

Fact, fiction and method in the early history of social research: Clementina Black and Margaret Harkness as case-studies

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Abstract

The development of social science research methods by women reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a largely buried history. This article examines the work of Clementina Black and Margaret Harkness, two British reformers who conducted many social investigations using a wide range of research methods. They also crossed genres in writing fiction, which was an accepted method at the time for putting forward new ideas about social conditions. Black and Harkness were part of a vibrant network of women activists, thinkers and writers in late nineteenth century London, who together contributed much to the growing discipline of social science and to imaginative forms of writing about social issues.

Keywords

Social science; research methods; social reform; fiction.

Introduction

Standard histories of sociology in both Europe and North America privilege the development of theory by men in academic institutions.¹ This 'origin myth' eclipses empirical social science work done in community settings, an area of activity in which women reformers and researchers excelled in the decades around the beginning of the twentieth century. Historical narratives also pay little attention to fiction as a vehicle for transmitting accounts of social conditions, a tradition which flourished alongside the early development of social science. This article examines the use of fact and fiction and the development of social research methodology in the work of two women reformers, Clementina Black and Margaret Harkness, who both undertook and published social research and also wrote fiction in the period from the late 1870s through to the 1920s. Black and Harkness's non-fiction works on women's industrial labour set the scene for much contemporary and later research and policy work, and their novels and other fictional texts explored many related themes concerning the position of women and the impact of social and economic change on family and community life. Their works belong to a forgotten history of how 'mixed methods' in social research developed in synergy with the use of both fact and fiction to highlight social problems.

Both Black and Harkness supported themselves through writing, both were protagonists of women's independence and were active in socialist circles, and they shared a position as outspoken critics of commodity capitalism and its damages to working people. The only full-length biographies of the two women are by German authors, and only one, the biography of Black, is available in English: this concentrates on her literary accomplishments and says little about her social research work.² Clementina Black's biographer complained that finding out about her meant groping her way 'through a darkness that had grown very dense with the years gone by since her day'.³ Margaret Harkness is an even more fugitive figure: 'she disappears everywhere'.⁴ However, Harkness's tendency to disappear has recently been remedied to some extent, with her rediscovery by scholars as the author of social realist fiction.⁵

A network of reforming women

Clementina Black and Margaret Harkness were born in 1853 and 1854 respectively, both to middle-class families, and they were members of a network of politically and intellectually active women who lived and worked in London in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s.⁶ Their workshop was the British Museum in Bloomsbury: here these women met by chance or design, studying and translating texts, discussing social issues, forging new social contacts, and penning political and social tracts, novels and other literature. The network included Eleanor Marx, socialist activist and daughter of Karl Marx; the poet and novelist Amy Levy; Clementina Black's sister Constance Black (who translated and introduced to the British public the works of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov); the South African author and intellectual, Olive Schreiner; the socialist and women's rights activist (and novelist), Annie Besant; and Beatrice Potter, later one half of the famous Beatrice and Sidney Webb partnership (and Margaret Harkness's cousin). These women and their friends were connected to wider national and international networks of women concerned with social welfare, inequality, and the promotion of pacifism in international and personal relations.⁷

Two particular concerns dominated Black and Harkness's intellectual landscape: the problem of poverty and exploited labour; and the condition of women as a class. These were issues to be studied through empirical social investigation. Charles Booth's mammoth *Life and Labour of the People in London*, published in 1889, and widely regarded as trail-blazing, depended on a team of 20 investigators, six of whom were women (one was Beatrice Webb, then Potter).⁸ Yet many women had been involved before this in their own local studies of labour and community life. The convention of publishing research data

as both fact and fiction seems to have been generally accepted (among both women and men) at the time.⁹ It was regarded as simply another way of presenting the same information about the dire situation of women, children, and the urban poor to middle-class readers and thereby stimulating their social consciences. For women reformers, fiction was an important way of making money to support themselves and/or their political work in an era which was only just beginning to recognize women's independence, and it enabled them to represent a new social consciousness about women's social position. Black and Harkness's fiction forms part of a substantial genre of novels written by women reformers in this period.¹⁰

Clementina Black

Clementina Black is the author of at least eight novels and volumes of short stories, and more than 50 publications reporting on social topics and research data. In her day, she was well-known as an activist for unionism, women's rights, and democratic social policy, giving speeches and workshops across the country, and travelling to national and international congresses. She was the eldest girl in a talented family of eight siblings. Her father was a solicitor and town clerk, her mother the daughter of a court painter. The Blacks lived in Brighton, which nourished a community of radical women, including the Martindale family (Louisa, a surgeon, Hilda, a factory inspector, and their suffragist mother, also called Louisa); other notable women doctors such as Helen Boyle and Octavia Wilberforce; writers such as Amy Levy and Elizabeth Robins; and the trade unionist and labour politician Margaret Bondfield. Black was well-educated, and fluent in French, German and Italian. Her mother's death and her father's invalidism precipitated her into a life of domestic responsibility caring for her younger siblings. She moved with two of them to London in the late 1870s and began to earn an income from writing and translating. Her first two novels, *A Sussex Idyl* and *Orlando*, were published in 1877 and 1879. In London, Black joined the trade union movement and moved in literary, Fabian and socialist circles. Much of her social research was done in her capacity over 20 years as a member and later president of the Women's Industrial Council (WIC). This was founded by Black as the Women's Trade Union Association in 1889, and reconstituted in 1894 as a body specifically designed to investigate and report on women's working conditions: Black chaired its social investigations committee. One of her other significant achievements was to establish the movement for consumer boycotting of unethically produced goods. She set up the British Consumers' League in 1887, the first such organization anywhere, and the model for many later ones in the USA, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Switzerland.¹¹

Clementina Black as social investigator

Clementina Black's social research reports date from 1877, when she published a case-study of 'a working woman' as told 'in her own words', a story relayed to the audience attending a meeting in Liverpool called to set up a trade union for female cigar-makers.¹² Black's 'A working woman's speech' was printed in the British monthly literary magazine *The Nineteenth Century*, and it consisted of little more than the four pages, verbatim, of the original speech, which concerns how the speaker took the initiative in forming a union and persuading other women workers not to accept a reduction in their already low rates of pay. This report prefigured Black's later extensive use of narrative as a political tool for representing the experiences of working-class women. Such 'case-studies', as we would call them today, conveyed, 'a full, autonomous and dignified subjectivity for the working-class woman as both woman and worker'.¹³

Other reports based on both Black's personal experiences of social research, and those of other investigators, followed. 'London's tailoresses' (1904), printed in *The Economic Journal*, was concerned with the results of a WIC enquiry conducted in the summer of 1903 into the working conditions of women in London's tailoring trades. The report is remarkable for its detailed account of working processes, conditions and wages, and its descriptions of the hierarchy and variety of tailoring jobs. Black describes

its methodology as 'personal visits, both to workplaces, and to workpeople at their homes', visits 'checked and supplemented by reports from persons who had been long and familiarly acquainted with many tailoresses'. A total of 115 employers and 56 workers were interviewed. Black was one of the investigators collecting this 'mass of material'.¹⁴

