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SUBMISSIONS

This periodical is only as substantial as the material it contains: therefore, we more than welcome any contributions that members of the academic community might wish to make. Articles we would be most interested in publishing include those addressing Romantic literary studies with an especial slant on book history, textual and bibliographical studies, the literary marketplace and the publishing world, and so forth. Papers of 5–8,000 words should be submitted by the beginning of April or October in order to make the next issue, if accepted. Any of the usual electronic formats (e.g. RTF, Microsoft Word, WordPerfect, HTML) are acceptable, either by post or e-mail. Submissions should be sent to Dr Anthony Mandal, Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, ENCAP, Cardiff University, Humanities Building, Colum Drive, CARDIFF CF10 3EU, Wales (UK), mandal@cardiff.ac.uk.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH
TRAVEL WRITING, 1780–1840
The European Tour, 1814–1818
(excluding Britain and Ireland)

Benjamin Colbert



I

IN 1826, Mary Shelley recalled the Summer of 1814 as ‘incarnate romance’, when ‘a new generation’ of youthful travellers with ‘time and money at command’, yet heedless of ‘dirty packets and wretched inns’, ‘poured, in one vast stream, across the Pas de Calais into France’.¹ Though this first rush was interrupted by Napoleon’s return from Elba, Waterloo signalled the start of an even more frenzied exodus of patriot tourists, eager to comb the battlefield for souvenirs or survey the spoils of empire in the French capital, now under allied control.² It is estimated that some 15,512 British tourists and residents were present in Paris alone during 1815,³ while, at home, accounts began appearing in print. By 1817, the *Edinburgh Review* commented:

The restoration of peace has, as might have been foreseen, produced a vast number of Books of Travels. When our countrymen are pouring in swarms over every part of the Continent, carrying with them their sons fresh from College, and their daughters full of romance, and eager for composition—when countries which, two or three years ago, were wholly locked up from our inspection, or only accessible to persons of a more than ordinarily adventurous spirit, now lie as invitingly open to the sober citizen and his worthy family, as Margate or Brighton, it could not but follow that the press should groan with many a Tour—much Travel—and sundry masses of Letters that never paid postage.⁴

John Scott, editor of *The Champion Magazine*, whose *A Visit to Paris in 1814: Being a Review of the Moral, Political, Intellectual and Social Condition of the French Capital* (1815) quickly sold out five editions, argued that the English were distinguished by a ‘travelling propensity’, giving mobile expression to ‘a freedom and custom, as well as a power to think’.⁵ Like other self-congratulatory travel books published in those early years, Scott’s celebrates the English tourist’s observing eye, penetrating, sifting, connecting, and calling attention to itself

and its own hermeneutic virtuosity (in pointed contrast to French theatricality and love of surfaces that Scott observes everywhere in Paris). According to Scott, this propensity explains why ‘the literature of Britain is richer than that of all other nations put together, in narratives of those excursions, that have had no other object but to gratify an elastic spirit [...]. Our book-shelves groan with the travels of persons who have suddenly arisen from almost every class and profession of life, to go their ways into almost every other country, as well as into every parish of their own’.⁶

Not everyone was so sanguine about this reputed Malthusian increase of travellers and travel writers, especially those originating from every, or any ‘class and profession’, not to mention gender. A reviewer of Mary Shelley and Percy Shelley’s anonymous account of their continental pedestrian tours, *History of a Six Weeks’ Tour* (1817), lamented the demise of class certainties encoded in the eighteenth-century Grand Tour: ‘The dashing *milords* of the last age are now succeeded by a host of *roturiers*, who expatriate themselves for the sake of economy’.⁷ William Jerdan wrote a cautionary roman-à-clef, aptly entitled *Six Weeks’ in Paris; or, A Cure for the Gallomania* (1817), arguing that the weak-minded and unwary could easily be drawn into a vortex of vice, tolerated by French moral passivity yet fatal to English ingenuousness. In Jerdan’s novel and other travel accounts of Paris, the Palais Royal embodies this fascinating, yet dissipating attraction—Edward Planta’s otherwise factual tone in his guidebook, *A New Picture of Paris* (1814), erupts into admonitions that the Palais Royal comprised ‘a little world [...] every thing to inform the understanding, and every thing to corrupt the heart’.⁸ The Reverend John Wilson Cunningham’s *Cautions to Continental Travellers* (1818) cries out against the travelling vogue as both a drain on the British economy and, more crucially, the means of undermining English national character through the importation of French manners, habits, and scepticism. Cunningham estimates that upwards of 90,000 men and women had departed England for continental destinations since 1814, induced by a vague desire to participate in the ‘advantages of travel’ ‘blazoned in volumes of all sizes and complexions [...] traced in ink, sketched in mezzotinto [...] painted in every hue’.⁹ While Scott celebrated the travelling propensity of all classes, Cunningham urged that there was cause for alarm; the expanding profile of travellers ‘most susceptible’ to ‘new impressions’ include the indolent, the young, females, and ‘the subordinate classes of society’ (even the ‘middling classes’ might ‘transplant to the desk and the counting-house’ the ‘empty heads, and hollow hearts, and sceptical opinions’ that caused the excesses of the French Revolution).¹⁰ The motives for travel, Cunningham argued, were no longer sufficiently serious, the moral and social consequences potentially devastating.

Taken together, such anecdotal accounts give the picture of a new continental travelling vogue, with groaning presses adding ever more titles to bookshelves already groaning under the weight of British travel writing. We might plausibly expect a spike in the proportion of new travel writings that concern conti-

mental destinations, with a disproportionate emphasis on the Low Countries and France in the aftermath of Waterloo; that author profiles might begin to reflect the class and gender diversity which so exercised commentators; or at least that travel writings would register growing awareness of the exigencies and pressures of mass tourism. Yet contemporary commentary raises as many questions as it purports to answer. What proportion of total book production can be accounted for by travel writing, and of this how much is comprised of continental tours (as opposed to domestic tours or accounts of other world regions)? Are there concentrations in or patterns of regional coverage? How popular is travel writing in comparison to other literary genres (and what is meant by 'travel writing' in the first place)? What sub-genres are there (e.g. letters, journals and diaries; agricultural, picturesque, geological tours) and what were the bestsellers? Who were the travel writers, and from what specific classes and professions do they 'suddenly arise'? Who were the Chatwins and Rabans of the day, professional travel writers known as masters of the craft, as opposed to those whose productions in the genre were opportunistic or ephemeral? How much of an impact did translation have in the home marketplace; what titles were selected, by whom, and why? Who were the publishers of travel writing, and how did their lists respond to social trends and political events?

The burgeoning scholarship on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writing has drawn attention to selected travel writers, genres, and the rhetorical structures of travel writing, while providing social, cultural, and political contexts for understanding the production of this work, but criticism remains sketchy on the bibliographical and statistical evidence that underpins 'travel culture'.¹¹ As Nigel Leask has recently observed, 'the popularity of travel books during the decades [from 1770 to 1840], although universally acknowledged, is hard to quantify'.¹² Charles L. Batten's claim that travel writing 'won a readership second only to novels by the end of the [eighteenth] century', according to Leask, 'seems credible', though Batten's conclusions are based on compelling anecdotal evidence (especially the comments of reviewers) and extrapolations from Paul Kaufman's report on borrowing figures from the Bristol Library between 1773 and 1784.¹³ Published bibliographical evidence is scanty and often inaccurate. Edward G. Cox's *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel* (3 vols, 1935–49) remains the most comprehensive travel bibliography available, though one that antedates the powerful search engines provided by such electronic resources as the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), the *Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* (NSTC), and the *OCLS WorldCat* on-line database. Cox gives a fair representation of travel-related books published in English since the dawn of printing, as well as many helpful textual annotations, yet his volume on Europe stops at 1800, his regional categories are often too inclusive for specialised use, nearly all his entries lack imprint details, and there are many errors and omissions. The third volume, devoted solely to Great Britain, neglects Ireland altogether. Travel bibliographers since Cox have focused on special topics, usually regional in focus. The best of these include Shirley Weber's

Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Made Previous to the Year 1801 (1953), Richard Sydney Pine-Coffin's *Bibliography of British and American Travel in Italy to 1860* (1974), and Peter Bicknell's *The Picturesque Scenery of the Lake District, 1752–1855* (1990). While adding pieces to the jigsaw, these studies cannot possibly provide a cumulative overview of travel writing trends. More promising is the catalogue accompanying the Corvey microfiche edition of travel writing, *English Travel Literature in the Micro-Edition of the Fürstlichen Bibliothek Corvey* (1998), though this listing reflects the strengths and weaknesses of the Corvey Library itself, a collection concentrated on the 1820s and early 1830s.

The checklist of 'The European Tour, 1814–1818 (Excluding Britain and Ireland)', presented here, offers for the first time a reasonably complete listing of all travel-related books concerning the continental tour, published in the British Isles between 1814 and 1818 (the only exceptions being books published in English abroad, but intended for British tourists). Comprising 180 first editions arranged by publication date, this bibliography can provide foundations from which to test the anecdotal information quoted above and can go some way towards answering the supplemental questions that I have posed. The checklist is drawn from a larger project now some ten years in development, *Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840 (BBTW)*, the identification phase of which is nearing completion. *BBTW* aims to provide the first reliable database of all travel books published in the British Isles during the years 1780–1840, with functions for categorising entries by author, chronology, regional coverage, publisher, and place of publication. *BBTW* will also include short biographical notices on each of its authors, together comprising a complementary database: *A Biographical Dictionary of British Travel Writers and Translators, 1780–1840*. The only other specialist dictionary of this kind is *British Travel Writers, 1837–1875* (*Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 166, 1997), with only three years of overlap. The aims and scope of the *Biographical Dictionary* are also different from the *Encyclopedia of Travel and Exploration* (3 vols, 2003), which concentrates on the best-known travellers and incorporates others into regional articles. Only about one hundred of the 2,260 authors identified by *BBTW* so far are given separate entries in the *Encyclopedia*, and these do not always include the period's most successful writers.

Travel writing is notoriously difficult to define: Mary Campbell calls it 'a genre composed of other genres', while Jan Borm has more recently concluded that 'it is not a genre, but a collective term for a variety of texts both predominantly fictional and non-fictional whose main theme is travel'.¹⁴ Drawing on Hans Robert Jauss's ideas about 'dominant aspects' of mixed genres, Borm goes on to define the travel book as 'any narrative characterized by a non-fiction dominant that relates (almost always) in the first person a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator and principal character are but one or identical'.¹⁵ While the majority of books in the present checklist, and in *BBTW* as a whole,

conform to and confirm this definition, a great many titles have been included in which actual travel is presented in the third person (e.g. guidebooks and traveller's aids) or organised in non-narrative forms (e.g. essays and viewbooks). I have also focused on non-fictional travel prose, excluding fictional works (e.g. Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*) and non-fictional travel verse (e.g. Moore's *Italy*), though works like these form integral components for our understanding of the period's culture of travel and were sometimes used as travel guides themselves. For the purposes of selecting titles for inspection, then, I have used the following criteria (listed in order of importance):

1. First-hand accounts of actual travels or residences abroad, including translations, new editions of older material, campaign journals, and shipwreck, castaway, and captivity narratives.
2. Travellers' aids, including itineraries, guidebooks, 'companions', road manuals, regional descriptions, and atlases (when accompanied by letterpress).
3. Collections, anthologies, digests, abridgements, and histories of travel and exploration, including travel compendiums designed for children, and biographies of travellers.
4. View books (collections of engravings and etchings accompanied by letterpress).
5. 'Virtual' tour books accompanying panoramas and exhibitions.

The Identification/Location phase of *BBTW* involves the identification and location of all possible titles, printings, and editions, ascertaining as much information as possible through secondary sources, principally the ESTC and NSTC, but supplemented by existing bibliographies, library databases, listings and reviews in periodicals, circulating library catalogues, and stack searches (thirteen titles derived from these sources but not in the NSTC appear in the checklist below). To date, the *BBTW* database contains 2,260 author entries, 3,742 title entries (i.e. first editions), and 5,811 text entries (i.e. inclusive of all editions and reprints). The next phase of the project will be to inspect each title entry in order to transcribe accurately the title page and imprint, and gather information on physical description and general content, particularly regional coverage. Non-extant entries will be corroborated against other secondary sources, such as circulating library catalogues, to prevent the inclusion of ghost titles.

The current checklist suggests a number of intriguing statistics when placed in the context of total travel book production in the years 1813–18 (see Table 1). As might be expected from contemporary commentary, there is a spike in book production for all regions (including extra-European travels) from a total of 61 in 1813 to 88 in 1814. Thereafter, total production continues evenly until 1817–18 when there is a second rise from 92 to 137. Surprisingly, the figure for books

on continental travel (excluding Britain and Ireland) actually declines slightly between 1814 and 1817 with only a modest recovery in 1818. During the same period titles concerning Britain and Ireland slowly but steadily increase their market share, and the spike in overall production registered in 1818 is largely accounted for by the dramatic increase in domestic and Irish titles from 37 in 1817 to 64 in 1818, and by a sharp increase of titles on extra-European regions from 24 to 39 (compare this to the very modest recovery of continental travels from 31 to 34, still substantially below the figures of 42 and 40 for 1814 and 1815 respectively). Thus, there is remarkable consistency in the period covered by the checklist in terms of the market share of travel writings when taken as a whole and when taken as a sub-unit measure of European travel writing including Britain and Ireland. Taken separately, however, the decreasing market share of continental travel books belies the impression among reviewers and travel writers that the opposite was the case. The reasons for this counter-intuitive result require more investigation. Perhaps there is some truth to one reviewer's claim in 1821 that travellers 'sent forth [...] with the design of recording their adventures' rarely 'deviated from the most frequented routes': 'We hardly, indeed, can recollect above two or three who have written upon any thing beyond the limits of the *Grand Tour*'.¹⁶ With travel writers (and readers) interested most in the remnants of the Grand Tour, we might expect a glut of writings on the most fashionable destinations, but correspondingly less emphasis on peripheral regions to take up the slack. As for the steady increase after 1814 of domestic and Irish travel books, we might surmise that increasing travel was partly a result of post-war economic reorganisation, or perhaps that foreign travel spurred the taste for travel closer to home, either from those who could not afford more distant destinations or those who returned from their experiences abroad reinvigorated with the urge to journey.

TABLE 1: TRAVEL BOOK PRODUCTION, 1813–18: NEW TITLES

REGION	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
Continental Tour	23	42	40	33	31	34
Britain and Ireland	21	25	29	35	37	64
Other Regions (World)	17	21	23	17	24	39
<i>Total</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>137</i>

Source: *Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840*

To some extent, the first hypothesis is borne out by patterns of regional coverage in the census period, where titles conform more closely to expectations (see Table 2). The height of interest in France occurs in 1814 when 22 titles appeared and the figures then taper off only slightly with 19 titles treating France (especially Paris) in 1817. Reader interest evidently reached

saturation levels, for in 1818 there is a sudden drop to only six titles, giving credence to Mary Shelley's recollection that 'when France palled on our travelled appetites, which always crave for something new, Italy came into vogue'.¹⁷

TABLE 2: REGIONAL COVERAGE OF TRAVEL BOOKS ON EUROPE, 1814–18

REGION	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
Austrian Dominions	1	3	–	–	2
Denmark	1	–	–	1	1
France	22	21	18	19	6
German States	4	6	1	5	5
Greece	1	1	4	2	2
Holland, Netherlands, etc.	4	5	9	9	6
Italian States, inc. Elba	7	12	2	7	12
Portugal	–	3	1	1	1
Prussia	–	2	1	–	4
Russia in Europe	4	4	1	1	2
Spain	1	3	4	2	1
Sweden	1	–	1	1	2
Switzerland	1	3	3	5	8
Turkey in Europe	1	1	1	–	–

Source: *Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840*

The figures show that Italy was already somewhat in vogue, with 1818 duplicating levels of coverage achieved in 1815 (though the majority of the titles under the previous year, 1814, concern Elba, the site of Napoleon's first exile). However, interest in Italy soon reached the levels of France in 1814–15, peaking at 22 in 1820. The trend thereafter was downwards, but British readers remained more intrigued by Italy than France with nearly twice as many new titles appearing yearly throughout the 1820s. Among the other regions covered by travel books during 1814–18, only the Netherlands and Switzerland show a modest but steady increase, with the former peaking in 1817, the latter in 1818. Because of the popularity of the Rhine tour, the German states also put in a good showing, with the anomalous exception of 1816. The reinvigoration of the Rhine tour after 1816 owes a great deal to Byron's Rhine stanzas in *Childe Harold*, Canto III, published in November 1816, a touchstone quoted or alluded to regularly by subsequent travel writers including the Shelleys (Checklist no. 17/23) and Charles Dodd (no. 18/10).¹⁸ One can also see how the Shelleys' *History of a*

Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland: With Letters Descriptive of a Sail round the Lake of Geneva, and of the Glaciers of Chamouni (1817) was on the face of it a shrewd venture, capitalising on interest generated by Byron and the regions mentioned on the title page. But Percy Shelley began negotiating with his publisher, Hookham, late in the year. When the *History* appeared in November 1817, interest in France and Holland had already peaked, and the Shelleys must have hoped (in vain) that the Swiss letters would carry the day.¹⁹

The vast majority of titles in the checklist are what I call personal witness narratives (75%), including letters, journals, and ‘notes’ on tours actually conducted by the named or implied author. The second most sizable category is traveller’s aids, such as itineraries, guidebooks, and sailing directions (15%). View books exhibiting watercolours, engravings, and lithographs form a smaller category, along with ‘virtual’ tour guides designed to accompany popular panoramas, such as Henry Aston Barker’s venue in the Strand (6%). Finally, there are several examples of traveller’s advice books (2%) and several more intended for children (2%). A significant subset of personal witness narratives concerns sites and topics of military and scientific interest. Several are captivity narratives written by former prisoners of war, or by civilian detainees who had fallen foul of Napoleon’s closed border policy during the war years (see Checklist nos 14/12, 14/26, 14/27, 16/10). A number of other titles give eyewitness accounts of major military campaigns in the Spanish peninsula (see nos 15/15, 15/22, 16/6, 18/25), Russia (nos 14/23, 15/28), or elsewhere (no. 15/36), and several more tourists devote extended coverage to on the spot reconstructions of the battle of Waterloo (see nos 15/35, 16/1, 16/14, 16/27, 16/29, 17/6). A smaller subset consists of scientific investigations and research, notably those of Greek Revivalists such as William Gell, William Martin Leake, and William Wilkins on sites of Magna Græcia in Italy and on Greece itself (see nos 14/24, 14/31, 16/33, 17/3, 17/10, 18/17). Traveller’s aids include a number of translated imports such as *The Post-Roads in France* (1814; 1816) (nos 14/7, 16/7), Reichard’s *An Itinerary of France and Belgium* (1816) (no. 16/26), and Mariano Vasi’s *A New Picture of Rome* (1818) (no. 18/33). The important Paris-based English language publisher, Galignani, also brought out the immensely popular and much copied guidebook, *Picture of Paris* (1814; 6th edn, 1818), available to travellers en route from the famous reading room on rue Vivienne (see no. 14/16, and nos 18/14, 18/15, 1816 for other Galignani guides).²⁰ Popular homegrown versions included Edward Planta’s *A New Picture of Paris* (1814; 10th edn, 1818) (no. 14/29), Edmund Boyce’s *The Belgian Traveller* (1815) (no. 15/14), and Henry Coxe’s *Picture of Italy* (1815) (no. 15/21).

The checklist includes 18 translations from the French, six from the German, one from Italian, and one from the Russian, a total of 26 (14%). This would suggest that the vaunted Englishness of the ‘travel propensity’ did not stop writers from imitating foreign models or readers from being interested in foreigners’ accounts. Several translations concern earlier matter (nos 14/22, 16/19,

16/31, 17/18), notably Louis-Sebastien Mercier's *Paris* (1818) (no. 17/18), which draws on his *Tableau de Paris* (1781), the prototype in fact for most of the British guidebooks to Paris trading under the name of *Pictures* or *New Pictures* (e.g. nos 14/16, 14/29, 14/38). The taste for past pictures is also attested to by the captivity and campaign literature already mentioned, as well as various comparative studies such as William Shepherd's *Paris, in Eighteen Hundred and Two, and Eighteen Hundred and Fourteen* (1814) (no. 14/34) and Stephen Weston's *Slight Sketch of Paris* (1814) (no. 14/41), detailing the changes between Paris during the Peace of Amiens and Paris after the war. Sir Richard Colt Hoare operated a small private industry by publishing limited editions of *Recollections*, treating his European tours of the 1780s and 1790s (nos 15/25, 17/12, 17/13, 18/20). Even Hoare's *Hints to Travellers in Italy* (1815) (no. 15/25), published by John Murray, seems rooted in the past, giving outdated advice on passports and posting routes, and recommending pre-war maps and guides. Cornelius Cayley's *Tour through Holland, Flanders, and Part of France* (1815) (no. 15/17) represents a special case, included in the checklist despite the possibility of its being based on a first edition of 1777. Whether the 'Cornelius Cayley Jun.' of the title page reworked his father's text after conducting a tour of his own or whether the volume is a reissue cannot be determined in advance of inspection, but even if the latter, the 'new edition' would have had considerable novelty value with a new generation of readers.

