

Edexcel English Literature GCSE

An Inspector Calls: Character Profile Gerald Croft

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First Impressions

Character in context

Gerald is Sheila's fiancé and the son of the **wealthy businessman** Mr Croft. He is employed at his father's company which is called Crofts Limited. The Croft family business is in **competition** with, and also both bigger and older than, Birling & Co. Gerald's parents are Sir George Croft and Lady Croft, who are **socially superior** to the Birlings. Priestley describes Gerald, in the initial **stage directions**, as "*[an attractive chap about thirty, rather too manly to be a dandy but very much the easy well-bred young*



man-about-town]". He contributes to the "*chain of events*" which drive Eva to suicide by using her as a mistress.

- Priestley uses the character of Gerald to represent the individualism of the upper-class.
- He disillusions (disappoints) the audience, who hopes that by the end of the play he would change his capitalist and selfish attitudes, as he fails to do so.
- Therefore, Priestley uses Gerald's failure to develop his sense of **social responsibility**, to convey how entrenched these upper-class attitudes are; even death won't change them.

Attractive appearance

Priestley portrays Gerald as a physically attractive, privileged but likable man.

- He describes Gerald in the stage directions as "*rather too manly to be dandy*", suggesting that he is very much content and confident in his own masculinity.
- The description of Gerald in the stage directions continues, as he is "easy well-bred young man-about-town". This idiomatic phrase suggests that Gerald is a fashionable socialite. Alternatively, this phrase could have plural connotations; perhaps, Priestley is foreshadowing the unfaithful nature of Gerald, as he literally goes about-town and into the Palace bar in the search of female companions.

Exam tip -

When analysing language techniques, ensure you refer to "Priestley" explicitly. This shows the examiner that you are considering his methods directly.

• The relatively **minor role** of Gerald early on in the play allows Priestley to maintain a fairly vague and neutral portrayal which causes the audience to be **ambivalent** (uncertain) in how to feel towards him.

Ideal husband and son-in-law

Gerald is portrayed as an ideal husband and son-in-law due to his financial security and higher social status. He chooses the engagement ring himself, Sheila asks "*is it the one you wanted me to have?*" which makes him look caring and thoughtful. Gerald's attitude is genial, he is polite to the Birling parents and comes across as humble as shown by his response to Mr Birling: "*I don't pretend to know much about it (port)*". (This humbleness is in stark contrast to the pompous and arrogant opinions of Mr Birling). Gerald's social status contributes to his attractiveness as in 1912 British society the only route to wealth of a woman would be to marry into it as women were forbidden from opening a bank account and therefore had no money of their own.

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Experienced Micheton (Customer of a prostitute)

The good natured portrayal of Gerald at the start of the play begins to break down as the audience learns about his nighttime activities. Priestley portrays Gerald as spending a considerable amount of time in bars and **socialising with and using prostitutes**. Priestley evidences this **familiarity with prostitutes** through Gerald's **vivid** description of them, "*I hate those hard-eyed* **dough-faced women**". This opinion of prostitutes is one that can only come from experience, rather than a one off or chance occurrence. For Eva to seem "**out of place**" he must have known what was ordinary for a prostitute and therefore have been experienced.

He only cared about Eva because of his own **lustful desires** as evidenced by Priestley's **ordering of words**: "**she was pretty - soft brown hair and big dark eyes - [breaks off] My God!**". Priestley's use of **aposiopesis** (abrupt break off in speech) comes directly after Gerald describes her beauty. Therefore, revealing that Gerald only felt attracted to Eva **physically** as he feels the greatest grief when remembering her physical beauty.

Aware of the upper-class' immorality

Gerald is portrayed by Priestley as being conscious of the **cruelty** of the upper-classes, yet he shows no desire to change society and thereby compromise the **privilege that he commands**. It is important to understand why Priestley presents Gerald in this **aware**, **yet conformist**, state. Priestley portrays Gerald as stuck at a **moral crossroads**; he can either fight against the **class system** or continue to use it to his advantage. Despite Gerald's actions, he is presented by Priestley as possessing a conscious and a **moral compass** (despite failing to follow this).

