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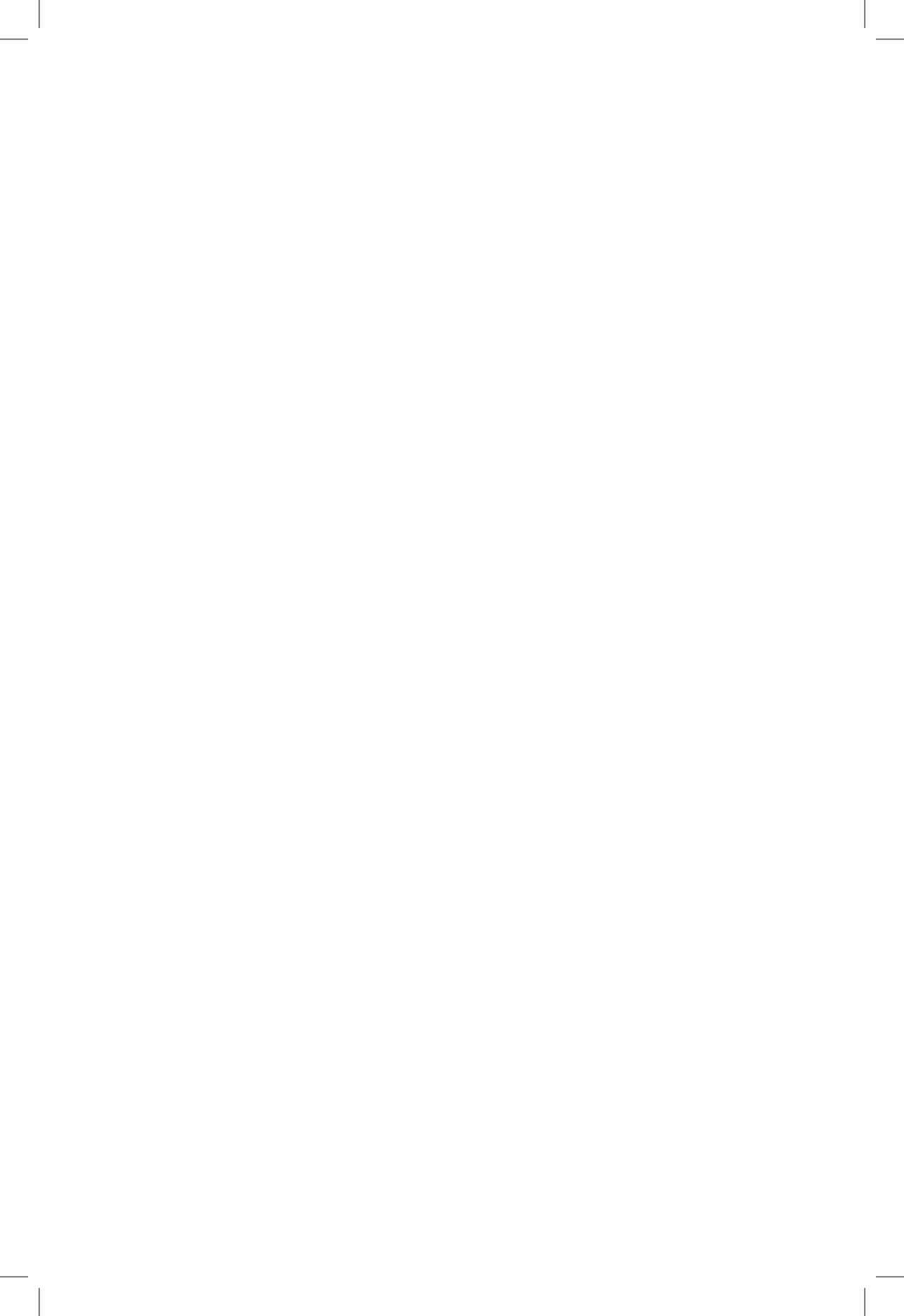
SUBMISSIONS

This periodical is only as substantial as the material it contains: therefore, we more than welcome any contributions that members of the academic community might wish to make. Articles we would be most interested in publishing include those addressing Romantic literary studies with an especial slant on book history, textual and bibliographical studies, the literary marketplace and the publishing world, and so forth. Papers of 5–8,000 words should be submitted by the beginning of April or October in order to make the next issue, if accepted. Any of the usual electronic formats (e.g. RTF, Microsoft Word, WordPerfect, HTML) are acceptable, either by post or e-mail. Submissions should be sent to Dr Anthony Mandal, Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, ENCAP, Cardiff University, PO Box 94, CARDIFF CF10 3XB, Wales (UK), mandal@cardiff.ac.uk.

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and Anthony Mandal,*



JANE C. LOUDON'S 'THE MUMMY!'

Mary Shelley Meets George Orwell and They Go in a Balloon to Egypt

Lisa Hopkins



THIS ESSAY IS ABOUT TWO AUTHORS, Jane Loudon and Mary Shelley, and the ways in which the one reflects upon the other.¹ Mary Shelley's first novel *Frankenstein*, as is well known, was first published in 1818, when its author, then still Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, was only nineteen. It immediately caused a stir, not least because, although it was published anonymously, the dedication to William Godwin (Mary's father) meant that a number of reviewers successfully identified its author as sharing the philosophical and political predilections of both Godwin and Percy Shelley (with whom Mary was cohabiting). As the second sentence of the review in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* confidently declared, *Frankenstein* 'is formed on the Godwinian manner', while Sir Walter Scott delicately circumvented the difficulties of the situation by writing in his review in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* that 'it is said to be written by Mr Percy Bysshe Shelley, who, if we are rightly informed, is son-in-law to Mr Godwin'.² Given that Percy Shelley was already notorious as an atheist, it was not hard to see that this was also the implication of *Frankenstein*, a book in which a man arrogates to himself, with at least partial success, the bestowing of life, always before seen as the privilege of God alone. The anonymous reviewer in *La Belle Assemblée* was unusually kind in declaring that, 'did not the author, in a short Preface, make a kind of apology, we should almost pronounce it to be impious'; the reviewer of the *Edinburgh Magazine* simply declared that it was a novel 'bordering too closely on impiety'.³

This certainly seems to have been the message which Jane C. Loudon found in *Frankenstein*, and she did not like what she read. Like Mary Shelley, Jane Loudon did not, at the time when she produced her most famous work, bear the name by which she would later become better known. She was born Jane Webb; her father, Thomas Webb, was initially wealthy, but fell on hard times, which appears to have provided the initial stimulus for his daughter to write. (Her particular choice of topic was no doubt influenced by the great interest in Egypt generated by the Napoleonic campaigns there.) She did not, however, have a long literary career, for her imagined invention in *The Mummy!* of a mechanical milking machine attracted the attention of the agricultural and horticultural writer John Claudius Loudon, who requested an introduction

and subsequently proposed to her, after which she concentrated entirely on gardening, publishing a number of books with titles like *The Ladies' Flower Garden*.⁴ Apart from *The Mummy!*, her only other work of fiction was *Stories of a Bride*, published in 1829.

Loudon's *The Mummy!* was first published in 1827, though reference here is to the second edition of 1828. From the outset, it is abundantly clear that the book owes a very significant debt to *Frankenstein*.⁵ The title page of each of the three volumes displays the words 'Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up' (1 Samuel 28. 15), recalling the *cri de coeur* from *Paradise Lost* quoted on the title page of *Frankenstein*: 'Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay / To mould me man? Did I solicit thee / From darkness to promote me?' *The Mummy!* returns to the territory of *Paradise Lost* with Father Morris's reflection on Cheops that 'The eternal gloom which hangs upon his brow, seems to bespeak a fallen angel, for such is the deadly hate that must have animated the rebellious spirits when expelled from heaven',⁶ and indeed *Frankenstein* might even have suggested the very idea of a mummy, since Victor observes of his Creature: 'A mummy again endued with animation could not be so hideous as that wretch.'⁷ Certainly Edric Montagu, the hero of *The Mummy!*, traces a trajectory remarkably similar to Victor Frankenstein's. Loudon's novel opens in 2126, when, after several revolutions, England is at peace under the absolute rule of Queen Claudia. It is also Catholic, as a result of which private confessors have become very influential, and it is one of these, Father Morris, confessor of the Montagus' friend and neighbour the Duke of Cornwall, who sets Edric along his path:

An idea, suggested by Father Morris in one of their conferences, as to the possibility of reanimating a dead body, took forcible possession of his mind. His imagination became heated by long dwelling upon the same theme; and a strange, wild, undefinable craving to hold converse with a disembodied spirit haunted him incessantly. For some time he buried this feverish anxiety in his own breast, and tried in vain to subdue it; but it seemed to hang upon his steps, to present itself before him wherever he went, and, in short, to pursue him with the malignancy of a demon. (1, 32–33)

The term 'demon', the reanimation of a corpse, the pursuing monster—all point firmly in the direction of *Frankenstein*, as does the dream which Edric recounts: '“Hold! hold!” cried Edric, shuddering. “My blood freezes in my veins, at the thought of a church-yard:—your words recall a horrible dream that I had last night, which, even now, dwells upon my mind, and resists all the efforts I can make to shake it off.”' (1, 34). He thought, he goes on to explain, that in his dream '“I saw a horrid charnel house, where the dying mingled terrifically with the dead”' (1, 35). This too returns us to *Frankenstein* and Victor's visits to 'vaults and charnel houses' to investigate 'the change from life to death, and death to life' (p. 79).

We are even offered in Loudon's novel an apparent explanation for Victor's abrupt emotional volte-face at the actual sight of the being to whose creation he has so looked forward:

'Is it not strange,' continued Edric, apparently pursuing the current of his own thoughts, 'that the mind should crave so earnestly what the body shudders at; and yet, how can a mass of mere matter, which we see sink into corruption the moment the spirit is withdrawn from it, shudder? How can it even feel? I can scarcely analyse my own sensations; but it appears to me that two separate and distinct spirits animate the mass of clay which composes the human frame.' (I, 36–37)

This precisely describes the contrast between Victor's anticipated delight and actual revulsion. This seems to be something that occupied Loudon's thoughts, since she expands on it with two further returns to the question of what might cause one to reject one's own creature. First, there is the general reflection that 'People are thus often devotedly attached to their protégées, as they seem, in some measure, creations of their own, and lavish favours upon them with a profuse hand: but they often expect such devotion in return, that love withers into slavery, or changes into hatred, and what was once gratitude, soon becomes mortification' (II, 160–61); then, towards the close of the book, comes the comment on the story of Father Morris and Marianne that 'he had, in fact, first led her from the paths of virtue, and, as is usual in such cases, he now hated the creature he had made' (III, 281).

Edric also shares the grandiosity of Victor's plans:

Driven from his father's house, he would be free to travel—his doubts might be satisfied—he might, at last, penetrate into the secrets of the grave; and partake, without restraint, of the so ardently desired fruit of the tree of knowledge. Nothing would then be hidden from him. Nature would be forced to yield up her treasures to his view—her mysteries would be revealed, and he would become great, omniscient, and god-like. (I, 86–87)

His companion Dr Entwerfen, exiled German scientist, agrees: 'we shall animate the mummies, and we shall attain immortality' (I, 113) (we come even closer to the geographical terrain of *Frankenstein* with the De Mallets, who are Swiss).

Edric shares not only Victor's hopes, but also his fears:

'And what am I,' thought he, 'weak, feeble worm that I am! who dare seek to penetrate into the awful secrets of my Creator? Why should I wish to restore animation to a body now resting in the quiet of the tomb? What right have I to renew the struggles, the pains, the cares, and the anxieties of mortal life? How can I tell the fearful effects that may be produced by the gratification of my unearthly longing? May I not revive a creature whose wickedness may involve mankind in misery? And what if my experiment

should fail, and if the moment when I expect my rash wishes to be accomplished, the hand of Almighty vengeance should strike me to the earth, and heap molten fire on my brain to punish my presumption!’ (I, 202–03)

Nevertheless, although both he and Dr Entwerfen are horrified by the look of concentrated hatred on the face of the mummified Pharaoh Cheops, Edric goes ahead with his plan:

Worked up to desperation, he applied the wires of the battery and put the apparatus in motion, whilst a demoniac laugh of derision appeared to ring in his ears, and the surrounding mummies seemed starting from their places and dancing in unearthly merriment. Thunder now roared in tremendous peals through the Pyramids, shaking their enormous masses to the foundation, and vivid flashes of light darted round in quick succession. Edric stood aghast amidst this fearful convulsion of nature. A horrid creeping seemed to run through every vein, every nerve feeling as though drawn from its extremity, and wrapped in icy chillness round his heart. Still, he stood immovable, and gazing intently on the mummy, whose eyes had opened with the shock, and were now fixed on those of Edric, shining with supernatural lustre. In vain Edric attempted to rouse himself;—in vain to turn away from that withering glance. The mummy’s eyes still pursued him with their ghastly brightness; they seemed to possess the fabled fascination of those of the rattle-snake, and though he shrank from their gaze, they still glared horribly upon him. (I, 218–19)

And when, like Victor, Edric is arrested afterwards and charged with a crime, he tries, like Victor (although without the same justification) to lay the blame on mistaken identity:

‘We were in the Pyramid, it is true; but so was also this man, whom you have brought forward as a witness against us. Supposing it was the intervention of some human aid that roused the Mummy from its tomb—a fact, by the way, no means proved, why may not he be the agent instead of us?’ (I, 237).

Finally, like Victor, he has to admit his guilt and folly: ‘O God! how justly am I punished, by the very fulfilment of my unhallowed hopes!—even now the fearful eyes of that hideous Mummy seem to glare upon me; and even now I feel the gripe of its horrid bony fingers on my arm!’ (I, 247)

Ironically, however, Edric need not feel quite such remorse, for the mummy he reanimates proves, like the Creature in *Frankenstein*, to be pre-eminently a child of reason and enlightenment, delivering carefully thought-through observations in measured Augustan periods:

‘It does not appear to me,’ said Cheops still more calmly, ‘that your endeavours to preserve him are at all likely to produce the

effect you wish; for, as Lord Edmund already believes you love the prince, and as that belief is the reason of his hatred, your showing a violent anxiety for his welfare does not appear to me exactly the mode most calculated to destroy his suspicions.' (III, 78)

Though the mummy appears threatening and fearful, what he actually offers people is help, and he also appears to possess a near-omniscience which allows him unfailingly to diagnose what kind of help is needed in each individual case. As with the Creature, appearances are against him—escaping from the Pyramid by balloon after his reanimation, he crash-lands it on Queen Claudia and is blamed for her subsequent death. However, at the end of the book we learn (as we might already have suspected) that the queen was in fact poisoned by Father Morris, anxious for the succession of his own supposed daughter Rosabella. It is true that the mummy abets Father Morris in scheming to bring this about, but this is only because he knows that the ultimate end of wickedness is bound to be misery, and he is equally active in saving the life of the other candidate for the throne, the virtuous Elvira, helping Edric's cousin Clara Montagu to gain the love of the captive Prince Ferdinand of Germany, and bringing about the three happy marriages at the end of the novel. It is only Edric's brother, the dashing general Lord Edmund Montagu, who really suffers from his dealings with Cheops, and this is because he has foolishly chosen to rely on his own strength and judgement rather than accepting the mummy's proffered assistance. Finally, at the end of the novel, Cheops also tells Edric quite plainly that pursuing his quest to learn the secrets of the grave will bring him nothing but misery, and when Edric then renounces his desire, Cheops informs him that he can now sink back into lifelessness because he has at last met a rational man. Indeed the calmness of Cheops's general demeanour and the willingness of virtually everyone to enter into conversation with him and take his advice makes *The Mummy!* at times seem like a quasi-comic inversion of *Frankenstein* in which, so far from being ostracised, the revenant immediately becomes immersed in British political affairs. The mummy returns indeed!

