, there are ten thousand who do not" ("What is Woman's Work?" 285). As late as 1884, Mrs. D.A. Lincoln of the Boston Cooking School was still struggling to rectify the "surprising" culinary "ignorance" of women who "do not know what the simplest things in our daily food are; cannot tell when water boils, or the difference between lamb and veal, lard and drippings. They cannot give the names of kitchen utensils; do not know anything about a stove, or how to pare a potato" (Lincoln vii-viii). French gastronome Châtillon-Plessis succinctly articulated the common assumption that on the culinary hierarchy women ranked far beneath male cooks: "Il est

certain que jamais la cuisinière ne pourra donner à une table importante les attrait de fond et de forme que le cuisinier peut y apporter. La profession a des travaux fatigants que l'homme seul peut affronter, et des éléments d'ingéniosité que la femme ne saura jamais mettre en œuvre" (Châtillon-Plessis 91)<sup>2</sup>. Amidst such scathing condemnation of women's culinary abilities, a woman who demonstrated enthusiasm, skill and artistry through cookery, as Beth did, was highly distinguished among her peers.

The paradoxical relegation of food production to the sex whose skills and knowledge were most severely disparaged is reflected in the glaring abusiveness and misogyny of those men in *The Beth Book* who make the greatest culinary demands. One of Henry Caldwell's most violent outbursts is triggered by his disgust with the dinner his wife had struggled to prepare for him a few hours before giving birth to Beth. Pushing away his dinner, he rages at Caroline Caldwell's announcement that a pudding would follow: "Oh, a pudding!" he exclaimed. "I know what our puddings are. Why aren't women taught something sensible? What's the use of all your accomplishments if you can't cook the simplest dish? What a difference it would have made to my life if you had been able to make pastry even" (BB 5). Having inherited their father's attitude, Beth's brother Jim names cooking as one of a woman's most important activities since "A man's life isn't worth having if the cooking's bad," before he implicitly besmirches the occupation with his declaration that "Girls have no brains" (154). Dan Maclure is similarly skeptical of women's domestic abilities and denies his young wife authority in the management of the household by refusing to give her any housekeeping money, although "what he had to eat was a matter of great importance to him. He fairly gloated over things he liked," so much so that he would consistently over-indulge his appetite for *vol au vent* and other similarly rich dishes (340-341). And Beth's uncle, James Patten, who by his stature and his self-satisfied authoritative micro-management of the pantry

and kitchen evokes patronizing nineteenth-century celebrity chef-writers and gastronomes such as Alexis Soyer, Charles H. Senn, and George Augustus Sala, exhibits so little faith in his female cook's abilities that not only does he present a written daily *menu* and meticulously dole out ingredients and supplies, but he supervises Mrs. Cook's preparations while condescendingly reading recipes aloud to her (95-6). Surrounded by men and boys who, like young Sammy Lee the victualer's grandson, delighted in good cooking (177), yet were incredulous of a girl's or a woman's capacity to cook satisfactorily, Beth's determination to become an accomplished cook constitutes a challenge to hegemony.

Beth's culinary successes--"a whiting on toast, all hot and brown" (177), the rabbit which had been lovingly boiled, then "carved ... carefully so that it might not look like a cat on the dish, covered ... with good onion-sauce, and garnished ... with little rolls of fried bacon" (157), for example--also distinguish her from scurrilous depictions of the New Woman. While women as a sex were popularly held to be "naturally" indisposed to culinary brilliance, the New Woman was particularly attacked for her purported unwillingness to bother at all with the activities of the kitchen, and was held up as the likely cause of even further degeneration of the health of the family and the quality of English and American cuisine with her purported resistance to confinement within the domestic enclave, and her supposed rebellion against all domestic work. "How many domestic tragedies and divorce cases, I wonder, could be traced to badly cooked and served meals, if the truth were only known?" (Cameron 14), railed cookbook author Ida Cameron<sup>3</sup> in *The Epicure*, as she cast blame for the deterioration of the family on "the clique of ranting females" and the agitating "female demagogues who are clamouring for women's rights" (13). While peaceable matrimonial relations were threatened by the New Woman who purportedly refused to cook, in America, the very fabric of national



identity was at stake:

Not only are the four orthodox kinds of Thanksgiving pies in groaning larders gone, not only has the skeptical feeling arisen that turkeys may be roasted and pumpkin pies eaten before the canonical November day, but the mother-spirit that stuffed the turkey and strained the pumpkin is going, and a new theory arising, that husbands and children ought not to like pies, and that if perchance such taste is inherited, it must be supplanted by the notion that the wife and mother is made for something beyond catering to appetites uncontent with plain apples and cheese for dessert. (Wells, 819)

The popular perception of the modern woman's culinary ignorance and the potential for the offending creature to be redeemed as a woman by applying herself to pots and pans is graphically represented in the two illustrations which bookend Anna Leach's *Cosmopolitan* essay, "The Delightful Art of Cooking" (*Illustration 3*). Recognizable by the frowsy tie on her blouse, her close-cropped hair, *pince nez* and book, the New Woman in the first illustration is a diminutive figure, marginalized by the expansive authority of the magnificent male chef-artist who dominates the image (Leach 521). Leach's expostulations against the modern woman's rejection of cookery as an art, and the dangers of the emancipated woman's alarming culinary ineptitude (the woman who would adulterate a mayonnaise with sugar "is likely to be the mother of idiots," Leach warns, for instance [524]), close with a second image which reveals the heavenly joys awaiting the New Woman who would relinquish her books and her selfish pursuits, accede to the dominion of masculine authority, and quietly sequester herself in the



**Illustration 3:** From "The Delightful Art of Cooking," by Anna Leach.

*Cosmopolitan* 27.5 (Sep. 1899): 521-526.

kitchen (526).

Antagonism against women cooks was compounded when such women not only claimed themselves to be experts in kitchen tasks, but also asserted their authority to write about the culinary arts. Although the largest proportion of cookbooks and domestic manuals which appeared during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were written by women, the spirit of Samuel Johnson's infamous pronouncement in 1747 that "Women can spin very well,... but they can not make a good book of cookery" reverberated throughout the period. "[W]e should say that all the good cookery books have been the production of men. Certainly, no woman has yet distinguished herself by a treatise on the culinary art, while many men have," grumbled a literary reviewer in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* ("Cookery Books" 110). A woman who even implicitly aspired to be credited for displaying both mastery over the tools of the culinary arts, and the necessary literary skills to communicate such knowledge in print was battling alongside the New Woman in her campaign to elevate the status of women and their work.<sup>4</sup>

Just as cooks were hierarchized by gender, so were the different types of food writing historically associated with male and female writers. Recent histories of cookery-books reveal that the majority of the more common domestic manuals and household cookbooks were written by women (Fillin and Fillin 62; Longone, "Feeding America" 4). Books such as *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861) were decidedly serious tomes, which offered staid, noble instruction on practical aspects of household management, kitchen economies and dietary advice. A small number of these didactic books were produced in elegant editions, but most were utilitarian in form and in content. By contrast, male authors generated elaborate treatises on the art of fine dining, the art of eating, and gastronomy, which were often published in elegant, highly

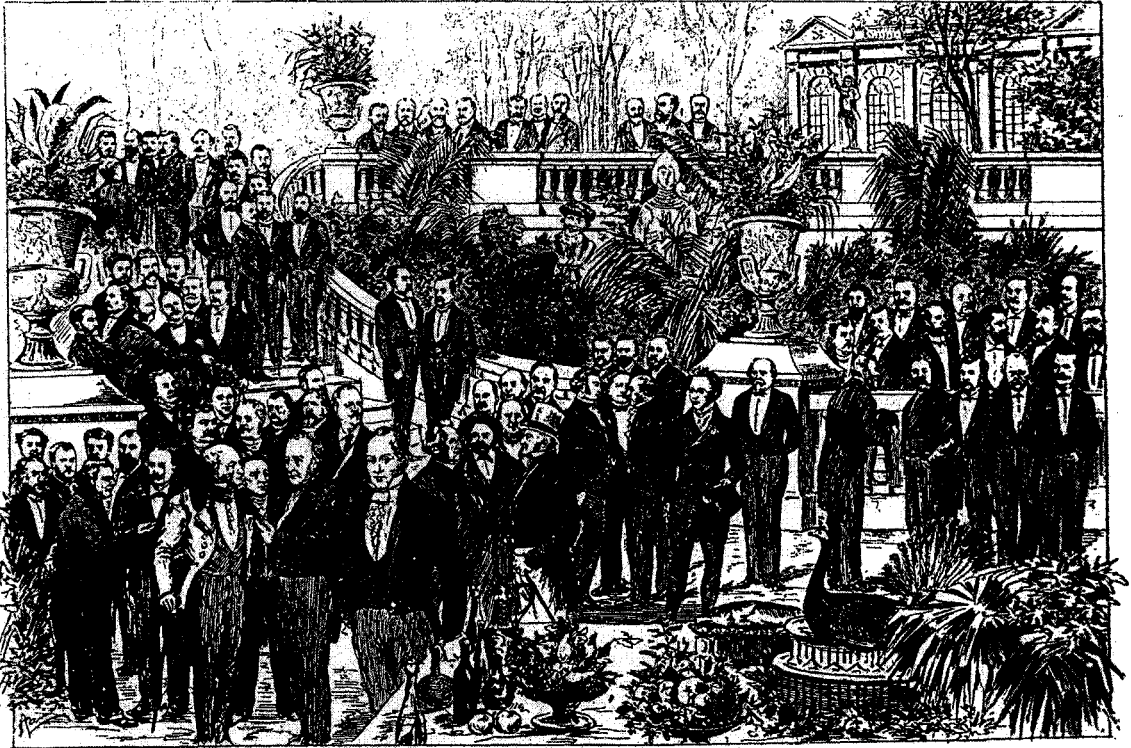
ornamental editions, indicative of their status as high brow literature: the lessons these books offered were clearly meant to be consumed at leisure by an individual who was not bound by the day-to-day ordinariness of producing meals.

Sociologist Stephen Mennell explains that although the history of non-didactic, or non-instructional food writing extends as far back as the ancients, gastronomy was essentially a product of the nineteenth century. He names Brillat-Savarin (renowned author of *La Physiologie du goût* of 1826) and his contemporary, Grimod de la Reynière (author of the *Almanach des gourmands*, an annual published from 1803 to 1812), as having “effectively founded the whole genre of the gastronomic essay” (Mennell 267). Taking their cue from these early nineteenth-century gastronomes, later French and English writing gourmets such as Alexandre Dumas *père*, Châtillon-Plessis, Dr William Kitchiner, Abraham Hayward and Dr Gustave Strauss, wrote treatises which celebrated eating as much as they glorified cookery. Even when recipes were provided, they were eloquently presented in descriptive narratives as elegant, artistic processes of creation, very much unlike the prescriptive instructions offered by more prosaic female cookery-book writers. For the most part, however, these books were designed less to provide practical domestic instruction for the individual obliged to practice ordinary cookery on a day-to-day basis than to refine an already-cultivated aptitude or appreciation for refined living. By definition, the gastronome is more than a gourmet or a teacher of cooking techniques and table manners: as Mennell explains, “a gastronome is generally understood to be a person who not only cultivates his own ‘refined tastes for the pleasures of the table’ but also, by *writing* about it, helps to cultivate other people’s too” (Mennell 267). The gastronome’s influence as “a theorist and propagandist about culinary taste” (267) is accordingly directly dependent on the authority he can claim as a writer. Historically disrespected as writers, women could therefore hardly be expected

to wield the authority required of a genuine gastronome, or artist of the table.

Consumed by the quotidian demands of household labour, a woman was assumed not to have the leisure, or the cultivation, to genuinely appreciate the finer points of the arts of fine dining and elegant eating, and accordingly, “her receipts [*sic*] cannot inspire that degree of confidence, which the brilliant and profound instructions of a Soyer might” (“Cookery Books” 111). Not surprisingly, it was an easy matter for late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century male writers to monopolize the emerging field of gastronomy as both a lived art and a literary genre. Gastronomy was so thoroughly conceptualized as a masculine domain that not a single woman appears among the more than eighty chefs and writers depicted in the “Galerie des Gastronomes et Praticiens français, de Brillat-Savarin à nos jours”<sup>5</sup> (*Illustration 4*) included in Châtillon-Plessis’s 1894 treatise, *La Vie à Table* (Châtillon-Plessis 388).

The tensions which existed between female cookery-book writers and the male authors of gastronomic essays, and the different authority each could command, are revealed by Tabitha Tickletooth’s curious little book of 1860, *The Dinner Question: or, How to Dine Well and Economically*. For the most part, the book adheres to the format of the domestic manual genre, featuring practical instruction and useful advice about purchasing furniture for a new home, oral hygiene, heating a house with coals and wood, cooking techniques such as boiling, stewing, roasting and baking, and abundant recipes. But interspersed throughout the commonsense advice are essays and remarks on subjects not customarily explored in books about domestic cookery, such as “Punch’s Dinners for Snobs,” the “Pleasures of the Table,” “Cooking in the Crimea,” and the Philosophy of Cookery.” As the subtitles of the work promise, *The Dinner Question* is a remarkable compendium of information about food, “Combining The Rudiments of Cookery with Useful Hints on Dinner Giving and Serving, and Other



LA GASTRONOMIE ET L'ART CULINAIRE AU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE.  
Galerie des Gastronomes et Praticiens français, de Brillat-Savarin à nos jours.

**Illustration 4:** “La Gastronomie et L’art Culinaire au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Galerie des Gastronomes et Praticiens français, de Brillat-Savarin à nos jours.” From *La Vie à Table à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, by Châtillon-Plessis [pseud. Maurice Dancourt]. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Co., 1894.

Household Words of Advice,” and it is extraordinary among domestic manuals for being “Garnished with Anecdotes of Eminent Cooks and Epicures, as Well as Wise Saws in Gastronomy from the Great Masters.”

Sections devoted to “Count D’Orsay on Paris Restaurants,” “English and French Restaurateurs Compared,” and “London Dining Houses,” seem particularly anomalous in a work which poses as a manual for a housekeeper or the mistress of a household, who at this period would not likely have been venturing with much frequency into public eating facilities. But the well-informed Tabitha Tickletooth is in reality the English actor and dramatist, Charles Selby (ca 1802-1863) (Davidson viii), who carries his cookery book-writer role so far as to pose in matronly drag for the frontispiece of *The Dinner Question (Illustration 5)*. Although bursting with reliable information and practical advice, the book is nevertheless “served up with a dressing of light irony which puts [it] on a different plane from the ponderous ... competitors” (Davidson viii). In one fell swoop, Selby mocks both the tedious pragmatism of female domestic cookery book writers who are desperate to establish their credibility by demonstrating their serious commitment to the needs of the household, and the self-congratulatory pomposity and posturing of male gastronomes whose highly-wrought tastes and preferences were swallowed as gospel by fast and fashionable readers with social aspirations.

“Preparatory School for Young Ladies” (*Illustration 6*), a mid-century cartoon reproduced in 1875 in *Harper’s* (Leech 516), hints at a fomenting feminine resistance to the persistent belief that women were bereft of the necessary intellectual and sensual gifts to be gourmets in the kitchen or at table which characterized the gastronomic treatises invoked by Selby. The defiant young woman in the cartoon asserting her knowledge about plum pudding is literally confronting an oppressive mass of masculine authority figured by the overbearing male chef or instructor who brandishes a copy of



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY HERBERT WATKINS, 215, REGENT-STREET

THE  
**DINNER QUESTION:**  
OR,  
HOW TO DINE WELL AND ECONOMICALLY.  
COMBINING  
*The Rudiments of Cookery*  
WITH  
USEFUL HINTS ON DINNER GIVING AND SERVING,  
AND OTHER HOUSEHOLD WORDS OF ADVICE:  
GARNISHED WITH  
ANECDOTES OF EMINENT COOKS AND EPICURES, AS WELL  
AS WISE SAWS IN GASTRONOMY FROM THE  
GREAT MASTERS.  
BY  
TABITHA TICKLETOOTH.

LONDON:  
ROUTLEDGE, WARNE, AND ROUTLEDGE,  
FARRINGTON STREET.  
NEW YORK: 56, WALKER STREET.  
1860.

[The Author reserves the right of Translation.]

**Illustration 5:** Frontispiece from *The Dinner Question*, by Tabitha Tickletooth [pseud. Charles Selby]. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1860. Facsimile. Devon: Prospect Books, 1999.





PREPARATORY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.—JOHN LEECH, "FOLLIES OF THE YEAR," LONDON, 1852.

**Illustration 6:** "Preparatory School for Young Ladies," by John Leech. From "Recent English Caricature," by James Parton. Harper's New Monthly Magazine 51 (Sep. 1875): 505-524.

Soyer's seminal 1846 manual of cookery, the *Gastronomic Regenerator*, as a symbol of his faith in his entitlement to deference from female cookery students. As Beth appropriates cookery as a means of gaining independence and of resisting the social forces which strove to stifle or silence the New Woman's disruptive inclinations, Grand appears to be tapping in to the late-nineteenth century movement to validate women's culinary and gastronomic expertise invoked by the *Harper's* illustration.

