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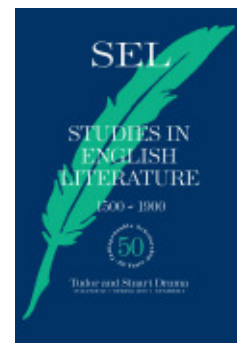
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The Price of Redemption in “Goblin Market”

JILL RAPPOPORT

Among its other allegorical offerings, “Goblin Market” describes the choices two sisters make at a market.¹ “Sweet-tooth” Laura is tempted by the goblins’ offers, undone by gobbling their unsound fruits (line 115). Lizzie, refusing to taste, rescues her sister with the juices she carries home on her bruised and battered body. In critical readings of Christina Rossetti’s most popular poem, the titular and titillating market has increasingly taken center stage as a site of coercive practices and a symbol of gendered trade.² Peniless Laura buys fruit with a lock of hair, representing the perils of female consumerism by becoming the very object consumed. This market research teaches Lizzie to use coin instead, locating exchange value in a silver penny to safeguard her own body and restore Laura’s. Only sisterhood appears to have any saving power in this market—but it remains frustratingly unclear why this is so.³ Critics have shortchanged the centrality of sisterhood to the poem’s economic discourses as well as the relevance of coin and exchange to redeeming its paired protagonists.

Lizzie’s penny, described as the “central mystery” of the poem, has been a challenge for critics who question how she obtained it and why, if it is key to her successful consumer practices, the goblins fling it back at her.⁴ The penny’s interpretive payoff, however, comes in understanding that it is not part of the market economy associated with the goblins’ male brotherhood, but part of a gift economy tied to religious salvation and sisterhood. Coins are more than small change here.

Jill Rappoport is assistant professor of English at Villanova University. Her book, *Giving Women: Alliance and Exchange in Victorian Culture*, is forthcoming from Oxford University Press, and she is coediting a volume on women and economics in nineteenth-century Britain.

Initially, both sisters are suspicious of trade. When the goblins' call and the sight of "grapes ... so luscious" attract Laura, her sister reminds her that "Their offers should not charm us, / Their evil gifts would harm us" (lines 61, 65–6). This seductive market, Lizzie notes warily, has adopted the language of hospitality. The goblins attempt to conflate sale with gift practice, offering a "taste" and later inviting Lizzie to be their "guest," but Lizzie recognizes (in anticipation of theorists from Marcel Mauss onward) that even "gifts" come at a hefty cost.⁵ This is an offer she can refuse.

Laura, less wary than her sister, and less wealthy, makes a hasty disclaimer to the goblin vendors.

"Good folk, I have no coin;
To take were to purloin:
I have no copper in my purse,
I have no silver either,
And all my gold is on the furze
That shakes in windy weather
Above the rusty heather."

(lines 116–22)

Like many other women of her time, Laura has no liquid assets. Instead, the goblins appraise her "golden curl[s]" (line 125). Clipping a "precious" (line 126) lock of hair from her head, she pays a symbolic price, a representative, physical exchange for the value of fruit and gold. Laura's "gold" (line 123), a mere token of the nineteenth-century English gold standard, lacks the metal's intrinsic value. Too late she learns that the goblins will not be satisfied with this gesture; they want the real thing, the material object backing Laura's symbolic currency. Thus Laura deals unwittingly in synecdoche. A literary descendent of Alexander Pope's *Belinda* and other women whose sexuality is seized through a curl of hair, Laura trades a lock that ultimately surrenders her body.⁶

This market proves hostile to first-time shoppers. Without understanding the goblins' insistence on physical value, Laura buys on credit. She clips one lock and pays the balance later, her prematurely graying hair a sign of deferred costs (lines 126, 277). The goblins take much more than a single curl: Laura loses her hair, her health, and her happiness. The narrative makes literal her "interest" payment by depicting her loss of interest in life. Of more material impact to the girls' domestic economy, Laura can no longer keep house (lines 293–8). The sisters' private, self-sufficient household management, presumably differentiated

from the goblins' market economy, suffers from contact with that market.⁷ After entering it, Laura becomes alienated from her work; she labors "in an absent dream," "sick in part," "longing for the night" (lines 211, 212, 214). Indeed, the poem gives more space to Laura's changing perspective toward work than it does to her failing body. Her sexual "fall" is also economic, a fall from her gendered sphere of work and household management, *oikonomos*, into the insatiable desires of consumerism.⁸

Redeeming Laura requires that the goblins' economic system be supplanted. While Lizzie's rescue mission seems to rely on the market, her system of exchange differs from the economic system indicted by Laura's fall. I propose that Lizzie's transaction has origins, distinct from commercial exchange, that align it with religious service. Moreover, Lizzie's financial dealings explain why her rescue mission must be accomplished by a sister. Her dealings with the goblin men parallel the economic structure of other mid-Victorian sisterhoods—Anglican women's communities.

I

In order to square Lizzie's financial savvy with her status as religious savior, it is useful to first remember that nineteenth-century sisterhood, more than a biological relationship, was also an elective affiliation with an economic structure. Both Christina Rossetti and the sister to whom she dedicated the manuscript of "Goblin Market" were active in the communal lives and social services of Anglican sisterhoods.⁹ Maria Rossetti joined the Sisterhood of All Saints at Margaret Street. Christina volunteered with her aunt to join Florence Nightingale's team of nurses in the Crimea. Although this application was rejected (she was too young) she later became an Associate or "lay sister" of the St. Mary Magdalene's Penitentiary in Highgate, participating in that sisterhood's work to "rescue" women at the margins of Victorian sexual propriety.¹⁰ Rossetti's relationship to the Anglican sisterhood movement has influenced many interpretations of "Goblin Market." Such interpretations rightly draw analogies between the poem's devoted duo and contemporary religious sisters who reclaimed and rescued the "fallen"; they trace the literary sources of "Goblin Market" to the textual materials of these religious institutions; and they locate not only the poem's themes but its narrative mode in the Anglican sisterhood movement.¹¹ Yet the poem owes Anglican sisterhoods more than its images of women's solidarity, activism, and rescue. Not only the redemptive subject

and strategy of the poem's sisterhood, but also the structure of its economic systems draws on contemporary debates about Anglican sisterhoods.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the sister of charity was a model for benevolence, piety, and duty.¹² Fiction in the 1820s and 1830s used foreign, Catholic sisterhoods to signify women's sacrifice and devotion, but, by the mid-nineteenth century, writers became more explicit about the educational and professional value of such institutions for Protestant women.¹³ The establishment of those institutions in fact as well as in fiction, through the rapid formation of Anglican women's religious communities following the Oxford Movement and the rise of Anglo-Catholicism, shifted their focus to nursing, administration, and the rescue of the fallen, homeless, or orphaned.¹⁴ As these Anglican women's religious communities proliferated, writers who took up the theme of sisterhood in the 1850s and 1860s expanded their conception of women's communities to give their work new, professional status.

