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LITERATURE AND PRINT CULTURE, 1780–1840



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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.

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## EDITORIAL

*Anthony Mandal*



FOLLOWING A SLIGHT DELAY, the current issue of *Romantic Textualities* continues to expand its remit by providing a wide range of materials, which engages with various intertextual and print-cultural aspects of the Romantic period. The three featured articles deal with less obvious aspects of Romanticism, which nevertheless played a significant role in forming the popular discourses of the era, drawing together authorship and new readerships, eco-politics and the aesthetics, and the role of minor drama within British politics and culture. These essays are followed by two reports providing biographical and bibliographical information on Romantic era fiction and its authors.

In his essay, Richard Hill looks into the gift-books and annual culture of the 1820s and '30s, noting a 'power-struggle in the publishing arena' that emerged as a result of 'production practices and technological developments that challenged traditional modes of book production'. By focusing on the interactions between two major Edinburgh authors, James Hogg and Walter Scott, Hill argues that in the late 1820s a fundamental shift was precipitated in the role of the author in the production of popular literature. The bourgeois aesthetic popularised by the gift-book was itself at odds with the enterprise of canonical Romantic poetry, which makes Scott's participation all the more intriguing, although this was a participation driven in many ways by pecuniary motives. His response to balancing the financial promise offered by gift-books with demands for material made by their publishers was to recycle older and rejected pieces through this medium. By contrast, Hogg threw his lot in with the gift-books much more fulsomely, taking delight in the opportunities—both fiscal and aesthetic—offered by this new literary form. This new form offered Hogg the vehicle he required for generic experimentation, allowing him to generate a regular income initially in a relationship of mutual appreciation with his publishers. Sadly, however, this relationship was to sour, owing to the increasing subordination of the author's role as a consequence of the advances in the production of illustrations that initially generated the gift-book phenomenon.

Looking to the turn of the eighteenth century, Markus Poetzsch's essay considers the intersection between the rhetoric of landscape and the polemics of the revolutionary era, arguing that 'the dispute over gardening and other forms of rural ornamentation, which pitted so-called landscape improvers like Repton and the adherents of Lancelot Brown against theorists of the picturesque,

reached a boiling point in the 1790s through its incorporation of the rhetoric of Anti-Jacobinism'. In the debates between Repton and his followers on one side and Knight and Price on the other, the analogy between gardening and politics enabled the exploration of the social and national symbolism of 'Nature'. The rivalry between the landscape improvers and celebrants of the picturesque drew a definitive line between practitioners and theorists of gardening, contextualised within what Poetzsch calls the 'envenomed nature of the so-called "Picturesque Debate"'. Increasingly, the political anxieties of the period charged the aesthetics of landscape improvement with polemical potential, in works such as Knight's *The Landscape* (1794) and Price's *Essays on the Picturesque* (1794), in which an antipathy towards Reptonian levelling of the landscape belies an antagonism towards the potential class 'levelling' that may follow. In light of such attempts to appropriate the natural world within human political discourses, it might indeed be Nature's 'inappropriable reality' as an alien space that will, after all, offer the most useful reading of our relationship to it.


In his study of the collecting of minor drama, John Pruitt also explores the revolutionary context of the literary landscape: appearing within a Britain pockmarked by anxieties of fragmentary nationhood, the collection and binding of minor dramatic plays legitimised them within English theatre history, despite their Continental origins and levelling tendencies, with Pruitt seeking to 'provide a basis for greater contextualisation of these collections in terms of the tenuous position of the theatre in England's revolutionary culture'. John Bell's *British Theatre* (1776–78) and six-volume supplement of 1784–88 set a model for Walter Scott's own three-volume compilation, *The British Drama* (1804), which aligned the generic distribution of dramatic forms (tragedy, comedy, farce, opera) against an axis of national identity. Pruitt examines the contemporary view of the decline in traditional dramatic forms, particularly in the wake of Burkean concepts of 'legitimacy' and 'illegitimacy', with conservative critics lauding 'legitimate' (i.e. loyalist) and deploring 'illegitimate' (i.e. innovative but deviant) forms. While critics (such as Wordsworth and Coleridge) criticised the infectious nature of socially and aesthetically levelling plays that threatened the stability of the national drama as a symbol of British cultural heritage, such attempts were themselves countered by the producers and publishers of minor theatricals, such as John Cross, whose *Circusiana* emphasised the moral qualities of this 'lesser' branch of the genre. With reviewers critiquing French pedantry and German melodrama, a search to define an appropriate middle ground in a British national drama became a vehicle for exploring and constructing nationhood through entertainment and spectacle.

The essays are followed by Don Shelton's report on the prominent metropolitan surgeon, Sir Anthony Carlisle, which provides an accounts of putative links discovered between Carlisle and the pseudonymous novelist 'Mrs Carver', author of a Minerva Press gothic potboiler, *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* (1797). Drawing on a web of textual references that link to Carlisle's family associations with Pembrokeshire and Cumbria, his professional knowledge and

the novel's provenance, Shelton posits that *Oakendale Abbey* and a second novel, *The Old Woman* (1800), could only be written by the surgeon. In a further twist, the report puts forth the tantalising suggestion that Carlisle was none other than the inspiration for Mary Shelley's Victor Frankenstein.

The second of this issue's reports offers the sixth update to the magisterial *English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in Britain and Ireland* (OUP, 2000), and its online companion, *The English Novel, 1830–1836* (Cardiff University, 2003). Between them, these pioneering bibliographical surveys provide full details of just under 4,500 individual works of fiction, examined at first hand by the compilers (excepting a few titles). This update, covering further information and corrections aggregated between 2005 and 2009, provides information on new author attributions, new titles for inclusion and newly located titles, as well as information on further editions.

The issue concludes with six review essays on publications relating to Romantic-era literature, intertextuality and print culture: two recent editions of Walter Scott's fiction, an anthology of essays on the Victorian perception of the Romantics, and three monograph studies of Wordsworth and the typographic arts, literary tourism and the influence of Petrarch on Romantic poetics. Finally, a new feature is a list of 'Books Received' for review by *Romantic Textualities*, which will enable interested reader and potential reviewers to view a regularly updated listing of print-culture related works that we intend to review in future issues of the journal.

Finally, I would also like to take this opportunity to draw readers' attention to the recent launch of *Illustrating Scott: A Database of Printed Illustrations to the Waverley Novels, 1814–1901*, directed by Professor Peter Garside of the University of Edinburgh. Funded by a one-year grant from the British Academy, the *Illustrating Scott* project is produced through the Centre for the History of the Book at the University of Edinburgh, in association with Edinburgh University Library. The database contains just over 1,500 records, each describing an illustration relating to the Waverley Novels that was published in print form in Britain during the period surveyed. Scholars interested in Walter Scott, illustration studies, the transmission and reception of nineteenth-century authors and Scottish literature are highly recommended to pay a visit to the site, which will almost certainly form a key resource in these areas of the discipline. You can visit the database @ <http://illustrating-scott.lib.ed.ac.uk/>. 

SCOTT, HOGG, AND THE  
GIFT-BOOK EDITORS  
Authorship in the Face of Industrial Production

*Richard J. Hill*



IN THE 1820S AND 1830S, a new type of publication, designed for predominantly female middle-class audiences with leisure and money to spare, precipitated an unusual power-struggle in the field of illustrated literature. Gift-books and annuals were highly stylised, well-bound, affordable, mass-produced items of conspicuous consumption, designed as gifts for young women; their primary attractions to the purchaser lay in the proliferation of poems, stories and essays by famous authors, and increasingly on the availability of high-quality engravings.<sup>1</sup> A power-struggle in the publishing arena subsequently materialised owing to various elements of production practices and technological developments that challenged traditional modes of book production. Lower production costs and the ability to mass-produce texts, thanks to the inventions in the early 1800s of stereotyping, the Fourdrinier paper-making machine and the power-press, drove down the cost of books for the middle-class consumer.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the development in London of steel-plate engraving—which allowed for thousands more prints from a single plate than copperplate engraving—meant that publishers in this field could look to produce publications at a greater rate than artists and writers could supply material. The engravings began to dictate production practices, as it became clearer to gift-book editors that it was the illustrations that were driving demand and effecting profit. Authors had traditionally viewed themselves as the primary source of literary production, but were now being asked to ‘illustrate’ images that had been pre-commissioned by editors, leading inevitably to a tension between author and gift-book editor. As this paper will argue, the rise of the gift-book in the late 1820s precipitated a fundamental shift in the role of the author in the production of popular literature, particularly with regard to illustrated fiction. This phenomenon can be exemplified by a comparison between contributions made to the gift-books by Sir Walter Scott and his friend James Hogg.

Scott and Hogg are an interesting pairing when considering their chosen literary profession: while they were firm and loyal friends, their relative social and celebrity status dictated very different attitudes towards a publishing genre that threatened, to some degree, to level the playing field regarding their



printed work. An examination of their illustrated contributions to the gift-books and annuals reveals the complexity of the literary and engraving trades at a significant point of flux. The 1820s and early 1830s saw a professionalisation of authorship, publishing practices, and the engraving process, which was in part sparked and driven by the introduction of the gift-book to the literary market. Scott himself acknowledged the impact that the gift-book, introduced by Rudolph Ackermann's *Forget Me Not* in November 1822, had on popular publishing and readership. His introduction to his gift-book stories, written in 1831 and published posthumously, outlines the popularity of the annuals, and emphasises the attraction of the engravings:

The species of publication which has come to be generally known by the title of ANNUAL, being a miscellany of prose and verse, equipped with numerous engravings, and put forth every year about Christmas, had flourished for a long while in Germany before it was imitated in this country by an enterprising bookseller, a German by birth, Mr. Ackermann. The rapid success of his work, as is the custom of the time, gave birth to a host of rivals, and, among others, to an Annual styled *The Keepsake*, the first volume of which appeared in 1828, and attracted much notice, chiefly in consequence of the very uncommon splendour of its illustrative accompaniments.<sup>3</sup>

Scott's willingness to participate in this highly visual and consumer-driven trade was at odds with some of his 'higher-minded' contemporaries'. As Laura Mandell has argued, the gift-books were largely responsible in the 1820s for creating a bourgeois aesthetic that competed with and countered the pre-existing dominance of canonical Romantic poetry, represented most assertively by Byron and Scott himself.<sup>4</sup> However, just as Scott bowed to the inevitable in acknowledging Byron's superior marketability in poetry by turning to the novel, so he bowed to the inevitable shift in public taste towards the commodification of literature through the gift-books. Consequently, he earned substantial cash, while achieving increased public exposure at a time following the 1826 financial crash when he most needed it.

Hogg, by contrast, was initially delighted to have found a reliable source of income, which simultaneously satisfied his desire to experiment with genre and authorial voice. At a time when Hogg, like Scott, was struggling financially, the gift-books offered remuneration at a competitive and regular rate, particularly given the abundance of titles that Ackermann's *Forget Me Not* triggered. Writing to Ackermann in 1827, Hogg says that 'I am a poor man and never pretend to write for nothing, as I cannot afford it; but I leave always the equivalent to the pleasure of the publishers of the periodical works, whom I have never found ungratefull [*sic*] if my name and contributions proved of advantage to them.'<sup>5</sup> Hogg's attitude to the gift-book culture, therefore, was one of a professional writer grateful for work. As time progressed, however, editors would take greater

liberties with such authors, and the illustrations to these works would become an increasingly restrictive element to their creative licence.

*Scott and the 'Toyshop of Literature'*

Scott's and Hogg's attitudes towards the gift-books and their editors were very different, largely because of their relative celebrity status. Scott's hand was almost coerced into involvement with these publications because of his financial difficulties and his desire to recruit some of the artists and engravers for the *Magnum Opus* edition of his novels. Remuneration from the annuals and gift-books was an attractive, but far from definitive, criterion for his involvement. His interaction with the editors of the *Keepsake*, for example, sheds light on the benefits and drawbacks that more celebrated authors encountered with this genre. An entry in his *Journal* for 30 January 1828 records a personal approach from Charles Heath, who offered him the editorship of the *Keepsake*:

His [Heath's] object was to engage me to take charge as Editor of a yearly publication call'd the *Keepsake*, of which the plates are beyond comparison beautiful. [...] He proposed £800 a year if I would become Editor, and £400 if I would contribute from 70 to 100 pages. I declined both but told him I might give him some trifling thing or other. [...] the pecuniary view is not flattering though these gentlemen meant it should be so. *But one hundred of their close printed pages, for which they offer £400, is not nearly equal to one volume of a novel for which I get £1300 and have the reversion of the copyright.*<sup>6</sup> [my emphasis]

This entry reveals not only the nature of the *Keepsake*, but Scott's attitude towards it, his awareness of the value of his own work in the marketplace, and his willingness to participate in the project to meet his own purposes. His comment on the quality of the engravings highlights the pre-eminence given to the illustrations in these publications. For Scott, the editorship of such a publication was not a worthwhile exercise: while it would have provided a steady income, it was not a project with which he was willing to associate himself too closely. Over breakfast at Abbotsford the next day, he agreed with Heath and his partner, Frederick Reynolds, to contribute one hundred pages at £500 (a vast sum of money for a gift-book contribution), and he thus earned much needed cash while maintaining a respectable distance from the 'Newsyear gift book'.<sup>7</sup>

Scott's reluctance to engage fully in the gift-book franchise becomes apparent through the manner of work he sent to the editors. He was generally content to send material he had written years earlier that had been rejected by publishers or short stories and poems that took the minimum amount of time and energy for the maximum reward. His son-in-law J. G. Lockhart confirms this view:

The result was that Mr Heath received, for L.500, the liberty of printing in his *Keepsake* the long-forgotten juvenile drama of the House of Aspen, with Aunt Margaret's Mirror, and two other little

tales, which had been omitted, at Ballantyne's entreaty, from the second *Chronicles of Croftangry*. But Sir Walter regretted having meddled in any way with the toyshop of literature, and would never do so again, though repeatedly offered very large sums—nor even when the motive of private regard was added, upon Mr Allan Cunningham's lending his name to one of these painted bladders.<sup>8</sup>

Lockhart's antipathy seems to be projected towards the gift-books' heavily illustrated (painted) presentation; however, his vitriol towards the gift-book genre here was personally motivated (as was often the case), and a little disingenuous. An anonymous article in *The Bookseller* of 1858, entitled 'The Annuals of Former Days', reveals that Lockhart himself not only failed in a bid to establish his own literary gift-book, but that his failure was partly owing to his open aversion to illustration: 'One of the most bitter revilers of annual publications was the late John Gibson Lockhart. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to establish one himself, which should depend for its success altogether on its literary merits; for it was coarsely printed, and professed to exclude engravings, upon principle.'<sup>9</sup> Lockhart had successfully and anonymously contributed another *illustrated* piece to *The Literary Souvenir*, entitled 'Epistle from Abbotsford', a romanticised and highly visual tour of the deceased Scott's home (a preamble to the hagiographic *Life*), and was therefore very familiar with the gift-books' reliance on illustration. However, Lockhart's inability to swallow his considerable pride and 'buy into' the visual nature of the gift-books foiled his project for one of 'literary merits', signifying a shift away from the author within the publishing hierarchy; by contrast, Scott's willingness to engage with the media of popular mass-culture (and to swallow his pride) made him a much more attractive and lucrative prospect for editors, particularly given the weight his name would add to their publication.

Lockhart's personal aversion, therefore, clearly leads him to overstate Scott's antipathy towards the gift-books, but the latter did nevertheless feel that a certain public distance was necessary from a publication which was, by its nature, populist. He was also concerned about retaining control over his work: he notes in his *Journal* for example, following an offer from the booksellers Saunders and Otley of between £1500 and £2000 per annum to undertake a similar editorial role, that his main object was to 'clear my debts and that is to be done by writing things of which I can retain the property'.<sup>10</sup> While the gift-books and keepsakes did afford Scott quick and ready cash at a time when he was attempting literally to write off his debts, they could not supplant his main cash cow, namely new and reprint editions of the *Waverley* novels; he writes, for example, that '[e]ach novel of three volumes brings £4000 and I remain proprietor of the mine when the first ore is cropd out'.<sup>11</sup> His eventual divorce from the gift-book industry was precipitated a year later in 1829 by an argument with Heath. Heath had been recruited as an illustrator for one of the volumes of the *Magnum*, but he incurred Scott's indignation when he suggested that he be repaid for his services not with cash but with a new contribution for his

*Keepsake*. Scott's *Journal* entry for 27 February 1829 reveals his irritation, and his attitude towards the kind of work he was happy to supply to the gift-books:

The last post brought a letter from Mr. Heath proposing to set off his engravings for the magnum opus against my contributions for the *Keepsake*. A pretty mode of accounting that would be—he be damnd—I wrote him declining his proposal and as he says I am still in his debt I will send him the old drama of the *House of Aspen* which I wrote some thirty years [ago] and offerd to the stage. [...] There are several manuscript copies of the play abroad and some of them will be popping out one of these days in a contraband manner.<sup>12</sup>

This strategy of sending old or sub-standard material for quick rewards was a way for Scott to maintain a relationship with the various editors of the keepsakes without muddying his hands too much in the mechanics of popular printing and publishing. It also allowed him to maintain a profile with precisely the audience that he and Robert Cadell were targeting with the *Magnum*, a publication that closely followed the physical format and production practices established by the gift-books.

It is important, however, to note that despite his antipathy, Scott did not completely disregard this industry. The popularity of the gift-books and annuals, and their potential to propel production and sales of the *Magnum*, mitigated against him wiping his hands clean of them. Despite his clear distaste for Heath and what he represented, the *Keepsake* had been a useful exercise in associating the 'Author of Waverley' with popular illustrated literature at a time during which he and Cadell were pushing their new edition of the Waverley novels. The use of artists and engravers who were popularly associated with such publications was a deliberate strategy of linking the annuals with the new collected edition in the readership's consciousness. This is most explicitly articulated through his interaction with the artist Abraham Cooper: in 1828, Cooper sent Scott an illustration requesting some 'lines' to accompany it for publication in Thomas Hood's *Gem*. This was an unusual situation for Scott, who was typically used to *being* illustrated, but he made an exception for Cooper, writing a poem called 'The Death of Keeldar', with a proviso outlined in a letter to the artist:

I avail myself of the opportunity which this gives me to present Mr Cadell of Edinburgh bookseller & publisher. He has in hand an extensive literary undertaking in which he is desirous of procuring decorations from the best artists and would feel his plan much defective if he had not two or three sketches from Mr. Cooper. I will be much obliged by you suffering [him] to explain his plan to you in which I take a very near interest.<sup>13</sup>

Cooper would produce some of the first illustrations for the *Magnum* in 1829, providing continuity in the public consciousness between the gift-books and Scott's new anthology.

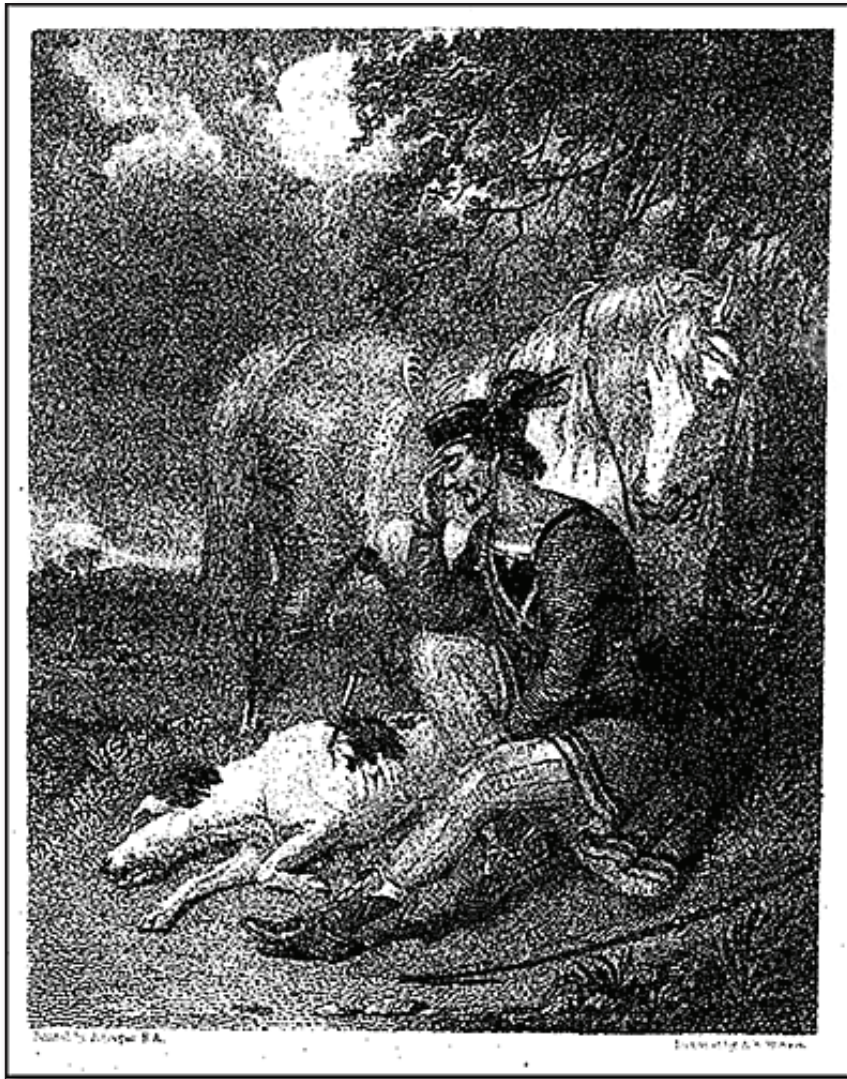


FIG. 1. ABRAHAM COOPER, *THE DEATH OF KEELDAR*,  
FOR THE *G&M* OF 1829, EDITED BY THOMAS HOOD

Scott's interactions with the gift-book editors signal a changing relationship between author and publisher: the author is being asked to produce work at a greater frequency, to deadlines, for smaller rewards, for mass-proliferation, in works that were essentially often incoherent collections of literary and artistic paraphernalia. Owing to the emphasis placed on the illustration and engraving processes, the costs of which far exceeded the cost of an author's contribution, even Scott became subject to the public consumption of popular illustrated literature. In resistance to this power-shift, Scott refused to commit new or

original work: instead, he was happy to send the editors old cast-offs and second-rate pieces, which had the useful effect of maintaining a profile in the gift-book culture at little inconvenience to himself, in order to promote more pressing publishing concerns. The *Magnum Opus*, therefore, bears the traces of the gift-books' highly 'painted' presentation, while Scott simultaneously distanced himself publicly from the 'vulgar' mass-production of illustrated literature.

### *James Hogg and Editorial Censorship*

In contrast to Scott, James Hogg was very happy to have found a medium that offered regular (if not always reliable) income—a medium that encouraged him to explore his full range of narrative experimentation. As Janette Currie has pointed out, 'Hogg could never demand the outlandish sums that were offered to Scott or Wordsworth, and the promise of lucrative rewards from editors keen to have his name on their list did not mean that actual payments were always high'.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, the annuals did provide him with ready cash for work which, by his own confession, could be produced quickly. Hogg's most regular correspondent regarding the keepsakes was Thomas Pringle, editor of *Friendship's Offering* and former partner of William Blackwood, Hogg's primary publisher. In a letter to Pringle of 27 November 1828, he can barely conceal his relief at the prospect of regular income:

I have recieved [*sic*] from you first £5= and then £5= more which is surely far too much [...] But so perfectly am I confounded by the number of annuals that if take me book sworn at this moment I do not know which is your's and which I have wrote for and which not! But as you will likely know I got £6=1= from Ackerman by return of post after the M.S. reached him £5= from another I have forgot who £25=4= from a music publisher and Allan Cunningham has debited himself with other £25= <sup>15</sup>

Like Scott, Hogg had found himself in a difficult financial situation, while in addition he was finding it difficult to find publishers for his poetry. Ironically, this was in part owing to the success of the gift-book phenomenon: as Lee Erickson has pointed out, these books competed directly with poetry in the 1820s, and publishers were beginning to find that traditional volumes of poetry could no longer contend with a publication that offered its readers poems, short stories, extracts from the latest novels, and high-quality engravings.<sup>16</sup> The gift-books in fact catered perfectly to Hogg's gift for diversity: diversity of genre, diversity of authorial voice, and diversity of subject matter. Most importantly, however, Hogg's involvement in this industry places him, along with Scott, at the forefront of a new trend in illustrated literature. As I have argued elsewhere, both men were pushing the boundaries of what could be achieved, artistically and commercially, through cheaply produced, popularly consumed illustrated fiction and poetry.<sup>17</sup>

Scott's status as gentleman and literary superstar allowed him to be somewhat cavalier with the contributions he made to the gift-books. With the exception of 'The Death of Keeldar', it was Scott who was illustrated by the editors; by contrast, Hogg often found himself in the position of having to illustrate (a term he uses in correspondence) engravings that were sent to him by the editors. Hogg's popularity as 'The Ettrick Shepherd' made him a desirable commodity for editors as a draw for the public, but he did not belong in the same social or celebrity sphere as Scott. As a result, editors like Pringle were comfortable taking greater liberties in outlining the type of contribution they required. This is exemplified in several illustrated contributions to gift-books, reproduced in the recent publication *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books*. For example, a poem Hogg contributed to *Friendship's Offering* for 1829, entitled 'The Minstrel Boy', was written without Hogg apparently even seeing the illustration. The letter from Pringle requesting the contribution describes the illustration to Hogg:

You wd doubly oblige me if you could give me a few lines or stanzas under the title of 'The Minstrel Boy'—for the *illustration* of one of our plates. It is a boy of perhaps 7 or 8 years of age with a shepherds pipe in his hand & a highland bonnet & plaid lying beside him—lying in the midst of a scene of wild magnificence—woods, hills and waterfalls.<sup>18</sup> [my emphasis]

This communication speaks volumes about the importance that gift-book editors were placing on the engravings. The engravings are no longer merely illustrations; it is Hogg who is asked to provide the 'illustration'. Pringle does not even deem it necessary to provide Hogg with the actual image from which to work (a slight Scott never suffered with this genre). Instead, Pringle has a clear idea in his head of the type of work he wants from Hogg: 'but give me some of the glorious romance of your own boyhood when the spirit of poetry & romance first began to pour over you the visions of fairyland which afterwards found expression in the immortal "Kilmeny", & others of your loftiest Lays'.<sup>19</sup> This is an example of an editor—in this case Hogg's friend—attempting to solicit a certain type of contribution to fit his gift-book, and more precisely to fit a pre-commissioned illustration.

As Currie has pointed out, Hogg was much more open to the opportunities that the gift-books presented to professional authors than many of his contemporaries.<sup>20</sup> The variety of gift-books and their audiences opened diverse channels for his multifarious narrative modes, but he still managed to push the boundaries of censorship and audience sensibility. Hogg's irritation at editorial attempts to censor his work is displayed in his ability to subvert the images that were sent to him. A good example of this is a story published in the *Forget Me Not* of 1834 called 'The Scottish Haymakers', in which Hogg demonstrates how authorial resistance to editorial control while writing for an illustration resulted in something innovative. As Gillian Hughes has pointed out, the editor Frederic Shoberl must have sent a proof of the plate to Hogg from which

to write.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, the letter has not survived, although we can deduce from Hogg's prickly reaction a year later that Shoberl did not deem it necessary to provide him with any kind of context for the image: 'You have a confounded way of sending me a picture without either telling me who is the artist or what is the story and I am not very acute at these things. I do not know what is represented by the print'.<sup>22</sup> Again, it becomes clear that the editor is placing the emphasis on image over text: the writer becomes the illustrator. Hogg's response to this image is ingenious. Rather than frame his narrative around the central foreground lovers, his story takes its cue from the hay cart in the background, and the figures that surround it. Hogg leads the reader off with the hay cart into a disturbing story of madness, as a ventriloquist Mr Alexandre drives the owner of the hay cart insane by mimicking a crying child, while the lovers are only briefly referenced in the broadest possible generic terms.<sup>23</sup> 'The Scottish Haymakers' becomes a story about the instability of pictorial recreation of pastoral scenes—more to the point, Hogg demonstrates a resistance to editorial control in a way which did not necessitate censorship.

