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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 AN UNEXPECTED AND PROTRACTED DELAY, the current issue of *Romantic Textualities* brings into focus further interactions between Romantic literature and contemporary print culture. The two articles and one report offer illuminating explorations into the hinterland of popular discourses of the period—notably, the cult of the poetess, the sporting world, and trade gothic.

In his essay, David Moberly examines more closely the work of poet Maria Pickersgill, who as the wife of the painter Henry William Pickersgill offers a perspective onto the artistic world of Romantic England. Maria's work provides a complex and nuanced engagement with this world, both benefiting from and criticising it in her published works. As well as managing matters for her busy husband, Maria Pickersgill had an artistic life and career of her own, publishing a large corpus of poetical works. Nevertheless, as a woman poet, Maria Pickersgill was marked by a struggle for recognition within a literary establishment that itself limited women. Moberly's essay provides an engaged and persuasive analysis of Maria's poetry, and its reflections on performativity and gender, particularly through her use of orientalist framing devices, which can be contrasted with those of contemporaries such as Moore and Byron.

David Snowdon's essay complements Moberly's by looking at the masculine sporting culture that flourished in the 1820s, revolving in particular around the boxing world dubbed 'The Fancy'. Focusing on the 1821 prizefight between Tom Hickman and Bill Neate, Snowdon examines the ways in which the event was depicted by the pens of William Hazlitt, Pierce Egan, and John Badcock. An extended discussion of the popular *Boxiana* series, which was first written by Egan, and then taken up by Badcock, before legal proceedings allowed Egan to publish once again under the *Boxiana* imprint. As well as looking at the key commentators on the event, Snowdon's article also provides detailed profiles of the boxers who caught so much attention, especially the volatile Hickman. Deconstructing the personalities and the language behind these narratives, Snowdon considers the image of Hazlitt as an interloper into a 'flash' world who managed to remain firmly fixed within the literary establishment, while central commentators like Egan and Badcock were pushed to the margins of respectability.


Jacqueline Howard's lengthy report puts forward the tantalising—and, no doubt, controversial—view that Ann Radcliffe's career as a novelist did not stop with the publication of *The Italian* (1797). Based on close textual and contextual analysis, Howard argues that Radcliffe went on to issue two further,

anonymous novels through the Minerva Press: *Lusignan, or the Abbaye of La Trappe* (1801) and *The Orphans of Llangloed* (1802). The report identifies a number of clear elements that are not only ‘Radcliffean’ in nature, but can be seen as Radcliffe’s. The report provides a number of comparative readings between Radcliffe’s writings and these anonymous works that substantiate its author’s claims. Extensive attention is given to other facets, tropes, and themes shared between these works, to further substantiate the contention that Radcliffe’s sudden disappearance from the scenes of gothic writing can be explained by her continuance through anonymity.

The issue concludes a collection of reviews on publications relating to Romantic-era literature, intertextuality, and print culture, beginning with a review essay on two recent books that analyse the ideological landscape of England and Scotland. This is followed by shorter reviews of studies of nineteenth-century medievalism and its reconstruction by women writers; a new edition of James Hogg’s *The Mountain Bard*; monograph studies on religion, and its role in the work of John Clare and as it relates to the gothic; and examinations of nineteenth-century literary tourism. Following the reviews is an updated list of ‘Books Received’ for review by *Romantic Textualities*, which enables interested readers and potential reviewers to view a various print-culture related works that are available for review in future issues of the journal.

In addition to the various elements that make up this issue, there a few other matters worthy of note. *Romantic Textualities* now enjoys a much ‘friendlier’ alias on the internet, and can be accessed via www.romtext.org.uk. The journal is supported by a regularly updated blog (www.cardiffbookhistory.wordpress.com), which details work emerging from its host Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research at Cardiff, as well posting other items of interest that relate to history of the book and print culture.

Researchers working with visual objects such as illustrations, ceramics, photographs, etc. may be interested in our soon-to-be-launched *Digital Image Curation Environment (DiCE)*—an open-source, freely available application that allows users to catalogue and describe their own image collections, which can be viewed at high levels of magnification. More information is available at www.d-i-c-e.org.uk or www.dmvi.org.uk/dice.

Finally, a brief word about the upcoming issues of *Romantic Textualities*: the next two numbers will focus on ‘Romantic visual cultures’, and are due to be published in late 2012 and early 2013. 



‘WE’LL WEAR OUT GREAT ONES’
Maria Pickersgill, Letitia Landon, and the
Power of the ‘Improvisatrice’

David Moberly



IF ROMANTIC WOMEN POETS, as Paula Feldman says, have ‘appeared in literary history at best as footnotes’, Maria Pickersgill has been a footnote to a footnote, and undeservedly so.¹ Her husband, Henry William Pickersgill, is said by Sidney Lee in the 1906 edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography* to have had ‘almost a monopoly of painting the portraits of men and women of eminence’ in his day as a Royal Academician, yet no exclusive biography has ever been written of his life.² His prominence in his own day is only weakly reflected in the few paragraphs devoted to him in larger biographical encyclopaedias. He is today most well-known as a footnote in the life of William Wordsworth, whose portrait he painted in 1832.³ His wife, Maria, rarely appears in any of her husband’s short biographical blurbs, and when she does it is usually without her first name, as ‘Mrs Pickersgill’. She has, in fact, undeservedly been reduced to a footnote of a footnote in the history of the Romantic Period.

More recently, critics have taken Romantic women poets such as Hannah More, Felicia Hemans, and Letitia Landon from the footnotes and moved them onto the title pages of literary history. Scholars have increasingly recognised women’s prominent role in the poetic world of the Romantic period and pointed out their place in the complex dialogue and interchange of influences among writers of the time.⁴ With this recent rise in women poets’ prominence, perhaps a closer look at Maria Pickersgill and her work is overdue, especially since, as a cosmopolitan, published, London poet and as the wife of one of the most important artists of the day, Henry William Pickersgill, she can serve as a window into what was in many ways a white-hot centre of artistic life in England.

More specifically, Maria’s work itself is a complex commentary on this artistic world, a world which simultaneously encouraged and confined female artists. Wealthy and influential persons of this period were increasingly willing to patronise women’s art—with the full range of positive and negative meanings associated with the term ‘patron’. Maria Pickersgill actively sought such patronage and earned some success in publication in the 1820s and 30s, yet in her work she subtly criticised the very power structures she had manipulated to gain visibility. Her poetry uses ‘oriental’ settings to critique implicitly the male domination of the British literary scene while simultaneously celebrating female artists’ subversion of it. She compares the burgeoning society of female

artists in her day to harem slaves, women who are usually forced to sing and perform in a manner pleasing to their male patron, the Sultan. When he is absent, however, they are able to create a method of storytelling uniquely their own, giving them the power to overcome his influence. Thus, Maria's work is a furtherance of the same commentary on women's proper artistic role found in the works of other Romantic poetesses and authoresses such as Maria Jane Jewsbury, Anna Maria Hall, Felicia Hemans, and, most especially, Letitia Landon.⁵ It also, especially when viewed in light of Maria's tendency to seek out female rather than male patrons, promotes the idea of a community of female artists, all producing work patronised by and intended for women.

Maria's ambition was well served by her husband's artistic position in London, which gave her ample opportunities to share her work with wealthy, influential, potential supporters. Exaggeration of the family's connections in the art world of the British Romantic period is nearly impossible. Henry Pickersgill became an Associate Royal Academician in 1822 and a Royal Academician in 1826.⁶ His fellow Academicians included prominent painters and portrait artists such as Sir Thomas Lawrence and John Constable, and the subjects of his portraits included such artists as Hannah More, Letitia Landon, and, of course, William Wordsworth.⁷ He also painted several pieces after works of contemporary literature, such as his 1850 work *Nourmahal: The Light of the Harem*, which depicts a central figure of one of the tales in Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, or his 1826 painting *Medora*, based on Byron's *The Corsair*.⁸ Indeed, the Pickersgill household was very much a part of the larger artistic conversation in Romantic Britain. They knew the stars of their day intimately, as portraits would usually take days or even months to complete, requiring their subjects to sit as a captive audience for hours on end. For those who lived in the country, Henry would travel to their home and stay for a week or so to paint them, as was the case with Wordsworth, with whom he stayed ten days. Wordsworth's daughter said of that time, 'The 10 days Mr Pickersgill was with us [were] the happiest and most memorable I had well nigh said, of my life.' She referred to him affectionately as 'Pick',⁹ an evidence of the kind of close relation a portrait artist such as Pickersgill could gain with his subjects and their families. For customers living in London, subjects would come to Pickersgill's home studio several times a week over an extended period and sit for hours, creating a similar opportunity for intimacy and discourse as artists and friends.¹⁰

For the Pickersgills, at least, this discourse was one which included not only Mr Pickersgill, but also his wife Maria and their children as well. Maria played no small part in her husband's success. She herself became a student at the Royal Academy, but not before guiding her husband into his own professional position there. John Constable, a fellow Royal Academician with Mr Pickersgill and a close friend, wrote about her in his journal on 31 May 1824: '[Henry] has a clever wife, who manages all matters for him.'¹¹ Mr Pickersgill, on the other hand, is described by Constable at one point as 'involved in business—but almost dead with work & so nervous that when a knock came to

the door he danced like a top & could not hold a limb still'.¹² This depiction of the Pickersgills' relationship comes from a man who knew them and worked with them closely over a period of decades.¹³

From Constable's description, it seems as though the two complemented each other well: Maria 'managing matters' and Henry painting the portraits, but Maria had an artistic life and career which, though closely connected to her husband's work, was still very much her own. Over the course of her life, Maria published a large book of poetry in 1827 entitled *Tales of the Harem*, as well as four smaller poems. Her first poem, 'The Oriental Nosegay', was published in 1825, and her last, 'The Minstrel of Chamouni', was printed twice in British annuals: once in 1830 and again in 1838. Her most popular poem, 'The Oriental Love Letter', was reprinted three times in 1828, 1833, and 1834. Her poems were reviewed in some of the most prominent periodicals in London. The *New Monthly Magazine*, which William Hazlitt considered among the two best review magazines of the time, published a review of *Tales of the Harem* in July 1827.¹⁴ The review said *Tales* was 'truly worthy to flow either from lip or pen of the sex' and saw a likeness to it in the then-popular *Lalla Rookh* by Thomas Moore.¹⁵ *La Belle Assemblée*, a periodical 'Addressed Particularly to the Ladies', also published a lengthy review stating that the book's verses were 'Light, airy, and graceful [...] evidently the productions of an elegantly-cultivated mind—of a mind richly imbued with Eastern lore—of a mind that luxuriates in all that is tender, and beautiful, and lovely in nature'.¹⁶ The somewhat older and less prestigious (though popular) *Gentleman's Magazine*, as well as the *Repository of Arts* also printed reviews, all of which were largely positive.¹⁷ The *Repository* even went so far as to compare the authoress to two very prominent female authors of the time: Letitia Landon and Felicia Hemans.¹⁸

Since she was a woman, though, critics did judge her work to be of a lower style. Said one review in May 1828, '[*Tales*] is more distinguished for elegance than vigour, more like a graceful parody than instinct with original thought'.¹⁹ Another review stated: 'One does not expect in taking up such a volume, to meet with the higher moods of verse; no such thing is aimed at; its very name invites the mind to relaxation.'²⁰ Thus, Maria's career, like so many other women poets' of the time, was characterised by a struggle for a voice in a literary world which, as she was well aware, often limited women.²¹

Before pursuing that issue, however, it may be useful to describe the more basic details of Maria's life. She was born in London, christened as an Anglican at St Andrews' Holborn in about 1785 under the name 'Maria Price'. Her parents' names are unknown. In fact, virtually nothing is known about her life before her marriage to Henry William Pickersgill on 8 July 1805. Until about 1802, her husband-to-be had been involved in the silk trade with a Mr Henry Hall. However, when the silk trade declined, he began to seriously take up painting, studying under George Arnald from 1802 to 1805. On 28 November 1805, he was accepted into the Royal Academy.²² Some of Henry's earliest portrait work, including his own self portrait, began in the same year of his marriage

to Maria.²³ In any case, the early years of Maria's marriage were highlighted by her husband's rise to national fame as a portrait artist. By the time Maria published her longest work, *Tales of the Harem*, in 1827, her husband had become a prominent figure in the art world.

It is as difficult to define Maria's work out of the context of her husband's paintings as it is to understand Henry's work without reading her poetry. Henry and Maria are but one example of a small group of artistic male–female couples in the period, including the likes of Samuel Carter and Anna Maria Hall, John and Amelia Opie, and Charles and Mary Lamb. For each of these couples, art was a shared experience. The work of the one informed the work of the other. Scholars in the past, it seems, have been tempted to see Mr Pickersgill's work as being done in a vacuum of a home, with no acknowledgment of his wife's contribution, but a closer look reveals that the two were working as mutual partners and that each sought the other's success. It would be foolish to ignore the array of influences running between John Opie, another, earlier Royal Academician, and his wife, or to read either of the Lambs without acknowledging the other. Similarly, an awareness that to look at a list of Mr Pickersgill's works is, in many ways, to see a list of his wife's influences, and to look at Maria's poetry and connections is to see her husband's, is vital.

Maria's first published poem, 'The Oriental Nosegay', is a case in point. It was printed in 1825 in Letitia Landon's *The Troubadours*. One may wonder how a previously unpublished and unknown poetess was found by Landon, whose editorial prowess apparently judged Pickersgill's work worthy of being printed beside her own. The answer lies in the fact that two or three years earlier, in 1822 or 1823, Landon had had her portrait painted by Pickersgill, probably in his home studio in London, as she was a London local.²⁴ During Landon's sitting for her portrait, it seems likely that Maria might have shown this popular writer and editor her own work, which Landon apparently liked enough to publish. In May 1825, the same year as the publication of *The Troubadours*, Landon's portrait was shown publicly in the Royal Academy's Gallery. Thus, 1825 marked a two-part public announcement of sorts regarding the relationship between Landon and the Pickersgills, an artistic relationship which was to continue for some time.²⁵ Landon's works, in fact, are among Maria Pickersgill's closest analogues.

This first work of Pickersgill's, 'The Oriental Nosegay', begins with an idealised scene of a young woman languishing on a 'silken couch, just fit to be | A snowy shrine for some fair deity'.²⁶ She is 'lovely as those | Enchanted visions haunting the repose | Of the young poet' (p. 273). However, Pickersgill makes it clear that this scene is 'but dream'd as yet' and that it is 'A happiness but made for phantasie!' (p. 273). All is not as it seems. The woman is holding a bouquet of flowers, a message from her lover, with each of the flowers in the bouquet being a part of the message. The blue flowers (representing absence) and the pale flowers (representing a lover's pining) together represent her lover's longing for her in her absence, while other flowers in the bunch are said to communicate 'hope and constancy' (pp. 275–76). Yet for all this romantic idealism, the poem

ends on a dark note, urging the young woman to ‘Watch the bloom [...] And read in the decay upon it stealing’ (pp. 276–77). The flowers, which will soon wilt and die, are declared ‘fitting messengers for love! as fair, | As quickly past as his [love’s] own visions are’ (p. 277). The woman is told in the final line to ‘Fling, fling the flowers away!’ (p. 277).

‘The Oriental Nosegay’ is very similar to Maria’s third published work, ‘The Oriental Love Letter’, which was first printed in the *Bijou*, a British annual, in 1828. This latter poem describes a painting by Mr Pickersgill of the same name (or perhaps it is the painting which depicts his wife’s previously-written poem?), which was exhibited in 1824. Henry’s painting portrays a young woman (probably one of his daughters, as he is known to have used them as models in such paintings) lounging on a couch beside a window with a minaret clearly visible in the background. The woman is thus presumably in a harem. She is in oriental dress and is holding a bouquet of flowers in her lap—her ‘love letter’.

The poem Maria writes to accompany this painting, like ‘The Oriental Nosegay’, contains a hint of warning—the idea that all is not as it seems on the surface. The woman, who ‘Though close within her Harem bower | They [the Sultan and his men] deem’d [...] safe from Love’s fond power,’ is sending a secret message to a lover through a bouquet of flowers.²⁷ Her lute, her perfumes, and the luxurious setting of the harem, which are intended to distract her from such pursuits and to entertain her, are ‘neglected’ and their efforts are all said to be ‘in vain’:

For e’en within a flow’ry wreath
Young love his first fond vows may breathe
And in bright emblem flowers declare,
Joy—absence—thralldom—hope—despair! (pp. 341–42)

The entire poem thus parallels ‘The Oriental Nosegay’ in its subject matter, yet in ‘The Oriental Love Letter’ the message is much more positive, probably because in the latter the woman is the sender of the ‘letter’, while in ‘The Oriental Nosegay’ she is the recipient of it. The contrast involves power—there is more power for the woman in *sending* the letter than there is in *receiving* it. Thus, the message of the second poem is one of a young harem woman’s power to undercut and subvert the many playful distractions around her through her own ‘artistic’ creation, a simple message sent via an innocent-looking bunch of flowers, something whose significance the men watching her would not recognise or respect.

Maria’s description of ‘flower-letters’ is part of a long tradition arising from stories told by travellers to the Middle East, as Joan DelPlato states in her book, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures: Representing the Harem, 1800–1875*:

The earliest reporters claimed that harem women, who were often thought illiterate, communicated by means of flower symbolism with their outside lovers. In 1718 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu sent a sample of a Turkish loveletter to a female friend; it included flowers, fruit, spices, and other small objects—all with specific, de-

tailed meanings, which she explained. Popular nineteenth-century guidebooks on flower symbolism referred to the turkish tradition of symbolic readings of flowers.²⁸

With this in mind, Maria's poem takes on a whole new level of meaning and of subversion. Like most Englishers in her day, Maria's idea of the oriental world was probably one in which the women residing there were, as DelPlato says 'illiterate' and 'communicated by means of flowers'. Such seemingly innocent flowers could, according to contemporary beliefs, communicate in absolute defiance of the powers to which harem women were to be submitting themselves. DelPlato, speaking only of Henry's painting (she seems to have been unaware of his wife's accompanying poem) sees the subversive nature of the woman's activity with the flowers. Still, she says that:

[The young woman's] passion would need to be powerful indeed to break her confinement, suggested by the great volumes of rich, embroidered silk curtain that all but cover her window in this scene and shield her from the outside world. Pickersgill paints a 'luxurious prison,' from which a pathetically meager floral arrangement offers only the slimmest hope of escape. (p. 141)

DelPlato's reading of the painting is insightful in placing the young woman's action with the flowers in the context of European views of harem women, but her characterisation of the woman's tools and efforts as 'pathetically meager' and offering only 'the slimmest hope of escape' seems inaccurate in light of the more subtle points of Maria's writing—points which can only be seen through a close look at her largest published work, *Tales of the Harem*, and at her depiction of the role of women's poetry and performance.

First, however, some context is in order. Female poets in the Romantic period were often subjected to their own 'luxurious prisons',—confining sets of social rules which prohibited them from taking on certain roles as writers. As Glennis Stephenson writes:

The predominantly male critics who controlled the literary journals and magazines during the early nineteenth century had the power to define the nature of women's poetry; more importantly, they had the power to define the woman herself: the 'poetess' was overtly assigned a number of the characteristics that more usually remained within the subtext of nineteenth-century constructions of 'woman'.²⁹

The definition of a female 'poetess' in the nineteenth century was largely one which confined her to 'lesser' poetry focusing on the feelings rather than on reason.³⁰ Thus, as Stephenson says, 'Readers generally assumed that there was little, if any, conscious artistry in the women's works; they were often seen to exemplify a debased Romanticism—Wordsworth's "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings", which, rather than being recollected in tranquility, are immediately spewed out upon the page.'³¹ As Behrendt puts it: 'men compose and direct [...] what women perform' (p. 17).

It is becoming increasingly apparent to scholars, however, that female poets of the time were adept at confronting the challenges presented by participating in a largely male profession. Letitia Landon herself was a master of negotiating her own public position as a female poet. She was able to present herself overtly as a poetess following the rules of her sex while at the same time subverting them.³² In her 1824 poem *The Improvisatrice*, Landon took on the persona of an 'improvisatrice'—a 'female improviser' or 'extemporaneous performer'. As Stephenson says of Landon: 'improvisation is the core of her declared female poetics and the feature which most clearly distinguishes her from the male Romantics' (p. 5). Like Pickersgill's flowery love letters, it was a role which seemed harmless and innocent, yet allowed her a powerful poetic voice.

From the very beginning of *The Improvisatrice*, Landon describes her struggle, saying, 'I am a daughter of that land, | Where the poet's lip and the painter's hand | Are most divine.'³³ She continues:

My power was but a woman's power
Yet, in that great and glorious dower
Which Genius gives, I had my part:
I poured my full and burning heart
In song, and on the canvass made
My dreams of beauty visible;
I knew not which I loved the most—
Pencil or lute,—both loved so well. (p. 3)

Here again, Landon carves out a niche for herself by comparing her 'pencil' to a 'lute', an instrument used more for performance than for composition. She also describes her method as one of 'pour[ing] out [her] full and burning heart | in song', again firmly planting herself in the culturally-legal poetic territory of impromptu, emotional writing. At the same time, she legitimises her role as a poet by claiming that she has her own share or 'part' in 'Genius'.

Pickersgill's depiction of the role of women's poetry and performance is closely connected to Letitia Landon's. A year before Mr Pickersgill's portrait of Landon was shown in the Gallery of the Royal Academy, he revealed another painting entitled 'L'Improvisatrice' or, as it was later, alternately titled, 'L'Improvisatrice; Portrait of a Lady, Said to be the Artist's Daughter, in Neapolitan Dress'.³⁴ The painting is an obvious allusion to Letitia Landon's *The Improvisatrice*. It depicts a young woman holding a lute and dressed, as the title says, in Neapolitan attire. The woman is, again, presumably one of the Pickersgills' daughters, a fact which prominently underlines the extent to which the family respected Landon's work and engaged in a mimicry of her role, something which becomes even more apparent when one reads *Tales of the Harem*.

Tales of the Harem, which was published in 1827, takes the form of a frame tale, in which one over-arching story 'frames' several others. As such, it is part of a long tradition of tales, including works such as *Arabian Nights*, *The Decameron*, and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The central story is set in Istanbul, in the harem of the Ottoman Sultan. The Sultan and his favourites have all left

the palace to see newly-conquered lands, leaving the other inhabitants of the harem, the odalisques, to their own devices. The women left behind are from many different parts of the Ottoman Empire. Some of them were captured and taken into the harem when they were very young, while others were not taken until they were much older, and remember days when they were free. As the evening approaches, the women gather under a kiosk overlooking the sea and tell stories. *Tales of the Harem* relates stories told in this setting by four women over three nights and a day. The four stories are 'The Witch of Himlaya', told by a woman from Kashmir; 'The Cave of Gulistan', told by an Afghani; 'The Hetæria', told by a Greek; and 'The Indian Maid', told by an Indian woman.

'The Witch of Himlaya' begins as a wealthy Hindu woman named Zeneib and her slave, Novara, arrive at the Ganges River on a special night for a ritual cleansing. The woman has brought her newborn infant with her to participate as well. As they begin the ritual, another infant floats down the river on a wreath. Zeneib swears to care for the child and considers it a gift from one of the gods. As she leans over the wreath-child, however, a venomous snake emerges from the wreath and kills her own child.

In an effort to protect her mistress, Novara takes both the child from the wreath and Zeneib home and tells the Rajah that his wife is merely distraught because she was nearly bitten by a deadly snake. She mentions nothing about the death of his child, and the entire palace believes that the child brought home is the same one that went with Zeneib that night—their lord's infant daughter. Zeneib, meanwhile, has lost her reason and, overcome with grief, commits suicide one year after the incident by throwing herself into the Ganges.

The infant girl, Aza, is raised by Zeneib's slaves. As she grows older, she develops a strong relationship with the Rajah's son, Zelindah, whom she believes to be her brother. The Rajah tries to persuade Aza to marry some young warrior, but she has romantic feelings for Zelindah. She refuses all suggestions of marriage and is torn by her forbidden love. Eventually, she meets a mysterious woman, a witch who lives in a cave high in the Himalyas near the palace. The woman tells her that Zelindah is not her brother and explains that Aza is her own daughter. She says that she lost Aza while she was on the run to avoid being burned on her husband's funeral pyre. She had been pushing her across the Ganges on a floating wreath when a snake attacked her, forcing her to let go and see her daughter disappear downriver. When the Rajah hears this news, he arranges for Aza and Zelindah to be married and considers the 'witch' his own sister.

The other three stories are considerably shorter and less complex. 'The Cave of Gulistan' is about a knight on a quest to retrieve the sword hidden inside the Cave of Gulistan that grants victory to whomever wields it. He feels he must get the sword in order to win his love's hand in marriage in a tournament. The knight overcomes many obstacles, including a swamp which sinks and kills his horse, several Siren-like enchantresses, and a sword-bearing giant. The moment he takes up the magic sword at the end of his quest, however, he finds himself

lying in a wide plain near his home with his horse beside him, alive, and the sword in his hand.

'The Hetæria' is told by a Greek woman who is a recent inmate of the harem from the Sultan's wars in her homeland. The story describes a woman living in Greece who, despite living under Ottoman rule, refuses to give in: 'Revenge' is 'the first, the last | Fond cherished vision of her breast!'³⁵ She meets regularly in a 'dark and secret cave' with others whom 'the chain | Of Turkish thralldom could not quell' (pp. 144–45). One meeting held in this cave is described in which another young woman, who 'grasps in her hand the deadly blade', sings a song urging the men gathered there to fight for freedom (p. 145). The group resolves to regain freedom 'Or share a new Thermopylae!' (p. 151).

The final story, 'The Indian Maid', is about a warrior who hears the woeful cries of women as he travels through a foreign land. He learns that Alia, the daughter of the ruler of the land, is being forced to marry. Her father has gone mad in his old age and her husband-to-be is marrying her in order to gain her father's land. The warrior swears that 'To-morrow's sun shall see her free' (p. 167). As the tyrant-groom is feasting with friends and awaiting the bride's arrival, the warrior bursts in with a small force and slaughters them all. In doing this, he gains the hand of Alia in marriage.

Pickersgill wrote *Tales of the Harem* at a time in which another well-known frame tale, *Arabian Nights*, was immensely popular. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, for example, stated that he loved the book as a child, and that his father had burned the book, probably to keep him from what he considered questionable morals.³⁶ An English version of the tales had been in publication as early as 1708, and it was usually thought of as a children's book, but many people, including but not limited to writers such as Coleridge, were in love with its tales.³⁷

Lady Elizabeth Belgrave, to whom Pickersgill dedicates her *Tales*, was one such person. She refers to *Arabian Nights* frequently in her diaries. On a visit to St Petersburg, she wrote, 'It is impossible [...] to describe the magnificence and striking effect of this most beautiful city [...] [it] is more like a scene in the Arabian Nights than anything else.'³⁸ The fact that Pickersgill offers a dedication page to Lady Belgrave is perhaps a clue that Belgrave offered a security to the publisher should the book not sell well. Maria Pickersgill's husband painted portraits of Lord and Lady Belgrave in 1824.³⁹ Perhaps his wife approached them with a piece of her work as they were sitting for Henry and negotiated some kind of support for its publication.

Pickersgill's *Tales* has a format very similar to that of several other orientalist works of its day. Each of the stories it tells is based on a 'true story' related by some traveller to the east, such as John Malcolm and James Ford, which anyone of the time could have read. Whenever she refers to some odd, eastern term, she has a note in the back of the book with a quote from an orientalist scholar explaining what is meant by the term: for example, at one point, she refers to a 'simoom'. In a footnote, she quotes the traveller Carsten Niebuhr: 'The effects [*sic*] of the simoom is instant suffocation to every living creature that happens to

be within the sphere of its activity.⁴⁰ This style was widely popular in books of oriental poetry, such as Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* and L. G. MacDonnell's *Maid of Araby*, two books which were, significantly, published by Longmans, the same publisher which published *Tales of the Harem*.⁴¹

Among orientalist poems, *Tales* possibly bears the most striking resemblance to *Lalla Rookh*. Both books of poetry are largely written in rhymed couplets of iambic tetrameter (the same meter, incidentally, used in Landon's *The Improvisatrice*). Both were published by Longman and both contain a considerable number of notes to explain foreign vocabulary. Lastly, both contain parallel descriptions of the interior of the harem itself. For example, *Tales*' description of the inmates of the harem mentions in its list of nationalities 'Maids from the West [...] | [...] whose golden dyes | Vied with the sun's last setting beam (p. 10). Moore's description of the inmates in 'The Light of the Haram', one of the stories told by the suitor in *Lalla Rookh*, similarly mentions 'Maids from the West, with sun-bright hair'.⁴² Both stories list and describe the array of young beauties from around the world which have been gathered by the Sultan.

All of these similarities, however, serve to make the differences between these two publications stand out all the more, further revealing Maria Pickersgill's personal poetic persuasions. Moore portrays the Harem as an absolute heaven on earth. One of the beauties inside even sings a song to her master with the repeated refrain: '[...] if there be an Elysium on earth, | It is this, it is this' (p. 222). All of the women in his story are directing all of their attention to the man present, entertaining him in the most seductive, titillating way possible. Moore's narration of the inmates' relation to their Sultan is not unlike Byron's description of the seraglio in *Don Juan*, when Don Juan sneaks into a harem as 'Juanna' and ogles at the women around him. In Byron, as in Moore, women are described in terms of their relationship to the Sultan. They are said to be 'a thousand bosoms | Beating for love, as caged birds for air' and 'a den of beauties [...] | Where all passions have, alas! but one vent'.⁴³ Thus, in the male artistic world, the harem represents a place in which art created (and embodied) by women exists solely for male pleasure, and any expression or 'venting' of theirs must be the result of a desperate desire for male partnership.

Pickersgill's *Tales* portrays the women of the harem and their art in a very different light, one which highlights her belief in the power possible in female artistic expression within a community created for and by women. The harem slaves in her poems do not exist merely to entertain their lord. He is far away and at war. All of his favourites are gone with him, and only those women who, presumably, are at the bottom of the harem hierarchy remain—those who are least likely to have devoted themselves completely to the Sultan's entertainment. Their situation is described using poetry that echoes Hannah More's 1788 'Slavery, A Poem' in its portrayal of the slaveholder's unnatural, merciless state and of their slaves' doom.⁴⁴ Pickersgill says that '[...] ne'er beyond that proud Serai, | Had their chained hopes once dared to stray', and that 'never yet did Moslem zeal | The heavenly touch of Mercy feel!' (pp. 7–8). The male captors

are portrayed as lacking ‘natural’ feelings of mercy and any innate desire for all to have liberty. As she states, comparing the natural beauty of the East to the evils of slavery in a subtle commentary on gender: ‘Nought seems degenerate save Man!’ (p. 1).

Unlike Byron’s, Pickersgill’s harem women clearly have more than just ‘one vent’ for their passions. Their every desire does not bend toward their Sultan. In his absence, although at first the women try in vain ‘To charm the long and tedious hours’, eventually one of the women, an Indian captive, sings a song (p. 11). The extemporaneous act chases away the dark memories many of the women have of their capture and sorrows, but only momentarily—‘still they [seek] | To chase away the demon, Thought’ (p. 16). One woman, an ‘Arab maid’, makes a proposition: ‘Let us [...] some spell invoke, | that we may this sweet scene prolong, | By legend wild or dulcet song’ (p. 17). It is at this point that the women begin to meet at night to tell stories and sing not to the Sultan, but for themselves. They view each others’ poetry and music as a kind of magic spell that helps them chase away the sadness that comes from long, lonely hours of satiety and the captivity of constant pleasures—if indeed they are ‘pleasures’ to them at all.

