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(previously 'Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text')

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Aims and Scope: Formerly *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* (1997–2005), *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840* is an online journal that is committed to foregrounding innovative Romantic-studies research into bibliography, book history, intertextuality, and textual studies. To this end, we publish material in a number of formats: among them, peer-reviewed articles, reports on individual/group research projects, bibliographical checklists, and biographical profiles of overlooked Romantic writers. As of Issue 15 (Winter 2005), *Romantic Textualities* also carries reviews of books that reflect the growing academic interest in the fields of book history, print culture, intertextuality, and cultural materialism, as they relate to Romantic studies.

CONTENTS

ISSUE 18 SUMMER 2008

Editorial

Anthony Mandal

Romantic Textualities—in both its present incarnation and its previous existence as *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* (1997–2005)—has attempted to participate in the dynamic relationship between textual scholarship and new electronic media. At first, we did this principally through the medium of various reports, which provided regular 'snapshots' of data mined from projects running within or associated with Cardiff University's Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research (*The English Novel, 1800–1829*; *British Fiction, 1800–1829*; *The English Novel, 1830–1836*). Over the years, we have extended the journal's activities beyond the confines of its host institution, to include surveys of Romantic-era print culture made by the international scholarly community. For a journal so engaged with exploring aspects of print culture and histories of the book, *Romantic Textualities* has always been symbiotically linked to its web-based medium: it would simply not have been possible to publish most of our material—author studies, survey bibliographies, database transcriptions—were it not for the plenitude (both spatial and financial) offered by the World-Wide Web. In keeping with these aims, the current issue (18) marks a significant development in the history of the journal, in incorporating and then discussing the possibilities of Romantic scholarship *through* emergent forms of multimedia, in the form of Digital Narratives.

The current issue carries a wealth of material, which explores in various promising ways Romantic textualities that benefit from the particularly multimodal nature of present-day media transformations. The three articles and extensive author study provide a rich vein of print-cultural analysis, drawing together philosophy and polemicism, gender and authorship, as well as connecting Romantic with today's anxieties of epistemological procedure.

In his article, Bernard McKenna examines Thomas Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*, a response to the French Revolution, the underlying thesis of which suggested that gradual change rather than a sudden break with the past offered the best model of reform. Echoing the changing perspectives of better-known contemporaries such as Coleridge and Wordsworth, Campbell's poetical composition offers a nuanced meditation on the nature of human identity in the revolutionary period. Rejecting both scientific empiricism and 'baneful' scepticism, Campbell instead follows in the wake of Enlightenment thinkers such as Hutcheson and Reid, and echoes Burke's more contemporaneous phi-

losophies, in linking truth to beauty, and the aesthetic to the ethical. Through the individual's 'disposition to combine', human hope shares its origins with the natural world, so that living and having faith become one in the same.

Faith certainly would have been needed in great measure by the subject of Barbara Vesey's essay, Harriet Ventum, whose writings construct virtue and duty through the tension between social responsibility and individual fulfilment. Vesey's study of Ventum's novels *Selina* and *Justina* suggests that this underrated writer explores the complexities of female subjectivity, where a moral life and social duty are not always congruent. By considering how such subaltern voices—too often the victims of history's vagaries and only slowly being recuperated—contributed to the construction of female interiority, Vesey argues that our notions of canonicity can be profitably shaken. The essay is followed by a biographical summary and bibliographical checklist of Ventum's literary works.

The final essay in this issue is itself an example of a more modern 'disposition to combine'. In his article, Maximiliaan van Woudenberg begins by exploring what we accept as a present-day problem—the experience of 'information overload'—and then places it within a Romantic context. Taking Byron's accounts of his own reading practices, the movements of the Byron–Shelley circle in Europe, and Byron's composition of *Manfred*, Van Woudenberg suggests that the Romantics were perhaps the first to experience this particularly 'modern' phenomenon of information overload. The essay concludes with a relocation away from the textual into the multimedial, which attempts not only to explore but also *to enact* the experience of information overload by remediating Van Woudenberg's thesis into the multimodal (aural, visual, textual) arena of 'Digital Narrative'. Despite such acts of traversing various forms of media in such postmodern ways, Van Woudenberg is at pains to point out nevertheless that 'digital media return us with renewed vigour to the very *materiality* of print media of the Romantic period.'

The essays are followed by a Nicola Lloyd's report on the prolific and (like Ventum) little-known Romantic belletriste, Mary Julia Young. In an extensive preliminary essay, Lloyd draws attention to the often chameleon-like roles female writers were often forced to adopt, in order to eke out a living by the pen. Traversing various genres of fiction—the Gothic, the fashionable, the didactic—Young's novels metonymically pastiche the contents of the myriad circulating libraries that populated Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century. Drawing on Young's correspondence with the Royal Literary Fund (a charitable society set up for indigent authors), Lloyd further illustrates that the narrative range (if not adroitness) of hack writers such as Young nevertheless did not indemnify them from the more pressing material concerns of everyday life. The report concludes by providing a plethora of supplementary materials, including a bibliographical checklist, plot summaries, and transcriptions of reviews, correspondence, and samples of Young's writing.

The issue concludes with four reviews essays on recent publications that engage with Romantic print culture in various ways. Two of the books under review (a reissued scholarly edition, a new biography) pertain to a long- neglected writer, James Hogg, whose significant position in the literary canon has become incontestable over the last decade. These are followed by reviews of volumes seeking to explore the relationship between Gothic aesthetics and print culture, and to journey (in various constructions) across 'Romanticism's debatable lands'.

We hope that the relaunched version of the journal, now in its third year, continues to meet its aims successfully and in increasingly diverse, innovative ways, and that the material so far published will inspire scholars to contribute: Romantic Textualities is only as substantial as the material it attracts, and we welcome any contributions that members of the academic community might wish to make.

The 'Disposition to Combine'

Thomas Campbell's *The Pleasures of Hope*, Edmund Burke, and the Power of the Poetic Imagination to Reconcile and Reform[1]

Bernard McKenna

In a letter dated 12 November 1824, Thomas Campbell writes of his delight that *The Pleasures of Hope* would be translated into French: 'I shall be much flattered to see myself in French Costume.'[2] Campbell's letter also suggests the possibility that he would be nominated to the French Academy of Letters, expressing gratitude for being offered as 'a candidate for the honour of a seat in the Academy'. The French Revolution had inspired Campbell to write *The Pleasures of Hope* and, therefore, it must, indeed, have been gratifying, nearly twenty-five years after its publication, to be considered for the honour of a seat in the Academy and to have the poem appear in French. The English-language edition of the poem, published by Mundell (the Glasgow University printer) in 1799 was 'continuously in print and readily available throughout the nineteenth century'.[3] However, Campbell had received little financial recompense for his work, despite the poem's vigorous sales; he had entered into an agreement with the publisher that granted Mundell all rights to the poem in exchange for Campbell's option to purchase fifty copies of his own work at a trade discount and to receive ten pounds if the poem were reprinted: William St Clair notes that 'Campbell never overcame his sense of having been cheated'.[4] A French edition, then, would net Campbell some royalties for his poem but, more importantly, it promised that the poem's philosophical impact would make itself felt in the land that had inspired its creation. In indulging such a hope, Campbell is not alone among the Romantics: 'critics [emphasise] the writers' continuing engagement with European political events and [stress] the extent to which they saw themselves as playing an active role in them'.[5] Campbell, as a consequence, could actively engage in and contribute to the ongoing political debate over the legacy of both the Revolution and of the monarchy in connection with the (re) formation of French political and governmental systems.

In specific terms, *The Pleasures of Hope* represents a type of philosophical reform,[6] suggesting that, unlike the French Revolution, a gradual transition—rather than an abrupt and violent break from the old to the new—should be the aspiration of those who seek change. Campbell's view then aligns itself with

the 'conservative' rather than the 'radical' view of the Revolution. A partial cause of Campbell's more conservative approach is almost certainly the events following the initial triumph of democracy in 1789. Indeed, many writers, even Coleridge and Wordsworth, early champions of the Revolution, sought 'to realign their political allegiances' after the Reign of Terror,[7] the outbreak of war with England, and the rise of an imperialist French foreign policy. Expressing such conservative sentiments, Campbell echoes Edmund Burke, the Irish-born parliamentarian and philosopher. In *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), Burke argues that the goal of revolutionary movements ought to be 'to preserve and to reform':

> When the useful parts of an old establishment are kept, and what is superadded is to be fitted to what is retained, a vigorous mind, steady, persevering attention, various powers of comparison and combination, and the resources of an understanding fruitful in expedients, are to be exercised; they are to be exercised in a continued conflict with the combined force of opposite vices, with the obstinacy that rejects all improvement, and the levity that is fatigued and disgusted with everything of which it is in possession.[8]

Like Burke, Campbell argues for a balance between the old and the new. *The Pleasures of Hope* preserves and gives respect to those elements of philosophy and poetic expression that are helpful, while, simultaneously, clearly rejecting components of a philosophical and religious heritage that hinder the development of a poetic imagination that can reconcile and reform. In his appreciation of the powers of the poetic imagination, Campbell anticipates the work of more established Romantic poets.

Specifically, Campbell rejects both a narrow, scientific empiricism and a scepticism that doubts that introspection can reveal anything like a continuing substratum of personal identity or 'soul'. In the introduction to the Part II of *The Pleasures of Hope*, he expresses concerns over 'the baneful influence of that sceptical philosophy which bars us from such comforts' as 'a belief in a future state over the terrors attendant on dissolution'.[9] The poem closes with an even clearer refutation of scepticism, writing that 'the laurelled-wreath that Murder rears, | Blood-nursed, and watered by the widow's tears, | Seems not so foul, so tainted, and so dread, | As waves the night-shade around the sceptic's head' (*PH*, II, 329–32). Campbell's thoughts echo Burke's reflections from *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757):

> If we suffer ourselves to imagine, that their senses present to different men different images of things, this sceptical proceeding will make every sort of reasoning on every subject vain and frivolous, even that sceptical reasoning itself which had persuaded us to entertain a doubt concerning the agreement of our perceptions.[10]

Both Burke and Campbell represent sceptical philosophy as incapable of understanding those elements that embrace human inquiry and a sense of fulfilment.

Burke points out the obvious contradiction regarding the sceptic's advancement of a reasoned argument that rejects the validity of reasoned arguments. Burke also implicitly argues for a common bond among men, an 'agreement of our perceptions', while for Campbell, such absence of commonality not only offers no comfort but rather only the surety of death, drowning in 'waves' of 'night-shade'.

The Pleasures of Hope directly confronts some of the basic tenets of sceptical philosophy. Specifically, David Hume in 'Of Academical or Sceptical Philosophy', from Chapter 12 of *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748) observes that

> nothing can ever be present to the mind but an image or perception, and that the senses are only the inlets, through which these images are conveyed, without being able to produce any immediate intercourse between the mind and the object.[11]

Hume's reflection on the relationship between mind and object, according to Campbell, negates the power of the senses to transform and make vital the objects they discern:

> No! not the quaint remark, the sapient rule,
> Nor all the pride of Wisdom's worldly school
> Have the power to soothe, unaided and alone,
> The heart that vibrates to a feeling tone! (*PH*, II, 393–96)

Campbell speaks of a 'heart that vibrates to a feeling tone' (l. 396) arguing that things do not exist independently of one another but rather in union, or—to borrow Hume's words—in 'intercourse' with one another: producing within Campbell's epistemology an offspring of hope and the poetic imagination. External objects do not, as Hume argues, simply 'pass through' the senses and leave an impression on the consciousness; for Campbell, those impressions have an effect beyond themselves. He argues that such impressions cause 'vibrations' in a 'feeling' heart, a heart able to respond to the natural world. Campbell's alternative embraces an integration of mind and sentiment, of that which perceives and that which is perceived.

Campbell also condemns the precepts of Hume's philosophical antecedent school, empiricism:

> Oh! Lives there, Heaven! Beneath thy dread expanse
> One hopeless, dark idolater of Chance,
> Content to feed, with pleasures unrefined
> The lukewarm passions of a lowly mind;
> Who, mouldering earthward, 'reft of every trust,
> In joyless union wedded to the dust,
> Could all his parting energy dismiss,
> And call this barren world sufficient bliss? (*PH*, II, 295–302)

In these lines, Campbell rejects both observation void of imaginative transformation and the scientific principles that vest the ultimate truth in what the

senses can discern of an object. Campbell's words also recall the language of Newton's first observations regarding light and its properties. Specifically, in his condemnation of the 'dark idolater of Chance', Campbell echoes Newton's recollections that it was the consequences of a 'chance' occurrence that two pieces of glass pressed hard together were actually 'a very little convex' that enabled his observations regarding light (*PH,* II, 169). For Campbell, then, 'chance' has two meanings: it signifies both the serendipity of Newton's experiments and the underlying assumption that 'chance' rather than a higher intelligence, a unifying force akin to the poetic imagination, created the natural world.

Campbell's rejection of empiricism in *The Pleasures of Hope* also serves as a response to Newton, who in *Opticks* (1704) describes his 'Method of Analysis'and its potential applications outside of the scientific realm.[12] Specifically, Newton argues for 'making experiments and observations, and in drawing general conclusions from them by induction, and admitting no objections against the conclusions, but such as are taken from experiments'.[13] Newton argues that his 'Method', if applied to 'natural philosophy in all its parts, shall at length be perfected, the bounds of moral philosophy will also be enlarged'.[14] *The Pleasures of Hope* might then see Newton's appeal to a scientific method as a 'mouldering earthward' and his espousal of only that which can be proven through experimentation as a dismissal of 'all his parting energy'. Essentially, Campbell uses the inspired observations of the scientific mind to refute the scientific method that, although it relies on 'parting energy' for its inspired observations, refuses to acknowledge that which cannot be measured and, consequently, lies 'wedded to the dust' of pure observation.

In addition to rejecting elements of scepticism and empiricism, *The Pleasures of Hope* outlines a process through which an individual might come to realise the transformative potential of hope and the poetic imagination, a process which begins in truth that leads to virtue and gives birth to beauty. The emergence of beauty leads to action that results in hope. In this process, Campbell, a Scotsman, follows a path remarkably similar to that of Scottish Enlightenment philosophers, including Thomas Reid[15] and Francis Hutcheson, who themselves rejected scepticism.[16] Campbell observes that, 'Truth, ever lovely,—since the world began' (*PH*, II, 347) is 'The foe of tyrants, and the friend of man' (l. 348)—remarks which find a resonance in Reid's reflections on 'self-evident truths': 'Anything virtuous and praiseworthy must consist in the right use of our power—of action;—anything vicious and blameworthy must consist in the abuse of that power'.[17] For both Campbell and Reid, truth contains manifest power in and of itself, and exists independently of man. Campbell chooses to emphasise the 'lovely' nature of that power, suggesting that it is inherently good, and chooses to emphasise the potential inherent in that power, a potential to befriend 'man' but to oppose 'tyrants'. Campbell's observation places tyrants outside of the human, indicating that 'truth' is a force that characterises the human as human and that, when an individual rejects 'truth', he becomes a tyrant and, therefore, non-human. Reid also sees

the power inherent in truth as 'self-evident', a 'first principle' of understanding, indicating that, contrary to the tenets of scepticism, there exist 'first principles'. Reid chooses to emphasise how man's 'right use', truthful and 'virtuous' use, of power becomes 'praiseworthy'. A 'vicious' use or, more correctly, an 'abuse of power', akin to Campbell's tyrant, is contrary to the 'right [truthful] use' of power and, therefore, outside the range of ideal human, moral behaviour. Both Reid and Campbell work from the assumptions that truth exists independently of human verification and the vicissitudes of human interpretation. Both argue for man's ability to implement that power, valuing the human power of choice and control, even temporarily, of pre-existing 'self-evident truths'.

Within Campbell's epistemology, it is essential both that truths exist independently of the individual and that the individual has the power of choice about whether to pursue truth or not. *The Pleasures of Hope* observes that 'Reposing Virtue' lies 'pillowed on the heart' (II, 350), revealing virtue's proximity to human emotions but also that virtuous actions remain in a state of slumber or inaction. If virtue is a 'praiseworthy' use of power, as the previous lines indicate, then it becomes praiseworthy after a close association with human feeling: emotion tempers the tyranny of a solely intellectual engagement with the world. However, Campbell also indicates that 'words from balmy slumber start' (II, 349) virtue from its 'pillowed' rest next to the heart: words, the product of the intellect, have the ability to lend initiative to slumbering virtue. Poetry, then, works to integrate the intellect and the heart, properly nurtured with virtue, to enact 'praiseworthy' and non-tyrannous behaviour. Moreover, the poem reveals that, although virtue reposes close to the individual, it exists independently of the individual, which further contributes to the ability of words to inspire action. In *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, Francis Hutcheson observes that 'virtue or the beauty of action' depends on 'general laws fix'd in the Course of Nature', which inspire 'men' to 'prudence and design', to 'rational expectation', and to 'schemes of action'.[18] He further argues that 'The Universe must be govern'd, not by particular Wills, but by general Laws, upon which we can found our Expectations, and project our Schemes of Action'.[19] Hutcheson's argument, like Campbell's, advances a position at odds with both empiricism and scepticism, in that it argues for the existence of certain 'first principles' or 'self-evident truths' independent of the individual and also argues for the ability of man to integrate these principles employing abilities and powers that cannot be measured using the scientific method proposed by Newton. For the poet of *The Pleasures of Hope,* mankind's heart, nurtured by the self-evident truth of virtue and inspired by words, acts in a way that is 'praiseworthy', which produces, using Hutcheson's phrase, 'the beauty of action'.

Campbell's poem subsequently demonstrates how the 'beauty of action' transcends death precisely because of the independent existence of self-evident truths and because, as he argues, an individual's virtuous acts inspire others to perceive those truths and to implement them in their own lives. In the voice

of 'Conrad of Sydney Cove', a father advises his daughter to 'Weep not […] at nature's transient pain', because 'Congenial spirits part to meet again' (*PH*, II, 405–06)—arguing not only for the limited power of death, but also for the retention of a form of individual consciousness after death. In presenting such reasoning, Campbell once again rejects the arguments of empiricism and scepticism, particularly the notion that only that which can be observed and measured holds value, and he refutes the notion that there are no unifying virtues common to all. Speaking of his imminent death, Conrad tells his daughter that

> And soon these limbs to kindred dust return!
> But not, my child, with life's precarious fire,
> The immortal ties of Nature shall expire;
> These shall resist the triumph of decay,
> When time is o'er, and worlds have passed away! (II, 424–28)

The return of human life to 'kindred dust' recalls Campbell's earlier reference to a 'joyless union wedded to the dust' (II, 300) and its association with empirical philosophy. In these lines, Campbell chooses to emphasise the 'parting energy' (l. 301) he spoke of earlier by stressing that which survives 'decay'.

Moreover, Campbell's choice to relay in narrative form the hope that can accompany death reinforces the individual nature of 'That spark unburied in its mortal frame' (*PH*, II, 431) and, ironically, because of its individual appeal creates a sense of universality. Using such a technique is also consistent with Hutcheson's views of artistic creation:

> The most sacred poets are often led into this Imagery, and represent Justice and Judgment as supporting the Almighty's throne, and mercy and truth going before his Face: They shew us peace as springing up from the earth, and mercy looking down from Heaven. Every one perceives a greater beauty in this manner of representation, this imagery, this conjunction of moral ideas, than in the fullest narration, or the most lively natural description.[20]

Hutcheson's language reveals a confidence in the power of poetic expression to recognise 'mercy and truth' and to acknowledge the role of 'Heaven' and the 'Almighty' in the pursuit and expression of that truth.

Campbell also turns to spirituality, but not to a spirituality that rejects all scientific reasoning, which to the poet–speaker would be as damaging as an exclusive science that rejects elements of faith. As Burke argues in *The Sublime and the Beautiful*:

> Whenever the wisdom of our Creator intended that we should be affected with anything, he did not confide the execution of his design to the languid and precarious operation of our reason; but he enduced it with powers and properties that prevent the understanding, and even the will; which, seizing upon the senses and

> imagination, captivate the soul before the understanding is ready
> either to join with them, or to oppose them.[21]

Likewise, Campbell 'dreams of future felicity which a lively imagination is apt to cherish when Hope is animated by refined attachment—This disposition to combine, in one imaginary scene of residence, all that is pleasing in our estimate of happiness'.[22] It is, thus, in Campbell's first poem that his philosophy of writing most clearly expresses itself. He not only articulates a path to the redemptive power of the poetic imagination, but also confronts those philosophical movements that preceded his work and prevented the imagination from fully realising its potential.

However, Campbell takes a more subtle course when it comes to the poetic expression of those philosophical schools, preferring to see himself as the heir to the poets that have come before him, such as Pope and Cowper. He will build on the works of imaginative expression that he sees as his poetic predecessors rather than reject them. In the process of refining his epistemology, Campbell develops a philosophical expression in his poetry that anticipates many of the expressions, by his more recognised contemporaries, of what would be called Romanticism.[23] Specifically, *The Pleasures of Hope* opens with a contemplation on 'Nature', recalling the lines from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Criticism*,[24] which advise an aspiring artist to

> First follow NATURE, and your Judgment frame
> By her just Standard, which is still the same:
> Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,
> One clear, unchang'd and Universal Light,
> Life, Force, and Beauty, must to all impart,
> At once the Source, and End, and Test of Art
> Art from that Fund each just Supply provides,
> Works without Show, and without Pomp presides.[25]

For the poet–speaker of *The Pleasures of Hope,* nature and the natural world do indeed offer a constant 'Standard' from which to start an exploration of the nature and character of 'Hope'. From such a start, Campbell builds on Pope's reflections on the permanent aspects of human personality and experience of the natural world. Nature becomes a unifying force capable of reconciling seemingly divergent elements, such as the natural world with the human mind or the solitary wanderer seeking union with nature. Campbell's poem consequently suggests a reading of the natural world at variance from the Pope of the *Essay on Criticism*, even though Pope's work also speaks to unity: for Campbell, the 'mountain' attracts 'the musing eye' (*PH*, I, 3), clearly playing on the dual meaning of 'muse' to introduce the character of the poet as the initial observer of the landscape. Immediately, the 'sunbright summit mingles with the sky' (l. 4) and thus becomes 'More sweet than all the landscapes smiling near' (l. 6). Campbell thus establishes a relationship between the natural world and the human mind that anticipates the poet/speaker of 'Lines Composed a

Few Miles above Tintern Abbey',[26] who finds in nature 'what they [the senses] half create'.[27] Like Wordsworth's traveller, Campbell's 'musing' observer also sees nature as (to borrow from the former's language):

> The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
> The guide, the guardian of my heart and soul
> Of all my moral being. ('Tintern Abbey', 107–09)

The natural world, then, for Wordsworth as for Campbell functions as a beginning but not as an end: those minds inclined to 'muse' on the landscape lend aspiration to perception and draw a connection between that which the senses perceive and that which 'Hope', bred of human need and human expectation, creates. Campbell's language suggests that such creations are also natural: the mountain becomes the focal point of both the 'musing eye' and the sun; nature becomes a place of union between the metaphorical light of the heavens and the seeds of light in a poetic mind. As a consequence, the distant landscape, touched by the light of transcendent illumination, becomes 'more sweet' than nearby landscapes, the components of which the senses can clearly discern: 'Thus, with delight we linger to survey | The promised joy of life's unmeasured way' (*PH*, 1, 9–10). The poetic imagination invigorates the present with the possibilities of the future, with 'Hope'.

Transcendent hope thus functions as a type of balancing or unifying force, drawing together that which the senses perceive, that which can be measured, and that which our individual perceptions create. Inspired by such hope, poetry reconciles opposing philosophical assumptions regarding the nature of the human mind and of its abilities to understand the world. In *The Pleasures of Hope,* poetry functions as a 'potent spirit' who 'guides the raptured eye | To pierce the shades of dim futurity' (1, 15–16). The 'raptured eye', the imaginative agent of perception, 'Waked by' (l. 27) the touch of transcendent and unifying 'Hope', discerns the 'sister band'—the nine muses who will in turn inspire the isolated yet 'raptured' observer of human nature and the natural world to 'call each slumbering passion into play' (l. 26) and to 'charm life's bewildered way' (l. 25). The poetic observer will create a work of art that will inspire, engender 'Hope', in other like-minded readers. Campbell's transcendent moment of inspiration which precedes and engenders that creative force finds a resonance in Burke's 'astonishment', in that 'astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended'.[28] Campbell's poet, confronted with his perception of the natural world, has cause to 'linger' with 'delight'. Burke goes on to observe:

> In this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it. Hence arises the great power of the sublime, that, far from being produced by them, it anticipates our reasonings, and hurries us on by an irresistible force.[29]

Campbell's poet is indeed suspended in that 'which glows divinely' (l. 14) in his perceptions and, subsequently, 'With meteor-standard to the winds unfurled, | Looks from his throne of clouds over half the world' (*PH*, I, 59–60). Akin to Burke's 'astonishment', Campbell's 'Hope' precedes artistic production and functions as a necessary component in the artistic process. Both astonishment and hope, then, are integral components in the moments of transcendence that accompany inspiration.

Significantly, Campbell roots his observations of individual hope in a communal experience; in doing so, he echoes and then expands upon the reflections of William Cowper, a poet whose work Campbell admired.[30] The poet–speaker of *The Pleasures of Hope* remarks that 'we linger', stressing the plurality of the experience despite its immediate presence in a single observer's mind. Even those who have chosen or are fated to an isolated existence share in the communal experience of inspiration. Campbell observes that

> […] in Nature's languid hour
> The way-worn pilgrim seeks the summer bower;
> There, as the wild bee murmurs on the wing,
> What peaceful dreams thy handmaid spirits bring!
> What viewless forms the Aeolian organ play,
> And sweep the furrowed lines of anxious thought away.
>
> (*PH*, I, 47–52)

Campbell employs the language of the religious 'pilgrim', who journeys in search of the meaning of life and hope and who, despite nature's initial languor, discovers a spiritual union with the natural world in the 'sounds' of the bee and in the gifts of the muse. This use of the religious pilgrim is reminiscent of the 'Christian' in Cowper's 'Hope':

> Hope! Nothing else can nourish and secure
> His new-born virtues and preserve him pure.
> Hope! Let the wretch, once conscious of the joy,
> Whom now despairing agonies destroy.
> Speak, for he can, and none so well as he,
> What treasures centre, what delights in thee.[31]

Cowper's forlorn pilgrim must speak from the 'delight' inspired by a faithful belief in 'Hope'. For Cowper, 'Hope' exists within the individual and, not, as in Campbell, in a relationship between the individual and the external world. Indeed, for Cowper, 'Nature opposes, with her utmost force', the 'Christian […] consciousness' in which lies the 'genuine hope' of purging an individual from sin ('Hope', ll. 639, 635–36). Sin and the natural world, then, for Cowper stand united against an individual's redemption. Essentially, for both Campbell and Cowper, the pilgrims dwell initially in despair: for Cowper, it is the pilgrim's faith that redeems his experiences and lifts him from despair, while for Campbell, nature speaks to the pilgrim and in its subtle 'murmurs' discovers a 'Hope' that renews him by washing clean his 'anxious thoughts'. For Cowper,

'Hope' speaks clearly to the 'wretch' who has fallen from faith and speaks in a clear voice; Campbell's poem argues for a relationship between the individual and nature that is both redemptive and reciprocal. Nature does not dictate to Campbell's languid pilgrim: rather, it mirrors his languor and then offers soft and subtle sounds of redemption. For Cowper, nature is an alien force that must be defeated for 'Hope' to enter into the soul of the forlorn wanderer, but for Campbell, 'Hope' represents an integration of the natural world and the individual's consciousness.

Campbell's poem argues not for an isolation of the individual,[32] even though he may be physically isolated, but for an integration of the individual with the natural world that can—like the poet of Coleridge's 'The Aeolian Harp'—discover in nature's 'soft floating witchery of sound' that 'Which meets all motion and becomes its soul'.[33] Coleridge's poet, like Campbell's, hears in the sounds of the 'Aeolian organ' a subtle yet complete communion with the natural world. In an echo of the juxtaposition between Cowper and Campbell, Coleridge's poet does battle with a 'Daughter in the family of Christ', who upbraids him for the 'shapings of the unregenerate mind' ('Aeolian Harp', ll. 53, 55). Unlike Coleridge, however, Campbell does not offer a direct confrontation between the Christian and the worshiper of nature, leaving open the possibility that the two are not mutually exclusive.[34] Indeed, Campbell suggests that both receive like gifts and that these gifts come from a like source.

Campbell's emphasis on a communal experience as a source of hope is also apparent in his poem's consideration of mortality. Ironically, *The Pleasures of Hope* achieves commonality in coming to terms with death within a poetic narrative of personal testimony (in the story of Conrad). The presentation of an individual's perspective may seem to alienate others from that perspective; however, Campbell presents Conrad in such a way as to allow the reader to identify with him and his experiences. In choosing to articulate his ideas in the form of a personal testimony that unites reader and character, Campbell accomplishes what he saw as the failure of earlier poetry which contemplates a similar subject. Robert Herrick, whose 'To the Virgins, to make much of Time' Campbell admired,[35] meditates on death in his 'Good precepts, or counsell':

> In all thy need, be thou possest
> Still with a well-prepared brest:
> Nor let the shackles make thee sad;
> Thou canst but have, what others had.
> And this for comfort thou must know,
> Times that are ill won't still be so.
> Clouds will not ever power down rain;
> *A sullen day will cleere againe.*
> First, peales of Thunder we must heare,
> Then Lutes and harpes shall stroke the eare.[36]

Campbell writes of the collection to which 'Good precepts' belongs as 'pieces on religious subjects where [Herrick's] volatile genius was not in her element'.[37] Herrick's poem, nonetheless, espouses sentiments very much consistent with those of 'Conrad of Sydney Cove'. However, Campbell accomplishes his celebration of triumph over death not through objective contemplation of a supposed truth, as does Herrick, but rather in the subjective dialogue of a father and daughter. Thus, the contemplation takes on an air of truth, as Hutcheson observes such poetry would, because it links the abstract to personal testimony. Clearly, an encounter with death is subjective, but, ironically, a deeply personal encounter makes it an all the more convincing and universal experience. Campbell, then, offers the 'hope' of a personal testimony rather than a statement of religious principles to demonstrate that the 'spark' of a human life transcends death. He offers an imaginative creation, in the witness of 'Conrad', in order to stimulate an imaginative response in the reader.

Such imaginative engagement, then, enables Campbell to conclude *The Pleasures of Hope,* with a testament of his principles that are consequent to the poetic imagination. For Campbell, 'Eternal Hope' shares an origin with the natural world (II, 467). Addressing 'Hope' directly, his poet–speaker observes that 'Thy Joyous youth began' simultaneously with 'yonder spheres sublime' (II, 469, 467), which suggests a kinship between the created world and hope, and juxtaposes their common heritage in order to demonstrate their relationship with one another. Using the word 'sublime' suggests that the 'spheres' and, by association, 'hope' have a divine connection, that they are not simply that which can be measured through objective scientific observation. Additionally, Campbell observes that the planets are subject to the 'march of Time' (*PH*, II, 468), that they are subject to mutability and death. However, hope stands apart from the created world in that, even though nature decays, hope lives on, 'not to fade' (l. 469) and actually takes sustenance from the end of all things:

> When all the sister planets have decayed,
> When wrapt in fire the realms of ether glow,
> And Heaven's last thunder shakes the world below,
> Thou, undismayed, shalt o'er the ruin smile,
> And light thy torch at Nature's funeral pile! (ll. 470–74)

Hope triumphs over death and can even be read as glorifying in its ability to exist beyond nature; however, the final line suggests an even more intimate relationship between hope and the death of the living world: one through which hope will 'light' its 'torch' at 'Nature's funeral pile', that it will enhance, and therefore change, its form by taking fire directly from the still burning ashes of nature's death. Hope consequently gathers inspiration, to use one of the symbolic connotations of fire, from nature's changing form, and the energy, the light, drawn from nature's death will be added to hope and the inspiration drawn from hope. Within Campbell's epistemology, the natural world—that realm subject to empirical observation—and that which lies beyond the

measurable—the world of sceptical enquiry—contribute to one another, share an intimate relationship and point of origin, and even as nature decays, the products of its demise, 'fire' and by association imaginative insight, transfer themselves to hope. Campbell concludes *The Pleasures of Hope* with an image of a transcendent hope carrying forward the light of the natural world under new forms. Campbell's observations recall the lines of Coleridge's 'Dejection: An Ode', in which the speaker observes that in 'our life alone does Nature live: | Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud'.[38] For both Coleridge and Campbell, there exists an intimate relationship between hope and nature, ultimately growing into, for Coleridge, a 'light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud'—an image similar to Campbell's hope's light taken from nature's funeral fires. For Coleridge, the smoke from that final fire, 'Enveloping the Earth' and 'from the soul itself must there be sent | A sweet and potent voice, of its own birth, | Of all sweet sounds the life and element!'[39] For Coleridge, as for Campbell, inspiration arises in reaction to, and in an effort to reverse, the decay of the poet's response to the natural world and even of individual human life.