Like *Frankenstein*, *The Mummy!* thus ends with the death of its revenant. Strong though the similarities with *Frankenstein* are, however, there are almost equally insistent parallels with Mary Shelley's third novel, *The Last Man* (1826).⁸ Both novels represent visions of an apocalyptic or post-apocalyptic future vouchsafed by magical agency to someone living in the present, and both reflect on the nature of the political and other changes which are likely to have taken place in the period between the present and their imaginary futures. In both novels, long journeys are undertaken by balloon, though there is of course an easily identifiable common source here in the recent spectacular successes of the Montgolfier brothers. In both novels, the hero has a niece named Clara, and in both there is plague in Constantinople; indeed in *The Mummy!* this plays so small a part, with the felucca owner merely remarking, 'I don't think there'll be a vessel going out to Constantinople for this week at least; for they've got the plague there'" (II, 74), that it looks for all the world as though it is

there merely to signpost the intertext with *The Last Man*. Both novels seem to reflect on the 1817 death of Princess Charlotte, with the succession of childless dead queens in *The Mummy!* and its possibility of a German prince as suitor, and Verney's interment of his dead wife in the royal vault at Windsor in *The Last Man*. In *The Last Man*, Adrian is the son of the last king and thus the rightful heir to the crown, but his republican principles forbid him to seek it, despite the pressure placed on him by his ambitious mother; in *The Mummy!*, the prince who is 'the lineal descendant of the late royal family' (1, 7) declines the crown, but his daughter volunteers to wear it. In both, then, a man hangs back from the crown while an ambitious woman pushes forward for it. Loudon even makes use of Shelley's favourite phrase, 'self-devotion' (11, 211), and chimes exactly with Shelley's ambivalence about Lord Raymond's military achievements when she observes that 'the heart of Roderick, though a mistaken thirst for glory had made him a conqueror, was kind and generous, nay even tender in the extreme' (11, 297).

There are also some very significant differences, however. (Indeed one of them comes in the character of Roderick, who, Alan Rauch suggests, is indebted to Wellington rather than Byron.)⁹ The primary impulse of *The Mummy!*, despite its sensational title, is clearly satirical, and its humour tends towards the affectionate rather than the caustic. There are very few hints at anything resembling the ambiguities and emotional depths of *Frankenstein*. At one point Edric fails to listen to Dr Entwerfen's account of his prized collection of nineteenth-century ballads and thinks the doctor has been telling him 'about a man killing his own father, and putting his eyes out with a fork' (1, 125), but there is little else in the text to support the potentially oedipal reference. (It is true that Cheops is eventually revealed to have killed his own father for love of his sister Arsinoë, but the information has more of the quality of an afterthought than of a thematic concern, and incest is one of the few possibilities *not* touched on in the novel's dizzying realignments of its various couples.) Moreover, whereas *Frankenstein* does seem to play on the always latent mother/mummy pun, situating its reference to mummies immediately after Victor's dream about his own dead mother, *The Mummy!* is more interested in a twice-repeated pun on 'mummery' when the reanimated Cheops rather improbably dresses up as a minstrel (111, 210). In fact the novel generally finds its revenant funny rather than terrifying: a mummy is only chosen for reanimation in the first place because Edric is nervous about touching a dead body, and when he objects that 'mummies are so swathed up', Father Morris reassures him,

'Not those of kings and princes. You know all travellers, both ancient and modern, who have seen them, agree, that they are wrapped merely in folds of red and white linen, every finger and even every toe distinct; thus, if you could succeed in resuscitating Cheops, you need not even touch the body; as the clothing in which it is wrapped, would not at all encumber its movements.' (1, 39)

The mummy here becomes paradoxically a reassuring rather than a threatening object.

The Mummy! also has more of an interest in technology than either of Shelley's novels: we are actually told in some detail how the reanimation of the mummy is accomplished—by the use of a galvanic battery—and at one point Loudon even anticipates space travel, when Dr Entwerfen remarks that he has brought 'elastic plugs for our ears and noses, and tubes and barrels of common air, for us to breathe when we get beyond the atmosphere of the earth' (I, 179). She also takes time to imagine the abolition of stays and how at the court of Queen Claudia

The ladies were all arrayed in loose trowsers, over which hung drapery in graceful folds; and most of them carried on their heads, streams of lighted gas forced by capillary tubes, into plumes, fleurs-de-lis, or in short any form the wearer pleased; which *jets de feu* had an uncommonly chaste and elegant effect. (I, 258)

And there are numerous pauses in the plot for the introduction of astonishing contraptions such as the steam-powered automaton surgeons and lawyers (who speak briefs fed into tubes in their bodies) and the delivery of letters by cannon-balls, which are shot into large nets erected in each village.

The Mummy! also contains a large cast of comedy servants with names like Evelina, Cecilia, and Abelard, and it is one of Loudon's most persistent jokes that all the lower classes are too overeducated to take orders, to serve in the army, or even to be intelligible, since they all talk like grotesque parodies of Jeeves. Sometimes, too, comedy and technology combine, as in the scene where Dr Entwerfen inadvertently galvanises himself (I, 111), when he reveals in the balloon that he has also brought 'laughing gas, for the sole purpose of keeping up our spirits' (I, 177), or where, offered his freedom if he can cure a general from palsy by the use of galvanism, he misunderstands Spanish electricians and burns the general to a crisp.

Most importantly, Loudon's political and philosophical agenda are very different from Shelley's. The daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin and the wife of Percy Shelley could be little other than a radical, and both *Frankenstein* and *The Last Man* are clearly pleas for social change and warnings of what may happen if it is not forthcoming. Loudon, on the other hand, has no illusions about the limitations and problems of absolute, hereditary rule—she knows perfectly well that Lords Noodle and Doodle 'were both counsellors of state as well as their illustrious host, and had attained that high honour in exactly the same way, viz. they had both succeeded their respective fathers' (I, 178), and displays a clear-sightedness and cynicism in her vision of future political developments which at times make this seem more like 1984 than *The Last Man*—but nevertheless it is ultimately clear that she endorses it.¹⁰ She paints a picture of a Britain which has undergone such turmoil that it must find peace, and peace is best to be had where one person rules, and where there

is no competition over who that person should be, since voters are so fickle and so easily swayed. (Elvira is elected queen on the sole grounds that she is unable to speak at all during her election address, and merely sobs instead.) After all, ‘the liberty of the republican Spaniards did not extend to the tolerance of any opinions except their own’ (II, 194), and as the alcaide scathingly observes, ‘all is not liberty which is called so, and [...] a mob can occasionally be as tyrannical as an emperor’ (II, 195).

For Loudon, radical change is never really possible because human nature is unchanging: as the three-thousand-year-old Cheops casually observes, ‘Human nature is still the same even in this remote corner of the globe’ (II, 45). Revolution, as its etymology suggests, will thus inevitably end back where it began, and the symbol of the French Revolution is made starkly symbolic of irrationality when the Egyptian crowd cries that Edric and Dr Entwerfen are ‘“Sorcerers! wizards! demons in disguise! [...] Down with them! burn them! guillotine them! destroy them!”’ (I, 230). It is, therefore, of no avail whatsoever that ‘our happy island had been long blest with a race of people who thought prisons should be made agreeable residences, and had gone on improving them till they had ended in making them temples of luxury’ (III, 90), since bad people will always stay bad.

Nothing can really bring about change. Travel cannot, as Dr Entwerfen observes:

‘[A]ll the English travel. I never knew a young Englishman in my life who was not fond of it. The inhabitants of other countries journey for what they can get, or what they hope to learn; but an Englishman travels because he does not know what to do with himself. He spares neither time, trouble, nor money; he goes every where, sees every thing; after which, he returns—just as wise as when he set out.’ (I, 113)

Literature certainly cannot. Dr Entwerfen is very proud of his collection of old ballads, including the ‘Tragical end of poor Miss Bailey’ and ‘Cherry Ripe’ (I, 120), and he has a letter addressed to Sheridan, a tailor’s bill of Byron, and a doodle by Sir Walter Scott (I, 126–27), but unfortunately they have all lost their meanings. Ironically, indeed, this is in fact what they are prized for: Dr Entwerfen explains to Edric, ‘In the works of an ancient author, whose poetry was doubtless once esteemed very fine, since it is now quite unintelligible, we find the following passage:—“And Hodge stood lost in wide-mouth’d speculation”’ (I, 174). This is actually a line by the satirist Peter Pindar (1738–1819), from his ‘Sir Joseph Banks and the Emperor of Morocco’, and is a slight misquotation—the line is in fact ‘Where Hob stood lost in wide-mouth’d speculation!’—but it might even be part of Loudon’s point that its form has not survived, since its meaning is so irrevocably gone. By implication, of course, the literature which incorporates the radical vision of Mary Shelley will also perish.

One kind of literature is exempt from this general ephemerality, however. Loudon's conservatism is interestingly illustrated by her dependence on Shakespeare. Shelley of course uses Shakespeare too, but she uses him as she uses Milton: he is to be engaged with, not to be listened to uncritically, as is clearly seen in the contested nature of the *Paradise Lost* narrative as it is reworked in *Frankenstein* or of the story of Milton's daughters as it is alluded to in *Valperga*, and, though of course Loudon could not have been aware of this, in *The Fortunes of Perkin Warbeck* (1830) Shelley would contradict outright Shakespeare's entire narrative of events in *Richard III*. For Loudon, though, Shakespeare represents unquestionable authority. The names of the characters in *The Mummy!* include an Edric, an Edmund, an Edgar, and a Duke of Cornwall, and these function as a reliable pointer to the fact that the novel is indeed structured by rivalry between two sets of siblings, and will culminate, *Lear*-like, in a scene in which a previously mad father is roused to sanity by the need to defend his daughter from her attackers. Similarly, we might well guess that the history of Rosabella will eventually reveal wife-murder and accusations of adultery from the number of references to *Othello* that cluster around her, from Marianne's suggestion that in the matter of Edmund and Elvira, 'your jealousy may have given weight to trifles not worthy of serious attention' (I, 95) to Cheops' Iago-like advice to Father Morris on how to secure Rosabella's succession: 'Do not attack Elvira openly, or assert broadly that she loves another; but hint it darkly, so that your victim cannot misunderstand, and that the damning certainty may flash upon his mind with greater force than mere words can give' (II, 119). And like Iago's, of course, this advice will work in the short term—'It seemed a confirmation "strong as proofs of holy writ" of all that had been urged against the Queen' (II, 168)—but fail in the long term; Shakespeare proves an infallible guide to meaning and to likely future developments.

Suggestively, in view of the ultimate revelation of *The Mummy!*—which I shall discuss shortly—the concept of reanimation is particularly strongly associated with Shakespeare. Dr Entwerfen alludes to the Ghost's speech in *Hamlet* when he speculates that 'We may be decreed to revive their mummies, and force them to reveal the secrets of their prison-house' (I, 40), and the laying of the plan is greeted by a storm of positively *Lear*-like proportions:

The attention of all present was directed to the sky as he spoke. It was indeed become of pitchy blackness, a general gloom seemed to hang over the face of nature; the birds flew twittering for shelter, a low wind moaned through the trees, and, in short, every thing seemed to portend a storm. (I, 46)

The pathetic fallacy, with its suggestion of supernatural control of the elements, is clearly well and truly at work here, and is the first of many signs that a higher intelligence may be controlling events, for though Edric declares, Edmund-like, that 'Nature is the goddess I adore' (I, 77), he also confides to Father Morris:

‘If I recollect rightly, the ancient Egyptians did not imagine the souls of their dead remained in their bodies, but that they would return to them at the expiration of three thousand years.’

‘And it is now about three thousand years since Cheops was entombed.’

‘It is strange,’ continued Edric, musing, ‘what influence your words have upon my mind: whilst I listen to you, the racking desire I feel to explore these mysteries becomes almost torture; and I muse upon it till I fancy it an impulse from a superior power, and that I am really selected to be the mortal agent of their revelation to man.’ (I, 106)

Dr Entwurfen, of course, disagrees with this viewpoint, asking:

‘Do not all philosophers agree that we receive ideas merely through the medium of the senses? And can our senses be operated upon otherwise than through the influence of the nerves? Ergo, the nerves alone convey ideas and sensations to the mind—or rather, the nerves alone are the mind.’ (I, 240)

Dr Entwurfen believes that no-one can come back from the dead after the irremediable decay of the nerves—but if we remember our Shakespeare, we know better. We shall, therefore, be properly prepared for the final revelation of the novel, and the thing which sets it furthest apart from *Frankenstein*. For the wife of the atheist Percy Shelley, there is no God, and life is a material condition which Victor Frankenstein has successfully—albeit unwisely—succeeded in controlling. For Jane Loudon, there is a divine power, and it is this, not Edric, which has effected the reanimation of Cheops, and for an ultimately benevolent reason, as the mummy himself explains:

Permitted for a time to revisit earth, I have made use of the powers entrusted to me to assist the good and punish the malevolent. Under pretence of aiding them, I gave them counsels which only plunged them yet deeper in destruction, whilst the evil that my advice appeared to bring upon the good was only like a passing cloud before the sun; it gave lustre to the success that followed. (III, 309–10)

Edric has some difficulty grasping this, and asks ‘“Was it a human power that dragged you from the tomb?”’, but the mummy confirms that ‘“The power that gave me life could alone restore it”’ (III, 311), before sinking once again into lifelessness. The final phrase of the novel, ‘no mortal could ever more boast of holding converse with THE MUMMY’, hammers home by its resonant use of ‘mortal’ that all things are indeed to be considered *sub specie aeternatis*. God’s in His heaven, all’s right with the world; the good end happily and the bad end unhappily, that is what fiction means—or at least that is what Jane Loudon’s sensational but ultimately pious corrective to the pessimism and atheism of Mary Shelley means. Hers is thus a vision worthy of attention not only

for its own playful inventiveness and experiments with tone, nor even just for the fact that it is the first identifiable ancestor of the mummy genre, but also because of what it tells us about the contemporary reception of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. 

NOTES

1. Although both bore different names at the time when they published their books, I shall generally be referring to both Jane Loudon and Mary Shelley by the names by which they later became better known.
2. Anonymous review in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* 2 (Mar 1818), 249–53 (p. 249); Sir Walter Scott, review of *Frankenstein*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 2 (20 Mar–1 Apr 1818), 613–20 (p. 615).
3. Anonymous review in *La Belle Assemblée, or Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine* n.s. 17 (Mar 1818), 139–42 (p. 139); anonymous review in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany* 2 (Mar 1818), 249–53 (p. 249).
4. See Bea Howe, *Lady with Green Fingers: The Life of Jane Loudon* (London: Country Life, 1961), p. 37.
5. On the general self-conscious literariness of the novel, see Paul K. Alkon, *Origins of Futuristic Fiction* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987), pp. 232–33.
6. Jane C. Loudon, *The Mummy!: A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century*, 3 vols (1827; 2nd edn, London: Henry Colburn, 1828), II, 24. Subsequent references are from this edition and given parenthetically in the text.
7. Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein; or, the Modern Prometheus*, edd. D. L. Macdonald and Kathleen Scherf (1818; Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 1999), p. 86. I quote throughout from the 1818 rather than the 1831 text since it is the one with which Loudon will have been familiar; all subsequent quotations are from this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text.
8. For the parallels between *The Mummy!* and *The Last Man*, see also Alan Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 74.
9. Introduction to Jane (Webb) Loudon, *The Mummy! A Tale of the Twenty-Second Century*, ed. Alan Rauch (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. vii.
10. Interestingly, Orwell's original title for 1984 was in fact *The Last Man*.

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THE PUBLICATION OF IRISH
NOVELS AND NOVELETTES
A Footnote on Irish Gothic Fiction

Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber



I

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELFARE of a country is often directly related to its literary output. The periodical, the *Dublin Magazine*, captured this well in its issue of February of 1820, when it stated that:

Acute inquirers into the rise, progress, and decline of empires have asserted, that literary productions are a certain criterion, by which to judge of the improvement and prosperity of a state [...] Previous to the year 1800, printing flourished in Ireland [...] sufficiently to afford us native productions [...] [but since then] printing presses are no longer used in Ireland, except for the use of newspapers, or parish and county documents [...] [In its stead], Minerva Presses, vending every species of pernicious productions, will rise on the ruins of the honourable and independent publishers[...]¹

Although this outcry may appear sympathetic, it refers to a publishing industry which before 1800 was built on the piracy of books published in England and on the continent, and only had a narrow base of producing original productions by Irish authors. The London-based Minerva Press, although derided here, was the most successful publishing house of fiction in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Among all forces that affected the decline of the Irish publishing and printing industry at the beginning of the nineteenth century, two pivotal events stand out: the 1798 rebellion, and the Act of the Union between England and Ireland three years later. The rebellion directly or indirectly involved Dublin printers and publishers, and resulted in the banishment of many individuals working in these professions. One of the consequences of the Union was the extension of English copyright law to Ireland, thereby curtailing Irish printers' and publishers' profitable pirating of English books. The impact of these events, although considered in some literary and bibliographical sources, remains understudied largely because of the unavailability of comprehensive, printed lists of publications of the period. The main goal of this essay is to examine the production of

original novels during the period 1750 to 1829 in order to compare the impact of the 1798 rebellion and the Union on the publication of original fiction in Ireland.² Use will be made of our guide to Irish fiction compiled over the past twelve years to document the development of original Irish novels between 1650 and 1900.³ This essay challenges prior notions offered by scholars that these events crushed the Dublin publishing industry. Also, this essay focuses on a neglected area in Irish literary studies,⁴ the publication of novelettes (a form of short fiction),⁵ mostly published during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Another objective of this paper is to examine Irish novelettes of that time as a hitherto unrecognised transitional phase between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish Gothic novels.⁶ Novelettes were produced by a handful of the new generation of Dublin publishers, who set out upon a new course in the sale of low-cost fiction, catering to a wider reading public than those who had been able to purchase fiction before the Union.⁷

Novelettes

The study of novelettes is neglected partly because they usually can not to be found in most major libraries, and partly because their soft covers contributed to their low survival rate.⁸ Also, novelettes were usually not held in the major circulating libraries in Dublin⁹ and were typically not reviewed in the periodical literature. As a consequence, novelettes tended to remain obscure even at their time of publication.

