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Appetite, Body, and Urban Space in *Pilgrimage*[*]

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Abstract

This paper aims to explore how late-Victorian working women's appetite and body was conventionally moralized and discriminated yet how they interacted with London's public eating places and further established specific experiences indicative of certain agency. In Victorian culture, the act of eating was profoundly affected by the social parameters of class and gender. Various instructions, for instances, conduct books, medical texts, and popular magazines always enforced severe disciplinary constraints on what and how women consumed, including concerns of appetite, ideal diet, and body shape. Yet for working women, food consumption, intimately linked with their specific working conditions, characterized the most frequent and immediate form of bodily experience in their city life. Appetite therefore functioned as a class marker between woman who chose not to eat and woman who chose to eat because of work. In metropolitan London, working women could seldom visit the more expensive dining places and could only order the cheapest meals even in less expensive eateries. These dining places obviously constituted a boundary to discourage them from entering. However, the act of eating out normally was necessary to support their labor and reduce their time spent on preparing food, especially for those single workers. To meet the consuming need of a growing amount of working women in

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late-nineteenth-century London, a new type of mass catering rose and became another alternative for public dining places: the teashop, where Miriam Henderson, the heroine in *Pilgrimage*, had quite a great variety of experiences and perceptions. For Miriam, dining out in public provided her with a direct way to contact and experience the city. Her dining experiences were growing wider and richer despite some class discriminations and economic limitations and interlocked with her independence and identity. Miriam's body reveals a conspicuous example of how a woman pursued her independence and identity through appetites and particular public dining space.

Keywords: Dorothy Richardson, appetite, body, working woman, London, urban space

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《歷程》中的食慾、身體與都市空間*

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摘　　要

本文試圖由理察森的小說《歷程》，探究維多利亞晚期的勞動階級女性，如何以食物消費的身體經驗，挪用新興的都市用餐公共空間，展現獨特的身體能動性。傳統維多利亞父權社會將女性身體泛道德化，無論是身體的外在體態或生理食慾需求，往往成為道德論述意欲規範、批評，甚至宰制的被動客體。對當時大量湧入倫敦求職謀生的勞動階級女性而言，食慾乃是身體因應工作需求與工作環境的固有存在，而非以道德意義約束或衡量的產物，因此總是無可避免地遭受到性別與階級雙重的歧視與挫折。獨自在倫敦工作謀生的主角米莉安，微薄的經濟能力只能負擔當時盛行的平價連鎖茶室，然而此種連鎖茶室的空間特質，對米莉安而言，不僅提供身體物質上的滿足，豐富了飲食經驗，更使她日趨熟悉都市的社會脈絡，也型塑了她的主體性與空間認同。

關鍵詞：理察森、食慾、身體、勞動女性、倫敦、都市空間

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* 本文承蒙兩位匿名審查者賜予精闢的意見與指教，得以補正初稿之疏失，使本文論點更加嚴謹完整，特此致謝。

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Introduction

In the late Victorian culture, the act of consuming, whether eating or drinking, was profoundly affected by the social parameters of class and gender. Various instructions: conduct books, medical texts, beauty manuals, popular magazines, etc. enforced severe disciplinary constraints on what and how women consumed, including concerns of appetite, ideal diet, and body shape. The most crucial doctrine was the "beauty myth," a widespread belief that "one of women's main duties in life was to be beautiful."[1] Women were educated to recognize 'the fact' that beauty was not innate, but cultivatable with successive efforts. The Victorian woman's very profession, in short, was "to be beautiful, to please [men], and to marry."[2] To be beautiful was significant, because to a considerable extent, it was through her body type that she might obtain admiration and affection from men. As marriage was always considered the Victorian woman's primary life goal, women firmly endeavored to make themselves as captivating as they could. Thus for the purpose of matrimony, women always strived to fashion their bodies in conformity with the beauty ideal.

The Victorian ideal of feminine beauty was, in its stereotype, a slender form of body. The fear of being perceived as fat compelled women to consciously control their bodies in diverse, and sometimes drastic, ways. Yet, not all the girls could follow the trend, whether voluntary or involuntary. In late Victorian London, a large number of women became part of the regular paid labor force in public space like retail shops, professional offices, and other clerical institutions.[3] While these women spent much time and physical

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[1] Anna Krugovoy Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 25-6.

[2] Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 105.

[3] Sally Mitchell, *Daily life in Victorian England* (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 47. Mitchell listed a great number of women's new employments. The laboring women usually worked as assistants in all kinds of institutions, for instance: department store, library,

labor on doing their work, their fundamental need to satisfy their hunger arose naturally since they relocated to the city intentionally to maintain their living. For those working women, working essentially signified eating: both accounted for the very premise and concern of a difficult urban life. To put it precisely, these female laborers' consumption of food, intimately linked with their specific working conditions, characterized the most frequent and immediate form of bodily experience in their city life. As busy female workers could not turn away from food because of the physical demands on their bodies engendered by their labor, and paid less attention to their dietary schedule than leisure class women did, they were often criticized as aberrant in their acts of consuming. First, their appetites seemed beyond subordination to their self-control by virtue of lengthy, arduous labor. Such hunger was frequently deemed to be inappropriate and unrestrained for a courteous Victorian lady. Appetite therefore functioned as a class marker between the working class and the leisure class. Second, the laboring women's act of dining out thanks to the needs of working could be condemned as 'uncivilized' since eating out made them appear robust and animalistic. Especially, work exposed their acts of dining in public. These discursive forces on women's appetite were prevalent in many London dining places, where these women's food consumption situations were made more vulnerable.

London at that time witnessed an explosion in eating places together with commercial developments. With a large population in urban areas, eating was no longer confined to the private and domestic arena, but was more likely to be a highly complex pattern of social behaviors associated with a great heterogeneity of food categories and providers. As for the consumers, the upper and middle class people possessed economic advantages to eat out for leisure: for instance, upper-middle-class men might enter "a range of chop-houses and coffee-houses, as well as dining rooms at private clubs"

bookshop, pharmacy, the Post Office, telephone companies, and so on.

because those places "catered for an exclusively male clientele";[4] upper and middle class women went shopping in the West End which provided them with specific leisure space, such as the ladies' clubs.[5] The laboring class women, not for leisure but for work reasons, also had increasing opportunities to dine out. In this sense, the act of eating out normally was necessary to support their labor and reduce their time spent on preparing food, especially for those single workers. Yet some dining places, like clubs and restaurants, tended to discriminate against them by offering luxurious culinary meals. Doubtlessly, these places were unaffordable and unfriendly to those who were engaged in earning their livelihood. The working women could seldom visit the more expensive dining places and could only order the cheapest meals even in less expensive eateries. For them, these dining places obviously constituted a boundary to discourage them from entering.

The author of *Pilgrimage*, Dorothy Richardson is one of the significant voices in feminist modernism. As a contemporary of Virginia Woolf and James Joyce, she was one of the first writers to employ the literary technique of stream-of-consciousness writing in English. Her oeuvre, the thirteen-volume experimental novel *Pilgrimage*, spanned almost twenty years from 1893 to 1912[6] and seven of them are mainly set in London.[7] As many critics already paid much attention to her aesthetics which articulate female

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[4] Gareth Shaw et al., "Creating New Spaces of Food Consumption: The Rise of Mass Catering and the Activities of the Aerated Bread Company," in *Cultures of Selling: Perspectives on Consumption and Society since 1700*, ed. John Benson and Laura Ugolini (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 91-2.

[5] Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 101-2.

[6] The first chapter book, *Pointed Roofs*, was published in 1915. The publishing of the whole sequence underwent more than fifty years during 1915 to 1967. For more about time and events in *Pilgrimage*, see George Thomson, *Notes on Pilgrimage* (Buckinghamshire: ELT Press, 1996).

[7] Jean Radford, *Dorothy Richardson* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 44-5.

subjective consciousness written in contrast with the masculine realist tradition of writers, urban critics begin to explore her "materialized" London space endowed with female walkers' sentiments in regard to everyday urban spectacles.[8] In this regard, Deborah Parsons also registers a new meaning of the female figure passante and her palimpsestic memory of space and time created by London and its social heterogeneity. Such criticism reveals an increasing significance in the studies of the urban female self and her commitment to work in Richardson's *Pilgrimage.* Among urban critics, Scott McCracken sheds new lights on the importance of teashop concerning a new modern literary culture. His accounts of urban public sphere inspire me to reflect the connection between working women and the newly emerging urban space. Yet McCracken considers a new masculinity to be represented in response to such urban space produced by the New Woman. Distinct from his perspectives, this paper aims to engage in woman's body in the late Victorian dietary culture, to disclose an urban bodily experience derived from working, and at a more significant level, to delve into the body potential that is able to transform and to take advantages of the urban space. The theoretical standpoint would be henceforth more of feministic.

If urban critics are already aware of female protagonists in urban novels and combine them with urban themes regarding flânuse and spectatorship, they did not expose the urban heroine's various ways of living by working or the very difference of her bodily practices. The presence of urban female figures (mostly woman walkers) has been observed and emphasized. Centering on an everyday act of consuming rather than walking, this paper will explore a different expression of working woman's corporeal publicity. In this regard, Richardson has unreservedly scrutinized a working woman's working and living in *Pilgrimage.* The heroine Miriam Henderson had a great variety of experiences and perceptions of London's dining places. After her mother's death, Miriam made up her mind to move to London and

[8] Radford, *Dorothy Richardson*, 45.

took the position of receptionist at a dental clinic.[9] For Miriam, dining out provided her with a direct way to contact and experience the city. Numerous dining conditions, for instance, alone in the teashop or with friends in the restaurant, gave her more access to a fashion of food consumption and familiarity with London's public eating places. Her dining experiences were growing wider and richer despite some discriminations and limitations. With the issue of body and urban space, this paper will investigate three aspects: first, how contemporary dominant discourses determined women's appetite; next, what significance the spatiality of dining places brings to the working girl's consuming body; and last, how the working girl adapted to the new eating place, thereby establishing her specific urban appetites.