The process carries a resonance with what Coleridge would call the 'Secondary Imagination' in that it 'dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still, at all events, it struggles to idealise and to unify'.[40] Shelley articulates a similar view in the opening passage of his 'Defense of Poetry':

> According to one mode of regarding those two classes of mental action, which are called reason and imagination, the former may be considered as mind contemplating the relations borne by one thought to another, however produced, and the latter, as mind acting upon those thoughts so as to colour them with its own light, and composing from them, as from elements, other thoughts, each containing within itself the principle of its own integrity. [...] Reason respects the differences, and imagination the similitudes of things. Reason is to imagination as the instrument to the agent, as the body to the spirit, as the shadow to the substance.[41]

For Coleridge, Shelley, and Campbell, the poetic imagination breaks down in order to recreate and, in doing so, unifies that which comes before into a vital force. It is as Edmund Burke observes in *The Sublime and the Beautiful*:

> the mind of man possesses a sort of creative power of its own; either in representing at pleasure the images of things in the order and manner in which they were received by the senses, or in combining those images in a new manner, and according to a different order. This power is called the imagination.[42]

Thomas Campbell would only rarely rise again rise to the level of poetic expression of that imaginative power that he articulates in *The Pleasures of Hope.* Instead, he would turn towards the more practical application of the ideals of the Romantic movement. Nonetheless, his work is an early poetic expression of

the Romantic ideal, even though, as he articulates in his original introduction to *The Pleasures of Hope,* the 'charm dissolves' and he will 'bless the smiling guest of other days' (1, 20). Campbell's 'other days' included the project of a university in London: on 6 June 1825, *The Times* published an article that described the goal of the project to establish an urban university at a 'rate of expense so economical as to bring the benefits of the establishment within the reach of almost every class in society', observing that Campbell was the 'most active' of all the gentlemen involved in this early venture (p. 4). Indeed, Campbell's passion for education and for students resulted not only in the formation of what would become University College London but also in his being elected rector of Glasgow University by the students in 1827, 1828, and 1829. Ultimately, he did not attain the promised membership in the French Academy but did see *The Pleasures of Hope* published as *Les Plaisirs de l'espérance* by the Parisian firm Baudry late in 1824.

Notes

1. Philip Flynn provided invaluable assistance in the production of this article.

2. Below is the complete text of the unpublished letter, held in Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark:

> 12th November 1824
> No 10 Upper Seymour Street West
> My Dear Sir,
>
> I received your kind note at Cheltenham where I was in very bad health and obliged to abstain from all business and correspondence. I have returned to London from necessity much sooner than I wished and still but very poorly. It is still an effort for me to write. It would be double so to express myself in French. And on this account I trust you will excuse me putting you to the trouble of reading an English letter. I have to return you many thanks for your communication with Mons Montemont. Strange as it may appear it is nonetheless true that I did not finish my alterations on my new poem till yesterday and I could not forward a copy to Paris before Monday the 15th. The poem will be out in London on the 22nd so that I fear I have kept it too late for the possibility of its being published in Paris.
>
> To you and to Montemont I feel quite as much obliged as if the kind office which has been offered had been realized. I will still beg leave to hold Mr Montemont to his promise of translating Theodoric. And I will for that purpose transmit to you the first copy which I can get from the Printer's hands.
>
> Whenever the translation of the Pleasures of Hope arrives I shall be much flattered to see myself in French Costume.
>
> I know not what steps I ought to take to announce my intention to be a candidate for the honour of a seat in the Academy but shall await your directions.
>
> Begging to be remembered with the utmost gratitude to Mons. Montemont

I remain
Dear Sir
Your obliged and faithful servant
T. Campbell

3. William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p. 591.
4. Ibid., p. 161.
5. Simon Bainbridge, 'The Historical Context', in *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide*, edited by Nicholas Roe (Oxford: OUP, 2005), p. 16.
6. The *Cambridge History of English and American Literature* notes of *The Pleasure of Hope* that it 'scarcely ever gets beyond metred rhetoric'. Nonetheless, the poem and Campbell have had their admirers. J. Logie Robertson, in his preface to *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (London: OUP, 1907), writes of feelings 'of mingled surprise and indignation that he is at present so much neglected, and with the conviction that a later generation will do more honour to his memory than we have done' (p. iii). Robertson's optimism thus far has not borne fruit and few studies of his life and work exist to do 'honour to his memory' other than Mary Ruth Miller's *Thomas Campbell* (Boston: Twayne, 1978): Miller writes that 'before his death he had been relegated to second place among classic English authors—a judgment that still prevails' (p. 9). Peter Macaulay attempts 'A Revaluation' of Campbell and his work, in *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*, 50 (1969), 39–46. However, subsequent to his essay, other than a few notes on Campbell's influence on Shelley, by George Richards in 'Thomas Campbell and Shelley's "Queen Mab" ', *American Notes and Queries*, 10 (1971), 5–6, only Timothy Fulford offers a critical study of Campbell's writing, in 'Romantic Indians and Colonial Politics: The Case of Thomas Campbell', *Symbiosis*, 2.2 (Oct 1998), 203–23.
7. Bainbridge, 'Historical Context', p. 16.
8. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* edited by L. G. Mitchell (Oxford: OUP, 1999), p. 280.
9. *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 21; subsequent references to *The Pleasures of Hope* will be given in the main essay, abbreviated *PH*, followed by the appropriate Part number.
10. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, edited by Adam Phillips (Oxford: OUP, 1998), p. 17.
11. David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, edited by Eric Steinberg (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1993), p. 114.
12. Campbell would, in a letter written in 1813, comment on Newton's 'optics' more directly in connection with a friend, Dr (later Sir) William Herschel (1738–1822). However, Campbell seems less impressed with Newton than he does with Herschel's 'supernatural intelligence'—see William Beattie (ed.), *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, 3 vols (London: Moxon, 1849), 1, 236. Essentially, Campbell uses Newton in order to achieve a spiritual connection with his friend, implicitly rejecting then the rational tests of knowledge Newton advocates.
13. Isaac Newton, *Opticks*, introduced by Nicholas Humez (1704; London: Smith and Wadford, 1998), p. 380.
14. Ibid., p. 381.
15. Campbell not only knew Reid's works well, Reid and Campbell's father were on intimate terms: Alexander Campbell was 'the confidential friend of […] Dr.

Thomas Reid, from whom the poet received his name in baptism. On publishing his celebrated 'Inquiry into the Human Mind,' Dr. Reid gave a copy to his friend Mr. [Alexander] Campbell, who after reading it attentively, called upon the author, and thanked him for the great pleasure and edification which his new work had afforded him' (*Life and Letters*, I, 15).

16. For a more comprehensive discussion of Scottish Enlightenment philosophers, see Philip Flynn's *Enlightened Scotland: A Study and Selection of Scottish Philosophical Prose* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1992).
17. Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, edited by Derek Brookes (Edinburgh: EUP, 1997), p. 1.
18. Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue in Two Treatises*, edited by Wolfgang Leidhold (1725; Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003), p. 81.
19. Ibid., p. 82.
20. Ibid., p. 116.
21. Burke, *The Sublime and the Beautiful*, pp. 117–18.
22. Campbell, *Complete Poetical Works*, p. 21.
23. Miller makes a similar observation: 'Thomas Campbell was a humanitarian poet in a transitional position between Classicism and Romanticism' (*Thomas Campbell*, p. 9).
24. Campbell observes that 'Pope was neither so insensible to the beauties of nature, nor so indistinct in describing them as to forfeit the character of a genuine poet. […] Nature is the poet's goodness; but by nature, no one rightly understands her mere inanimate face'—see his *Specimens of the British Poets* (1819; Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1875), p. 59.
25. *An Essay on Criticism*, ll. 68–75; in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, edited by John Butt (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963).
26. Albert Morton Turner notes that the 'first possible influence of Wordsworth on Campbell's poetry occurs in the year 1824' and, as *The Pleasures of Hope* is roughly contemporaneous with 'Tintern Abbey' it is likely that Campbell and Wordsworth simply arrived at a similar philosophic place and at similar time—see Turner's 'Wordsworth's Influence on Thomas Campbell', *PMLA*, 38.2 (June 1923), 253–66.
27. William Wordsworth, 'Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey', l. 106; in *The Major Works*, edited by Stephen Gill (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 132.
28. Burke, *The Sublime and the Beautiful*, p. 63.
29. Ibid., p. 63.
30. Writing in *Specimens* of Cowper's first volume of poetry, which contains 'Hope', Campbell observes that its 'reception was not equal to its merit' and that the 'volume was certainly good fruit under a rough rind' (p. 705).
31. William Cowper, 'Hope', ll. 169–74; in *Cowper's Poetical Works*, edited by H. S. Milford (Oxford: OUP, 1926), p. 63.
32. In *Specimens*, Campbell writes of Cowper that he 'espoused the side of justice and humanity', but also that 'the most refined planter in the West Indies may look, with neither shame nor compunction, on his own image in the pages of Cowper' (p. 709).
33. Coleridge, 'The Aeolian Harp', ll. 20 and 27, in *The Major Works*, edited by H. J. Jackson (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 27.
34. In an ironic reference to a solitary adventurer, Campbell creates another distinction between his poetic vision and that of his more celebrated Romantic con-

temporaries. He discusses how Byron, the adventurer and the poet's grandfather, too is touched by the universal qualities of communion with the natural world in sharp contrast to the grandson Byron's isolated hero who stands apart and defiant: 'The suffocating sense of woe, | Which speaks but in its loneliness, | And then is jealous lest the sky | Should have a listener, nor will sigh | Until its voice is echoless' (Byron, 'Prometheus', ll. 10–14, in *Major Works*, edited by Jerome J. McGann (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 265).

35. Campbell calls Herrick's 'To the Virgins, to make much of Time' 'sweetly Anacreontic' but adds that in Herrick's 'pieces on religious subjects […] his volatile genius was not in her element' (*Specimens*, p. 284).
36. 'Good precepts, or counsell', ll. 1–10; in *Poems of Robert Herrick*, edited by F. W. Moorman (Oxford: OUP, 1933), p. 262.
37. Campbell, *Specimens*, p. 284.
38. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Dejection: An Ode', Part IV, ll. 2–3; in *Major Works*, p. 117.
39. Ibid., Part IV, ll. 9–12, p. 117.
40. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, edited by J. Shawcross, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), I, 202.
41. Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'A Defence of Poetry', p. 1; in *Shelley's Poetry and Proese*, edited by Donald Reiman and Neil Freistat (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2002).
42. Burke, *The Sublime and the Beautiful*, p. 21.

Referring to this Article

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'The Approbation of my Own Heart'
Virtue and Duty in Harriet Ventum's *Selina* and *Justina*

Barbara Vesey

I

> I leave it to be settled by whomsoever it may concern, whether the tendency of this work be altogether to recommend parental tyranny, or reward filial disobedience.[1]

With her signature knowingness and wit, Jane Austen ends *Northanger Abbey* (written in 1798 but not published until December 1817, five months after her death) with this provocative sentence. The epigraph speaks directly to the tension between filial duty and duty to oneself which Harriet Ventum explores in her first two novels. In both *Selina, a Novel, Founded on Facts* (1800) and *Justina; or, the History of a Young Lady* (1801), Ventum's female characters are more than mere paragons of virtue but actual flesh-and-blood women coping with sophisticated moral dilemmas. Adopting a deeply moral, Christian tone which simultaneously takes into account pre-Christian, Aristotelian ideas surrounding morality, these novels implicitly endorse a woman's right to choose her future, while exploring the characters' complex motivations and emotions. Ventum's first two novels, therefore, offer an insight into traditional and contemporary ideas about the nature of virtue in the very first years of the nineteenth century.

Through an examination of her two eponymous heroines, this essay will consider Ventum's exploration of both established and more progressive notions: the necessity for filial obedience versus the pursuit of personal happiness, of duty to others versus duty to self.

As these conflicting notions underscore, at the time Ventum was writing the ground had been shifting underfoot for some years. Following the French Revolution there were, as Linda Colley has pointed out, mass fears of any kind of similar dissent in Britain, calling forth a conservative backlash—felt not least by women:

> Just like the French Jacobins would do after 1789, British moralists condemned *ancien regime* France for allowing women an unnatural

> prominence […] Describing 'inappropriate' female behaviour as French in this way was partly a polemical tactic: a means by which British moralists could stress how alien and unwelcome they found such behaviour to be.[2]

One of the most popular and pervasive viewpoints regarding women and the changing times was that of Edmund Burke, whose *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) was highly influential on popular political and social thought:

> the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever […] On this scheme of things, a king is but a man, a queen is but a woman; a woman is but an animal, and an animal not of the highest order. All homage paid to the sex in general as such, and without distinct views, is to be regarded as romance and folly.[3]

It was perhaps in response to polemic such as this that Harriet Ventum made her female protagonists so three-dimensional; as Karen Morton has argued, 'the restrictions of behaviour coupled with the need to be seen to conform meant that boundaries were rigid […] [women writers were in a] particularly good position to blur those boundaries.'[4]

The moralists had good reason to be concerned: new roles for women were being created—and taken up, not just by women of the privileged ranks, but by those such as Ventum who were among the burgeoning middling classes. As well as an author, Ventum was a teacher, charged with instructing her pupils in precisely the kind of 'inappropriate' ideas abroad at this point regarding politics, social issues and other matters considered outside woman's natural sphere. Her desire to entertain as well as educate is voiced in the Preface to *Selina*, where she also calls forth the subject of having a moral to her story:

> if to a moral, which she trusts will be her advocate with the thinking part of her readers, the writer may perhaps have added a few sketches of character, not unworthy the subject, and by the conduct of the story succeed in arresting the attention of the thoughtless;—if, while she seems desirous only to amuse, she may sometimes have the good fortune to instruct;—the hours, that have glided not unpleasantly away in writing these volumes, will not be regretted as wholly lost.[5]

This desire to instruct as well as amuse stemmed from her teaching work, where she would have been faced daily with the challenge of making lessons instructive as well as diverting. During her career Ventum wrote several didactic tales for children and young people; in the Preface to one of these she states is her wish for all her writing: 'The following work is written purposely for […] instruction, as well as amusement'.[6]

This strain of didacticism reveals itself in Ventum's writing, which seeks to employ popular elements of suspense, exotic locations, humour, and pathos in the cause of delivering her moral message. Ventum was canny enough to

know what would sell, setting her stories among members of the *ton* (a segment of society she was most likely not part of), yet also commanding sufficient depth of understanding of the emotions, trials, and vicissitudes of life to focus on themes which most of her readers—whatever their background—could recognise and sympathise with. If the purpose of the novel at this time 'was explicitly educational and […] its main business was to inculcate morality by example', Ventum certainly strove to fulfil this function.[7]

The notion of practical virtue—'it was practical virtue, not metaphysical truth, that was the goal of effort in the eighteenth century'[8]—can also be thought of as what Karen Stohr translates as 'practical wisdom', as propounded by Aristotle. As Stohr points out, 'practical wisdom is necessary for the exercise of the moral virtues and […] conversely, the moral virtues are necessary for the exercise of practical wisdom'.[9] This Aristotelian concept of virtue allows for the fallibility of human nature. Even those with established moral principles cannot always be said to possess practical wisdom, as it also encompasses reason and judgement. Defining this 'intellectual virtue' as 'a form of knowledge aimed fundamentally at acting well', Stohr points out that it requires both a general understanding of what's worthwhile in human life, and the ability to act in ways that reflect that understanding.[10] In Ventum's novels *Selina* and *Justina*, her heroines enact this kind of virtue. Sarah Emsley, in her discussion of Jane Austen's characters, points out that they 'experience morality as a positive, if difficult, choice, not as a sacrifice, for even when they do choose to defer or renounce gratification […] it is in the service of a greater good […] that sustains them.'[11] If, as she posits, 'The question that is always at the beginning of ethical thought is, "How should I live my life?" ', then we can say that, like Austen, Ventum 'addresses this question directly in the characterization of her heroines'.[12]

An examination of Edward Copeland's graph of plots, which outlines the most common themes in novels from 1793 to 1815 (as noted by the *Lady's Magazine*), shows us that Ventum was both traditional and forward-looking in the themes she adopted in order to explore her female characters' sense of virtue. In 1800, the five most common plot-types, in order of frequency, were:

1. impoverished heroine saved by marriage
2. parental pressure to marry
3. woman responsible for welfare of family
4. woman suffers bad husband
5. housekeeping significant to heroine.[13]

Ventum makes use of the second, third, and fourth plots listed here, though in ways that subvert what might have been expected for the time. Her novels thus more realistically reflect the changing—and conflicting—ideas of conservatism and revolution in society at the time she was writing. Ventum's descriptions of her two main protagonists—their histories, fates and the other characters they interact with—and the stylistic elements of the Gothic and didactic, reveal

how she was able to answer both the public demand for sensation and her own private artistic desires to educate and entertain.

The theme of 'woman suffers bad husband' makes itself felt in both *Selina* and *Justina*. *Selina* opens with the heroine in hospital, nearing the end of her short life. It's made clear that being in a public hospital is frankly beneath someone of her former social status.[14] The first few pages are seen from the point of view of the respectable and perforce noble Dr X, who is immediately impressed with Selina's courage and beauty. Ventum thus fools the reader into thinking that this narrative is going to be of the 'impoverished heroine saved by marriage' variety. However, Selina promptly dies, leaving nothing in the way of worldly goods but a pocketbook containing a long letter to her young daughters. We are left wondering what she has done to have fallen so far and ended her life among strangers?

Ventum has a feel for suspense, however: we must wait another hundred-odd pages before we get to read Selina's letter. Meanwhile, the narrative shifts focus and time, fast-forwarding eight years to when her girls are sixteen and eleven. Freed from the constraints of family and fortune (or so she believes), the elder daughter, Emma, is nevertheless caught up in a struggle over filial duty with its roots in money and status: the parents of the man of her choice are opposed to their union. Ventum makes a case here for one of the chief generational disputes in the novel: the older generation clinging to the notion of marriages arranged based on fortune and name, the younger depicted as more far-sighted and wise, by recognising that a similarity of interests and desires is a greater guarantor not just of happiness but also of material success.

Howard Mordaunt is Emma's would-be lover, whose father wants him to marry the vain and profligate Emily Ferguson—a match that Howard recognises would be detrimental because Emily's habits, tastes and predilections are so dissimilar to his own as to ensure domestic disaster:

> He looked for something more than mere beauty in a wife; he hoped to find in one all the comforts of domestic happiness, and all the delights, that mutual confidence, arising from an union of minds, could bestow. (*Selina*, III, 3)

Sexual politics of quite a modern variety can also be seen here, as Ventum's male characters are distinctly weaker in terms of their 'practical wisdom' than her women. Howard, for example, is seen as emotionally labile and easily swayed from standards of virtue. Influenced by the back-biting Emily Ferguson, he all too easily believes that Emma is flirting with a rival and therefore unworthy of him. This is deeply uncomfortable reading, and disturbing to Emma who, noting this, responds in this way:

> Emma sat thunderstruck at the alteration she observed in him […] she felt offended, and hurt at this proof of the uncertainty of his disposition […] 'and this,' said she, mentally, 'is among the first

> proofs of his unabated love, that he takes the earliest opportunity of being offended.' (*Selina*, II, 218–20)

This episode also mirrors the mistrustfulness of Selina's husband Captain Manley, as described in Selina's long epistle to her daughters. Manley, we learn, was all too readily convinced that Selina was an incorrigible flirt—and therefore a threat to his own and her honour. He therefore banished her to Wales. This banishment, and the rundown castle she describes being sent to—as well as the minor skirmish with smugglers she encounters there—are among the more Gothic elements that mark this earlier period covered in the novel.

Selina, in her letter to her daughters, preaches obedience even though her own history could be seen to belie this. However, Ventum makes Selina sympathetic from the outset of the book and she is allowed to defend herself in her own voice for more than half of the novel. We are also made to see her through her daughters' eyes, which reinforces both her goodness and the weight of the injustices done to her by her father and her husband. Ventum makes Selina the moral centre of the book, and ensures that we know that Selina's goodness is of a deeper, more complex nature than that allowed expression in her society. Not for her the show and empty gaiety of the *ton*:

> [T]he remembrance of the past, when I was the object of admiration, when the young, the vain, and the giddy, all flocked around me, taking laws from my looks, and fashions from my manners, each eagerly striving to be noticed by me; what a change! Reflection told me, though I obtained by bitter experience the sentiments which now glowed in my heart, that I was at this time a far more useful member of society, than when, courted by the multitude, and the fashionable leader of amusements, I was the first in every gay assembly. (*Selina*, II, 152–53)

Selina's daughter Emma becomes the moral focus of the second generation of the novel. Presumed to have little fortune and less name, she succeeds because she has the same broader moral compass and steadfastness as her mother. This is demonstrated by the fact that, in spite of her lack of status, she maintains her dignity and sense of honour when Howard Mordaunt's father, Sir James, appeals directly to her not to stand in the way of his wish that Howard marry Emily Ferguson:

> '[H]ere receive my promise […] I will not enter your family; and since the happiness of it depends upon Mr Howard's marriage with a woman of fortune, I will be no obstacle to it […] I should think I derogated not only from delicacy, but what is due to myself, if I should again be tempted to listen to your son […] Believe me, sir […] I feel my own littleness; I acknowledge, that there are many circumstances, which make an union with me far from desirable.' (*Selina*, III, 24–25, 27)

This passage also shows us that Emma is no shrinking violet: although she is obeying Sir James's wish, she cannot resist expressing her indignation at his bad manners for having broached the subject with her, and for having implicitly accused her of being mercenary and insincere. For, even while she agrees with the undesirability of her connections and lack of fortune, she (and we) are aware that her self-possession and dignity are gifts worth far more.

In the letter that takes up over half of the novel, Selina treads a very careful line—exhorting her daughters by her example not to do as she did, yet never expressing regret about her loss of status in a society that prizes this over all. Selina is, in fact, superior to her society in every way that (Ventum persuades us) matters: she is, bravely, true to her own moral code in a climate that actually values money over moral fibre. But she is no paragon: she is fallible, and both she—and her daughter Emma—wrestle with the conflicting demands and expectations of their culture. Considered weak, they are often called upon to be strong; dismissed as flighty, they prove themselves steadfast. When Selina's father and the other elders concerned with her try to claim the moral high ground in order to disguise their acquisitiveness and snobbery, she has the moral courage to defy this hypocrisy and to stand by the choice she has made, even in the face of real hardship. When Captain Manley disappears at sea and she is left alone in London with two small children, taking in needlework to support them, she has the moral strength to resist temptation:

> 'Am I to give myself up to infamy and vice, because I am in trouble? Am I to derogate from a conduct, which has hitherto insured me the approbation of my own heart […]? No, no, though steeped to the very lips in misery, never will I despair.' (*Selina*, II, 163)

'The approbation of my own heart' is a telling phrase: it shows us that Selina has the strength of character to trust her own inner moral compass. This takes us back to the notion of 'practical wisdom' and of the experience of morality spoken of by Emsley.

This larger conception of virtue and morality in *Selina* was not appreciated by the contemporary critic of the *Monthly Review*, who—disapprovingly—wrote:

> This novel is written with a view of pointing out the evils attendant on disobedience to parents in the article of matrimonial connections […] Though we applaud the intention, we are of opinion that, to give the moral its full effect, the ill consequences of the breach of duty ought to be such as naturally and directly flow from it […][15]

Such criticism reveals for us a great deal about the expectations of the *Monthly Review*'s critic and, by extension, those of the paternalistic society he is part of and acting spokesperson for. In his failure to understand, or at least to appreciate, the complexity of motives, emotions, and relationships that Ventum explores, he reveals his own narrow strictures regarding acceptable depictions of women's

virtue—and also of the duties incumbent upon women novelists. The reviewer wants a black-and-white morality tale; Ventum has provided something much more subtle and true to life. As with the *British Critic*'s review of *Northanger Abbey*, which feels it must mention that while 'a good novel […] is, perhaps, among the most fascinating productions of modern literature […] we cannot say, that it is quite so improving as others',[16] the *Monthly Critic*'s reviewer fails to allow for the possibility that women writers might deliberately use shades of grey in their dissection of social norms and restrictions.

Perhaps in reaction to her critics—or poor sales—Ventum's *Justina*, the novel that followed *Selina* a year later, is more obviously concerned with the popular themes and motifs of the moment—namely, the Gothic. As Jerrold Hogle points out, 1800 was '[t]he largest single year yet for [the] number of Gothic novels published in England.'[17] *Justina* is made up entirely of letters, for the most part between Justina Trecothick, a native of Wales, and her close friend Matilda Nesbitt, living in Scotland. There are also occasional letters from Lord Osmond, Justina's would-be suitor, to his friend Frederick. This epistolary form allows for a less formal tone, and more insight into the characters' innermost feelings.

Once again the primary preoccupation of the main characters is a suitable marriage—the 'parental pressure to marry' plot illuminated by Copeland. Again, however, there are differing definitions of this depending on age, rank, and—to a certain extent—gender. It is another generational tale, where the views and morals of the older generation are set against those of the younger. The other plot addressed here, as in *Selina*, is that of 'woman responsible for welfare of family'. However, it is worth noting that here it is Justina, and not her mother, who is the woman responsible for the family's welfare. This brings to the fore one of the many Gothic-derived themes that makes itself felt: that of the absent mother. If 'the eighteenth century witnessed the idealisation of maternity that gave rise to modern motherhood […] women's novels help[ing to] […] construct modern maternity, generating a literary tradition with politically complex and psychologically enduring effects', then both of these novels by Ventum could be said to have been influenced accordingly.[18] Mothers (both absent and present) in both novels act as moral signposts for their children—particularly their daughters, by way of their actions (or, in the case of Justina's mother, inaction). Selina is of course a mother herself and, in spite of the filial disobedience that has brought her to a low ebb at the start of the novel, she is portrayed throughout as a virtuous woman who merits our sympathy and identification. Significantly, through her failure to obey her father, marrying instead someone of whom he thoroughly disapproves, she comes to be stronger morally throughout the novel.

To take us back to the epigraph at the start of this essay, perhaps Selina has her father's recalcitrance to thank for the life lessons she learns. Ventum's

readers could not have failed to be moved by descriptions such as this within the novel:

> Thus passed, or rather lingered, another four months, during which I experienced the most pinching necessity, frequently wanting the common necessities of life. For many weeks, our chief subsistence was bread and potatoes […] (*Selina*, II, 159)

Selina casts a long shadow over the events and outcomes in the novel, and her absence is felt by her daughters. Justina's mother, on the other hand, is absent in quite a different way: she is weak, ineffectual, and incapable of looking after her daughter. As Lord Osmond writes to his friend: '[Justina's] mother has given such a glaring proof of her own credulity, and imbecility of character'.[19] It is Justina who must take on the role of head of the family. Just one instance of this is when she and her mother are being held captive by Justina's wicked stepfather—who plans to marry her off to the odious Sir Evan—in an isolated house in Sicily: 'At present they have it all their own way; but […] I may yet turn the tables […] my resolve […] is invariably fixed' (*Justina*, III, 95, 119). Shortly after she writes this, Justina does indeed take action to secure her own and her mother's escape.

Justina's correspondent, Matilda, is an orphan; as such she must also take on the role of head of her family. It is a task she is more than equal to. Faced with adversity, she writes to Justina:

> [M]y fortunes are sunk—my prospects altered—and even my hopes blighted: nothing remains but the *native freedom of my mind*, and the power of thinking, and, I trust, *acting right* […] (*Justina*, II, 143)

Alongside female characters who are decisive and in command, *Justina* also includes many more traditionally Gothic elements such as women in peril. In trying to appeal to a readership hungry for adventure, Ventum's second novel boasts descriptions of foreign climes, abductions, convents, monks, nuns, and orphans. Yet, Ventum uses these elements to her own purpose: the Gothic device of confinement, for example, is used by Ventum to explore the characters' opportunity for self-reflection, and when Justina and her mother are held captive in the Sicilian countryside, imprisonment is used as a metaphor for one's inner life, and seen as an opportunity for contemplation and gaining greater self-awareness.

In writing about issues such as these, Ventum reveals expectations of her readers that are decidedly sophisticated. At this point in time, 1800, it is notable that these 'minor' novels of Ventum's give voice and place to a world, a climate, where a woman's virtue does not preclude flouting accepted 'moral' behaviour such as filial duty. Women of this time would have welcomed this kind of writing, as food for debate. As Harriet Guest has written, women were participating 'through their literacy' in an enlarged kind of public oratory, and

enjoying greater freedom to espouse—and publish, and read about—themselves and their lives.[20] Guest cogently points out that

> eighteenth-century novels themselves participate in debate that cuts across genres; they assume readers who are also immersed in periodical literature, in poetry, in histories [...] Novels echo debates and discourses the implications of which may only be spelled out in, say, polemical essays, or conduct books, or private letters.[21]

These were Ventum's readers, too, and she was up to the task of entertaining them *and* giving them food for thought. The epistolary form she uses for all of *Justina* and more than half of *Selina* allows her heroines their own voice. Later in her career, Ventum would go on to write several works of fiction for children, on themes ranging from scientific enquiry and the vicissitudes of a soldier's life to the importance of virtuous and obedient behaviour in children and the adults responsible for them. This change of genre speaks of her desire to influence the rising generation in a way mirrored in her teaching work—though it is worth pointing out, with Mitzi Myers, that readers of this period 'did not yet bracket off the juvenile from the adult, popular fiction from the high-art novel, or moral concerns from aesthetic forms'.[22]

Harriet Ventum was, of course—as we all are—a product of her times. Yet she was also possessed of an intelligence capable of embracing ideas about women, motherhood, and virtue at variance with and challenging of the prevailing notions that existed in the very first years of the nineteenth century. While she conforms in terms of the things these novels take for granted—a woman's place, a woman's finer feelings—at the same time, she breaks out of these strictures by making both Selina and Justina, as characters, strong and with the presence of mind and moral intelligence to navigate their way through life. Once she has made them our focus, by creating them as sympathetic characters we identify with, she is free to break out of conformity and to construct their motives and actions as complex and multi-dimensional, granting them a depth that makes them full and well-rounded characters and women.

Mitzi Myers' excellent examination of the vagaries of creating a canon is particularly apt with writers such as Ventum, I believe, for while the 'erasure' of Ventum's work can all too easily be put down to its relative lack of originality, it could, as well, have fallen by the wayside because it did not 'fit the paradigm of periodization that eventually became our way of making sense of the Revolutionary decades'.[23] For readers of her own time, and particularly women, Ventum offered stories that, while dramatic and entertaining, also presented them with characters whose motives and moral dilemmas they could recognise. It could be argued that those works of art considered in the main to be second- or even third-rate can actually tell us a good deal more about contemporary preoccupations and concerns, fashions and mores than the 'classics'. More 'serious' works often have a groundbreaking element (which by

definition breaks with the times), which both contributes to their longevity and marks them out as superior.