Novelettes differed from chapbooks in size, price, number of pages, originality, and often in contents. Typically, novelettes were larger in size than chapbooks (novelettes measured about 9 x 14cm, compared to approximately 10–10.5 x 16–17cm for chapbooks) and were closer to the size of eighteenth-century novels published in Ireland.¹⁰ Novelettes, in contrast to novels however, were much shorter and usually came in one of two types of lengths: thirty-six or seventy-two stitched pages. The shorter version of novelettes usually cost 6d, while the long version cost one shilling. The price of a long novelette was about one fourth the cost of a novel, but twelve times more expensive than the price of an average chapbook. Novelettes typically consisted of short single tales (although sometimes more than one tale was included), and were published independently rather than as part of a bundle of stories or a triple-decker. Many novelettes were potboilers of novels published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or were based on plays;¹¹ in contrast, almost all non-religious chapbooks consisted of reprints of tales and romances often dating back to medieval times. Unlike novels, which were usually illustrated only when reprinted, novelettes at their first printing were illustrated with a frontispiece representing a terrifying or crucial scene from the narrative.¹²

The Publication of Original Novels in Ireland prior to the Union

The emergence of novelettes can be understood best in the context of the publication of novels. Figure 1 (below) shows the publication of original fiction in Dublin between 1750 and 1829.¹³ The 1750s and 1760s combined saw the publication of twenty-eight original Irish novels, but this was followed by a decrease during the 1770s. This decrease probably was caused by economic factors, which also affected the publishing industry in London during the period 1775 to 1783.¹⁴ The number of new novels published in Dublin increased to twenty for the decade of 1780–89, but dropped during the 1790s. In total, sixty-five titles of original Irish fiction were published between 1750 and 1799 (excluding a small number of works published in Cork). The numbers are small compared to all fiction published in London, where 1,846 original novels were published during that period.¹⁵ Following the Union, the number of new novels published during the first decade of the nineteenth century remained low, but increased subsequently. In total, fifty original fiction titles were published in Dublin between 1800 and 1829. This number is a very modest one, especially when compared to Irish fiction appearing in London. Richard Cole correctly concludes that Irish authors already in the eighteenth century ‘took their works to London to be published, a choice to be continued by Irish writers throughout the nineteenth century’.¹⁶ During the second half of the eighteenth century, the publication of original works of fiction was only a small part of the Dublin publishers’ work, which was dominated by the unauthorised republication of English and French works. For example, between 1770 and 1799, 459 mostly

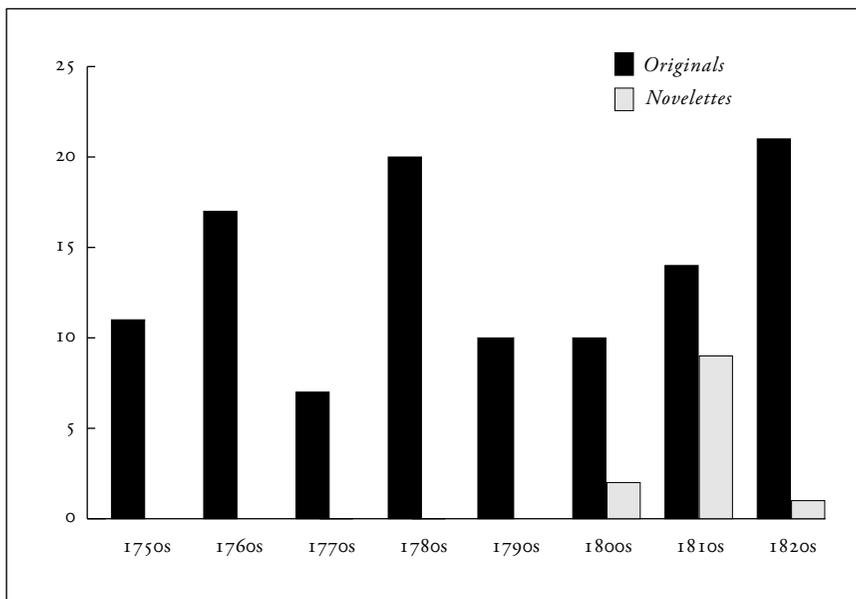


FIG. 1. ORIGINAL NOVELS AND REPRINTS OF NOVELETTES PUBLISHED IN DUBLIN, 1750–1829

English novels were reprinted in Dublin, compared to thirty-seven works of original fiction (that is, only 7.5%).¹⁷

Literary historians have commented on Dublin publishers' over-reliance on pirated work without sufficient cultivation, encouragement, and payment for Irish authors to publish in Ireland.¹⁸ The poet William Preston wrote in 1793 that '[a] striking proof of the little esteem in which letters are held in this country, is that the legislation has never condescended to bestow a thought or care on them; and that we are, to this hour, without any statute for the protection of literary property in Ireland'.¹⁹ Although accurate, the danger of works by Irish authors published in Ireland being pirated there appears to have been minimal. Mary Pollard, after extensively studying Dublin publishing practices, concludes that the copyright of Irish authors publishing in Ireland was 'respected as to make the piracy of original Dublin copy a rarity'.²⁰ Also, one of the hallmarks of piracy, the competing publications of different publishers of the same work in the same year, did not apply to works by resident Irish authors. The issue of copyright infringement probably was much more a problem for Irish authors resident in England, whose work was primarily published in London. Judging from the many, probably unauthorised reprints in Dublin by such authors as Oliver Goldsmith and Frances Sheridan, it is likely that copyright infringements particularly applied to those Irish authors, who were resident in England and published in that country.²¹ In contrast, the copyright of the works of mostly resident Irish authors such as Maria Edgeworth, even though almost all published in London, was respected in Dublin. (This does not appear to have been the case, however, for reprints of their works published in France and the US.)

Nowadays, most of the titles of original novels published in Dublin in the second half of the eighteenth century are little known. An example is the anonymous *The History of Charlotte Villars*, attributed to Isaac Mukins, a graduate of Trinity College, and published in 1756. It consists of a picaresque, historical story set in Ireland, London, and France, during the time of William III. Long before Maria Edgeworth wrote *Castle Rackrent* (London, 1800), another Irish regional novel appeared anonymously (but ascribed to a Daniel Marlay or Marley): *The History of Mr Charles Fitzgerald and Miss Sarah Stapleton* (Dublin, 1770), set in Co. Westmeath. Remarkably, almost one in five (18%) of the titles of original novels published in Dublin between 1750 and 1799 are known only from advertisements or reviews and, despite extensive searches, are not known to have survived.

Most of these eighteenth-century Irish novels were published anonymously. In the case where the sex of the author can be identified, about equal numbers were men and women authors, but many more males than females are identified by name. Many of the female authors are identified by the term 'a lady'.²² The genre of novels varied much during the second half of the eighteenth century. Initially, many consisted of adventure stories involving military men or

criminals—for instance, George Wollaston's *The Life and History of a Pilgrim* (Dublin, 1753). Subsequently, novels dealing with love and the social lives of women prevailed—twenty-two novels, such as *The Dénouement: Or, History of Lady Louisa Wingrove*, by 'a Lady' (Dublin, 1781). Several new sub-genres emerged such as historical fiction—for instance, Thomas Leland's *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury. An Historical Romance* (Dublin, 1762; London, 1762)—and Gothic novels, discussed below. The publication of novels in Dublin in this period often did not bring financial rewards: about one in five of original Dublin novels was published at the expense of the author rather than the publisher (with the exception of the 1760s, when none were published for the author). Moreover, none of the identified authors appears to have published a second novel in Dublin; instead, for several authors a Dublin publication served as a stepping-stone toward a literary career in London.

A minority of the eighteenth-century works of fiction published in Dublin consisted of collections of brief stories, each about the size of a novelette. As far as is known, however, these stories were not sold separately, but are only known from collected works. A representative example is *Love in Several Shapes: Being Eight Polite Novels, in a New and Elegant Taste*, written by a 'Lady' and published by James Hoey Junior in Dublin in 1760, which consisted of eight short stories. Occasionally, the stories in these collections were explicitly called novelettes, as was the case in the volume edited and partly written by the Irish author, Elizabeth Griffith, entitled *Novellettes, Selected for the Use of Young Ladies and Gentlemen; Written by Dr Goldsmith, and Mrs Griffith, &c. and Illustrated by Elegant Illustrations* (London, 1780), which contains sixteen stories.²³ None of the eighteenth-century Irish productions included stories based on Irish folk tales, and anthologies containing such stories only began appearing in the 1820s.²⁴ See, for instance, *London: House of Commons* (London, 1825).

The Impact of the 1798 Rebellion and the 1801 Union on the Dublin Publishing Industry of Novels

The 1798 rebellion and the Union of 1801 undermined the Dublin publishing industry in two ways: the departure of publishers and new legislation.²⁵ The Union had an even more dramatic effect on the publishing industry, as—for the first time—English copyright laws applied to Ireland. The perception of disastrous change in the publishing industry was clearly already present in the year of the Union, when an article in the Dublin *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* referred to the 'abolition' of printing in Ireland. In an overly dramatic mood, it stated that after the Union, '[n]o new works will ever be printed in Ireland'.²⁶

R. C. Cole, in reviewing all types of books published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, concludes that the Union 'gave the *coupe de grace* to the dying Irish reprint industry and with it the Irish book trade in general. He stressed that 'the periodicals for the most part ended too [resulting] in an absence of intellectual fermentation. The reprint industry, the periodicals, and

intellectual exchange all flourished together'.²⁷ This statement can be challenged and qualified on several grounds, however: he does not question whether the publishers of novels experienced the same fate; also, Cole does not explore the possibility that as the publishing market changed, room might be created for innovations in publishing, such as the sale of short and cheaper fiction. Moreover, at least twenty-two new literary periodicals were founded in Dublin between 1801 and 1829, albeit many of them were short-lived.²⁸

Several studies by Phillips, Pollard, and Raven—although confirming the decay of the publishing trade following the Union—also show that the decay already had started during the 1790s and well before the 1798 rebellion.²⁹ For example, Pollard identifies the large increase in duty on paper imported from England to Ireland that took place in 1795, and which deprived Irish reprints of their price advantage. Phillips documents that, owing to many financial failures, the number of booksellers in Dublin decreased in the 1790s. Similarly, there was a substantial decrease in the number of printers working in Dublin during that decade.³⁰ However, bibliographical evidence shows that a large portion of the publishing trade survived in the 1790s. Pollard demonstrates that the recovery in the Dublin book trade was slow and that the total number of booksellers, printers, stationers, and binders known to have operated in 1793 dipped in the late 1790s and early 1800s.

Figure 1 illustrates that the production of original novels in Dublin during the 1790s and 1800s reached a record low, a decrease of 50% compared to the level in the preceding decade. Part of this decrease resulted from transitions in publishing houses. Biographical details of those publishers who were most involved in the publication of original Irish fiction in the period 1750–99 show that some of the publishers of novels died prior to the change of century. For example, Dillon Chamberlaine, who had been 'remarkable for his publication of first or early editions of well-received novels', died in 1780. Another such publisher, Stephen Colbert, died in 1786, while seven years later the bookseller and auctioneer Christopher Jackson closed his business. Another publisher and lender of novels was Thomas Jackson, who claimed in 1786 to have the largest circulating library in Dublin. He co-published Owenson's *St Clair* in 1803, but is not listed in Dublin after 1807 and may have left Ireland for England.³¹

Several of the Dublin publishers and printers at the end of the eighteenth century were United Irishmen. When the 1798 rebellion failed many of them were apprehended, banished, or fled to the United States. Cole estimates that at least sixty-two Irish bookmen left Ireland at the time of the Union.³² For example, John Chambers was banished to Scotland and afterwards to Hamburg; subsequently, he left for France, then set off to the United States in 1805, dying in New York in 1837. Patrick Byrne, the publisher of Wolfe Tone and his friends' short novel, *Belmont Castle* (Dublin, 1790), was a United Irishman; he was apprehended in 1798, imprisoned and accused of high treason, before gaining his freedom in 1800 and leaving for Philadelphia, where he died in 1814

at the age of seventy-three.³³ In summary, political exile and deaths reduced the number of Dublin publishers of fiction around the time of the Union. This would have not meant a great deal were it not for the fact that these publishers were not replaced soon by a new generation of publishers of fiction.

Another significant factor may have played a role: it is well-known that after the Union part of the reading public wealthy enough to purchase novels left Dublin for London.³⁴ Against this gloomy picture, however, should be considered the fact that several publishers survived the transitions of the rebellion and the Union. One of them is the United Irishman and Catholic, Richard Cross, who continued to publish chapbooks well into the early decades of the nineteenth century.³⁵ Another publisher, Bennett Dugdale, who co-published novels with other Dublin publishers during the late eighteenth century, also published religious chapbooks for Protestant organisations.³⁶ As will be shown, he continued to publish well into the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Factors that impeded publishing in Dublin, however, appear not to have operated in Cork. During the 1790s and 1800s, while the Dublin publishing industry of fiction experienced a substantial decrease, Cork experienced a modest increase in the publication of novels.³⁷ Thirteen works of original fiction were published in Cork between 1788 and 1810. The most productive publisher during this period was John Connor, who had commercial contacts with the Minerva Press in London. Connor differed from most Dublin publishers in his patronage of several beginning authors (such as Mrs Creech, Edward Holland, and Joseph Hillary); and the present authors have not been able to document any Dublin publisher in the three decades following 1790 who sponsored as many authors as Connor did. Not surprisingly, several of Connor's authors came from Munster: this can be deduced from known biographical details (Anna Milliken, Regina Maria Roche), addresses (Edward Holland was from Kanturk, Co. Cork), or from subscription lists (Mrs Creech and Sophia Briscoe). All of these authors' works were full novels, and novelettes do not appear to have been published in Cork or elsewhere in Ireland during this period.

Irish Novelettes Published in Dublin and London

Novelettes came in two broad categories: sensational adventure stories and Gothic fiction. The first category consists of adventure stories in foreign countries, while the second comprises Gothic stories, often derived and summarised from mainstream Gothic novels. In either format, the setting of the stories in novelettes was rarely Ireland, but more often Southern Europe or exotic places and countries. The Gothic novelettes are important in that they represent a little-known development of Gothic themes. Frederick S. Frank characterises them as 'down the corridor of an unrestrained supernatural and towards the absolute horror of horrors', more often the mode of M. G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) rather than in the tradition of Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794).³⁸

The period between 1800 and 1815 saw nine novelettes of original Irish fiction published in London and another two in Dublin by Holmes and Charles, and Martin, respectively (Table 1, in Section II). An example is *The Castle of Savina; or, the Irishman in Italy. A Tale* (London, [c. 1807]), which was subsequently serialised in an Irish provincial periodical, the *Weekly Selector, or Sligo Miscellaneous Magazine* in 1812.³⁹

Whereas the authorship of most Irish novelettes is not known, one Irish author, John Corry, much developed this genre in London.⁴⁰ Starting in 1782, he published at least twenty novelettes. A typical example is his *Arthur and Mary; or, the Fortunate Fugitives* (London, [1803]): it counts a mere thirty-six pages and is set in Ulster after the 1798 rebellion. Some of the titles of Corry's tales hide their Irish contents: for instance, *The Vale of Clywd; or, the Pleasures of Retirement. A Welch Tale* (London, [c. 1825]) has as its main character Thomas Conolly, whose father was a farmer in the vicinity of Limerick. Another author of an 'Irish' novelette is Henry Vincent, whose *The Irish Assassin; or, the Misfortunes of the Family of O'Donnell* (London, [1800?]) consists of twenty-eight pages illustrated by two murderous scenes (Figure 2, overleaf).