Literature, even fiction, helped pave the road for women to expand the breadth of their food knowledge beyond the rudiments required to produce an ordinary family meal, and to participate (although often only vicariously) in the more exotic culture of gastronomy. Observing that the "bitter outcry on the subject" of the decline of English cookery was frequently "neatly wrapped up in an article on the fallacy of the Higher Education of women" (Earl 72), Ethel Earl hinted to the female readership of *The Englishwoman* that women would be doing a service to their country, and contributing to the advancement of the women's movement, by studiously expanding their knowledge of food beyond the practical details necessary to operate a domestic kitchen, and by refining their understanding of "the theory of the dinner as a meal, its parts and sequence" (74). Such knowledge, Earl advises, cannot be gleaned from the common, woman-authored cookery books with which housekeepers are familiar, "though the classical [instructional] works of [male chefs such as] Ude, Carême and Soyer contain much of the philosophy of dining as well as the science and mechanics of the art," which she implies would contribute greatly to a woman's ability to advance her appreciation of food and cookery (74). Instead, Earl encourages women to look to literature which celebrates food and refined dining for gastronomic enlightenment, and in particular she recommends the fiction and essays of William Thackeray, whose "collected papers are ... more suggestive if less complete than Brillât Savarin's treatise," *La Philosophie du*

*Goût*, although she does promote this classic work as required reading for any “housekeeper... who wishes to justify her name” (74). Such works, like explorations of gastronomy by Thomas Walker and Abraham Hayward (authors of *The Original*, published 1835, and *The Art of Dining*, of 1852, respectively), “have a bracing effect, and enlighten [a woman’s] mind as to the tastes and desires of men” (Earl 75). The consumption of literature which celebrated the pleasures of tasteful eating expanded women’s epicurean sensibilities, and offered a means by which women might earn the respect of men.

Curiously, while little credit was accorded a woman who endeavoured to instruct other women in the ways and means of the domestic arts by recording her humble know-how in a didactic manual of cookery or household management, towards the end of the nineteenth century, many women began quietly to assert a learned appreciation for sophisticated cuisine and epicurean knowledge by writing food literature. Food historians have attributed the gastronomic marginalization of women to the incompatibility of celebrations of gustatory delights with the Victorian ideal of Woman as an ethereal creature devoid of both appetites and the acumen to genuinely appreciate refined comestibles. By concentrating on male writers such as Brillat-Savarin, Châtillon-Plessis, Abraham Hayward, E.S. Dallas, and Henry Thompson, historians have overlooked women’s role in cultivating English and American palates and in feeding the burgeoning appetite for knowledge about foodways and the culinary arts.

Towards the end of the century, as women began to assert authority over their appetites for bodily and intellectual food, they also began to articulate knowledge about eating and cooking in texts designed to be consumed as literature. Helen S. Conant in *Harper’s* celebrated “[g]astronomy [as] the art, above all others, which comforts and supports man from the cradle to the grave” (Conant 425), and displayed her familiarity

with specialized works in “the epicure’s library,” such as Grimod de la Reynière’s *Almanach des Gourmands* (427). Women such as Agnes Repplier challenged the sentiment “that gluttony is a vice--or a virtue--for man only, and that woman’s part in the programme is purely that of a ministering angel”; and she protested the popular distinction that “Adam was made to eat, and Eve to cook for him, although even in this humble sphere she and her daughters have been doomed to rank second in command” (Repplier, “Humors” 462).<sup>6</sup> These women gastronomes projected a feminine epicureanism through a variety of literary genres, including cookery novels such as Catherine Owen’s *Gentle Breadwinners, The Story of One of Them* (1888),<sup>7</sup> and Emily Waters’s *The Cook’s Decameron: A Study in Taste* (1901)<sup>8</sup>; gastronomic treatises such as Elizabeth Robins Pennell’s *The Feasts of Autolycus* (1896)<sup>9</sup>; reminiscences such as Ouida’s “Apropos of a Dinner” (1889); and learned essays such as Mary Ellen Meredith’s “Gastronomy and Civilization” (1851), Lady Mary Jeune’s “Dinners and Diners” (1894), and Mrs. Fenwick Miller’s “French and English at Table” (1897). Expanding the boundaries of feminine food writing beyond the instructional household cookery book, these *fin de siècle* epicures embodied the spirit of the women’s movement as they demonstrated an informed authority about food, validated women’s appetites, and encouraged women to enjoy the pleasures of the palate.

Increasingly, if only slightly, reviewers began to acknowledge not only that women might be the guardians of valuable culinary knowledge, but also that women themselves might be suitable scribes for recording and disseminating such information. “We have Dr. Johnson’s authority for saying that no woman can write a good book on cookery,” remarked one writer, “but we have the experience of many refutations of this rash statement. Women, he said, could spin, but they could not write good cook-books; now that spinning is a lost art, perhaps they have acquired the power of directing how

food should be prepared" ("Recent Literature" 684). Much of this validation came from an implicit, and often explicit, acknowledgment of a causal relation between well-crafted cookery advice writing, and high-quality fiction writing. "It will be a safe prophecy that the Shakespeare of cook-books will yet be written by George Eliot," contemplated *The Atlantic Monthly* book reviewer ("Recent Literature" 684). Marion Harland's success as a culinary authority was frequently attributed to her having "established a wide reputation for herself as a novelist when she entered the well-trodden field of cookery-book literature" ("Marion Harland's 'Loitering'" 475).<sup>10</sup> The moderate, if begrudging, praise which was applied to women's food writing, both gastronomic and didactic, bespoke a gradual acknowledgment of women's potential to participate in and contribute to masculine fields and enterprises. Gastronomic texts often intersected with, but were also outside the purview of the "cult of domesticity" (Flint 71); they expanded the pertinence of knowledge about food beyond the domestic confines, and offered more than (or other) information directly applicable to woman's roles as wife and mother. Food and food knowledge investigated in this new feminine food writing forged a bridge or a channel between the domestic interior and the masculine public domains of art, culture, commerce, and science. Change and acceptance were slow to arrive (if they can be said to have arrived even yet), but women writers were gradually (if gently) expanding the parameters of women's experiences with food.

As she provoked change to various aspects of women's lives, so Grand hinted at the need for women to apply the tools with which they were most proficient--in this case, kitchen tools--to emancipate women. Throughout *The Beth Book*, Grand constructs her protagonist's relationship with food as a form of rebellion against the authority of people and conventions which threaten to deny her needs or constrain her self-development. Grand thereby reminds the reader that although her New Woman's domesticity aligns

her with the old-fashioned Angel in the House, this modern model of femininity is novel for her determination to “follow [her] own bent” (BB 246), rather than to conform unquestioningly to prescriptive roles and behaviour. Most overtly, Beth’s illicit hunting, trapping and fishing on her uncle’s estate--the bold and hoydenish means by which she procures provisions with which to supplement her mother’s and sisters’ meager diet--represent a rejection of James Patten’s authority as she poaches literally and figuratively on masculine territory.

Grand also hints that engagement with cookery and housekeeping as freely-chosen components of a broad, life-long education and process of self-improvement bespoke a rejection of the “old” and ineffective system of genteel feminine training (280) which had intellectually and emotionally “tight-laced” generations of women (125), most visibly represented in the novel by Beth’s mother, Caroline Caldwell. Distinguishing herself from her mother, Beth embodies Grand’s belief that no woman ought to consider herself too advanced to attend to the needs of the household as knowledgeably as possible: “long before she could read aloud to her mother intelligibly, [Beth] had learnt all that Harriet [the housemaid] could teach her, not only of the house-work, but of the cooking, from cleaning a fish and trussing a fowl to making barley-broth and puff pastry” (123). Although cookery and housekeeping were commonly conceptualized as women’s “natural” occupations, Beth’s self-directed education in food procurement, preparation and service ironically figures as a rebellion against her mother’s authority, and by extension, of the authority of the dominant model of Victorian womanliness:

With regard to Beth’s cooking, it is remarkable that, although Mrs. Caldwell herself had suffered all through her married life for want of proper training in household matters, she never attempted to have her

own daughters better taught. On the contrary, she had forbidden Beth to do servant's work, and objected most strongly to her cooking, until she found how good it was, and even then she thought it due to her position only to countenance it under protest. (175)

Whereas Caroline Caldwell was "marred ... by having no conception of her duty to herself; and... by those mistaken notions of her duty to others which were so long inflicted upon women" (280), Beth was saved from her mother's fate by heeding her father's advice to follow her own heart, and to "Be loyal, be loyal to yourself, loyal to the best that is in you" (70; 202): "if it comes to you, if you feel you can do it, just do it," Henry Caldwell had instructed. "You'll not do it well all at once; but try and try until you *can* do it well. And don't ask anybody if they think you can do it; they'll be sure to say no" (69), he continued, justifying Beth's later refusal to accede to her mother's objections against her kitchen work. Instead of being driven into the kitchen by expectations imposed on her gender, "Beth was forced by the needs of her nature to ... cook for kindness... in her brave struggle against the hard and stupid conditions of her life--conditions which were not only retarding the development, but threatening utterly to distort, if not actually to destroy, all that was best, most beautiful, and most wonderful in her character" (175-6). Ultimately, however, as the adult Beth acknowledges, "The cooking ... [Harriet] taught [her] stood [her] in good stead" (503), and strengthened her capacity to face the challenges of her life. Grand suggests that by cultivating her cookery skills and the means of feeding herself and other people, the New Woman embodied by Beth manifested both a need to avoid being dependent on, or subjugated to, the will of a controlling or domineering individual or institution, and a genuine and natural womanly impulse to nurture and nourish others.

From a practical perspective, a woman armed with advanced culinary knowledge had access to more personal, professional, and financial independence than was typically available to women educated under the “old” system. “Making pickles and sauces, canning fruit and putting up jelly are... well-tried and familiar means of earning a living,” suggested *The Woman’s Signal* (“Some Chances” 42). A woman who could cook well was mistress of specialized skills and knowledge which were equally valuable and useful when applied to professions or forms of employment outside the domestic sphere. The “achievements of wise, of economical cooking” would shine through and would enhance “scientific training,” so that a woman doctor who has first learned to cook before entering medical school, for example, brings to the health profession an intimate and applied knowledge of diet and nutrition, of the “scientific basis of feeding [which] will in the near future become more and more part of the true physician’s art” (“Ought All Women” 29 Oct 1892: 4). “Who is this little new woman—/This end of the century one?” asked Emma Player Seabury in *The New England Magazine*: “She cooks your meals to perfection,/For she goes to a cooking school” (Seabury 641). The verse is a reminder of the shifting of the parameters of women’s housework as newly-established public educational institutions granted women opportunities both to apply their expertise gleaned in the domestic context to occupations in the public sphere, and to enrich their household activities with knowledge obtained through formal, public channels. The rapid expansion of networks of cookery training facilities offered the modern woman new employment opportunities (Morten 77), although as Honnor Morten acknowledged, cookery instruction was “hard work and poor pay” except for those cookery teachers who were successful enough to “get the chance of rising to be superintendents, or even inspectors,” in which cases they might look forward to a salary as high as £120 per year (Morten 80). But “[c]ookery teachers, ... must certainly come under the heading of ‘New



Women,” asserted one writer in *The Woman’s Signal* (S.T. 118), as these meticulously-trained authorities in domestic sciences provided younger generations of girls with the skills to earn respectable salaries and to support themselves with healthy minds and bodies. Even the conservative Ida Cameron argued for the marketability of cookery skills: “For a girl who can cook,” she wrote, “one has only to open any paper any day to see a hundred situations, and a competent cook can demand nowadays any reasonable wage and accommodation. What good reason is there, therefore, for women to remain unemployed, seeing that even an indifferent cook is a most independent person who never lacks employment, and is seldom without money?” (Cameron 14).

But even the girl who, like Beth, did not attempt to earn her living by cooking, could be liberated by her culinary skills. “The first step of the woman who desires to go out of the routinary [*sic.*] *ornière* is to make herself independent, as far as may be, in regard to the material wants of life,” explained Albert Rhodes (47). “The sense of freedom thus conferred in a self-respecting person is a source of much enjoyment.... The woman who can cook her own food... has already accomplished most of the journey which leads to independence” (47). Having learned as a child to provide wholesome food for her family on limited means, Beth easily adjusts to her drastically reduced circumstances when she leaves her philandering, vivisectionist husband Dan Maclure and establishes herself alone in London to pursue her vocation as a writer. Disappointing her husband’s bitter expectations that she would be driven by starvation to beg for his mercy (*BB* 490), resourceful Beth thrives on a remarkably varied and wholesome diet: “she never felt stronger in her life,” even though “[s]he lived principally on bread and butter, eggs, sardines, salad, and slices of various meats bought at a cook-shop and carried home in a paper” (491). Despite her meagre financial resources, Beth’s early independent life was not devoid of epicurean delights: “She made delicious

coffee in a tin coffee-pot, and brewed the best tea she had ever drunk in brown earthenware” (491); and reminiscent of her childhood feasting with Harriet the housemaid, Beth reveled in “cakes, or hot buttered toast and watercresses, or a bag of shrimps and some thin bread and butter” which her landlady, Ethel Maud Mary, shared with her from her own limited stores (492).

Beyond the material and gustatory benefits to be derived from skillfully prepared food, cookery empowers Beth with the knowledge and insight necessary to identify men of the “old” system who, like the love of her adolescence, Alfred Cayley Pounce, and her husband, Dan Maclure, expected women to subjugate themselves to manly and often unwholesome appetites and desires. Cookery functions as a vehicle for learning to distinguish such men from men like Arthur Brock, the fellow lodger in London whom she nurses back to health, who demonstrate the capacity to recognize, and to appreciate the sacrifices the New Woman was prepared to make for mutually-respectful love. This lesson is rooted in Beth’s prepubescent relationship with Sammy Lee, the cherubic, “apple-cheeked boy, with bright blue eyes and curly fair hair” (165) who appears initially to Beth to answer her craving for affection and romance. That the relationship is bound for disappointment is signaled by the sudden and intense awakening of Beth’s appetites: “...I must have something to eat,” Beth declared to the housemaid after her inaugural flirtatious encounter with the boy; “I must have meat,’ said Beth. ‘Rob the joint...” (165), she instructed Harriet as she deftly set to work to fry up some potatoes which, together with slices of sirloin beef, she “ate ravenously” (166). As Grand cautioned in her review of Elizabeth Chapman’s *Marriage Questions in Fiction*, “Passion is not the best sentiment with which to begin housekeeping together... There is just the difference between love and passion that there is between healthy high spirits and the intoxication of wine...” (Grand, “Marriage Questions” 386). Being a victualer’s grandson, “[c]ooking

was an accomplishment [Sammy] honoured" (*BB* 177), and he was highly impressed by the whiting Beth "brought [to him]... with a cover over it, hot and brown" (177). But by entirely abandoning the girl chef to her oppressive thoughts while he gleefully scarfed the fish, and evincing his self-centred but misguided "impression that all ... [Beth's] incomprehensible [manifestation of her poetic sensibility and sensitivity to her environment] ... was merely a display for his entertainment" (178), Sammy reveals himself to be an "extinguisher," the kind of man who, as Grand explained in an essay, "would tell [the modern girl] that her proper place is in the nursery and kitchen, with an inflection on the words which conveys his opinion that nursery and kitchen are more worthily regulated without mental attainments" (Grand, "At What Age" 163).

Contrary to popular belief, the New Woman as Grand envisioned her was not rebelling against "the woman's-sphere-is-home" ideology per se (*BB* 175), but rather against the limitations which were systematically imposed on middle- and upper-class women which left them bereft of skills and knowledge to operate as little more than docile embodiments of vulnerability and helplessness voicing pretty platitudes which flattered men without challenging their authority. Caroline Caldwell's plight is offered as an example of the dangers of the conventional girl's education which emphasized a woman's duty to others largely at the expense of the girl's own interests or desires, manifested by "[t]he extraordinary inefficiency of the good-old-fashioned-womanly woman as a wife on a small income," whose "silly pretences ... showed her want of proper self-respect," and whose "ill-adjusted balance of her undeveloped mind ... betrayed itself in petty inconsistencies" (175). The example of Caroline's hapless housekeeping "surprise[s]" the enlightened modern reader, the narrator observes, "yet encourage[s] us too by proving how right and wise we were to try our own experiments" (175), and how beneficial is a scheme of training which draws together several diverse

branches of knowledge such as profited Beth. The practical knowledge of the household which Beth gains at Rainharbour and Harrowgate was part of her education in "the life-school of the world" through which she derived the "practical experience of life" which "was doubtless the secret of her success" as an adult (120), and went a long way towards helping her to avoid much of the unhappiness suffered by earlier generations of women who had grown up "in the days when true womanliness consisted in knowing nothing accurately" (225). Her zealous kitchen activities provided vital "physical training" and mental stimulus, and fostered ingenuity and self-reliance which helped save Beth from suffering from the delicacy, nervousness and sickness which contributed to the early death of her sister, Mildred, a child prodigy of the old system inculcated in Mrs. Caldwell, and "an artificial product of conventional ideas" who "only went into the kitchen of necessity" (123).