By contrast, *Selina* and *Justina* are not saying anything radical, but are rehearsing well-trodden ground which by its very ordinariness demonstrates how far the ideas propounded have come to be commonplace and accepted in the society of the time. Nothing happens in isolation. Any historicist evaluation of Ventum's works—and her works demand to be analysed in an historicist light—reveals that without novels like Ventum's there would not have been the innovators who came after her. By definition, those taking a new path need an old one to stray from. So what could be seen as derivative or second-rate can just as easily be read, and understood, as better than that by virtue of its fluid use of prevailing themes and tropes. If you regard

> the study of literary history as including within its province the tudy of the ideas and feelings which other men in past times have been moved by, and of the processes by which what may be called literary and philosophical public opinion is formed [...] your minor writer may be as important as—he may often, from this point of view, be more important than—the authors of what are now regarded as masterpieces.[24]

There is not—or shouldn't be—anything timeless or unassailable about the canon,[25] yet in the headlong pursuit of the next recovered masterpiece we are in danger of losing sight of the smaller gems. Focusing on only a tiny percentage of the literary output of a period is as wrongheaded as extrapolating an elephant from just its trunk. As Myers points out, we cannot say 'here is how women wrote; here are all the women who matter' until we have accorded writers such as Ventum a place in the 'serried ranks' of novelists of the time.[26] Our understanding of the long eighteenth century will forever be incomplete until we have examined works such as those by Harriet Ventum. The writer 'has to trust only to the unbiassed judgment of her readers [...] unknowing what may be it's [*sic*] fate,—herself unknown as a writer,—her book steals silently to it's [*sic*] trial,—timid—not hopeless;—doubting—yet resigned' (*Selina*, I, viii).

II

Harriet Ventum (*fl.* 1800–1814): An Author Study

Born Harriet Crossley sometime in the 1760s, Harriet Ventum would seem to have spent most of her life within a two-mile radius in London. Nothing is known of her early years, but we can glean some information from the work she later produced: she was educated—she worked for part of her life as a teacher in a school—she may perhaps have travelled to Italy, Wales, and Portugal among other places, and she may have been a part of or known about members of the gentry.

On 12 October 1786, Harriet married a Thomas Ventum at St Benet Gracechurch, London.[27] According to *The Times* for 10 December 1790, the couple took up residence in a house at 20 Greville Street, Holborn. There is a record of a Thomas Ventum given as a 'court officer' and 'gentleman pensioner', a post he held between 1788 and 1789.[28] (The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'gentleman-pensioners' as 'royal bodyguards, one of 40 gentlemen who act as guards or attendants to the sovereign on state occasions'.)

On 11 November 1790, Harriet and Thomas christened their daughter, Elizabeth Frances, at St Andrew's Church Holborn. However, Thomas's duties to the King seem to have ended abruptly—the record simply states, 'vac by 1790'.[29] Then, in December 1790 and January 1791, Thomas's name appears twice in the archives of *The Times*—under 'Sales by Auction'—first on Friday, 10 December 1790:

> Lot I. A Spacious FREEHOLD HOUSE, situate No. 20, on the Southside of Greville-street, recently repaired, and let, to Mr. Ventum, one year of whose term was unexpired at Lady-day last [25th March 1790], at a very low Annual Rent, clear of Land Tax and all Outgoings, of FIFTY POUNDS per Annum.[30]

—and then for Tuesday 18th January 1791:

> By HENRY WATKINS,
>
> On the Premises, No. 20 Greville street, Hatton Garden, THIS DAY and TO-MORROW, at Twelve o'Clock
>
> THE Neat and Genuine HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, Plate, Linen, China, Prints, and Books, of
>
> Mr. THOMAS VENTUM,
>
> amongst which are neat four-post and sield [*sic*] bedsteads, with printed cotton and morine furnitures, a number of good beds and bedding, a general assortment of cabinet work, a fine toned harpsichord by Griffin, an eight day clock in mahogany case, good kitchen requisites and other effects.
>
> To be viewed to the Sale, and Catalogues had on the Premises, and of Henry Watkins, no. 63 Holborn Hill.[31]

Perhaps these were felicitous rather than ominous events; perhaps the Ventums simply needed a bigger residence for themselves and their new daughter; but it is just as likely that their financial circumstances may have been taking a distinct turn for the worse. Almost two years later, on 13 December 1792, a second daughter, Mary Harrison, was christened when she was two days old in the Lying-in Hospital at Endell Street. The hasty christening tells us that, in all likelihood, the child did not survive; the place of Harriet's confinement almost certainly indicates that at this point her circumstances were very much straitened indeed.

For the next eight years the trail goes cold; however, turning to Ventum's work we find a description of extremely straitened circumstances in her first novel, *Selina* (tantalisingly subtitled 'A Novel, Founded on Facts'), published in 1800. Certain passages in this novel speak of first-hand experience of real penury. *Selina* was printed for C. Law, Avemaria-Lane, by Bye and Law, St John's-Square, Clerkenwell. A second novel, *Justina; or, The History of a Young Lady* followed in 1801. For the next thirteen years, however, Ventum turned her attentions and talents almost exclusively from novels for adults to didactic prose intended to improve and inspire children and young people, writing seven books for children, four of which were published by J. Harris, successor to Elizabeth and Francis Newbery, the famous children's publishers who had a press-*cum*-bookshop in St Paul's Churchyard. (The renowned Newbery Medal, awarded annually to the author of the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children, was named in tribute to the Newbery family of publishers.)

In the Preface written for her fifth book (and her third for children), published in 1802 and entitled *Surveys of Nature: A Sequel to Mrs Trimmer's Introduction*, Ventum writes,

> Engaged in the business of a school, and constantly in the habit of teaching, I found that although Mrs Trimmer's Introduction was a very serviceable work for the perusal, something on the same plan, but on a rather more enlarged scale, with more particular descriptions, would be highly necessary to assist my purpose of instruction with the elder ones.[32]

Thus we know that she worked as a teacher alongside her work as a writer. Perhaps Ventum was influenced in part by a desire to contribute to the growing canon of work by women, such as Maria Edgeworth and Sarah Trimmer, which sought to meet the social mood of concern for the 'rising generation' during turbulent times at home and abroad.

I could find no extant record of Thomas Ventum's death, nor of a divorce, but on 9 July 1803, Harriet married a William Brown at St Mary's Whitechapel. At this point Harriet would have been somewhere between 35 and 43 years old. There is no easily recoverable record of any children from this marriage, and Harriet continued writing under the name Ventum.

Most of her works seem to have had only one edition, though the Newberys seem to have had enough faith in her abilities to accept—perhaps even commission—roughly one a year. Her work was often favourably reviewed, for the most part, though sometimes she was accused of being derivative.[33]

The publication of *The Holiday Reward, or, Tales to Instruct and Amuse Good Children during the Christmas and Midsummer Vacations* in 1814 is the last public record I have been able to unearth concerning Harriet Crossley Ventum Brown. Her story was not that of a player in the social carnival of bluestockings, theatre parties, and nobility, such as that enjoyed by more lustrous contemporaries, but

of a keen observer and self-appointed guardian of morality, who grew from her early Gothic-influenced work to the more serious business of guiding the young. Her life was spent in the workaday world of London as a woman whose relative lack of status would seem, ironically enough, to have granted her more, not fewer, opportunities and freedoms, though perhaps at a price which, at times, may have included real hardship.

Bibliography of Works by Harriet Ventum

All of the works listed in this bibliography have been located from either the Corvey Microfiche Edition (CME), the online catalogues of depositories, or internet sites and facsimile editions. The entries below begin with a transcription of the title page, omitting any epigraphs and volume-specific details. The publisher's imprint is also omitted, as this appears on the subsequent line. The following segment of each entry records pagination, including details of illustrations, and format. The next line of the entry gives the library details of the copy examined, followed by catalogue entries given in DBF and OCLC.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CME	Corvey Microfiche Edition
DBF	*British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception* (Cardiff University, 2004). Online: Internet <*http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk*>
EN	Peter Garside, James Raven, Rainer Schöwerling, *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000)
ill.	illustrations
LSJ	Sydney Jones Special Collections & Archives, University of Liverpool
MH	Harvard University Library
O	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
OCLC	OCLC Worldcat Database
PM	Pierpont Morgan Library
V&A	National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum
xOCLC	not located in OCLC

1. SELINA, A NOVEL, FOUNDED ON FACTS. BY A LADY. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed for C. Law, Avemaria-Lane, by Bye and Law, St. John's-Square, Clerkenwell, 1800.

3 vols (I 239p; II 268p; III 254p). 12°.

BL 12612.bbb.15; CME 3-628-48643-2; DBF 1800A074; OCLC 49468158.

Notes. Electronic facsimile available on *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*

(ECCO). BL, CME, ECCO list as an anonymous work. For more information about the author attribution, see Peter Garside, with Jacqueline Belanger and Anthony Mandal, '*The English Novel, 1800–1829*: Update 1 (Apr 2000–May 2001)', in the Updates section of DBF <*http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/guide/update1.html*>.

2. **JUSTINA; OR, THE HISTORY OF A YOUNG LADY. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY HARRIET VENTUM, AUTHOR OF SELINA, &C. &C.**
London: Printed for J. Badcock, Paternoster-Row, by J. D. Dewick, Aldersgate-Street, 1801.
4 vols (I iv, 264p; II 256p; III 215p; IV 215p). 12°.
BL C.171.a.14; DBF 1801A068; OCLC 15062855.
Notes. CME (3-628-48909-1) holds the 1802 edn.

3. **THE AMIABLE TUTORESS; OR, THE HISTORY OF MARY AND JANE HORNSBY. A TALE FOR YOUNG PERSONS.**
London: Printed for T. Hurst and Sold by E. Newbery, Corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, 1801.
169p, ill. 12°.
BL Ch.800/95; LSJ JUV.1:1; PM E1 14 B 082613; OCLC 177743492.

4. **JUVENILE INSTRUCTION.**
London: Printed by T. Plummer for R. Dutton, 1802.
144p, ill. 12°.
O Vet. A6f.1040; OCLC 32063170.

5. **SURVEYS OF NATURE: A SEQUEL TO MRS TRIMMER'S INTRODUCTION; BEING FAMILIAR DESCRIPTIONS OF SOME POPULAR SUBJECTS IN NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, ADAPTED TO THE CAPACITIES OF CHILDREN. BY HARRIET VENTUM, AUTHOUR [*sic*] OF SELINA, THE AMIABLE TUTORESS, &C.**
London: Printed for John Badcock, Paternoster-Row, and B. Tabart, Bond-Street; by W. Bristow, Canterbury, 1802.
138p. 12° (in 6's).
BL 8707.a.5; O 2521 f.215; OCLC 6803922.
Notes. Electronic facsimile available on Google Books.

6. **INTERESTING TRAITS OF CHARACTER, IN YOUTH, OF BOTH SEXES, BY MRS. VENTUM, AUTHOR OF THE AIMIABLE TUTORESS, &C. &C.**
London: J. Harris, Successor to E. Newbery, the Corner of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1804.
168p, ill. 12°.
BL 8306.bb.24; O Nuneham 256 f.3278; V&A Children's Books 60.J.13; OCLC 32063178.
Notes. Electronic facsimile available on the Internet Archive <*http://www.archive.org/details/interestingtraitooventiala*>.

7. **TALES FOR DOMESTIC INSTRUCTION: CONTAINING THE HISTORIES OF BEN HALLYARD; HANNAH JENKINS; JOHN APLIN; EDWARD FLETCHER, OR THE NECESSITY OF CURBING OUR PASSIONS; LUCY AND JEMIMA MEADOWS; AND MR WILMOT. BY H. VENTUM, AUTHOR OF THE AMIABLE TUTORESS, INTERESTING TRAITS OF CHARACTER IN YOUTH, &C.**
London: Published by J. Harris (Successor to E. Newbery), Corner of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1806.
131p, ill. 12° (in 6's).
BL Ch.800/126; MH Houghton 19462.37*; LSJ JUV.1:2; O Johnson f.355; PM E1 14 A 082681; OCLC 12681263.
Notes. Electronic facsimile available on the Internet Archive <*http://www.archive.org/details/talesfordomesticooventiala*>.

8. **CHARLES LEESON; OR, THE SOLDIER. A TALE.**
London: Printed for J. Harris, Corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, 1810.
164p, ill. 12°.
BL Ch.810/30; MH Houghton 19462.37.3; O Nuneham 256 e.16895; OCLC 32063188.

9. **THE DANGERS OF INFIDELITY: A NOVEL.**
London: Chapple, 1812.
3 vols. 12°.
No copy located; DBF 1812A063; xOCLC.

10. **THE GOOD AUNT: INCLUDING THE STORY OF SIGNOR ALDERSONINI AND HIS SON.**
London: Printed for C. Chapple, 1813.
133p. 12°.
OCLC 63072493.
Notes. Listed in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, 6 (Jan 1813) under 'New Publications for 1813'. This is most likely a reworking (or straight reprint) of *The Amiable Tutoress* (Item 3).

11. **THE HOLIDAY REWARD; OR, TALES TO INSTRUCT AND AMUSE GOOD CHILDREN, DURING THE CHRISTMAS AND MIDSUMMER VACATIONS. BY MRS. VENTUM.**
London: Printed for J. Harris, Corner of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1814.
168p, ill. 12° (in 6's).
BL 1568/9161; O Johnson f.364; PM E1 14 B 082679; OCLC 32063161.
Notes. Electronic facsimile available on the Internet Archive <*http://www.archive.org/details/holidayrewardortooventiala*>. Two stories from this collection were later republished as *The Industrious and Pious Sailor Boy; and The Sick Soldier* (New Haven, CT: John Babcock & Son; Charleston: S. & W. R. Babcock; Philadelphia: M'Carty & Davies, 1820).

It important to note that the novel *Selima; or, a Village Tale* (EN, vol. 1, 1794: 40) is often still attributed to Harriet Ventum in spite of work done by Peter Garside and Virginia Blain, among others (see below), to rectify this mistake. *Selima* was in fact written by Margaret Holford (senior), a Minerva Press poet and novelist.

Notes

1. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, edited by Claire Grogan (1818; Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002), p. 240.
2. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (London: Pimlico, 1992), pp. 251–52.
3. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790); in *Romanticism: An Anthology*, edited by Duncan Wu (3rd edn, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), p. 12.
4. Karen Morton, 'A Life Marketed as Fiction: An Analysis of the Work of Eliza Parsons' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Sheffield Hallam University, 2005), p. 11.
5. Harriet Ventum, *Selina, a Novel Founded on Facts*, 3 vols (London: C. Law, 1800), 1, vii. Subsequent references are from this edition and are given parenthetically in the text.
6. Harriet Ventum, *Surveys of Nature: A Sequel to Mrs Trimmer's Introduction; being Familiar Descriptions of Some Popular Subjects in Natural Philosophy Adapted to the Capacities of Children* (London: Badcock & Tabart, 1802), p. 3.
7. J. M. S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England 1770–1800* (1932; rev. edn, London: Methuen & Co, 1969), p. 70.
8. Ibid., p. 73.
9. Karen Stohr, 'Practical Wisdom and Moral Imagination in *Sense and Sensibility*', *Philosophy and Literature*, 30.2 (Oct 2006), 379.
10. Ibid., p. 378.
11. Sarah Emsley, *Jane Austen's Philosophy of the Virtues* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 21.
12. Ibid., p. 20.
13. Edward Copeland, *Women Writing About Money: Women's Fiction in England, 1790–1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p. 63.
14. When Selina's father is informed of the manner and place of her death, he is stunned: ' "In an hospital! […] Do I hear right? Did you say in an hospital? God of Heaven! my daughter, lady Selina St. Aubin, die in an hospital!" ' (*Selina*, 1, 22)
15. *Monthly Review*, 2nd ser. 32 (May 1800), 93.
16. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, p. 253.
17. Jerrold E. Hogle (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. xix. This is substantiated by figures provided by Peter Garside, in his 'Historical Introduction' to vol. 2 of *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, edited by Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 11, 56: Table 3. According to Garside's data, the imprint year 1800 saw the appearance of 27 new Gothic novels (33.3 per cent of the total number of titles for the year), a figure that exceeded both preceding and subsequent years.

18. Susan C. Greenfield, *Mothering Daughters: Novels and the Politics of Family Romance, Frances Burney to Jane Austen* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), p. 13.
19. Harriet Ventum, *Justina; or, the History of a Young Lady*, 4 vols (London: J. Badcock, 1801), III, 66. Subsequent references are from this edition and given parenthetically in the text.
20. Harriet Guest, *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism 1750–1810* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 9.
21. Ibid., p. 15.
22. Mitzi Myers, 'Shot from Canons; or, Maria Edgeworth and the Cultural Production and Consumption of the Late-Eighteenth-Century Woman Writer', in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text,* edited by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 196.
23. Ibid., p. 196.
24. Arthur O. Lovejoy, in *The Theory of Criticism from Plato to the Present: A Reader*, edited by Raman Selden (London: Longman, 1988), p. 428.
25. Myers, 'Shot from Canons', p. 205.
26. Ibid., p. 206.
27. I am indebted to the excellent genealogical index at *http://www.familysearch.org* for the first sighting of the records of Harriet Ventum's two marriages and two children. The original of the record of her marriage to Thomas Ventum is held by the Guildhall Library, Manuscripts Section, Aldermanbury, London EC2P 2EJ, microfilm record Guildhall Library MS 17611/1.
28. 'The Military Establishment', *British History Online*. Online: Internet (11 June 2008): <*http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=43837*>.
29. 'Index of Officers', *British History Online*. Online: Internet (11 June 2008): <*http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=43969*>.
30. *The Times*, 10 Dec 1790.
31. *The Times*, 18 Jan 1791.
32. Harriet Ventum, *Surveys of Nature: A Sequel to Mrs Trimmer's Introduction; being Familiar Descriptions of Some Popular Subjects in Natural Philosophy Adapted to the Capacities of Children* (London: Badcock & Tabart, 1802), p. vi.
33. 'In all the publications of this Author, good intention is apparent; but they certainly do not afford much novelty, being chiefly compositions from the writings of others.'—Sarah Trimmer, *The Guardian of Education* (1802), 512. Trimmer's review is of Ventum's 1802 work *Juvenile Instruction*, but she is most probably (and rather pointedly) alluding here to Ventum's *Surveys of Nature* (the subtitle of which acknowledges its debt to Trimmer's *An Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature, and Reading the Holy Scriptures* [London: J. Dodsley, 1780]). Trimmer did not deign to review Ventum's *Surveys of Nature*, even though it was published during the lifetime of her journal *The Guardian of Education*.

Referring to this Article

B. Vesey. ' "The Approbation of my Own Heart": Virtue and Duty in Harriet Ventum's *Selina* and *Justina*', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840*, 18 (Summer 2008). Online: Internet (date accessed): <*http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/romtext/articles/rt18_n02.pdf*>.

Remediating Byron
Textual Information Overload during Byron's 1816 Travels

Maximiliaan van Woudenberg

Introduction

Online Identities, the Information Highway, Information Overload are just a sample of terms coined in the twentieth century in order to embody the effects of the communication processes of digital media.[1] For many contemporary critics of digital media, these terms conceptualise experiences specific to communication in a wired world. Paul Duguid has cautioned about divorcing digital media from media history, because in doing so 'we are […] losing valuable cultural insights gained through old communicative technologies, just as we are trying to build new ones.'[2] Focusing solely on experiences with 'new' digital media fosters a techno-deterministic approach negating the 'cultural insights' into past communication processes with 'old' media—such as print. In other words, while terms such as Information Overload generally define the experience of being overwhelmed with information from digital networks, the concept of Information Overload itself is not media-specific. Therefore, while the media facilitating communication processes are changing—at times at a revolutionary pace—the effects on our consciousness, culture, and communication processes, need not be media-specific or determined by the 'type' of medium alone. Perhaps, as Duguid points out, past 'cultural insights' into communication processes are being lost due to our jaundiced techno-deterministic view of digital media.[3]

Cultural insights into the communication phenomenon of textual Information Overload existed during the Romantic period. In 1800, for example, Wordsworth lamented the multifarious transmission and reception of information which, he found, blunted 'the discriminating powers of the mind' resulting in the mind becoming unfit for 'voluntary exertion' because the (over)saturation of print media precludes one to 'think long and deeply'.[4]

It is important to note that Wordsworth's insights into the cultural effects of information dissemination are not ideologically specific. Kenneth Johnston observes that *The Anti-Jacobin; or Weekly Examiner*

> decries the contemporary over-production of media in language similar to Wordsworth's. 'Whatever may be the habits of inquiry and anxiety for information upon subjects of public concern diffused among all ranks of people, the vehicles of intelligence are already multiplied in a proportion nearly equal to this encreased [*sic*] demand' […] Compare Wordsworth: 'the great national events which are daily taking place, and encreasing [*sic*] accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies.' And, back to *Anti-Jacobin*: 'of the utility of such a purpose, if even tolerably executed, there can be little doubt, among those persons […] who must have found themselves, during the course of the last few years, perplexed by the multiplicity of contradictory accounts of almost every material event that has occurred in the eventful and tremendous period.'[5]

Johnston argues that Wordsworth and *The Anti-Jacobin* 'present their poetry as contributing to future melioration of a presently debased poetry, politics, and, ultimately, human mind and nature'.[6] Although on opposite sides of the political and ideological spectrum, Wordsworth and Canning and Frere, argue for a centralised communication network that will counter the effects of too much information disseminated in the public sphere. Their comments and concerns are not out of place in our own time to describe the saturation of information via digital media, and one may add their effects on literature, in the contemporary 'wired' public sphere.

Drawing on Duguid and other critics, it is important to examine how our understanding of earlier cultural insights into the communication processes of print media can contribute to our understanding of communication via digital media.[7] In other words, using our twenty-first century insights into 'new' digital media will allow us to 're-see' the cultural practices with print media as perhaps *prescient* episodes of communication with new media. While hypertext and literary critics often construe Information Overload as a cultural practice specific to the current digital moment, I wish to argue that Information Overload is a communication concept that has been 'remediated' from its print-media counterparts from the Romantic period.

In this paper, I propose to return to a famous episode in British literary history—Byron's composition of *Manfred* (1817)—in order to examine Byron's critique of knowledge in the dramatic poem as an early instance of Information Overload. A commonly accepted interpretation for Byron's critique of knowledge is his attempt to escape the psychological turmoil caused by the scandal of his recent divorce. I would like to shift the emphasis somewhat from this interpretation and offer an alternative. During his 1816 travels in Switzerland, Byron was exposed to too much knowledge causing him to experience an instance of textual Information Overload. Against this backdrop, Byron was simultaneously

composing his dramatic poem *Manfred* and conceptualised the Byronic hero as an intertextual commentary on how to combat Information Overload. The characterisation of Manfred's quest for the mind's independence is a response, a copying strategy if you will, to locate knowledge only within the self.

I intend to argue that the concept of Information Overload is not exclusively an experience specific to digital media, but rather a communication process that has been 'remediated' from the print-media sphere. I will demonstrate this thesis in three parts. Firstly, I will briefly sketch how Byron was overwhelmed with information during the summer of 1816. I will show this by tracing how Byron incorporated these sources directly into his composition of *Manfred*. Secondly, drawing on this case history, I suggest that Byron's interchange with a multifarious array of foreign print media fostered a mental state of textual overload similar to what contemporary media critics now define as Information Overload. Specifically, I examine how the concept of the Byronic hero is an intertextual response to Byron's attempts to escape the oversaturation of too much knowledge during the summer of 1816. Lastly, I will remediate this argument into a Digital Narrative. Moving beyond the textual medium of argument in combining textual, aural and visual narratives, the Digital Narrative aims to show the conflation between print- and digital-media perspectives about Information Overload. This example of 'remediation' of content and argument will allow for a brief analysis of the critical methodology employed in producing the Digital Narrative as representative of the successful interaction between archival research and digital media.

Overwhelmed by Information: Byron's Encounters with Travelling Texts in 1816

It is well known that during the summer of 1816, Byron found himself in a wretched mental state. Haunted by creditors, divorced from his wife and with accusations of incest with his half-sister circulating throughout London, Byron had hoped to escape his psychological turmoil through self-exile in Switzerland. Lesser known is how Byron's wanderings through Switzerland facilitated access to uninvited, yet far-reaching, print media not accessible to the non-travelling writer.

A multifarious array of texts, ranging in content from metaphysics to the *Schauerliteratur* of German culture, travelled to Byron. I refer to these texts deliberately as 'travelling texts' because they literally travelled to Byron across geographical, cultural, intellectual, and linguistic boundaries. Byron's literary fame preceded him throughout Europe, facilitating his entry into intellectual circles—such as Mme de Staël's *salon* at Coppet—as well as attracting figures such as Shelley and Matthew 'Monk' Lewis. Culturally, Byron encountered English translations from French, German, or Greek texts, which either had never been available in English or would not be available in England for several years to come. In the summer of 1816, therefore, Byron found himself in a unique position of information interchange—not many people before or since

interacted regularly with such figures as Shelley, Schlegel and Mme de Staël, over the course of a few months.

Access to these travelling texts demolished the existing nineteenth-century 'space-barriers' governing the interchange of thought between the continent and England. Richard Holeton defines Information Overload as an inescapable overwhelming of information:

> At the dawn of the 21st century, few people in the world's affluent countries are immune from information overload—the feeling of being overwhelmed by information from a variety of sources. TV and radio are ubiquitous, movies and videotapes are more popular than ever, and book publishing is still thriving. TV is probably more to blame than personal computers for a steady decline in the readership of daily newspapers—but computers are increasingly a major source of information overload as more and more people conduct business, do research, communicate, find entertainment, and even get their news online […][8]

Drawing on this definition it is certainly no surprise that Byron was induced with an early instance of Information Overload of the textual variety. I have broadly categorised four specific encounters with *travelling texts* from the 'variety of sources' that overwhelmed Byron:

> *Text 1: 27 May 1816–18 August 1816. Wordsworth/Prometheus*
>
> Metaphysical discussions with P. B. Shelley on Idealism, Wordsworth, Prometheus and Greek drama; specifically Shelley's translation of Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*.

> *Text 2: 14–18 June 1816. Schauerliteratur / 'L'heure fatale'*
>
> The Byron–Shelley circle read ghost stories from *Fantasmagoriana* borrowed from a Geneva library.

> *Text 3: 21 July 1816–late August 1816. Schlegel / 'Prometheus'*
>
> Byron's interaction with Mme de Staël's 'continental' coterie at Coppet fosters his meeting A. W. Schlegel on 21 July 1816 to late August 1816.[9] Staël sends Byron a copy of Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (1809–11; translated in 1815) on 25 August 1816.

> *Text 4: 14 August 1816. Goethe's Faust.*
>
> Matthew 'Monk' Lewis visits Byron and verbally translates Goethe's *Faust* (1808) from the German.

It is easy to discern that Byron's encounters with these travelling texts all predate the composition of the first two acts of *Manfred* in September and October 1816. That Byron was engaging with these travelling texts is evident from the specific scenes in *Manfred* that draw on, or refer to, these sources. His incorporation

of this textual material demonstrates the intertextual relationship between Byron's own composition and the information he was reading, pondering, and discussing during his travels. I will briefly sketch two specific examples of the intertextual dynamics between Byron's information encounters and his composition of *Manfred*.

The first example of intertextuality concerns the famous ghost-story-telling contest at the Villa Diodati. First published in 1811 as Apel and Laun's *Gespenſterbuch* (1811–15),[10] *Fantasmagoriana* was the 1812 French translation of German ghost stories read by the Byron–Shelley circle.[11] While it is widely acknowledged that the reading of *Fantasmagoriana* inspired Mary Shelley's masterpiece, *Frankenſtein*, its influence on Byron's *Manfred* is at times forgotten. Included in *Fantasmagoriana* is a short story entitled *L'heure fatale*—or *The Fatal Hour*—a translation of the German original: *Die verwandtschaft mit der geiſterwelt* (The relationship with the spirit/ghost world). Manfred Eimer has argued that *L'heure fatal* was 'not [an] insignificant motif' for the Astarte scene in *Manfred*.[12] Indeed, the prophecy of death at a stated hour and the withholding of an answer by the phantom in *L'heure fatal* are motifs used by Byron in the meeting between Manfred and a phantom Astarte.

In Laun's version, the protagonist of the story, Florentine, encounters the phantom of her sister, Seraphine, who prophesises her death and then, like Astarte, also disappears before answering Florentine's question:

> 'What do you say,' so she [Seraphine's phantom] says to me [Florentine], 'for your own sake […] to provide the consciousness of your approaching death and to reveal the fate of your house?
>
> The appearance then disclosed to me herewith what would occur, and when after I had pondered deeply about the prophetic voice and wanted to position a question to the prophet myself, the room was dark and everything disappeared supernaturally.[13]

It is prophesised that Florentine will die three days before her wedding at the fated hour of nine o'clock (hence the translated title *L'heure fatale*) and 'Florentine chooses for marriage and dies at the previously named hour at nine o'clock in the evening'.[14] Note that just as Florentine's marriage is precluded by her death, Byron also pre-empts the union of Manfred and Astarte as the 'Farewell' appears final. Manfred's death also imbues this finality, rather than a pending union:

> *Spirit*. Mortal! thine hour is come—Away! I say.
> *Man*. I knew, and know my hour is come, but not
> To render up my soul to such as thee:
> Away! I'll die as I have lived—alone. (III.iv.87–90)

The supernatural elements of a prophesised fateful hour in *Manfred* and *L'heure fatale* illustrate the influence of Laun's text on the composition of *Manfred*. Eimer comments that 'In *L'heure fatale* and *Manfred* is […] something totally hidden and the knowledge of which is a deep spiritual wish of

the questioner, which is withheld by the appeared ghost due to its evil—or in *Manfred*—[withheld] because of punishment or revenge.'[15]

All these elements from *L'heure fatale* converge in Act II, Scene iv, with the phantom of Astarte: a) prophesising Manfred's death; b) withholding the answers to Manfred's questions; and c) disappearing supernaturally:

Phan. Manfred! To-morrow ends thine earthly ills.
Farewell!
Man. Yet one word more—am I forgiven?
Phan. Farewell!
Man. Say, shall we meet again?
Phan. Farewell!
Man. One word for mercy! Say thou lovest me.
Phan. Manfred!
The spirit of Astarte disappears. (II.iv.151–57)

While Byron's poetic genius has gone beyond, indeed transformed, the elements in Laun's story to suit his own aesthetic purposes, the supernatural elements of a fated hour and a phantom nonetheless find their genesis in Laun's story that travelled to Byron. The supernatural and horror elements of Laun's *Schauerliteratur* are reconfigured in the characterisation of Manfred to develop the psychological suffering of the Byronic hero. The withheld answer denies Manfred what he desires most; forgiveness through which he may obtain forgetfulness from knowledge. The intertextuality of *Fantasmagoriana* as a 'travelling text' is obvious: the suspense and horror conventions in Laun's story, read in Eyriès' French translation, provide Byron with a framework from which he develops his own composition.

What I'd like to foreground here in tracing this intertextual influence between *Fantasmagoriana* and *Manfred* is that Byron was *not a passive, but an active* receptor of information. Drawing on the knowledge of a story he had read a few months earlier, Byron reconfigures the popular culture of *Schauerliteratur*—a genre invoking terror through supernatural elements—into Manfred's psychological suffering and the mystery of his relationship with Astarte.