*New Dublin Publishers after the Union:
Arthur Neil and the Publication of Novelettes*

It is only during the 1820s that the publication of original Irish fiction rises, when compared to the preceding twenty years, increasing by a factor of two-and-a-half (Figure 1). The increase in publication of fiction was largely the result of the influx of new publishers in Dublin, following a hiatus of about twelve years after the 1801 Union. The first four individuals who started publishing fiction in the 1810s were: Arthur O'Neil (possibly from 1810 onward, and certainly by 1815), John Cumming (1811 onward), Christopher M. Warren (1815 onward), and Richard Moore Tims (1818 onward).⁴¹ They were followed in the 1820s by William Curry Jr. (1826 onward) and Philip Dixon Hardy (1826 onward). Two more publishers appeared on the Dublin scene in the 1830s and 1840s: James Duffy (1835 onward), and James McGlashan (1846 onward).⁴²

Of particular interest for this essay is Arthur Neil, who initially operated at Sommerstown near London, and later in London itself from 1799 onward.⁴³ Neil was a printer who published at least twenty-seven novelettes during that period (Table 2).⁴⁴ Two thirds of the works (66.7%) were original productions or pot boilers of existing works. Examples of titles are: the anonymous *Adventure of Jemima Russell, Orphan* (1799), William Burdett's *The Life and Exploits of Masong, commonly Called Three-Finger'd Jack, the Terror Jamaica* (1800), and several adventure stories, including *The Perilous Cavern; or, Banditti of the Pyrenees* (1803), and C. F. Barrett's *Douglas Castle; or, the Cell of Mystery. A Scottish Tale* (1803). Neil's novelettes published in London mostly consisted of thirty-six to seventy-two pages (see Table 2).



FIG. 2. HENRY VINCENT, *THE IRISH ASSASSIN; OR, THE MISFORTUNES OF THE FAMILY OF O'DONNELL* (LONDON: THOMAS TEGG, [1800?])

Neil may have been of Irish origin, and probably had an Irish interest before establishing himself as a publisher and printer in Dublin. While still in London, he published the anonymous *Adelaide. An Original East Indian Story* around 1807; this story was originally issued as a sixteen-part serial in the Dublin *Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* in 1794–95.⁴⁵ Sometime between 1810 and 1814, Neil moved to Dublin, where, under the name O’Neil, he established the ‘Minerva Printing Office’ at 19 Chancery Lane, an allusion to the largest London publisher of novels, the Minerva Press in Leadenhall Street. However, he operated on a much smaller scale and does not appear to have had a commercial relationship with the Minerva Press. In Dublin he published at least ten novelettes between 1814 and 1820 (Table 3).⁴⁶ Compared to the novelettes which he published in London, his Dublin editions were only of the shorter kind, comprising thirty-five to forty pages. A representative example is the anonymous *Mystery of the Black Convent. An Interesting Spanish Tale*, which appeared in Dublin in 1814 (Figure 3, overleaf).⁴⁷ Neil appears to have discontinued publishing novelettes after 1820, because no record of such activity has been found. He ventured into the publishing of the *Dublin Weekly Independent* in 1822, however, and at least until 1825 he printed chapbooks for the Kildare Place Society⁴⁸ which, because of their large print-runs, must have been very lucrative.

Initially, it was thought that Neil’s novelettes published in Dublin were largely original works, but almost all of them turned out to be reprints. Whether Neil adhered to the tenets of the copyright law is not clear, but this may have been easy for him, because several of the titles were reprints of works he had printed in London before, or may have been reissues of works printed in London. Even after the Union, he was not alone in Dublin reprinting volumes that had been published in London at an earlier date. For example, J. Charles printed Lewis’ *The Monk* in Dublin in 1808 in two volumes ‘for the Proprietor’, who remains unidentified. The same title appeared under an imprint by J. Saunders in Waterford in 1796 in three volumes, but it carries the watermark 1818, showing its illegal origin.⁴⁹ These are only some of the instances by which Irish publishers broke the rules of the new copyright law. In summary, Neil did little to advance the re-emergence of original works of Irish fiction and, between 1814 and 1820, concentrated on the publication of reprints. Nevertheless, he made novelettes available in Ireland at a relatively low cost for, presumably, a broad reading public.

Arthur Neil was the only the Dublin publisher who independently published novelettes. Only one other Dublin publisher, Bennett Dugdale, was also involved in the production of novelettes, but published these in London as a co-production with the London-based concern Tegg and Castleman. Between 1802 and 1805, Tegg and Castleman co-published at least nineteen novelettes in collaboration with Dugdale (Table 4). These little volumes are likely to have been exported to Dublin for distribution by Dugdale, but this remains to be documented.

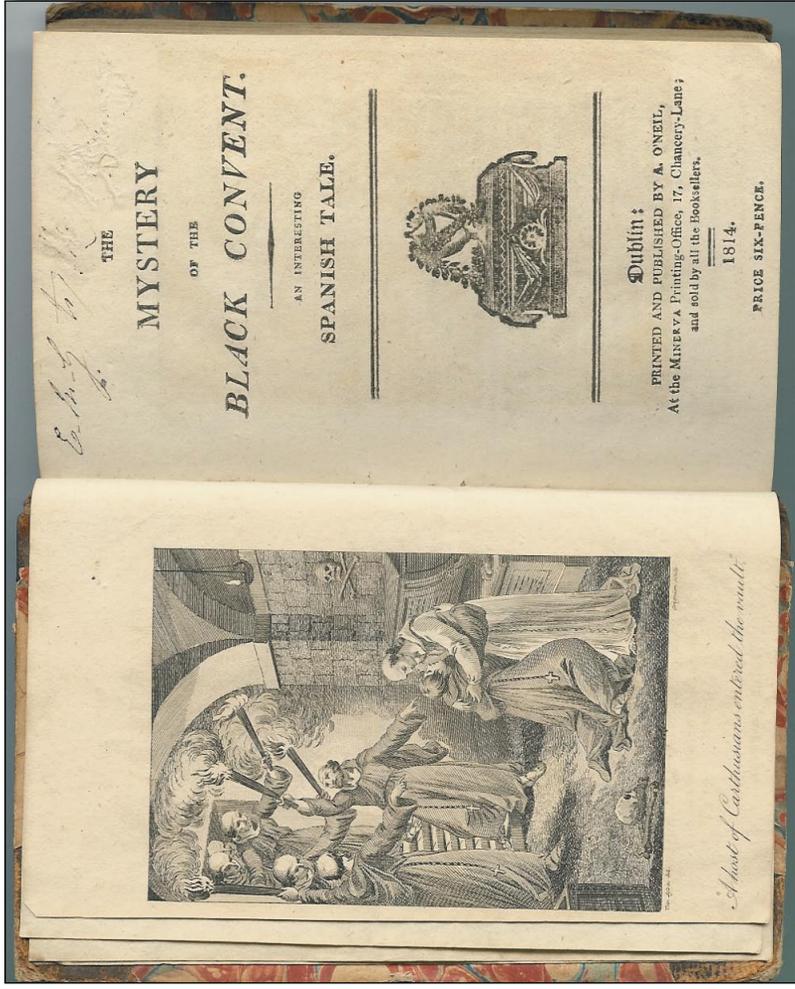


FIG. 3. ANON., *THE MYSTERY OF THE BLACK CONVENT. AN INTERESTING SPANISH TALE* (DUBLIN: A. O'NEIL, 1814)

Novels, Novelettes, and the Development of Irish Gothic Fiction

The Irish Gothic tradition has been studied mostly starting with the works by the Revd Charles Maturin and Sheridan Le Fanu.⁵⁰ However, studies by Siobhan Kilfeather and I. C. Ross have highlighted Gothic novels by eighteenth-century Irish authors.⁵¹ Table 5 places the Irish authors of Gothic fiction in the context of the most well-known English Gothic novels published between 1750 and 1829, such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), and M. G. Lewis' *The Monk* (1796). Almost all of these key novels, with the exception of *Vathek*, were soon republished in Dublin: *The Castle of Otranto* in 1765, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* in 1794, and *The Monk* in 1796, 1797, and 1808.

It is not widely known that prior to the publication of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, two Irish Gothic novels were published in Dublin. The first, *The Adventures of Miss Sophia Berkeley*, by 'a young lady' (1760), is an epistolary novel set in England, which includes an abduction and other 'Gothic' events of horror. The second, the historian Thomas Leland's *Longsword, Earl of Salisbury* (Dublin, 1762; London, 1762), is a historical novel featuring the odious monk, Reginald, the sire of an unholy brood of monastic fiends and baronial tyrants, who appear in scenes of suspense and terror.⁵²

The publication of Gothic fiction by Irish authors accelerated between 1786 and 1805 when thirteen such works were published, mostly in London, but a few in the Irish provinces, including Limerick, Cork, and Belfast (Table 5). During this period, the key Irish authors of Gothic fiction were mainly women, and include Anne Fuller, Regina Maria Roche, Anne Burke, Mrs F. C. Patrick, Anna Millikin, Catharine Selden, Marianne Kenley, and Sydney Owenson (later Lady Morgan). Among the small number of male authors in this sub-genre were James White, Stephen Cullen, and Revd Luke Aylmer Conolly. Most of these authors—whether male or female—appear to have published only a single Gothic work. One of the exceptions was Regina Maria Roche, who published numerous Gothic novels, including *The Children of the Abbey* (1796), *Clermont* (1798), *Nocturnal Visit* (1800), and *The Houses of Osmia and Almeria; or, Convent of St Ildefonso* (1810). (*Clermont* was one of the seven 'horrid' titles mentioned by Jane Austen in her *Northanger Abbey* (1818).)

Very few novel-length Gothic works were produced by Irish authors between 1800 and 1820, but several publishers in London and Dublin introduced Gothic novelettes. Many of these Gothic novelettes published during this period were potboilers of original works. Frank comments:

Characteristically, the Gothic chapbook strips away all of the complications of the immense Gothic plot in order to jar the reader with supernatural shocks. These little Gothics are shortened and plagiarised novels devoted not to the story or to the moral but to spectacular special effects. They are the natural literary link between the unreadable four-volume Gothics of the Eighteenth

Century and the brief tale of terror of the later Nineteenth Century with its uncanny climaxes and terminal links.⁵³

The period 1800 through the 1820s represents the heyday of novelettes in England, but also in Ireland, where twelve novelettes were published (see Figure 1). A count of ‘chapbooks’ (read novelettes) in the Sadleir–Black collection of Gothic fiction published in the England and Ireland ‘validates that the national list for the macabre in literature reached its apogee between 1810 and 1815 and extended well into the Romantic movement’.⁵⁴ From the works issued by novelette publishers, Neil’s Gothic fiction is of special interest here, with representative works being C. F. Barrett’s *The Round Tower; or, the Mysterious Witness: An Irish Legendary Tale of the Sixth Century* (London, 1803) and *Allanrod; or, the Mysterious Freebooter. An Interesting Gothic Tale* (Dublin, 1820). Novelettes seem to fall out of fashion in the 1820s. During that decade, only a few ‘full-fledged’ Irish Gothic novels written by Revd Charles Maturin and Revd George Croly, and then, like in England, almost disappeared from the scene.⁵⁵ The genre slumbered until Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu started publishing supernatural fiction from 1845 onwards, and found its apogee with the horror of Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*, which was published in London in 1897.

Although uncertainty exists about the religious orientation of some of the authors of Irish Gothic fiction, most appear to have been Protestant. Many of the Gothic novels are set in Southern European, Catholic countries such as Italy or Spain—see, for instance, Catherine Selden’s *Villa Nova* (1805). Frank states that Italian villainy is a common theme and that ‘no tale of terror dared to offer itself to the public without one Venetian poisoner, Neapolitan seducer, or Sicilian revenger’. For example, William Henry Ireland set his Gothic stories in Catholic environments, and used his perception of ‘the sinister historical legacy of Catholicism to heighten the melodramatic sentimentality of the Gothic and thereby arouse intense feelings of horror’.⁵⁶ Similar to Gothic fiction written by English authors, several Irish works features nuns and monks of debatable trustworthiness and appear decidedly anti-Catholic. For instance, *The Mystery of the Black Convent. An Interesting Spanish Tale*, published by Neil (under the name O’Neil) in Dublin in 1814, and set in the Castilian monastery of St Lawrence at the time of the Feast of Epiphany in 1140, is highly anti-Catholic and is heavily plagiarised from Lewis’ *The Monk*. These anti-Catholic productions can be best seen in the context of novels of Protestant propaganda.⁵⁷

Not all Gothic fiction set in Catholic settings, however, was anti-Catholic, as is evident from, for example, Regina Maria Roche’s novels. Mary Tarr in her study on *Catholicism in Gothic Fiction*, pointed out that Catholic churches, monasteries, and convents provide a *mise-en-scène* for Gothic fiction with characters acting in a spirit of ‘medievalism’:

Ecclesiastical ruins, passageways from castles to convents, chapels, monasteries, convent cells, monastic prisons, chambers of Inquisition, convent gardens, burial vaults in the crypts of chapels or abbey

churches—these are the places for which characters in Gothic fiction have special predilection.⁵⁸

Additionally, the description of Catholic rites provided suitable settings for Gothic scenes to induce ‘melodramatic sentimentality’ in readers. For instance, according to Tarr: ‘The Sacrament of Extreme Unction seems to have a three-fold purpose in Gothic fiction: to afford an occasion for candle carrying and hymn singing, to elicit sobs from those attending the sick person, and to hasten the latter’s death!’⁵⁹

Conclusion

Although the 1798 rebellion and the Union of 1801 contributed to the decline of the Dublin publishing and printing industry, its diminution had already set in earlier, during the 1790s. The industry—judging at least from the publication of novels and novelettes—was not wiped out, and new publishers replaced old publishing houses from the 1810s, a process which accelerated subsequently. The reprinting of English books after the Union, although formally prohibited by newly installed copyright laws, was still practiced on a small scale, but it is not clear to what extent English authors or Irish authors living in England were paid for this privilege.

This essay shows that novelettes, often with a Gothic content, were published mainly in Dublin during the 1810s, which represents a low period of novel publishing in Ireland and England.⁶⁰ Novelettes may have filled an economic niche by providing cheap and more affordable alternatives to novels, at a time when the Irish and the English economies were in a downturn, following the financial and commercial crises caused by the war with France. Thus, novelettes because of their lower expense than novels, are likely to have appealed to a poorer segment of the population than the novel-reading public. These hypotheses, however, have several pitfalls. Firstly, Irish novels were published in Dublin alongside the publication of novelettes, even though the number of novels remained small during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Secondly, few novelettes of original fiction were published in Dublin, which undermines the notion of a transition between novelettes and novels in that city. Finally, there was a noticeable regional difference in the impact of the 1798 rebellion and the Union on the fiction markets of Dublin and Cork.

Many of these novelettes may have been forerunners of the ‘penny dreadfuls’, those very cheap and short illustrated stories which became increasingly more popular in mid-nineteenth-century England.⁶¹ Nevertheless, penny dreadfuls do not appear to have been published in Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶² Novelettes also appear to have been outside of the mainstream of the tradition of Irish short stories, either in the oral or in the written form. Novelettes rarely dealt with Irish situations, and if they did, their contents were far removed from the Gaelic-inspired stories made popular from the late 1820s onward by such authors as William Carleton, Michael James Whitty,

and Samuel Lover.⁶³ Gothic novelettes, like some of the novels on which they often were based, were generally anti-Catholic in tone, describing monastic and conventual abuses. At the same time, while many Gothic novels were well-represented in Dublin circulating libraries, the Gothic novelettes were not.⁶⁴ Practically nothing is known about the reaction of officials of the Irish Catholic Church to this type of fiction. When convents started assembling circulating libraries for Roman Catholic lay people, they appear to have excluded anti-Catholic Gothic fiction, in either the novelette or novel format.

Novelettes were pioneering because they routinely were published with one engraved illustration (in contrast, chapbooks were illustrated with woodcuts). In Ireland, their development should be seen against the backdrop of other innovations. For instance, the first triple-decker appeared in Dublin in 1820 (Mrs McNally's *Eccentricity*, published in Dublin by John Cumming in 1820), as did the first book to be illustrated in its first, as opposed to a later, edition (William Carleton's *Father Butler*, published in Dublin by William Curry, Jr & Co. in 1829). Mass production of books was greatly enhanced by the introduction of stereotype printing in 1813.⁶⁵ Only from the 1820s onwards were novels published in Ireland on a more commercial basis, without authors having to cover the printing costs of their own works.⁶⁶ Eventually, this transition heralded a new kind of Irish fiction, independent of the Gothic and adventure stories published in earlier days, and increasingly concerned with national topics, such as Irish farmers' lives and ancient folklore, and with recent contemporary events, among them the failed 1798 rebellion. 