It is worth reconsidering at this point Batten's impression that travel writing 'won a readership second only to novels' at the end of the eighteenth century. Figures for novel production, now available through the CEIR database, *British Fiction, 1800–1829*, would suggest that by the early nineteenth century this trend was reversed: between 1814 and 1818 an average of 58.4 new novels per year were published,²¹ compared with 98.8 travel titles (36 titles on the continental tour alone). Among the novels listed in the *British Fiction* database, several in this period imitate the travel genre, particularly satires and comic novels like *The Observant Pedestrian Mounted; or, A Donkey Tour to Brighton* (1815) (DBF no: 1815A011), *Modern Manners; or, A Season at Harrowgate* (1817) (DBF no: 1817A006), Eaton Stannard Barrett's *Six Weeks at Longs* (1817) (DBF no: 1817A011), and William Jerdan's *Six Weeks in Paris* (1817) (DBF no: 1817A035). Jerdan's novel imitates travel description so well that one suspects that it is based on an actual journey or incorporates contemporaneous travel accounts into its texture, and the extent to which novels become de facto travel narratives requires further research. Madam de Staël's *Corrine, ou Italie* (1807) is perhaps the most well-known example of such a cross-over genre, one read by countless British travellers on the spot in Rome: John Chetwode Eustace, author of the popular *Classical Tour through Italy* (3rd edn, 1815), remarked that *Corinne* was 'the best guide or rather companion which the traveller can take with him' as de Staël inspires the reader 'with that lofty temper of mind, without which we can neither discover nor relish the great and beautiful in art or in nature'.²² There also must be other novels like Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) (DBF no:

1818A057), which incorporates travel letters and journals from her 1814 and 1816 continental tours into various scenes (e.g. Victor's encounter with the monster on the Mer de Glace; or Victor and Clerval's Rhine journey). Mary Shelley was also not alone in writing both novels and travel books. Other travel writers in the checklist who wrote in both genres during the same period include John William Cunningham (Checklist no. 18/9; DBF no: 1816A024), Lady Morgan (no. 17/20; DBF no: 1814A045), Walter Scott (no. 16/30; DBF no: 1814A054), and Ann Yossy (no. 15/40; DBF no: 1818A062).

Like Morgan, Shelley, and Yossy, the majority of women writing about the continental tour were professional writers, with several earning renown through travel writing in particular. Helen Maria Williams's *Narrative of the Events Which Have Taken Place in France* (1815) (no. 15/39) was only her latest instalment of travel writing; her first travel book, *Letters written in France* (1790), was expanded into seven volumes from 1793 to 1796; she published a tour of Switzerland in 1796 that included comparisons with Paris in the 1798 edition; and in 1814–29, she produced her magisterial seven volume translation of Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt's *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*. Though travel writing dominated her career, Williams was also a notable novelist, poet, and journalist. Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck turned to travel writing to earn her livelihood, publishing a compilation, *Narrative of a Tour to La Grande Chartreuse and Alet, by Dom. Claude Lancelot*, in 1813. After touring the continent in 1815, she published her second and last travel book, *Narrative of the Demolition of the Monastery of Port Royal des Champs* (1816) (no. 16/28), but continued writing books in fields such as aesthetics and theology. Charlotte Anne Eaton published only two travel books, but earned a substantial reputation through them. Her first, *Narrative of a Residence in Belgium during the Campaign of 1815* (1817) (no. 17/6) gives one of the best accounts of the horrors of Waterloo; her second, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century* (3 vols, 1819) reached a fourth edition in 1826. She also published a semi-fictional novel, *Continental Adventures* (3 vols, 1826), based on her own experiences.

Nevertheless, women writers make up only a fraction of the total number of published travel writers, both in the checklist and in *BBTW* as a whole—only 10 checklist entries (5.5%) include women writers, though a few others may be masked by anonymous titles. To date, *BBTW* has identified 130 women travel writers, with the vast majority of these publishing after 1800. These figures are perhaps surprising given the amount of recent criticism focusing on women's travel writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³ Yet as late entrants into the marketplace of travel writing, women tend to be extra-conscious of literary fashions, even as they buck trends, test the limits of genre, and create fresh responses.²⁴ For example, Elisabeth Bohls holds that eighteenth-century women's travel writing includes an emphasis on detail that challenges the aesthetic disinterestedness of 'mainstream' masculine travel writing and aesthetic theory; more recently, Jane Stabler has argued that women travel

writers on Italy display ‘the most inventive literary use of the picturesque [...] [before] the huge expansion of continental travel in the Victorian era.’²⁵ The case of Mary Shelley and Percy Bysshe Shelley’s *History of a Six Weeks’ Tour* is again particularly interesting in this context. The *History* is not only one of the relatively few travel books with a female author, but it is one of the much fewer books written by a female-male collaborative team. We know from the source journals and letters that this collaboration was complex. The Shelleys shared a travel journal and Mary Shelley borrowed freely from Shelley’s entries when revising the *History* for publication. While the 1814 journal portion of the *History* remains predominantly (though not unproblematically) Mary Shelley’s ‘work’, the book as a whole (which includes several of Shelley’s long letters from Switzerland and his poem ‘Mont Blanc’) is a much more balanced affair. For us, the textual evidence challenges Romantic notions of originality while testing the limits of gendered identity; for Romantic period readers the collaboration would have been almost unprecedented.²⁶ The Shelleys’ travel book also helps set something of a record. Before 1817, I can find no year covered by *BBTW* in which more than three new travel books by women writers appeared. In 1817, the *History of a Six Weeks’ Tour* was one of seven (with five represented on the checklist). 1818 and 1819 were relatively fallow years for women, but a record 12 new titles appear in 1820, after which women begin to achieve a more regular presence in the travel marketplace.

The examples of Williams, Morgan, and Eaton suggest that women were statistically more likely than men to capture the public mood and become popular (and controversial). Morgan’s *France* (1817) (no. 17/20) went through four editions in two years, its radical politics incurring the tribute of published scorn in the *Quarterly Review* and in William Playfair’s *France as It Is, Not Lady Morgan’s France* (2 vols, 1819). The polemics here point to the fact that post-Napoleonic travel accounts, particularly dealing with France, were as polarised as periodical journalism. The most popular liberal voices were those of Morris Birkbeck and John Scott. Birkbeck’s *Notes on a Journey through France* (1814) (no. 14/11) sold out five editions in two years, arguing from an agriculturalist’s point of view that Revolutionary and Napoleonic land reform had at last modernised an economy hopelessly moribund under the *ancien régime*. Frustrated at the pace of change at home, Birkbeck a few years later emigrated to America, publishing two more popular travel books that appealed to Keats, Shelley, Peacock, and many others (including George and Georgiana Keats, who heeded Birkbeck’s call for emigrants to set up liberal communities on the American frontier).²⁷ John Scott’s *A Visit to Paris in 1814* (1815; 5th edn, 1816) (no. 15/34) and its sequel, *Paris Revisited* (1816; 3rd edn, 1816) (no. 16/29), together sold eight editions in two years, making Scott one of the best known commentators on post-Napoleonic Paris (Cunningham quotes liberally from Scott in *Cautions to Continental Travellers*). Scott is better known today for his friendships with Leigh Hunt and Wordsworth, as well as his editorship of the *London Magazine* from 1820–21. It was Scott who championed the Cockney

School and paid for this with his life in a duel with Jonathan Christie, John Lockhart's London agent for *Blackwood's Magazine*. But Scott is one of the period's best and most lively travel writers and reviewers, and deserves far more attention as a major figure in his own right. The same might be said for John Chetwode Eustace, whose *A Letter from Paris* (1814) (no. 14/15) upheld the anti-gallic end of the political spectrum with a vengeance, selling out a colossal ten editions in barely a year: the *Blackwood's* contributor George Croly paid Eustace the tribute of virtually versifying *A Letter* in his *Paris in 1815: A Poem* (1817).²⁸ Eustace began publishing his travel writing late in life (on the advice of veteran traveller, Edward Daniel Clarke), but his success was unparalleled. His *A Tour through Italy* (1813), narrowly excluded from the checklist, became the vade mecum of Italian travel under the more renowned title of subsequent editions, *A Classical Tour through Italy*, a text that accompanied Byron and Shelley during their Italian sojourns.²⁹ Finally, though not exactly popular, Stephen Weston deserves honourable mention as one of the most prolific travel writers on the checklist. *A Slight Sketch of Paris* (1814) (no. 14/41) and *Two Sketches of France, Belgium, and Spa* (1817) (no. 17/31) are but two of twelve travel books spanning a travel writing career that began in 1776 and ended in 1824. Weston was in the unique position of having journeyed to Paris during the Revolutionary ferment of 1791–92, the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the period after Napoleon's first abdication in 1814, and the post-Waterloo era in 1816—and to have written books on each of these visits.

Weston began his travelling career as a tutor or 'bear leader', as did Eustace, but both might be classified as religious professionals. Weston held the rectory of Little Hempston, Devon, from 1784 to 1823. Eustace trained as a Roman Catholic priest and was at one time responsible for the Midlands district under John Milner. Other writers on the checklist were non-conformists. William Shepherd (no. 14/33) practised as a Unitarian minister; Cornelius Cayley (no. 15/17) was a Methodist preacher; John Evans (no. 17/8) was a General Baptist minister; John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson (no. 17/22) were Congregationalists who worked as missionaries for the British and Foreign Bible Society; Thomas Raffles (no. 18/28) was also a Congregationalist minister. Together with their Church of England counterparts these religious professionals make up the second largest profile of travel writers on the checklist (16 writers; accounting for 10% of total titles). The first largest group consists of military professionals, including sea captains (17; 10.6%), though the heightened interest at home in Napoleonic affairs may have inflated these figures at this period. In the third ranking are professional writers, including novelists, poets, and miscellaneous writers, a category dominated by women, as we have seen (9; 5%). Artists, including engravers and lithographers come next (7; 5%), followed by: leisured gentry (5; 7%); booksellers and publishers (4; 4%); diplomats and government agents (4; 2%); journalists and editors (2; 1.6%); architects (2; 1%); cartographers, geographers, and hydrographers (2; 1%); legal professionals (2; 1%); physicians (2; 1%); scholars (2; 1%). Other individuals might be described as archaeologist

(Gell, nos 17/9, 17/10, 1817); actuary (Mitchell, no. 16/25); astronomer (Beaufoy, no. 17/2); clerk (Horne, no. 15/28); East India Company Serviceman (Barnes, no. 15/10); manufacturer (Wansey, no. 14/39); and merchant (Anon., no. 15/2). The vast majority of named and anonymous authors must remain anonymous until further research in later phases of *BBTW* can shed new light on them. What is clear is that the majority of the identified writers come from the professional classes and most are male, hardly resembling the profile of travellers that seemed so threatening to Cunningham in his *Cautions*.

The statistical data and summaries compiled here will have greater relevance once the identification phase of the *Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840* has been completed, and further information beyond the census dates and the regional limits of the following checklist can be collated. Nevertheless, the checklist should begin to answer some of those bibliographical problems that have hitherto eluded travel scholars, and I hope it will spur further investigations on sadly neglected travel writers, books, and genres. At very least, the checklist will provide fresh evidence that Romantic period anecdote must be treated with caution and tested against fact.

NOTES

I wish to thank Peter Garside, Anthony Mandal, and David Skilton for the support they have given for this project, which also owes no small debt to the pioneering bibliographical work on the English novel conducted by Peter Garside, James Raven, Anthony Mandal, and other members of the CEIR research team.

1. Mary Shelley, 'The English in Italy', *Westminster Review* (Oct 1826); quoted in *The Journals of Claire Clairmont*, ed. Marion Kingston Stocking (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 'Appendix A', pp. 441–42.
2. For an account of the literary produce of Waterloo, see Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (London: Palgrave, 2002). See also, Benjamin Colbert, 'New Pictures of Paris: British Travellers' Views of the French Metropolis, 1814–1816', *Seuils & Traverses: Enjeux de l'écriture du voyage*, edd. Jean-Yves Le Dizez and Jan Borm, 2 vols (Brest: Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, Université de Bretagne Occidentale, 2002), 1, 45–54.
3. Paul Gerbod, 'Voyageurs et Résidents Britanniques en France au XIXe Siècle: Une Approche Statistique', *Acta Geographica*, 4.76 (1988), 22.
4. Review of J. Jorgenson, *Travels through France and Germany* (1817), in *Edinburgh Review* 28 (Aug 1817), 371—see Checklist no. 17/14, below.
5. John Scott, *A Visit to Paris in 1814*, 2nd edn (London, 1815), p. 13; 4—see Checklist no. 15/34, below.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
7. Review of [Mary Shelley and Percy B. Shelley], *History of a Six Weeks' Tour*, in *Monthly Review* 88 (Jan 1819), 97—see Checklist no. 17/23, below.
8. Edward Planta, *A New Picture of Paris; or, the Stranger's Guide to the French Metropolis* (London, 1814), pp. 55–6—see Checklist no. 14/29, below. For another account of Planta's *New Picture*, see Roger Clark, 'Threading the Maze: Nineteenth-Century Guides for British Travellers to Paris', *Parisian Fields*, ed. Michael Sheringham (London: Reaktion Books, 1996). Clark uses the 11th edn

- (1819) for his analysis and as the source of his quotations, but mistakenly assumes that it resembled the 1st edn, which he describes as a 'chunky little publication' 4.5 cm in width (my 1st edn is 2 cm narrower, and lacks many of the anecdotal additions that inform Clark's conclusions).
9. John Wilson Cunningham, *Cautions to Continental Travellers* (London, 1818), p. 4—see Checklist no. 18/9, below.
 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–19.
 11. The phrase comes from John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540–1940* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), the best study of regional patterns of travel during and after the Grand Tour. For other studies not mentioned below that fill in the outlines of travel culture in the period see especially, Barbara Stafford, *Voyage into Substance: Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760–1840* (Boston: MIT Press, 1984); James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600–1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); and Katherine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe 1750–1800: Authorship, Gender and National Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).
 12. Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 11.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 11. See also, Charles L. Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 1–2; and Paul Kaufman, *Borrowings from the Bristol Library, 1773–1784: A Unique Record of Reading Vogues* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1960).
 14. Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 6; Jan Borm, 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology', in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, edd. Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 13.
 15. Borm, 'Defining Travel', p. 17.
 16. Review of *A Tour through the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, by the Hon. Richard Keppel Craven, *Edinburgh Review* 36 (Oct 1821), 153–54.
 17. Mary Shelley, 'The English in Italy', p. 442.
 18. Dodd published his Rhine account with Byron's publisher, John Murray, who no doubt calculated that the travel writing and the noble Lord's verse would promote each other. Murray and his son, John Murray III, took the obvious next step by copiously quoting (and ruthlessly editing) Byron in a series of guidebooks, beginning with *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1836). See Buzard, *Beaten Track*, pp. 119–30.
 19. For further discussion of the market placement of the Shelleys' tour in 1817, see Benjamin Colbert, *Shelley's Eye: Travel Writing and Aesthetic Vision* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 81–115.
 20. See Diana Cooper-Richer and Emily Borgeaud, *Galignani*, trans. from French by Iain Watson (Paris: Galignani, 1999).
 21. P. D. Garside, J. E. Belanger, and S. A. Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception*, designer A. A. Mandal <<http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk>> [accessed 13 Dec 04].

22. John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy*, 3rd edn, rev. and enl., 4 vols (London: Printed for J. Mawman, 1815), I, 31 n. Eustace added this note to the 2nd edn of the *Classical Tour* (1814).
23. Book length studies alone include, Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and Their Writings* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990); Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Karen Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Elizabeth Bohls, *Woman Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics 1716–1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998); and Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Flamingo, 2001).
24. I should emphasise that I am speaking of *published* travel books; the extent to which women and men circulated manuscript travel letters and journals cannot be measured by *BBTW*.
25. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers*, p. 7; Jane Stabler, 'Taking Liberties: The Italian Picturesque in Women's Travel Writing', *European Romantic Review* 13.1 (Mar 2002), 13.
26. The only collaboration before the Shelleys' *History* is John Parker and Mary Ann Parker's *A Voyage round the World, in the Gorgon Man of War. Performed and Written by Captain John Parker, His Widow, for the Advantage of a Numerous Family* (1795). On the checklist, I have followed the NSTC in listing John Henry Manners and Elizabeth Manners as joint authors of *Journal of a Trip to Paris by the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, July 1814* (1814) (no. 14/25), though my own inspection of this text would suggest that it is most likely the work of John Henry Manners, with Elizabeth Manners supplying drawings for coloured plates accompanying the text. The only other text that I can mention in this category is Giovanni Baptista Belzoni, 1778–1823, with Sara Belzoni, 1783–1870, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations, in Egypt and Nubia; and of a Journey to the Coast of the Red Sea, in Search of the Ancient Berenice; and Another to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon.—Mrs Belzoni's Trifling Account of the Women of Egypt, Nubia and Syria—Appendix. An Explanation of Some of the Principal Hieroglyphics, Extracted from the Article Egypt in the Supplement of the Encyclopaedia Britannica; with Additional Notes* (London: John Murray, 1820).
27. Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of the Illinois. With Proposals for Establishing a Colony of English* (London, 1818; 5th edn, 1819); and *Letters from Illinois* (London, 1818; 3rd edn, 1818). See also, James Chandler, *England in 1819: The Politics of Literary Culture and the Case of Romantic Historicism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 454–59, and Colbert, *Shelley's Eye*, pp. 205–13.
28. For a comparison of Eustace and Croly, see *ibid.*, pp. 48–50.
29. For further discussion of Eustace, see *ibid.*, pp. 124–41.

II

THE EUROPEAN TOUR, 1814–1818
(EXCLUDING BRITAIN AND IRELAND): A CHECKLIST

Titles that have been inspected include the library call number of the copy seen, preceded by a check plus sign [$\sqrt{+}$]. For those not inspected (the majority), every effort has been made to gather the fullest title details from the secondary sources acknowledged in each entry. In all cases, titles have been standardised in terms of capitalisation, as has the order of imprint details. The typical entry has the following format:

- ✘ Checklist No. Surname, Forename, Titles, Birth and Death Dates.
- ✘ *Full title*, including subtitles and author, but excluding epigraphs.
- ✘ Edition. Volumes.
- ✘ Place(s) of Publication: Publisher/Bookseller details, date of publication.
- ✘ [Regional Content Codes];
- ✘ [dates of editions and printings, with first edition in bold, first original language editions of translations in bold and italics];
- ✘ [physical description];
- ✘ [periodical listings and reviews]; [bibliographical sources];
- ✘ [location(s), with a check plus ($\sqrt{+}$) indicating the actual copy inspected].