Isolated, this example of Byron's intertextuality with cultural and linguistic travelling texts could not have overwhelmed him. Byron, however, *actively* participated in a wide array of such information encounters which were ongoing, often overlapping, and pulling Byron in different directions, as is evident in the following intertextual example of Byron's engagement with the Prometheus myth. The influence of the Prometheus myth on *Manfred* is well established. But how did these influences travel to Byron? In Act I, Scene i, Manfred defiantly responds to the supernatural spirits' mockery of him as a 'Child of Clay':

Ye mock me—but the power which brought ye here
Hath made you mine. Slaves, scoff not at my will!
The mind, the spirit, the Promethean spark,
The lightening of my being, is as bright,

> Pervading, and far-darting as your own,
> And shall not yield to yours, though coop'd in clay! (I.i.152–57)

Manfred's speech reasserts the power of the 'will', 'mind', and 'spirit' in the face of alienation from a higher sphere. 'Though coop'd in clay', the individual cannot be controlled by outside forces—even supernatural forces. This embodiment of the power of the mind in *Manfred* distinctly echoes some critical paragraphs written by Schlegel on *Prometheus Bound* in his 1809–11 lectures. Clearly, Byron was aware of Schlegel's lectures. The question beckons, therefore, what was the source of Byron's awareness, and how did this source travel to him?

Nancy Goslee argues that 'Byron had read at least the Prometheus paragraphs of Schlegel's lectures in 1816'.[16] Goslee presents three possible 'prose versions of Schlegel's discussions of Prometheus', which directly influenced Byron's *Prometheus*, as well as *Manfred*:

> The brief analysis of Æschylus' *Prometheus Bound* in A. W. Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über Dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (*Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*) as translated into French by A. A. Necker de Saussure in 1814 and into English by John Black in 1815 corresponds strikingly to Byron's poem [*Prometheus*] […] [which] as a whole follows an order very similar to Schlegel's development […] also William Hazlitt's 1816 review of Black's translation, in which he quotes or paraphrases Schlegel with gusto […] may have shaped Byron's poem.[17]

Hazlitt's review numbers thirty-nine pages. If this section of Schlegel's criticism on *Prometheus Bound* and Romantic individualism (only half a page long) is the only source for Byron's knowledge of Schlegel, it would suggest that Byron was a very careful reader who either took extensive notes or had an extremely good memory. After all, one could easily miss the impact of these two paragraphs with regard to the thirty-nine pages of the full review, let alone recall them six months later when composing *Prometheus* and *Manfred*. Alternatively, a copy of the review could have travelled to Byron from England—perhaps forwarded via the post. While no evidence has surfaced for such an information exchange, it is clear that Byron's characterisation of Manfred's alienation, suffering, and 'unshaken will' embody Promethean characteristics very similar to those espoused by Schlegel.[18]

Goslee speculates, therefore, that Hazlitt's review 'and probably also his [Byron's] direct, though stilted, conversations with Schlegel had led Byron to the full text of the lectures'.[19] Also, Shelley's translation of Æschylus' *Prometheus Bound* at the Villa Diodati had rekindled Byron's enthusiasm for the play.[20] These discussions with Shelley overlapped with Byron's visits to Staël's literary salon at Coppet, where he personally interacted with Schlegel.[21] Eisler notes that

> Several times a week, setting out in midafternoon, he [Byron] sailed directly across the lake to arrive in time for dinner at Cop-

> pet […] Byron found a welcoming circle of genial spirits […] He was […] both awed and irritated by the children's ex-tutor and resident scholar, the German critic, philologist, and poet A. W. Schlegel.[22]

Evidence suggests that it was not uncommon for members of the Coppet literary circle to forward reading material to Byron. In a letter addressed to an unknown correspondent, dated 'Diodati.—July 30th 1816', Byron writes:

> Dear Sir—I feel truly obliged by the details with regard to Bonnivard which you have been good enough to send me—[…] On Sunday I sent a servant over to Coppet with the M.S.S.—[…] I hope that she [the Baroness] received them in safety.[23]

This letter suggests that Byron not only received texts from the intellectual coterie at Coppet, but also forwarded his own manuscripts. One may only speculate to what degree the texts sent to Byron were a response to his literary discussions with the members of Staël's circle. In any case, Byron was actively involved in an information interchange with notable figures at Coppet.

Via this forwarding of texts, Byron received a copy of Schlegel's Lectures. Byron wrote to Staël on 25 August 1816 to thank her for sending a book, which Goslee convincingly speculates 'was probably either the 1814 French translation by A. A. de Saussure, Mme. de Staël's cousin, or Black's 1815 English translation'—both translations of Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*.[24] The literary *salon* at Coppet placed Byron in a unique interaction with both text and author. Whether it was this interaction which directly led Byron to Schlegel's lectures or inspired Byron to revisit his recollections of Hazlitt's review, it is clear that Byron drew on Schlegel for his Byronic hero.

Byron's actual journey to Switzerland and his social status as an aristocrat invited texts to travel to him. While the intertextual influence of these travelling texts as sources upon which to draw in composing *Manfred* is clear—and indeed, has been mentioned before—my emphasis here is on the quantity and variety of sources that Byron encountered. In particular, the convergence of intellectual discussions (with Shelley and Schlegel); the forwarding of texts (*Fantasmagoriana*, Schlegel's *Lectures)*; participation in literary circles (Coppet; literary visitors); travel (Chamounix; Lake Geneva)—all against the backdrop of his own compositions and the unresolved trauma of his divorce oversaturated Byron with information. Clearly, Byron was, in Holeton's definition of Information Overload, 'overwhelmed by information from a variety of sources'; especially considering that these encounters all occurred over the short timeframe of a few months.

Overwhelmed with information sources of knowledge not accessible to the non-travelling and non-celebrity writer, Byron found himself in a unique position of cosmopolitan interchange of information that demolished the conventional information exchange between England and the continent. While drawing on his personal experience for his compositions was not unusual for

Byron, what is unique about this case history as an earlier cultural insight in the evolution of communication processes, is how the characterisation of Manfred functions as an intertextual commentary, not just on the content of these travelling texts, but because of them, on his experiences of the effects of encountering too much information.

The Byronic Hero as an Intertextual Commentary: The Independence of the Mind as a Response to the Effects of Information Overload

In his opening monologue, Manfred states:

> Sorrow is knowledge; they who know the most
> Must mourn the deepest o'er the fatal truth,
> The Tree of Knowledge is not that of Life. (I.i.10–12)

Let's think about this: 'They who *know the most*' […] must mourn the deepest'—Manfred's definition of knowledge does not promise liberation, but sorrow and mourning. Moreover, pursuing the 'Tree of Knowledge' does not foster, but rather, precludes life. What in 1816 would bring Byron to characterise knowledge not as promising liberation—which, after all, was part of the Enlightenment and Romantic ethos—but instead as sorrow and mourning?

In addition to being overwhelmed by information, a second characteristic of Information Overload concerns the effects upon the individual in processing information. Kenneth Gergen states that the postmodern condition fosters too much information, forcing the individual to

> exist in a state of continuous construction and reconstruction; it is a world where anything goes that can be negotiated. Each reality of self gives way to reflexive questioning, irony, and ultimately the playful probing of yet another reality. The center fails to hold.[25]

This, I think, is the effect that Byron experiences in 1816. Let's compare Gergen's definition—specifically, each 'reality of self giv[ing] way to reflexive questioning'—to a famous entry in Byron's travel journal written the day before he starts composing *Manfred*:

> September 28:
>
> I was disposed to be pleased—I am a lover of Nature […] I can bear fatigue […]—and have seen some of the noblest views in the world.—But in all this—the recollections of bitterness—& more especially of recent & more home desolation—which must accompany me through life—have preyed upon me here—and neither the music of the Shepherd—the crashing of the Avalanche—nor the torrent—the mountain—the Glacier—the Forest—nor the Cloud—have for one moment—lightened the weight upon my heart—*nor enabled me to lose my own wretched identity in the majesty & the power and the Glory—around—above—& beneath me*. [my emphasis][26]

John Clubbe has argued that '*Manfred* was written in the state of mind with which the "Journal" concludes.'[27] Interpretations of Byron's 'state of mind' have foregrounded his critique of knowledge in *Manfred* as an attempt to escape the psychological turmoil caused by the scandal of his recent divorce. Other critics see the Journal entry indicative of manic depression. I would like to shift the emphasis from these interpretations and offer an alternative reading. Byron's 'state of mind' lamenting his inability to 'lose my [his] own wretched identity' comments on his failure to escape 'too much knowledge'. The characterisation of Manfred's quest for the mind's independence is a response, a coping strategy, if you will, to locate knowledge only within the self. This quest for the mind's independence is autobiographical—finding its genesis in Byron's wish-fulfilment to escape the knowledge of too much information and personal recollections, that was travelling to him, as well as inescapably accompanying him, in his thoughts.

One could emphasise that Byron's aim to lose his 'wretched identity' is an attempt to escape knowledge about himself, rather than to escape 'too much knowledge'. However, after our examination of Byron being inescapably overwhelmed with travelling texts during the period leading up to the journal entry, this explanation becomes less convincing. Note, how even within the description of Nature in the journal, there is a multifarious array of stimuli. Byron experiences Nature not in its minutia—such as Wordsworth's *Daffodils*—but in simultaneous extremes: 'the Avalanche', 'the torrent', 'the mountain', 'the Glacier', 'the Forest', 'the Cloud'—everything enacts at once; too much information and thus too many stimuli.

Not only is Byron overwhelmed by textual information, he is also struggling with the ideas generated by these texts. In early 1817, Byron reflects on the collision of his states of mind: 'I was half mad [...] between metaphysics, mountains, lakes, love unextinguishable, thoughts unutterable, and the nightmare of my own delinquencies.'[28] It appears, then, that Byron's mind was in a 'continuous [state of] construction and reconstruction'.[29] The travel journal entry testifies to Byron's own 'reflexive questioning'. Despite Byron's knowledge of other realities—such as being a 'Lover of Nature'—these realities fail to alleviate his psychological turmoil. In fact, his knowledge of these realities accomplish the exact opposite because they continually remind Byron of his deficiency in not being able to lose himself in, and fully experience, Nature: as frustratingly voiced in his journal.

The independence of the mind from outside influence and knowledge is the opposite state of mind of Information Overload. Alienated from England and his family, and interacting with foreign landscapes, cultures, and texts, stability in Byron's life could only be found in his own mind. Thus, in the characterisation of Manfred, Byron creates an independence of mind from outside influence—a defining characteristic of the Byronic hero.

It is significant to note that Manfred specifically desires 'forgetfulness' of knowledge. In the 'Witch of the Alps' scene in Act II, the Witch symbolises the beauty of Nature and also the means of Manfred's forgetfulness of knowledge through a communion with Nature. Manfred summons the Witch only

> To look upon thy beauty—nothing further.
> The face of the Earth hath madden'd me, and I
> Take refuge in her mysteries, and pierce
> To the abodes of those who govern her—
> But they can nothing aid me. I have sought
> From them what they could not bestow, and now
> I search no further. (II.ii.38–44)

Manfred hopes to find 'refuge' in Nature from the 'earth' which has 'madden'd' him. Specifically, knowledge of the 'face of the earth' is traded for 'refuge in her mysteries'. Beauty is to be the sole and consuming stimulus absorbing Manfred's self—'nothing further' is requested. In this scene, cause and effect collide into an experience which in itself is all. This experience is absorbing because it is experiential knowledge *of* the moment, rather than discursive knowledge that *interprets* the moment (such as being 'half mad […] between metaphysics'). Life is that which has to be experienced—not known—and these mysteries are not to be solved because solving them turns them into knowledge. Manfred, therefore, finds 'The Tree of Knowledge […] not that of Life' (I.i.10–12) precisely because discursive knowledge alienates and isolates the self from enjoying the moment. Knowledge is always qualifying, and critically analysing, the moment and must thus be avoided; or, once realised, escaped through forgetfulness in order to (re)establish the ignorance of experiential knowledge.

Perhaps an extreme exploration of Gray's notion that 'ignorance is bliss', Manfred seeks annihilation, forgetfulness, oblivion from knowledge—'Earth, take these atoms!' (I.ii.109)—because it precludes him from naively sharing the Chamois Hunter's lot. The amalgamation of Promethean tropes in the Chamois Hunter scene, therefore, is twofold. First, it illustrates Manfred's (and Byron's) external alienation from society because the individual is no longer able to participate in the conventional codes of society owing to his knowledge. Second, this results in the internal psychological suffering that emerges out of the knowledge of the fallibility of ideals—in this case symbolised by the pastoral. Contrary to Prometheus, whose knowledge brings fire to man, Manfred's knowledge is potentially destructive to both humanity and himself. The nobility of Manfred's suffering lies in his awareness of the destructive power of this knowledge, but his refusal to inform others of it. Perhaps a direct comment on Information Overload, this withholding of information testifies to the responsibility of the effects of information upon another person (i.e. the Chamois Hunter) if/when the transformation into knowledge can cause suffering.

It is this innate sensitivity towards the potential suffering of others that ultimately precludes Manfred from sharing in the simplistic rustic life of the Chamois Hunter.

> *C. Hun.* And would'st thou then exchange thy lot for mine?
> *Man.* No, friend! I would not wrong thee, nor exchange
> My lot with living being: I can bear—
> However wretchedly, 'tis still to bear—
> In life what other could not brook to dream
> But perish in their slumber. (II.i.74–78)

Manfred's respect for the Chamois Hunter, indeed for humanity, illustrates his noble nature and selflessness in carrying the burden of his suffering by himself.

This solitary suffering in refusing to burden the Chamois Hunter with the knowledge of the loss of idealism contextually reverses the Prometheus myth. It is not the positive knowledge of fire that is given to humanity, but the negative knowledge of something destructive that is *withheld* from humanity. Therefore, it is in impulse, not in form, that Manfred embodies the individual suffering of Prometheus 'a being superior to those who surround him, living by his own vision of the right, is set against those who live within the bounds of conventional attitudes'.[30] However, it is personal knowledge that alienates the individual from the frameworks of knowledge and values embraced by the masses. Manfred suffers precisely because he once craved to be a part of the pastoral ideal, but realises that this longing is precluded by his knowledge. He cannot go back when something is known, except through a wished for state of sublime forgetfulness. We are reminded here again of Manfred's opening monologue: 'Sorrow is knowledge; they who know the most | Must mourn the deepest o'ver the fatal truth' (I.i.10–11). Thus, the state of mind of Information Overload is a paradox, as once knowledge has been gained, its effects of isolation and alienation become inescapable because this knowledge cannot be shared with others. Consequently, the condition of Information Overload sustains itself precisely because the sorrow caused by knowing too much can only be solved by finding the knowledge that allows the self to forget.

Through his knowledge of Schlegelean concepts of Romantic individualism, Byron aims to ennoble Manfred's psychological suffering and to establish a stability of knowledge solely within the self—free from outside information and influence. The Shakespearean epigraph at the beginning of the poem, 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy', suggests Byron's attempt to move beyond the limitations of adapting a philosophy as an external interpretative framework for experience and feeling.

Ironically, considering his encounters and dislike of the source—Schlegel—Byron successfully rewrites the Schlegelean individualism of Prometheus into a strategy to combat the effects of Information Overload. Clubbe notes that

> while Prometheus' fate was symbolic of the general human lot, it was still a fate ennobled by suffering and by a tremendous effort to maintain his mind's independence. Furthermore, the paradox of his existence—extra-ordinary mental energy driven within by enforced physical passivity—could only draw Byron to him.[31]

The mind's independence allows the Byronic hero to operate outside of judgement and knowledge. This is voiced in Manfred's famous speech on his sublime isolation:

> The mind which is immortal makes itself
> Requital for its good or evil thoughts—
> Is its own origin of ill and end—
> And its own place and time—its innate sense,
> When stripp'd of this morality, derives
> No colour from the fleeting things without;
> But is absorb'd in sufferance or in joy,
> Born from the knowledge of its own desert. (III.iv.129–36)

Manfred's quest to maintain the mind's independence is a coping strategy to locate an interpretive framework in one's own knowledge. In order to counter the disabling effects of too much knowledge from the outside world, Byron suggests that the individual unplugs from the informational networks of outside knowledge in order to achieve an effect of sublime isolation—in Manfred's case 'forgetfulness' and for Byron escape from English society and too much information. Being placed in an untenable position of 'reflective questioning' initiated by the overwhelming reception of uninvited information, Byron rejects interpretative frameworks that originate from without in order to maintain a sense of self intact. *Manfred*, and the concept of the Byronic hero, document a philosophical discussion in print media about the psychological effects of too much information that travels to the individual. While independence of mind potentially secures the individual from future instances of Information Overload, it is undoubtedly not a comfortable situation. Peter Thorslev states that if the Byronic hero Manfred

> has sinned—and of course he insists that he has—the moral code which he has transgressed is his own, and of his choosing, not a set of values imposed upon him outside by any outside force; consequently, if he is damned—and he admits that he is—it is because he is self-condemned. Likewise, he can accept none of the comforts or consolations which are offered […] there is surely no clearer statement in romantic literature of the ultimate moral implications of a doctrine that the mind is its own place—it is not only its own witness, judge, and executioner, it is its own legislator as well, its 'own origin of ill and end.'[32]

That Byron's literary work was accurately prescient in capturing the mental condition of Information Overload as defined by today's media critics is further

evidenced by John Stuart Mill's failure to combat his own nervous breakdown by reading Byron. James Buzard notes:

> On English soil, John Stuart Mill had turned initially to Byron for solace in the midst of the well-known 'crisis in [his] mental history', knowing Byron's 'peculiar department […] to be that of the intenser feelings'; but Mill found that 'the poet's state of mind was too like [his] own [agitated one]' to afford relief. Wordsworth was a domestic tonic; Byron's domain, that of the intenser feelings, was felt to be *outside* England, stretching 'through Europe to the Aeolian shore'. Byron's impassioned persona added a deeply appealing value to the Continental tourist's physical separation from England […][33]

Mill's breakdown was caused by stress and an abundance of knowledge—in short, Information Overload. Clearly, Byron's work excited the 'intenser feelings' of cosmopolitan interchange of too much knowledge 'outside of England'—which was precisely the cause of Mill's mental agitation.

It is certainly no coincidence that Mill recognised the symptoms of his breakdown in *Childe Harold* and *Manfred*—however, his mental illness was induced not by travel and travelling texts *per se*, but by life within the demolition of Victorian 'space barriers'. It is Nietzsche, an admirer of *Manfred*, who attempts to transforms the negative implications of the power of knowledge into a positive force to combat modern society. For Nietzsche, the same power of the mind and will that destroys Manfred can be a bulwark for the preservation of the self amid the chaos of modern techno-capitalist society. *Manfred*, then, is decidedly modern in its presentation of a Byronic hero who encapsulates the over-circulation of information that travels to the individual.

The aim of my argument is neither trans-historical nor techno-determinist. Rather my purpose is to present a case history that demonstrates how cultural insights about the experience of Information Overload are not specific to digital information networks and media. This literary episode in the history of print-media communication processes shows how Byron found himself in a unique position of information convergence, which anticipated the future norm of such experiences in our own media-saturated society. The effects of, and responses to, being overwhelmed with information are social, cultural, and individual—not medial and technical. Media are merely the vehicle conducive to the effect. In other words, my focus is to explore the cultural practices, and responses to the effects, of 'too much knowledge' (in this case, print media, travel, and intellectual coteries), not the technical networks of communication (such as electronic and mass media), which are clearly removed from the nineteenth century.[34]

To accomplish this aim, the late-twentieth-century definitions of Information Overload by Gergen and Holeton are very useful in 're-seeing' contemporary episodes in the Romantic period free from the biases and techno-determinism

of digital media. In fact, against the backdrop of media history, it is clear that the developments within digital media are remediating earlier experiences in print culture. If we accept the premise, then, that the concept of Information Overload can be defined by our own culture, but is not exclusively an electronic or new-media phenomenon, but an effect brought upon by the cultural practices of encountering 'too much knowledge' or information, we can learn from the nineteenth-century literary medium and broaden ('remediate?') our current understanding of digital media.

Byron and Manfred's mutual quest to avoid too much knowledge is a response that has become increasingly more common in today's society. In fact, in 2005, Bill Gates argued that 'Technology must make information overload more manageable.'[35] According to Gates, with 'the next wave of Office products [...] it will be easier to set priorities, understanding important data and spend less time organizing information'.[36] It is clear that Gates's techno-determinism—that is, only technology can liberate us from technology—exists because Gates has not read his Byron. The Byronic hero finds answers to managing Information Overload not in technology, or in more knowledge, but in establishing knowledge-dependency within the self. In other words, *what information do I need*, rather than *what information must I sort and manage*. Only through setting the independence of our mind as a priority and unplugging from informational networks—not through a dependence on technology, as Gates advocates—does Byron suggest that the individual can unplug him/herself from all networks and achieve sublime isolation. The currency of such Byronic advice resonates with the print media of the early nineteenth century as much as with the digital media of the twenty-first century.

Remediating Byron's Information Overload into a Digital Narrative

Remediation of *Manfred* is not new. Byron's dramatic poem has been adapted to music: Schumann composed an *Overture to Manfred* (op. 115) in 1848, while in 1885 Tchaikovsky composed a complete *Manfred Symphony* (op. 58). Clearly, *Manfred* and the concept of the Byronic hero travelled culturally, intellectually, and one might even say mythologically in different media formats throughout nineteenth-century Europe. In the digital age, remediation has become more widespread. With each new digital medium, from DVD to Blu-Ray for example, the content is remediated at times verbatim; in other instances, undergoing interesting transformations.

The argument presented above had been shaped by my research into information formatted in different kinds of print media. In addition to the textual sources, visual print media such as maps, portraits, frontispieces, and contemporary prints of landscapes shaped my understanding of the material that was overwhelming Byron. This non-textual print media was a significant contributor in shaping my thinking and argument about Information Overload. Some of these were included in the notes to this article, but on the whole these were not

intertwined directly into the argument. Secondly, I felt that I was unable to engage the reader critically with the effects of Information Overload through the reading process. In other words, the method of argument analysed and organised Information Overload into 'knowledge' as a concept, but not as an effect that could be 'experienced'. Specifically, the link between contemporary definitions of Information Overload and being inescapably overwhelmed with print media seemed static at times.

This is not to say that the print medium posed a direct limitation: rather, it is to identify a disconnection between the print media that forged the argument itself and the narrative mode selected to present the argument of Byron's experiences. In a lecture, for example, one can utilise the combination of text, voice, and visual elements into an argument more fluidly and holistically. Hence, I attempted to remediate this case history into a Digital Narrative, linked to below, which functions as an adjunct to, rather than a supersession of, the print-media argument.

Video 1. Byron and Information Overload
www.cf.ac.uk/encap/romtext/images/articles/rt18_03a.html

(Click to here to open a window and play the Digital Narrative in Flash Video Format.)

Firstly, the Digital Narrative is multimodal—layering textual, aural and visual narratives. This allows for the argument regarding Information Overload to be presented in both context and content, but furthermore to be experienced thematically by its twenty-first-century audience. By deliberately creating an 'effect' of Information Overload in presenting the argument, I aimed to conflate present-day and early-nineteenth-century practices of Information Overload. Thus Gates's and Holeton's definitions are intertwined with Wordsworth's to juxtapose the similarities of their experience in being overwhelmed with information, while simultaneously experiencing it yourself. Furthermore, this shows how the currency of these responses to being overloaded with information is not media-specific because they occur in the cultural practices of both print and digital media.

Secondly, I was able to incorporate much of the visual print media that had shaped my thinking: for example, about the impact of Mme de Staël's literary *salon*. Researching Byron's letters and correspondence alongside contemporary maps and the milieu of Staël's coterie facilitated an understanding of Byron's physical and intellectual visits. The map is crucial in understanding the physical travel and interchange of ideas and texts that Byron experienced. Incorporating the influence of other figures in addition to Schlegel and Staël—such as Matthison, von Mueller, and Bonstetten—enhanced a contemporary depth without immediately distracting from the main argument. These visual elements allowed the case history to be more fully understood in the context of 1816.

Thirdly, the materiality of the Digital Narrative also functions as a text in itself that the scholar can access. The non-linear properties allow the user to engage with sections individually, just as a text or an image. The quotations and images scaffold interaction to allow the user random access to analyse, study, think, and engage with the argument. Thus, the digital and print narratives are not mutually exclusive and instead complement each other.

In this Digital Narrative, remediation functions on several levels. Practically, it allows for the inclusion of aural and visual research material without disconnecting their argumentative force through their inclusion as abstruse footnotes. This material is simultaneously incorporated into the argument. Materially, to remediate the case history from print to a digital narrative allows for a simulation of Information Overload to be experienced by the user—not just presented as a theory. In contrast, simulating the effect of Information Overload in print would undermine the cohesiveness of the argument. Nevertheless, the properties of the Digital Narrative allow for Information Overload to be experienced by the user.

Argumentatively, this remediation illustrates that previous episodes in literary history of print can adumbrate modern experiences. Information Overload is not a techno-determinist nor media-specific phenomenon, but both an intrinsic human experience and a cultural practice of being overwhelmed with media—be it print or digital media. Such remediation of eighteenth-century media practices within literary history provides fresh impetus in our own reading and writing with digital media. Specifically, the advantages of this remediation for scholarly research allows for the application of the analytical tools of digital media to the study of the Romantic text. In the 1960s, this article would perhaps have been written by hand and then typed up as a manuscript for journal publication. This process of composition was still very 'writerly' in the nineteenth-century sense, probably written in linear fashion over several sittings. Using word-processors, we have become more 'editors' than 'writers'—by this I mean that we can 're-draft' and write out of sequence in a non-linear manner. In short, word-processing practices have already (and almost invisibly) remediated our approach to the writing process. To paraphrase Marshall McLuhan: 'we shape our tools, and then our tools shape us'.

Such a paradigm-shift also occurs when moving from linear narratives of reading to the non-linear production techniques of Digital Narratives. The production practices of non-linear video-editing software have similarly remediated the procedures of researching the Romantic era. Most notably, visual print media previously considered external and at best relegated to an appendix are now incorporated directly into textual, aural and visual narratives. Online publications are already utilising the digital advantages in this regard. The production of Digital Narratives will only extend such initiatives and in the process direct archival practices of literary studies to include visual, as well as textual, material.

As a methodology, the production of non-linear editing of Digital Narratives fosters an emphasis on scholarly practices of archival research that yields new insights into, and explorations of textual production, book history, and print culture. The successful interaction between literary and new media studies combines archival research with the production techniques of new media. The twenty-first-century literary scholar will specialise in a variety of disciplines related to literary studies, such as media production and digital rights management, in order to realise the exciting promise of Digital Narratives as an accentuating mode of the traditional textual and academic expertise of previous literary scholars. Ironically, then, digital media return us with renewed vigour to the very *materiality* of print media of the Romantic period. Undoubtedly, our ventures in combining archival research with Digital Narratives to produce new scholarly productions will be successful as long as we heed Byron's advice and avoid being overwhelmed by too much information.

Notes

1. By invoking the term 'digital media' I am not referring to a specific type of media or a particular school of criticism (i.e. 'new-media', 'hypertext', and 'communication' critics of electronic media). Rather, I am referring to the general pervasiveness of digital media forms (e.g. television, DVDs, mobile phones, etc.) via digital networks (the internet, satellite broadcasts, etc.) as a distinction from analogue and print media counterparts.
2. Paul Duguid, 'Material Matters: The Past and Futurology of the Book', in *The Future of the Book,* edited by Geoffrey Nunberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 71.
3. The negation of media history often results in techno-determinism, accomplished as Duguid notes, by the 'insistence that history moves by abrupt and sweeping discontinuities' (ibid., p. 10). Duguid observes that through the use of tropes of supersession—'the idea that each technological type vanquishes or subsumes its predecessors'—and liberation, 'the […] assumption that the pursuit of new information technologies is […] a righteous pursuit of liberty'—occludes the cultural roles of media in history (ibid., pp. 65–66). Armand Mattelart has termed 'the history of the imaginary of communication networks' to connote the illusion that technology can potentially return us to an ideal form of rational–critical debate, of communication and democracy, in the public sphere—see his *Networking the World, 1794–2000* [originally published as *La Mondialisation de la communication* (1996)], translated by Liz Carey-Libbrecht and James A. Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 19-20.
4. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, vol. 1, edited by W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 128 and 130.
5. Kenneth R. Johnston, 'Romantic Anti-Jacobins or Anti-Jacobin Romantics?', *Romanticism on the Net*, 15 (Aug 1999). Online: Internet (accessed 3 Jan 2008): <*http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/1999/v/n15/005862ar.html*>.
6. Ibid.
7. In addition to Duguid and Matterlart, William Warner has proposed that 'One way to counter […] [our] techno-determinist ideas about communication is to return to the 18th century, and use our 21st century insight into the centrality of

networking to re-see a familiar political history as an episode in the history of networking'—'Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation; or How the Contintental Congress Rewired the British Empire Network and Invented the Flat Network Design', unpublished paper presented on 20 July 2001, at the *Print Culture in the Age of the Circulating Library, 1750–1850* conference at Sheffield Hallam University.

8. Richard Holeton, *Composing Cyberspace: Identity, Community, and Knowledge in the Electronic Age* (Toronto: McGraw–Hill, 1998), p. 291.
9. August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), not to be confused with his brother Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829). With the founding of the miscellany *Athenäum* (1798–1800) both brothers were instrumental in defining and sparking German Romanticism.
10. 'Laun' was the pseudonym for Friedrich Schulze. I will henceforth refer to this author as Laun.
11. This text itself is a 'travelling text': the *English* Byron–Shelley circle read a *French* translation of the *German* original *Gespenſterbuch* borrowed from a *Swiss* library, which in turn is the genesis for some of the most enduring and famous productions in *English* literature (i.e. *Frankenſtein* and *Manfred*).
12. Manfred Eimer, 'Einflüsse deutscher Räuber- und Schauerromantik auf Shelley, Mrs. Shelley und Byron', *Englische Studien*, 48 (1914–15), 241: 'Dagegen scheint es, als ob eine der Launschen geschichten, *Die verwandtschaft mit der geiſterwelt*, ein nicht unwichtiges motiv zu der Astarte-szene in Byrons *Manfred* geliefert habe'. All translations from the German into English are my own, and aim to communicate idiom rather than a literal translation.
13. ' "Was zagst du", so redet es [Seraphine] mich [Florentine] an, "vor deinem eigenen wesen, das nur zu dir tritt, um dir das bewußtsein deines nahen todes zu verſchaffen und die schicksale deines hauses zu offenbaren?" | Die erscheinung entdeckte mir hierauf, was geschehen soll, und wie ich nach tiefem sinnen über die prophetische stimme an die prophetin selbst eine frage, *deinetwegen* eine frage richten will, ist das zimmer dunkel und alles übernatürliche verschwunden' (ibid., p. 242).
14. 'Florentine wählt den ehestand und stirbt zu der vorhergesagten Zeit um neun uhr abends' (ibid., p. 243).
15. 'In *L'heure fatale* und *Manfred* ist die sache anders [compared to *Macbeth*]. Hier wird etwas, was ganz im verborgenen liegt und was zu wissen ein tief seelisches bedürfnis des fragenden ist, von dem erschienenen geiste sozusagen boshaft oder—im *Manfred*—strafend oder rächend verschwiegen' (ibid., p. 244).
16. Nancy M. Goslee, 'Pure Stream from a Troubled Source: Byron, Schlegel and Prometheus', *Byron Journal*, 10 (1982), 21.
17. Ibid., pp. 20–21. According to Goslee, the three critical paragraphs cited in William Hazlitt's review of John Black's translation of Schlegel's lectures in the February 1816 edition of the *Edinburgh Review* are the most likely source for Byron's perusal of Schlegel's lectures.
18. In fact, Hazlitt's general synopsis of Schlegel's comments on Prometheus's suffering, and the lack of external action, could just as easily apply to *Manfred*—see *Edinburgh Review*, 26 (Feb 1816), 81–82.
19. Goslee, 'Pure Stream from a Troubled Source', pp. 21–22.

    It is very probable that Byron was more than casually acquainted with Schlegel's text and may have read either Saussure's or Black's translation. In 1814 Necker de Saussure translates A. W. Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunſt und*

Literatur into French. It was reviewed in the October 1814 issue of the *Quarterly Review*, which presents itself as another, and more likely source for Byron's awareness because preceding this review on Saussure are reviews of Byron's own *Giaour, and Bride of Abydos*. Moreover, the *Quarterly Review* was a publication owned by John Murray. It seems highly probable, therefore, Byron would have been aware of Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Individualism prior to Hazlitt's review and before revisiting these ideas in Geneva in 1816.