In each of the tales told, music of the ‘improvisatrice’ kind has a magical quality. For example, in ‘The Witch of Himlaya’, when the Rajah’s wife has been mad with grief at the loss of her child for over a year, it is a song which momentarily brings back her reason and the clear memory of the loss of her child. When she hears this song—the same one which she heard on the night her child died—Pickersgill says:

It seem’d as though at the same hour
Her own lost infant there had died,
Reason again resumed its power,
And with it woke sad memory’s dream,
Of her who perished on the stream. (p. 33)

It is also music that the ‘witch’ uses to gain her reputation in the mountains:

[...] her sweet voice seemed to possess a power
To lure them [young Kashmirians] to her lonely cell,
E’en at stern Midnight’s dreary hour;
For then ’twas deemed, by potent spell,
She would e’en Fate’s dark secrets tell. (p. 51)

When Aza hears this witch-woman’s song, it brings back shadows of memories she did not know she had: memories of her mother, ‘whom time nor absence ever | Could from her youthful bosom sever!’ (p. 59). The music’s power draws her to its source, and when she sees the woman singing the song, she immediately recognises her as a figure from her infancy and falls at her feet (p. 60).

In ‘The Cave of Gulistan’, as the knight approaches the cave, he hears ‘enchancing lays’ which lure him in and warn him of the obstacles he will face before gaining the sword (p. 109). One of the obstacles is a siren who tries to seduce him with a song which nearly succeeds in causing him to falter (pp.

121–23). Lastly, in the cave-meeting of ‘The Hetæria’ it is the freedom song of the young woman which serves as a kind of ritual precursor to the ‘deadly vow’ to destroy the ‘Moslem foe’ (p. 150).

Extemporaneous music’s magical power in *Tales*, however, is not merely a recurring theme in each of the individual stories, it is also a major force in the main story which frames the entire book—the overarching story of the women trapped in the Ottoman Sultan’s harem. Each time these women gather at night to tell a story, something changes in them and in the world around them. After the first story, when the sun begins to come up, the women return to their beds and sleep through the day. When they awake at night, ‘fairer seems each youthful brow | Each cheek reflects a brighter glow’ and nothing can keep them from gathering again to tell tales. One of the women looks out at the view of the sea coast their harem offers them and says:

Look there [...]
 On the high mountain’s shadowy side,
 Amidst the gloom one well might deem
 Some giant strides the mountain stream;
 See his tall form and turbaned brow
 Wreath with the wild crag’s drifted snow. (p. 96)

Her description of the mountain as a gigantic, turbaned Turk figure sets up a striking metaphor. She says that the mountain Turk has a ‘dread, malignant power’ which keeps anyone who is out at night from ever ‘beholding the ray | Of morn illumine his homeward way’ (pp. 96–97). One woman wonders if fairies gather in the vales and ‘weave their flowery spells | Dancing beneath the moon’s pale ray, | Till chased by the first star of day’ (p. 96). Her description of the fairies’ activities is remarkably similar to those of the women in the harem—at night they gather and tell stories to ‘break the spell’ of boredom and sorrow, only to retreat to their beds when the day comes. Perhaps, like others who are out at night and under the ‘malignant power’ of the turbaned figure (which seems to represent the Sultan, or perhaps the Ottoman Empire), they are cursed to never see the ‘ray of morn illumine [their] homeward way’.

If so, however, all of that changes after the third story told on the third night: ‘The Hetæria’. After the Greek girl’s story, which is the most ardent of them all in its calls for freedom and for feminine resistance against the Turks, Pickersgill says that ‘night and storm have wrapped in gloom | The mountain’s brow, the distant shore’ (p. 154). While ‘the tempests, threatening clouds, and rain’ seem to have clouded the vision of the turbaned figure, even the sun that follows ‘has not chased the dew, | Which glittering hangs on each light stem, | Like Eastern gems of every hue’ (p. 154). The description of the dew as ‘Eastern gems’ bears remarkable similarity to traditional descriptions of harem women decked out in jewellery. In this way, nature seems to be reflecting reality. The Ottoman Turk, represented by the mountain, is ‘wrapped in gloom’, while the harem women, represented by the plants glittering with dew, have emerged victorious. Through their storytelling, the ‘malignant power’ seems to have

been overcome, and the women of the harem, instead of coming out at night, come out in the daytime to tell their stories. The final story, ‘The Indian Maid’, is the only one told during the day.

In this way, the story communicates the subversive power of musical poetry and storytelling and taking on the role of an ‘improvisatrice’. Through their songs, the women are able to form a community of comfort outside of the male world. Men and women in each of their stories are themselves aided and guided by the power of the songs they hear. Through song, one woman finds her mother, another regains her reason after losing her child, and another gives her country resolve to fight for freedom from tyranny. And although the women telling the tales remain locked up, their storytelling clearly has a subtle power that subverts and outlasts the Empire around them.

Tales also, in many ways, reflects the paradoxical position Maria found herself in as a female artist in a male world. At a time not long after writers for women’s rights such as Mary Wollstonecraft were comparing Englishwomen’s condition to that of harem slaves, Maria took the same metaphor a step further—comparing female, English artists to harem performers. This comparison would, on its surface, seem a very dismal one, yet Maria’s portrait of these women’s power as performers for other women communicates a profound hope. In the image she paints of slavewomen enabled through shared art, one can see a mirror of her own situation as an artist. In a world where Englishwomen’s art was judged for the most part by men, as much as she could, Maria sought female patronage, developing one relationship with Landon to enable her first publication and another with Lady Belgrave to disseminate her longest. Even with this patronage, Maria was still part of a male-dominated artistic community, yet she was able to use her prowess and connections to navigate this community and achieve publication and recognition. Her oriental metaphors enabled her to critique this community without offending. Male reviewers, too focused on *Tales*’ lack of ‘high moods of verse’, seem utterly ignorant of her allegory, and so much the better for her. She is not performing for them.

On the title page of *Tales*, Maria Pickersgill quotes a passage from Shakespeare’s *King Lear*: ‘So we’ll live | And pray and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh at gilded butterflies.’ The quote comes from act five, scene three, when Cordelia and Lear have both been captured by Edmund and are being sent to prison. Cordelia asks Lear whether he thinks they should ask their sisters for mercy, but Lear responds (and this is the entirety of the quote):

No, no, no, no! Come, let’s away to prison.
 We two alone will sing like birds i’ th’ cage.
 When thou dost ask me blessing, I’ll kneel down
 And ask of thee forgiveness. So we’ll live,
 And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
 At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
 Talk of court news; and we’ll talk with them too,—
 Who loses and who wins; who’s in, who’s out;—

And take upon 's the mystery of things,
 As if we were God's spies; and we'll wear out,
 In a wall'd prison, packs and sects of great ones
 That ebb and flow by th' moon.⁴⁵

Lear, here, seems to understand the simple, subversive power of storytelling. He would rather 'tell old tales' in a prison than turn to the powers that be—his daughters Regan and Goneril—for help. He sees that in prison he and Cordelia can 'wear out [...] packs and sects of great ones'. In the same way, the women in Pickersgill's *Tales of the Harem* are telling 'old tales' which, over time, symbolically allow them to outlast their own 'packs and sects of great ones'.


Pickersgill's harem women also legitimise Landon's 'improvisatrice' role. Each of their extemporaneous performances mimics the role of the narrator of Landon's *The Improvisatrice*. They take up the lute and they play, and they sing, and 'tell old tales', and their seemingly innocent, improvised performances have a magic which subverts and outlasts the male establishment around them. Although they are literally slaves, and, in the context of then-current European beliefs regarding harem women, illiterate, they are able to overcome oppressive power structures through the simple means of storytelling through song and performance or, in the case of Pickersgill's 'The Oriental Love Letter', through messages hidden in bouquets of flowers.

Maria's life as a poet was short-lived. Her last published poem would appear in the British annual *Remembrance* in 1838. By that time, a few of her children had become artists in their own right. Her second-born, Mary Anne Arundale, began exhibiting miniature paintings at the Royal Academy in 1834 and continued doing so until 1862.⁴⁶ Mary Anne also published a few poems in British annuals.⁴⁷ Maria Pickersgill's oldest son, Henry Hall Pickersgill, also exhibited at the Academy from 1834–1861.⁴⁸ Maria herself died in London in 1857.⁴⁹

Pickersgill never attained the fame of Letitia Landon. For one thing, she did not have Landon's genius with regard to classical metaphor and allegory. For another (and this may be a more relevant reason), as a married woman with a well-known husband, she did not have the allure of being an unknown, mysterious, unmarried woman—all features that Landon did have.⁵⁰ Landon, however, had her own struggles with the male-dominated artistic world. As an unmarried woman, she relied completely on her writing for her support and was unable to fall back on her husband's gains, as Maria was.⁵¹ Ironically, it was in many ways Landon's necessity what led to her comparative success.

Maria also occupies a unique place in comparison with other women of the period married to artists. Unlike Amelia Opie and Anna Maria Hall, who were both wives of prominent artists, she was unable to write voluminously, as, unlike them, her marriage produced several children who lived to maturity.⁵² The responsibility of caring for them simply would not have allowed, in this period, the kind of output seen in both of these other authoresses. Felicia Hemans, who approached Landon in terms of popularity as a poetess in this period, like Maria Pickersgill, had several children, but, unlike Maria, could

not rely on her husband, who left her in 1818 only six years after their marriage, for support.⁵³ As literary success, recognition, and popularity is dependent on a combination of a writer's opportunity to write (on having 'a room of one's own', as Virginia Woolf puts it), and her personal need for income, Maria's ability to rely on her husband's support and her inability to focus on her work because of her children are both possible explanations for her small output.

Whatever the reasons are behind Maria's burial in the literary heap, her place as a woman poet responding to and engaging with Landon's (and others') work renders her deserving of a second look. Hers is a story full of paradox. She was woman who sought success as a writer through the patronage of other women, and who subtly criticised the male-dominated art world even as she benefited from her husband's connections within it. Hiding her criticism of society in an 'oriental' shroud allowed her to paint a picture of what she saw as the confined nature of the female artistic world. Yet even with this metaphor of harem slavery, Maria's work is full of hope, a belief in the ability of women to overcome confinement through art made by and for women. 

NOTES

1. Cited in Stephen C. Behrendt, *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 29.
2. James Hamilton, *Fields of Influence: Conjunctions of Artists and Scientists, 1815–60* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2001), p. 158.
3. Christopher Kent Rovee, *Imagining the Gallery: The Social Body of British Romanticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 10.
4. Behrendt, *British Women Poets*, p. 8.
5. For more on each of these women and their commentary on women's poetic roles, see Norma Clarke, *Ambitious Heights: Writing, Friendship, Love—The Jewsbury Sisters, Felicia Hemans and Jane Carlyle* (London: Routledge, 1990).
6. William Vaughan, 'Pickersgill, Henry William (1782–1875)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Online edn ed. by Lawrence Goldman (2009). Online: Internet (accessed 21 November 2009) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/22216>>.
7. William T. Whitley, *Art of England, 1821–1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 169.
8. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 8 vols (London: Henry Graves, 1905–06), VI, 143–46.
9. Rovee, *Imagining the Gallery*, p. 152.
10. Gervas Huxley, *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors: Life in a Whig Family, 1822–1839* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 61.
11. Whitley, *Art of England*, p. 157.
12. Vaughan, 'Pickersgill, Henry William'.
13. Constable's friendship was more than a professional one, as evidenced in part by personal and touching letters exchanged on Constable's wife's death. See John Constable, et al., *Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and Authors' Original Manuscripts* (London: Maggs, 1927), p. 57.

14. Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines. Vol. 2: The Romantic Era* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 331.
15. 'Critical Notices', *New Monthly Magazine*, 21 (July 1827), 279.
16. Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines. Vol. 2*, p. 40; 'Monthly View of New Publications, Music, the English and Foreign Drama, The Fine Arts, Literary and Scientific Intelligence, &c', *La Belle Assemblée*, 5 (June 1827), 270.
17. Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines. Vol. 1: The Augustan Age* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 138–39.
18. 'The Literary Coterie', *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics*, 10.55 (July 1827), 46.
19. 'Review of New Publications', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 98 (1828), 429.
20. 'Critical Notices', p. 279.
21. Behrendt, *British Women Poets*, pp. 18–19.
22. Vaughan, 'Pickersgill, Henry William'.
23. I know of no portrait of Maria, though it seems unlikely, with all of Henry's paintings anonymously entitled *Portrait of a Lady* and his tendency to use his daughters as models later in their marriage, that one does not exist.
24. F. Sypher, *Letitia Elizabeth Landon* (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 2004), p. 295.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
26. Maria Pickersgill, 'The Oriental Nosegay', in *The Troubadour and Other Poems* (London: Hurst, Robinson, and Co., 1825), p. 273.
27. Maria Pickersgill, 'The Oriental Love Letter', *Bijou* (1828), 342.
28. Joan DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures: Representing the Harem, 1800–1875* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), p. 139.
29. Glennis Stephenson, 'Letitia Landon and the Victorian Improvisatrice: The Construction of L.E.L.', *Victorian Poetry*, 30.1 (1992), 1–2.
30. Anne Mellor argues that the Romantic poetess' role was much more diverse than the performance-oriented role I focus on here. She does, however, agree that Landon, at least, fits this role of improvisatrice. See Anne K. Mellor, 'The Female Poet and the Poetess: Two Traditions of British Women's Poetry, 1780–1830', *Studies in Romanticism*, 36.2 (1997), 261–62. As Landon appears to be Pickersgill's chief influence, I will largely focus on the 'improvisatrice' definition of poetess.
31. Stephenson, 'Landon and the Victorian Improvisatrice', p. 4.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
33. Letitia Elizabeth Landon, *The Improvisatrice and Other Poems* (London: Hurst, Robinson, and Co., 1824), p. 1.
34. Graves, *Royal Academy of Arts*, vi, 142. For an example of this title in popular use, see 'Henry William Pickersgill on artnet' (Artnet Worldwide Corporation, 2009). Online: Internet (accessed 16 December 2009) <<http://www.artnet.com/artist/13495/henry-william-pickersgill.html>>.
35. Maria Pickersgill, *Tales of the Harem* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Browne, 1827), p. 141.
36. Marilyn Gaull, *English Romanticism: The Human Context* (New York: Norton, 1988), p. 51.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
38. Cited in Huxley, *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors*, p. 139.
39. Graves, *Royal Academy of Arts*, vi, 142.
40. Pickersgill, *Tales of the Harem*, p. 188.

41. Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 133.
42. Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1895), p. 218.
43. George Gordon Byron, *Don Juan*, in *The Works of Lord Byron Complete in One Volume*, 3rd edn (London: John Murray, 1837), VI, 26, 32.
44. Hannah More's portrait by Mr Pickersgill was made public in 1822 (see Graves, *Royal Academy of Arts*, VI, 142). As a gift of gratitude for Pickersgill's work, More sent him and his family copies of her *Christian Morals* and *Sacred Dramas*. See Nicholas Smith, *The Literary Manuscripts and Letters of Hannah More* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 96.
45. *King Lear*, v. 3. 9–20.
46. See Graves, *Royal Academy of Arts*, VI, 148 and I, 70.
47. She published two poems: 'The Bride of the Danube', in *Forget-Me-Not* in 1826, and 'The Shepherd Boy', found in the 1828 edition of *Amulet*—Harry E. Hootman, *British Annuals and Giftbooks* (CongareeBooks). Online: Internet (accessed 4 February 2010) <<http://www.britannials.com>>.
48. Graves, *Royal Academy of Arts*, VI, 140–41.
49. Vaughan, 'Pickersgill, Henry William'.
50. Stephenson, 'Landon and the Victorian Improvisatrice', pp. 2–3.
51. Clarke, *Ambitious Heights*, p. 96.
52. Gary Kelly, 'Opie, Amelia (1769–1853)', *Dictionary of National Biography*. Online: Internet (accessed 19 Nov 2010) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/20799>>; Peter Mandler, 'Hall, Anna Maria (1800–1881)', *Dictionary of National Biography*. Online: Internet (accessed 21 Nov 2010) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/11940>>.
53. Clarke, *Ambitious Heights*, p. 45.

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HAZLITT'S PRIZEFIGHT REVISITED

Pierce Egan and Jon Bee's *Boxiana*-Style Perspective

David Snowdon



IN THE FIELD OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY PUGILISTIC WRITING, much of the critical attention devoted to an essay by William Hazlitt, 'The Fight' (1822),¹ ignores the significance or merely mentions *en passant* the period's most influential specialist prizefight chronicler, Pierce Egan. Any comparisons to other writing styles, in fact, are more likely to mention the twentieth-century American journalist A. J. Liebling who, it should be remembered, was writing about strictly governed, gloved bouts: a licensed violence far removed from the brutality of covert bareknuckle battles devoid of a hovering, vigilant referee eagerly waiting to curtail the slightest threat of either man suffering extreme physical punishment. The irony is that Liebling freely acknowledged Egan as a major influence.

In this essay, I will look at alternative perspectives on one major event, a prizefight that took place between Tom Hickman (1795–1822) and Bill Neate (or Neat) (1791–1858) on Hungerford Downs on 11 December 1821. I devote specific attention to the dramatic tension elicited by the range of insights supplied by veteran habitués of the prizefighting world, who were (are) generally considered as literary inferiors to Hazlitt. So, how does Hazlitt's commentary compare with those of reporters steeped in 'flash' culture? These disparate accounts of the contest provide the opportunity to offer an evaluation of their effectiveness and appeal, balancing the jauntily flash with the philosophical. The emergence of background details also prompts the question of whether a reading of Hazlitt's romanticised essay is affected substantially by contradictory tales of barbarous acts committed by an 'uncultivated' Hickman. We will accompany Hazlitt on his excursion, or encroachment, into Egan's 'Pugilistic Hemisphere' and examine the notion of the more celebrated writer as 'little more than an interloper';² the concept that Egan, together with 'Jon Bee', provide the direct 'inside' line, and that Hazlitt offers the view of a keenly interested observer, but an 'outsider' nevertheless.

Pugilism, and the 'Boxiana' Reports of Pierce Egan and Jon Bee

By its very nature a violent sport, pugilism was inextricably associated with gambling, drinking, and the demi-monde. Officially, it was an illegal activity, bareknuckle prizefights often depending upon the inconsistent leniency of local magistrates. Consequently, there was an opportunistic element about the

arrangement of fights, and 'the Fancy' would often favour venues situated near county borders. Collectively, the Fancy comprised those who followed sporting events, but the term was particularly applied to prizefighting votaries.

The banning of prizefighting had been hastened by the Duke of Cumberland in 1750, when he exerted influence on the magistracy to adopt an unfavourable stance against the sport. Prizefighting supposedly 'attracted the idle, the criminal and the cheat' and it 'became exposed to the laws on breaches of the peace, creating an affray, and by the 1760s on duelling; while a death in the ring could bring a manslaughter charge'.³ This general view is underscored by Lord Ellenborough's remarks at a trial in May 1803 of four pugilists charged with 'conspiracy to fight a duel, riotous assembly [...] and breach of the peace':

It draws industrious people away from the subject of their industry; and when great multitudes are so collected, they are likely enough to be engaged in broils. It affords an opportunity for people of the most mischievous disposition to assemble [...] In short it is a practice that is extremely injurious in every respect and must be repressed.⁴

Nevertheless, a groundswell of popularity enabled the activity to operate amidst its putative prohibition. A common interest in sport encouraged the dissolving of social barriers, and a heterogeneous assortment of characters were to be found attending the prize-ring: lords and MPs would mingle with coal merchants and costermongers. Prizefighting played a major role in society during this post-Napoleonic period when sporting events provided diversion amidst concerns over more onerous issues at home and abroad.

Probably born in Ireland, Pierce Egan (c. 1772–1849) was based in London from a very early age. His later experience in the printing trade manifested itself in the amount of typographical variation to be found on the pages of his texts. Apart from sports journalism and editorship, Egan's principal publications were the *Boxiana* series, which comprised 'sketches' of pugilism (1813–29),⁵ and the metropolitan tour *Life in London* (1821) and its sequels (1821, 1830), which provides useful insights into the male coterie that was the Fancy. This work spawned a stream of unauthorised imitations and stage adaptations. Containing slang dialogue, and depicting reprobate behaviour, this text—like the *Boxiana* series—courted censure and controversy as Egan proceeded to celebrate the dissolute, bordering on riotous, conduct of his *Life in London* 'heroes'. Part of the moral ambiguity surrounding pugilistic matters is rooted in this portrayal of such sporting men-about-town. This text, and its imitations, depicted reprobate behaviour amidst a hedonistic philosophy: 'PLEASURE was their idol; it was the creature of their imagination: and no heroes ever offered more sacrifices at its attractive shrine'.⁶ A dichotomy emerged, pitting the martial and moral benefits gleaned from pugilism's training and codes of conduct against its unwholesome culture of gambling and drinking (as well as the criminal element such sport gatherings attracted).

To be fair, Egan did attempt to demarcate the boundaries of acceptable levels of socialising:

IT WAS NOT that 'sort of LIFE,' that encouraged individuals to drink very hard [...] and appear *learned* in every thing allied to obscenity and lewdness [...] IT WAS NOT to frequent places of fashionable resort, and to *keep it up* all night in drinking, swearing, and singing [...] and finish your glorious frolic in being sent home in a hackney-coach, senseless. (*Life in London*, 127–28)

In the wake of the anti-Government 'Cato Street Conspiracy', it might even be argued that *Life in London* offered a degree of reassurance in a turbulent period that had suggested the possibility of revolutionary forces marauding through London streets.⁷ Egan granted his readership access to, and greater understanding of, a previously concealed idiom that had seemed mysterious and alarming, his metropolitan tour quenching feelings of unrest or curiosity by relating his trio's escapades: 'for the benefit of *fire-side* heroes and sprightly maidens, who may feel a wish to "see Life" without receiving a *scratch*' (*Life in London*, 19–20). Egan filtered the risks and, having the metropolis placed before them, his readers were vicariously satisfied. John Reid provides a useful overview of Egan's social sphere and mind-set, portraying him as a 'valued member of a considerable number of sporting and drinking clubs', who inhabited 'the underworld of literature and journalism', and someone fully conversant with 'the ephemera of his day' (see Figure 1).⁸ Essentially, Egan was a 'middling', non-political writer whose prime concern was to hone an entertaining style.

Egan did not immediately acknowledge authorship of his first publication *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Antient and Modern Pugilism* (1813), the reader being guided by 'ONE OF THE FANCY' through the predominantly London-based sphere of prizefighting. This sporting set embodied much of pugilism's inherent contradictions (the sense of physical discipline and high moral ideals competing against physical dissipation and vice), which were exacerbated by Egan's use of the flash language (metropolitan slang) practised in sporting circles. Sporting flash was most closely associated with the Fancy, and it is with the first *Boxiana* volume that the gradual transmutation of flash began as the language absorbed an influx of pugilistic jargon, some of it improvised from extant terms. An early extract sees Egan extolling the sport's heritage:

[Dr Johnson] was another *striking* proof of pugilism being a national trait, by having a regular set-to with an athletic brewer's servant, who had insulted him in Fleet-street, and gave the fellow a complete milling [...] Smithfield and Moorfields [fairs] also sported booths and rings [...] where many a good bit of stuff has *peeled*. (*Boxiana*, 1, 19)

'Peeling' refers to a fighter's removal of his upper garments before commencement of a prizefight, whilst 'milling' was a word firmly appropriated by the Fancy as a verb to denote fighting or as a noun signifying a beating. Egan would develop his repertoire of jargon in further volumes of the series: *Boxiana*,

II (1818), *Boxiana*, III (1821), *New Series Boxiana*, I (1828), and *New Series Boxiana*, II (1829).⁹ Commentating on the same action as other reporters, it was Egan's blend of inventive imagery and linguistic, metaphoric exuberance in his prizefight commentaries that could be identified as the '*Boxiana* style'.

A very public disagreement with his publishers (Sherwood, Jones, and Co.) presented Egan's great rival, Jon Bee (*fl.* 1810–30), with the unexpected opportunity to supplant him as author of *Boxiana*, IV in 1824.¹⁰ At the court proceedings of 24 July 1823, the judge awarded Egan the right to continue his *Boxiana* writing on

condition that any such text's title was prefixed with 'New Series'. 'Jon Bee' was the pseudonym of John Badcock, and the similarity of his writing style allowed an almost seamless transition from Egan's *Boxiana* volumes. Bee is an integral part of any study of pugilistic writing, which is further augmented by his editorship of *The Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette* (a total of thirteen volumes published biannually between 1822 and 1828). His lexical publication, *Bee's Sportsman's Slang* (1825), is also an informative source of information on the specialist jargon of the ring and flash language of the Fancy. Unfortunately, some of Bee's energy was negatively channelled into sniping at Egan, and he became so piqued by what he perceived as Egan's efforts to either anticipate or eclipse his publications that he permitted resentment to creep in and impinge upon certain reports and lexicographical definitions, claiming in *Bee's Sportsman's Slang* that Egan was 'wholly incapable of undertaking a work requiring grammatical accuracy'.¹¹ Moreover, in this book's entry for the term 'Bul', Bee stated, '*Bul*—a blunder; generally ascribed to Irishmen; and one of them reports in *The Weekly Dispatch*', and also claimed that his own pugilistic reports were a 'proper, corrective, and necessary addenda' to Egan's *Boxiana* volumes, 'supplying their deficiencies and correcting their errors—numerous, delusive, and absurd as they be'.¹²

Hazlitt's Reasoning on Sport

There is evidence that William Hazlitt (1778–1830) harboured a genuine admiration for certain aspects of sporting philosophy prior to launching himself into his pugilistic essay. It was Hazlitt who had anonymously supplied the obituary of 'fives' player John Cavanagh in the *Examiner* newspaper for 7 February



FIG. 1. PIERCE EGAN (c. 1772–1849),
BY GEORGE SHARPLES

1819,¹³ which the author reproduced in a later essay 'The Indian Jugglers' (1821), somewhat mysteriously noting that he was using an article 'written apparently between jest and earnest' but which 'falls in with my own way of considering such subjects'.¹⁴ Hazlitt's musing appears to be an earnest homage, cleverly lauding sporting principles by conspicuously underplaying their significance:

It may be said that there are things of more importance than striking a ball against a wall—there are things, indeed, that make more noise and do as little good, such as making war and peace, making speeches and answering them, making verses and blotting them, making money and throwing it away [...] [Cavanagh] could not have shown himself in any ground in England, but he would have been immediately surrounded with inquisitive gazers, trying to find out in what part of his frame his unrivalled skill lay, as politicians wonder to see the balance of Europe suspended in Lord Castlereagh's face.¹⁵

Egan was inspired to reproduce this evocative piece on more than one occasion, but its appearance in his *Sporting Anecdotes* (1821) provoked some (good-natured) censure from 'Christopher North' in a 'Letter to Pierce Egan'. The 'Letter', published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for March 1821, stated that 'it would give me inexpressible grief, were the Cockney crew to be at all read by the Fancy. The pugilists of Britain are part and parcel of her fame, and [...] they must be downright Tories, like myself'.¹⁶ He implored Egan to recognise that Hazlitt's article constituted 'a dirty species of slang'. According to Gregory Dart, North believed that the piece 'had no place in the anthology [...] because, like every other effeminate Cockney upstart, Hazlitt knew nothing about sport'.¹⁷ North's view appears a harsh one, challenging Hazlitt's facility to understand the sporting attitude of the Fancy. 'North' was the pseudonym used by John Wilson (1785–1854), editor of *Blackwood's*, who exploited *Boxiana's* popularity and the supposedly 'blackguard' pugilistic theme in a string of satiric gibes against the 'Cockney school' of poets. These articles were brazenly entitled 'Boxiana' (nine numbers appearing between July 1819 and October 1822), and they developed into 'an independent comic satire on the Lake School poets and the Cockney School of Hunt and Keats'.¹⁸

David Higgins suggests that Hazlitt's attendance at the Hickman vs Neate fight was an attempt to participate in 'an energetic celebration of masculine virtue', and was 'represented as a sort of pilgrimage to a shrine of manly English virtue'. Hazlitt's journey into the pugilistic sphere is viewed as a bid to immerse himself in its ethos: 'his appropriation of the masculinist rhetoric surrounding it compensating for feelings of personal inadequacy via membership of the intensely male world'.¹⁹ This concept of Hazlitt affirming his gender identity through involvement with pugilism is supported by an outlook that the sport offered 'a space in which masculinities are very visible and invoke[s] associations with physicality, risk-taking and even violence'.²⁰ Don Herzog intriguingly pictures spectators as 'vampires, greedily sucking in the potent masculinity', sug-

gesting that Hazlitt's desire to imbibe some of the latent masculinity associated with a prizefight was far from an isolated sentiment.²¹ Hazlitt himself declares, '[i]t was my *first fight*' ('The Fight', 61), but experiences an initial setback when he mistakenly believes that he has missed the Bath mail coach he planned to catch. It is at this early point in his expedition that one can discern the writer assuming the venturesome outlook usually ascribed to sporting men: 'I passed Hyde Park Corner [...] and trusted to fortune' (p. 62). This cognitive stance is more significant than the superficial pieces of flash apparel (disguise?) donned by the writer. Hazlitt can be included amongst those who, without actually fighting, sought to become part of a masculine pugilistic scene. Couched in today's sociological parlance, Hazlitt wished to 'buy into its culture and gender identities'.²²

The question of motivation is further complicated by consideration of the original manuscript version of the essay, with its sentimental tenor (relating to an infatuation with his landlord's daughter, Sarah Walker), that would have undermined Hazlitt's 'positioning of himself within the masculinist, patriotic language of pugilism'. It is credible that Hazlitt identified with the two fighters 'as having undergone the physical counterpart of the emotional battering that he'd been receiving'.²³ There were additional politically charged, literary factors:

We should recall that over the preceding three years he had been subject to an abusive campaign in the Tory press, which had characterised him as an unpatriotic, even traitorous, 'Cockney' parvenu [...] 'The Fight', then, should be read as a covert assertion of his masculinity, his patriotism, and his literary abilities through an engagement with English popular culture.²⁴

Here, there is some common ground with Egan's pugilistic writing, where considerations of manliness and patriotism were prioritised, his work being 'calculated to infuse a love of TRUE COURAGE throughout the nation, to inculcate manliness, generosity, and humanity towards each other in the heat of battle; and, above all [...] to teach the world, that BRITONS *never will be slaves!*' (*New Series Boxiana*, I, iv)

One interesting dimension supplied by Hazlitt is his recording of the often unnoticed female antagonists in the drama. On seeking intelligence of the proposed venue (often shrouded in secrecy until the day), Hazlitt recalls: 'I heard a gentleman asking the same question of Mrs Randall [...] Now Mrs Randall stood answering [...] with the authenticity of the lady of the Champion of the Light Weights'.²⁵ Even if only by association with her husband, the undefeated fighter Jack Randall (1794–1828), Hazlitt ascribes to this woman an air of sporting authority (see Figure 2). There is also a snippet of information about Hickman's wife: 'an agreeable woman, with (I understand) a pretty fortune of two-hundred pounds' (p. 64). This gossipy aside serves to fill in some of the personal background information that might elicit a greater sense of involvement from the reader.