These Anglican sisterhoods were controversial. They challenged traditional British attitudes toward Catholicism, gender roles, family structure, and Church hierarchy.¹⁵ Defending themselves against accusations that the sisterhoods led to Rome, advocates attempted to differentiate their sisterhoods from their cloistered, Catholic counterparts, emphasizing their unpaid social services over contemplative behavior.¹⁶ In answer to complaints that Anglican sisterhoods caused women to abandon family duties, advocates reminded audiences that the 1851 census reported an excess of half a million women; they argued that these single women should be permitted to extend domestic tasks into a wider sphere.¹⁷ In response to suggestions that these surplus women be transported, sisterhoods created domestic colonies at home and co-opted colonial spaces, claiming empire as the site of action by Florence Nightingale and Caroline Chisholm rather than a refuge for the redundant.¹⁸ Supporters of Anglican sisterhoods also tried to legitimate their gendered work by calling into question the equation of professional activity with payment. They argued for a sphere of highly trained and disciplined work "beyond the reach of any remuneration," pitting their communities against market forces both to stave off criticism that they were entering into men's sphere and to promote an alternative model of women's religious and professional social activism.¹⁹

One popular advocate of Anglican Sisterhoods who took up the issue of remuneration was writer and art historian Anna

Jameson, mentor of the early feminist Langham Place Group.²⁰ In *Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, Abroad and at Home* and *The Communion of Labour*, two lectures delivered to private audiences and then published in 1855 and 1856, Jameson set out a nonprofit stance that sold well.²¹ She justifies Anglican women's communities by calling their work a "divinely appointed" vocation. Defining vocation as a religious obligation, Jameson dissolves gendered hierarchies of work, religion, and professional payment. She insists on the equality of men and women's religious responsibility, setting out the possibility that education and training are as important to women as they are to men and deploring the fact that "[no] provision is made to enable the woman to do *her* work well and efficiently." Through her emphasis on religious calling, Jameson puts women's vocational labor on par with men's professional vocation: "why should not charity be a profession in our sex, just in so far (*and no farther*) as religion is a profession in yours! If a man ... publicly preaches religion, are we, therefore, to suppose that his religious profession is merely a profession, instead of a holy, heartfelt vocation?"²² By comparing the activities of sisterhoods and clergy, Jameson's "vocation" gives women's charity, long considered an important component of the woman's sphere, professional as well as religious status.

Jameson invokes the ideology of separate spheres to establish male and female labors as complementary rather than competitive. Calling for a "communion of labor," she suggests that an "enlarged sphere of social work" for women would lead not only to better public institutions but also "to a better mutual comprehension and a finer harmony between men and women." Despite Jameson's rhetorical efforts to make male and female labor compatible, however, male practitioners of the medical and clerical professions saw the sisters' work as unwelcome competition: the efforts of these "surplus" women threatened to make male labor redundant. Accordingly, medical students and apothecary workers in Piedmont drew up a petition against sister-run infirmaries there. And even though Jameson "laugh[s] at this short-sighted folly and cruelty, which supposes that the interests of the two sexes can possibly be antagonistic," she too pits male and female professional models against each other in her response to this petition: "The plea was, *not* that their infirmaries were ill-served or that the medicines were ill compounded, or that any mistakes had occurred from ignorance or unskilfulness [sic], but that this small medical practice, unpaid and beneficent, 'took the bread out of the men's mouths.'" Jameson privileges female labor by imply-

ing that an "unpaid and beneficent" practice operates outside of competitive market principles.²³

The sisters' work did compete, of course. Their practice provided an alternative to male professional models, and what they performed for free or for collective pay removed other opportunities for profit taking. Sisterhoods and many female philanthropists justified their work in part by claiming this unpaid status. Dorice Williams Elliott further argues that sisterhoods' advocates stressed "vocation" as a strategy to justify professional wages.²⁴ Certainly, Jameson's emphasis on women's vocational aptitude opens up the possibility that women, as "professionals," might be entitled to the salaries that men received. And the implicit rationale for payment in Jameson's description of vocation seems particularly appealing for a twenty-first-century audience that equates women's professionalization with salary. Yet such an equation does not project backward easily. Jameson fails to follow through on that aspect of her argument not out of caution but because she is more interested in getting women recognition than remuneration; her description of "unpaid" service as "beneficent" suggests that middle-class Victorian women workers had a significant counter discourse, one that separated professionalization from pay. As Alison Booth has noted, "[m]any placed a value on the privilege of choosing a vocation regardless of pay."²⁵ While some of this value surely comes from making a virtue out of necessity for women who lacked discretionary income, the image of the unpaid, beneficent female worker was, to my mind, more than merely a "ploy ... to deflect male professionals' anxieties about competition from paid female professionals."²⁶

Jameson actually disparages the idea of payment and the workers who receive it. Describing the medical students as "dissipated, thoughtless boys," and noting their "great laxity of morals," Jameson equates men's "paid" status with youth, inexperience, and immoral expenditure, which she then juxtaposes with the beneficent service of the (unpaid and experienced) sisters. Unlike self-indulgent male professionals, the sisters spend wisely: capable of doing good with a small sum, "they are admirable accountants and economists." Also unlike male professionals, sisters receive no personal financial profit from their work. Jameson eschews individual profit to elevate a communal model of women's professional service. Anglican sisterhoods, by Jameson's account, reject the so-called cash nexus of relationships in favor of nonprofit service motivated by sympathy and religious obligation. "The idea in this country that every thing has a money

value, to be calculated to a farthing, according to the state of the market, is so ingrained into us, that the softest sympathies and highest duties, and dearest privileges of Christians, are never supposed to be attainable unless sold and paid for."²⁷ According to Jameson, religious sisterhoods cast off market calculations and considerations; their economy is modeled on religious service rather than salary. In contrast to the lax morals of "dissipated, thoughtless boys," mid-nineteenth-century sisters have the power to heal the sick and redeem the fallen precisely because they are not concerned with counting their farthings.