- He condemns the actions of "alderman Meggarty" who is a "notorious womaniser", and he perceives himself as a knight in shining armour who saves Eva, the damsel in distress. Therefore, Gerald's desire to help Eva is clear, yet only to the extent of maintaining his own privilege and comfort, with his priorities at heart.
- The public perception of Gerald is of utmost significance to him as he is prepared to help Eva in private but maintains an image of an honest and respectable upper-class man in his public sphere of influence. He sees an inherited duty to uphold and preserve society as it is due to his family business and the need to fulfill his father's expectations of him. Therefore, Gerald needs to maintain the systemic immorality of the class-system even if he disagrees with it.
- Priestley sets Gerald apart from the Birling parents, as at least Gerald can recognise its flaws something which Mr and Mrs Birling cannot fathom.

Stuck in the middle

Priestley portrays Gerald as caught between the older and younger-generations - forming this **middle-generation**. This **liminality** (at a position between two boundaries) extends to his attitudes and ideology. Gerald is exhibited as **less flexible and less impressionable** than Sheila and Eric in his convictions, however he does accept his own responsibility.

Priestley portrays Gerald as deliberately ignoring his sense of morality and chooses to try and forget his actions. He intentionally chooses to only react to the injustice that is **visible** and obvious to him, rather than the **institutionalised prejudice** that the **class-system** causes. This is evident as he only helped Eva because it was visible to him and he couldn't ignore it as "**Old Joe**

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Meggarty, half-drunk and goggled-eyed, had wedged her into a corner with that obscene fat carcase of his".

Temporary guilt

The guilt that Gerald has for his abuse of the **vulnerable** Eva Smith and making her his **mistress** is evidently short-lived. It is important to consider why Priestley portrays the degree of guilt that Gerald feels is almost insignificant.

- This unsympathetic response is exactly what the Inspector condemns and is attempting to preclude (prevent). The change in Gerald's attitudes has to be permanent for real change in society to occur and this is what the Inspector attempts to instill into the characters. He experiences guilt and has a conscience but tries to reason and manipulate his conscience.
 - This is not an outright rejection of responsibility, but a manipulation of events to alleviate his responsibility and to justify his actions.

Pragmatically moral

Gerald is portrayed by Priestley as following a moral stance, only when it suits his own needs.

- Gerald is content to lie about his affair with Eva as "awfully busy at the works all that
 - *time*" over the summer. Therefore, it is clear that Gerald is **unrepentant** until Sheila finds out. He tries to get Eva to leave and therefore limit the repercussions that could affect him, while throwing her onto the streets.



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Why did Priestley create a character who can pick and choose when to be **moral**? His character reveals the **crux** of the Inspector's issue with the current society, as Gerald doesn't care about having done wrong until there are possible consequences that affect him.

Materialism

Priestley portrays Gerald as viewing the world in a **materialistic light**. It is important to consider why Priestley presents Gerald as placing such great **emphasis on possessions**. Gerald tried to help Eva through **financial aid**, when it was his care for her that had the most significant impact; **human relations** are of greater importance and **wield greater power** than the power of money.

- It wasn't Gerald's ending of funding that impacted Eva, but rather the end of a caring and intimate relationship, which pushed her over the edge and onto suicide as this hurt her emotionally. Gerald drops Eva like a possession as she "knew it couldn't last", due to her lower-class origins.
- His interactions with Eva are encompassed by a semantic field of business and finance rhetoric (language), such as "Install her" "in return" "business". This evidence shows that Gerald perceives his relationships as transactions – like his marriage. Priestley, through the character of Gerald conveys the message that money and class corrupts relationships.

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Patronising and misogynistic

Priestley portrays Gerald as being **condescending to women** in particular. Priestley **incorporates rescue imagery** with regards to Eva, portraying her as a **victim of the capitalist society**. Gerald's rescue of Eva is a **façade**, as in actuality Gerald is merely taking her **captive** rather than rescuing her; her situation remains the same, it is just her **captor** who changes.

Gerald is attracted by Eva's weakness and innocence. Priestley evidences the general perception of women at the time as only being valued for being pretty and sexual gratification. This further reveals the power imbalance between genders, as Eva is powerless to end the abuse that she is subjugated to.

Excludes women

Gerald consistently excludes women from the current situation, throughout the play. Gerald is one of the central male figures who tries to oppress women's voices.