Arguably, Hazlitt was exploiting pugilism as a convenient means of exorcising personal demons and reaffirming his sense of national identity. In his later essay 'Merry England' (1825), he emphatically assumed the attitude of a Fancy veteran: 'the noble science of boxing is all our own. Foreigners can scarcely understand how we can squeeze pleasure out of this pastime; the luxury of hard blows given or received; the joy of the ring'.²⁶ The deployment of such unequivocally possessive terms accentuates Hazlitt's (possibly temporary) desire to be accepted as a member of this pugilistic fraternity. However, his portrayal of himself as a seasoned campaigner appears to be as much self-delusion as it is an attempt to convince the reader. In a subsequent post-fight complaint, he claims that '*we* were interrupted' by a boisterous party who had attended the contest, and somewhat haughtily dismisses them as 'not real flashmen, but interlopers, noisy pretenders'—an ironic accusation ('Fight', 72; my italics). Given his age at the time (forty-three) perhaps Hazlitt was experiencing what might be called a mid-life crisis, and this was an attempt to reinvigorate himself amid the vitality of such a gathering, eagerly soaking up the flowing testosterone (to paraphrase Herzog's aforementioned analogy).

For the uncommitted pugilistic follower (and I treat Hazlitt as an uncommitted but sympathetic observer) the availability of Egan's publications supplied a welcome alternative, particularly in forbidding conditions when '[a gentleman] dislikes encountering the rude blasts of winter, the pelting showers, and also being pushed about by a coarse unmannerly crowd', and would much prefer the cosiness of 'his own fireside, and *reading* the account of battles'.²⁷ A Fancy/non-Fancy divide underscores a 'contradiction' mentioned by Hazlitt in 'Merry England' (1825), wherein he envisages some Englishmen eager only to 'shut themselves up [...] by their own firesides' because 'they cannot do without *their comforts*', whilst others harboured 'the highest possible relish [...] of hard knocks and dry blows, as one means of ascertaining their personal identity'.²⁸ This endorses a notion of withstanding the blows of worldly life and Hazlitt's aforementioned promotion of their 'luxury'.



FIG. 2. JACK RANDALL (1794–1828), BY GEORGE SHARPLES. IN *BOXIANA*, VOL. II (1818). RANDALL WAS A FAVOURITE OF EGAN'S, ALMOST INVARIABLY REFERRED TO AS 'THE NONPAREIL'.

The Fight Build-Up: Cranking up Anticipation

The theatricality of a major prizefight was an element consistently explored by Egan and Bee. They attempted to capture the sense of drama and anticipation in the hours preceding a contest. *Boxiana* reports involved the reader in the entire preamble, including comment on pre-fight correspondence and meetings; the procession of spectators to the venue; the badinage and betting frenzy outside the ring; the tournament-like sporting of colours and almost gladiatorial entrance of the combatants; the state of the weather; and any notable figures in attendance. As we will see, the authors assisted the reader's visualisation of the unfolding scene, and the *Boxiana* brand of pugilistic commentary was often a knockabout hybrid of accurate reportage and imaginative licence. By 1821, the third *Boxiana* volume provided the greatest scope yet to explore Egan's creativity, and his account of a tavern altercation unites slang and imagery:

Carter's *frontispiece* received such repeated *quiltings* from the fist of CRIBB, that it was like a dashing footman paying away at a knocker in announcing a countess [...] This severe *thrashing* scarcely occupied [...] *one minute!* CRIBB has now added to his former traits [...] that of a *dentist*, as it is said he *dislodged* the *ivory* after a mode of his own. (*Boxiana*, III, 24)

The notion of a pugilistic dentist, and the incongruous concept of 'dislodgement' being an expert surgical procedure are subtle touches. Unsurprisingly, Egan still consistently touched on themes of national significance such as patriotism, military defence, and moral rectitude (the extract from *New Series Boxiana*, quoted earlier, representing a typical piece of such rhetoric).

Tom Hickman was a controversial fighter, whose volatility could be deployed for either censure or heightening interest. He was dubbed 'the Gas-Light Man' primarily because he had been 'sent up to London with other workmen to construct the *boilers* and *retorts* of the new gaslight factories'.²⁹ Whilst hot-headed arrogance was an unwelcome, self-defeating trait for any pugilist, Hickman's excitable unpredictability also served as an attraction for spectators. Ironically, despite his butchering profession, Neate was regarded as a placid, bonhomous individual, and was described as 'generous and cheerful' (*Boxiana*, III, 286; see Figure 3). Hickman's charged reputation was fuelled by typically outlandish *Boxiana* publicity dubbing him 'A SECOND Hotspur': 'Impatient—fiery—daring [...] His fist possessing the knocking-down force of the forge-hammer—his brow contemptuously smiling at defeat' (p. 287).

Bee refers to Egan as an 'apologist' for Hickman (*Boxiana*, IV, 177), but this appears unfair. Egan consistently condemned Hickman's hubristic attitude, and the only charge against the author that might be substantiated is his neglect of reporting unsavoury incidents, such as an after-hours incident at the Bear and Staff tavern:

GAS gave himself airs [...] abusing the persons present in coarse and repulsive terms [...] Unable to bear a *check*, GAS hereupon seized *the poker* and broke the back of a dog that slept before the fire



FIG. 3. BILL NEATE (1791–1858).
IN *PUGILISTICA*, VOL. II (1880).

[...] As a *public man* he deserved the most public reprehension [...] One single goodly paragraph, sufficiently keen and castigatory, in the last column of *the Dispatch*, would undoubtedly have operated as to prevent the *death-blow* given to ould *Joe Norton*. (pp. 161–62)

The elderly Norton died a week after being ‘pitched’ into by Hickman, who had reacted petulantly to some jesting and, ‘dropped the feeble old fellow off his perch’ (p. 163). One question prompted by this to what extent preconceptions would have been triggered in readers of Hazlitt’s essay by such information, and would they have been predisposed to reject the heroic imagery being deployed in the fight accounts. Hickman becomes a discordant figure obtruding upon Hazlitt’s idealisation of an ‘honourable and

unbiased’ arena. *Boxiana*’s ‘insider’ anecdotes jar with the vision conjured by Hickman’s portrait in Bee’s *Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette*, III (1823; see Figure 4). This image of a dark-haired, young man (who some might consider dashing) evokes notions of gallantry rather than cruelty. Prior publication of this illustration may have elicited greater anticipation of the fight, but the idealised figure of the noble fighter is undermined by tales of deplorable behaviour.

Credibly, Bee apportioned a large degree of the blame for Hickman’s demeanour on the Fancy, who had ‘exalted him’ (*Boxiana*, IV, 174):

Such was the general acclaim with which *Hickman*’s achievements were now received, that he and his backer were not a little puffed up [...] He was, therefore, praised through fear, and bespattered to a fulsome degree by all who came near him [...] and by hiding in dark silence his *crimes against social order*, afforded encouragement to his uncultivated mind. (p. 160)

Bee claimed that misguided adulation drew out ‘the latent qualities’ of Hickman’s ‘soul’, candidly conceding ‘that many of his misdeeds deserved the visitation of the law’ (*Annals of Sporting*, III, 45). Bee’s earlier reference to the *Weekly Dispatch* leaves little doubt that Egan (a reporter for that newspaper) is deemed a prime culprit.

Despite the moralistic stance adopted on issues of arrogance and brutality, the pugilistic writers appear to have harboured few unrealistic expectations concerning other excesses. Enthusiastic socialising was an integral part of Fancy life, and the gentleman’s club atmosphere one where Egan felt comfortable.

Consequently, his writing tends to grant room for manoeuvre in the lifestyles of certain fighters, and this attitude coincides with Hazlitt's justification for the intemperate conduct of talented actors when exposed to fluctuating extremes of public acclaim and censure: 'An actor, to be a good one, must have a great spirit of enjoyment in himself, strong impulses, strong passions [...] A man of genius is not a machine'.³⁰ Hazlitt's sentiment corresponds with Egan's about Englishmen not being 'automatons' ('Dedication' in *Boxiana*, 1), and it would have been impractical to preach moderation to hard-training pugilists. Moreover, the ring-dominance of 'colourful', impulsive characters naturally contributed to any public fascination with fight accounts.

Hickman was frequently adjudged guilty of exceptional brashness, and Hazlitt effectively conveys this unfortunate characteristic: 'the gas-man came forward with a conscious air of anticipated triumph [...] He strutted about more than became a hero' ('Fight', 69). Hazlitt claimed that upon the fighters' first meeting Hickman measured Neate 'with a glance of contempt' and 'sneered "What, are you Bill Neate? I'll knock more blood out of that great carcase of thine [...] than you ever knocked out of a bullock's!"' (p. 67). Hazlitt offered a hyperbolic analogy:

A boxer was bound to beat his man, but not to thrust his fist, either actually or by implication, in every one's face. Even a highwayman, in the way of trade, may blow out your brains, but if he uses foul language at the same time, I should say he was no gentleman. (p. 68)

The preening fighter also evokes images of the cockpit but, despite serious flaws, Hickman is the recipient of some flattering comparisons:

HICKMAN possesses all the *confidence* of a NELSON, united with the *desperation* of a *Paul Jones*. In short, he appears to be one of those sort of beings [...] who can listen to the sound of the furious tempest, and also stand unmoved from the effects. (*Boxiana*, III, 291)³¹

Significantly, Egan focused on the forthright attributes of the military leaders rather than their tactical knowledge. Given the blunt nature of Hickman, this appears a conscious choice by the author to celebrate the hardihood of the pugilist whilst not claiming a shared aptitude for strategic subtleties.

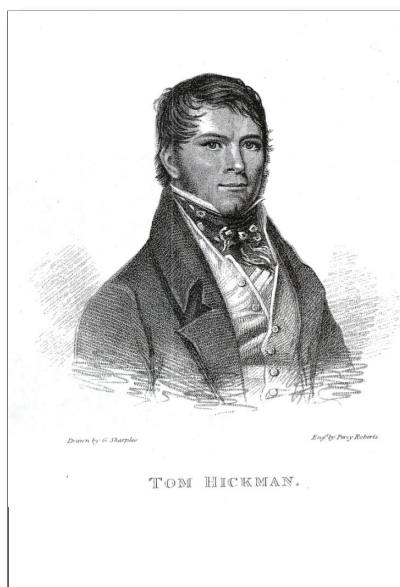


FIG. 4. TOM HICKMAN, 'THE GAS-LIGHT MAN' (1795–1822), BY GEORGE SHARPLES.

IN *ANNALS OF SPORTING AND FANCY GAZETTE*, VOL. III (1823)

Where Hickman is concerned, there appears no room for a generous interpretation of arrogance as ‘confidence’ and, following one victory, it is observed that the conqueror ‘*burnt* brighter in his own opinion than before’ (*Boxiana*, III, 295). Egan had long propounded the merits of a level-headed approach. Bee almost replicated Egan’s earlier comparison of Hickman: ‘his confidence is *out-and-out*, and he goes up to the head of his opponent to commence the fight with as much certainty of success [...] as Nelson entered Aboukir-Bay’ (*Boxiana*, IV, 171).³² Hickman’s shameful conduct may have provoked disdain amongst ‘sporting’ Britons, but the applicability of his resoluteness to the battle environment could not be overlooked:

Surrender [is] not within the range of his ideas [...] He grapples with danger as one to be disarmed of its terrors, till it is overthrown [...] He prefers the ponderous charge, in order to confound [...] and dismay the feelings of his opponent [...] His head and body seem as if secured by a coat of mail, insensible to *punishment*. (*Boxiana*, III, 287)

It was always the sport’s collateral military benefits which proved most straightforward to proclaim.

Overall, prizefighting was consistently portrayed as a metaphorical aide or, in this context, adjutant, in military campaigns. Egan appears to excuse Hickman’s lack of subtlety under ‘a sort of *Nelson-like touch*, “nothing venture, nothing win” attitude, and claims that it is this approach ‘that is the touchstone of all exploits’ (*Boxiana*, III, 306–07). One of *Boxiana*’s repeatedly propounded arguments was that pugilism engendered a sporting ethos, which, in turn, drove a fundamentally unified national spirit. This consolidating power had never been more evident a decade earlier in the publicity surrounding two famous battles for ‘the Championship of England’ between national hero Tom Cribb (1781–1848) and the black American challenger Tom Molineaux (c. 1785–1818).³³ The clamour, and scrutiny, surrounding the build-up and outcome of these tussles engulfed not only the sporting world, but also supplanted concerns over campaigns being fought by the Duke of Wellington (1769–1852).³⁴ For many, the pretensions of a foreign pugilistic invader constituted the more tangible national threat, and the ‘right’ outcome would boost national morale. News of the major contests piqued public curiosity, especially when heralded as involving greater issues than personal glory. There appears little doubt that English prestige was felt to be at stake in the above battles, but the fight reports manipulated the situation, adopting a highly charged tone by promoting emotive national matters.³⁵ There was little danger of understatement.

Nevertheless, it is credible that reports of Hickman’s hubris would have turned public opinion against him. Indeed, Hazlitt explicitly stated the effect of Hickman’s display of ‘presumption’: ‘the public had been prejudiced against him [...] Few but those who had bet on him wished Gas to win’ (‘Fight’, 68). The likelihood of this being a widespread viewpoint is endorsed by Marc Baer’s comment that the popularity of renowned actors could be fleeting if their ador-

ing public detected signs of arrogance: '[Adulation] was always tempered by expectation of deference [...] Even the hint of pretentiousness [...] could swing an audience from idolatry to violent opposition'.³⁶ The cumulative incriminating evidence transforms Hickman from idealised warrior to violent braggart.

Bee's 'official' commentary depicts a poetical scene immediately preceding the contest:

Anxiety beamed in the faces of the *privileged* classes, for on the event depended whether a quarter of a million sterling should belong to this or to that side [...] At this time, too, the rays of the sun being compressed between two large clouds, threw its bright beams right upon the spot, and enlivened the immense assemblage of nearly 30,000 persons, many of whom were taking NEAT for choice, with five to four on his winning; whilst the sun-beams danced in unison with their wishes, and Hungerford church spire, in the distance, seemed, as the clouds now and then passed its apex, to nod assent to their undertakings. (*Boxiana*, IV, 70–71)

Despite the quixotic nature of this reverie, Bee conveys practical information regarding the size and class mixture of the crowd, and economic implications of the wagers. The notion of a firmamental blessing being conferred upon what, in many ways, were violent and unrefined proceedings might be construed as faintly ridiculous, but illustrates the contrasting perspective enjoyed by the Fancy. Hazlitt, too, delivers a romanticised perspective as he records a night-time glimpse of the venue from his coach window: 'The moon now rose in silver state, and I ventured [...] to point out this object of placid beauty, with the blue serene beyond [...] it gave promise *d'un beau jour* for the morrow, and shewed the ring undrenched by envious showers, arrayed in sunny smiles' ('Fight', 65). Hazlitt's subsequent concern to find a barber fits into a ritualistic male practice, which is depicted as a perfectly natural priority. When denuded of the aforementioned worthy and noble connotations, the event to be attended may have been vulgarly brutal, but the sense of occasion appeared to warrant such notions of assuming a 'Sunday best' appearance.

The Fight

Notwithstanding the undoubted novelty of proceedings for the uninitiated Hazlitt and the writer's general wonderment, his piece is successful in conveying the momentous nature of the occasion. Hazlitt was enraptured, and leads the reader through the 'miry' ground, 'ploughed up with multitudinous feet' to the sanctum, the ring: 'a spot of virgin-green closed in and unprofaned by vulgar tread, that shone with dazzling brightness in the mid-day sun' ('The Fight', 68). The excitement builds as the two fighters 'peel', and as Hazlitt settles into his 'good stand' there is an implication of an elemental and human synchronicity as the moment arrives for battle: 'I felt the sun's rays clinging to my back, and saw the white wintry clouds sink below the verge of the horizon [...] A bustle, a buzz, ran through the crowd'. All sentient life appears to be 'swallowed up in

the immediate interest of the scene', and as the two combatants approach one another in earnest the anticipatory tension is rendered almost palpable: 'attention was awe-struck. Who at that moment [...] did not draw his breath short – did not feel his heart throb? All was ready' (pp. 68–69). Egan himself had consistently depicted a dynamic relationship between spectacle and audience in which spectator response was socially binding, reaffirming a temporary mutual interest. When describing the intensity of spectators, his commentaries indicated a communion-like atmosphere: 'their attentions were so completely riveted [...] an awful silence, as if by one impulse, instantly prevailed' (*Boxiana*, I, 105).

Hazlitt's style of fight commentary diverges radically from Egan's flash verve, relying more on descriptive similes and imagery:

After making play a short time, the Gas-man flew at his adversary like a tiger, struck five blows in as many seconds, three first, and then following him as he staggered back, two more, right and left, and down he fell, a mighty ruin [...] Neate seemed like a lifeless lump of flesh and bone, round which the Gas-man's blows played with the rapidity of electricity or lightning, and you imagined he would only be lifted up to be knocked down again. It was as if Hickman held a sword or a fire in that right-hand of his, and directed it against an unarmed body. They met again, and Neate seemed not cowed, but particularly cautious. I saw his teeth clenched together and his brows knit close against the sun. ('The Fight', 69)

There are no slang terms for blows, but 'electricity' is a familiar *Boxiana* metaphor, and the vision of Neate's prostrate form as a 'mighty ruin' is a compelling one. The *Boxiana* spirit flickers when Hazlitt recounts the moments when the contest swings in Neate's favour: '[Neate] planted a tremendous blow on his cheek-bone and eye-brow, and made a red ruin of that side of his face. The Gas-man went down [...] This was a settler' (p. 69). Hazlitt then conveys the singularity of the situation:

It was the first time he had ever been so punished; all one side of his face was perfect scarlet, and his right eye was closed in dingy blackness, as he advanced to the fight, less confident, but still determined. After one or two rounds, not receiving another such remembrancer, he rallied and went at it with his former impetuosity. (p. 70)

A 'remembrancer' blow occurs in *Boxiana*, II (p. 129), sardonically mirroring its conventional definition as 'a reminder of something' (*OED*). The collocation of 'settler', 'remembrancer', and 'impetuosity' adds a salient touch of flash authenticity to the essay's overall tone. Hazlitt resumes his earlier style to provide an absorbing version of the contest's dramatic and bloody conclusion:

Neate just then made a tremendous lunge at him, and hit him full in the face [...] He hung suspended for a second or two, and then fell back [...] I never saw any thing more terrific than his aspect

just before he fell. All traces of life, of natural expression, were gone from him. His face was like a human skull, a death's head, spouting blood. The eyes were filled with blood, the mouth gaped blood. He was not like an actual man, but like a preternatural, spectral appearance. ('Fight', 70)

Presumably, this would be a suitable juncture for any 'tender' reader to recoil at Hazlitt's 'masculinist' imagery.

Regardless of what motives had induced Hazlitt to write his prizefight piece, Bee expressed appreciation: '*the Ring* is much indebted for many home facts (for support) from men of *letters*, who may be considered *outside its vortex*' (*Boxiana*, IV, 416). It is not merely the appearance of pugilistic jargon which suggests that Hazlitt aspired to enter the Fancy 'vortex'. Bee registers his satisfaction at the content of this alternative report from 'our *philosopher*', which 'tallies in good measure (or amplifies) with our own account' (p. 188). Although Christopher North was eager to brand Hazlitt a sporting charlatan, it is significant that such a Fancy die-hard as Bee viewed 'The Fight' as complementing the *Boxiana* reports.

In his own introduction, Bee enlightens the reader that he was one of the '*very few exceptions*' who had considered Neate capable of upsetting the favourite. One of the 'delusions', disseminated 'by the periodical press', that Bee had dismissed was that 'NEAT is said to be a *roarer*' (*Boxiana*, IV, 61). This was a slang term implying a lack of stamina. Unlike Hazlitt, Bee is privy to the informative discussions of the knowledgeable sporting men that gathered at Tattersall's, 'that great *touchstone of the sporting world*' (p. 61; see Figure 5).³⁷ Bee proceeds to challenge the 'infatuated' majority (including Hickman's chief panegyrist Tom Rowe) who called Hickman '*the Gas*', claiming that this was an unseemly exaltation 'contrary to *English propriety*' (p. 226). Bee commented on such intense interest: 'the universality of the Gaseous fluid, as an ignitable substance, was scarcely more notorious than the man and his acts' (p. 173).

Bee's fight commentary is liberally peppered with flash, and the non-stop nature of the fighter's exertions is communicated by the relentless account:

[Hickman] again tried his rushing-in manoeuvre, bored Neat to the ropes, hammering away in all directions; but the latter administered heavy punishment at every step that he fell back, jobbing, nobbing, and pinking, alternately, then giving *Gas* a terrible *belly-go-firster* [initial blow to the body], then a ribber, another of them, and *ditto* [...] [He] staggered off, but came on again, and was greeted with a straight left-hander on his upper ivories that uncorked his konk, whence the claret [blood] now streamed profusely. (p. 73)

The pace and slang offers a more knockabout sketch than Hazlitt's interpretation. It is equally compelling, with the possible exception of a pivotal moment; Hazlitt's meditative representation of Hickman being 'hung suspended' and then rising with 'a death's head' contrasts with the unsophisticated 'uncorked', which merely implies a bloodied nose.

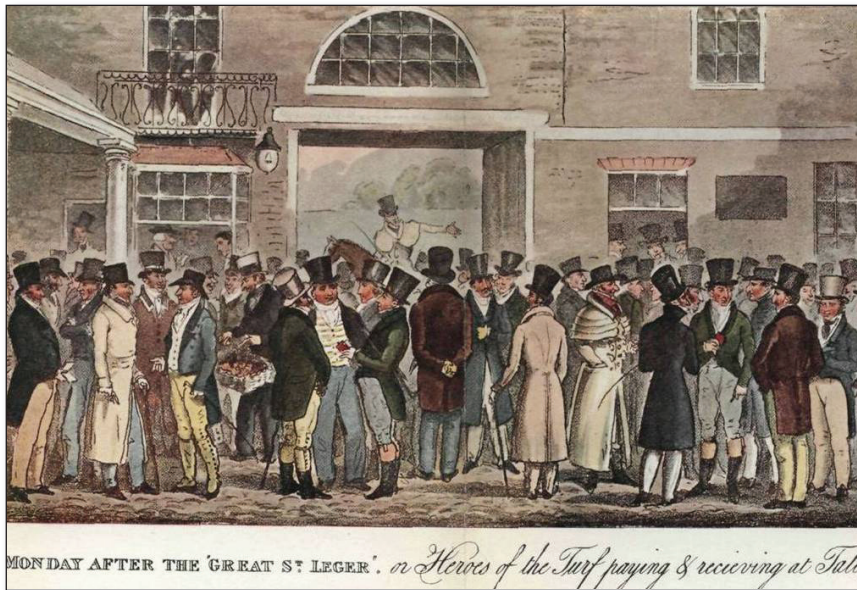


FIG. 5. A SCENE AT TATTERSALL'S HORSE AUCTION MART,
BY ROBERT CRUIKSHANK.
IN C. M. WESTMACOTT'S *THE ENGLISH SPY*, VOL. I (1825).

Egan's account, albeit much delayed in volume form, was prefaced by a review of crucial information, such as: 'Upwards of £150,000, it is calculated, has transferred *clies* [pockets] on this event. The GAS weighed twelve stone, and *Neat* nearly fourteen' (*New Series Boxiana*, 1, 47). The heavy betting outlay was an ever-present factor in the interest surrounding a prizefight. Once the action had commenced, Egan conveys the ferocity of the 'punishment': 'Hickman went in resolutely to smash his opponent, but he was met [...] with one of the most tremendous right-handed blows ever witnessed [...Fifth] Gas came up an altered man; indeed, a bullock must seriously have felt such a blow' (p. 49). Egan's deployment of the 'bullock' analogy ascribes Hickman with a combination of savagery and strength, but it is also ironic when placed in the context of Hickman's earlier jibe about his intention of pounding the 'carcase' of Neate. Moreover, the ensuing description of defiance echoes the aforementioned portrayals of a contemptuous figure who overconfidently 'anticipated triumph', with his figurative 'coat of mail' not only serving to withstand physical punishment but also obstructing any consideration of the need to exercise tactical caution, or the threat posed by a formidable opponent.

Egan's sixth-round commentary continues the animal motif whilst corresponding with Hazlitt's recollections:

The mouth of the Gas was full of blood, and he appeared almost choking with it [...] He was getting weak; but he, nevertheless, rushed in, and bored Neat to the ropes [...] Neat punished Gas in

all directions, and finished the round by *grassing* him with a belly puncher [sic] that would have floored an ox. This hit was quite enough to have *finished the pluck* of two good men. The *long faces* from London were now so numerous, that 100 artists could not have taken their likenesses; and the Bristolian *kids* were roaring with delight. (p. 49)

Egan assists visualisation of Hickman as a persevering or, less flatteringly, an obstinate fighter. But, his resistance *was* breached: 'Neat again put in a tremendous blow on his mouth that *uncorked* the *claret* in profusion [...] [Eighth] The *Gas*, laughing, commenced the attack, but received such a giant-like blow on his right eye, that he was instantly convulsed'. The ensuing drama, and concern for a 'motionless' Hickman, is then communicated: 'The whole ring seemed panic-struck. [Tom] Spring vociferating almost with the voice of a Stentor to awake him from his stupor [...] *Gas! Gas! Gas!*' (p. 50).

Egan imparts an air of incredulity as events unfurl; spectators and readers share in Hickman's determination not to concede defeat whilst comprehending the fighter's precarious predicament: 'The *Gas* came to the scratch staggering, his knees almost bending' (p. 51). The account of the fourteenth round supplies a vivid and horrific image of a fighter 'distressed beyond imagination' with 'the blood dropping from his eye [...] and his other *peeper* [...] staring wildly' (p. 52). The battle correlates with the brutality of the cockpit, being watched in much the same way by anxious gamblers, and the bloody terminology inadvertently underscores the moral argument pursued by the sport's opponents: that of desensitisation. But, certain conduct does appeal to high-minded principles, pugilists being reluctant to take advantage of temporarily defenceless opponents. Egan summed up the general pugilistic attitude as a national one: 'An Englishman abhors the idea of inflicting an incurable injury on his antagonist. He endeavours, indeed, to make him *put up his black shutters* [...] but he never attempts to break the glass or shatter the frame' (*Boxiana*, III, 594). By the eventual moment when Hickman is 'insensible to the call of TIME', the disreputable fighter appears to have been, in the eyes of the chroniclers, partially absolved of his moral faults. Once again he can be extolled for his prizefighting qualities, particularly courage.

Concluding Post-Fight Comment

Hazlitt's report that there was 'little cautious sparring [...] none of the *petit-maitreship* of the art' underscores apparent contradictions, which are corroborated by his ensuing reflections on the 'force' of witnessing 'two men smashed to the ground, smeared with gore, stunned, senseless, the breath beaten out of their bodies' ('Fight', 70). The stance coincides with Egan's warning against a tide of 'effeminacy', correlating with the *OED* definition of *petit maître*: 'An effeminate man; a dandy, a fop'. The collocation of 'petit maître' and 'cautious sparring' together with Hazlitt's evident gratitude at the absence of caution might be interpreted as an ignorance of pugilism's subtleties, and he could not

have been included amongst those spectators regularly 'lost in amazement [...] contrasting the manoeuvres, stratagems, and snares' (*Boxiana*, II, 276). Overall, the *Boxiana* accounts of the fight substantiate Hazlitt's view of the uncompromising severity of the combatants, but Egan generally preferred to enthuse on the merits of strategy: 'It might be asked, what is an Admiral without tactics? or, a General without scientific precision?' (*Boxiana*, I, 254). Whilst not seeking to diminish the courage of Neate and Hickman's onslaught, and the spectacle provided, Egan regularly placed greater emphasis on tactical manoeuvring.

An increase in demand for news of major contests was a relatively straightforward fact, as illustrated by Bee's assessment of the coverage commanded by Neate and Hickman:

Not only did most of *the journals*, and more substantial *monthly periodicals* of the metropolis, enter into ample details [...] but all those numerous *hebdomadaries* of the provinces, the *weekly press*, and some *foreign publications*, extracted and reprinted the *red hot intelligence* that emanates ever from *the capital*. (*Boxiana*, IV, 181)

Hazlitt's essay can be added to that total (in a 'monthly' that, by 1821, had shifted its focus away from a staunchly Tory political one, changing its full title to *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* to reflect the prioritising of literature), but such pre-eminent prizefights were greatly outnumbered by those of a smaller scale. It was these unheralded contests that relied on Egan and Bee to generate interest.

Only one year after this momentous prizefight, a reportedly drunken Hickman was at the reins of the crashed chaise that catapulted Rowe and himself to their deaths. A mystery man witnessed the departure of that ill-fated journey: 'Never was seen a worse driver, perhaps, than Tom Hickman; and this fact being known to that *third person*, he wisely quitted the chaise, predicting its downfall' (*Annals of Sporting*, III, 50). Nevertheless, there was much public sorrow exhibited upon news of the fighter's death, and at his funeral (19 December 1822):

Crowds pressed around [...] and the adjoining houses, wherever a glimpse might be caught of the procession, were filled with persons of respectability who maintained their station notwithstanding the cold damp air that prevailed. The funeral, as a spectacle, was singularly imposing and neat; the mourners [...] followed the remains of a man whose achievements had occupied the thoughts of all. (*Boxiana*, IV, 208–09).

The concept of a sporting 'celebrity' funeral is not a modern phenomenon.

In the following century, A. J. Liebling declared: 'Part of the pleasure of going to a fight is reading the newspapers next morning to see what the sports writers *think* happened' (my italics). In his boxing pieces, Liebling consistently alluded to how Egan 'would have styled' something, also claiming that, compared to Egan, Hazlitt 'was a dilettante'.³⁸ This is not to say that Hazlitt's essay was an unworthy addition to the pugilistic-writing genre; in fact, it provided a more cerebral picture of the event (or what Hazlitt 'thought' had happened).

The valid point Liebling appears to be alluding to is a question of authenticity, and the *Boxiana* accounts penned by Egan and Bee can be regarded as the 'official' versions. These 'pro' reports detect the extra nuances that rendered them essential reading for the sporting cognoscenti. Hazlitt's essay was not a superficial study by a tyro but, in terms of the sporting world of the Fancy, Hazlitt can be termed an infiltrator or outsider.


Hazlitt's aspiration to explore the sporting world of the Fancy appears to have been sincere. Perhaps he wished to absorb a degree of what he perceived to be an uncomplicated attitude towards quotidian life. John Strachan reflects that exercise provided 'a haven from the mutual rancour of contemporary Whig and Tory journalism', and sport constituted 'an honourable and unbiased field of conflict, possessing, for Hazlitt, an unquestionable clarity'.³⁹ The variance of Hazlitt and Egan's linguistic styles emphasises the periodicals' attempt to mould the mind-set of their supposedly middle-class readers by exploiting the metropolitan trends in which most Fancy values were rooted. But, Hazlitt's account sufficiently intersects with the *Boxiana* reports to underscore an affinity with pugilistic events for a wide-ranging social blend.