Another contribution, which was not published owing to missed deadlines, conforms to this same model. In 1829, the editor of the *Amulet*, Samuel Carter Hall, sent Hogg an engraving of a picture by David Wilkie entitled *The Dorty Bairn*, again encouraging a specific type of response from Hogg to illustrate it. Hall, in a letter of 25 June 1829, provides a contextual outline of the illustration with his request for 'a few lines to accompany this plate'. He writes:

I enclose a print from a picture by Mr Wilkie—it is entitled 'the Dorty Bairn'—and I believe he painted from some lines by his uncle (I believe)—It represents a little girl who has quarrelled with her bread & butter—her mother is saying 'look at your pretty face' and showing her a looking glass. [...] I should far prefer them [Hogg's lines] in the dialect of your country.<sup>24</sup>

Hogg's response to this request is both faithful and expansive. Instead of producing a single, hermetic narrative contextualisation for the image, he uses the engraving as a springboard for his imagination, producing three still-life vignettes inspired by Wilkie's picture. He responds to Hall's request for a contextualisation for the image, but it is not in narrative form, as the editor would have expected: 'The Dorty Wean' recreates in words the domestic scene presented in Wilkie's picture, using a dialect from Hogg's own home in the Borders. He then provides two other pictures with words, which are related through their ethnographical and observational record of local expression and manners. 'The Auld Naig' is an imagined conversation located further north in the town of St Boswells, a vignette which is tangentially related to a corner of Wilkie's famous painting *Pitlessie Fair*. The final vignette in this series, simply titled 'David Wilkie', is a description of a painting by Wilkie of a scene from Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, presented in Hogg's own authorial voice. By creating a series of literary tableaux in response to a single image, Hogg has



again demonstrated an ingenious and stubborn resistance to editorial control; he follows suggestions to an extent, but not at the cost of producing something worthy of an artist he greatly admired.<sup>25</sup>

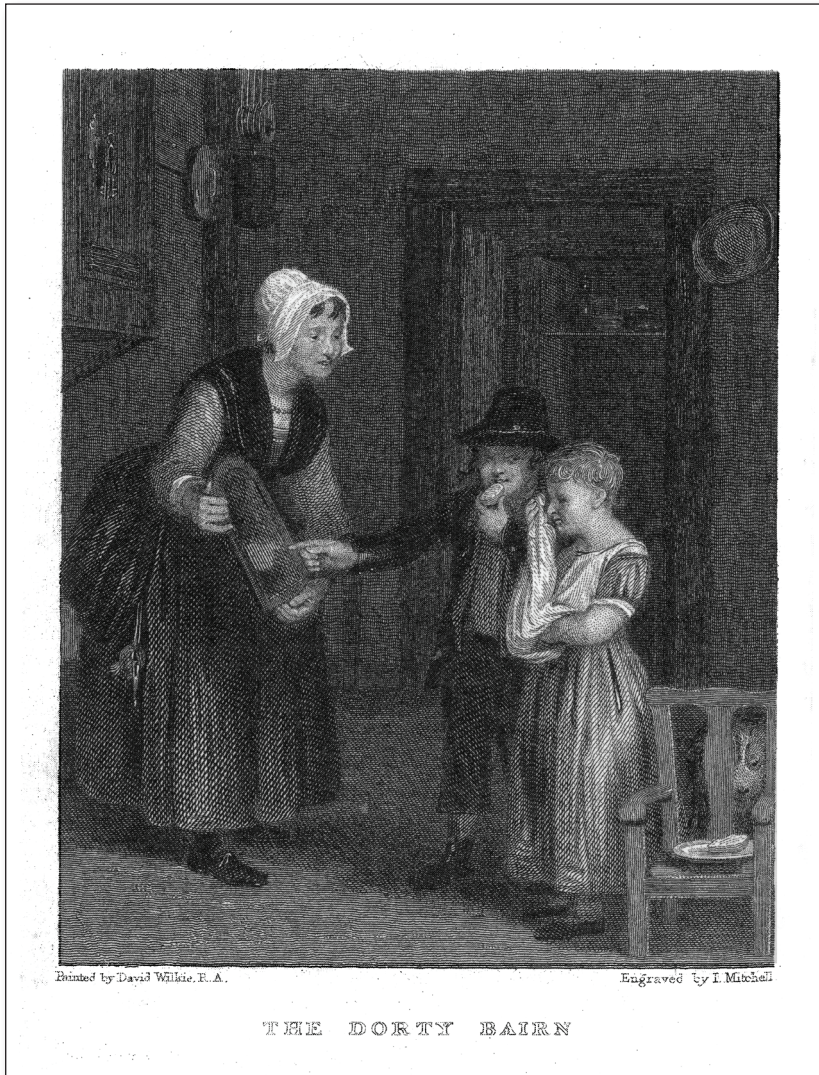


FIG. 2. DAVID WILKIE, *THE DORTY BAIRN*, COMMISSIONED BUT NEVER PUBLISHED IN THE *AMULET*, EDITED BY S. C. HALL


Hogg's relationship with the gift-books and their editors began in a spirit of mutual appreciation, but it gradually soured. This corrosion had many causes, one of which was the obvious shift in the relative importance of the author in the production of popular literature. This is demonstrated in the fact that Hogg was being asked to illustrate illustrations, a bizarre twist on the tradi-

tional mode of illustrated fiction, a precedent that paved the way for Dickens's early relationship with his first illustrator, George Cruikshank. It also becomes clear from his correspondence that much of what he produced was being censored, returned, even lost, by editors who could not bring themselves to push the envelope of public taste. Hogg's erratic temper and poor record-keeping precipitated often preventable arguments with the gift-book editors who had previously been solicitous towards him. He also demonstrates belligerence regarding the censorship of his work by editors. For example, Alaric Watts, editor of the *Literary Souvenir*, incurred Hogg's displeasure in 1830 by assuming to provide him with advice on, and censorship of, his poetry. On 19 January 1830, he wrote to Cunningham complaining about Watts:

Pray is the poor affected fellow supposed among his contemporaries to be a rational being? I should like particularly to know as he has favoured me with a great many most sage and sapient remarks how to write poetry and the advices are so serious that I really think them well meant but I cannot tell whether to follow them or not till I know for certain that the man is not daft.<sup>26</sup>

He felt similarly disgruntled at censorship from Anna Maria Hall, editor of the *Juvenile Forget Me Not*, wife of Samuel Carter Hall, editor of another staple gift-book, the *Amulet*. He writes to Mrs Hall, 'I sent you a very good tale and one of those with which I delight to harrow up the little souls of my own family I say it is a *very good* tale and *exactly* fit for children and no body else'.<sup>27</sup> This poem was most likely published in her husband's *Amulet* for 1836, making the point that such raw material from a famous author, who had died in 1835, was too lucrative to waste for the gift-book editors. This letter also demonstrates the tight censorial control editors held over authors who were struggling to survive in a competitive marketplace. Despite his protestations, Hogg still provided Mrs Hall with another alternative, while simultaneously offering the original story to a more suitable publication.

It is the illustrated contributions, however, that offer the clearest picture of the reduced status of the author in the gift-book industry. Scott, owing to his pre-existing status as a country gentleman with pretensions to aristocracy, and as a literary superstar challenged only by Byron, was to some extent able to resist the demeaning effects of industrial book-production as represented by the gift-books, but even he was forced to interact with the 'toyshop of literature'. Scott could afford to be belligerent with editors like Heath, while turning down the advances of Allan Cunningham for contributions to *The Anniversary*.<sup>28</sup> He could afford to send work he considered second-rate to editors he had to keep interested, in the knowledge that his work would be illustrated. This threat of illustration produced its own anxieties for an author who took as much control over the physical production and representation of his work as possible, but while he was recruiting artists and engravers for the *Magnum*, it was a risk he was willing to take. Hogg, meanwhile, was initially happy to engage in a medium

which offered him regular work with a varied range. His work, by contrast with Scott, was used more typically as illustrative of the images that were sent to him. However, both writers demonstrate a resistance to editorial efforts to control their literary output: the keepsakes and gift-books were attempting to propound a certain consumable type of literature—poetry and prose which could be appreciated by the widest possible audience, and therefore the narrowest possible sensibilities. Scott, and particularly Hogg, found themselves fighting against this trend of generic literary production, albeit in very different ways. Nonetheless, what becomes clear through the production of the gift-books is that the relative status of the author in the production of popular literature was compromised by innovated production practices and increased public demand for affordable illustrated fiction. 

## NOTES

1. For a recent discussion on the gift-books as objects of consumption and definition for women, see Katherine D. Harris, 'Feminizing the Textual Body: Female Readers Consuming the Literary Annual', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 99.4 (Dec 2005), 573–622.
2. Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 19.
3. Walter Scott, 'My Aunt Margaret's Mirror', from *Short Stories by Sir Walter Scott*, edited by Lord David Cecil (Oxford: OUP, 1934), p. 260.
4. Laura Mandell, 'Hemans and the Gift-Book Aesthetic', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text*, 6 (2001). Online: Internet (31 March 2005): <[http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc06\\_no1.html](http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc06_no1.html)>.
5. Gillian Hughes (ed.), *The Collected Letters of James Hogg*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: EUP, 2004–08), II, 260 (1 Apr 1827).
6. W. E. K. Anderson (ed.), *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1998), pp. 473–74.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 474.
8. J. G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1871), p. 686.
9. 'The Annuals of Former Days', *The Bookseller*, 29 (1858), 494.
10. Scott, *Journal*, p. 473.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 474.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 588–59.
13. H. J. C. Grierson (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott: Centenary Edition*, 12 vols (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1932–37), x, 457.
14. Janette Currie, 'Introduction' to James Hogg, *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books*, edited by Janette Currie and Gillian Hughes (Edinburgh: EUP, 2006), p. xxi.
15. Hogg, *Collected Letters*, II, 318 (27 Nov 1828).
16. Erickson, *Economy of Literary Form*, p. 29.
17. Richard Hill, 'Writing for Pictures: The Illustrated Gift-Book Contributions of Scott and Hogg', *Studies in Hogg and His World*, 18 (2007), 5–16.
18. Hogg, *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books*, p. 313.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
20. Janette Currie, 'Introduction' to Hogg, *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books*, p. xxi.
21. Hogg, *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books*, p. 302.
22. My gratitude to Gillian Hughes for access to this letter.
23. Hogg, *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books*, p. 78. See my 'Writing for Pictures' for a detailed discussion of this image and its corresponding textual response.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 325.
25. For reproductions of all the stories associated with this image and extensive bibliographical detail of the stories, see Gillian Hughes' notes to *The Dorty Bairn* and Hogg's triptych of 'The Dorty Wean', 'The Auld Naig', and 'David Wilkie' in *Contributions to Annuals and Gift-Books*, pp. 181–85 and 325–30.
26. Hogg, *Collected Letters*, II, 371 (19 Jan 1830).
27. *Ibid.*, II, 383 (22 May 1830).
28. In a letter of 16 Apr 1828, Scott excuses himself from committing to Cunningham's gift-book, as he has eschewed all such offers except 'in one case Mr Heaths' (*Letters*, X, 411–12).

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#### REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

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# FROM ECO-POLITICS TO APOCALYPSE

## The Contentious Rhetoric of Eighteenth-Century Landscape Gardening

*Markus Poetzsch*



THE FINAL CHAPTER OF HUMPHREY REPTON'S collected works on landscape gardening and architecture, published after his death in 1840, concludes with an encomium to Repton's work from an unnamed source. '[What can bestow pure tranquillity?] has long been a philosophical question', the admirer muses:

[R]eligion answers it. But I have always thought that the sort of taste which you have eminently contributed to form and diffuse, has a peculiar tendency to soothe, refine, and improve the mind; and, consequently, to promote most essentially the true and rational enjoyment of life.<sup>1</sup>

Such words, while they may elicit unqualified assent from gardeners both then and now, belie the factious debate generated by 'the sort of taste' alluded to here and by its impact on the practice of landscape gardening in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century England. Far from soothing the minds of its participants, the dispute over gardening and other forms of rural ornamentation, which pitted so-called landscape improvers like Repton and the adherents of Lancelot Brown against theorists of the picturesque, reached a boiling point in the 1790s through its incorporation of the rhetoric of Anti-Jacobinism—what Andrew Stauffer has aptly characterised as 'a rhetoric of inflammation'.<sup>2</sup> Never before had plans for a razed and manicured lawn or, conversely, a wild, untrimmed hedgerow, signified so much. While the eighteenth-century politicisation of land as agrarian space predates the 1790s and may, as Ann Bermingham suggests, be traced to the period of accelerated enclosure beginning around 1750, the politicisation of landscape as an aesthetic category is one of the unique hybrid discourses that develops in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution.<sup>3</sup> Ostensibly centred on notions of proper landscape use, appearance and ornamentation, the debate between rural improvers and picturesque theorists very quickly engulfed the idea of 'nature' itself. This idea, as William Galperin notes, operated primarily as 'a representational order', the valences of which are not merely aesthetic but also social and political.<sup>4</sup> Nature, in other words, became a signifier of social value and a reflection of national identity—in essence, an

ecopolitical construct that could be appropriated (a word of some import in this context) and managed under the guise of aesthetic pleasure.

The process of appropriation, long before manifesting itself in the direct and often irrevocable commodification of natural space discussed by scholars such as Jonathan Bate, Gavin Budge, and Christopher Hitt, took root at the level of discourse.<sup>5</sup> For the principal adversaries in the dispute over landscape gardening—Humphrey Repton and his supporters like William Wyndham and William Marshall on one side, Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price on the other<sup>6</sup>—this meant drawing provocative analogies between the natural and the political spheres, with nature being defined and ‘called upon’, as Bermingham notes, ‘to [reflect,] clarify and justify social change’.<sup>7</sup> Linguistic appropriation in effect operated tautologically: the landscape improvers and picturesque theorists sought not only to shape and define nature according to certain aesthetic protocols, but also to encourage an aesthetico-political order, an idea of what nature and nation should be, which could become a standard for judging what is and is not ‘natural’ in these two spheres. Thus we have, for example, Knight’s critique of Repton’s practice of levelling trees and shrubs in the creation of ‘never-ending sheets of vapid lawn’—an aesthetic commentary that also raises the spectre of political levelling—and Repton’s rejoinder, outlined in a 1794 letter to Price, that the system of picturesque embellishment fosters an ungovernable wildness unsuitable to the ideals of a constitutional monarchy, each playing on the idea (and preying on the fear) that extreme policies in aesthetic/environmental practice reflect and encourage instability in the political realm as well.<sup>8</sup> However, one of the notable ironies of this debate, I would like to suggest, is that it also highlights the resistance of nature as an ecopolitical construct to the kinds of instrumental appropriations (or wars) practised by eighteenth-century landscape improvers and aestheticists. Indeed, the capacity of nature—whether read aesthetically as a ‘series of living *tableaux*’ or politically as a ‘representational order’ of the nation state<sup>9</sup>—to accommodate contesting and, in some cases, mutually exclusive appropriations, speaks to its conceptual capaciousness and slipperiness, its tendency to frustrate (by virtue of its signifying excess) the limited claims and designs of ideology. Nature thus acquires a transcendent status in the discourse of Romantic ecology.

To invoke the transcendence of nature in this context—a transcendence that steadily repudiates, even as it appears to open itself up to, commodification—is to offer a counterpoint to the ecologically disengaged ‘Hartman–Bloom reading of Romanticism’, to use Bate’s phrase, which subjects nature to human transcendence.<sup>10</sup> My analysis also, however, challenges Green Romanticism’s own misgivings about deploying a rhetoric of transcendence where nature is concerned; far from signalling a ‘flight from the material world’, as Bate suggests, discussions of natural transcendence may lay the foundation for an ecological criticism that, as Ron Broglio has recently proposed, decentres the

human subject and thereby radically shifts ‘the focal point around which nature as environment is defined’.<sup>11</sup>

### *I. Sibling Rivalry*

While modern scholarship has tended to treat landscape gardening and the picturesque as compatible disciplines in what Christine Bolus-Reichert terms the ‘landed revolution’ (beginning around 1770) and also as expressions of a common aesthetic goal, that being the erasure of perceptual boundaries between artfully designed exterior spaces and those that are truly natural or wild—hence, Bate’s reference to them as ‘sister’ disciplines—the adherents of these respective modes of rural embellishment defined themselves very much in contradistinction to one another.<sup>12</sup> For example, although Repton had early in his mercurial career as a landscape gardener consulted both Knight and Price on a series of commissions in Herefordshire and been accepted into their ranks as a man of taste and promising talents, he fell out with both over his interpretation of the limits of the picturesque as an aesthetic strategy. Writing to Price in 1794, he characterises his disillusionment in the following terms:

During the pleasant hours we passed together amidst the romantic scenery of the Wye, I do remember my acknowledging than an enthusiasm for the picturesque, had originally led me to fancy a greater affinity betwixt *Painting* and *Gardening*, than I found to exist after more mature consideration, and more practical experience; because, *in whatever relates to man, propriety and convenience are not less objects of good taste, than picturesque effect*; and a beautiful garden fence is not more defective because it would not look well on canvas, than a didactic poem because it neither furnishes a subject for the painter or the musician.<sup>13</sup>

In the tone of one lamenting a boyhood infatuation—a tone that Wordsworth himself would adopt in his famous dismissal of the picturesque as ‘a strong infection of the age’<sup>14</sup>—Repton here draws the definitive line between landscape improvers and theorists: whereas the former rely on ‘mature consideration’ and ‘practical experience’, steadily grounding the creations of ‘good taste’ in the bedrock of ‘propriety’, ‘convenience’ and comfort, the latter are actuated by mere ‘fancy’ and ‘enthusiasm’ (a word that Samuel Johnson had many years earlier driven into obloquy), seemingly uninterested in dealing with life beyond the canvas.<sup>15</sup> Price, for his part, characterises Repton’s departure from the picturesque as a misconstruction of its ideals, adopting the tone of a spurned headmaster whose star pupil has neglected his studies and fallen in with the wrong crowd—in this case, that ‘tasteless herd of [Lancelot] Brown’s followers,’ who, by Repton’s own admission, had tarnished his profession.<sup>16</sup> Emphasising Repton’s apparent unfamiliarity with the works of ‘higher artists’—which, according to picturesque theorists, represent the models for rural embellish-

ment—Price portrays his pupil as an enemy of the art of painting motivated equally by ignorance and ‘*jalousie de métier*’.<sup>17</sup>

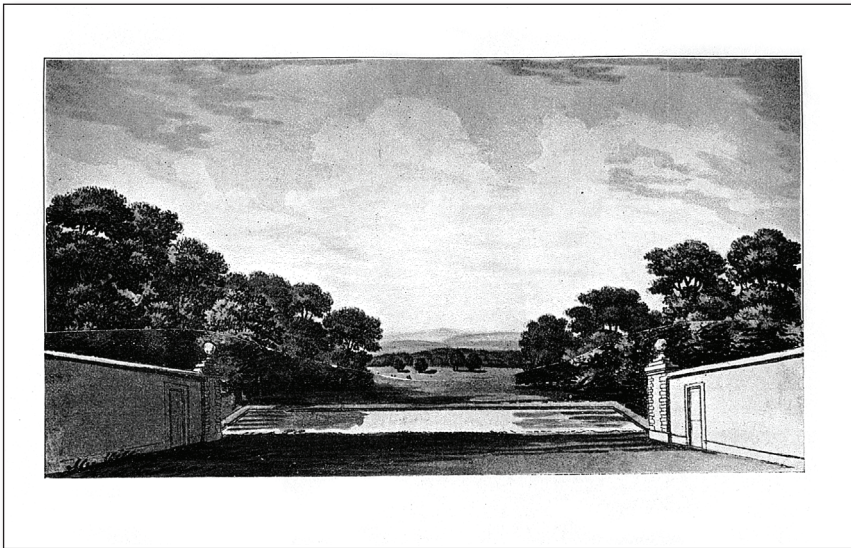
This final stab notwithstanding, the debate between Repton and Price, carried out in a series of correspondences in 1794 and 1795, is generally conducted with an air of rhetorical deference, each endeavouring to play the gentleman’s part by masking grievance or outrage with a veneer of disappointed expectation. Price in fact likens their controversy to the proceedings of ‘ancient tournaments [...] where friends and acquaintances, merely for a trial of skill, and love of victory, with all civility and courtesy tilted at each others breasts’—an analogy apparently intended to defuse the situation by returning aesthetics to the realm of pleasure and masculine sport.<sup>18</sup> Situated as it is, however, against the backdrop of England’s ideological and military campaigns against Revolutionary France, Price’s allusion to an age of chivalry also carries irrefragable political overtones. Indeed, with Edmund Burke’s defence of ‘ancient chivalry’ still so fresh in the public mind (to say nothing of William Godwin’s rather more sceptical commentaries on the chivalric influence in *Political Justice* and *Caleb Williams*), Price’s conciliatory gesture highlights the already politically envenomed nature of the so-called ‘Picturesque Debate’.<sup>19</sup> As Stephen Copley and Peter Garside point out, in the Revolutionary years, the picturesque is first and foremost ‘an intensely and explicitly politicized aesthetic’.<sup>20</sup>

## II. Issues of Appropriation and Levelling

The text that directly brings politics into the garden is Knight’s *The Landscape, a Didactic Poem*, published in 1794 as a pre-emptive strike against Repton’s forthcoming *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*, a portion of which Knight had previewed at a bookseller’s and instantly taken issue with. The excerpt in question, from Repton’s plans for the improvement of Tatton Hall in Cheshire, articulates a process for enhancing ‘greatness in a place’, with greatness defined as the perception of ‘united and uninterrupted property’.<sup>21</sup> This process, which included, among other expedients, sweeping away any trees, hedges, or formal terraces that divided the boundaries of a property from the landscape beyond, all in an effort to ‘impress the mind with a sense of [the owner’s] influence’, was fittingly termed ‘appropriation’.<sup>22</sup> The practical success of appropriation was measured by the landholder’s ‘management of the view’<sup>23</sup>—a phrase taken from Repton’s plans for Lathom House in Lancashire, a project that included the removal of the central pool and garden walls so as to widen and lengthen the prospect from the house (see Figures 1 and 2, below).

As Rachel Crawford points out, the theoretical groundwork for appropriative landscape design was laid by Stephen Switzer’s *Ichnographia Rustica* (1715), a landmark treatise that rejected high-walled aristocratic gardens in favour of unbounded prospects.<sup>24</sup> Switzer’s rationale for such a preference—namely, that ‘[t]he Eye is covetous of Extent’<sup>25</sup>—gestures to the influence of an aesthetic of sublimity yet, as Crawford contends, it also clearly encodes political values,





FIGS 1 AND 2. LATHOM HOUSE BEFORE AND AFTER REPTON'S MODIFICATIONS, FROM *THE LANDSCAPE GARDENING AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE OF THE LATE HUMPHREY REPTON, ESQ.* (1840)

with the prospect view coming to symbolise 'liberty and social consequence'.<sup>26</sup> Liberty in this context must of course be read in very limited and exclusive terms. If, as Crawford claims, Switzer's notion of perspectival liberty was an outgrowth of his Whiggish idealism, it remains stubbornly undemocratic. The liberty extolled is always gendered and rooted in class: it is, in short, a gentleman's liberty, conferring on the landholder, by virtue of his comprehensive perspective, a power over all that he beholds. As John Barrell remarks, the

untrammelled view creates a ‘universal observer who “superior to the little Fray” of competing interests, understands the relations among them all’.<sup>27</sup>

Repton’s notion of appropriation owes much to Switzer’s model, above all in its implicit endorsement of landed interests. Though he argues that appropriation is not so much rooted in ‘purposes of gain, as [in those] of pleasure, and convenience’, his treatise consistently aligns the landholder’s ‘influence’ with the extent of his holdings, whether that extent is measured by the eye or by direct engrossment (that is, the amalgamation of private property).<sup>28</sup> The method of appropriation that galled Knight in particular was Repton’s suggestion that public edifices and milestones be adorned with the family arms of local property holders so as to convey to passing travellers the eminence of who and what surrounded them. With undisguised contempt, Knight offers in *The Landscape* an alternative to such aesthetic ostentation:

But why not rather, at the porter’s gate,  
Hang up the map of all my lord’s estate,  
Than give his hungry visiters the pain  
To wander o’er so many miles in vain?  
For well we know this sacrifice is made,  
Not to his taste, but to his vain parade;  
And all it does, is but to shew combined  
His wealth in land, and poverty in mind.<sup>29</sup>

Knight’s objection to the appropriation of landscape by family arms—what one might describe as a kind of domestic colonialism—has, surprisingly, little to do with the deception involved in arrogating to oneself more than one’s actual share or with the class differences implied by the juxtaposition of ‘my lord’s estate’ with ‘his hungry visiters’. What disconcerts him, rather, is the tastelessness of publicly broadcasting one’s name and holdings. The lack bemoaned in the phrase ‘poverty of mind’ is neither intelligence nor moral judgment but a refined aesthetic. As he goes on to suggest, good or proper taste is characterised by a modesty of display: ‘Its greatest art is aptly to conceal; | To lead, with secret guile, the prying sight | To where component parts may best unite, | And form one beauteous, nicely blended whole’.<sup>30</sup> What Knight advocates here is not the concealment of the landscaping artifice that facilitates unrestricted views (the ha-ha, for example) but rather a form of concealment intended to rein in the free, unchecked perspective upon which Repton’s idea of ‘influence’ hinges. Knight’s text indeed foregrounds considerable anxiety about allowing the viewer’s ‘prying sight’ to turn wherever and take in whatever it pleases. The picturesque art of concealment therefore subjects visual pleasure (the ‘nicely blended whole’) to methodologies of control: what one might characterise as the power ‘[t]o lead’. For this reason, as Crawford suggests, the art of concealment had political implications, particularly at a point in English history when ‘the country estate had become an emblem of empire’.<sup>31</sup> For the estate as for the empire, the pleasure of the untrammelled perspective was attended by an acute

fear of losing control over one's distant holdings. This fear is directly articulated in Thomas Whately's influential *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770). Having rehearsed the Switzerian doctrine of unimpeded views and the need for concealing separations between private property and the land beyond, Whately pauses to consider 'occasions, when we should rather wish to check, than to promote, the general tendency' toward expansive views: 'As scenes encrease in extent, they become more impatient of control [...] [and] less manageable'.<sup>32</sup> Whately's comments, as Crawford argues, 'parallel contemporary Whig arguments about the management of colonies' and reflect 'the instability associated with extension of the British empire'.<sup>33</sup>