Moral Discourses on Woman's Appetite

Since her girlhood, the Victorian woman's preoccupation with the fashion requirement of remaining slender developed under the banner: 'beauty was women's vocation.' One of the most eminent features to characterize slenderness as the Victorian ideal of feminine beauty was, in the first instance, a small waist.[10] A predominant fashionable female figure suggested a body type with a remarkable contrast between the small waist and other body parts. The reason that the waist played the pivotal place within the beauty imperative was its correlation with its interior counterpart, the stomach. Through the popular apparel of the corset, women undertook to restrain and conceal the

[9] *Pilgrimage* was planned as a complex, many-layered autobiographical fiction. Richardson was born in Abington, Berkshire, England. Hers was a modest middle-class family. By the age of eighteen she had left home and was supporting herself as a governess and teacher in Hanover, Germany, and elsewhere in England. She returned home in 1895 to care for her ailing mother. After her mother's death, Richardson moved to London where she found work as a secretary and journalist just like Miriam Henderson in the novel. She found her way into the avant-garde circles of the city, meeting London's renowned intellectuals and artists. For more about Richardson's life, see George Thomson, *A Reader's Guide: Dorothy Richardson's Pilgrimage* (Buckinghamshire: ELT Press, 1999).

[10] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 48.

size of their abdomen so that it would not become disproportionately large. In this sense, the waist served as a visible and conspicuous measure of, not only how svelte a body appeared, but also how much a woman ate. Quite aware that a slim waist signified a small appetite, women reshaped their waists as thin as possible with all efforts. The appetite grew into both a means and an end of this beauty imperative. The Victorian dietary culture, as Silver argued, appeared as "the culture *itself* manifested an anorexic logic" that was "across class lines."[11] In this context, two related dominant ideologies greatly regulated the working girl's activity of consuming: disciplinable appetite and virtuous appetite.

The concept of disciplinable appetite was popular and practical among upper and middle class women. They believed that, on the one hand, a 'lady' of leisure could not, and did not need to eat much because she exercised little to work up an appetite in everyday life. Staying almost exclusively in the household, she was expected to regulate her food intake and monitor her appetite in order to conform to an ideal of slim beauty. This belief was virtually blindly accepted. On the other hand, appetite or taste has been long conventionally categorized among the lower senses of the body. A genteel woman should not respond actively and entirely to her appetite but to higher senses of sight and hearing, which were "for moral and aesthetic purposes."[12] She must minimize her appetite as much as she could, because to be hungry was "a social faux pas."[13] This control of food intake had thus been the first and foremost principle among the Victorian conduct management regarding female behaviors.

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[11] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 27, 28, original italics. The *EDM*, a lower middle-class magazine, indicated that tight lacing and corset wearing in general were not confined to upper and middle class women. Large numbers of working-class women, including both factory workers and domestic servants, did in fact wear both corsets and crinolines to reveal their slim waist. See Silver.

[12] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 45.

[13] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 45.

Furthermore, the regulation of appetite foreshadowed the necessity of a woman's ability regarding self-regulation. Symbolically, the slim waist as well as the small appetite proclaimed a woman's ethereal nature: if a woman could maintain discipline in regard to food, she was expressing, in fact, a strong, resolute will and ability to discipline herself. A perfect woman was the one who submitted her physical appetites to her will, being trained more spiritually by self-mastery and self-control. On a deeper and more critical level, a woman's light weight emphasized by the small appetite posited a spiritual, rather than a corporeal/carnal, nature. A women's thin body was the most convincing demonstration of her spiritual orientation since "A perfect body reflected a noble soul."[14] Behind this ideology of slenderness, many "normal" Victorian women were liable to suffer from the logic of anorexia nervosa.[15] They rejected eating, both psychically and physically. Proper women, or the conventional phrase 'angels in the house,' were weak, slight, and sometimes ill due to their rigid self-demands concerning small appetites. The appetite demonstrated woman's light weight and her delicate "bodilessness."[16] Along this line, the "pale, slim-waisted, tiny-footed" body indicated a woman's gentility and her "*middle class-ness.*"[17] This 'middle class' nature was surely equivalent with the angelic spirituality displayed through a tiny appetite. The Victorian woman must simultaneously appear sacred and incorporeal through her slim body that reflected affluence and high social standing.

Such demands for a disciplined appetite, however, were hardly applicable to working girls. They had great difficulties in rejecting food consumption. Whatever their occupations, they usually worked fourteen to

[14] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 105.

[15] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 48.

[16] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 42.

[17] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 42, my italics.

sixteen hours a day and required more physical energy.[18] While dining became rather important and even necessary for working women, their appetites were, at all times, too healthy and ravenous from the conventional Victorian perspective. In contrast to the leisure class genteel appetite, female laborers might feed themselves much more to maintain a physical strength, although they remained quite concerned with the slender look. A large appetite (in fact, a normal appetite) was widely perceived as unfeminine, too corporeal in the constant conflict with the soul. In brief, a normal appetite frequently marked the working girl as immoderate and 'imperfect' with gastric and perhaps 'other' physical desires (especially sexual desire, which will be discussed later).

The spiritual orientation of the disciplinable appetite inevitably carried moral connotations. The physical beauty of a slender body designated not only a noble soul, but also a moral excellence: that is, a slim, beautiful woman absolutely had to be a 'good' woman. Beauty, which "tends to refine and elevate the mind," would certainly increase domestic happiness and individual virtue since it imposed regulations to insure a moral purity through the control of appetite.[19] Supposedly drawn 'naturally' toward both the beautiful and the good, women with an undersized appetite were customarily associated with the glorification of sexual purity. In this way, a disciplinable appetite turned out to be a quintessential virtuous appetite that attested to women's morality and evaluated whether or not they had escaped temptations and degradation. Those who were able to regulate their appetite were judged ethically chaste. In opposite, the large, fleshy woman was more probable to be regarded as overtly

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[18] Mitchell, *Daily life in Victorian England*, 41. The work day and the work week were extremely long. The typical factory was 6 am to 6 pm or 7 am to 7 pm. Retail shops stayed open from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. Clerks' work hours depended on the type of employer. Though shorter, they still worked ten hours a day in many business offices. See Mitchell, *Daily life in Victorian England*.

[19] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 106.

sexual and erotic.[20] Basically speaking, an unrestrained appetite implied women's potential moral deviation, much more likely, to a path of the fall.

Such a moral evaluation of appetite, in a radical way, oppressed the laboring girl. Working girls who earned their "bread and cheese," (in Anthony Trollope's metaphor) unavoidably made their bodies public.[21] It was commonly believed, that if the wages were too low for them to survive, they would give up their purity and innocence to satisfy their stomach. Their intolerable hunger and appetite derived from work might breed licentiousness. The cause of hunger was always related to the larger cause of the moral fall. At an extended level, the non-domestic working girl was, on some metaphorical level, seen as a streetwalker who earned money outside the house. Thus, the connection between worker and whore is less surprising in Victorian impressions of working women who actually turned to prostitution to supplement low wages. Even though the working girl was not engaged in prostitution, her sacrifice for more advantages (mainly economically), whether related to fortune or fame at her work were viewed as highly questionable.[22] This prejudice of the working girl's perceived licentiousness gave her a bad reputation. The appetite engendered by work, always seemed to lure her away from chastity and could lead to underlying threats to Victorian feminine sexuality.

An example of female appetite may be found in the third book *Honeycomb* of the sequence. Miriam had been a governess of the well-to-do Corries in Newlands when she was eighteen years old. The hostess, Mrs. Corrie, a typical Victorian bourgeois wife, always busied herself with the

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[20] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 40. Because of associations of the large waist with lack of control of the appetites, Victorian erotic photographs often depicted what we today might refer to as heavy or even overweight women.

[21] Qtd. in Helena Michie, *The Flesh Made Word* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 31.

[22] Michie, *The Flesh Made Word*, 31.

things and members in the household, like asking servants and maids to organize the house and prepare for food. For the Corries, dining was a big event, which Miriam delineated in substantial detail:

> . . . the table like an island under the dome of the low-hanging rose-shaded lamp, the table-centre thickly embroidered with 'beetles' wings, the little dishes stuck about, sweets, curiously crusted brown almonds, sheeny grey-green olives; the misty beaded glass of the finger bowls——Venetian glass from that shop in Regent Street——the four various wine glasses at each right hand, one on a high thin stem, curved and fluted like a shallow tulip, filled with hock; and, floating in the warmth amongst all these things the strange, exciting, dry sweet fragrance coming from the mass of mimosa, a forest of little powdery blossoms, little stiff grey——the arms of railway signals at junctions——Japanese looking leaves——standing as if it were growing, in a shallow bowl under the rose-shaded lamp.[23]

Miriam's first impression of the Corrie family involved the prodigious affluence of tableware and setting. Surprisingly, Mrs. Corrie ate little during the dinner or the weekend party. She looked like she enjoyed taking up the responsibility of hostess rather than the pleasure of consuming. What worried Mrs. Corrie was that the decorations were appropriately set up, or the plate rightly placed or not. She could be the best illustration of the aforementioned disciplinable appetite because Mrs. Corrie's body "looked thin and small and very young."[24]

Another woman to demonstrate the relation between appetite and morality was Mrs. Kronen. Mr. Kronen, an old friend of the Corries, came to visit them accompanied with "a new Mrs Kronen."[25] Unlike Mrs. Corrie, Mrs.