Hazlitt's essay provided a sympathetic overview of sporting circles without seriously grappling with the culture and language. Hazlitt, the man, sought to participate in an affirmation of maleness by attending this high-profile prizefight. What is more, he threw himself into the venture with gusto, and when the coach eventually delivered him home the writer wistfully states: 'I got out, resigned my coat and green silk handkerchief [...] and walked home in high spirits' ('Fight', 73). Despite claiming to be loathe to give up 'these ornaments of life', and apparently energised by the excursion, Hazlitt's first fight appears to have also represented his last. Herzog explains one potential philosophy:

[Spectators] consoled themselves in their undead languor by capitalising on the cultural force of the mind/body distinction. Perhaps, that is, the very physicality of these triumphant displays of masculinity let the spectators console themselves in their superior status. The fighters' brute energy, quintessentially male or masculine, placed them close to animal nature. As a man possessing 'high' sensibilities, Hazlitt, may have been content to distance himself from 'animal' pugilists.⁴⁰

A more severe interpretation is that Hazlitt was merely playing the role of 'one of the Fancy', secure in the knowledge that he could speedily retreat to familiar territory. It should be remembered, however, that this major prizefight presented an opportunity to address a new subject; then, as a seasoned essayist and journalist, he would move on to other topics. The fact that Hazlitt was not a devoted sportsman does not diminish the power of his reflective essay which engaged with the Fancy's showpiece event in an expressive and earnest manner. Any assessment of Hazlitt as a disingenuous interloper into the Fancy inverts the more usual moral and literary prejudice directed against prizefighting, its chroniclers, and flash writing in general. Egan was deemed culpable

of vulgarisation for the dissolute escapades of his *Life in London* protagonists and, in 1822, the journal *Town Talk* ‘lamented that the “glowing descriptions” which Egan had given of low life had led to the London theatres being filled with “vivid representations of the vilest practices of the blackest sinks of iniquity”’.⁴¹ In the same year of publication as Hazlitt’s essay (1822), a correspondent for *The Sporting Magazine* was focusing attention on one of the sport’s inherent problems—fighters’ susceptibility to bribery—complaining that when greed and chicanery intruded into ‘the spirit of manly combat’ then ‘the art of boxing is made a trade’.⁴² In *Bell’s Life in London* for 2 October 1825, editor Vincent Dowling (1785–1852) stated: ‘when honour and fame cease to influence the combatants a system of low gambling is substituted’. The author Robert Smith Surtees (1805–64) rated prizefighting alongside bull-baiting and cock-fighting and banished it from his *New Sporting Magazine* in 1831. In a period of increased industrial and economic strain the number of bank holidays was reduced from forty (1825) to four (1834). Leisure time was frowned upon and this proved detrimental to the prize-ring which lost many of its backers. The dawning of the Victorian era saw the sport’s credibility severely damaged and a decreased demand for pugilistic news. Dowling remarked upon the diminishing appearance of pugilistic reports: ‘Since the fifth volume of *Boxiana* [1829] [...] the only correct record of the battles [...] is to be found in the columns of *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*’.⁴³

Ultimately, the ‘Flash and Fancy’ era can be compacted into a relatively brief time-span. The years 1812–29 constituted the ‘Age of *Boxiana*’, with its accompanying array of flash city types. Within this period, Hazlitt was indeed the interloper whilst Egan and Bee represented prizefighting’s authentic chroniclers: the reporters charged with the task of enlivening their commentaries over a long campaign, not merely a foray for a showpiece battle. Crucially, the subsequent ostracism of prizefighting saw the scales of opinion shift. Stepping out of this sporting enclave’s golden period, Hazlitt reassumes the mantle of literary doyen, whilst Egan and Bee become the ‘misfit’ and ‘outcast’. Nonetheless, it should still be acknowledged that their ‘low’ subject matter undoubtedly contributed to their lack of literary recognition. Greater esteem should be accorded to these two idiosyncratic authors whose original and enlivening *Boxiana* style expedited the development of modern sports reporting. 

NOTES

1. ‘The Fight’ was first published in the February 1822 issue of the *New Monthly Magazine*, founded in 1814 by Henry Colburn, ‘the most brilliant and most contentious figure in the post-Napoleonic publishing scene’. Colburn ran ‘a highly lucrative business as a book publisher’, and also founded the *Literary Gazette* in 1817 and the *Court Journal* in 1828. John Strachan, *Advertising and Satirical Culture in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 255.
2. David Higgins, ‘Englishness, Effeminacy, and the *New Monthly Magazine*: Hazlitt’s ‘The Fight’ in Context’, *Romanticism*, 10.2 (2004), 180.

3. Dennis Brailsford, *Bareknuckles: A Social History of Prize-Fighting* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1988), p. 13.
4. Edward Law, first Baron Ellenborough (1750–1818), Lord Chief Justice (1802–18); see Brailsford, *Bareknuckles*, p. 45.
5. Pierce Egan, *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Antient and Modern Pugilism*, 3 vols (vol. 1: London: Smeeton, 1813; vols. 2–3: London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1818–21). The title page of the first volume was antedated '1812'.
6. Pierce Egan, *Life in London* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1821), p. 246.
7. In February 1820, a group of radicals (led by Arthur Thistlewood) met in a loft at Cato Street, and plotted to murder the Cabinet as they dined together in Grosvenor Square.
8. John C. Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 10–11.
9. Pierce Egan, *New Series of Boxiana: Being the Only and Original Complete Lives of the Boxers*, 2 vols (London: George Virtue, 1828–29).
10. [John Badcock], *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Modern Pugilism*, vol. 4 (London: Sherwood, Jones and Co., 1824).
11. 'Jon Bee' [John Badcock], *Sportsman's Slang. A New Dictionary of Terms Used in Affairs of the Turf* (London: For the Author, 1825), p. ix.
12. This quotation features amidst a typically idiosyncratic and verbose entry for 'Chronology, or Fancyana'—see *ibid.*
13. The game of 'fives' featured a three-sided court and involved striking a ball by hand. The Fives Court in Little St Martin's Street was the Fancy's top venue for benefits and sparring exhibitions.
14. William Hazlitt, 'The Indian Jugglers' (1825); in *The Selected Writings of William Hazlitt*, ed. Duncan Wu, 9 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1998), vi, 74.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 74. Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh and 2nd Marquess of Londonderry (1769–1822) was Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons between 1812 and 1822 for Lord Liverpool's Tory government; he committed suicide in August 1822.
16. 'Christopher North' [John Wilson], 'Letter to Pierce Egan, Esq.', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 8.48 (Mar 1821), 676.
17. Gregory Dart, 'Flash Style': Pierce Egan and Literary London, 1820–28', *History Workshop Journal*, 51 (2001), 194.
18. John Strachan, et al. (eds), *British Satire, 1785–1840*, 5 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), v (ed. by Jane Moore), 184.
19. Higgins, 'Englishness, Effeminacy, and the *New Monthly*', pp. 173, 178, 177.
20. Kath Woodward, *Boxing, Masculinity and Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 14.
21. Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 334.
22. Woodward, *Boxing, Masculinity and Identity*, p. 32.
23. Higgins, 'Englishness, Effeminacy, and the *New Monthly*', pp. 179, 184.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
25. Hazlitt, 'The Fight'; in *Selected Writings*, ix, 61; quotations from 'The Fight' will be referred to in the text using this volume in Wu's series.
26. *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 10 (Dec 1825), 559.
27. Pierce Egan, *Every Gentleman's Manual. A Lecture on the Art of Self-Defence* (London: Sherwood and Bowyer, 1845), p. 147.

28. Hazlitt, *Selected Writings*, IX, 565.
29. *The Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette*, 13 vols (London: Sherwood and Co., 1822–28), III, 45. By 1816, twenty-six miles of gas mains had been laid in London for factory and street lighting.
30. 'A View of the English Stage', *The Examiner* (31 Mar 1816); in Hazlitt, *Selected Writings*, III, 125.
31. John Paul Jones (1747–92): born in Scotland, but 'the most successful American naval commander to date', he preyed on British ships during the American War of Independence (*DNB*).
32. The mouth of the Nile, in Egypt, where Nelson's fleet routed the French in August 1798.
33. These contests took place on 18 December 1810 and 28 September 1811.
34. In defending Portugal as a base, Wellington's situation was considered grave as he constructed the Torres Vedras lines across the peninsula of Lisbon in 1810.
35. For further discussion, including notions of Neate as an English 'Jack Tar' and a 'Frenchified' Hickman, see Tom Paulin, *The Dog-Star of Liberty: William Hazlitt's Radical Style* (London: Faber & Faber, 1998).
36. Marc Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 71.
37. Horse auction mart, founded by Richard Tattersall (1724–95).
38. A. J. Liebling, 'Sugar Ray and the Milling Cove' and 'The University of Eighth Avenue', in *Just Enough Liebling: Classic Work by the Legendary 'New Yorker' Writer* (New York: New Point Press, 2004), pp. 341 and 385.
39. I am grateful to John Strachan for this unpublished reference.
40. Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders*, p. 334.
41. Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers*, p. 71.
42. Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport Money and Fame in Regency Britain* (London: Headline, 2001), p. 245.
43. Frank Lewis Dowling, *Fishtiana; or, the Oracle of the Ring* (London: William Clement, jun., 1841), p. 70.

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MERELY AN IMITATOR?
The Preponderance of ‘Radcliffe’
in *Lusignan, or the Abbaye of La Trappe*
and *The Orphans of Llangloed*

Jacqueline Howard



IN THIS REPORT, I want to float what I consider to be a distinct possibility: that Ann Radcliffe did not cease publication after *The Italian* (1797), but published two anonymous novels for the circulating library at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Despite their fall into oblivion, *Lusignan, or the Abbaye of La Trappe* (June 1801) and *The Orphans of Llangloed* (September 1802) are more than mildly interesting gothic novels in the Radcliffean mode.¹ Produced in troubled times by the same anonymous author, and written with professional assurance and careful attention to propriety, they merit some scholarly attention. On the one hand, they can be said to exemplify the immoderately long, complicated plots with which the Minerva Press was said to ‘teem’ and groan’, with their heroes and heroines beset by seemingly endless difficulties, absurdly far-fetched coincidences, and ironic twists of fate. On the other, they are densely literary texts that repay close readings, and not only for their obvious appropriations and re-workings of eighteenth-century French sentimental literature, Shakespeare, and English poetry and novels. In so many respects, the similarly literary works of Ann Radcliffe stand clearly behind them as intertexts.

Herein lies a conundrum, and the possibility of a larger claim. For this reader, the affinities of *Lusignan* and *The Orphans of Llangloed* with ‘Radcliffe’ have been so close that on occasion it has been easy to slip into reading and interpreting the novels as if they were her own work. Particularly in regard to *Lusignan*, despite the obvious debts to de Tencin and d’Arnaud, it is as if Radcliffe is returning to her own storylines, themes, and ideas, and spinning them more freely, boldly, and experimentally along paths not taken. In both novels, the likeness is apparent in the slant of the author’s reading, method, style, didactic purpose, and strong aesthetic, psychological, religious, and juridical interests.

I

Let me indicate the propulsion of my reading by focusing initially on just one facet of the novels’ familiar ‘voice’: the pictorial descriptions of scenery. These include:

- full settings, too long to quote here, such as those of Montalte Abbey (*Lusignan*, I, 159–61) and Llangloed Castle (*Llangloed*, I, 4–7), with their variously beautiful, sublime, and picturesque vistas;
- scenes permeated by an optimistic religious aesthetic;
- scenes that trigger yearnings, and poetic or story-making fancy;
- scenes (often solemn, or threatening) said to be ‘in unison’ or ‘in correspondence’ with a main character’s feelings.

To cite an instance of the second type from *Lusignan*, just as for Emily in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and Ellena in *The Italian* (1797), so, on occasion, Emily de Montalte’s contemplation of the landscape elevates her to rapturous delight in God’s creation, and renders current anxieties less pressing:

There is something reviving in the breath of early morn,—something in animated nature that imperceptibly glides to our heart, and raises our drooping spirits. Emily acknowledged their effects; she felt her despondency wear off as she gazed with delight on scenes which, though familiar to her view, never wearied, but each day seemed new; the lark and linnet, with their gentle notes, seemed thanking the Creator for the comforts they enjoyed.

‘These, Almighty God!’ she secretly said, ‘are the works of thy hand! All these blessings thou hast made for man; and shall he, ungrateful, murmur if, amid so many sweets,—if, amid the many roses that adorn his path, a thorn is sometimes planted?’

(Lusignan, II, 56–57)²

Again, bearing in mind Radcliffe’s own affirmations of divine presence, and other devotional statements, alongside her lovingly described seascapes with their little white sails, and the ‘he-hoes’ of the sailors, in her records of her tours to the southern coast of England in September 1797, September 1798, and July 1800, consider the following chapter opening from *Lusignan*:

‘These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty, thine is the universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then!’³

The sun now dawned in the eastern horizon, gilding the proud summits of the distant Pyrenees; and extending its rays to the smooth ocean, scarcely a breeze agitated its translucent waves. Vessels scattered in every direction gently glided on the calm surface of the sea; all was still save when the mariner’s song reached the shore, hailing the return of morn; it was a scene no pencil could delineate. *Lusignan* silently contemplated and admired it, his own perturbed mind was soothed by the prospect. (I, 61–62)⁴

An instance of the third type occurs at the time of *Lusignan*’s first confinement by his father at Luneville Castle on the coast of Normandy, when the aesthetic idealism he harbours is again evident, but this time in his yearnings for the simple pastoral life. As he surveys ‘the Albion coast’ from the parapet

wall, the prospect affords views of 'the vessels majestically sailing from its numerous ports', stirring his imagination:

Lusignan envied the perils they must encounter ere they returned; he melted at the happiness they would enjoy when, after long roving on foreign shores and seas unknown, tossed by rude winds and faithless billows, their dear native isle should rise to greet their longing eyes. He sighed for England's chalky cliffs, and would willingly have resigned all his prospects of gilded slavery to share with Emily liberty and a cottage in that happy land. (I, 116)

His vision here again echoes Radcliffe's delight in the southern seacoasts with their chalky cliffs, and vistas across the Channel, as expressed not only in her journal entries, but also in several poems. Indeed, it is remarkably similar to that of her poem, 'Written in the Isle of Wight', possibly composed during her first visit there in 1798:

Oh! for a cottage on the shady brow
Of this green Island, where the Channel flows
With less tumultuous wave, and sends abroad
The many sails of England to the world,
And beareth to his home the mariner
Who shouts to view the light blue hills, that dawn
[...]

Oh! for a cottage on the breezy cliff,
That points the crescent of thy harbour, Cowes!
And bears the raptured glance o'er seas and shores—
A boundless prospect [...]⁵

An example of the fourth type from *The Orphans of Llangloed*, of local scenery 'in unison' with a character's feelings to heighten effect, occurs in an early expository letter by Mrs Middleton when she recounts how, fifteen years previously, she had set out to fetch the local pastor to attend the tragically wronged and dying Lady Glendower:

The distance to the parsonage was only a quarter of a mile: I preferred walking to waiting for the carriage. Evening approached, the weather was calm, and the air heavy, spreading twilight, imparted a gloom to my aching heart. Methought the little village of Glenfield was unusually still; the sporting throng no longer gambolled in the streets as when before I passed it; the doors of the cottages were closed. A tinkling bell from the church was the only sound that disturbed the solemn tranquillity of the evening. Had my soul been less attuned to sorrow, I should have fancied something prophetic in the scene. (I, 48)⁶

Apart from examples of this last type in her romances, Radcliffe's comments on Shakespeare's use of 'correspondent scenery' or 'accordant' circumstances in her 'Essay on the Supernatural in Poetry', written in 1802–03, are obviously relevant to such scenic description.⁷ Moreover, as I shall discuss later, her explication

and defence in the 'Essay' of Shakespeare's evocation of the supernatural are also apposite to the anonymous author's use of both the frank and 'explained' supernatural. In short, at many points, Radcliffe's *œuvre*, including the travel journals, poems, and other writing published posthumously in 1826, as well as our knowledge of her person, reading, interests, and history, provide a remarkably smooth handle on these novels.

It is in the light of this concern about provenance that my purpose here is to introduce these rare fictions, outlining first in general, and then more specifically under a few headings, some aspects of the characteristic manner in which I perceive them to be rendered.

II

IN THE CASE of *Lusignan*, this includes its early-seventeenth-century French setting, and the method of its third-person omniscient narration, with its dramatised character delineation and dialogue, building of suspense, continuous descriptions of emotion, gothic pastoral ideal, penchant for Shakespeare, use of the supernatural, sudden shifts into satire, and use of chapter epigraphs (all unacknowledged). The novel's intense psychological interests extend beyond *Udolpho's* depictions of the amnesiac and trance-like states of Emily St Aubert, and the manic depression of the criminal Laurentini/Sister Agnes, to a full episode on the heroine Emily de Montalte's mental breakdown and near-death experience, from which the hope born of her Christian faith, and restful sleep following her worthy receipt of the last sacrament, effect a 'miraculous' recovery (III, 11–26, 31–32). While the delirious moments of the deathbed confession of *Lusignan's* clerical villain bear close comparison with those of *Udolpho's* dying Sister Agnes, the descent of *Lusignan's* passionate love into mania has other literary antecedents.⁸ But the novel's didactic and religious underpinnings—the emphasis on the heroine's spiritual journey and dilemmas of 'duty', the mysterious workings of Providence, and the certainty of retribution and divine justice for evildoers—bear the hallmark of Radcliffe's romances. Even *Lusignan's* incoherencies, particularly in relation to the machinations of the crafty Abbé La Haye, seem not simply consequences of a lack of editing, but outcomes of typically Radcliffean strategies for maintaining suspense and striving for sublimity.⁹

The main plot of *Lusignan* is based on Madame de Tencin's short novel of 1735, *Mémoires du comte de Comminge*, and, in its final chapter, on Baculard d'Arnaud's first *drame sombre* of 1764, *Les Amans malheureux, ou Le Comte de Comminge*.¹⁰ However, if inspired by de Tencin's *Comminge*, *Lusignan* also departs markedly from it, not only in inventiveness and style of narration, but also in establishing an ambience of the supernatural not found in that work, and in having a secondary, 'sleeping' plot, as well as a number of intercalated and intersecting stories.¹¹ One of these remarkably satirises Romance conventions (I, 153–58; II, 132–42; III, 161–63), and is a reworking, writ large, of the predilection of *Udolpho's* convent-educated Blanche de Villeroi to frame her

perceptions with notions from the old romances she has read.¹² Classified by Frederick Frank as ‘high’ or ‘pure’ gothic, *Lusignan*’s narration was praised effusively by Montague Summers, who was also impressed by the author’s treatment of things Catholic.¹³ While the novel does show evidence of research, its author shares the approach of Radcliffe in her romances and travel writing, of condemning instances of Catholic bigotry and cruelty, and treating convent life much more ambivalently than Summers’ comments would suggest.¹⁴

Unlike *Comminge*, *Lusignan* has a broad canvas, involving some sixteen or more characters in a great number of episodes that occur in several different locations throughout France over at least four years. The Abbey of La Trappe itself, ‘on the confines of Perche in Normandy’, provides the setting for only the antepenultimate and final chapters.¹⁵ On the novel’s title page, an unacknowledged epigraph from Henry Fielding’s play *The Wedding Day* (1743) suggests the passionate extremity of its overarching theme: the enduring and ennobling joys of friendship in contrast to the pain and suffering of romantic love.¹⁶ In the event, as a story of love’s woe wrought by a combination of enmity, Providence and impetuosity, *Lusignan* outdoes Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, on which it also draws. The third and fourth volumes, with their close tracking of the shifting, intense, and often conflictive states of mind of the protagonists, together with the delayed and gloomy monastic ending, make considerable demands on the reader. Given this, and its French title, it is perhaps not surprising that *Lusignan* appears to have received no critical attention in its day, unlike its lighter successor, which calls itself ‘a modern tale’, and purports

To shew

The very age and body of the times,
Its form and pressure.¹⁷

The Orphans of Llangloed, too, bears Radcliffe’s stamp of mystery, suspense, and literary quotation, while leavening her romance mix with a ‘Welch’ heroine, contemporaneous British setting, and a number of humorous episodes in the first two of its three volumes. Like *Lusignan*, it has both a main and secondary plot that turn on familial barriers to love and marriage, the pursuit of young women by villainous men, the restoration of a supposedly dead parent, the joys of female friendship, the evils of calumny, and the gothic pastoral ideal. Written as a series of seventy-two letters penned by seventeen characters from contemporary Wales, London, West Cliff, and Lisbon, it contains many implausibly verbatim accounts of dialogue. But its polyphonic structure is used to good effect in the juxtaposition of viewpoints and episodes, and the worlds of male and female correspondents, as well as in the creation of suspense, social comedy, and satiric commentary. Occasionally, there is a Chinese-box effect produced by the incorporation of someone else’s letter, and, in the third volume, by two long tales as they have been narrated to the letter writers. Despite this, and the apparent discontinuities caused by frequent changes in writer and addressee, the two romance plot lines move reasonably quickly, their intersecting threads being deftly woven. In the final volume, the Radcliffian hand of Providence

is again evident in the emergence of truth about past events, the last-minute delivery of the heroine's father from the gallows at Tyburn, the restoration of her sanity and health, the re-establishment of love relationships, and the rightful recovery of female property. The repentance of three of the characters for the disasters they have wrought also contributes to the conventionally happy ending. With its 'pleasing' events, 'sprightly style', 'easy language', and extensive vocal range, the novel impressed its one reviewer as a 'not unwelcome present to the circulating library'.¹⁸

The story starts on a pastoral note, in a homely castle in Wales, the seat of the ill-fated Lord and Lady Glendower, whose orphaned daughter Juliana and niece Louisa Morgan have been raised and educated by Mrs Middleton. Its primary mystery gathers when Juliana, who prays each day in her mother's reverentially maintained apartment, is visited by a benevolent stranger professing to be her guardian angel. More typically gothic episodes occur following Louisa's journey with her ailing father to Lisbon, where she falls victim to the schemes of Jefferson, the son of Lady de Ligne's corrupt lawyer, and takes refuge in a local convent. But the novel's modern villains are English and Irish, with the degeneracy of London manners and morals the author's main focus. We have it from Talfourd that Radcliffe 'felt [...] a distaste to the increasing familiarity of modern manners'.¹⁹ The various characters' articulation of the culture of 'Welch retirement', and its contrast with life in fashionable London, brings a freshness and satiric humour to the novel.

Overall, the humorous parts of *The Orphans of Llangloed* take up the creative possibilities of Radcliffe's comic characterisation and episodic satire. The ease with which Juliana's abductor, the Irish fortune-hunter O'Shallaghan, is given his brogue and bulls, may be thought uncharacteristic of Radcliffe.²⁰ The *Anti-Jacobin Review*, after all, criticised her portrayal of Paulo, in *The Italian*, as 'sometimes, too much a philosopher', adding that his speech 'is not the language of a menial servant'.²¹ However, Talfourd's comments are again pertinent here: that she had 'a quick ear', 'was fond of listening to any good verbal sounds', and 'if her scrupulous sense of propriety had not restrained her comic powers, Mrs. Radcliffe would probably have displayed considerable talent for the humorous'.²² Had Radcliffe exiled herself once more to anonymity, I think it not improbable that she could have felt free to give rein to this talent.

III: *LUSIGNAN, OR THE ABBAYE OF LA TRAPPE*

Literary Borrowings, Themes, Setting

Lusignan's final chapter announces in an untranslated epigraph its close dependence on d'Arnaud's emotional and declamatory play for the resolution of Meronville's obsessive love for and loss of his Emily. The play's imagery is appropriated throughout as Meronville struggles 'to extinguish that flame which destroys [his Creator's] image in [his] subject soul' (iv, 196).²³ However, while adapting the play's two supernatural episodes, the author abjures d'Arnaud's

morbidly sensational, subterranean mausoleum.²⁴ La Trappe is depicted more nearly after de Tencin, as ‘an abode of modest devotion’ and ‘majestic austerity’, with a solemn chapel containing a lamp, crucifix, images of saints, and a consecrated shrine (IV, 135–38). Nor is its Rule grimly sensationalised. Instead, the tone is consistent with Radcliffe’s respectfully factual comments in her *Journey Made in the Summer of 1794* about the austerities of Bernardine Rule imposed at Furness Abbey, which ‘partook in several instances of those of La Trapp [*sic*]’.²⁵ That d’Arnaud’s dramatic focus on the anguished conflict between religious vows and undying worldly love actually appealed to Radcliffe is evinced by her digressive use of it in *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), in the story of the dying nun Cornelia, who dies in ‘a fine devotional glow’ and ‘meek resignation’, having given her lover one last look of ‘ineffable tenderness and grief’.²⁶ Whereas Radcliffe has the sounds of Cornelia’s attempt to speak to Antonio die on her ‘closing lips’, *Lusignan’s* Emily/Brother Ambrose is given a passionate departing speech to Meronville that brings together the novel’s recurring motifs of ‘remembrance’, ‘hearts vibrating in unison’²⁷, and the certainty of a spiritual afterlife (IV, 239).²⁸

Other Radcliffean themes, such as the workings of divine justice and the effects of melancholy, are also announced or commented on by chapter epigraphs, some of which are from other dramatic works. There are two from Shakespeare’s *Othello* and one from *Hamlet*, one from Edward Young’s tragedy *The Revenge*, and one from Sir Richard Fanshawe’s translation of Giovanni Battista Guarini’s pastoral drama *Il Pastor Fido*. However, the majority have poetic sources: Gray’s ‘Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard’ and ‘Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College’, Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (twice), Tasso’s *Jerusalem Delivered* (three times), Mary Robinson’s ‘Lines to Him Who Will Understand Them’, ‘Ode to Adversity’, and ‘Ode to Beauty’, John Armstrong’s *The Art of Preserving Health* (twice), Young’s ‘Love of Fame’, Samuel Rogers’ ‘To a Friend on His Marriage’ and *The Pleasures of Memory* (three times), Robert Merry’s *The Pains of Memory* (twice), Pope’s ‘Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady’ and ‘Eloisa to Abelard’, Leonard Walstead’s ‘The Invitation’, George Dyer’s ‘Ode to the River Cam’, and Hannah More’s *Sensibility* (twice).

Those familiar with Radcliffe’s work will recognise this line-up, although as one would expect, there are also a few new names. Of these, Merry’s *Pains of Memory* (1796) and the poems by Mary Robinson join Samuel Rogers’ *The*

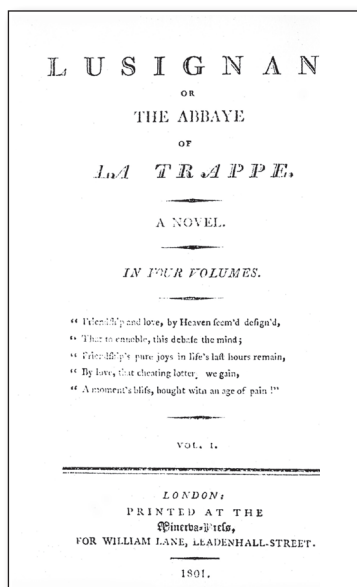


FIG. 1. TITLE PAGE OF *LUSIGNAN*.

Pleasures of Memory (quoted memorably in *Udolpho*) as sources for the author's frequent comments on the strong impressions and emotions wrought by adversity and the persistence of memory (II, 77; III, 63, 102, 157, 192–93; IV, 170, 239).²⁹ Given the anonymous author's strong focus on yet another of Radcliffe's preoccupations in *Udolpho*—neurasthenic states and madness—John Armstrong's *Art of Preserving Health* (1744) also stands out for its precepts concerning the importance of company, practical intelligence, and 'dignity of mind' to maintaining mental stability and good health (II, 55; III, 31).³⁰

Again, as in Radcliffe's novels, the epigraphs from Shakespeare (II, 125, 143, 181) are reserved for those chapters that depict rapidly gathering crises and great distress for the protagonists.³¹ The epigraph from *Hamlet*, Hamlet's question to his father's ghost, foreshadows Emily's three encounters at Luneville Castle with a spectre whom she recognises as her father.³² On the third occasion, his purpose is made clear:

'I am the ghost of thy departed father, suffered to revisit these mortal abodes, to warn my child of the evils she is destined to undergo. This moment is fatal to you,—this moment witnesses the triumph of successful villany; yet fear not; be virtuous, and never despair; your trials will be hard, but the end of them is glorious!' (III, 5–6)

Given also the building of atmosphere with 'attendant incidents of time and place', and the borrowings from *Hamlet* in the ghost's dialogue with Emily, these episodes aspire to the criteria for use of the supernatural set out by Willoughton in Radcliffe's 'Essay'.³³ The religious views expressed by virtuous characters in her romances suggest that Radcliffe had long entertained his particular stance regarding the existence of disembodied spirits.³⁴ Having been praised in 1798 by Nathan Drake as 'the Shakespeare of Romance Writers' following her publication of *The Italian*, arguably Radcliffe was prompted to depart from her practice of excluding real ghosts as agents, and instead to emulate Shakespeare.³⁵ The anonymous author of *Lusignan* does just that, as does Radcliffe in her posthumously published *Gaston de Blondville* (1826).

Further echoes of *Hamlet* occur in the depiction of the Duke's public pangs of guilt (II, 187–88),³⁶ the episode of Emily's Ophelia-like derangement and wanderings (III, 19–20), and La Haye's deathbed confession of his murder of the sleeping Duke by pouring poison in his ear (IV, 145). The author's Shakespearean/Radcliffian proclivities are also evident in the allusions to *Romeo and Juliet* (I, 21, 26), and the deliberate juxtaposition of terror with light relief (I, 140–42; II, 160–67).³⁷

Lusignan resembles *The Italian* in its very direct representation of unrestrained passions, the narrative alternating in a similar systematic way between the thoughts and actions of its more various characters.³⁸ The collusion between the evil Abbé La Haye and Lusignan's vindictive father, the Duke of Meronville, to regain lost feudal estates and prevent Lusignan from marrying Emily de Montalte also reworks the conspiracy in *The Italian*, between Vivaldi's mother, the proud and bigoted Marquessa, and her confessor, the evil monk Schedoni.

The temporal and geographical settings vary, but both novels depict 'an age when even reciprocal attachment was ever sacrificed and made subservient to aggrandizement and the sordid considerations of wealth' (*Lusignan*, II, 184).

However, the idea of a family feud as the circumstance that prevents the second cousins, Lusignan and Emily, from marrying, has been adapted from de Tencin's *Comminge* with considerable thematic invention (I, 1–16).³⁹ Thus, one of *Lusignan*'s most persistent themes—the hollowness of wealth, privilege, and aggrandisement—is heralded by the opening chapter's epigraph from Gray's 'Elegy',⁴⁰ and developed in a quasi-historical account of France's late-sixteenth-century politico-religious conflict between enlightened Huguenots, such as Coligni [*sic*], and Catholic leaders 'who sacrificed every thing to a mistaken zeal for religion, and with an excess of barbarity, [...] immolated each day innumerable victims at the shrine of ambition and bigotry' (I, 3).⁴¹ It was this upheaval that split the 'most ancient' and 'illustrious' house of Meronville, and it is these historical allusions that place the novel firmly in the French temporal setting favoured by Radcliffe, 'the Gothic cusp'.⁴²

Dramatic Characterisation and the Raising of Suspense

The past Huguenot affiliation of some of Emily's family members remains important in the novel, as it enables the villainous Abbé La Haye (a character not in de Tencin's *Comminge*), to adopt a spuriously doctrinaire Catholicism. Affecting piety, he counsels Lusignan's father against the 'apostacy' of 'polluting Christian blood by a mixture with that of heresy', whenever the latter leans towards conscience, and entertains the possibility of the union of the lovers (II, 10–11, 131–32).