However, while the undercurrent of challenge to the supremacy of masculine culinary authority represented by Beth and the assertive young woman in the "Preparatory School for Young Ladies" cartoon discussed above was spurred by a feminist spirit, it ironically reinforced the gendering of the so-called private and public spheres. Grand's *New Woman* fought to expand the range of women's influence, but she had no interest in eliminating the traditional gendered division of labour. "A woman should have the same chance in the professions as a man. But ... that woman is neglectful of her best interests who goes out into the world to work when she can get a nice man to do the work for her," Grand explained ("Should Married Women" 259). Accordingly, Beth herself contentedly assumes cookery and housekeeping as "woman's work" (BB 505), and is happiest when she is permitted to "[take] charge of the housekeeping" and freely exercise her culinary gifts, as she does with Great-Aunt Victoria Bench at Harrowgate (196-7), and in her own room in London. And just as she

encouraged women to attend to the duties of the home, Grand recommended that men similarly respect the parameters of their own business, as suggested by the offensive example of Henry Patten who gives credence to Lady Benyon's advice to her grand-niece, Beth, to "beware of a man who does his own housekeeping[....] Don't ever marry a man who does his own housekeeping. He's a crowing hen, that sort of man, you may be sure. I warn you against the man who does a woman's work" (144).<sup>11</sup>

Although many feminist writers objected to the perception that cookery and household management were *de facto* "women's work," like Grand, most advocates of feminine emancipation did not seek exemption from kitchen duties; instead, they strove to reconceptualize women's domestic activities as work which was as valuable and as important to the health of the social body as were masculine contributions to industry, commerce and learned professions. "[H]ousehold duties" were not to be "looked upon as mere drudgery" (Grand, "Should Married Women" 258), the bane of the lesser sex, the product of instinct or the routine tasks of an unskilled labourer. "[S]he who accounts the kitchen only a place of drudgery, [is] behind the age," readers of *Harper's* were informed (Editor's Literary Record 752). As Grand and other proponents of change conceived it, cookery was part of a respectable profession which demanded considerable skill, knowledge and artistic sensibility: "it requires a woman of special capacity to order a household satisfactorily," Grand remarked ("Should Married Women" 258). "She must have general cultivation, knowledge of human nature, knowledge of the world, power of administration, kindness, tact, and discrimination--that is to say, every advantage, and every good quality" ("Should Married Women" 258). Cookery in particular was not to be viewed as mere labour: this was refined art, science, and economics, branches of knowledge from which women had been traditionally excluded. Among the many accomplishments which "serve to adorn [a young lady's] home, and

are attractive and charming generally.... is there one more fascinating and useful, or one which argues more intelligence in its acquisition, than the accomplishment of cooking?" asked cookbook author Mary Henderson (Henderson 30). Demurring to misogynistic culinary discourses, many women writers presented cookery as a branch of knowledge or field of study which was ideally suited to the modern, educated woman who brought to the kitchen the authority and expertise developed through a wide range of experiences and learning opportunities which extended beyond the domestic sphere. The New Woman was not trying to shirk her domestic responsibilities; she simply wanted to be respected and appreciated for performing the work necessary for the smooth operation of the household, and to be permitted to run the kitchen according to her own terms, drawing on traditionally masculine domains of knowledge without having to be subjugated to, or defamed by masculine authority.

Mangum argues that to achieve her personal, social, and political goals, "Beth must negotiate some kind of compromise between Victorian notions of women and of artists" (*Married* 155), a process which I suggest is facilitated by Beth's engagement with both cookery and the imaginative fiction-writing or daydreaming which precedes her literal writing and subsequent social-political activism. While tracing Beth's progress towards levels of achievement in the culinary arts and in literature which were popularly ascribed to men, Grand emphasizes the womanly ethics or "morality of caring" (Bonnell, "Sarah Grand" 124) which consistently mediate her New Woman's incursions into masculine realms. As a cook, Beth is distinguished from conventional models of idealized womanhood by her devotion to both the wholesomeness of the food she prepares, and the aesthetics of a dish which aligns her with male chefs, particularly in light of her willingness to experiment independently with food and cookery. Whether she is arranging boiled rabbit "so that it might not look [unappetizingly] like a cat on the

dish" (*BB* 157), or seasoning raw beef-steak for beef jelly (504), Beth exhibits Grand's faith in the need for a woman to "invite the eye" and "excite an appetite" in order to succeed, even in the most feminist enterprises ("Morals of Manner" 91). Although as an adult writer she vehemently rejects the pretentious and highly-wrought "'style' and 'art'" associated with *fin de siècle* male aesthetes (*BB* 374), Beth is nevertheless committed to applying her talents and skills to beautifying the world: as such, the woman of genius is also very much an artist experimenting with a novel aesthetic which claims the authority associated with masculine art (including gastronomy and *haute cuisine*, as well as literature), yet which is grounded "in the personal, practical, social realm of 'ordinary' (i.e., middle-class) women" (Mangum, *Married* 155). As Mangum explains, Beth's aesthetics differ from the artistic aspirations of the male aesthetes of the period by being grounded in social ethics (172), and inspired not by an impulse to craft vacuous art for art's sake, but by a drive to "inspire[] the audience to take action" (172). By her attention to the aesthetics and beauty of her work--whether it be the preparation of a tasty dish or a written text--Beth's art is elevated above the status of the ordinary or everyday productions of women of the Old school; but by her drive to produce work which inspires social-political change for the "'women [who] are busy with the great problems of life, and are striving might and main to make it beautiful'" (*BB* 376)--the "'something more or something else'" which differentiates her writing from the work of primarily male *fin de siècle* stylists (374)--Grand glorifies women's knowledge and art.

A similar desire to give voice to women's experiences and to dignify women's knowledge is evident in late nineteenth-century food writing. Many women writers were determined to claim for women's cookery the same status as was conferred on the culinary work performed by male chefs. In particular, these writers insisted on the artistry inherent in expertly prepared and presented dishes, irrespective of the gender of

the cook, or of whether the food was to be consumed in the privacy of a middle class home, or in more public environments such as restaurants and clubs. This represented a shift from the attitude of female cooks and cookbook authors of the previous century, who had minimized the artistry of their activities as an effort to disassociate their work from the “dissimulation and dishonesty” associated with the artifice of French cuisine (Lehmann 130). But following the example set by Hannah Glasse (author of *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* which had first appeared in London in 1747, and remained one of the most widely reproduced and cited cookery books in England and North America for much of the following two centuries), of downgrading cookery to an activity which was so “plain and easy” that it could be executed by even “the most ignorant Person, who can but read” (Glasse 3), late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women cookery book writers contributed to their own disrepute by implicitly promoting themselves as practitioners of a humble or lowly activity (Lehmann 131). As Lois Banner suggests, the distance between the reverence commanded by the male chef, and the ignomiousness attached to the female domestic cook, could be attributed to the efforts of female writers of cookery books and domestic manuals to simplify culinary processes (Banner 202). By concretizing cooking into prescriptive recipes which were widely accessible, popular cookbook authors such as Isabella Beeton and Fannie Farmer distinguished women’s cookery, characterized by adherence to the printed script, from the creative, innovative and more idiosyncratic--and hence, more exceptional--culinary productions of male chefs (Banner 202-203). “[W]e should be as much surprised to hear that a lady had invented a new dish, as to hear of a lady composer, a lady architect, engineer, or ship-builder,” sneered the *Putnam’s* cookery book reviewer: “There have been no female Udes, Caremes, Vatel’s or Soyers; not even a female Brillat-Savarin” (“Cookery Books” 110-111). As the esteemed gastronome Dr.



Gustave Louis Maurice Strauss sniffed, "What is said of the poet may be applied equally to the cook. As the one so the other is *born* not *made*. The poet and the cook alike are nature's own handiwork, not the laborious product of training and teaching" (Strauss 4).<sup>12</sup> To connoisseurs of fine cuisine, the female cook who was obliged to turn to common cookery books for guidance and instruction exposed herself as unworthy of the title of culinary *artiste*.

Many late nineteenth-century women writers, however, were evidently concerned to glorify cookery as an art which revealed a cook's extraordinary gifts and virtues. "Good cooking is an art," explains a writer in *The Woman's Signal*, "and like any other art, it needs training first, practice next, and brains always" ("The Working Man's Dinner Table" 234). "There is a disposition among us to look down on household work as something menial and unworthy of women," remarked Rhodes in *The Galaxy* (47). But the "young woman who has a natural aptitude for the art of preparing food" and engages it with the spirit of royalty (reminiscent of Beth's noble exertions in the kitchen), participates in "the gastronomic traditions of France" (Rhodes 48). Any "sensible" husband would certainly consider his wife's production of "a dozen different kaleidoscopic omelets, *aux fines herbes*, *aux huîtres*, *aux petits pois*, *aux tomates*, etc.; and not only that, but scientific croquettes, mysterious soups, delicious salads, marvelous sauces, and the hundred and one savory results of a little artistic skill.... as the *chef-d'œuvre* of all her accomplishments" (Henderson 31).

In *The Beth Book*, Grand elevates cookery from slavish toil to art by intertwining the evolution of Beth's culinary skills with the emergence of her poetic sensibilities and the development of her literary powers. In this respect, Grand was drawing on a popular motif in the ongoing debates about whether all women ought to know how to cook. "You are not necessarily devoid of all literary attainments because you know how to grill a

chop without burning it to a cinder,” reminded an author of an advice manual for the *Modern Girl* (Burrill 165). Women writers frequently linked cookery with writing in order to assert the modern woman’s capacity to excel equally and simultaneously at both the art of cooking and the art of writing. “The general public knows well enough that a literary woman is always slovenly, slipshod, and ink-besmeared, ignorant of the first principles of decent housekeeping, neglectful of her children, and utterly worthless in all domestic matters,” Obenchain had scoffed. But “the real literary woman is, in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases, a model of all the domestic virtues” (Obenchain 117). The *Women’s Penny Paper* was delighted to report on the virtues of “Literary Women as Housewives” (6). The paper cited an example of an authoress whose domestic management had been so “excellent” that her husband proudly declared that he had “never felt afraid... of bringing a friend home with [him] unexpectedly,” as “there would sure to be a well-spread table, bright with summer flowers, or winter leaves, and shining with carefully polished glass and silver”; and his experiences had confirmed his theory that “the mind that can plan a novel, or project a poem, will surely not fail when asked to draw up a dinner menu, or arrange some party of pleasure” (“Literary Women” 6).

A significant proportion of Beth’s early assertions of independence and social activism revolve around food acquisition and distribution; but they are also characteristically exercises in imaginative creative writing, as Beth “surrounded herself with a story” as a means of “fill[ing] up her empty days” (*BB* 264), and of expanding her range of experiences and knowledge. Laura Marcus reads Beth’s “reverie and daydreaming” as an integral step in her development as a writer and later, as a socio-political activist (Marcus 147), and “suggests also that fantasy may be a site of resistance and autonomy” (Richardson and Willis 30). Assuming the attitude of Jane Nettles the housemaid, for instance, Beth experiments with commerce as she

negotiates a line of credit with Mary Lynch the shopkeeper, in order to purchase sweets (BB 19), a debt which is duly repaid by Beth as she imitates her mother's anxieties about money (19-20). Similarly, throughout her adventures with Charlotte and her girlfriends on the beach, Beth self-consciously casts herself as a romantic heroine dedicated to the "Secret Service of Humanity," who ensures that Charlotte is provided with scrumptious delectables (267), forages for nighttime feasts (268-9), and conscientiously relieves the hunger of her playmates as much as she can by resuming the "poaching habits" (272) which had previously helped provide sustenance for her mother and sisters. "She was an ill-used heroine now, in the hands of her knightly deliverer, and thoroughly happy" (150), when she was comforted and fed "sandwiches, cakes, and hot tea" by her friend Count Gustav Bartahlinsky, after he had fished the starving girl out of the harbour into which she had leaped to escape her mother's physical brutality (150). And after her disappointing attempt to win Sammy Lee's respect and admiration for her poetic gifts by first impressing him with her expertly-prepared fried fish (177-179), Beth "was the sad central figure of a great romance, full of the most melancholy incidents" (180). Beth's fictionalizing is designed to relieve the monotony of her life (264); but in her various roles as Mrs. Caldwell, as Loyal Heart the Trapper (175), a benevolent society lady awaiting her dinner party guests (20), brave adventuress, and romantic heroine, Beth is imaginatively liberated from the constraints which are imposed on feminine food consumption and related food activities.

Although Beth never writes professionally about food, she engages with food at an intellectual and imaginative level, constructing texts and situating her developing food knowledge within narratives, in a manner which I propose is analogous to the enterprise of actually scripting food literature on paper. She effects a kind of food writing as a rebellious response to what she recognizes as a disrespectful disregard for her capacity

and need to express and to exert her own tastes and preferences, rather than be moulded by expectations other people have of her. At a dinner one evening, Beth “cried with rage because the servant poured white sauce over her fish, and without asking her too” (28). She responds characteristically by imaginatively recasting the incident from one in which she is merely a “silly little body” unnecessarily silenced by irrational social conventions, into a scenario in which Beth is a powerful natural force, limited only by laws of nature and physics: “The fish was an island, and Beth was the hungry sea, devouring it bit by bit. Of course if you put white sauce over it, you converted it into a table with a white cloth on, or something of that kind, which you could not eat, so the fish was spoilt” (26).

Towards the end of the century, a demonstrable literary bent bolstered a woman’s credibility in culinary matters: “in these more enlightened days it is curious to notice that it is almost entirely women who have acquired some reputation in the field of pure literature who have afterwards sought to set off domestic skill with literary charm,” remarked a book reviewer in *The Atlantic Monthly*, citing Eliza Leslie, Isabella Beeton, Marion Harland, and A.D.T. Whitney as examples of cookbook authors who have “written about other, and we may say higher, things than the duties of the kitchen-maid” (“Recent Literature” 684). A woman skilled in the art of writing could transform even the most ordinary culinary event into an occasion which could not help but attract the attentions and interest of even the most recalcitrant or undomesticated young woman who might otherwise dash out into the wide world devoid of critical culinary skills: “The fate of a plum pudding boiled by the untrained hands of a girl of fourteen becomes under Miss [Louisa M.] Alcott’s pen an affair of nearly as great moment as some of the wildest of situations under other pens” (Salmon 517). The process of writing about food or inscribing culinary experiences could provide women writers with a kind of literary

training ground when it was not received as the only form of writing for which women were suited. Helen Gray Cone, in an essay on "Woman in American Literature," speculated that early American women writers may have "had a lingering feudal idea that [they] could hold literary territory only on condition of stout pen service in the cause of the domestic virtues and pudding. 'In those days,' says Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 'it seemed to be held necessary for American women to work their passage into literature by first compiling a cookery book'" (Cone 923).

Food writing might also function as a foil for a blossoming or unsatisfied need or desire to write other kinds of texts, as suggested by Karen Burrill's relation of "a well-known tale of a publisher who cruelly rejected a volume of poems as useless and unsaleable, but strongly advised the youthful poet to 'go home and write a cookery book.' Are all writers of cookery books really poets at heart?" Burrill agonized (170). "Are they merely writing out recipes for Soufflès [*sic*] and sweets because a morally sordid and food-loving public prefers pastry to poetry and will have none of their sonnets?" (Burrill 170).

By never inscribing her imaginative food-centred narratives on to the physical page, however, Beth derives the benefits of experimenting with food writing, without being constrained or stigmatized by the generic requirements of a didactic text about food. But the periods during which Beth most vigorously applies herself to perfecting or developing her culinary abilities coincide with the periods during which she most struggles to express herself through writing, and to gain credibility as a writer. As a girl, Beth desperately tried to learn how "to write an Italian hand.... 'because there are such lots of things I want to write down,' she explained" (BB 99), evincing her compulsive need to present herself and her ideas through elegant writing. At Rainharbour, Beth preferred blacking grates and other kitchen labour with Harriet than learning her lessons

with her mother. While her cookery skills developed by leaps and bounds, “she hated writing copies, and did them disgracefully, because her mother beat her for a blot, and said she would never improve” (123). She “was not so much gratified by” Sammy Lee’s praise of her cookery skills “as she might have been” (177), had she been comfortable that he could appreciate her peculiar poetic gifts: as she watched him relish the browned whiting she had lovingly prepared, “she was yearning for an outlet for ideas that oppressed her” and she struggled with “the effort to find expression for what she had in her consciousness” (178). But this was a boy who, “proud of his sex,” delighted in reinforcing the perceived chasm between men’s and women’s abilities: “Men write books,” he informed Beth, “not women, let alone gels!” (172). Yet unsatisfied with having impressed the boy with her cookery skills, Beth frantically, but unsuccessfully tries to earn his respect and his faith in her abilities by writing poetry, failing to understand that the boy lacked any appreciable artistic sensibility (180-182). Years later, the months she dedicated to nursing Arthur Brock back to health through scrupulous application of the innovative Salisbury diet triggered “a great change” in Beth “in respect to her writing; her enthusiasm had singularly cooled; it had ceased to be a pleasure, and become an effort to her to express herself in that way” (517). Grand seems to be suggesting that to the New Woman “with innumerable interests in life” (“The New Woman” 470), cookery and writing may be complementary creative activities which help her to develop into “a well-balanced creature” capable of expressing her love and the beauties of her nature in countless ways (“The New Woman” 470-1).

While activities associated with food acquisition and production stimulate Beth’s narrative impulses, reading and writing inspire her adventures in cookery and other household activities, suggestive of Grand’s faith in “women’s work” and writing as synergistic activities which are each more dynamically and constructively performed

when a woman is allowed liberal opportunity to explore and to experiment with the tools of diverse arts. Beth's talents for housework develop as she strives to satisfy her appetite for the lurid tales Harriet the housemaid would recount as "she went about her work," with Beth "follow[ing] her from room to room,... listening with absolute faith and the deepest interest to the stream of narrative.... Often, too, Beth in her eager sympathy would say, 'Let me do that!' and Harriet would sit in an arm-chair if they were in the drawing-room, and resign the duster--or the dishcloth, if they were in the kitchen--and continue the recital, while Beth showed her appreciation, and encouraged her to proceed, by doing the greater part of her work for her" (BB 122-3).