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[23] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1 (London: Virago, 1979), 355.

[24] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, 401.

[25] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, 392.

Kronen had quite a good appetite for food and boldly acted out her delight while eating or smoking. There was some gossip about that Mrs. Kronen could not have a baby albeit "she's had all *kinds* of operations."[26] Mrs. Corrie insinuated to Miriam that Mrs. Kronen's desire was not normal and that sterility became her punishment. There was a moral connection between her appetite and sexuality in Mrs. Corrie's commentary. Although Mrs. Kronen was ostensibly criticized for having an insatiable appetite for sexuality and food, Miriam actually appreciated Mrs. Kronen's vigor and ebullience, qualities hardly found in Mrs. Corrie, whom Miriam considered to be a "prude."[27] The young Miriam was as small and thin as Mrs. Corrie, who treated her like a member of family. Notwithstanding a rich and steady life, Miriam's dislike for and estrangement from the Newlands' way of life was flourishing into a final withdrawal. After quitting, Miriam came to London as a dentist's receptionist, an exhausting job. She usually worked from eight to eight, and it was common for her to leave work, "faint with hunger."[28] The long hours of labor put her in great need of food. She usually looked for something on the streets because "she had had no dinner and there was nothing in her room."[29] A working girl like Miriam even had no time to consider her next meal, not to mention reducing her appetite.

Following this vein, working girls were viewed as irrational eaters subject to their appetites. We may find that, either the disciplinable appetite or the virtuous appetite emphasized a tendency of demoralization of female appetite. If appetite were not under control, it was threatening to her own moral purity. These two notions suggested a connection between appetite and sexuality. Appetite played a critical role in relation not only to the standards of

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[26] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 1, 409, original italics.

[27] Janet Fouli, *Structure and Identity: The Creative Imagination in Dorothy Richardson's Pilgrimage* (Fauclte des Lettres de la Manouba, 1995), 50.

[28] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2 (London: Virago, 1979), 359.

[29] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 359.

physical beauty, but also to those of moral beauty. The formula of appetite and morality were inversely revealed: delicate appetite was equated with being a lady, affluence and chastity, symbolized by the slim waist, whereas a large appetite/body marked a woman as sexually licentious. Weakness, pallor, and refusal of food were all signs of high social standing. The highest beauty, the slim waist and small appetite, encompassed spiritual and moral significance. Appetite became a symbol of class: denial of hunger as a conventional manner drew an important distinction between the woman who chose not to eat and the woman who chose to eat because of work. This distinction, as a consequence, denoted a radical ontological significance by which to discriminate against those who seemed unable to negate or restrict their physical desires for food.

The spiritual and moral orientation of appetite explicitly reflected the Victorian perceptions of differences between working class and leisure class women as discussed above. Yet more than symbolic of social standing, the essence of appetite presented a more contested ideology of corporeal identity. According to social anthropologists Norbert Elias and Stephen Mennell, Western society has undergone a "civilizing process" of propriety and good taste since the Renaissance period.[30] In this process, Europeans developed a sense of self that involved a high awareness of self cultivation and expressions of reason, limitations, and order. This civilizing process emphasized controlling bodily functions in public, and appetite was no exception. The gradual refinement of table manners and constraints over eating were slowly

[30] The field of anthropology aims to focus on the ways how human beings eat and enter into the civilization. Their emphases have been on nature and culture. The sociological and historical researches concern themselves with how the behaviors of dining are influenced by the social structures and events. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985); Alan Warde, *Consumption, Food, and Taste: Culinary Antinomies and Commodity Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).

internalized as acts of self-management and moderation. The civilizing process of appetite suppression emerged to transform human physical nature and differentiate the 'civilized' class from the lower class. The desire to assert the importance of culture over nature was revealed in the notion of a civilized appetite. One would be a "civilized self" if one's bodily functions were made subject to self-surveillance.[31]

In this sense, the size of appetite as a bodily expression drew distinctions between a body of civilized rationality and a body of brutish corporeality. Upper class and middle class women with tiny appetites demonstrated a model of 'civilized beings' since the small appetite along with the svelte waist signified genteel femininity. Their bodies presented a product of civilization. Ultimately, their rejection of food allowed them to act 'rationally' and proved a triumph of cultural literacy of soul or mind over the base material body. Since their dieting behaviors conformed to the dominant norms, their embodiment was ratified and praised in contrast to the body bent to healthy appetite and ample food consumption. The lady's physical nature of powerlessness and delicacy, due to eating disorders, were "in special need of protection because of their delicate nature and refined life-style" according to the current medical discourse.[32] The anonymous author of *Etiquette for Ladies* further contented, that 'ladies,' to whom the book is addressed, are physically different than working women.[33]

The difference between working and leisure-class women was thus claimed to be ontologically linked to their bodies. While the working girl was thought of as a voracious eater, she might have been strong and muscular to deal with her work. She could not control her appetite by a continually obsessive fasting. In a normal sense, working women were seen as "naturally

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[31] Deborah Lupton, *Food, the Body, and the Self* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 22.

[32] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 42.

[33] Patricia Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 16.

robust and less susceptible to difficulties brought on by bodily exertion."[34] By virtue of the small appetite as a sign of well-educated femininity, the working women had been inescapably condemned as "robust," "coarse," and "more animalistic."[35] The word "coarseness," with its contemporary connotation of obscenity, further linked the strong female body with the working woman.[36] In other words, working girls turned to be different 'beings' from the civilized genteel class women: they belonged to the 'uncivilized' group, who remained physically stronger and felt little pain in comparison to upper class and middle class women.[37]

However, contentions of civilized body and coarse body did not describe the facts related to working women's appetite. It was not that the physical nature of the working and the leisure class women differed in their essence, but they were impacted by differences of class advantages. Lacking financial advantages, all the working girl could do, was to eat whatever she could in case of experiencing hunger, which was a real physical need for her. If the working girl appeared too gluttonous, it was because she earned too little to feed herself. Regardless of their occupations, most of them were poorly paid. Because of their meager wages, they had few choices regarding what they ate. They could only afford the cheapest food, like bread, tea, and potatoes. A tiny amount of bacon or other meat might be used for flavoring. Those workers' diets were always short of both protein and fat.[38] In their eating habits, they were usually malnourished as proper meals were virtually impossible. A delusion that they were always eating and having so much might have resulted. In fact, a lot of girls were hardly coarse in their strength and eventually died young. The robust and coarse image of the working

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[34] Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman*, 16.

[35] Michie, *The Flesh Made Word*, 30, 52.

[36] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 42.

[37] Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman*, 16.

[38] Mitchell, *Daily life in Victorian England*, 122.

women was absolutely derived from ideological demands on Victorian femininity manifested by the 'civilized' appetite, instead of a fact itself.

In addition to constant and considerable eating signifying an uncivilized manner, there was one more feature to identify the working girl's mode of consuming as impolite behavior: public dining. Since women were supposed to have a small appetite in order to demonstrate their genteel femininity, their hunger or food consumption was not to be displayed in public, even if it signified a serious problem of anorexia nervosa. For lots of upper and middle class women who did not suffer anorexia nervosa, they appeared not hungry at all, but actually they hid themselves from starvation in private. Which is to say, they ate not in public; it was "a hunger of bedrooms and closets."[39] They had to sneak food to avoid being too frail to live. The leisure class women, for whom smaller and smaller appetites were decreed, actually had opportunities to dine out when social banquets or personal gatherings were held. In formal conditions with gentlemen, they ate according to codes of etiquette, in "a spirit of obedience and submission";[40] in informal ones, they still followed behavioral guidelines that delineated and defined the values of their class. Their appetite was disguised in either condition. Public eating, for upper class and middle class women, represented a chance to display the delicate appetite of a lady as well as the civilized femininity.

The working girl's dining out had quite a distinctive difference from the leisure woman's. The heavy workload made their consumption all the more compelling on a physical level. Their chances of dining out increased along with their work. In order to gain energy, they could neither conform to the dominant social and moral mores of diet, nor disguise their public acts of consuming. As etiquette books instructed women to present a delicate appetite for little food, the working girl, on the contrary, revealed a non-anorexic, regular dietary tendency with frequent, public scenes of dining. Both eating

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[39] Michie, *The Flesh Made Word*, 23.

[40] Qtd. in Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 49.

and working on the part of women, were considered uncultured and bestial, constituting a way to ban and censor the female body. It was work that made women's bodies compellingly public. On the premise of superiority of gentle femininity, female workers' dining out facilitated their barbarous images of gluttony.

Like thousands of women who entered labor force in London, Miriam began her London life with a base of a job. However, this paid employment could simply provide her with a basic maintenance and a very small lodging in the city. Her income, one pound a week, made her choice of food quite humble.[41] It was just barely sufficient to sustain the very lowest standard of life in London. What she had every day was only rolls and butter. As a woman who worked overtime outside the home, Miriam tended to eat outside very much. During work, she ate and drank tea despite a lack of appetite due to exhaustion. In addition to her breakfast in the attic, she usually left work in the late evening and wandered along the streets, "hoping to meet a potato man."[42] Miriam had a typical habit of working girls: she took a bite anytime and anywhere because it was difficult for her to have a good meal. More often, she spent time searching for something she could afford. That constituted a stereotyped image of working girls as an animalistic eater in public.

The discursive forces on the working girl's role as an immoral eater and an uncivilized being absolutely demonized female appetites. The working girl in possession of normal appetites and physical needs seemed to lose their

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[41] One of the fullest descriptions was found in Mrs. Magdalen Pember Reeves's *Round about a Pound a Week* (1913), a report of a four-year investigation of a working-class area of Lambeth, south London, by members of the Fabian Women's Group. The book portrayed most men in regular work in this area, though humble and unskilled laborers, not artisans, brought home, as the title of the book says, wages of about one pound a week. The wage should be for the whole family. In the London city, more than half one pound must be spent on the lodging so that workers' diet became really modest. See Mennell, *All Manners of Food*.