Written a quarter of a century later, when questions of political insecurity abroad and at home had only multiplied and intensified, Knight's critique of appropriation may therefore be read as a resonance of his own political anxieties as a Foxite Whig. Indeed, in the lines following his advocacy of control over 'the prying sight', he develops an image of relentless political turmoil and upheaval—'Systems on systems triumph and decay, | Empires on empires in oblivion fall, | And ruin spread alternate over all'—against which only the artistic ideal of 'unadorned simplicity' is immune.<sup>34</sup> That ideal, while it appears natural and effortless, is always framed and managed so as to delimit the viewer's range of responses, the physical as well as the aesthetic. Even the path that brings the visitor to the landholder's door, though shaped with 'careless easy curves' that appear to invite rambles and wanderings, is designed to culminate in a single arresting image: 'The stately mansion rising to the view'.<sup>35</sup> Knight's notion of proper taste, translated into landscape design, consistently betrays his anxiety about controlling and regulating the visitor's prying eyes and straying feet. Notwithstanding his disdain for the 'vain parade' of the Reptonian landholder who needlessly exhausts his hungry visitors by leading them on a circuitous route around his property, Knight's aesthetic priorities are in the end no more egalitarian. Indeed, his dispute with Repton over appropriation hinges not on the power of landed interests or on class difference, but rather on the most effective means of regulating both the land(scape)—the estate/empire—and the visitor's reaction to it and movements within it. This point is critical to understanding the complicated deployment of political rhetoric in the debate over appropriation and landscape ornamentation more generally. Indeed, while one might assume on the basis of Knight's political affiliations that his attack on the doctrine of appropriation was a coded critique of inherited property and the despotism of wealthy land owners, and thus represented a check on the growing tide of Anti-Jacobinism in the mid 1790s, he and Price were no less fearful, as Bermingham points out, of the prospect of democratic levelling.<sup>36</sup>

As an aesthetic practice, levelling certainly lies at the root of their controversy with Repton. In his 'Advertisement' to the second edition of *The Landscape* (1795), Knight juxtaposes, for the reader's consideration, 'the rich and natural scenes of Windsor or New Forest [with] the shaven parks and gardens of either of those places', suggesting that good taste always prefers richness and variega-

tion because these qualities are ‘natural’.<sup>37</sup> The poem pursues this theme by opening with an image of ‘poor Nature, shaven and defaced, | To gratify the jaundiced eye of taste’.<sup>38</sup> In this literalisation of inflamed rhetoric, levelling takes on the function of a ‘strange disease’ transmitted from the improver’s ‘jaundiced eye’ to the face of Nature where it promptly unravels all structure and order—de-facing, de-naturalising, and, ironically, de-humanising.<sup>39</sup> Levelling is not, however, merely a physical ailment inflicted on the body of nature; in Knight’s view, it also represents a form of moral corruption, a transgression against a higher Nature, namely, divine order. The rhetoric of inflammation thus repeatedly taints improvers as ‘sacrilegious’, with Knight taking on the role of eco-prophet and prayerful intercessor. Book II, for example, opens in an elegiac mode as the poet, after surveying the works of the ‘improver’s desolating hand’, ‘[t]o Heaven devoutly [...] address[es] [his] prayer’:

Again the moss-grown terraces to raise,  
And spread the labyrinth’s perplexing maze;  
Replace in even lines the ductile yew,  
And plant again the ancient avenue.  
Some features then, at least, we should obtain,  
To mark this flat, insipid, waving plain;  
Some vary’d tints and forms would intervene,  
To break this uniform, eternal green.<sup>40</sup>

Knight’s disdain for the flatness and uniformity of the Reptonian garden is based largely on the picturesque principle of connection. Outlined by Price in the third volume of his *Essays on the Picturesque*, connection involves the composition and arrangement of ‘the different parts of the different landscapes of a whole place, without injuring the unity of that whole’.<sup>41</sup> Connection, as Price suggests, is easily and quickly destroyed by either scattering or crowding the individual elements of a landscape, and, once lost, ‘nothing is restored with greater difficulty, or by a more tedious process’.<sup>42</sup> Of particular relevance to this essay is Price’s attendant politicisation of the principle of connection. A varied landscape with intervening elements and gradations, each in turn productive of the impression of a unified whole, becomes for Price an apt symbol of England itself:

The mutual connection and dependence of all the different ranks and orders of men in this country; the innumerable, but voluntary ties by which they are bound and united to each other, (so different from what are experienced by the subjects of any other monarchy,) are perhaps the firmest securities of its glory, its strength, and its happiness [...]. [A]nd although the separation of the different ranks and their gradations, like those of visible objects, is known and ascertained, yet from the beneficial mixture, and frequent intercommunication of high and low, that separation is happily disguised, and does not sensibly operate on the general mind.<sup>43</sup>

In this striking defence of class difference and privilege—a system ‘naturalised’ through its alignment with the fecundity and variety of nature itself, qualities that, as noted above, are themselves already pre-defined as aesthetic ideals—Price even manages to accommodate the principle of concealment, which operates here as a political tool of self-preservation by which the ‘high[er]’ orders of society intermingle with the ‘low’ without forfeiting the privilege of ‘separation’. If aesthetic beauty is the goal behind the desire for connection in a landscape garden, fear of class conflict and social disintegration drives the political rhetoric of ‘beneficial mixture’: ‘should any sudden gap, any distinct undisguised line of separation be made, such as between the noble and the roturier, the whole strength of that firm chain (and firm it may stand) would at once be broken’.<sup>44</sup> Although Price’s response to Repton’s levelling impulse is more genially phrased and nuanced in its conception than Knight’s dismissive reference to the ‘flat, insipid, waving plain’, it is clearly no less polemical. Like Knight, Price associates levelling with a general tendency toward disconnection—a ‘fashion’, as Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins suggest, that was regarded as ‘dangerously destabilising’ by the landed classes.<sup>45</sup> Although Price concedes that landscape levelling in the name of comfort and convenience is at times necessary, he warns improvers not to exceed the example of nature in this regard. As he suggests, ‘there are scenes in wild, unimproved nature, *of the same kind* as those in which modern gardening most excels [...] [but these] scenes [are] produced by accident, not design’.<sup>46</sup> Translated politically, such a statement represents a check on the revolutionary impulse to dismantle traditional hierarchies of power; if nature on occasion disregards the principle of connection, the nation should not. Indeed, Price’s statement appears to imply that social and political inequalities, whenever pernicious and not conducive to the maintenance of a ‘firm chain’, have a tendency to correct themselves *naturally*. One cannot help hearing echoes of Godwin here—Godwin, that is, in his more moderate strains. Take, for example, the following passage from *Political Justice*, published only a year earlier: ‘Imperfect institutions [...] cannot long support themselves, when they are generally disapproved of, and their effects truly understood. There is a period, at which they may be expected to decline and expire, almost without an effort’.<sup>47</sup> The only material difference here is that Price envisions levelling as a product of nature’s occasional ‘accidents’, and Godwin, as a consequence of institutional imperfection.

### III. *Visions of Apocalypse*

Having thus directed the improver’s hand to the example of nature in order to curb his/her urge to level for the sake of appropriation, the defenders of the picturesque also delineate the consequences of ignoring nature. Here again, it is Knight who deploys the most provocative language, gradually abandoning, in Book III of *The Landscape*, all pretensions to a purely aesthetic critique and opening the reader’s eyes instead to visions of political chaos and apocalypse.<sup>48</sup>

Having chided improvers for carelessly introducing non-native species to British soil, Knight proceeds to articulate an eco-jingoism that positions the English countryside—and England itself, the ‘Bless’d land’—as a moderate centre between the extremes of northern and southern climates.<sup>49</sup> As he suggests, however, it is a centre not immune to the perturbations of rebellious impulses. One moment a ‘stagnant pool [...] mantled o’er | With the green weeds of its muddy shore’, England is transformed into a scene of ‘havock, waste, and spoil’ in the short time it takes improving hands to ‘break the mound, and let the waters flow’.<sup>50</sup> The deluge of rebellion sweeps unimpeded over the improver’s shaven lawns. Even though Knight articulates the hope that its moisture will prompt the growth of ‘vernal flowers’, just as ‘[t]he tides of blood that flow on Gallia’s shore’ will someday produce ‘the happy arts of peace’, his notes to the poem, written with an eye on the current headlines out of France, undermine that optimism:


The armed rabble which now govern and lay waste France, under the directions of the different clubs established in every part of that country, and concentrated in Paris, may yet proceed for many years in their career of pillage and extermination; but when depopulation and ruin are advanced to a certain extent, the constituent communities will become too thinly scattered, to hold together of their own accord, and must either divide into separate states, or submit to some external force.<sup>51</sup>

For Knight, political levelling in the name of liberty, fraternity, and equality has social and environmental consequences similar in type, if not perhaps in degree, to those produced by aesthetic levelling in the name of appropriation: it weakens the human connection to land, enforces divisions between properties and property holders, and, perhaps most significant of all, scatters so-called ‘constituent communities’.

In terms of its environmental focus, Knight’s position is remarkably clairvoyant and, one might add, congenial to the modern ear; its politics, however, are rather more slippery. One cannot after all separate Knight’s disdain for the policies of appropriation—policies that, as Bermingham notes, were encouraged by the General Acts of Enclosure and the ‘conspicuous consumption of [the] *nouveaux riches*’ who were buying up and razing land at an unprecedented rate<sup>52</sup>—from his resistance to the perceived malice of democratic levelling. Nor can one read his hesitant invocation of ‘[j]ust order [...] and genuine liberty’ in *The Landscape* without recalling the cautionary note that a ‘despot’s chain, | Is oft a curb worse evils to restrain’.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps most ironic of all, however, is Knight’s attempt to disclaim any political affiliations in the postscript to the second edition of his poem, where he takes Repton to task for having aligned the picturesque system of rural embellishment with ‘the Democratic tyranny of France’—precisely the same charge he has levelled at the improvers.<sup>54</sup> As if recognising the untenability of maintaining a controversy from a

position ideologically indistinguishable from that of one's opponent, Knight endeavours to untangle aesthetics from politics by declaring that 'subjects of mere elegant amusement' must not involve 'the nearest and dearest interests of humanity'—ostensibly a disparagement of Repton's tactics but also, and more importantly, a signal of a rhetorical impasse.<sup>55</sup> To argue for a return to discourse-specific rhetoric is to acknowledge a loss of control over that rhetoric. Or, to put it another way, the unravelling of conjoined discourses signals the failure of landscape improvers and picturesque theorists to bring nature as a construct—aesthetic, political, or otherwise—under the control of ideological appropriations. Whether levelled or variegated, expansive or secluded, whether shaped for everyday convenience or for refined pleasure, whether claimed by a rebellious rabble or by a constitutional monarchy, *the idea of nature* that Repton, Price, and Knight seek to make subject to their own tastes consistently exceeds and eludes their rhetorical control. In the end, their efforts of appropriation have the character of family arms affixed to milestones: they make illusory claims to a containment of vastness which is itself already encoded numerically and thus foregrounds its distance as a signifier from the signified that is nature's inappropriable reality.

#### *IV. Postscript*

The phrase 'nature's inappropriable reality', far from implying a refusal to acknowledge environmental crises rooted in practices of appropriation and commodification, is intended to signal what Timothy Morton has recently characterised as the 'strange strangeness' of the natural world, its irreducible alterity.<sup>56</sup> The culmination of the eighteenth-century debate over landscape gardening is but one measure of that alterity, that resistance to rhetorical control and to the reductive equations of political urgency that would seek to bring nature in line with the country estate, and the country estate with the British empire. Instead, as Price himself concedes, nature appears to proceed by 'accidents,' at times severing the various 'connections' upon which aesthetic and political ideals are founded. The gardening debate thus calls into question contemporary formulations of '[t]he ideal Romantic relationship between human beings and nature [...] [as] a meeting halfway or more'.<sup>57</sup> Nature's inappropriable reality may frustrate such a 'meeting', demanding instead that we transform our ideological constructs of the natural into 'something other than [...] object[s] enframed by human desires'.<sup>58</sup> To engage the natural world as 'something other', something fundamentally unamenable to our epistemological frameworks and modes of representation, is perhaps the only way to decentre the human in its relation to the environment. For in the end, as Broglio suggests, '[i]t is not the internal coherence of humanness that matters but rather the possibility of self-difference that provides a means of thinking and relating to nature'. 

## NOTES

1. Humphrey Repton, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphrey Repton, Esq*, edited by Gavin Budge (1840; Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001), p. 606.
2. Andrew M. Stauffer, *Anger, Revolution, and Romanticism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), p. 70.
3. Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 10.
4. William Galperin, 'The Picturesque, the Real, and the Consumption of Jane Austen', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 28.1 (1997), 19.
5. Jonathan Bate, *Song of the Earth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 127; Gavin Budge, 'Introduction', *Aesthetics and the Picturesque, 1795–1840* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001), p. vi; Christopher Hitt, 'Ecocriticism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *College Literature*, 31.3 (2004), 128–29.
6. William Wyndham of Fellbrig Hall, a neighbour and supporter of Repton's work for whom the latter worked as confidential secretary, characterised the aesthetic theories of Knight and Price as 'absurd [and] unphilosophical'. William Marshall, author of *Planting and Ornamental Gardening* (1785), supported Repton's cause with a withering review of Knight's *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem*, in which he argues that 'the goading objects of pictureskness have a [...] tendency to excite the spirit of discord'. See Repton, *Landscape Gardening*, p. 115; William Marshall, *A Review of the Landscape, A Didactic Poem: Also of an Essay on the Picturesque: Together with Practical Remarks on Rural Ornament*, edited by Gavin Budge (1795; Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001), p. 83.
7. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, p. 1.
8. Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1795), p. 40 (Book II, l. 76); Repton, *Landscape Gardening*, p. 10.
9. David Marshall, *The Frame of Art: Fictions of Aesthetic Experience, 1750–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 17.
10. Jonathan Bate, *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 7.
11. Bate, *Romantic Ecology*, p. 40; Ron Broglio, *Technologies of the Picturesque: British Art, Poetry and Instruments 1750–1830* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2008), p. 118.
12. Christine Bolus-Reichert, 'The Landed Revolution: Humphrey Repton, Arthur Young, and the Politics of Improvement', *Romanticism*, 5 (1999), 203; Bate, *Song of the Earth*, p. 136.
13. Repton, *Landscape Gardening*, pp. 5–6.
14. William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, edited by J. C. Maxwell (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1971), Book XI, l. 156.
15. Repton's dismissal of the motives and ethics of the picturesque is, notably, still rehearsed by modern scholars, most recently by J. Baird Callicott who characterises the movement as 'superficial [...] narcissistic [and] trivial'. See his 'The Land Aesthetic', in *Environmental Ethics: Divergence and Convergence*, 2nd edn, edited by Richard G. Botzler and Susan J. Armstrong (Boston: McGraw–Hill, 1998), p. 134.
16. Repton, *Landscape Gardening*, p. 9.



17. Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful*, edited by Gavin Budge (1794; Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001), pp. 43 and 94.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
19. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, edited by Thomas H. D. Mahoney (1790; Indianapolis: Bobbs–Merrill Co. Ltd, 1955), p. 86; Hazel Fryer, ‘Humphrey Repton’s Commissions in Herefordshire: Picturesque Landscape Aesthetics’, *Garden History*, 22.2 (1994), 162.
20. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, ‘Introduction’, *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 5.
21. Repton, *Landscape Gardening*, p. 92.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
24. Rachel Crawford, *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape, 1700–1830* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 4.
25. Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica: or, the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener’s Recreation* (London: D. Browne et al., 1718), p. 185.
26. Crawford, *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape*, p. 72.
27. John Barrell, *English Literature in History, 1730–1780: An Equal, Wide Survey* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1983), p. 51.
28. Repton, *Landscape Gardening*, p. 222.
29. Knight, *The Landscape*, p. 13 (Book I, ll. 169–76).
30. *Ibid.*, p. 14 (Book I, ll. 192–95).
31. Crawford, *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape*, p. 76.
32. Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770; New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1982), pp. 12–13.
33. Crawford, *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape*, p. 76.
34. Knight, *The Landscape*, p. 14 (Book I, ll. 202–04; notes p. 14).
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16 (Book I, ll. 213 and 218).
36. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, p. 67.
37. Knight, ‘Advertisement’, *The Landscape*, p. viii.
38. Knight, *The Landscape*, p. 2 (Book I, ll. 19–20).
39. *Ibid.*, p. 2 (Book I, l. 17).
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32 (Book II, ll. 2 and 8–16).
41. Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, p. III.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 178–79.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
45. Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, ‘Picturesque Landscaping and Estate Management: Uvedale Price and Nathaniel Kent at Foxley’, in *Politics of the Picturesque*, edited by Copley and Garside, p. 21.
46. Price, *Essays on the Picturesque*, pp. 102–03.
47. William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness*, edited by F. E. L. Priestley, 3 vols (1793; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), I, 274.
48. As John Whale points out, Knight’s footnote on the Reign of Terror at the conclusion of Book III threatens to ‘dominat[e] the whole book’. See ‘Romantic

- Explorers and Picturesque Travellers', in *Politics of the Picturesque*, edited by Copley and Garside (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 188.
49. Knight, *The Landscape*, p. 84 (Book III, l. 257).
  50. *Ibid.*, p. 91 (Book III, ll. 377–78, 390 and 387).
  51. *Ibid.*, pp. 91–94 (Book III, ll. 393, 402 and 420; notes pp. 93–94).
  52. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, p. 67.
  53. Knight, *The Landscape*, pp. 91–92 (Book III, ll. 416 and 373–74).
  54. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
  55. *Ibid.*
  56. Timothy Morton, 'Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, and Other Alien Beings', *Activism, Apocalypse, and the Avant-Garde* (ASLE UK Conference, University of Edinburgh, 11 July 2008).
  57. Gary Harrison, 'Romantic Ecology', *Encyclopedia of World Environmental History*, edited by Shepard Krech, John Robert McNeill, and Carolyn Merchant, 3 vols (New York & London: Routledge, 2004), III, 1064.
  58. Broglio, *Technologies of the Picturesque*, p. 195.
  59. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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# COLLECTING THE NATIONAL DRAMA IN REVOLUTIONARY ENGLAND

*John Pruitt*



LET'S BEGIN WITH AN IRRITATED ELIZABETH INCHBALD. At the bidding of prolific and insistent publisher Thomas Norton Longman, she undertook the task of collecting and critiquing a series of plays spanning the two centuries between Shakespeare's time and her own. In 1808, Longman released this twenty-five-volume series titled *The British Theatre; or, a Collection of Plays, Which Are Acted at the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket*, a collection with sales so 'prodigious' (according to Inchbald) that with great alacrity Longman employed her to proceed with the ten-volume *Modern Theatre* and seven-volume *Collection of Farces*, each selling equally well. However, no critical remarks accompanied the latter collections as she detested the 'dreadful task' of writing them. In fact, she dismissed the fifty-guinea retainer that she had earned for compiling the *Collection of Farces* 'by merely looking over a catalogue of fifty farces, drawing my pen across one or two, and writing the names of others in their place'.<sup>1</sup> To Inchbald, collecting illegitimate drama simply became a perfunctory act in random selection.

To others of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, collecting, publishing, and circulating farces, spectacles, operas, pantomimes, and melodramas served in many ways as a forum for debating the cultural positioning of these minor dramatic genres in England's political and cultural landscape. Although a great deal of critical attention has focused on the various editions of collections of Shakespeare's plays since the publication of the First Folio in 1623, we must recognise some of the trends in the production and reception of non-Shakespearean collections, which circulated in larger numbers through the long eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and provide a basis for greater contextualisation of these collections in terms of the tenuous position of the theatre in England's revolutionary culture. During the period in question, Inchbald's collection of farces sat alongside at least fourteen additional collections of plays strictly of or including minor dramatic genres published and circulating throughout the nation between 1784 and 1815 amid accusations of a decaying national theatre (see attached checklist). Such complaints occurred so frequently that reviews and newspapers brimmed over with laments over the theatre's catastrophic degeneration into illegitimate, gothic, and spectacular

drama attributable to the tastes of managers who staged farces and operas rather than classical tragedies in order to compete in a capitalist market economy; to the revamped architecture and technology that distanced audiences from the stage; to the decline in national taste; and to destructive German influences. The latter two concerns, stemming from a strong sense of a unified national character attempting to emerge throughout the eighteenth century, reflected the tendency of thinkers to place a high value on national institutions in determining the character and stage of development of English society.<sup>2</sup>

Despite such anxieties of a fragmented national culture, this essay will argue that collecting and binding minor dramatic genres actually legitimised these plays within English theatre history despite their Continental origins and appeal to the lower orders. At the forefront of collectors of minor dramatic forms stands bookseller John Bell, celebrated for the twenty-volume *Bell's British Theatre, Consisting of the Most Esteemed English Plays* (1776–78). Following its success, he compiled and published from 1784 to 1788 a supplemental six-volume *Collection of the Most Esteemed Farces and Entertainments Now Performing on the British Stage*. In the advertisement to the first volume, Bell proposes that these collected works 'will be peculiarly acceptable to those who are possessed of a good Collection of Plays, to which it will form a proper Companion or Supplement, as including the principal performances of a Garrick, a Foote, &c. printed in an elegant and uniform manner, and attainable at a moderate expence'.<sup>3</sup> For the first time, a variety of minor plays written by a variety of authors appeared together in print.<sup>4</sup> Following Bell's model, Walter Scott compiled the three-volume collection *The British Drama; Comprehending the Best Plays in the English Language* (1804), in which he suggests that readers respond more positively to genre divisions—one volume of tragedies, one of comedies, and the final of farces and operas—than to miscellaneous assortments for ease of browsing through and scrutinising their preferred species of drama. Although Scott appears to seek reader gratification by segregating these genres, he emphasises the clear distinctions between generic values by appealing to their national character, for '*Tragedies* may serve as a register of national genius'; comedies reflect a free English government under which 'No laws operate to restrain caprice; no tyrant watches to punish private folly, controul inconsistencies, or revenge fickleness'; and farce and opera owe their existence to comedy but 'cannot be deemed an exact and legitimate species of the Drama'. Together, however, readers and collectors will find *The British Drama* 'to constitute a commodious, cheap, and judicious theatrical library'.<sup>5</sup> And as similar collections multiplied and lined bookshelves throughout the early nineteenth century, a number of critics determined that the nation required a standard for measuring the national value of literary (and, indeed, theatrical) productions.<sup>6</sup> Whereas men of letters repeatedly maintained that the theatres required sanitising, collectors positioned minor plays written by English hands alongside the pillars of classical and contemporary English drama in order to

participate in dialogues about the nation's fluctuating and ill-defined cultural and political identity.

## I

Before exploring the collections of minor plays themselves, I find it necessary to review popular perceptions of the decline of England's legitimate forms of entertainment in order to contextualise the national conversation regarding this cultural transformation. Neoclassical and Shakespearean tragedy, of course, held the vanguard position of this conservative cultural programme while critics continued to traduce spectacular drama such as farce and opera as 'illegitimate'—a term bearing not only legal connotations under the Stage Licensing Act of 1737 but also bearing aesthetic, moral, and political resonances. Critics and politicians sporadically attempted to resolve the ambivalence of the analogy between theatre and nation by distinguishing the depravity of spectacular theatre from the virtues of moral or legitimate political action in drama. Jane Moody suggests that we can trace the status of the 'legitimate' as a theatrical term to Edmund Burke's definition of such political culture in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). Countering the revolutionary proposition that a government loses its legitimacy in the absence of representation, Burke, Moody continues, suggests that the nation's system of virtual representation actually constitutes political legitimacy. As such, Burke defends legitimate government as a series of institutions and associated moral values based in property, heredity, monarchy, and the church, and dismisses illegitimacy as their distortion. Ultimately, under this political model, conservative commentators attempted to separate the tradition of loyalist drama from the apparent surge of innovative but deviant theatrical change.<sup>7</sup>

In response to the popular reception of the illegitimate fare arguably polluting the licensed and unlicensed theatres, occasional dramatists and drama enthusiasts William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge—not the only conservative voices but certainly two of the loudest—complained that minor genres and spectacular performances unremittingly infected the stage by levelling generic and social hierarchies and challenging the national drama as a cultural symbol of a British heritage.<sup>8</sup> At the centre of a discussion in his preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1802) on the public's inability to interact with life imaginatively, Wordsworth laments that the 'theatrical exhibitions of the country'—especially 'sickly and stupid German tragedies'—had 'conformed themselves' to the nation's 'craving for extraordinary incident' and to a 'degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation'. If the efficient cause could be attributed to 'great national events which are daily taking place', the result was nevertheless a psychological 'state of almost savage torpor'.<sup>9</sup> Like Wordsworth, Coleridge denounces in Satyrane's letters (1798–99/1809) contemporary, especially sentimental, drama as 'a moral and intellectual *Jacobinism* of the most dangerous kind' and identifies its political and aesthetic deviancy as the antithesis of

the classical European legacy marked by Shakespeare, Ariosto, Milton, and Molière.<sup>10</sup> In similar terms, Charles Dibdin the Younger, responding to an anonymous letter he received confronting his audacity for staging illegitimate pieces, contrasts the rational and moral licence of pantomime with the damaging effects of farces, 'which have done more towards degrading what is called the *legitimate* Stage, than almost any other species of extravaganza ever produced'.<sup>11</sup>

Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Dibdin followed in a tradition beginning earlier in the century, when writers censured illegitimate performances for the collapse and fusion of generic hierarchies and the inversion of the social order. With a disparaging tone, for example, Alexander Pope in *The Dunciad* (1728) denounces the marvellous on stage for its hectic and anarchic variety:

All sudden, Gorgons hiss, and Dragons glare,  
 And ten-horn'd fiends and Giants rush to war.  
 Hell rises, Heav'n descends, and dance on Earth:  
 Gods, imps, and monsters, music, rage, and mirth,  
 A fire, a jigg, a battle, and a ball,  
 'Till one wide conflagration swallows all.<sup>12</sup>

Writers also censured the patent theatres for carelessly staging foreign dances and acrobatics. The narrator of *An Impartial State of the Case of the French Comedians, Actors, Players, or Strollers, Who Lately Opened a Theatre at the Hay-Market* (1750) broadcasts that nothing can 'be imagined more derogatory, more unworthy of the greatness of this nation, than, that the tolerating, or non-tolerating, of a parcel of *French* comedians [...] should be made a national concern'.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, the narrator of *The Dancers Damn'd; or, the Devil to Pay at the Old House* (1755) recounts the recent riot inspired by the presence of Jean Georges Noverre and his French dancers performing *The Chinese Festival* on the Drury Lane stage. The patriotic mob, demanding to hear *God Save the King*, *Britain Strike Home*, and *Rule, Britannia*, contemptuously dialogue with Reason, 'a *French* bitch [who] may have [her] pockets full of gun-powder', as they prepare to scuffle in an undoubtedly premeditated and violent riot that killed two men and left Drury Lane in splinters.<sup>14</sup>

The apprehensive images in these early complaints complement contemporary anxieties about the disintegration of the nation's traditional dramatic corpus, but the denunciation of illegitimate drama became much more prominent as attempts to define it repeatedly set the form in conflict with a popular audience's capacity to critique these performances intelligently. It was commonly understood, of course, that theatre audiences were neither fundamentally uniform nor ultimately convergent; it was also commonly asserted that vulgar illiterates drove refined scholars from the playhouse and into the library, and that whatever might be physically seen or heard would be a crude reduction of the response to the text. In fact, the appearance of the lower ranks in the playhouses appalled a number of critics who held the patrician perspective that the stage began to define a nation dominated by the interests of the uneducated masses populating

the pit rather than the ranks in the boxes and galleries. Among many voices, one Oliver Oldstock decries the new illegitimate stage, finding that

Nothing now but melo-dramas will go down; *Ella Rosenberg* at Drury-lane, and the *Blind Boy* at Covent-garden, seems all the rage; and, when the babies of the town are tired with gaping at them, they will be removed only to make room for some other mongrel exhibition equally or perhaps even more contemptible.<sup>15</sup>

In his article 'On the Dramatic Taste of the Age' spanning three issues of the *European Magazine* in 1799, Joseph Moser makes a similar argument, observing that

whilst [modern authors] have decorated their dramas with scenery and dresses adapted to the most elevated stations and the most elegant characters, they have made those characters speak a language, the dulness and poverty of which would not, in an æra of greater judgment and nicer discrimination, have been suffered in the lowest.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, a large working-class audience had long frequented the London theatres, from the cavernous, patent Drury Lane and Covent Garden seating more than three thousand patrons to minor houses such as Sadler's Wells, the Royal Circus, the Coburg, the Surrey, and the Adelphi, where the repertoire always included or even specialised in illegitimate performances. In this spectacular climate, the social meaning of both the audience and the theatre changed dramatically. Rather than functioning didactically, the stage became an unfashionably entertaining site for the pleasure of plebeian spectators.<sup>17</sup>

In many respects, it appeared that the blame for plebeian contempt for morality, decorum, and dramatic tradition lay in large part with German influence. Critics increasingly labelled German literature as culturally and ideologically invasive, morally corrupting, and sentimentally amplified, particularly in the context of the rise of an undisciplined reading public and the demand for escapist fiction.<sup>18</sup> As the debate over the appropriateness of the supernatural on stage suggests, German drama, while treated as a corrupting and invasive force by reviewers, makes manifest generic pollution that had existed for decades, for pantomime, farce, and associated forms of dramatic spectacle become impurities of legitimate tragedy and comedy on Britain's national stage. The stimulus to castigate German drama was diffused primarily on behalf of Kotzebue and Schiller, whose popular and controversial plays assailed the London stage between 1790 and 1810, and were collected, translated, and published by Benjamin Thompson in the six-volume *The German Theatre* (1797–1801) for readers already voraciously consuming German-inspired gothic novels.