II

TABLE I: NOVELETTES WITH IRISH CONTENTS

(* indicates possibly original work)

AUTHOR	TITLE	PLACE, PUBLISHER, DATE, PAGINATION	LOCATION
[James Harrison]*	<i>The Exile of Ireland; or, the Life, Voyages, Travels, and Wonderful Adventures of Captain Winterfield, Who, after Many Successes and Surprising Escapes in Europe and America with English Forces, Became, at Last, a Distinguished Rebel Chief in Ireland.</i>	London: J. Bailey, [1800?], 36pp.	New York Public Library
Henry Vincent*	<i>The Irish Assassin; or, the Misfortunes of the Family of O'Donnell.</i>	London: Thomas Tegg, [1800?], 28pp.	Glasgow
[Anon.]*	<i>The Life and Travels of James Tudor Owen: Who, amidst a Variety of Other Interesting Particulars [...] Embarks from the Egyptian Shore for Ireland, and There, during the Late War with America, Gains an Ensigny with the British Forces against that Country [...]</i>	London: S. Fisher & T. Hurst, 1802, 42pp.	National Library of Ireland; Library of Congress, DC
John Corry*	<i>Arthur and Mary; or, the Fortunate Fugitives.</i>	London: B. Crosby & Co. [and 8 others], [1803], 36pp.	Univ. of Virginia Library, VA
C. F. Barrett*	<i>The Round Tower; or, the Mysterious Witness: An Irish Legendary Tale of the Sixth Century.</i> ⁶⁷	London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803, 36pp.	Trinity College, Dublin; Univ. of Virginia Library, VA
[Anon.]*	<i>The Secret Memoirs of Miss Sally Dawson: Otherwise Mrs. Sally M'Clane: Otherwise Mrs. Sarah Mayne,—Widow [...]</i>	Dublin: Printed by Holmes & Charles, 1805 (2nd edn), 50pp.	British Library
[C. Netterville?]*	<i>The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of C. Netterville with the Various Hardships and Vicissitudes that he Encountered both by Sea and Land, until his Safe Return to Ireland; his Native Country.</i>	Dublin: John Martin, [c. 1806], 42pp.	Trinity College, Dublin
[Edwin Dillon?]*	<i>A Singular Tale! or, the Adventures of Edwin Dillon, a Young Irishman. Interspersed with Pathetic and Comical Stories [...]</i>	London: Printed for the author by E. Thomas, [1807], 36pp.	Bodleian Library; Univ. of Virginia Library, VA
[Anon.]	<i>The Castle of Savina; or, the Irishman in Italy. A Tale.</i>	London: Anne Lemoine & J. Roe, [1807], 60pp	British Library; Bodleian Library
[Anon]*	<i>The Bloody Hand; or, the Fatal Cup, a Tale of Horror.</i> ⁶⁸	London: Stevens & Co., Kermish & Son, [c. 1810], 24pp.	British Library
John Corry*	<i>The Vale of Clywd; or, the Pleasures of Retirement. A Welch Tale.</i>	London: B. Crosby & Co. [and 8 others], [c. 1825], 36pp.	National Library of Ireland

TABLE 2: NOVELETTES PUBLISHED BY A. NEIL
IN SOMMERSTOWN AND LONDON
(* indicates possibly original work)

AUTHOR	TITLE	DATE, PAGINATION	LOCATION
[Anon.]*	<i>Adventure of Jemima Russell, Orphan [...]</i>	1799, 54pp.	British Library
[Anon.]*	<i>Memoirs of Captain Shelburne [...] to Which Is now Added, Henry and Charlotte; or, the Fatal Shipwreck [...]</i>	1799 (2nd edn), 52pp.	Birmingham–Jefferson Library, AL; Indiana Library, IN
[Anon.]*	<i>Duncan; or, the Shade of Gertrude. A Caledonian Tale.</i>	[1800?], 40pp.	British Library; Univ. of Cambridge Library
Thomas Barry*	<i>Narrative of the Singular Adventures and Captivity of Mr. Thomas Barry, among the Monsipi Indians, in the Unexplored Regions of North America [...]</i>	1800, 60pp.	Univ. of Virginia Library, VA
[Anon.]*	<i>Edward and Ellen [...] To Which is Added, The Unfortunate Father, or, the History of Mr. Crawford.</i>	1800, 51pp.	Princeton Univ. Library, NJ
[Anon.]	<i>The Penitent Daughter, or the History of Elinor Burgh.</i> (translation)	1800, 55pp.	British Library
[Anon.]*	<i>The Interesting Adventures of Tomar, the Celebrated Pirate of Algiers [...]</i>	1801, 36pp.	British Library
W. Burdett*	<i>The Life and Exploits of Masong, commonly Called Three-Finger'd Jack, the Terror Jamaica [...]</i>	1802, 60pp.	British Library
[Anon.]*	<i>Shrewtzer Castle; or, the perfidious brother: A German romance. Including the pathetic tale of Edmund's ghost.⁶⁹</i>	1802, 66pp.	Univ. of Cambridge Library; Univ. of Virginia Library, VA; Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Affecting History of Louisa, the Wandering Maniac, or, "Lady of the Hay-Stack;" [...]</i> ⁷⁰	1803, 36pp.	British Library
Dennis Lawler*	<i>The Old Man of the Mountain; or, Interesting History of Gorthmund the Cruel. A Tale of the Twelfth Century.</i>	1803, 38pp.	Yale Univ. Library, CT
H. L. baron Coiffier de Verseax	<i>The Black Knight: An Historical Tale of the Eighth Century.</i> (translation)	1803, 65pp.	Univ. of Cambridge Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Perilous Cavern; or, Banditti of the Pyrenees [...]</i> (translation by C. F. Barrett)	1803, 38pp.	Bodleian Library
C. F. Barrett*	<i>Douglas Castle; or, the Cell of Mystery. A Scottish Tale.</i> ⁷¹	1803, 38pp.	Univ. of Virginia Library, VA
[Anon.]*	<i>Torbolton Abbey: Or, the Prophetic Vision: A Gothic Tale.</i>	1804, 38pp.	Princeton Univ. Library, NJ
[Anon.]*	<i>The English Fleet in 1342, or the Heroic Exploits of the Countess of Montfort [...]</i>	1804, 61pp.	U.S. Navy Dept. Library, Naval History Center, DC

AUTHOR	TITLE	DATE, PAGINATION	LOCATION
[Dennis Lawler]*	<i>Midnight Spells! or, the Spirit of Saint Osmond: A Romance.</i>	[1804], 38pp.	British Library, Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>Affecting Narrative of the Deposition, Trial, and Execution of Louis XVI: The Late Unfortunate King of France [...]</i>	1804, 62pp.	Athencum Library of Philadelphia
[Anon.]*	<i>Edmund Ironside, and the Heroic Princess; or, the Invasion of England by the Danes: An Historical Tale.</i>	1804, 38pp.	Bodleian Library
P. Longueville*	<i>A New and Improved Edition of The English Hermit; or, Surprising Adventures of Philip Quarll [...]</i>	[1805?], 72pp.	Bodleian Library
I. Crookenden*	<i>The Skeleton; or, the Mysterious Discovery: A Gothic Romance.</i> ⁷²	1805, 38pp.	Bodleian Library; Univ. of Virginia Library, VA
[Anon.]*	<i>The Mystery of the Black Convent. An Interesting Spanish Tale of the Eleventh Century.</i>	[1805 or earlier], 36pp.	Univ. of Virginia Library, VA
[C. F. Barrett]	<i>The London Apprentice; or, Singular Adventures of Henry and Zelima. An Historical Tale.</i>	1805, 38pp.	British Library
C. F. Barrett*	<i>Allanrod; or, the Mysterious Freebooter. An Historical Tale of the Sixteenth Century.</i>	[1806], 38pp.	Bodleian Library; Harvard College Library
[Anon.]	<i>Interesting History of Crispin & Crispianus, the Royal Shoe-Makers. Including the Loves and Singular Adventures of Sir Hugh and the Fair Winifred [...]</i>	[1807?], 38pp.	British Library
M. C. Springsguth*	<i>Imperial Clemency, or, the Murderers Reprieved[.] An Interesting Tale.</i>	1808, 24pp. ⁷³	Cleveland Public Library, OH
[Anon.]	<i>Mortimer Castle, or the Revengeful Barons: A Romance.</i>	1809, 28pp.	Univ. of Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, NC

TABLE 3: NOVELETTES PRINTED BY A. O'NEIL
AT THE MINERVA PRINTING OFFICE IN DUBLIN
(* indicates possibly original work)

AUTHOR	TITLE	DATE, PAGINATION	LOCATION
[Anon.]	<i>The Life and Adventures of that Notorious Robber and Assassin, Socivizca [...]</i>	[1808–24], 35pp.	Bodleian Library; Univ. of Delaware Library
[Anon.]*	<i>Love in the Brazils, or, the Honest Criminal: Exemplified in the Interesting History of Henry Monkville and Zara D'Almada.</i>	[1808–24], 40pp.	Univ. of Delaware Library
[C. F. Barrett]	<i>The London Apprentice, or Singular Adventures of Henry & Zelima: An Interesting Historical Tale.</i>	[1808–24], 36pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Mystery of the Black Convent. An Interesting Spanish tale.</i> (First published by A. Neil in London in 1805 or earlier)	1814, 36pp.	Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Affecting History of Louisa, the Wandering Maniac, or, "Lady of the hay-stack;" [...]</i> (first published by A. Neil in London in 1804)	1814 (2nd edn), 36pp.	Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Interesting Adventures of Tomar, thr [sic] Celebrated Pirate of Algiers [...]</i> (First published by A. Neil in London in 1801)	1816, 36pp.	Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>Perilous Cavern; or, the Banditti of the Pyrenees [...]</i> (First published by A. Neil in London in 1803)	1816, 35pp.	Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Accurate History of Crispin and Crispianus, the Royal Shoemakers: Together with Other Interesting Particulars Relative to the Gentle Craft [...]</i> (First published by A. Neil in London in 1807?)	1816, 36pp.	British Library
[Dennis Lawler]	<i>Midnight Spells! or, the Spirit of Saint Osmond. A Tale.</i> (First published by A. Neil in London in 1804)	1819, 38pp.	Bodleian Library
[C. F. Barrett]	<i>Allanrod; or, the Mysterious Freebooter. An Interesting Gothic Tale.</i>	1820, 40pp.	Northwestern Univ. Library, IL

TABLE 4: NOVELETTES PUBLISHED BY TEGG AND CASTLEMAN
IN LONDON, AND CO-PUBLISHED BY B. DUGDALE
IN DUBLIN AND BY OTHERS ELSEWHERE⁷⁴

AUTHOR	TITLE	DATE, PAGINATION	LOCATION
[Anon.]	<i>Almagro & Claude; or the Monastic Murder [...]</i>	n.d., 40pp.	British Library, Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Veiled Picture; or the Mysteries of Gorgono, the Appenine Castle of Signor Androssi [...]</i>	[1802], 72pp.	British Library
[C. F. Barrett]	<i>Mary Queen of Scots, or the Royal Captive [...]</i>	[1803 or earlier], 36pp.	British Library, National Library of Scotland
[Anon.]	<i>Albani: Or the Murderers of his Child [...]</i>	[1803], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Blanche and Carlos; or the Constant Lovers [...]</i>	[1803], 72pp. ⁷⁵	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>De La Mark and Constantia; or, Ancient Heroism. A Gothic Tale.</i>	[1803], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Domestic Misery, or the Victim of Seduction, a Pathetic Tale [...]</i>	[1803], 60pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Father Innocent, Abbot of the Capuchins; or, the Crimes of Cloisters.</i>	[1803], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Ildefonso & Alberoni, or Tales of Horrors</i>	[1803], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Lermos and Rosa, or the Unfortunate Gipsy [...]</i>	[1803], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Secret Tribunal; or, the Court of Wincelau. A Mysterious Tale.</i>	[1803], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Ulric and Guſtavus, or the Unhappy Swedes; a Finland Tale.</i>	[1803], 35pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Phantasmagoria, or the Development of Magical Deception.</i>	[1803], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Ibrahim, the Grand Vizier, or Turkish Honour and European Friendship [...]</i>	1804. ⁷⁶	Bodleian Library
[Anon.]	<i>Lewis Tyrrell, or, the Depraved Count [...]</i>	[1804], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Mathilda; or the Adventures of an Orphan, an Interesting Tale.</i>	[1804], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>Maximilian and Selina; or, the Mysterious Abbot. A Flemish Tale.</i>	[1804], 72pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Soldier's Daughter; or the Fair Fugitive. A Pathetic Tale.</i>	[1804], 36pp.	British Library
[Anon.]	<i>The Manoeuvres of Don Pedro Antos, the Famous Swindler of Segovia [...]</i>	[1805], 40pp.	Bodleian Library

TABLE 5: THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRISH GOTHIC FICTION
IN THE CONTEXT OF ENGLISH GOTHIC FICTION
(key volumes in bold; Dublin imprints in bold)

IMPRINT DATE	IRISH AUTHOR, TITLE (PLACE OF FIRST PUBLICATION)	LOCATION	ENGLISH AUTHOR, TITLE (KEY AUTHORS ONLY, LONDON)
1760	'A Young Lady', <i>The Adventures of Miss Sophia Berkley</i> (Dublin).	British Library	
1762	T. Leland, <i>Longsword, Earl of Salisbury</i> (London).	Trinity College, Dublin; British Library	
1764			H. Walpole, <i>The Castle of Otranto</i>
1779	[T. S. Whalley], <i>Edwy and Edilda</i> (London). Republished as <i>Edwy and Edilda: A Gothic Tale</i> (Dublin, 1783). ⁷⁷	University of Virginia, VA	
1781	R. Jephson, dramatised <i>Castle of Otranto as The Count of Narbonne</i> .	British Library	
1786	A. Fuller, <i>Alan Fitz-Osborne</i> (Dublin).	British Library	W. Beckford, <i>Vathek</i>
1789	J. White, <i>Earl of Strongbow</i> (London).	Univ. of Cambridge Library; Yale Univ. Library, CT	
1793	R. M. Roche, <i>The Maid of the Hamlet</i> (London)	British Library (2nd edn, 1800)	
1794	S. Cullen, <i>The Haunted Priory</i> (London)	British Library	A. Radcliffe, <i>The Mysteries of Udolpho</i>
1796	A. Burke, <i>The Sorrows of Edith</i> (London)	Univ. of Virginia Library, VA	M. G. Lewis, <i>The Monk</i>
1798	Mrs F. C. Patrick, <i>More Ghosts!</i> (London)	Harvard University Library	
1801	'A Young Lady', <i>The Monastery of Gondolfo. A Romance</i> (Limerick).	Trinity College, Dublin	
1802	A. Millikin, <i>Plantagenet; or, Secrets of the House of Anjou</i> (Cork)	National Library of Ireland; Trinity College, Dublin	
1804	C. Selden, <i>Villa Nova</i> (Cork)	Dublin Public Library (Gilbert collection)	
	M. Kenley, <i>The Cottage of the Appenines or the Castle of Novina</i> (Belfast)	British Library	
	C. R. Maturin, <i>The Fatal Revenge</i> (London)	British Library; National Library of Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin	

IMPRINT DATE	IRISH AUTHOR, TITLE (PLACE OF FIRST PUBLICATION)	LOCATION	ENGLISH AUTHOR, TITLE (KEY AUTHORS ONLY, LONDON)
	S. Owenson, <i>The Novice of St. Dominick</i> (London)	British Library; National Library of Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin	
1805	L. Conolly, <i>The Friar's Tale; or, Memoirs of the Chevalier Orsino</i> (London) ⁷⁸	British Library; Univ. of Virginia Library, VA	
c. 1814–20	REPRINTS OF NOVELETTES OF GOTHIC FICTION (Dublin). See Table 2.		
1820	C. R. Maturin, <i>Melmoth the Wanderer</i> (London)	British Library; National Library of Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin	
1828	G. Croly, <i>Salathiel</i> (London)	Corvey Library	

NOTES

1. A. M.'s note to the *Dublin Magazine; or, a General Repository of Philosophy, Belles-Lettres, and Miscellaneous Information* 1 (1820), 88–91.
2. The term 'original Irish fiction' in this essays refers to those works written by Irish authors or concerning Ireland and/or the Irish, published for the first time rather than being reprinted. The following criteria were used to identify original fiction: known Irish author, Irish contents, and the presence of a Dublin imprint without a London imprint prior to the Dublin publication. Thus, the identification of original Irish fiction in many cases partly rests on the absence of the same title published in London or in another location. The present authors checked online databases such as ESTC, NSTC, OCLC, RLIN, and many other primary sources. Publication in the same year in Dublin and London has been conservatively interpreted that the Dublin edition was a reprint of the London one. However, the precise priority of publication is usually impossible to establish because of lack of information of release dates in the two cities. For this, and other reasons, it is quite possible that future research will clarify and correct works identified as 'original Irish novels'. Note that some of the 'original' works were derivatives of or heavily inspired by English or French precursors.
3. Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction 1650–1900: A Mirror of the Times* (MS in preparation).
4. Most literary studies have emphasised novels instead: see Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling (gen. eds), *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000); and James Raven, *British Fiction 1750–1770. A Chronological Check-List of Prose Fiction Printed in Britain and Ireland* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987). Some scholars outside of Ireland have examined novelettes (e.g. Frederick S. Frank, *The First Gothics. A Critical Guide to the English Gothic Novel* (New York: Garland, 1987)), but have not focused on novelettes published in Ireland or written by Irish authors. Many of the novelettes mentioned in this paper are not to be found in the otherwise excellent survey by Frank.