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Libraries

BNF	Bibliothèque National de France
Bodl	Bodleian Library
BrL	British Library
Clark	William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles
CSL	California State University, Sutro
CUL	Cambridge University Library
Harv	Harvard
LCon	Library of Congress
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NUL	Newcastle University Library
SRLF	Southern Regional Library Facility, UCLA
TrC	Trinity College, Dublin
UBirm	University of Birmingham (UK)
UCB	University of California, Berkeley
URL	University Research Library, UCLA
URLSC	University Research Library, UCLA, Special Collections

Journals

BEM	<i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i>
BrC	<i>British Critic</i>
EcR	<i>Ecclectic Review</i>
EdR	<i>Edinburgh Review</i>
MR	<i>Monthly Review</i>
QR	<i>Quarterly Review</i>

Sources

Brand	Brand, C.P., 'A Bibliography of Travel Books Describing Italy Published in England, 1800–1850', <i>Italian Studies</i> 11 (1956), 108–17.
Cooper-Richet	Diana Cooper-Richet, <i>Galignani</i> (Paris, 1999).
Corvey	<i>Catalogue of English Travel Literature in the Micro-Edition of the Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey</i> (Olms Neue Medien, 1998).
Cox	Edward G. Cox, <i>A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel</i> , 3 vols (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935–49).
GKress	Goldsmith-Kress Microfilm Series.
Hammond	John H. Hammond and Jill Austin, <i>The Camera Lucida in Art and Science</i> (Bristol: Adam Hilger, 1987).
LTE	<i>Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia</i> , ed. Jennifer Speake, 3 vols (New York and London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003).
McNeal	R. A. McNeal (ed.), <i>Nicholas Biddle in Greece: The Journals and Letters of 1806</i> (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).
NSTC	<i>Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue</i> , CD-ROM
PC	R. S. Pine-Coffin, <i>Bibliography of British and American Travel in Italy to 1860</i> (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1974).
Weber I	Shirley H. Weber, <i>Voyages and Travels in the Near East Made during the Nineteenth Century</i> (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952).
Weber II	Shirley H. Weber, <i>Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Made Previous to the Year 1801</i> , Catalogue of the Gennadius Library 2 (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 1953).
xNSTC	Not in NSTC

Regions & Locations

A	Austrian Dominions, incl. Hungary and Styria
Af	Africa
AmN	North America
As	Asia
D	Denmark, incl. Iceland and Norway
F	France, incl. Savoy and Mont Blanc

Ge	German States, incl. Silesia
Gr	Greece
H	Holland, Netherlands, Flanders, Belgium, United Provinces, Batavian Republic
I	Italian States, incl. Dalmatia, Elba, Istria, Malta, Sicily
Po	Portugal
Pr	Prussia, incl. Poland
R	Russia in Europe, incl. Finland and Lapland
Sd	Sweden
Sp	Spain, incl. Gibraltar, Madeira, Minorca
Sw	Switzerland
T	Turkey in Europe, incl. Moldavia, Montenegro, Wallachia
U	Great Britain and Ireland

Other

2°	folio
4°	quarto
8°	octavo
12°	duodecimo
18°	octodecimo
lst.	listed in
rev.	reviewed by
s.	series
v. / vol.	volume

1814

- 14/1. [Anon.] *A Guide to Holland; Being a Journal of a Tour from London through Holland, and thence along the Left Bank of the Rhine, from Its Mouth in Holland to Mayence.* [14H]; [1st. QR, 11 (Apr. 1814), 258]; [xN-STC].
- 14/2. [Anon.] *A Letter by an Englishman, Lately on His Travels in Italy; Written on His Return to England, in August, 1814.* London: Printed for James Ridgway, 170, Picadilly, Opposite Bond-Street. 1814. [14I]; [14(2)]; [8°; pp. 43]; [NSTC; PC]; [√+Bodl 23695.e.56; BrL].
- 14/3. [Anon.] *Ircastrensis. A Short Excursion in France, 1814: Embellished with Plates of the Venus di Medici and the Apollo di Belvidere.* London: Printed for J. J. Stockdale, 1814. [14F]; [8°]; [xNSTC]; [BrL; Manchester Deansgate Ref]; [Notes: Author of *Love and Horror*, 1812—novel].
- 14/4. [Anon.] *Letters from Holland, during a Tour from Harwich to Helvoetsluys, Brill [...] Amsterdam &c. With [...] Tables of Exchange in Dutch and*

- English Money*. Ipswich: J. Raw, 1814. [14H]; [12°; pp. 86]; [NSTC, MS notes in Bodl of James Ford, author?]; [Bodl; BrL].
- 14/5. [Anon.] *Paris and Its Curiosities*. London: Printed for Samuel Leigh, 1814. [14F]; [1st. advert. in Planta, *A New Picture* (1814): ‘just published, in a portable Volume, neatly bound, price 6s. 6d. with elegant Maps, Plans, &c.’]; [xNSTC].
- 14/6. [Anon.] *Scenes in Russia Describing the Manners, Customs, Diversions [...] of the Inhabitants of that Country [...] Illustrated*. London: J. & E. Wallis, 1814. [14R]; [14, 16]; [8°; pp. 117]; [NSTC]; [BrL].
- 14/7. [Anon.] *The Post Roads in France, with the Routes to the Principal Cities in Europe. Being a Translation of the Etat Général des Postes, Published by Authority*. Trans. fr. French. London: Printed for Samuel Leigh, 1814. [14F]; [1st. advert. in Planta, *A New Picture* (1814)]; [xNSTC].
- 14/8. [Anon.] *The Traveller’s Guide through Holland; with a Statement of Population, and Tables of Exchange of Dutch and English Money*. [14H]; [1st. QR, 12 (Oct. 1814), 279]; [xNSTC].
- 14/9. Alexander, William, 1767–1816. *Picturesque Representations of the Dress and Manners of the Austrians*. London: Printed for T. M’Lean by Howlett and Brimmer, 1814. [14A]; [NSTC]; [BrL; URLSC].
- 14/10. Barker, Henry Aston, 1774–1856. *A Description of the View of Berlin, Exhibiting in Barker’s Panorama, Strand*. London, 1814. [14Ge]; [NSTC]; [Bodl].
- 14/11. Birkbeck, Morris, 1764–1825. *Notes on a Journey through France, from Dieppe through Paris and Lyons, to the Pyrennees, and back through Toulouse, in July, August, and September, 1814: Describing the Habits of the People and the Agriculture of the Country*. London: Printed and Sold by William Phillips, 1814. [14F]; [14, 15(4)]; [8°]; [rev. *EdR*, 24.48 (Feb. 1815), 505–37]; [GKress 20866; NSTC, as 2 pts 1814/15]; [Bodl; BrL].
- 14/12. Blayne, Andrew Thomas, Baron, 1770–1834. *Narrative of a Forced Journey through Spain and France, as a Prisoner of War, in the Years 1810 to 1814*. 2 vols. London: E. Kerby, 1814. [14F; 14Sp]; [14, 15]; [8°]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; CUL; UCSB].
- 14/13. Bridges, George Wilson. *Alpine Sketches, Comprized in a Short Tour through Parts of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland, and Germany, during the Summer of 1814. By a Member of the University of Oxford*. London: Longman and Co., 1814. [14F; 14Ge; 14H; 14Sw]; [8°]; [rev. *MR*, (Sep. 1816), 75]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; BrL].

- 14/14. Carter, Anne. *Letters from a Lady to Her Sister during a Tour to Paris, in the Months of April and May, 1814*. London, 1814. [14F]; [12°]; [rev. QR, 12 (Oct. 1814), 46–60]; [NSTC]; [BrL].
- 14/15. Eustace, John Chetwode, Rev., 1762?–1815. *A Letter from Paris, to George Petre, Esq.* London: J. Mawman, 1814. [14F]; [14(7), 15]; [8°]; [rev. QR, 12 (Oct. 1814), 46–60]; [NSTC]; [BrL; UBirm; URL].
- 14/16. Galignani, Giovanni Antonia, 1757–1821, John Anthony Galignani, 1796–1873, and William Galignani, 1798–1882. *Picture of Paris; Being a Complete Guide to All the Public Buildings, Places of Amusement, and Curiosities in that Metropolis: Accompanied with Seven Descriptive Routes, from the Coast to Paris; with Full Directions to Strangers, on Their First Arrival in That Capital. By M. Galignani*. Paris: Sold at Galignani's Library, N^o. 18, rue Vivienne, where may be had the most valuable and rare books in all Languages. 1814. [14F]; [14, 15, 18, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 37, 38, 39]; [18°]; [NSTC]; [BrL; √+BNF LK7–6109].
- 14/17. Hallbeck, Hans Pieter. *Narrative of a Journey through Part of the North of Germany, While Occupied by the French and Allied Armies, in the Summer of 1813*. Dublin: R. Napper, 1814. [14Ge]; [12°; pp. 48]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; BrL].
- 14/18. Hanson, William, Captain, 1788?–1813. *Letters from Sicily, in the Years 1810, 1811, & 1812, with a Short Journal of a Voyage from England in 1810, and of an Excursion to Syracuse, by Etna and Catania, 1811*. 2 vols. London: J. Darling, 1814. [14I]; [8°]; [NSTC]; [BrL].
- 14/19. Hébert, Louis, and G. Dupont. *An Actual Survey and Itinerary of the Road from Calais to Paris, Shewing the Distance between Each Town and Village, in Miles and Furlongs, Surveyed with a Perambulation [...] by L. Hebert, Geographer and G. Dupont, Engineer*. London: Printed by Schultz and Dean, 13, Poland Street, Oxford Street, for the Authors, 16 Noel-Street, Soho, 1814. [14F]; [8°; pp. 96]; [NSTC]; [BrL].
- 14/20. Herbin. *Herbin's Account of the Island of Elba, with a Map*. London: Printed for Samuel Leigh, 1814. [14I]; [lst. advert. in Planta, *A New Picture* (1814)]; [xNSTC].
- 14/21. Hoare, Richard Colt, Sir, Bart., 1758–1838. *A Tour through the Island of Elba, by Sir R. C. Hoare. Illustrated [...] Views [...] Nature, by Sir R. C. Hoare and J. Smith*. London: John Murray and John Smith, 1814. [14I]; [lst. QR, 12 (Oct. 1814), 279]; [Brand; NSTC; PC]; [Bodl; BrL; CUL].
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THE NOVEL AS POLITICAL MARKER

Women Writers and their Female Audiences in the Hookham and Carpenter Archives, 1791–1798

Rita J. Kurtz and Jennifer L. Womer



I

THE BOOKSELLERS OF HOOKHAM AND CARPENTER (hereafter referred to only as 'Hookham') were located on New Bond Street in London, and their records span the most politically turbulent decade of the eighteenth-century—the 1790s. Clients who frequented Hookham were primarily from the aristocratic or gentry classes. In fact, of Hookham's total buyers, 22% were aristocracy and 35% (214 customers) of the aristocracy purchased novels.¹ We can also confidently assume that untitled female customers were of gentry income, because their addresses were primarily in London's fashionable 'West End'.

Hookham's ledgers not only reveal a dramatic increase in the proportion of female purchasers of novels by comparison to earlier studies of provincial women, but they also reveal a remarkable increase in the proportion of female purchases of novels *authored by females*.² Such a marked increase illustrates that Hookham's leisured female customers were able to buy more novels. Furthermore, the fact that these female aristocrats and gentry have accounts under their own name, not their husbands', demonstrates the greater degree of agency and independence that these urban, moneyed women had relative to provincial women. However, because our study does *not* include an examination of male customers, we are very limited in what claims we can make about whether or not these women behaved according to the cliché that women were the predominant consumers of novels in the eighteenth-century.

Moreover, while more disposable income and leisure time certainly accounts for the significant increase in female purchases of novels authored by women in the 1790s, this increase also strongly suggests a desire on the part of women readers to engage in this politically charged decade. Thus, novel-reading provided women readers with the means through which they were able to participate in the male-dominated world of politics. The latter part of our paper will more fully explore this hypothesis in the context of certain recent literary scholars' claims that both Gothic and sentimental novels are actively engaged in political debate and discussion.

While the results of our study of the Hookham archives disclose much interesting evidence about female readership in the 1790s, it is important to state that such evidence must be carefully and cautiously interpreted and that there are certainly limitations to our research. First, it must be pointed out that a female's purchase of a novel does not necessarily mean that she, in fact, read the novel or that she bought it solely for herself. Furthermore, our investigation of the ledgers is limited to the 'F Ledger,' thus, neither 'G Ledger' nor the 'Petty Ledger G' was examined.³ Also, we did *not* include *all* novels written or published by women in the 1790s. We limited ourselves to a finite set of authors, specifically Ann Radcliffe, Charlotte Smith, and Mary Robinson (see 'Table 1' in the Appendix for a list of book titles for each author). Thus, the conclusions we draw are based solely on the purchases of novels by Radcliffe, Smith, and Robinson.

Our study of the Hookham 'F Ledger' archives reveals that the bookseller kept records for 984 customers (male and female) between the years 1791 and 1798. These customers represent both the aristocratic and gentry classes, who had enough disposable income and leisure time to frequent this stylish New Bond Street bookseller and purchase and then read novels. Of Hookham's 984 customers, 478 are female; thus, women represent 48.6% of Hookham's total customers. An average of 42.5% more women, therefore, frequented Hookham's bookstore when contrasted to both the Clay and Stevens total percentage of female provincial customers (9.5% and 2.6%, respectively).⁴ Furthermore, 77 of Hookham's female clients purchased novels authored by women; in other words, 16% of Hookham's female customers bought novels written by Radcliffe, Smith, or Robinson.

Such numbers take on even greater significance when related to the figures in Fergus's earlier study (see Table 2 in Appendix). Although the Stevens records are incomplete, they span a period of time (1780 to 1806) that is comparable to Hookham's 1790s records. The Stevens records show that 4 out of its 15 female customers purchased novels authored by women. While this number reflects 27% of the total number of Stevens's female clients, a seemingly large number when compared to Hookham's 16%, one must keep in mind that Stevens's total female clientele was only 15, while Hookham had 478 female customers. Thus, the fact that 16% of Hookham's total female customers purchased novels authored by three pre-eminent authors is quite remarkable. The Hookham archives not only reveal an increase in female participation in the book-buying marketplace, but they also reveal a marked interest in female-authored novels by female customers relative to what the Stevens records reveal.

Although the Clay records span an earlier period of time than Hookham's and are thus less comparable, the results also reveal a dramatic increase in female activity in the book trade and the purchase of female-authored novels by female customers. For example, the Clay records (including Warwick County and the Rugby schoolboys) reveal that only 257 of Clay's 2,700 total customers

were women. Women represent only 9.5% of Clay's total customers relative to Hookham's 48.6%. Furthermore, just 11 of Clay's 257 female customers bought female-authored books. In other words, only 4.3% of Clay's female customers purchased novels by women. In contrast, 77 of Hookham's 478 female customers purchased female-authored novels, accounting for 16% of Hookham's total female customers. Similar to results of the comparison made between the Stevens and Hookham records, Hookham's female customers again show a marked increase not only in buying books in general, but also in their purchases of novels authored by women in relation to the provincial women of the Clay records. Indeed, Hookham's privileged, city-dwelling female customers of the 1790s were much more interested in both buying novels and in consuming novels written by women than their provincial counterparts of earlier and comparable decades.

Our general findings include some interesting details about the three pre-eminent authors of our study: Ann Radcliffe, Charlotte Smith, and Mary Robinson (see Figure 1 in the Appendix). It is interesting to point out the surprising popularity of Charlotte Smith, especially because Hookham was only a *retailer* of her works and the lack of popularity of Mary Robinson, who employed Hookham in the earlier part of her publishing career but abandoned him later. Our research also discloses that Hookham's leisured and moneyed female customers had a decisively keen interest in the novels authored by Ann Radcliffe and Charlotte Smith. These women purchased a total of 70 novels authored by Radcliffe and a total of 48 novels authored by Charlotte Smith. One clear trend of our study was that if a female customer bought Radcliffe, then she also bought Smith, and vice versa. Furthermore, our results confirm that the demand for novels by these two authors was consistently high over the entire decade, with novels such as Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest*, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and *The Sicilian* and Smith's *The Banished Man* having the greatest popularity.

The following case studies offer a relatively accurate representation of the majority of female customers who were inclined to purchase fiction by writers such as Ann Radcliffe, Charlotte Smith, and Mary Robinson (see Table 3 in the Appendix). As these case studies show, we have selected women whose appetite for novels range from picky and limited to voracious and vast.

Thirty-seven percent (37%) of these four women's total purchases were novels authored by women. Three out of our four case studies purchased at least five novels by women over the span of 1792 to 1798. Only Mrs Harriet Gardiner, the youngest daughter of the Reverend Sir Richard Wrottesley, of Wrottesley, and sister of the Duchess of Grafton, purchased one female-authored novel, which was Mary Robinson's *Vancenza* (2 vols, 1792). *Vancenza* was a novel the *Monthly Review* 'predict[ed] will be much read and admired' for its 'richness of fancy and of language'.⁵

Mrs Gardiner shared an account with her husband William Gardiner, minister plenipotentiary at Warsaw. At the time the Gardiners opened their account with Hookham, Gardiner held the rank of Colonel and was stationed at home. On January 5, 1792, Gardiner was rewarded for his 'zeal and assiduity' and was promoted and transferred to Warsaw, leaving his wife, son, and four daughters in England. Their son Charles, Major 60th foot, followed in his father's military footsteps.

Interestingly, *Vancenza* was purchased on February 8, 1792, a little over one month after Colonel Gardiner's departure. Despite their shared account, it is safe to claim that Mrs Gardiner purchased Robinson's novel. Not until 1797 did Mrs Gardiner purchase from Hookham another piece of literature. Instead of a second novel, she purchased a play: Elizabeth Inchbald's *Wives as They Were and Maids as They Are; a Comedy in Five Acts*. Like *Vancenza*, this drama was purchased the same year it was published. In 1794, Mrs Gardiner took interest in Hugh Blair's *Sermons*, a collection of sermons apparently published once a year. This is the only purchase of a religious nature.

Biographical information on Colonel Gardiner strongly suggests he was rarely, if ever, home during the years this record accounts for. The ledgers also suggest this is likely due to the fact that Army Lists were purchased consistently from 1793 to 1798, with the exception of 1795. On 21 September 1798, Mrs Gardiner purchased Army Lists for January through September, plus two appendices. On that same day, Mrs Gardiner also purchased issues of the *Fashionable Magazine* spanning from March through September. The *Fashionable Magazine*, however, did not become a staple in Mrs Gardiner's reading diet until March of 1798, when she often purchased more than one copy at a time, perhaps for one of her daughters. Prior to 1798, the *Lady's Magazine* was purchased in 1793, and pocket books for both 'Ladies' and 'Gentlemen' were bought in 1795, 1796, and 1797. Clearly, Mrs Gardiner preferred to consume her fiction bought from Hookham through magazines rather than novels.

It is not unreasonable to hypothesise that many of the magazine and pocket book purchases were for the Gardiner children because the remaining transactions worth noting are books for children. These include: Pasquin's *Treatise on the Game of Cribbage* (1791) in 1794, *The Triumph of Reason* in 1795, probably volume three of a conduct book published in 1791, Chambaud's *The Treasure of the French and English Languages* (1786) in November of 1795, and January of 1796, Hoyle's *Games Improved* (1796) in 1796, Chambaud's *Fables* (1797) for children in 1797, and Pratt's *Pity's Gift: A Collection of Interesting Tales, to Excite the Compassion of Youth for the Animal Creation, Ornamented with Vignettes* (1798) in 1798.

Like Mrs Gardiner, the Marchioness of Downshire also purchased books for children, as well as a novel by Mary Robinson. Unlike Mrs Gardiner, however, the Marchioness was a voracious reader of fiction, buying a total of eighteen novels over a five-year period. Out of these eighteen novels, women composed

all but four. The extent to which the Marchioness's class contributed to her inclination for buying novels, as compared to Mrs Gardiner, is hard to ascertain. However, the Marchioness of Downshire, or Mary Sandys, was very wealthy when she married and enjoyed two-thirds of the income of the Downshire estate until her death. Mary Sandys married Arthur Hill in June 1786, 2nd Marquis of Downshire and son of Wills Hill, a statesman famous for restoring the great St Malachy's Church of Ireland in 1774.

In 1792, the Marchioness made four purchases, three of which were novels. On 1 February, she purchased Ann Radcliffe's *A Sicilian Romance* (2 vols, 1790). On 8 February only seven days later, the Marchioness returned to Hookham to purchase Radcliffe's 1791 *The Romance of the Forest*. Radcliffe did not publish again until 1794 with *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. Interestingly, the Marchioness did not purchase this novel from Hookham, nor did she purchase a single piece of fiction in 1793 or 1794. However, she returned to Radcliffe in 1796, purchasing *The Italian*. Although *The Italian*'s publication date is officially 1797, two thousand copies were printed in 1796. Knowing that the Marchioness purchased one of the first available copies of this novel confirms her fondness for reading Radcliffe. The *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews* strongly suggest that the Marchioness's fondness for Radcliffe was not out of the ordinary among readers of fiction. Both reviews praise Radcliffe for her ability to 'very skilfully [...] hold the reader's curiosity in suspense, and at the same time to keep his feelings in a state of perpetual agitation [...] we have seldom met with a fiction which has more forcibly fixed the attention, or more agreeably interested the feelings, throughout the whole narrative' (ENI, 1791: 58). Similarly, the reviewer in the *Monthly* believes Radcliffe's talent for exhibiting 'Romantic scenes, and surprising events [...] elegant and animated language' to be a marker of her popularity in the literary community of writers and readers (ENI, 1790: 61).