Black's three most significant non-fiction publications were *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage* (1907); *Makers of Our Clothes* (1909); and *Married Women's Work*, published in 1915 and edited by Black. By the time the first of these was published in 1907, Clementina Black was comfortable with, and proficient at, the approach of mixing quantitative and qualitative methods. The book covers a variety of trades in factories and workshops, in traffic industries and in shops. It addresses the argument for a minimum wage policy Black had developed through her trade unionist activity and had first put forward in 1896. The thrust of the argument was that both poverty and dreadful working conditions were caused by the underpayment of both men and women; thus the only remedy was legislation for an adequate minimum wage. *Sweated Industry* contains both case-studies and a mass of quantitative data relating to a WIC investigation of around 400 workers in the sweated industries (defined as those employing workers for long hours and low wages under poor conditions). In Chapter 1, 'The poorest of all', we are introduced to the Jarvis family: a father, mother, and nine children, living in Whitechapel in an alley coloured dark blue (signifying 'very poor, casual. Chronic want') on Charles Booth's poverty map of London. The parents and four of the children worked in the matchbox-making industry. When the WIC investigator called, Mr Jarvis was sick and Mrs Jarvis and four of her children were earning 10d. to 1s a day: the home was bare and the family was 'often nearly starving'. Early in the morning of Boxing Day 1897 the mother and all nine children died of smoke-suffocation in their impoverished and overcrowded home, and Mr Jarvis died the next day in the Infirmary without learning of his family's fate. 'In all but its tragically sudden close,' notes Black, 'the history of the Jarvis family is the history of scores of East End households.'¹⁵ *Sweated Industry* is peppered with observations drawn from Black's own investigative experiences, and it refers to what is today called 'covert ethnography', a practice engaged in by a number of women reformers.¹⁶ In *Sweated Industry* Black notes the contribution made to the investigation of the observations 'made by a trustworthy observer at close quarters', who spent over two years moving from one shop to the next 'remaining long enough in each to obtain complete information as to wages, conditions, food, rules, etc'.¹⁷

Black was adept at quantitative methods, too. For example, in *Sweated Industry* she cites data on the fines imposed in North-west England for illegal overtime, and provides tables of data derived from a series of wage books belonging to skilled machinists in a provincial stay factory, and two weeks of wage data from the 'pay sheets' of young women employed in a large London confectionery factory.¹⁸ Importantly, too, she drew on confirmatory data from other sources: information on child labour in Hackney collected by a Committee on Wage-Earning Children and published by the liberal politician Nettie Adler in 1906; the findings of women such as Margaret Irwin, a leading light in the Scottish Trade Union movement, and of factory inspectors such as Hilda Martindale in England. She was also at pains to consider the international evidence, quoting Australian and American data, especially those gathered by the American social reformer and social scientist Florence Kelley.¹⁹ Addressing the perpetually thorny question of generalizability, Black anticipated the methodological conundrum of modern social researchers in admitting that her investigation does not 'profess to give anything like a general survey of the whole field of British labour,' although it does show 'certain general truths' by describing 'a sufficient range of instances'.²⁰

Clementina Black's *Makers of Our Clothes*, published in 1912, had a co-author, Adele Meyer, a wealthy social reformer who funded the investigation the book describes. Data on the tailoring, dress-making and

underclothing trades were gathered in 1908 by a team of investigators using personal interviews with both employers and workers, beginning (significantly) with the workers. *Makers of Our Clothes* offers an unusual level of detail about how the investigation was carried out. The first challenge was to find a sample of women workers, 'a task in which no directory affords assistance'. The investigators decided that the best approach was to use local community informants such as church and Settlement workers, 'experience teaching very clearly how comparatively feeble is the appeal of pen and ink'. To illustrate the complexity of these community searches, Black uses her novelistic skills to tell the story of 'one hot day' in the lives of four investigators: 'We alighted from a municipal tram in a busy but not wide thoroughfare, hot and full of mingled odours from the fruit, meat, fish, cheese, onions and other comestibles displayed freely in open shop windows. Sweet shops glowed with wares of vivid and alarming hues; vendors shouted; trams went grinding by, and busy pedestrians hustled each other on the narrow pavements. We divided into two parties, one pair going to one church, the second to another.' It usually took a long time to find enough women to interview: 'an entire day may be spent in finding the abodes of half a dozen women, three of whom will prove to be out. On one Saturday afternoon, eight houses were visited, but only one person was found at home.'²¹

Appendix B in *Makers of Our Clothes* prints the interview schedule these diligent researchers used, together with 'Hints for the guidance of investigators'. These are mainly about the need for careful and detailing recording of information: 'It will generally be found unwise to write down any notes while actually on the premises. A rough note-book is convenient for noting answers immediately after leaving, and these should be written out at the earliest possible moment. Reports should be as life-like and complete as possible. Details that seem in the individual case unimportant, become significant when they recur again and again.'²² The investigators made sure to explain fully to their informants the purpose of the inquiry and assure them that no name would be made public. It was necessary to let them tell their story in their own way. 'One has to hear far more than merely the industrial facts that one sets out to learn. The additional information is often very interesting – as a glimpse into any human life can hardly fail to be – but listening to it is apt to take a long time.'²³ Such comments will resonate with many social researchers today, as will Black's reflections on the ethics of social research: 'The people upon whom we intrude are so busy, and they are - almost always - so kind. Our visits to them bear a painful resemblance to those of the enterprising agent who desires to sell a new variety of furniture polish. For our own purposes we enter their houses, demand their attention and take up their time. They, on their part, are not merely patient, they are often eagerly interested; sometimes they...welcome us as friends. Some of them...give us tea; and how thankfully we receive that refreshment few people can guess, unless they have made similar peregrinations.'²⁴ These commentaries are an early example of attention to the housework of social research, and they reflected a broader European cultural project of collecting social data. Appendix A to *Makers of Our Clothes* describes the work of Elizabeth Landsberg of Breslau, Germany, who had assembled information on the working conditions of women clothing workers there; it includes the schedule of questions she employed and some sample answers.