The absolute, compulsive fascination generated by plays such as Schiller's *The Robbers* (1781, trans. 1792) and Kotzebue's *Pizarro* (1796, trans. 1799) and *The Stranger* (1789, trans. 1798) was specifically what worried contemporary reviewers and critics.<sup>19</sup> German drama seemed seditiously to design and antici-

pate the disintegration of an aristocratic, Protestant, political state.<sup>20</sup> Although such a threat emerged at the end of the century, shortly before the German literary invasion, Henry Mackenzie addressed the Royal Society of Edinburgh in order to applaud the contemporary German theatre's negotiation between French standards of imitation of the ancient dramatic unities and liberation from these restraints exemplified by Shakespeare, who focused instead on characterisation. Mackenzie models his argument on that of Baron Riesbeck, who wrote that the distinct class divisions in Germany and the aristocracy's apathy toward common life enslaved the theatre to pretentious French standards of taste and sensibility. Consequently, contemporary German dramatists unleashed Shakespeare's model of virtue and genius on their theatre, which, unlike that of the French, 'is that deep impassioned sensibility, which resides in serious and ardent minds, which can brood with melancholy' and, interestingly, which is found only among common spectators.<sup>21</sup> Mackenzie celebrates the virtuous simplicities of the lower ranks 'whose opinions may often be folly, whose conduct may sometimes be madness, but whose sentiments are almost always honourable and just', unlike the aristocrats 'who, in the coldness of self-interest, or the languor of out-worn dissipation, can hear unmoved the sentiments of compassion, of generosity, or of virtue' (p. 174). By aligning his critique of German and French aristocratic sensibilities with the monotony of Continental theatre, Mackenzie distances the virtues of contemporary theatre from the proud and callous affluent.<sup>22</sup>

Like Mackenzie, many dramatists and critics valued the link between minor (German-inspired) generic forms and the lower-class audiences that embraced them. Leigh Hunt, for one, condemns the artificiality of comedy and tragedy, 'a gross piece of effort from beginning to end' revealing only 'a number of people pretending to be what they are not, the actors affecting an interest, while they are deploring their bad parts'. In pantomime, however, no one is 'so busy and full of glee as the understrappers and the Banbury-cake men', and spectators find nothing 'gay and eternal as the music, which runs merrily through the whole piece, like the pattern of a watered gown'.<sup>23</sup> In the preface to his six-volume collection of *Old English Plays* (1814–15) by Shakespeare's contemporaries, Charles Wentworth Dilke traces the effects of the lower ranks on drama much earlier to the sixteenth century. Before the Reformation, only the aristocracy and religious leaders held literary merit until the split with the Catholic church, when 'all classes of society burst into the arena to contend without distinction' and rampaged through the newly translated Bible not only for its wisdom and morality but for its poetry.<sup>24</sup> We see in this violent clash of opinions over the role of the lower ranks in the contemporary theatre a set of contradictory responses to the breakdown of what is perceived as an old theatrical order based in the nation's Shakespearean heritage. The fragmentation or mutation of dramatic genres and the disintegration of Drury Lane and Covent Garden as national cultural institutions seem to evoke a culture tyrannically ruled by promiscu-



ous plebeian desires. When read as a unit, these essays deplore minor drama's subversive relationship to theatrical, critical, or political authority.

## II

The literary consensus that plays reward the intellect only when read because dramatists fortunately cannot inscribe into their writing the public mayhem of the unkempt masses continued through the nineteenth century. In his 'Essay on Drama' (1819), Walter Scott granted that performances were of course necessary for the illiterate and for 'persons not very nice in their taste of society' and presented this philosophy in his second collection of plays, the five-volume *Modern British Drama* (1811), dominated by two volumes of tragedies and two of comedies—the most intellectual, imaginative, evocative, generically pure, and innately British of dramatic forms.<sup>25</sup> As in *The British Theatre* (1804), Scott sought to create a 'whole work [which] may be considered as the full and undivided essence of the British Drama' and again isolated the genres, devoting the fifth volume to operas and farces, but then denounced them as literary failures in order to dismiss minor drama as vulgar entertainments for the boorish masses.<sup>26</sup> Opera receives a glancing blow, for 'like a disregarded colony, it has not thriven the worse for its exemption from authority and restriction [and] must be given up as unnatural and artificial'. But farce and its vulgar admirers, who regrettably frequent the same theatres as their social superiors because 'the existing theatrical laws do not permit their betters and them to seek amusement in distinct theatres adapted to their several tastes', undergo a more severe attack: the spectators, particularly 'females of the worst description', who display a lawless disregard for morality and decorum, transfer the cultural degradation represented by the minor theatres into the salubrious environs of the patent playhouses, thus polluting the cultural iconography of the institutions and the cultural authority of the fashionable elite who frequent them. For Scott, it appears that selecting and assembling all of these texts exercises a significant amount of cultural power: by positioning minor plays alongside the pillars of classical and contemporary English drama, he contains between book covers the pleasures and experiences of spectating, thus transforming the plays into writerly drama ideally quarantined from the vulgar (illiterate) masses.

In the context of such animosity toward the depravity and improbabilities of illegitimate drama and the increasing heterogeneity of the social spaces of the theatres, John Cross's *Circusiana* (1809), published by subscription through the encouragement of the Earl of Craven, indicates the emergence of the minor play not only to be enjoyed as theatrical spectacle but also as a text to be read and appreciated for its 'moral tendency'.<sup>27</sup> Aiming to challenge the ideal category of legitimate English drama that saturated institutional criticism, Cross, a writer of fashionable but critically disreputable dramatic forms, sought to formulate a legitimate generic claim aligning spectacle with high drama based on their common reflection on virtue. Recognising the remoteness of arguments from

the material conditions of a great deal of dramatic production, Cross suggests that popular dramatists benefit from identifying the formative powers of their material conditions on their own works and on the generic categories used to assess those works.

Variouly defined by Cross as ballets, burlesques, spectacles, pantomimes, melodramas, and extravaganzas, the plots of his musical plays exploit popular enthusiasm for strapping British heroes revelling in triumphant patriotism. At the centre of the *Circusiana* lies the archetypal narrative of the villainous usurper finally defeated amidst various horrors in wild and picturesque settings and the final restoration of domestic and political hierarchies. In the ballet *The Fire King* (1801), Albert and his army of Christians rescue Rosalie from the Fire King, his acolytes, and their band of marauding skeletons, tossing them into a dark chasm as the Sorceress sings to Rosalie that 'thy envied name | Shall be engrav'd in Virtue's dome' (II, 102). In the gothic melodrama *Julia of Louvain* (1797), after Clifford and D'Arcourt rescue Julia from an abbess who has immersed her in a gloomy sepulchre, a nun at the altar of Hymen sings that 'love now has yielded the monster despair, | And beauty and virtue are blest' (I, 92). And in the Grand Scotch Spectacle *Halloween* (1799), as Edric avenges his father's murder on the Scottish highlands, the Countess Mary dances a *pas seul* and a fairy sings that 'Virtue yields a genial glow, | Tho' from Obscurity, we find, | Oft snail-like it emerges slow, | It leaves a shining track behind!' (II, 130). Throughout the *Circusiana*, anarchy contrasts with jubilant scenes of eleventh-hour unions and, through the final songs of each piece, proclamations of virtue similar to those throughout Shakespeare's comedic dramatic corpus (albeit far more formulaic in the melodramas). The political meaning of the spectacles and narratives of restored hierarchies and reinforced institutions lies in how they suggest the literary and cultural values Cross seeks to associate with the unlicensed Royal Circus, effectively summarising the way that minor drama constructs virtue and patriotism at the end of the century.

Although heroes and marriages reinforce long-established British institutions, Cross's patriotism emerges most strongly in *Our Native Land, and Gallant Protectors* (1803), a musical proclamation against the Napoleonic wars that subdues conservative attacks against illegitimate drama's attraction to the lower orders. The musical drama begins in a rustic setting, where a dairy maid sings of her love for a 'comely young man':

And when we are married, which soon will take place,  
 I don't care how soon I must own;  
 My fears will be hush'd, all my terrors will cease,  
 For I hope, and I dare say it will be the case,  
 My husband won't leave me alone. (I, 82)

When the Genius of Britain interrupts the impending rustic dance, with a wave of his wand he transforms the scene from a farm toiled by haymakers, cottagers, and country lasses to an encampment with stands of muskets instead of

haystacks and a corps of volunteer men and women soldiers in uniform singing ‘Then our island for ever, and that we’ll defend, | Our King and our state bold and hearty; | Till the safety we fight for puts war to an end, | And a rope’s-end for grim Buonaparte’ (1, 84). By reproducing the dramatic *topoi* of the war, the Royal Circus put its own system of representation at the service of the national cause. Cross not only represents the conflict, but he censures his own practice as a writer of plays criticised as spawns of Continental theatre. This performance, representing the significant issue of the effect of the Napoleonic Wars on the common English, including women portrayed as soldiers in the heroic male endeavour against the French, is indicative of the way in which the unlicensed theatre and Cross’s collection of illegitimate plays commemorated the war and the enhancement of patriotic values. Not only is the narrative of anticipated marriage in *Our Native Land* immediately interrupted by the harlequinade of the Genius of Britain: the democratising tendency of the musical identifies patriotism not with traditional figures of military authority but with men and women of comparatively low social status, thus identifying the lower-class population, associated with the unlicensed theatres and spectacular performances, strongly with its defenders and with those enlisted in the nation’s military mobilised against the French. In performance, the minor theatre becomes significant as a framework for articulating the anxieties of war and foreign invasion. In print, the minor theatre self-consciously circulates as print media among patriotic political tracts in the burgeoning climate of nation building central to the wars.

While Cross negotiates between print and performance as a means of instruction through spectacular devices without risking censure, dramatist and critic John Galt—variously Secretary of the Royal Caledonian Asylum, Secretary to the Canada Company, textbook author, and novelist—conversely suggests that confining plays to print stifles the legitimate theatre’s pedagogical function. By means of his four-volume collection of plays written by himself and unnamed authors, and published as *The New British Theatre; a Selection of Original Dramas, Not Yet Acted; Some of Which Have Been Offered for Representation but Not Accepted, with Critical Remarks by the Editor* (1814–15), Galt challenged the restrictive management practices of the London theatres that staged only plays derived from French and German drama, and attempted to reposition British plays (even translations into English) within the nation’s theatre history by formally and structurally separating them from those of the Continent.

In his preface, Galt engages with the managers of the patent theatres by claiming that a collection of rejected pieces relegated to print

would enable the lovers of the drama to appreciate the taste and the judgement with which the management of the theatres is conducted, in relation to the refusal and reception of plays, and how far the assertion is correct, that the pantomimic state of the stage is owing to a decline in the dramatic genius of the nation [...]<sup>28</sup>

His bold endorsement of unacted plays supposedly proves the corresponding decadence of modern theatrical institutions, and through his collection, he prepares a model for a sanitised British theatre.

Like that of his predecessors, Galt's nationalistic argument surfaces by his linking the corruption of the contemporary theatre—that is, the plays selected for performance—with the revolutionary atmosphere and impending or existing political instability stemming from the series of wars mounting steadily in scale and expense. In such a disruptive and timorous climate, the profligacy of French- and German-inspired spectacular performances menace the nation as readily as Jacobin political ideologies. In fact, Galt asserts that the theatre more accurately measures the patriotic climate than do 'all those excrescences in the government, to which theoretical quacks so loudly call attention'. To be sure, 'through a long course of political events of the most extraordinary nature' compared to the enthusiasm for spectacular, gothic, and romantic theatrics, it is difficult to imagine that 'the good sense of England is so far impaired as the public taste appears to be corrupted, judging from the exhibitions of the stage' (*NBT*, I, iii–iv). However, by appealing to traditional English values and ideally a pervasive rejection of political radicalism, he predicts that, by reforming current stage practices, the patent theatres, like other institutions, will revive their dual purpose of instruction and entertainment, and produce plays based on timeless, classical British subjects, premises, and models. In fact, if government officials and other proclaimed pundits 'would look a little more to their private trusts; and evince that they really possess some capacity for directing national affairs, by the judgement and liberality with which they promote the interests of the drama,' the theatre may reclaim its function of public instruction, but the program must begin in the mind of the reader (*NBT*, I, xiv).

While seeking to revive the theatre illustrative of British sensibilities, Galt critiques the variety of generic forms—operas, interludes, sentimental comedies, classical tragedies—that compose his collection of new and rejected plays as a means of properly defining what constitutes new legitimate drama. In a variety of ways, Galt's criticisms of these selections, which refrain from commenting on the plays themselves to focus primarily on their conformity to British expectations, reveal the necessity of seceding from the Continent. Unlike Coleridge, who believes that acts of reading involve a higher exercise of mental activity than observation of stage effects while often limiting this distinction to the experience of reading Shakespeare's plays, for Galt Shakespearean drama and the traditional canon take less precedence than the British sensibility that created them. Galt himself wrote what Coleridge and Lamb would consider illegitimate or spectacular drama, and in his notes on the unattributed play *Villario* included in his collection he admits that, like his own early tragedies, 'though some of the rejected dramas have certainly great literary and poetical merit, still they are so deficient in spectacle and interesting incidents, that they would be tedious on the stage' (*NBT*, II, 189).<sup>29</sup> Indeed, Galt advocates the necessity of performances that resist dreary pedantry, remarking on his own interlude *The*

*Mermaid* that ‘of all dramatic writing, either ancient or modern, the British exhibits the greatest stock of rich and curious fancy; which, perhaps, more than any cause, tends to render our plays tedious to the people of the Continent’ (*NBT*, II, 388). He also surprisingly praises the unattributed *The Bandit* for its ‘ingenuity and fancy’. In this opera, Angela flees from her pursuer Ethelwolfe through Germany’s dark forests and ruined abbeys, and discovers her noble lineage through her reclusive uncle Manfred Lichtenstein, who resides in the family tomb. Although the opera arouses the auditor’s critical judgment, Galt admits that ‘The style and incidents of this opera are of the German school. On this account it is not to our taste [...] Our objection, indeed, is not to the piece, but to the class of productions to which it belongs’ (*NBT*, I, 430–32).

In particular, Galt’s assumptions concerning the theatre echo those of his critical contemporaries who define dramatic value by rejecting foreign influences and impurities. Still, we must remember that Galt’s construction of a properly national drama depends on sanitising the stage. The process requires an appropriately pure British voice capable of transcending historical and partisan disputes within the nation. In his own *The Conquest of France*, for example, with Edward III and the Black Prince in the background, Galt attempts to resist what he perceives to be meaningless pantomimes:

I therefore offer the Conquest of France, not so much as a play as a spectacle, the object of which is to exhibit a cycle of history. In fact, I have long thought the stage, especially those of the great theatres, adapted for a more gorgeous exhibition than the common dramatic tales, and I wish my essay to be considered entirely of this description. (*NBT*, II, 157)

Most interestingly, in the remarks on his *The Star of Destiny*, Galt admits to creating a performance ‘which should combine intellectual energy with visible magnificence [...] more impressive than pantomime, and equally gorgeous in the spectacle’ (*NBT*, III, 217). Because the potential for social instruction appears greatest in plays most titillating to audiences, Galt’s desire to harness the fashion for spectacular, visual representations leads him to argue against the almost unanimous objection of reviewers throughout the decade that these scenes particularly interest rational, empirical, enlightened spectators.


As Galt recalls in his *Autobiography* (1833), the propriety of establishing a third patent theatre in London, where ‘representations should be more classically conducted than the shows and pageants which had usurped the place of the regular drama’ dominated a great deal of the national conversation in 1813 and 1814.<sup>30</sup> In the early nineteenth century, such criticism presented the rise of the minor play and the rejection of the formal tenets regulating classical and Shakespearean tragedies and comedies as irrefutable evidence that the Theatres Royal had simply abandoned literary drama in favour of the superficial exigencies of an institution now devoid of intellectual capital. As he continued to reflect on his career, Galt ultimately consigned to the bookshelf the plays he

included in *The New British Theatre* and vindicated the theatres' managers for the pathetic repertoire they were compelled to stage:

I know not how dramatic talent is to be revived; perhaps its excellence belongs to an epoch in the history of a language, a semi-barbarous period, which has gone past with us never to be recalled, like the beauty of the teeth and ringlets of those elderly gentlewomen, who are tottering in desperation to hide their false locks and irreparable faces in oblivion and the grave.<sup>31</sup>

But as Galt and his predecessors recognised, spectacular effects were an integral element of all theatrical forms, ranging from high tragedy to pantomime and ballet.

Accounting for the rejection of German and French spectacles in England is essential to our understanding not only of Galt's cultural predicaments, but also of the context within which Romantic drama formed its assumptions about literary value. In fact, as a number of scholars have recently revealed, the literature of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain participated in a number of national debates and dialogues. Gothic novels and chapbooks both respond to fears of a lost British identity and embrace the expansion of British imperialism through reinventing past and present; poetry of the long eighteenth century often embraced the contours of colonial desires; and the playhouses staged the political theatricality of the French Revolution.<sup>32</sup> In this respect, we can read the history of the era's literature as a series of attempts to endow the nation with literary and cultural capital adequate to its burgeoning spirit, ambition, and spheres of influence.

In this context, by defining British drama as a compromise between French pedantry about rules of dramatic composition and German *Sturm und Drang* rebellion against such rules, British reviewers, from their self-proclaimed centre, saw both countries' drama as extremist and based in theoretical principle rather than nature and the lower orders as a threat to patriotism and national security. Essential here are the communicative and institutional frameworks to give expression to the nation, a cause that generated a search for and gathering together of, in this instance, English dramatic texts. As media for selecting, preserving, arranging, and exhibiting artefacts in order provide structure to the national culture, these collections also complemented rupture, fracture, and conflict. Between Inchbald's apathy, Scott's patrician sensibilities, Cross' nationalistic virtues, and Galt's futuristic hopes and visions, we find collections of plays in Revolutionary Britain to stage opposing and multiple debates and developments, both legitimating and questioning values and ideas in national and historical contexts. By prefacing their collections with dedications, arguments, and revisionist histories of the English theatre, collectors seek to persuade readers to confront or confirm conventional hierarchies in order to control or dominate cultures of entertainment. 

## NOTES

1. James Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs Inchbald: Including her Familiar Correspondence with the Most Distinguished Persons of her Time*, 2 vols (London: Bentley, 1833), II, 103 and 132–33.
2. Among many studies on the rise of English nationalism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see, for example, Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992; rptd 2003); Krishnan Kumar, ‘“Englishness” and English National Identity’, in *British Cultural Studies: Geography, Nationality, and Identity*, edited by David Morley and Kevin Robins (Oxford: OUP, 2001), pp. 41–55; Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740–1830* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1987); Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); and Roberto Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).
3. John Bell (ed.), *Supplement to Bell’s British Theatre, Consisting of the Most Esteemed Farces and Entertainments Now Performing on the British Stage*, 6 vols (London: Bell, 1784–88), I, sig. A2v.
4. Earlier in the century, minor plays often appeared in the collected works of their own authors. For example, see *The Dramatic Works of David Garrick Esq; Now First Collected*, 2 vols (London: Bald, Blaw & Kert, 1774), and *The Dramatic Works of Samuel Foote*, 3 vols (London: Vaillant & Lowndes, [1776?]).
5. Walter Scott, *The British Drama; Comprehending the Best Plays in the English Language*, 3 vols (London: Miller, 1804), I, v, original emphasis; II, iv; III, i; I, v. Although the work was published anonymously, it is widely attributed to Scott.
6. See Philip Connell, ‘Bibliomania: Book Collecting, Cultural Politics, and the Rise of Literary Heritage in Romantic Britain’, *Representations*, 70 (2000), 24–47. In the context of the end of perpetual copyright in 1774, Connell argues that widespread interest in (old) English literature led to a burgeoning concern for establishing and collecting the nation’s literary heritage. With this fashion for book collecting, Connell maintains that even an aristocrat’s library could be interpreted, ‘symbolically at least, as a national resource’ (p. 27).
7. Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770–1840* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 52–53. See also Jeffrey N. Cox’s ‘Ideology and Genre in the British Antirevolutionary Drama in the 1790s’, which investigates the conservative rewriting of pro-revolutionary drama after 1792—in *British Romantic Drama: Historical and Critical Essays*, edited by Terence Allan Hoagwood and Daniel P. Watkins (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Press, 1998), pp. 84–114. As Gillian Russell argues on the staging of the French wars on the London stage, English patriotism was determined as ‘a matter of how the wars affected and altered the textures of feeling, thought, and behaviour at this period and, in particular, how men and women perceived themselves as actors in the theatres of war’—*The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793–1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 3. Regulating theatres and minimising their unseemly practices became important for deflecting the tyranny of France’s revolutionary terror. The playhouse as civic microcosm often captured the fantasy of the English uniting as a nation and served to correct or critique the public performances of politicians, theatre managers, and audiences. By the 1790s, however, minor forms of drama including melodrama, Gothic romance,

- and spectacular pantomime, which exhibited states of terror and embodied images of moral and political depravity in a more unmediated form than legitimate drama could accommodate, supplied the English Jacobins with a medium for delineating the passions and behaviors associated with the Revolution. See especially George Taylor, *The French Revolution and the London Stage, 1789–1805* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), and Jeffrey N. Cox's Introduction to his edition of *Seven Gothic Dramas, 1789–1825* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), pp. 1–77.
8. Of course, we must recognise the inherent danger in labelling Wordsworth and Coleridge as consistently 'conservative voices,' for it is well known that their political eclecticism facilitated their awareness of the limited place of state and cultural politics in the larger social systems of the nation.
  9. In William Wordsworth, *The Major Works*, edited by Stephen Gill (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 599.
  10. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, edited by James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), II, 189–90, original emphasis.
  11. Charles Isaac Mungo Dibdin, *Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger*, edited by George Speaight (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1956), p. 89. According to David Mayer's authoritative work on Joseph Grimaldi's career as harlequin, between 1806 and 1836 pantomime provided a basic form on which the unlicensed theatres relied and was performed in the patent theatres for up to thirty nights per season. Mayer summarises the nature and appeal of the genre by suggesting that 'the greatest of its faults was a refusal to discriminate between the worthy and the paltry'—*Harlequin in his Element* (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), p. 8. For the economic impact of pantomime on the licensed and unlicensed stages, see John Russell Stephens, *The Profession of the Playwright: British Theatre, 1800–1900* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), which reveals that legitimate drama at Covent Garden made no profits during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Rather, the theatre was entirely dependent on the annual Christmas pantomime, whose average annual surplus amounted to £3,267 (p. 31).
  12. *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, edited by John Butt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), III, ll. 235–40.
  13. *An Impartial State of the Case of the French Comedians, Actors, Players, or Strollers, Who Lately Opened a Theatre at the Hay-Market* (London: Shepey, Spavan, Myer & Woodfall, 1750), pp. 4–5.
  14. *The Dancers Damn'd; or, the Devil to Pay at the Old House* (London: Griffiths, 1755), p. 6 (original emphasis). According to Stone and Kahrl, the rioters caused damage in arrears of 4,000 pounds and moved from the boundaries of the playhouse to smashing the windows at Garrick's house in Southampton Street—*David Garrick: A Critical Biography* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), pp. 134–37.
  15. Oliver Oldstock, 'The Old School and the New', *The Cabinet; or, Monthly Report of Polite Literature* (Jan 1808), 44.
  16. Joseph Moser, 'On the Dramatic Taste of the Age', *European Magazine* (O&T 1799), 231.
  17. Drawing from primary sources such as James Boaden's *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble* (1825) and John Doran's *Annals of the English Stage* (1880), Marc Baer reveals that, although the interpretation is problematic, audiences in the pit interpreted plays as entertainment while the middle and upper ranks in the



- boxes and galleries interpreted plays as aural and visual representations of written texts. For an extensive review of primary sources detailing the class struggles pertaining to the patent and minor theatres—see his *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), esp. pp. 39–64.
18. See E. J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762–1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 133–55; James Watt, *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764–1832* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 70–101; and Michael Gamer, *Romanticism and the Gothic: Genre, Reception, and Canon Formation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 48–89, all on the Minerva Press and popular enthusiasm for gothic novels. Also see Paul Keen, *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s: Print Culture and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), which explores the anxieties over the reading habits of women, the lower orders, and colonial subjects and their participation in the exchange of rational ideas; and Jacqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750–1835: A Dangerous Recreation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 71–77, which centres on the critical construction of the female reader and on women reading German and French novels. In *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), Rosemary Ashton dates the total British rejection of Germany's once-illustrious literary corpus as occurring around 1800, a time when stigmatised German drama transmitted a menacing moral influence more dangerous even than the political rhetoric of the French Revolutionary stage. Ashton adds that new enthusiasm for German literature slowly re-emerged in the 1810s with favourable receptions in England of Germaine de Staël's *De L'Allemagne* in 1813 and with Wordsworth and Hazlitt's enthusiasm for John Black's translation of Schlegel's *Dramatic Lectures* (1809–10) in 1815.
  19. For more on the interactions between Schiller's *Die Räuber* and English constructions of national identity, see Peter Mortensen's 'Robbing *The Robbers*: Schiller, Xenophobia and the Politics of British Romantic Translation', *Literature & History*, 3rd ser. 11.1 (Spring 2002), 42–61.
  20. See especially Julie A. Carlson, *In the Theatre of Romanticism: Coleridge, Nationalism, Women* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994). The association of Germany with political radicalism gradually peaked toward the end of the century as historians, legal commentators, and political philosophers debated over the impact of Germanic or Gothic institutions on the evolution of British political and legal structures. In the preface to his translation of Cornelius Tacitus's *Germania* (1777), the dissenter John Aikins uncovers the myth of Gothic origins, fundamental to an emergent sense of British national distinctiveness, that 'were to originate from the woods and deserts of Germany'. Likewise, Montesquieu asserts in *Spirit of the Laws* (1748, trans. 1750) that the English derived their idea of political government from Germany's 'harmony between the civil liberty of the people, the privileges of the nobility and clergy, and the prince's prerogative'. Tacitus and Montesquieu excerpted in E. J. Clery and Robert Miles (eds), *Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook, 1700–1820* (Manchester: MUP, 2000). Clery and Miles reveal that radical Whigs accepted Montesquieu's allegation that the German spirit governing England's laws was sparked by the principle of political liberty, which arose from the manners of the Gothic tribes, while conservative Whigs such as Burke underscored Montesquieu's endorsement of the view that political liberty could arise only within the evolving framework of existing constitutional structures, such as the historic division between a hereditary nobility and commoners central to German's government (pp. 61–64). But because a great deal of xenophobia

- emerged in the late 1790s amid war cries and social upheaval, it appears from the links between British and German political institutions that the dilemma for critics may have stemmed from similarities between British and German drama defined in terms of their deviation from the antiquated rules of French drama.
21. Henry Mackenzie, 'Account of the German Theatre', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 2 (1790), 169.
  22. *Ibid.*, p. 174. The link between Shakespeare, the Germans, and the middle and lower classes culminated in the *Sturm und Drang* dramatic movement, founded in democratic opinions, formal freedoms, the integration of the individual into a larger moral order, a revolt against the dramatic unities, and, in its wider context, against the domination of German taste over French classics. According to Alan C. Leidner's introduction to his edition of *Sturm und Drang: The Soldiers, The Childmurderess, Storm and Stress, and The Robbers* (New York: Continuum, 1992), these writers beginning in the 1770s found a precursor in Shakespeare, 'whose work seemed to be the essence of originality and emotional power. With its treatment of all classes of society, its colorful language, and its masterful character portrayal, Shakespearean drama was held up as the antidote to a tired eighteenth-century dramatic tradition' (p. viii).
  23. This criticism appeared in the 5 January 1817 issue of *The Examiner*. See Leigh Hunt, *Leigh Hunt's Dramatic Criticism, 1808–1831*, edited by Lawrence Huston Houtchens and Carolyn Washburn Houtchens (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 140.
  24. Charles Wentworth Dilke (ed.), *Old English Plays; Being a Selection from the Early Dramatic Writers*, 6 vols (London: Martin, 1814–15), 1, xi.
  25. Walter Scott, 'An Essay on the Drama', *Essays on Chivalry, Romance and the Drama* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1972), p. 392.
  26. [Walter Scott], *The Modern British Drama. In Five Volumes* (London: Miller, 1811), v, iv–v.
  27. J. C. Cross, *Circusiana; or A Collection of the Most Favourite Ballets, Spectacles, Melo-Dramas, &c. Performed at the Royal Circus, St George's Fields*, 2 vols (London: Burton, 1809; rptd as *The Dramatic Works of J. C. Cross* [London: The Author, 1809]), 1, vii.
  28. John Galt (ed.), *The New British Theatre; a Selection of Original Dramas, Not Yet Acted; Some of Which Have Been Offered for Representation but Not Accepted, with Critical Remarks by the Editor*, 4 vols (London: Colburn, 1814), 1, i. Hereafter referenced as *NBT* in the main body of this essay.
  29. Galt dismissed many of his own tragedies, such as his adaptations of *The Tragedies of Maddalen, Agamemnon, Lady Macbeth, Antonia & Clytemnestra* (1812), as unperformable while lauding them as metaphysical, analytical, and philosophical triumphs. See John Galt, *The Literary Life, and Miscellanies, of John Galt*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: Cadell, 1834), 1, 109–12. Scott likewise criticised them in a letter to Baillie as 'the worst tragedies ever seen'—quoted in G. H. Needler, *John Galt's Dramas: A Brief Review* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1945), p. 26.
  30. John Galt, *The Autobiography of John Galt*, 2 vols (London: Cochrane & M'Crone, 1833), 1, 263.
  31. *Ibid.*, 1, 286.
  32. Among many interesting titles, see Toni Wein, *British Identities, Heroic Nationalisms, and the Gothic Novel, 1764–1824* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Suvir Kaul,

*Poems of Nation, Anthems of Empire: English Verse in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); and Matthew S. Buckley, *Tragedy Walks the Streets: The French Revolution in the Making of Modern Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

## III

## CHECKLIST OF COLLECTIONS OF MINOR DRAMA, 1784–1815

1784

[BELL, John (ed.)]