[42] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 358.

femininity as well as humanity under the etiquette of regulation and self discipline. With the conventional ideology of slenderness, we found that the discourses on women's hunger and appetite neither considered the need for their sake nor took their food likes into consideration. Paradoxically, appetite in this condition had nothing to do with women's actual hunger and corporeal desire. For leisure class women, the small appetite that governed the slim shape was "part of the complex performance of femininity" in the nineteenth century.[43] How much a woman ate has been taken as a sign of her affluence or femininity on display. Thus the act of eating presupposed nothing more than a performance of feminine etiquette among the upper and middle classes. Under such circumstances, different dining places developed with different purposes of dining out. Yet in some cases, dining places were closely entwined with these discourses and entailed great discriminations upon the working girl.

London Dining Places

The history of London's eating places dating from the sixteenth century to the present day was rich and profound. All kinds of eateries, from victual houses, taverns, chop houses, clubs, restaurants, to cafés and teashops, whether big or small, expensive or cheap, constituted every aspect of London's social, economic, and cultural life.[44] As industrialization and urban concentration gradually changed the ways of retailing and consumption in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, the development of eating places began to take shape, similar to the situation nowadays since they were greatly driven by market demand and small entrepreneurs who discovered golden opportunities

[43] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 39.

[44] Public dining places include many types: cafés, restaurants, steakhouses, diners, brasseries, bistros, pizzerias, kebab-houses, grill rooms, coffee bars, teashops, ice cream parlors, food courts, snack bars, refreshment rooms, transport cages and service stations, buffets and canteens. See Alan Warde, Alan and Lydia Martens, *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption, and Pleasure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21.

for turning food into profit.[45] To meet different people's demands on meals and drinking, London's eateries reflected fundamental divisions within wealth, class, and status. Traditional food providers concentrated their attention on old clientele of a certain class; yet new and ambitious establishments aimed to appeal to a larger group of customers with distinctive interior designs and choices of food. In this sense, the spatial significance of dining places, bound up with manifold presentations of gastronomy, tended to distinguish some consumers from others according to their specific orientation, while the diner might choose different public places of refreshment with consideration for occasions, habits, and most of all, financial resources. In *Pilgrimage*, Miriam, a London working girl, got used to dining out for the convenience of work. Yet some dining places, unfriendly for a girl who ate alone at the lowest order, came to be a space where a disdainful attitude was expressed towards her as inappropriate and disproportionate to their 'respectable' atmosphere, or even did not allow her to enter. Thus in many cases, dining places which were enmeshed with ideological discourses on women's dining out in conformity with morality and civility might be hostile to the working girl's consuming body.

Since the activity of eating out expressed cultural values and relationships of particular circumstances, historians and anthropologists have long shown great interests in the variety of dining places concerning issues of supply, cost and food quality as well as patterns of dining.[46] As for the broad

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[45] Cathy Ross, "Introduction to *London Eats Out 1500-2000: 500 Years of Capital Dining*," by Edwina Ehrman, et al. (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003), 10.

[46] Robert Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," in *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, ed. Anthony D. King (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 228-9. The project of consuming has been extensively embroiled with anthropological, sociological, historical, and psychological concerns on food, appetite, and desire, while researches on various aspects of consuming often concentrate on issues of food and taste. For more about human behaviors regarding consumption, see Pasi Falk, *The Consuming Body* (London: Sage, 1994); Pierre Bourdieu,

blueprint of eating out in London over the last five centuries, there were two chief changes interlocked with the modern development of dining places: the emergence of the middle class and the maturation of urbanization. For one thing, from the seventeenth and eighteenth century onwards, the growth of the bourgeoisie created a major group of consumers. With new money coming in and a new fashion of eating out in the eighteenth century, the newly-emerging middle class was eager to advance their position in society and to embrace the lifestyle of their social superiors.[47] They would be more willing to spend their money on what and where they ate. For another, commerce developed fast and a great number of laborers migrated to London for more chances of employments in the nineteenth century.[48] They earned little money and simply sought low-priced foodstuff to avoid hunger. These two changes constituted a typical tendency of London dining places: men and women dined separately, and so did the leisure class and the working class. In general, class, gender, and wealth certainly led to different eating rules and habits reflected by the different dining places coming into existence.

Some major public dining places accommodated different groups of customers. In the first place, since the eighteenth century, the coffee house especially catered to a middle class clientele. Tea and coffee had become the common beverages of at least the well-to-do strata of the population around the middle of the seventeenth century;[49] by the first decade of the eighteenth

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Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).

47 Edwina Ehrman, "18th Century," in *London Eats Out 1500-2000: 500 Years of Capital Dining*, 51.

48 Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," 229-30. From under one million in 1801, it reached about two and quarter million in 1851, during which period it doubled in London area.

49 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a*

century, London already had three thousand of them, which embraced the wider strata of the middle class and represented not only landed and moneyed interests, but also some wealthy craftsmen and shopkeepers.[50] On the other hand, ordinary people might go to taverns which offered a range of refreshments, a luncheon bar, or meal service. The largest clusters of people most obviously engaged with taverns were publicans and beer sellers.[51] Generally, it was common knowledge that coffee houses were for the middle class and urban taverns for the lower class and middle class. Yet coffee houses and taverns possessed a more complicated function than that of a food-provider: they served as a meeting place to support a political and intellectual climate of that time.[52] Moreover, such dining places existed virtually exclusively for males: only men were admitted to coffee-house society, and the same was true of taverns. London women, according to Habermas, were "abandoned every evening" from this male-dominated place of "drinking, political discussion, and public conviviality."[53] These two dining places were a kind of masculine space since they hardly accommodated women. In this regard, their spatiality had, in fact, nothing to do with women.

In addition to coffee houses and taverns, one of the most popular dining places in the late nineteenth century was the club. The club could be considered as the first public dining place for women. Club dining was derived from gentlemen's club that occupied their own specially designed buildings.[54] Similar to the coffee house, gentlemen's clubs, as its name

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Category of Bourgeois Society (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 32

50 Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 32.

51 Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," 231.

52 According to Habermas, the coffee house has been a meeting place for new generations of writers. The tavern was also a meeting place for the Supporters of the Bill of the Rights who had backed the American colonists in their fight for independence, see Ehrman, "18th Century," 55.

53 Ross, "Introduction to *London Eats Out 1500-2000: 500 Years of Capital Dining*," 9.

54 Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," 232. Gentlemen's clubs

showed, were also exclusively for men. Yet later, women began to have their own clubs because some women earned enough to live a middle-class life; these clubs that opened only took women as members, offering them the same amenities as a gentleman's club by 1900.[55] Although this place was never as large, sumptuous, or influential as its male counterpart, clubs played a significant part in urban women's lives, symbolizing their increased visibility in urban public space. As the commercial culture began to take over the West End, most clubs had settled in, or were quite near, Regent, Oxford, and Bond Streets. For the comfort and convenience of ladies visiting the West End for shopping, the West End also provided ladies' club and advertised that their stores freely offered clublike amenities: refreshments, reading room, and even smoking balcony.[56] Although club owners claimed that they served all the urban women regardless of their occupations, the percentage of women in the workforce obviously did not change much during this period; only the numbers of educated middle class women were rising dramatically.[57] The club, still a feature of British upper class and middle class social life, was characterized as a site of pleasure equal to gentlemen's clubs and coffee houses in its social functions of communication.

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were at the social extreme. Some famous clubs included the University Club (1826), the Athenaeum (1830), the Travellers (1831) and, the most famous one, the Reform Club (1836). There were male preserves with a high entrance fee and an annual subscription; their membership was largely made up of aristocrats, members of Parliament and professional men for whom their location in the West End, near Whitehall and the Houses of Parliament, was particularly suitable. An increasing number of clubs were characterized by their members' interest in politics, literature, sport, art, automobiles, travel, particular countries, or some other pursuit. See Thorne.

55 Andrea Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England: A History* (London: Praeger, 2007), 57.

56 Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 101-2.

57 Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure*, 85.

In *Pilgrimage*, there was no description about club dining through Miriam's experience. What was unsaid obviously revealed that she had no idea about the club. Rambling around the West End area, Miriam often saw women just coming out from their clubs or shopping centers; however, Miriam's situation could not be compared to these women:

> It was a bitter east wind; the worst kind of day there was. All along Oxford Street were women in furs, serene, with smooth warm faces untroubled by the bleak black wind, perhaps even enjoying the cold. Miriam struggled along, towards the cruel east, shivering, her face shriveled and frozen and burning, her brain congealed.[58]

The West-End women shoppers seemed to enjoy the cold air, with their thick fur coats, whereas Miriam, without a warm cloak, was freezing and struggling against the chill. The pleasure of shopping and club dining was in vivid contrast to Miriam's unendurable hunger and chilliness.

Examining several public dining places in London, we have found that boundaries drawn between class and gender, scarcely made these places really public since they usually catered exclusively to a certain group of customers. Their functions emphasized social and political dimensions outside domestic life. Under those conditions, food did not matter too much. Pleasure became the main reason to dine out so that functions of fun and social communication played a pivotal role in these dining places. What's worse, laboring class women, almost more than half the urban population, were not permitted into any dining places mentioned above. Thus the spatiality of these dining places was essentially seen as discriminating and inimical to the working girl's needs regarding food consumption.

The most significant development of nineteenth-century London was an emergence of a new type of eating place which originated in Paris in the

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[58] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 3 (London: Virago, 1979), 53.