The majority of the Marchioness's novel and drama purchases were made in the year in which they were published, suggesting she had an awareness of the literary marketplace. For example, in 1796, her most aggressive year of buying, the Marchioness made a total of 18 purchases from Hookham, ranging from 'sundries' to an almanac to political miscellanies to poetry to novels. Of these 18 purchases, 12 were novels and 6 were published in 1796. Five of the remaining 6 were published either in 1795, or were 1797 early releases. Only *The Invisible Spy* (2 vols) by Eliza Fowler Haywood was published considerably earlier in 1755. Also, women wrote 10 out of these 12 novels. Bought in this order, these include: Eliza Parson's *The Mysterious Warning, a German Tale* (4 vols, 1796), Elizabeth Inchbald's *Nature and Art* (2 vols, 1796), Lady Mary Champion de Crespigny's *The Pavillion* (4 vols, 1796), Eliza Fowler Haywood's *The Invisible Spy* (2 vols, 1793), Mary Robinson's *Angelina* (3 vols, 1796), Sarah Burney's *Clarentine* (3 vols, 1796), Regina Maria Roche's *Children of the Abbey, a Tale* (4 vols, 1796), Jane West's *A Gossip's Story, and a Legendary Tale* (2 vols, 1796), Isabella Kelly's *The Abbey of Saint Asaph* (3 vols, 1795), and Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (3 vols, 1796).

What is both fascinating and noteworthy about this combination of purchases has to do with the fact that several of these novels (excluding *Nature and Art*, *A Gossip's Story*, *Abbey of Saint Asaph*, and *The Italian*) were regarded by contemporary critics as unoriginal (see ENI, 1796: 35), a faulty representation of high life (ENI, 1796: 35), lacking 'any moral or religious truth' (ENI, 1796: 27), and 'somewhat too romantic' for 'our female readers' (ENI, 1796: 78). The Marchioness's purchases reveal that she had no reservations about indulging her own pleasures when it came to her choice of reading material, since she frequently experimented with fiction that was deemed less acceptable as well as with fiction that was popularly acclaimed, like Radcliffe's.

Interestingly, in 1796 the Marchioness purchased two novels by men, one of which was returned within a month of its purchase. This was *Herman of Unna* (3 vols, 1794) by Christiane Benedicte Eugenie Naubert. The other male-authored novel she purchased was *Edward: Various Views of Human Nature, Taken from Life and Manners, Chiefly in England* (3 vols, 1796) by John Moore, a notorious reformer, especially after his first novel *Zeluco* (1786), which was his most popular and controversial book. Many critics contend the novel is little more than a fictionalised reworking of some of the material in his travel books, offering yet another account of society and manners in various European countries. Like *Zeluco*, *Edward* was applauded for its 'series of conversation-pieces, exhibiting sketches of real life and manners' (ENI, 1796: 67). For a brief period in 1795 (March and April), the Marchioness steadily bought plays by Richard Cumberland, an author like Moore who was renowned for his sketches of 'real life', only Cumberland's, as recorded by the *Critical Review* imitates Fielding in 'several scenes of low life [...] and has taken occasion to introduce a sarcastic fling at his most sentimental rival, Richardson' (ENI, 1795: 17). On 18 March 1795, she purchased his novel, *Henry* (4 vols, 1795). On 6 April, she bought his play *Wheel of Fortune, a Comedy* (1795) and returned the very next day to purchase his other 1795 play, *The Jew, a Comedy*. But this is the last trace of Cumberland on the Marchioness's record.

Like the Marchioness of Downshire, Maria Lady Vanneck, daughter of Andrew Thompson, of Roehampton, Surrey, and wife of 'one of the richest merchants in Europe', Sir Joshua Vanneck, was also attracted to novels by women, particularly Ann Radcliffe. Of the six novels she purchased from Hookham, five were by women, and four were by Ann Radcliffe. Although the majority of other genres she purchased—education, children's books, reference, and history—were authored by men, Lady Vanneck preferred her fiction to be written by women.

Novel-reading was at its height for Lady Vanneck in 1793. On 22 May 1793, she purchased and had bound all of the novels published up to this point in history by Ann Radcliffe: *The Sicilian Romance* (2 vols, 1790), *The Romance of the Forest* (3 vols, 1791), and *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789). In 1794 Radcliffe published *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (4 vols) and sure enough, Lady

Vanneck purchased it that same year. Unfortunately, Lady Vanneck's account ends in 1795, just before Sir Joshua Vanneck is made a peer of Ireland in 1796, strongly suggesting that the Vannecks, including their two daughters, Maria and Caroline, moved to Ireland. As a result, although likely, we do not know if Lady Vanneck sought out *The Italian* when it was initially published in 1796.

The two other novels Lady Vanneck bought from Hookham were Richard Cumberland's *Henry* in 1795, also purchased by the Marchioness of Downshire, and *The Old Manor House* (4 vols, 1793) in 1793 by Charlotte Smith, a novel the *Monthly Review* commended for its 'successful imitations of the ordinary language of people in different classes of the inferior ranks', like Fielding (ENI, 1793: 39). One of the most prolific writers of the 1790s, between 1787 and 1795 (Lady Vanneck's record ends 1795) Smith published nine novels; in total (1787–98) she published eleven. For Lady Vanneck, Smith seems to have been forgotten after she had a taste of Radcliffe's tantalising gothic novels, although as always, Lady Vanneck could have obtained these works from other booksellers.

For the Dowager Duchess of Leinster, however, Charlotte Smith was the authoress of choice, purchasing eight of Smith's novels between 1792 and 1797. The Dowager Duchess, Lady Emilia Mary Lennox, was the second daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond. She married her first husband James Fitzgerald, first Duke of Leinster in 1747. Leaving four sons, the Duke died in November 1773. In 1774 the Dowager Duchess married William Ogilvie who had served as her son Edward's tutor. Not unlike the characters of Smith's novels, or Smith herself, the Dowager Duchess aroused public interest by her marriage to Ogilvie.

Smith's novels make up more than 53% of the Dowager Duchess's total novel purchases. In all, she purchased fifteen, three by male authors, and twelve by female authors, eight of which were by Smith. In 1792, Smith published *Desmond* (3 vols) and the Dowager Duchess purchased it that same year in August; she also had it half bound. The following month, she purchased an earlier work by Smith, *Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake* (5 vols, 1789). *Ethelinde* was not received as well as Smith's other novels or poetry because, as believed by the *Monthly Review*, Smith did not exhibit the 'knowledge of men and manners' (ENI, 1789: 68). In 1793, the Dowager Duchess made one purchase in total with Hookham: Smith's most recent work of that year, *The Old Manor House* (4 vols, 1793). The following year, 1794, the Dowager Duchess was most persistent in her reading of Smith. In March she bought two more copies of *Old Manor House* and the 'not only interesting but instructive' (ENI, 1794: 53) *The Wanderings of Warwick* published in 1794, which she also had bound. In September she bought and bound *The Banished Man* (4 vols), also published in 1794. The Dowager Duchess did not buy Smith's *Montalbert* of 1795, at least not from Hookham. She did however, purchase Smith's 1796 novel *Marchmont* in December of that year—recognised as Smith's autobiographical novel, of which the *Monthly Review* lamented that 'even in this land of comparable freedom, similar acts of

cruelty and injustice not only *may be* but actually *are* perpetrated' (ENI, 1796: 82). Her account ends in 1797, and after *Marchmont*, Smith does not publish her final novel, *The Young Philosopher*, until 1798.

On two occasions in 1794 and 1796, the Dowager Duchess purchased both Smith and Radcliffe. Of Radcliffe she bought *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *The Italian*. Like two of the women already discussed, the Dowager Duchess also read novels by Cumberland in this order: *Henry* (4 vols, 1795) and *Arundel* (2 vols, 1789). The only other male novelist of interest to the Dowager Duchess was Thomas Holcroft, who published *Anna St. Ives* (7 vols) in 1792, a fiction denounced by the *Critical Review* as a story which proposes doctrines demanding the 'severest reprehension' (ENI, 1792: 38).

Lastly, the Dowager Duchess was also keen on poetry, predominantly by men. For example, in 1794 and in the same month that she bought *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, she purchased *The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal* by James Macpherson. Also, in June of 1794 she bought *Poems on Several Occasions* by James Beattie as well as two religious works and a cookbook. Not until 1797 does the Dowager Duchess return to poetry, selecting Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Comprised of both poetry and fiction, Catherine Talbot's *Essays on Various Subjects* was bought in April of 1794. One other reference to a purchase of 'poems' is noted on the ledger; however we are unable to identify this purchase.

Doubtless Mrs Gardiner, the Marchioness, Lady Vanneck, and the Dowager Duchess, as with all of Hookham's aristocratic and gentry female customers, certainly had more leisure time, more disposable income, and easier access to novels relative to the women of the provinces; yet, might there be another reason women were suddenly so engaged in female-authored novels in the 1790s? Was novel reading simply a passive exercise for women—a way in which to escape from, or fantasise their way out of, the assumed monotony of their genteel existence? Does increased production during this period and thus easier accessibility the only other way to account for this activity? Or, because women were excluded from the public or political sphere, might novel reading provide them with a venue through which they could participate in politics?

As Jacqueline Howard asserts, 'it must have been difficult for readers and writers of the 1790s to engage with literature independently of an awareness of contemporary, possibly subversive ideologies', especially in light of opposed public opinion on the events in France and the culture of suspicion that intensified after England declared war.⁶ According to Howard, novel writing and reading and the sphere of politics are not, and can never be, mutually exclusive. Yet, as Margaret Anne Doody points out in *The True Story of the Novel*, eighteenth-century culture had a large stake in 'feminising' the novel; the cultural myth that only women read novels 'is reassuring' because women 'are theoretically disabled from bringing concepts into social currency'.⁷ Thus,

the novel is relegated to the private or domestic sphere, in which it, like women, is rendered impotent as far as England's politics are concerned.

But, as Doody also so astutely points out, 'the private always is the public in the Novel'; the novel's 'home and its women (the angel in the house included) [...] touch [...] multiple aspects of the community, culture, and history'.⁸ Simply stated, novel reading is an activity that interacts with the social world; the political is not the sole domain of men, for it cannot be contained by the same ideological border that the patriarchy attempts to impose between the private and the public sphere.

In light of the fact that novel reading is always already a political and social act, we would like to offer an additional explanation to account for the substantial increase in the female purchase of novels authored by women in the 1790s: Hookham's female customers were joining in the highly charged political debates of the time through reading novels, namely, the implicitly political novels of Radcliffe (seventy purchases) and the overtly political novels of Smith (forty-eight purchases), the most consistently popular authors bought by women throughout the decade, as previously stated. In fact, Hookham's female customers, with their fashionable London addresses, were closer to the centres of power and to the political activity than their provincial counterparts. Many of these women's husbands were members of Parliament, and so they were at least very closely associated with, if not fully participating in, exclusive circles of power.

Furthermore, prominent radical discourses like those of William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Mary Hays fuelled the political climate of the 1790s and were often exploited in magazines, newspapers, and journals.⁹ For these thinkers the French Revolution of 1789 symbolised 'the dawning of a new age of liberalism and egalitarianism'.¹⁰ The political, social, and philosophical ideologies associated with such radicalism of writers like these, as well as Thomas Paine, Thomas Holcroft, Elizabeth Inchbald, and William Blake were most likely accessible to female readers/subscribers of various newspapers and magazines, and it is quite possible that female readers could identify or pick up on the political apparatus located in fiction, namely in their favourite Gothic and sentimental novels.

As a matter of fact, both the *Monthly* and *Critical* reviews make direct reference to the political nature of Charlotte Smith's *Desmond* (1792). Interestingly, the two reviews offer opposing feelings about Smith's political display. The September 1792 edition of the *Critical Review* criticises Smith's novel for its connection with 'the reformers, and the revolutionists' and believes she has represented their (the reformers and revolutionists) in too 'favourable [a] light' (ENI, 1792: 52). The December 1792 edition of the *Monthly Review*, on the other hand, praises Smith for her ability to 'interweave with her narrative many political discussions [...] that are no less interesting to women than to men' (ENI, 1792: 52). In this way, Smith's *Desmond* and her other sentimental

novels, as well as Radcliffe's gothic texts participate in political work on one or more levels.

Much recent criticism discloses the political nature of gothic fiction. For example, in 'Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution', Ronald Paulson asserts that the Gothic plot of the 1790s differs significantly from its predecessors. While the 1790s Gothic is preoccupied with 'revolution' and 'liberation', the pre-1790s Gothic is concerned with the defence and preservation of the '*ancien régime*'.¹¹ Indeed for Paulson, the 1790s Gothic novel is about the French Revolution. Through the Gothic narrative, writers either intentionally, or even unintentionally through imitation, engaged in the political debates of the period.

Paulson further distinguishes between two strands of Gothic fiction at the time. Gothic written in the early stages of the French Revolution is about liberation and the eventual punishment of the oppressor; whereas after the Reign of Terror, the Gothic manifests, through its excesses, the 'potential for simple inversion of the persecutor-persecuted relationship'.¹² Thus, similar to the Revolution, the Gothic opens up a space for 'enormous possibilities', 'followed by a 'stage of delusion', in which there are 'dangerous, unforeseen consequences'.¹³ Reduced to its simplest but most politically telling form, the Gothic is 'concerned with the preservation and destruction of property', in which both the tyrant and the oppressed are preoccupied with its 'appropriation'.¹⁴ Paulson also asserts that the reader's experiences of the Gothic parallel the experiences of the Gothic's female protagonist; her confusion, suspicion, and slowly resolved mystery correspond to the reader's real political experience in the 1790s.¹⁵ Confusion, suspicion, and uncertainty about the future embodied both the English and European state of mind, and England's 'spoon-fed' information about the Revolution's progress served only to heighten its anxieties.

Jacqueline Howard also offers interesting insight into how the Gothic intervenes in 1790s politics. Howard contends that contemporary debates about the 'aesthetic principles' of landscaping 'were often aligned [...] with certain political and social ideologies'.¹⁶ The 'neatness' and 'simplicity' of English gardens (i.e. wild nature restrained) corresponded to the English Constitution, which ensured a happy medium between the unrestrained masses and a potentially despotic government.¹⁷ In fact, Howard claims that Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* participates in the 'landscaping debate', which particularly aroused public interest in 1794 (the year of *Udolpho*'s publication) when the debate reached the peak of its intensity. Because Radcliffe emphasises 'the precedence of nature over culture' repeatedly in *Udolpho* and 'accommodates a certain heterogeneity, irregularity, and wildness', Howard states that 'some Britons of the 1790s would have condemned [this] as "the Jacobinism of taste"'.¹⁸ Indeed, Radcliffe's sublime and often lengthy landscape descriptions have political currency.

Further demonstrating how certain cultural phenomena and politics intertwine is E. J. Clery, who emphasises the influence of the stage actress Sarah Siddons on 'Gothic sensibility in the 1790s'. Siddons's performances, which showcased her 'power of imagination' and 'passion', especially in the role of Lady Macbeth, had a special resonance not only for female theatre goers, but also for female gothic writers. Clery also points out, however, that Siddons's infectious performances and the female Gothic's capitalisation on passion as an 'aesthetic resource' are also embedded in the larger cultural phenomenon of 'contagious emotion' that was often associated with the French Revolution and eventually brought home to England in 1793 with the Treason Trials. The Gothic, according to Clery, therefore, offered female writers with a mode of art in which to experiment with the passions and find ways to sublimate or channel them in healthy ways.¹⁹

The Gothic also provides an Edenic familial space headed by the heroine and/or an imaginary utopia or a community of women that escapes the tyranny of patriarchy. In *The Contested Castle*, Kate Ferguson Ellis examines the ways in which the Gothic, with its 'crumbling castles' and 'homeless protagonists' is preoccupied with the middle-class home.²⁰ 'A castle turned into a prison and reconverted into a home (or destroyed so that its prisoners can establish a home elsewhere)', Ellis explains, 'is the underlying structure of the feminine gothic'.²¹ Such a 'happy ending' offers readers a narrative in which 'the castle can be purged of the villain's influence and repossessed as a place where family life is able to flourish'—with 'family life' representative of an Edenic space justly ruled by the heroine.²² Held against the backdrop of tyranny that pervaded the 1790s, the Gothic's restoration of a familial model with the heroine at its centre offers women readers a narrative of female oppression that ultimately ends in freedom from that oppression.

In 'Gothic Utopia: Heretical Sanctuary in Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*', Brenda Tooley offers another way in which the Gothic conjures up an imaginary utopia. Tooley suggests that the convent, to which place the heroine of Radcliffe's *The Italian* escapes, represents an 'embedded utopia' within the larger 'dystopian culture'.²³ While a convent inhabited exclusively by women may at first appear as a form of silencing and a tool of conformity, Tooley asserts that silence and conformity merely 'disguise "safe" dissent'. Moreover, the exclusively female utopian society 'comments upon the exercises of power' that surround it.²⁴ The paradox, as Tooley points out, however, is that this all female society 'is dependent upon the larger structure that enables its existence', even as it offers its members a place for 'unregulated freedom of conscience'.²⁵ Still, Tooley views Radcliffe's *The Italian* as entering the important discussion on the many proposals offered for both women's colleges and women's communities during the eighteenth-century.²⁶ Most significantly, *The Italian* is similar in its portrayal of 'motherly authority' and how its 'informing goodness [...] permeates the community'.²⁷ The female utopian community, that is often a part of the Gothic narrative, therefore, is not simply proffering its reader with


unrealistic escapism from the 'real' world; it actually and actively engages with the political and social world.

Finally, another way in which to interpret the Gothic as engaged in the political is to see it as a vehicle for English identity formation. Cannon Schmitt, in 'Techniques of Terror, Technologies of Nationality: Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*', claims that all of Radcliffe's novels participate in the formation of English national identity. 'Specifically attributable to the Gothic', Schmitt claims, is 'the fictional presentation of foreign landscapes and foreign villains as anti-types, exempla of otherness'.²⁸ Furthermore, the Gothic's heroine, in contrast to the English 'localism' of 'the lower classes' and the English 'cosmopolitanism' of Machiavellian aristocrats, epitomises proper English behaviour, because it is presented as 'natural' or inherent.²⁹ Also, according to Schmitt, the reader's identification with the heroine, through the Gothic's various 'techniques of terror', 'induce[s] a wide-ranging paranoia', resulting in a constant vigilance of the foreign 'other' as well as the 'self'.³⁰ Thus, Gothic displacement on the foreign as well as the idealised Gothic English heroine both contribute to the formation of English national identity.

Just as Radcliffe's Gothic novels uncover England's preoccupation with establishing a national identity through fostering distrust of the foreign 'other', Smith's sentimental fiction is concerned with establishing an identity for women. Ellis recounts Katherine Rogers claim about the sentimental novel in *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century England*: 'the sentimental novel is [...] on the side of women as they struggled against the limitations within which they must live if they do not want to forfeit respectability'.³¹ A possible and quite credible reason for the sentimental novel's outstanding success is that by 'de-emphasising female agency, the sentimentalists used the novel to place the feminine sphere at the centre of their plots, and to reveal it as the power vacuum it was'. In this way, sentimental authors like Charlotte Smith 'opened the door' for their readers exposing them to their oppression in hopes of bringing about protest.³² Like the Gothic, the sentimental novel has its roots in the French Revolution and offers female readers a way in which they can explore the very profound questions of subjectivity sparked by the political unrest of the 1790s: what does it mean to be an individual in the state? And what does it mean to be an individual in a community? More specifically for Smith, what does it mean to be a woman in England? And how can women be valued as an intrinsic part of that community?