*Supplement to Bell's British Theatre, Consisting of the Most Esteemed Farces and Entertainments Now Performing on the British Stage.*

London: Printed for John Bell, 1784–88.

6 vols.

1786

[ANON.]

*A Collection of the Most Esteemed Farces and Entertainments Performed on the British Stage.*

North-Shields: Printed by and for W. Thompson, 1786–87.

3 vols.

1791

[CUMBERLAND, Richard (ed.)]

*British Theatre: Adapted for Theatrical Representation as Performed at the Theatres-Royal, Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden, Regulated from the Prompt-Books by Permission of the Managers.*

London: Printed for the Proprietors, under the direction of John Bell, 1791–99.

18 vols.

1793

[ANON.]

*The Minor Theatre: Being a Collection of the Most Approved Farces, Operas, and Comedies, in One, Two, and Three Acts.*

London: Printed by J. Jarvis for J. Parsons, 1793–94.

7 vols.

1795

[ANON.]

*A Collection of Much-Esteemed Dramatic Pieces, as Performed at the Theatres Royal, Drury-Lane and Covent Garden.*

London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1795.  
2 vols.

1798

[BAILLIE, Joanna]

*A Series of Plays: In Which It Is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind. Each Passion Being the Subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy.*

London: Printed for T. Cadell, Jr., and W. Davies, 1798–1812.

3 vols.

\*Vol. 1 1798, vol. 2 1802, vol. 3 1812.

*Further edns:* 2nd edn 1798, 3rd edn 1800, 4th edn 1802, 5th edn 1806.

1804

[BAILLIE, Joanna]

*Miscellaneous Plays.*

London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1804.

\**Further edns:* 2nd edn 1805; rptd 3 vols, 1836.

[SCOTT, Walter (ed.)]

*The British Drama; Comprehending the Best Plays in the English Language.*

London: Printed by William Miller by James Ballantyne, 1804.

3 vols.

1808

[INCHBALD, Elizabeth (ed.)]

*The British Theatre; or, A Collection of Plays, Which Are Acted at the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket.*

London: Printed for Longman & Co., 1808.

25 vols.

1809

[CROSS, J. C.]

*Circusiana; or a Collection of the Most Favourite Ballets, Spectacles, Melodramas, &c. Performed at the Royal Circus, St George's Fields.*

London: Printed for the Author, 1809.

2 vols.

[INCHBALD, Elizabeth (ed.)]

*A Collection of Farces.*

London: Printed for Longman & Co., 1809.

7 vols.

[INCHBALD, Elizabeth (ed.)]

*The Modern Theatre.*

London: Printed for Longman & Co., 1809.  
10 vols.

**1811**

[SCOTT, Walter (ed.)]

*The Modern British Drama. In Five Volumes.*

London: Printed for William Miller, 1811.  
5 vols.

**1814**

[GALT, John (ed.)]

*The New British Theatre; a Selection of Original Dramas, Not Yet Acted; Some of Which Have Been Offered for Representation but not Accepted, with Critical Remarks by the Editor.*

London: Printed for the Proprietors by A. J. Valpy, Published by Henry Colburn, 1814.  
4 vols.

**1815**

[DIBDIN, Thomas (ed.)]

*The London Theatre. A Collection of the Most Celebrated Dramatic Pieces. Correctly Given, from Copies Used in the Theatres.*

London: Printed for Whittingham and Arliss, 1815–18.  
26 vols.

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# SIR ANTHONY CARLISLE AND MRS CARVER

*Don Shelton*



SIR ANTHONY CARLISLE FRS, FRCS (1768–1840), a nineteenth-century surgeon, is an unlikely person to emerge in a discussion on English Literature, but recent research for a proposed biography has produced evidence for Carlisle as the author of *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey*,<sup>1</sup> a novel published anonymously in 1797 and attributed to ‘Mrs Carver’.<sup>2</sup>

In his youth, Carlisle believed he was descended from a Lord Carlyle who lost his estates and title in the seventeenth century, the estates being traceable back to Robert de Brus, Lord Annandale. The family was not wealthy and Carlisle was assisted by his half-brother Nicholas when he was appointed surgeon to Westminster Hospital in 1793. The position was voluntary and time spent on his own comparative anatomy experiments was unpaid, so it was necessary for Carlisle and similar young surgeons to find paying work, in order to fund living expenses and experiments while they built up a successful surgical practice. Money was evidently an issue for him, even with assistance from his brother. At the time, Carlisle was friendly with a number of literary figures including Robert Southey, William Godwin, and Thomas Holcroft, and was inspired by their writing: recent research has uncovered the probability that Carlisle was the author of a number of gothic novels, at least until his marriage in 1800. He was, in effect, a man with a literary secret that has appeared from the depths of anonymity, over two hundred years since its concealment. However, Carlisle did leave one visual clue, his miniature portrait by Henry Bone RA, contains two inkwells, a possible sign that he had published under two different identities.

## I

Carlisle’s literary works are an ongoing research project of the present author, but the key to unlocking his literary efforts lies in *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* by ‘Mrs Carver’, a name generally accepted by scholars as a *nom de plume*.<sup>3</sup> My initial encounter with *Oakendale Abbey* was the result of pure serendipity (coincidentally, a word coined by Horace Walpole, a distant cousin of Carlisle’s wife)—the novel appearing in an online search for ‘resurrection men’. Examination of a recent edition of *Oakendale Abbey*, published by Zittaw Press in 2006,<sup>4</sup> made readily apparent that the author was familiar with the subject of the resurrectionists: ‘Resurrection men, who brought numbers of bodies to

Oakendale Abbey. They were generally received in the night; and the person who was a chief superintendent, and who paid the man who procured the bodies' (p. 179). The author evidently knew the subject well, as the position of Superintendent existed in anatomy schools, not at private houses such as Oakendale Abbey. The novel can thus be seen as a rare and knowledgeable eighteenth-century reference to the subject of body snatching.



Gradually, coincidences of places and people emerged in the novel, suggesting connections to Carlisle, his family, and the broader history of the Carlyles. The first instance appears in a reference to Milford Haven in Wales, close to where Carlisle's future father-in-law John Symmons FRS (1745–1831), elder brother of Revd Charles Symmons, had a country estate at Slebech Hall. The heroine, Laura, comments: 'We landed in Milford Haven, at a place which appeared almost uninhabited; and consisted only of an inn and a few houses' (p. 99)—this, when taken with the reference to resurrection men, seemed to me an intriguing coincidence. Then, as with a cryptic crossword puzzle, more and more clues were solved, building an ever-stronger conviction that Anthony Carlisle was in fact 'Mrs Carver', and so the real author of *Oakendale Abbey*. He seems to have been fascinated by the histories of the Symmons and Philipps families (John Symmons' mother being a Philipps), which included the ennobling of Sir Richard Philipps as Lord Milford on 13 July 1776, as well as by their two mansions at Slebech Hall and Picton Castle, both near Haverfordwest and Milford Haven in the Welsh county of Pembrokeshire.

The publisher of *Oakendale Abbey* was William Lane of Minerva Press in Leadenhall Street, who solely, or jointly with other publishers, published numerous gothic novels and other fashionable potboilers between 1794 and 1808, mostly by authors who have since been identified, but also some fifty novels by novelists who remain anonymous. *Oakendale Abbey* was first published anonymously in 1797, but later lists record the author as the pseudonymous Mrs Carver.<sup>5</sup> That Carlisle's relationship to *Oakendale Abbey* was built from the bottom-up lies in the fact that almost the last link to be discovered was the late realisation that the name 'Mrs Carver' can be inferred as both a wordplay on 'Mr Car[lisle]' and on his occupation as a surgeon, 'a carver' of meat. It is likely Mrs Carver was coined as a private joke as Carlisle was fond of wordplays.

Online resources attribute several other books to Mrs Carver, although not all sources are consistent in their attributions. For instance, Sheffield Hallam University's CW3 database lists *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* (1797), *Elizabeth* (1797), *The Legacy* (1798), and *The Old Woman* (1800).<sup>6</sup> The Open Library also attributes *The Cavern of Death* (1794) to Carver,<sup>7</sup> although a modern edition does not.<sup>8</sup> It is possible some of the other fifty anonymous gothic novels published by the Minerva Press might have been penned by Carlisle: one example is *The Animated Skeleton* (1798), which appears promising.<sup>9</sup>

The writing of gothic novels by educated men was nothing new: Horace Walpole (1717–97) has been identified as the progenitor of English gothic with his *Castle of Otranto* (1764), while Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775–1818) became infamous as the author of the violently pornographic *Monk* (1795). Although from different generations, Walpole and Lewis were both Members of Parliament and independently wealthy members of the Establishment: they were certainly not dependent for their livelihoods on the success of their novels and their incomes would not have been impacted by commercial failure. In contrast, Carlisle was not wealthy: he was trained as a surgeon and needed to establish an income from his chosen occupation. John Symmons, Carlisle's future father-in-law, was a wealthy man, and a noted collector of books and botanical specimens, with a wide circle of friends in London among the nobility and the legal profession, with Walpole being a distant cousin. If we follow the chain of connections between Mrs Carver's works that lead to Carlisle, he must have read Walpole's *Otranto*: in the first volume of *The Old Woman* (1800), we are told:

[A]s to the book she mentioned, neither herself or the man who understood it. It was written by a very ingenious man, in order to display the powers of fancy upon the subject of terror, but by no means intended to be considered as truth, and was called the Castle of Otranto.<sup>10</sup>

Given the nature of Mrs Carver's novels, one can understand why Carlisle might have wished to conceal his identity: such hack authorship would certainly have had an adverse impact on his career, especially after his election to the position of Surgeon at Westminster Hospital. Carlisle married in 1800, was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1804, and several years later in 1808 was appointed Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy. It would have become increasingly harder for him to consider revealing his authorship, especially as the flawed main character in *Oakendale Abbey* was based upon his father-in-law.

The main evidence for the identification of Carlisle as Mrs Carver emerges from within the pages of *Oakendale Abbey* and falls into several categories:

1. names of characters drawn from place-names connected to the history of the Carlyle name;



2. names of characters drawn from place-names close to where Anthony Carlisle was born;
3. the location of part of the story in a place visited by few people in eighteenth-century Britain: Milford Haven, where Carlisle's future father-in-law John Symmons had a country estate;
4. numerous character and other references that strongly suggest the main character is based upon Symmons, whom Anthony Carlisle had known for about ten years;
5. various medical references, which make it clear the author had medical knowledge;
6. detailed references to the resurrectionists, indicating that the author was familiar with the nature and activities of the resurrectionists;
7. the date and location of publishing.

The number of educated men in London in 1797 capable of fitting any four of the above seven criteria could be counted on no more than the fingers on one hand. Carlisle appears as the only person whose knowledge meets all seven categories, as well as being plausibly linked to the pen-name of Mrs Carver. Alternative possibilities considered as Mrs Carver included Anthony's younger brother, Nicholas Carlisle: Against him is that he was not a surgeon; he was unlikely to have visited the Symmons and Philipps in Wales; and he was travelling as a purser on multiple trading voyages to the East Indies when the Carver novels were published. It is very unlikely he had sufficient knowledge of John Symmons, medical matters, and the resurrectionists. Discounted possibilities as author also include Carlisle's future wife Martha Symmons. The main reason for discounting her is owing to matters of delicacy—namely that Lord Oakendale, despite being married, has predatory designs on the heroine Laura (*Oakendale Abbey*, pp. 103, 138), wishing to marry her, until late in the novel when he discovers she is his niece: 'his pride exulted in calling that woman a niece, whom he had a short time before designed and solicited for prostitution' (p. 143). It is improbable that Martha would have created a figure based on her own father in such a negative manner. Other faint possibilities include Carlisle's literary friends, such as Godwin, but it is highly unlikely that any of them had the need to remain anonymous or the collective knowledge displayed in *Oakendale Abbey*, which seems so peculiar to Carlisle himself.

## II

Making sense of the links between Carlisle and *Oakendale Abbey* is difficult for anyone who has not read the novel, but an attempt needs to be made. The underlying location within *Oakendale Abbey* is a remote mansion in Cumberland, near Carlisle, owned but not visited by Lord Oakendale, where, unknown to him, dead bodies collected by resurrection men from the local area are received and dissected (p. 179). As noted earlier, Oakendale has designs on Laura, a

young woman whom he meets but later discovers is his niece. The novel is set in the eighteenth century and Carlisle portrays himself in the novel as Eugene, a figure from an apparently modest background, who emerges as Lord Vincent, with titles, wealth, and power, eventually winning the hand of Laura. A full examination suggests that the book emerges from a personal fantasy, based upon Carlisle restoring the titles and fortune lost by Lord Carlyle. Several names connected to the Carlyle family history surface in *Oakendale Abbey*. The main character is variously described as Lord Oakendale, Thornaby, and Robert Carleton—thus his title is Robert, Lord Oakendale, with Oakendale Abbey itself described as an empty family pile in Cumberland (p. 25). A strong possibility emerged that ‘Oakendale’ might be a word play on ‘Annandale’, a district in Scotland adjoining Cumberland near Carlisle. The choice of Oakendale as a wordplay to represent Annandale seems an easy progression. The main male character Robert, Lord Oakendale corresponds to Robert, Lord Annandale. Annandale, Thornaby, and Carleton are all names which appear in the Lord Carlyle and De Brus history.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Thornaby and Carlton are the names of two villages close to Stillington in County Durham, Carlisle’s birthplace.

Within *Oakendale Abbey*, there are a number of other links to Anthony Carlisle. For example, it becomes apparent that although the name ‘Lord Oakendale’ comes from the Carlyle family history, as noted earlier, his character is mainly based upon John Symmons FRS, father-in-law of Carlisle. Symmons lived in London, but had a country home at Slebech near Haverfordwest and Milford Haven in Wales, as well as another ancient, and empty, Symmons family mansion some fifteen miles north of Haverfordwest at Llanstinan. Previous Symmons’ mansions are referred to in several reference works: One such example occurs in a book written by Anthony Carlisle’s younger brother, Nicholas, entitled *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales, a Continuation of the Topography of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland* of 1811. When describing Llan Stinan [*sic*], Nicholas notes that ‘[t]he ancient and hospitable Mansion of the Family of Symmons is now rapidly falling to decay’.<sup>12</sup> In the same book, when describing Little Newcastle, which is about two miles south-east of Llanstinan, Nicholas observes: ‘Here is the site of Martel, the ancient residence of the family of Symmons before they removed to Llanstinan’.<sup>13</sup> Samuel Lewis, a later nineteenth-century commentator on Llanstinan comments: ‘there was the ancient mansion of the family of Symmons [...] The turnpike road from Haverfordwest to Fishguard passes through the parish’.<sup>14</sup> Thus, during the late eighteenth century, while the Symmons’ home remained in existence at Llanstinan, about ten miles north of Slebech Hall and fifteen miles from Milford Haven, it was nevertheless vacant and unoccupied. In *Oakendale Abbey*, the vacant Symmons mansion is renamed Oakendale Abbey and ‘transported’ to near Annandale, north of the city of Carlisle, Cumberland.

Although mention is made in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* of the poet and biographer Charles Symmons, his brother John Symmons FRS does not feature in any of the standard biographies and it has been necessary to

research his life from the ground up. Space does not permit a fuller exposition here, but Carlisle met him around 1788 through the anatomist John Hunter. A minor addition to the character of John Symmons as Lord Oakendale in *Oakendale Abbey*, is a reference to him being a ‘senator’, in the book a euphemism for a Member of Parliament (p. 148). Symmons did not serve in Parliament, but his father (also John Symmons) was Member for Cardigan for from 1746 to 1761, and had married Maria Philipps from the Philipps family of Picton Castle.<sup>15</sup> The heroine Laura mentions first meeting Lord Oakendale at Milford Haven, when he is using the name Thornaby. In the novel, Lord Oakendale is married to Miss Rainsford, the only daughter of Lord Westhaven and

was leading a life, not only of inactivity, but of unlimited debauchery of every kind. Two years after the death of the late Earl, Robert found himself so embarrassed and his fortune so little equal to his expenses, that he was under the necessity of repairing it by a marriage, in which love formed no part of the contract [...] (p. 38)

From 1783, John Symmons was one of the twenty-five members of the Noblemen and Gentleman’s Catch Club, along with the Earl of Sandwich and the Earl of March, both noted for their debauchery.<sup>16</sup> The Prince of Wales became a member in 1786, as did the other Royal Dukes between 1787 and 1807.

The name Westhaven would appear to be wordplay on the town of Haverfordwest and its harbour of Milford Haven. Haverfordwest itself, and the estates of both the Symmons and Philipps families all adjoin Milford Haven, with Haverfordwest being within five miles of Picton Castle and Slebech Hall. In focusing on Milford Haven and Haverfordwest, Carlisle has punningly combined both ‘haven’ and ‘west’ to create Westhaven: Carlisle probably avoided using the name Milford, as the real owner of Picton Castle was Lord Milford and the associations would have been too transparent. Continuing the wordplay, he is thus left with ‘Haverford’: again, this is too obvious to use and after another word play—instead we find that the daughter of Lord Westhaven is Miss Rainsford, which carries echoes of Haverford. The connections extend beyond the aristocratic protagonists of the novel: the faithful servant of Lady Oakendale is named Marcel, only one letter different from the ‘Martel’ mentioned above—the estate which the Symmons family occupied prior to moving to Llanstinan (p. 134).

In real life, Miss Rainsford is apparently based upon Anne Trevanion, née Barlow, a widow who, as the last of the Barlows, owned Slebech Hall and the Slebech estate. John Symmons married her for her fortune, as did Lord Oakendale marry Miss Rainsford. Thus, we have John Symmons (Lord Oakendale) marrying Anne Barlow (Miss Rainsford) on 24 March 1773 at Bath, with Slebech thereby becoming the country estate of Symmons, explaining why the previous Symmons mansion at Llanstinan, became vacant in the later eighteenth century. In *Oakendale Abbey*, it is disclosed Lord Oakendale had a younger brother who went to the East Indies and never returned: this plot strand seems based upon



Carlisle's younger brother Nicholas, who made several trips to the East Indies as a purser on trading ships (although he did return).<sup>17</sup>

Carlisle was interested in chivalry and medieval history and transmits this interest to Laura: 'Heraldry was Laura's favourite study, but she could not give up the present time to investigate the arms of the house of Oakendale' (p. 52). John Symmons had a detailed coat of arms that demonstrated his great interest in botany, prepared after his marriage to Anne Barlow, which featured on his personal book plate and would have appeared in books in his library seen by Carlisle (see figure above).<sup>18</sup>

In *Oakendale Abbey*, there is a reference to Thornaby (Lord Oakendale) making annual trips to the Welsh seaside from his London home, to places such as Milford Haven (p. 39). Such an annual activity fits with the Society of Sea Serjeants, a select group of twenty-five southern Welsh gentry that included members of the Symmons and Philipps families and met around July every year for a week at different southern Welsh seaside towns during the mid eighteenth century. John Symmons and Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle were both Sea Serjeants and their portraits were on display during the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

The character of the heroine, Laura Carleton, appears based upon Martha Symmons, the daughter of John Symmons, whom Carlisle married in 1800, but for the plot is converted into the niece of Symmons (Lord Oakendale). Laura's surname—Carleton—was likely selected from the Carlyle history and perhaps because it was a village close to Anthony Carlisle's birthplace. A possible rea-

son for Carlisle to choose the name Laura is connected with Manasseh Dawes (c. 1745–1829), believed to be the uncle of Martha Symmons. In 1776, Dawes anonymously published a belletristic work entitled *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse on Various Occasions*.<sup>20</sup> It is possible that this book was in John Symmons' extensive library, as both he and Dawes were barristers living contemporaneously in London. The book contains a number of satirical pieces with thinly veiled attacks on several public figures, and may have been an inspiration for the style Carlisle chose to employ in *Oakendale Abbey*, with his own thinly veiled references to Carlyle family history and to John Symmons. Dawes' *Miscellanies* is notable for the large number of references to a figure named Laura: the verses and prose that mention Laura consist of partly specific and partly continuing references in an exchange of letters debating love with someone named 'Maria'—possibly referring to Maria Philipps, the wife of John Symmons MP (father of John Symmons FRs). The extensive use of the name 'Laura' in *Miscellanies* seems also to have been the inspiration for Caroline Symmons (a cousin of Martha Symmons and so related by marriage to Manasseh Dawes) to write a long poem about another Laura sometime around 1800, shortly before her death at the age of fourteen in 1803 of consumption. In *Oakendale Abbey*, the mother of Laura Carleton is the exotically named Zelima, who dies when Laura is a child (p. 145)—Caroline wrote a poem entitled 'Zelida', which might possibly have been inspired by *Oakendale Abbey's* Zelima.<sup>21</sup>

### III

The content of *Oakendale Abbey* includes a number of medical references and descriptions that demonstrate the author's medical knowledge—for instance, *accoucheur*, a French word used in medical circles as an alternative to 'midwife' or 'man-midwife' (p. 122). As noted earlier, the novel includes references to anatomists and resurrectionists (or body-snatchers), with whose activities the novel's author appears familiar: 'The dead body of a woman hung against the wall opposite to the door she had entered, with a coarse cloth pinned over all but the face; the ghastly and putrefied appearance of which bespoke her to have been sometime dead' (p. 73). Only someone familiar with anatomical practice would have known that bodies were stored hanging vertically, rather laying flat: 'those unfeeling monsters of society, who make a practice of stealing our friends, and relations from the peaceful grave where their ashes, as we suppose, are deposited in rest' (pp. 157–99). Although Laura faints and falls into the hands of the anatomists, they do not harm her, but carry her still unconscious to a cottage and leave her safe there (p. 75). At one point, amidst some dead bodies Laura is rescued by a kind surgeon with the name Du Fresne (pp. 86–92), who also tends two wounded duellists, as surgeons were called upon to do at the time (p. 93). The surgeon and anatomists are all kind to Laura, possibly reflecting Carlisle's chivalric attitude towards the heroine.

One of the resurrection men, Patrick, states he was born in Carrick, Ireland—again, Carrick is a name associated with the Carlyle family history. Patrick says he ‘joined a set of coiners in the neighbourhood of Penrith, where they were soon after discovered, taken, and brought to condign punishment’ (pp. 178–79). ‘Condign’ is an unusual word, correctly used—an indication the author was familiar with it and knew hanging was the punishment for counterfeiting coins. Patrick is revived after execution and his description of the resuscitation parallels a case with which Carlisle was familiar: that of Patrick Redmond who was revived from an actual hanging in Cork on 24 February 1767. It was said this Patrick had been hanging for twenty-eight minutes when the mob rescued the body, and carried it to an appointed place, where a surgeon was in attendance to perform an experimental bronchotomy: an incision in the windpipe, which produced the desired effect of reviving Redmond within less than six hours. A collection was made for the poor fellow, and efforts made to obtain his pardon.<sup>22</sup> The account provided by *Oakendale Abbey*’s Patrick uses the words of a medical person:

The first idea of recollection he experienced (after the noise of the crowd and the mob that tended him to the gallows had ceased) was of extreme pain in his head and neck, and a violent oppression upon his lungs. He struggled for a few seconds, and gained respiration; a mist before his eyes seemed to vanish and recovered sight [...] and he tried to articulate; but found his throat so swelled that he could only utter a gurgling sound. (p. 180)

Carlisle’s knowledge of the skeleton of the eight-foot-tall Irish Giant concealed for five years by the anatomist John Hunter is the inspiration for a scene in *Oakendale Abbey*:

They approached the trunk, wherein the skeleton was deposited. Lord Oakendale ordered his servants to lift up the lid; and the light had no sooner glanced upon the the ghastly figure, than the man, dropping the lid from his hand exclaimed, ‘God preserve us! Here is a dead man, bigger than a giant. With saucer eyes, and huge limbs!’ (p. 112)

#### IV

The circumstantial and textual evidence linking *Oakendale Abbey* to Carlisle and Symmons is so compelling, that there is no other real candidate as author. If the evidence identifying Carlisle as the author of *Oakendale Abbey* can be accepted, the other novels attributed to Mrs Carver can be reviewed for evidence supporting Carlisle as author, but with a base case established via *Oakendale Abbey* they do not require such a high burden of proof. Space permits only a brief discussion of one other: *The Old Woman*. Its publication was announced on 5 June 1800 in the *Star* newspaper and on 17 June 1800 in the *Morning Chronicle*. *The Old Woman* contains more plays on names and medical references

that support a link to Carlisle. Unlike the gothic-tinged *Oakendale Abbey*, *The Old Woman* is an epistolary novel, consisting of a long series of letters between the characters without intervening dialogue or text. Towards the end of the novel, it is revealed that the main location within the story, Arkley Castle, is reached from Ireland via Milford Haven (II, letter 2), a location which appears in *Oakendale Abbey*. Arkley Castle might then represent Piŕton Castle, the ancestral home of the Philipps family, close to Milford Haven and only a mile from Slebech Hall owned by John Symmons. At the time *The Old Woman* was published in 1800, the head of the Philipps family was Lord Milford, formerly Sir Richard Philipps, 7th Bart., and nephew of Bulkeley Philipps, whose granddaughter Mary Philippa Artemisia Grant eventually inherited Piŕton Castle. Lord Milford was raised to the peerage in 1776, as a peer of Ireland, despite the Philipps family having no estates in Ireland, with his choice of Milford relating to the nearby Milford Haven. Even so, the Irish peerage might explain why some of *The Old Woman* novel is set in Ireland.