20. 'A fine Greek scholar and a translator of genius, Shelley no doubt translated the play for Byron in 1816 as fluently as he was to translate it for Medwin in 1820. It may well have been the most important service he rendered the older poet that summer'—John Clubbe, ' "The New Prometheus of New Men": Byron's 1816 *Poems* and *Manfred*', in *Nineteenth-Century Literary Perspectives: Essays in Honor of Lionel Stevenson*, edited by Clyde de L. Ryals (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1974), p. 21.
21. The Shelleys had departed for a tour of Switzerland on 21 July 1816, returning on the 27th of the same month.
22. Benita Eisler, *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), pp. 529–30. See also Byron's letter to Samuel Rogers written at 'Diodati—nr. Geneva July 29th 1816', which documents the *salon* at Coppet.

    Leslie Marchand notes Byron's mention of 'Schlegel is in high force' that Schlegel's 'egoism caused Byron to dislike him'—Leslie A. Marchand (ed.), *Byron's Letters and Journals*, 13 vols (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1973–94), v, 86. It is clear from this letter that Byron encountered other literary personages such as 'Charles Victor Bonstetten (1745–1832), a Swiss man of letters, [who] met Thomas Gray in […] 1769, and had an extended correspondence with him' (ibid., v, 86). Byron himself notes that 'Mathison—Muller the historian […] is a good deal at Copet—where I have met him a few times.' Marchand further notes: 'Friedrich von Matthisson (1761–1831), a German poet' (ibid., v, 85). 'Johann von Müller (1752–1809), author of a *History of the Helvetic Confederation*, was a lifelong friend and correspondent of Bonstetten' (ibid., v, 86).
23. Ibid., v, 87.
24. Goslee states that it 'seems unlikely, though, that Byron used the German text directly: instead the text Mme. de Stael [*sic*] sent him was probably either the 1814 French translation by A. A. Necker de Saussure […] or Black's 1815 English translation […] In several phrases [in *Prometheus*], Byron […] seems closer to the French than to either the German or the English […] In another case, at the beginning of Schlegel's third paragraph, Byron again seems to follow the French translation instead of the English one as a model for his phrasing of lines 15–16 […] I am still drawn to Black's English text as a full source, however, by its puzzling translation, almost a mistranslation, of a sentence early in the second paragraph' ('Pure Stream from a Troubled Source', pp. 31–32).
25. Kenneth Gergen, *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life* (1991; New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 7.
26. *Byron's Letters and Journals*, v, 104–05.
27. Clubbe, 'The New Prometheus of New Men', p. 31.
28. Byron is specifically referring to the period when he was writing Canto III of *Childe Harolde*, from early May until late (27th) June 1816—see *Byron's Letters and Journals*, v, 165.
29. Gergen, *The Saturated Self*, p. 7.

30. Clubbe, 'The New Prometheus of New Men', p. 21.
31. Clubbe, 'The New Prometheus of New Men', p. 17.
32. Peter L. Thorslev, Jr, 'The Romantic Mind Is its Own Place', *Comparative Literature*, 15 (1963), 264 and 266.
33. James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 116–17.
34. See also Warner, 'Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation': 'I accept Michael Warner's caution that we should not conceptualize terms from the history of media culture, like print (or I would add "network") as having a general trans-historical meaning or influence, or in his terms "an ontological status prior to culture." Neither "print" nor "the network" is, again in his words, a "hard technology outside of the political–symbolic order." Instead, we need to understand them [print and network] within the specific meanings given them by a particular culture's practices, ideologies, and historical machinery. Here, a term like "network" ends up being as much social as it is infrastructural; as linked to styles of sociability as to the post and turnpike.'
35. 'Gates: Technology must make information overload more manageable'. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* website, 20 May 2005. Online: Internet (accessed 23 January 2008) <*http://pittsburghpost-gazette.com/pg/05140/507602.stm*>.
36. Ibid.

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Mary Julia Young
A Biographical and Bibliographical Study

Nicola Lloyd

I

Mary Julia Young was a prolific author of fiction and poetry between 1791 and 1810. Although she was listed as one of the 'Mothers of the Novel' in Dale Spender's *100 Good Women Writers Before Jane Austen*, she has never been an author of established literary reputation.[1] Despite her self-proclaimed association with the celebrated Augustan Graveyard poet Edward Young, critical focus on Young has been restricted to cursory entries in encyclopaedias of women's writing or Romantic poetry and a few passing references in more general works of criticism to 'Julia Maria Young'.[2] Nonetheless, in 2007, Young's 1798 novel *Rose-Mount Castle; or, False Report* was republished for the first time.[3] This interest in Young's work—a product of the ongoing attempt to recuperate minor authors of the Romantic period—is the first indication of her potential significance. Indeed, while she was not especially influential in her own time, Young provides a striking example for the modern scholar of the female literary professionalism that transformed the book trade during the course of the eighteenth century.

As one of a growing number of women who wrote, as she termed it, 'for a maintenance',[4] Young offers a valuable insight into the role of women's fiction in a market of mass novel production. It is only within the last two decades that the full extent of women's involvement in the literary marketplace at this time has begun to be explored, demonstrating that in the eighteenth century there was 'a fairly continuous presence of "dependant professional" female writers in the literature market', which continued into the 1800s and beyond.[5] Young's literary career encapsulates many of the hardships faced by these 'dependant professional' women who were financially reliant on their literary output. Writing appears to have been her principal occupation and she was forced to seek financial assistance from the Royal Literary Fund in 1808 after her publisher went bankrupt, owing Young a considerable sum. Throughout her writing career, Young—like many other professional female writers—was placed under immense pressure from the publishing entrepreneurs of the day and forced to be highly attuned to the fluctuations of the market she sought to exploit.

Biography

Little is known about Young's personal life. She is often confused with Mary Sewell (née Young), the daughter of Sir William Young, who married the Revd George Sewell and lived in Surrey and then Chertsey until her death in 1821, producing a number of works of poetry.[6] In fact, the dates of Mary Julia Young's birth and death are not known and very little information about her family and upbringing remains. The only existing biographical information is found in Young's application to the Royal Literary Fund (RLF), in which she writes that she was born into 'two very large families' and brought up by her 'sensible and virtuous mother'. She claims that she is the last living member of these families, having 'survived six brothers and twenty five cousins' (RLF, 28 March 1808). The most important aspect of Young's biography, and one that was of immense importance to her writing, was her relationship to the Augustan poet Edward Young. In her RLF application, Young declares that she is the only surviving relative of Edward Young—'one of the brightest ornaments of English Literature'—who had been a friend of her father and was godfather to her closest brother, to whom he gave his name Edward (RLF, 28 March 1808).

Her claimed relationship to Edward Young had a marked effect on Mary Julia Young's writing career, with publishers keen to exploit her association with an author of such distinction. Edward Young (1683–1765) was a friend of writers as disparate as Richardson, Pope, and Johnson, and he published a number of plays and poems in the early to mid-eighteenth century. These included *The Complaint; or Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* in June 1742, which met with immediate success and remains his most well-known work.[7] Mary Julia Young refers to Edward Young in the majority of her novels, with the first mention of her relationship to him appearing in the dedication of *Rose-Mount Castle* (1798). For an unknown female author such as Young, the claim of such a relationship was a way in which she could command an element of credibility—albeit by association—in a literary marketplace often hostile to female writers.

Bibliography

While it is the fiction of Mary Julia Young that provides the main focus of this paper, her poetry, memoir, and translations are also of note, and are representative of the need for female professional writers to produce a varied output in order to maximise commercial gain. She published three works of poetry in the 1790s: *Genius and Fancy; or, Dramatic Sketches* (1791; republished in 1795), *Adelaide and Antonine, or the Emigrants: A Tale* (1793) and *Poems* (1798; published in 1801 as *The Metrical Museum: Part I*, which also included *Adelaide and Antonine*).[8] Her verse exhibits the same acute awareness of literary fashion that can be identified in her fiction. Much of it is derivative of the sentimental genre popularised by the Della Cruscan school in the late 1780s and early 1790s, and it prefigures the more domesticated sensibility of late-Romantic female

poets like Felicia Hemans and Letitia Elizabeth Landon. Young also received an entry in the 1999 anthology *A Century of Sonnets*, acknowledging her use of a form that was popular with female poets of sentiment in the period, most notably Charlotte Smith.[9]

Her poetry also demonstrates an engagement with contemporary politics. *Adelaide and Antonine* takes place within the setting of revolutionary France and her 'An Ode to Fancy' (from *Genius and Fancy* [1791] and also published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1794) is a rewriting of Joseph Warton's 'Ode to Fancy' (1746), which was highly influential in its poetic treatment of war.[10] Interestingly, one commentator has noted that Young's version of Warton's poem 'reveals both the generic constraints placed on her as a woman poet and the role that sensibility had come to play in responses to the sufferings of war.'[11] Like many other women writers of the period, Young's gender and her appropriation of sentimental style limited the possibility of extensive political dialogue. In addition to her poetry, Young also produced three translations—*Lindorf and Caroline* (1803), *The Mother and Daughter* (1804), and *Voltairiana* (1805)[12]—in accordance with the fashion for translations from both French and German during the period, and a memoir of the actress Mrs Crouch, whom she greatly admired.[13] Interestingly, it is this work that has provided the most lasting legacy for Young, being cited frequently in accounts of the stage in the Romantic era.[14]

Mary Julia Young is generally considered to have written nine novels. The attribution of the first of these nine novels—*The Family Party* (1791)—to Young is, however, problematic. It is ascribed to Young by Dorothy Blakey in *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (1939), in which she states her source to be 'a Minerva Library Catalogue of 1814'.[15] However, while examination of Minerva catalogues for this date does show an entry for '*The Family Party*, 3 vol., 9s.' no mention of Young can be traced. It is also omitted by Young in her 1808 letter to the RLF, which includes the other seven novels that had been published by this date. The interim of seven years (a relatively long interval for a novelist of this period, and in particular one who was financially dependent on their writing) between this and *Rose-Mount Castle* (1798) cannot in itself provide convincing proof of a misattribution. However, an examination of the novel reveals other features that seem to conflict with the rest of Young's fiction. The style and content of *The Family Party* differs considerably from the other novels, with frequent direct addresses to the reader (in contrast to the omniscient narration of the other eight works),[16] and an engagement with debates of proto-feminist politics characterised by a forthrightness unfamiliar in the rest of Young's work.

Likewise, while it was by no means unusual at this time for an author's first novel to be published anonymously, this does seem curious in the case of Young, given her supposed connection to Edward Young. In addition to the mention of their relationship in the dedication to *Rose-Mount Castle*, Young's poetry appears in four of her other novels in the form of epigraphs or quota-

tions within the text.[17] It seems unlikely that any publisher would choose for Mary Julia Young to remain anonymous, with no other titles to her name, when referring to her relationship to Edward Young would have been such a potentially lucrative marketing technique. These factors, coupled with the apparent inaccuracy of Blakey's reference to the 1814 Minerva catalogue, make it seem likely that the attribution of *The Family Party* to Young is incorrect. Therefore, for the remainder of this report, the novel will be classified as a spurious attribution.[18]

Accordingly, the remaining eight novels published by Young are as follows: *Rose-Mount Castle* (1798), *The East Indian; or Clifford Priory* (1799), *Moss Cliff Abbey; or, The Sepulchral Harmonist. A Mysterious Tale* (1803), *Right and Wrong; or, The Kinsmen of Naples. A Romantic Story* (1803), *Donalda; or, The Witches of Glenshiel. A Caledonian Legend* (1805), *A Summer at Brighton. A Modern Novel* (1807), *A Summer in Weymouth; or, The Star of Fashion* (1808), and *The Heir of Drumcondra; or, Family Pride* (1810). Young's fiction characterises her engagement with dominant literary trends of the Romantic period and, while few of the novels can be neatly classified within a particular genre, they all pastiche elements of popular modes of fiction. Public reception of other works provided a model for hack writers seeking commercial success, who could recycle popular modes, styles, and titles common to current literary fashions. This is particularly evident in the number of Gothic novels that flooded the market in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[19] Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), M. G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), and Regina Maria Roche's *Children of the Abbey* (1796) in particular spawned a multitude of novels with derivative titles, including T. J. Horsley Curties's *The Monk of Udolpho* (1807), Mary Anne Radcliffe's *Manfroné; or, the One-Handed Monk* (1809), and Sophia Woodfall's *Rosa; or, the Child of the Abbey* (1805).[20]

The title of a novel could determine its level of success, for many circulating libraries listed their works by title alone (and sometimes also by subtitle).[21] Young was no exception to the number of authors that appropriated elements of popular titles for their own work. The title of *Rose-Mount Castle; or, False Report*—castles being even more popular than abbeys in titles at this time—and the opening chapter in which the male protagonist discovers a ruined castle containing a buried human head and three dead bodies, carries a strong suggestion of the Gothic. However, it transpires that this Gothic opening is nothing more than commercial exploitation: the title of the work refers to the setting of a novel that becomes increasingly generic and sentimental. The *Critical Review* refers to 'the gang of Irish *defenders*, who rob and murder in a very *sentimental* style' and the numerous love-matches in the novel, 'all which prove abundantly prosperous'—another disreputable feature of novels of sentiment.[22] Despite the fact that by the end of the 1790s the popularity of the novel of sensibility was in decline—in part owing to its growing association with radicalism in the public consciousness—Young continued to utilise the plot

devices and affective discourse of sentimental fiction, divested of its Jacobin leanings, in almost all of her novels.

Her second novel, *The East Indian, or Clifford Priory* (1799), is the most identifiably Gothic of Young's publications. The epigraph—in a style reminiscent of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts*— refers to 'the sepulchral gloom of dreary vaults, where the long buried dead in silence sleep' and plot devices such as a dilapidated and reputedly haunted building and the discovery of secret passages, vaults and a mysterious locked room clearly resemble those of the Radcliffean Gothic. Young—never one to miss the opportunity of an allusion to a writer of eminence—refers directly to Radcliffe when the heroine Elinor Clifford enters her new bedroom and the coverlid on her bed 'remind[s] her of the black pall in the *Mysteries of Udolpho*',[23] and Elinor's subsequent discoveries of a black cloth curtain concealing the skeleton of a monk and a locked room containing two wax effigies in coffins are clearly derivative of *Udolpho*. The title of Young's next novel *Moss Cliff Abbey; or, the Sepulchral Harmonist. A Mysterious Tale* (1803) was so obviously Gothic that it was singled out by the *Critical Review*, which wryly conceded the benefits of a 'taking title' and declared that 'we augur well of the success of the "Sepulchral Harmonist", in these days when ghosts and mysteries are so fashionable.'[24] The use of the word 'mysterious' in the title is of course another allusion to *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, while the familiar Radcliffean plot device of the 'explained supernatural'—such as the 'pale, shrouded forms' (IV, 114) that turn out to be statues—is employed throughout the novel.

Right and Wrong; or, the Kinsmen of Naples (1803) begins in the popular Gothic setting of Italy and, with its shift in location from Italy to Wales, borrows from the fashionable Porteresque fiction of the period. Like Jane Porter's highly popular *Thaddeus of Warsaw* of the same year, in which the hero absconds to Britain from the politically volatile Poland, *Right and Wrong* fuses its pan-European focus with domestic sentimentalism. Porter, like Young, was not wholly committed to one fictional mode and her 'historical' novels were highly sentimental. Similarly, after its initial shift from violent dynastic strife in Italy, *Right and Wrong* lapses into exaggerated sensibility, making use of the popular sentimental device of discovered origins, revealing the mystery surrounding the protagonist's birth at the novel's close, finally giving him the freedom to marry. *Donalda; or, the Witches of Glenshiel* (1805) at once appropriates the burgeoning interest in regional fiction and anticipates the trend for historical fiction of the 1810s. It carries the sub-title 'A Caledonian Legend' and is set in eleventh-century Scotland, featuring the Scottish royal family and drawing frequently on events from *Macbeth*. Its Shakespearean elements conveniently overlap with the contemporary trend for the Gothic, with its inclusion of ghosts, witches, and the supernatural appearance of drops of blood on a dagger.

Young's next two publications mark her most obvious exploitation of an already successful subgenre. *A Summer at Brighton* (1807) and *A Summer at Weymouth; or, the Star of Fashion* (1808), are two of the most pronounced examples

of the numerous scandal novels published in the wake of T. S. Surr's *A Winter in London* (1806). Young's plots utilise the devices of the illegitimate child and scandalous affairs and elopements that characterise this type of fiction and the novels also draw on the fashion for 'royal tales' in the setting of Brighton, the location of the Prince Regent's alternative court, with both featuring episodes marked by the appearance of royalty. It is notable that Young published both novels anonymously, referring only to herself as 'the author of *A Summer at Brighton*' on the title page of *A Summer at Weymouth*. This suggests an astute awareness of the paradoxical nature of scandal novels, which, while remaining pro-morals and anti-fashionable society, were often considered salacious and immoral. While *A Summer in Brighton* brought Young the greatest success of her literary career, with the novel running to five editions, the fashion for scandal fiction was short-lived and Young's next novel is representative of the conservative domestic fiction that became popular in the early 1810s, following the success of Hannah More's evangelical *Cœlebs in Search of a Wife* (1808).[25]

The Heir of Drumcondra; or, Family Pride (1810), in direct opposition to the sensational accounts of the *beau monde* in Young's previous two novels, contrasts the idleness and libertinism of the gentry with the industriousness and benevolence of the merchant classes, the epigraph to the work reading 'Let high birth triumph! What can be more great? | Nothing—but merit in a low estate'. The novel is dedicated to the Jewish merchant and financier Abraham Goldsmid, who provided an important contribution of loans to the British government during the Napoleonic wars and, according to Young, 'nobly supports the eminent character of a British Merchant; and renders himself an honour to this glorious land of commerce'.[26] The novel marks a clear departure from the mode of scandal fiction and falls broadly within the emergent trend for moralising domestic fiction that would be prevalent for the next two decades. Young's fictional conversion is representative of the literary marketplace more generally; as Peter Garside notes, at this time '[e]ven more run-of-the-mill novelists show signs of wanting to distance themselves from the general decline in standards'.[27] This perceived decline was as much moral as it was aesthetic. The backlash against radical sensibility and scandal fiction brought about an insistence on didacticism and dissemination of benevolence in women's fiction and Young, as a writer reliant on the commercial success of her novels, could not afford to ignore such a significant change in the market.

The Publishing Industry and the Literary Marketplace

Young's apparent awareness of the tastes and trends of the literary marketplace is likely to have been largely a result of her publishers. As Cheryl Turner observes, professional female writers were heavily reliant on their booksellers, who were 'in a position to nurture a literary career by advising upon the content of material, thus guiding the author towards a larger readership and a higher income.'[28] Many publishers of the period—including William Lane, who is-

sued *Rose-Mount Castle*—pioneered both commercial circulating libraries and the publication of the type of fashionable novels produced by Young.[29] Young writes in her RLF application that she had a 'fair reading in circulating libraries' (RLF, 28 March 1808) and this may be attributed in part to her publishers.[30] As well as owning a circulating library, Lane focused on the sale of generic fiction and his Minerva Press dominated the sale of novels during the opening decades of the nineteenth century.[31] He may have been attractive to Young as an author wishing to market her first novel given his attempts to 'facilitate the process of initial contact between author and publisher by advertising his desire for new material', using both 'magazines and his own publications for this purpose.'[32] While Young published twice with the Minerva Press and once with another publisher, the remaining five of her novels were published by James Fletcher Hughes. Like Lane, Hughes also published fashionable novels, and his aptitude for aggressive and innovative promotion is evident in the advertising of Young's work.

Peter Garside details a list of works 'Just Published' by Hughes in 1803, in which Young's translation *Lindorf and Caroline; or, the Dangers of Credulity* is listed as 'deriving from the German of Professor Kramer, author of Hermann of Unna', and where *Right and Wrong* is said to be written by 'Miss Young, niece of Dr. Young, author of "Night Thoughts" '.[33] Billing Young's works in this way and associating them with Kramer's popular novel of the 1790s and the equally popular *Night Thoughts* was typical of Hughes's 'puffing' techniques. Mary Julia Young's relationship to Edward Young would have been extremely attractive to publishers seeking to market her work, and—as mentioned previously—references to him appear in no less than five of her novels, all of which were published by either Hughes or the Minerva Press.[34] Garside also notes that the title of Mary Julia Young's translation *The Mother and Daughter* (1804) is clearly reminiscent of the title of Amelia Opie's *Father and Daughter*, published three years earlier—a pronounced example of Hughes's propensity for capitalising on popular titles.[35] Hughes sought to follow the success of T. S. Surr's *A Winter in London* (1806) with Young's two scandal novels and *A Summer at Brighton* was advertised as 'a Continuation of that very popular production, "The Winter in London"'.[36] It achieved great success in the circulating libraries and ran to five editions in its year of publication, with the addition of a fourth volume to the third edition 'containing the Memoirs and Intrigues of the Modern Laïs, a well-known woman of rank and fashion' sold separately.[37] However, it is worth noting the possibility that these editions were merely unsold earlier copies that were freshly titled, a technique often employed by Hughes to shift excess stock.[38]

It is clear that Young's literary production was heavily influenced by her publishers and she refers in her application to the RLF to 'the restraint laid on [her] pen' (RLF, 28 March 1808), presumably by her previous publisher, Hughes. Of course, her dependence on her publishers was also financial, and when Hughes went bankrupt in 1808, he left Young in severe pecuniary difficulty. She was

forced to apply to the Royal Literary Fund—which had been founded in 1790 with the aim of aiding authors in straitened circumstances—for financial assistance, stating in her correspondence with them that 'my publisher became a Bankrupt when he was indebted to me above seventy pounds of which I have received only one dividend of about seven pounds' (RLF, 28 March 1808). This letter highlights the extent of Young's financial dependence on her writing. It also demonstrates the moral sensitivity required of a female novelist. Young is careful to profess her awareness of her moral responsibility, given the status of '[n]ovels as a species of literature sought after with avidity by the younger part of both sexes'. She goes on to declare that she had:

> invariably, to the best of my abilities, endeavoured to render the strictest observance of relative duties indispensable to amiable and sensible characters and to inculcate virtue, fortitude, and benevolence by the most encouraging examples.

This emphasis on the didactic content of her novels appeared to be effective in procuring Young financial support, for she was subsequently granted £15 by the RLF.

However, her efforts were not so well received elsewhere. Young was aware of the potential for harsh reviews of her work, publishing a poem in 1798 entitled 'To a Friend, on his Desiring Me to Publish', where she considers her position as 'an unknown, untaught woman' who, if she chooses to publish her writing, will:

> Expose myself to dread Reviews
> To paragraphs in daily news […]
> To gall-dipp'd pens that write one down
> To Envy's hiss, and Critic's frown [39]

Indeed, given the response of contemporary reviewers to Young's work, this apprehension appears well grounded. In the in text preceding the *Anti-Jacobin*'s review of *Right and Wrong*, the reviewer refers to the publication's deliberately scant focus on novels and the 'worthless trash which, year after year, come forward to load the groaning shelves of our circulating libraries', of which 'nonsense and folly are, not unfrequently, the most innocent ingredients.'[40] He then remarks that novels are often 'intentionally filled with poison of the most destructive kinds; with sedition, irreligion, and the grossest immorality' and goes on to refer to the 'seductive and dangerous' novels of Rousseau, lest the reader be in any doubt about the association of novels with Jacobinism and moral corruption.

While the reviewer cannot find anything quite so pernicious in Young's novel, he is far from complimentary. In fact, Young never found a favourable reception amongst contemporary critics. The majority of the reviews of her work focus on the improbability of the plots and while some state that her work 'is not to be read without interest',[41] many were considerably more condemnatory. Certainly, the tone of the reviewer for the *Anti-Jacobin* is distinctly acerbic,

declaring that 'as this lady translates from German and French, we hope that she understands these languages; for we cannot, with justice, compliment her on the accuracy with which she writes her own.' (*AJR*, 19: 428) The reviewer does allow for typographical errors—'[s]ome of the blunders which we have observed may be errors of the press'[42]—but is not prepared to make any further allowances, following this comment with the statement that 'many of them are such as can be accounted for from ignorance alone.'

The review illustrates the extent of hostility towards female novelists, declaring that Young's 'authority […] will not be sufficient to render legitimate' the 'new words' she coins (*AJR*, 19: 428). It goes on to criticise the examples of Young's poetry that appear in the novel, stating that 'the following stanza contains one of those hard words, with which ladies should not meddle, as they cannot be supposed to have studied Latin prosody'. However, even Young's anonymous works—divested of the negative effects of her gender—were received unfavourably. A review of *A Summer at Brighton* condemns writers who publish continuations and classes the novel as 'a contemptible production, by some anonymous scribbler', stating that the *Monthly Magazine* considers continuations of this type to be 'picking the pockets of the public, and robbing the author of his reputation.'[43] This shows both an awareness of and contempt for hack writers like Young, one of the 'emergent literary professionals for whom writing, quite blatantly, need be little more than an appropriate means of earning a living.'[44]

Mary Julia Young is a particularly relevant case for bibliographic study, offering critics a greater understanding of the opportunities available to professional women writers in the Romantic period, as well as the restrictions placed upon them. Young's literary career demonstrates the interplay of numerous factors required to attain commercial success in a highly competitive marketplace, involving both a dynamic appropriation of literary trends and negotiation with publishers and booksellers. As Cheryl Turner observes, financial difficulty was one of the few acceptable grounds for a woman writing commercially: 'virtue in distress could succeed with public sympathy where references to ambition or entitlement would probably fail.'[45] However, while literary professionalism had become more acceptable for women by the time Young was writing, it is clear that tolerance for female authors remained conditional.

Notes

1. Dale Spender, *Mothers of the Novel: 100 Good Women Writers Before Jane Austen* (London and New York: Pandora, 1986). For the entry on Mary Julia Young (MJY), see p. 137. While this book is a valuable resource for scholars of women's writing in the Romantic period, it is perhaps unsurprising that it yielded no further study of MJY, given the number of inaccuracies in the entry. *Rose-Mount Castle* (1798) is incorrectly cited as *Ragamount Castle* (and dated 1799), *Donalda* (1805) as *Donatan*, and *The Heir of Drumcondra* (1810) as *The Heir of Drumoindra*.

2. These include E. J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762–1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), p. 108, and Michael Gamer, *Romanticism and the Gothic: Genre, Reception and Canon Formation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p. 72.
3. The novel is available in a print-on-demand edition from the American publishing house Kessinger, Montana.
4. Archives of the Royal Literary Fund, 1790–1918, 145 reels (London: World Microfilms, 1982–83), Reel 6 (Case 216), letter dated 28 March 1808. All further references to MJY's correspondence with the Royal Literary Fund are given parenthetically in the text as RLF, followed by the date of correspondence. Transcriptions of this correspondence are given in Section IV.
5. Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen: Women Writers in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 61.
6. This biographical information is mistakenly cited as that of Mary Julia Young in Janet Todd, *A Dictionary of British and American Women Writers 1660–1800* (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 337–38. For a list of spurious works by Mary (Young) Sewell attributed to MJY, see Section II.
7. James E. May, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004). The *ODNB* records Young's success as an author, mentioning a number of his plays, among them *Busiris, King of Egypt* (1719), which was produced at Drury Lane, and the more successful *The Revenge* (1721), a variation of *Othello*. Between 1725 and 1728, Young published a series of satires called *The Universal Passion*, which influenced Pope's own satirical works. Young published a number of Odes, followed by *The Complaint; or Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* in June 1742, which met with immediate success. Young continued to write until his death in April 1765, his last work being a poem called *Resignation* (1761, rptd and expanded 1762). Young had a son, Frederick, whom he refused to see for many years, but during his illness before his death sent a message of forgiveness, leaving him the majority of his property. Frederick Young does not appear to have been mentioned by MJY in any of her correspondence and the nature of her relationship to Edward Young remains undetermined.
8. For full details of MJY's poetry, see the bibliographical entries in Section II.
9. Six of MJY's sonnets from *Poems* (1798) are reproduced in *A Century of Sonnets: The Romantic-Era Revival, 1750–1850*, edited by Paula R. Feldman and Daniel Robinson (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1999), pp. 68–70.
10. For a full discussion of the relationship between the two poems, see Simon Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Visions of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 23.
11. Ibid.
12. For full details of these translations, see the bibliographical entries in Section II.
13. MJY appears to have had a strong interest in theatre. Her memoir of Anna Maria Crouch includes a more general 'Retrospect of the Stage, During the Years She Performed' and in one anthology of poetry, MJY's first work of poetry, *Genius and Fancy; or, Dramatic Sketches* (1791), is referred to as 'a survey of the London stage', *British Women Poets of the Romantic Era: An Anthology* ed. Paula R. Feldman (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 844. The dedication to *Genius and Fancy* is to 'those, whose dramatic excellence suggested the following little poem', Mary Julia Young, *Genius and Fancy; or, Dramatic Sketches* (London: H. D. Symonds and J. Gray, 1795), p. 1.

14. These include Catherine B. Burroughs, *Women in British Romantic Theatre* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p. 130, Catherine B. Burroughs, *Closet Stages: Joanna Baillie and the Theater Theory of British Romantic Women Writers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 48 and Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 337.
15. Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 153.
16. See, for example, this extract from the second volume, where the narrator takes on a masculine persona and states: 'Now as the writer of this history is not clear as to Mrs. St. John's meaning—whether by the social ties she figures to herself and others, the restraints of a large party, or the regulating turn of her countenance, he would be obliged to any of his readers—that can assist his dulness [*sic*], and enable him to comprehend it— ', *The Family Party*, 3 vols (London: William Lane, 1791), II, 19.
17. For a full reference to these quotations, see note 34.
18. Interestingly, while the majority of bibliographic sources relating to fiction of the period have attributed *The Family Party* to MJY, at least two critical sources on poetry cite an entirely different work—*The Family Party; a Comic Piece, in Two Acts* (1789)—as MJY's first publication. See *British Women Poets of the Romantic Era: An Anthology*, edited by Paula R. Feldman (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 844, which cites this play as an example of MJY's involvement in theatre, and Feldman and Robinson, *Century of Sonnets,* p. 68. The play can be identified in the British Library Public Catalogue as having gone to two editions, the first in London in 1789, the second in Dublin—printed for 'P. Wogan, etc.'—in the same year. It is worth noting that the two critical sources identified have the same editor, so it is possible that this is a misattribution reproduced in both texts.
19. See Peter Garside, 'Historical Introduction: The English Novel in the Romantic Era: Consolidation and Dispersal', in *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, edited by Peter Garside, James Raven and Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000), II, 15–103 (p. 56), in which he notes that the optimum years for the number of Gothic novels published were 1796–1806. All further references are to this edition.
20. The extent of this exploitation of popular titles meant that between 1800 and 1829 no less than sixteen titles appeared which had the word 'Monk' in the title; seventeen which included the word 'Mystery' or a variant; and twenty six which included the word 'Abbey'.
21. Garside, 'Consolidation and Dispersal', p. 49.
22. Review of *Rose-Mount Castle,* in *Critical Review*, 24 (Dec 1798), 470. For transcriptions of reviews mentioned in this section, see the notes to the bibliographical entries in Section II.
23. Mary Julia Young, *The East Indian, or, Clifford Priory*, 4 vols (London: Earle and Hemet, 1799), II, 224. All further references are to this edition and are given parenthetically in the text.
24. Review of *Moss Cliff Abbey*, in *Critical Review*, 3rd ser. 1 (Jan 1804), 119.
25. See Garside, 'Consolidation and Dispersal', p. 43, for an account of the backlash against scandal fiction in the early 1810s.