Although many critics today fault Charlotte Smith for her incessant complaining, her whining was political; it was in the name of female individuality. Elizabeth Kraft explains in 'Encyclopedic Libertinism and 1798: Charlotte Smith's *The Young Philosopher*', that by 1798, Charlotte Smith's political agenda was 'engaged with questions and questionings, structures and restructurings of authority that could be described as "libertine"'.³³ As a liberal, Smith was anti-Burke and celebrated the power of revolution whether 'theoretical/intellectual

or political/practical in intent, domestic or national or international in scope'.³⁴ To internalise revolution, to embrace philosophy and a natural law over religion and God was Smith's attempt to move out of the patriarchal centre and take her female readers with her. Like Smith herself, her characters suffered under structures identified with masculinity and reason. Unfortunately Smith was unable to come out from underneath the oppressive conditions that plotted against female agency and independence. But she was able to imagine this liberty in her heroines. For female readers of the 1790s, Smith, like Radcliffe, showed her readers what radical change looked like and offered women a means through which their own 'complaining', as an individual and as a community, could be political.

Our study of the Hookham archives of the 1790s discloses not only an extraordinary increase in the consumption of novels by women, but it also reveals that the novels purchased were mostly written by women. Indeed, it appears that both money and time enabled these privileged city-dwelling women to engage more fully with fiction. However, such a dramatic rise in purchases by women in relation to the women of the Fergus study prompts further explanation. An increase in the production of novels during this turbulent decade, to some extent, can account for the substantial increase, but this explanation mistakenly assumes that supply guarantees or justifies demand. Therefore, it is also quite conceivable that women were, in fact, discovering a way in which to engage in the politically active decade in which they lived. The novels of Radcliffe and Smith provided Hookham's female clients with a venue for political participation. Moreover, the term 'leisured women' tends to negatively connote that these women read more novels, not just because they had more time, but because they had nothing else to do. Thus, their exclusion from the masculine world of politics, in some ways, parallels the widow or single women who read novels to compensate for a solitary life, and, so once again it is easy to assign to these women the long held cliché about women and novel reading. But we are stressing that Hookham's female customers, in fact, found a way to circumvent female exclusion from politics. Their novel reading provided them with a special kind of agency in a male dominated world. In the end, the novel for Hookham's female clients is comparable to Tooley's claim about the convent motif in Gothic fiction; it disguises the 'safe' dissent of what we would describe as an 'imagined' community of female readers. 

NOTES

1. These figures are derived from the introduction to Jan Fergus's unpublished book on the provincial reading public, *Readers and Fiction*.
2. In her unpublished study of two Midland booksellers, the Clays of Daventry, Rugby, Lutterworth, and Warwick (1744–84) and Timothy Stevens of Cirencester (1782–1807), book historian Jan Fergus argues that the Clay records, with the corroborating support of the Stevens records, both support and contradict preconceived notions about novels and their audiences. The records uphold the

- long held assertion of the ‘insignificance of novels in provincial print culture’, but, more interestingly, the records contradict the critics’ widely held belief of a ‘predominantly female readership for eighteenth-century novels.’ The archives, as Fergus claims, manifest ‘a predominantly male provincial readership for fiction’. Because of their dominance in the market, provincial men were also greater consumers of female-authored fiction, even though the records reveal an equal demand for both male- and female-authored fiction. Thus, Fergus concludes that the provincial market supported the rise in female-authored novels, which, as has been argued, reached its climax at the close of the century, even though novels by women never exceeded the number of novels produced by men during the eighteenth-century.
3. In other words, we examined more than half of Hookham’s ledgers, because the ‘F Ledger’ is significantly larger than either the ‘G Ledger’ or ‘Petty Ledger G.’
 4. Fergus, *Readers and Fiction*.
 5. Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling (gen. eds), *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, 2 vols (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2000), 1, Entry 1792: 50. Herein after abbreviated as EN1, followed by entry no.
 6. Jacqueline Howard, *Reading Gothic Fiction: A Bakhtinian Approach* (New York: OUP, 1994), pp. 9–10.
 7. Margaret Anne Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), p. 278.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
 9. Most notable treatises include: Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), William Godwin’s *An Enquiry Concerning the Principals of Political Justice, and Its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness* (1793), and Mary Hays’ *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain in Behalf of Women* (1798).
 10. Eleanor Ty, Introduction to Mary Hays’ *A Victim of Prejudice* (Ontario: Broadview, 1998), p. xi.
 11. Ronald Paulson, ‘Gothic Fiction and the French Revolution’, *ELH* 48 (1981), 532–54, pp. 536–37.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 538.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 543.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 541.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 541–42.
 16. Howard, *Reading Gothic Fiction*, p. 113.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
 19. E. J. Clery, *Women’s Gothic: From Clara Reeve to Mary Shelley* (Devon: Northcote, 2000), p. 15.
 20. Kate Ferguson Ellis, *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), p. ix.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
 23. Brenda Tooley, ‘Gothic Utopia: Heretical Sanctuary in Ann Radcliffe’s *The Italian*’, *Utopian Studies* 11 (2000), 42–56, p. 2.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 26. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

27. Ibid., p. 3.
28. Cannon Schmitt, 'Techniques of Terror, Technologies of Nationality: Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*', *ELH* 61 (1994), 853–76, p. 855.
29. Ibid., pp. 857–58.
30. Ibid., pp. 855–56.
31. Ellis, *The Contested Castle*, p. 30.
32. Ibid., p. 30.
33. Elizabeth Kraft, 'Encyclopedic Libertinism and 1798: Charlotte Smith's *The Young Philosopher*', *Eighteenth-Century Novel* 2 (2002), 239–72, p. 243.
34. Ibid., p. 239.

II

APPENDIX

TABLE I: LIST OF FEMALE AUTHORS, NOVELS, AND YEARS OF PUBLICATION

Ann Radcliffe

- ✦ *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne. An Highland Story* (1789)
- ✦ *A Sicilian Romance* (1790)
- ✦ *The Romance of the Forest* (1791)
- ✦ *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794)
- ✦ *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents* (1797)

Charlotte Smith

- ✦ *The Romance of Real Life* (1787)
- ✦ *Emmeline, the Orphan of the Castle* (1788)
- ✦ *Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake* (1789)
- ✦ *Celestina* (1791)
- ✦ *Desmond* (1792)
- ✦ *The Old Manor House* (1793)
- ✦ *The Banished Man* (1794)
- ✦ *The Wanderings of Warwick* (1794)
- ✦ *Montalbert* (1795)
- ✦ *Marchmont* (1796)
- ✦ *The Young Philosopher* (1798)

Mary Robinson

- ✦ *Vancenza; or, the Dangers of Credulity* (1792)
- ✦ *The Widow, or a Picture of Modern Times* (1794)
- ✦ *Angelina* (1796)
- ✦ *Hubert De Sevrac, a Romance of the Eighteenth Century* (1796)
- ✦ *Walsingham; or, the Pupil of Nature* (1797)
- ✦ *The False Friend: A Domestic Story* (1799)

	1791–98 HOOKHAM & CARPENTER	1744–84 CLAY* (inc. Warwick County and Rugby Schoolboys)	1780–1806 STEVENS*
Total customers	984	2700	588
Total female customers	478	257	15
Total female customers (%)	48.6%	9.5%	2.6%
No. women customers who purchased novels by women	77 purchased novels by Radcliffe, Smith, or Robinson	11 purchased novels by women (6 of these also purchased novels by men)	4 purchased novels by women (2 of these also purchased novels by men)
% women customers who purchased novels by women	16.1% (as above)	4.3%	2.7%
No. women customers who purchased any novels at all	167	28	8
% women customers who purchased any novels at all	35%	10.9%	53%

* As Professor Fergus's book is still in the process of publication, these figures are provisional.

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF HOOKHAM & CARPENTER'S FEMALE CUSTOMERS, WITH THOSE OF CLAY AND STEVENS

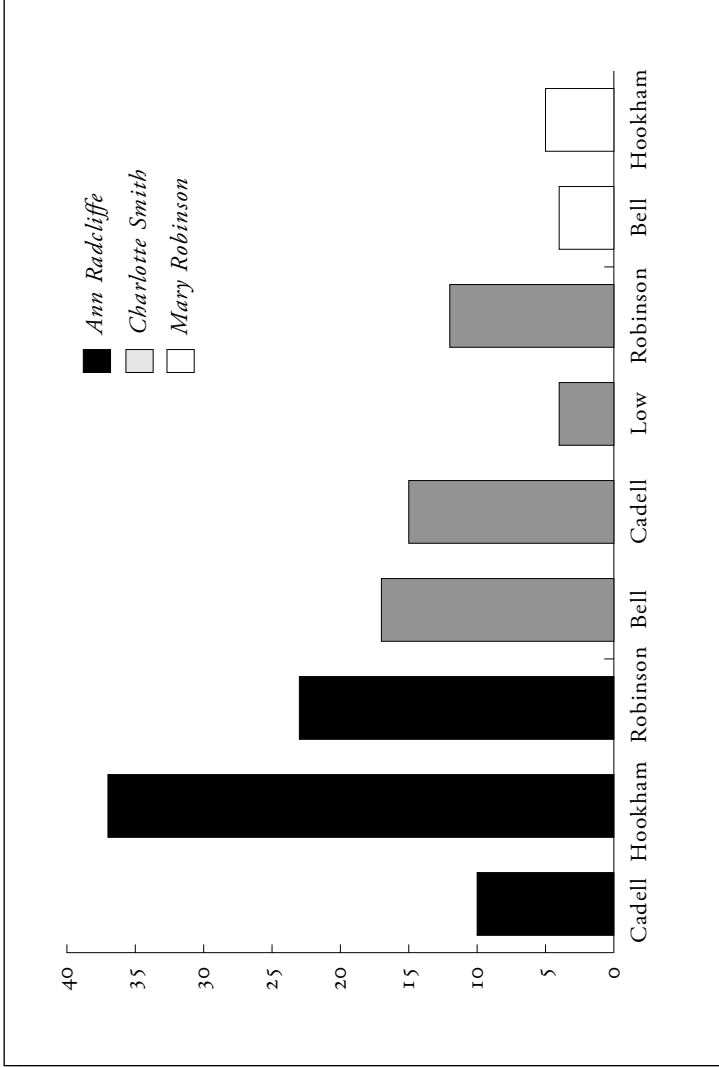


FIG. 1. PUBLISHERS OF AUTHORS, BY QUANTITIES SOLD

TABLE 3: FOUR CASE STUDIES: NUMBER OF PURCHASES BY GENRE

	MRS GARDINER	MARCHIONESS OF DOWNSHIRE	LADY VANNECK	DOWAGER DUCHESS OF LEINSTER	TOTALS
Novels*	1 (1)	18 (14)	6 (5)	15 (12)	40 (32)
Poetry	–	1	–	4	5
Drama	2	2	–	–	4
Mixed Fiction	–	–	–	1	1
History	–	–	3	2	5
Conduct Book	1	–	1	1	3
Children's Book	–	1	1	–	2
Religion	1	–	–	3	4
Education	–	1	1	1	3
Reference	1	1	2	–	4
Politics	–	1	–	–	1
Pamphlet	–	–	–	1	1
Magazine	10	–	–	–	10
Cookbook	1	–	–	–	1
Recreational	2	–	–	–	2
<i>Total</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>86</i>
% purchases that are novels authored by women	5.3%	56%	36%	43%	37%

* Figures in parentheses indicate no. of female-authored works.

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DOMESTICATING THE NOVEL

Moral–Domestic Fiction, 1820–1834

Rachel Howard



I

THE 1810S, 20S, AND 30S were transitional decades for Britain. These years saw the dislocation of Romantic, revolutionary energies and the onset of a more stable Victorian society. Whilst early-nineteenth-century fiction participated in this development and subsequently reflects the contemporary ethos of shift, emphasising its intermediary status can impose a disjointed character upon late-Romantic writing which is misleading. As a literary interregnum flanked by two great social epochs, and subsequently wrought by transformative pressures, the novel scene between 1820 and 1834 can seem secondary and disjointed, and unlikely to have produced genres of the extent, coherence, and impact of their forbears and successors.¹ This picture is contradicted, however, by the significant rise in the period of female-authored Moral–Domestic fiction.

Moral–Domestic fiction tapped into an emphatic turn towards seriousness that permeated society in the 1810s, becoming a critically approved and commercially successful presence that effectively domesticated the Romantic novel. Moral–Domestic texts typically combine a grave, educating register with straightforward narration. They offer variations on a stock plot in which a piously Christian, philanthropic heroine endures a series of adversities, from bereavement to poverty, with quiet dignity and unshakable faith, before achieving personal happiness in the home, the respectful deference of her community, and most importantly the promise of eternal reward. The instigating and seminal texts of the genre were Hannah More's Evangelical manifesto *Cælebs in Search of a Wife* (1808), which was amongst the biggest-selling novels of its time, and Mary Brunton's much-imitated *Self-Control* (1811). A whole spate of similar female-authored titles followed; of the 207 novels produced by women in the 1810s, 52 were part of the Moral–Domestic genre. Moral–Domestic fiction remained a dominant element of the publishing scene beyond this initial heyday, with the genre comprising 110 of the 421 female-authored novels produced between 1820 and 1834.²

The Moral–Domestic genre is significant for a number of reasons. This body of fiction shares similarities with both Romantic and Victorian fiction. Subsequently, as an extensive and persistent genre it can help to account for the gap between the two periods.³ More importantly, however, Moral–Domestic fiction is itself an interesting and in many ways surprising genre. The

increased competition provoked by male writers in the 1820s meant that the Moral–Domestic genre entered a diverse, experimental phase. In this decade Moral–Domestic fiction incorporated thematic variety, stylistic and formal developments, and complex politics. These features can have a number of insights to offer. The genre’s representation of women, for example, gives rise to some stimulating gender politics. At a cursory glance, the Moral–Domestic genre seems to gratify patriarchal conceptions of women; the genre’s domestic containment of women and its Evangelical advocating of eternal rather than worldly reward seems to support the existing social order, and is at odds with the proposals of recognisably radical writers like Mary Wollstonecraft or Mary Hays. However, a necessarily anti-radical kind of feminism operates in Moral–Domestic texts that empowered its writers and politicised its seemingly orthodox content, and subsequently modifies the way in which radical or feminist literature of the period needs to be defined. For example, owing to the contemporary backlash against the French Revolution the discourse surrounding early-nineteenth-century fiction directed renewed hostility towards radical ideologies, and would have silenced female writers advancing open and aggressive arguments for reform. In this context the Moral–Domestic genre managed to retain a female voice, albeit a domestic and religious one, in the public sphere. Furthermore, the religious earnestness that protected these women writers from disapproval could actually be an empowering subject. As regards the power of the female writer, authors like Hannah More did not seek to alter structural patriarchy, but in elevating the reader’s morality they nonetheless aimed at wielding ideological control. At the level of content, the prioritisation of Protestant Christianity above all other kinds of authority also facilitated the representation of women who could be liberated from male control precisely because of their religious zealousness; the morally superior heroine could reject the advice and demands of a father or husband, and even live happily as an old maid in an exclusively female sphere.

Many such themes are to be found in the various sub-genres into which the Moral–Domestic movement fractured in the 1820s. A discernible ‘Post-Austenian’ sub-genre, for example, had its heyday in the early 1820s, and contains some of the genre’s most absorbing and important texts. Typically Post-Austenian texts share Jane Austen’s satirisation of gossip, social snobbery, and social climbers, and are concerned with courtship, companionship, and the marriage market. Sometimes these fictions paraphrase sections, or reproduce key scenes, of Austen’s novels. In so doing they support the notion that Austen was a respected and fairly well-known novelist who picked up on contemporary concerns. The Post-Austenians’ key characteristic, however, is that their texts extend beyond the boundaries of Austen’s novels, most often placing a marriage at the beginning of the fictional work, rather than constructing it as the ‘happy ending’ that the reader is expected to conjecture. This has dramatic consequences for the text, making it more intriguing and less formulaic. The early marriage enabled the writer to direct some pointed criticism at existing

social practices. In Mary Ann Kelty's *Osmond* (1822), for example, the heroine's marriage proves to be less than satisfactory, and subsequently represents a critique of the system that forces a woman to marry before she fully knows her suitor. The portrayal of unhappiness also enabled the writer to delve into complex psychological states, such as despair and depression, adding a degree of detail and sophistication to the narration.

A body of texts concerned with religious conversion constitute another central sub-genre. The Conversion Novel, which peaked around 1825–26, usually portrays a heroine converting from Judaism or Catholicism to Protestantism. She is helped by a Christian mentor, often a female religious and domestic exemplar, and usually loses her existing family and friends in the process of converting. Another sub-genre of Moral–Domestic texts appeared in the period under consideration, which broadly serve to anticipate aspects of Victorian thought and fiction. These texts are the product of a somewhat darker social outlook, and they place existing Moral–Domestic tropes and characters into complex situations by which they are questioned. The result is that these texts are fundamentally split, openly advancing the Moral–Domestic heroine and Evangelical qualities as right and proper, yet ultimately undermining this emphasis. Many such Moral–Domestic texts look at poor characters who rise up the social scale, endure adversity, and gain compensation. In similarity with many of Charles Dickens' characters, however, these social climbers are eventually plagued by a divided sense of self. Likewise, a number of Moral–Domestic writers of this later period examine female characters who become governesses and teachers, and whose external, social behaviour papers over a more critical, dissatisfied inner self.

Each of the sub-genres mentioned above contains themes and tropes that warrant attention for the insights that they offer into important questions, including the status of the Romantic woman writer and the development of the Victorian novel. This preliminary checklist profiles the titles that comprise the female-authored Moral–Domestic genre as it appeared from 1820 to 1834.⁴ The aim is to provide details of the physical make-up of the texts, their publishing details and history, and the nature of their contribution to the genre, so that an investigation of the contemporary impact and broader significance of this body of fiction may be carried out. Although the genre is multifarious to a certain degree, there is a specific criterion to which all of the Moral–Domestic texts in the checklist adhere. As the concern here is with novels that reached the mainstream of the reading audience (which was, it must be noted, a relatively small section of the entire British population, as reading novels continued to be something of a luxury in this period), the checklist only includes novels belonging to the 'popular' publishing scene in Britain. At the level of content, these works evince a concern with religion that is more detailed and central than the expression of morality common to much fiction of the period. They also celebrate the domestic by focussing almost exclusively on everyday, familiar

scenes of home life and by promoting active domesticity in women. This content is mobilised by a didactic tone; an educating narrative voice seeks to interpolate a moral and domestic subject rather than to entertain or amuse the reader.

TABLE 1: OUTPUT OF MORAL–DOMESTIC FICTION, 1820–1834

YEAR	MAINSTREAM	POST-AUSTENIAN	CONVERSION	TOTAL
1820	8	1	–	9
1821	6	2	–	8
1822	5	2	–	7
1823	5	–	1	6
1824	7	3	1	11
1825	6	–	1	7
1826	3	1	3	7
1827	4	1	–	5
1828	3	1	3	7
1829	3	1	1	5
1830	8	–	3	11
1831	1	1	–	2
1832	2	–	1	3
1833	6	–	–	6
1834	2	–	–	2
<i>Total</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>96</i>

NOTES

1. Many accounts of the history of the British novel represent the years bridging the Victorian and Romantic periods as proliferating with minor genres that corresponded to contemporary trends and social movements. For example in Gary Kelly's survey of Romantic fiction, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789–1830* (London: Longman, 1989), the section covering the fictional scene of the 1810s and 20s characterises it as a series of transient genres, including the national and moral tales, 'tales of the heart', and 'tales of real life'.
2. The total figures for the 1810s and 20s were taken primarily from *The English Novel 1770–1829, Vol. II*, gen. eds Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, p. 73, and have been supplemented by the Bibliographical 'Updates 1–4', published previously in *Cardiff Corvey*. Figures for the years 1830–34 were determined from Peter Garside, Anthony Mandal, Verena Ebbes, Angela Koch, Rainer Schöwerling, *The English Novel 1830–1836: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*: <<http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/1830s/>>.

3. This gap between the Romantic and the Victorian periods is often seen as a seismic rupture that cannot be explained by reference to late-Romantic works. Richard D. Altick describes this view in *Victorian People and Ideas* (London: Dent, 1973), and sees the oversight as being in some ways justified; Altick refers to the early-nineteenth-century as a 'fallow interval' in the history of the novel (p. 2). The existence of the Moral–Domestic genre offers an alternative to this image.
4. The dates defining the period under consideration correspond both to the area of interest and to the availability of material. The 1820s and 30s are the most diverse and intriguing years of the genre. The checklist stops at 1834 as this is this final year covered by Corvey, my main source for examining the texts.