Although Beth is rarely described sharing peaceful meals with male characters in the novel, her relationships with girls and women are typically forged and cemented with delicious comestibles, the production of which (either by culinary skill or by stealth) are fueled by the stories Beth creates. Her relationship with Harriet, for example, is grounded on a common interest in stories and food (128): "Beth took a lively interest both in the cheesecake[s] and the letter[s]" which were sent by Harriet's family (123), and the pair delighted in sharing both as a break from their housework. Reveling together in the jokes, riddles and stories in the *Family Herald*, Beth and Harriet "became so hungry over the recipes for good dishes that they frequently fried eggs and potatoes, or a slice stolen from the joint roasting at the fire, and feasted surreptitiously" (128). Beth likewise secured Charlotte Hardy's support for her "Secret Service of Humanity" enterprise by entrusting the doctor's daughter with an elaborate fantasy romance between Beth and a "rich, dark, handsome, [and] ... mysterious" lover (265), and reinforcing the friendship by procuring delicacies such as "a solid Melton Mowbray pie, a sausage in puff-pastry, a sponge-cake, a lemon cheesecake, and two crisp brandy snaps, and ... coffee" (267). Consistent with the pattern in the novel for good food to

generate rich narratives, and stories likewise to stimulate the production of gustatory delights, night-time vigils for romantic sailors and man-of-war's men appealed to Charlotte's appetite for romance as she in turn relieved Beth's bodily hungers by pilfering from her family's kitchen "chicken and ham, cold apple-tart and cream, and a little jug of cider" (269), and breakfast of "fried ham, boiled eggs, hot rolls with plenty of butter, and delicious coffee" (270).

Significantly, with only one male character in the novel is Beth at any age represented as being comfortable enough to pursue together her creative cookery and her narrative impulses as an act of devotion or comradery akin to the friendships with girls and women which sustain Beth throughout her life. In London, when Arthur Brock falls sick, Beth's culinary talents are applied to invalid nursing. For the first time in the novel, rebellious and independent Beth is described working in a harmonious partnership with a man on a shared project, as she studies and applies the principles of the innovative therapeutic Salisbury diet (505), which had been developed by Dr. J.H. Salisbury, and detailed in his substantial work, *The Relation of Alimentation and Disease* (1888).<sup>13</sup> Grand's own enthusiasm for the Salisbury cure is evident in her record of an interview with a Salisbury practitioner, Mrs. Elma Stuart, which she recorded in *The Humanitarian*.<sup>14</sup>

Surprised by the calibre of Beth's cooking (503), Arthur willingly places his confidence in her culinary skills and wisdom throughout the long months of his illness, a significant departure from most male characters in the novel, and from actual male chefs and gastronomes who disparaged women's food knowledge. Here, too, Beth's devoted application of her wealth of accumulated wisdom about cookery and nutrition drew upon the narrative skills cultivated in her youth, as she justified her refusal to join Arthur in eating the wholesome "dainty little feast[s]" which she provided for him, while



fabricating stories about hot meals she had denied herself in order to pay for her companion's food: "Practising pious frauds upon him had become a confirmed habit by this time--of which she should have been ashamed; but instead, she felt a satisfying sense of artistic accomplishment when they answered" (508). By "writing" fictions to support and complement her therapeutic culinary activities, Beth satisfies her own needs to express herself through her art, and to exercise what Grand argued was a womanly instinct to love, to nurture, and "to set the human household in order, to see that all is clean and sweet and comfortable for the men who are fit to help us to make home in it" ("New Aspect" 276).

While cookery empowered the individual New Woman by giving her the skills to take care of herself and her loved ones, it also legitimated the femininity and essential womanliness of the New Woman, and thereby bolstered this new model of femininity against the constant barrage of anti-feminist attacks. Mangum proposes that "[in] many ways" the story of Beth's early relationship with the ailing Arthur Brock "seems to be offered as proof that the New Woman retains the qualities of womanhood her critics feared she had lost, the abilities to nurture others and to sacrifice herself to others' needs" (Mangum, *Married* 189); but Grand's emphasis throughout the novel on Beth's cookery and desire to feed other people particularly functions as a palliative against the popular charge that the New Woman was an unsexed and unsympathetic creature bereft of the womanly impulse to nurture. Beth's ministrations and attentions to Arthur's diet are at the heart of an intimate friendship in which Beth exemplifies the New Woman's compassion and dedication to the service of people in need who are not driven to extinguish the vitality of her intellect and spirit: "Now that she had some one she could respect and care for dependent on her, whose every look and word expressed appreciation of her devotion, the time never hung heavily on her hands" (*BB* 504).

Other feminist writers similarly invoked cookery and various aspects of household management to emphasize the imperative that the movement towards feminine emancipation be complemented by a correlative attentiveness to traditional womanly activities in order to establish credibility. As Frances Power Cobbe professed, “[i]n the first place, we ought to perform our present share in the world’s work--the housekeeping, the house-adorning, the child-educating--so as to prove that, before we got a step further, we can and will at least do *this*. Before Political Economy comes the Economy of the Kitchen, the Larder, and the Coal-cellar” (Cobbe, *Our Policy* 5).

Beth’s “[t]rue womanliness” (Grand, “New Aspect” 274) is dramatically exhibited through the sacrifices she willingly makes to be able to feed the people she loves to the best of her abilities. At Rainharbour, Beth suffered considerably as she denied her appetite (*BB* 158) and “wasted to a skeleton” (148) in an effort to reserve as much food as possible for her mother and sisters: “Beth... became torpid from excessive self-denial; she tried to do without enough, to make it as if there were one mouth less to feed, and the privation told upon her; her energy flagged; when she went out, she found it difficult to drag herself home, and the exuberant spirit of daring, which found expression in naughty enterprises, suddenly subsided” (214). Although she worked to procure edible treats for Charlotte and the other girls in the Secret Service, Beth “never touched any of those good things” herself (277), displaying the desire to please others worthy of her regard at the expense of her own self-indulgences which characterized Grand’s New Woman.

But Beth’s routine starvation as a means of feeding other people aligns Beth with the self-sacrificing trope of the Angel in the House, an association which is reinforced on the final pages of the novel by the old night watchman’s “certainty that a heavenly vision had been vouchsafed him” when Beth, barely protected in “her long white wrapper” from

the frosty night air, delivers food to him to “cheer and refresh him” (526). Caroline Caldwell’s starvation of “herself and her daughters in mind and body in order to scrape together the wherewithal to send her sons out into the world” (121; *cf.* 151, 155) is represented in the novel as the tragic outcome of a social system which extorted a waste of women’s vitality to satisfy masculine appetites; yet Grand appears to be validating Beth’s sacrificial self-starvation as she rewards Beth with the prospect of a happy union with Arthur Brock, “the Knight of her long winter vigil” (527).

Although throughout the novel Grand frequently refers to Beth’s refusal to eat when the women around her are hungering, the most detailed and elaborate description of the agonies Beth suffers as a result of her deprivations appears during the narrative of the young woman’s relationship with Arthur during his convalescence. Extending to more than a page, the passage describes Beth’s own extreme hunger as she observes with sorrow the suffering of “a band of starving children” (506), and of “a gaunt little girl who carried a baby on her arm and was dragging a small child along by the hand” (507). She herself “had suffered temptation” to appease her own excruciating hunger when she had “pass[ed] an Italian eating-house where she used to go sometimes, before she had any one depending on her, to have a two-shilling dinner--a good meal, decently served” (507). Grand expounds in particular in this section on Beth’s struggle to quell her own needs to serve Arthur: “Now, when she was always hungry, this was one of the places she had to hurry past; but even when she did not look at it, she thought about it, and was tormented by the desire to go in and eat enough just for once. Visions of thick soup, and fried fish with potatoes, and roast beef with salad, whetted an appetite that needed no whetting, and made her suffer an ache of craving scarcely to be controlled” (507). Beth’s renewed assertion that “[s]he would die of hunger rather than spend two precious shillings on herself while there was that poor boy at home, suffering in silence,

gratefully content with the poorest fare she brought him, always making much of all she did" (507), underlines the genuinely self-sacrificing nature of Grand's New Woman which distinguished her so radically from the constructions of the voracious and selfish New Woman in the popular press.

Where the self-starvation of Caroline Caldwell and other "old-fashioned womanly women" had been figured as a grievous waste of a woman, Grand hints that Beth's alimentary deprivations are the price the New Woman must be prepared to pay in the pursuit of a potentially generative community. The "graces of life," she explained, could only be cultivated and advanced by "men and women working together, and in honour preferring one another, each giving something which the other lacks" (Grand, "What to Aim At" 361); but the challenge for the New Woman was to locate a New Man who could honour her, respect her, appreciate her for the contributions she made to an equitable and mutually-enriching partnership. As man was deemed to be "morally ... in his infancy" (as Grand had famously declared early in the New Woman's "life" in print ["New Aspect" 273]), it was the New Woman's responsibility to identify a mate who had the potential to aspire to attain the high moral standards she set for herself, and to inspire him to cultivate his gifts. Such a man, Grand teaches, would be, as Beth recognized Arthur to be, "a man of the highest character and the most perfect refinement.... So heroic in suffering, so unselfish, and so good" (505); and such a man could fill the New Woman "with hope, strengthen[] her love of life, and [make] everything seem worth while" (505). When Beth has her beautiful hair cut and sold for money to buy nourishing food for the sick man, Arthur's vicious suggestion that Beth's cropped hair signals that she is one of "the unsexed crew that shriek on platforms" (509)--a glaring instance when Grand invokes the popular constructions of the New Woman in order to differentiate them from her vision of the modern woman--threatens to expose him as an

"extinguisher" reminiscent of Sammy Lee and Dan Maclure. But where these men had extorted Beth's subjugation and sacrifices purely to satisfy their own selfish desires and appetites, Arthur's eventual appreciation for what it had cost Beth to furnish him with wholesome foods redeems him above the cast of misogynists in the novel. Looking anew at Beth through a friend's "study in starvation," a portrait Gresham Powell had surreptitiously sketched of Beth the day she had had her hair cut, Arthur recognizes Beth's tremendous gift to him: "I was too self-satisfied even to suspect that she might be imposing her bounty upon me, starving herself that I might have all I required, and sending me off here finally with the last penny she had in the world" (514).

The pattern of Beth's food acquisition, preparation and distribution, and the sacrifices she makes in order to feed other people demonstrate Grand's "commitment to reforming, rather than radically changing, existing society" through her literature (A. Richardson, Rev. of *Married* 684). Teresa Mangum argues that by revising the conventional marriage plot, and writing "the New Woman ... out of what the novel reveals to be a masculinist artist plot" (Mangum, *Married* 148), Grand "produces ... [a] woman-centered, *feminist* aesthetic" (152). I propose that much of the "genius" of Grand's New Woman lies in her ability to construct a new aesthetic by harmonizing seemingly disparate, but complementary art forms which had been traditionally hierarchized according to the gender of the artist or practitioner. As *The Beth Book* reveals, Grand's New Woman is an educated, knowledgeable, and confidently capable figure whose careful cultivation of the "housewifely arts" constitutes part of the training Grand believes is necessary for the mothers of an improved race; but the New Woman's capacities in this regard are enriched and enlarged by her appropriation of writing--an art traditionally codified as masculine--as a tool for effecting social change. Where the conventional Victorian model of idealized femininity was idealized because she adopted

without question her assigned occupation as glorified housekeeper devoted to serving the appetites of others--irrespective of their morals or manners--Grand's New Woman claims for herself the right to address her own needs, "to follow her own bent," until such time as she is presented with an opportunity to commit herself to an individual who strives towards the high moral standards she sets for herself. In the meantime, she would cultivate the skills, including cookery, which would permit her to meet her needs and to ensure that others around her received adequate physical, moral, and intellectual nourishment.

## Notes to Chapter 4

1. As the "Housekeeping" by-line indicates, and Elizabeth Driver confirms, Ethel Earl is also notable as the author of *Dinners in Miniature* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1892), which was reprinted from *The Queen*, and consists largely of tips and suggestions relating to planning and service of "miniature" dinner parties of upwards to four or six people, with a concluding chapter which provides a small selection of recipes (Driver 236).
2. Translation: "It is certain that the female cook can never give to an important table the fundamental charm and style which the male cook might bring. The profession demands tiring labours which man alone can face, and the elements of ingenuity which the woman can never bring to the enterprise."
3. Elizabeth Driver identifies Ida Cameron as Miss E.J. Cameron, author of *Miss Cameron's cookery book* (London: *The Epicure Office*, 1898 and 1902), and *Soups & stews, and choice ragouts; containing practical cookery recipes* (Lymington: R.E. Hants and C.T. King, n.d.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co Ltd., 1890 and 1897) (Driver 153).
4. In her "History of Culinary Hierarchy," Vicki A. Swinbank reminds us that until relatively recently, women's cookery knowledge "was usually not recorded in written form, but was passed on orally from one generation of women to the next" (Swinbank 468). The development of *haute cuisine*, however, depended on the printing of cookbooks which fixed the identities of dishes and their constituent ingredients, a formalization of cooking which many women "distrusted" because it "did away with the personal element" which women felt characterized the food they prepared for people they loved (Swinbank 468). According to this reasoning, women's cookery knowledge is inimical to written texts, a model which is questioned by *The Beth Book*.
5. Translation: "The Gallery of French Gastronomes and Practitioners, from Brillat-Savarin to the present day."
6. Repplier's enthusiasm for gastronomy is evident in her essay "Cakes and Ale," a study of English drinking-songs, in which she challenges the "rigorous censorship ... maintained over the ethics of literature" which had branded the poetry and literature of conviviality a "forbidden theme" (Repplier, "Cakes" 478), thereby distinguishing herself from both the idealized Victorian lady who blithely denied any appreciation for the culture of drink, and from the feminism associated with political women's magazines such as *The Woman's Signal* and later, *Women and Progress*, which were expressly committed to temperance.
7. Barbara Haber remarks in her essay "Growing Up with *Gourmet*" that "novelized household manuals" such as Owen's *Gentle Breadwinners* "had something of a vogue in the late nineteenth century" (Haber 214). Owen's novel tells the story of Dorothy Fortescue who, finding herself and her sister left penniless after their father's death, establishes what soon become a lucrative catering business. In addition to providing recipes for all of the dishes Dorothy prepares, the novel also details the economic rationale and scientific reasoning which motivates Dorothy's culinary experiments and

innovations, and contributes to her financial success. Other similar works identified by Haber include *A Thousand Ways to Please a Husband* (1917), by Louise Bennet Weaver and Helen Cowles LeCron, and Owen's *Ten Dollars Enough* (1886), and *Molly Bishop's Family* (1888), which "play[] out Owen's philosophy that superior domestic skills give women a fallback position in the event of financial catastrophe" (Haber 215), consistent with Grand's argument in *The Beth Book*. Mrs. Eliza Warren's *How the lady-help taught girls to cook and be useful* (1879), identified by Elizabeth Driver (638) could also be considered a novelized cookery book.

The novelized cookery book was especially well-suited for works which prepared girls to perform their womanly roles as wives, mothers, cooks, and mistresses of household staff. Elizabeth Kirkland's *Six Little Cooks; or Aunt Jane's Cooking Class*, published in 1877 and "generally acknowledged as the first American cookbook for children" (Longone, "As Worthless" 107), ushered in a cookery book genre which, as Jan Longone argues, reproduced traditional ideas about women's responsibilities and duties. Narratives typically related stories about young girls being taught to cook by their mothers or other female relatives (or, as in the case of Jane Eayre Fryer's *The Mary Frances Cook Book*, by animated kitchen tools and appliances), or describe children enterprisingly establishing a cooking club, as in *The Cooking Club of Tu-Whit Hollow* published in 1885 (Ross 1). While providing entertainment and edification, the books offer "moral and social guidance, and ... function ... [as] training manual[s] for a girl's adult role" (Ross 2). Jan Longone ("As Worthless" 107, 110) and Alice Ross both list several such novelized children's cookery books published around the turn of the century.

8. Professing itself to be "A Study in Taste," Waters's *The Cook's Decameron* gestures towards gastronomy, as it combines a literary narrative (following the structural model of Boccaccio's *Decameron*) with a cookbook consisting of "Over Two Hundred Recipes for Italian Dishes." In this, one of the earliest Italian cookbooks published in Britain, Waters endeavoured to educate both men and women about Italian food, a culinary tradition which, as the author notes, was sadly misrepresented by the Italianesque restaurants in London at the turn of the century. The narrative relates the experiences of ten members of fashionable society who gather at a country house for ten days to learn how to prepare and how to appreciate authentic Italian food under the tutelage of the fictional Marchesa di Sant'Andrea. While celebrating an ethnic cuisine, the text also unself-consciously validates women's culinary authority: at no point in the *Decameron* is the Marchesa's knowledge or skill questioned, suggestive of the growing faith in feminine knowledge about food by the end of the nineteenth century. At the end of the Italian cooking experiment, each of the novice cooks is given a book of recipes for every dish prepared during their course, thereby affirming the authority of a woman not only to impart culinary knowledge through direct, hands-on engagement with the subject, but also to literalize a new receptivity towards unfamiliar foods.

9. Pennell is also noteworthy for having legitimated cookery books, whether written by men or by women, as valuable cultural artefacts in "My Cookery Books," her description of her own extensive cookery book collection (all 433 volumes of which are now housed in the Special Collections of the U.S. Library of Congress). The original description appeared as a feature essay in *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1901, 789-800), and was extended and republished in a single volume edition, *My Cookery Books* (1903).



In "Humors of the Cookery-Book," Agnes Repplier, one of Pennell's closest girlfriends while enrolled in Eden Hall, the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Torresdale, Pennsylvania ("Agnes Repplier Papers" 1), had explored early cookbooks as literature, similarly affirming the value of knowledge popularly denigrated as too intimately bound with diurnal banalities to warrant much attention.

10. Commenting on the challenges faced by women cookery-book writers, Elizabeth Driver notes that many of these "women were able to call upon their family connections in the publishing world," while others who were "female journalists, already established in publishing, made an easy leap from the newspaper or magazine column to the bound volume" (Driver 39).