This nonprofit approach requires a privileged position, however. Varying degrees of wealth and status gave upper- and middle-class women the prerogative to offer their services as unpaid work. Here as elsewhere, the horizontal character of sisterhood limits the extension of sympathy down the social ladder. Dinah Mulock Craik, writing "About Sisterhoods" in 1883, joins other contemporary authors in focusing on women with money: "An institution which absorbed the waifs and strays of gentlewomanhood—ladies of limited income and equally limited capacity, yet excellent women so far as they go, which could take possession of them, income and all, saving and utilising both it and themselves—would be a real boon to society."²⁸ Craik suggests that Anglican sisterhoods might not only use but also save both the ladies and their incomes, a conflation of economic and sisterly salvation that relies not on payment but possession. Jameson similarly limits sisterhood to those "bring[ing] a small sum of money," noting that "if a woman be at all respectable ... she must have friends, or find friends, to subscribe for her this small dowry."²⁹ The equation of respectability with the ability to procure funds also drives Jameson's distinction between paid and unpaid labor. Explaining that there should be "two classes [of women]; those who receive direct pay, and those who do not," she explicitly places the (working class) "hired labor ... at the disposal of the voluntary and unpaid labor," and considers this hired laborer "in all respects subordinate": "can we hope to obtain these qualifications [humility, intelligence, enthusiasm, self-command, benevolence, religious spirit] for any pay which our jails, workhouses, or hospitals could afford?—or indeed for any pay whatever? Yet it is precisely an order of women, quite beyond the reach of any remuneration that could be afforded, which is so imperatively required in our institutions."³⁰ Class, as well as gender, is at stake in Jameson's emphasis that sisters are above hire.

Within these religious communities themselves, sisters were split along hierarchical lines. Working-class women, who comprised only ten percent of sisters, joined these religious orders as lay sisters who observed a longer novitiate, held fewer offices, performed domestic labor, dressed differently, and were prohibited from voting; the larger portion of sisters came from the middle and upper classes. These choir sisters brought privileges along with their capital or income.³¹ By downplaying the question of pay, sisters, like salaried male professionals, tried to distinguish themselves from the wage-earning working class. Participating in the religious economy of sisterhood was primarily an upper- or middle-class freedom. Jameson even makes religion a function of class: "The two meanest forms of sensuality and selfishness in our lower classes, the love of money and the love of drink, are best combated by the combined religious and feminine influence."³² This binary leaves no room for working-class women to be religious, professional, or even fully feminine saviors.³³

The sisterhoods' distinction between moneyed and penniless sisters, their privileging of voluntary work over market pressures such as a demand for "bread," and their "unpaid ... beneficent" extension of domestic duties such as nursing and rescue work into a larger arena shaped the specific exchange practices of their service economy. These practices will be central to Rossetti's vision of redemptive sisterhood, as well.

II

Like many Anglican sisters, Laura and Lizzie of "Goblin Market" are "redundant," single and set apart from men whose absence from the poem hints that there may be no market other than the goblins' for the girls. Even the alliterative names and repetitive similes that describe them ("Like two blossoms on one stem, / Like two flakes of new-fall'n snow") suggest redundancy (lines 188-9). The poem explores the limited options available to superfluous girls. Without husbands or fathers to care for them, they could turn to sexualized exchange (like Laura) or the transactions of religious sisterhood (like Lizzie). As I will now show, Lizzie's silver penny, while an object of exchange, is not a commercial one. As a symbol of domestic and religious duty, it resonates with Anglican sisterhoods' similarly noncommercial, gendered exchange. Lizzie, too, participates in a service economy that intersects the marketplace but maintains different strategies and motivations for exchange.³⁴

Lizzie watches her sister's decline and initially has mixed feelings about her market price. She

Longed to buy fruit to comfort her,
 But feared to pay too dear.

 Till Laura dwindling
 Seemed knocking at Death's door:
 Then Lizzie weighed no more
 Better and worse;
 But put a silver penny in her purse.

(lines 310–24)

It is important that Lizzie has this penny. Laura's pennilessness meant powerlessness. Lizzie's coin insures her against market forces, protecting her own curls from the goblin merchant men and allowing her to take on the role of rescuer rather than victim. This split of moneyed and penniless sisters into savior and fallen parallels the sisterhoods Jameson describes, where wealthier women can afford to be "unpaid and beneficent."

In this passage, Lizzie sets aside her cost/benefit analysis, aware of market considerations but rejecting them (or, in Jameson's terms, rejecting the idea "that every thing has a money value, to be calculated to a farthing") in order to rescue her sister. Laura's salvation depends upon Lizzie's rejection of standard commercial practices. Not only does Lizzie make a noncommercial decision to stop weighing her options, but the silver penny that she puts in her purse (line 324) as she kisses Laura and departs for market (line 325) is also a rejection of that market: the coin is nonstandard issue.

Critical interpretations of the poem consistently highlight Lizzie's silver penny and the "prudent precaution" she exercises by putting it in her purse, calling her a savvy shopper, diligent saver, and successful consumer. Herbert Tucker further notes that the penny "expose[s] the goblin traffic for what it is—a market."³⁵ Yet how Lizzie happens to have a silver penny to put in her purse has also been the subject of much speculation. Indeed, Richard Menke muses that "it may ultimately be the central mystery of the poem."³⁶ To Terrence Holt it presents less of a mystery: "by figuring the sisters' only exchangeable goods as their bodies, the poem makes that penny nothing but a sign of sexual experience."³⁷ While I disagree that the penny represents prostitution—Lizzie's newly opened eyes and ears resist imputations of a prior fall—

Holt's emphasis on the poem's bodily exchanges is apt. Lizzie does offer up her body to the goblin men and, even more provocatively, gives it as a Eucharistic offering to her sister in her oft-quoted imperative: "Eat me, drink me, love me" (line 471).³⁸ Laura's feasting off of Lizzie is a form of spiritual communion. Yet Lizzie implores her sister not only to "eat" and "drink" her, but also to "kiss me, suck my juices" (line 468), confusing critics who are not sure how to reconcile the homoerotic frenzy of this scene with the religious economy of a single wafer and sip of wine. As Caroline Walker Bynum has recorded, however, the Eucharist did at times provoke the intense cravings that Laura experienced. Lizzie as a juicy sort of Christ figure also combines two other traditions of medieval religious imagery that Bynum has traced. In one, religious women's bodies become a source of nourishment; in the other, Jesus himself lactates. In both traditions, bodily excretions can cure or save.³⁹ The Christian belief that bodily exchange carries spiritual as well as sexual meaning underscores the importance of extracommercial value to the poem's exchanges. But the place of the silver penny in those exchanges remains mysterious. Critical conversation is still searching for a way to talk directly about a coin that appears out of nowhere and serves no real purpose in the market: the goblins hold it briefly but do not finally accept it.⁴⁰