5. The *OED* defines a 'novelette' as 'a story of moderate length having the characteristics of a novel'. The length of novelettes varied, but they were distinct from novels (Frank, *The First Gothics*, p. 31). Scholars disagree as to the word-length of this kind of short fiction, with Robert D. Mayo setting a minimum of 5,000 words for novelettes and 12,000 for novels, while Boyce has taken 12,000 words as the dividing line between short fiction and novels—both estimates are cited in Wendell V. Harris, *British Short Fiction in the Nineteenth Century: A Literary and Bibliographic Guide* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), p. 11.
6. Also called by Frank, 'chapbook Gothic' and, referring to their blue covers, 'bluebook Gothic' (Frank, *The First Gothics*, pp. xxvi–xxvii and 433). Novelettes were not necessarily restricted to Gothic fiction.
7. Not discussed here are chapbooks published in Ireland, for which see Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Fiction Available to and Written for Cottagers and their Children' in *The Experience of Reading: Irish Historical Perspectives*, edd. B. Cunningham and M. Kennedy (Dublin: Rare Books Group, 1999), pp. 124–72.
8. An exception is the Sadleir–Black collection at the University of Virginia. Novelettes published in Ireland are not examined in the otherwise excellent *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850* by Niall Ó Ciosáin (Basingstoke: Macmillan, and New York: St Martin's Press, 1997).
9. Judging from the following catalogues: *Catalogue of Gerrard Tyrrells Public Library, 11, Lower Sackville-Street* (Dublin, [1834]); *Catalogue of the Library, 31, Lower Sackville-Street, (near Carlisle Bridge,) J. Kempston, Proprietor* (Dublin, corrected to 1 Jan 1819); *Catalogue of Hodgson's New Circulating Library* (Belfast, 1838). The lowest cost books sold by these libraries were 3s or more. The Belfast Reading Society maintained a library which was not intended for the reading of novels and the selection was to exclude 'any common novel, or farce, or other book of trivial amusement'—Mary Casteleyn, *A History of Literacy and Libraries in Ireland* (Aldershot: Gower, 1984), p. 104.
10. The present authors have not seen original bindings of Irish novelettes of the period, because all copies known to us have been rebound. However, novelettes originally were bound in blue wrappers, and are thus sometimes termed blue-books: see Angela Koch, 'Gothic Bluebooks in the Princely Library of Corvey and Beyond', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 9 (Dec 2002). Online: Internet (20 Feb 2003): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc09_nor.html>.
11. For example, William Burdett's *The Life and Exploits of Three Finger'd Jack* (Sommerstown: A. Neil, 1801) is associated with the popular pantomimic drama of *Obi; or, Three-Fingered Jack*, first performed at the Theatre-Royal, Haymarket, London, on 5 July 1800, with the libretto by John Fawcett and the music by Samuel Arnold. Also, the title of *The Perilous Cavern* (London: A. Neil, 1803) stated that the story was performed in Paris and at Astley's Amphitheater in London.
12. Novelettes were also distinct from the didactic publications of the Kildare Place Society in Dublin, an organisation established to produce educational books from the mid-1810s onwards. The books included short fiction of an educational type for juveniles and adults. These publications usually consisted of either seventy-two or 180 pages, which the committee thought would appeal to 'many people in the lower class'. The cost of these volumes were in the 6d–6½d range, thus similar in price to the shorter novelettes—see H. Hislop, 'The Kildare Place Society 1811–31; an Irish Experiment in Popular Education' (unpublished doctoral

- thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1990), pp. 208–10. Novelettes, in contrast to the Kildare Place publications, focused more on fantastic tales.
13. The date 1750 was selected because very few original Irish novels were being published in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century (for example, the 1740s saw the publication of only three works of fiction).
 14. James Raven, 'Historical Introduction: The Novel Comes of Age', in *The English Novel*, 1, 26–27.
 15. Raven, *British Fiction*, p. 8, Table 1; Raven, 'The Novel Comes of Age', p. 26: Table I and p. 72: Table II (figures derived from these tables). Raven records that 13 and 19 'new' novels were published in Dublin for the two periods (compared to 28 and 27 recorded by us for the same periods). This difference can be attributed to different definitions as to what constitutes a novel as well as more recently discovered titles.
 16. Richard Cole, *Irish Booksellers and English Writers 1740–1800* (London: Mansell, 1986), p. 195.
 17. Raven, 'The Novel Comes of Age', p. 37: Table 4.
 18. Cole, p. 86; Raven, 'The Novel Comes of Age', p. 37: Table 4; C. Benson, 'Printers and Booksellers in Dublin 1800–1850', in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550–1850*, edd. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), pp. 47–48.
 19. Cited in Patrick Fagan, *A Georgian Celebration. Irish Poets of the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Branar, 1989), p. 147.
 20. Mary Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books 1550–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 224.
 21. Cole, p. 94.
 22. Some of the identified Irish female authors who published in Dublin include: Mrs Burke, E. Connor, Anne Fuller, and Tamary Elizabeth Hurrell.
 23. See also her *A Collection of Novels, Selected and Revised by Mrs Griffith*, 2 vols (London, 1777), which includes *Zayde* by M. de Segrais, *Oroonoko* by Aphra Behn, *The Princess of Cleves* by Elizabeth Griffith, and *The Fruitless Inquiry* by Eliza Haywood.
 24. The earliest known example was the anonymously published *Royal Hibernian Tales; being a Collection of the Most Entertaining Stories Now Extant*, which first appeared in 1825 or earlier, and which is only known from later copies.
 25. David Dickson, 'Death of a Capital? Dublin and the Consequences of Union', in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500–1840*, edd. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Oxford and New York: British Academy/OUP, 2001), p. 127.
 26. 'Extracts Respecting the Present State of Ireland', *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* (Dec 1801), 738–39; see also Kevin Whelan, 'The United Irishmen, the Enlightenment and Popular Culture', in *The United Irishmen. Republicanism, Radicalism, and Rebellion*, edd. David Dickson, et al. (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1993), pp. 276–77; Cole, p. 6.
 27. Cole, pp. 152, 154–55, 198.
 28. Judging from our records. A shorter list has been published by Tom Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines. An Outline History and Descriptive Bibliography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003).
 29. James W. Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin, 1670–1800* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998); Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*, pp. 150, 211: Graph 9; Raven, 'The Novel Comes of Age', p. 71.

30. Phillips, pp. 28–29: Graph 1 and p. 39: Graph 2. Figure 1 shows a proportional larger decrease for master booksellers than for irregular booksellers, while Figure 2 shows a proportional larger decrease in irregular printers than for printer–booksellers.
31. Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000), pp. 98, 109–10, 310–11, 316; Cole, p. 33.
32. Cole, p. 156.
33. Pollard, *Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade*, pp. 73–75, 100–101.
34. Dickson, *passim*; Cole, p. 153.
35. Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, *passim*.
36. Bennett Dugdale, 1756–1826, was a prominent Methodist and bookseller, printer, and stationer; an 1828 advertisement of the auction of his stock refers to 60,000 volumes—J. Benson, ‘The Dublin Book Trade 1801–1850’ (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin, 2000), p. 585; *A Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection of Irish Books in the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1916), I, 410–11.
37. R. Loeber and M. Stouthamer-Loeber, ‘John Connor: A Maverick Cork Publisher of Literature’, *Eighteenth- Nineteenth-Century Irish Fiction Newsletter* 5 (May 1998)—issued for private circulation.
38. Frank, *The First Gothics*, pp. xxvi–xvii.
39. Robert D. Mayo, (*The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740–1815* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962), p. 191. The serial was published in nos 16–23 (19 May 19–7 July 1812).
40. It is not clear whether he is the same John Corry, who published *Odes and Elegies, Descriptive & Sentimental: With The Patriot, a Poem* in *Newry* in 1797.
41. Ó Ciosáin, p. 57; *Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection*, I, 547.
42. *Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection*, III, 653. The dates are approximate and may need to be revised in the future when more detailed bibliographical information will become available. The information on James Duffy is with thanks from Clare Hutton (personal communication, June 1998).
43. He can be identified as the printer A. O’Neil, who together with W. Brown, published *The Cabinet-Makers’ London Book of Prices* (London, 1793), but he was subsequently known as A. Neil (William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in the Allied Trades, London and Vicinity 1800–1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972), p. 138; *Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection*, I, 515). The last publication by A. Neil at his London address is his *Imperial Clemency* (London, 1808). His address in Sommerstown was 30, Chalton Street, and in London, 448, Strand. There are several reasons confirming that the A. Neil in London and the A. O’Neil in Dublin are the same person. For example, C. F. Barrett’s *The London Apprentice* was published by A. Neil in London in 1805, and republished by O’Neil in Dublin at an unspecified date; the same applied to *The Mystery of the Black Convent*, which first was published by A. Neil in London [1805 or earlier], and then was published by A. O’Neil in Dublin in 1814.
44. The volumes were identified through our collection, supplemented by a search in the electronic databases of ESTC, the British Library Online Catalogue (BLC), COPAC, OCLC (WorldCat), and the Sadleir–Black collection.
45. It was serialised in nos 4 (March 1794)–6 (June 1795)—see Mayo, p. 10.
46. This does not include the anonymous *A Biographical Sketch of the Adventures of Jeremiah Grant, commonly called Captain Grant* (Dublin, [1816]), J. Reid’s *Emma*;

- or, *the Victim of Despair. A Poetic Tale* (Dublin, 1821), and *National Feeling; or, the History of Fitzsimon. A Novel, with Historical and Political Remarks* (by 'an Irishman') in 1821.
47. It is practically certain that this is a reprint, because an undated copy in the Sadleir–Black collection with a slightly longer title, was published by A. Neil in London, and probably appeared in 1805 or earlier (the period during which Neil lived in London). This title is not to be confused with *The Black Convent; or, a Tale of Feudal Times* (London, 1819). O'Neil also worked for the publishers Graisberry and Campbell (Charles Benson, Personal communication, 28 Feb 2003).
 48. A copy of *The Voyage of Commodore Anson around the World* (Dublin, 1825) shows that at that time he was still situated at 17 Chancery-Lane (Bickersteth Cat. 53/93).
 49. Some other examples: Wogan, Burnet, Parry, Holmes and Charles reprinted in 1804 the novel *The Sylph*, which had been originally published in London in 1779; an undated version of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* was reprinted in Belfast prior to 1839. Novelettes were also published by Edward Henry Morgan at the Classic Novels Office in Cork during the first decade of the nineteenth century. An example is his reprinting of Frances Sheridan's *The History of Nourjahad* (London, 1767), which he published in 1803 in a condensed 74-page format.
 50. See e.g. W. J. McCormack, *Sheridan Le Fanu and Victorian Ireland* (Oxford: OUP, 1980).
 51. Siobhan Kilfeather, '“Strangers at Home”: Political Fictions by Women in Eighteenth-Century Ireland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Princeton, 1989). I. C. Ross, 'Fiction to 1800', in *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, gen. ed. Seamus Deane, 5 vols (Derry: Field Day, and Cork: Cork University Press, 1991–2002), I (550–1850), 682–87.
 52. Frank, *The First Gothics*, p. 243; M. Summers, *The Gothic Quest: A History of the Gothic Novel* (London: Fortune Press, [1938]), pp. 158 and 162.
 53. Frank, *The First Gothics*, p. 20.
 54. Frederick S. Frank, 'Gothic Gold: The Sadleir–Black Gothic collection, 1998' Online: Internet (10 Mar 2001): <<http://www.lib.virginia.edu/speccoll/colls/gold.html>>.
 55. Garside, 'The English Novel in the Romantic Era: Consolidation and Dispersal', *The English Novel*, II, 57: Table 3.
 56. Frank, *The First Gothics*, pp. 90 and 171.
 57. Mary Tarr, *Catholicism in Gothic Fiction* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1946), p. 121. Anti-Catholic sentiments were also evident from novels published in Ireland: for example, Simon Brerington's *The Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca, being the Substance of his Examination before the Fathers of the Inquisition, at Bologna, in Italy, giving an Account of an Unknown Country in the Midst of the Desarts [sic] of Africa. Compiled from the Original Manuscript in St Mark's Library, at Venice. With Critical Notes by the Learned Signor Rhedi. Translated from the Italian. To Which is Added, (as an Appendix) the History of the Inquisition, giving an Account of its Establishment, the Treatment of its Prisoners, the Torture Inflicted on Them, &c. &c.* first appeared in London in 1763, and was republished in Dublin by J. and J. Carrick in 1798, and again by John Cumming in 1810.
 58. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

59. Ibid., p. 34.
60. Garside, p. 38: Fig. 1.
61. See Elizabeth James and Helen R. Smith, *Penny Dreadfuls and Boys' Adventures* (London: British Library, 1998); and also the Jarndyce Catalogues nos 150: 'Bloods and Penny Dreadfuls' and 151: 'A Feast of Blood'.
62. Based on our survey, and confirmed by Janet Nassau and Brian Lake of Jarndyce, London (personal communication, Dec 2002).
63. See Georges Zimmerman, *The Irish Storyteller* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001).
64. Among these were Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Luke Conolly's *The Friar's Tale*, M. G. Lewis's *The Monk*, John Polidori's *The Vampyre*, Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and Miss Owenson's *The Novice of St Dominick*. The present authors did not find William Beckford's *Vathek* in these libraries (*Catalogue of Gerrard Tyrrells Public Library*, 11, Lower Sackville-Street (Dublin, [1834]); *Catalogue of the Library*, 31, Lower Sackville-Street, (near Carlisle Bridge,) J. Kempsſton, Proprietor (Dublin, corrected to 1 January 1819); *Catalogue of Hodgson's New Circulating Library* (Belfast, 1838)).
65. Grierson introduced stereotype printing in Dublin with the publication of *The New Testament* (Dublin: G. Grierson, 1813) (mentioned in Rowan cat. 50, part A/84).
66. Between 1750 and 1819, between 18% and 33% of original novels published during each decade were printed 'for the author'. Only during 1760s was this zero, and during the 1820s it was 5%.
67. Gothic tale set in Ireland during Viking times (Frank, *The First Gothics*, p. 25).
68. Gothic tale, featuring Reginal O'Mara and his grandfather (ibid., p. 37).
69. A Gothic tale (ibid., p. 406).
70. Gothic adaptation of a pathetic case recorded by Hannah More. Based on George Henry Glasse's translation of *L'Inconnue histoire véritable* (ibid., p. 2).
71. Gothic tale set in Scotland (ibid., p. 24).
72. Gothic tale (ibid., p. 80).
73. Printed and sold by M. C. Springsguth and A. Neil.
74. Based on Angela Koch, '“The Absolute Horror of Horrors” Revised. A Bibliographical Checklist of Early-Nineteenth-Century Gothic Bluebooks', *Cardiff Corvey: Reading the Romantic Text* 9 (Dec 2002). Online: Internet (20 Feb 2003): <http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/articles/cc09_n03.html>; COPAC (<<http://www.copac.ac.uk>>).
75. B. Dugdale and M. Keene in Dublin, and [J.] Bull in Waterford.
76. Pagination is from pp. 109–44, indicating that the text originally belonged to a larger work. The series title is *Affecting Tales*.
77. Novel written in verse. Copy in Sadleir-Black collection, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, attributed to the English author T. S. Whalley. Autograph signed by Eliz. Whitney, MS note tipped in this copy has the following postscript: 'Those who are acquainted with the history of some of the leading Irish families, and who have turned over such scanty records of the times in which the scenes we have described are laid, as are still accessible, will have no difficulty whatever in recognizing, in the leading incidents and characters of the foregoing tale, the hard, stern lines of recorded TRUTH.'