1760s: the restaurant.[59] In OED, the word is defined as "an establishment where refreshments or meals may be obtained." The term 'restaurant' was conventionally applied to foreign establishments in the early Victorian period, and later, it was adopted to denote a variety of places whose premises were employed to serve meals and drinks for customers. Restaurants usually had cooks and chefs who had originally worked for aristocratic households, thus they served better food, offered superior services, and also had rooms set apart where "gentlemen may take their wives and daughters."[60] Increasing middle-class demands for respectable eating places, suitable for members of both sexes, encouraged the growth of the restaurant. The significance of the restaurant, therefore, designated its simultaneous accommodation of men and women by providing acceptable public surroundings for mixed dining.[61]

Despite its groundbreaking accommodation of both sexes, the restaurant still had some insistences on its customers, which was manifest in its décor and food. First of all, the spatial differentiation that featured this fashionable dining place was not simply a function of its size and economic purpose but represented a middle-class desire for segregation and privacy. It might contain separate public rooms and was housed in a building designed for the purpose of dining.[62] If accompanied by men, those respectable women could stay in a separate room upstairs; if not, unaccompanied women usually did not dine at the restaurant.[63] Second, with regards to the first characteristic,

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[59] The first restaurant named as such was started in Paris in the 1760s: the number there reached nearly 3,000 by 1820. See Thorne. Restaurants became commonplace in France after the French Revolution broke up catering guilds and forced the aristocracy to flee, leaving a retinue of servants with the skills to cook excellent food. See Joanne Finkelstein, *Dining Out: A Sociology of Modern Manners* (New York: New York University Press, 1989).

[60] Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," 235.

[61] Edwina Ehrman, "19th Century," in *London Eats Out 1500-2000: 500 Years of Capital Dining*, 79.

[62] Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," 236.

[63] Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England*, 53. Take the famous restaurant

the restaurant, in order to offer better service, would have personnel like waiters and waitresses from the moment of entry.[64] They would open the door, lead customers to their seats, take orders, and serve meals. Tipping the serving personnel was conventional since the relationship between the waiter and the diner, between the server and the served, has been considered as the manner of restaurant-going.[65] Last, the restaurant, famous for its chef, would offer outstanding dishes, and at all times, expensive ones. By the late nineteenth century, London's pride in its restaurants followed meat-eating traditions dating back to the sixteenth century, especially its roast beef. Because of plural diner, serving personnel, and high-priced food, dining in the restaurant was recognized as "a highly mannered event."[66] It was not only a form of entertainment but also "a part of the modern spectacle in which social relations are mediated through visual images and imagined atmosphere."[67]

The restaurant appeared to be the most fashionable dining place in late nineteenth-century London. Normally, Miriam would not go to the restaurant. Yet once Miriam was so depressed due to some pressure that she decided to meet her friends in the restaurant, where they enjoyed its lovely ambiance and lighting: "The empty white table-cloth shone under a brilliant incandescent light; far away down the vista the door opened on the daylit street."[68] Miriam merely ordered one dish by virtue of her poor wage, whereas her wealthier friends, Mag and Jan, had ordered "cold beefs and salads."[69] When Miriam asked if she did not want the dressing on the salads, Jan told her: "Ask for it,"

Simpson's for instance: women could not dine at Simpson's alone, but the restaurant did have a dining room upstairs for women accompanied by men.

64 Finkelstein, *Dining Out: A Sociology of Modern Manners*, 56.

65 Finkelstein, *Dining Out*, 56-7.

66 Finkelstein, *Dining Out*, 56.

67 Qtd. in Finkelstein, *Dining Out*, 2.

68 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 147.

69 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 147.

"ask and it shall be give unto thee."[70] It was seen that the restaurant would take care of the personal preferences of their customers, whether in regard to food or service. Then, "A waitress brought the beef and salad, two glasses with an inch of whisky in each, and a large siphon."[71] Much of the pleasure of dining out rests with the great food as well as its services which provided "excitement, pleasure and a sense of personal wellbeing."[72] The setting of the restaurant shaped a particular sociality, making dining a trendy, entertaining activity, fostering an individual's social relations with friends and family.

As previously noted, restaurant-going indicated a formal social event in the act of consuming. For the middle class, it could be a common leisure activity that satisfied physiological desire and simultaneously intensified interpersonal relations. Yet for laboring girls like Miriam, it was hardly viewed as an everyday activity. She could not afford the expense of the restaurant. If she enjoyed the atmosphere of the restaurant with Mag and Jan as has been discussed, it is because the occasion was special and dining with them was natural to dismiss her anxiety about the expensive food. She was not alone at that time. As a solitary diner most times, however, the situation might not be the same for her. Miriam also had painful memories of the restaurant. Her first sight of another restaurant in Baker Street was guided by "a frosted door."[73] The frosted door was thick and heavy; therefore the waiter was there to open the door and to lead the guest inside. The door implied a certain extent of respectability: it was not open to everyone, but for those who were able to afford its proclivity. Miriam did not go in purposely. She really could not find anything to eat. When Miriam ordered the cheapest set of roll and butter, the waiter seemed impatient: "she saw the angry handsome face of the waiter who shouted 'Roll and butter' and whisked away from the table the twisted cone of

[70] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 147.

[71] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 147.

[72] Finkelstein, *Dining Out*, 3.

[73] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 359.

serviette and the knives and forks."[74] It seemed the waiter had lost all of his politeness as Miriam ordered the cheapest food. She felt offended and had a bad memory of the restaurant. Thereafter, she hesitated before entering a restaurant because she was afraid that the same bad experience might happen again and the restaurant could refuse to serve her: "it was impossible to go into a restaurant late at night alone."[75]

The restaurant as a new fashionable dining place helped to consolidate the ideological discourse on the nature of civilized female appetites. Stressing the noble table manners and decent etiquette, the restaurant was the best place representing a fancier and finer life. The act of dining out, for upper and middle class women, had much to do with not only "the mediation of social relations," but also with "self-presentation."[76] At the table, these ladies sought to reveal their respectable ladylike qualities, that is, delicacy as well as civility were much more than selecting food that appealed to their palates. A sense of de rigueur and a manner of sociality had to be revealed. In this sense, the décor and ambiance of the restaurant reinforced the gestures and manners of a 'civilized body' that regulated itself and projected an image of wealth, happiness, luxury, and pleasant social relations in the public domain. In contrast, the working girl, like Miriam, who sought real food to fill her stomach, exposed the fact that her physical need did not accord with the conventional manner and the spatiality of the restaurant. Her behavior accounted for how a healthy appetite functioned, which was often discernibly connected to an incivility of the inferior, coarse body.

To sum up, the atmosphere and style of many dining places exerted an effect of discrimination against some clienteles. As with most forms of catering, the majority of these places almost exclusively targeted male or upper-middle class customers. They could be seen as "gendered spaces," with

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[74] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 359.

[75] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 359.

[76] Finkelstein, *Dining Out*, 3.

coffee houses for men and clubs for women.[77] The restaurant as a new supplier of comestibles and social relations could be a better choice for dining out, yet for those who worked alone in the city without economic advantages, they had few chances to frequent one. Affording the expensive food and tipping the serving personnel constituted a burden in the working girl's dining out. Even if she might have some chances, her consuming body as the one in performance of civilized gentility and the one absorbed in the food being taken as an uncivilized operation should be differentiated. Thus all these spatial factors piled up to discriminate against her and to prevent her dining activity in the restaurant from always being a pleasant experience.

Apparently a lot of dining places catered exclusively to different categories of customers: upper-middle class males, lower-middle class males, and upper-middle class females, but it seemed impossible for laboring class women to have their own places. In most cases, they could only occasionally purchase food and drink from the street salesmen or according to the state of trade.[78] As female workers engaged in all kinds of employments, thousands of hardworking women thronged the streets at midday and eagerly looked for some well-run clean catering establishments that sprang up to meet their needs; although the restaurant did not absolutely reject these female customers, its spatiality was never designed for a laboring woman without company, like Miriam. Yet to meet the consuming need of a growing amount of working women in late-nineteenth century London, a new type of mass catering rose and became another alternative for the public dining places: the teashop (or tearoom).

The teashop, the new establishment of this period, "revolutionised eating out in British cities."[79] At that time the teashop was dominated by two large firms, The Aerated Bread Company (ABC in its abbreviated form), and J.

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[77] Shaw et al, "Creating New Spaces of Food Consumption," 91-2.

[78] Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," 232.

[79] Shaw et al, "Creating New Spaces of Food Consumption," 86.

Lyons & Company.[80] When many female laborers continued to face "abysmal conditions" in dining out, as Shaw contended, "It was against this background that the ABC and slightly later Lyons began to transform the experience of dining out."[81] In London known for its masculine culture of coffee houses and its shopping cultures of clubs, the new teashops were designed to appeal to those unaccompanied working women; they were open to the low-paid women, in regard to its prices or interior decoration and provided safe, respectable dining places for them. Distinctive from other dining places, the attribute of the teashop is "functional."[82] To explore its functions, we will examine the following three traits.

The most decisive characteristic of the teashop was its thoroughly public spatiality. Unlike certain thresholds of a heavy, frosted door set by the restaurant or of memberships required by the clubs, the teashop welcomed all backgrounds of customers with a nearly open door to constitute a public space. Since there was no limitation on guests, the teashop was "frequented by clusters of groups including a 'gamut of personal, political, and social eccentricity.'"[83] The teashop attracted a large category of socially mixed clientele, thereby constituting significant publicity. They were visited by "the

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[76] In the case of two other companies catering was closely associated with food processing and manufacture as befitted the scale of their operations. The Aerated Bread Company (ABC), incorporated in 1862, began as a chain of baker's shops selling a patent brand of bread before extending to the provision of light meals. According McCracken, historical materials of the ABC were difficult to obtain since a fire did much damage to the storeroom for the ABC documents. J. Lyons and Company, who opened their first teashop in Piccadilly in 1894, moved in the other direction as they decided to expand the retail sale of the tea, ice cream and cakes that were so popular in their tea rooms. See Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-century City," 245. For more about J. Lyons & Co, see Peter Bird, *The First Food Empire: A History of J. Lyons and Co* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2000).