11. Exception for this rule could be made in the event of an occasional domestic emergency of some sort, as evidenced by the manly *The Manufacturer and Builder*. Originally published in the womanly magazine *Good Housekeeping*, "A Man in the Kitchen" (1889) asserted that "There is no good reason why a man should not be able to broil a steak, boil or bake potatoes, cook an egg, make coffee or tea, and prepare other articles of food should an emergency arise to make it desirable (and such emergencies do often arise); and do it, too, without turning the kitchen and dining-room topsy-turvy in the operation" ("Man in the Kitchen" 43).

12. Lucy Fountain in the Brevities column of *Putnam's Magazine* envisioned the chef as a far less astonishing creature than the culinary stars Strauss lauded as having "in their inspirations and aspirations some of the divine afflatus" (Strauss 4). "A good cook is born, not made," Fountain concurred, "but he needs an immense deal of polishing" (Fountain 375). Further support for the notion that extraordinary cuisine was the product of nature rather than nurture is evident in an 1847 review of the cookbook *French Domestic Cookery*: "As no manual of politeness will of itself make a gentleman, so can no book of cookery of itself make a cook" ("French Domestic Cookery" 214).

13. Several cookbooks by other authors appeared to complement Salisbury's own instructions and dietary advice, such as *A manual of what to eat and how to cook it for Salisbury patients* (1897) by Anna K. Eccles, which Driver describes as "giv[ing] recipes for an all-meat diet" (Driver 28).

14. Mangum does not cite Grand's "The Salisbury-Stuart Treatment" essay in her bibliography, although she does note that Grand had been so pleased with the Salisbury Cure "that she tried to persuade a magazine to publish an article about it" (Mangum, *Married* 118). She also includes reference to Grand's expression of "her desire to write such an article" in an unpublished letter dated 4 October 1894 to her literary agent, William Morris Colles (250).

## CHAPTER 5

### **“Cooking, cordial, cigarettes, and coffee”: The Old Woman’s Famine and the New Woman’s Feast in *Babs the Impossible***

At this point man begins to rail at the sexlessness of the New Woman. He has prepared a dish of love for her since the world began. It is the only dish he knows how to cook, and now, for the first time, she has no appetite for the banquet. That it is badly cooked, so overdone that no piquancy is left in it, never occurs to him, nor that woman has turned to a more ethereal food out of sheer disgust at a diurnal *réchauffé*. If the modern Eve is an epicene creature, man has largely his own clumsiness to thank for it.... Having starved for centuries, she has now to recover from the surfeit of intellectual dainties to which she has helped herself with both hands. (Devereux 23-24)

Almost as though she were responding to Margaret Devereux’s 1896 exploration of femininity in *The Ascent of Woman* from which the above passage is extracted, Grand asked in “The New Woman and the Old,” “Where is this New Woman, this epicene creature, this Gorgon set up by the snarly who impute to her the faults of both sexes while denying her the charm of either--where is she to be found, if she exist at all? For my own part, until I make her acquaintance I shall believe her to be the finest work of the imagination which the newspapers have yet produced” (“New Woman” 466). The reference to the New Woman as an “epicene creature” common to both passages, hints at Grand’s acute engagement with the dynamic interplay between various print media and genres which contributed throughout the 1880s and 1890s to the construction of the

New Woman; but the phrase also points to the prominence in those media of questions pertaining to appetites, food, and consumption in the continuing debates about the parameters of womanhood.

In 1900 the periodical in which had appeared Grand's essay "The New Woman and the Old," *The Lady's Realm*, offered Grand's second serialized novel, *Babs the Impossible*, in which are crystallized many of the themes associated with the Woman Question which Grand had explored throughout her fiction and essays of the 1880s and 1890s. In this chapter I demonstrate that Grand addresses the question plaguing readers of popular fiction and periodic journalism of the identity of the New Woman by defining her in terms of her self-governed appetites, and her responsible, wholesome and balanced attitude towards food and drink. "Blasted New Woman sort of business--disturbs balance--balance must be put right" (*Babs* 337), asserts a gravely inebriated Jellybond in a pit of despair after being rejected by the lovely New Woman Barbara Land. But it is this desire to re-establish balance in matters pertaining to the New Woman which is construed as the motivation for the cessation of Jellybond's alcoholic binge, and the re-invigoration of his scheme to get into Parliament. As such, the incident neatly underlines the argument running throughout Grand's fiction, that the success of the New Woman's enterprise to improve society for both men and women is dependent on the responsible governance of appetites, with a view to achieving balance between pleasure and duty, between the needs of the community and the desires of the individual. Through the language of food in *Babs*, Grand demonstrates that the New Woman was not the maladjusted power-hungry virago suffering from "moral, mental, and physical [dis]equilibrium" described by Devereux (24) and popular in the periodicals, but rather, that she was a "well-balanced creature, with innumerable interests in life, and enjoys them all without excess" (Grand, "New Woman" 470).

Throughout this dissertation, I have endeavoured to demonstrate the dynamic relationships between the New Woman and the broader debates of the period focused on the nature of femininity and the roles of women in society. I have emphasized the novelty of Grand's fiction by demonstrating that in the *Morningquest* trilogy Grand has drawn on late nineteenth-century discourses concerned with food and hunger in order to reveal the limitations of the traditional Victorian ideal of woman as "domestic nun" (Dijkstra 3), and to assert the advantages to women and to men of expanding the range of gustatory, culinary, and gastronomic experiences available to women as producers and as consumers of food. The boisterous, gently mocking spirit of *Babs*, and its heroine's and author's evident delight in all things epicurean, together with the novel's call for changes to the construction of feminine appetites and womanly consumption, is consistent with the burgeoning body of texts being published by the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century which asserted the need to disrupt the established patterns and conventions of eating and dining. As I argued in my last chapter, by the turn of the century, gastronomical treatises and other texts written about food and dining, like Grand's fiction, increasingly challenged the conventions established by male writers earlier in the century that women were incompetent cooks, and lacked taste and an appreciation for fine food. In periodicals, essays about food, and fiction, women were also being acknowledged as arbiters of taste and food technique because they themselves had the capacity to enjoy eating and drinking. By the time readers encountered *Babs*, they had begun to be acquainted with writing women who delighted in eating, and who were knowledgeable about food histories, preparation techniques, and tasteful modes of food service. These women were practicing the ideologies expressed by Grand throughout her New Woman fiction, claiming for themselves the privilege of pleasing their palates, and the authority to express their knowledge and

experiences with food in texts which were received with respect and admiration from male and female readers and reviewers. Set against this background of changes being effected in the gastronomical and culinary landscape, *Babs* is revealed to be very much a child of the times. The New Woman in *Babs* doesn't merely express an appetite as did *Ideala*, delight simply in eating rich foods for the sake of it as did Angelica, or derive pleasure from the joys of wholesome foods which sustain the body as did Beth. Rather, *Babs* revels in the sensuality of eating, as the novel celebrates food for its aesthetic pleasure, elevating it above the merely nourishing or wholesome, with an exuberance unmatched in Grand's Morningquest trilogy.

The "intellectual dainties" (Devereux 23) Grand offers through descriptions of decadent dishes and abundant feasts in *Babs* bespeak a greater confidence in the authority of women to be appreciative epicurean readers than had been evident in earlier novels such as *Ideala*, in which descriptions of feminine hunger predominate over narrative details about specific aliments or meal scenes. In this sense, Grand appropriates the spirit of several *fin de siècle* works written by feminine epicures. In *The Feasts of Autolycus: The Diary of a Greedy Woman* (1896),<sup>1</sup> for example, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, one of the most prominent of the era's female writers of gastronomy,<sup>2</sup> condemned the popular silencing of women's gustatory desires, and encouraged women to expand their repertoire of sensory pleasures: "To-day women, as a rule, think all too little of the joys of eating," she complained (10). Women "hold lightly the treasures that should prove invaluable. They refuse to recognise that there is no less art in eating well than in painting well or writing well, and if their choice lay between swallowing a bun with a cup of tea in an aërated bread shop, and missing the latest picture show or doing without a new book, they would not hesitate; to the stodgy bun they would condemn themselves, though that way madness lies" (11). A novel like *Babs*

might well have been written in response to Pennell's suggestion that much of women's happiness depends on the availability of texts which encourage women to revel in "the Beauty, the Poetry, that exists in the perfect dish" (6), and to celebrate their appetites: "Accept the gospel of good living and the sexual problem will be solved. She who first dares to write the great Food Novel will be a true champion of her sex" (15).

The year before the publication of *The Feasts of Autolykus*, and anticipating Grand's setting of discussions about the status of women at the dining table at Danehurst, the *Atlantic Monthly* had offered a short dramatic work, "A Woman's Luncheon," in which issues relating to the women's movement, and to the New Woman in particular, are similarly literally situated at table. Here, however, the luncheon menu provides form and structure to the conversation of the exclusively female party, as each of twelve courses flavours a discussion about a particular women's issue. As they eat their way through "grape fruit," bouillon, Lobster en Coquilles, Sauce Tartare (these last two being reminiscent of Mrs. Kingconstance's meals in *Babs*), hors d'œuvres, sweetbreads, and onwards through to fraises glacés served with coffee, the assembled guests—including fashionable wealthy women, writers, a Fellow of Victoria College with a doctorate, and at least one politically-active New Woman—explore many of the concerns of the early women's movement. They consider such issues as the value of marriage to the modern woman, the role of literature in changing women's position in society, the need to reject the "self-abnegation" which was previously taught women to their detriment, Frances Power Cobbe's claim that "she believes in her sex until she sees a fashion-plate" (197), and the seemingly conflicting issue of the importance of a woman's good looks (a favourite subject to Grand, who explored the matter in "The Morals of Manner and Appearance"). One of the women introduces *The Heavenly Twins* as a novel which might have "set several of the more serious girls to talking about the grim

tragic mistake girls might make in marrying" (203). Throughout the performance, food is as much a theme running through the dialogue as it is the foundation of the structure of the entire piece, suggesting that Grand was not alone in looking to food as a prominent site for the renegotiation of women's roles and responsibilities. Dr. Crave of Victoria College, for instance, commenting on the role of the "awakening" modern woman in increasing the social "sensitiveness to the pain of humanity," links the political issues germane to the New Woman with consumption when she observes that "there are people going hungry in this very city, while here are we, who ate breakfast a few hours ago, now enjoying a most delicious luncheon; we shall go on to two, three, or four places between now and six o'clock, where we shall be offered ices, muffins, sandwiches, tea, and chocolate; then we shall dine, and not few of us may probably take an elaborate supper at midnight" (200). The script conjoins women's issues with feminine eating of elegant meals, and underlines my claim that Grand's fiction elaborated on ideas and concerns which were percolating throughout popular culture towards the end of the century.

Strikingly, *Babs* is the only one of Grand's New Woman novels in which the term "New Woman," is used as a label in its recognizable format with uppercase letters. In *The Heavenly Twins*, both Evadne and Angelica are associated with "the new women, who are just appearing among us" (HT 193), who are characterized particularly by "maternal affection" (288). But in none of her Morninqest novels does Grand use the formal "New Woman" title. "They said you were a New Woman," Mrs. Kingconstance remarks to Barbara Land in *Babs* the day of the younger woman's arrival in Danehurst; and it is no doubt not merely coincidental that the question is raised at luncheon after Mrs. Kingconstance's "attention had wandered now to an excellent *entrée*" (*Babs* 284). In effect, the entire novel is designed to provide an answer to the critical question voiced

by Lorraine Kingconstance, "But what is the New Woman after all?" (284), a question which in *Babs* is very much contextualized within contemporary discourses about food, appetites, and feminine consumption, which were prevalent in the print media of the period, together with the question of what the New Woman should eat.

In response to the dialogue in essays between Grand and Ouida in *The North American Review* which in the spring of 1894 had opened the floodgates of the journalistic assault on the nascent New Woman (Grand, "New Aspect" and Ouida, "The New Woman"), *Punch* had taken the liberty of defining the New Woman in terms of her aberrant eating habits:

There is a New Woman, and what do you think?

She lives upon nothing but Foolscap and Ink!

But, though Foolscap and Ink form the whole of her diet,

This nagging New Woman can never be quiet!

("The New Woman," *Punch* 252)

This allusion to the New Woman's extraordinarily unwholesome diet hints at the overlap which existed between the Woman Question and the great Food Question which is at the heart of my dissertation.

The "great food question is fundamental," declared the editor of the 1884 inaugural issue of *Food: A Monthly Journal of Dietetic Economy in all branches, at Home, Abroad, and in the Colonies* ("To Our Readers" 1), one of the large number of periodicals devoted to food which appeared during the final decades of the nineteenth century, one manifestation of a surge of interest in the subject of food which coincided with the heyday of the New Woman. Together with a smorgasbord of cookery books,



gastronomical treatises, and health and nutrition manuals which were increasingly available, periodicals devoted to the subject of food such as *The Cook and Housekeeper*, *The Royal Cook*, *The Epicure: A Journal of Taste*, *Food and Health Leaves*, and its successor, *Food & Health: Scientific & Practical Review*, encouraged readers to consider "the great importance of the Food question" which, as Mrs. Amelia Lewis explained in one of her celebrated Food Lectures, "meant nothing else than the maintenance of that vitality which was the basis of life itself" (Lewis 75).<sup>3</sup> Periodicals such as *The Epicure* and *The Chef* were evidently aimed at a masculine reader who had extensive experience with urban hotels, clubs and restaurants, or who had acquired a higher degree of formal gastronomical training than was customarily available to women. But unlike many specialized periodicals, a significant proportion of those which were explicitly concerned with food were directed towards a broad audience.

Magazines such as *Food*, *Food and Health Leaves*, and *Good Health* addressed the interests of both men and women on grounds akin to those established by the *Food* editor that "it is obvious that the great Food question is a living and personal subject to every one among us," since "our physical well-being--the necessary basis in this life of our intellectual and moral existence--depends wholly on our `meat and drink'" ("To Our Readers" 1). Although occasionally recipes and cookery lessons were offered, the greater emphasis was to encourage readers of both sexes to consider the cultural and geographical origins, aesthetic appeal, and economic, health, environmental and sociological implications of the food they cooked and consumed, and contributed to an intellectual context congenial to explorations of the relationships between food, gender and authority.

And yet, as I discussed in my previous chapter, despite the apparently ungendered appeal of the food question, the preparation of food for the household was

widely held to be central to woman's role in the world and integral to femininity: as "Valentia" penned in the *Souvenir Cookery Annual for 1894*, "What can a woman be worth/who knows simply nothing of cooking...?" (23). Food-focused periodicals directed towards women, such as *The Cook & Housekeeper* and *The Royal Cook*, were primarily concerned with offering detailed advice about the procurement, storage, preparation and service of food, leaving it to feminist magazines to consider the implications of women's proscribed relationships with food in the conditions of women's lives. Unlike their mainstream counterparts such as *Home Chat*, *The Housewife*, *The Young Woman* and *The Lady's World*, feminist magazines such as *Woman's World*, *Shafts*, *Kettledrum*, and the *Women's Penny Paper* did not regularly provide seasonal menus, or advice on cookery, housekeeping or diet, despite their claims to be addressing the real-life concerns of all women and being committed to being "true to the sacred rights of Womanhood" ("Our Policy" 1), conventionally defined as revolving around the feeding of husbands and children. Nevertheless, these periodicals engage the food question by promoting women's critical roles in the temperance and vegetarian movements, endorsing co-operative kitchens which would liberate women from perpetual domestic servitude (Selden 547-8), lauding the establishment of cookery schools which promised to increase women's employment opportunities ("A New College" 261; "The County Councils" 532), and addressing the controversial question "Ought All Women to Learn to Cook?" The limitations which were imposed on women's public consumption of food which were being challenged by the New Woman are implicit in the coverage of the Pioneer and Grosvenor Clubs where women could procure satisfying meals in comfort, and of the Dorothy Restaurant, which supplied "what [had] been much wanted but never before been obtainable--a restaurant and refreshment room, managed for ladies by ladies" ("Dorothy' Restaurant Company" 7). Likewise evidencing the radical nature of

women's newly-expressed appetites are the need to celebrate the "daring" annual "Ladies' Literary Dinner," established by Honor Morten "to prove... that women could manage a public dinner quite by themselves" ("Ladies' Literary Dinner" 7); and the indignation stimulated by the lack of protest against the regulations restricting women's access to the eating rooms at the National Liberal Club ("Tea on the Terrace" 366).

Especially suggestive of the New Woman's threat to conventions relegating women to hidden hunger and enslavement in the kitchen is the introduction in *The Woman's Signal* after October 1895 of cookery and recipe competitions, and regular columns devoted to "Middle-Class Cookery," "Cottage Cookery," "The Working Man's Dinner," and "Economical Cookery." Previously, neither *The Woman's Signal* nor *The Woman's Herald* with which it had merged earlier in 1895, had featured columns expressly devoted to household management, although food-related social issues had been addressed. Curiously, this editorial change coincided with increased attention to the problem of the ostensible tension between the "ideal" woman and the New Woman; but the shift validates Tusan's theories about the evident domestication of the New Woman as a necessary means to garner support among conservative readers for the socio-politically engaged modern woman (Tusan 176). Paradoxically, while celebrating the professional and educational achievements of women, *The Woman's Signal* increasingly reaffirmed the notion that woman's place was in the kitchen, and that her duty was to relinquish her own desires in the interests of satisfying the appetites of her family. While Rachel Gleason argued that "Surely there should be some way by which a family, not pinched by poverty, can eat, drink, dress and sleep, without shattering the mind or body of its maternal head" (Gleason 342), the author of "The Working Man's Dinner Table" attributed drunkenness and wife abuse to a woman's poor cooking and suggested that it was a woman's responsibility to ameliorate the situation by improving

her cookery skills ("Working Man's" 234). And while one writer applauded Board School cookery teachers who "must certainly come under the heading of 'New Women'" ("More New Women" 118), "The Working Man's Dinner Table" writer undermined the efforts of the New Woman by her assertion that a "woman at her kitchen table working out the problem of a good nutritious dinner for her household maybe [*sic.*], and is, a benefactor, of a far more valuable type than many of those who expect to set the world right on public platforms" ("Working Man's" 101). The food-related ideological inconsistencies manifested in *The Woman's Signal* between 1895 and 1898 are indicative of the fomenting controversies surrounding the New Woman's challenge to the feminine ideal: conventionally, a woman's relationship with food was both fundamental to her identity and central to her proscribed responsibilities; but as some feminists believed, it could also be a hindrance to a woman's activities and involvement with the public world.