II

A PRELIMINARY CHECKLIST OF MORAL–DOMESTIC FICTION WRITTEN BY WOMEN AND PUBLISHED IN BRITAIN, 1820–1834

There are a number of grounds on which texts have been excluded from the following checklist. Such omissions include:

- ✘ Works in which the didactic aim supersedes other novelistic elements to the degree that they would not have been part of the 'popular' novel market.
- ✘ Works borrowing the Moral–Domestic plot (usually that of a heroine overcoming adversity through faith) and celebrating domestic woman, but lacking religious detail and didacticism. Such novels are geared chiefly towards entertainment, and are more accurately described as 'society novels'.
- ✘ Juvenile literature and tales for youth.
- ✘ Moral–Domestic works by male writers.

The entries take the following form:

1. Author. Square brackets have been used if this information is not present on the title page.
2. Full title, as it appears on the title page.
3. Place and date of publication and imprint publication details.
4. Pagination and format.
5. Holding library (normally Die Fürstliche Bibliothek zu Corvey, 'Princely Library at Corvey'): Corvey Microfiche Edition ISBN number; entry number for EN2.
6. Notes of interest, including details of any relevant dedication, preface, or subscription list that is present, and briefly describing the novel, indicating the sub-genre in which it participates, and its most interesting facets.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	<i>British Library</i>
CME	<i>Corvey Microfiche Edition</i>
ECB	<i>English Catalogue of Books 1801–1836</i> , edd. Robert Alexander Peddie and Quintin Waddington (London, 1914; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963)
edn	edition
EN ₂	<i>The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles. Volume ii: 1820–1829</i> , gen. edd. Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling (Oxford: OUP, 2000).
EN ₃	<i>The English Novel 1830–1836: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles</i> , edd. Peter Garside, Anthony Mandal, Verena Ebbes, Angela Koch, Rainer Schöwerling < http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/1830s/ >
ill.	illustrated
RLF	The Royal Literary Fund, 1790–1918: Archives (London: World Microfilms, 1984): references are to reel and case number
ser.	series
vol.(s)	volume(s)
xCME	Not in the <i>Corvey Microfiche Edition</i>

1820

I.

BEAUCLERC, Amelia.

DISORDER AND ORDER. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY AMELIA BEAUCLERC, AUTHOR OF MONTREITHE, OR THE PEER OF SCOTLAND; ALINDA, OR THE CHILD OF MYSTERY; THE DESERTER; HUSBAND HUNTERS, &C.

London: Printed at the Minerva Press for A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1820.

I 258p; II 264p; III 275p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47133-8; EN₂ 1820: 16.

*The overt didacticism and familiar plot of *Disorder and Order* align it with the strongly Evangelical works of the Moral–Domestic genre’s inception. Like Laura Montreville, the heroine of Mary Brunton’s *Self-Control* (1811), Beauclerc’s Miriam rejects her first, romantic love in favour of a more steady and secure relationship.

2.

[DRISCOLL, Miss].

NICE DISTINCTIONS: A TALE.

Dublin: Printed at the Hibernia Press Office, 1, Temple-Lane for J. Cumming 16, Lower Ormond-Quay; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, London, 1820.

vii, 330p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48223-2; EN2 1820: 7.

**Nice Distinctions* is part of the Post-Austenian Moral–Domestic sub-genre. Referring to the competition evoked by male authors, Driscoll's preface offers Walter Scott 'fraternity' which playfully obscures the author's own gender. The tale is an exploration, rather than an anticipation, of marriage.

3.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

TALES OF THE PRIORY. BY MRS HOFLAND. IN FOUR VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, Paternoster-Row, 1820.

I 298p; II 317p; III 361p; IV 309p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-51040-6; EN2 1820: 33.

*Barbara Hofland was a prolific, commercial contributor to the Moral–Domestic genre. Although her oeuvre altered quite radically as the movement did [in step with the movement?], Hofland's works nonetheless share similar progressive themes. The first tale of the present work, 'Elizabeth and her Beggar Boys', contains liberating images of family and womanhood, as Elizabeth independently creates an alternative community of orphans.

4.

[KING, Frances Elizabeth].

THE RECTOR'S MEMORANDUM BOOK, BEING THE MEMOIRS OF A FAMILY IN THE NORTH.

London: Printed for the Editor, and sold by Messrs. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard, and J. Hatchard, Piccadilly, n.d. [1820].

272p. 18mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48602-5; EN2 1820: 41.

**The Rector's Memorandum Book* tells a story of Christian self-control and philanthropy. Yet these typically Moral–Domestic themes are subjected to the scrutiny of multiple voices; a detailed 'Notice by the Editor' (p. 2) and an 'Introductory Letter' (pp. [3]–11) establish [a fictional?] Mr Wilson as the author of the manuscript.

5.

LAYTON, Jemima.

HULNE ABBEY, A NOVEL, IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. FREDERICK LAYTON, FORMERLY MISS JEMIMA PLUMPTRE. DEDICATED BY PERMISSION TO THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

London: Printed for William Fearman, Library, 170, New Bond-Street, 1820.

I xvi, 305p; II 312p; III 290p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47972-X; EN2 1820: 44.

**Hulne Abbey* is distinctive for its extreme adherence to norms governing domestic and social behaviour. Whilst much Moral–Domestic fiction celebrates the independence of old maids, Layton’s narrator scorns them as deviant, idle, and ‘malignant old maids, overflowing with gall [...] Envy, malice, and hatred all dwell upon their lips’(vol. 1, pp. 304–05).

6.

[LESTER, Elizabeth B.].

TALES OF THE IMAGINATION. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE BACHELOR AND THE MARRIED MAN, THE PHYSIOGNOMIST, AND HESITATION. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, Paternoster-Row, 1820.

I 227p; II 261p; III 252p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48863-X; EN2 1820: 45.

**Tales of the Imagination* consists of ‘Genius’ (vol. 1) and ‘Enthusiasm’ (vols. 2 and 3). Both tales reproduce the customary Moral–Domestic plot in which trials are endured and virtues rewarded, although Lester’s religious emphasis is less marked than it is in many Moral–Domestic works.

7.

[MACKENZIE, Mary Jane].

GERALDINE; OR, MODES OF FAITH AND PRACTICE. A TALE, IN THREE VOLUMES. BY A LADY.

London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand; and W. Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1820.

I vii, 293p; II 285p; III 296p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47784-0; EN2 1820: 49.

**Geraldine* was well-received in 1820 for its blending of a correct, moral aim with well-drawn characters. Mackenzie replaces the overt didacticism of her Moral–Domestic forbears with a more subtle, illustrative mode of instruction.

8.

[MORE, Olivia].

THE WELSH COTTAGE.

Wellington, Salop: Printed by and for F. Houlston and Son. And sold by Scatcherd and Letterman, Ave-Maria-Lane, 1820.

ix, 223p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48883-4; EN2 1820 53.

*In keeping with the majority of Moral–Domestic fictions depicting the figure of the old maid, the maiden Aunt of *The Welsh Cottage* is an empowered woman who persuades the heroine to view spinsterhood as a satisfying female identity. This plot argues against '[t]he current acceptance of the term Old Maid' which 'implies a malicious being' who possesses 'but few resources for felicity' (v–vi).

9.

PRINCEPS, Elizabeth Louisa Slater.

VARIETY. A NOVEL. BY ELIZABETH LOUISA SLATER PRINCEPS. WITH POETRY. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for W. Fearman, Library, 170, New Bond-Street, 1820.

I 264p; II 259p; III 224p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-54706-7; EN2 1820: 58.

**Variety* shares much with the Moral–Domestic texts of the genre's 1810s heyday, and is experimental in neither tone nor theme. The inclusion of an additional ballad, 'The Pilgrim' by John Percy (vol. 3, p. 129), is slightly unusual however, and reveals the Moral–Domestic style's capacity to cross literary genres and to attract male writers.

1821

10.

HAWKINS, Lætitia Matilda.

HERALINE; OR, OPPOSITE PROCEEDINGS. BY LÆTITIA-MATILDA HAWKINS. IN FOUR VOLUMES.

London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, Waterloo Place, Pall-Mall, and St. Paul's Churchyard: and T. Hookham, Old Bond Street, 1821.

I iv, 362p; II 362p; III 349p; IV 408p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-4751-4; EN2 1821: 44.

*Hawkins' works of the 1810s were *The Countess and Gertrude* (1811) and *Rosanne* (1814). These were celebrated for their coherent plots and proper morals. *Heraline*, on the other hand, displaces Moral–Domestic tropes, such as that of trials endured, to new scenes. Such experimentation problematises domestic values. For example *Heraline's* defeat of plots to usurp her noble title ultimately removes her from domesticity.

11.

HERON, Mrs.

CONVERSATION; OR, SHADES OF DIFFERENCE. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. HERON.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1821.

I 236p; II 238p; III 219p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47886-3; EN2 1821: 47.

**Conversation* is part of the Post-Austenian Moral–Domestic sub-genre. Lady Rosvelyn's subordination of moral integrity to material gain, along with her hypochondria and hysterical outbursts, are reminiscent of *Pride and Prejudice's* Mrs. Bennett. Alongside its comic dialogue and visual farce, *Conversation* explores a range of female characters who do not marry well.

12.

KELLY, Mrs.

THE FATALISTS; OR, RECORDS OF 1814 AND 1815. A NOVEL. IN FIVE VOLUMES. BY MRS. KELLY, AUTHOR OF THE MATRON OF ERIN, &C.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1821.

I ii, 275p; II 265p; III 291p; IV 294p; V 301p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48008-6; EN2 1821: 52.

**The Fatalists* is less flexible in its moral tone than many other Moral–Domestic works of the 1820s. A straightforward plot in which stoicism and virtue are eventually rewarded bears out Kelly's 'Christian' desire to 'blend useful instruction with innocent amusement' (Preface, vol. I, p. ii).

13.

[KELTY, Mary Ann].

THE FAVOURITE OF NATURE. A TALE. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for G. and W. B. Whittaker, Ave-Maria-Lane, 1821.

I iv, 366p; II 414p; III 383p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47503-1. EN2 1821: 54.

*Mary Ann Kelty's experimental tales are of central importance to the Post-Austenian sub-genre. *The Favourite* was well-received in its own time, and tracks Eliza Rivers' negotiation of the pressure to make a good marriage and the need to retain a sense of self-worth. Along the way Eliza is led to ponder more openly than do Austen's heroines the justice of social norms which prohibit a variety of pleasures.

14.

[LESTER, Elizabeth B.].

THE WOMAN OF GENIUS. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1821/1822.

I (1821) 227p; II (1821) 230p; III (1822) 207p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48975-X; EN2 1821: 55.

**The Woman of Genius* centres on the financially distressed and dependent Edith Avondale. This figure of the persecuted heroine is characteristic of the Moral–Domestic genre, yet it is injected here with some less orthodox elements. For example Edith writes a number of philosophical and fictional works (for which her ‘friend’ Lady Athos initially takes undue credit) and is sanctioned as a public artist.

15.

[MOORE, Alicia].

THE SISTERS: A NOVEL, IN FOUR VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, Paternoster-Row, 1821.

I 284p; II 236p; III 244p; IV 248p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48748-X; EN2 1821: 60.

**The Sisters* places the typical Moral–Domestic heroine in situations that are more frustrating than those depicted in the 1810s. The result is a psychologically interested, and at times morally ambiguous, fiction. The pious Felicia is jilted by Evanmore, whose new bride then elopes with an infamous rake. This representation of a disastrous marriage enables Moore to explore mental turmoil and an unhappy ending.

16.

TAYLOR, [Ann].

RETROSPECTION: A TALE. BY MRS. TAYLOR, OF ONGAR, AUTHOR OF ‘MATERNAL SOLICITUDE’, &C. &C.

London: Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street, 1821.

230p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48944-X; EN2 1821: 70.

**Retrospections* is a sermonising tale told from the perspective of an elderly woman named Lucy, who is reflecting on her youth. Lucy depicts her foolish behaviour and selfish aims, before describing how she has redeemed herself by living as a domestically proficient, religious, and helpful member of the community.

17.

[?TAYLOR, Jane].

PRUDENCE AND PRINCIPLE: A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF “RACHEL” AND “THE AUTHORESS.”

London: Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street, 1821.

vii, 213p, ill. 12mo.

BL 1152.E.8; xCME; N2 1821: 71.

**Prudence and Principle* evinces a straightforward morality in a plot of virtue rewarded. The text is almost tract-like in its didactic register, as the narrative voice intervenes to discuss the value of philanthropic activities.

1822

18.

[BARBER, Elizabeth].

DANGEROUS ERRORS: A TALE.

London: Printed for Lupton Relfe, 13, Cornhill, 1822.

vii, 254p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47395-0; EN2 1822: 37

*Elizabeth Barber produced a series of Moral–Domestic texts in the early 1820s—*Influence and Example* (1823) and *Tales of Modern Days* (1824)—in which Christian values and norms are represented as unequivocally just. Barber's oeuvre reveals that, despite the general trend towards Moral–Domestic diversification in the 1820s, the straightforward didacticism characteristic of the 1810s nonetheless retained its appeal.

19.

[HARDING, Anne Raikes].

THE REFUGEES, AN IRISH TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF CORRECTION, DECISION, &C. &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1822.

I 287p; II 301p; III 354p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47459-0; EN2 1822: 37.

*Harding's *Correction* (1818) and *Decision* (1819) reflect the thematic limitations of their fictional climate, being formulaic in plot and straightforward in their moral register. Harding became an important Post-Austenian writer in the 1820s, however; *The Refugees* is an exploratory text dealing cultural and linguistic differences, and refusing fully to condemn its less moral characters.

20.

HILL, Isabel.

CONSTANCE, A TALE. BY ISABEL HILL, AUTHOR OF 'THE POET'S CHILD,' A TRAGEDY.

London: John Warren, Old Bond Street, 1822.

vii, 279p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47689-5; EN2 1822: 42.

*In keeping with several Moral–Domestic texts of the 1820s, the ending of *Constance* undercuts the conventional morality and domesticity advocated by the rest of the text. All Moral–Domestic fictions argue that adversity is rewarded in heaven, but many nonetheless see their heroines compensated on earth. In contrast, Constance endures bereavement and poverty without receiving financial reward or marriage.

21.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

TALES OF THE MANOR. BY MRS. HOFLAND. IN FOUR VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, Paternoster-Row, 1822.

I 344p; II 309p; III 342p; IV 309p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-51039-2; EN2 1822: 43.

*In Hoffland's second collection of tales multiple voices frame several short moral fictions. A series of narrators (including an elderly man, a romantic woman, and a matriarch) are involved in their own story, and also tell one another tales, thereby drawing attention to the layering of fiction, fact, and interpretation in social life.

22.

JOHNSTON, Mary.

DOMESTIC TALES; CONTAINING THE MERCHANT'S WIFE AND HER SISTER. BY MARY JOHNSTON, AUTHOR OF 'THE LAIRDS OF GLENFERN; OR, HIGHLANDERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.'

London: G. and W. B. Whittaker, Ave-Maria-Lane, 1822.

220p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-51080-5; EN2 1822: 48.

*Each of the tales in this collection is dominated by an intrusively didactic narrator. 'The Merchant's Wife and her Sister' is the most sophisticated tale, and draws on the trope of the opposed, differently educated siblings. The need for young ladies to gain a domestically useful education is prioritised over their acquisition of 'accomplishments'.

23.

[KELTY, Mary Ann].

OSMOND, A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF 'THE FAVOURITE OF NATURE:' IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for G. and W. B. Whittaker, Ave-Maria-Lane, 1822.

I iv, 312p; II 327p; III 396p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48317-4; EN2 1822: 51.

*The representation of marriage in this Post-Austenian tale challenges the validity of existing sources of female happiness. In *Osmond* Ellen's marriage proves less satisfactory than many Austen novels lead the reader to hope [over-simplistic?], and leads the narrative to explore the divide between Ellen's inner desire and jealousy and her cool, social exterior. This feature anticipates the Victorian concern with the female psyche.

24.

[STODDART, Lady Isabella Wellwood].

TALES OF MY AUNT MARTHA; CONTAINING I. THE LAIRD, A SCOTTISH TALE; II. THE SISTERS, AN ENGLISH TALE; III. THE CHATEAU IN LA VENDEE, A FRENCH TALE.

London: William Fearman, Library, 170, New Bond-Street, 1822.

I xxiv, 344p; II 372p; III 341p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48868-0; EN2 1822: 72.

*Stoddart is another Moral–Domestic author reclaiming the figure of the old maid as an image of female autonomy. The three tales in this collection are the orally transmitted recollections of Aunt Martha, a happily unmarried woman. The fact that she is the story-teller, and intends her stories for female relatives, symbolically reverses the contemporary masculinisation of the novel.

1823

25.

ANON.

JUSTINA; OR, RELIGION PURE AND UNDEFILED. A MORAL TALE. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1823.

I 272p; II 277p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48011-6; EN2 1823: 6.

**Justina* tells of a stoical and domestic heroine who loses her potential suitors to a livelier rival. In dealing with the possibility that the Moral–Domestic heroine may not be attractive to prospective husbands, *Justina* reveals the importance of the role of wife. By consequence, Justina's solitude is a lucid indictment of both woman's ultimate dependence on men and her limited choice of inadequate roles.

26.

[BARBER, Elizabeth].

INFLUENCE AND EXAMPLE; OR, THE RECLUSE. A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF "DANGEROUS ERRORS".

London: Printed for Lupton Relfe, 13, Cornhill, 1823.

iv, 236, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47883-9; EN2 1823: 22.

**Influence and Example* is less experimental in its plot than many other Moral–Domestic texts of the 1820s, as it voices an unequivocal support for a number of Evangelical principles, and focuses on the merits of philanthropy. Women are nonetheless powerful in this text, with the heroine's exemplary behaviour influencing her community.

27.

CRUMPE, Miss [M. G. T.].

ISABEL ST ALBE: OR VICE AND VIRTUE. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MISS CRUMPE.

Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Company; Hurst, Robinson, and Co. London; and John Cumming, Dublin, 1823.

I vi, 293p; II 260p; III 230p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47354-3; EN2 1823: 30.

*Female-authored Moral–Domestic texts make a variety of references to male writers' impact on the novel. *Isabel St Albe* represents one response, with its grateful acknowledgement to Walter Scott. Crumpe thanks Scott for his 'approbation and encouragement' in her dedication, dated Limerick, 24 February 1823 (vol. 1, p. v). The national and historical themes of the novel itself also resonate with Scott's fictions.

28.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

INTEGRITY. A TALE. BY MRS HOFLAND, AUTHOR OF TALES OF THE PRIORY, TALES OF THE MANOR, AND A SON OF A GENIUS, &C. &C.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, Paternoster-Row, 1823.

264p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47664-X; EN2 1823: 42.

**Integrity* is the first in a spate of one-volume Moral–Domestic titles that Hofland produced throughout the 1820s. In its portrayal of two female characters who raise orphans, *Integrity* incorporates an image of an alternative 'family' of individuals who are united not by blood ties but by bonds of mutual respect and assistance.

29.

[KENNEDY, GRACE].

FATHER CLEMENT; A ROMAN CATHOLIC STORY. BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE DECISION," &C.

Edinburgh: Published by William Oliphant, 22 South Bridge Street; and Sold by M. Ogle, and Chalmers & Collins, Glasgow; J. Finlay, Newcastle; Beilby & Knots, Birmingham; J. Hatchard & Son, T. Hamilton, J. Nisbet, Ogle, Duncan & Co., B. J. Holdsworth, F. Westley, and Knight & Lacey, London, 1823.

370p. 18mo.

BL 1509/3275; xCME; EN2 1823: 51.

**Father Clement* is a key early text of the Conversion Moral–Domestic sub-genre. Conversion fiction escaped the critics' hostility owing to its orthodox celebration of Protestantism. Yet the depicting of conversion also led writers to explore some less conventional themes; Kennedy's tale of the Clarenham

family's conversion from Catholic to Protest Christianity is one of psychological depth and historical comment.

30.

[WALKER, Anne].

RICH AND POOR.

Edinburgh: William Blackwood, and T. Cadell, London, 1823.

401p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48570-3; EN2 1823: 81.

**Rich and Poor* promotes a strong, evangelical Presbyterianism, whilst also engaging in social satire. Much of the narrative dissects Lady Amelia's allegiance to both nominal and true Christianity, and her interactions with a range of contrasting secondary characters, such as Dr Pelham, a bon-vivant clergyman, and Mr Mansfield, a hard-line minister.