[81] Shaw et al, "Creating New Spaces of Food Consumption," 92.

[82] Shaw et al, "Creating New Spaces of Food Consumption," 85.

[83] Esther Kleinbord Labovitz, *The Myth of the Heroine: The Female Bildungsroman in the Twentieth Century* (New York: P. Lang, 1986), 34.

wealthy classes, as well as those who were not rich."[84] In addition to its publicity, its interior design and food service had been standardized since the teashop was run in the manner of a chain store. All of its branches were decorated in a similar way and the menu fixed: light lunch and teatime refreshments, which were often frugal meals, including biscuits and tea. Furthermore, the server in the teashop was different from that of the restaurant. Aiming to reduce the cost of personnel, the tendency of the teashop was self-service. The waiter or waitress existed not to serve individual clients like those in the restaurant, but to take care of the whole store front or the kitchen. In this way, the diner did not need to tip them. As for the overall popularity of the teashop, Ross suggested, it was enjoyed for its "simplicity" of "democratic classlessness" and "no tipping."[85]

Miriam was among this lower-middle class rush for the teashop, especially the ABC store. After work or in her leisure time, the first place for her to take a break or a morsel would be an ABC. Once after a long walk, she was exhausted: "An A.B.C. appeared suddenly at her side, its panes misty in the cold air."[86] Without any hesitation as that of entering the restaurant, she soon pushed the door and "went confidently in."[87] Despite this ABC being "nearly full of men," Miriam seemed not to care about that: "Never mind, City men; with a wisdom of their own which kept them going and did not affect anything, all alike and thinking the same thoughts; far away from anything she thought or knew."[88] This attested to the teashop clientele crossing both class and gender lines. The teashop had a wider social appeal and accommodated men and women of different classes. Although it was a new ABC store she had never before visited (because it was not one of her own ABCs), she still

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84 Qtd. in Shaw et al, "Creating New Spaces of Food Consumption," 93.

85 Cathy Ross, "20th century," in *London Eats Out 1500-2000: 500 Years of Capital Dining*, 92.

86 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 75.

87 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 75.

88 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 75-6.

walked confidently down the centre:

> She felt as she sat down as if she were the guest of the City men, and ate her boiled egg and roll and butter and drank her small coffee in that spirit, gazing into the fire and thinking her own thoughts unresentful of the uncongenial scraps of talk that now and again penetrated her thoughts; the complacent laughter of the men amazed her; their amazing unconsciousness of the things that were written all over them.[89]

Surrounded by the City men, she had no anxiety because in an ABC, interpersonal relationships were no longer demanded, including an interaction with the waiter/waitress because there was no waiter beside her pressing her for an order. She adjusted herself to a space accommodating an amount of unfamiliar people, even if their gender and class was different from hers.

The interior decoration and layout in the ABC were similar to all of the depots in a rather austere, social reforming tradition.[90] The simple, austere style of the teashop was reflected in their victuals. The conversation between Miriam and her friends, Mag and Jan, revealed what the food of the ABC was like:

> 'What would you have done?'
> 'An egg, at an A. B. C.'
> 'How fond you are of A.B.C.s.'
> 'I love them.'
> 'What is it that you love about them?'
> 'Chiefly, I think, their dowdiness. The food is honest; not showy, and they are so blisssfully dowdy.'
> Both girls laughed.[91]

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89 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 76.

90 Shaw et al., "Creating New Spaces of Food Consumption," 92.

91 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 150.

It was unimaginable for the girls that Miriam favored the ABC food by virtue of its 'dowdiness.' Roll and butter, egg, and tea were the most commonplace yet most delightful food in her order. In contrast to dining in the restaurant as a dream world of fancy and luxury, she was enjoying the simplicity of food in her everyday life. The modest food in the modest place was a best choice for a woman of modest means like her. It was a place where she could settle down to have her meals and not to worry about the price or others' gazes. Both the physical and psychical satisfaction had been fulfilled as she dined out in the teashop.

The chain teashop like the ABC pioneered a form of catering for every urban individual. As far as its spatiality was concerned, the teashop between Miriam's room and the streets, according to Scott McCracken, designated "a space where public and private meet."[92] It is "productive space," where "Miriam can perform a new kind of gendered identity, which is neither masculine nor feminine."[93] This productive space created "a third space" or "a liminal zone."[94] Scott McCracken's contention shed light on the specific spatiality of the teashop and the effect it rendered upon Miriam. Seen from this light, the teashop was more likely a 'homely' space, much closer to the way Miriam felt about the space. The notion of 'home' was certainly not synonymous with the traditional Victorian house that claimed middle class femininity based on masculine discourses. For most laborers, they moved to the city to earn their living. They would spend as little as possible on their lodgings. Thus their living condition was dirty and small, meant essentially only for sleep. Such accommodation did not allow them to enjoy the shelter of the house. They preferred to fool around on the streets or stay in public places.

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[92] Scott McCracken, "Embodying the New Woman: Dorothy Richardson, Work, and the London Café," in *Body Matters: Feminism, Textuality, Corporeality*, ed. Avril Horner and Angela Keane (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 57.

[93] McCracken, "Embodying the New Woman," 57.

[94] McCracken, "Embodying the New Woman," 57.

The cheap and public teashop became a space that rendered a sense of safety, warmth, and belonging for them since it was not demanding at all. As Miriam "wandered slowly home through the drizzling rain warmed and fed and with a glow at her heart," she was so thankful and took one more look of the shop since it was "a home, a bit of her own London home."[95] This homely space has reflected a united fundamental desire for food and space in the city.

The teashop as a homely space gradually prompted Miriam to participate in London's public culture. This space enabled her to go beyond conventional restrictions on the privacy of female appetites and the moralization regarding women's dining. Here, Miriam's appetite was not confined to a performance but returned to its very original nature, consuming. Her increasing dining experiences in the ABC gave shape to a material context of urban life. Though she inevitably had some unpleasant occasions like those of the snobbish restaurant, she could now have a refuge from discrimination and a settlement in the city. That is to say, the amiable teashop was thus the very place that contented the working girl's consuming body, granted her to be a woman of her own appetite, and further expanded her understanding and exploration of London.

The Consuming Body: Lived Appetites

Although the working girl's choices of food and acts of consumption were greatly confined by her financial ability and constrained by the anorexic culture under the power of masculine discourses, her body is a body subject, as Elizabeth Grosz puts, a "lived body."[96] The concept of the 'lived body,' which Grosz draws primarily from Maurice Merleau-Ponty includes two major characteristics: one is the body as a subject committed to objects, and the other, the body's link to the representation of spatiality. First of all, the

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[95] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 360.

[96] Elizabeth A. Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 18.

body serves as a subject committed to objects. As for the body as the context of relations to objects, Merleau-Ponty indicates the body as a subject, a "being-to-the-world."[97] The "being-to-the-world," Grosz contends, is "the instrument by which all information and knowledge is received and meaning is generated. It is through the body that the world of objects appears to me; it is in virtue of having/being a body that there are objects for me."[98] Which is to say, the body which exists here is "defined by its relations with objects and in turn defines these objects as such."[99] It is the body which places the person in the world and makes relations between the person (or the body itself) and other objects. The body in this regard is a subject since it is the one which dwells into the world. Meanwhile, this subject perceives and receives information of and from the world. The body lives and experiences the objects of the world, which stimulates the sensations and gives experiences to the body at the same time. The body, or Grosz terms as 'the lived body,' is a subject which already designates its existing and integrated relations with objects. Being a subject that is committed to the world, the lived body can be represented and expressed in specific ways in particular cultures. Therefore, the body as subject already denotes certain agency and their bodily movements as practices.

The other trait is that the lived body is naturally connected to the representation of spatiality. By considering the body as subject committed to the objects of the world, we can see how the body inhabits space because the body's movement is not limited to submitting passively to space and objects. The body actively assumes perceptual relations with them. The body for Merleau-Ponty is the very means of the access to the conception of space: "the 'here' applied to my body does not refer to a determinate position in relation

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97 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), viii.

98 Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, 87.

99 Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, 87.

to other positions or to external coordinates, but the laying down of the first coordinates, the anchoring of the active body in an object, the situation of the body in the face of its tasks."[100] A clear reading provided by Grosz is that "space is not understood as a series of relations between different objectively located points, points of equal value . . . Rather, space is understood by us as a relation between these points and a central or organizing perspective which regulates perceptions so that they occupy the same perceptual field."[101] Grosz's reading makes it manifest that space does not function as an entity in which objects are placed in rational and abstract relationships. It is represented according to the way it is experienced by a combination of perceptions of the body.

Following this vein, the consuming or dining body is always concerned originally with physical necessity in absorbing the targeted object ——food, it constitutes a nexus between the body and the world. Consuming as a corporeal activity, by all means, generates various sensuous experiences (not simply taste) for the body. As a subject linked to hunger and the desire for food, the consuming body itself is used to explore the complex ways in which perceptions and experiences are articulated and enriched through abundant repetition of food consumption. The significance of dining out is more intricately linked to the body than that in the domestic sphere. This consuming body, developed with cultural values and varied with distinctive dining situations, always reveals an intimate connection of space and subjectivity redolent with material social relations.