26. Mary Julia Young, *The Heir of Drumcondra; or, Family Pride*, 3 vols (London: Minerva, 1810), I, 1. MJY's dedication to Goldsmid echoes her sympathetic portrayal of a Jewish moneylender in *The East-Indian* (1799), which goes against contemporary anti-Semitic stereotypes, prefiguring the representation of Jewish characters in the novels of Edgeworth and Scott.
27. Garside, 'Consolidation and Dispersal', p. 43.
28. Turner, *Living by the Pen*, p. 86.
29. James Raven, 'Historical Introduction: The Novel Comes of Age', in *English Novel 1770–1829*, I, 15–121 (p. 74).
30. *Moss Cliff Abbey* (1803) was available at 7 out of 19 possible circulating libraries, *Right and Wrong* (1803) at 5 out of 19, *Donalda* (1805) at 5 out of 19, *Summer at Brighton* (1807) at 13 out of 19, *Summer at Weymouth* (1808) at 6 out of 19 and *The Heir of Drumcondra* (1810) at 6 out of a possible 17. See 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*> [28 April 2008].
31. See Table 12: 'Leading London Novel Publishers, 1770–1799, by Publication of New Prose Fiction Titles', in Raven, 'The Novel Comes of Age', p. 73, and Tables 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3, which show primary publishers 1800–1829, in Garside, 'Consolidation and Dispersal', pp. 83–84.
32. Turner, *Living by the Pen*, p. 94.
33. Peter Garside, 'J. F. Hughes and the Publication of Popular Fiction, 1803–1810', *The Library*, 9 (1987), 240–58 (p. 244). All further references are to this edition.
34. See *Rose-Mount Castle*, 3 vols (London: Minerva, 1798), I, 1, in which MJY writes in the Dedication that she 'can boast of being allied to the author of the Night Thoughts'; the epigraph of vol. 3 of *Moss Cliff Abbey*, 4 vols (London: Crosby and Hughes, 1803); the epigraph of vol. 3 in *Right and Wrong*, 4 vols (London: Crosby and Hughes, 1803); *A Summer at Weymouth*, 3 vols (London: J. F. Hughes, 1808), III, 169, and *Heir of Drumcondra*, I, 186.
35. Garside, 'Hughes and Popular Fiction', p. 244.
36. See the review of *A Summer at Brighton*, *Monthly Magazine*, 22 (25 Jan 1807), 643, where the novel is referred to with the title *A Summer at Brighton: Being a Continuation of the Winter in London*.
37. Peter Garside, 'Hughes and Popular Fiction', p. 252.
38. The fact that *A Summer in Brighton* appears to have been MJY's most notably marketed novel, being advertised three times in *The Morning Chronicle* between 13 Jan 1807 and 12 Sep 1807, may also support this possibility.
39. From Mary Julia Young, *Poems* (London: Minerva, 1798). For transcriptions of representative samples of MJY's poetry, see Section VI.
40. Review of *Right and Wrong*, *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, Vol 19 (December 1804), 424–29, (p. 424). All further references are given parenthetically in the text as *AJR*, followed by the page number.
41. Review of *Moss Cliff Abbey*, *Monthly Magazine*, 17 (1804), 667. See also the review of *Right and Wrong*, *Critical Review*, 3rd ser. 3 (December 1804), 470, which declares the plot to be 'not wholly without interest'.
42. This is something of which MJY herself was painfully aware, referring to 'the numerous *typographical errors*' that appear in her novels in her application to the RLF. She appears to have had an almost complete lack of control over her work,

being forced to send it sheet by sheet to the press 'without time even to reperuse them' (RLF, 28 March, 1808).

43. Review of *A Summer at Brighton*, *Monthly Magazine*, 22 (25 January 1807), 643.
44. Cheryl Turner, *Living by the Pen*, p. 101.
45. Ibid., p. 57.

II

Bibliography of Mary Julia Young's Work

Below is included all of Mary Julia Young's original fiction, as recorded in condensed form (this report includes additional notes and transcriptions of reviews) in *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Fiction Published in the British Isles*, edited by Peter Garside, James Raven and Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000). Works of non-fiction, translations, and any spurious works attributed to Mary Julia Young are also included. All of the entries have been viewed directly from the Corvey Microfiche Edition (CME) where possible and, for all other cases, copies have been viewed at the British Library.

The entries are arranged in chronological order within each section, first listing the date of publication, then the author's name, with any parts of the name not given on the title page being recorded in square brackets or in curly braces if portions of the name have appeared elsewhere in the work. The following line of the entry provides a transcription of the title page, with the omission of any epigraphs, volume specific details, and the publisher's imprint (which appears in the following line). Each entry subsequently records pagination, format and, where possible, the price of the work (with the source of this information in brackets). The next line provides library details of the copy examined, followed by catalogue entries for the works as given in the *English Catalogue of Books*, the *Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue* for works up to 1800 or the *Nineteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue* for works 1801–1870, and the *OCLC WorldCat* database. When the entry does not appear in one of these last two sources, this is denoted by a preceding 'x'. The final component of each entry consists of any notes of interest and transcriptions of reviews of the work (with sources of notes provided where necessary).

Abbreviations

adv(s).	advertisement(s)
Blakey	Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1939)
BL	British Library
BLPC	British Library Public Catalogue (online)
BN	Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
C&K	R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye, *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals 1620–1800* (1927; London: Holland Press, 1966)
CME	Corvey Microfiche Edition
CR	*Critical Review* (C&K, 156)
ECB	R. A. Peddie and Quintin Waddington (eds), *The English Catalogue of Books 1801–1836* (1939; New York: Kraus Reprints, 1968)
EN	*The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Fiction Published in the British Isles*, edited by Peter Garside, James Raven and Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000)
EngR	*English Review* (C&K, 213)
ER	*Edinburgh Review*
ESTC	*Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue* on CD-ROM (London: British Library, 1992)
ME	*Monthly Epitome* (C&K, 571)
Min	*Prospectus of the Minerva Library* (1798) reproduced as Appendix IV in Blakey
MJY	Mary Julia Young
n.d.	no date
n.s.	new series
NSTC	*Nineteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue* on CD-ROM (Newcastle, 1996)
NUC	*National Union Catalog*
OCLC	Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) WorldCat Database
RLF	Royal Literary Fund / Archives of the Royal Literary Fund
ser.	series
Summers	Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* ([1940]; London: Fortune Press, 1969)
t.p.	title page
trans.	translator
trans.	translation
unn.	unnumbered
ViU	University of Virginia

A. Mary Julia Young's Original Fiction, 1798–1810

1798
YOUNG, M{ary} J{ulia}.
ROSE-MOUNT CASTLE; OR, FALSE REPORT. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY M. J. YOUNG.

London: Printed at the Minerva Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1798.
I 259p; II 278p; III 278p. 12º. 10s 6d boards (CR); 10s 6d sewed (Min).
CME 3-628-45219-8; ESTC n013327; xOCLC.
Notes. Dedication to Mrs Trant (pp. 1–3), signed Mary Julia Young, in which she humbly writes that 'though I can boast of being allied to the author of the Night Thoughts, a very small portion of his talents have descended to me.' 1p. advs end vol. 1; 1p. advs end vol. 2; 2pp. advs end vol. 3. Chs 16 and 17 of vol. 3 mistakenly numbered 15 and 16.

***Critical Review*, n.s. 24 (Dec 1798), 470:** 'We cannot recommend this work either for entertainment or instruction. It is almost destitute of fable or of any excitement to curiosity, if we accept the introduction of a gang of Irish *defenders*, who rob and murder in a very *sentimental* style, and one of whom becomes afterwards a personage of high consequence in the groupe [*sic*] of lords and dukes, having relinquished his *youthful error*. Many characters are introduced, and coupled in love-matches, all which prove abundantly prosperous; but there are no traits in their history so interesting as to compensate their vapid and common-place conversation, which occupies the greater part of the work.'

1799
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
THE EAST INDIAN, OR CLIFFORD PRIORY. A NOVEL, IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF ROSE-MOUNT CASTLE, POEMS, &C.

London: Printed for Earle and Hemet, No. 47 Albermarle-Street, Piccadilly, by John Nichols, Red-Lion-Passage, Fleet-Street. Sold also by T. Hurst, No. 32. Paternoster Row, 1799.
I iii, 304p; II 292p; III 277p; IV 278p. 12º. 16s (ME).
CME 3-628-45214-7; ESTC t118949; OCLC 30878314.
Notes. Dedication to the Countess of Derby p.iii signed 'The Author'. Ch. 8 of vol. 2 mistakenly numbered 6.
Further edn: Dublin 1800 (ESTC n001223; OCLC 13323777).

1803
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
MOSS CLIFF ABBEY; OR, THE SEPULCHRAL HARMONIST. A MYSTERIOUS TALE. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF ROSE MOUNT CASTLE; THE EAST INDIAN; THE KINSMEN OF NAPLES; POEMS &C.

London: Printed by W. S. Betham, Furnival's-Inn-Court, Holburn, for B. Crosby and Co., Stationer's Court, Ludgate-Hill; and J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, 1803.

I 198p; II 215p; III 196p; IV 216p. 12º. 12s boards (CR).
CME 3-628-48993-8; ECB 654; xNSTC; xOCLC.
Notes. Imprint in vol. 2: 'London: Printed by W. S. Betham, Furnival's-Inn-Court, Holborn, for B. Crosby and Co. Stationer's Court, Ludgate-Hill; J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street; and C. Fourdrinier, Charing Cross, 1803'. Imprint in vol. 3: 'London: Printed by D. N. Shury, Berwick-Street, Soho, for B. Crosby and Co. Stationer's Court, Ludgate Hill; and J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, 1803'. Imprint in vol. 4: 'London: Printed by D. N. Shury, Berwick-Street, Soho; for B. Crosby and Co. Stationer's Court, Ludgate Hill; and J. F. Hughes, Wigmore-Street, 1803'. Ch. 11 of vol. 1 mistakenly numbered 9.

***Critical Review*, 3rd ser. 1 (Jan 1804), 119:** 'In the days of Curl, a "taking title" was as fashionable as at present; and we augur well of the success of the *Sepulchral Harmonist*, in these days when ghosts and mysteries are so fashionable. The novel, though abounding with events scarcely within the verge of probability, is interesting, from its frequent and sudden changes of fortune: the characters, however, are in no respect new, and merely captivate from their situation; and, while we "incredulously hate" the unexpected alternations of misery and happiness, disapprobation vanishes, in our eagerness to follow the events.—We have laughed a little at the ghost of an opera tune; but this is the ghost of an elegy; and the poetry is wild and "full of fantasy," well adapted to the situation. The Booth and Amelia of Fielding seem to have been in Miss Young's view, when she sketched George and Harriet Newton.'

***Monthly Magazine*, 17 (1804), 667:** '*Moss Cliff Abbey; or the Sepulchral Harmonist*, is a novel by Miss Young: the incidents are not very probable, nor are the characters very natural. The story is, nevertheless, not to be read without interest.'

1803
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
RIGHT AND WRONG; OR, THE KINSMEN OF NAPLES. A ROMANTIC STORY, IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF ROSE MOUNT CASTLE, THE EAST INDIAN, MOSS CLIFF ABBEY, POEMS, &C. &C.

London: Printed by D. N. Shury, Berwick Street; for Crosby and Co., Stationers' Court; and Hughes, Wigmore Street, 1803.
I 232p; II 228p; III 201p; IV 242p. 12º. 12s boards (CR); 14s (ECB).
CME 3-628-48995-4; ECB 654; NSTC Y236; OCLC 13323844.
Notes. MJY features as 'author of *The Kinsmen of Naples*' in both *Lindorf and Caroline* (1803) and *Moss Cliff Abbey* (1803), though a copy with this section of the title page appearing first has not been discovered. Summers (p. 380) states that Hughes advertised *The Kinsmen of Naples*, 2nd edn of 1808, but again no such edition has been located (EN2). Dedication to G. E. A. Wright, Esq.

***Critical Review*, 3rd ser. 3 (Dec 1804), 470:** 'These "kinsmen" are the Tom Jones and Blifil of Naples; the former without his libertinism, and the latter with the perfidy and cruelty of a dæmon. The characters are well supported, and the story not wholly without interest. The *dénoûment* [*sic*], however, is highly improbable, and of course leaves an unpleasing impression.'

***Anti-Jacobin Review*, 19 (Dec 1804), 424–29:** 'Whether this fair lady be maid or matron, we are wholly ignorant; for we do not remember to have ever heard of her name before, although her pen appears to have been sufficiently prolific. Beside the

publications enumerated in the present title page, she announces herself, at the end of the work, as the translator of "Lindorf and Caroline, or the Dangers of Credulity, a Cabalistical Romance, in three Volumes, from the German of Professor Kramer;" and of "Leonora, or Love and Fortitude, a Tale of Distress, in three Volumes, from the French of M. Berthier." Having never seen any of these numerous productions, we can judge of her qualifications to instruct and amuse the public only from that now before us; and, un-gallant as the declaration may seem, we must frankly confess that we do not feel ourselves warranted to rate them very high. […]

'In this novel there are several inferior characters; but none of them are very strongly marked. The best delineated are those of Corinna l'Abandoni, a rich, and not unfeeling, demi-rep; of Lucentio, the profligate and faithful old soldier, who emulates every virtue of his master Duvalvin. The fair author has, likewise, been pretty successful in drawing an honest Hibernian sailor, in the person of Captain Morton. The other characters are merely ciphers.

'As this lady translates from German and French, we hope that she understands these languages; for we cannot, with justice, compliment her on the accuracy with which she writes her own. Some of the blunders which we have observed may be errors of the press; but many of them are such as can be accounted for from ignorance alone. *Be* is repeatedly put for *is*. Thus Vol. II p. 57. "With my sword I will answer any one whom it *be* not a disgrace to fight." Vol. IV. p. 81. "When you find that Lord Glynvale *be*, in every respect, as amiable as Mr Fitz Alvin." P. 123 "See what it *be* now," &c. The same part of the verb is employed for *are*. "Unworthy as you *be*." Vol. I. p. 28. *Were* perpetually occurs for *was*. "Those with whom he *were* acquainted." Vol. I. p. 137. "Particularly now that he *were* a little elevated." Vol. II. p. 42, &c. &c. She has taken the liberty to coin some new words, which her authority, we fear, will not be sufficient to render legitimate. Thus we have "*to gloom* his features," (Vol. II. p. 17) "*to gloom* his youthful brow," (p. 71) and "*to gloom* the serene mind of Duvalvin," (III. 148.) In her last volume almost every thing is frenzied. We have *frenzied* manner (p. 110), *frenzied* look (p. 119), the *frenzied* Wynfride (p. 121), *frenzied* exclamations (p. 133) and *frenzied* deeds (p. 151.) She does not seem to have entered deeply into the study of English grammar, which, to own truth, she very frequently transgresses. Thus in Vol. I. p. 71 she writes: "If they *had* condescended *to have heard* you, they *would be* sensible of your merit." Again: "My little musician, *who* I will introduce" (p. 81.) So. II. 136. "to quit *whoever* he belonged to;" P. 137. "one *who*, at first sight, she both admired and loved," and IV. 233, "a handsome young man, *who* the Signora could not behold with indifference. Lastly, in Vol. IV, p. 156, "Duvalvin *acquiesced to* the Doctor's opinion."

'This fair lady, as appears from her title-page, has published a volume of Poems. But if we may be allowed to judge from a specimen inserted in the present work, her poetry is nearly on a par with her prose. This specimen is intituled [*sic*], "Leontine and Clarabel, a Tale of Wonder." A most doleful tale, to be sure it is; as how Sir Leontine proved false in love; as how Clarabel, as was sitting, in consequence died; as how her pale ghost, in a stormy night, came to his bedside, to summon him to another world; and as how the poor Knight was obliged to comply. The fair poet, with great composure, suits the pronunciation of her words to the structure of her line. Her lovers are sometimes Léontine and Clàrabel; sometimes Leontíne and Clarabél. The following stanza contains one of those hard words, with which ladies should not meddle, as they

cannot be supposed to have studied Latin prosody. The description is that of a "dark fiend," who was eager to run away with Sir Leontine.

> "Tho' still on the castle's high *tower* he stands,
> His torch and his scorpions have dropp'd from his hands;
> He folds his black wings round his head in despair,
> And their *bitumen* feeds the foul snakes in his hair."

'[…] If Mary Julia Young had employed her pen on any other subject, we should certainly have taken the liberty to complain of the very small quantity of letter-press which she has given us for our money. But, if the public are content to throw away twenty shillings for four such volumes as these, they have themselves alone to blame.'

1805
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
DONALDA; OR, THE WITCHES OF GLENSHIEL. A CALEDONIAN LEGEND, IN TWO VOLUMES. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF MOSS CLIFF ABBEY; RIGHT AND WRONG; THE EAST INDIAN; ROSE MOUNT CASTLE, &C.

London: Printed by D. N. Shury, No. 7, Berwick Street, Soho; for J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, 1805.
I 288p; II 315p. 12º. 13s (ECB); 10s (ER).
CME 3-628-48991-1; ECB 653; xNSTC; xOCLC.
Notes. 1p. advs end vol. 2.
Further edn: [1843] (NSTC 2Y2017).

1807
[YOUNG, Mary Julia].
A SUMMER AT BRIGHTON. A MODERN NOVEL, IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed by D. N. Shury, Berwick Street, Soho, for J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, 1807.
I 256p; II 246p; III 246p. 12º. 13s 6d (ECB).
BL 1261.bbb.6; CME 3-628-48731-5; ECB 569; NSTC Y231; xOCLC.
Notes. ECB dates Dec 1806 (EN2). 2pp. advs. end vol. 2. T.p. to vol. 3 carries the words 'Second Edition'. Ch. 4 of vol. 2 mistakenly numbered 3. Examination of the 2nd edn in CME shows it to be identical to BL 1261.bbb.6.
Further edns: 2nd edn 1807 (Corvey), CME 3-628-48731-5; 3rd edn 1807, with additional 4th vol. containing *The Story of Modern Laïs* (NUC), 4th edn 1807 (NSTC); 5th edn 1808 (NSTC).

***Monthly Magazine*, 22 (25 Jan 1807), 643:** 'The great success and unprecedented sale of Mr. Surr's "*Winter in London*" has induced some ingenious gentleman, or perhaps lady, to publish a novel under the title of "*A Summer at Brighton: being a Continuation of the Winter in London*." The trade of continuations is as old as the time of Richardson and Fielding; when the Grub-street manufacturers of their day imputed upon the curiosity of the town "Pamela in High Life," and "Tom Jones in the Married State." The continuation of a successful work is always a dangerous (and in our opinion) a mean expedient, even when attempted by the original author; but when, as in the present case, a most contemptible production, by some anonymous scribbler, is announced in such a manner as to induce an opinion that it is the work of a popular writer, we

consider it in the light of a double fraud: it is picking the pockets of the public, and robbing the author of his reputation.'

1808
[YOUNG, Mary Julia].
A SUMMER IN WEYMOUTH; OR, THE STAR OF FASHION. A NOVEL, IN THREE VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF A SUMMER AT BRIGHTON, &C. &C.

London: Printed for J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, 1808.
I 264p; II 250p; III 250p. 12º. 15s (ECB, ER).
CME 3-628-48732-3; ECB 569; xNSTC; xOCLC.
Notes. ECB dates Nov 1807. 2pp. advs end vol. 3. Imprint in vol. 1: 'Printed for J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square'. Colophon in vol. 1: 'T. Wallis, Printer, Little Coram Street'. Imprint in vol. 2: 'G. Sidney, Printer, Northumberland-Street, Strand'. Colophon in vol. 2: 'T. Wallis, Printer, Little Coram Street'. Imprint and colophon in vol. 3: 'G. Sidney, Printer, Northumberland-Street, Strand'.

1810
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
THE HEIR OF DRUMCONDRA; OR, FAMILY PRIDE. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF THE SUMMER AT WEYMOUTH, THE SUMMER AT BRIGHTON, DONALDA, ROSE-MOUNT CASTLE, EAST INDIAN, &C. &C.

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for A. K. Newman and Co. (Successors to Lane, Newman, & Co.) Leadenhall-Street, 1810.
I 224p; II 217p; III 255p. 12º. 15s (ECB).
CME 3-628-48992-X; ECB 653; NSTC Y237; xOCLC.
Notes. ECB dates May 1810. Dedication to Abraham Goldsmid, in which Young writes that he 'nobly supports the eminent character of a British Merchant; and renders himself an honour to this glorious land of commerce'. Colophon in vol. 3 reads 'Laine, Darling, and Co. Leadenhall-Street.' 1p. advs of the works of Mary Julia Young end vol. 3. Last page of vol. 2 mistakenly numbered 241.

B. Mary Julia Young's Non-Fiction

1793
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
ADELAIDE AND ANTONINE: OR THE EMIGRANTS: A TALE, BY MARY JULIA YOUNG.

London: Printed by J. P. Coghlan, No. 37, Duke-Street, Grosvenor-Square; and sold by Messrs. J. Debrett, Piccadilly; Booker, Bond-Street; Keating, Warwick-Street; Lewis, Russell-Street, and Robinsons, Pater-noster Row, 1793.
14p. 4º. 1s (t.p.).
BL 11641.g.45; ESTC t126028; OCLC 15432815.

1795
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
GENIUS AND FANCY; OR, DRAMATIC SKETCHES: WITH OTHER POEMS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG.
London: Sold by H. D. Symonds, Paternoster-Row; W. Lee, New-Street, Covent-Garden; and J. Gray, Glasshouse-Street, 1795.
48p. 4°.
BL 11630.e.18(4.); ESTC t040710; xOCLC.
Notes. While the BLPC describes earlier edition (dated 1791 by ESTC [t040709] and OCLC [37801887]), containing as MS letter by the author, correspondence with BL indicates this to be missing. There is consequently no entry for the 1791 edition. Dedication to 'those, whose dramatic excellence suggested the following little poem', signed 'The Author'.

1798
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
POEMS. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF ROSE-MOUNT CASTLE.
London: Printed at the Minerva Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall Street, 1798.
172p. 8°.
BL 11644.bbb.32; ESTC t078087; OCLC 48922790.
Notes. Published in 1801 as *The Metrical Museum. Part I*.

1801
YOUNG, Mary Julia.
THE METRICAL MUSEUM. PART I. CONTAINING, AGNES, OR THE WANDERER, A STORY FOUNDED ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. THE FLOOD, AN IRISH TALE. ADELAIDE AND ANTONINE, OR THE EMIGRANTS. WITH OTHER ORIGINAL POEMS. BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOUR [*sic*] OF ROSEMOUNT CASTLE.
London: Printed for J. Fisher, n.d. [1801].
98p. 12°.
BL 11644.bbb.14; NSTC Y235; xOCLC.
Notes. Frontispiece of Venus and a cherub, with inscription that reads: 'Published March. 1. 1801. by G. R. Clarke, Tavern Street, Ipswich'. The catchword 'Autumn' in bold print on p. 98 denotes an imperfect edn. This edn is a reprinted version of *Poems*, which shows the poem 'Autumn, a Rural Sketch' on the following page.

1806
YOUNG M[ary] J[ulia].
MEMOIRS OF MRS. CROUCH. INCLUDING A RETROPSECT OF THE STAGE, DURING THE YEARS SHE PERFORMED. M. J. YOUNG.
London: Printed for James Asperne, at the Bible, Crown, and Constitution, Cornhill, 1806.
I 284p, ill.; II 328p. 12°.
BL 641.b.21; NSTC Y233; OCLC 2279457.
Notes. Dedication 'To the Reader', 2pp. unn.

C. Translations by Mary Julia Young

1803

[NAUBERT, Christiane Benedicte Eugenie]; YOUNG, Mary Julia (*trans.*).

LINDORF AND CAROLINE; OR, THE DANGER OF CREDULITY. IN THREE VOLS. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF PROFESSOR KRAMER, BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF ROSE MOUNT CASTLE; THE EAST INDIAN; THE KINSMEN OF NAPLES; POEMS, &C.

London: Printed for B. Crosby and Co. Stationers'-Court, Ludgate-Street, by W. S. Betham, Furnival's-Inn-Court, Holborn, 1803.

I vi, 221p; II 228p; III 247p. 12º. 10s 6d (ECB).

ViU PZ2.N38Li.1803; ECB 325; xNSTC; OCLC 6958874.

Notes. Trans. of *Lindorf und Caroline* but no such German original discovered. BN lists French trans. *Lindorf et Caroline; ou les dangers de la crédulité, traduit de l'auteur d'Hermann d'Unna* (Paris, 1802). Dedication to Viscountess Wentworth, by 'the Translator.' 1 leaf [2 pp.] advs following Dedication, before start of novel (8 titles). ECB dates Mar 1803 (EN2).

1804

[BERTHIER, J. B. C.]; YOUNG, Mary Julia (*trans.*).

THE MOTHER AND DAUGHTER, A PATHETIC TALE, BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF MOSS CLIFFE [*sic*] ABBEY, KINSMEN OF NAPLES, ROSE MOUNT CASTLE, EAST INDIAN, &C. &C. IN THREE VOLUMES.

London: Printed by R. Exton, Great-Portland-Street; for J. F. Hughes, Wigmore-Street, Cavendish-Square, 1804.

I 261p; II 226p; III 218p. 12º.

CME 3-628-48994-6; NSTC Y234; xOCLC.

Notes. Trans. of *Felix et Éléonore, ou les colons malhereux* (Paris, 1801). MJY states that *The Mother and Daughter* is a translation from Berthier in a letter to the RLF committee (28 Mar 1808; RLF, Reel 6, Case No. 216). While such an origin is not mentioned on the t.p. and there are no preliminaries, MJY's narrative describes a journey to the Americas from France in 1789 and has Felix and Eleonora as key characters. The source title above is listed in BN, and is the only work given there by the author (EN2).

1805

VOLTAIRE (*pseud.*) [AROUET, François-Marie]; YOUNG, Mary Julia (*trans.*).

VOLTAIRIANA. IN FOUR VOLUMES, SELECTED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY MARY JULIA YOUNG, AUTHOR OF DONALDA, OR THE WITCHES OF GLENSHIEL; MOSS CLIFF ABBEY; RIGHT AND WRONG, &C.

London: Printed by D. N. Shury, No. 7, Berwick Street, Soho; For J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, Cavendish Sqaure, 1805.

I 230p; II 260p; III 255p; IV 255p. 12º.

BL RB.23.a.1288.8; NSTC Y232; OCLC 14170685.

Notes. Frontispiece portrait of Voltaire with the inscription 'Published by J. F. Hughes, Wigmore Street, 1805'. 1p. advs. end vol. 4.

D. Spurious Works Attributed To Mary Julia Young

Below are listed spurious works attributed to MJY. Bibliographical details have not been recorded, except in the case of *The Family Party*.

1777
[YOUNG, Mary].
HORATIO AND AMANDA: A POEM. BY A YOUNG LADY.
London: Printed for J. Robson, 1777.
BL 164.n.64; ESTC t036666; OCLC 11644717.
Notes. Attributed to MJY by ESTC and OCLC.
Further edn. 1788 (ESTC, OCLC).

1790
YOUNG, Mary [SEWELL].
INNOCENCE: AN ALLEGORICAL POEM, BY MISS MARY YOUNG.
London: Printed for J. Evans; and sold by T. Hookham; and T. Lake, Uxbridge, 1790.
BL 11641.g.46; ESTC t078082; OCLC 11644726.
Notes. Attributed to MJY by OCLC.

1791
[?YOUNG, Mary Julia]
THE FAMILY PARTY. IN THREE VOLUMES.
London: Printed at the Minerva, for William Lane, Leadenhall Street, 1791.
I 191p; II 171p; III 177p. 12º. 7s 6d (EngR); 9s (SJC).
BL 12614.b.33; ESTC t076788; xOCLC.
Notes. Attributed to MJY by EN1, ESTC, and OCLC. All entries refer to Blakey, in which she states that the title is attributed to MJY 'by a Minerva Library Catalogue 1814' (p.153). However, examination of Minerva catalogues for 1814 reveals an entry for '*The Family Party*, 3 vol., 9s.', but no attribution to MJY. Not included in the list of her claimed works in letter to RLF, 28 March 1808 (RLF, Reel 6, Case 216). 1p. advs end vol. 1; 1p. advs end vol. 2; 3pp. advs end vol.3. Duplication of pp. 169–177 in copy examined.

III
Plot Synopses of Mary Julia Young's Original Fiction*

*While *The Family Party* is likely to be a spurious attribution, a plot synopsis is included at the end of this section for the purposes of completeness.

Rose-Mount Castle; or, False Report (1798)

Despite its seemingly Gothic title, Rose-Mount Castle is largely sentimental and features numerous plot devices common to the novel of sensibility. The French protagonist, Villiers De Roufillon, finds himself shipwrecked on coast of Ireland. His father has been murdered in France and De Roufillon, having avenged the murder, went

into hiding before setting out for Ireland to find his sister Phillipine, who lives with their aunt and uncle—Lord and Lady Claranbridge—at Rose-Mount Castle. Before reaching the castle Villiers meets Louisa, with whom he had fallen in love while she was living with the De Roufillons after the death of her mother. She is delighted to find him alive, but Villiers is despondent about the change in circumstances resulting from his father's death, for his lack of money means that they cannot marry. On being reunited with Phillipine, Villiers discovers that she is in a similar predicament. She is in love with Mr Fitzroy, who is working as a lawyer in England, but Lord Claranbridge will not consent to the marriage because Fitzroy is neither titled nor wealthy. Lord Claranbridge proposes a marriage between Villiers and Camira Clonwell, the daughter of the wealthy Lord Clonwell. Both Phillipine and Villiers are reluctant to disoblige their uncle by marrying against his wishes.

Meanwhile, Louisa is kidnapped after being lured into the forest on the pretence of visiting a sick elderly couple. When the carriage overturns, she is restored to safety by a passing group of gentlemen, and it transpires that Sir Dennis Malone, a wealthy suitor of Louisa, had engineered her kidnap in order to rescue her and win her affection. He repents his behaviour and begins to drink heavily, revealing that he was married seven years ago, but that his wife and son had died. Shortly afterwards, a young boy appears in the grounds of Rose-Mount Castle, distressed and seeking help because he and his mother have been shipwrecked on the nearby coast. Sir Dennis rushes to assist and discovers that his wife Eliza is on board the ship and that the boy is his son. It becomes apparent that Sir Dennis and Eliza 'have been so long separated by *false report*' (III, 123); Eliza's brother had engineered a report of the deaths of his sister and nephew, as he had lost all his money through gambling and could not afford to pay Sir Dennis the money owing from their marriage settlement. Meanwhile, Lord Claranbridge entreats Phillipine to marry Lord Benwall. When she refuses Lord Claranbridge becomes angry and berates her, causing her to fall into a fit. The severity of her subsequent illness precipitates his repentance and he consents to a marriage between Phillipine and Fitzroy. Louisa saves Villiers's life in a duel between him and Lord Clashmere, and is accidentally shot. When she recovers, Lord Claranbridge realises the selfish nature of his ambitions for Villiers's marriage and the novel ends in the joint wedding ceremony of Phillipine and Fitzroy and Villiers and Louisa.

The East Indian; or, Clifford Priory (1799)

MJY's second novel fuses a focus on fashionable London society with various tropes of Gothic fiction. The first volume is set in London, where the heroine Elinor Clifford is faced with a choice between three suitors: Lord Felgrove, Sir Clement Darnley and Colonel Gayton. She loves Sir Clement Darnley, but he is unable to marry for another two years as a result of a clause in his father's will. Elinor's father, Mr Clifford, is involved in politics and, losing an important election, contracts numerous debts. He subsequently falls ill and dies, stating in his will that Elinor must go to live with her uncle Sir Gervais Clifford at Clifford Priory until she is married. Elinor finds Clifford Priory to be a gloomy, gothic building where the servants are terrified by rumours of supernatural happenings. Elinor cannot help being afraid and, discovering a hidden passage in the grounds, believes she hears a ghostly voice and faints. This is followed by a number of mysterious incidents, all of which are resolved by rational explanation, like the 'pale, shrouded forms' (IV, 114) that are actually statues and the suspicious

locked room that contains wax effigies of Sir Clifford's dead wife and daughter. She finds a skeleton in the dress of a monk behind a black curtain in the vault of the chapel, and discovers the legend of the monk of St. Augustin. Elinor has remained in contact with Sir Clement Darnley, who is in Europe, but becomes worried when his letters cease and she reads a newspaper report of a massacre of English men by the French in the town from which Sir Clement's last letter was sent. The death of Sir Gervais Clifford brings Elinor into possession of his estate, and she takes the opportunity to distribute her wealth benevolently. Just as Elinor vows to go to Europe in search of Sir Clement he arrives at Clifford Priory, recounting his imprisonment in Italy and the long journey back to England. Sir Clement discovers a letter from his father stating the clause in his will may be annulled in the case of a prudent attachment and the novel ends with his marriage to Elinor.