While women's roles in the preparation and service of food were being contested, women's consumption of food and the pleasures women might be permitted to express by eating continued to be constrained by texts which characterized femininity and womanliness by an absence of appetite and/or of good taste, both of which trends are particularly figured in *Babs* through Ally Spice and Mrs. Kingconstance, respectively. Châtillon-Plessis, for example, acknowledged that he did not have much faith that a woman might be truly and seriously a gourmet (Châtillon-Plessis 114), since most women were far too distracted by matters relating to their own *toilettes*, their clothes constricted their bodies too much to properly enjoy fine cuisine (114), and the feminine palate was unappetizingly too inclined towards sweet, soft and creamy dishes to produce discriminating eaters (119). Although Thackeray in the guise of A.M. Titmarsh asserted "that every man who has been worth a fig in this world, as poet, painter, or musician, has had a good appetite and a good taste" (Thackeray, "Memorials" 319), a

lady with sufficient appetite to be able to eat seventeen dishes was decidedly "disgusting" (331): "taken as a rule," Thackeray explained ungenerously, "women have no real appetites. They are children in the gormandizing way; loving sugar, sops, tarts, trifles, apricot creams, and such gew-gaws.... They are not made for eating and drinking; or, if they make a pretence to it, become downright odious" (Thackeray, "Gastronomics" 245-6).

The frustration undoubtedly experienced by women caught between the conflicting paradigms of feminine involvement with food evoked by *The Woman's Signal* in the second half of the 1890s and by *fin de siècle* gastronomy is suggested by the overtness of Grand's exploration of feminine appetites in *Babs*. Grand ascribes to two of her characters, Miss Spice and Mrs. Kingconstance, the types of appetites associated in the popular (conservative) imagination with the ideal feminine and the New Woman, respectively; and she demonstrates the failure of both models of feminine appetites to allow women to address their needs while effectively performing their womanly duties. As an antidote to both of these destructive models of femininity, Grand offers the fresh new possibilities suggested by Babs who appropriates the best qualities of the models of femininity represented by her friend Ally Spice and by her mother, Belle Kingconstance. Through Babs, Grand breathes life into the New Woman of her 1898 *Lady's Realm* essay whose "health is radiant, her manners charming, her wit taking, her morals unimpeachable, and her will a quantity to be reckoned with" ("New Woman" 467), and who, despite her faults, "is altering always" as she progresses towards the goal of being "a well-balanced creature, with innumerable interests in life" which she "enjoys...without excess" (469-70).

But to achieve that desirable state of equilibrium, so unlike the disequilibrium associated with the New Woman by conservative punsters, Babs must resolve for

herself the diametrically opposed feminine role models available to her. Presenting her oft-noted angelic demeanour--her face which bore an "habitual expression of angelic sweetness" (*Babs* 53), the "angelic face, framed in fair hair" (153) which melts the hearts of Cadenhouse (51, 93, 261) and Sir Owen (253)--she is visually aligned with Miss Spice. With her "flaxen curls framing her little perky pink and white face, and every action animated by the desire to please" (79), the diminutive Miss Spice epitomizes the idealized Angel in the House who expresses her "gentle and good and kind and true" nature (338) by feeding people. As she braves inclement weather to buy "something tasty and tinned" for her Aunt's tea (27), presses "her aunt to eat a bit of cold buttered toast" while leaving herself nothing more for her own dinner than "bread and beef-dripping, with a little milk and a good deal of hot water" (83), and as she offers the gossip-mongering neighbourhood ladies her last spoonfuls of tea and sugar (80), this aging angel embodies the spirit of self-sacrifice and subservience so revered by Victorian readers, and which was assumed to be the antithesis of the New Woman.

Grand is one of several women writers who had begun towards the end of the century to decry the disabilities which were imposed on women as a product of a fear of displays of feminine appetites. Francis Power Cobbe had objected in an 1878 article in *The Contemporary Review* to the enculturation, particularly among women of the upper classes, "of that condition of *petite santé*, valetudinarianism, and general readiness to break down under pressure" (Cobbe, "Little Health" 98). She identifies a socially-imposed malnutrition as a primary factor in the physical and emotional weakness which debilitated countless women and cost the nation's children and men the benefits of healthy mothers and wives (99), compounding the costs of the sufferings experienced directly by women themselves. These women, Cobbe argues, "seem to consider themselves as fire-flies issuing out of a rose, flitting hither and thither to brighten the

world, not creatures of flesh and blood, needing to go to bed and eat roast mutton" (102). The proverbial Mr. John Bull, Cobbe observes, was demonstrably a creature who "has not often waited for an hour, half-fainting for want of his breakfast, from motives of mere domestic courtesy; ... nor resolved his dinner into tea and muffins because he was alone and it was not worth while to trouble the servants" (103), and was accordingly, due to his sustained "wholesome indulgence" (103), full of vigour and blessed with fully-functioning organs. By contrast, Mrs. Bull pays in ill-health and nervous disorders for the lessons learned in childhood "to check, control, and conceal her wants and miseries," including her hunger for food (103). Like Grand, Cobbe insists that it is women's individual responsibilities to take care of themselves, to ensure that they were of optimal health (103). Acknowledging that no longer are "young ladies ... required by *les bienséances* to exhibit at table the public habits of a ghoul" (105), Cobbe maintains nevertheless that too few women were satisfying their own physiological needs for wholesome food.<sup>4</sup>

Miss Spice's "heroic little half-starved face" (*Babs* 309) and the "spindle-shanks" of her fragile body testify to the physical privations she suffers to please others, justified on the grounds that "[t]here was ...joy in the luxury of giving, and in the gentle generous courtesy and kindness which make of [her] frugal hospitality such an acceptable sacrifice" (76). To Grand, as to Cobbe, a woman's emaciated frame was both a problem in itself and a symptom of the emotional and intellectual starvation which characterized the lives of many Victorian women who denied their needs and desires under the belief that appetites were unwomanly. Although Miss Spice "had begun life with a healthy appetite for everything," she "had suffered from enforced abstinence, from semi-starvation of every function and every faculty" (100), which Grand attributes to an enculturated fear of feminine appetites. Miss Spice's "nature was largely loving,

her faith and charity were excessive" (102), and that very excess hinders her from taking responsibility to break the sad pattern of a woman's conventional life in Danehurst:

"We're born, we mourn, we die, we rot" (124).

Like Miss Spice, Lorraine Kingconstance is plagued by "a great craving for she knew not what"<sup>5</sup> (102). She complains of her "wits [having been] burnt out for want of nourishment" (201), and her entire confession to Cadenhouse of her unhappiness is a plea "for bread" (203). Unlike Miss Spice, however, Lorraine had maintained a "critical faculty that saved her from the danger which threatened Miss Spice" (103), by allowing her to recognize the difference between the saccharine emotional confectionary offered by Jellybond, and the genuine "bread" which she could only truly obtain by engaging herself with the world beyond Danehurst. This distinction is evocative of a letter written to the *Women's Penny Paper* with respect to a speech presented in Edinburgh at the Women's Liberal Association meeting: "Mr Childers' speech... was full of sugarplums-- we women are hungering for bread," proclaims "Z.A.", the insulted correspondent asserting the need for women's suffrage (Z.A., "Hungering" 57). Where Miss Spice could only mourn her lot as a woman in Danehurst in fairly general terms (*Babs* 124), Lorraine, like the *Women's Penny Paper* correspondent, verbalizes her awareness of the inadequacies of her emotional and intellectual diet. Throughout the novel, Grand asks her reader for empathy for all women whose appetites and desires, like those of Miss Spice and most of the other women of Danehurst, remain unarticulated and unsatisfied; and Grand offers as an antidote to the starvation of women, the possibilities open to women who, like Lorraine Kingconstance, apply the courage to articulate their appetites as the first stage in their energizing participation in the world beyond the domestic hearth, the "strange awakening" to "something which [can make] her life purposeful and [saves] her" (316). In my discussion of *Ideala* I argued that throughout



her essays and fiction Grand asserts the responsibility of women to act for themselves; here in *Babs*, Grand even more vividly demonstrates the different degrees of self-actualization effected by women who variously do and do not claim responsibility for the satisfaction of their own needs.

While to the popular press, the womanly ideal epitomized by Miss Spice was deemed the model of femininity best suited for fulfilling the roles of wife and mother, Grand suggests that these roles cannot be satisfactorily performed by a woman who cannot claim for herself the authority to address her needs. "Miss Spice was a sweet-natured, practical little person naturally, born to be a self-effacing wife, a devoted mother, a happy home-maker" (124); but due to her inability to acknowledge and satisfy her appetites, "Miss Spice was wasted" (124). Like Beth Caldwell who, as a young wife prior to joining Angelica's social circle of politically-conscious women "had never heard that there was a duty she owed to herself as well as to her husband" and other people to whom she was legally or socially bound (*BB* 425), Miss Spice had sacrificed herself to a heartbreakingly destructive model of womanhood. Ironically, Miss Spice's unquestioning acceptance of conventions which prevented her from taking measures to remedy her dire straits hindered the achievement of her dream. To be a wife and mother required a suitable mate; and yet the tragedy of her life is that Miss Spice lacks those qualities which would stimulate masculine desire. Throughout *Babs*, the women who are attractive to men are those who take action to address their needs and desires. While Grand does not endorse the self-interested social-climbing ambitions of the rakish Jellybond, his estimation of Miss Spice is consistent with Grand's assertions about the unviability of a woman's negation of herself: Jellybond "loved luxury, warmth, and fatness, and hated spindle-shanks, both in women and furniture; so that poor little Miss Spice, with her Sheraton and Chippendale, her self-denying habits and person pinched

for want of proper food, rather repelled than allured him after Mrs. Kingconstance, in all the regal amplitude of her presence and her surroundings" (*Babs* 113). To eligible bachelors such as Lord Cadenhouse, Sir Owen, and Jellybond, much of the appeal of women such as Babs, Lorraine Kingconstance, Barbara Land, and even Mrs. Kingconstance is that they are not afraid to express and pursue the satisfaction of their appetites for knowledge, employment, masculine companionship and food.

For the most part in the novel, Grand maintains the convention that the power to give voice to hunger or appetite is associated with men, and with women who transgress or challenge the boundaries of conventional genteel femininity; but in *Babs* this authority is validated as the sign of someone whose interests, activities, or sphere of influence is expanding. To Babs it is a point of honour that her "soul is not above... victuals" (57), and that she is more concerned with managing the world around her in the present, than in paving a way to heavenly bliss in the hereafter. Likewise her brother, Montacute, expresses his seemingly newly-attained manliness (237) by abandoning his resistance to being fed (234) in favour of lively appetites which demand to be satisfied by substantial breakfasts (236). But Babs is almost uniquely comfortable among the female characters of the novel for her unselfconscious comfort with actually articulating her hunger, as she does when she surprises Cadenhouse in his tower at night (56), or at luncheon (87): "'Benson,' she called to the butler," in a scene reminiscent of Beth Caldwell's commanding appetites after her first encounter with Sammy Lee (*BB* 165), "more beef. I don't know what there is about you, Cadenhouse, but you do make me feel hungry.... Potatoes Benson!" (*Babs* 86-7).

By contrast, as pinched and peaked as Miss Spice appears, physically demonstrating a hunger which is visible to all but the complacent Mrs. Kingconstance (77), and although she desperately prays for food to provide for her guests (309), Miss

Spice persistently refuses to voice her own wants: “I don’t want anything you know; I’m not at all hungry,” she insists (309). The little spinster never actually speaks of her hunger, reinforcing the popular notion that a true woman dared not acknowledge appetites which could not be satisfied without marking a woman as being concerned with corporeal rather than ethereal matters. As Babs intimates, conventions governing women’s expressions of their appetites generate a situation in which “nobody seems hungry but me” (87), a statement which belies the reader’s knowledge of the state of women’s lives in Danehurst and Grand’s apparent impression of the conditions of real Victorian women’s lives.

In a similar vein, Babs’s mother might crave Angels on Horseback as a means of “tempt[ing] the appetite” (83), but with the exception of one occasion only, Mrs. Kingconstance does not explicitly verbalize a hunger which is distinct from her desire for a particular taste sensation. Mrs. Kingconstance is panicked by the possibility of being late for dinner (40), but this alarm is apparently generated more by a fear of delaying pleasure than by a need for the bodily revitalization which a good meal might provide. In a single exceptional instance, however, Mrs. Kingconstance declares herself to be “ravenous” (210) when she finds herself in the novel environment of Jellybond’s mysterious cottage in the forest, engaged in “the most unconventional thing [she had] ever done in [her] life. Quite an ‘Arabian Nights’ entertainment!” (208), and being tantalized with thoroughly unfamiliar dishes (210). The experience “set up a craving for more” similarly “romantic adventure[s]” (214), yet all of Mrs. Kingconstance’s thrilling new experiences with new sensations, new foods, and new activities were carefully maintained within the boundaries of conventional propriety by the assiduous host (214). Gradually, under Jellybond’s guidance, however, the judicious and directed exercising of her appetites leads Mrs. Kingconstance out of her indolence and apathetic disengaged

consumption, and directs her towards "a new phase of beauty--a firmer phase" characterized by greater alertness, and the appearance of "forcefulness both of character and constitution" (218-9). The situation testifies to Grand's belief in the viability of expanding the sphere of women's gastronomic experiences without compromising their womanliness, a stance which was in opposition to the popular belief that the indulgence of appetites was incompatible with ideal womanhood.

In rejecting the self-sacrificing model of womanhood embodied by Miss Spice, the nascent New Woman also needed to resist the temptation to over-indulge her appetites. Babs, Grand's figure for the developing New Woman, is presented with the other extreme of feminine appetites manifested by her mother who, with her selfish pursuit of "cooking, cordial, cigarettes, and coffee" (214), manifests many of the characteristics ascribed to the New Woman by the slanderous popular press. Mrs. Kingconstance is as selfish as Miss Spice is selfless, as stout as the little woman is scrawny, and as insensitive to the needs of others as the other is devoted to serving them. In her unfettered indulgence of her appetites for sensual delights, together with her lackadaisical neglect of her maternal responsibilities, the amply proportioned widow resembles less the domestic madonna celebrated by conservative writers than she does the Old Woman whose death knell was tolling that Grand had described in "The New Woman and the Old."

In Mrs. Kingconstance Grand validates the Victorian fear that the pursuit of feminine appetites could distract a woman from domestic duties and threaten social harmony. As a widow of wealth, nothing impedes the satisfaction of a sudden craving for such delectables as Angels on Horseback, "those delicious little morsels of oysters rolled in bacon, and served on crisp toast, very hot" (83). While giving "herself up to the pleasures of anticipation, consumption, and recollection" of tasty dishes (84), Mrs.

Kingconstance's management of the household is lax, leaving her "a little put out at dinner because her cook had substituted *sauce Tartare* for the *sauce Hollandaise* which she was sure she had ordered" (170). Her lack of control over her domestic staff is consistent with her subjugation to her all-consuming passion for bodily pleasure which leaves Mrs. Kingconstance at the mercy of those who exploit her weakness. Jellybond, for example, need do little more than chatter about Parisian food (97) before Mrs. Kingconstance indecorously entertains him in her boudoir (106); and from there, all that is required is the production of a bacchanalian feast in a secluded cottage to rouse her to "the Indian summer of elderly passion" (207), thereby sealing her unwitting role in Jellybond's attainment of political power.

Mrs. Kingconstance's gastronomic hedonism allows Grand to generously embellish *Babs* with an alimentary lexicon which is more vividly detailed and more precise than in any of her other New Woman novels. Specific foods and dishes are named, and meals in the narrative are attentively revealed to be consumed in accordance with contemporary dining conventions which were well-documented in manuals of household management and cookery. We read of Babs' delight in Cadenhouse's prawns (57) and lemonade (58), Mrs. Kingconstance's agony over having been served *sauce Tartare* "to which she was indifferent" when she had most certainly ordered *sauce Hollandaise* of which she was "particularly fond" (170), her weakness for lobster mayonnaise and champagne (194-6), her wondrous delight in the strange and intoxicating cordial concocted by her picnic host (211-3), and her determination to "refuse[] sweetbread for luncheon, and... *paté-de-foie-gras* sandwiches for tea" in order to preserve a severity of attitude befitting her role as parental disciplinarian (256). We can count the number of teaspoonfuls of tea in Miss Spice's supply (79), the glasses of wine, and bumpers of burgundy consumed by Jellybond and his mother (135-8, 182),

and the number of bottles of Burgundy generously donated by Jellybond to Ally Spice (309); and we are provided with a comprehensive list of the contents of Babs' basket when she fortuitously arrives to relieve Miss Spice of the shame of entertaining her nephew without food in the house (311). Likewise, Jellybond's private dinners are carefully staged from the *hors d'œuvre*, to the *consommé*, the *poisson*, and beyond (218). Such details situate the novel and its ideology firmly within *fin de siècle* gastronomic culture, and entice the reader to refer to culinary manuals and cookery books for insight into Grand's ideology.