Seen in this way, the author's choice of 'Arkley Castle' as the main location in the novel is based upon several factors. Firstly, the suitability of Piŕton Castle as the ideal setting for the story; secondly, wordplay on Carlisle's own initials 'A. C.'; and thirdly, a play on Arkley on the name of Bulkeley Philipps, uncle of the wife of John Symmons. Richard Philipps, Lord Milford was then the owner of Piŕton Castle, so his name could not be used, but Bulkeley Philipps was the heir to Piŕton Castle, so a play on his name makes sense as a source for Carlisle. In *The Old Woman*, Arkley Castle is referred to as having a vast number of rooms, with some closed off and unused parts of the castle—so much so, that someone is able to live semi-secretly in an unused portion of the castle. This concept seems far-fetched until one sees images of Piŕton Castle, which has four above-ground levels, several wings, and scores of rooms.<sup>23</sup>

The choice of names of two other characters *The Old Woman* appear as plays on the names of close friends of Carlisle. Mr Goodworth, a clergyman, for the author William Godwin, husband of the author Mary Wollstonecraft and father of Mary Shelley, who trained as a clergyman before he became a writer. The other character Elinor Safforey, might be seen as a distortion of Edith Southey, wife of Robert Southey. Both characters appear within the first two paragraphs of the novel.

There are several words used in *The Old Woman*, which when linked to Carlisle, signal an author demonstrating his knowledge of obscure words, a habit of Carlisle. The words include the French phrase *mauvaise honte*, 'bashfulness', 'sheepishness' (I, Letter 21). The *OED* records the first usage of this term as 1721, in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's correspondence: although relatively uncommon in eighteenth-century literature, the term does appear in Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) and Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1794). Another obscure word in *The Old Woman* is 'carasposa' (I, Letter 21), also rarely used in eighteenth-century English literature, and more famously used in the

masculine form in Jane Austen's *Emma* (1816). From the Italian *cara sposa*, 'a dear wife or a devoted wife', it could be used in an ironic manner such as in the poetic 'Dialogue Between a Macaroni and his Cara Sposa' in *The Comforts of Matrimony; or Love's Last Shift* (1780) by Ned and Edward Ward. This poem may even allude to the clergyman William Dodd, who was hanged for forgery in 1777 and was referred to as the 'Macaroni Parson'. Carlisle may have sourced the word from the Wards' book, though another interesting possibility is Arthur Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him: A Comedy* (1792), which records: 'Lady Constant may be the happy wife the *Cara Sposa* of the piece'.<sup>24</sup>

Insofar as medical evidence supporting Carlisle as the author of *The Old Woman* is concerned, there is a substantive reference indicative of medical knowledge:

Without having studied Lavater, I could read from St. Edward's looks what passed in his mind, and although they are far from intelligent, (for his eyes always seem to be hunting for his wits,) yet I could collect distrust, malice, and something like exulting pleasure. (II, letter 12)

This is an allusion to Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801), Swiss poet and physiognomist, whose work was studied by Carlisle. Lavater's name would be forgotten but for his work in the field of physiognomy, notably through *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (1775–78). The fame of this book—which found admirers in France and England as well as Germany—rested largely upon the handsome style of publication and the accompanying illustrations. The English edition was translated by Thomas Holcroft in 1789, who happened to be a friend of Carlisle's.<sup>25</sup> Such a medical book would have been of interest to Carlisle and a book certain to have found its way into John Symmons' collection. Previously, on 26 April 1797, Robert Southey made an obvious reference to Lavater in a letter:

Carlisle and I, instead of our neighbours' 'Revolutionary Tribunal,' mean to erect a physiognomical one, and as transportation is to be the punishment, instead of guillotining, we shall put the whole navy in requisition to carry off all ill-looking fellows, and then we may walk London streets without being jostled. You are to be one of the Jury, and we must get some good limner to take down the evidence. Witnesses will be needless. The features of a man's face will rise up in judgment against him; and the very voice that pleads 'Not Guilty,' will be enough to convict the raven-toned criminal.<sup>26</sup>

In *The Old Woman*, several lengthy passages describing at length the swollen and drowned body of a woman appear to have been written by a medical man who was familiar with the state of drowned bodies and knew how to describe them. One description of lesser importance commences:

[A] dear good fisherman brought the heavenly news that she was drowned in the sea near Holyhead. Dear blessed man! such people



can never be sufficiently rewarded. The other man was a parish-officer, who came to certify the account, and to know what is to be done with the body. Thanks to her unfortunate stars, and my better fate. She had lain too long in the water for any means to be used towards effecting her recovery; yet St. Edward, silly fellow! had so forgotten his resentment as to make this the first enquiry. ‘Lord help your honour,’ says the good countryman, ‘her a been dead a long while; why the fish had begun upon her, and you could scarce tell a feature that her had: her cloaths all drapt off by bits, and we could only save these here papers that was in her pockets—they be dried and persarved—and two rings upon her fingers, as we have honestly brought to your honour; and it is all a had about her.’ (II, Letter 15)

In a lengthier passage, the drowned victim is described more in the manner of a medical examination, and at length by Ann Clifford in a letter to Elinor Safforey:

I took some slight refreshment, and endeavoured to collect my spirits in order to encounter the sad scene in which I had engaged, and to inspect, as far as circumstances would admit, the body of our unfortunate friend, both for my own satisfaction as well as yours. According to my directions, Lucy had ordered the coffin to be so slightly screwed, that the lid was easily again taken off.— There is a something in the contemplation of a dead body, even under the most uninteresting circumstances, which is awful in the extreme. I confess, when I entered the room, I shuddered, not with horror or fear, but an indescribable sensation seemed to overpower me, and it was some moments before I could recover myself sufficiently to approach the coffin, and when I beheld the mangled features of our dear departed Julia, I could not avoid uttering a shriek of terror. Lucy supported and encouraged me to examine the features of her beloved mistress; the frequent sight having rendered her less shocked at the contemplation of an object so dreadful.

The body was dressed exactly as it was found in the water, that is, the remains of the dress, for it was partly torn to pieces, and the face so entirely mutilated, that it must be impossible to ascertain from that whether or not it was really Julia. The size and shape corresponded with her’s, and the hair is the same colour, but upon examining the hands, I think they appeared larger, and not so beautifully formed as were Julia’s; but this might be accounted for by having been so long under the water, and being swoln. Her stockings and the remains of her linen were marked J.S. and Lucy says, she could swear to the work being her’s. The gown was the very one in which she had dressed her on the day she was missing.

These are proofs strong enough of the body's being no other than that of our unhappy friend, even were any wanting; but the letters, the rings, and the smelling-bottle, which is now sent, and was a present from myself to her, with the initials of my own name upon it, are all such convincing testimonies, as to require no other; and as to the face, as I said before, it is so entirely mutilated, that no trace of feature or countenance could possibly be discovered.

After I had contemplated the body, heard, and joined in the lamentations of Lucy, and breathed a most humble and devout wish for her eternal happiness, I ordered the coffin to be screwed down, and attended by all the servants, who were, I believe, real mourners, we proceeded to the parish-church, which is very near the castle, and there in the vault of her ancestors were deposited the sad remains of Julia St. Edward [...] Why then should we lament? 'Tis true, the circumstances of her death were shocking, and it was impossible to behold her disfigured corpse without terror; but the ultimate event to her is the same as if she had been surrounded by pitying friends and weeping kindred.

To the lovers of this world, death is more formidable than to all others; it appears to them an end to all enjoyment, and a suspension of all hopeful expectation: but to those who have experienced the pangs of disappointed hope in all they held most dear, what is it but a relief from toil, from sorrow, and anxiety, and opens to them a prospect of everlasting peace in a world of better spirits.  
(II, Letter 16)

A further medical reference in the novel is clearly connected with surgery, the resurrectionists, and dentistry practice of the late eighteenth century, when surgeons also operated as dentists. That Carlisle practised dentistry is specifically mentioned in a letter by Robert Southey: sugar was unrefined and large quantities were consumed by the wealthy, and although it was expensive, it was so popular that the teeth of the wealthy rotted until they were black. To remedy this visual defect, healthy teeth were often transplanted directly from young servants into the mouth of their master or mistress to replace the rotted teeth. A variation of this appears late in *The Old Woman*:


Do you remember how poor Mrs. Loveless was reprobated, for having her daughter's teeth taken out after she was dead, and placed in her own mouth? Why now really, I see no such great matter in it. The girl died when she was only seventeen; had an amazing fine set, which it would have been a sin to have let rot in the grave. Mrs. Loveless's were beginning to decay, and whose could have been so natural to her as her own child's? I declare I should have done just the same, only I would have taken care to

have been more secret, and not given an opportunity for people,  
 who affect fine feelings, to have abused me. (II, Letter 20)

The novel concludes with a quotation from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which provides a further link to Carlisle, as his wife's uncle, Revd Charles Symmons, later became famous for his commentary on the *Life of Milton* (1806) that prefixed his edition of Milton's prose works:

The wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,  
 Safest and seemliest by her husband stays,  
 Who guards her; or with her the worst endures.  
 (Book IX, ll. 267–69)<sup>27</sup>

## V

Taken together, the references from the novels allow a confident attribution of *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* and *The Old Woman* to Carlisle. The case of *Oakendale Abbey* offers a persuasive example of how it may be possible to determine the author of an anonymous gothic novel by reviewing for specialist technical knowledge or by sifting through facts connected to real places or people. In this example, the accumulation of material became so overwhelming, that the case was provable in the same way as a murder without a body may be provable with enough circumstantial evidence. No reference has yet been found to Carlisle as an author in the correspondence of his friends; however, there is evidence of the influence of Carlisle appearing in the novel *The Adventures of Hugh Trevor* (1794–97) by Thomas Holcroft and in the poem 'The Surgeon's Warning' (1796) by Robert Southey. In addition, a separate line of research traces the influence of Carlisle on another anatomical gothic masterpiece—Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). Carlisle's role in the work of Southey and Holcroft, and the reasons for regarding him as an influence on *Frankenstein*, are explored in depth in the first full biography of Carlisle, written by the present author: *The Real Mr Frankenstein: Sir Anthony Carlisle and the Social Genesis of 'Frankenstein'*. 

## NOTES

This paper is condensed from research into Anthony Carlisle, which is to be published and is available as a full eBook biography, as of October 2009. More details regarding this work can be found at <<http://therealmrfrankenstein.blogspot.com>>. The author is very grateful for helpful comments received from Peter Garside in the preparation of this extract.

1. Mrs Carver, Mrs, *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* (London: Minerva, 1797; rptd Zittaw Press, 2006).
2. See *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000), item 1797: 33.
3. Thanks for supporting evidence are due to Serena Potter, Zittaw Press, and Curt Herr, who wrote the introduction to the Zittaw edition of *Oakendale Abbey*.

4. Mrs Carver, *The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey* (London: Minerva Press, 1797; rptd Zittaw Press, 2006). Subsequent references are to the Zittaw edition.
5. According to Dorothy Blakey, 'Mrs Carver' is listed as the author of *Oakendale Abbey* in the Minerva Library Catalogue for 1814—see *The Minerva Press, 1790–1820* (London: British Library, 1939), p. 181; Appendix 1: 1797.
6. 'Mrs Carver', *CW3: Corvey Women Writers on the Web*. Online: Internet (Apr 2009): <<http://www2.shu.ac.uk/corvey/CW3/AuthorPage.cfm?Author=MC2>>.
7. *The Cavern of Death* (1794), *Open Library*. Online: Internet (Apr 2009): <<http://openlibrary.org/b/OL13377163M/The-Cavern-of-Death>>.
8. *The Cavern of Death* (London: James Bell, 1794; rptd Chicago: Valancourt, 2005).
9. *The Animated Skeleton* (London: Minerva Press, 1798; rptd Seattle: Valancourt, 2005).
10. Mrs Carver, *The Old Woman*, 2 vols (London: Minerva Press, 1800). Rptd in the *Chawton House Library: Novels Online* portal. Online: Internet (Apr 2009): <[http://www.chawtonhouse.org/library/novels/carver\\_old.html](http://www.chawtonhouse.org/library/novels/carver_old.html)> (1, Letter 9). Subsequent references are to the Chawton edition.
11. See Ruth Margaret Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge and New York: Boydell Press, 2005), for further information on Thornaby (p. 189) and Carlton (pp. 16, 191).
12. Nicholas Carlisle, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales* (London, Bulmer, 1811), [n.p.].
13. Ibid.
14. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London: S. Lewis, 1845), p. 105.
15. See the entry for 'Symmons, Charles (1749–1826), poet and biographer', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–). Online: Internet (Aug 2009): <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26884/26885?back=,26884>>.
16. Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen's and Gentleman's Catch Club: Three Essays Towards History* (London: Cypher Press, 1996), p. 109.
17. Charles Hardy, *Register of Ships, Employed in the Service of the Honourable the United East India Company, from the Year 1760 to 1810* (London: Heseltine, 1811), p. 166.
18. Sir Evan Davies Jones and Herbert Millingchamp Vaughan, *The Welsh Book-Plates in the Collection of Sir Evan Davies Jones, Bart., M.P. of Pentower, Fishguard. A Catalogue, with Biographical and Descriptive Notes* (London: A. L. Humphreys, 1920).
19. Francis Jones, 'Portraits and Pictures in Old Carmarthenshire Houses', in *The Carmarthenshire Historian*. Online: Internet (Apr 2009): <<http://carmarthenshirehistorian.org/cgi-bin/twiki/view/Historian/PortraitsAndPicturesInOldCarmarthenshireHouses>>.
20. Manasseh Dawes, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse on Various Occasions* (London: For the Author, 1776).
21. Caroline Symmons and Charles Symmons, *Poems* (London: Joseph Johnson & Co., 1812).
22. Charles Bernard Gibson, *The History of the County and City of Cork*, 2 vols (London: T. C. Newby, 1861), II, 204.
23. See the Picton Castle website for images: <<http://www.pictoncastle.co.uk>>.

24. Arthur Murphy, *The Way to Keep Him: A Comedy* (London: John Bell, 1792), Act II, Scene 1 (p. 62); collected in vol. 17 of *Bell's British Theatre. Consisting of the Most Esteemed English Plays*, 34 vols (London: Cawthorn, 1791–99).
25. J. C. Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, translated by Thomas Holcroft, 3 vols (London: Robinson, 1789).
26. Robert Southey to Joseph Cottle, 26 Apr 1797; in Linda Pratt (ed.), *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey: Part One: 1791–1797*. Online: Internet (May 2009): <[http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey\\_letters/Part\\_One/HTML/letterEEEd.26.212.html](http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/Part_One/HTML/letterEEEd.26.212.html)>. Southey also made several direct references to Lavater in his letters between 1793 and 1797.
27. Charles Symmons (ed.), *The Prose Works of John Milton; with a Life of the Author, Interspersed with Translations and Critical Remarks*, 7 vols (London: Joseph Johnson, 1806).

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### REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

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‘THE ENGLISH NOVEL,  
1800–1829 & 1830–1836’  
Update 6 (August 2005–August 2009)

*Peter Garside,  
with Sharon Ragaz,, Anthony Mandal, and Jacqueline Belanger*



THIS REPORT, LIKE ITS PREDECESSORS, relates primarily to the second volume of *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction published in the British Isles* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), co-edited by Peter Garside and Rainer Schöwerling, with the assistance of Christopher Skelton-Foord and Karin Wünsche. On the present occasion, however, it also refers to the online *The English Novel 1830–36* (<http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/1830s>), which effectively serves as a continuation of the printed bibliography. As in earlier reports, the input derives generally from the activities of the research team who helped produce the database *The British Novel 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception* (<http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk>), first made publicly available in 2004, the members of which are listed at the head above.

The entries below are organised in a way that matches the order of material as supplied in *The English Novel, 1770–1829*. While making reference to any relevant changes that may have occurred in previous Updates, the ‘base’ it refers to is the printed Bibliography and not the preceding reports. Sections A and B concern authorship, the first of these proposing changes to attributions as given in the printed Bibliography, and the second recording the discovery of new information of interest that has nevertheless not led presently to new attributions. Section C includes one additional novel (though not seen), which appears to match the criteria for inclusion and should ideally have been incorporated in the printed Bibliography. Section D lists a title already in the Bibliography for which a surviving copy could not previously be located, while the last two sections (E and F) involve information such as is usually found in the *Notes* field of entries. As previously, those owning copies of the printed Bibliography might wish to amend entries accordingly. An element of colour coding has been used to facilitate recognition of the nature of changes, with **red** denoting revisions and additions to existing entries in the Bibliography, and the additional title discovered being picked out in **blue**. Reference numbers (e.g. 1801: 60) are the same as those in the *English Novel, 1770–1829* and in its

1830–36 online continuation; abbreviations match those listed at the beginning of volume 2 of the *English Novel*, though in a few cases these are spelled out more fully for the convenience of present readers.

This report was prepared by Peter Garside, with a significant input of information in the present instance from Dr Sharon Ragaz. Other informants, to whom the main compiler is grateful, include Ross Belson, Michael Gamer, Peter Keelan, Don Shelton, and Zsuzsanna Varga. Special thanks are due to Maximiliaan van Woudenberg for allowing the link to his video illustrating the transnational nature of the stories in *Tales of the Dead* (1813: 60); and to Angela Esterhammer for allowing pre-publication access to her article identifying the true authorship of *Andrew of Padua* (see 1820: 24).

#### A: NEW AND CHANGED AUTHOR ATTRIBUTIONS

1813: 60

[SCHULZE, Friedrich August and others; UTTERSON, Sarah Elizabeth (trans.)].

TALES OF THE DEAD. PRINCIPALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

London: Printed for White, Cochrane, and Co., Fleet-Street, 1813.

viii, 248p. 8vo. 9s (ECB, ER, QR).

ER 22: 246 (Oñ 1813); QR 10: 297 (Oñ 1813).

BL 12547.d.8; ECB 576; NSTC U261 (BI O).

*Notes.* Mainly translated and adapted from of *Fantasmagoriana, ou recueil d'histoires, d'apparitions de spectres, revenants [...] traduit de l'allemand, par un Amateur* [by Jean Baptiste Benoit Eyriès] (Paris, 1812). 'Advertisement', pp. [i]–ii, states: 'The first four tales in this collection, and the last, are imitated from a small French work, which professes to be translated from the German [...] The last tale has been considerably curtailed [...] The fifth tale [...] is founded on an incident similar in its features, which was some years since communicated to me, by a female friend of very deserved celebrity'. 'Preface of the French Translator', pp. [iii]–viii. Six tales in all: 'The Family Portraits', [3]–63; 'The Fated Hour', [64]–93; 'The Death's Head', [94]–120; 'The Death-Bride', [121]–177; 'The Storm', [178]–192; 'The Spectre Barber', [193]–248. In the Introduction to the 1831 edn. of her *Frankenstein*, Mary Shelley mentions that a reading of the French version of this work in the company of Byron, Polidori and Percy B. Shelley, in Italy in 1816, prompted their decision to write ghost stories. A German source for the French *Fantasmagoriana* of 1812, and authorial origin for four of the tales in the present work, is described in Terry Hale's Introduction to his edition of *Tales of the Dead: The Ghost Stories of the Villa Diodati* (Chislehurst, 1992). According to Hale's account, Friedrich Schulze was the author of three of the stories in *Tales of the Dead* ('The Fated Hour', 'The Death's Head', and 'The Death-Bride'), these being published in the first two vols. of the 5-vol. *Gespenssterbuch* (Leipzig, 1811–15), which was jointly edited by Schulze (under the pseudonym of Friedrich

Laun) and the playwright Johann Apel. Another story in *Tales of the Dead* ('The Spectre Barber'), also published in the *Gespenssterbuch*, is identified as by the veteran German author Johann Karl August Musäus. Further information is available through Maximiliaan van Woudenberg's digital narrative on the *Fantasmagoriana* (<http://www.linkemik.com/scholar.html>).

1820: 24

GALT, John; and VALLADARES DE SOTOMAYOR, Antonio.

ANDREW OF PADUA, THE IMPROVISATORE; A TALE FROM THE ITALIAN OF THE ABBATE FURBO. AND THE VINDICTIVE FATHER, FROM THE SPANISH OF LEANDRA OF VALLADERRAS.

London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co. Bride Court, Bridge Street; sold by W. Sams, opposite St. James's Palace, and to be had of all Booksellers, 1820.

xiv, 294p. 12mo. 'Price 6s. half-bound and lettered' (t.p.).

BL 1458.d.12; NSTC 2F18650 (NA MH).

*Notes:* Half-title missing, but the following is readable by being faintly mirrored on the preceding blank page: 'The Periodical Novelist, or Circulating Library. Vol. III. Andrew of Padua and the Vindictive Father'. Cf. 1820: 26 and 28(a), below. Preface by the Translator to the first tale, pp. [v]–vii, plus 'Biographical Sketch of the Abbate Furbo', ix–xiv. 'The Vindictive Father, or Lorenzo and Claudia' is without preliminaries, and begins on p. [195]. For a convincing attribution of the first tale to John Galt, see Angela Esterhammer, 'London Periodicals, Scottish Novels, and Italian Fabrications: *Andrew of Padua, the Improvisatore* Re-membered', *Studies in Romanticism*, 2009, forthcoming. In the same article, Esterhammer identifies the source of the second tale as 'Claudia y Don Lorenzo', one of several inset stories in the 9-vol. novel *La Leandra* written by the Spanish Enlightenment writer Antonio Valladeres de Sotomayor (1738–1820), and published in Madrid 1797–1807; she also speculates whether John Galt might have been the translator in this case.

B: NEW INFORMATION RELATING TO AUTHORSHIP,  
BUT NOT PRESENTLY LEADING TO FURTHER ATTRIBUTION CHANGES

1800: 22 [CARVER, Mrs], THE OLD WOMAN. A NOVEL. IN TWO VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE HORRORS OF OAKENDALE ABBEY. For an attribution of this novel, and three apparent predecessors, to the surgeon Sir Anthony Carlisle see Don Shelton's Report in this issue of *Romantic Textualities*.

1814: 36 [JOHNSTONE, Christian Isobel], THE SAXON AND THE GAËL; OR, THE NORTHERN METROPOLIS: INCLUDING A VIEW OF THE LOWLAND AND HIGHLAND CHARACTER. A near-contemporary acknowledgment of Johnstone's authorship can be found in Mrs Hughes of Uff-



ington's *Letters and Recollections of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Horace G. Hutchinson: 'A Mrs. Johnson is the author of the Saxon and the Gael (of which Sir W. and Hogg spoke well)' (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.), p. 328. For Hogg himself referring to the work, but without mentioning an author, see Peter Garside 'Reviewing Scott: A Hogg Notice of *Guy Mannering* in the *Caledonian Mercury*', *Studies in Hogg and His World*, 19 (2008), 66–80. One rumour in Edinburgh, reported by J. G. Lockhart to a friend in a letter of 28 February 1815, claimed that the author was John Pinkerton, 'on account of his notorious scurrility and hatred of Edinburgh': *The Life and Letters of John Gibson Lockhart*, ed. Andrew Lang, 2 vols. (London, 1897), 1, 74.

**1820: 28(a)** GENLIS, [Stéphanie-Félicité, Comtesse] de, PETRARCH AND LAURA. BY MADAME DE GENLIS. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH. For the possibility that the translator might be John Galt, see Angela Esterhammer, 'London Periodicals, Scottish Novels, and Italian Fabrications: *Andrew of Padua, the Improvisatore* Re-membered', *Studies in Romanticism* (forthcoming, 2009); and new commentary regarding **1820: 24** in Section A above.

**1832: 66** [NORTON, Caroline Elizabeth Sarah; née SHERIDAN], RICHARD OF YORK; OR, "THE WHITE ROSE OF ENGLAND." The attribution to Caroline Norton has been questioned by a correspondent, and now looks doubtful. The source for the attribution is the NSTC record 2N10695, which gives the author of the 1835 New York edition as 'Norton, Caroline Elizabeth Sarah, Hon. Mrs. George Chapple Norton – afterwards STIRLING-MAXWELL, Lady [...] 1808–1877.' None of the other NSTC records list the 1832 edition under Norton's name, and the attribution must be regarded as questionable. It is generally understood that between early 1830 with the publication of her long poem 'The Undying One' and 1835, when her 3-vol. *The Wife and Woman's Reward* (1835: 72) appeared, Caroline Norton's work consisted only of poems and short stories published in magazines.

**1833: 7** ANON., WALTZBURG: A TALE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Burmester Catalogue 74 (2009), Item 166, describes copy with inscription on two of the endpapers 'With the Author's love', and an inscription on the title-page reading 'by Frances Rose'. Copy reportedly has the Rose family bookplate. See also **1835: 9** below. Further information about the identity of Frances Rose could lead to full attribution; though, for the moment, the possibility of a family game being involved remains a possibility.

**1833: 78** ZSCHOKKE, [Johann Heinrich Daniel], GOLDENTHAL: A TALE. Lady Maria Calcott was very much involved in publishing this work, and in addition to revising the text may have paid the publishing costs. The translator seems likely to be a Miss Skerrett who was the niece of T. J. Mathias. (As reported by Sharon Ragaz.)

1835: 9 ANON., PENRUDDOCK, A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF 'WALTZBURG.' Burmester Catalogue 74 (2009), Item 165, describes copy with inscription on the title of vol. 1 to 'Philippa Rose from her affectionate mother', and an erased inscription on the same title reading 'by Frances Rose'. Copy reportedly has the Rose family bookplate. See also 1833: 7 above.

C: NEW TITLES FOR POTENTIAL INCLUSION

1811

\*WORTHINGHAM-LEASE: A TALE.

London: Printed by W. Lewis, Published by M. Jones.

151p.

PU 823.W89; xNSTC.

Not seen, but reported by Dan Traister, Rare Books Librarian at the University of Pennsylvania, to be a novel and one that falls within the chronological limits of *The English Novel*. Record in OCLC (Accession no. 249289612).

D: TITLES PREVIOUSLY NOT LOCATED FOR WHICH HOLDING  
LIBRARIES HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN DISCOVERED

1809: 51

MORRINGTON, *Isabella*.