Gift theory proves more valuable than market equations in understanding the worth of Lizzie's penny. In gift economies, the items withheld from circulation are as important as those that are traded. Other items are exchanged for the sake of keeping the "inalienable possessions" that Annette B. Weiner argues are central to the giver's status. In "Goblin Market," part of Laura's problem is that she does not hold anything back. Like other women marginalized by both gift and market economies, she becomes the object rather than the agent of exchange. In contrast, Lizzie attempts to keep-while-giving, offering a coin but keeping herself.⁴¹

Lizzie's penny has two noncommercial sources that further allow us to make sense of its gift function in her rescue mission, one fantastical and one numismatic. The first requires us to remember that "Goblin Market" is, on one of its many levels, a fairy tale. The poem resists realism not only with its talk of goblins, charms, and haunted sites but also through its generic, rural setting and indistinct temporality. Rossetti's original title, "A Peep at the Goblins," references a collection by her cousin, Anna Eliza Bray: *A Peep at the Pixies*. Rossetti was also familiar with Bray's

Traditions, Legends, Superstitions, and Sketches of Devonshire, and Thomas Keightley’s *The Fairy Mythology*, an anthology that reprinted some of Bray’s tales.⁴² In the revised and expanded edition of Keightley’s volume, tales of fairies, goblins, elves, pixies, dwarves, and other fantastical beings redound with wealth: silver horns and bells, gold harps, and precious stones.⁴³ The *Mythology*, along with Bray’s *Traditions*, also describes the use of silver pennies in fairyland.

According to Keightley and Bray, goblins used silver pennies as currency. When maidens swept their houses and set out food or water for fantastical visitors, they found money—often silver pennies—in their shoes or water basins. When they failed to please the pixies, hobgoblins, or other guests, they were pinched black and blue instead.⁴⁴ Rossetti’s description of domestic labor echoes the coin-worthy maiden behavior:

Laura rose with Lizzie:
 Fetched in honey, milked the cows,
 Aired and set to rights the house,
 Kneaded cakes of whitest wheat,
 Cakes for dainty mouths to eat,
 Next churned butter, whipped up cream,
 Fed their poultry, sat and sewed;
 Talked as modest maidens should.

(lines 202–9)

In fairyland, Lizzie’s penny would be the standard return (economic but not commercial) for the gendered household work that she continues to do even after her sister has ceased to perform it:

[Laura] no more swept the house,

 Brought water from the brook:
 But sat down listless in the chimney-nook.

(lines 293–7)

The “chimney-nook” particularly recalls Bray, whose tales of pixie trade include model maidens dutifully placing water basins in such nooks. Lizzie’s coin, as fairy currency, would reward her for domestic activities rather than provide payment for commercial dealings.⁴⁵ It would also provide another literary source for the physical abuse that the goblins inflict upon Lizzie, whose treat-

ment in the market is, I think rightly, often read as rape or sexual assault. The goblins "pinched" and then "Kicked," "knocked," and "Mauled" her (lines 427–9). This pinching, as we have seen, has precedence in pixie displeasure. (The sexual undertones of Lizzie's assault suggest the darker side of Bray's fairy tales, as of the Grimms' before them.)⁴⁶ Of course the goblins resent Lizzie's attempt to return the penny; she turns her reward for "proper" maidenly deference into a sign of her refusal to "Honour" them by eating with them (line 369).

Lizzie's penny represents deference and domestic duties. It also represents religious labor. In another tale from Keightley's collection, we learn that hobgoblins punish those who fail to observe religious rituals as well as domestic duties. Linking pagan superstition to Christian tradition (and reminding us, in the process, of the pagan roots of Judeo-Christian observances), the tale warns: "'if a Peter-penny or a Housle-egge were behind, or a patch of tythe unpaid—then [be]ware of bull-beggars, spirits, &c.'" "Peter's penny" had religious significance as the pre-Reformation tax paid by English householders to the pope in Rome.⁴⁷ Keightley's editorial note, moreover, speculates that the "Housle-egge" may be "an egg at Easter or on good Friday" and goes on to trace "*Housle ... hunsl*, sacrifice or offering," to the Eucharist.⁴⁸ According to this tale, the "bull-beggars" or "spirits" would have been even more angered by the neglect of Christian ritual than by listless housekeeping. And that Christian ritual points to a second source for Lizzie's silver penny.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, silver pennies were legal tender, more highly valued than their copper counterparts because of their intrinsic value.⁴⁹ By the 1850s and 60s, however, the silver penny was no longer a regular form of currency, and the country's use of a gold standard meant that silver was then measured by the price of gold.⁵⁰ The goblins' refusal to accept it as an equivalent for Laura's hair may simply mean that one silver penny holds insufficient value compared to gold. But this penny is no mere token. In 1859, silver pennies would have had value as Maundy money. These were coins minted for and given to the "deserving" classes of the poor by royalty, as part of an Anglican ceremony on Holy Thursday, before Easter.⁵¹ (If the "Peter penny" taxed landowners, it seems that the Maundy ceremony redistributed some of this money to the poor.) This Easter service tradition of giving to the poor has biblical precedence. It derives from the New Testament tale of Jesus washing the Disciples' feet at the Last Supper and telling them to follow his example.⁵²

Maundy money, specially minted after 1822, became the formal, conventionalized substitute for other gift-giving and foot-washing practices.⁵³ A Victorian audience would have been familiar with these coins, produced in excess of ceremonial requirements and available at the bank.⁵⁴

Maundy money, as the currency of service, clarifies one aspect of Rossetti's religious-economic imagery. Lizzie's Christlike scourging, her sacrifice, and her bodily delivery of saving fruits—"Eat me, drink, me, love me"—have frequently been taken as references to the Eucharist that Maundy money commemorates. Rossetti's own Holy Thursday observances would likely have entered into her imaginative work for "Goblin Market." The manuscript is dated 27 April 1859, just three days after that year's Easter Sunday.⁵⁵ Silver pennies further represent Eucharistic imagery by their association with the penny distributed to each laborer equally in Christ's parable of the vineyard. In medieval texts, this penny was popularly understood to represent Christ's sacrifice, the gift of salvation, the consecrated Host of the Eucharistic Feast.⁵⁶ Small wonder, then, that Lizzie rejects the goblins' attempts to host a debilitating feast. Her coin offers Christian service or salvation; the goblins decline the currency.