Moss Cliff Abbey; or, the Sepulchral Harmonist (1803)

Moss Cliff Abbey is a pastiche of Gothic tropes, sentimental novelistic devices and commentary on the vices of fashionable society. Mr and Mrs Newton are happily married, although Mr Newton's parents left him no inheritance so they have little income. When Mr Newton does not return home one night, Mrs Newton is extremely worried, fearing that he has been forced onto a ship by a press gang. A man named Mr Ormsley visits her and declares that he will have advertisements placed in every newspaper in order to locate her husband, and will offer a reward for any information. While Mrs Newton attempts to go into London to find work, she faints and is revived by Sir Sedley Freelove, who visits her the following day to enquire after her health. Mr Ormsley calls while he is there, and Sir Sedley warns Mrs Newton of Ormsley's reputation as a libertine. Mrs Newton's financial situation begins to deteriorate and she is delighted when a woman named Lady Melvern calls on her after hearing her story in the press offering her accommodation and financial assistance. Shortly afterwards, Mrs Newman travels to Melvern House, only to find Ormsley in her chamber that night. He reveals that Lady Melvern's true identity is Mrs. Lurewell and admits that he has engineered the kidnap of her husband as a result of his love for Mrs Newton, which began before she was married. A fire breaks out at Melvern House and Ormsley becomes delirious.

The surgeon who attends to him offers Mrs Newton accommodation in the ruins of Moss Cliff Abbey. He relates to her the history of the owners of the Abbey, the Selwyns. Henry Selwyn married against his father's will; he was required to spend time in Barbados on business, during which he received the news of the death of his wife and child, and has not been heard of since. One night Mrs Newton takes a walk in the grounds of the Abbey and hears a mysterious, harmonious voice in song and sees a white robed figure kneeling at the altar of the chapel. She continues to hear the 'sepulchral harmonist' on numerous occasions. Meanwhile, Ormsley recovers from his illness and seizes her from her bed before conveying her to the chapel. The mysterious singing echoes around the chapel and, in the confusion, Ormsley is accidentally shot by his servant. He recovers and attempts to pursue Mrs Newton on one more occasion, armed with a gun, in order to end their lives together, but only his life is lost.

As the narrative draws to a close, Mrs Newton's husband returns, having been rescued by one of the servants of the Abbey that had gone away to sea. He had been imprisoned in the same cell as Henry Selwyn, with whom he has returned, and it is

revealed that the 'sepulchral harmonist' is in fact Henry's wife, Isabella. They had invented the report of her death because of Mr Selwyn's disapproval of his son's marriage. Henry's father had been influenced by his son Marmaduke, who had intercepted Henry's letters from prison to conceal his whereabouts. When Mr Selwyn discovers the truth, he begs Isabella for her forgiveness and accepts her as his daughter. Mr Newton discovers that he was mistaken in his belief that his parents left him no inheritance and the Newtons become financially stable, developing a close friendship with Henry and Isabella.

Right and Wrong; or, the Kinsmen of Naples (1803)

The novel begins by introducing Lorenzo di Rozezzi and Frederic Duvalvin, the orphans of the two sisters of the Conté Pliantini, who live with their Aunt and Uncle. Duvalvin's birth is surrounded by an element of mystery and the Conté refuses to provide him with any information regarding his origins. Frederic is benevolent and caring, while his cousin Lorenzo is profoundly jealous of him and the fact that he is favoured by the Marchesa del Urbino, whom he loves. He introduces Frederic to Corinna L'Abandoni in the hope of damaging his reputation but Frederic is not seduced by her coquettish charms; instead he opens her heart to benevolence and good. Lorenzo makes an unsuccessful attempt to stab Frederic and subsequently lures him to the Castella della Balza, under the pretence of investigating rumours of the supernatural. He drugs Frederico, who wakes in a dungeon containing a number of decaying corpses. He manages to escape and, after finding a small boat, is eventually picked up by an English ship. The Doctor on the ship advises him go to Sir Llewellyn Llanmere, a Welsh Baronet of his acquaintance. Frederic, using the name of Fitz-Alvin, is taken in by the Baronet and becomes attached to his daughter, Lady Llewella Llanmere. Lady Llewella is destined to marry her cousin—the son of her mother's brother—in accordance with her mother's dying wish. It transpires that her uncle had married a foreign lady who bore him a son. This son turns out to be Lorenzo di Rozezzi who, on his arrival with Lord Rhyndore, Lady Ella's Uncle, sees Frederic and stabs himself. He recovers and reveals that Frederic is the true Lord Glynvale, for the foreign lady Lord Rhyndore married was in fact Frederic's mother, not Lorenzo's. Frederic and Lady Llewella are therefore free to marry, and Lorenzo repents his earlier behaviour and marries Lady Wynfrida Penrhys.

Donalda; or, the Witches of Glenshiel (1805)

This 'Caledonian tale' charts the fate of the Donalda, a female heroine whose origins are shrouded in mystery, drawing on the legend of Macbeth and incorporating elements of the supernatural and the sentimental. Donalda has been brought up by Lord Roderic and Lady Margaret, but has no knowledge of her own family history. Lady Margaret is found dead and, on the day of her funeral, Donalda is visited by a group of witches who inform her that Lady Margaret has been murdered by Lord Roderic in order for him to obtain a younger wife. Donalda faints and when she wakes witnesses Roderic attacking an unarmed youth in the grounds of the castle. Finding the youth still alive, she brings him back to the tower and realises that he is Lord Duncan of Lochaber, who had had his marriage proposal to Donalda refused by Lord Roderic. Donalda resolves to conceal Duncan while he recovers and they decide to disguise themselves as pilgrims and escape to England. Meanwhile, Donalda attends a banquet where Lord

Roderic believes he is visited by the ghost of Lady Margaret. He subsequently finds himself haunted by visions and visitations from the witches. Donalda's servant tells her the intriguing story of Malcolm, whose wife died two years before Malcolm overcame Macbeth, leaving a daughter named Princess Malcoma. Donalda begins planning her escape to England when the witches arrive, warning her not to carry out her plans and to remain in Scotland. Donalda begins to consider the mystery of her birth and wonders if she is of royal descent, hoping that she is not the daughter of Macbeth.

Lord Roderic reveals that he wishes to marry Donalda, leaving her greatly shocked. She is compelled to discover the mystery of her birth and confronts Lord Roderic. She asks him if he killed her father, and as he denies it, drops of blood appear on the tip of his dagger. Donalda invokes the witches and they confirm that Roderic was responsible for the death of her father, but as a result of Lady Margaret's persuasion. Donalda is kidnapped by Roderic's son Oswyn, who also wishes to marry her. Lord Roderic sets out to look for her and, when he locates them, fights Oswyn. They find themselves at Glenshiel Castle and are met by an old woman, who turns out to be Bruma, the witch of Etterick-Pen. She reveals to Donalda that her father was Lady Margaret's brother and that he and her mother were killed by Margaret. She also informs Donalda that her father was the Earl of Glenshiel, meaning that she is the Countess of Glenshiel. King Malcolm arrives and it transpires that Donalda is in fact his granddaughter, her mother having been Princess Malcoma. She had been taken at birth by Lady Margaret with the intention of a marriage between Donalda and Oswyn. Duncan arrives at the castle, having had his fidelity to Donalda tested by the witches, and they are married immediately.

A Summer at Brighton (1807)

The first of MJY's scandal novels fuses an exposé of fashionable vice with a domestic focus. Sisters Mrs Amelia Howard and Miss Sybella Woodland live at Beacon Priory. Their father, Sir Osborne Woodland, married after the death of their mother and had a son, Lord Orient, who was brought up by his grandfather, being indulged throughout his childhood and receiving little education. No will was found following the death of Sir Osborne, but Lord Orient allows his sisters to reside at Beacon Priory while Amelia's husband, Colonel Howard, is in France with the Army. The two sisters are good friends with their neighbour Mr Selby, but are curious about his reluctance to discuss the origins of his birth. A wicker basket is discovered at the gates of Beacon Priory containing a baby and a note stating that he is Lord Orient's son. The boy's mother is Jessy Truelove, a girl from a nearby village, but she is taken ill and dies. Lord Orient is delighted with the child but, knowing that he must conceal his illegitimate son's existence from his wife, plans for him to be secreted in a nearby cottage with Judith, a servant at the Priory.

His wife, Lady Orient, arrives at the Priory with Lords Belton and Vandash and a trip to Brighton is planned. Sybella receives a marriage proposal from the Marquis of Bettall but realises that she loves Mr Selby, while Lord Orient becomes uneasy about the growing attachment between his wife and the Duke of Elfinwood. Lord Vandash comes across Mrs Howard and Mr Selby visiting Lord Orient's son at the cottage and, concluding that they have an illegitimate child together, informs Lady Orient, who harbours an intense dislike of both her husband's sisters. When Colonel Howard arrives back in England Lady Orient arranges for him to overhear a conversation

revealing the existence of his wife's illegitimate child. He is shocked, but decides to confront her before rushing to any conclusions. He confronts Mr Selby, who is forced to disclose his true identity as the Earl of Belgrove and Colonel Howard's brother who, having been deceived in love, vowed that his title and fortune should no longer be an attraction. When Lady Orient discovers that the child's father is her husband she elopes with the Duke of Elfinwood. She is located and although Lord Orient says he cannot take her back, he decides that he will spare her the disgrace of a divorce and they arrange to live separately. The will of Sir Osborne Woodland is discovered, leaving each sister twenty thousand pounds. The novel concludes with the marriage of Sybella and the Earl of Belgrove.

A Summer at Weymouth; or The Star of Fashion (1808)

The second of MJY's scandal novels provides an account of Stella, the young Countess of Grassmere and the 'star of fashion', as she negotiates the 'Pride, Folly, Vanity, Scandal and Immodesty' (1, 200) of fashionable society. Stella was orphaned in childhood and brought up by her uncle, Sir Edward Fitzalbion, and her guardian Mrs Moreland. She is soon to be presented at court but, before she enters fashionable society, Mrs Moreland advises her not to follow fashion but to become a leader of it. Stella visits London, attending the King's birthday celebrations and meeting George Arrandale, an East Indian with a mysterious history. She becomes the victim of scandalous gossip when fashionable newspapers report that she has stolen the affection of George Arrandale from a rival beauty. She goes on to meet the aptly named Lord Splendermore, who has a penchant for gaudy clothing adorned with peacock feathers, the Countess of Everbloom, a middle-aged lady who wears clothing designed for a much younger woman, and Lady Frivola Airy, a coquettish and foolish fortune hunter.

Meanwhile, Stella finds that her long term friendship with Mr Elmsberry has begun to blossom into love. She attends a masquerade, where a man named Mr Russell remarks on the likeness between Arrandale and the Rajah of Cassumbazar, inviting him to call on him the following day. A duel is fought between the Earl of Everbloom and Mr Elmsberry, in which both men are injured. Arandale visits Mr Russell who tells him that, as he has no children of his own, he is seeking an heir and if Arrandale cannot find his own father he will make him his heir. The party travel to Weymouth, and discover two orphaned children, who are genteel in appearance and manners. Mr Russell is sympathetic to their plight and agrees to adopt them after hearing their story, only to discover that they are actually his niece and nephew. The Duke of Zephyrly proposes a marriage between Stella and his son but she refuses on account of her love for Mr Elmsberry. Friovla marries the Duke of Myrtlebank but continues her coquettish behaviour, constantly flirting with the rakish Colonel Hoaxer. The mystery of Arrandale's birth is finally resolved, and he discovers that his father is Colonel Fitzalbion. He was also Stella's father and it transpires that he had lived in India and married, moving back to England after his wife's death before marrying Stella's mother. Frivola elopes with Colonel Hoaxer, causing a scandal amongst Weymouth's fashionable society, and plans to divorce her husband so that she may marry the Colonel. At the close of the novel, a date is fixed for the wedding of Stella and Mr Elmsberry.

The Heir of Drumcondra; or Family Pride (1810)

MJY's final novel is representative of the more conservative domestic fiction that became popular in the 1810s, exhibiting a focus on the relationship between the gen-

try and the professional middling classes. The male protagonist Valentine Kennedy lives with his uncle, The Earl of Drumcondra, and is heir to his fortune and title. He meets a girl named Miss Collier and her Aunt on a ship to Ireland and, on returning to London, discovers that her father is a tallow merchant. It is important to the Earl that Valentine marries into money because he has lately lost a considerable amount as a result of the extravagance of his son, Lord Kennedy. He informs Valentine that he wishes him to marry Lady Susan Melmoth but, when they meet, Lady Susan reveals that she is already married. Meanwhile, Valentine has continued to visit Miss Collier and her father, who informs him that there is no certificate of death for the Earl's brother and his uncle may be forced to resign his title. Valentine is pursued by Lady Richmore, a coquettish and wealthy widow, and his uncle entreats him to marry her. Soon afterwards, Mr Collier visits the Earl and informs him of the attachment between Valentine and his daughter. Valentine's uncle is furious and forbids him to maintain any contact with the family. When Valentine refuses to marry Lady Richmore, his uncle asks him to leave his house.

Valentine enlists with the Navy, but becomes extremely ill before being located by Mr Collier and conveyed to his home. When he recovers, Mr Collier—who detests the idleness of the gentry—offers Valentine a job as a clerk in his company. Lord Kennedy's death leaves his father with numerous debts and his financial situation becomes increasingly unstable. Lady Richmore has disgraced herself by entering into an affair with the married Duke of Aircastle, but the Earl of Drumcondra, desperate to relieve his financial obligations, decides to marry her. Mr Collier is angry that she will hold the title of Drumcondra and decides to reveal his true identity. He is the brother of Valentine's father and the Earl of Drumcondra, who had been abroad and contacted smallpox, which drastically changed his appearance. When he returned to England, he did not wish for his children to be subject to flattery and false behaviour as a result of their wealth and titles and constructed a new identity for the family. The Earl of Drumcondra is wounded in a duel with the Conte Duperelli, who he discovers had killed his son, and before his death he repents, wishing Valentine happiness. The novel concludes with the marriage of Miss Collier, whose real identity is Lady Maria Kennedy, and Valentine, who plan to settle in his recently inherited Irish estate.

The Family Party (1791)

The novel opens as the widowed Mrs St John moves to London with her two daughters Olivia and Lydia to live with her brother and his three children after the death of his wife. Mrs St John is passionate about attending a debating club and while there one evening sees an unfamiliar and intriguing man. When attending a masquerade later that week, her niece Jessy falls into the hands of a libertine and is rescued by the same man, who introduces himself as Mr Jervais. He calls on them the following day to enquire after Jessy's health. Mrs St John believes that he is infatuated with her, and discusses the beauty that she has retained from her youth. She continues to attend debates on topics such as 'False education is […] as fatal to ladies as to gentlemen' (II, 51) and the nature of a man 'who allows himself to consider the woman he has married as a mere domestic animal, created alone to govern his house, obey his nod, and make him her best courtesy for the bread her daily industry intitles her to over and above the fortune she brought him' (II, 55). Her daughter Olivia and her nephew Redman

Lawrence laugh at her vanity and of the attachments that have been formed between Mr Jervais and Jessy and Olivia's sister Lydia and Redman's brother Dennis.

Meanwhile, Mrs St John entreats Mr Jervais to speak at the debating club on the merits of widows and the belief that they should remarry. He argues compassionately, leaving her even surer of his admiration for her. Olivia and Redman do not appear at breakfast one morning and are discovered to have eloped to Gretna Green. Mrs St John becomes ill and her health worsens when she learns of the attachment between Lydia and Dennis, because she wants her daughters to marry wealthy and titled men. Mr Jervais vows to open Jessy's father's heart to him by throwing his property into commerce and articling himself to a merchant.

When he meets him, Mr Lawrence mentions his friend whose son was to have been Jessy's husband, declaring that he could never obtain accounts of the child's death and that Mr Jervais is a 'perfect picture' (III, 96) of his friend. Mr Jervais reveals that Jervais is his Christian name, used only in connection with the debating club. His real name is Johnson and his father was a captain of a man of war. Mr Lawrence is delighted to have found the son of his friend, although he has no proof of his identity. Learning of Mr Jervais's attachment to Jessy, Mrs St John agrees to marry Doctor Pimento, who has been attending to her throughout her illness. As the novel ends, a letter is discovered from Mr Jervais's father, revealing his true identity as the son of Mr Lawrence's friend. Dennis and Lydia and Jessy and Mr Jervais are married.

IV
Transcriptions of Mary Julia Young's Correspondence with The Royal Literary Fund

1. *Letter of application to the Royal Literary Fund, dated 28 March 1808.*

35 Oxford Street. March 28, 1808.

Sir,

As Mr Rough is at present greatly occupied by professional affairs, on the Circuit, he has requested me to thank you, most gratefully, in his name and my own for the very kind attention you have paid to his solicitations in my behalf, and to give you the account of my publications which you require; of their number and titles I will inclose a list; of their value *I* am an incompetent judge, and by one part of your letter to Mr R I am fearful lest you Sir should condemn them all as worthless. Trembling therefore at the difficulty of obtaining your interest as a Novelist yet permit me to plead for myself before you withdraw from me your patronage.

Brought up under the immediate care of a sensible and virtuous mother who early taught me to discriminate between right and wrong, both in living characters and those in literary productions, I have strictly adhered to her excellent instructions in the works of fancy which I have written, and considering Novels as a species of literature sought after with avidity by the younger part of both sexes I have invariably, to the extent of my abilities, endeavoured to render the strictest observance of relative duties indispensible to amiable and sensible characters and to

inculcate virtue, fortitude, and benevolence by the most encouraging examples; nor can I accuse myself of having written either in my original compositions or Translations "One line which, dying, I could wish to blot" on account of the slightest immoral tendency.

May I also plead that I have followed, although at an humble distance, the steps of many Males and Females whose names are respectable and whose talents are admired tho' they have condescended to gather their wreaths of Fame from the flowery vales of Fiction.

But if all that I can say in defence of myself, as a voluminous scribbler in Prose and Rhyme, will have no effect, may I not have some claim to your patronage as the *only* surviving relative of Dr Edward Young, of Welwyn, who in almost all countries and by all sects is esteemed as one of the brightest ornaments of English Literature? May the respect due to his justly celebrated name induce you Sir to be the *Advocate and Friend* of his lonely kinswoman, who though born into two very large families is now the *last* of both, even the younger braches having all died in infancy, or in the prime of life except myself who have survived six brothers and twenty five cousins, which may certainly be deemed as remarkable, as it has been to me unfortunate. Dr Young honoured my father with his friendship and was Godfather to my eldest Brother, to whom he gave his own name, Edward. I have several letters in my possession, written by the sublime author of the Night Thoughts, which Mr Rough has seen.

You ask for my chef d'œuvre—Alas! My literary family can scarcely boast of one superior to the rest, if I am partial to one more than another I think it is Right and Wrong—but as they are all in the Circulating Libraries and have what the trade call a very fair reading, perhaps some Ladies of your acquaintance may have read a part of them and will pass their judgement.

Mr Shury of Berwick Street, a subscriber to the Literary Fund, has printed most of my books and given a favourable opinion of them, he also knows that my publisher became a Bankrupt when he was indebted to me above seventy pounds of which I have received only one dividend of about seven pounds, twelve months ago, and am told that no further payment can be made until debts arrive from abroad. Had that money been, according to my expectations, paid to the full I should not now Sir have had occasion to solicit your interception in my behalf with the liberal society of which you are a member as I should be clear in the world, with a sufficiency to support me until I obtained a supply by a future production; but since that loss I have in vain endeavour'd, by the strictest economy, and the closest application to my literary pursuits, to extricate myself from pecuniary embarrassment and maintain, in the credit I have hitherto done, a life of humble retirement; and this very severe winter by injuring my health, has added to my embarrassments. If you think they intitle me to a claim on the bounty of the Literary Institution I trust my cause in your hands; and will bend submissively to your decision if you think it is not likely to prove successful as I

would [not] on any account subject you Sir to the disagreeable task of pleading for me in vain.

I have taken the liberty of inclosing, with the list of my books, two sonnets, the tenth and sixteenth from my printed Poems, which I think will at least engage your pity for the writer, as they flowed from a sorrowful heart. I wish that I could as easily send you one of my Novels, as those in my library have been corrected—that is, in the numerous *typographical errors* with which, added to my *own*, they have appeared in the world; most of my originals, and all of my translations, have been committed but *once* to paper, and sent sheet by sheet as I finished them to the press without time even to reperuse them, such is the fate of those who write for a maintenance, and tormented with a thousand apprehensions from the moment the page went out of my hands I have felt thankful when they returned to me in print to find them what they *are* even with the errors of the press for which I had hoped the readers would make allowance as few books escape them.

For this intrusion on your time,
Sir, you will pardon your most
Obliged and Obedient
Humble Servant
Mary Julia Young

2. *List of works included in the letter dated 28 March 1808, with additional comments from MJY.*

	Vols
Poems, published with, — —	1
Rosemount Castle, or False Report	3
The East Indian, or Clifford Priory	4
Right and Wrong, of the Kinsmen of Naples	4
Moss Cliff Abbey, or the Sepulchral Harmonist	4
Donalda, or the Witches of Glenshiel	2
A Summer near Brighton	3
The Star of Fashion, or Summer at Weymouth	3
Lindorf and Caroline, from the German of Professor Kramer	3
The Mother and Daughter, from the French of J. B. C. Berthier	3
Voltairiana	4
Memoirs of Mrs Crouch, with a Dramatic Retrospect	2

Why *I* was chosen to write the memoirs of Mrs C the work itself will explain, it was published by Mr Asperne, of Cornhill, who knows the restraint laid on my pen by Personages who fear'd to be mention'd in those memoirs.

To my defence to Voltairiana I must refer for the character *mélange* which was thrown together at the express desire of my Publisher, and I

hope Voltaire has not *suffer'd* by my choice of the selection and omissions which in some places I thought necessary for his credit and my own.

3. *Sonnets enclosed in the letter dated March 28, 1808*

'To the Grave'

Insatiable Grave! Thou hast not left me one!
One gentle Relative to soften woe;
Here, wrapp'd in sable robe, I sit *alone*,
Here—from my heart the floods of anguish flow.
All the rich Treasures of my early years
Beneath the murky portals mould'ring lie,
While *I*, disconsolate, with fruitless tears
To thee complain who broke each tender tie,
No hand is left to guide my lonely way—
No voice to give my aching soul relief
My mother now—here rests *her sacred* clay,
No more can sooth one—Oh heart rending grief!
Insatiable Grave! Let me with *her* repose,
Then o'er the *last*-o'er *me* in silence close.

'On My Birth Day'

Ah! Once with cheerful heart and spirits gay,
I hail'd the dawn of this my natal day!
With joy I then prepar'd the frugal treat
With joy beheld the valued circle meet;
From each dear Relative receiv'd with bliss
Affection's present and Affection's kiss
Then, with delight, I heard the wish sincere
That Heaven might bless me each revolving year.
Now I arise to solitary woe,
And as the minutes pass, sad, silent, slow
I count my Treasures lost—count one by one,
Weep for them *all* and find myself *alone*!
Fast flow my tears while I despairing say
Not *one* is left to *bless* my Natal Day!

4. *MJY's letter of response to the £15 granted to her following the letter dated 28 March 1808.*

35 Oxford Street, April 3, 1808

Sir,

Apprehensive lest I should have been deficient in expressing the gratitude I felt for your kindness and that of the Society of the Literary Fund, when you honour'd me by calling on me with the donation of

fifteen pounds awarded to me by that noble and liberal minded society, through your solicitation in my behalf, permit me to request that, as you Sir have been the beneficent means of obtaining that sum for me, you will do me the favour to present my most grateful acknowledgement to the society for that acceptable gift, and believe me to be, with the truest sense of gratitude for your benevolent attention to my interest, Sir

Your most obliged
and most humble servant
Mary Julia Young

V
Contents of Mary Julia Young's Works of Poetry

Contents of Poems *(1798) [published as* The Metrical Museum: Part I *(1801)]*

Agnes, or the Wanderer
The Flood
Adelaide and Antonine
Constancy, an Ode
The Natal Day
The Gathered Rose
The Visit
The Song of Penelope
Fragrant May
On Mrs Crouch in the Character of Æneas
Mutual Confidence, a Song
To the Zephyr
To Miss **** On Her Spending too much Time at the Looking Glass

To the First of May
To the Blighted Wind
To the Cynic
To a Friend On His Desiring Me to Publish
To The Moon
To Calliope
To Fancy, an Ode
Autumn, a Rural Sketch
The Advantages of Poetry
Sonnets, I. Constancy
Sonnets, II. Expectation
Sonnets, III. Elwinna
Sonnets, IV. Anxiety
Sonnets, V. Friendship
Sonnets, VI. To Love
Sonnets, VII. To Health
Sonnets, VIII. To Time
Sonnets, IX. To Dreams

Contents of Genius and Fancy *(1795)*

VI
Representative Samples of Mary Julia Young's Poetry Taken from *Poems* (1798)

'On Mrs. Crouch, in the Character of Æneas'

Clad like a modern courtly dame,
From Paphos Isle fair Venus came,
To view her glorious son once more
Leaver Carthage and the Lybian shore,
Cold to the love-devoted queen,
Whose woes inspired the mimic scene.
"Alas!" the Cyprian goddess cried,
With all a partial mother's pride,
"Who dare assume his more than mortal charms,—
His awful brow, so terrible in arms?
What dauntless hero *now* has strength to wield

Æneas' spear, or bear his pond'rous shield?"
As thus she spoke, loud martial notes proclaim
The man whose prowess won immortal fame.
"O father Jove!" the queen of beauty cries,
"What form effeminate insults mine eyes?
Is *this* the warrior tuneful Maro sung,
While I, enraptured, blest the poet's tongue!
That slender frame, and smooth unrazor'd chin;
Those ruby lips, soft eyes, that silken skin;
That voice which emulates celestial song,
Could they to *brave Æneas* e'er belong?
Could those weak shoulders too, with filial care,
The sacred load of great Anchises bear?
O no! 'tis jealous Vulcan's envious deed,
Who, like my son, has dress'd thy Ganymede.
Recall, dread fire, recall thy lovely page;
His *false* appearance will deceive the age!
How can *that form* in warlike habit shine,
Which in a *female garb* resembles *mine*?"

'To Miss **** on Her Spending too much Time at the Looking Glass'

WHILE at the mirror, lovely maid,
You trifle time away,
Reflect how soon your bloom will fade,
How soon your charms decay.

By nature form'd to please the eye,
All studied airs disdain;—
From art, from affectation fly,
And fashions light and vain.

Turn from the *glass*, and view your *mind*,—
On that bestow some care;
Improve, correct it, till you find
No imperfections there.

Make it the feat of ev'ry grace,—
Of charms that will *encrease*,—
And give bright lustre to the face,
When youth and beauty cease;

Charms that will gain a worthy heart,
And lasting love inspire,—
That will thro' life true bliss impart,
Nor yet with life expire.

'To a Friend, On His Desiring Me to Publish'

With artless Muse, and humble name,
Shall I solicit public fame?
Shall I, who sing the pensive strain,
To soothe a mind oppressed with pain,
Or in the maze of fancy stray,
To pass a cheerless hour away,
Boldly to meet Apollo rise,
And flutter in his native skies?
Presumptuous, giddy, proud, elate,
Forgetting Icarus' sad fate,
High on my treacherous plumage soar,
And fall, like him, to rise no more?
Or, to assume a strain more common,
Shall I, an unknown, untaught woman,
Expose myself to dread Reviews,—
To paragraphs in daily news?
To gall-dipp'd pens, that write one down,—
To Envy's hiss, and Critic's frown?
To printers, editors, and devils,*
With a thousand other evils,
That change the high-rais'd expectation
To disappointment and vexation,
And chase, abash'd, from public fame,
The artless Muse, the humble name?

*Boys belonging to the printers, who are call'd so from their black appearance.

Referring to this Article

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Reviews

James Hogg, *A Queer Book*, edited by P. D. Garside (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), xlix + 287pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-3291-6; £9.99 (pb).

The long-awaited EUP paperback reprint of James Hogg's *A Queer Book* has finally arrived after its 1995 debut, as part of the larger StirlingSouth Carolina Research Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg . So finally readers interested in Scottish or Romantic period literature can afford to browse Hogg's engaging collection, and discover the wealth of poetic gems contained within.

Today, Hogg is best known for *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), while his other work, with its diversity of topic and genre is largely ignored. This volume helps prove that there is much more to the Ettrick Shepherd's work, with its rich collection of 'Romantic ballads and Pastorals' (p. xxviii). All the poems (with the exception of two) were published individually in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and the popular annuals of the time between 1825 and 1831, so are a representation of reading content during the period. As Hogg pointed out in his dedication, it is a '*vade mecum*' or ready reference book to all that is good in his work. Not surprisingly therefore, 'Elen of Reigh' was written in the style of one of his most acclaimed poems, 'Kilmeny' from *The Queen's Wake* (1813). Hogg believed it to be of similar merit, telling William Blackwood: 'I hope you will acknowledge *Elen of Reigh* as my masterpiece Kilmeny excepted' (p. 233). 'The Witch of the Gray Thorn' is also reminiscent of another *Queen's Wake* poem, 'The Abbot McKinnon'. Hogg often explored the relationship between sexual and spiritual love, and this topic is represented in 'A Sunday Pastoral' and 'Love's Jubilee'. Yet, as is typical of Hogg, these serious topics are balanced by the inclusion of comic ballads, such as 'Jock Johnstone the Tinkler', and verses on the supernatural, among them 'The Origin of Fairies'.

Ten of the twenty-six poems were written in what Hogg called his 'ancient stile': this was a hybrid blend of ancient Scots, as used by the Scottish Makars such as Robert Henryson, as well as Hogg's own rhythmic invention. The writer claimed that 'it will be a grand book for the Englishers for they winna understand a word of it' (p. xiv), and the reaction from England suggested this was true. The *Monthly Review* in particular claimed it contained 'strange and uncouth expressions' (p. xxvi), while Blackwood himself argued: 'Your or-

thography however I have the same complaint against as at no period whatever was the Scots language so written' (p. xv). In his introduction, Peter Garside highlights, how the language of 'Ringan and May' in particular was extensively altered for the publication of *A Queer Book*. The poem was written in the style of Henryson's 'Robene and Makyne', and contained daring sexual terms, but was changed from Scots into a more anglicised diction: 'Gif he kend quhat the bonnye burde wals synhan?' altered to, 'If he kend what the bonny bird was singing?' (p. xxii). Blackwood, as publisher, wanted *A Queer Book* to reach a wider audience outside of Scotland, especially during such an uncertain period for booksellers, with the unrest surrounding the 1832 Reform Act. One of the plusses for today's multicultural reader however is the attached Glossary to the edition, as well as the extensive topographical, historical, and biographical annotations provided by Garside. It is also extremely useful, and of interest that a Chronology (prepared by Gillian Hughes) is attached to all the Stirling and South Carolina paperbacks. This helps a reader place the present volume amongst Hogg's wider body of work.

Overall, this volume highlights the importance of the editor in the production of a book. Garside presents a fascinating insight into how Hogg's work was changed by various editors, publishers, and printers before publication. He does this by comparing the original 1832 *Queer Book* with manuscripts found in Scotland, the United States, and New Zealand, as well as published versions of the stories in *Blackwood's* and the annuals. Hogg certainly experienced a great deal of frustration throughout his career with the editorial changes he was made to suffer. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* was one of the main culprits responsible for altering his work (often substantially), such as in the case of the infamous 'Chaldee Manuscript', which caused a scandal in the *Magazine's* initial number. Hogg reinforces his connection with this often-controversial periodical though in the volume's dedication to 'Christopher North and Timothy Tickler', two of the characters of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* series.