- Gerald attempts to exclude Sheila as she recognises that "he means that I'm getting hysterical". Hysteria was a fabricated disorder, which has historically been used to oppress women and exclude them from politics and society for exhibiting 'unfeminine' traits. Gerald implies that Sheila is too emotional to think clearly and logically; she should leave the thinking to the men.
- He perpetuates a demeaning cult of victimhood as "young women should be protected from unpleasant and disturbing things" because they are too fragile to witness the harsh reality of the world. This conviction that Gerald holds is ironic as he failed to protect Eva from the "unpleasant and disturbing" sexual desires that he holds himself.
- Priestley also exposes the truth behind this conviction; it only exists to benefit men and for them to maintain their own power. Gerald's true motive behind his desire for Sheila to leave is that so she doesn't hear about his affair with Eva.

Final impressions

Not contemptible, not genial (not hated, not loved)

It is Priestley's intention for Gerald to be **neither hated**, not loved by the audience and thereby continue the theme of the **liminal**. Priestley maintains Gerald as a **surprisingly redeemable character**. This is caused by the relative **ambiguity** that Priestley presents Gerald in. As he is not clearly condemnable, like the Birling parents, the audience favour him.

- Arguably, this reaction from the audience exposes the problem with society, as Gerald (a man who is aware of immorality, yet does nothing to change it) is perceived as slightly favourable. The audience has been indoctrinated into the attitudes of the class-system and therefore into the system that favours them. Priestley exposes the hypocrisy of the audience, who will instantaneously respond to obvious suffering, yet they are content to ignore the subtle exploitation that is not made explicit.
- Yet, by the end of the play the audience is let down by the **speciously** (seemingly true, but false) respectable Gerald. This is due to Gerald showing promise of caring for Eva, yet he

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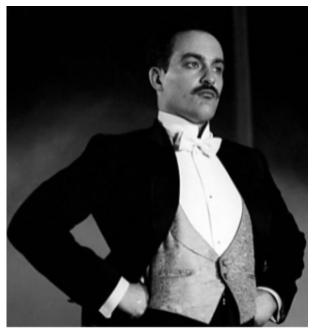
returns to try and pretend that nothing happened. He **rejects the responsibility**, which he had partially accepted, by attempting to dismantle the theory of Eva Smith and suggest that she was a different girl in each character's interaction with the supposed Eva. Therefore, Priestley conveys that the apparent changes in attitudes of the upper-class are merely **superficial**.

Dramatic techniques

Gerald's monopoly on the narrative

The **one-sided story** of events that is provided by Gerald must be viewed with **scrutiny** as Eva is not alive to **validate** his story; he has little motivation to tell the truth. It is crucial to your understanding of the play to consider why Priestley only describes events from the perspective of the man.

- Gerald's motive is clearly to absolve himself from as much responsibility as possible; he will be self-preserving. Priestley has already evidenced Gerald's tendency to lie in order to save his own skin, as he hid his affair from Sheila with the facade of being "busy at the works".
- His guilt is further shown through the immediately defensive tone of Gerald as he questions the Inspector "*where did you get the idea that I did know her*". This allows Gerald to gauge how much the Inspector knows and therefore adapt his story to be consistent with the Inspector's knowledge.
- Gerald's character shows how men are in control of the stories of women, as Priestley's use of an **androcentric** perspective evidences this. Eva is **vocally absent** from the play women are not represented and therefore this **allows their abuse to be covered up**.



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Dramatic exit

Priestley's use of the dramatic exit of Gerald after he tells his story offers alternate interpretations, either Gerald leaves due to his guilt in telling a lie, or perhaps he has entrenched feelings for Eva and needs to be alone. Gerald's exit comes after his proclamation that "I'd like to be alone for a while" and that he wants "to remember". Here, Gerald echoes Eva's desire to be away from Gerald as she wanted to "be alone, to be quiet, to remember all that had happened". Perhaps, Priestley is implying that Gerald and Eva both, actually, cared for each other - beyond a physical level.

Priestley visually separates Gerald from the Birling parents through this exit which could show how he isn't as similar to them as we first

thought. It is evident that despite their class similarities, Gerald feels a greater sense of grief and





responsibility than the older-generation. He is different to the Birling parents; his actions weren't just an **abuse of authority** – he actually did care for her and wanted to help. Gerald leaves, almost immediately after the Inspector asks "**were you in love with her?**" and Sheila **exclaims** "**just what I was going to ask!**" His leave could be to avoid the question, which he doesn't answer and therefore he may have genuinely loved her.