78. It is possible that this tale was first published serialised in *The Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* (Dublin) from July to Oct 1792 (see Clyde, *Irish Literary Magazines*, p. 70).

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NOSTALGIA FOR HOME OR HOMELANDS

Romantic Nationalism and the Indeterminate Narrative in Frances Burney's *The Wanderer*

Tamara Wagner



THE WANDERER, OR FEMALE DIFFICULTIES (1814), Frances Burney's last novel, opens with the flight of a nameless heroine in search of her 'loved, long lost, and fearfully recovered native land'.¹ Born in Wales and raised in France, the Wanderer flees to England in the aftermath of the French Revolution, attempting to find a safe haven in a location she has been made to think of as her home only to discover that she is marked as 'a poor destitute Wanderer' (p. 49), considered foreign by the insular Englishmen she encounters. Homelessness and the longing for home are central themes in the novel, tying in with the potentials and pitfalls of a rising Romantic nationalism. In juxtaposing prejudices based on 'memories' of a national past with personal longings for home, friends, and family, *The Wanderer* takes up and further conflicts the struggle between self and society that informs Burney's earlier novels and indeed late-eighteenth-century 'pre-Romantic' fiction in general and becomes invested with new possibilities and complications in the full-blown Romantic novel.² With its intriguing exposure of the new nationalist nostalgia of the early nineteenth century, Burney's last novel casts a different light on the elusive genre of Romantic fiction and the uses (and abuses) of nostalgia by the Romantic nationalisms that are created and critiqued in the literature of the time. The concept of a shared, national, memory is evoked and then dismissed as the dramatic fate of the wandering orphan heroine dismantles ideologies of the homeland. The longing for belonging is instead realised by an alternative ideal community, the chosen family, transcending national borders and nationalist alignments by suggesting a domestic solution to the warring desires of self-fulfilment and social acceptance that plague the Romantic self. This essay sees *The Wanderer* as a reaction to the nationalist agenda that informs a large number of Romantic novels and as an alternative to Burkean reactions to the French Revolution.

Wholeheartedly endorsing the new nationalist ideology of the homeland, regional novels and national tales, by contrast, attempt to create a communal nostalgia for places that are meant to be exotic to the general reader, while construing memories of something that is familiar, though remote enough to be invested with the allure of the exotic. It has been suggested that Walter

Scott creates a Highland Arcadia in *Waverley* (1814) in which the hero's 'romantic reservoir' lives up to his expectations after all.³ In Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui* (1809) and *The Absentee* (1812) and in Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806), estates in Ireland figure as repositories of down-to-earth attachments and ancient customs, as colonial spaces neglected by absentee landlords, and as the true home, in sharp relief to England, which is represented by the corrupt city of London. In *The Absentee*, for example, Lord Colambre's return to 'his mother earth' evokes 'the early associations of his childhood, and the patriotic hopes of his riper years.'⁴ *The Wild Irish Girl* describes Ireland as 'a colonised or a conquered country'.⁵ The 'diminutive body of our worthy steward' appears to be 'the abode of the transmigrated soul of some *West Indian* planter' (p. 23). Yet the hero's original bias—his expectation of an '*Esquimaux* group' (p. 1)—is displaced by his belief that there is 'no country which the Irish at present resemble but the modern Greeks' (p. 182). In this land of antiquity, but refreshing climate, Horatio can shed the 'pining atrophy' (p. 58) he suffers in London. Like Glenthorn in Edgeworth's aptly entitled *Ennui*, Horatio is 'devoured by ennui, by discontent' (p. 131) until he rediscovers 'emotions of a character, an energy, long unknown to [his] apathised feelings' (p. 45) in a landscape that is exotic and replete with 'communal' nostalgia for a new homeland. In these novels, a personal quest coincides with a new patriotism; rebirth with the regeneration of the rediscovered nation. But what is presented as a straightforward alignment in these novels is exposed as conflicted in *The Wanderer*. The ideal or, in Benedict Anderson's useful phrase, 'imagined community' created by Romantic ideologies of the homeland is not always a viable option—as Burney's wandering heroine has to discover.⁶ Written in the aftermath of the French Revolution, *The Wanderer* offers a different interpretation of nationalist ideologies—one that is nonetheless not simply an anti-Jacobin reaction to the excesses of the radical sensibility of the 1790s.⁷ Frances Burney, by that time married to the émigré Constitutionalist Alexandre d'Arblay, had first hand experience of both British and French nationalist xenophobia, and her last novel offers insight into the production of fiction about the French Revolution and the uses of nostalgia at the time.

Romantic Nationalism and Fictions of Nostalgia

Nostalgia is not merely a recurring theme and an emotion that is both described in and evoked by the traditional British novel, but it is also appropriated as a strategic device to foster a community of readers. In what has now become a much cited analysis of the origins of nationalism, Benedict Anderson has pointed out the significance of print-culture—and specifically the novel and the newspaper as a 'device for the presentation of simultaneity'—for the creation of imagined communities.⁸ The Enlightenment, Anderson suggests, brings with it 'its own modern darkness', in which the idea of the nation, supported by the 'English novel', serves to ensure a 'secular transformation of fatality into continuity'.⁹ In

its focus on the simultaneity of events experienced by a community of readers, British fiction presents a 'shared' memory of common experiences that can be used to fill the emotional void left by the retreat, disintegration, or unavailability of real communities and networks.¹⁰ Thomas Nipperdey has similarly suggested that nationalism is set up as a promise of the re-integration of a community rooted in a 'common culture' and thus a product of nostalgia caused by the dissolution of tradition and the concomitant uncertainty and homelessness of the individual.¹¹ Nostalgia, as a remarkably flexible as well as creative emotion undergoing significant changes in its definition and use at the time, is deployed in the construction of nationalist ideologies and promoted by the novel—an influential medium with an increasingly widespread readership.

The passing of time and the representation of memory, however, are central to the development of the traditional 'classic' novel in more than one way: its use of nostalgia catering for a range of emotional needs and reacting to a changing ideological climate. A retrospective form of narrative and at the same time concerned with the life and emotions of the individual, the novel of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries primarily intends to offer personal, individualised accounts of the past. In his influential study *The Rise of the Novel*, Ian Watt has already suggested that the classic novel interests itself much more than any other literary form in the development of its characters in the course of time, while it also reflects a 'growing tendency for individual experience to replace collective tradition', which—as Ian Watt puts it—similarly forms 'an important part of the general cultural background of the rise of the novel'.¹² So far from being contradictory, Watt's and Anderson's interpretations of the functions of time and nostalgia in the genre's early development pinpoint an ambiguity that becomes a central preoccupation in Romantic fiction. In *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, Gary Kelly significantly speaks of the villain 'Society' as he analyses the conflicting longings for individual self-fulfilment and the creation of a new community or nation in the Romantic period.¹³ This contradiction is already an essential aspect of the 'pre-Romantic' cults of sensibility and sentimentalism, as heroes and heroines of feeling advocate a highly individualist focus on their own emotions while simultaneously depending on an ideology of empathy. While this dilemma appears to be solved in self-confidently national or regional fiction, it becomes reactivated in what can be seen as the domestic Romantic fiction of Burney and Austen.

As Romantic nationalism creates an ideology of belonging through the 'othering' of those outside the imagined community—on its borders or margins—it has moreover a dual relationship with its counterpart, Romantic orientalism. While the fictional creation of Highland Arcadias or a rediscovered 'mother earth' in Ireland plays with the concepts of the exotic while fostering a nation of readers and an awareness of a national history or heritage, descriptions of the 'other' also serve to define the borders of the imagined nation. Based on notions of exclusivity as well as containment, the writing of the nation highlights the presence of the 'other' as it simultaneously attempts to displace otherness (onto

other nations) and to erase it (by subsuming it into an assumed homogeneity). Homesickness and the longing for 'other' spaces consequently acquire additional poignancy. In that the literary recreation of such national spaces conjures up places that are meant to be 'exotic' to the (English) reader, it undercuts the shared longing for a home or homeland. The 'nostalgia' these texts create is therefore more akin to the longing for an exotic site that is central to Romantic orientalism, substituting *Fernweh*, the longing for the remote, for *Heimweh*, or homesickness. As Nigel Leask has pointed out, in Romantic literature oriental places 'displace the Arcadian locus amoenus of neo-classicism from a Mediterranean "Golden Age" to a "contemporary eastern site"'.¹⁴ As part of a general idealisation of a remote place this form of nostalgia can become more easily fraudulent and inauthentic. The nostalgic space is often reduced to an ideal topography devoid of any real emotional investment. Recent criticism of European orientalism has amply shown that such a writing of an exotic region or nation tends to distort its representation.¹⁵ *The Wild Irish Girl* describes Ireland as 'a colonised or a conquered country' (p. 172); and while the novel succeeds in creating sympathy with the colonised as well as the coloniser, the described landscape also reduces it to a contained cosy, exotic space. In *The Absentee*, this connection between orientalism and the inner colonies is comically exemplified by the 'picturesque' decorations at Lady Clonbrony's gala night, which include a Chinese pagoda, a Turkish tent, and Alhambra hangings (p. 37).

However, while the representation of the 'other' in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature has been amply studied ever since Edward Said's seminal *Orientalism* (1975) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), the dual function of nostalgia in the fiction of the time has not received the attention it deserves. In an influential postcolonial study of the concepts of 'otherness' and hybridity, Homi Bhabha speaks of 'the *heimlich* pleasures of the hearth' that is poised against 'the *unheimlich* terror of the space or race of the Other'.¹⁶ Those 'who will not be contained within the *Heim* of the national culture', Bhabha emphasises with an allusion to Benedict Anderson, 'articulate the death-in-life of the idea of the "imagined community" of the nation'.¹⁷ The postcolonial reading of British and European classics—ranging from a focus on Shakespeare's Caliban and Defoe's Friday to a reassessment of the 'postcolonial Jane Austen'—has indeed become standard practice in recent literary criticism.¹⁸ In her analysis of the 'Burkean themes of migrant maternity, disinheritance, and sexual improprieties of multinational proportions' in early-nineteenth-century novels by women writers, Deidre Lynch has suggested that they redeploy Burke's tropes or themes in a more radical context by marking their heroines as 'by and large irredeemably hybrid'.¹⁹ Lynch, however, does not proceed to explore the impact of these alternative narratives of longing and belonging on the writing of nostalgia and the construction of both nationalism and nostalgic places themselves. In a recent eclectic study of nostalgia as a cultural phenomenon, however, Svetlana Boym significantly highlights a crucial difference between personal nostalgia and a nostalgia that has turned political, that has become a state policy: 'The

official memory of the nation-state does not tolerate useless nostalgia, nostalgia for its own sake.²⁰ *The Wanderer* analyses the effects of longings that have been turned into state policies and their clashes with the heroine's personal needs and desires, casting a different light on both nationalism and nostalgia.

Longing for Home: Clinical Homesickness and Romantic Melancholy

Dismissively treated as Romantic affectation, nostalgia is a frequently misunderstood emotion and way of remembering. As David Lowenthal has put it, nostalgia is 'a topic of embarrassment and a term of abuse. Diatribe upon diatribe denounces it as reactionary, repressive, ridiculous'.²¹ According to the *OED*, nostalgia has two sets of meaning: firstly, having retained its original pathological connotation, it is a 'form of melancholia caused by prolonged absence from one's home or country; severe home-sickness'. Secondly, in its transferred usage, it describes '[r]egret or sorrowful longing for the conditions of a past age; regretful or wistful memory or recall of an earlier time'. Romantic representations of homesickness, homelessness, and homelands feed on the twofold meanings of nostalgia. The history of nostalgia, specifically its inception as a clinical term to describe homesickness, is moreover inseparable from its subsequent accumulation of meanings, revealing also the origins of the most common misunderstandings about nostalgia.

The word 'nostalgia' was coined in a medical treatise in 1688 to describe the physical symptoms of homesickness. In his 'Dissertatio Medica de NOΣTALΓIA, oder Heimwehe', the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer analysed 'stories of certain youths, thus afflicted, that unless they had been brought back to the native land, whether in a fever or censured by the 'Wasting Disease', they had met their last day on foreign shores'. In search of a medical term for this malady, he combined Greek *νοστος* 'return home' and *αλγος* 'pain', diagnosing nostalgia as a disease caused by 'the sad mood originating from the desire for the return to one's native land'.²² The meaning of nostalgia as a disease and an emotion continued to fluctuate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In his *Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions upon Disorders of the Body* (1788), William Falconer carefully distinguished between hypochondria, melancholia, and nostalgia, although the latter was 'said to begin with melancholy, sadness, love of solitude'. These symptoms were also those of love, which Falconer classified as a passion and not a disease, highlighting the ways in which these categories were seen to overlap. Love could result in fever, epilepsy, or an aneurysm of the aorta.²³ In his *Observations on the Nature, Kinds, Causes, and Prevention of Insanity, Lunacy, or Madness* (1782), Thomas Arnold similarly maintained that nostalgia—'[t]his unreasonable fondness for the place of our birth'—closely resembled both grief and love.²⁴ In the late-eighteenth-century cult of sensibility, the symptoms of nostalgia—as of many other physical maladies—were redefined as praiseworthy signs of virtue and a high sensibility, anticipating the Romantic idealisation of creative recall.

It has been suggested that the concept of nostalgia as a clinical term began to disappear in the course of the nineteenth century, as the emotion nostalgia was increasingly divorced from its symptomatology.²⁵ This process, however, was not as straightforward as it has often been presented. Immanuel Kant stressed the dependence even of a clinical nostalgia on a time rather than on a place as he set out to expose the patriotism of the Swiss, who had been particularly associated with this ailment ever since Hofer's emphasis on his countrymen's homesickness.²⁶ A return home, Kant argued, cured homesickness in that it dispelled the illusions it had created: 'Later, when they visit these places, they find their anticipation dampened and even their homesickness cured. They think that everything has drastically changed, but it is that they cannot bring back their youth.'²⁷ Nostalgia was conceived as a patriotic disease, while also related to memories of the childhood home. More significantly, even when considered a clinical condition, it was begrudgingly admired as a sign of loyalty to a time or place. The Romantics particularly proceeded to appropriate nostalgia in the contexts of a new idealisation of childhood and childhood memories, of nature and the natural, of the homeland, and also of what has been called 'a larger state of consciousness, the familiar mood known as Romantic melancholy', an alignment that contributes to the persistent confusion of nostalgia with melancholy.²⁸ Writing the tellingly entitled poem 'Home-sick' in 1799, Coleridge longed for the healing influence of the air of his homeland, suggesting that homesickness was a disease that could be cured by a return home—in short, a clinical nostalgia—while he simultaneously treated it as a Romantic yearning: 'Thou Breeze, that play'st on Albion's shore!'²⁹ When Wordsworth wrote that '[a]ll good poetry [...] takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity', he formulated a definition of poetic production that emphasised the creative aspects of a specifically nostalgic way of recalling events and emotions.³⁰

Influenced by Romantic poetry, the fiction of the time shared its idealisation of longing, yet also depicted pining protagonists within a realist narrative, offering sympathetic insight into their yearnings as well as an almost clinical description of their symptoms. Fanny Burney's early novels exemplify this ambiguity, anticipating the analysis of different forms of nostalgic longings in *The Wanderer*. The vaguely defined illnesses with which her heroines are afflicted conform to a pathological interpretation of longing, even while they mark a shift from the detailing of both love- and homesickness to a sentimental idealisation of the home—of the childhood home and of domesticity in general. As in a host of novels of sensibility, raving lovesick heroines are healed by a return to or re-enactment of safe childhood homes. Yet as they span the development of Romantic fiction from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, it is possible to trace a shift from lovesickness to a longing for home in the succession of Burney's novels. The suffering of the heroine of her first novel, *Evelina* (1778), stands in the tradition of what has been called 'the sentimental love-madness vogue' of the late eighteenth century.³¹ *Evelina* longs for Lord Orville while at home; her longing is mapped on her body. As

her belief in Lord Orville is restored, she is cured at once: 'Lord Orville is still himself! [...] Your happy Evelina, restored at once to spirits and tranquillity.'³² In *Cecilia* (1782), homelessness, combined with the temporary loss of her lover, plunges the heroine into a madness that can be traced back to clinical nostalgia in its last stage as well as to lovesickness.³³ In *Camilla* (1796), the love-interest moves into the background as the destruction of a happy family and a physical pining for a return home become the novel's climaxes. Camilla resides in 'the bosom of her respectable family'; the first chapter is entitled 'A Family Scene': 'O blissful state of innocence, purity, and delight, why must it fleet so fast? Why scarcely but by retrospection is its happiness known?'³⁴ The loss of this home is the novel's central crisis. Camilla's sickbed-reunion with her lover ends in a wedding, not a funeral, but it is her reunion with her family that constitutes the desired homecoming to 'primeval joy':

Camilla, whose danger was the result of self-neglect, as her sufferings had all flowed from mental anguish, was already able to go down to the study upon the arrival of Mr Tyrold: where she received, with grateful rapture, the tender blessings which welcomed her to the paternal arms—to her home—to peace—to safety—and primeval joy.³⁵

The Wanderer takes this interest in nostalgia further by poising the experience of homesickness against ideologies of the homeland with their new nationalist appropriation of nostalgia. Written against the background of the French Revolution and the Terror and published almost two decades after *Camilla*, Burney's last novel is far removed from the light-hearted parody of fashionable society in *Evelina*. *The Wanderer's* subtitle, 'Female Difficulties', not only promises a treatment of proto-feminist issues, but also a focus on the peripheral participants in historical events in the tradition of Walter Scott that goes even further in its emphasis on the domestic effects of historical cataclysms, leaving revolutionary France behind very quickly to detail the difficulties experienced by the persecuted heroine at home. The plot can admittedly be seen as becoming submerged by references to current issues and their underlying ideologies. *The Wanderer* has consequently been described as 'not a novel at all, but a dissertation on the inequalities of the sexes'.³⁶ Set in the 1790s, but published only in 1814, it has moreover been dismissed as 'a belated novel, striving to have the last word on controversies no one cared about'.³⁷ As a retrospective narrative, however, it significantly draws the nationalist project of writing the past into debate. At the same time, it recycles the collapse of radical sensibility in the 1790s to pinpoint the impact of the resulting xenophobia on nineteenth-century attitudes to the foreigner, to a migrant 'other' whose nostalgic memories and longings are radically different from those fostered by the radical novels of the 1790s and from those promoted by Burkean reactions to the Revolution.