We can see in this volume, however, that Garside has exercised his own editorial intervention of Hogg's work. He does this by producing a version of *A Queer Book* that the writer intended rather than a facsimile of the 1832 published volume. Just under half of the collection is reprinted from manuscript sources, while the remainder are all published from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and various annuals. The result of this editorial intervention, however, is not the suppression or dilution of Hogg's voice and message, as we have previously seen, but a truer representation of the author's intent. The editor highlights that 'the effort to restore texts closer to Hogg's original intentions has so far been conducted in a relatively sporadic fashion, with the textual history of the *Queer Book* poems largely remaining obscure' (p. xxvii). This new emphasis on the publishing and editorial technicalities of *A Queer Book,* though, should not detract from the pure enjoyment a reader will gain from this book. As Garside summarises nicely, *A Queer Book* 'was above all, a demonstration of [Hogg's] *versatility* as a contemporary author: a testimony to a varied output […], which

had appealed to diverse literary audiences (p. xxviii). This new edition ensures that it will continue to do likewise.

Wendy Hunter
University of Sheffield

Gillian Hughes, *James Hogg: A Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 360pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-1639-8; £25 (hb).

Gillian Hughes is a General Editor of EUP's Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg. Among other works by Hogg, she has edited *Altrive Tales* (2003) and the three-volume *Collected Letters* (2005–08), and co-edited *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books* (2006). As such, Hughes is perfectly placed to deliver an authoritative biography of an author who deserves serious critical and biographical attention. Hogg's life and work have been subject to increasing critical study over recent decades, and he has finally emerged from the shadow of his contemporaries, particularly his friend Sir Walter Scott. Until recently, Hogg's life and work would be consistently defined within the context of those of Scott, his more illustrious and accessible competitor. However, thanks to work by scholars such as Hughes, Peter Garside, Ian Duncan, and Janette Currie, among others, Hogg's life and talent can now be appreciated entirely on their own terms. Hughes's *James Hogg: A Life* is an invaluable contribution towards Hogg's re-emergence as one of late Romanticism's most important figures.

Perhaps typically for a Scottish author of this period, Hogg's work deals predominantly with fractured identities, often viewing the same historical period or event from multiple points of view and through various authorial voices. The most famous example of his gift for such diversity is his 1824 novel *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, a book berated by contemporary criticism and barely read, let alone understood, until the middle of the twentieth century. However, the themes of the instability of history and narrative raised in *Confessions* are constantly addressed in his lesser-read works, particularly in his collections of short stories. Hughes addresses Hogg's range of narrative mode and technique, but avoids overbearing the reader with literary criticism; rather, the facts and influences of Hogg's life are drawn together to provide context and clarity to the creation of such work. Hogg's personality—and the complex nature of his social and professional interactions—provide, for the first time, a framework within which the full range of his writing can be fully grasped.

Hughes faced a daunting challenge in collecting information on Hogg's early life, tracing his development into the writer who could mimic his peers, while producing fiction of astounding originality in *Confessions* and *The Three*

Perils of Man. There is very little established fact about Hogg's life prior to his meeting with Scott—a meeting which is itself described and debunked by Hughes as 'one of the great moments of Romantic myth-making'. Hogg's life seems to have followed the trajectory of one of the many Border ballads about which Scott consulted him: before his well-documented literary success, details about his childhood and formative years are blurred by tradition and rumour, and many of them are provided by Hogg himself in his 'Memoir of the Author's Life' and 'Reminiscences of Former Days'. As so much of Hogg's fiction demonstrates, Hogg himself is hardly a reliable authorial voice, even regarding his own life: his own birthday, for example, which Hogg places on 25 January 1772 (conveniently sharing the day with Robert Burns), is reassessed as being somewhere closer to the end of 1770. Hughes has used the wealth of information available to her through her research on numerous other editorial projects to unearth obscure factual and anecdotal accounts of a young Hogg, his family, and his career path, and to separate out more elaborate claims. As with a young William Shakespeare, it has been difficult to understand how Hogg could have reached his level of reading, writing, and literary allusion given his social and geographical background, but Hughes lays out a sensible timeline based on socio-economic conditions of the places to which his family moved, and accounts of his likely sources of education and reading material.

What is so beneficial to scholarship in this field is the way in which the realities of rural life in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century are realised. Like a Waverley hero, Hogg's development from shepherd to self-educated man of letters takes us through the Borders landscape, the local institutions and farming communities of Selkirkshire, and finally to the city of Edinburgh. Like his hero Burns, Hogg's trajectory enabled him to transcend social and professional boundaries which were rarely breached. The early chapters in particular flesh out a society in which Burns was simultaneously operating not too far away in Dumfriesshire. Hogg's earliest life was defined by a poor but relatively secure family environment; his father, Robert, was a shepherd, who hit bankruptcy when James was a vulnerable seven years of age, and James was consequently forced to work as a cowherd for a local farmer. Hughes here makes a neat comparison between Hogg and a young Dickens: each author's creative imagination was deeply informed by their childhood experiences of familial upheaval. In Hogg's case, he formed a lifelong sympathy with various disparate social, religious, and political groups that suffered repression from forces greater than themselves, a theory Hughes points out that unites his apparent identification with both the Covenanters of the seventeenth century (*The Brownie of Bodsbeck*) and the Jacobites of the eighteenth (demonstrated in his collection of Jacobite songs for *Jacobite Relics of Scotland*).

The first two chapters provide a biographical context within which Hogg's subsequent creative life can be fully understood. A central achievement of this book is the way in which Hughes is able explicitly to link events and circumstances of the author's life with his work, and beyond that with the society

in which he was operating. The ambitious project of his *Spy* publications, for example, is a clear exercise in combining his own experience as a social and literary outsider with his talent for mimicry. *The Queen's Wake* (1812), the poem which finally won him the fame he felt he deserved, is described by Hughes in terms of its breadth of style and its allusions not only to himself as the central narrator-figure of the Ettrick Bard but to his friends and influences: Scott, James M'Turk, John Grieve, and James Gray are all friends who are integrated into the fabric of the narrative, conflating a highly fictionalised poetic form with people with whom he formed important and often lifelong relationships.

These friendships were often complex. With the publication of *The Queen's Wake*, Hogg's life and career were changed forever. He was hailed as a natural genius, a loaded phrase which did not necessarily serve him well in the eyes of the Edinburgh literati, on whom he was commercially and socially reliant. He was welcomed into Edinburgh society as the heir to Burns, an epithet which was only partly true. In fact, flattered as he was by the comparison, this became a pigeon-hole that he would spend much of the remainder of his career trying to escape. Hogg's life, particularly as presented by Hughes, is a difficult mixture of professional necessity, social uncertainty, and raw talent. The professionalisation of authorship, in the developing world of mass media and middle-class consumption, dictated that the author write *as* a professional: writing for a broader audience with specific tastes and to deadlines. Hogg's resistance in conforming to his persona as the Ettrick Bard mitigated against him being able to compete in this arena with professionals like Scott. Even Scott himself, a staunch supporter of Hogg when it did not interfere with his own literary pursuits, attempted to apply a straitjacket of sorts, as guilty of belittling Hogg's prose output as any of the more overtly aggressive reviewers of the day.

Hogg's humble agricultural background became a stick with which his competitors could beat him. His greatest impediment to true recognition amongst his professional peers seems to have been a combination of irrepressible talent and working-class roots. His social position was always one which shifted uncomfortably between high society and professional company in the city, and an object of derision and caricature (often cruel). As Ian Duncan has argued, his very name made it all too easy for satirists to reinforce the image of his rural origins. This situation is best exemplified in his complex relationship with *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, and in particular the serialised publication of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. Contrived and edited largely by Hogg's erstwhile friends, J. G. Lockhart and Christopher North (penname of Professor John Wilson), the *Noctes* consisted of fabricated conversations between semi-fictional characters on contemporary literary, political, and artistic topics. One of these characters was heavily based on Hogg, 'The Shepherd', and increasingly became the focus of contentious dialogues. The Shepherd was a complex creation that wavered uncomfortably on the edge of crude caricature, painting the real Hogg as a 'boozing buffoon'—an image Hughes makes clear is unfair. In this creation lie all the complexities of Hogg's social and professional position: as

uncomfortable as Hogg was with this persona, the success of the *Noctes* provided him with real fame in Britain and throughout the Empire. This caricature is further exemplified in an earlier painting by William Allan of *The Celebration of the Birthday of James Hogg*, reproduced in Hughes's volume. Members of the social group he graced (in this case, the Dilettanti Club), such as Scott, Scott's publisher Archibald Constable, Lockhart, and North/Wilson, are all depicted, soberly providing contrast to the clearly drunk Hogg. Such artistic contrivances as these, in which fact and fiction become blurred and inscribed onto the public consciousness, create the precise problem that Hughes has so successfully unpicked.

As unfair as some of these caricatures may seem on Hogg, he could prove to be his own worst enemy. Hughes resists the temptation to excuse Hogg from some questionable decision-making and from outbursts that were born from a passionate disposition. It's almost impossible not to define Hogg's life and work within the context of his friendships, particularly that of Scott, but it's one of the book's main achievements that Hogg emerges from these pages as a fully formed, flawed, and empathetic character. His temper, sense of humour, and loyalty to friends are all made abundantly clear through anecdote, correspondence, and extraordinary biographical detail. His multiple personalities as shepherd, writer, even scientist, are all conflated into a single hermetic personality. He was constantly torn between his familial calling as shepherd and his natural leanings to authorship; as with his tortured protagonist Robert Wringhim, identity was something with which he constantly struggled.

One minor criticism to be levelled at the production of this biography is the fact that some of the illustrations, beautifully reproduced and helping to contextualise the worlds in which Hogg was operating, occasionally appear without subheading or explanatory notation. Although a list of the plates is provided at the beginning of the book, a paperback edition would benefit from a brief reference: without context, plates such as David Octavius Hill's illustrations often distract the reader from the central discussion of its corresponding text. Hill's illustrations are interesting and important contributions to Hogg's later collected works, such as *Tales and Sketches by the Ettrick Shepherd* (1836–37), and would benefit from intertextual reference. However, reproduction of portraits of Hogg by prominent contemporary artists, including Daniel Maclise, William Nicholson, William Allan, John Watson Gordon, and Charles Fox, do provide a fascinating variation in the depiction of a celebrity with very different public personas. For example, Allan's comic, possibly unkind, depiction of Hogg at his *Birthday Celebration* is unrecognisable from the dignified, gentrified character presented by Fox in a frontispiece for an 1832 edition of Hogg's *Altrive Tales*; there is a little truth in both depictions, but neither aptly represents the complicated portrait that Hughes paints throughout this biography.

This book finally provides Hogg with the attention and credit he deserves. His was an intriguing life, even without consideration of the range of work

he produced. Apart from Hughes's ability to apply biographical detail to the understanding of some of his less accessible work, a major achievement of this book is the way in which the society of Scott, Wordsworth, and Wilson is witnessed through the lens of an outsider. The reader can feel Hogg's mortification at Wordsworth's off-the-cuff comment to De Quincey during a 'meeting of the poets' in the Lake District that he did not count Hogg amongst their number; it's possible to interpret Scott's patronage and friendship as something other than truly altruistic when he recommends that Hogg stick to poetry or refuses to contribute to projects such as *The Poetic Mirror*. Hughes's biography in fact provides a neat counterpoint to Allan's depiction of the closeted Edinburgh literary and artistic society, and Hogg's position within it. Finally, Hogg's side is presented; this book provides the context within which the full range of his work and talent can be appreciated entirely on their own merit.

Richard Hill
University of Hawaii, Maui Community College

Claire Lamont and Michael Rossington (eds), *Romanticism's Debatable Lands* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 264pp. ISBN 978-0-2305-0785-2; £45 / $74.95 (hb).

Romanticism's Debatable Lands is a collection of essays that originated in papers delivered at the British Association of Romanticism Studies's 2005 conference on the same theme. In its introduction, the book's editors (also the conference's co-organisers) Claire Lamont and Michael Rossington explain that the term 'debatable lands' was first recorded in the sixteenth century when it denoted an area of contested ownership on 'the Anglo-Scottish border'; specifically the stretch of land in the west between the rivers Esk and Sark (p. 1). The term subsequently widened in application and 'came to be used to describe not only the Anglo-Scottish border but other disputed territories and, by metaphorical extension, disputes of other sorts, social, intellectual or artistic'. Lamont and Rossington conclude that the term 'debatable lands' is 'therefore, an appropriate concept to use to focus attention on certain aspects of writing in English in the Romantic period'. Like the BARS conference, their collection of essays proceeds on that principle.

Romanticism's Debatable Lands is divided into two parts, 'Britain and Ireland' and 'Europe and Beyond'. Three essays in the first part pay homage to the Anglo–Scottish origin of the idea of a 'debatable land': Fiona Stafford, Susan Oliver, and Janet Sorensen each explore characteristics of Anglo–Scottish border literature and print culture in the Romantic period. Mary-Ann Constantine applies the notion of a debatable land to interactions between Welsh and English writers. In the collection's second part, the geographical application of the term is widened beyond Britain. Nanora Sweet explores the incarnation of Naples

as a debatable land in the work of Stäel, Hemans, and the Shelleys; Diego Saglia fascinatingly examines the representation of borders between Islamic and Christian cultures in Constantinople, North Africa, and Spain; and Peter J. Kitson finds a source for Coleridge's 'Kublai Khan' in eighteenth-century accounts of Chinese and Tartar cultures. Elsewhere the idea of a 'debatable land' is interpreted metaphorically, developing Macaulay's description of history as 'a debateable land' between 'the Reason and the Imagination'.[1] Along these non-literal lines, Fiona Wilson examines representations of the female body as a debatable territory ravaged by hysteria; and Nigel Leask's illuminating chapter explores how James Currie's *Life of Burns* functioned as a debatable land 'between the Scottish Enlightenment and that programmatic manifesto of British Romanticism, the 1800 Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*' (p. 64).

Residing in the background to much of *Romanticism's Debatable Lands* are the concerns and rhetoric of postcolonial theory, and Homi Bhabha's *Nation and Narration* is referenced more than once. Lamont and Rossington's collection is important in that it provides a historicising genealogy to these theoretical notions, and applies them fruitfully to the complex regional dynamics and identities within a single, apparently 'united' kingdom. The debatable land of the border region—whether it is a border between England and Scotland, or England and Wales, or between Asia and Europe—becomes equatable to the 'third space' defined by Bhabha, or the region of 'transculture' identified by Mikhail N. Epstein. Epstein had described the border as a region in which 'the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences', and its characteristics might include a 'state of not-belonging (*nakhoditsia v meste vnenakhodimosti*)' or a hybrid amalgam of the qualities of the bordering lands.[2]

The collection's interaction with these postcolonial concerns is immediately apparent. *Romanticism's Debatable Lands* begins with the essay 'Writing on the Borders', in which Fiona Stafford compares Romantic Anglo–Scottish border writing to modern northern Irish poetry. She finds significant continuities between the traditions and edges towards a generalised theory of border writing, though ultimately resists forming a conclusion: 'whether similarities between Border writings result from self-conscious engagement with evolving traditions or from direct experience of living in a Border region is debatable' (p. 25). Stafford identifies the experience of homelessness as one endemic to border existence, especially in Ireland. 'The man who is neither here nor there, but who remains at the interface of strangely contiguous worlds, emerged […] as an image central to the Irish psyche', she writes (p. 23).

Romanticism's Debatable Lands reveals how 'the figure who is neither here nor there' makes an appearance in border regions far beyond Ireland. A roll call of these characters—Heike Paul has named them the 'homeless men and nameless women' of postcolonial fiction—meander beneath the spotlight of numerous essayists in the collection.[3] Frequently dislocated border figures

are represented in metaphorical and literal elevation above and beyond local attachments and narrow partialities. Cian Duffy's essay on representations of Chamonix–Mont Blanc examines the figures of Romantic-period mountaineers in this light, concluding that, through their literal dislocation from sea-level solid ground, they were thought to attain 'aesthetic, moral and scientific insight denied to even the most industrious of those who remained below'. (Duffy here extends John Barrell's analysis of mid-eighteenth-century landscape poetry, in which the gentleman's literal elevation above sea-level was an expression of his 'freedom from engaging in any specific profession, trade, or occupation which might occlude his view of society as a whole'.[4]) Karen O'Brien similarly points to the beneficial consequences that European migration was considered to effect, by Robert Southey in particular, who

> felt that migration and a degree of separation might be the very conditions for the renewal of the British culture of liberty, eroded in recent times by the industrial economy with its ever more thinly sliced divisions of labour [...] they might gain wholeness and autonomy through the dual process of migration and settlement. (p. 126)

This continues the paradigmatic association of location with small-mindedness, and dislocated border existence with far-seeing liberalism.

Two essays in particular offer unexpected and intriguing nuances to the cultural function and identity of the border figure. Timothy Morton's essay, which is ostensibly about 'John Clare and the Question of Place', is in fact a reflection upon the necessary but painful displacement at the heart of modern liberal ecology. The experience of psycho-geographic homelessness is essential and inevitable, Morton argues. The 'melancholia' felt when occupying the border between 'the openness of space' and 'the sureness of place' marks 'the point at which the self is separated from, and forever connected to, the mother and the body of the earth' (p. 107). He questions provocatively, 'isn't this lingering with something painful, disgusting and grief-striking, exactly what we need right now, ecologically speaking?' (p. 111) The border figure becomes an instructive encapsulation of all sorts of psychological, intellectual, linguistic, and geographical displacements, encouraging debate in the Romantic period and now.

Diego Saglia's essay on Romantic representations of the Crusades turns these paradigms—in which the borderer's experience is considered to be elevated above, or expressive of the deep truth of, mundane existence—topsy-turvy. He explores how the European frontiers where Islamic and Christian cultures met and clashed were represented on stage, not as locations of intellectual elevation, multicultural hybridity, and liberal objectivity, but as their opposite. Borders became 'compressed and heightened, and thus especially revealing, figurations of the tensions besetting the Mediterranean frontiers between Islam and Christendom' (p. 187). Border figures still retained their associations of hybridity

and 'intercultural admixture', but these were construed negatively. Borderers correlated to 'the figure of the traitor or the apostate', and became 'a further spur to the recreation of impermeable divides' (p. 196).

Saglia's essay articulates the potentially threatening nature of all the debatable lands and border personas that figure in the collection. Debatable lands and their homeless inhabitants are produced by clashes between margins and centres. Their associations of hybridity and displacement present clear challenges to static notions of patriotism, the centre, and 'home'. *Romanticism's Debatable Lands* chooses to explore these tensions largely from the outside looking in: from the marginalised territory looking towards the frontier, or from the frontier looking to either side. The centre itself is rather marginalised. Joel Faflak's essay explores the idea of nationhood as a 'psychic space' (or, *à la* Benedict Anderson, an 'imagined community'), and Alex Benchimol considers Wordsworth's construction of *The Excursion*'s secluded valley as 'the fixed centre of a troubled World' (p. 94), but *Romanticism's Debatable Lands* largely omits discussion of the many debatable lands, real and metaphorical, that complicate the centre's own identity and landscape (enclosure, for one). The collection, as a whole, charts in a fascinating and diverse manner the fraught cultural and constitutional formation of the United Kingdom, but from almost every basis other than England's own debatable land.

Notes

1. Thomas Babington Macaulay, in a review essay in the *Edinburgh Review*, 47 (1828), 331.
2. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 218; Mikhail N. Epstein, *After the Future: The Paradoxes of Postmodernism and Contemporary Russian Culture*, trans. by A. M. Pogacar (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 298.
3. Heike Paul, 'Homeless Men and Nameless Women: Notes on a Postcolonial Canon', *Wasafiri*, 23 (1996), 41–44.
4. John Barrell, *English Literature in History 1730-80: An Equal, Wide Survey* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p. 33.

Rachel Hewitt
University of Glamorgan

Franz Potter, *The History of Gothic Publishing, 1800–1835: Exhuming the Trade* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), xii + 213pp. ISBN 978-1-4039-9582-7; £49 / $65 (hb).

This wide-sweeping study succeeds in broadening our perception of the Gothic as a literary movement in the early nineteenth century, even at a time when it might seem that claims for the mode's predominance have been overstated. As Potter repeats on three occasions, presumably by choice, 'We need

to lower our sights' (pp. 3, 13, 151). Generally speaking, this can be taken to indicate the need for cultural historians to look beyond the 'art' fiction of Ann Radcliffe, M. G. Lewis, and others, to Gothic as a wider and more workaday 'trade' phenomenon. More particularly, the book takes issue with the view found in traditional historians of the Gothic, and apparently substantiated by Robert Mayo's survey of magazines, that Gothic declined as a significant cultural phenomenon in the early 1810s, worn out by its own predictability, an easy prey to satire, and all too easily replaced by the historical fiction of Walter Scott. In challenging this viewpoint, Potter usefully examines three relatively unexploited areas: the circulating library; Gothic 'bluebooks'; and the shorter Gothic tale. As a result, Gothic publishing is seen to have had a much more extensive history, both in terms of output and longevity.

While catalogues of circulating libraries have the potential to reveal a different kind of popularity compared with best-seller fiction, these can be perilously difficult documents to interpret. The long survival of a title (or generically indicative range of titles) in catalogues, for example, might mean a number of things, ranging from deliberate retention to preservation through neglect. After supplying a fairly routine account of the operation of libraries at this period, Potter offers findings based on a relatively small survey of ten institutions, five of them in Norwich, and two of which were proprietary subscription libraries. Statistically their holdings allow Potter to claim a level of 18 per cent of Gothic fiction among novels and romances as whole, compared with slightly less than the 15 per cent for the production of new Gothic fiction recorded for the same period in volume two of *The English Novel 1770–1829* (2000). While the difference might seem slight, Potter is intent on arguing that the maintenance of this level in the libraries *across* the period points to the continued popularity of the mode after production of new titles declined. Behind this lies the supposition of a general readership, mainly involving the anonymous 'middling' ranks, whose preferences and responses have been largely lost to literary historians.

In attempting to reconnect with this underbelly, Potter examines two marked-up catalogues of Norwich circulating libraries, identifying the owners and analysing their apparent reading choices. In each instance, however, the claimed predilection for Gothic involves an element of hedging which could veil the existence of other factors. In the case of Averil Sibel, the wife of a veterinarian, in addition to conceding that of sixty novels presumably read from the catalogue 'very few of them are Gothic', Potter seems somewhat over-concerned to claim *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) as one of that kind: 'She preferred historical, didactic and domestic tales with Gothic settings such as Owenson's *Wild Irish Girl*, the story of which confronts the issue of forced marriages between the English and the Irish' (p. 33). Another way of putting this would be to say that a new sub-genre, the Irish national tale, had subsumed the Gothic, and was here (along the celebrity of the author) attracting Mrs Sibel's interest.

The book is on safer ground when dealing with the largely uncharted publishing history of bluebooks or 'shilling shockers'. Certainly Potter, who supplies a 'broad sampling' (p. 46) of 350 Gothic bluebooks, takes the topic much further than William Watt's essayistic *Shilling Shockers of the Gothic School* (1932), providing amongst other things an account of the main publishers involved, such as Anne Lemoine and William Tegg (though the assertion that these represented large London houses is perhaps exaggerated). There are several parallels here with Angela Koch's 2002 contribution to *Cardiff Corvey*, 'Gothic Bluebooks in the Princely Library of Corvey and Beyond' (Issue 9), which is likewise supported by a checklist, and which presumably appeared too late to influence or be acknowledged in the present study. Both accounts are concerned to show that instead of being a degenerate offshoot of the Gothic novel, bluebooks are variants of the same literary tradition, containing distinct formal and thematic characteristics, and inviting fresh questions about circulation and reception.

Potter employs statistics again to point to a different trajectory of publication compared with the mainstream novel, with output of bluebooks accelerating in 1803–04 when the Gothic novel was in retreat. Once more, however, the conclusions drawn seem to be somewhat imperfectly grounded. As Potter partly concedes, figures for the mid-1800s are heavily influenced by the popularity then of magazines incorporating bluebooks, including *The Tell-Tale* and *Marvellous Magazines*. In such a narrow chronological frame, moreover, there is a danger of distortion through other factors, such as the greater amount of time needed to produce larger works and the then not uncommon custom of post-dating title pages. It is questionable too whether Potter gives a sufficiently strong idea of how many of the bluebooks were not predominantly in a Gothic mode, with the sentimental tale especially enjoying a new life in this form. His attempt to establish a distinct readership, as in the case of library fiction, is suggestive yet seems ultimately incomplete. The notion that shortness have might allowed a quick turnaround is apparently supported by the presence of bluebooks titles in two Norwich catalogues, encouraging the view that those borrowing from libraries at a nightly rate of a penny would have seen especial advantages in the form. But in the present writer's experience, it is the exception rather than the rule for circulating-library catalogues to list bluebooks, and it would appear Potter slips too easily into the plural when asserting that 'documentation in circulating libraries' (p. 76) supports the idea of a middle-class readership. The overall challenging of the traditional view of a vulgar 'working-class' readership, however, for the most part rings true, and finds useful support in analysis of the narratives themselves, highlighting their complex sentence structure, range of allusion, and accentuation of moral import.

The final area under discussion, the shorter tale in collected form or in periodical literature, is the most diffuse and in some ways the most rewarding in its results. Potter argues convincingly that changes in technology and production costs, as well as reading habits, led to the bluebooks being overtaken

by a new species of periodical literature, which proved particularly amenable to the Gothic tale. He also usefully extends this enquiry beyond the range of the respectable magazines dominating Mayo's survey, while pushing the account well into the 1830s. A third and final checklist features 300 Gothic tales, 1800–34, as found in three kinds of source: omnibus collections of tales, the new keepsakes and annuals, and more general periodicals. Amongst these, the most original element probably is the discovery of a large Gothic input in the annuals, where Potter discerns a species of tale combining the moralistic and horrific, not uncommonly mediated through a Scottian narrative framework. Seen against this background, the contribution of Gothic-like tales by writers such as James Hogg, and indeed Scott himself, seems entirely within the bounds of expectation.

It is this assemblage of tales as a whole which allows Potter to claim most forcibly the continuing vibrancy of Gothic publishing, with a final chart, combining novels, bluebooks, and tales, showing peaks in the 1820s and 1830s higher than in any preceding decade. As elsewhere in the book, however, an apparently hard-cast statistical conclusion invites interrogation on a number of levels. Not only are disparately sized units given equal weighting, it would also appear that the lists of tales and bluebooks are to some degree samples (albeit large ones), whereas the numbers for novels are from a source that claims to be exhaustive. The totals for the years for 1826 and 1830 are likewise very much distorted (as Potter acknowledges) by the 121 items included from the popular collection *Legends of Terror!*. More disturbingly, there are occasional indications of statistical inconsistency within the study as a whole. Figure 2.1, illustrating the annual production of Gothic novels in comparison with the overall production of novels, presents the two in such a way that a seemingly false total is arrived at, combining rather than absorbing sums (a procedure not followed in comparable graphs following). At a later stage, Potter sub-divides his 300 tales into 134 titles or 45 per cent in periodicals and 169 tales or 56 per cent in popular collections (pp. 83, 96), for which inconsistency there may be a reason, though it is not immediately evident.

The last three main chapters in the book offer accounts of three writers navigating different channels of 'trade' Gothic fiction: the relatively obscure figure of William Child Green; Sarah Wilkinson, the most prolific writer of bluebook redactions; and Francis Lathom, a stalwart of the circulating-library novel. In the case of Green, the bulk of the commentary falls on his novel *Abbot of Montserrat* (1826), which has been available to modern scholars in facsimile for some time, and which is seen as representing a morally corrective version of Lewis's *The Monk*, motivated in Potter's account by 'pious didacticism' rather than 'monetary' considerations (p. 97). Nothing is made of the fact that two of Green's other verifiable titles, *The Prophecy of Duncannon* (1824) and *The Woodland Family* (1824), were apparently first issued as number publications, a form of distribution not covered by this account. The chapter on Wilkinson makes a number of advances in biographical and critical terms, one especially

interesting feature being the discovery of a number of telling crossovers between her bluebooks and conventional novels. The Lathom chapter also provides engaging new material about the varied career of this originally Norwich-based author, whose capacity to meld established Gothic motifs with currently more fashionable modes, such as historical romance, is seen as a root cause of his enduring success as a 'trade' novelist.

A final short chapter on Mary Shelley's *Frankeſtein* (1818) draws attention to its early adaptation as a two-penny pamphlet and stage melodrama. In operating as a kind of coda, this encapsulates some of the main strengths and weaknesses Potter's study. On a number of particular points the account is arguably misleading. The claim that *Frankenſtein* shared with 'trade' novels the distinction of being 'critically disparaged but financially lucrative' (p. 146) is hard to square with the original small print run and reviews provided by leading journals, which together could be taken to suggest the obverse. Nor can one entirely agree that adaptations significantly contributed to the novel's 'extraordinary evolution into a pillar of the genre' (p. 146), when other factors such as the author's literary pedigree and early inclusion in Bentley's *Standard Novels* are left out of the equation. At the same time, as a demonstration of the power of 'trade' Gothic' in popularising a source text, and the interchangeable nature of novels, bluebooks, tales, and stage melodrama, this final case history more than justifies the last and concluding appeal to 'lower our sights'.

Peter Garside
University of Edinburgh

Notes on Contributors

Peter Garside is Professor of Bibliography and Textual Studies at the University of Edinburgh. He has co-edited an edition of James Hogg's *The Forest Minstrel* (EUP, 2006), and has more recently published an edition of Walter Scott's *Waverley* (EUP, 2007) for the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels.

Rachel Hewitt (BA, MSt Oxon, PhD London) is Research Fellow at the Research Centre for Literature, Arts and Science (RCLAS), which is based in the University of Glamorgan. She is the author of articles on Wordsworth, cartography, and the interactions between literature and geographical science. She is currently working on a historical study entitled *Map of the Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*, which is to be published by Granta in 2010.

Richard Hill completed his PhD at Edinburgh University in 2006, and is now teaching English at the University of Hawaii, Maui Community College. His thesis was entitled 'The Illustration of the Waverley Novels in Scotland: Walter Scott's Contribution to the Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Novel'. He has written articles on Scott, Hogg, and book illustration, and is currently working on the lifetime illustrations of Robert Louis Stevenson.

Wendy Hunter is in the process of completing her PhD thesis at the University of Sheffield, which has a working title of 'Literary Identity in the Work of James Hogg'. She has recently published an article on Hogg's periodical *The Spy* for the *Literary Encyclopaedia* and has contributed to a forthcoming e-book on Hogg's contributions in Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal*.

Nicola Lloyd (BA, MA Wales) is a doctoral research student based in the Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, Cardiff University. Her thesis, 'Sentimentalism and the British Novel, 1800–1836', considers the influence of the eighteenth-century discourse of sensibility on fictional sub-genres of the late Romantic period including the national tale, the historical novel, and moral-domestic fiction.

Bernard McKenna is Assistant Professor at the University of Delaware. His work has appeared in *Philological Quarterly*, *LIT: Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, and *Eire-Ireland*. He is also the author of two books: *James Joyce's Ulysses* and *Rupture, Representation and the Refashioning of Identity in Drama from the North of Ireland*.

Barbara Vesey (BA Oberlin College) is a freelance writer and editor. She is currently completing a Master's degree in Romantic Literature at Sheffield Hallam University.

Maximilaan van Woudenberg (BA, MA McMaster, PhD Alberta) is Professor of Communications at the Sheridan Institute of Technology in Oakville, Canada, where he teaches Literature and Digital Storytelling. He has published on Austen, Byron, and Coleridge, and is currently completing a monograph on Coleridge and the Continental University.

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