The third of Black's major social research texts, *Married Women's Work*, addresses the topical question of how the employment of married women impacted on them and on men and children. It reported data collected in 1909-10, again by a team of WIC investigators. The book is a compendium of social reports written by 12 authors, including Black herself, who contributed a lengthy chapter on London, a preface and an introduction, and edited the whole volume. Anticipating the methodological strategies of later twentieth-century qualitative researchers, Black read the several hundred reports on which the report draws, and made a conceptual distinction between four groups of married working-class women: those with inadequate family income who do not earn, and those who do, versus those who earn and those

who do not earn when their family income is adequate.²⁵ The methodology throughout is a mixture of much quantitative detail (on hours, wages and living conditions, for example) plus case-studies of either typical or particular interest, the latter designed often to drive home points about extreme poverty, industriousness and overwork. The overall argument of the book, which the *British Medical Journal* called 'a temperate and graphic account of the lives of working women',²⁶ was that the problem of married women's work consisted in its scandalously ill-paid and often health-damaging nature, which was added to the already heavy burden of unpaid domestic work: 'Few operations performed by women in factories are for instance so exhausting as the doing of the family wash with the appliances to be found in the ordinary poor home,' remarked Black in her introduction.²⁷ The conditions of household work were a subject to which she would return later, in her final book, *A New Way of Housekeeping* (1918), which vociferously criticized the multiple 'idiocies' of house design that made women's domestic work even harder, and which proposed a system of 'federated' or cooperative housekeeping to lighten the load.²⁸ Black probably also wrote the three appendices in *Married Women's Work* which contain the 'schedule of enquiry employed', twelve detailed family budgets, and 'The smaller London trades in tabular form' – an exercise in detailed quantitative reporting covering such information as 'reasons for working', housing conditions, 'number of children living and dead', and 'arrangements for care of children' disaggregated for different trades. In addition, she was probably responsible for the complicated graph at the end of the book showing 'charwomen's' earnings and two 'case tables' for London and Liverpool trades. Of the report overall, 'produced by so many hands working separately', Black declares that, since it is 'so homogeneous in its character we can say with conviction that it represents actual facts'. Again she notes, quite properly, the possibly limited application of the findings: we do not know 'the proportion which these facts occupy in the whole field of British industrial life'.²⁹

Similarly attending to the importance of reliable evidence, Black observed in her introduction to *Married Women's Work* that, on the question of how married women's work affected their children, there were really no facts to draw on, other than that infant mortality statistics inform us that, 'poverty and density of population are unfavourable to the health and survival of babies'.³⁰ Her attempt to refocus more closely on the facts of the case the general disapproving moral fervour in which discussions of married women's employment were soaked at the time was a radical sociological move. In this it anticipated the later importance of women's social science work in changing general cultural discourses around women's employment.³¹

Clementina Black as novelist

At various points in her non-fiction writings, Clementina Black observed that novels can be important vehicles for presenting social realism. With respect to life as a shop assistant, for instance, she notes in her *Sweated Industry* that there is 'Mr Maxwell's Vivien, and Mr Wells' Kipps', and an 'admirable vignette' in Gissing's *The Odd Women*.³² She commented also that factual accounts may yield a telling corrective to the partial views embedded in fictive narratives. In her opinion, for example, neither the exhaustive investigations of the WIC, nor her own experience of collecting data over many years, could confirm the accusations of immorality made in such novels as Zola's *Au Bonheur des Dames*. She pointed out what is self-evident to most novelists, that writing a novel is itself a major research project.³³ There are facts to be found out, situations to be explored, places to visit, archives to be plundered, and so forth. This was true of her own novels, although the world presented in her fiction is chiefly that of surroundings that were familiar to her: Sussex and London, and Germany, Switzerland and Italy, countries in which she had travelled.

Black's novels and short stories are in many ways conventional Victorian fiction, with linear plots organized around some theme of conflict, often ostensibly concerning romantic love, but surreptitiously speaking to those barriers of class, gender, family or social group that interrupt people's emotional connections. Her fiction provided an escapist lens – plots of romantic entanglement – through which she was able to present her clear knowledge of contemporary social problems: class and gender inequality and prejudice; the emergence of the 'New Woman'; the challenge of working for women's independence together with, rather than against, men. These novels can be seen as fulfilling an emancipatory function in conveying the idea that women can become self-determining people, in part through the ways in which everyday social reality will always tend to confront and dismantle those archaic romantic fantasies which prop up uncomfortably gendered stereotypes of personal relations.

Black's first novel, *A Sussex Idyl* (1877) concerns a cross-class relationship between a London law student and a Sussex farm servant who eventually marry with forebodings of failure from the author/narrator;³⁴ in her second, *Orlando* (1879), a three-volume epic, another romantic young student conceives a fated passion for an unattainable status-seeking woman.³⁵ Perhaps nothing in Black's fiction condenses the theme of class barriers better than her short story 'In a London Street', which was published in *Miss Falkland and Other Stories* in 1892.³⁶ A middle-aged musician, Anthony Carr, who has known better times, is lodging in a poor area of London. Above his room in a garret lives a needlewoman, Mary Ann Redwood, who sometimes works at home, sometimes goes out to work - returning pale and weary - and at other times goes hungry through no work at all. A friendship develops between these two, although the 'little needlewoman' continues to regard Carr with awe as her social superior, and he knows that her age (she is 24, he is 47) and class position place her for him 'in another world'.³⁷ She looks after him through his final illness, during which he accepts that he really cares for her, but he dies before he can do anything about it (Black is adept at unhappy endings). Later novels, *The Princess Désirée* (1896),³⁸ *The Pursuit of Camilla* (1899),³⁹ *High Treason* (1902),⁴⁰ and *Caroline* (1908),⁴¹ are historical romances full of characters who prevaricate, misinterpret, vacillate and are given at times to interminable dialogues with themselves and others about the best courses of action to adopt in ambiguous social circumstances.

Social realism mostly exists at the margins of Clementina Black's fiction. Her first short story, 'The troubles of an automaton' (1876), did deal with the realist theme of a systematized, mechanized society and the alienating effect of technology; it was based on the true story of a mechanical chess-player which was suspected (correctly) to house a real human being.⁴² Then there is, for instance, Topsy Edgburton's railings against the confines of rural life and her ambition to take up dressmaking work in London in another of her short stories. Mrs Carver, a rich, childless widow, who takes on Topsy as a chaperone and removes her to London, advises her against taking on any such work there: 'London dressmakers are very hard-worked, and very ill paid; and they work in close, unhealthy rooms – you don't look strong enough for it'.⁴³ The agonies of the artist William Askerdale in Black's short story, 'The artist', direct the reader to a constant theme of her non-fictional work: the deadening effects of domesticity. Married to Margaret, a conventional woman, Askerdale becomes a successful and celebrated artist, but he is held back by the stultifying effect of domesticity on women and its deadening effect on his art: 'my dear Margaret, with her whole life wrapped up in mine...I can't speak of my best thoughts to her; to her they mean nothing.'⁴⁴ He is another of Black's inventions who dramatically dies before being able to resolve his dilemma.