1824

31.

BARBER, Elizabeth.

TALES OF MODERN DAYS. BY ELIZABETH BARBER, AUTHOR OF "DANGEROUS ERRORS" – "INFLUENCE AND EXAMPLE."

London. Published by Sherwood, Jones, and Co., Paternoster-Row, 1824.

ix, 340p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47102-8; EN2 1824: 17.

*Barber's preface to these simple moral tales invokes the contemporary influx of male authors as part of an astute defence of women's fiction. Barber states that 'so many writers of distinguished merit have given an air of stability and superiority to works of fiction' (p. iv) so that 'a fable has turned the tide of national feeling' (p. vii).

32.

[BRISTOW, Amelia].

THE FAITHFUL SERVANT; OR, THE HISTORY OF ELIZABETH ALLEN. A NARRATIVE OF FACTS.

London: Printed for Francis Westley, 10, Stationers' Court; and Ave-Maria Lane, 1824

xii, 216p. 12mo.

O 24, 1; xCME; EN2 1824: 18.

*Bristow is a key contributor to the Moral–Domestic Conversion sub-genre. Although *The Faithful Servant* is not a conversion novel it is important because its narrator argues the principle importance of Protestant Christianity, whilst the plot, in which the protagonist is praised for resisting temptations, celebrates endurance and duty.

33.

CAREY, Joanna.

LASTING IMPRESSIONS: A NOVEL, IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. JOANNA CAREY.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1824.

I v, 367p; II 382p; III 370p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47214-8; EN2 1824: 22.

**Lasting Impressions* shares more with the texts of the Moral–Domestic genre’s 1810s heyday than with its more complex and troubling counterparts of the 1820s. Carey’s heroine deals with potential suitors with sense and dignity in scenes that would have been familiar to readers of the ‘society novel’. The inclusion of this element suggests Carey’s desire for broad appeal.

34.

CHARLTON, Mary.

GRANDEUR AND MEANNESS; OR, DOMESTIC PERSECUTION. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MARY CHARLTON, AUTHOR OF THE WIFE AND MISTRESS, ROSELLA, &C. &C.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1824.

I 331p; II 318p; III 324p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47254-7; EN2 1824: 23.

Grandeur and Meanness may be seen to exemplify the popular appeal of the 1820s Moral–Domestic style. Writers like Charlton wrote occasionally but not exclusively in the genre, and their Minerva publications presented a subdued morality and domesticity.

35.

[FERRIER, Susan Edmonstone].

THE INHERITANCE. BY THE AUTHOR OF MARRIAGE. IN THREE VOLUMES.

Edinburgh: William Blackwood, and T. Cadell, London, 1824.

I 387p; II 415p; III 359p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47877-4; EN2 1824: 33.

**The Inheritance* is part of the Post-Austenian Moral–Domestic sub-genre. Ferrier’s first paragraph echoes Austen’s opening to *Pride and Prejudice*, as does her sustained satirical tone. Moving beyond Austen, and anticipating certain Victorian anxieties, the heroine discovers she is the daughter of a lower-class man. Gertrude’s subsequent distress and shame resonate with Pip’s feelings in *Great Expectations*.

36.

[HAWKINS, Lætitia-Matilda].

ANNALINE; OR, MOTIVE-HUNTING.

London: Printed for James Carpenter and Son, Old Bond Street, 1824.

I 346p; II 307p; III 310p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47061-7; EN2 1824: 46.

**Annaline* is part of the Post-Austenian sub-genre. The heroine is witty, lively, and virtuous in her negotiation of the marriage market. She is not wholly faultless however, being prone to jealousy and sullenness. Significantly she is neither punished nor condemned for these traits.

37.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

DECISION. A TALE. BY MRS. HOFLAND, AUTHOR OF INTEGRITY A TALE, PATIENCE A TALE, THE SONE OF A GENIUS; TALES OF THE PRIORY; TALES OF THE MANOR, &C. &C.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1824.

272p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47665-8; EN2 1824: 48.

**Decision* tells the familiar Moral–Domestic story of financial hardship in which the heroine’s virtue and her strength are tested. Yet whereas Brunton’s Laura Montreville of *Self-Control* (1811) overcame poverty by painting, Maria becomes involved in a more typically male industry, selling iron in the expanding manufacturing world.

38.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

PATIENCE. A TALE. BY MRS. HOFLAND, AUTHOR OF INTEGRITY A TALE; THE SONE OF A GENIUS, TALES OF THE PRIORY, TALES OF THE MANOR, &C. &C.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1824.

289p, ill. 12mo.

BL N.219; xCME; EN2 1824: 49.

*Hofland’s *Patience* is more formulaic than the other texts that comprise her 1820s one-volume spate. In keeping with an Evangelical emphasis, an openly didactic narrator praises the heroine’s self-sacrifice and her willingness to defer gratification to the afterlife.

39.

[KELTY, Mary Ann].

TRIALS; A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE FAVOURITE OF NATURE," &C. &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for G. and W. B. Whittaker, Ave-Maria Lane, 1824.

I 328p; II 315p; III 314p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48828-1; EN2 1824: 58.

*This unusual Post-Austenian novel sees Caroline's marriage, which occurs in the beginning of the novel, repeatedly tested as her husband is pursued by a sexually rapacious and immoral woman.

40.

[?TAYLOR, Jane].

SINCERITY: A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF "RACHEL," &C.

London: Published by Knight and Lacey, 24, Paternoster-Row, 1824.

iv, 176p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48702-1; EN2 1824: 91.

*Of interest in this otherwise conventional moral tale is the emphatic depiction of female solidarity. *Sincerity* criticises the marriage market because it encourages young women to be vain and jealous, and to resent one another. By the end of this tale the heroine Matilda has rejected marriage, and has set up home instead with an emotionally injured female friend.

41.

[WOODROOFFE, Anne].

SHADES OF CHARACTER; OR, THE INFANT PILGRIM. BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF MICHAEL KEMP."

Bath: Printed for the Author; and sold by Relfe, Cornhill, and Hatchard, and Seeley, London; and by all other Booksellers, 1824.

I 474p; II 621p; III 390p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48649-1; EN2 1824: 99.

**Shades of Character* focuses upon children aged between nine and thirteen. The typical Moral-Domestic heroine is present in the child's mother, Mrs. Deane, but she is a marginal character, with the children's experiences, and especially their religious discussions at boarding school, taking centre stage.

1825

42.

[BUSK, Mrs. M. M.].

TALES OF FAULT AND FEELING. BY THE AUTHOR OF "ZEAL AND EXPERIENCE."

London: T. Hookham, Old Bond-Street, 1825.

I 314p; II 333p; III 303p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-51147-X; EN2 1825: 17.

**Tales of Fault and Feeling* contains nine short fictions. The tales all centre on trials and adversities, although they vary significantly in setting. For example 'Arthur Errington' is a Post-Austenian tale charting the problems involved in marriage, whereas 'Miriam' is a historical narrative.

43.

[CADELL, Cecilia Mary].

MASSENBURG. A TALE. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for T. Cadell, Strand; and W. Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1825.

I iv, 328p; II 359p; III 308p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48135-X; EN2 1825: 18.

**Massenburg* makes use of the fact that the approved aim of illustrating 'the domestic calamities that proceed from vicious pursuits' (Preface, pp. iii-iv) sanctions fiction to be daring. *Massenburg* is a tragedy of Gothic proportions; after repeated attempts at reform, Eliza's decadent father commits suicide. On discovering his corpse, Eliza ends the novel with the 'wandering, vacant, glance of a MANIAC' (vol. 3, p. 308).

44.

[HARDING, Anne Raikes].

REALITIES, NOT A NOVEL. A TALE FROM REAL LIFE. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF CORRECTION, DECISION, REFUGES, &C.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1825.

I viii, viii, 284p; II 254p; III 263p; IV 243p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48456-1; EN2 1825: 39.

**Realities* is an experimental Moral-Domestic text which layers a number of inset stories against a central plot, and features a narrator who debates the text's own fictional status.

45.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

MODERATION. A TALE. BY MRS. HOFLAND, AUTOR OF INTEGRITY A TALE, PATIENCE A TALE, DECISION A TALE, THE SON OF A GENIUS; TALES OF THE PRIORY; TALES OF THE MANOR, &C.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Browne, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1825.

253p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47662-3; EN2 1825: 42.

**Moderation*'s principle characters are the good Christian Rector Mr. Carysford and his two daughters, one of whom is vain and temperamental whilst the other is patient and virtuous. This tale exemplifies Hofland's distinctive capacity to depict loss and tragedy in a poignant, sympathetic manner.

46.

[KENNEDY, Grace].

PHILIP COLVILLE; OR, A COVENANTER'S STORY. UNFINISHED. BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE DECISION," "FATHER CLEMENT," &C. &C.

Edinburgh: Published by W. Oliphant, 22, South Bridge; and sold by M. Ogle, and Chalmers and Collins, Glasgow; J. Finlay, Newcastle; Beilby & Knotts, Birmingham; J. Hatchard and Son, Hamilton, Adams & Co., J. Nisbet, J. Duncan, B. J. Holdsworth, and F. Westley, London: and R. M. Tims, and W. Curry, jun. & Co. Dublin, 1825.

272p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48434-0; EN2 1825: 49.

**Philip Colville* is this Conversion writer's unfinished work, and it depicts a series of moral characters struggling in 1600s Britain. It was published posthumously with a final editorial section (by an unspecified person) which states that '[t]his would have been a most useful work, for even our most esteemed historians have either slurred over the odious deeds of that day, or they have misrepresented them' (p. 272).

47.

[LESTER, Elizabeth B.].

FIRESIDE SCENES. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE BACHELOR AND MARRIED MAN, &C. &C. &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Browne, and Green, 1825. I 312p; II 283p; III 300p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47551-1; EN2 1825: 52.

*The tales included in *Fireside Scenes* are domestic in both ideology and setting, and contain standard, unquestionable moral messages. The religiosity of the text is weaker than that manifest in many other Moral-Domestic works of the period, however.

48.

[WALKER, Anne].

COMMON EVENTS: A CONTINUATION OF RICH AND POOR.

Edinburgh: William Blackwood, and T. Cadell, London, 1825.

382p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47276-8; EN2 1825: 83.

*The narrative of *Common Events* picks up where Walker's *Rich and Poor* (1823) left off, with Lady Amelia eventually marrying Mr Moreland, her truly Christian suitor. Like its prequel, this text blends social satire with Calvinist Evangelicalism.

1826

49.

{A}[NLEY], {C}[harlotte].

MIRIAM; OR, THE POWER OF TRUTH. A JEWISH TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF "INFLUENCE."

London: John Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly, 1826.

Vii, 384p. 8vo.

BL N.1243; xCME; EN2 1826: 10.

**Miriam* is part of the Conversion sub-genre, and appropriates the standard Moral–Domestic depiction of suffering in such a way that psychological torment comes to the fore. In its depiction of a conversion from Judaism to Protestantism, Anley's fiction possesses historical authority, and also contributes to the broader infusion in British cultural consciousness of Protestantism and nationalism.

50.

[BRISTOW, Amelia].

SOPHIA DE LISSAU; OR, A PORTRAITURE OF THE JEWS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: BEING AN OUTLINE OF THE RELIGIOUS AND DOMESTIC HABITS OF THIS MOST INTERESTING NATION, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, BY THE AUTHOR OF "ELIZABETH ALLEN; OR, THE FAITHFUL SERVANT."

London: Printed for the Author, by Gardiner & Son, Princes Street, Cavendish Square, and Simpkin & Marshall, Stationers' Court, 1826.

269p. 18mo.

BL 696.c.9; xCME; EN2 1826: 20.

**Sophia de Lissau* is the first text of Bristow's important 'Lissau' Conversion trilogy. In packaging her work as a 'Portraiture', with 'Explanatory Notes' (pp. 259–69), Bristow claims a factual, enlightening identity for female author and text. In charting the heroine's indoctrination by her zealously Jewish mother, *Sophia* details historical events and cultural differences that would have been obscure to many readers.

51.

HALL, Mrs. A. C.

OBSTINACY. A TALE. BY MRS. A. C. HALL.

London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1826.

338p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47622-4; EN2 1826: 42.

**Obstinacy* is markedly darker in tone than many of its contemporaries, displacing the familiar Moral–Domestic narrative to an unjust society, and by consequence questioning commonly-held values and morals. The protagonist Frank is forced to learn caution as few of his friends respond to his trusting

nature well. Likewise Betsey suffers for her philanthropy when she helps a malicious girl who plots to ruin her.

52.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

REFLECTION. A TALE. BY MRS. HOFLAND, AUTHOR OF INTEGRITY, A TALE; PATIENCE, A TALE; DECISION, A TALE; MODERATION, A TALE; THE SON OF A GENIUS; TALES OF THE PRIORY; TALES OF THE MANOR; &C, &C.

London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1826.

267p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-4766I-5; EN2 1826: 46.

*The heroine of *Reflection*, Clara, represents country society, reason, and virtue. After being snubbed by the Reeds of London, Clara reforms this family's moral life. Hofland's preference for country society is based on her view that it empowers women; living in the country encourages Clara to ignore superficial concerns like dress and marriage, and to develop instead a more satisfying individuality.

53.

[KELTY, Mary Ann].

THE STORY OF ISABEL; BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE FAVOURITE OF NATURE," &C. &C. &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1826.

I xii, 367p; II 325p; III 332p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48676-9; EN2 1826: 48.

*Isabel is the protagonist of this Post-Austenian text. Yet it is the narrator, Isabel's friend Miss Delmond, who possesses the typical traits of the Moral-Domestic heroine. Miss Delmond exists oddly on the peripheries of Isabel's life, and anticipates Victorian heroines such as Jane Eyre and Lucy Snow, who lack wealth and beauty, but who represent psychologically complex, alternative versions of womanhood.

54.

MOSSE, Henrietta Rouviere.

GRATITUDE, AND OTHER TALES. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY HENRIETTA ROUVIERE MOSSE, AUTHOR OF LUSSINGTON ABBEY, HEIRS OF VILLEROY, OLD IRISH BARONET, PEEP AT OUR ANCESTORS, ARRIVALS FROM INDIA, BRIDE AND NO WIFE, A FATHER'S LOVE AND A WOMAN'S FRIENDSHIP, &C.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1826.

I xv, 304p; II 278p; III 315p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48346-8; EN2 1826: 59.

*Mosse is one of a number of ‘jobbing’ authors whose sporadic adoption of the Moral–Domestic genre proves its popularity. The adversity discussed in her Royal Literary Fund correspondence might also explain her attraction to a genre that enabled her to portray suffering. Interestingly *Gratitude*’s two heroines develop a bond that supersedes social demands; both refuse to marry, preferring instead to live together.

55.

[OLIVER, Mrs. N. W.].

SEPHORA; A HEBREW TALE, DESCRIPTIVE OF THE COUNTRY OF PALESTINE, AND THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT ISRAELITES. TWO VOLUMES.

London: J. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly, 1826.

I viii, 280p; III 280p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48647-5; EN2 1826: 60.

**Sephora*’s place in the Moral–Domestic fictional movement of the 1820s is important but also ambiguous. The action occurs in Palestine, and Christianity is not present. Nonetheless *Sephora* incorporates a number of prominent domestic and moral lessons, and is closely associated with the Conversion sub-genre.

1827

56.

[BUNBURY, Selina].

CABIN CONVERSATIONS AND CASTLE SCENES. AN IRISH STORY. BY THE AUTHOR OF “EARLY RECOLLECIONS,” “A VISIT TO MY BIRTH-PLACE,” &C. &C.

London: James Nisbet, Berners Street, 1827.

173p, ill. 18mo.

BL N.27(3); EN2 1827: 19.

*Selina Bunbury is an interesting contributor to the Moral–Domestic genre as her works blend didacticism, religious discussion, and Irish concerns and scenery. The present work is one of Bunbury’s short, almost tract-like stories about the need for all classes to lead a religious life.

57.

[HARDING, Anne Raikes].

DISSIPATION. A TALE OF SIMPLE LIFE. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF “REALITIES,” “CORRECTION,” &C.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co., 1827.

I x, 290p; II 264p; III 252p; IV 292p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47438-8; EN2 1827: 38.

*A prefatory story about a single woman and her disabled daughter reflects and publicises Harding's own struggles. The Post-Austenian work itself sanctions the lively Clara to ridicule some extremely moralistic characters, who she describes as 'moping and moaning for sins never committed', and adhering to a doctrine of 'Be wretched on earth, and it will make you happy in heaven!' (vol. 1, p. 12).

58.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

SELF-DENIAL. A TALE. BY MRS. HOFLAND, AUTHOR OF INTEGRITY, A TALE; PATIENCE, A TALE; DECISION, A TALE; MODERATION, A TALE; REFLECTION, A TALE; THE SON OF A GENIUS; TALES OF THE PRIORY; TALES OF THE MANOR, &C. &C.

London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1827.

254p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47660-7; EN2 1827: 41.

**Self-Denial* is implicitly Christian and links domesticity with the security of identity and the empowerment of women. In contrast to many of Hofland's fictions, however, the present tale is interested in the wealthier sector of society, and centres around the middle-class Elphinstones and their troublesome daughter Caroline.

59.

MOSSE, Henrietta Rouviere.

WOMAN'S WIT & MAN'S WISDOM; OR, INTRIGUE. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY HENRIETTA ROUVIERE MOSSE, AUTHOR OF A FATHER'S LOVE AND A WOMAN'S FRIENDSHIP, BRIDE AND NO WIFE, GRATITUDE, &C. &C.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co., 1827.

I iv 308p; II 299p; III 290p; IV 296p; 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48351-4; EN2 1827: 55.

**Woman's Wit & Man's Wisdom* follows an orphan's life with her kind uncle, and her domestic support of him in later life. Christian gratitude is reciprocal here, and leads to relationships in which men and women are equal parties.

60.

[WEST, Jane].

RINGROVE; OR, OLD FASHIONED NOTIONS. BY THE AUTHOR OF "LETTERS TO A YOUNG MAN," "A TALE OF THE TIMES," &C. &C. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1827.

I 413p; II 427p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48609-2; EN2 1827: 78.

*In keeping with the Moral–Domestic genre’s positive appropriation of the old-maid figure, *Ringrove* portrays an elderly, single woman who fosters in the young and wayward Emma an identity that avoids restricting concerns like marriage and beauty. Most of West’s works appeared pre-1820 and testify to the correspondence between Moral–Domestic fiction and earlier anti-Jacobin and anti-sentimental writers.

1828

61.

[BRAY, Anna Eliza].

THE PROTESTANT; A TALE OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY. BY THE AUTHOR OF ‘DE FOIX’, ‘THE WHITE HOODS,’ &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Henry Colburn, New Birmingham Street, 1828.

I 344p; II 326p; III 281p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48418-9; EN2 1828: 21.

**The Protestant* is a Conversion tale set during the reign of Queen Mary the First, which follows the fate of a good Protestant family as they stoically endure brutal treatment at the hands of Catholics. *The Protestant* contributes to a contemporary interest in history that was important to Protestant, British nationalism.

62.

[BRISTOW, Amelia].

EMMA DE LISSAU; A NARRATIVE OF STRIKING VICISSITUDES, AND PECULIAR TRIALS; WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE JEWS. BY THE AUTHOR OF “SOPHIA DE LISSAU,” “ELIZABETH ALLEN,” &C. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Published by T. Gardiner and Son, Princes Street, Cavendish Square. Sold by Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly; Simpkin and Marshall, Stationers’ Hall Court, 1828.

I viii, 269p; II viii, 258p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47560-0; EN2 1828: 23.

*This Conversion fiction, in which Emma de Lissau converts to Christianity despite the disapproval of her Jewish family, substantiates conservative Protestant orthodoxy whilst also rejecting patriarchy as radically as did openly feminist writers like Mary Hays and Mary Wollstonecraft. Emma’s conversion sanctions her rational judgment and her refutation of all, except the religious, sources of authority.

63.

[BUNBURY, Selina].

THE ABBEY OF INNISMOYLE: A STORY OF ANOTHER CENTURY. BY THE AUTHOR OF "EARLY RECOLLECTIONS," "A VISIT TO MY BIRTH PLACE," &C.

Dublin: William Curry, jun. and Co. 9, Upper Sackville-Street, 1828.

333p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47001-3; EN2 1828: 25.