Although Mrs. Kingconstance's fondness for lobster mayonnaise and champagne bespeaks an essential womanliness by evoking Byron's infamous declaration that "a woman should never be seen eating or drinking, unless it be *lobster sallad* [*sic.*] & *Champagne*, the only truly feminine & becoming viands" (Byron 208), the widow's sudden craving for Angels on Horseback, "those delicious little morsels of oysters rolled in bacon, and served on crisp toast, very hot" (*Babs* 83) which she considers to be especially conducive "to tempt the appetite" (83), hints at the unruliness of her desires, newly awakened after discoursing with the women of Danehurst on the subject of the possible addition to the neighbourhood of "[a] gentleman of taste" (82). In her reference to an expensive, extraordinarily rich, and strongly-flavoured dish, Grand marks Babs's mother as a figure of voracious appetites inconsistent with the ideal of genteel womanhood and angelic maternity which Mrs. Kingconstance believes herself to embody. In so doing, Grand undermines the popular pretense of the woman who attempts to distinguish herself from the advanced woman by emphasizing her own ostensible lack of any appetites which resemble those which purportedly characterize the New Woman.

By the end of the nineteenth century, oysters were enormously popular both on

English and American tables, and in gastronomical treatises, cookery books, and mainstream periodicals.<sup>6</sup> The bivalves were considered to be nourishing and tasteful food, and most recipe books of the period offered instructions for serving them raw, or for preparing them creamed, broiled, stewed, or in sauces. However, the particular oyster dish to which she refers in *Babs* was sufficiently specialized as to compel Grand to provide a veritable recipe for its preparation, thereby drawing attention to the significance of Mrs. Kingconstance's consumption of these indulgent morsels. Although a recent writer has suggested that at least in Canada, Angels on Horseback were a favourite dish of the pub-frequenting drinking man (Maw 1), evidence derived from nineteenth-century cookery books indicates that the preparation was less commonly promoted than were other oyster dishes. Curiously, the dish seems to have been excluded most noticeably from "respectable," or generic manuals of household or domestic cookery, particularly those written by women who were concerned to present recipes only for the most wholesome dishes suitable for the entire family, or cookery books directed towards the pecuniarily-challenged.<sup>7</sup> In popular culture, Angels on Horseback seem instead to have been associated with exceptional circumstances of preparation and consumption, and with pretentious aspirations towards decadent living; as a result, they seem a particularly fitting choice of food for Grand to highlight in a novel which is motivated by a desire to present the New Woman as an extraordinary model of femininity who is a strong proponent of balanced and moderate consumption. The incomparably condescending George Augustus Sala, citing eminent French authorities of gastronomy which would no doubt have sent the likes of Mrs. Kingconstance into a swoon at the mention of their names, provides instructions for Angels on Horseback which give indication as to why Mrs. Kingconstance's health might be threatened by her "dangerous" proclivities for comfort and comfort foods (*Babs* 14):

Cut some little round pieces of bread about a quarter of an inch thick and two inches in diameter; fry them in clarified butter to a golden brown, then spread over them a purée of anchovies, and on this purée place a little slice of crisply fried bacon; on the bacon put a bearded oyster which has been simply warmed in the oven between two plates, with a little butter and its liquor, and seasoned with a tiny dust of nutmeg; then sprinkle over the top a little chopped parsley, and dish the crusts in a row; pour the oyster liquor round them, and serve for a savoury or breakfast dish.

Toast can be used instead of the "crusts."<sup>8</sup> (Sala 186)

Undermining the authority of such illustrious and highly-acclaimed cookery texts as Sala's *The Thorough Good Cook*, Jamie Maw situates the consumption of angels on horseback in Vancouver public houses. Remarkably, however, May Henry and Jeannette Halford include the dish in *The Bachelor Girl's Cookery Book: Simplified Recipes for Amateurs* (ca. 1910) among those deemed appropriate for the independent bachelor girl who was popularly held to be a variant of the New Woman (Henry 116). The dish's inclusion in *The Bachelor Girl's Cookery Book*, and its relative absence in more general tomes of domestic cookery directed towards the mistresses and cooks of middle- and upper-class families, underlines the purportedly specialized culinary and alimentary needs of this new breed of womanhood, the independent woman, and provides an intriguing counterpoint to the conservative values and conventionality of Mrs. Kingconstance.

The detail provided by Grand about dishes such as Angels on Horseback, and the nature of the foods consumed by both Mrs. Kingconstance and her unfortunate counterpart, Miss Spice, highlights the extraordinary aspects of the eating habits of



those female characters in Grand's novels who are committed to aligning themselves with the conventional ideal of femininity. Grand thereby demonstrates her rejection of the popular assumption that the New Woman threatened to instigate social disruption by bringing her appetites to the table, and reinforces the notion that the New Woman's self-governance and moderate appetites for wholesome substances constitutes an advancement on the unruly or volatile appetites of the less socio-politically engaged Old Woman.

While the example of a woman such as Mrs. Kingconstance whose appetites exposed her to the manipulations of her dandy of a paramour were distressing, even more alarming to the Victorian audience was the impact of a woman's unfettered pursuit of gastronomical delights on the performance of her social and maternal duty. Mrs. Kingconstance "would have been much surprised had anybody hinted that she was not a most large-minded, as well as kindly and considerate, person, or that she failed to fulfil her whole duty in every relation of life" (78), in her selfish cultivation of contentment (14); but she does fail miserably to extend kindness towards others and to perform what Grand elsewhere refers to as "the graces of life" ("What to Aim At" 359), evidenced by her lack of compunction about pillaging Miss Spice's meagre food stores, "it never occur[ing] to her that Miss Spice was to be pitied, far less helped" (*Babs* 77). And while paying lipservice to the belief that a woman's primary responsibility was to her children, Mrs. Kingconstance "saw very little of [them] except at meals...and did not trouble herself much about them then" (204). In her commitment to her hedonistic pursuits, she jeopardizes the health of her ailing son by resisting bringing him home from school, conscious that Montacute's return would curtail the delightful picnics and dinners she had been enjoying with Jellybond (222). The philandering Jellybond is so appalled by Mrs. Kingconstance's privileging of her selfish pleasures over her maternal

responsibilities that "the idea of proposing that night melted from his mind" (222), testament to Grand's argument that feminine appetites must be managed so as not to impede the performance of a woman's duties.

Despite her condemnation of voracious feminine appetites, Grand handles Mrs. Kingconstance gently. Instead of the malicious and mean-spirited version of the shrieking Old Woman depicted in "The New Woman and the Old," Mrs. Kingconstance is drawn as an obtuse and helpless product of an unfortunate lack of the education and experience required to empower her to govern her appetites responsibly, rather than to be governed by them. Mrs. Kingconstance is incapable of independent thought, relying entirely on other people for child-rearing advice and her opinions about public issues. When presented with novel situations, she blinks and stares dopyly, sipping champagne (197), reminiscent of Grand's infamous "cow-kind of woman" ("New Aspect" 270); and her mind is easily distracted from "advanced ideas" and "improving conversation" by the threat of cold soup or the appearance of "an excellent *entrée*" (*Babs* 282-284). As with the sad sufferings of Miss Spice, Grand attributes the social disruption caused by Mrs. Kingconstance's dangerous proclivities to social forces and "the influences of ... environment" (80) which denied these women the requisite knowledge to authorize their own appetites and independence. Mrs. Kingconstance is one "of a long line of women who, deprived of the means of intellectual development, had been obliged to live upon their senses more or less; women who had all been domestic pets in their time, and little else" (279). Just as *Babs* ought to be forgiven for her social and interpersonal misdemeanours because she has been brought up "on the old plan--having all the facts of life carefully concealed from [her]" (145), and responsibility for her ignorance lies in the hands of those who would shelter her from knowledge of the world (280), so too, Grand suggests "it was in no way [Mrs. Kingconstance's] fault" (280) that she had never

been encouraged to engage herself with anything more substantial than frivolous “feeding and flirting” (316).

Mediating between these two dysfunctional models of femininity figured by Mrs. Kingconstance and Miss Spice is Babs who has inherited her mother's hunger for pleasure, but has benefited by the lack of parental authority which might otherwise have blinded her, as it did her mother, to the sufferings of others. Unarmed, “as most young ladies are” with knowledge “of her own nature, and of the dangers to which she was exposed by reason of her natural instincts” (246), Babs is unhampered in her pursuit of “a good time” (40). Although she recognizes the conventions which regulate feminine consumption, Babs is disinclined to jeopardize either her bodily health or her sociability in deference to them. Having extorted from Cadenhouse a nocturnal repast in his tower, Babs is delighted when he begins to share the meal: “I'm glad you're going to eat something,’ she interjected. ‘It's more sociable. I shall be able to eat twice as much now you've begun. Try the prawns” (57). And she vehemently rejects conventions which deprive women of authority over their appetites and bodies: “Personally, I don't care to feel small,’ said Babs. ‘When I compare myself to the universe, I don't feel any pride in an attenuated body. Nor shall I shirk my food for the sake of my figure, nor squeeze a foot, nor cramp a hand. I'm here to have my own idea of a good time--not to conform to the idiotcies [*sic.*] honoured by other people.... I've got a good appetite, that's one comfort” (310-11).

But while much of her energy is absorbed with the satisfaction of her “good appetite,” Babs's experiences have alerted her to the relationship between appetites and power. She has witnessed at close range the vulnerability of women who are at the mercy of both their own appetites and the appetites of other people which they are expected to serve. She is as guilty as is Jellybond of exploiting her mother's fear of

being late for dinner (40) and her susceptibility to the seductive charms of champagne and lobster salad (196) in order to dodge maternal reproach when she has contravened Mrs. Kingconstance's sense of feminine propriety. And experience has emboldened her with a resistance to being subjugated to other people's appetites. She proclaims that she will not be "a sugar-plum in a bonbon box" (248), a delectable confection for consumption by an audience hungry for sensory delights; and as much as she starves for caresses (265), she is uncomfortably fascinated by being "devoured" by the male gaze of Sir Owen and Cadenhouse (268), suggesting an awakening consciousness of her need to govern her own appetites, and to navigate the fine line between the pursuit of her needs and the desires of those around her.

Distinguishing her from her mother, Babs's enthusiastic pursuit of pleasure and gratification is always tempered by her sensitivity to "suffering humanity" (151), and her awareness of the inability of many women to satisfy various manifestations of hunger. For all the disruption she causes, and as outrageous as she is, in her commitment to providing pleasure and comfort to others Babs resembles more Miss Spice than she does her mother. Apprised of the dismissal from the household of the servant Susannah, Babs doesn't hesitate to decapitate her pet Spanish fowls to ensure that the maid has the fortifying foods which she is reputed to require (147-9). She likewise loves to arrive at Miss Spice's cottage bearing the basket of food which had become a habit with her after having once discovered there the "shocking ...fact that there wasn't bread enough--*bread* even!--enough!" (306). As much as Babs delights in satisfying her own appetites, the potential for her to develop into Grand's Ideal Woman is rooted in her generosity: "Babs loved to give; it was one of the ways she had of making a good time for herself" (114).

Babs is offered as a model of femininity learning both to reconcile the yearnings

of the heart, body, mind and soul, and to integrate the strengths and virtues of various role models percolating in the periodical press. Her refusal to commit herself to an established model of femininity or to adhere to conventions which would require her to confine her activities or to deny her appetites, are for Grand, attributes which will allow the girl to develop into a more womanly woman than the models offered by the mainstream press. By claiming authority over her appetites and desires, and by balancing them with kind attention to the needs of others, the new and improved woman at the end of the nineteenth century suggested by Babs as her ship leaves port at the close of Grand's novel was less the "epicene creature" feared by the Victorian popular imagination than she was an epicurean who faced an expanding vista of intellectual, emotional, and physical experiences awaiting women in the new century. Conscious of the freedom she claims to choose whom to marry, and when--if ever--to marry (383), Babs is herself surprised by the "wonderful sense of exhilaration" (384) she feels as "the steamer surged onward at full speed" (384). As she is refreshed by "the air...full-flavoured with the salt of the open sea" (384), she reiterates to herself her need to taste life to its fullest, and to "experience the dear human joys" of a life shaped by her own interests and needs (386). At the close of the novel, Babs faces her future "with a singular sense of power" (386) which is radically different from the untrained "instincts" (260, 280) which had propelled her into many of her most socially-disruptive mishaps.

In *Babs*, feminine happiness and growth are associated with the satisfaction of appetites, the expression of which had been traditionally denied women. Babs may be the figure in the novel who is most poised to profit by the expansion of the opportunities available to women, and the strength to be derived from a wholesome dietary reflective of the patterns of consumption recommended for the most productive, respectable and socially-responsible men of the day. But by offering models of women who have begun

in advanced years happily to claim responsibility for their own appetites and lives, Grand reminds readers of the potential gains which might be won by any woman who applies the philosophy of the New Woman. Shaking off the “rage and hate and bitterness” which had “devoured” her (354), Lorraine Kingconstance, for example, takes responsibility for her unhappy circumstances and engages herself in enterprises in London which “had had the happy effect of restoring her youth. A purpose in life had increased her vitality; she was all energy now, and interest--a new woman” (350). And in a faint reflection of Miss Kingconstance’s progress, in the genial company of her generous nephew even Ally Spice “had lost her half-starved look, and was becoming plump for her, and rosy” (323), and could contemplate acting on Guy’s suggestion that she go into business for herself by establishing a rooming house (323).

In defending the New Woman against the charge that she exhibited perverse and destructive appetites, Grand demonstrates in *Babs* the potential for the stimulation of appetites--within reasonably civilized parameters--to invigorate individuals, prompting them to embrace life and participate in their environments in new and dynamic ways. Grand relies on Jellybond, a figure who has learned through his varied experiences about the importance of open-mindedness balanced with careful self-restraint, to suggest the importance of gastronomical pleasure to the health and happiness of individuals, regardless of gender. “‘Enjoy as you go along,’ was a maxim he practised habitually. Every moment we make pleasant for ourselves is something added to the good life,” we are reminded (164). In his application of his pleasure principle, Jellybond does energize and revitalize the people he meets, many of whom, like Florence Japp, hunger for relief of the almost unendurable tedium which marked the lives of many Victorian women, particularly those of the economically privileged classes. Afternoon teas are perked by Jellybond’s proximity (94), Mrs. Kingconstance is exhilarated by his

talk about food (97), Miss Spice is “intoxicated,” and “felt alive for once” in his company, physically “stimulated” by his touch, her “every function and every faculty” awakened “from enforced abstinence, from semi-starvation” (100). Jellybond was the “*sauce piquante*” in the lives of half the ladies of Danehurst (127), characteristic of his ability to raise spirits by stimulating appetites. Perhaps most telling, however, is his ability to invigorate men as well as women. Mr. Worryingham is the most obvious example of a male character who profits by Jellybond’s energizing influence, and characteristically, the vicar’s new verve is manifested by an increased appetite: Jellybond “filled the vicarage with a new atmosphere--a well-fed, vitalising atmosphere, charged with energy, and suggestive of temporal pleasures.... his whole presence was stimulating, and his cheery attitude towards the world and its wife had the effect upon Mr. Worryingham of a sudden increase of appetite. Mr. Jellybond made the good vicar feel as if he, too, should like to eat and live” (73). Far from being critical of this uplifting effect, throughout the novel Grand appears to be acknowledging the merits of moderate indulgence (131), when it can bring to a person the kind of pleasure which stimulates the desire to participate more fully with the world.

As an analogue to the positive effects to be expected from women’s new engagement with food as the source of vitalizing nourishment and pleasure, Grand introduces Jellybond’s fascinating cordial, marketed in his pre-Danehurst life as “Binks’s Prismatic Soul-Revivers!” (48). The elaborate libations appear throughout the novel, and are initially ascribed with an “unsuspected potency” (48) which obliterates the memories of the imbiber (50). Despite his commitment to maintaining all appearances of propriety and decorum, Jellybond does not hesitate to offer his “liquid delight” (219) for feminine (211) or clerical consumption (345), and the rejuvenating drinks become one of the many devices by which he disseminates soul-reviving pleasure and

satisfaction to the emotionally and spiritually starved inhabitants of Danehurst. But curiously, despite its fantastic effect and its fascinating opalescence reminiscent of absinthe (345, 368), Jellybond's notorious cordial produces no "baneful reaction" after its consumption (220). Not until the final pages does Grand provide a clue to unravel the mystery of Jellybond's "Elysian draught" (210) in Jeffrey Wyld's reminder that "If the liquor were as strong as it appears to be, the reaction would be unpleasant. But there is no reaction from it, no after effect" (377). The potion which Jeffrey Wyld is "morally convinced" is "an illusion.... theatrical, of course" (377) may be read as a tangible manifestation of Grand's argument throughout the novel that the feminine engagement with the enterprise of culinary production, the rituals of dining, the gustatory pleasures of the palate, and the consumption of particular foods and in quantities previously denied women in response to their own appetites, is likewise a novel form of performance which stimulates pleasure and rejuvenates the weary soul, but which does not produce an adverse reaction. She hints that the New Woman's new claim for authority over her own appetites is no more threatening, and is no more disruptive to the social fabric of respectable society, than is the consumption of Jellybond's remarkable cordials.