Clementina Black's one acknowledgedly social realism novel, *The Agitator*, appeared in 1894. Eleanor Marx, who approved of the book and especially recommended it to her Russian readers, was one of a number of people who considered its hero, Kit Brand, to be a combination of two prominent middle-class converts to socialism, John Burns and Henry Hyde Champion.⁴⁵ *The Agitator* is the story of an engineer

from a skilled artisan background who becomes a strike leader in a provincial city. He goes to London where his support of the workers' cause brings him some celebrity, and the workers in his home town ask him to stand as a labour candidate at the next general election. This he does, successfully, his campaigning speeches echoing some of his creator's social facts – men who work for sixteen hours a day for a pittance, women who sit up in bed straight after childbirth to finish shirts or make match-boxes, young girls who work in a laundry all day for three farthings an hour. Kit Brand's political career is a story on which Black is able to hang her own criticisms of socialist leaders and their associated institutions. 'Socialism in the West End' remarks one of her protagonists sagely, 'is enthusiasm; in the East End it's revolt; in Bloomsbury it is business....The aim is to secure certain economic changes, one by one, without personal sacrifice. The methods are talking, lecturing, issuing pamphlets, joining Liberal and Radical Associations, and blowing one another's trumpets with unwavering perseverance.'"⁴⁶ Brand's own election victory is challenged when an embezzlement of votes is shown to have taken place. He refuses the help of an eminent lawyer (who in one of Black's many sub-plots concerning irregular parent-child relations - another of her specialties - Brand discovers is his father). He defends himself, loses, is imprisoned and only finally pardoned when another man confesses. This is a tale with a decidedly moral ending during which Brand reflects on his own political shortcomings. In a comment that reads like a modern observation on the gendering of emotions and social relations, Black reports that, 'He had toiled for men, but he had not loved them; he had given them his life, his joys, his intelligence, his youth, but he had never given them himself.....To be entirely aloof, entirely unmoved, entirely just, that had been his ideal of human relation for himself.'⁴⁷

Margaret Harkness

Clementina Black's portrait of Bloomsbury socialism and its limitations would have appealed to Margaret Harkness, who articulated similar criticisms in both her documentary and fictional texts. She wrote many articles describing the social and economic conditions of the poor in England, especially women, and one full-length book, *Toilers in London*, a compendium of such pieces; between 1887 and 1890 she published four 'slum novels', two carrying the subtitle 'a realistic story'.⁴⁸ While some of her works were published under her own name, for most she used the pseudonym of 'John Law', probably after the eccentric eighteenth-century economist John Law of Lauriston, to whom her novel *Out of Work* was dedicated.⁴⁹

The daughter of a Worcestershire clergyman and a well-connected widow, Harkness was educated at home, apart from two years at a finishing school when she was 21. This was followed by a nursing training in London in 1877, after which she worked for a time as an apprentice dispenser. She found nursing an uncongenial occupation: 'I feel more interested in watching the minds and manners of their patients than their complaints' she wrote.⁵⁰ Harkness is said to have resisted family pressure to marry a wealthy man and to have been disinherited by her father for her political views;⁵¹ shortage of money is certainly a theme that infuses her cousin Beatrice Webb's diary references to her - Webb, and also Olive Schreiner, provided financial support from time to time. Sometime in the early 1880s, Harkness turned to social investigation, political work and writing. In 1885 she joined the Social Democratic Federation, Britain's first organized socialist party founded in 1881, and for a time allied herself actively with socialism, including during the London dock strike of 1889, which her personal intervention with Cardinal Manning helped to bring to a conclusion.⁵² In the late 1880s, Harkness became a 'slum saviour', living with Webb in an East End tenement, Katherine Buildings, the model for Charlotte Buildings in her first slum novel, *A City Girl*. She was a close friend, and very probably more than a friend,⁵³ of Henry Hyde Champion, and was counted as a member of what was dubbed a 'Marxist Clique' around Friedrich Engels and Eleanor Marx (whom Harkness introduced to the miseries of East End life). Margaret Harkness is mainly

remembered today as the recipient of a letter from Engels about her novel *A City Girl*, in which Engels commended the novel, but declared it was not realistic enough in its portrayal of working-class people.⁵⁴

Harkness's later international travels produced a corpus of extraordinary reports relating to social and economic conditions in different countries and offering bold theoretical analyses of social problems. She was alert to the importance of understanding other cultures, and to the damages of colonialism and imperialism. A richly subversive tract called *Imperial Credit* was published in 1899.⁵⁵ It lays out her grounds for breaking with British socialists (infighting, excessive parochialism, refusal to take women, notably her, seriously). Harkness's definite tendency to quarrel with people included her cousin, Beatrice Webb, who, visiting Harkness in Manchester in November, 1888, wrote in her diary, 'Poor Maggie gets bitterer and bitterer with the whole world and does foolish and inconsiderate things and then is vexed that she loses friends.'⁵⁶ As the authors of Harkness's entry in the *Dictionary of Labour Biography* note, her seemingly 'difficult' personality may have had much to do with her inability to find a congenial political and personal home for her forward-looking ideas.⁵⁷ *Imperial Credit* lays out Harkness's critiques of capitalism and the 'corporate consciousness' of society. As alternatives, she offers Henry George's scheme of nationalizing land and capital, and the new science of sociology as founded by Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. She approves of Comte's efforts to systematize social thought and make it more scientific, but criticizes him for imposing on it the model of his own society, and for his inability to entertain any idea of women as political people. Spencer fared little better, being regrettably unappreciative of the way societies could develop and change.⁵⁸

Harkness as social investigator

Harkness's first two known publications are both reports of social investigations. 'Women as civil servants' (1881) and 'Railway labour' (1882) offer a mix of statistical information, observation and narrative case-studies. The project of 'Women as civil servants' is to cover the 'dry, practical detail' that is necessary to understand the recent phenomenon of women's employment in the Public Postal Service: what it is like, its conditions and market structure, how it affects women. Harkness gives a detailed history and exact data on the women's working hours and wages.⁵⁹ 'Railway Labour' has similar aims: to provide 'a survey of the lives of railway men, their work, and their wages' 'in a plain and concise form, in order to point out several evils that at present exist' and 'to show where amelioration is needed at the hands of those who have the power to make changes'. Harkness charts the social and technical history and the 'system of white slavery' that existed in the early days of the railways. She provides a table of railway workers' average hours and wages, together with 'special examples': these, she says, are not 'picked cases', but a sample taken from 'a large assembly of railway men'.⁶⁰ An interesting section of the article compares official figures on accidents to railway workers collected from 1874 with data supplied by the Railway Benevolent Institution (a charity set up for the benefit of railway families): here Harkness makes an observation about the shortcomings of official statistics also made by her friend Clementina Black.⁶¹

Toilers in London: or, inquiries concerning female labour in the metropolis, being the second part of 'Tempted London' was published in 1889, the same year as the first of Charles Booth's volumes. Harkness had been annoyed when Charles Booth failed to take her on as a member of his investigative team: 'Why did not Mr Booth employ me on his enquiry into the work of women in the east end?' she wrote to Beatrice Webb. 'I know more than his lady Sec. who amused me vastly by her importance when she called'.⁶² Her *Toilers in London* is presented as the outcome of research by 'commissioners' from the progressive Christian journal *The British Weekly*, and as edited by 'the author of "Out of Work," etc.'. Harkness was certainly one of the commissioners, and she probably wrote the whole text, which drew on data collected during some six months' research in London.⁶³ Thirteen of the book's twenty-four chapters

are devoted to specific occupations, seven are about servants, three about 'factory-girls' and 'city work-girls' generally, with a final chapter on 'Young women'. The object of the research and the book was to document the dire situation of female labourers in order to draw this to the attention of the public and policy-makers.