Lizzie's silver penny jingles with religious resonance as it bounces in her purse and also marks her participation in the economic structures of contemporary religious sisterhoods (lines 452–3). Like the Anglican sisterhoods Jameson describes, Lizzie enters the market not by looking to buy or sell but by extending her domestic and religious obligations from hearth to heath(en). Lizzie's silver penny is a token of domestic duties and religious sacrifice rather than financial savvy or savings. The penny simultaneously ties Lizzie's currency to correct, modest behavior and links her to religious models of "unpaid and beneficent" exchange, placing her in a symbolically significant gift economy that emphasizes the saving power of sisterhood. More than merely legal tender, Lizzie's silver penny marks her as attending sister, caregiver, Christian miracle worker; her role as a sister pertains to her purse as well as her heart. Like Jesus washing the feet of the Disciples, Lizzie puts Christian service before self.

III

And yet, Maundy money—this symbol of service and sacrifice—is impersonal. As a conventionalized substitute for foot washing, it is also a mass-produced substitute for intimate, physical con-

tact with the poor, hardly the Eucharistic gift of body and blood. Lizzie's enactment of the ritual comes at an even further remove. When Lizzie approaches the goblins and "tosse[s] them her penny" she holds out her apron for fruit and space (line 367). Her fearful toss is a distortion of the Christian service practices it imitates. Victor Mendoza has argued that Lizzie takes on the role of a monarch through distributing Maundy money, but eighteenth- and nineteenth-century monarchs were far less active in the ceremony than their forerunners. (During Queen Victoria's reign, the Sub-Almoner distributed the coins.)⁵⁷ Rather than revising this trend by recalling earlier sovereigns' more intimate transfers, Lizzie keeps her own queenly distance from the goblin recipients. The poem seems to endorse this distance. Lizzie's repeated references to Jeanie (the goblins' prior victim) suggest that her fears are not unfounded. Hers is a specialized form of service, an exclusive practice directed toward sisters. Only Laura can receive the more personal gift of Lizzie's sacrifice.

Sacrifice-worthy sisterhood is emphatically white—"White and golden," in Lizzie's case (line 408).⁵⁸ The girls together are "Like two flakes of new-fall'n snow, / Like two wands of ivory" (lines 189–90). In "Goblin Market," this whiteness stands for innocence; but it also stands for racial purity. These descriptions follow Laura's feast, and race provides one answer to the important question of why Laura retains this whiteness even after her fall. The goblin men, in contrast, are exotic creatures, hybridized mixtures of wombat, rat, snail, and parrot, racialized, as Krista Lysack similarly notes, by the sexualized force they exert as well as by their mysterious and indistinct origins.⁵⁹ A foreign presence endangering domestic life, these goblins are marginalized, even before their fruit exacts its toll, by the girls' suspicions:

"We must not look at goblin men,
We must not buy their fruits:
Who knows upon what soil they fed
Their hungry thirsty roots?"

(lines 42–5)

The question Laura raises here lingers on line 44, "upon what soil they fed"; the pronoun's doubled antecedents problematize the source of the goblin men as well as their fruits. The enjambment carries us to roots that presumably belong to the fruits but whose adjectives "hungry" and "thirsty" better describe nineteenth-century stereotypes of rapacious savages sprung from an exotically

other family tree. When Lizzie rejects their hospitable offer to “take a seat with us” (line 368) and “Be welcome guest with us” (line 381), the fact that they fling the penny back to her suggests that the goblins are beyond the scope of her religious economy of service and salvation as much as she is outside of their market economy.⁶⁰ Whether the goblins’ origins, Jeanie’s precedent, or Laura’s decline makes Lizzie keep her distance from them, the goblins attribute this rejection to her sense of status, angrily calling her “proud” and “uncivil” (lines 394–5).

Class suspicion enters into the characterization of these “merchant men” as well (line 474). The iterations of “brother” (“Brother with queer brother” and “Brother with sly brother” [lines 94, 96]) suggest not only the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of Dante Gabriel Rossetti but also other brotherhoods (Masons, trade unions) that would have registered as sly, devious, or mysterious to a nineteenth-century audience.⁶¹ Unlike sisterhood, which was often seen as a removal from family ties, brotherhood was seen as an “uncivil” merging of parts—working-class “combinations” as horrifying to some spectators as the menagerie of animal parts that the goblin men represent.⁶²

Through Lizzie’s refusals to look at and sit with the other-specied, racialized, and classed goblins, “Goblin Market” echoes but revises the barriers presumably constructed by Anglican sisterhoods. As we have seen, popular representations of Anglican sisterhoods showed them struggling over the question of incorporation, using class and financial status to measure a woman’s ability to be a sister. These communities were particularly ambivalent with regard to their treatment of fallen women. They reclaimed some as “sisters”; Jameson mentions with satisfaction the once “unfortunate girls” who “were no longer objects of pity or dependent on charity; they had become objects of respect.” But these reclaimed women, she notes, observing their “superior” appearance and conduct, “belonged apparently to a better class” than other “unfortunate” girls.⁶³ Historical records suggest that those other fallen sisters of inferior classes were welcomed more ambivalently; their ties to the community were shaped by guilt as much as by the reciprocal obligations that surely served to bind the other sisters together.⁶⁴

Rossetti’s poem agrees with Jameson and Craik that the moneyed sister is in a better position to rescue the fallen. But the poem’s descriptions of Lizzie and Laura barely distinguish between them in any further way, doing so only to show the girls’ mutual growth.⁶⁵ Not only does “Goblin Market” remove the hierarchy that

wealth and sexual difference established within sisterhood, but it also displaces onto the goblin men the forms of censure often given to "fallen" women because the proscriptive element of the poem's sisterhood is racial.⁶⁶ The goblin men are thrust to the margins of the text while Laura's fall, strikingly, is forgiven. At the goblins' expense, the poem reclaims a fallen woman through a sisterhood that removes any lingering sense of obligation.⁶⁷ Using goblin men as the scapegoats for simplified community formation, then, "Goblin Market" offers a vision of sisterhood that eliminates hierarchy. This sisterhood is perhaps Rossetti's fantasy, or possibly an account of the real, active sisterhoods she witnessed; most likely, it is a combination of both that sets many women's desires for sisterly unification against the social reality of difference.

The most radical suggestion Rossetti's poem makes is that Laura (or other fallen women) might be completely redeemable. Victorian discourses of fallenness frequently saw women's purity as irrevocably lost; the "fallen" could reenter society only at a distance, as servants or emigrants.⁶⁸ In contrast, Laura's reclamation borrows both from discourses of spiritual salvation and also from a more commercial form of redemption. As if Laura's hair and innocence had been pawned, rather than irretrievably lost, Lizzie is able to restore them both completely. This transaction thus opens up the possibility that a woman's sexual purity—bemoaned by the poem as something to be sold on the market—can also be restored through a different kind of market dealing, exchanges "beyond the reach of any remuneration," but profitable nonetheless.