Furthermore, such a lived body, admittedly negotiated with spatial and cultural possibilities, is ontologically 'sexed' insofar as sexual differences are valued in those material relations that make the lived body. For Grosz, sexual differences are rather encompassing; they are "more like bodily styles, habits,

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[100] Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, 102.

[101] Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, 90.

practices whose logic entails one preference."[102] The lived body is made possible to open itself up to the significance of the other sex. Under the Cartesian dualism of mind/body as well as male/female, woman's body appeared absent. In the condition of objectifying woman's body, it was homogenized into an abstract entity which was obscurely understood. Woman's body was not the lived body in that sense because it was unknown and unrecognized. Protesting the ontological question of female bodies, Grosz claims that the study of body must return to the infinite traits of the body and must resort to those differentiated bodies as "an open materiality, a set of (possibly infinite) tendencies and potentialities."[103] The concept of the lived body and its corporeality developed in Grosz's perspective emphasizes "actual social relations" (the practices and connections embedded within such relations) of the space.[104] In other words, different bodies will address particular dimensions that are directed to various models of the body in the form of sexuality, subjectivity, and corporeality since they are always 'lived' in their essence.

The body's consumption is surely indicative of gender difference. As woman's body has played a conventional role of food provider: as a mother breastfeeding the child and a wife preparing meals for the family, her body becomes a symbol tied to food. By virtue of that convention, she is culturally deemed to sacrifice herself to cater to the family's hunger. The Victorian anorexic culture paralleled such a claim of self sacrifice. The control of food intake refers to not only one of the most effective ways a woman shapes the size of her body to be beautiful, but also a moral image of feminine beauty decided by the masculine discourse. In this sense, she seemed to have no desire for absorption at all. However, to treat woman's body as the 'consumed' role ostensibly disavowed or overturned her original consuming appetite,

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[102] Grosz , *Volatile Bodies*, 191.

[103] Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, 191.

[104] Alexandra Howson, *Embodying Gender* (London: Sage, 2005), 122.

which has its innate, delicate thoughts and emotions over food and eating. Instead of a mere food provider, woman's physical nature always already expresses its hunger for living, and on a profound level, for the way of life.

For Miriam, consuming itself was neither a behavior to be concealed nor an event to be performed for respectability, but a real activity in everyday life. In spite of economic limitations, Miriam's experiences of dining out led her to a growing awareness of her selfhood and the meaning of life. The factors of atmosphere and food in the teashop or other homely dining places (such as the café) constituted her appetites for food as well as a spatial significance of subjectivity. Since the teashop like the ABC provided Miriam with a safe, friendly dining base to access urban public life, her appetites prompted her gradually to an intense contact with London life and people. Miriam's 'lived' aspects of body: that is, appetite for independence and appetite for identity, will be discussed next.

As men and women had different opinions about women's public paid work, their attitudes towards women's appetite and food consumption concomitantly diverged from each other. The masculine discourses attempted to demonize and demoralize female appetite and the consuming body by rendering both of them as immoral and immodest presentations of uncivilized behaviors, whereas the working girl as a fleshly eater devoted her efforts to her next meal, and most of the time, was proud of herself to be self-supporting. Men's fear of, and disdain for, women's independence and subjectivity was behind the desire to control their appetite. This fear and disdain, paradoxically, proved that appetite had so much to do with the formation of subjectivity. Recent researches often highlighted the extent to which subjectivity is constructed and experienced through embodiment and vice versa.[105] Consuming as an ordinary daily activity is often termed a 'practice' since it is committed to a continuing, interactive process of perceiving and being

[105] See Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

perceived through the body. Fischler considered eating or consuming as "incorporation," the practice linking the world and the self, the "outside" and "inside" of the body.[106] The process of incorporation is inextricably linked to subjectivity because the food becomes self.[107] Moreover, it is by consuming that individuals respond to the external world, how they recognize it as important or necessary, and how they incorporate their responses to it into everyday life.[108] These incorporations cast profoundly significant and imaginative traces upon the body in various forms, such as memories. As a consequence, consuming can be seen as a practice of self since it specifies the incorporation of food as well as the individual's recognition of his/her place in the society.[109]

Miriam's appetite exemplifies this practice of consuming to construct and express subjectivity. As she settled in her small Tansley Street attic, she had a real feeling of her self-independence by virtue of employment. Such self-independence has been a long time pursuit since she had been a governess for the Corries of the Newlands, and its atmosphere was certainly of traditional Victorian upper-middle class family. There she had plenty to eat, according to a formal schedule, and not according to her will. Her subjectivity seemed to be suppressed under the regulations of eating. It was different in London. Her appetite for food was substantial evidence of this feeling of independence. While she remained a bread-eater, she came to be aware that, she was simultaneously a breadwinner. Supporting herself by her own labor would be the first and foremost step into a life of independence. Even though she worked hard and lived alone in the big city, her exhaustion and loneliness were also part of her independence. As Miriam dined alone in her favorite teashop ABC, she indulged in its plain yet relaxing style:

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106 C. Fischler, "Food, Self and Identity," *Social Science Information* 27 (1988): 279.

107 Lupton , *Food, the Body, and the Self*, 17.

108 Lupton, *Food, the Body, and the Self*, 15.

109 Fischler, "Food, Self and Identity," 281.

> No one who had never been alone in London was quite alive . . . I'm free——I've got free——nothing can ever alter that, she thought, gazing wide-eyed into the fire, between fear and joy . . . A strength was piling up within her.[110]

More than loneliness was to be perceived in the teashop; as for the space, she felt nothing but a sense of self. Still possessing a slight fear, she had the strength to move on after a meal in the ABC, where both a full abdomen and an undisturbed self were available.

Miriam's friends, Mag and Jan, are the best example of independent London women. Unlike those upper-class women, they are the New Women who have been earning their living in London for a long time. They got accustomed to this metropolis and had more experience than Miriam did. They lived on the 'improper street' which was populated by the so-called 'improper women.' They should have moved to avoid being mistaken for improper women. Yet careless of others' opinions, Mag and Jan thought it was just like some other part of London. Though their landlady was an improper woman, she was "extraordinary——all things considered."[111] Miriam wondered if they should leave because she was astonished by the seemingly terrible and horrible living area. Yet Mag answered instantly: "No; we don't see why we should."[112] According to Mag, the landlady was "absolutely self-respecting" and "awfully good to them," "a perfect landlady."[113] Miriam could not imagine how strong they could be and "gazed dumbly from one to the other, finding herself admiring and wondering more than ever at their independence and strength."[114] Working for a long time, made Mag and Jan's income sufficient for food in the restaurant and goods in the West End shops. These

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[110] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 76.

[111] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 84.

[112] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 84.

[113] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 85.

[114] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 85.

leisure activities were common for them: "the self-confident set of their this-season's clothes, 'line' clothes, like every one else was wearing, every one this side of the West End; Oxford Street clothes."[115] They had already become typical London women. They were models to Miriam. It does not mean that Miriam sought the same level of material satisfaction as these girls. If they were satisfied with dining in the restaurant, Miriam had the same feeling with the ABC: a London self. What Miriam admired was their willpower and stamina to live in London and be themselves. Their attitudes could be seen through their appearances: "They marched along at a great rate, very upright and swift" and "Their high-heeled shoes were in perfect condition and they went on and on, laughing and jesting as if there were no spring evening all round them."[116] After the restaurant dinner, Miriam walked with them: as they "got on so well together," Miriam "got on so well, too, with them."[117]

The appetite for independence was reinforced through Miriam's affection for her sister, Eve. Hearing of Eve coming to London, Miriam could not help falling into a great obsession about Eve because she was too surprised:

> Up in her cold room everything vanished into the picture of Eve, deciding, away down in green Wiltshire, to leave off teaching; smiling, stretching out her firm small hands and taking hold of London. London changed as she read. She sat stupefied. It seemed impossible, terrifying, that Eve, penniless, and with her uncertain health, should leave the wealthy comfort of the Greens after all these years.[118]

Analyzing Miriam's contemplation, we can see that Eve was not supposed to come here, partly because she had a cozy life as a governess in the Greens of

115 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 152.

116 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 152.

117 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 152.

118 Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 349.

the Whitshire and partly because she was in a frail health. London would be a proper place for a working girl to start an independent life. Yet to Miriam's understanding, Eve could not have been such a London girl. It seemed that Eve must have stayed in the domestic, rural countryside where governess would be a better occupation for her. But now, Eve was coming to London for a new job as "an assistant in a flower shop at fifteen shillings a week."[119] It was unbelievable, as she claimed——"impossible" to Miriam. When Miriam's colleagues listened to the news of Eve's plan, they spontaneously asked Miriam: "'Is she coming to London to see the queen?'"[120] To them, it was amazing (or unworthy) to come to London to be a florist. As Miriam contended, they could not realize how much working in London, even at a poorly paid job, meant for a working girl. Too excited about Eve's future new life, Miriam already dreamed about the news: "Eve, not a governess, free, in London, just as she was herself. Another self, in London."[121] The London life composed of hard labor and meager wages would certainly be more difficult than that in the Greens. Nevertheless, it was absolutely different. Miriam expected Eve "being led about and taught London, going about under the same skies, in the streets, feeling exactly as she felt . . . The rain gently thudding on the roof and rattling against the landing skylight was Eve's rain. She was listening to it and hearing it in exactly the same way."[122] Eve's life would have been a life of independence, just as Miriam's.

Miriam's excitement about Eve's dwelling in London revealed how great a working woman's enthusiasm for her own autonomous life could be. A girl's appetite meant not only the absorption of food to support her physical energy in the job, but also the longing for independence and a realization of this longing. Through dining alone in the teashop or café, Miriam was

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[119] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 349.