\*FASHIONS FOOL, OR, THE COTTAGE OF MERLIN VALE. A NOVEL  
FOUNDED ON FACTS: INTERSPERSED WITH PIECES OF POETRY  
BY THE LATE ISABELLA MORRINGTON.

London, 1809.

2 vols. 12mo. 10s (ER, QR).

ER 14: 519 (July 1809); QR 1: 461 (May 1809).

Bibliothèque de l'Université Laval, Quebec [not seen]; xNSTC.

*Notes:* Listed by Henderson as being in National Library of Wales, but not found there. QR lists as 'A Rational, Moral, Sentimental, Literary, and Entertaining History, founded on Facts'. Title details from Laval copy as given in OCLC (Accession no. 77286473). A correspondent from Australia also describes a private copy which appears to have come from Cary and Burrows's Circulating Library (numbered 549). The fuller title and completed author name now given above from the OCLC record matches the records of circulating libraries given for this item in the *Database of British Fiction 1800–1829* (DBF 1809A050).

E: NEW INFORMATION RELATING TO EXISTING TITLE ENTRIES

1801: 60 SICKELMORE, Richard, RAYMOND, A NOVEL. 'List of Subscribers' (as reported in Update 5) now seen copy in Library at University of California, Berkeley (PR.5452.S16.R3.1801), Vol. 1, pp. [vii]–xii. lists 135 subscribers, amongst whom 48 are females, subscribing for 141 copies. Headed by 'His

Royal Highness the PRINCE of WALES', the list includes a high proportion of aristocrats, including Duchess of Beaufort, Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Holland. 'Mrs Fitzherbert', placed fairly high up the alphabetical ordering, under Lady Henry Fitzroy and Hon. Miss Flower, may possibly refer to the Prince's companion/wife.

**1808: 63** HURSTONE, J. P., THE PICCADILLY AMBULATOR; OR, OLD Q: CONTAINING MEMOIRS OF THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THAT EVER-GREEN VOTARY OF VENUS! THROUGHOUT WHICH ARE INTERSPERSED ANECDOTES OF THE MOST NOTED FASHIONABLES, HIS CONTEMPORARIES. Title at foot of folding coloured illustration reads 'A View taken from the Green [not 'Grand'] Park'. (Verified from private copy.)

**1822: 76** TROTTER, Robert, LOWRAN CASTLE, OR THE WILD BOAR OF CURRIDOO: WITH OTHER TALES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SUPERSTITIONS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF GALLOWAY. The BL copy at RB.23.b.12566 (as reported in Update 5), containing 'Subscribers' Names', pp. [159]–168, now seen. Lists 273 subscribers, amongst whom just 14 are females, with 288 copies in all subscribed. Alphabetical listing arranges gentry and those in professional class (military, medical, clergy) above often long lists under the title 'Messrs'. Includes place names throughout, with main concentration in SW Scotland, but with significant input from NW England, and other towns in England. Noticeably also included are 'Robert Gillespie, Esq. of New York' and 'James Simpson, Geneva, New York'. A family connection (possibly the author's father) is suggested by 'John Trotter, Esq. surgeon, Worsley Mills, two copies'.

**1825: 26** DE RENZY, {S.} Sparow, LIFE, LOVE, AND POLITICS; OR THE ADVENTURES OF A NOVICE. A TALE. Burmester Catalogue 65 (2006), Item 108, describes copy with list of subscribers, accounting for 30 copies; with the Earl and Countess of Cavan, and Sir Hussey and Lady Vivian, prominent among the subscribers. BL copy (N.300) rechecked, and lacks this list. One additional feature, previously not noted, is the colophon of Thomas Baker, Printer, Southampton, in both volumes.

**1828: 23** [BRISTOW, Amelia], EMMA DE LISSAU; A NARRATIVE OF STRIKING VICISSITUDES, AND PECULIAR TRIALS; WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE JEWS. Second edition (private copy), 1829, contains extended 'List of Subscribers' (10 pp. unn.), with extra details alongside some names (384 copies subscribed).

## F: FURTHER EDITIONS PREVIOUSLY NOT NOTED

**1807: 15** COTTIN, [Sophie Ristaud]; MEEKE, [Mary] (*trans.*), ELIZABETH; OR, THE EXILES OF SIBERIA. A TALE, FOUNDED ON FACTS. The same-year issue published by Appleyard, as reported in Update 5, has now been seen at Glasgow University Library (Sp.Coll.Z6-1.22). Title reads ELIZABETH; OR THE EXILES OF SIBERIA, A TALE, FOUNDED UPON FACTS. FROM THE FRENCH OF MAD. COTTIN; and imprint reads 'London: Printed for Appleyard, Wimpole Street; Oddy and Co. 27, Oxford Street; and W. Oddy, 108, Newgate Street, 1807'. Printer's mark on title-page reads: 'Burton, Printer, 82, Fetter Lane'. 'The Author's Preface' (3pp. unnn.), followed by 'Translator's Address' (1p. unnn.); main text 254p (12mo in sixes). Leaf advertising 'Books Just Published and Sold by Oddy and Co.' at end. Evidently a different translation from 1807: 15; and, if discovered in time, would have warranted full entry as 1807: 15(b).


**1814: 16** CULLEN, Margaret, MORNTON A NOVEL. The Ricky Carter Collection Donation, Special Collections and Archives, Cardiff University Library, includes a copy bearing 'Second Edition' on the title-page, and with imprint date of 1815. In other respects, the imprint details are the same as on the first edition, as is also the case with the colophon. This edition presumably fills in the gap between the first edition and the third edition of 1829 noted in the Bibliography.

**1823: 38** [GLEIG, George Robert], THE STRANGER'S GRAVE. Richard Beaton, Catalogue 42 (2006) records Allen, 1846 reprint, 144 pp., titled 'The Stranger's Grave, or the Maiden's Doom. By H. Villiers, Esq. A Tale of Illicit Love, Founded Upon Facts'.

**1824: 31** DURAS, [Claire Louise Rose Bonne, Duchesse de], OURIKA. Entries a) and b) in the Bibliography describe different translation with 1824 imprints published by, respectively, James Cawthorn and Longman & Co. James Burmester, Catalogue 71 (2008), Item 125, describes another edition published with same year London imprint of J. Robins, 12mo, 100pp, this copy bearing the distinctive ownership inscription on title of George Cruikshank, 1824. If discovered in time, this might have warranted full entry as 1824: 31(c).

**1827: 44** [JOHNSTONE, Christian Isobel], ELIZABETH DE BRUCE. Ian Duncan, in his *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 346, n. 9, points to a German version 'nach Walter Scott' (3 vols; Stuttgart, 1827). As he notes, this matches the earlier attribution of the Johnstone's *Clan-Albin* to Scott, as already noted in the Bibliography (1815: 32).

1828: 57 MANZONI, Alessandro; [SWAN, Charles (*trans.*)], THE BETROTHED LOVERS; A MILANESE TALE OF THE XVIIITH. CENTURY. Entry in Bibliography describes BL copy with Pisa imprint of Nicolo Capurro, 1828; but notes also that ECB lists Rivington as publisher, adding that this indicates a full circulation in Britain (providing justification for inclusion of a non British and Irish imprint). Jarndyce Catalogue, CLXXX (Winter 2008–09), Item 258, describes a copy with London imprint, 'Printed for C. and J. Rivington', establishing fully that this first English edition (evidently a joint production with the Italian publisher) was also issued fully in Britain.

[1830] **Appendix 2 B: 3** {BENNET, W[illia]m} [originally BENNOCH], TRAITS OF SCOTTISH LIFE, AND PICTURES OF SCENES AND CHARACTER. A copy bearing 'Second Edition' on the titles has been found (private copy), with the same 'Whittaker, Treacher, & Co.' London imprint, but with the date 1832. This shows signs of being a reissue of old sheets with a replacement title-page. 

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#### REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

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The matter contained within this article provides bibliographical information based on independent personal research by the contributor, and as such has not been subject to the peer-review process. For the sake of consistency with *The English Novel*, the formatting conventions used in this article differ from those of the usual *Romantic Textualities* stylesheet.



## REVIEWS



Andrew Radford and Mark Sandy (eds), *Romantic Echoes in the Victorian Era* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), xi + 237pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5788-0; £55 (hb).

THIS COLLECTION OF ESSAYS, which takes as its unifying theme the cultural traffic between Romanticism and Victorianism, is a recent addition to Ashgate's *The Nineteenth Century*, a series which in itself challenges established patterns of periodisation by including studies of both Romantic and Victorian writers. As the editors of the volume acknowledge, the central premise of the collection breaks little new ground: it seems to take its critical cue from Francis O'Gorman and Katherine Turner's collection on the Victorians and the eighteenth century, which examines the complexity of Victorian attitudes towards Augustanism and is also published by Ashgate.<sup>1</sup> If the kinship of these two collections goes unremarked, Sandy and Radford do make clear their debt to existing criticism of Victorian responses to Romanticism, including Andrew Elfenbein on Byron and the Victorians, Stephen Gill on Wordsworth and the Victorians, and Richard Cronin on the twilight years 1824–40. That said, the merit of a collection is not always measurable by the sum of its parts. The strength of this volume lies in the individual essays, often fresh and stimulating insights from established scholars in the field, to the readjustment of our assumptions about the inspiration and reception of nineteenth-century writers and artists, well-known and less well-known.


The editors' definition of the relationship between Romanticism and Victorianism has ambitious and compelling implications for the practice of literary criticism. The Victorians, obsessed with developing taxonomies of knowledge, struggled to create a single definition of Romanticism. Frustrated by their inability to define a unified Romanticism, they unintentionally drew attention to its contradictions and inconsistencies: revolution and reaction, democracy and aristocracy, parochialism and cosmopolitanism, realism and idealism. In doing so, Radford and Sandy argue, the Victorians 'contributed to the serious semantic and historical instability of Romanticism, which has wider and far-reaching implications for literary classification and historiography', and which today still influences Romantic scholarship (p. 14). Ironically, given the volume's wariness of reductive definitions, this core argument relies on a stereotype of the Victorian writer as a Mr Casaubon driven to distraction by the fruitless struggle to file and index his Romantic literary and cultural inheritance. He sets

out to conquer the Romantic legacy with all the chutzpah of the imperial age, determined to 'possess, master and discipline'. The unruliness of his material drives the 'neurotic fear that the potentially subversive, ungovernable essence of Romanticism will begin to work independently and possess the Victorian possessor' (p. 3). Elaborating on the metaphor of haunting, the editors describe Victorian responses to Romanticism as 'exorcisms and invocations' (p. 7). The metaphor is an apt one which calls to mind the Victorian remembrance of Romantic writers and artists through biographies and memorials, as well evoking the distinctively Victorian themes of grief and ghostliness. It is surprising that it has not been articulated more strongly in the collection's title.

Between them, and sometimes within them, the essays cover the gamut of genres, including poetry, fiction, prose, autobiography, autobiography, art and mythology. The principle behind the order in which they appear is not immediately obvious but seems to have been influenced by the idea of haunting and embodied memory. The opening essays address the Victorian afterlives of Romantic writers. Lisa Vargo explores how and why the writing careers of Anna Lætitia Aikin Barbauld and Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley were refashioned by their biographers to fit a very Victorian template of propriety. Julie Crane homes in on a reference made to Chatterton by Wilkie Collins's grotesque villain Count Fosco, arguing that Chatterton's allusive and elusive presence in the nineteenth-century novel reveals the extent to which the Victorians were disconcerted by the multiple faces of the Romantic icon they had inherited. Two essays, by Andrew Bennett and Sarah Wootton, consider the Victorian reception of Keats. Bennett uses the inscription of Keats's name on Joseph Severn's gravestone as the starting point for reflection on Severn's role in mediating the poet's ghostly presence in Victorian culture.<sup>2</sup> Wootton, whose essay is revised from her interdisciplinary study of Keats's influence on authors and artists during the long nineteenth century, reflects on how Dante Gabriel Rossetti used the Victorian image of Keats as sensitive poet to help construct his own reclusive artistic identity.<sup>3</sup>

From this point, the collection begins to address the broader question of exchange between Romantic and Victorian literary aesthetics, through a sequence of essays that makes fresh connections between Victorian fiction and Romantic poetry. Vincent Newey's contribution on Charles Dickens and the Byronic legacy, an expansion of an article published in *The Byron Journal*, draws an analogy between the apparently oppositional Byronic social detachment and Dickensian social engagement by considering the different ways both writers create and engage with the idea of a fallen society.<sup>4</sup> James Najarian counters the received view of Elizabeth Gaskell as an exclusively social novelist by his reading of allusions to romantic poetry in Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*. Andrew Radford lays out the contradictions in Hardy's response to the figure of the Shelleyan poet, which culminate in the black comedy of Jocelyn Pierston's quest for his ideal woman in *The Well-Beloved*.

The essays based on Victorian fiction are followed by those which address Victorian poetry. Marjorie Stone draws on cognitive psychology to argue that *Aurora Leigh* was influenced by Elizabeth Barrett Browning's self-defining memory of reading Byron's poetry and Wollstonecraft's prose as a girl. J. R. Watson explores how Gerard Manley Hopkins's thinking was profoundly influenced, aesthetically and politically, by his appreciation of Wordsworth. Mark Sandy's essay focuses on ornithological poetry to question the binary between the supposedly idealistic Romantics versus the more coldly pragmatic Victorians. Michael O'Neill scrutinises how Victorian poets absorb and modify Romantic constructions of passion. The more generically anomalous essays, Ve-Yin Tee on the painter Henry Tuke's young male nudes, and John Holmes on how the use of Romantic constructions of Prometheus changed throughout the century, are reserved for the volume's end.

The most stimulating essays are those which seek to provoke dialogue not just across periods but also between different literary and artistic forms. With research interests primarily in fiction, this reviewer was struck by the genealogies of the Victorian novel created by Newey, Najarian, and Radford's essays, which mark out the Romantic poets as its forebears. However, there are essays to appeal to readers with different interests in this eclectic collection, the diversity of which is both its strength and its flaw. The deconstruction of existing taxonomies of both chronology and genre makes for a demanding read cover-to-cover and the book will most likely be plundered for insights on individual authors. The volume also, perhaps inevitably, allows the balance of critical interest to tip in favour of one period. In tracing the 'relational struggle between the Victorians and so-called Romantics' (p. 7), both the editors and contributors occasionally deploy the label of Victorianism with a lack of guard that they would rightly consider to be injudicious when discussing Romanticism. There is also a slight tendency to pigeon-hole as anomalies or anxieties those attitudes and responses that don't fit with the received view of Victorianism. While the collection is attuned to the polyvalence of Victorian responses to Romanticism, it poses but leaves unanswered the intriguing question of what that polyvalence has to say about the usefulness of Victorianism itself as a critical concept. 

## NOTES

1. *The Victorians and the Eighteenth-Century: Reassessing the Tradition*, edited by Francis O'Gorman and Katherine Turner (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).
2. Andrew Bennett, *Romantic Poets and the Culture of Posterity* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).
3. Sarah Wootton, *Consuming Keats: Nineteenth-Century Representations in Art and Literature* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).



4. Vincent Newey, 'Rival Cultures: Charles Dickens and the Byronic Legacy', *Byron Journal*, 32 (2004), 85–100.

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**Walter Scott, *Peveiril of the Peak*, edited by Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh: EUP; New York: Columbia University Press, 2007; Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, 14), xvi + 744pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-0578-1; £50 (hb).**

PEVERIL OF THE PEAK has never been regarded as one of Walter Scott's greatest novels and its relative failure to achieve critical success is often attributed to the 'over-production and money-spinning' that many see as characteristic of his writing in the 1820s. In the 'Historical Note' to the current edition, Alison Lumsden puts this judgement in context: while 1821–23 marked a period of phenomenal output for Scott, she emphasises the extent to which he was in command of his historical material, despite his denial of any attempt at strict historical veracity in the 'Prefatory Letter' to the work. Scott's novels may have been written quickly and under commercial pressure, but their characters, themes, and contexts usually evolved more slowly over extended periods of time. As Lumsden points out, Scott had long been interested in the seventeenth century, and had already treated the Civil War in a Scottish context in *Old Mortality* (1816) and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), as well as coming across relevant material in his editions of Dryden (1808), *Somers' Tracts* (1809–14), and Anthony Hamilton's *Memoirs of Count Grammont* (1811). It was, or so it seems, only a matter of time before he turned his attention to the period in an English context.

The result was a finer and more complicated work than contemporary and later critics have acknowledged. The first volume of *Peveiril of the Peak* deals with the Civil War, Commonwealth, and early part of the Restoration. The remaining three volumes consider the series of accusations and counter-accusations that characterised the Popish Plot against Charles II. Lumsden's edition of the novel carefully and judiciously surveys the manuscript, author's proofs, first edition, later and collected editions, and the relevant parts of the Interleaved Set and Magnum Opus in order to present 'an ideal first-edition of the text', incorporating 'manuscript and proof readings which were lost through misreading, misunderstanding, or straightforward transcription error during the complex process of converting Scott's holograph into the four volumes which constitute the novel as published'. There are over 2,000 emendations to the base-text of this edition, of which approximately 1,900 come from the manuscript; twenty-five from the proofs; forty from the collected *Novels and Romances* edition; and nineteen from the Interleaved Set and Magnum Opus. A further twenty-four have been made editorially. As the aim of the volume is

to produce an ideal first edition, later editions, including the Interleaved Set and Magnum, are referred to only when they correct a clear error.

Even by the high standards of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, Lumsden's 'Essay on the Text', 'Emendation List', 'Historical Note', 'Explanatory Notes', and 'Glossary' are commendably detailed. Her 'Essay on the Text' provides an overview of the genesis and composition of the novel, as well as a lengthy description of later editions and the present text, including revealing insights into the publishing environment in which the novel was produced, and the influence of contemporary intermediaries in its various stages of conception and composition. The section on the composition of the text in particular not only provides a fascinating example of the way in which Scott, Ballantyne, and Cadell worked together, but also of the creative transformations that continued to take place at every stage of the publication schedule. Lumsden has done an impressive amount of research on manuscripts, letters, and publisher's archives; in particular, she provides a detailed account of the printing and production schedule of *Pevekil* based on the meticulous descriptions of the whereabouts of the proofs by Scott's publishers in order to avoid their theft and trade on the black market. The descriptions of Scott's alterations and extensions to the manuscript and proofs—the most important of which were his decision to extend the London material and to expand the novel to four volumes rather than the usual three—are also exemplary in their detail and clarity.

As the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels has so decisively reminded us, the transmission history of Scott's texts is difficult and complex. Scott himself did not always seem to have checked the proofs against his manuscripts, and many errors and changes were unknowingly proliferated by him in the Magnum Opus. The Edinburgh Edition proceeds on the basis that an authoritative work is to be 'found not in the artist's manuscript, but in the printed book', but its basic working assumption is that 'what is written by the author is more valuable than what is generated by compositors and proof-readers'. The edition therefore aims to be as true as possible to Scott's 'initial creative process' and, hence, to reject what David Daiches in his 'Forward' calls the 'almost suffocating' nature of the Magnum Opus. Despite criticism of this approach and a renewed scholarly interest in the creative nature of the Magnum paratexts, David Hewitt rightly points out in his 'General Introduction' that while 'a new edition based on the Magnum would be an entirely legitimate project' the 'Edinburgh editors have chosen another valid option'.

Hewitt's newly revised introduction argues that his original assessment of the importance of the Edinburgh Edition 'now looks tentative and tepid, for the textual strategy pursued by the editors has been justified by spectacular results'. His claims are borne out by the current volume. Lumsden has uncovered an extraordinary number of oversights and emendations to the base-text, many of which shed new light on passages of the novel, as well as on Scott's authorial practices; in particular, both the newly revised reading text and accompanying

editorial apparatus more clearly delineate the working relationship between Scott and his intermediaries. The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels and this edition of *Peveil of the Peak* must therefore be welcomed not only for their impeccable scholarship and editorial policy, but also for making more transparent the complex ‘socialisation’ of Scott’s novels.

**Walter Scott, *The Siege of Malta and Bizarro*, edited by J. H. Alexander, Judy King, and Graham Tulloch (Edinburgh: EUP; New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), xiv + 511pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-2487-4; £55 (hb).**

VISITING SIR WALTER SCOTT AT J. G. LOCKHART’S HOUSE in London just before Scott’s final voyage to Malta and Italy in 1831, the Irish poet Thomas Moore reflected sadly in his journal on Scott’s series of debilitating strokes and was more than once ‘painfully struck by the utter vacancy of his look’. Moore claimed that the Lockharts’ ‘great object in sending [Scott] abroad’ was ‘to disengage his mind from the strong wish to *write* by which he is haunted—continually making efforts to produce something, without being able to bring his mind collectedly to bear upon it’. While the extent of Scott’s vacancy and lack of intellectual consistency is perhaps overstated here—indeed, he is described as being more receptive and convivial during two further visits by Moore—his final two incomplete works written in 1831–32 while convalescing abroad, *The Siege of Malta* and *Bizarro*, both bear the imprint of his illness and present a different set of challenges from those facing the editors of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels.

On Lockhart’s recommendation, neither text was revised or published by Robert Cadell after Scott’s death, and the editorial concerns of the Edinburgh Edition—the attempt to resolve textual variations between the manuscripts and published works, the desire to produce an ideal first edition, and the rejection of the paratextual intricacies of the Magnum Opus—are therefore largely irrelevant in the present case. The novels are incomplete in more ways than one: *Bizarro* is quite literally unfinished and until now has remained wholly unpublished; *The Siege of Malta* finishes mid-sentence, increasingly elides its fictional narrative for a historical account of Malta, and has been published only in fragments. The manuscripts of the novels, primarily preserved in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library, are, moreover, locally faulty, and are written in Scott’s (by then) stricken and sometimes undecipherable hand.

None of this makes for an easy editorial commission, but in this meticulous edition by J. H. Alexander, Judy King, and Graham Tulloch every attempt has been made to provide the reader with all the requisite tools for scholarly and more general use. The edition presents the texts in ‘three parallel forms’: scans of the manuscripts on CD-ROM; ‘reading’ texts, in which the editors have attempted to act almost as contemporaneous intermediaries would have done by correcting straightforward errors, tidying punctuation, and filling

small lacunae; and diplomatic, literal transcriptions of the texts. In preparing the reading texts, the editors have (sparingly) applied the techniques used by Cadell and Lockhart themselves in preparing late novels for publication. Given the fraught nature of the manuscripts and the necessarily high level of editorial interpretation involved in their transcription, readers are advised by the editors to consult the CD-ROM before quoting a passage or completing an analysis. They modestly note that scholars may more generally prefer to use the scans and transcriptions rather than the reading texts, but the high quality of the latter makes them valuable in their own right, as well as being helpful as textual commentaries on the transcriptions.

In their joint introduction, the editors declare that a scholarly fascination with Scott's later writings as well as a frustration with the non-availability of the texts currently under consideration 'has emboldened [them] to set aside Lockhart's wish that they would not be published'. They also rightly point to other reasons why the novels are important for Scott scholarship: the elision of the imaginary narrative in *The Siege of Malta* reflects a tendency in other late novels such as *Anne of Geierstein* and *Count Robert of Paris* to prioritise historical record over fiction in the final pages; and *Bizarro* confirms Scott's ongoing fascination with outlaws and brigands such as Rob Roy and Robin Hood, albeit in a more gruesome, explicit, and violent form than readers will have previously encountered in his work.


The two 'Essay[s] on the Text' at the end of the volume provide histories of the genesis and composition of the novels, as well as commentaries on the manuscripts and present texts. In the case of *The Siege*, this genesis is largely pieced together through the exchange of letters between Scott, Cadell, and Lockhart during Scott's journey and visit to Malta; and in the case of *Bizarro*, from Scott's journal and the *Reminiscences* of William Gell, a famous classical scholar and antiquarian who Scott met in Italy. The editors also consider the vicissitudes of the manuscripts in some detail. The manuscript of *The Siege* in particular underwent a number of mutilations in the nineteenth century. In the first instance, Scott divided it as he wrote into six parcels, one of which he misnumbered and incorrectly paginated. Later, some short passages were cut out of the manuscript as curiosities and a copy or transcription made in 1878 is, in some instances, the only surviving proof of these missing leaves.

As the primary editor of *The Siege of Malta*, Alexander has dealt with these mutilations with exceptional care, providing detailed descriptions of each parcel and, when appropriate, a brief note on the physical characteristics of each leaf. The same level of meticulous detail and care extends to any amendments or corrections made to the manuscript. Emendation lists have rightly been excluded on the basis that any such lists would have been of inordinate length and complexity, but the editorial decisions made in relation to small changes, punctuation, and spelling in the reading text of *The Siege* are clear and consistent. More difficult editorial decisions arise when Scott is at variance with topography

or the historical record, as Alexander has had to decide whether the difference is part of Scott's fictionalising of history or whether it is simply an error. The historical notes provided for each text are therefore particularly useful in the present case and explicitly deal with the question of historical accuracy in order to more clearly delineate those parts of the novels that are fictitious

Scott's primary source in the case of *The Siege* is Vertot's *History of the Knights of Malta*; and, in the case of *Bizarro*, oral sources and some pamphlets on Italian brigands. His use of Vertot is at first sporadic and relates to historical incidents which can be incorporated in the fiction, but increasingly becomes more direct and exacting, although it is never without reinterpretation and some degree of creative involvement. In relation to *Bizarro*, Scott seems to have relied on two oral accounts received during his travels in Calabria and Naples. Francesco Moscato or 'Il Bizarro' was a real historical figure and, although Scott gives his hero a new Christian name and surname, the oral accounts on which he relies are largely corroborated by contemporary reports of officers involved in the suppression of brigand bands.

Explanatory notes and a glossary round off a very comprehensive set of editorial clarifications for the reading texts. Editorial intervention has, on the other hand, been kept to a minimum in the transcriptions, as the reading texts represent a more comprehensive attempt to discern Scott's authorial intentions. Nonetheless, difficulties in deciphering words and letters are clearly explained in the notes on the transcriptions and alternative readings are provided when Scott's sense is unclear. Ambiguous spellings are resolved in line with Scott's preferred manuscript usage. Where letters are clear, the transcription follows the manuscript even if this results in misspellings, but where words or letters are unclear the editors have adopted the normalisation course as the lesser of two evils.

The stated aim of the present volume is 'to make available to scholars and more general readers what Scott wrote, or what he may reasonably be conjectured as having intended to appear in print, taking into account the editorial and printing procedures which governed the production of his late novels, and the expectations of contemporaneous readers'. In this the editors have succeeded admirably. This is an exemplary piece of editing under a difficult set of circumstances and the volume not only provides us with the first complete editions of these texts, but also gives general readers and scholars alike reading texts on which they may rely. The transcriptions and CD-ROM scan of the manuscripts are important additional resources for scholars, but they in no way undermine or detract from the substantial editorial achievement of the reading texts. 

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Peter Simonsen, *Wordsworth and the Word-Preserving Arts: Typographic Inscription, Ekphrasis and Posterity in the Later Work* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), x + 216pp. ISBN 978-0-2305-2481-1; £48 / \$85 (hb).

THE ARGUMENT OF THIS BOOK IS THAT WORDSWORTH'S LATER POETRY FOCUSES less upon nature and the poet's inner self, more upon the visible external world, the visual arts and the visual appearance of his own poetry in print. He became less 'a man speaking to men' and more a man writing for posterity. Or rather he became, in collaboration with printers and engravers and publishers, a man printing for posterity. A late manifestation of this tendency was the engraving of Frances Chantrey's very Roman stone bust of Wordsworth which he used as the frontispiece for his 1845 *Poems* and which is reproduced on the front cover of Peter Simonsen's book. Permanence, Simonsen suggests, remained a fundamental value for Wordsworth throughout his writing life but in his later work it was to be found rather less in nature and rather more in art.