Relationships with other characters

Aligned with Mr Birling's capitalist views

Gerald, as a wealthy businessman, is inevitably similar to Mr Birling in their economic views. On the one hand, Gerald's support for Mr Birling's opinions is necessary for Gerald to uphold good relations with his future father-in-law. However, it seems more likely that this is Gerald's legitimate belief as he will **inherit the Croft family business** and is therefore entrenched in capitalism. Indeed, Priestley uses the **character of Gerald** to demonstrate the **future generation of capitalists**, who are essentially no different to their predecessors; the only difference between Mr Birling and Gerald is that he may show a little care to those below him but only if it benefits him and doesn't compromise his own privilege.

Marriage to Sheila

Gerald's marriage to Sheila is strange as it is **unconventional** for an **upper-class** man to settle for a woman of a **lower-class** in 1912 British society. It is important for you to consider this marriage and why Priestley includes this **class disparity** between Sheila and Gerald.

 The significance of this class difference is signified through Mr Birling's concession to Gerald that his mother most likely "feels you (Gerald) might have done better for yourself socially". Women in British 1912 society were essentially used as bargaining chips



in a transaction. Rich men would often marry women above them in **status**, trading their **wealth for social position** (for instance Mrs Birling is "*her husband's social superior*").

- Perhaps, Gerald settles for Sheila as he has a **genuine love** for her. Therefore, he is marrying her despite Sheila being lower in class than him.
- However, another interpretation is that Gerald enjoys the pursuit of women as Gerald admits that "*I've been trying long enough*"; This implies that Gerald was the initiator of their relationship. Perhaps, once Gerald has completed his chase of women and secured them, he gets bored.
- Similarly, Gerald pursued Eva too. As did Eric, who considers women "*a good sport*", objectifying women as a prize to be won.
- His marriage to Sheila and their relationship would be unequal and unbalanced as Sheila is a clear social inferior and the female in their relationship. Sheila is unable to criticise her fiancé, and is evidently uncomfortable with him as she is forced to disguise any criticism in a half-hearted manner as Priestley demonstrates in the stage directions "[half serious, half playful]". She doesn't have the social clout to challenge him.
- The gender norms of 1912 Britain dictate that as a woman, the expectation is that Sheila will be submissive and not challenge her husband's commands and decisions. Despite

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Sheila's serious issue with her suspicions of Gerald's affair, she cannot express her concern. Sheila is also **constricted by societal and familial pressure**, as she can't mess up the deal for her family that her marriage would secure.

• However, Sheila is also scared to be right about the affair, as she won't be able to do anything. Therefore, it is easier to live in ignorance and pretend there is no truth in it.

Eva as Gerald's prey

The relationship between Eva and Sheila could be described as **predatory** as it is **intrinsically unequal** and he clearly has more power. It is important to understand why Priestley portrays Gerald as **predatory** towards Eva.

- Gerald's description of her as "young and fresh and charming and altogether out of place down there" is predatory. The adjective "fresh" has connotations of desire and fertility, it is clear he views her sexually from the start. Priestley's use of this adjective has plural connotations as Gerald views Eva like food a possession and something to consume.
- Gerald expresses connotations of purity as Eva is "out of place", which is possibly a euphemism for her still being a virgin. Therefore, it is clear that she only recently turned to prostitution, she appeals to Gerald because she seems innocent and sinless.
- Gerald desires Eva because she isn't broken yet, like the other prostitutes that he frequents. This implies that he doesn't like prostitutes but she was different which meant it was acceptable, in Gerald's view, to use her as it didn't feel like prostitution.



Misogynistic objectification

Gerald's abuse of his position (as Eva's provider) is caused by his perception of Eva as an object or possession and not as an **individual**. It is important to consider why Priestley portrays Gerald in this **misogynistic** way.

- His initial view of her is **misogynistic**; he **objectifies** her and views her in terms of her ability to satisfy his **lustful desire**. This **contradicts** and negates any favourable perception of Gerald that the audience may have developed.
- Priestley uses the character of Gerald to evidence that it is acceptable for the **upper-class** to use prostitutes as long as it's **clandestine** (in secret) so that the rest of the **upper-class** can pretend they don't engage in such illicit activities.
 - This is evident as Mrs Birling displays her disbelief that a seemingly respectable man with the public role of "*alderman*" would do such a thing as "*surely you don't mean alderman Meggarty*". Priestley uses <u>euphemistic language</u> to conceal his use of prostitutes. They are described as "*women of the town*".

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• Gerald's relationship with Eva is an exploration of how women were **exploited and abused** in 1912 society.