While Jellybond's cordials are revealed to be potent icons of the power of rituals and performances of consumption in the shaping of behaviour and ideas, Jellybond himself is a cornerstone in Grand's challenge to the authority of male chefs, gastronomes, and epicures whose claims of extensive or specialized knowledge about food held sway over feminine concerns. Jellybond embodies the dominant, primarily male-authored gastronomic ideologies of the nineteenth century discussed in my preceding chapter, the superiority of which Grand is further questioning in *Babs*. Throughout the novel Jellybond is presented as the epitome of the male gastronome



who impresses the women of Danehurst with his carefully-constructed epicureanism. Reminiscent of her critical construction of Beth Caldwell's uncle, James Patten, Grand undermines the authority and credibility of the posturing male gastronome by emphasizing the absurdity of some of Jellybond's dicta, the pretentiousness of his attitude, and his predisposition towards gastronomic artifice in lieu of an appreciation for the natural and the genuine (the purview of the well-grounded New Woman). While the "Jellybond Tinney" of his elaborate cognomen (30) conjures visions of sweet confectionary and technologically-processed savouries, his second name, "Augustus" might have been intended as a nod to any one or all of several men associated with fine cuisine: Auguste Kettner (to whom was originally attributed E.S. Dallas' *Kettner's Book of the Table*, 1877) was a well-known Soho *restaurateur*; Auguste Escoffier was one of the most renowned French chefs and food writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and the journalist George Augustus Sala was well-known for his cookery books and his gastronomical writings.<sup>9</sup>

That Grand intends *Babs* to be read in light of turn-of-the-century gastronomic and culinary history is even more persuasively suggested by Jellybond's blatant epicureanism. Jellybond's introductory dissertation on French food, the Parisian *cordon bleu*, and "*la haute cuisine*" which exhilarates Mrs. Kingconstance (97), is strongly evocative of the gastronomic treatises penned throughout the nineteenth century by male chefs and gourmets such as Brillat-Savarin, John Doran, E.S. Dallas, Abraham Hayward, John Cordy Jeaffreson, Sir Henry Thompson, and remarked on in my chapter on *The Beth Book*.

Advancing the critique established in *The Beth Book*, in *Babs* Grand challenges the supremacy of these male writers whose posturing and dictatorial dinner-table prognostications and prescriptions persistently denied women's interests, silenced

feminine appetites, and limited the potential for individuals to exercise creativity in choosing, preparing, serving or consuming food. She incorporates the pretentious privileging of French foods and culinary techniques favoured by the masters of gastronomy in England and America, as much as in France, into Jellybond's performance of culinary expertise, and transforms the supercilious male gastronome into a culinary clown. "You must go to France for the refinements of life," gushed Jellybond:

"The French provoke your appetite with one dish; but that dish is perfect--you never forget it. You would go back to Paris for the pleasure of eating it, and wait for it till--er--till it was ready. It is in Paris you realise what daintiness is, what refinement is in food. Each *plat* has its own æsthetic value. Give us Paris, I say, before we grow old--Paris and a *cordon bleu*, Paris and *la haute cuisine*--the good things of this world, so as, in due time, we may enjoy them."

He spoke slowly, rounding each word as if it were in itself a delicious morsel to be swallowed as soon as pronounced. (97)

Grand's Horatian mocking of the classic *artiste culinaire* reveals the laughable lack of substance to the male chef's pretentiousness and artifice. Shaking the male gastronome of his awesome facade, Grand minimizes the power of masculinity to dominate over feminine food concerns, and thereby endorses an expansion of the field of acceptable culinary knowledge and approaches to food permitted women over gastronomic and epicurean matters.

Although she deflates the potency of masculine authoritative posing--whether it

be in culinary, gastronomic, or any other matters--the object of Grand's ridicule is not masculinity per se, but rather the ill-founded assumption that anyone of either sex could claim the right to dictate another person's taste or gustatory preferences: "We no longer allow ourselves to be dictated to by a few irresponsible beings, with a pretty talent for turning phrases, but no control of themselves," Grand cautioned with respect to "self-indulgence" (*Modern Man* 20). An individual who did endeavour to dominate or to overwhelm another person betrayed "the well-being of the community at large" (*Modern Man* 16) by privileging self-indulgence over "unselfishness, delicate consideration for the feelings of others, powers of appreciation, and many other good qualities" which were conducive to harmonious and productive relations between men and women (16).

The discerning palate and knowledgeable appreciation for carefully-prepared food which Grand suggests in *Babs* was a characteristic of the intelligent and self-possessed New Woman, was a manifestation not of the disruptive voraciousness which the popular press delighted in ascribing to educated and independent women, but rather of "the gentle dignity, the grace, with which women can add so much to the beauty of life" (*Modern Man* 13). Instead of providing the impetus for a woman to pursue her own interests at the expense of her womanly responsibilities as sister, wife and mother, an informed epicureanism could actually heighten her capacity to "preserve the refinements of life, and hand them on from one generation to another" (*Modern Man* 16). Using the language of fine food, Grand instructed her New Woman reader in "The Morals of Manner and Appearance," that "To succeed all round, you must invite the eye, you must charm the ear, you must excite an appetite for the pleasure of knowing you and hearing you by acquiring that delicate aroma, the reputation of being a pleasing person, and then you will be well on the way to satisfy the palates of those who test the quality of your opinions" ("Morals" 91).

## Notes to Chapter 5

1. Pennell's gastronomic essays were originally published as the "Wares of Autolyclus," a series of papers in *Pall Mall Gazette*. At present, the single-volume collection is available in a modern edition entitled *The Delights of Delicate Eating* (University of Illinois Press, 2000).
2. Pennell is also noteworthy for having legitimated cookery books, whether written by men or by women, as valuable cultural artefacts in "My Cookery Books," her description of her own extensive cookery book collection (all 433 volumes of which are now housed in the Special Collections of the U.S. Library of Congress). The original description appeared as a feature essay in *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1901, 789-800), and was extended and republished in a single volume edition, *My Cookery Books* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1903).
3. Although it was not always marked with upper-case letters, the term "food question" had apparently entered popular discourse and been established as a recognizable label by the fourth quarter of the century. Several articles assume the reader's familiarity with the term, including: Edward Atkinson, "The Food Question in America and Europe; or the Public Victualing Department," *The Century* 33.2 (1886): 238-248; Edith Ward, "As We Are And As We Ought to Be," *The Woman's Herald*, Mar. 2, 1893: 28; Edward Atkinson, "The Art of Cooking," *The Manufacturer and Builder* 22.1 (1890): 18-19; Review of "A Treatise on Food and Dietetics Physiologically and Therapeutically Considered," by F.W. Pavy (London: J. & A. Churchill), *The Galaxy* 20.5 (1875): 715-717; Margaret Eytinge, "The American Dairy and its Possibilities," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* Jan. 1883: 271-275; "The Food Question," *Scientific American* 25 Jul. 1857: 363.
4. Amelia Lewis calls attention to a similarly inexcusable misapplication of middle-class resources which she dubs "genteel starvation" (Lewis, "Genteel Starvation" 243-4). Although she points to women as those who are primarily responsible for this "curse of the land, the food for doctors' bills, the originator of drunkenness the provider of inmates for asylums, hospitals and infirmaries" (243), Lewis attributes the malnourishment of the nation's finest, less to gender distinctions about the quantities or types of foods which ought to be consumed, and more to ignorance, irresponsibility, and the lack of good sense (244).
5. This phrase represents the inverse of the description of Mrs. Kingconstance as one who "had no vague longings for she knew not what" (*Babs* 12). Both passages echo Grand's declaration in "The New Aspect of the Woman Question" (1894) that "Women were awaking from their long apathy, and, as they awoke, like healthy hungry children unable to articulate, they began to whimper for they knew not what" ("New Aspect" 271). The verbal correspondences reinforce my argument that *Babs* represents a distillation in narrative form of many of the themes which had been fomenting throughout her non-fiction writing of the previous two decades. Furthermore, by linking her novel in this way with her earlier overt statements about the emerging new model of womanhood, Grand underlines the prominence in the changing of women's identities and roles of issues relating to food, hunger, and appetite.

6. Cookery books devoted exclusively to the oyster include: Mrs. [Harriet A.] de Salis, *Oysters à la Mode or The Oyster and Over 100 Ways of Cooking It to White Are Added a Few Recipes for Cooking all kinds of Shellfish* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888); F.H.E. Pankow, *The Mollusc Paramount. Being a Comprehensive Treatise on the Oyster In Relation to the Epicure, the Invalid, the Physician and the Plain Citizen* (London: 1909); and *The Oyster Epicure* (White, Stokes & Allen, ca. 1884), reviewed in *The Atlantic Monthly* 53.316 (Feb. 1884). Gastronomical treatises which include chapters specifically concerned with the oyster include: Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *The Feasts of Autolykus: The Diary of a Greedy Woman* (London: John Lane, 1896); Frank Schloesser, *The Greedy Book: A Gastronomical Anthology* (London: Gay and Bird, 1906). Discussions in periodicals about the biology of oysters, the history of oyster-eating, and oyster propagation include: "The First Oyster." *Food & Health* 1Jan. 1882, 8; "The Happiness of Oysters." *The International Magazine of Literature, Art, and Science* 5.3 (1 Mar. 1852) 311; Lloyd Morgan, "Oysters." *Littell's Living Age* n.s. 61 (21 Jan. 1888): 164-168; Schele de Vere, "Mine Oyster." *Putnam's Magazine* 12.10 (Oct. 1868): 418-432.

7. Despite their impressive scope, none of the following nineteenth-century manuals features recipes for Angels on Horseback: Catherine E. Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Housekeeper and Healthkeeper* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873; Fannie Merritt Farmer, *The Boston Cooking-School Cookbook* (1896; Rpt. as a facsimile, Owings Mills, MD: Thurman House, 2001); Charles Elmé Francatelli, *A Plain Cookery Book for the Working Classes* (London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1861; Rpt. as a facsimile, Whitstable: Pryor Publications, 1993); Mrs. [Hannah] Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (Alexandria: Cottom & Stewart, 1805; Rpt. as a facsimile, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1997); Marion Harland, *Common Sense in the Household* (New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1872; Alexis Soyer, *A Shilling Cookery for the People* (London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1860, Rpt. as facsimile, Whitstable: Pryor Publications, 1999), features no recipes at all for oysters, presumably on the grounds that they were too costly for the intended working class audience; Tabitha Tickletooth [Charles Selby], *The Dinner Question* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1860; Rpt. as facsimile Devon: Prospect Books, 1999); *The Home Cook Book* (Toronto: Rose-Belford Publishing Company, 1877/1878; Rpt. as facsimile, Vancouver: Whitecap Books Ltd., 2002); *The Dominion Home Cook Book* (Toronto: A. Miller, 1868).

8. In *The Mollusc Paramount. Being a Comprehensive Treatise on the Oyster In Relation to the Epicure, the Invalid, the Physician and the Plain Citizen* (London: 1909), F.H.E. Pankow provides an even racier variation of the dish called Devils on Horseback: "Prepare as Angels, except that the oysters before being rolled in the bacon must be dipped in a mixture of essence of anchovy, lemon juice, mustard, a pinch of curry, salt, pepper and cayenne" (90). I have not seen reference to this dish in any other cook book.

It may also be worth noting that despite its relative scarcity in domestic manuals and books of household cookery, Angels on Horseback was deemed to be a sufficiently "classic" dish to be included in the most recent edition of *Larousse Gastronomique* (New York: Clarkson Potter/Publishers, 2001. 825).

9. This reading of the dandy's extravagant name raises the question of how to interpret his supposed first given name, "Capel." The name may possibly be intended to be read as being derived from "capelin" or "caplin" (*OED*), the name of "[either of two species of [small] marine fish" (smelt), one of which "is common in the English Channel and the Bay of Biscay" (*Larousse Gastronomique* 212), which would be an ironic association for a character determined to distinguish himself from the common Englishman by his ostentatious displays of knowledge about foreign foods. It is perhaps not impossible that Grand was making a cheeky nod to the fish's characteristic "thickset body, brownish-yellow on the back, silver-grey on the sides and white on the belly," and its "large head" with "large bulbous eyes and a barb under the chin" (*Larousse Gastronomique* 212), as she crafted Jellybond's physical identity.

## IN CONCLUSION, A TOAST

One of the many reasons that this dissertation has been an exciting project to work on is that although its central subject, Sarah Grand, has been dead for over half a century, and many of her novels have been out of print for twice that time, the assertions made in her fiction and essays about the imperative that girls and women be encouraged to empower themselves by acknowledging their own needs and desires, and by authorizing their own relationships with food, is as critical at the dawn of the early twenty-first century, as it was at the sunset of the nineteenth century. My own experience, and the experiences of women friends, colleagues, and students, confirms that women still struggle, as Ideala did, to negotiate the tricky social logistics associated with paying the dinner cheque in the company of men. Few women will admit that they would not hesitate to relinquish their own meals, as Beth did, to ensure that their friends and families were as well fed as possible, even were they to be physically debilitated by the sacrifice. And just as a nineteenth-century girl like Angelica could be received as a disruptive presence if she regularly exhibited exuberant appetites, so the modern girl of vibrant appetites is often stigmatized by her enthusiasm for eating, particularly if she is in stature more reminiscent of Mrs. Kingconstance than she is of Miss Spice.

But while this project has offered a historical backdrop and a theoretical lens through which to consider the roles of food, appetite, eating and cooking in interpersonal relations (particularly between men and women), it has also provided an entry into the field of food studies which has virtually exploded in scholarly and popular media in the last few years. Since 1991 when *Mosaic* devoted an issue to "Diet and Discourse: Eating, Drinking and Literature," and Norman Kiell offered a fairly generous, if "selective" bibliography of works addressing the subject of food in literature (211-263), academia

has been flooded with “gastrocriticism” (Le Blanc 112). Even in the final hours of dissertation composition, articles, monographs, and fiction continued to surface, threatening to delay even further completion of the manuscript as I strove to produce a study which could be as comprehensive and up-to-date as possible. Countless conferences and symposia have focused on food, including the “Feasts and Famine in the Nineteenth Century” held in New Orleans in March of 2003, and the Oxford Symposia on Food which have been held annually since 1980. Copia, the American Center for Wine, Food & the Arts opened less than a year ago in Napa, California, to tremendous fanfare amongst scholarly foodies. While mainstream food magazines such as *Gourmet* and *Bon Appétit* have increasingly featured articles about food history and gastronomic writings, periodicals devoted expressly to the study of food, such as *Petits Propos Culinaires* and *Gastronomica* have become more readily available. There could be no more exciting time than the present to be engaging in a study of the role of food and appetites in changing constructions of femininity and masculinity.

As a final testament to the continued legitimacy of Grand's arguments in her fiction about the potential for food to be an empowering tool for women, more than a century after Grand proposed through her fiction that women could and *should* appropriate cookery to improve their lives and the lives of others, two young female DJs in New York have expressly designed their art to accomplish a strikingly similar goal. As *Gastronomica, the Journal of Food and Culture* reported last autumn (Stark 4-6), billing themselves as scratch 'n sniff, the pair mix cookie dough onstage as they mix music and sound samples. As the ambient sounds mingle with the ambient aromas generated by cookies baking in a toaster oven, these two women transform the club environment in a self-consciously feminine way, bringing the Angel in the House out of the closet to celebrate femininity and the contributions which women can, and do make in domains



traditionally reserved for men, such as rap music and sampling. Deliberately playing with their food, and dressed in custom-designed Jackie-O-style outfits, scratch 'n sniff turn "[t]he traditional role of the woman as homebound housewife... inside out." Offering the audience their freshly baked chocolate chip cookies--a traditional style as well as a delicate pink-hued version with white chips--these women "inspire[...] connections between them[selves] and their audience." The pair are empowered "in the eyes of their audience," as they bridge the temporal gap between themselves and the New Woman of the nineteenth century who helped clear the way for women confidently to feed the world while nourishing themselves.

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## VITAE

Name: Heather Anne Evans

Place and Year of Birth: Ottawa, 1969

Education: University of Ottawa, 1987-1991  
B.A. (Honours, English), 1991

Carleton University, 1991-1993  
M.A. 1993

Queen's University, 1993-2003  
PhD 2003

Experience: Teaching Assistant, Institute of Women's Studies,  
Queen's University, 1997-1999, 2003

Teaching Assistant, Department of English,  
Queen's University, 1993-1999, 2001-2003

Teaching Fellow, Department of English,  
Queen's University, 2000

Teaching Assistant/Tutor Marker, School of Part-time and  
Correspondence Studies  
Queen's University, 1995, 1999

Awards: Queen's University Huntly MacDonald Sinclair Award to  
conduct doctoral field research in London and Oxford, U.K.  
(1998)

Queen's University Graduate Fellowships (1993-1997)

Conference Papers: "Power-Eating and the Power-Starved: The New Woman's  
New Appetite in Sarah Grand's *Babs the Impossible*,"  
presented at the annual interdisciplinary conference of the  
Association for Research in Popular Fictions, Liverpool,  
U.K., Nov. 21, 1998.

"Feasting on the Fear of Feminine Feeding: Sarah Grand's  
*Babs the Impossible* as a Response to Periodical Press  
Assaults on the New Woman," presented at the Feminist  
Forerunners Conference, Manchester, U.K., Jul. 25, 2000.

"Barley Broth and Puff Pastry: The Compassionate New  
Woman Chef and Gastronomer in Sarah Grand's *The Beth*

*Book*," presented at the Nineteenth Century Studies Association "Feasts and Famine" Conference, New Orleans, LA, Mar. 7, 2003.

Publications:

"'Nor Shall I Shirk My Food': The New Woman's Balanced Diet and Sarah Grand's *Babs the Impossible*." *Nineteenth-Century Feminisms* 4 (2001): 136-147.

"Power-Eating and the Power-Starved: The New Woman's New Appetite in Sarah Grand's *Babs the Impossible*," *Consuming for Pleasure: Selected Essays on Popular Culture*. Eds. Julia Hallam and Nickianne Moody. Liverpool John Moores University and the Association for Research in Popular Fictions, 2000. 121-139.