Harkness acknowledged that the subject was large and no one study could be complete, but each one helped, 'for others gather up the threads and weave them into more perfect knowledge'.⁶⁴ She understood how difficult it was to get this 'perfect' knowledge. With respect to accurate data on, for example, the hours and wages of girls and young women: 'Employees and employers take very different views of the same circumstances; one must listen to both and then split the difference.'⁶⁵ Another fascinating methodological complication, which frustrated the efforts of 'well-meaning ladies' to open a club for flower-girls, was that the girls spoke a language made up of jargon, abbreviated sentences, and words pronounced backwards.⁶⁶

Toilers in London is notable for combining statistics, detailed descriptions of the work the women did, and in-depth case-studies. The chapter on 'flower-girls' tells us, for example, that there are about 2,000 of them working in London, and at least 3,000,000 flowers are sold in the city every year; flower-girls also sell water-cress, and around 15,000,000 'hands' of cress are sold in London annually, 'but of course in a matter like this it is impossible to get accurate statistics'. These figures are followed by a two-page account of one commissioner's visit to a cress-girl in her Soho lodgings, which begins with a description of the room: 'The furniture consisted of a four-post bedstead, on which were a filthy mattress and an old torn blanket. Underneath the bed stood a large basket, full of watercress', continues through observations of the young women working: 'She dipped the cress in water, and made it into bundles as though her fingers had been bits of machinery', and ends with one of those lengthy life stories Clementina Black's investigators knew it was necessary to hear in order fully to gain the confidence of the researched.⁶⁷

The methodological inventiveness of *Toilers in London* includes the reproduction of twelve letters from servants, selected 'out of a varied correspondence' received by the commissioners who visited the letter-writers in order to vouch for the 'veracity' of their statements.⁶⁸ Like Black, Harkness draws on the resource of covert ethnography. She mentions, for instance, one 'commissioner' renting a room in a lodging house at 5s a week next to two city work-girls in order to find out more about their situation. This covert investigator found herself privy to routines which involved the girls being visited by their 'sweethearts' until one or two o'clock in the morning and then by the young male clerks who also lived in the lodging house.⁶⁹ Like other reforming researchers of the period, Harkness condemned these sexual practices, but, unlike many others, she attributed them to low female wages and the unprotected lives led by young single women, especially those from rural backgrounds. Harkness's observations in *Toilers in London* about how knowledge of the actual conditions of female labour ought to change consumer behaviour ('Certainly if people could have a look at the rooms in which water-cress is kept...they would never eat water-cress again'⁷⁰) repeated the interest of her friend Clementina Black, who had set up the Consumers' League two years earlier. Harkness refers the reader to her friend three times in the text; as the 'excellent' secretary of the Women's Provident League and Trades Union, as the author of 'an interesting article' on sempstresses from which she quotes a lengthy extract, and as someone who has given 'active help' with the research.⁷¹

Other factual articles by Harkness during this period anticipated the interests of other women reformers in the conditions of women's work. For example, 'Home Industries', published in 1888, covers similar ground to some of Black's work in recording several months of observations of women employed in home

industries such as matchbox-making, brush- and umbrella-making and fur-pulling, the most disagreeable home industry of all: 'The fur-puller sits in a barn, scraping the skins of rabbits, with the fluff in her hair, nose and mouth, choked and half-blinded.'⁷² This was, indeed, an occupation that would receive much attention from the first women factory inspectors.⁷³

In May, 1890, after the London dock strike, Harkness determined to study the Labour Question in other countries, going first to Germany, where she searched in vain for slums in German cities, and conversed about socialism with August Bebel and Prince Kropotkin.⁷⁴ She rapidly arrived at the view that the British Labour Commission needed to send 'responsible people to study labour questions on the Continent', since there was much to be learnt from their policies with respect to the poor, the unemployed, and older people. Conditions for workers were better in New Zealand, but the slums of Australia were worse. Returning to England, Harkness continued to write on social issues. Her 'Children of the unemployed', published in 1893, leads the reader into an argument about subsidized school meals, laying out a programme for the State provision of food for schoolchildren.⁷⁵

In 1906 Harkness began her visits to India which resulted in a number of volumes with different titles.⁷⁶ In *Modern Hyderabad* (1914), she describes her many visits to government administrators and officials, hospitals, dispensaries, railway stations, markets, libraries, collieries, schools, and so forth, supplementing these accounts with official data where available. Searching the Indian Census, she reports that women's life expectancy is lower than that of men, probably due to the habit of early marriage, the prevalence of unskilled midwifery, and the hard manual labour done by lower-caste Hindu women. The Census records women cultivating the land, breeding animals, making roads and bridges, acting as midwives, vaccinators and money-lenders, making and selling foodstuffs, working in cotton factories and in the coalmines, where they 'go down the shaft with the men miners...taking the same risks. And such women are always decently dressed, in fact some of the female miners go down the shaft with all their jewelry on them.'⁷⁷

'I wanted to come in touch with Indians, not to become a unit of the governing community,' she wrote. Harkness went to India believing that the English had done great things for that country, but quickly learnt that 'our Indian fellow-subjects are greater students of modern Indian history than Englishmen take the trouble to be'; it is therefore 'wiser to state facts than to spread fancies'.⁷⁸ If English people in India talked more freely with Indians they might become wiser. Harkness's Indian documentaries are noteworthy, not only for their anti-imperialism, but for their vivid descriptions of her own peregrinations as a solo female observer, which would have been very unusual at the time. Visiting 'a backward state', for example, she had to cross a river swollen by heavy rains, on a dug out punt pushed and pulled by men; she was then placed in a conveyance called a 'push-push', a small red iron cart handled by three men in front and three at the back, and had to spend the night in an unventilated building due to the presence of tigers on the road.⁷⁹

Harkness as novelist

Harkness's novels are more or less forgotten today, but they were in her own day more popular than Gissing's or most social novels of the 1890s.⁸⁰ A sign of their status is that her first publisher was Ernest Vizetelly, who published Emile Zola in English. Her four 'slum novels' were: *A City Girl* (1887), *Out of Work* (1888), *Captain Lobe: A Story of the Salvation Army* (1889 – later republished as *In Darkest London*), and *A Manchester Shirtmaker* (1890). Harkness's fiction stands out from other novels by Victorian women writers in its use of irony and satire and its relative lack of sentimentality, despite the fact that she wrote her stories 'as tracts to move the heart': 'The filth and moral degradation of the English slums fill one with

despair,' she said. 'Ink turns to blood when one writes about them, tears make words fall like lead from one's pen.'⁸¹

The first of the four slum novels, *A City Girl*, is the story of Nelly Ambrose, a young East End woman who has a liaison with a 'gentleman', gets pregnant, gives birth to a baby who dies from hunger, and then is rehabilitated by Captain Lobe of the Salvation Army. Not a believer herself, Harkness was attracted to General William Booth's movement as a more promising remedy than socialism for the alleviation of poverty because it was about altruism, whereas socialists 'talked Socialism, but practiced Individualism'.⁸² *A City Girl* is a story which rewrites the traditional text of the working-class girl damaged by an upper-class man to expose the hypocrisies of the politically radicalized middle-class. It also, significantly, rehabilitates the damaged working-class maiden as an independent woman: Nelly Ambrose, for all her conventional vulnerability to the charms of her middle-class married man, is a young woman who makes her own decisions about life, is an independent traveller through the East End slums, and is suspicious about what marriage and domesticity do to women. Harkness wrote *A City Girl* after reading Walter Besant's *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882), a novel which portrayed the poverty of lives in the East End of London, and which 'disgusted' her with its 'untruthfulness'.⁸³