Imbalance of power

Priestley demonstrates a clear **imbalance** in power between Gerald and Eva in respect to both **social position** and influence. Gerald controls the narrative and thus has complete power over the





way in which the story of their relationship is told. Perhaps this is a **metaphor** for how women **don't get to control** how they are perceived.

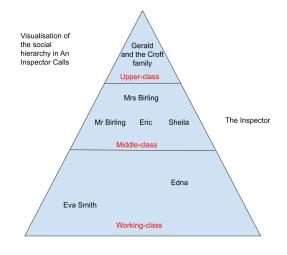
Gerald continually emphasises how Eva was in desperate need of his assistance and that he helped her. This is **evident through phrases** "*I made her take some money*" and "*I insisted on a parting gift*". These are both monetary exchanges, rather than financial aid. Therefore, Gerald is disgusing prostitution as charity. In Gerald's capitalist bubble, money is the be-all and end-all in society, yet Eva is seeking emotional (not financial) support from him.

Emotional reaction

Priestley portrays Gerald as having a **distinct emotional** reaction to the death of Eva which would have been classed as a **feminine trait** at the time.

→ Gerald's delayed reaction to her death is diluted with hyphens as "I – well, I've suddenly realised – taken it in properly – that she's dead" as this stammered and staggered speech reveals the overwhelming sadness he feels.

Priestley reveals the internal conflict within Gerald, between his natural emotional reaction and his attempt to suppress any (feminene) emotion that he shows, as he has to remain masculine in a patriarchal society.



Evidently, Gerald had tried to forget his relationship with Eva and what he did to her in order to suppress any emotion that he may have felt. Therefore, Priestley reveals the crux (main issue) of the **upper-class**' deliberate ignorance: they ignore the consequences of their actions and forget so they can continue living life of **luxury** without guilt.

Symbolism

Manipulation

Gerald proposes that the Inspector was lying and that Eva was, in fact, several different girls. This is despite being the one who provided the evidence and **verified** that Eva was in fact the same person from his description.

- → Gerald recognised that she was "very pretty" and had "big dark eyes".
- → Also he remembered that Eva had to "leave after a strike" and "said something about the shop too".

Arguably, Gerald knows that Eva is the same person, but he is trying to **excuse** his own behaviour and also convince himself that he is innocent by later suggesting that "*there's still no proof it was really the same girl*".

Priestley presents this as a pattern of the **upper-classes**; they commit sinful actions which they know are wrong but **convince themselves it is acceptable**. This behaviour is displayed by other characters within the play:





- Eric euphemises his actions as "when a chap easily gets nasty".
- Mrs Birling claims that "*I did nothing I'm ashamed of*" and that with regards to Eva, "*she had only herself to blame*".
- Mr Birling dogmatically states that "she (Eva) had to go" and that "it's my duty to keep labour costs down".
- Even Sheila knew it was wrong and *"I felt rotten about it at the time*", yet she pushes it to the back of her mind and forgets about it, rather than changing her behavior.

The characters know their behaviour and treatment of the lower classes is wrong but manage to forget the things they do and go on living their **privileged lives** like nothing happened.

Power

Priestley demonstrates how easy it is for the upper-class to **manipulate the truth**, through the character of Gerald. Priestley decides to give Gerald complete power over the narrative, which reflects the **patriarchal society**. Therefore, Priestley conveys the message that the **upper-classes** are **untouchable by law** and responsibility; they have too much power to be **stopped by the authorities or corrupt police force**.

Possible 'Topic Sentences'

- Priestley explores the initial attractive appearance of Gerald and his idealised portrayal as a husband and son-in-law.
- Priestley presents Gerald as being in the liminal area between generations and explores how this liminality extends to his ideology and attitudes towards the lower-class.
- Priestley explores the extent of Gerald's morality and the degree to which he is prepared to lie in order to preserve his social status.