[120] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 349.

[121] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 349.

[122] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 349.

satisfied with self-sufficiency in her permanent pursuit. Every time Miriam went to the ABC, the practice of consuming verified the existence of her self in accordance with her courage to live on her own. Through the act of consuming, she found her individual place in the ABC, and this place made her selfhood complete and comfortable. She looked forward to Eve's coming and enjoying this unique sense of independence in the ABC as well as in London. As a consequence, Miriam's appetite and practice of dining out (perhaps for most of the working girls), designated a new life of freedom, self-reliance, and most importantly, selfhood.

If dining in the chain teashop symbolized a life of independence for Miriam, this life further motivated her to have contacts with the metropolis she lived in, London. As discussed above, the teashop demanded no interpersonal relationships for a solitary diner: one may eat and then leave. There was no need to care about the guest at the next table or even to communicate with waiters. This trait attracted people of various backgrounds and made the teashop the epitome of London. Ineluctably, Miriam would encounter all kinds of people in her frequent visits to the ABC. The complexity of people in the ABC did not scare Miriam for she was a 'member' of it herself. The recurrent visits to the ABC increased her perspectives of the London city and its residents. Before settling down in Tansley Street, Miriam had been a common traveler to London since Mrs. Corrie would take her there for time to time. Coming from the socially homogeneous suburbs, Miriam encountered a world of difference, largely outside of her suburban experiences. Her mood was slowly transformed from a visitor and a lodger, to a resident. Thus, Miriam's understandings and impressions of the homely space came into emergence and developed as a profound identification with London.

In the wake of her settlement, Miriam started to immerse herself into a London life, including getting accustomed to her tiring routine work, strolling along the West End streets, and dining in the chain teashops. All activities,

especially dining, had grown into her innermost bonding with London. In spite of the confines of her narrow attic, she could experience a real sense of residing in London through her consumption:

> As she began on her solid slice of bread and butter, St Pancras bells stopped again. In the stillness she could hear the sound of her own munching. She stared at the surface of the table that held her plate and cup. It was like sitting up to the nursery table. 'How frightfully happy I am,' she thought with bent head. Happiness streamed along her arms and from her head. St Pancras bells began playing a hymn tune, in single firm beats with intervals between that left each note standing for a moment gently in the air.[123]

The playing and stopping of the bell seemed to give a rhythm to her eating, which was combined with what of the city. It extended her sense of taste to that of hearing, and furthermore, to a whole perception of outside urban space. She felt that she was no longer an outsider to London, but an indigenous inhabitant herself. Accordingly, this feeling, in regard to consuming, deepened her sense of belonging and her growing love for London.

The place that heightened her identity of being a London girl was unquestionably, the ABC teashop. Often surrounded by London people, she became familiar with the situation among strangers, with men as the majority. She was not nervous or anxious at all because there was no worry about rude invasions by strangers. She could occupy a corner in the room without interruption. Interestedly observing these London people around, she began to think of herself as 'a strong self,' as one member of them:

> [It was] the strange, rich, difficult day and now her untouched self here, free, unseen, and strong, the strong world of London all round her, strong free untouched people, in a dark lit wilderness, happy and miserable in their own way, going about the streets looking at nothing,

[123] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 22-3.

> thinking about no special person or thing, as long as they were there, being in London.[124]

It was nothing more than natural that after a difficult day, Miriam lounged in the ABC, where businessmen and working people also flocked, doing nothing but staying there in a reverie. Dining in the ABC, just like these people, happy and miserable, was part of London life. Situated in the dining crowds, she found her preoccupied with "a secure unshared possession."[125]

In addition to the ABC teashop, Miriam also had opportunities to dine in the café, whose spatiality was similar to that of the teashop. Her friend, Mr. Mendizabal, once took her to Ruscino's café. That was her first time to be there. She delineated the café in great detail and discovered that people experienced their own exhilaration regardless of others' gazes: "In a vast open space of light, set in a circle of balconied gloom, innumerable little tables held groups of people wreathed in a brilliancy of screened light, veiled in mist, clear in the sharp spaces of light, clouded by drifting spirals of smoke. They sat down at right angles to each other at a little table under the central height. The confines of the room were invisible. All about them were worldly wicked happy people."[126] The café was also an unbounded space where all kinds of people could leave their worlds behind for a while. Miriam realized that style and exclaimed to herself:

> She could understand a life that spent all its leisure in a café; every day ending in warm brilliance, forgetfulness amongst strangers near and intimate, sharing the freedom and forgetfulness of the everlasting unchanging cafe, all together in a common life. It was like a sort of dance, every one coming and going poised and buoyant, separate and free, united in freedom.[127]

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[124] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 76.

[125] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 3, 263.

[126] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 394.

[127] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 394.

This place evoked her empathy: "She was there as a man, a free man of the world, a continental, a cosmopolitan, a connoisseur of women,"[128] free from all of her troubles and fusses just like men and women around her. Her practice of dining in the café naturally harmonized with that of London people, to put it exactly, many London 'selves.' In this sense, her consuming body, full of "free survey of spatial determinations and relations," possessed the ability to "compose locally separate factors into the unity of a simultaneous view."[129] This ability, in fact, is seen as a formation of identity, "the spontaneity of urban practice."[130]

According to Durrschmidt, identity is an accumulation of urban practices, with their essence being 'spontaneous.' The repetitious dining experience in the teashop oriented Miriam to an adaptation to London public space and furthermore, a spontaneous identity as a London woman. London was becoming Miriam's own city that brought her to a "great adventure."[131] London, as the ABC or the café, was viewed as a place of porous security and solitary freedom: "the part of London she had found for herself; the part where she was going to live, in freedom, hidden."[132] London encouraged her to recognize her real self: "the freedom of London was a life in itself . . . walking in London, she would pass into that strange familiar state, when all clamourings seemed unreal, and on in the end into complete forgetfulness."[133] This familiar state, in other words, the identification, often emerged from Miriam's numerous practices.

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[128] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 394.

[129] Jorg Durrschmidt, *Everyday Lives in the Global City: The Delinking of Locale and Milieu* (London: Routledge, 2000), 121.

[130] Durrschmidt, *Everyday Lives in the Global City,* 116.

[131] Gillian E. Hanscombe, "Introduction to *Pilgrimage*," by Dorothy Richardson, vol. 1 (London: Virago, 1979), 3.

[132] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 2, 29.

[133] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 3, 106.

Furthermore, Miriam's familiarity with London led to her to imagine London as a lover who approached her actively. London's incarnation as a mighty lover allowed her to accept herself with tolerance in the process of adjusting:

> And then *London* came, opening suddenly before me as I rode out alone from under a dark archway into the noise and glare of a gaslit Saturday night . . . but to-night the spirit of London came to meet her on the verge. Nothing in life could be sweeter than this welcoming a cup held brimming to her lips, and inexhaustible. What lover did she want? No one in this world would oust this mighty lover, always receiving her back without words, engulfing and leaving her untouched, liberated and expanding to the whole range of her being.[134]

In Miriam's imagination, London, a space transformed into a personalized figure, became a beloved companion and a uniquely intimate interaction between her and London resulted. According to Brofen: **"**Elevated by Miriam to subjecthood, even viewed at times as a privileged conversation partner, London in its status as addressee also gives her the opportunity to develop thoughts, make decisions and to give her insights tangible form."[135] Miriam develops a reliance on London in her solitude since "[London's] primary appeal is that she can experience it alone, although her being with others may also animate it without denying its fundamental meaning."[136] Such reliance constituted her emotions of love and adoration through her identification with London. This personification of London suggested that Miriam's inaugural disquiet about this new place had been eliminated. Instead, the city seemed to await her growing intimacy because it acted as a patient companion that invited her to remake and consolidate its particularity into a shape of her own choosing.

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[134] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 3, 272, original italics.

[135] Brofen, *Dorothy Richardson's Art of Memory*, 84.

[136] Brofen, *Dorothy Richardson's Art of Memory*, 84.

To sum up, Miriam's hunger encapsulated her appetite for independence and identity in its spatial and metaphorical senses. Being regular and repetitious, the practice of consuming originally propelled her to a basic gratification of physical needs, then to a sentimental attachment of the ABC teashop, and lastly, to an intense identification with urban residents and London style of dining. All of these reactions constituted her palimpsest-like memories, spontaneously developed as a vigorous body within London life. Her consuming body, though more or less confined by the meager salary and limited choices of food, was a motivated subject yearning for more experiences concerning independence and identity in the absorption of the varieties and multiplicities of urban space.

Conclusion

Although the contemporary discourses on women's appetite as a moral standard and eating as a respectable performance on the preconceived premises of civility in accordance with the dining places, Miriam's consuming body was a conspicuous example of how a woman pursued her independence and identity through appetites. The discipline concerning women's appetites dogmatically viewed her body as an object that must be regulated or bent into the desirable shape so as to be "subjected" bodies.[137] The aim of discursive controls over female appetites explicitly, as a matter of fact, coincided with that over women's awakening of their own subjectivity. However, Miriam's appetites had been confined by neither those controls nor the difficult reality of life. Despite some discrimination from dining places, Miriam chose the teashop for her own sake on the basis of her interest in warming her stomach as well as her heart. Becoming gradually acquainted with people and the space of this city, Miriam's body began to interactively accord with these public dining spaces and to traverse the city without hesitation. As she claimed, "she, like all these others, had a place and a meaning in the outside world."[138] The

[137] Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, 36.

[138] Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, vol. 3, 263.

experience of dining out fostered her abundant appetites for independence and identity. Consequently, her consuming body revealed a productive and prolific capability to explore a sense of self-pursuit and self-realization as well a unique urban identification under moralistic ideological forces.

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