La Haye's early corruption of the Duke of Meronville is attributed largely to the latter's own naturally suspicious and gloomy disposition. While the corresponding character in de Tencin is described simply, as 'ever haughty and malicious', Frederick is given a malevolence rivalling that of Radcliffe's Montoni:

A character of violence and impetuosity, was seldom so strongly marked as in this young man, even at the age of fifteen, and as time increased its development, it became gloomy and severe. Prone to the wildest excesses, he already hated the world, and never seemed happy but when he could contribute to destroy the happiness of others [...]. (I, 10)⁴³

Having secretly fathered two illegitimate sons for whom he has his own dark ambitions of advancement, La Haye uses intrigue, opportunistic lies, theft, and forged signatures and letters to gain his desired ends, all the while playing on his patron's desires and emotions. Ironically capturing the author's own technique, which is that of Radcliffe, the narrator comments, 'La Haye knew the effect of suspense; he tried it, till his patron was wrought to the highest pitch of impatience and curiosity' (II, 12). The author relates the main story only a part at a time, often holding something back,⁴⁴ particularly in relation

to the dissembling La Haye, the physical description of whom also seems to have been deliberately eschewed.⁴⁵

In contrast with La Haye and his tyrannically feudal father, Lusignan's enlightened attitudes are apparent from very early in the novel when he gains the Duke's permission to spend the winter season at Montpelier [*sic*].⁴⁶ After the style of Radcliffe, the author has Lusignan's joy in his newly found freedom find correspondence in the mood of the landscape, his capacity for such aesthetic engagement being a marker of his sensibility:

All Nature smiled, the fertility of the country through which he passed, and the beautiful landscapes which every where met his eye, elevated his thoughts to rapture; he almost fancied that some magic power had formed the scene for his enjoyment, that magic power was liberty; and Lusignan now felt persuaded that life was an enamelled path, and sorrow a mere chimera, a phantom of his father's clouded imagination. (I, 19)

Less worldly than de Tencin's Comminge, Lusignan is endowed with the frankness, ardour, and generosity of a Valancourt, and the impetuosity of a Romeo.⁴⁷ However, just as in *The Italian* Vivaldi's susceptibility to superstition makes him vulnerable to Schedoni, so Lusignan's flaw of 'native impetuosity' frequently causes him to act in ways that bring displeasure to his father, and enable La Haye's perfidious designs. Despite his shock on learning that Emily de Montalte is the daughter of his own recently deceased uncle, the Comte de Clarival, and his dread of his father's violent anger, Lusignan still 'firmly resolves at that early period to sacrifice everything to love' (I, 27–28). Unaware of La Haye's scheming knowledge of his movements, his rashness of thought and action is established as a trigger for misfortune, and the reader's apprehension of it, throughout the novel. For example, to retrieve Emily's stolen bracelet to which a miniature of her likeness is attached, he wounds the Chevalier St Amand, one of La Haye's secret sons.⁴⁸ Less respectful than Vivaldi, Lusignan is also at one point so angered by the cleric's imputations against his gentle and wise mother that he takes him by the shoulders, and 'shove[s] him rudely out of the apartment'.⁴⁹ Here, as an aside, the narrator comments that 'a little self-command would have been more serviceable to Lusignan', and later conveys La Haye's deep resentment and intention 'to overwhelm his victims with despair' (I, 125, 129).

Parallels with Radcliffe's romances are again insistent in the depiction of Emily de Montalte. Her Eve-like perfection signalled in an epigraph from Milton, Emily has been 'nurtured in the bosom of virtue' which has 'strengthened her mind, and rendered it capable of exertion' (I, 76). Once Lusignan is confined at Luneville, she is at first 'inconsolable for his loss'. To 'her preoccupied mind', scenes that were 'truly elysian' when Lusignan 'pointed out those features formed to charm the eye and fix the traveller's attention', are now 'robbed of attraction' (I, 73–74). In a letter to him, she affirms her love, but does not share the hopes he has communicated, and remonstrates with him about his deceit in initially

concealing his real name. Most importantly for the development of the novel's plot and themes, Emily, who when alone cannot 'subjugate a keen sensibility, too often fatal to female happiness',⁵⁰ yet avows her 'unalterable resolve to sacrifice inclination to duty, whenever called to do so' (I, 75–76). The author has her espouse, like Radcliffe's Adeline, Emily, and Ellena, a Kantian notion of moral worth, which accrues by acting from obligation rather than desire.⁵¹ In the belief that virtue is a moral strength of will, Emily urges Lusignan to imitate her example, and not abandon his filial duty. Her unwavering sense of her own rectitude is used not only to drive the plot,⁵² but also to explore in greater depth the psychological ramifications of the conflict between inclination and filial duty on which the love and happiness of Emily and Lusignan frequently flounder.

The tension produced by this strong contrast in the warmth of feeling of the lovers is heightened by the close friendship Emily develops at Montpelier with the ailing and orphaned Caroline de Montfort. While the imprisoned Lusignan thinks for months on Emily alone, Emily's youthful friendship 'of unrestrained communication' with her 'beloved Caroline' occupies 'her undivided attention', and her cheerfulness largely returns (I, 78, 110; II, 1). When it is uncertain whether Caroline's own long lost lover, Dorville, has returned from Africa only to be drowned in a shipwreck in the Race of Alderney, Emily's early morning solicitude conveys the degree of intimacy to which their friendship has progressed. In a scene that carries an erotic charge reminiscent of Adeline's first vision of Clara La Luc in Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), Emily steals to the bedside of the sleeping Caroline, 'gaze[s] on her with delight', and 'imprint[s] a soft kiss on her vermilion lips' (I, 198).⁵³ Also typical of Radcliffe's plot mechanisms is Emily and Caroline's 'gentle melody', produced by voice and lyre, which draws Dorville to Montalte Abbey (II, 24).⁵⁴ Even after Caroline and Dorville have been joyfully reunited, the friendship of the women remains uppermost, and Emily contrives to visit Paris so that, on the occasion of Caroline's birthday, she can wake her friend with a sealed paper, the gift 'in trust' of her small family estate in the Valais, in Switzerland: 'The spot where your Emily drew breath; the scene of my infant joys, my earliest and best delights; not a tree or shrub but is endeared by some sweet remembrance.' (II, 92) This 'spot' is also more than coincidentally striking in its phonetic and semantic similarity to *Udolpho's* 'La Vallée'.⁵⁵

Apart from Emily's benevolence to Caroline, two other young women at St Clair, and the tenants on her estates (II, 78–79, 89–91), there are many other re-workings of character attributes and motifs from Radcliffe's novels for which space permits only the briefest mention. There is Emily's 'sweetness' and 'artless cheerfulness' that visibly move the Duke, subduing 'his rigid spirit' so that 'his aspect' becomes for a time 'more humanized' (II, 126, 172).⁵⁶ Her prenuptial night prescience is such that '[her] heart refuses its consent to the fairy vision' (III, 2), thus reflexively negating the idyllic situation with which Radcliffe brings *The Italian* to a close.⁵⁷ The narration of the death of Emily's mother (III, 64–75)

follows a similar pattern to the death of St Aubert in *Udolpho*, and in both novels Emily subsequently chooses to retire for a time to the Convent of St Clair. In contrast, later descriptions of Emily's 'melancholy solitude', as the wife of the odious Bentivoglio at St Jago Castle, are associated with an island, the sea, woods, and reading—preoccupations of Radcliffe's journals of 1798–1800.⁵⁸

IV: THE ORPHANS OF LLANGLOED

Epistolary Structure, Welsh Setting and Gothic Ancestry

Although the novel's most prolific correspondent is its heroine, Lady Juliana Glendower, it is Mrs Middleton's letters that launch the novel, and have the functional tenor of the narration of Radcliffe's romances.⁵⁹ Reminiscent of Madame de Menon from *A Sicilian Romance*, Mrs Middleton has had a long association with the heroine's family, including a close friendship with Juliana's deceased mother, and has raised her two charges with maternal care, giving them a fine education in English, French, and Italian literature, drawing and music.⁶⁰ Apart from providing the long family history that constitutes the novel's exposition, she remains an important influence and recipient of news throughout the novel. When Juliana and Louisa leave the ancestral castle at Llangloed for the 'smoke and confusion' of London, and experience its vulgarities, dangers, and injustices, Harriet Middleton, as their trusted mentor, is their constant sounding-board. Once the deranged Juliana 'is no longer in a state to become her own historian', Mrs Middleton provides the denouement, attributing the 'miracles' of Lord Glendower's preservation and Juliana's eventual recovery to 'the hand of Heaven' (III, 126, 213–14). Ever an authoritative voice, with her refined sensibility and descriptions of 'attendant circumstances', Mrs Middleton sets up the novel's prevailing moral and aesthetic values, along with its romantic fatalism. She is also the most self-conscious of the letter-writers in terms of anticipating or shaping the effect of her words on her reader (I, 31, 51). In this way the distribution of her letters functions as a frame, and her endowment with the *leitmotive* of elegy, reflection, and didacticism characteristic of *Lusignan's* narrator marks her as a mouthpiece for the author (I, 53–56, 91).

The novel begins with four long letters 'in continuance' from Llangloed by Mrs Middleton to her long-absent friend, Mrs Urwin, who remains throughout the novel her entirely passive, trustworthy addressee, 'the depository of her most secret thoughts' (I, 135). Thus addressed to the novel's reader as much as their named recipient, these letters form a compositional unit that Mrs Middleton refers to as 'my melancholy tale' (I, 51). They inscribe the foundational elements of a modern gothic romance by carrying first a description of its initial, idyllic Welsh setting, Llangloed, and then the exposition of the tragic events that, by 'a strange fatality', had occurred there fifteen years previously.⁶¹

Mrs Middleton attributes the demise of Juliana's parents to the combination of treachery perpetrated by Lord Glendower's political enemies in London and his own uncontrollable anger and jealousy, though such passions had not

been typical of him. Despite Glendower's inordinate pride in his 'long pedigree, which required a Welch head to unravel', his ill-judged 'crime', and remarkable, secret interventions in the life of his daughter, he is not a rogue member of his ancient family. Mrs Middleton remains uninformed of his fraudulent appearances to Juliana, but she makes clear from the start that his largely indiscriminate adherence to an ancestral moral code had driven his actions. The timeless occupations of the Glendowers, their lack of aggrandisement, and 'purity of manners and morals' are held up as exemplary for the present (I, 7, 10, 13). Yet, aspects of Lord Glendower's 'gothic' attitudes and values are revealed as problematic, in particular his preference for total seclusion from a society he held in contempt. His lack of social interaction had predisposed him to ignorance and distrust. He had too hastily and quite wrongly believed himself the victim of infidelity, and his adherence to the ancestral code of honour had required him to seek revenge by duel to the death (I, 37).⁶²

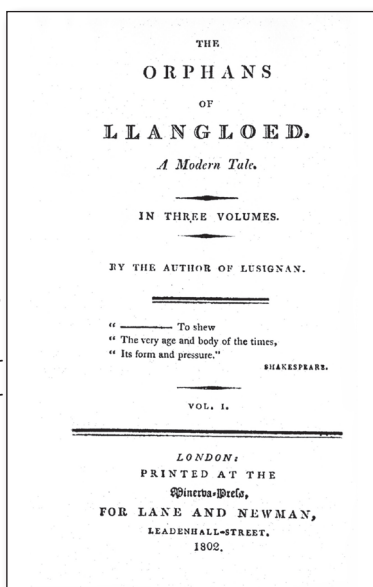


FIG. 2. TITLE PAGE OF *THE ORPHANS OF LLANGLOED*.

Epistolary 'Voices', Literary Borrowings, Satiric Humour, and Social Critique
Despite marked differences in the tenor of the letters according to the writer's sex, the nature of the addressee relationship, subject matter, and degree of language formality, one remarkably common aspect of the letter writers' styles is a penchant for illustrative quotation, again reflecting the practice of Radcliffe in her romances and journals. Of some twenty-eight quotations, twelve are from dramatic works: George Villier's *The Rehearsal*, Voltaire's *Zaïre*, Nicholas Rowe's *Jane Shore*, and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth* (five times), *Hamlet*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. Poems quoted include Gray's 'Elegy' (three times), Pope's 'Eloisa to Abelard', Merry's *The Pains of Memory*, More's *Sensibility*, Goldsmith's *The Traveller*, and Thomson's *The Seasons*.⁶³ Sometimes the quotation consists of a phrase woven into the text, or a line or two used as an aphorism,⁶⁴ but many are several lines long, most often used to amplify, or add authority to, a thought, precept, or feeling. Only in a few cases does there seem a successful exploitation of the poetry for the plot.⁶⁵

The author's satiric targets are affectation, false pride, hypocrisy, vulgarity, and meanness of spirit, irrespective of whether the perpetrators are aristocratic or from the lower ranks of society. Several characters are drawn along exaggerated lines, and the author's use of aptronyms for Mr Figgens, a wholesale grocer

who is given to showy dressing, and Mr and Mrs Fustian, drapers with *parvenu* pretensions, also introduces an element of caricature. A number of letters by Juliana provide the extended satiric appraisal of the speech and manners of Lady de Ligne, her elder daughter Miss Isabella Munt, and some members of their upper-class circle, whereas one long letter by Louisa describes the ‘mortifications’ she has suffered on account of the brash and tasteless behaviour of her newly found family and acquaintances in the London shopkeeping trade.

At Llangloed, Lady de Ligne and her daughter rudely assert their perceptions of the castle as a ‘wretched, dull-looking place’, and its inhabitants as ‘every wit as Gothic’, or antiquated and unfashionable harp-playing ‘rustics’ (I, 117–18, 121). A playfully ironic, reflexive touch occurs when the affectedly bored Miss Munt, who refuses to be shown around the castle because she has ‘no taste for antiquities’, simultaneously claims that she ‘[cannot] endure reading, unless it [is] some of Mrs. Radcliffe’s romances’ which are ‘too modern’ to have ‘found entrance’ there (I, 118–19).⁶⁶ The author’s mischievous pleasure in making ironic use of literary allusions is also evident in Miss Munt’s theatrical response to Juliana’s observation that she had ‘perhaps some work in hand’:

This put her quite in a pet. She pulled off her glove, and displaying a very white arm, covered with bracelets, she exclaimed, inspired I suppose at that moment by the Muses—

‘Are these fingers, at whose touch even age would glow—

‘Are they of use for nothing but to sew?’

and then burst into a loud laugh, either at my folly or her own cleverness (I, 119–20).⁶⁷

Miss Munt may laugh at her own wit in reciting from Lyttelton’s poem, but, in aligning herself with its soliloquising female, she unconsciously exposes her own overweening vanity in suggesting that she is a youthful beauty whose charms are wasted in the country, whereas in Town where she can be seen, all pay their homage, with every eye fixed on her alone. Indeed, we learn later that Isabella, at thirty-four, is herself deemed an ‘antique’ by her occasional flirt, the raffish Colonel Singleton (I, 202). The satire is extended when Juliana reproduces verbatim for Mrs Middleton the malicious wit of Miss Le Whoop who, in revealing Isabella’s real status in London, also lets slip the true reason for her friend’s wearing of different coloured wigs (I, 122–23; II, 2).

In London, on their visiting days, Isabella and her mother are blatantly hypocritical in their attitude to their ‘friends’. Juliana cites the example of Lady Melmont, whose choice to stay at home ‘to teach [her] children ABC’ they deem to be inconsiderate and ‘tiresome’. Although Lady Melmont receives them with ‘the most graceful, easy manner’, and they themselves give her ‘every demonstration of friendship’, as soon as they have left they complain about her ‘insipidity’ and devotion to her children’s education. When Juliana had ‘foolishly’ spoken in her favour, Miss Munt had retorted, ‘Like yourself: she blushes and looks silly every time she is spoken to’ (I, 188). Like Madame Cheron in her continual disparagement of Emily in *Udolpho*, Lady de Ligne

and Miss Munt pour contempt on the appearance, refined sensibility, morality, and education of Juliana and Louisa.⁶⁸ But with every insult, they expose their own arrogance, vanity, and spiteful vacuity.⁶⁹

In contrast to his mother and stepsister, the urbane Charles de Ligne is good-humoured and compassionate, and has an easy, thoughtful, and generous manner. His delight in the 'rustic life' at Llangloed, and the natural beauty, manners, and accomplishments of Juliana and Louisa, is such that he doubts he shall be 'ever fit for polished society again'. As he writes to his amiable sister, Augusta, '[he'd] back [his] little Welsh fillies against a whole race of thoroughbred mares at the Court of St. James's' (I, 112–13). Somewhat reminiscent of Henry de Villeroi in *Udolpho*, the gallant Charles gives constant support to his young female relatives against the 'pettishness' and unkind fault-finding of his mother and Isabella.⁷⁰

The satirical portrayal of Mr Bowen (initially 'Bower', I, 208), a prosperous Fleet Street haberdasher, is of particular interest due to the fact that Ann Radcliffe's father, William Ward, lived and worked for twenty-one years as a haberdasher at No. 19 Holborn, not far from Fleet Street.⁷¹ Initially, Louisa finds Bowen and his family to be friendly and well meaning, and her gratitude for Mr Bowen's generosity in supplying her father with daily necessities at King's Bench Prison allows her to 'overlook their vulgarity'. Although her 'pride is hurt' when Charles is present, and she hears herself called 'cousin' by them, she feels some guilt about her feelings (I, 236). However, Louisa's shame and vexation escalate when, during a walk in Kensington Gardens, the beribboned finery of Bowen's daughters attracts the rude and contemptuous 'quizzing' of Colonel Singleton and Miss Munt, to which the self-important grocer, Mr Figgins, indignantly retaliates. This mortification is capped by Bowen's confident presumption that Louisa will marry the forward grocer. The haberdasher's own officiousness is best exemplified in his hosting of a 'jolification', at which he urges his guests to 'make room' for 'Sir Grey de Ligne's son! [...] a Baronet's son!' and at supper makes public his design as if it were a *fait accompli*:

'Now, Sir,' said Mr Bowen, 'what will you eat? Here's some fine fowls; gave twelve shillings a couple for them—it's like eating gold, as a body may say! I seldom have 'em but at Christmas; only as my cousin was here, and this a wedding supper like,' looking at Mr. Figgins, who by his looks shewed satisfaction at the remark. 'Come, gentlemen, eat, there's plenty.' (I, 250)

Wherever they are, the Bowens and their friends are completely unaware of the loud and tasteless spectacle they present, or of the social embarrassment they cause the retiring and gentle Louisa.

Most of the novel's social criticism is given to Juliana; however, Louisa's visits to King's Bench make her acutely aware of the ruin of 'poor tradesmen's families' by 'the licentious extravagance of the rich', and of the plight of others like her father, rendered penniless by outright fraud. She laments the fate of the 'crowds of disconsolate prisoners' whose talents and potentially valuable

services are thus lost to their country (I, 205–08). Juliana, in turn, is shocked by the manners and practices of a dissolute upper class at assemblies, balls, and the opera. The rudeness and greed of supper crowds, the disrespect for women, laxity of sexual mores, fashion for ‘cicisbeos’, and gossip about who is appearing in Doctors’ Commons, the extravagant accumulation of debts and callous duping of tradesmen, the gambling, dissipation, and affectation at private parties, all far from making Juliana a ‘votary of fashion’, convince her of ‘the profligacy of modern times’, and of the value of her Welsh, agrarian community: ‘Oh, how gladly would I remain for ever a rustic on my native mountains, rather than witness, or for a moment give sanction to, the degeneracy of polished morals!’ (I, 229–30)

Like Emily de Montalte in Lusignan, and Radcliffe’s propertied heroines, Juliana subscribes to a gothic pastoral ideal whereby aristocratic families occupy their days in residence on their estates, benevolently administering to the wellbeing and happiness of their indigent tenants. However, at West Cliff, she finds Lord Callenberg’s country estate to be as much given over to relatives and friends who indulge in gambling, drink, flirtation, and ‘quizzing the natives’ as his residence in London (II, 72–81, 93–99, 110–11).

Use of the Pseudo-Supernatural: Juliana’s ‘Mysterious Monitor’

The most obviously experimental feature of *The Orphans of Llangloed* is its staging of the heroine’s encounters with the stern mentor-figure who claims to be her guardian angel, St Arvon, ‘appointed by Heaven to attend [her] steps, and guide them in the paths of virtue’: ‘Invisible, I have hitherto guarded you from danger; but am now permitted to assume this mortal form for the purpose of admonishing your youth, and teaching you the ways of wisdom.’ (I, 76–77) While there is certainty for Juliana that what she sees is real, that St Arvon’s precepts are virtuous, and that he has advance knowledge of events in her life, his status for her as an instance of the marvellous is initially in doubt, and then left in abeyance as her circumstances change. Once Juliana leaves Llangloed, he is absent from the narrative, except for one comically intriguing episode at a masquerade in London early in Volume Two, when his presence is obvious to the reader but not detected by Juliana.⁷² On her return to the castle, he appears to her only twice more, and details of his distressing news about an unscrupulous legal claim on her inheritance are soon validated, first by her caring uncle Sir Grey de Ligne, and then by Charles, proving once more to Juliana the reliability of St Arvon’s ‘prophetic spirit’. The mystery of his status and identity is finally resolved when Juliana visits him at Newgate. There she is astonished to find not the tutelary figure from ‘ethereal heights’ she had come to accept, but a ‘poor emaciated criminal’ who confesses to being both a mere ‘weak mortal’ and her supposedly dead father (III, 87–88). In this fashion, the novel offers a different, tragicomic take on the ‘explained supernatural’ for which Radcliffe had become renowned in the 1790s.

When, in an early letter to Lucy Lloyd, Juliana focuses on her visitor's avowed purpose, and is unprepared to question his unconventional attire and appeal to the authority of Heaven for his demand of secrecy, a gap opens up between her limited point of view in evaluating what she sees and what the reader of the novel perceives must be the case. This gap takes on a further dimension with Lucy's letter of response. Lucy, who is 'totally at a loss to imagine who [Juliana's] mysterious monitor can be', passes on her father's thoughts on the topic of 'departed spirits', having first taken 'an opportunity of asking him whether he thought it likely that souls once translated to immortality were ever permitted to return, for the purpose of watching those they loved, or warning them of danger'. Naming Dr Johnson as his authority, Pastor Lloyd had answered his daughter as follows:

'It would be presumptuous,' says he, 'for any person to think or declare that departed spirits can no more return to earth: a system which in all ages, and amongst all people, has been credited, more or less, cannot be entirely devoid of foundation. I can therefore not doubt that Providence, for great and wise purposes, may sometimes invest ethereal beings with a mandate from heaven. [...] I do not believe that any person now living will aver that they have seen apparitions; yet few dispute the possibility of such. But I repeat to you, that such a miracle can only happen on some most extraordinary and pressing exigence.' (I, 84–86)⁷³

Given that Juliana has said nothing in her letter about departed spirits, and that there is no necessary connection between departed spirits and guardian angels, readers could reasonably have expected Lucy to use the term 'guardian angel' and ask her father about the tutelary role and appearance of such beings.⁷⁴

Instead, the author's conflation of the two subjects in Lucy's exchange with her father posits a religious notion found in both *Lusignan* and *Udolpho*. Just as Emily de Montalte contemplates watching over Lusignan as 'a guardian angel', 'if after death we are permitted to communicate with terrestrial beings' (III, 23), so St Aubert fervently expresses the 'hope that we shall be permitted to look down on those we have left on earth', that 'disembodied spirits watch over the friends they have loved'. In her 'Essay', Radcliffe takes this a step further in having her traveller Willoughton assert the probability that, for 'very rare and important purposes', spirits may be 'permitted to become visible' in a 'suspension [...] of the laws prescribed to what we call *Nature*'.⁷⁵ Pastor Lloyd's own statements, as well as St Arvon's, that 'presumptuous is the mortal who shall assert that an inversion of the order of nature is never permitted' (I, 79), are consonant with Willoughton's argument.

V

SHOULD MY SURMISE about the authorship of these novels prove correct, it would help to explain why Radcliffe had become so 'disinclined' to publication post 1802–03, the period cited by Talfourd. The timing of a statement made in a

letter sometime in 1802 to the Revd Joseph Cooper Walker, by fellow novelist Charlotte Smith, apropos the ‘woeful times’ for authors and publishing, would also make greater sense than otherwise. Having claimed, ‘Mrs Ratcliffe [*sic*] is restrained by the authority of her husband from calling any “more spirits from the vasty deep” of her imagination’, Smith immediately adds, ‘the Lees seem to have laid by the pen for some time’.⁷⁶ Yet, Harriet Lee’s *Clara Lennox* and *Canterbury Tales* were published in 1797, the year in which Radcliffe’s last novel, *The Italian*, had also appeared. So, Radcliffe could also have been said to ‘have laid by the pen for some time’, unless Smith knew, or at least suspected, that in the interim she had still continued to write, and perhaps to publish. The existence of undetected anonymous publications by his wife could also explain the ‘fidgetty scrupulousness [...] about things of no manner of consequence’ to which William Radcliffe subjected Talfourd in 1825–26, while the latter was ‘drawing up’ the *Memoir of the Author, with Extracts from her Journals*.⁷⁷ Significantly, the *Memoir* contains no entries from her journal for 1799, when both Ann and William appear to have spent some months away from London ‘in the country’.⁷⁸

Radcliffe’s keen interest in the art of composition, her experiment with a new form in *Gaston de Blondville*, and her sensitivity to criticism are unquestioned.⁷⁹ She heeded criticisms of her work, and attempted to hone her narrative style accordingly. For example, there is far less landscape description in *The Italian* than in *Udolpho*, and its heroine, Ellena, is not given to composing stanzas of verse as is *Udolpho*’s effusive Emily. As Rictor Norton puts it, ‘poetic reverie has been replaced by dramatic action’.⁸⁰ The frequent cutting from one scene to another in *Lusignan* might be said to have taken this approximation to drama a step further, specifically, towards tragedy. One reviewer, Mary Wollstonecraft, had remarked of *The Italian*: ‘The passions of fear, pride, anger, and ambition, with their numerous train, are more happily delineated, than those of love, grief, or despair’.⁸¹ Perhaps one of the author’s aims in *Lusignan* was to make good this perceived deficit, while also refuting the damning accusation made of Radcliffe’s work by the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, that the ‘mysterious horror’ of her situations and events was ‘rather German than English’. The lack of any physical description of *Lusignan*’s villainous cleric, and his relegation to the wings for much of the novel, could also indicate a sensitivity to the same critic’s claim that Schedoni was ‘in reality, the hero’ of *The Italian*.⁸²

Whatever the case, in the oppressive cultural climate of war-weary Britain, resort to anonymity with the Minerva Press protected the author of *Lusignan* and *The Orphans of Llangloed* from censorious and carping critics, and ensured access to a large audience. Just as importantly, it enabled freedom to experiment, and the production of two rather different forms of Radcliffian romance. ❏

NOTES

1. *Lusignan, or the Abbaye of La Trappe* (London: Minerva Press, 1801). In 12 out of 19 possible circulating libraries. *The Orphans of Llangloed* (London: Minerva Press, 1802): the title page has 'By the Author of Lusignan'. In 9 out of 19 possible circulating libraries. P. D. Garside, J. E. Belanger, and S. A. Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation & Reception*, designer A. A. Mandal <<http://www.british.fiction.cf.ac.uk>>. Online: Internet (12 June 2008). DBF Record Nos 1801A007 and 1802A011. Facsimiles on CD-ROM (Wildberg: Belser Wissenschaftlicher Dienst, 2000). Future references will appear parenthetically in the text. All quotations with kind permission © 2000-2012 Belser Wissenschaftlicher Dienst.
2. Cf. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, ed. by Jacqueline Howard (London: Penguin Books, 2001), vol. II, ch. vi, p. 230:

The breezy freshness of the morning, too, revived her. She raised her thoughts in prayer, which she felt always most disposed to do, when viewing the sublimity of nature, and her mind recovered its strength.



FIG. 3. FRONTISPIECE TO *LUSIGNAN*.

Cf. also vol. I, ch. x, p. 109:

The deep repose of the scene, the rich scents, that floated on the breeze, the grandeur of the wide horizon, and the clear blue arch, soothed and gradually elevated her mind to that sublime complacency, that renders the vexations of this world so insignificant and mean in our eyes, that we wonder they have had the power to disturb us.

See also *The Italian*, ed. by Robert Miles (London: Penguin Books, 2000), vol. I, ch. vi, p. 75, and *Gaston de Blondville*, ed. by Frances Chiu (Chicago: Valancourt Books, 2006), pp. 205–06.

3. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, v, 153–55; in *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. by Helen Darbishire (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 104.
4. See Thomas Noon Talfourd, 'Memoir of the Life and Writings of Mrs Radcliffe', anonymously prefixed to Ann Radcliffe, *Gaston de Blondville or the Court of Henry III*, half title, *The Posthumous Works of Mrs Radcliffe*, 4 vols (London:

Henry Colburn, 1826), 1, 19–23, 26–31, 36–43, of which the following provide representative instances:

All was in gradual shades of blue; the calm sea below, the shores and distant hills, stretching along a cloudless blue sky. Innumerable vessels and little sails, whose whiteness was just softened with azure tint. It is impossible to express the beauty of those soft melting tints, that painted the distant perspective. [...]

Oh God! Thy great laws will one day be more fully known by thy creatures; [...] the God of order and all of this and far greater grandeur, the creator of that glorious sun, which never fails in its course, will not neglect us. (pp. 28, 39)

For an example of this type in *Orphans of Llangloed*, see vol. II, 181–83.