Gerald quote bank by theme

Theme	Quote	Analysis
Responsibility	<i>"Where did</i> you get the idea that I did know her?"	Gerald's guilt is demonstrated through his immediate defensive tone as he questions the Inspector " <i>where did</i> <i>you get the idea that I did know her</i> ". This allows Gerald to gage how much the Inspector knows and therefore adapt his story to be consistent with the Inspector's knowledge.
	"Sorry - I - well, I've suddenly realised - taken it in properly - that she's dead"	Gerald's delayed reaction to her death is diluted with hyphens as this stammered and staggered speech reveals the overwhelming sadness he feels. Priestley reveals the internal conflict within Gerald, between his natural emotional reaction and his attempt to suppress any (feminene) emotion that he shows, as he has to remain masculine in a patriarchal society.
	<i>"Leave after a strike" // "Said something about the shop too"</i>	Gerald remembers that Eva had to " <i>leave after a strike</i> " and " <i>said something about the shop too</i> " and therefore confirms the story of Mr Birling and Sheila. Therefore, Gerald knows that Eva is the same person, yet he later suggests that " <i>there's still no proof it was really the same girl</i> ". Here, Gerald is trying to excuse his own behaviour and also convince himself that he is innocent, through breaking the " <i>chain of events</i> " and therefore implying that his actions did not lead to a suicide.
	"Yes I think you were (justified in getting Eva sacked" // "you couldn't have done anything else"	On the one hand, Gerald's support for Mr Birling's convictions, is necessary for Gerald to uphold good relations with his future father-in-law and therefore he aligns himself with Mr Birling's views. However , it seems more likely that this is Gerald's legitimate belief as he will inherit the Croft family business and thus is a true capitalist at heart.
	<i>"He at least had some affection for her and made her</i>	The Inspector notes that Gerald's kindness towards Eva separates him from the rest of the characters as " <i>he at least</i> <i>had some affection for her and made her happy for a</i> <i>time</i> ". Yet, the help that he provided to Eva was in his own interest as he admits that he must have been a " <i>wonderful</i> <i>fairy prince</i> " to Eva.

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Likeable appearance	<i>"[rather too manly to be dandy]"</i>	Priestley describes Gerald in the stage directions as " <i>rather too manly to be dandy</i> ", suggesting that he his very much content and confident in his own masculinity.
	"[easy well-bred young man-about-t own]"	Priestley describes Gerald in the stage directions as "easy well-bred young man-about-town". This idiomatic phrase suggests that Gerald is a fashionable socialite. Alternatively, this phrase could have plural connotations; perhaps, Priestley is foreshadowing the unfaithful nature of Gerald, as he literally goes about-town and into the Palace bar in the search of female companions.
Capitalism	"l insisted / l made her take some money"	These are both monetary exchanges , rather than financial aid. Therefore, Gerald is disgusing prostitution as charity . Priestley's use of imperatives bears connotations of power and force; Gerald was always in power and in control.
Desire and lust	"she was pretty - soft brown hair and big dark eyes - [breaks off] My God!"	Priestley's use of aposiopesis (abrupt break off in speech) comes directly after Gerald describes her beauty. Therefore, revealing that Gerald only felt attracted to Eva physically as he feels the greatest grief when remembering her physical beauty.
	"A pretty girl in her early twenties" // "Looked young and fresh and charming"	Perhaps Gerald is simply marrying Sheila for her attractive physical appearance as she is " <i>a pretty girl</i> " and in her " <i>early twenties</i> ", while Gerald is " <i>about thirty</i> ". Priestley has already evidenced Gerald's attraction to youth and appearance through his description of Eva and why he pursued her as she was " <i>young and fresh and charming</i> ".
	"young and fresh and charming and altogether out of place down there"	Priestley incorporates a predatory description of Eva as there are connotations of desire and fertility from the adjective " fresh ", as Gerald views her sexually from the start . Priestley's use of this adjective has plural connotations as Gerald views Eva like food - a possession.
	<i>"Women of the town"</i>	Priestley uses euphemistic language to evidence Gerald's determination to conceal his use of prostitutes as " women of <i>the town</i> ".

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	<i>"I hate those hard-eyed dough-faced women"</i>	Priestley evidences this familiarity through Gerald's vivid description of prostitutes as " <i>I hate those hard-eyed dough-faced women</i> ". This opinion of prostitutes is one that can only come from experience, rather than a one off or chance occurrence.
Class	"It wasn't disgusting"	Gerald refutes Mrs Birling's remark about his relationship with Eva being disgusting. Priestley does this to, perhaps, separate Gerald from the older-generation of characters and their traditional classist views.
	"Knew it couldn't last"	It wasn't Gerald's ending of funding that impacted Eva, but rather the end of a caring and intimate relationship, which pushed her over the edge and onto suicide as this hurt her emotionally. This sudden ending of their relationship is evidenced through Gerald dropping Eva like a possession as she " <i>knew it</i> <i>couldn't last</i> ", due to her <i>lower-class origins</i> .

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