Rossetti's radical revision of sexual purity also rewrites women's community. Laura's "fall" is no bar to sisterhood. Indeed, it is only after this that the poem refers to Lizzie as "sister." Sisterhood, in this sense, requires and is constituted by a fall.⁶⁹ The fall itself becomes a source of satisfaction and long-standing community for the girls. By the poem's end, when Laura's fall becomes an opportunity for her to teach their children the merits of sisterhood, she fondly recalls her experience as "pleasant days long gone" (line 550). Lizzie, too, benefits from Laura's fall. Acting in accordance with the service economy of sisterhood offers her new experiences, letting her "for the first time in her life / Beg[i]n to listen and look" (lines 327–8). The juice that covers Lizzie as she runs away with her penny is most often seen as her "steal," but her new experiences and her "inward laughter" at "feel[ing] the drip / Of juice that syruped all her face" are also part of her proceeds, the indirect return for the gift she gives her sister (lines 463, 433–4). Most discussions locate Lizzie's desire—when they

grant her any—in the homoerotic exchange that follows her fruit retrieval. We can also find her desires and their physical gratification in the mixture of pain and pleasure that Lizzie encounters through her mission to the market.⁷⁰ Lizzie's bodily glee is new. Before offering herself up for sisterly sacrifice and service, she is merely "content" and "placid" (lines 212, 217), concerned and fearful. Her effort to redeem her sister aligns her service economy with that of the Anglican sisterhoods; her inadvertent but pressing proximity to fallenness—her joy in her "resistance" but also in her brush with marketplace "evil" (lines 438, 437)—suggests that she, too, profits from this service economy.

The profit reaches beyond the poem, both by encouraging its audience to engage in similar service economies and by validating that audience's desires. Rossetti's verses share in the sensory delight that Lizzie takes away with her. Constance W. Hassett convincingly argues that the lyric strand of the poem "celebrates" the desire that the narrative strand resists and that Rossetti herself "rid[es] the euphoria of language" through spinning syntax and "dazzling" images.⁷¹ The reader takes part, if not in Rossetti's "euphoria," then certainly in her poem's sounds and syllables, its compelling orality, and its "frisky metrics [that] practically have to be sounded out."⁷² Many other readers and critics have recognized the linguistic pleasures of plump fruits that fill not only Laura's mouth but those of the readers who voice them, infinitely extending the implied author's exuberance to a larger reading community.

The rich, bountiful descriptions signify poetic enjoyment. They are also poetic excess. When Lizzie tells Laura to "make much of" her, the poem responds in equally exaggerated terms (line 472). Laura does not just "kiss" her sister but "kissed and kissed and kissed her" (line 486). This paratactic, repetitious line replicates the excessive approach of the entire poem, in which sales pitch follows sales pitch and simile chases simile. Like the goblins whose fruit juice covers Lizzie's entire face and neck, the poem feeds its readership much more than the requisite bite. Rossetti's poetic excess, then, proffers not merely pleasure but a sense of gratuity; it, too, becomes a gift, stylistically echoing Lizzie's preferred currency. By approaching it as such, we are better able to reconcile this anomalous, generous, overflowing narrative with the body of Rossetti's other poems more frequently associated with "loss."⁷³ Both perform and rejoice in giving to excess, in sacrifice. In the verses it coins, as in the coin it subverts, "Goblin Market" shows how gift offerings—of poetry, of religious service, of sisterly sacrifice—can be pleasures for giver and recipient alike, as much a realization of the self as its repudiation.

NOTES

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¹Christina Rossetti, "Goblin Market," in *Victorian Literature, 1830–1900*, ed. Dorothy Mermin and Herbert F. Tucker (New York: Harcourt College Publishing, 2002), pp. 846–52. Subsequent references to "Goblin Market" are from this edition and will appear parenthetically in the text by line number.

²See Elizabeth K. Helsinger, "Consumer Power and the Utopia of Desire: Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*," *ELH* 58, 4 (Winter 1991): 903–33; Elizabeth Campbell, "Of Mothers and Merchants: Female Economics in Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*," *VS* 33, 3 (Spring 1990): 393–410; Terrence Holt, "Men Sell Not Such in Any Town': Exchange in *Goblin Market*," *VP* 28, 1 (Spring 1990): 51–67; Richard Menke, "The Political Economy of Fruit: *Goblin Market*," in *The Culture of Christina Rossetti: Female Poetics and Victorian Contexts*, ed. Mary Arseneau, Antony H. Harrison, and Lorraine Janzen Kooistra (Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 105–36; Catherine Maxwell, "Tasting the 'Fruit Forbidden': Gender, Intertextuality, and Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*," in *The Culture of Christina Rossetti*, pp. 75–102; and Tucker, "Rossetti's Goblin Marketing: Sweet to Tongue and Sound to Eye," *Representations* 82 (Spring 2003): 117–33.

³See Mermin, "Heroic Sisterhood in *Goblin Market*," *VP* 21, 2 (Summer 1983): 107–18, 117; and Helena Michie, *Sororophobia: Differences among Women in Literature and Culture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 32–7 for sisterhood and desire. Other treatments of sisterhood include Arseneau, *Recovering Christina Rossetti: Female Community and Incarnational Poetics* (Houndmills UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 17–38; Janet Galligani Casey, "The Potential of Sisterhood: Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*," *VP* 29, 1 (Spring 1991): 63–78; and Marjorie Stone, "Sisters in Art: Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning," *VP* 32, 3–4 (Autumn-Winter 1994): 339–64.

⁴Menke, p. 127.

⁵Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990). See also Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine Atherton, 1972), p. 133; and Tucker, p. 120.

⁶D. G. Rossetti's "Jenny" also links golden coins and hair with prostituted sexuality (lines 340–2, 378). See Tucker for Laura's exchange as a loss of imagination (p. 125).

⁷See Holt, pp. 52–4 and Helsinger, pp. 907, 928. Margot C. Finn notes the confluence of nineteenth-century gift and retail practices in *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), pp. 88, 105.

⁸Tucker, p. 128. For Ruskin's interest in economics' roots: *oikonomos*, or household management, see Menke, p. 118. During the late nineteenth century, economists' emphasis shifted from production to consumption. See Regenia Gagnier, *The Insatiability of Human Wants: Economics and Aesthetics in Market Society* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 40–8. Erika Rap-

paport addresses the Victorian “assumption that [shopping] was a ‘natural’ feminine pastime” in *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London’s West End* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), pp. 5, 49–52, 106.

⁹Helsing, p. 927; and Arseneau, p. 32.