5. Ann Radcliffe, 'Written in the Isle of Wight', *Posthumous Works*, IV, 221–22. See Talfourd, 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe', pp. 19–23 and 25–31, for Radcliffe's descriptions, written on tours late in 1797 and 1798, of the chalky cliffs, blue sea-bay, and terrain of Dover, Shakespeare's Cliff, and Beachy Head, the French coast at a distance, and also sea-going vessels and sailors in the Channel, apropos her visits to Portsmouth, Spithead, Cowes, and the Isle of Wight. In her journal for July 1800 (pp. 36–42), Worthing and the coastline from Beachy Head to Dover are also described. The sea, sailors, storms at sea, and shipwreck are favourite subjects in her poems, such as 'Shakespeare's Cliff', 'The Fishers—Steephill', 'Sea-views, Midnight', 'A Sea-View', 'Written on the Isle of Wight', and 'The Sea-Mew' (IV, 162–69, 170–77, 200–03, 215–19, 221–30, 240–48).
6. See also *Llangloed*, III, 65 for actual use of the term 'in unison'. For a description of this fourth type in *Lusignan*, see vol. II, 144–45, where the gloomy aspect of Luneville Castle presents to Emily 'an object in exact correspondence with the day'. Again, in vol. IV, 135–37, as Lusignan (now Duke of Meronville) approaches the monastery of La Trappe, he is said to have 'felt his heart in perfect unison with the scene; a sort of pious terror penetrated his soul'. Cf. *The Italian*, vol. I, ch. vi, p. 78: the solemn vesper service at La Pieta 'was a music [...] in perfect unison with [Ellena's] feelings'.
In another instance in *Lusignan* (III, 98–99), Radcliffe's description, 'the organ swelled a solemn peal', made apropos a procession of monks into Furness Abbey, in her *Journey Made in the Summer of 1794* (Dublin: Wogan, et al., 1795, p. 490), is also used. An incarcerated nun at the convent of St Clair describes how, when she was compelled to take her vows, and 'the organ swelled a solemn peal', she thought 'the lamps burnt pale, Nature seemed to make a solemn pause, to view the sacrifice [she] made'.
7. 'On the Supernatural in Poetry,' *New Monthly Magazine*, 16 (1826), 145–52; reprinted in *Gothic Documents: A Sourcebook, 1700–1820*, ed. by E. J. Clery and Robert Miles (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 163–171.
8. Cf. *Lusignan*, IV, 144–47 and *Mysteries of Udolpho*, vol. IV, ch. xvi, p. 605.
9. For example, after the unsuperstitious Madame de Meronville has been subjected to apparently supernatural terror and divested of Emily's letter in the long gallery at Luneville Castle, she correctly rationalises her experience as 'some plot that required the aid of supernatural appearances' (I, 142). However, on p. 149, the narrator intrudes to suggest a further, obscure, supernatural explanation involving 'spirits of darkness' or 'aerial beings'. Quite unnecessary to the plot,

- this remains an isolated Miltonic moment in the novel, its purpose merely to hint at unplumbed depths of criminality in the Abbé's character.
10. Claudine Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin, *Memoirs of the Count of Comminge, from the French of Monsieur d'Arnaud* (London: G. Kearsley, 1774). D'Arnaud is a misattribution: see Josephine Grieder, 'The Prose Fiction of Baculard D'Arnaud in Late Eighteenth-Century England', *French Studies*, 24.2 (Apr 1970), 125. The novel has 181 pages, the first eight of which contain a prefatory description of La Trappe, which de Tencin perceives as 'a scene teeming with the most noble traits for the gloomy imagination of a painter or a poet'.
 François-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d'Arnaud, *Les Amans malheureux, ou Le Comte de Comminge, drame en trois actes et en vers, précédé d'un discours préliminaire, suivi de la lettre & des mémoires du comte de Comminge* (1764; Paris: L'Esclapart, 1765). *Amants* used in later editions published by Le Jay. According to Grieder, d'Arnaud's plays were never translated into English; however, it seems that Le Jay published *Le Comte du Comminge, ou les amans malheureux* (the order of the title is reversed) as a fourth edition in English in 1768.
 Montague Summers, in *A Gothic Bibliography* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), p. 394, errs in giving precedence to d'Arnaud's play as the main source, as does James R. Foster in *The Pre-Romantic Novel in England* (New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: OUP, 1949), p. 197, when he claims that the author has made only 'slight changes' to d'Arnaud's *Comminge* to turn it into a gothic novel.
 11. In vol. 1, ch. vi, Caroline de Montfort's long story of the loss of her parents and orphaned upbringing introduces as mysteries the disappearance of her mother Adelaide fifteen years earlier, and the doubtful authenticity of her surname. These mysteries are resolved providentially late in vol. iv, when Dorimond discovers Caroline's true identity from two miniatures of her parents, and Adelaide is rescued from the cruel incarceration she has suffered at the hands of her husband's acquisitive and lustful brother, the Marquis di Bentivoglio, the details of whose past crimes are revealed. This secondary plot thus resounds with echoes of Radcliffe's *A Sicilian Romance* and *The Italian*. The plot device of two miniatures providing circumstantial evidence is also used in *Gaston de Blondeville* (pp. 150–51).
 12. Cf. *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, III, ch. x, pp. 440, 445. When *Lusignan's* Eugenia de Foix is first mentioned, it is as the bride the implacable Duke of Meronville has chosen for his son, and her failure to arrive at Luneville Castle is treated as a mystery and cause for alarm, with La Haye maligning Emily and Lusignan for her disappearance. However, when Eugenia is actually introduced as a character, the narration moves abruptly into outright satire, presenting in free indirect style the reasoning of the romance-reading 'heroine' in seeking to avoid uniting her fortune to that of the Marquis of Lusignan: 'She had never seen him, consequently could form no estimation of his merits, but she had read some romances, which taught her that love was the business of life.' (I, 153)
 13. Frederick S. Frank, *The First Gothics: A Critical Guide to the English Gothic Novel* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1987), p. 218; Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), pp. 194–95.
 14. Like 'the Abate' in *A Sicilian Romance*, the abbess of St Clair is hypocritically open to bribery. She also displays the cruelty of the tyrannical abbess of San [*sic*] Stefano in *The Italian*. In contrast, the Bishop of the Diocese is a man of 'singular probity' who heeds Emily de Montalte's letter about the wrongs perpetrated in St

- Clair, and moves immediately to rectify them. For Emily's belief that seclusion is not 'the will of Heaven', and her long reflection on what she perceives to be a lack of pure motives and 'true piety' in monastic life in general, see *Lusignan*, III, 131–34; the topic is taken up again in *Llangloed*, III, 13–14, 79–81.
15. Meronville, believing his Emily dead, turns his back on his inherited dukedom, and enters the austere, Cistercian monastery to seek in his monastic vows and the strict Bernardine Rule an escape from his obsessive love and grief. There he is visited by Emily's brother-in-law, devoted friend and helper, Dorimond, who tells him that Emily's odious husband Bentivoglio has died, but that his Emily still lives, having been rescued from incarceration in a rock overhanging the sea, in a place contiguous to the pleasure grounds of St Jago Castle. She had been found on information from Caroline de Montfort's mother, who had been rescued shortly before from the same area. In de Tencin's *Comminge*, Benavides had imprisoned Adélaïde in a dungeon, from which she was simply released after his death. Urging Meronville to escape and return to Emily, Dorimond follows d'Arnaud's D'Orvigni in offering to take Meronville's place.
 16. Henry Fielding, *The Wedding Day: A Comedy*; in *Miscellanies*, 2 vols (London: Andrew Millar, 1743), II, 394.
 17. *Hamlet*, III.ii.22–24; in William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (2nd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 699.
 18. *Critical Review*, 2nd ser. 37 (Feb 1803), 237–38.
 19. Talfourd, 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe', p. 13.
 20. For example, 'and now, honey, you may breathe then: I would not, by Jusus, hurt your sweet face, not for the world!' (II, 121)
 21. *Anti-Jacobin Review and Protestant Advocate; or, Monthly Political and Literary Censor*, 7 (Sep 1800), 29.
 22. Talfourd, 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe', pp. 99, 100, 121.
 23. The point of view is that of Meronville (d'Arnaud's Comminge/Frere [*sic*] Arsene) until the final episode (IV, 226–39), when the unprofessed Emily, who has been known to all only as Brother Ambrose (d'Arnaud's Adélaïde/Frère Euthime) makes her dying confession on a bed of straw and ashes to the assembled brothers, revealing first that she is 'a woman', and then relating her story, which closely follows that of d'Arnaud's Frère Euthime. For the sake of Meronville, she had 'espoused a man [she] detested'. On gaining her freedom, she had taken a male habit before causing a report of her death to be spread. By 'the hand of Providence' she had been drawn to La Trappe on the very occasion of Meronville's pronouncement of his vows, and had sacrilegiously gained admittance to be secretly near her beloved, but had subsequently suffered the spiritual trials God had intended for her.
 24. D'Arnaud, *Les Amans malheureux*, pp. 15–17. His 'souterrain vaste & profond' has the tomb of de Rancé surmounted by a crucifix surrounded by skulls, open graves awaiting corpses, and solemn inscriptions.
 25. Radcliffe, *Journey in Summer 1794*, pp. 492–93.
 26. See Ann Radcliffe, *A Sicilian Romance*, ed. by Alison Milbank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), ch. ix, pp. 118–24; ch. xi, pp. 135–37. The earliest parts of Cornelia's story are very similar to those of the wronged and imprisoned nun, Julia, in *Lusignan* (III, 95–101), while the description of Cornelia's resignation and angelic appearance as she dies is very similar to the description of Emily de Montalte as she prepares herself for death (II, 21).

27. Forms of the word 'vibrate', used as a shorthand way to convey the heightened import of words or music on a character's ear or heart, occur a number of times in *Lusignan* (I, 139; III, 4, 208; IV, 45, 215, 239). Radcliffe also uses the term in suggesting the combined effect on King Henry III of the spectre's demand and warning with the monks' chant of the 'second requiem', at the climax of *Gaston de Blondville* (p. 196). In both novels, the term seems an appropriation of David Hartley's theoretical usage in his *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations*, 2 vols (1749; New York: Garland Publishing, 1971), I, 223–28, 243–48. Cf. Schedoni's explanation of the effect of hearing the chant of 'the first requiem' on the evil intentions of the Marquesa in *The Italian*, vol. II, ch. iv, p. 207: 'let music [...] touch some feeble chord of her heart, and echo to her fancy, and lo! all her perceptions change'.
28. Emily's final speech differs markedly from that of d'Arnaud's Adélaïde/Frère Euthime, both in its lack of brevity and in its affirmation of love over rectitude (de Tencin's Adélaïde/unnamed brother does not address, or even look at, Comminge directly at all). Emily's speech also makes the 'glorious' end of her spiritual journey, as predicted by her father's ghost, the point of closure and chief focus for the author, who is silent about the reaction and fate of the eponymous hero. In contrast, de Tencin and d'Arnaud, both have Comminge delirious with grief, embracing the body of his beloved, and then being dragged away forcibly by the brothers to his cell. De Tencin's sacrilegious Comminge is subsequently granted permission by the Abbot to leave La Trappe, and spend the rest of his days in a hermitage.
29. Cf. *Udolpho*, vol. IV, ch. x, pp. 546–50.
30. *Lusignan*, IV, 147–53, 281–83; in John Armstrong, *The Art of Preserving Health* (London: Andrew Millar, 1744), pp. 112, 120. These precepts can also be detected in *Udolpho*, for example, in St Aubert's early instruction to Emily 'to resist her first impressions, and to acquire that steady dignity of mind that can alone counterbalance the passions, and bear us [...] above the reach of circumstances' (vol. I, ch. i, p. 9).
31. On this point, see Angela Wright, 'In Search of Arden, Ann Radcliffe's William Shakespeare', in *Gothic Shakespeares*, ed. by John Drakakis and Dale Townshend (Routledge, Abingdon, 2008), pp. 116–17. In *Lusignan*, the first momentous event is the acquiescence of the wavering Duke with La Haye's (as yet unrevealed) plot to prevent the marriage of Emily and Lusignan, and take his terrible revenge. The second is the appearance of a spectre to Emily, and the third, the abduction of Lusignan on the eve of his wedding to Emily by La Haye's thugs, with his imprisonment by *lettre de cachet* in Belleisle Priory.
32. *Hamlet* I.iv.27–29:
- 'But tell
Why thy canonized bones, hearsed in the earth,
Have burst their cearments?'
33. Radcliffe, 'On the Supernatural in Poetry', pp. 166–67. In this piece, which takes the form of a discussion between two travellers, Radcliffe has the theoretical Willoughton state that 'above every ideal being is the ghost of Hamlet, with all its attendant incidents of time and place', and 'probability is enough for the poet's justification, the ghost being supposed to have come for an important purpose'.
34. See Radcliffe, *Sicilian Romance*, ch. ii, p. 36: Madame de Menon's belief that 'unembodied spirits' can appear 'only by the express permission of God, and for

- some very singular purposes'; also in *The Romance of the Forest*, ed. by Chloe Chard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), vol. III, ch. xviii, pp. 274–75, La Luc's faith in meeting again in 'a future state' those we have loved on earth; and in *Udolpho* (vol. I, ch. xi, pp. 66–67), St Aubert's hope that 'disembodied spirits watch over the friends they have loved'.
35. Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours or Sketches Critical and Narrative*, 3 vols (London: Cadell and Davies, 1800; rptd New York: Garland, 1970), I, 359.
 36. In *Gaston de Blondville*, Radcliffe makes greater use of this theme in describing Gaston de Blondville's guilty reactions to the pageant re-enactment of the crime against Woodreeve's kinsman, Sir Reginald de Folville (pp. 93–94).
 37. The morning after the ghost's second appearance, Gabriella's amusing recount to Emily, of having seen a tall ghost coming up the stairs with a taper, dressed all in white, as if it had just come out of the coffin in its winding-sheet, and with a face not unlike her mistress, soon has Emily smiling, as she realises that it is her own return to her room that Gabriella has witnessed. However, Emily rebukes her for her credulity, and requests sternly that she not disseminate such 'idle fancies' amongst the servants, lest she provoke the Duke's displeasure. Cf. Emily's remonstrance with Annette for her superstitious prattle in *Udolpho*, vol. II, ch. vi, pp. 234–45; vol. II, ch. vii, pp. 263–64. Radcliffe draws on the balcony scene from *Romeo and Juliet* in *The Italian*, vol. I, ch. i, pp. 16–17.
 38. At some points, the author's pictorial sense of simultaneous dramatic events seems to anticipate the narrative techniques of film, specifically parallel editing or cross-cutting, for example: 'While this passed in the Duke's closet, different scenes were acted in the apartments of Lusignan and Emily' (II, 196).
 39. De Tencin, *Count of Comminge* has her first-person narrator, Comminge, give a very brief account of the hatred that had prevented his marriage to his first cousin, Adélaïde de Lussan (pp. 9–13).
 40. Thomas Gray, 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard', ll. 34–37; in *The Poems of Gray and Collins*, ed. by Austin Lane Poole (London: Oxford University Press, 1919), p. 93. Gray was revered by Radcliffe, who paid tribute to his work in her poem 'Written in the Isle of Wight', investing the Isle with significance as a place where 'pensive Gray some sad sweet moments passed', and then quoting line 37 from his 'Elegy' (*Posthumous Works*, IV, 221–22).
 41. In the first chapter of *Udolpho*, which opens in 1584, twelve years after Coligny's death, Radcliffe makes brief mention of the turbulence of the period, the court of Henry the Third, the duke of Joyeuse, and the Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre. According to Talfourd, 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe', p. 5, Radcliffe was proud of her descent from moderate, Dutch Calvinists Johan and Cornelius De Witt, who were slaughtered in 1672 during a period of politico-religious intrigue and unrest.
 42. For a discussion of the significance of the temporal setting Robert Miles has called 'the Gothic cusp' in *Sicilian Romance*, *Romance of the Forest*, and *Udolpho*, see his *Ann Radcliffe: The Great Enchantress* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 86–88, 114, 132, 144–45.
 43. See De Tencin, *Count of Comminge*, p. 13; cf. *Udolpho*, vol. II, ch. iii, p. 174:

His soul was little susceptible of light pleasure. He delighted in the energies of the passions; the difficulties and tempests of life, which wreck the happiness of others, roused and strengthened

all the powers of his mind, and afforded him the highest enjoyments, of which his nature was capable.

44. The most memorable example is the foxy treatment of the Duke of Meronville's sudden expiry in vol. IV, 15–16. The narrator comments that the Duke 'had died very opportunely for La Haye', and relates how the exposure of his forgeries of the Duke's signature on various documents had been imminent. But while our suspicions of foul play are immediately aroused by this information, the actual cause of the Duke's death is withheld for another four chapters. Instead, the event is passed over, albeit with reflexive irony, as 'one of those fortunate strokes of fate, which sometimes favour the villain'. This makes the Abbé's subsequent deathbed confession of his murder of the Duke all the more inconsistent, and exposes the author to accusations of incoherence and bad faith similar to those made in relation to *Udolpho*.
45. Without the sublime appearance and loftiness of spirit of Schedoni in *The Italian*, the degenerate La Haye is 'malignity personified', has 'dissimulation' as his chief characteristic, and 'every quality that can constitute the finished villain' (I, 45, 128–29). His frequent resort to verbal bullying, with its attendant casuistry and blatant hypocrisy, positions him as an object of detestation and contempt.
46. A similar misspelling of 'Montpellier' occurs in the unedited *Romance of the Forest*: Lusignan feels disgust at his father's 'imperious' treatment of his 'vassals', and his failure 'to lighten the yoke of servitude, which was a component part of the feudal system' (I, 135–36).
47. De Tencin's Comminge, who has had previous relationships with women, gains permission to 'spend some days at the Wells', 'a public resort' where there is 'freedom of behaviour', and he is readily admitted into 'parties of pleasure' (pp. 16–19).
48. The theft is reminiscent of that, in the opening chapter of *Udolpho*, of Madame St Aubert's bracelet to which a miniature of her daughter Emily is attached. The initially unknown thief is later revealed as Emily's secret admirer, Du Pont. It would seem that, like *Lusignan*, *Udolpho* is indebted to de Tencin's *Comminge* (pp. 23–27) for this incident.
49. Cf. *The Italian*, vol. I, ch. ix, p. 121: when Vivaldi accosts Schedoni in the church of Spirito Santo, accusing him of abducting Ellena, he is ignored by the monk, but 'a respect for his age and profession with [holds] Vivaldi from seizing and compelling him to answer'. Nevertheless, Schedoni determines on 'a terrible revenge' for the insults he has suffered (vol. I, ch. x, p. 127).
50. Although Emily's mother, Madame de Clarival, has great faith in her daughter's 'virtue and good sense', like St Aubert in *Udolpho* (vol. I, ch. vii, pp. 78–79), she warns Emily of 'the errors of sensibility, and a too fervid imagination', albeit in relation to Emily's readiness 'to ascribe virtue to everything which wears the semblance of it' (*Lusignan*, I, 43–44).
51. Immanuel Kant, *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* (1785); *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. and ed. by Mary Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 12: 'It is just then that the worth of character comes out, which is moral and incomparably the highest, namely that he is beneficent not from inclination, but from duty.' Cf. Adeline's conflicts between inclination and duty, in *Romance of the Forest* (vol. I, ch. v, pp. 74, 79–80, 82); Emily's, in *Udolpho* (vol. I, ch. xiii, pp. 147, 149), and Ellena's, in *The Italian* (vol. II, ch. v, p. 210–13). For a discussion of Kantian duty and virtue in Radcliffe's heroines, see John Garrett, *Gothic Strains and Bourgeois Sentiments in the Novels of Ann*

- Radcliffe and her Imitators* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 91–96. Cf. also de Tencin, *Comminge*, p. 56.
52. Unbeknownst to Lusignan, Emily secures his release from Belleisle Priory by writing a letter to the Duke in which she promises to conceal her whereabouts and never see Lusignan again. However, after a chance meeting, Lusignan is again confined. He escapes to see her once more, and is released again only after Emily has capitulated to the Duke's demand (forged by La Haye) that she marry someone else.
 53. Cf. *Romance of the Forest*, vol. III, ch. xvi, p. 243.
 54. The most striking and suspenseful example of the use of music in *Lusignan* occurs when Lusignan (now Duke of Meronville), foolhardily having gained admission to St Jago disguised as a painter to observe his Emily *incognito*, falls under the spell of her music-making (IV, 45).
 55. Cf. *Udolpho*, vol. IV, ch. xi, pp. 556–57, for the description of Emily St Aubert's return to 'the scene of her earliest delight' where, amongst the groves her father had planted, 'her heart melted to the tender recollections'. The epigraph that signals Emily's return to La Vallée, four lines from Gray's 'Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College' (p. 556), is also repeated as epigraph to the chapter in *Lusignan* (III, 148) depicting Emily de Montalte's return to her home in the Valais.
 56. Cf. *Romance of the Forest* (vol. II, ch. xi, p. 163; vol. III, ch. xv, p. 230) for Adeline's 'dignity of virtue [...] touched with sorrow' that 'awes' the lecherous Marquis de Montalt, and her sweetness and innocence that moves La Motte. Cf. also *Udolpho* (vol. III, ch. iii, p. 346) for Emily's 'divinity of pity' that moves Montoni.
 57. *Italian*, vol. III, ch. xiii, pp. 475–76: Radcliffe uses the term 'fairy vision' in her description of the beautifully situated villa that the newly wed Ellena and Vivaldi make their principal residence.
 58. Accompanied by 'her favourite dog' (which jumps at flies), Emily arranges most days to be rowed to a small island, 'divided by the encroachments of the sea from the pleasure grounds adjacent to the Castle', and covered by 'a beautiful wood'. Here she passes her days by seeking 'to divert her thoughts' in 'the historic page, or in the harmony of poetic numbers', and on occasion playing her lyre and singing. Cf. Talfourd, 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe', pp. 38, 41, 43–44.
 59. Juliana writes twenty-four letters, Mrs Middleton ten, her cousins Louisa Morgan and Charles de Ligne each seven, her lover Henry Morton five, and her friend Lucy Lloyd three. Seven characters write only one letter each, and four write two or three. All reveal aspects of the writer's character and his or her consciousness. For the most part they also either forward the plot or highlight a feature of the society of the novel, or both.
 60. Cf. *Sicilian Romance*, ch. i, pp. 3–8; ch. ii, pp. 28–29.
 61. Apart from combining elements of the beautiful and sublime in the loving description of the environs of Llangloed, the author may be read as taking a sly, Radcliffean tilt at Gilpin's avowed preference for a tower over a steeple, by having Mrs Middleton briefly digress to extol the function of the 'truly picturesque' steeple adjoining Pastor Lloyd's house, in creating a visual effect of the greatest aesthetic harmony (I, 6–7). In her journal for 13 Oct 1801 (Talfourd, 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe', pp. 54–55), Radcliffe had exclaimed of the spire of Salisbury Cathedral, 'How could Mr. Gilpin prefer a tower to it!' Her reference is to a passage in William Gilpin's *Observations on the Western Parts of England [...] to Which Are Added, a Few Remarks on the Picturesque Beauties of the Isle of Wight*

- (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798), p. 55: 'No spire can be so pleasing an object as an elegant Gothic tower.'
62. In the didactic use of this gothic vestige as plot device, the author may have been influenced by Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753–54), which had explicitly attacked the notion and practice of duelling as 'Gothic barbarism' and '*invitation to murder*'. See Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. by Jocelyn Harris, 3 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), I, 262, 266; III, 464–65.
63. Other poems quoted include Earl Nugent's 'To a Lady' (Epistle xiv), Lord John Wilmot's 'A Letter from Artemizia in Towne to Chloe in the Country', Matthew Prior's 'Henry and Emma', and Joseph Addison's 'The Campaign'.
64. See, for example, *Llangloed*, II, 190 and III, 203, for the twice-used 'Even-handed Justice | Returns the ingredients of our poison'd chalice | To our own lips' (*Macbeth*, I.vii.10–12).
65. As in *Lusignan*, the author exploits the forbidden love theme from *Romeo and Juliet* in making Juliana's family name the insuperable barrier to Henry Morton's love for her. Morton's father (Lord Falkington) has continued to hate the deceased Arthur Glendower as the murderer of his innocent brother, Captain Morton. The parallel with Shakespeare's play is made quite explicit in vol. I, pp. 195–96, where, in praise of Juliana's eyes to Colonel Singleton, Morton quotes Romeo's panegyric on Juliet (II.i.54–64). This literary context gives legitimacy to the later comic masquerade scene (II, 38–42) as the appropriate occasion for Morton, disguised in a black domino, to declare his love.
66. In *Gaston de Blondville* ('Introduction', p. 17), Radcliffe's mouthpiece, Willough-ton, argues that old castles, and the 'picturesque visions' they awaken, 'render antiquity, of all studies, the least liable to the epithet of dry, though dull and dry people so liberally bestow it.'
67. Sir George Lyttelton, 'Soliloquy of a Beauty in the Country'; in *The Penguin Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse*, ed. by Dennis Davison (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 145. The preceding couplet is also relevant to Isabella's affectations:
 Is this the life a beauty ought to lead?
 Were eyes so radiant only made to read?
 The author further mines Lyttelton's ironic portrayal of his soliloquising 'beauty' by subsequently making Isabella's strongest grievance the lack of notice she has received from insensible country 'brutes', these being the parishioners at Glenfield Church who have 'stupidly' looked at the parson instead of her. As Cadell & Davies published a volume of Lyttelton's poetry in 1801, the poem's witty lines may have had some currency in London at the time of the publication of *The Orphans of Llangloed*.
68. Cf., for example, *Udolpho*, vol. I, ch. x, pp. 105–08; ch. xii, pp. 115–16, 119–33; vol. II, ch. iii, pp. 194–95.
69. However, in a short spate of correspondence early in vol. II, Lady de Ligne exhibits a mendacity and viciousness that go well beyond her satirised self-importance when she asks her lawyer, Mr Jefferson, to attempt to dispossess Juliana of her title and fortune, and direct it to Louisa because her son Charles, irrespective of his mother's wishes, intends to make Louisa his wife.
70. Cf. *Udolpho*, vol. III, ch. x, pp. 440–41, 445 and ch. xi, pp. 448, 452. In contrast to his mother, the Countess of Villeroy, Henry does not consider Château le Blanc a 'barbarous spot', but is receptive to 'the surrounding country, and mode of

- life'. Although he indulges in some light-hearted teasing of Mademoiselle Bearn, his mother's fashionable companion from Paris, he is 'disgusted' by her 'conceit and insensibility'. Radcliffe lightly satirises both her ennui and the Countess's interest in reading sentimental novels on 'fashionable systems of philosophy [...] especially as to *infidelity*'.
71. There is also the curious coincidence that the Holborn haberdashery premises, which William Ward had occupied on his own account for seventeen years, were taken over by William Bower & Co., becoming by 1774 Bower & Mellersh, Haberdashers. That Radcliffe felt ashamed of her father's haberdashery and ceramic merchant background is suggested by the fact that she suppressed it, and gave him a more literary character when she told the artist Guiseppè Marchi that her father was a bookseller at Bath. See Rictor Norton, *Mistress of Udolpho: The Life of Ann Radcliffe* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999), pp. 23–24, 136.
 72. Juliana describes how 'a mysterious mask', dressed in a black domino had 'fixed himself' at her side for much of the evening. The sternly moralistic content and tone of his address betray his identity as St Arvon to the reader, but Juliana is so put on the defensive by his questions that she fails to place his voice, despite experiencing an impression of its familiarity. By again giving Juliana a limited point of view, and then having her encounter another black domino, a masquerade figure so successful in its effacement of character that initially she mistakes the second for the first, and ripostes with him, the author creates a comic scene suffused with irony.
 73. For Johnson's views, see James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, rev. by J. D. Fleeman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 287–88, 462, 900.
 74. While the notion that every individual soul has a guardian angel has not been an article of faith in the Christian church, the references in the Old and New Testaments to the guardian role of angels have made it a commonly held belief throughout the ages. Precepts and reflections about such beings also occur in the writings of St Jerome, Tertullian, St Thomas Aquinas, St Augustine, Sir Thomas Browne, Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Donne, and Edward Young.
 75. 'On the Supernatural in Poetry,' p. 187.
 76. Alan Dugald McKillop, 'Charlotte Smith's Letters', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 15 (1951–52), 255. Ironically, Shakespeare's line, partially quoted by Smith, 'I can raise spirits from the vasty deep' (*Henry IV*, III.i.51) is spoken by the legendary Owain Glyndwr, on whose cachet the author of *Llangloed* trades in naming the novel's ancestral Welsh family 'Glendower'. The family is also descended from 'Prince Llewellyn ap Griffiths' (I, 12) called 'Llewellyn of Wales' by Radcliffe in *Gaston de Blondeville* (p. 152).
 77. Quoted by Norton, *Mistress of Udolpho*, p. 248.
 78. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
 79. Talfourd, 'Memoir of Mrs Radcliffe', pp. 8–9, 89.
 80. Norton, *Mistress of Udolpho*, p. 128.
 81. *Analytical Review*, 25 (May 1797), 516.
 82. *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 7 (Sep 1800), 28.

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REFERRING TO THIS REPORT

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BOOK REVIEWS



Alex Benchimol, *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period: Scottish Whigs, English Radicals and the Making of the British Public Sphere* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), x + 236pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6446-8; £55 (hb).

Richard J. Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), xii + 224pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6806-0; £55 (hb).

THESE TWO BOOKS engage with the literary and intellectual culture of early nineteenth century Britain from very different perspectives. What unites them is their analysis of print culture as a means of understanding the ideological landscape of England and Scotland in the period. This allows both studies to rise above the narrow boundaries of intellectual history on the one hand and literary scholarship on the other, resulting in explorations of early nineteenth-century worldviews which step beyond the conventional confines of academic disciplinarily. As discussed below, however, the inherent disparity between their approaches to ‘romanticism’, when juxtaposed against one another, also raises questions about the ongoing use of that term as a critical concept.

In *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period*, Alex Bechimol undertakes a comparative study of political thought in Scotland and England during the early 1800s. He contends that Scotland’s public sphere was Whiggish, bourgeois, moderate and allied to the state. He then investigates the contrasting tradition of English radicalism which, he asserts, was Plebeian, anti-establishment and sometimes even revolutionary. The main contention of the book is that the interplay between these opposing philosophies was an important factor in shaping the British political context during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Whilst Bechimol discusses well-known events such as the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 and the 1832 Reform Act, these serve as little more than the historical landmarks with which he locates his analysis. This is no traditional political history, but rather an in-depth investigation into the development of and interactions between two schools of thought that had distinctly separate roots and fundamentally opposed philosophies.

Perhaps unavoidably, therefore, this is a work which is steeped in cultural theory. It relies heavily on the writings of a diverse range of historical, literary and sociological scholars, including Ian Duncan, Jurgen Habermas, Kevin Gilmartin, Christopher Hill, Iain MacCalman, Nicholas Philipson, Richard Sher, E. P. Thompson, Raymond Williams, and Kathleen Wilson (to name but a few). Throughout his own research, Bechimol gets a great deal of mileage from

the ideas of these academic grandees, building on their influential discussions about the British public sphere, literary Romanticism, cultural materialism class consciousness and the analysis of political thought. Indeed, the first half of the book, in which he traces the development of Whig and radical intellectual traditions from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, is greatly reliant on the work of others. There is barely a primary source in sight and Bechimol's approach is certainly not for those who lack the taste or tenacity for extended conceptual discussions of theoretical complexities. Nevertheless, these early chapters succeed in making a convincing case for one of Bechimol's main points; namely that the significance of English radicalism has been under-estimated by recent scholars who tend to see the British public sphere exclusively in terms of a bourgeois Whig ascendancy with its roots in the civil society of eighteenth century Scotland.

It is not until page 99 that we get to the meat of Bechimol's study, in the form of two chapters focusing on political thought in the Scottish and English public spheres respectively during the early nineteenth century. This is what the book is really about; the earlier chapters tracing the development of these rival traditions are certainly necessary, yet they are also essentially preliminary and preparatory. Here, the reader is treated to detailed analyses of the writings of Francis Jeffrey, Henry Brougham and Thomas Carlyle in the *Edinburgh Review*, and Thomas Spence, Thomas Wooler and William Cobbett in the *Black Dwarf* and the *Political Register*. It is through this comparison of intellectual output, circulated to wide readerships via the burgeoning periodical culture of the age, that Bechimol makes his case. These sections juxtapose an Enlightenment philosophical inheritance in Scotland which emphasised the intellectual and moral leadership of the middle classes, against a popular English radicalism which condemned Britain's elitist commercial society and increasingly advocated a utopian vision of agrarianism from days gone by. The book skilfully demonstrates how these rival responses to the socio-economic shifts of the period interacted with and took impetus from one another. This culminated on the one hand in triumph for Scottish Whiggism through the 1832 Reform Act, and on the other in the oppression of English radicalism as exemplified by Peterloo and the Six Acts that followed.

Bechimol's grasp and application of scholarship from a diversity of disciplines is striking, as is the detail and insight with which he unpacks the complex ideologies at play in the period. However, his reliance on secondary works does at some points make his analysis seem curiously ahistorical. With only a few exceptions, his use of primary sources is limited to the writings of the six intellectuals listed above. This lack of a direct and sustained engagement with sources representing the wider context means that there is little sense of the period itself. For example, whilst the focus on the *Edinburgh Review* as the primary organ of Scottish political thought is certainly sound, that periodical had influential Tory rivals in the form of the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Clearly the intellectual Whiggism of Jeffrey *et al* was

far from unchallenged within the Scottish public sphere, yet both of these competing publications are conspicuous only by their absence. In the same vein, Bechimol cites the twin trends of industrialisation and urbanisation as key factors which shaped both of the discourses under investigation. However, there is relatively little discussion of the material impact of those changes on the bourgeois or Plebeian readerships at whom the articles of Jeffrey or Cobbett, for example, were aimed.

Yet these are relatively minor quibbles and should not detract from Bechimol's achievement. He has successfully corralled an impressive range of theoretical approaches and thus provided a sound foundation for the extended textual analysis at the heart of his book. This is an erudite and persuasive study which, whilst it may prove heavy going for students, will be invaluable to academics interested in political thought and its modes of transmission during the early part of the nineteenth century.

Richard Hill's book *Picturing Scotland Through the Waverley Novels* is perhaps less ambitious than Bechimol's work, yet makes some equally important points about intellectual and bourgeois culture in the early 1800s. This work engages with print culture through visual representations of romantic fiction, rather than the transmission of political and philosophical ideology via periodicals. Nonetheless, it shares with Bechimol's study an admirable willingness to combine historical and literary modes of analysis in order to further its case.