Out of Work, the second of Harkness's slum novels, concerns the journey of a rural working-class man, Joseph (Jos) Coney, who comes to London in search of work, suffers unemployment and social and psychological marginalization, takes to drink and the life of a tramp and eventually dies. One of his many tragedies is to fall in love with a 'pretty Methodist', Polly Irwin, the daughter of the woman who runs the lodging house in which he stays. When he constantly fails to find work and becomes increasingly sucked into the underworld of the city poor that Harkness knows so well from her social research, Polly, strongly under the influence of her status-loving mother, jilts Jos in favour of a Wesleyan leader who works for the Royal Mint, 'a godly young man with a secure income'.⁸⁴ Like Jesus Christ (with whom he shares initials), Jos is a carpenter, and the novel is shot through with themes tying the bible story to political radicalism. One of Harkness's aims was clearly to map people's descent into desperate poverty as a linear, environmentally-determined journey over which individuals have little control, just as in her documentary reports she wanted to oppose complacent middle-class stereotypes of East End life. Olive Schreiner considered that the story in *Out of Work* was 'painted from real life'.⁸⁵ The novel was especially popular abroad 'as a true picture of the condition of the unskilled workmen in England',⁸⁶ with translations into Swedish, Russian, French and German. It was this novel that led directly into Harkness writing her non-fictional *Toilers in London*. The connection came about via an exchange with the editor of *The British Weekly*, who wrote to John Law, the author of *Out of Work*, to inquire whether he would write a series of papers on young men. Amused, Harkness revealed her gender and identity, and agreed to author a series on young women instead.⁸⁷

Captain Lobe of *A City Girl* reappears in Harkness's *Captain Lobe: a story of the Salvation Army* in 1889, republished as *In Darkest London* two years later. The revised title was a direct reference to *In Darkest England* (1890), the influential text published by General William Booth, who wrote a preface to Harkness's renamed novel. This was the outcome of another commission, from the publisher Hodder and Stoughton for Harkness to write a series of fictional pieces.⁸⁸ The conjunction of these various commissions resulted in an unusually intimate relationship between fact and fiction: readers of *The British Weekly* sometimes found themselves reading Harkness's *Toilers of London* pieces in the same issues as her stories about Captain Lobe. Attentive readers of these parallel texts might have noticed her habit of transporting data, arguments and phrases directly from the factual to the fictional text. The cross-pollination worked the other way, too, from the novel to the documentary text.⁸⁹ Harkness's fiction is full

of non-fictional markers – dates, events, places, and people.⁹⁰ In places, she was ready to admit the close ties between fiction and fact. A chapter called ‘Among the socialists’ in her *In Darkest London* so offended various socialists (including her cousin Beatrice Webb) that she published a letter of apology, explaining that she had written the chapter one night when she had ‘suffered a good deal from socialists’ herself.⁹¹

The plot of *In Darkest London* seems straightforwardly to sketch the life and characters of the East End through the trajectory of Captain Lobe’s work there. In the process the reader is introduced to some of Harkness’s own socialist ideas, for example, in the outlook of the dedicated doctor who proclaims that what the people of the East End need is ‘food not physic’, and that it is brutal to make children go to school without a proper breakfast, ‘to force the brains of boys and girls who have empty stomachs’.⁹² This realist theme is embroidered with a love-story between Captain Lobe and Ruth Weldon, the inheritor of a small ‘cocoa-nut chip’ factory, who wants to escape a difficult fate at the hands of her woman-hating guardian and factory manager, Mr Pember, by joining the Salvation Army. Rather curiously, Captain Lobe persuades Ruth not to do this, considering her too delicate for slum work, and urging her instead to take on the challenge of improving the lives of the women and girls working in her factory. This Ruth does, with the aid of the factory’s labour-mistress, the working-class feminist and socialist Jane Hardy, a plot that allows Harkness to consider the theme of women’s class relations within a context that had already been identified as both patriarchal and capitalist (Mr Pember is dubbed ‘the Capitalist’ by Jane Hardy). Notably, Harkness had earlier suggested that what women need is ‘a bond of mutual helpfulness’ binding together ‘all women irrespective of class to meet the obstacles incident to changing social conditions’.⁹³

Just as Harkness lived in the East End before making it the stuff of fiction, so she went to live in Manchester in order to write her fourth slum novel, *A Manchester Shirtmaker* (1890). Its setting is Angel Meadow, the worst slum in Manchester near Strangeways Jail, and its central character, Mary Dillon, is a struggling young widow with a baby. Her husband had given her a sewing-machine as a wedding present and this, she hopes, will be her entrée to the sweating system. Harkness uses the novel to expose the harshly exploitative economics of the system – the very same that her friend Clementina Black would later write about in *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage*. Submerged in and by this cruel system, Mary Dillon resorts to stealing opium, kills her baby, and is arrested for trying to get her buried without a certificate; in an impassioned speech at her trial beginning ‘O, Gentlemen, if you were but women!’ she tells the men who are sitting in judgement upon her that they cannot possibly sympathize with the plight of women like her who are forced to see their child go hungry.⁹⁴ In another epigrammatically miserable ending, Mary Dillon is committed to a lunatic asylum and strangles herself with a white silk handkerchief given her by a rich visitor to the asylum. Harkness finishes the novel with a conversation between two doctors, one who will marry a millionaire’s daughter and practice in the West End, and another who will work in the East End because he is a socialist: ‘What else can I be, while I live amongst so much physical pain that might be remedied?’⁹⁵

Clementina Black and Margaret Harkness: forgotten women in the history of social science

Histories of subjects and disciplines are about memories, reputations, dominant networks, and power élites. They do not necessarily tell us what happened. The case-studies explored in this article of Clementina Black and Margaret Harkness as innovative social researchers and writers are exemplars of a much bigger universe: a world of intellectual and empirical labour that has been eclipsed from standard histories of social science.⁹⁶ Much of the important retrieval work accomplished in recent years has focused on the USA, demonstrating, for example, how the ‘origin myths’ of Chicago sociology in the 1920s successfully buried women’s investigative work.⁹⁷ The British situation has been less studied, with some notable exceptions, including Lynn McDonald, whose *Early Origins of the Social Sciences and Women*

Founders of the Social Sciences both argue that women's contribution to the development of social science theory and methodology have been greater in volume and quality than traditional textbooks, with their predominant stress on 'founding fathers', allows.⁹⁸ Another bias, germane to the argument of the present article, is the omission of such women as Black and Harkness from accounts of how sociology developed in the interstices between literature and science. Wolf Lepenies' book on this theme is uniformly an account of male figures, with one chapter about Beatrice Webb's (unsuccessful) struggle to write a novel.⁹⁹