¹⁰Jan Marsh, “Christina Rossetti’s Vocation: The Importance of *Goblin Market*,” *VP* 32, 3–4 (Autumn-Winter 1994): 233–48, 238–9, 245; Jerome J. McGann, introduction to *The Achievement of Christina Rossetti*, ed. David A. Kent (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1987): pp. 1–19, 4; Diane D’Amico, “Eve, Mary, and Mary Magdalene: Christina Rossetti’s Feminine Triptych,” in *The Achievement of Christina Rossetti*, pp. 175–91, 186; Casey, pp. 72–3; and Mary Wilson Carpenter, “‘Eat me, drink me, love me’: The Consumable Female Body in Christina Rossetti’s *Goblin Market*,” *VP* 29, 4 (Winter 1991): 415–34, 417–22.

¹¹See Marsh, pp. 239–40. D. M. R. Bentley hypothesizes that Rossetti read to penitents in “The Meretricious and the Meritorious in *Goblin Market*: A Conjecture and an Analysis,” in *The Achievement of Christina Rossetti*, pp. 57–81, 58, 69. D’Amico treats Lizzie as a Christ figure in *Christina Rossetti: Faith, Gender, and Time* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 75–9. Arseneau treats the poem’s relationship to Rossetti’s devotional works (esp. pp. 96–107, 121–8).

¹²Eighteenth-century convents were fictional sites for Gothic intrigues and narrative resolutions. See, for instance, Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998); and Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. Jocelyn Harris, 3 vols. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972).

¹³For example, Mary Shelley, “The Sisters of Albano,” in *The Keepsake for 1829*, ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds (London: Hurst, Chance, and Co., 1828), pp. 80–100. Mary Astell is a notable forerunner in *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest by a Lover of her Sex* (London: R. Wilkin, 1694), EEBO STC (2d edn) A4062.

¹⁴England saw its first Protestant sisterhood in 1845 and at least twenty-five more by 1865. Susan Mumm’s discovery of “approximately 10,000 women [who] passed through ninety-odd communities between 1845 and 1900” (*Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain* [London and New York: Leicester Univ. Press, 1999], pp. 3, 213–4) increases earlier counts in Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 50. See also Elaine Showalter, “Introduction,” in *Christina Rossetti: “Maude,” Dinah Mulock Craik: “On Sisterhoods,” “A Woman’s Thoughts about Women,”* ed. Showalter, Notes by Penny Mahon (London: William Pickering, 1993), pp. vi–xxvi, xii.

¹⁵Sisterhoods had vexed relationships to the church hierarchy (Showalter, p. xii). Historians disagree about their relative independence from that hierarchy: see Vicinus, pp. 58, 50 and Mumm, “They Will Not Obey: The Clerical Response to Sisterhoods,” in *Stolen Daughter, Virgin Mothers*, pp. 137–65, esp. 145–7, 153–7.

¹⁶Mumm, pp. 18, 190–4. See also Anna Jameson, *Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, and The Communion of Labor* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1857), pp. 70, 119; [Dinah Mulock Craik], The Author of John Halifax, Gentleman, “About Sisterhoods,” *Longman’s Magazine* [London: Longmans,

Green, etc., January 1883]), pp. 303–13, 308–9; and Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England*, Victorian Literature and Culture (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 2002), p. 129.

¹⁷ Jameson, p. 80.

¹⁸ See Frances Power Cobbe, "What Shall We Do with Our Old Maids?" rpt. in *Prose by Victorian Women: An Anthology*, ed. Andrea Broomfield and Sally Mitchell (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp. 235–61, 244–5. See Jameson, p. 91, and Florence Nightingale, *Cassandra and other Selections from Suggestions for Thought*, ed. Mary Poovey (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1992), p. 219.

¹⁹ Jameson, p. 275.

²⁰ See Marsh, p. 238; Stone, p. 356; and Elliott, p. 133.

²¹ Elliott, p. 115.

²² Jameson, pp. 169, 30, and 268 (emphasis in original).

²³ Jameson, pp. 150–1, 187.

²⁴ Elliott, pp. 129–30.

²⁵ Alison Booth, *How to Make It as a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 146.

²⁶ Elliott, p. 130.

²⁷ Jameson, pp. 185, 187, 194, and 276. For the sisters' finances and "remunerative" laundries, see Mumm, pp. 82–5, 87.

²⁸ See Booth, p. 146; and Craik, p. 309.

²⁹ Jameson, pp. 286–7. Unlike many women before the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, sisters chose the communities that would benefit from their dowries.

³⁰ Jameson, pp. 274, 278, 275.

³¹ See Mumm, pp. 82, 42–3, 35–6.

³² Jameson, p. 276.

³³ Craik similarly distinguishes between the "useful" "Low Church Bible-woman" and the "grace" of the "lady in a nun's dress" (p. 312).

³⁴ See also Krista Lysack, "Goblin Markets: Victorian Women Shoppers at Liberty's Oriental Bazaar," *NCC* 27, 2 (June 2005): 139–65, 159.

³⁵ Tucker, p. 126. See also Carpenter, p. 428; Menke, pp. 127–8; and Helsing, p. 923.

³⁶ Menke, p. 127.

³⁷ Holt, p. 58.

³⁸ See Linda E. Marshall, "'Transfigured to His Likeness': Sensible Transcendentalism in Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*," *UTQ* 63, 3 (Spring 1994): 429–50, 436; and Arseneau, p. 128. Marylu Hill also suggests similarities between Lizzie and Christ in "'Eat Me, Drink Me, Love Me': Eucharist and the Erotic Body in Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*," *VP* 43, 4 (Winter 2005): 455–72, 462. Menke, p. 128; Tucker, pp. 128–9; and Maxwell, p. 85 offer explanations of the juice's restorative powers.

³⁹ For Eucharistic cravings, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1987): pp. 58–9, 116, 119, 137, and 157. For the saving power of women's bodily excretions and the tradition of a lactating

Christ, see also the chapters “Food in the Lives of Women Saints,” pp. 113–49 and “Food in the Writings of Women Mystics,” pp. 150–86.

⁴⁰ Lysack notes that the goblins seek “endless consumer desire more than curls or coins” (p. 159). Victor Roman Mendoza emphasizes the abstracted status of Lizzie’s silver penny as fetish in “‘Come Buy’: The Crossing of Sexual and Consumer Desire in Christina Rossetti’s *Goblin Market*,” *ELH* 73, 4 (Winter 2006): 913–47, 930.

⁴¹ Theorists including Annette B. Weiner (*Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* [Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992]) and Aafke E. Komter (*Social Solidarity and the Gift* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005], pp. 8, 76) respond to charges that gift economies operate solely at the expense of women. See, for instance, Luce Irigaray, “Women on the Market,” in *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 174–89.