Firstly, Hill seeks to debunk the common misconception that Scott, like many leading romantic figures, had a marked distaste for book illustration. As conventional academic wisdom has it, Scott believed that illustration undermined the need for readers to use their imaginations when reading prose or poetry, whilst at the same time cheapening the unique originality of art through mass reproduction. The further assumption is that he only reluctantly allowed images to be associated with his *Waverley* novels out of commercial necessity, especially after his bankruptcy in 1813. In fact, as Hill demonstrates, Scott took a real interest in illustration. Much of his work was inspired by paintings and sketches, which he used to fire his imagination when writing. Indeed, Hill notes that Scott frequently painted tableaus with words and was in that sense an extremely visual writer. Moreover, whilst he had very little control over the illustrated editions of his novels printed in London, Scott was heavily involved in those produced by his Edinburgh publishers. In this way, Hill argues that the Edinburgh editions of the *Waverley* novels which were published within Scott's lifetime provided an important yet little-known foundation for the more celebrated author-led illustrated novels of the Victorian era.

Hill's work is built upon extensive research into correspondence between Scott, his Edinburgh publishers, and several artists whom he held in high regard. These letters show that he viewed illustrations as a corollary to text, believing that images could mean little without explanatory prose. However, they also show that from as early as 1805, Scott and his publisher John Constable were actively considering ways in which to incorporate drawings by the artists such


as James Skene, William Allan and Andrew Nasmyth into the *Waverley* novels. Scott was keen to exert personal control over this process, which meant not only choosing suitable artists and engravers but also accepting or rejecting sketches and engravings. Hill ably demonstrates that, for Scott, these images were not only intended as aids to the reader's imagination but also accurate ethnographic representations of the places and times that they depicted. It was not, therefore, that Scott disdained illustration, but rather that he insisted upon images which he believed were historically accurate and which captured a distinctly Scottish sense of place. In this we see his antiquarianism surfacing through the insistence that the specificity of the past be evoked not just in his writings but in the illustrations that accompanied them.

Hill's study highlights how Scott was aided in this by Constable. However, whilst illustrated supplements to the *Waverley* novels were produced by Constable, the goal of a fully illustrated edition was realised only after Constable's death by Scott's second Edinburgh publisher Robert Cadell. Hill makes some intriguing links between Cadell's *Magnum Opus* edition of 1829 and the existing popularity of annuals and gift books. By aping this type of physical presentation and taking advantage of new steel plate engraving techniques, Cadell succeeded in producing illustrated versions of Scott's novels in a cheap yet handsome format which appealed to a growing literary audience amongst the lower middle classes. Yet the most absorbing aspect of Hill's work is his discussion of two specific visual sources. The first is Allan's painting of 'The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe' by the covenanters, an event that sets in motion the plot of *Old Mortality*. As Hill points out, Scott saw the murder not as the work of national martyrs but rather as a distasteful act of religious extremism. Allan's painting reflected this view by depicting the event as a grubby assassination rather than a grand political gesture. Hill also uses this painting to show that it was Allan's concern for antiquarian accuracy of detail and costume that so impressed Scott, in contrast to the artistic licence which the author deplored in the illustrated London editions of his books. The other case study focuses on Andrew Nasmyth's drawings of the Edinburgh Tolbooth, a building that plays a central role in *The Heart of Midlothian*. This section does an excellent job of analysing a specific series of book illustrations and combining that with a discussion of the extensive architectural changes that Edinburgh was undergoing in the period. Hill uses this to tease out the juxtapositions between romantic nostalgia and a Whiggish sense of progress that were a hallmark of Scott's novels. He also highlights some fascinating links with Nasmyth's work as a set designer for dramatic adaptations of Scott's novels, and in so doing shows how illustrations could provide the reader with a sense of place and time in which Scott's plots could play out.

Hill presents the reader with a skilful investigation into Scott's relationship with both the concept and mechanics of book illustration, and offers a successful riposte to current assumptions on the subject. Moreover, he uses this research as a platform from which to analyse Scott's desire to inject a sense of Scottish

historical identity into the powerfully homogenising Anglo-centred Britishness of the early 1800s. Whilst Hill does have a tendency to repeat and re-justify points already well-made in earlier sections, this does not detract from the force of his argument. His study is based upon a close engagement with historical sources in the form of Scott's correspondence, literary material in the shape of the author's published writings, and of course the book illustrations themselves. The work is further supported by an extensive catalogue listing images from the illustrated supplements and editions of the *Waverley* novels published during Scott's lifetimes. Indeed, it is a shame that this catalogue, an impressive work of scholarship in its own right, is not utilised more to support key points and contentions in the main text of the book.

Bechimol and Hill take distinct and dissimilar approaches to very different topics, yet in both instances are rewarded with success. As already alluded to, however, the utilisation of the term 'romantic' as a means by which both scholars define the remit of their work highlights a wider problem. Bechimol makes frequent use of the phrase 'romantic period' in his investigation (it even appears in the book's title), yet there is no concerted attempt to pin down exactly what was 'romantic' about the print cultures and public spheres that are the subject of his research. Hill, meanwhile, uses the word 'romantic' less frequently yet focuses on topics that sit more recognisably within the traditional canon of romanticism. This is no criticism of either author, but is rather symptomatic of a broader tendency in recent scholarship to use 'romantic' as a general description of British culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By juxtaposing the works of Bechimol and Hill, as this review has done, it might be suggested that the term is suffering from 'concept drift'. If both book illustration and political thought can be validly placed within the oeuvre of romanticism, then this perhaps implies that the term has become somewhat over-stretched. Indeed, it could be argued that it has lost much of its precision as a critical concept and is in danger of becoming a generic period label.

In any case, this is an issue of discipline-wide significance and is not intended as a reproach to either of the works under review. Regardless of the value or otherwise of Romanticism as a means of defining specific aspects of culture, it is clear that both Bechimol and Hill have taken innovative approaches to neglected subjects and succeeded in adding to our understanding of the outlooks and life-worlds that characterised key segments of British society in the early decades of the 1800s. 

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Clare Broome Saunders, *Women Writers and Nineteenth-Century Medievalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 230pp. (10 b/w plates). ISBN 978-0-2036-0793-4; £54 (hb).

WOMEN WRITERS AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEDIEVALISM attends to the role gender plays in the construction and performance of medievalism. Texts by female authors have rarely featured in past studies of nineteenth-century medievalism and Clare Broome Saunders' study offers a welcome expansion to past critical discussions. Saunders quickly establishes a reading of nineteenth-century 'female' medievalism as distinct from the dominant 'male' medievalisms of Tennyson, Morris, Scott and others (pp. 2, 5), yet, she is also keen to explore how 'the dominant strain of medievalism' (by which she means the texts and practices of male writers) 'influences and inspires female medievalism' (p. 2). Though these two gendered models can be complexly interrelated, fundamentally, 'women writers and artists often use the discourse [medievalism] in contradictory ways' (p. 2).

Perhaps the best example of such interrelations and differences at work is seen in the book's examination of the female illustrators Julia Margaret Cameron, Eleanor Fortescue Brickdale, Jessie Marion King, and Florence Harrison, who each took advantage of the 'space for interpretation found in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* and [William] Morris's "The Defence of Guenevere" and "King Arthur's Tomb"' (p. 154). Saunders argues that each artist's illustrations depart from the female values privileged in the male-authored poems to create images which celebrate and give prominence to female love (p. 155) and women's lack of political power in Arthurian society (p. 166). While these artists might 'on the surface [...] appear to be writing under the authority of the male writer', Saunders maintains that the addition of female 'political and social views' to the nineteenth-century Arthurian medievalism of male poets is characteristic of female medievalism in the period. Female medievalism, she claims, 'demands the right to hold and express an alternative view' (p. 182).

The seven chapters of the book are thematic in scope while also broadly following the chronological development of women's medievalism throughout the century. Pinpointing the beginnings of women's medievalism with Elizabeth Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily on the Nativity of the Nativity of St Gregory* (1715), the first chapter charts how Elstob led the way for numerous medieval translations by women in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. These include Clara Reeve's translation of Barclay's Latin romance, *Argenis* (published as *The Phoenix* (1762)) and Anna Gurney's *Literal Translation of the Anglo Saxon Chronicle* (1819). Both Gurney and Reeve 'adapt[ed] their translations to suit their contemporary audience'—a technique which Saunders sees them inheriting from Percy and Scott (p. 20). Numerous lesser-known works are given welcome space here, including Susannah Dobson's translation of de Sainte-Palaye's *The Literary History of the Troubadours* (1779) and *Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry* (1784), and Louisa Stuart Costello's *Specimens of the Early*

Poetry of France (1835). By drawing on contemporary reviews of Dobson's and Costello's works, Saunders suggests persuasively that male audiences refused to recognise the female author's investment in medieval scholarly integrity. Medieval translation in the nineteenth century is positioned as 'an acceptable feminine domain', but one which could also be 'a useful screen for subversion and female creativity' (p. 27).

The next two chapters both investigate aspects of war and female medievalism. Both, too, are vital to the book's central thesis, which is that medievalism functioned as a 'screen' (p. 7) or a 'shield' for women writers to comment 'on contemporary socio-political issues [...] not considered their sphere' (p. 6). Readers will be more familiar with the texts examined here, as Saunders looks at works by Felicia Hemans and Letitia Elizabeth Landon. Nevertheless, Chapter Two begins with a focus elsewhere, drawing attention to the contrast between the 'lukewarm' reviews of Amelia Opie's 'antiwar polemic', 'The Warrior's Return' (1808), and the fierce backlash to Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* (1812). For Opie, 'the historical distancing of medievalism' at work in 'The Warrior's Return' provided a 'safeguard' from censure (p. 31), and the strategy set a 'precedent for literary descendants throughout the century' (p. 32). Attention then moves to Hemans' *The Siege of Valencia* (1823), as well as 'Woman on the Field of Battle' and 'The Lady of Provence' from *Songs of the Affections* (1830), to argue that 'medievalism allows Hemans the means to consider the contemporary social and political issues raised by the Peninsular Wars [...] without bruising or tarnishing her image [as an] ultimate domestic patriot' (p. 42). Commercial success is also the motive behind Landon's use of medievalism 'to present politically informed poems about the social situation of the day', and reinforce 'the public myth of a feminine beauty whose sole creative concern was love' (p. 45). In each case, Saunders positions medievalism as a self-conscious literary practice driven by the commercial concerns of self-supporting women poets—though, importantly, one which also airs 'a vehement socio-political criticism' (p. 46).

Chapter Three shifts its geographical and political focus to the conflict in the Crimea. While the Peninsular wars acted as a catalyst for women's medievalism (p. 53), the Crimean war represents an important 'turning point' (p. 63) for their use of the practice, as the increase in chivalric images for government and press propaganda surrounding the war led to an eventual rejection of medievalism by women writers as a means of protesting about war and society (pp. 65, 73). When medievalism could not lubricate subversive commentary, it was no longer a useful or appealing imaginative framework for women writers. As in Chapter One, Chapter Four draws together a wealth of lesser-studied texts; but this time the focus is Joan of Arc and her representation by writers such as Mary Pilkington, Maria Jane Jewsbury and Emma Robinson. Saunders explains that as a 'paradoxical icon and exploder of chivalry', Joan of Arc provided a 'focus through which [women writers] could explore women's contemporary roles in the domestic and public sphere' (p. 80). Medievalising is again configured

first and foremost as a means of communicating present-day concerns. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, male medievalists had begun to portray Joan as one of two conservative ideals (patriotic warrior, or domestic queen), while women writers showed a tendency to emphasise her radical chivalry and cross-dressing (pp. 83, 102).

Chapter Five centres on the figure of the Queen, and opens by exploring the parallels made between medieval and current queens in Mary Pilkington's *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Characters* (1811), Mary Hays' *Memoirs of Queens* (1821), Louisa Stuart Costello's *Memoirs of Eminent Englishwomen* (1844), and Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest* (1840–48). These are lengthy texts, and readers might be disappointed that Saunders lacks the space to cover these female biographies in much detail. Her discussion forms a sufficient preface to the chapter's main concerns, however, which lie with the varying representations of the Arthurian Queens, Elaine and Guinevere, in short poems by Costello and Landon, as well as Charlotte Guest's translations of *The Mabinogion* (1838–49). Costello and Landon's poems depicting the Lady of Shalott are read alongside Tennyson's own rendering to demonstrate the strong (and anticipatory) resonance of the tragic figure in women writers' imaginations. Costello's poem, 'The Funeral Boat' (1829), makes for a particularly striking contrast with Tennyson's. It is a largely forgotten feminist retelling of the legend, and in this version, the Lady of Shalott's 'ghostly voice [...] stops Lancelot's misogynist song' (p. 125). Saunders ends with the suggestion that 'Tennyson, as well as Landon [...] may well have known Costello's work' (p. 128), and, by drawing Costello's work to the forefront, the chapter demonstrates, both deftly and persuasively, how analogous works by women writers have been overshadowed in past critical perceptions of nineteenth-century medievalism.

The volume's final chapters on images of Guinevere in art and literature continue to draw new and welcome attention to lesser-known interpretations of the Arthurian legend by women. Indeed, the strength of the study lies in its commitment to adding the voices of many forgotten women writers and artists to those of Scott, Tennyson, Morris, and the Pre-Raphaelites who have long dominated past studies of nineteenth-century medievalism. The volume provides a convincing outline of the myriad ways in which women writers approached medieval texts and themes, and delineates another important—and under researched—strain of medievalism at work in the nineteenth century. ❏

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James Hogg, *The Mountain Bard*, edited by Suzanne Gilbert with a Glossary by Maggie Scott (Edinburgh: EUP, 2007), 384pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-2006-7; £50 / \$90 (hb).

IN A LETTER DATED 21 FEBRUARY 1807, Walter Scott informed Robert Surtees that he would soon receive from him ‘a small volume of ancient modern ballads and traditions, composed by one of our shepherds,’ which he requested that Surtees promote among his friends so as to ‘do service to a worthy and ingenious lad, who is beating up against the tide of adversity.’¹ The ‘little publication’ to which Scott alluded was *The Mountain Bard* (1807), James Hogg’s first major poetry collection. Its success upon publication duly altered the course of Hogg’s life and, with shorter effect, his uncertain fortunes. Edited by Suzanne Gilbert, it is now presented as the twentieth volume of the Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg, and is important even amongst this body of work because of the insight that it offers into Hogg’s early poetic career and into ‘fundamental moments’ in his artistic development (p. lxiii).

An excellent introduction and detailed editorial notes do much to aid the reader in contextualising *The Mountain Bard* and in understanding the significance of its evolution over the course of Hogg’s career. The introduction is particularly fascinating in its discussion of ‘the complex ways in which Hogg’s *Mountain Bard* engages with the ballad tradition’ (p. xxxv). It very nicely articulates the ambiguity of his ‘transitional cultural’ position (p. xxvi), situating his project within the context of both the oral tradition that Hogg privileged and within the wider revival of interest in the ballad form during the Romantic period. Hogg’s rejection of ‘the long ago and far away’ in favour of the living and the local set his ballads apart from those of his literary contemporaries such as Coleridge or Keats. However, his ‘interest in the dramatic potential of ballad conventions: [with] the emphasis [...] on human interaction in moments of crisis, the ballad’s traditional core’ (p. xxx) suggests parallels with Wordsworth’s exploration of psychological crisis in poems such as ‘The Mad Mother’. His ballad imitations mediate a community-based tradition but his ‘project is Romantic; his focus is on the self’ (p. xxvi). His approach to ballad collecting and adaptation is oppositional to the antiquarian impulses that governed Scott’s ballad-related activities but his position is nevertheless equivocal: he is simultaneously a part of the community and an objective outsider; he is both performer and observer. If he *is* the self-styled mountain bard he is also the spectator who edits the songs and ballads that he absorbs in this role.

A great strength of the current edition is Gilbert’s lucid and engaging presentation of this complicated subject matter and of *The Mountain Bard*’s complex textual history. The editorial notes and notes on the text indicate the quality and weight of the scholarly work that has made it possible for the reader to enjoy ready access to this information. The ongoing evolution of the text is also represented by the arrangement of the present volume, which contains the 1807

version of *The Mountain Bard* complete with Hogg's notes to each poem and the autobiographical 'Memoir of the Life of James Hogg'; an appendix containing the surviving pre-1807 versions of the letters, ballads and songs that were revised for the collection; the further revised and expanded edition of 1821; and a second appendix containing the fugitive ballad 'Glendonnen's Raid', which Hogg at one time intended to include in the 1821 edition (although this never materialised). The introduction argues that this arrangement allows for '*The Mountain Bard* to become properly and fully visible for the first time as the multiple-version text that it truly is' (p. lxiii), and it is soon apparent that the decision to print all of these versions is fully justified.

As with a great deal of Hogg's work, much of the material in *The Mountain Bard* appeared in other publications and in various states both before and after its inclusion in this collection. As the first appendix indicates, versions of many of the ballads and songs that were included in the 1807 edition had previously been printed in the *Scots Magazine* or in the *Edinburgh Magazine* between 1802 and 1805. Similarly, the 'Memoir' evolved from a series of letters about Hogg's life which were printed in the *Scots Magazine* between 1804 and 1805. Comparison of these different states of the text reveals that substantial changes were made during its preparation for publication in 1807 and that the 1821 edition underwent further revision, rearrangement and expansion. Notably, the section heading 'Songs Adapted to the Times' was dropped and only three of the eleven items originally contained in it were revised and retained while four entirely new poems were added. More than just a revised version of the 1807 edition, it is a different work from its predecessor. For the first time, the current edition makes it possible for modern readers to have access to all of this material and to read it in a form that is freed from the vagaries of outdated editorial practices and cultural mores. Significantly, it restores the 'outrageous and provocative' ballad 'The Lairde of Kirkmabreeke' (p. lxii) to the 1821 collection, which has been omitted since the bowdlerised Blackie edition of Hogg's *Poetical Works* (1838–40).


In addition to the pleasure it provides of reading the versions of Hogg's *Mountain Bard* poems as he wrote them, the present edition creates opportunities for fresh insights into Hogg's life and art. For example, it suggests the impact of social mobility upon Hogg's poetic development. The editorial policy is partly governed by 'the principle that each manifestation of *The Mountain Bard* reflects the author's circumstances at the time when that particular version was prepared' (p. lxiii). Hogg's transition from an unknown shepherd lad to an established and respected author is reflected in each altered state of the text. The 1821 edition is the work of a writer who has finely tuned his craft. In it 'he reclaims and re-shapes [the collection] in his new capacity as the famous [...] "Author of the *Queen's Wake*"' (p. i). The desire of a less confident poet to appeal to a refined Edinburgh readership can be discerned in the kinds of revisions that he made to 1807 versions of ballads such as 'Sir David Graham', where the characters are afforded greater dignity and chivalric honour than in

the form of the poem printed in 1805 in the *Scots Magazine* (p. 462). Hogg's increasing distance from a rural audience is also suggested in 'The Pedlar' which was first published in the *Scots Magazine* in 1804 with a footnote containing the simple declaration that this ballad is 'founded on a fact' (p. 143). Hogg expands upon this in a preface to the 1807 version of the poem, adding that this fact 'has been magnified by popular credulity and superstition into the terrible story which follows. It is here related, according to the *best informed* old people about Ettrick [...] every part of it is believed by them to be absolute truth' (p. 26). Hogg thus 'locates the source of 'The Pedlar' in Ettrick oral tradition with his citing of influential tradition-bearers from the community; [but] also establishes his role as mediator with some editorial distance in his comments regarding "superstition" and "popular credulity"' (p. 406). He then extends this process of objectification to the notes that were added to the ballad in 1807, where he records other 'vulgar superstitions' that are local to Ettrick and 'which still linger amongst the wilds of the country to this day, and which [he has] been an eye witness to a thousand times' (p. 32). Textual changes like these are interesting partly because they suggest how social factors influenced the evolution of *The Mountain Bard*. They also reveal how Hogg rewrote himself as he revised his poetry.

A related area of interest that gains clarity from the current edition is the extent to which Hogg's poetic output was shaped by his relationship with Scott. While Hogg scholars have worked hard, and successfully, to extricate him from Scott's shadow, this is not to deny the significant influence that Scott exerted over Hogg's early literary life. Indeed, as Hogg reveals in his 'Memoir', *The Mountain Bard* was written in part as a response to Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802). Recalling his first reading of the *Minstrelsy*, Hogg states that he was 'even astonished to find such exact copies of many old songs, which [he] had heard sung by people who never could read a song, but had them handed down by tradition' but that he 'was not satisfied with many of the imitations of the ancients. [And he] immediately chose a number of traditional facts, and set about imitating the different manners of the ancients [him]self.' (pp. 15–16) If Hogg rejected Scott's style, however, he relied heavily upon his advice, which resulted in significant revisions to his *Mountain Bard* poems. For example, he expanded 'The Pedlar' at Scott's urging, adding thirteen stanzas to the 1807 version to allow for punishment of the miller's crime. As Gilbert explains, the original version which was printed in the *Scots Magazine* in September 1805, and which leaves the pedlar's murder unpunished, 'is entirely acceptable in a traditional narrative' but the 1807 version produces 'a result more acceptable to romance' (p. xxxi);² It is, arguably, also an outcome that would have accorded more fully with the sensibilities of Edinburgh genteel society.

As the edition makes clear, Hogg was not always happy to follow Scott's suggestions. For example, he revised 'Mess John', despite writing to Scott that he 'mortally abhor[red] his 'brimfull of Criticisms' (p. 428) about it, and in spite of the remark made in his 'Memoir' that once he commits a poem to

paper 'it remains in that state; it being [...] with the utmost difficulty that I can be brought to alter one line' (p. 13). Again, this is interesting because it suggests how the evolution of *The Mountain Bard* was influenced by a process of 'socialisation': the text altered in response to interactions between the poet, his peers, his publisher and his reading public.

The aspects of the present edition touched upon in this review only begin to suggest some of the ways in which it contributes to our understanding of Hogg's poetic development. It is wonderful to have a trustworthy scholarly edition of *The Mountain Bard* and for the experience of reading it to be enhanced even further by the richness of the editorial matter that accompanies the text, really bringing it to life. This volume makes an important and impressive addition to the Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition, it creates opportunities for a variety of fresh insights into Hogg's poetic career, and it adds to the critical dialogue surrounding Hogg in new and exciting ways. Like Scott, Hogg's poetic reputation has suffered as a result of the inadequate versions of his work that have been most readily available throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. This edition of *The Mountain Bard* marks a vital step in restoring Hogg to his rightful place. Thanks to the ongoing work of the Stirling/South Carolina edition, and to the forthcoming Edinburgh edition of Walter Scott's poetry, we can look forward to the continuing critical reevaluation of these two important figures of British Romantic poetry. 

NOTES

1. H. J. C. Grierson, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols (London: Constable, 1932–37), 1, 356.
2. Gillian Hughes (ed.), *The Collected Letters of James Hogg*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004–08), 1, 44.

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Sarah Houghton-Walker, *John Clare's Religion* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 264pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6514-4; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

DESPITE THE RELATIVE SURGE IN CRITICAL WORK ON Clare in the last twenty years or so, scholarly monographs on his poetry are still—as Houghton-Walker claims elsewhere, 'in disgracefully short supply'. It follows that, as the author also points out in her excellent new study, there are in existence 'few academic approaches to Clare's religious experience' (p. 13). *John Clare's Religion* is indeed a timely focus on what is a largely neglected area of the poet's life and writing. Along with two other recent monographs published by Oxbridge academics—Paul Chirico and Mina Gorji, Houghton-Walker's book is a valuable contribution to Clare Studies. *John Clare's Religion* and Chirico's *John Clare and the Imagination of the Reader* are representative of the continued and welcome move away from the image of Clare as a naive 'peasant-poet', though the fullest

implications of this move have yet to be explored. As Houghton-Walker states on the first page of her book: ‘refutations of the “Unlettered Rustic” label have not been accompanied by sufficient consideration of the implications of their defence’. *John Clare’s Religion* is vital buttressing in such a defence.

This book is an assessment of the variety of Clare’s ‘religious experience’, and Houghton-Walker’s work shares many concerns with Greg Crossan’s *A Relish for Eternity*, published over three decades ago and a work which traces the recurrent pattern of ‘divinisation’ in Clare’s poetry. The real strength of *John Clare’s Religion* is the way in which Clare’s religious experience is explained—especially in the later chapters of the book—in terms of some distinctive linguistic and thematic patterns in Clare’s verse. Chief amongst these are the concepts of Eden, eternity, and the sublime. These concepts, which Houghton-Walker tracks through different stages of Clare’s poetic career, are productively explained in the context of religion and also nature. The latter concept is discussed clarity and detail. Houghton-Walker, however, is at all times careful to remind us that Clare can use the same word ‘in radically different ways’ (p. 5), and that it may be proper to talk of certain patterns in Clare’s verse rather than fully consistent philosophical systems or paradigms (see pp. 4, 15, 33, 104, 155, 192). In this respect Clare can be understood to fundamentally differ from his Romantic contemporaries; in P.M.S. Dawson’s resonant phrase, Clare is ‘unusually undogmatic’. Reading *John Clare’s Religion* makes one acutely aware that this does not mean that Clare did not think long and deeply.

Indeed, one of the useful, early distinctions Houghton-Walker makes in her study is between religion and faith. Whilst this distinction is not necessarily unique to Clare, it does inform large parts of this book, as the succinct description on page 18 indicates: ‘For Clare, “God” is separate from the “Church” (just as faith is separate from religion)’. As this statement suggests, Clare’s religious experience often (though not always) takes him outside or beyond the institutional and doctrinal.

The first chapter, dealing with the verse satire *The Parish* (unpublished in Clare’s own lifetime), illustrates the ‘political aspects’ and ‘elements’ (pp. 21, 87) of Clare’s understanding of religion, and there is a persuasive demonstration that in many cases, the political and the religious cannot be untangled in Clare’s thought, as his attacks on hypocrisy and cant, and moreover—on such practices as absenteeism and the issue of tithes—makes clear. Houghton-Walker draws on the work of James Obelkevich and Robert Ryan on religion and rural society to outline the ‘Church’s place at the heart of the State’ (p. 21) in early nineteenth-century England, giving specific examples of Clare’s interaction with local religious figures and institutions, and providing specific numerical data concerning the organisation of Helpston (near Peterborough), Clare’s parish.

In the second chapter, there is a detailed account of the problematic relationship between Methodism and the Church of England, which has in turn resulted in, the author claims, some problematic interpretations of Clare’s affiliation with the Methodists. Taking issue with Mark Minor, Houghton-Walker

argues that Clare was attracted to certain aspects of the Wesleyan variety of Methodism. It is also clear that, despite the title of chapter 2 of this book, Clare was weary of more 'radical' religious sects ('Ranters' is a term inclusive of many such sects), and this is paralleled by his suspicion of political radicalism. It is rather strange that Houghton-Walker makes no mention at this point of the work of P. M. S. Dawson, who has made the most convincing repudiation of the idea that Clare was a political radical. Houghton-Walker's discussion of the almost labyrinthine relationships between different religious groups and the Church of England (an institution for which, it is earlier claimed, Clare 'retains a fundamental love' (p. 27)) in the period attests to the impressive breadth of research in the book, however, and these sections contain insightful analysis even for those not directly interested in Clare.

The chapter on rural, communal customs explores territory which has received much attention elsewhere, but Houghton-Walker is able to expand upon this scholarship by looking at how, as she puts it on page 72, 'the claiming of biblical sanction for ritual habits'—and also the force of superstition—can work to soften the hostility Clare may have had for some Christian denominations, including Catholicism. Clare's extensive knowledge of village customs has long been used to single him out from the 'Big Six' canonical Romantic poets, and though a comparative reading with Wordsworth and Company is not the project of Houghton-Walker's book, the brief contrast between Keats's apparent confusion over ritual in both 'The Eve of St Agnes' and 'The Eve of St Mark' with Clare's superior knowledge is one of a number of illustrative examples that are discussed in this chapter.


Houghton-Walker addresses the sorely-neglected topic of Clare's reading in chapter 4, constructing an outline of the sheer variety of works that Clare read—which, in the early period of his poetic career, was largely determined by the promptings of evangelical patrons such as Admiral Radstock and Eliza Emmerson, who played a significant (mostly positive, says Houghton-Walker) role in establishing Clare's ultimately 'dominant Christian actuality' (p. 98). One wonders if a little more space might have been allotted here to a comparison between Clare and one of his favourite poets, William Cowper, in terms of the evangelical tradition.

According to Houghton-Walker, Clare locates his understanding of 'good religious department' (p. 35) in the past, and this same sense of the past informs the poet's experience of such contemporary issues as enclosure and his preoccupation with childhood. The good here is irretrievably in the past, and this fact helps to explain the recurrence of the Fall as an informing pattern in Clare's poetry (I do not have space to do justice to the complexity of this pattern here). Chapter 6 and 7 are arguably amongst the strongest in the book, as the contexts established in the opening sections are now given a more detailed analysis with regard to certain key Clare poems, including 'The Mores' and 'The Flitting'. In these sections Houghton-Walker persuasively argues that Clare's religious experience is connected to his experience of, in particular, nature, and the author

offers insightful explanations of attendant issues here, such as the meaning of the terms ‘rapture’, ‘mystery’, and ‘obscurity’ for Clare (Houghton-Walker is particularly good on how Clare’s ‘sublime’ differs from that of Edmund Burke). At all times, it is clear that for Clare—creation, God and religious experience are inextricably bound-up with, as Houghton-Walker aptly puts it, ‘amazement in the presence of nature’ (p. 141). In chapter 7 (and as I indicated above), the key issues of enclosure and childhood in Clare’s poetry are given new attention, and this helps to form something of a corrective to previous work on the Fall and Eden in Clare’s poetry. The passage on enclosure is firmly connected to the kinds of knowledge that are outlined at the start of the chapter, though I would argue that describing Clare’s preoccupation with childhood as ‘quasi-Wordsworthian’ (p. 161), whilst it acknowledges that a comparison between Clare and Wordsworth is necessary on this subject, underestimates the differences between the work of the two poets here.

Of continuing interest in Houghton-Walker’s book is her focus on literary influence in Clare’s religious thought. We learn, for instance, that Clare’s theodicy is, like John Milton’s, ‘rooted in the poet’s preoccupation with knowledge and “mystery”’ (p. 191). *Paradise Lost* is thus a central text for Clare. A statement by the poet quoted in chapter 9 might be representative of the arguments on ‘The Tenets of Clare’s Faith’: ‘tho I am at heart a protestant, perhaps like many more I have been to church [more] often then I have been seriously inclined to recieve benefit or put its wholesome and reasonable admonitions into practice’. The conclusion of Houghton-Walker’s book is a more sustained reading of a single Clare poem—‘Child Harold’, a fascinating rewrite of Byron’s original. The organisation of the book so that this reading ties together many earlier strands of argument is most appropriate, especially given that Houghton-Walker—quite understandably—often moves quickly between different Clare poems in previous chapters.

There are some minor points of contention in terms of style, such as an over-abundance of parenthesis on pages 92 and 96, making the arguments here slightly more difficult to follow here. Simon Kövesi’s work on Clare’s poetry is mentioned on page 147, but there does not appear to be a footnote to indicate the source of this work, whilst there is no mention of Kövesi in the bibliography. The bibliography is generally extensive, attesting to the breadth of Houghton-Walker’s research. The division of the book into a large number of sections also allows the reader to grasp the sometimes surprising extent to which religion and faith extend into other areas in Clare’s poetry—the analysis of the ‘Northborough Sonnets’ in chapter 8 is a case in point.