*Selina Bunbury's anti-Catholic novel of religious conversion is set in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth and blends the Moral-Domestic style with a keen interest in both national and regional character.

64.

CADDICK, Mrs. [H. C.].

TALES OF THE AFFECTIONS: BEING SKETCHES FROM REAL LIFE. BY MRS. CADDICK.

London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green; and T. Sowler, Manchester, n.d. [1828].

v, 199p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47182-6; EN2 1828: 27.

*Caddick's preface defends the female author and bemoans the lot of the average 1820s woman. The short stories in this collection are typically Moral-Domestic tales about pious and caring heroines. For example the first tale, 'The Soldier's Sister', is set in Bristol twenty years before Britain's war with its North American colonies, and sees the dutiful Catherine support and reform her wayward brother.

65.

[HARDING, Anne Raikes].

EXPERIENCE. A TALE FOR ALL AGES. BY THE AUTHOR OF CORRECTION, REALITIES, DISSIPATION, &C. IN FOUR VOLUMES.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co., 1828.

I 260p; II 241p; III 256p; IV 233p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47617-8; EN2 1828: 46.

**Experience* is Harding's last work and arguably her most diverse Post-Austenian production. There are parallels between the situation of Georgette, the 'poor relation' who comes to have a positive influence on her hostile relatives, and Fanny Price of Austen's *Mansfield Park*. The 'rags to riches' tale that appeared in much Moral-Domestic fiction is here injected with new life by Harding's fiery Spanish heroine.

66.

[HOFLAND, Barbara].

KATHERINE. A TALE. IN FOUR VOLUMES.

London: A. K. Newman & Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1828.

I 247p; II 231p; III 234p; IV 240p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48004-3; EN2 1828: 51.

**Katherine* marks Hofland's departure away from her 1820s series of one-volume Moral–Domestic titles and towards a lengthier, more psychologically intense fiction. In this tale Katherine is jilted by her lover Walmesley, feels jealous and dejected, and has to conceal her heartache. Katherine recalls Ellen of *Osmond* (1822) in accentuating the complexity of female experience and selfhood.

67.

[SMYTHE, Amelia Gillespie].

TALES OF THE MOORS: OR, RAINY DAYS IN ROSS-SHIRE. BY THE AUTHOR OF SELWYN IN SEARCH OF A DAUGHTER.

Edinburgh: William Blackwood, and T. Cadell, Strand, London, 1828.

xix, 437p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48865-6; EN2 1828: 76.

*The stories that comprise *Tales of the Moors* are told by four gentlemen (two English, one Irish, and one Scottish) on a series of rainy days during a sporting holiday. In creating male mouthpieces for the fictions that she has produced, Smythe plays with the issue of the gender of authorship in what is arguably a playful response to the contemporary male invasion of the novel.

1829

68.

[CORP, Harriet].

TALES CHARACTERISTIC, DESCRIPTIVE, AND ALLEGORICAL. BY THE AUTHOR OF "AN ANTIDOTE TO THE MISERIES OF HUMAN LIFE," &C. &C. WITH A FRONTISPIECE.

London: Printed for Baldwin and Cradock, 1829.

vi, 222p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-51144-5; EN2 1829: 28.

*Corp's *Tales* contrasts with the general trend in the 1820s towards experimentation within Moral–Domestic fiction by retaining the uncompromising Evangelicalism of the genre's early years. In the preface Corp is confident and authoritative when discussing the rigidly moral purpose of her work. The most prevalent concerns of the nine tales in this collection are female education and the family.

69.

[GREY, Elizabeth Caroline].

THE TRIALS OF LIFE. BY THE AUTHOR OF "DE LISLE." IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Edward Bull, Holles Street, 1829.

I 319p; II 285p; III 279p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48829X; EN2 1829: 40.

**The Trials of Life* is Grey's only Moral–Domestic fiction, with her other fiction of the period, *De Lisle; or the Sensitive Man*, being a society novel. Grey is one of a group of popular novelists whose total oeuvre contains one or two Moral–Domestic texts alongside works of other genres. Such writers testify to the malleability of the genre, and to its broad appeal.

70.

HOFLAND, [Barbara].

BEATRICE, A TALE FOUNDED ON FACTS. BY MRS. HOFLAND. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1829.

I 324p; II 354p; III 312p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47675-5; EN2 1829: 47.

*In *Beatrice* social class is a problematic element of identity. Beatrice is an abandoned child, found and taken in by an elderly farmer and his unmarried sister. Beatrice struggles as she both feels her difference from her family but also remains only partially aware of her origins. This psychological investigation anticipates Victorian anxieties about the effects on individuals of increased social mobility.

71.

[MACKENZIE, Mary Jane].

PRIVATE LIFE; OR, VARIETIES OF CHARACTER AND OPINION. IN TWO VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF "GERALDINE," &C. &C.

London: Printed for T. Cadell, Strand; and W. Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1829.

I 361p; II 391p. 8vo

Corvey: CME 3-628-48365-5; EN2 1829: 57.

*In this Post-Austenian fiction the death of Mr Grenville leaves the heroine Constance and her mother suffering emotionally and financially. These women overcome their troubles by cultivating a warm relationship with the wealthy Lady Lennox and her sons, one of whom Caroline marries. *Private Life* depicts male interactions and experiences frequently and convincingly.

72.

[ROBERTSON, Mrs.]

FLORENCE: OR THE ASPIRANT. A NOVEL, IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co. Ave Maria Lane, 1829.

I 296p; II 293p; III 311p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47797; EN₂ 1829: 52.

*Although it has previously been attributed to Grace Kennedy, Robertson's *Florence* is actually a response to that writer's Protestant Conversion text *Father Clement* (1823). In *Florence* the heroine converts from Protestantism to Catholicism. What is extremely interesting is that *Florence* claims for Catholicism all of the qualities that the Moral–Domestic mainstream sees as integral to Protestantism.

1830

73.

ANON.

THE BIBLICALS, OR GLENMOYLE CASTLE, A TALE OF MODERN TIMES.

Dublin: T. O'Flanagan, 26, Bachelor's-Walk, 1830.

iv, 292p. 12mo.

BL 1119.d.40; xCME; EN₃ 1830: 4.

**The Biblicals* is part of the Conversion sub-genre. The author makes reference to Kennedy's important Conversion text of 1823 by stating that 'The following narrative was written in the year 1827, and was suggested by that interesting fiction, "Father Clement"' (p. [iii]). The tale itself sees a traditional and strongly religious family prove the contemporary relevance of scripture to their less moralistic acquaintances.

74.

BEST, Eliza.

ST. JAMES'S; OR, A PEEP AT DELUSION. A NOVEL. BY ELIZA BEST. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Printed for the Author, and sold by A. K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall Street, 1830.

I xi, 291p; II 304p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47120-6; EN₃ 1830: 23.

**St. James's* is concerned with gender on a number of levels. In the Preface, Best argue that male writers were matched by women in elevating fiction as 'the names of Scott, Byron, Porter, and Mitford, have graced the modern catalogue of authors' (p. xi). The novel itself also pays considerable attention to the male sphere, as Frederick Cherbury is reformed from gaming and drinking by his friend Osmond Danvers.

75.

BOWDLER, H[enrietta] M[aria].

PEN TAMAR; OR, THE HISTORY OF AN OLD MAID. BY THE LATE MRS. H. M. BOWDLER.

London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1830.

ix, 244p, ill. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47271-7; EN₃ 1830: 24.

*In her preface to this posthumously published work Bowdler claims that she wrote *Pen Tamar* as early as 1801. This contextualises Moral–Domestic fiction as a daughter genre to anti-Jacobin fiction. Bowdler discusses important authors like Mary Brunton and Elizabeth Hamilton, who were opposed to ‘Mr. Godwin and others’ supporting ‘the horrors of the French Revolution.’ *Pen Tamar* positively depicts an old maid.

76.

[BRISTOW, Amelia].

THE ORPHANS OF LISSAU, AND OTHER INTERESTING NARRATIVES, IMMEDIATELY CONNECTED WITH JEWISH CUSTOMS, DOMESTIC AND RELIGIOUS, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES. BY THE AUTHOR OF “SOPHIA DE LISSAU,” “EMMA DE LISSAU,” &C. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Published by T. Gardiner & Son, Princes Street, Cavendish Square; sold also by the Author, South Vale, Blackheath, 1830.

I ii, 268p; II 278p. 12mo.

BL N.726; xCME; EN₃ 1830: 27.

*In this final work of the Lissau Conversion trilogy Gertrude is brought up to be obedient, before being duped by a wicked Rabbi, and finally forced to flee her community. Bristow invokes isolation to both test and argue the necessity of female strength. When alone Gertrude cannot rationalise, and goes insane. Yet the heroine of *Emma* (1828) has a stable self, and emerges unbeaten from confinement.

77.

[BUNBURY, Selina].

ELEANOR. BY THE AUTHOR OF “A VISIT TO MY BIRTHPLACE,” “THE ABBEY OF INNISMOYLE,” &C. &C.

Dublin: W. Curry, jun. & Co. Sackville-Street, W. Carson, Grafton-Street, 1830.

113p. 18mo.

BL 4413.f.41(1); xCME; EN₃ 1830: 31.

*Eleanor is a didactic fiction conveyed by an intrusive, educating narrator. The text is concerned with the traits that a good, respectable woman ought to possess,

and amongst the most prominent to be advanced are domesticity, sensitivity to others (particularly men), and piety.

78.

GRIMSTONE, Mary Leman.

LOUISA EGERTON, OR, CASTLE HERBERT. A TALE FROM REAL LIFE. BY MARY LEMAN GRIMSTONE, AUTHOR OF "LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT; OR, THE BEAUTY OF THE BRITISH ALPS," &C.

London: Printed by C. Baynes, Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, for George Virtue, Ivy Lane Paternoster-Row, 1830.

760p. 8mo.

BL 12614.g.28; xCME; EN3 1830: 59.

**Louisa Egerton* reveals Grimstone to be a commercial author manipulating the popularity and saleability of the Moral–Domestic genre, as it invokes aspects of the society novel and the Gothic romance. In *Louisa Egerton* the heroine is tested by false friends and tempted by dissolution, before emerging virtuous.

79.

JEWSBURY, Maria Jane.

THE THREE HISTORIES. THE HISTORY OF AN ENTHUSIAST. THE HISTORY OF A NONCHALANT. THE HISTORY OF A REALIST. BY MARIA JANE JEWSBURY.

London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, Stationers' Hall Court, 1830.

322p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-51079-1; EN3 1830: 65.

*Each of the three stories in this collection complicates simple morality and unequivocal values. The first tells the story of Julia Osbourne, a naughty and indulged child who must be educated out of her bad ways. The fact that Julia lack morals even after her schooling questions the familiar emphasis placed on a good education.

80.

[LEWIS, Mary Gogo].

THE JEWISH MAIDEN. A NOVEL. BY THE AUTHOR OF "AMBITION, &C." IN FOUR VOLUMES.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co., 1830.

I 249p; II 246p; III 254p; IV 238p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47986-X; EN3 1830: 70.

**Miriam* tells the story of a pious and dutiful Jewish maiden's dedication to her lover. What is quite singular about this work is its female writer's confident and competent delineation of male-to-male interactions. In addition, many of Miriam's most positive traits are linked to her Jewish heritage, which contrasts with the supremacy of Protestantism accentuated in many Moral–Domestic texts.

81.

[LOUDON, Margracia].

FIRST LOVE. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, 1830.

I 380p; II 367p; III 433p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47498-1; EN3 1830: 71.

*In similarity with Barbara Hoffland, Margracia Loudon begins with the typical adversity plot of the Moral–Domestic novel, and focuses on the poverty of the lowest sections of society. This in turn leads to an interest in how changes in wealth affect identity. In *First Love* a young beggar boy is placed under the care of a wealthy nobleman and his daughter and later experiences class confusion.

82.

MAINWARING, Mrs {M.}.

THE SUTTEE; OR, THE HINDOO CONVERTS. BY MRS. GENERAL MAINWARING, AUTHOR OF MOSCOW, OR THE GRANDSIRE, AN HISTORICAL TALE, &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for A. K. Newman and Co., 1830.

I viii, 288p; II 281p; III 256p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48149-X; EN3 1830-77.

**The Suttee; Or, The Hindoo Converts* is a very interesting Conversion text. Appearing late in the sub-genre's life, and in keeping with the trend within the Moral–Domestic movement as whole towards increased experimentation in this period, Mainwaring's work goes beyond the familiar conversion novel territory of Judaism or Catholicism, and turns towards Hinduism.

83.

POLLACK, Maria.

FICTION WITHOUT ROMANCE OR THE LOCKET-WATCH. BY MRS. MARIA POLLACK, IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1830.

I ii, 242p; II 275p. 8vo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48452-9; EN3 1830: 88.

*Pollack's is a straightforward contribution to the Moral–Domestic genre, exhibiting the tropes of the genre's heyday with little of the experimentation characteristic of the 1820s. The story features Mr Desbro and his daughter Eliza, a good Christian girl who struggles to make a good marriage.

1831

84.

[FERRIER, Susan Edmonstone].

DESTINY; OR, THE CHIEF'S DAUGHTER. BY THE AUTHOR OF "MARRIAGE," AND "THE INHERITANCE." IN THREE VOLUMES.

Edinburgh: Printed for Robert Cadell, Edinburgh; and Whittaker and Co., London, 1831.

I 337p; II 407p; III 399p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47415-9; EN3 1831: 27.

**Destiny* is Ferrier's third Post-Austenian fiction which incorporates a varied and lively plot and an ambitious investigation of female identity. By placing a marriage at the beginning of the novel, and exploring the realities of bad marriage, *Destiny* stresses the fact that women and men ought to know each other fully before marrying.

85.

SHERWOOD, [Mary Martha].

ROXOBEL. BY MRS. SHERWOOD, AUTHOR OF "LITTLE HENRY AND HIS BEARER," &C. &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for Houlston and Son, 65, Paternoster-Row; and at Wellington, Salop, 1831.

I viii, 380p, ill.; II 513p, ill.; III 464p, ill. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48688-2; EN3 1831: 64.

**Roxobel* has an extremely religious preface (pp. [v]–viii) in which Sherwood strongly defends the novel as a means by which to communicate approved Christian and educational themes that are otherwise unpalatable to the 'youthful reader'.

1832

86.

ANON.

SADDOC AND MIRIAM. A JEWISH TALE. PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF GENERAL LITERATURE AND EDUCATION, APPOINTED BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

London: John W. Parker, West Strand, 1832.

iv, 130p. 16mo.

BL 863.I.26; xCME; EN3 1832: 9

**Saddoc and Miriam* is an important text associated with the late Conversion sub-genre, in which cultural specificities and religious differences are highlighted. The displacement of a moral and domestic romance story to a culturally alien scene substantiates the malleability of the Moral–Domestic genre.

87.

[CADELL, Cecilia Mary].

THE REFORMER. BY THE AUTHOR OF "MASSESBUNG." IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Published by Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1832.

I 331p; II 352p; III 311p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48524-X; EN3 1832: 16.

**The Reformer* is concerned with wayward men and masculine identity. Lord Haverfield suffers from a split sense of self; on the one hand, he is talkative and amusing in company, and on the other he is bored and discontented when alone, suffering 'the penalty of dissipation in the shape of headache and lassitude' p. 2. The story centres around Haverfield's gradual rejection of his shallow life.

88.

[?ST. JOHN, Lady Isabella or ?M'LEOD Miss E. H.].

GERALDINE HAMILTON; OR, SELF-GUIDANCE. A TALE. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. (Late Colburn and Bentley.), 1832.

I 306p; II 356p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47763-8; EN3 1832: 73.

**Geraldine Hamilton* follows the heroine from the moment of her beloved guardian Uncle's death, through her subsequent temptation to join the fashionable world of her estranged father, and her final, sensible persuasion of her father to be a competent Irish landlord. Christianity and domesticity are praised throughout.

1833

89.

[BUNBURY, Selina].

TALES OF MY COUNTRY. BY THE AUTHOR OF "EARLY RECOLLECTIONS," "A VISIT TO MY BIRTH PLACE," "THE ABBEY OF INNISMOYLE," &C. &C.

Dublin: William Curry, jun. and Company; Simpkin and Marshall, London; sold also by Seeley and Sons, J. Nisnet, and J. Hatchard And Son, London, 1833.

vii, 301p. 16mo.

BL N.1484; xCME; EN3 1833: 14.

*Once again, Bunbury's allegiance to Moral-Domestic fiction testifies to the increased experimentation of the genre in the 1820s and beyond, as it is fundamentally mixed. In the present work the celebration of the domestic and the didactic aim of inculcating correct morality are indisputably present, yet the drawing of national character is more prominent still.

90.

[CATHCART, Miss].

ADELAIDE; A STORY OF MODERN LIFE. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, Paternoster-Row; Richard Nichols, Wakefield, 1833.

I xiv, 312p; II 266p; III 279p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47014-4; EN3 1833: 16.

**Adelaide* contains a condemnation of women's wit and intellect which goes against the liberal, progressive stance adopted by much Moral–Domestic fiction. Adelaide Fauconberg is a moral and dutiful young woman who modestly keeps her acts of Christian charity to herself, and is rewarded with a happy marriage. However Julia, a kind, but also clever, witty, and playful, woman, suffers a brain disorder and is ruined.

91.

GRIMSTONE, [Mary] Leman.

CHARACTER; OR, JEW AND GENTILE: A TALE. BY MRS. LEMAN GRIMSTONE, AUTHOR OF "WOMAN'S LOVE," &C. &C. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Charles Fox, 67, Paternoster-Row, 1833.

I iv, 261p; II 256p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47769-7; EN3 1833: 30.

*Grimstone's Preface substantiates the idea that the female writer had an increasingly confident voice in the 1830s. Grimstone rejects the didacticism of many of her Moral–Domestic forbears, stating that '[t]o invite thinking rather than to give my own thought – to invite that train of thinking that will make us more liberal, more considerate towards each other, are among the motives from which I write.'

92.

[MANNING, Anne].

VILLAGE BELLES. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Baldwin and Craddock, Paternoster-Row, 1833.

I 316p; II 308p; III 347p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-48917-2; EN3 1833: 47.

*Manning's text promotes the stable home, in which the domestic mother is the centre, and celebrates Christian morals and values.

93.

STICKNEY, Sarah.

PICTURES OF PRIVATE LIFE. BY SARAH STICKNEY.

London: Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill, 1833.

xii, 348p. 12mo.

BL N.1481; xCME; EN3 1833: 72.

*Stickney's is a grave work, as the opening 'Apology for Fiction' (pp. [v]–xii) indicates. Stickney states that she is 'a member of a religious society' whose writing 'keeps steadily in view the development of moral truth' (p. vi).

94.

[THOMSON, Katherine].

CONSTANCE. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. (Successor to H. Colburn.), 1833.

I iv, 338p; II 348p; III 330p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47321-7; EN3 1833: 7.

**Constance* is a fairly straightforward contribution to the Moral–Domestic mainstream. The three orphaned Miss Seagraves go to live with their aunt and uncle, an amusing, disgruntled pair. The heroine Constance is spiritually superior to her sisters, and manages to improve her relations' domestic arrangements.

1834

95.

GRIMSTONE, [Mary] Leman.

CLEONE, A TALE OF MARRIED LIFE. BY MRS. LEMAN GRIMSTONE, AUTHOR OF "WOMAN'S LOVE," "CHARACTER," &C.

London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1834.

I viii, 368p; II 342p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-47773-5; EN3 1834: 31.

*Grimstone's *Cleone* has a bold preface (pp. [iii]–viii) in which she argues that 'I wish all who possess influence, political, social, or domestic, could be convinced that to create happiness is to produce virtue' (p. viii). Yet bolder is her feminist lamentation of women's lack of power; she longs for the time when 'woman might, as she ought, speak and act as a free agent.'

96.


HOFLAND, [Barbara].

THE CAPTIVES IN INDIA, A TALE; AND A WIDOW AND A WILL. BY MRS. HOFLAND. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. (Successor to Henry Colburn.), 1834.

I 327p; II 320p; III 338p. 12mo.

Corvey: CME 3-628-27676-3; EN3 1834: 37.

*In *The Captives* an orphaned child returns from India to transform, in a positive way, the moral habits and domestic unhappiness of her nearest relations, the Falklands. After this occurs, the family go to India and assist a fellow English family. 

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