⁴² Anna Eliza Bray, *A Peep at the Pixies; or, Legends of the West* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1854); Bray, *Traditions, Legends, Superstitions, and Sketches of Devonshire on the Borders of The Tamar and the Tavy, Illustrative of Its Manners, Customs, History, Antiquities, Scenery, and Natural History, In a Series of Letters to Robert Southey, Esq.*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1838); and Thomas Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology, Illustrative of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries, a New Edition, Revised and Greatly Enlarged* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1850). See also Marsh, pp. 235–7; and Maxwell, p. 89.

⁴³ Molly Clark Hillard reminds us that a goblin itself was “quite literally money,” the Victorian “slang for a sovereign” (“Dangerous Exchange: Fairy Footsteps, Goblin Economies, and *The Old Curiosity Shop*,” *DSA* 35 [2005], pp. 63–86, 75).

⁴⁴ Pixies “pinch the maids” who neglect household duties and reward them with coin or “silver pennies” for setting water basins by chimneys (Bray, *Traditions*, pp. 174–5; pp. 188–9). Keightley describes punitive pinching and rewards of pennies (pp. 289, 291, 342, 344) or silver pennies (p. 348). These penny-pinching goblins deliver pinches in lieu of pennies.

⁴⁵ Roles shift in other fairy traditions. Though Shakespeare’s puck Robin Goodfellow interferes with butter churning, Milton’s “L’Allegro” tells “how the drudging goblin sweat,/ To earn his cream-bowl duly set” (*John Milton: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg [Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991], pp. 22–5, lines 105–6). *Harry Potter*’s enslaved house elves partake in this second, more labor-intensive tradition.

⁴⁶ Hillard suggests that commercial, market transactions with fairies and goblins similarly entailed danger (pp. 72–3). Ellen Moers attributes the goblins’ violence to the rough physicality of siblings (*Literary Women* [Garden City: Doubleday, 1976], pp. 105–6).

⁴⁷ OED, 2d edn., s.v. “Peter’s penny,” 1.

⁴⁸ Keightley, p. 291.

⁴⁹ Many thanks to Michael Hargreave Mawson and Hugh MacDougall for their responses to my VICTORIA listserv query about silver pennies (5 December 2005). See also Tony Clayton, “The Penny,” in *Coins of England and Great Britain*, <http://www.coins-of-the-uk.co.uk/penny.html>.

⁵⁰ Ted Wilson, *Battles for the Standard: Bimetallism and the Spread of the Gold Standard in the Nineteenth-Century* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), p. 28. For the valuation and fetishization of gold in "Goblin Market," see Mendoza, pp. 923–7.

⁵¹ See Brian Robinson, *Silver Pennies and Linen Towels: The Story of the Royal Maundy* (London: Spink and Son, 1992), pp. 67–73. My thanks to Karen Selesky for this reference. Since the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the pennies were distributed in purses not unlike Lizzie's (line 324). See Robinson, pp. 32–3.

⁵² See John 13: 5–16; and Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1995), p. 5.

⁵³ OED, 2d edn., s.v. "maundy," 1. "Maundy" derives from "commandment."

⁵⁴ See Robinson, pp. 120 and 126–7; and Clayton, "Maundy Money," in *Coins of England and Great Britain*, <http://www.coins-of-the-uk.co.uk/maund.html>.

⁵⁵ Menke, p. 107.

⁵⁶ Robert W. Ackerman, "The Pearl-Maiden and the Penny," *RPh* 17, 3 (February 1964), pp. 615–23, 621–3; Jill Mann, "Satisfaction and Payment in Middle English Literature," *SAC* 5 (1983): 17–48, 26; and Mendoza, p. 929. For Christ as host, see Anne Howland Schotter, "The Paradox of Equality and Hierarchy of Reward in *Pearl*," *Renascence* 33 (1981): 172–9, 174.

⁵⁷ See Mendoza, p. 931. No evidence suggests that sovereigns participated actively in the service for 233 years after 1698 (Robinson, pp. 42, 48–9). See also Prochaska, pp. 6–7, 209.

⁵⁸ The silver of her penny is also a "white" metal.

⁵⁹ Lysack, pp. 153–4. See also Susan Meyer, *Imperialism at Home: Race and Victorian Women's Fiction* (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 17, 89, 119–20. As Moers observes, the crossing of species was a particularly Victorian fantasy (p. 102).

⁶⁰ The goblins' relationship to Lizzie, one of "negative reciprocity," would be at the socially distant end of a spectrum of reciprocities tying generosity to kinship (Sahlins, pp. 193–9).

⁶¹ Mermin, p. 109; James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood* (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 61–5; Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 231–6; and Lysack, p. 154.

⁶² Sharon Marcus argues that female intimacy was central to, rather than in conflict with, those family ties (*Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* [Princeton and Oxford: Princeton Univ. Press, 2007], pp. 78–9, 99, 102).

⁶³ Jameson, pp. 219, 224.

⁶⁴ For the hierarchy of sister to penitent, see Mumm, pp. 106, 108; and Vicinus, p. 78.

⁶⁵ For Lizzie and Laura's mutual redemption, see Casey, p. 68; and Carpenter, pp. 427–8.

⁶⁶ This accords with the foot-washing ceremony (*pedilavium*) that predated Maundy money. Temporarily reversing clerical hierarchies, senior clergy served the lower clergy as well as the poor (Robinson, p. 19).

⁶⁷ This is the redemption that, according to the speaker of D. G. Rossetti's "Jenny," could not be effected by another woman; see Mermin, p. 111, Maxwell, p. 94, and Marsh, p. 244.

⁶⁸ For "fallenness" as "attenuated agency," see Amanda Anderson, *Tainted Souls and Painted Faces: The Rhetoric of Fallenness in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 14–5. D'Amico stresses the spiritual nature of sexual fall (*Christina Rossetti*, pp. 70–1) and Rossetti's refusal to see women as "forever fallen" (p. 188).

⁶⁹ See Michie, pp. 33–7. The importance of sin or a fall to salvation is consistent with other Victorian religious doctrine, including that of the Salvation Army.

⁷⁰ Lysack, pp. 159, 154, notes the role of visuality in markets' production of desire. A donor's "return" on a gift often comes from sources other than the initial recipient. See Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (New York: Random House, 1983), p. 16.

⁷¹ Constance W. Hassett, *Christina Rossetti: The Patience of Style* (Charlottesville and London: Univ. of Virginia Press, 2005): pp. 25, 28, 27. For Rossetti's euphoric silence, see pp. 53–63.

⁷² Tucker, p. 119.

⁷³ McGann, p. 8.