John Clare’s Religion promises to be a continuing influence in Clare Studies for the foreseeable future. Houghton-Walker’s book, due to the depth and breadth of the research, also serves as an extremely useful explication of the varieties of religious practice in England in the early nineteenth century. 

Adam White

Maria Purves, *The Gothic and Catholicism: Religion, Cultural Exchange and the Popular Novel, 1785–1829* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), 228pp. ISBN 978-0-7083-2091-4; £75.00 (hb).

THE POLITICS OF THE GROWTH in religious toleration in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has long been a focus for historians. However, it is only with the renewed commitment to historical context in studies of the Gothic over the last decade that an exploration of the complexities of British attitudes and debates regarding Catholicism, Dissent, patriotism and the Established Church has begun again to inform scholarship on the rise and features of Gothic fiction. Maria Purves' *The Gothic and Catholicism* makes an important and stimulating contribution to work in this area, clearly situating both neglected and canonical texts within a converging French/English literary tradition and historically contingent culture of romanticised Catholicism. However, it is also a contentious book, and Purves is less than circumspect in her claims about prior critics' monolithic anchoring of the Gothic in anti-Catholicism. Mark Canuel's *Religion, Toleration and Gothic Writing, 1790–1830* (2002), for example, accommodates Ann Radcliffe's widely acknowledged, ambivalent portrayals of Catholicism in Gothic fiction. Purves also elides the contra-indications for her position apparent in the complexities of detail in her historical sources, including some of the novels she discusses. Furthermore, after some initial remarks, she virtually sidelines what is arguably Gothic fiction's most obvious and disturbing feature—its obsessive anxiety and terror, so often supplied by the threat of a being, or institution, exerting total power over an individual.

Purves' intention is to transform radically our entrenched perceptions of the Gothic's representations of Catholic figures and institutions as sources of fear, suspense and terror. Taking issue with the critical commonplaces that these representations are frequently negative and related to the strong survival of post-Reformation fears and hatred of Popery, she makes a case for the rehabilitation and romanticisation of Catholicism in Britain in the decade following the French Revolution. Specifically, while in agreement with Victor Sage's proposal, in his *Horror Fiction in the Protestant Tradition* (1988), that from the 1770's onward the rise and currency of literary Gothic is strongly related to the growth of the campaign for Catholic Emancipation, she disagrees that the Gordon Riots of 1780 and the presence of thousands of French Catholic émigrés in England during the 1790s fed into old fears and insecurities. For Purves, the ongoing charitable and compassionate reception of the refugees, particularly the recusant Catholic priests who arrived with little other than the clothes they wore, bespeaks a new *mentalité*, not merely of strong Anglican toleration of Catholicism, but, more importantly, of a renewed sentiment for its aesthetics and practices. This aesthetic rehabilitation, she argues, was initiated by Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (November, 1790), with its 'discourse of enthusiasm for England's Catholic (Gothic, monastic,

chivalric) past and its impact on the present state of the nation' (p. 30). Having fed into ecclesiastical and political discourses, Burke's romantic, propagandising assertion of England's unbroken 'old ecclesiastical modes and fashions of institutions' opened the way for the writing and publication of a number of hitherto neglected Gothic novels that 'portray Catholic religious and Catholic forms of devotion in a strongly sympathetic and sentimental light' (p. 25).

The counter-revolutionary struggle initiated by Burke, and the concerted, compassionate fundraising for, and accommodation of, the French clerics by the Established Church, British government, Catholic community, and some members of the aristocracy and intellectual elite are fascinating topics. However Purves' claim that the widespread positive reception of the *Reflections* was a conduit for sympathy towards Catholicism such that Catholic aesthetics and practices took on an appeal which she describes, after Conor Cruise O'Brien, as 'romantic', 'pathetic', and 'glamorous' (p. 15),¹ is highly questionable. The *Reflections* may have sold nineteen thousand copies within the first six months, but it was vigorously attacked over the next two years for its apparent opposition to the principles of 1688, and its support of an outmoded feudal despotism, an absolutist monarchy bolstered by corrupt aristocratic and clerical hierarchies and ecclesiastical 'superstition'. Even when this spate of public criticism was halted by the social and judicial pressures attendant on the loyalist crusade against popular reformism which began in the spring of 1792, and then France's declaration of war in February 1793, it is disputable that Burke's courtly views carried the day, despite his apparent prescience regarding the terrible turn of events in France. Purves' claim that King and Church factions followed Burke in identifying the cause of Christianity with that of the persecuted French clergy, flattens out other conservative modes of thought which certainly supported the political need for greater toleration of Catholics and Catholicism but still maintained a practical, Protestant distance.

Purves again overstates her case in advancing, as an index of growth in public sympathy towards the émigré clergy and French Catholicism, a selection of letters by Dr John Milner (pastor of the Catholic chapel at Winchester) and a few like-minded correspondents, which were printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1791 and 1794. Her 'romantic' position here is undermined by the more extensive overview of letters to this same magazine given by one of her most important but underused sources, Dominic Bellenger, whose detailed and impeccably documented articles on the management and activities of the émigré clergy, as recorded both by the Established Church and the English Catholics, are standard references. Bellenger's conclusion is that, for both groups, toleration and compassion were extended from a strong sense of Christian duty and political expediency, but that the showiness and lack of restraint in the very public rituals and practices of the French mass were actually felt by English Protestants and Catholics alike to be problematic and 'alien'.²

Much more convincing is Purves' tracing, in Chapter Two, of the pervasiveness and persistence in eighteenth-century French and English literature


of sentimental portrayals of ‘the cloister theme’—the conflict of worldly love and religious vows as a source of pathos—on which some Gothic novels later drew. At first the popularity of this theme was a French phenomenon, but both the translation by Roger de Bussy Rabutin of the letters of Abélard and Héloïse (1675), and Madame de Tencin’s short sentimental novel, *Mémoires du comte de Comminge* (1735), provoked many fictional and poetic responses in England as well as in France. In particular, Purves argues, Pope’s enormously popular *Eloisa to Abelard*, with its Catholic element of spiritual commitment in a ‘sentimental representation of the mystical life of the cloistered nun’ unique to English literature, made possible future romantic treatments of the mystical dimension of convent life which ‘could be viewed sympathetically as part of a sentimental reading’ (pp. 64–65).

Purves’ revisionist readings of the Gothic thus rely largely on her identification of sentimental appropriations from *Eloisa to Abelard* and *Comminge*. Of Lewis’s *The Monk* she asserts that eighteenth-century readers would have read the scene of Rosario/Matilda’s unveiling as a ‘straightforwardly sentimental’ reworking of the denouement in de Tencin’s *Comminge* (pp. 61–62, 95–96). Given Lewis’s plethora of sources, frank satire, burlesque, and other intra-textual tonal instabilities, this is hard to swallow.³ More to the point is her attribution of Radcliffe’s idealisation of conventual sanctuary to its association with *Eloisa* and the cloister theme as ‘sensibility’s sacred cow’ (pp. 106–07). Here Purves usefully augments discussions by other critics: of both Radcliffe’s balancing of negative portrayals of religious houses with descriptions of benevolent and enlightened ones, and also her developing investigative interest in Catholic doctrines and practices in *The Italian*.

Also enlightening are Purves’ substantive introductions to sentimental representations of Catholic devotion and monastic life in the little known novels. Like James Watt’s *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict* (1999), her book takes its impetus from discovery of a strain of neglected novels that span its nominated period: Eleanor Sleath’s *Orphans of the Rhine* (1798), Catherine Selden’s *The English Nun, or the Sorrows of Edward and Louisa* (1797), Agnes (or Anna) Maria Bennett’s *Agnes de Courci: A Domestic Tale* (1797 [sic]), the anonymous *Lusignan, or The Abbaye of La Trappe* (1801) and *The Monk of the Grotto* (1801), Agnes Lancaster’s *The Abbess of Valtiera, or The Sorrows of Falsehood* (1816), and Louisa Sidney Stanhope’s *The Confessional of Valombre* (1812). According to Purves, ‘these novels are Gothic because they are set in Catholic Europe, they feature monastic or religious environments, and they display a great many other Gothic conventions, except one: their attitude towards their Catholic materials is unequivocally positive’ (p. 13). Here ‘the convent signifies neither oppression nor tyranny, but rewards the dedication to a cloistered Christian life’ (p. 17).

For all that, it must be said that this group’s alleged Gothicity and coherence are somewhat problematic. The epistolary *Agnes de Courci*, actually first published in 1789, not 1797, certainly shows ‘conventual women, not typically

secular heroines, proving much stronger, wiser and more instinctive than the conventional hero of sensibility' (p. 171), but the respects in which it can be said to be Gothic are not much in evidence. Again, while Catherine Selden's *The English Nun, or The Sorrows of Edward and Louisa* depicts the heroine's Catholic spirituality enabling her to transcend earthly desires, the novel has little in the way of a Gothic atmosphere, being primarily a sentimental story of thwarted love set almost entirely in England.⁴ On the other hand, the tyranny, unjust confinements and supernatural terror portrayed in *Lusignan, or The Abbaye of La Trappe* make it indubitably Gothic, but the damning portrayal of its clerical villain, La Haye, along with the satirically negative depiction of the abbess of St Clair—both unmentioned by Purves—undermine her case. And if that were not enough, *Lusignan*'s Radcliffian heroine, Emily de Montalte, is given a long reflection on the frequent lack of true motivation for, and piety in, monastic and convent life, in which she concludes that such 'seclusion is not the will of Heaven'. *Lusignan* may end with Emily's passionate confession to the assembled brothers of her sacrilege in both her marriage and novitiate, but her prior supplication to her 'Supreme Creator', that she die before pronouncing 'those vows [her] heart rejects', is actually granted, and she dies unprofessed.⁵

Stimulating as *The Gothic and Catholicism* is, the question remains whether, during the 1790s, a putative groundswell of enthusiasm for Catholic ritual and practices is really necessary to explain the writing of the Catholic sentimental/Gothic novels that Purves has uncovered. As Colin Haydon has shown, 'from mid-century onwards, England's élite political and intellectual culture ceased to fear Catholicism as a political force, and [...] questioned the social utility and morality of religious persecution', while 'among the populace at large, and in particular religious circles, the old hatred of popery continued unabated'.⁶ In this context, the late 1780s background to, and the March 1791 debate in the Commons on, the Catholic Dissenters' Relief Bill, which passed in June of that year without public outcry, are hugely important. This second, extensive Relief Act exempted Roman Catholics prepared to take an oath from the operation of penal statutes, legalised both their worship and the building of chapels subject to certain restrictions, and also opened them to the practice of the law in all its branches. Such 'rehabilitation' signalled a general change in political outlook in accordance with the developments and needs of the times, and could be said to have been a sufficient stimulus in itself for (particularly Catholic) authors' sympathetic inclusion of Catholic themes and motifs in fiction.⁷ 

NOTES

1. See Edmund Burke, *Reflections of the Revolution in France*, ed. by Conor Cruise O'Brien (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 47. Cf. Gregory Claeys, 'The *Reflections* Refracted: The Critical Reception of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* During the Early 1790s', in John Whale ed., *Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 40–59, and J. G. A.

- Pocock's introduction to *The Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. by Pocock (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), p. xl. Pocock comments that Burke in his late career was 'a lonely and distrusted figure', without collective affiliations, and that 'the counterrevolutionary associations which were formed in and after 1793 seem to have relied less on Burke for their polemics than on William Paley, Hannah More, and other authoritarian elements lying deep in Whig and Tory tradition'.
2. Dominic Bellenger, 'The Émigré Clergy and the English Church, 1789–1815', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34.3 (July 1983), 401–02. Bellenger points out that, while some early letters to the *Gentlemen's Magazine* were sympathetic, after 1794 'particular distrust of the French clergy and general hatred of popery' were 'consistently followed by correspondents'. These letters utilised the standard rhetoric of anti-Catholicism—the 'underhand dealings of Catholics', their 'casuistry', and attempts to 'pervert the ignorant' and undermine protestant principles generally. He further comments that 'as the exiles became a familiar part of the English scene, they began to represent a greater threat because their initial stunned inactivity appeared to be turning to interference in English Church affairs'. Despite the 'politick charity' and support they extended to refugee priests, the English Catholics also had their patience and resources sorely tried. See Bellenger's 'The French Catholics and The French Exiled Clergy', *Recusant History*, 15 (1981), 436–37, 448. Purves' reliance at times on Tony Hadland's *Thames Valley Papišts, From Reformation to Emancipation, 1534–1829* (2001), online: internet <<http://www.users.globalnet.co.uk/~hadland/tvp/tvpcontents.htm>> is compromised by the lack of footnotes and documentation of sources in Hadland's text.
 3. Apart from the fact that both the artful luxuriance, opulence and 'voluptuous tranquillity' of the Capuchin Abbey-Garden itself and the exaggerated theatricality of Rosario/Matilda's wiles constitute a travesty of the virtuous asceticism with which Comminge and Adélaïde live out the Rule of silence and physical labour in the gloom of La Trappe, eighteenth-century critics in fact fixed on other intertextualities. The *Monthly Review*, 33 (August 1797), 451, claimed that 'the form of temptation is borrowed from *The Devil in Love* of Cazotte', while Coleridge, in the *Critical Review*, 19 (February 1797), 194, agreed with Lewis's own assertion that the tale was similar to that of *Santon Barsista* in *The Guardian*. Furthermore, Christopher MacLachlan, in his edition of *The Monk* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), p. 380, notes that from 'You had a sister?' the dialogue between Ambrosio and Rosario/Matilda resembles that in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, II. 4. 107–22, between Orsino and Cesario/Viola.
 4. Frederick Frank errs in entering Selden's short novel in his *The First Gothics: A Critical Guide to the English Gothic Novel* (New York and London: Garland, 1987), p. 342, under the rubric of 'a monastic shocker' based on Diderot's *La Religieuse* (1796).
 5. See *Lusignan, or the Abbaye of La Trappe* (London: Minerva, 1801), III, 131–34; IV, 222. The occasion had been originally intended for Brother Ambrose/Emily's profession. Purves' details, 'Meronville is about to take his vows' and 'Emily dies in Meronville's arms' (p. 142), are both incorrect.
 6. Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714–80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 256.
 7. For example, there is the positive reception by the *Critical Review* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the Catholic Mrs Inchbald's daring novel, *A Simple*

Story, which was published in February 1791, only three months after Burke's *Reflections*, and well before the great influx of French clergy late in 1792 following the September Massacres. This novel explicitly exploits lines from Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard* in its portrayal of the protestant Miss Milner's illicit passion for her sternly upright guardian and teacher, Dorriforth, an English Catholic priest.

Jacqueline Howard

Nicola J. Watson (ed.), *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Basingstoke and New York: Plagrove Macmillian, 2009), vii + 230pp. ISBN 978-0-2302-2281-6; £ 50 (hb).

IN THIS FASCINATING COLLECTION, Watson and the other contributors ask nineteenth century scholars to re-examine the underestimated but pervasive cultural practice of literary tourism, which Watson defines as 'the interconnected practices of visiting and marking sites associated with writers and their work' (p. 2). The collection's aim is two-fold: to introduce this emerging field to advanced students and scholars, and second, to make a substantial contribution to the wider contemporary scholarship on the nineteenth century. It achieves both objectives. The eighteen essays are arranged more or less chronologically, beginning with Harald Hendrix's piece comparing early modern and romantic travel to sites associated with Petrarch. This frames the entire collection, demonstrating that while elements of nineteenth century tourism may have echoed with past travels, the literary tourism which developed at this time was a distinct phenomenon. Most importantly, Hendrix highlights the unprecedented role the fictional worlds of authors played in this new form of travel. On the other end of the spectrum is Lindy Stiebel's account of contemporary efforts in South Africa to map their own literary heritage. By discussing KwaZulu-Natal's project to construct the literary trail of Rider Haggard, Stiebel shows how vital the wider study of literary tourism is, not only for literary critics or nineteenth century scholars, but to local, specific communities around the globe.

Nicola Watson has done an excellent job editing this collection, ensuring that the eighteen essays both stand alone and seem to organically grow from and correspond with each other. The next two essays examine Romantic and early Victorian examples of constructing the literary site. Samantha Matthews considers 'the contest for creative and imaginative agency between the literary tourist or "pilgrim" (the traveller performing a ritual of homage) and the dead poet—a contest traceable through the objects and texts visitors produce to record their experience at the grave' (p. 25). These acts of homage, Matthews argues, can often look like acts of desecration, while writers of tribute poems use a rhetoric which enables them to assume a posture of triumph over the dead poet. Framed by the idea and practice of literal and metaphorical signatures, Matthews examines how early Victorian pilgrims position themselves as both worshippers of genius and as creative beings in their own right in their accounts of Keats's and Shelley's graves in Rome. The third essay in the collection deals

with the development of one of Britain's earliest literary sites from the late eighteenth throughout the nineteenth centuries. Karyn Wilson-Costa's essay, 'The Land of Burns', examines the way in which the sense of place inherent in the 'Heaven-taught ploughman's' locodescriptive poetry and songs was consumed, circulated and extended by an international readership. And while the 'Land of Burns' was becoming formally incorporated in Ayrshire, abroad the 'Land of Burns' was enacted by immigrants through nostalgic Burns-worship, the creation of Burns Clubs and the continued publication and illustration of his works. While Wilson-Costa fully addresses the British, American and Canadian devotion to Burns, it is unfortunate that she did not have more space to develop her thought-provoking treatment of the French interest in Burns.

Julian North's rich essay examines the role of the poet's house in creating a relationship between the popular genre of biography and the practice of literary tourism. By examining a wide range of texts, including William Howitt's *Homes and Haunts* (1847) and biographies of Byron and Letitia Landon, North argues that the biographer mediated the experience between reader and writer, offering the 'illusion of an authentic encounter that temporarily levelled the ground upon which the reader and writers met' (p. 53). However, far from arguing that either literary biography or the tourism it inspired were 'simplistically democratising', North demonstrates that both undertakings 'capitalised on the notion of an aristocracy of genius even as they undermined it' (p. 60). The place of the author's house in literary tourism is extended in Erin Hazard's essay on Walter Scott's Abbotsford and Nathaniel Hawthorne's Wayside. Unlike North's essay which shows how a version of the author's house was constructed by the biographer, Hazard shows how both Scott and Hawthorne actively designed this important aspect of their legacy. What might seem like a slightly odd pairing at first, persuasively illustrates how the associations created through the practice of literary tourism, whether embraced or rejected by the author-architect, could enhance what Hazard calls the 'materiality of literary architecture' (p. 71).

The next three essays work especially well together. Julia Thomas's fascinating contribution chronicles the Victorian 'construction' of Shakespeare's birthplace, the effects of which we still experience today. Her discussion of the purchasing committee's debate of whether to restore or preserve the building, and the implications of each choice, reframes our understanding of the building, Shakespeare's legacy and contemporary restoration projects. The decision to restore, which was heavily informed by an eighteenth century engraving of the house, reflect Victorian values and sense of history, but also proscribes the way in which tourist-readers continue to understand the house and the Bard. The next essay by Polly Atkin focuses on the imaginary 'musealisation' of Wordsworth's Dove Cottage which preceded material work on the house. By examining Stopford Brooke's 1890 pamphlet on Dove Cottage, which outlines his hope for preserving this important piece of 'The Wordsworth Story', Atkin shows how the emotional and literary investments of readers was transformed into a physical and financial investment in preservation. Most importantly, Atkin draws

her reader's attention to the way in which Brooke positioned Dove Cottage as 'the birthplace of the *poet* Wordsworth' (p. 91). Gail Marshall's essay, the last in this intuitive grouping, brings readers back to Stratford, in order to assess how three Victorian women writers interacted, re-read and used Shakespeare in their work. In considering the works of Eleanor Marx, Mathilde Blind, and Marie Corelli, all of whom moved to Stratford, Marshall demonstrates how Shakespearean relics allowed these authors to reconnect with the Bard's works in a transhistorical way, providing them with a political 'mouthpiece' and a personal, emotional recognition of femininity.

The next pair of essays examines the emergence of two different literary genres which deal with the construction and management of literary tourism. Barbara Schaff's article on John Murray's *Handbooks to Italy*, extends the influential work of James Buzard, arguing that not only did the publisher's use of Byron's poetry encourage post-Waterloo tourists to imitate the poet's cultured, anti-touristic gestures, but also that these guides 'appropriated, familiarised and marketed Italy as a product of English Romanticism' (p. 106). Ultimately, Schaff argues that Murray's framing of Italy in this way both 'familiarised and appropriated Italian alterity into the familiar tradition of canonised British literature, thus supporting the identity of an imagined British literary community abroad' (p. 117). Margaret Stetz's essay deals with the late nineteenth century, monthly British magazine *The Bookman*, which sold the literary lifestyle to its readers. She argues that buying and reading *The Bookman* was in itself an act of literary tourism because the magazine acted as a guide to various aspects of the literary field. It offered privileged views—both factually and imaginatively—to the 'insider' reader, supplying them with news and photographs of authors, publishing tips and the dream of celebrity. Importantly, Stetz demonstrates how the study of nineteenth century literary tourism and literary celebrity informs our understanding of our own time.


The next four essays examine various forms of urban and provincial tourism in England. Pamela Corpron Parker's essay on Elizabeth Gaskell effectively uses Gaskell as a case-study, in which she shows how female celebrities could promote, create and become the subject of literary tourism. By examining the impact of Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, as well as biographies of Gaskell herself, Parker sets Gaskell, as tourist, creator and subject, within the contemporary cult of personality. Essential to Parker's argument is the multi-faceted idea of a 'woman's place' and placement, which includes geographical region, historical, familial, professional, domestic and social. Parker's examination of how Gaskell 'lionised' and was lionised, shows how literature shaped and defined the tourist industry and by extension, a national identity. While Parker's subject focuses on provincial sites, Watson's article, 'Rambles in Literary London', demonstrates how tourism in the metropolis refused to be defined by any single author, text or genre. This, Watson argues, released the tourist 'into a promiscuously social saunter through a canonical litter of biographical anecdote and imaginary episode strewing the streets of the city' (p. 139). London could be both physically

and, through reading, imaginatively visited. She shows how, unlike Shakespeare's Birthplace or even Joyce's Dublin, London resists being constructed through one author's biography or corpus. The overwhelming sprawl of the metropolis marked by criss-crossing avenues of literary association, ultimately denied the Victorian desire to emotionally invest in the city.

Watson's analysis of an early attempt to map a Dickensian London, is an appropriate precursor to Alison Booth's article 'Time-Travel in Dickens' World'. Booth uses her own experiences at the Dickens Museum in London, Chatham's Dickens World and the Dickens Festival in Rochester in order to explore the sense of time travel inherent in visiting literary 'homes and haunts'. Booth argues that while these sites push against the decaying effects of time, visitors to such sites also 'collaborate in textual production' (p. 159) by melding their own stories with various cultural markers. This immersion in another world sanctifies the sense of simpler by-gone days, while preserving regional identity and heritage against 'the homogeneity of globalisation' (p. 160). In 'Wessex, Literary Pilgrims, and Thomas Hardy', Sara Haslam examines the complex relationship Thomas Hardy had with 'Wessex'. Haslam shows how the dichotomy between the image of an harmonic Wessex and Hardy's own ambivalence towards the place he helped re-author, played out in the national debate of where and how to bury the author's body. Like several of the other authors in this collection, Haslam is able to register the period's wider national concerns (particularly the contemporary debates over Englishness), while still addressing the more particular concerns of authorship and legacy specific to Hardy's life.

The next three essays focus on American tourism in Britain and in the States. Shirley Foster's 'Americans and Anti-Tourism' looks at the consequences of mid-nineteenth century American tourists' attitude towards Britain as the already familiar land of their forefathers and the struggle American tourists fought to simultaneously pay 'homage to an Old World Aesthetic heritage' while maintaining their national independence (p. 183). Foster's exploration of the many ways tourist-writers, such as Greenwood, Stowe and Twain, consciously navigated the complex dual-identity of consumer and recorder, is an important contribution to understanding past and current modes of literary tourism. Paul Westover account of 'How America "Inherited" Literary Tourism' looks at the complex ways in which the question of whether or not Americans were rightful or legitimate heirs to British culture, shaped the national identity of the young nation as well as its literary canon. In 'Harriet Beecher Stowe and Florida Tourism' Diane Roberts claims that the 'notorious and celebrated' Stowe was instrumental in creating the tourist industry which continues to define the sunny state of Florida.

While a collection like this could have easily felt disjointed, Watson's expert editing has created an order to these essays which benefits each one and the wider study of literary tourism. She has made the most of their common historical, interdisciplinary approach and their shared subjects (especially the musealisation of space, the formation of new literary genres, the role of women writers),

while maintaining the distinct voice of each scholar. This has highlighted many areas for future research, most notably the role visual culture played in forming the period's literary tourism. *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* demonstrates the rich scholarship which comes from a rigorous and truly interdisciplinary approach to literature and cultural practices. 



Maureen McCue

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS



Katie Garner is a PhD student and Postgraduate Tutor in English Literature at Cardiff University. Her doctoral thesis looks at women writers' imaginative and scholarly responses to the medieval revival in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She is the co-author (with Rebecca Munford) of an essay-length entry on 'Feminism' in *The Encyclopedia of Literary and Cultural Theory: Literary Theory from 1966 to the Present*, ed. by Robert Eaglestone (Wiley–Blackwell, 2010).

Jacqueline Howard is an independent scholar living in South Australia's Adelaide Hills. She has written detailed studies of *Lusignan* and *The Orphans of Llangloed* with a view to facilitating their republication in annotated editions. Her current project is an examination of figurations of death, burial, and afterlife in eighteenth-century elegiac poetry. Publications include an edition of Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (Penguin Classics, 2001) and *Reading Gothic Fiction: A Bakhtinian Approach* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

Originally from the San Francisco Bay Area, **Maureen McCue** received her PhD from the University of Glasgow in 2011. Her thesis examines Romantic responses to Italian Old Master art works and argues that it was a key force in shaping Romantic-period culture and aesthetics. Her new research project, *British Romantics and the Republics of Tuscany*, questions the ways in which Romantic-period writers read medieval, Republican Tuscany in order to construct a new vision for contemporary Britain.

Ainsley McIntosh works at the University of Aberdeen where she is affiliated with the Walter Scott Research Centre. She recently compiled the *Oxford Bibliographies Online* entry on Walter Scott and has written on Scott's narrative poetry and on the domestic fiction of Susan Ferrier and Mary Brunton. Her edition of *Marmion* will be published as part of the planned *Edinburgh Edition of the Poetry of Walter Scott*.

Richard Marsden is a Faculty Manager and Associate Lecturer at the Open University. He has previously held research and teaching posts at Cardiff University, the University of Glamorgan and the University of Wales Institute, Cardiff. In 2010, he completed a PhD at the University of Glasgow, entitled 'Cosmo Innes and the Sources of Scottish History c. 1825-1875'. His current research focuses on the interplay between Romanticism and Enlightenment,

and the impact that these interactions had on contemporary conceptualisations of national history in both Scotland and Wales.

David Moberly received an MA in English from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln in 2011. Currently a PhD student studying at the University of Minnesota, his primary interests include Anglo-Islamic relations, gender, identity, and captivity in the early modern period. His master's thesis, entitled 'Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Women in Early Modern Captivity Literature', is available online @ <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1056&context=englishdiss>. Another work of his, entitled 'Slavery in the Middle East', will be published in the forthcoming *Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern Englishwomen*.

David Snowdon completed his PhD on 'Pierce Egan, and Pugilistic Writing 1812–45' at Newcastle University in 2008. He was employed as academic tutor at Sunderland University in 2010–11, where he lectured on Victorian literature. His other published work includes 'Drama Boxiana: Spectacle and Theatricality in Pierce Egan's Pugilistic Writing' (2007), and he has delivered research papers focusing on Egan's work. He is currently continuing, in an independent capacity, to undertake further research whilst developing a monograph project on Egan for publication. David also maintains an Egan-esque website @ www.pierce-egan.co.uk.

Adam White recently submitted his PhD thesis at the University of Manchester. The thesis is a study of the poetry of John Clare, and it places particular emphasis on the aesthetic in Clare's work. Adam has presented papers on Clare at academic conferences in the UK and published an article on the poet in the 2009 *John Clare Society Journal*.



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).

2011

- ALMEIDA, JOSELYN M. *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780–1890* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 294pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6967-8; £60 (hb).
- BAILEY, QUENTIN. *Wordsworth's Vagrants: Police, Prisons, and Poetry in the 1790s* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 230pp. ISBN 978-0-4094-2705-6; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- CHANTLER, ASHLEY; DAVIES, MICHAEL; SHAW, PHILIP (eds). *Literature and Authenticity, 1780–1900: Essays in Honour of Vincent Newey* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 242pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6599-1; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- GARDNER, JOHN. *Poetry and Popular Protest: Peterloo, Cato Street and the Queen Caroline Controversy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 296pp. ISBN 978-0-230-28071-7; £50 (hb).
- RAMSEY, NEIL. *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780–1835* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 282pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5577-0; £60 (hb).
- STEWART, DAVID. *Romantic Magazines and Metropolitan Literary Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 264pp. ISBN 978-0-230-25178-6; £50 (hb).
- VAN REMOORTELE, MARIANNE. *Lives of the Sonnet, 1787–1895: Genre, Gender and Criticism* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 216pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6934-0; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- WINAKUR TONTIPLAPHOL, BETSY. *Poetics of Luxury in the Nineteenth Century: Keats, Tennyson, and Hopkins* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 222pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-0489-7; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

2010

- CRISAFULLI, LILLA MARIA; ELAM, KEIR. *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 292pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-5577-0; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).

- GRINNELL, GEORGE C. *The Age of Hypochondria: Interpreting Romantic Health and Illness* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 216pp. ISBN 978-0-230-23145-0; £50 (hb).
- HOGG, JAMES; DE GROOT, H. B. (ed.) *Highland Journeys* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2010), 472pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-2486-7; £45 (hb).
- RZEPKA, CHARLES J. *Selected Studies in Romantic and American Literature, History, and Culture: Inventions and Interventions* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 287pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6871-8; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- SCOTT, WALTER; ELLIS, J. B.; ALEXANDER, J. H.; HEWITT, DAVID (eds). *The Betrothed* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2010), 448pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-0581-; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- SCOTT, WALTER; ELLIS, J. B.; ALEXANDER, J. H.; GARSIDE, P. D.; HEWITT, DAVID (eds). *The Talisman* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2010), 448pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-0582-8; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- STEVENS, ANNE H. *British Historical Fiction before Scott* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 224pp. ISBN 978-0-230-24629-4; £50 (hb).

2009

- ALKER, SHARON; FAITH NELSON, HOLLY (eds). *James Hogg and the Literary Marketplace: Scottish Romanticism and the Working-Class Author* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 278pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6569-4; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
- ANKARSJÖ, MAGNUS. *William Blake and Religion: A New Critical View* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland, 2009), 163pp. ISBN 978-0-7864-4559-2; £32.50 (pb).
- 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).
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- KUHN, BERNHARD. *Autobiography and Natural Science in the Age of Romanticism: Rousseau, Goethe, Thoreau* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 182pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6166-5; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
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- PRICE, FIONA. *Revolutions in Taste, 1773–1818: Women Writers and the Aesthetics of Romanticism* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 204pp. ISBN 978-0-7546-6026-2; £55 / \$99.95 (hb).
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- 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).
- WILLIAMS, JOHN. *Wordsworth Translated: A Case Study in the Reception of British Romantic Poetry in Germany 1804–1914* (London and New York: Continuum, 2009), 176pp. ISBN 978-0-8264-9016-2; £65 / \$120 (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).
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- 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).

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