The history of research methods is a particularly neglected area. Insofar as it has been studied, the distorting lens of current concerns has imposed an ideological distinction between 'qualitative' and 'quantitative methods' that did not exist when Black and Harkness made their contributions to social research.¹⁰⁰ They practised both, without seeing any need to label them as different kinds of procedures. Empirical research into social conditions by women reformers trialled many innovative methods that are taken for granted as methodological tools today: surveys, interviews, questionnaires, personal and household budgets, participant observation, covert ethnography, and secondary data analysis (for example, national censuses, legislation, diaries and memoirs, wage and cost-of-living records.¹⁰¹ Women investigators such as Black and Harkness were particularly skilled at including the 'subjects' of enquiry as valid sources of data when male investigators such as Booth regarded this as an unsafe practice. Among the reasons why all this methodological pluralism has been forgotten is the habit of the male inheritors of the 'gentlemen scientists' tradition to assign women to the field of 'social work', an alarmingly expansive category, and a rhetorical device that has done much to eclipse the importance of women's investigative work.¹⁰² The legacy of this today is that Black and Harkness's work is seen as, at best, examples of 'investigative journalism' and as trailing in the wake of the grand empiricism of men such as Booth and Rowntree.¹⁰³ Harkness's studies have even been characterized as imitating, rather than initiating, the key methodological discourses of social science.¹⁰⁴ The treatment of her work as located within literary studies of 'social realism' novels has not helped to retrieve her reputation as a pioneering social investigator.

A further factor counting against the recognition of Black and Harkness's work in the canons of social science's history is the diversity of women reformers' accomplishments. As regards Black and Harkness, not only did these span factual and fictive forms, and include (in Black's case) poetry and plays, but both women published important historical and biographical work. Harkness, for example, demonstrated a comprehensive understanding of life in Assyria and Egypt (and an impressive ability to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics).¹⁰⁵ She published factual accounts of her travels in continental Europe, and, between 1890 and 1914, to Australia, New Zealand, the United States, India and Ceylon, also using this material in her fictional works. Black was a notable biographer, writing lives of the social realist painter *Frederick Walker* (1902),¹⁰⁶ and of the famous musical family, *The Linleys of Bath* (1911),¹⁰⁷ and an account of middle-class life in London in the 1770s and 1780s, *The Cumberland Letters*, based on family correspondence held in the British Museum.¹⁰⁸ This habit of crossing genres has today become a suspect activity, as the line between fact and fiction has hardened in ways Clementina Black, Margaret Harkness and others in their network would not have recognized. It is a mistake to construct the past through the ideological lens of the present. This lesson is amply illustrated in any attempt to rehabilitate the contributions women reformers such as Clementina Black and Margaret Harkness made to the richly convoluted history of social science.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. J. Platt (1996) *A History of Sociological Research Methods in America 1920-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); see especially chapter 7. One index of bias in the history of sociology can be found in T. Bottomore & R. Nisbet (Eds) (1978) *A History of Sociological Analysis* (London: Heinemann): of the 415 names listed in the index, 6 (1%) are to women.
2. L. Glage (1981) *Clementina Black: a study in social history and literature* (Heidelberg: Winter); Kaspar, B. (1984) *Margaret Harkness, "A City Girl": eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung zum naturalistischen Roman des Spätviktorianismus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer). See also J. M. Bellamy & J. Saville (Eds) (1987) *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol 8 (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan), 'Margaret Harkness', pp. 103-113.
3. Glage, Clementina Black, p.11.
4. E. Cubit & P. Jones (2015) In Harkness' London: the life and work of Margaret Harkness, Conference review, *The Literary London Journal*, 12 (1-2), pp. 120-4, p.122.
5. See <https://theharkives.wordpress.com/>; Koven, S. (2004) *Slumming: sexual and social politics in Victorian London* (Princeton and Oxford, NJ: Princeton University Press), pp. 340-1; Ross, E. (2007) *Slum travelers: ladies and London poverty, 1860-1920* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), p. 91.
6. J. S. Elford (2015) The late-Victorian feminist community, *Victorian Review*, 41(1), pp. 32-35; S. D. Bernstein (2014) *Roomscape: women writers in the British Museum from George Eliot to Virginia Woolf* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
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9. L. Hapgood (2010) The Novel and Political Agency: socialism and the work of Margaret Harkness, Constance Howell and Clementina Black: 1888-1896, *Literature and History*, 5 (2), pp. 37-52, p. 38
10. Some of the most notable names in this list are: Florence Bell (1851-1930); Louise Bennett (1870-1956); Helen Stuart Campbell (1839-1918); Leonora Eyles (1889-1960); Isabella Ford (1855-1924); Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935); Lillias Hamilton (1858-1925); Cicely Hamilton (1872-1952); Molly Hamilton (1882-1966); Minnie Haskins (1875-1957); Grace Kimmins (1871-1954); Ellen Kleman (1867-1943); Adeline Knapp (1860-1909); Alexandra Kollantai (1872-1952); Vernon Lee (Violet Paget) (1856-1935); Margaret McMillan (1860-1931); Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938); Lucia Ames Mead (1856-1936); Mary White Ovington (1865-1951); Caroline Playne (1857-1948); Rosika Schwimmer (1877-1948); Vida Scudder (1861-1954); Evelyn Sharp (1869-1955); Elin Wagner (1882-1949); Mary (Mrs Humphrey) Ward (1851-1920); and Edith Elmer Wood (1871-1945).
11. See Oakley, *Women, Peace and Welfare*, pp. 249-52.
12. C. Black (1889) A Working Woman's Speech, *The Nineteenth Century*, 26 (147), pp. 667-71, p. 667.
13. E. Francis (2010) Why Wasn't Levy More of a Socialist? in N. Hetherington & N. Valman (Eds) *Amy Levy: critical essays* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press), pp. 47-69, p. 60.
14. C. Black (1904) London's Tailoresses, *The Economic Journal*, 14 (56), pp. 555-67, p. 558, p. 555, p. 464.