The common view that Wordsworth's poetry declined in quality after the *Poems, in Two Volumes* of 1807 is a result, Simonsen believes, of our failure to understand what he was really trying to achieve in his later work. In making this argument he fully acknowledges the many recent studies of Wordsworth's ekphrastic and inscriptional poetry and the increasing critical recognition of that there was a 'turn to the visual' in British culture. Jerome McGann for instance has claimed that after 1820 'artists and writers gradually developed a new and extraordinarily sophisticated understanding of the expressive character of physical text.' By putting Wordsworth's poetry in this wider context, and by supporting his argument with some rigorous close reading, Peter Simonsen succeeds in making Wordsworth's later poetry much more interesting than many of us had realised.

Typographic inscription and ekphrasis are related aspects of the turn to the visual and while the chapter titles of Simonsen's book suggest a separation of the two the actual argument moves constantly, and deftly, from the one topic to the other. Thus *Yarrow Revisited, and Other Poems* (1835) has a chapter to itself as 'The Book of Ekphrasis' but a poem from that volume, 'Inscription' (a poem without a title in later editions), is also at the centre of the chapter on 'Typographic Inscription'.

The analysis of 'Inscription' and of another *Yarrow Revisited* poem, 'Lines Suggested by a Portrait from the pencil of F. Stone', demonstrate just how close the themes of ekphrasis and inscription can be. The 'grey line' mentioned in 'Inscription' refers both to the path or line left on the hillside by the composing poet as he walks and to the line of verse which is left, more permanently, on the printed page. In 'Lines Suggested by a Portrait', the word 'Lines' in the title is repeated as 'line' within the poem, as it had been thirty-seven years earlier in 'Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey.' But while the pun in 'Tintern

Abbey' had linked poetry to nature ('these hedge-rows, hardly hedge-rows, little lines | Of sportive wood run wild'), the pun in the later poem links poetry to the line of paint in a portrait ('A silver line that runs from brow to crown | And in the middle parts the braided hair'). The permanence which the poem hopes to assimilate belongs in the later poem not to nature but to art, the pun signifying 'the plastic fixity conferred upon song by its representation in the materiality shared by printing and painting'.

It is in fact not always quite clear, either in Wordsworth or in Simonsen, to what extent the distinction between handwriting and print is important. Nevertheless, some of Simonsen's suggestions about the meaning of specific typefaces in the later poetry are persuasive. He has interesting things to say about the use of blackletter or 'gothic' type in *The White Doe of Rylstone* (1815) and about the resetting of the final poem of the *River Duddon* sonnets (1820) in italic for the five-volume collected edition of 1827 (where the poem's title is also changed, from 'Conclusion' to 'After-Thought').

My only regret here is that so little attention is paid to the quite heavy use of capital letters in the later poems, for instance in 'After-Thought'. The distinction between upper and lower case is a feature of 'the visual language of typography' quite as important as the distinction between roman and italic. If, as Simonsen argues, what has been called 'the general typographic revolution at the close of the eighteenth century' enabled Wordsworth to use italic as a precision instrument, perhaps it did the same for his use of capitals. And if so, it would make Hazlitt's description, in *The Spirit of the Age* (1825) of early Wordsworth as a 'levelling' poet particularly intriguing since the levelling which Hazlitt had in mind was, among other things, typographic: 'capital letters were no more allowed in print than letters-patent of nobility were permitted in real life.'

Hazlitt does play important role in Simonsen's book, making his first appearance in a chapter on Wordsworth's collaboration with his patron, the landscape painter Sir George Beaumont at Coleorton. We are reminded of Hazlitt's formulation of the change from early to late Wordsworth as a change from the levelling to the 'classical and courtly', to poems which 'seem to have been composed not in a cottage at Grasmere, but among the half-inspired groves and stately recollections of Cole-Orton'.

The entry of Hazlitt's political aesthetics into the book has a bracing but slightly destabilising effect on its argument. There is a shift from seeing the early Wordsworth as a poet of nature and the self to seeing him as a poet of nature, the self and society; a shift of allegiance, we could say, from Hartman to Hazlitt. But then it may not be possible to track the changes from early to late Wordsworth without, to some degree, changing your own vantage-point as you do so.



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Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic & Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), viii + 244pp. ISBN 978-4039-9992-9; £45 / \$75 (hb); ISBN 978-0-2302-1092-9; £16.99 / \$29 (pb).

ON 14 SEPTEMBER 1814, Samuel Rogers came upon a stone tablet in Geneva marking the birthplace of Rousseau and close by another for Charles Bonnet (1720–93), the Swiss naturalist. ‘No such things with us’, Rogers recorded in his journal, ‘None on Johnson’s in Ball Court or Milton’s in Jewin Street.’<sup>1</sup> Two years later, Shelley toured Switzerland on the trail of Rousseau, whose *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Heloise* (1761), Shelley consulted on the spot. This book, Shelley wrote, ‘acquires an interest I had not conceived [*sic*] it to possess [*sic*] when giving & receiving influences from the scenes by which it was inspired’.<sup>2</sup> Such responses to text and place, according to Nicola J. Watson in *The Literary Tourist*, lead by an inexorable logic to the blue plaques that now dot the literary landscape of Britain and to the popularity of following in the footsteps of authors or of exploring landscapes associated with fiction. Although it gestures towards the transnational scope of literary tourism, represented by British tourists’ pursuit of Rousseau in Switzerland and visits to Shelley’s grave in Rome, Watson’s book is especially focused on places closer to home and the ways in which national identity is revalidated in a process of touristic intertextuality, the layering of text, place, and affective identification between tourist-readers with absent authors.

Were *The Literary Tourist* a mere historical survey of travel writings that invoke the presence of writers, characters, and fictional works in landscapes, the book would not want for compelling material. But Watson’s purpose is also to explore the proposition that nineteenth- (and even twentieth-) century reading habits in Britain are predicated upon literary tourism. Speculatively, Watson considers, first, whether literary tourism redresses ‘the erosion of the intimacy of the relationship between [writers and readers] in an age of mass readership’ (p. 13) and, second, whether ‘realist strategies in nineteenth-century narrative’ might grow out of or symbiotically produce readerly habits of comparing texts with the physical world. More convincingly, she demonstrates how literary tourism becomes enmeshed in ‘cultural nationalism’, readers’ ‘sense of holding affective property in the nation via texts’ (p. 14). While the book falls short of a comprehensive analysis of these three areas of concern, it does marshal sufficient empirical evidence to suggest a solid basis from which such analysis must proceed, and it performs along the way convincingly nuanced readings both of literary and ‘non-literary’ texts (including tombs, monuments, and memorials).

The book is divided into two parts, each chronologically surveying generic forms of literary tourism. Part One (‘Placing the Author’) is concerned with ‘touristic efforts to locate the author’ (p. 14) in tombs, birthplaces, homes, and haunts. Chapter 1 (‘An Anthology of Corpses’) considers the development of touristic fascination with places of the celebrated dead. In the eighteenth cen-




tury, for example, Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey was valued as a place of public commemoration for British national feeling, but by the 1780s increasingly became a space where tourists visited in order to feel the presence of authors with whom they sought a personal, organic, or 'authentic' communion (hence the importance attributed to internment of actual remains, as when, later in the nineteenth century Hardy's body was literally divided between his widow and the nation, the heart alone remaining at Stinsford—or 'Wessex', to literary tourists). These links between corpse and corpus, place and text, Watson explains as a 'new model of tourism driven by a desire on the part of the tourist to construct a more intimate and exclusive relationship with the writer than is supposed to be available through mere reading' (p. 34). The irony here, illustrated by the interpenetration of Gray's *Elegy* into tourists' accounts of his grave at Stoke Poges, not to mention the construction of the monument to the poet found there, is that 'texts [...] make places in their own image' (p. 47). Chapter 2 ('Cradles of Genius') offers another model of tourism, what Watson calls 'textless tourism', in which the visit to a writer's birthplace 'aspires [...] to being an experience that pre-empts the necessity for texts' (p. 59). At issue here is the environment that produces and nurtures genius and the co-optation of the writer into a national landscape ('national poet and national soil' [p. 59]), with Shakespeare's Stratford and Burns's Alloway being homologous, inter-referential sites celebrated in countless images, travel journals, and public performances (Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee in 1769 being the prototype here).

Chapter 3 ('Homes and Haunts') takes its title from William Howitt's *Homes and Haunts of the Most Eminent British Poets* (1847), a book that epitomises the Romantic and Victorian interchange between text and tourism. Watson's focus here is on Scott's Abbotsford and the Brontë sisters' Haworth. Scott 'invented the genre of the writer's house in Britain' (p. 93) by colluding with tourists' desires to hunt out topographical and domestic sources to his popular fictions. But it was Washington Irving's *Abbotsford* (1832), based on a personal visit of 1816, that established the 'itinerary and sensibility of all future literary tourists' (p. 95) to the house and environs with its emphasis on how seeing through the writer's eyes can transform a dull and uninteresting landscape, and how the house itself might be seen as a source and expression of the writer's imagination: Abbotsford becomes 'novelistic' (p. 99). At the heart of Abbotsford is the writer's desk, 'the trophied workshop of a conscious genius' (p. 107), bespeaking Scott's romantic and national stature. By contrast, Haworth is 'regional and marginal to the nation, domestic and pathologically, genteelly secretive, informed by privation and desolation' (p. 107). The interest here is more focused on the female authors, on their texts as veiled biography, and on the Parsonage at Haworth as a melancholy symbol of melancholy lives redeemed but not liberated by art. The key text here, Watson argues, is Elizabeth Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857), which first put Haworth on the tourist map and whose depiction of the Parsonage became that to which all future proprietors of the site aspired to replicate. For Gaskell, the Parsonage becomes 'the location of a meta-Gothic

novel' (p. 123) that elides distinctions between its author occupants and their characters. The conflation of biography and fiction, repeated by tours, guidebooks, and the Brontë heritage industry, ideologically reinforces the reduction of female authorial agency to the status of her characters, from narrator to narrated, confined within the bounds of fictional geographies (p. 126).

Part Two ('Locating the Fictive') 'deals with efforts to locate the fictive text' (p. 14), within landscapes 'saturated with [the] fiction[s]' of Rousseau, Scott, Blackmore, Dickens, and Hardy, the latter two writers representing a special case in which fictional topographies become located in 'actual' places. Chapter 4 ('Ladies and Lakes') pinpoints the origins of this kind of tourism in the devoted sojourns of sentimental tourists to the 'classic ground' associated with Rousseau's *Julie* near Lake Geneva, alluded to above. While Rousseau's St. Preux models the 'reader-tourist', St. Preux's 'unavailable object of tourist desire' (p. 137), Julie, evokes the belatedness and disappointment that became stock responses of tourists seeking out the novel's traces in the Swiss landscape (hence, as Watson argues referring to Charles Tennant's 1824 tour, such visits 'could never authentically disappoint' since they are inscribed within a 'spectrum of [...] recorded experiences [...] primarily of disappointment' [p. 146]). Like *Julie*, Scott's popular *Lady of the Lake* (1810) spurred sentimental tourists to follow the paths of its hero, Fitz-James (the subterfuge of the incognito King James V), yet Scott's layering of real history with fiction spawned maps, guidebooks, and subsequent editions of the poem that interleaved, at times confused the two, and this appealed to 'the spirit of romantic documentary' expected by Victorian readers. R. D. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* (1869), similarly and for similar reasons, transformed Exmoor into Lorna Doone Country. In this example and many other instances cited in Chapter 5, literary counties based on the works of novelists constitute a 'wholesale geographical naturalisation of fiction' (p. 170), the imaginative capital of national identity. As touristic impulses develop from the sentimental to the desire for documentary analysis, meanwhile, the importance of the writer's own life, his or her biography, subsides, with Hardy's Wessex emerging at the end of the period under consideration as a pure emanation of the writings themselves. One thread connecting Hardy and Scott, however, is that both writers build into their fictions narrative techniques derived from guidebooks, mapping out ways in which the fictions will in turn be appropriated by guidebooks to 'actual' landscapes.

This summary of the book cannot do justice to the richness of its materials, the extensive research upon which it is based, the many examples and permutations that Watson illustrates using novels, poems, guidebooks, illustrations, and her own visits to the tombs, homes, and haunts of writers. At times example outweighs analysis and Watson finds herself rephrasing rather than developing her argument (e.g. 'flattens out the distinction between fictional and biographical material' [p. 121], 'flattening out of the distinction between the biographical and fictional' [p. 123], 'fusion between the biographical and fictional' [p. 127]). The proliferating 'models' of tourism deduced from variet-

ies of literary tourism, meanwhile, might have formed the basis for a more integrated theoretical consideration of the subject, such as Dean MacCannell provides in *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976), not mentioned in this study, but whose notion of 'sight sacralisation' also has a clear bearing on Watson's discussion of the textuality of place and commercial reproductions thereof.<sup>3</sup> Such minor concerns aside, the writing is confident, often eloquent, and Watson, a self-confessed and passionate literary tourist, occasionally and self-consciously allows her scholarly mask to slip, revealing the enthusiast in the field, her children in tow (or vice versa), comparing her own readings to literary sites as they exist today, herself and her subject the best antidote for the 'embarrassment' that has hitherto kept literary tourism in the shadows of scholarly respectability. 

#### NOTES

1. J. R. Hale (ed.), *The Italian Journal of Samuel Rogers* (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), pp. 142–43.
2. Donald Reiman (ed.), *Shelley and his Circle, 1773–1822*, vol. 7 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 719.
3. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class*, with a foreword by Lucy R. Lippard (1976; Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 39–56.

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**Edoardo Zuccato, *Petrarch in Romantic England* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), xiv + 241pp. ISBN 978-0-2305-4260-0; £50 / \$80 (hb).**

THE INSPIRATIONAL POTENTIAL OF ITALIAN LITERATURE for British Romantic authors has been investigated in studies such as Peter Vassallo's discussions of Byron and Shelley or Ralph Pite's *The Circle of our Vision: Dante's Presence in English Romantic Poetry* (1994). In the past decade, works such as Saglia and Bandiera's *British Romanticism and Italian Literature* (2005) and William Keach's study of Byron's *ottava rima* in *Arbitrary Power: Romanticism, Language, Politics* (2004) have examined these transnational relationships with a strong emphasis on textuality and stylistics; while Joseph Luzzi's *Romantic Europe and the Ghost of Italy* (2008) explores the mythopoeic representations of Italy within Romantic Europe. The revival of the sonnet, too, has attracted significant attention, especially in the field of Romantic women's poetry, as testified by anthologies such as *A Century of Sonnets: The Romantic-Era Revival* (1999), edited by Paula Feldman and Daniel Robinson—the latter also author of other studies on the sonnet revival.

Dealing simultaneously with the resurgence of interest in the sonnet and the fascination with Italian culture, Edoardo Zuccato's *Petrarch in Romantic England* is a noteworthy historical overview of the uniquely British Petrarchan revival during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Petrarch's meditations in the solitary landscape, centrality of self-analysis, and cult of the *humanae litterae* could all be readily appropriated by Romantic discourse. As Zuccato's study demonstrates, those traits could also be modulated according to gender ideology, political beliefs, and individual poetics in order to fit diverse and often opposing agendas.

Zuccato's thorough research provides a cultural context indispensable to understanding the numerous links between British poetry and Petrarch in the pre-Romantic and Romantic eras. A detailed and readable account of the reception, appropriation, and re-use of Petrarch, which supplies a mine of references and cross-references, Zuccato's original, well-documented, and far-reaching work reads the phenomenon of the Petrarchan revival through the lenses of rewriting, inspiration, fictional biographies, and the reformation of the sonnet.

This remarkable study on translation, imitation, copy, and tradition invites us to consider how these categories came into play in the Romantic imagination:

I think that it is simplistic to believe that the layer text always has the last word [...] Rewritings do not blot out or manipulate the original text as a dead thing which cannot react. [...] An imitation or a translation often keeps the original meaning alive, not merely as something to be distorted, changed, or denied, but as a second, more secret layer of meaning to be played against the surface of the text [...] (p. 56)

Zuccato provides us with a polyphonic image—both synchronic and diachronic—of Petrarch's literary afterlife, and of Romanticism at large, which illustrates the complexities of the Romantic age provoking us to rethink Romanticism as a category.

The various phases of the British Petrarchan revival are explored in a chronological order: expanding on Zuccato's contribution to the aforementioned *British Romanticism and Italian Literature*, Chapter One gives a comparative account of the eighteenth-century biographies of Petrarch. The beginning of the Petrarchan revival is made to coincide with Susannah Dobson's *The Life of Petrarch* (1775). Principally an adaptation of the Marquis de Sade's *Mémoires pour la vie de Petrarch* (1764), Dobson's *Life* mediated Petrarch for the British audience as a hero of Sensibility, inaugurating the conflation of poetry with fictions of biography that Zuccato describes as central to the British reception of Petrarch. Against this tendency, critics re-evaluated Petrarch's scholarly and political commitments, and questioned Dobson's sources. Hallam's influential pages and Hazlitt's reflections on the relationship between elaborate poetic techniques and the intimacy of subjectivity are also mentioned in Zuccato's

study, while Foscolo's re-evaluation of Petrarch is revealed as being indebted to British literary culture.

Chapter Two examines the eighteenth-century translations of Petrarch's poetry. Zuccato's persuasive analysis of Gray's poem 'On the Death of Mr Richard West' (one of the numerous imitations of Petrarch's 'Zephiro Torna') demonstrates how Petrarch's language could be reused to encode the themes of sexual desire and frustrated intimacy. Further, Zuccato's reading suggests that imitations, rewritings, and translations could function as sources of influence in addition to 'original' texts, raising crucial interrogatives on how poetic production, reception, and influence are strongly reciprocal processes. Translators such as John Nott or Sir William Jones exposed the connections between Petrarch's poems and Eastern literatures, while Charles Burney's widely read *History of Music* created the iconography of Petrarch composing to the music of his lute—as exemplified by the front cover of Zuccato's book.

Zuccato's investigation of Anna Seward and Charlotte Smith in Chapter Three encompasses translation, critical debates, and the practices of address and imitation. Discussing Smith's original and 'imitated' sonnets, Zuccato displays a remarkable stylistic and linguistic sensitivity, which one wishes had been more often exploited in the volume. Together with Smith's 'illegitimate' sonnets, the authoritative female critic Seward also chastised Smith for her use of intertextual allusion—something that Zuccato specifies as being a neoclassical, rather than pseudo-postmodernist, practice. Besides demonstrating the involvement of women poets in the debate on poetical form, Smith's and Seward's writings contributed towards a greater critical awareness of the sonnet.

Chapter Four contextualises the Petrarchan revival within the general Romantic appropriation of Italian literature through the poetry of the Della Cruscans and Mary Robinson. The Della Cruscans' interest in formal elaborateness and theatricality shaped their unsentimental rewriting of Petrarch through principles of self-control and technicality (p. 84). Discussing women poets' patterns of identification with Petrarch and/or Laura, Zuccato identifies Robinson's pseudonym 'Laura' as a strategy that aimed to subvert the limiting Petrarchan model of femininity (p. 83). Robinson's sonnet sequence *Sappho and Phaon* (1796), interrogating the potentially paralysing effect of 'extreme sensibility' (90–91) on poetic creativity, exemplifies the conjunction of Sappho and Petrarch in British Romanticism.

Coleridge's reception of Petrarch, and its evolution from the dismissive preface to *Sonnets From Various Authors* (1796) to a unique understanding of Petrarch's philosophy, is the object of Chapter Five. Although originally rejecting Petrarch's 'querulous egotism' (p. 100), following his Mediterranean sojourn in 1804, Coleridge later re-evaluated Petrarch's writings: strongly appreciative of Petrarch's Latin prose of introspection, Coleridge adapted Petrarch's philosophy of love into an ideal of domestic affections, avoiding the personal exposure entailed in the sonnet form. Coleridge's derogatory opinion of any formalistic

and sentimentalising debate on the sonnet was voiced in some of his polemical and parodic writings. Tracing the evolution of Coleridge's appreciation, Zuccato demonstrates how Petrarch could be used either to endorse or to oppose the culture of Sensibility by virtue of his intellectual complexities.

In Chapter Six, Zuccato highlights Byron's and Wordsworth's attempts either to replace or to erase the Petrarchan tradition, as well as the resonance of Petrarch's language and idealisation with Shelley, whose *Mask of Anarchy* (1819, published 1832) and *Triumph of Life* (1824) Vassallo reads as a conflation of Dante and Petrarch. Keats's adoption and deconstruction of the sonnet form are read through Leigh Hunt's influence, while Zuccato pays particular attention to women writers' appropriation of Petrarch, from Madame de Staël's legitimising amalgamation of Petrarch, Corinne, and Sappho to Letitia Elizabeth Landon's reinscription of Petrarch as an instrument for 'speculating on the philosophy of writing' (p. 148). Zuccato goes on to demonstrate how Elizabeth Barrett Browning's and Christina Rossetti's sonnet sequences offer alternative strategies available for subverting the Petrarchan tradition, by either blurring the roles of subject and love-object or parodying the logics of Petrarchan love.

The greatest merit of Zuccato's book resides in the questions it raises and in the approaches it encourages its readers to develop. His attentive study of the translations and imitations encourages us to ponder the reciprocal action of translation and influence, and his choice of authors suggests alternative ways of considering the Romantic canon and imagination. In the context of the rising interest in transnational and comparative approaches to Romanticism, Zuccato provides one of the possible models for investigating transnational reception and responses. His portrait of Petrarch as a complex author—pliable to diverse political ends, gender representations, and poetics—counteracts the identification of Petrarch with canonicity and conservatism, thus offering a refreshing perspective not only to Romantic studies, but also to Petrarchan scholarship. ❏

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**Peter Garside** is an Honorary Professorial Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. He has recently edited Walter Scott's *Waverley* (2007) for the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, and was the Project Director of the online database *Illustrating Scott* (2009).

**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.

**Ceri Hunter** is a DPhil student at Oxford University. Her thesis examines the literary and cultural meanings of cousin love in the nineteenth-century novel. She teaches in the field of Victorian literature and has previously published in the *George Eliot Review*. Ceri completed her MA in English at Cardiff University in 2005, where she also developed interests in women's fiction and Welsh writing in English.

**Markus Poetzsch** is Assistant Professor of English at Wilfrid Laurier University, in Waterloo, Canada, where he specialises in British Romantic literature. His recent publications include *'Visionary Dreariness': Readings in Romanticism's Quotidian Sublime* (2006) and his current research is focused on the intersections of pedestrianism, imagination, and memory in the literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

**John Pruitt** is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin–Rock County. His publications on literature and on teaching and learning have appeared most recently in *Currents in Teaching and Learning*, *Library Quarterly*, and *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*.

**Don Shelton** is a collector, researcher, and writer on miniature portraits from Auckland, New Zealand. His collection includes over 800 miniature portraits which, together with his research notes, can be viewed at <http://portrait-miniature.blogspot.com>. He finds research into sitters such as Sir Anthony Carlisle fascinating, and is frequently surprised at how much information can be gleaned via dedicated Internet research.

**Maria Paola Svampa** is a PhD Student at Columbia University. She specialises in nineteenth-century and Romantic poetry, and her chief interests are stylistics, prosody, and comparative approaches to literature. She has written about Letitia Landon and Arthur Hugh Clough. Her recent research has focused on intertextuality and the bourgeois culture of tourism in the literary annuals.





## BOOKS RECEIVED



We have received review copies of the following books. Books that have been already assigned to reviewers are marked with an asterisk: if you are interested in reviewing one of the unassigned books, or if you would like to suggest a different book for review, please contact Nicola Lloyd ([LloydNS@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:LloydNS@cardiff.ac.uk)).

2009

- BARNARD, TERESA. *Anna Seward: A Constructed Life. A Critical Biography* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 208pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6616-5; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- \*BROOME SAUNDERS, CLARE. *Women Writers and Nineteenth-Century Medievalism* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 240pp. ISBN 978-0-2306-0793-4; £45 / \$85 (hb).
- EGENWOLF, SUSAN. *The Art of Political Fiction in Hamilton, Edgeworth, and Owenson* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 220pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6203-7; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- \*HOUGHTON-WALKER, SARAH. *John Clare's Religion* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 264pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6514-4; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- LAU, BETH (ed.). *Fellow Romantics: Male and Female British Writers, 1790–1835* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 277pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6353-9; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- MORINI, MASSIMILIANO. *Jane Austen's Narrative Techniques: A Stylistic and Pragmatic Analysis* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 163pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6607-3; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- VATALARO, PAUL A. *Shelley's Music: Fantasy, Authority, and the Object Voice* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 205pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6233-4; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- \*WATSON, NICOLA (ed.). *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 240pp. ISBN 978-0-2302-2281-6; £50 / \$75 (hb).

WEINBERG, ALAN M.; WEBB, TIMOTHY (eds). *The Unfamiliar Shelley* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 426pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6390-4; £60 / \$114.95 (hb).

2008

CASS, JEFFREY; PEER, LARRY H. (eds). *Romantic Border Crossings* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 238pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6051-4; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

FLYNN, CHRISTOPHER. *Americans in British Literature, 1770–1832: A Breed Apart* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 162pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6047-7; £50 / \$99.95 (hb).

\*GARRETT, JAMES M. *Wordsworth and the Writing of the Nation* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 214pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5783-5; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

\*GRAHAM, PETER W. *Jane Austen and Charles Darwin: Naturalists and Novelists* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 214pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5851-1; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

HOGG, JAMES; MACK, DOUGLAS (ed.). *The Bush above Traquair and The Royal Jubilee* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2008), 208pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-3452-1; £55 / \$90.

HOGG, JAMES; HUGHES, GILLIAN (ed.). *The Collected Letters of James Hogg, Volume 3: 1832–1835* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2008), 450pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-1675-6; £55 / \$75.

HOGG, JAMES; RICHARDSON, THOMAS. C. (ed.). *Contributions to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 1817–1828, Volume 1* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2008), 432pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-2488-1; £55 / \$90.

HOGG, JAMES; RUBENSTEIN, JILL; HUGHES, GILLIAN; O'HALLORAN, MEIKO (eds). *Midsummer Night Dreams and Related Poems* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2008), 344pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-2440-9; £60 / \$95.

WUNDER, JENNIFER N. *Keats, Hermeticism and the Secret Societies* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 214pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6186-3; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

2007

- \*ELIOT, SIMON; ROSE, JONATHAN (eds). *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden, MA; Oxford; Victoria: Blackwell, 2007), 616pp. ISBN 978-1-4051-2765-3; £95 / \$169.95 (hb) / ISBN 978-1-4051-9278-1; £24.99 / \$49.95 (pb).
- \*HOGG, JAMES; GILBERT, SUZANNE (ed.). *The Mountain Bard* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2007), 384pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-2006-7; £50 / \$90 (hb).
- \*NAGLE, CHRISTOPHER C. *Sexuality and the Culture of Sensibility in the British Romantic Era* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 240pp. ISBN 978-1-4039-8435-7; £42.50 / \$85 (hb).
- \*WEST, SALLY. *Coleridge and Shelley: Textual Engagement* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 210pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6012-5; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

2006

- \*PEER, LARRY H.; HOEVELER, DIANE LONG (eds). *Romanticism: Comparative Discourses* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 216pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5374-9; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS



*Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840* is only as substantial as the material it attracts: therefore, we more than welcome any contributions that members of the academic community might wish to make. Articles and reports we would be most interested in publishing include those addressing Romantic literary studies with an especial slant on book history, textual and bibliographical studies, the literary marketplace and the publishing world, and so forth.

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**Book Reviews:** Communications regarding reviews should be addressed to Nicola Lloyd (at the same address), [lloydns@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:lloydns@cardiff.ac.uk).

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