15. C. Black (1907) *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage* (London: Duckworth & Co.), p. 7, p. 9.
16. See Oakley, *Women, Peace and Welfare*, pp. 67-72. See also G. Nelson (2010) *A Century of Covert Ethnography in Britain c 1880-c 1980* (University of Glasgow PhD thesis).
17. Black, *Sweated Industry*, p.56.
18. Ibid., pp. 41-2, p. 27.
19. Black thanked 'Mr. H. H. Champion' for collecting information for her from Australia (*Sweated Industry*, p.vi). On Kelley, see p.120, p.125, p.129.
20. Ibid., p. 132.
21. A. Meyer & C. Black (1909) *Makers of Our Clothes* (London: Duckworth & Co.) p. 2, p.3, p. 10.
22. Ibid., p. 211.
23. Ibid., p.60.
24. Ibid., p.8.
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26. Anon. (1915) *Married Women's Work, British Medical Journal*, 2866, pp. 828-9, p. 829.j
27. C. Black (1915) Introduction, in *Married Women's Work*, pp. 1-15, p.11.
28. C. Black (1918) *A New Way of Housekeeping* (London: W. Collins Sons & Co Ltd).
29. Black, *Married Women's Work*, p. 15.
30. Black, *Married Women's Work*, p.5.
31. H. McCarthy (2016) Social Science and Married Women's Employment in Post-War Britain, *Past & Present*, 233 (1), pp. 269-305.
32. Black, *Sweated Industry*, p.72.
33. See Glage, *Clementina Black*, p. 72.
34. C. Black (1877) *A Sussex Idyl* (London: Samuel Tinsley).
35. C. Black (1880) *Orlando* (London: Smith, Elder & Co).
36. C. Black (1892) In a London Street, in *Miss Falkland and Other Stories* (London: Lawrence and Bullen), pp. 293-303.
37. Black, In a London Street, p. 299.
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39. C. Black (1899) *The Pursuit of Camilla* (London: C. A. Pearson).
40. C. Black (1902) *High Treason*. No publication details available.
41. C. Black (1908) *Caroline* (London: John Murray).
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43. C. Black (1880) Topsy, in *Mericas, and Other Stories* (London: W. Satchell & Company), pp. 145-79, p. 167.
44. C. Black (1880) An Artist, in *Mericas, and Other Stories* (London: W. Satchell & Company), pp.103-41, p.136.
45. Glage, *Clementina Black*, p. 129.
46. C. Black (1894) *An Agitator* (London: Bliss, Sands and Foster) p. 53.
47. Ibid., p. 181.
48. Harkness, M. [under the name John Law] *A City Girl. A realistic story* (London: Authors' Co-operative Publishing Co.); M. Harkness [under the name John Law] (1890) *A Manchester Shirtmaker: a realistic story of to-day* (London: Authors' Co-operative Publishing Company).
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55. M. Harkness [under the name John Law] (1899) *Imperial Credit* (London: Thomas Burleigh).
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Nonetheless, Webb considered that Harkness had 'plenty of warm sympathy – true mitgefühl – for the failures of society'. She had a lot to thank Maggie for, not least that Maggie had introduced her to Sidney Webb.
57. Bellamy & Saville, *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, p. 110.
58. Harkness, *Imperial Credit*, pp. 4-6.
59. M. Harkness (1881) Women as Civil Servants, *The Nineteenth Century*, 10, pp.369-81.
60. M. Harkness (1882) Railway Labour, *The Nineteenth Century*, 12, pp.721-32, p. 721, p. 723, p. 727.
61. Ibid., p. 725.
62. Cited in D. McDonald (2004) *Clara Collet: an educated working woman* (Abingdon: Woburn Press), p.70.
63. On Harkness's authorship of *Toilers*, see Koven, *Slumming*, p. 166, and Ross, *Slum Travelers*, p. 90.
64. British Weekly Commissioners (1889) *Toilers in London: or, inquiries concerning female labour in the metropolis. Being the second part of "tempted London"* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), p. 258.
65. M. Harkness (1888) Girl Labour in the City, *Justice*, 3 March, pp. 4-5.
66. British Weekly Commissioners, *Toilers in London*, p.27.
67. Ibid., *Toilers in London*, pp.8-10.
68. Ibid., *Toilers in London*, p. 151.
69. Ibid., *Toilers in London*, p. 190.
70. Ibid., *Toilers in London*, p. 12.
71. Ibid., *Toilers in London*, p.185, p. 238, p. 263.
72. M. Harkness (1888) Home Industries, *Justice*, 28 August, p. 2.
73. See R. E. Squire (2004, originally published 1904) Rabbit down, in T. Oliver (Ed.) *Dangerous Trades: history of health and safety at work* (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum), pp. 724-27.
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81. Anon. (1890) Authoress of a Manchester shirt maker tells of her work and aims, *The Evening News and Post*, 17 April, p.2; Harkness, *A Year of My Life*, p. 381.
82. Harkness, *Salvation v. Socialism*, p.1.
83. Anon., Authoress, p. 1.
84. Harkness, *Out of Work*, p. 221.
85. D. M. Hetherington (2014) *A Sociology of Small Things: Olive Schreiner, Eleanor Marx, Amy Levy and the intertextualities of feminist cultural politics in 1880s London* (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis), p. 118.
86. Anon., Authoress, p. 2.
87. Ibid., p. 2.
88. Ibid., p. 2.
89. *Tempted London: young women* ran from 27 April to 28 December 1888, and began three weeks after the first installment of *Captain Lobe*. See J. J. Richardson (2016) *Undercover Reporting in the Victorian Newspaper* (University of Alberta PhD thesis), pp. 139-47.
90. Harkness's novel *George Eastmont: Wanderer* (1905, London: Burns & Oates) is a social realism novel in another sense: it is a poorly disguised portrait of her friend Henry Hyde Champion. It also contains 'Cardinal Lorraine', a version of Cardinal Manning, to whom the book is dedicated. *Captain Lobe* was based on a young Salvation Army captain, David Leib, who developed social programmes for 'fallen women', in Whitechapel in the late 1880s (Koven, *The Social Question*, p. 51).
91. M. Harkness [under the name John Law] (1889) A Reflection, *Justice*, 20 April, p. 3.
92. M. Harkness [under the name John Law] (1889) *In Darkest London* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), pp. 65-6.
93. Harkness, *Women as Civil Servants*, p. 181.
94. Harkness, *A Manchester Shirtmaker*, p. 158.
95. Ibid., p. 165.
96. See, e.g., P.M. Lengermann & G. Niebrugge (1998) *The Women Founders: sociology and social theory, 1830–1930: a text/reader* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press Inc); M. J. Deegan (1991) *Women in Sociology: a bio-biographical sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press); R. W. Dimand, M. A. Dimand & E. L. Forget (Eds) (2000) *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
97. See, e.g., Platt, *A History of Sociological Research Methods*; J. Platt (1983) The Development of the 'Participant Observation' Method in Sociology: origin, myth and history, *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 19, pp. 379-93.
98. L. McDonald (1993) *The Early Origins of the Social Sciences* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press); L. McDonald (2004) *Women Founders of the Social Sciences* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press).
99. W. Lepenies W (1988) *Between Literature and Science: the rise of sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
100. See A. Oakley (2000) *Experiments in Knowing: gender and method in the social sciences* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
101. See Oakley, *Women, Peace and Welfare*, Chapter 3.
102. See I. Shaw (2009) Rereading The Jack-roller: hidden histories in sociology and social work, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 15 (7), pp. 1241-1264.
103. See, e.g., Richardson, *Undercover Reporting*; C. Marsh (1982) *The Survey Method* (London: George Allen & Unwin); Koven, *Slumming*.

104. Sypher, *Wisps of Violence*, p.113.
105. M. E. Harkness (1883) *Assyrian Life and History* (London: The Religious Tract Society); M. E. Harkness (1884) *Egyptian Life and History According to the Monuments* (London: The Religious Tract Society).
106. C. Black (1902) *Frederick Walker* (London: Duckworth & Co.).
107. C. Black (1911) *The Linleys of Bath* (London: Martin Secker).
108. C. Black (1912) *The Cumberland Letters* (London: Martin Secker).