*Heartily Sick of and for Home:
Redefinitions of Home in the Domestic Romantic Novel*

Written partly in England, partly in post-revolutionary, war-torn France, and nearly confiscated by a police officer at Dunkirk in August 1812, *The Wanderer* is the product of warring French and British forms of nationalism and their impact on the lives of those caught up in-between—of the ‘hybrid’ characters.³⁸ Instead of detailing the horrors of Robespierre’s Terror, it briefly refers to the heroine’s flight to England and then proceeds to describe the sufferings she is subjected to in her ‘native’ country. Juliet *alias* Ellis flees on a boat across the channel and, her money stolen, she arrives as an ‘itinerant Incognita’ (p. 208). She is both perceived as and feels ‘foreign’: ‘I feel myself, though in my native country, like a helpless foreigner’ (p. 214). In her exile as an outcast at ‘home’, she is ‘thus strangely alone—thus friendless—thus desolate—thus mysterious’ (p. 102). As a nameless, apparently stateless, and homeless heroine, she is seen to wander through the class-system, in which she is judged and treated according to her changing appearance, her apparel, and her shifting monetary and therefore societal status. The idealised England of her imagination clearly fails to supply the sought succour, investing Juliet’s raptures on her arrival at the English coast, when she darts ‘forward with such eagerness’ (p. 22), with a bitter irony. Her wanderings only commence in her ‘native’ land, become particularly poignant inside English Great Houses, and are further conflicted when she meets the blood relations she cannot claim while retaining her anonymity. Returning ‘home’ from war-torn France offers neither welcome nor safety.

The homelessness and homesickness the Wanderer endures in her ‘native’ country brings the incongruities of nationalism home, setting it in a domestic context, at the same time declaring the homeland as an ideologically constructed concept. Gary Kelly has stressed the duality of Romantic nationalism in the 1790s, pointing out that while Britain was at war with a militantly nationalist France, nationalism was also used to block solidarity between French revolutionaries and the Jacobins in Britain.³⁹ In *The Wanderer*, personal nostalgia stands in stark contrast to the nationalism of post-revolutionary France and to the nationalist xenophobia in Britain. When her fellow passengers on the boat that takes her to England discover her confused national and social status, they unanimously agree that Juliet ‘should hasten to return whence she came’ (p. 815). Her upbringing in France additionally underscores the indeterminacy of her national allegiances and her nostalgia for a home. In fleeing France and a potential ‘home’ with a Frenchman who has acquired power during the Terror, Juliet also leaves her childhood home and her only protector, guardian, and father-figure, a Catholic Bishop. Reunited with him, she cries out in French: ‘“My guardian! My preserver! My more than father!—I have not then lost you!”’ (p. 857) ‘Home’ is exposed as an elusive space; and the notion of a fixed home or place of origin as contingent at best. Juliet becomes homesick as soon as she arrives in her ‘native’ land. The place of her nostalgic desire shifts from a long forgotten place of birth to France, the country of her childhood, her youth,

her happiness: ‘“Oh hours of refined felicity past and gone, how severe is your contrast with those of heaviness and distaste now endured!”’ (p. 429)

This shift of a nostalgic space connects *The Wanderer* to a more widely read novel that similarly aligns the micro- or domestic politics of nostalgia with imperial projects abroad—Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park*, published in the same year. Fanny Price’s transference of homesickness during her exile at home has been seen as evidence of a preoccupation with differentiated spaces of alterity and imperial cultural productions ever since Edward Said’s influential analysis has re-inscribed the novel within geopolitical discourses,⁴⁰ as implicitly evoked anxieties of empire are seen as shedding light on the domestic politics of imperial homemaking. Sir Thomas’s expedition to his plantations in Antigua and his treatment of a dependent niece of course seem to invite such readings. Even though Franco Moretti has recently suggested that Sir Thomas goes abroad ‘not because he must *go there*—but because *he must leave Mansfield Park*’,⁴¹ as his absence is crucial to the development of the plot, imperial attitudes and absentee landlordism serve to underline the centrality of economic relationships and homesickness in the novel. Miss Price’s loss of home and consequent nostalgia are undeniably bound up with the economics of the estate and even more importantly, with medical theories on the effects of dislocation through her uncle’s use of *homesickness* as a ‘medicinal project upon his niece’s understanding’.⁴² Taken from her parents’ overcrowded house, she has been brought up by the self-congratulatory, pompous West Indian planter. Not conforming to his ideas of a suitable match for her, she is sent ‘home’ into exile. The confrontation with her parents’ comparative poverty is to ‘teach her the value of a good income’, to ‘incline her to a juster estimate of the value of that home of greater permanence, and equal comfort, of which she had the offer’.⁴³ Counting on what he terms ‘wholesome regrets’, Sir Thomas wishes her to be ‘heartily sick of home before her visit ended’.⁴⁴

This connection between the economics of Sir Thomas’s estates in England and the West Indies and the dependent niece’s migrations and experience of clinical nostalgia is complicated by the elusiveness of her nostalgic ideal. The ideal home is revealed to be discursively constituted by contrast: ‘[Mansfield] was now the home. Portsmouth was Portsmouth; Mansfield was home.’⁴⁵ While Fanny’s nostalgia turns out to be as constructive as it is private, secretive, and isolating, the desired place is significantly neither the home allotted to her by her birth nor the home her chosen family would choose for her. As Marilyn Butler has pointed out, Fanny’s ‘implicit alternative home’ is Everingham, Henry Crawford’s fashionably improved estate.⁴⁶ The desired nostalgic return to Mansfield is at first not an offered option. However, as with all of Austen’s heroines, Fanny insists on choosing her allegiances—her home as well as her husband—herself. This rejection of communal definitions and pressures is perhaps the most Romantic element of this disputed Romantic domestic novel.⁴⁷ It shares with *The Wanderer* not only its juxtaposition of the privacy of personal nostalgia, of a longing for a specific place rendered desirable particularly, even

exclusively, to the nostalgic individual, with a form of group pressure, but also references to anxieties of empire that cast an additional light on the effects of dislocation and the clash of personal with national or communal definitions of home.

Both novels can be described as domestic Romantic fiction in their emphasis on the implications and impacts of empire, nationalism, and war at home. *The Wanderer*, however, engages more emphatically with current conceptualisations of national ideologies and allegiances. While this focus on ideology tends to submerge the story, it singles the novel out as a Romantic novel about nationalism that stresses its effects on the vulnerable individual—female, hybrid, penniless, and at first disguised as a black woman—and on domestic politics without becoming confined to two inches of ivory.⁴⁸ The Wanderer's exilic condition at 'home' as well as her nostalgia for 'feelings of happier days' (p. 102) in France are poised against the dramatised political reactions of the boatload of representative Englishmen she encounters during her flight. The presentation of the ostensibly particularly English chivalry of which the Admiral—who is, in fact, Welsh, not English, and later revealed as one of the Wanderer's British relatives—appears to be so proud is almost comical: "You appear to be a person of as right a way of thinking, as if you had lisped English for your mother-tongue" (p. 23). The reaction of the young men to a racially 'other', unprotected girl is even more revealing with regard to both 'female difficulties' and imperial race relations. Dismissive racism—"What, is that black insect buzzing about us still?" (p. 27)—is juxtaposed with aggressive desire: "Poor demoiselle [...] wants a little bleaching, to be sure; but she has not bad eyes; nor a bad nose, neither" (p. 27). Harleigh's quixotic knight-errantry is merely a different way of expressing his sexual interest. Elinor, the self-contradictory radical anti-heroine, comments on his 'maimed and defaced Dulcinea', 'this wandering Creole' (p. 50): If a defaced 'other' attracts him, Elinor herself 'won't lose a moment in becoming black, patched, and penniless' (p. 28). This 'general persecution against such afflicted innocence' (p. 556) exposes the insular xenophobia of British society in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Intriguingly, the reactions to the Revolution are depicted from the point of view of an unclassified exile, whose disguise as a 'native' additionally invokes the incongruities and injustices of both French and British imperial ventures.

Native Dignity and the Native Enemy: The Elusiveness of Romantic 'Natives'

Much has been made of Juliet's disguise as 'a francophone African', which can be seen as an arraignment of French and British colonial enterprises, and her escape from marriage to one of Robespierre's commissaries.⁴⁹ Alternately a spectacle and a scapegoat, this object of charity, suspicions, and sexual desire is exploited for self-serving purposes and has to engage all her powers of resistance 'in refusing to be stared at like a wild beast' (p. 54). It is significantly Elinor's 'spirit of contradiction' that fixes 'her design of supporting the stranger' and

'whom she exulted in thus exclusively possessing, as a hidden curiosity' (p. 55). Elinor's strategic display of this exotic curiosity in her own pseudo-liberal revolutionary agenda turns out to be more damaging than the xenophobia of the narrow-minded, largely ignorant, defenders of propriety. The representation of the native 'other' in the novel is, in fact, deeply ambiguous and conflicted. It has been suggested that blackness serves as a metaphor that connects the heroine's plight to that of slaves, but also that this alterity is altered through what Sara Salih has termed an 'epidermic transformation', which converts the unfathomable other into a reassuringly native subject.⁵⁰ Claudia Johnson has pointed out an additional ambivalence in the treatment of 'the homologous inflections of race, class, and gender'.⁵¹ The suggested solidarity with the racially oppressed, from which radical criticism might emerge, is undermined by the ridicule of Mrs Ireton's slave Mungo, whose status is lower than that of an Incognita who is not 'really' black.⁵² Juliet, in fact, undergoes various forms of 'enslavement', whereby her change of skin colour can be seen as subverting criticism of racial subjugation by reducing the function of slavery in the novel to a metaphor. This use includes descriptions of the ordeal Juliet undergoes as Mrs Ireton's 'humble companion' and of her attempts to earn her living as an exploited music-teacher or in the confinement of a milliner's shop as well as her escape from the 'bonds' of matrimony. The metaphorical connection between enforced marriages and slavery is overtly, even bluntly, put. Juliet flees from a wife's place in her husband's home—a state she describes as the life of 'a bond-woman' (p. 848), 'destined to exile, slavery, and misery' (p. 863). The themes of confused national identities and the search for home, however, permeate this engagement with metaphorical subjection, eventually letting discourses of racial and national 'otherness' re-emerge.

The Wanderer's shifting status is pinpointed by the multivalent deployment of the word 'native' in the text. At first disguised as a 'native' dislocated from an undefined 'native' land by French imperial politics—and the issues of miscegenation are implied in the discussion of her assumed origins—she employs a camouflage of being at once a 'native' and a racial 'other', while attempting to reach her 'long lost, and fearfully recovered native land' (p. 751), her place of birth, which then turns out to be simply another—an 'other'—place of persecution, which makes her long for her lost home abroad. Both the native as a noble savage and the 'wanderer'—and Juliet is at one point compared to the 'wandering Jew' (p. 429)—are Romantic figures, reasserting and further contributing to the novel's exploration of the Romantic concepts of the 'native' and the 'other'. In questioning the ideals of the natural and the innate, Burney's text plays with the meanings of the word 'native'. Considered as French by the English, the Wanderer is termed their 'native enemy' (p. 25), while she is described as upholding her 'native dignity' (p. 51). It is one of the book's incongruities that while the suppression sanctioned by class-systems is exposed, innate nobility stands nonetheless affirmed. Juliet shares this aristocratic superiority with the similarly exiled Gabriella, her 'earliest friend, the chosen sharer of her happier

days [...], restored to her in the hour of her desolation' (p. 395). This foreigner is Juliet's only acknowledged connection in her so-called 'native' land. Both have been 'driven, without offence, or even accusation, from prosperity and honours, to exile' (p. 390). The wandering of the two young ladies—brought up together, but one born in England and one in France—at once centralises and displaces the significance of their origins by representing their experience of exile and nostalgia for a home elsewhere as identical.

Their parallel predicaments render Juliet's questionable Englishness a mere coincidence, while the characteristics that mark her as 'foreign' or 'other' indicate the indeterminacy of such categories as English- or Britishness. In particular her accent is considered as undermining her nationality, even though her direct speech is interestingly presented in immaculate 'standard' English, as opposed to the various sociolects in the novel. Having been brought up in France, Juliet has 'acquired something of a foreign accent' (p. 643). While her 'epidermic transformation' externalises the indeterminacy of her status as a 'native other', her accent and attire are the skin-deep categories that deny her the status of a native of England. Accents as marks of ambiguous nationhood significantly recur in the fiction of the time. For the boorish Hughson in *Montalbert* (1795), a novel of sensibility by the prolific late-eighteenth-century novelist Charlotte Smith, for example, Montalbert's accent obscures, even denies, his Englishness: '“Why, you can't speak much now, Sir. [...] I suppose by your accent, Sir, that you are a foreigner.”'⁵³ The Wanderer 'understands English on and off at her pleasure' (p. 16), but her use of assumed and camouflaged 'otherness' is not meant as a social imposture—unlike Madame Duval's deliberate masking of her lower-class background by a French accent in *Evelina*—but as a means of survival.⁵⁴

In Frances Burney's fiction and increasingly in her later novels, family ties stretch across national borders. Madame Duval's false Frenchness exemplifies Burney's early and primarily comical use of French characters. In the wake of the French Revolution and specifically after Britain's declaration of war, representations of the French expectedly become more conflicted. In *The Wanderer*, Juliet's parenthood may be purely British—involving only 'transgressions' across class-boundaries—but she has nonetheless two families for whose re-integration she longs. As Deirdre Lynch has succinctly put it, she remains 'irredeemably hybrid'.⁵⁵ Her 'adoptive' family comprises an imprisoned Bishop, his sister, and her unhappily married daughter, who mourns for her dead child and bewails her exile. The head of Juliet's English family as good as refuses to acknowledge the relation, and her anonymous encounter with her half-brother is fraught with the possibilities of incestuous rape. Eventually, Lady Aurora and Lord Melbury happily acknowledge the half-sister whose identity, legitimacy, and worth—in a monetary as well as moral sense—have been proved. These two paragons of noble sensibility form the ideal familial community of her nostalgic imagination, evoking 'all her tenderest affections' (p. 754). Her connections

allow her to receive the offer of marriage she longs for, ending her wandering in a familial community.

Although the Wanderer's search for home amidst contending nationalisms seems in part to enact the rhetoric of Edmund Burke's influential *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), the mixed nationalities of her families effectively dismantle such nationalist alignments. Burke extols ideological strategies to give the 'frame of polity the image of a relation in blood' by

binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties, adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections, keeping inseparable and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars.⁵⁶

The Wanderer's hybridity subverts this fiction of a nation of relations. Instead, the novel ends with the realisation of a domestic alternative, at once evading and transcending nationalist ideologies of the homeland.

Refutations of and reactions to the *Reflections* recur in fictional and non-fictional texts of the 1790s, as Burke's idealisation of the aristocracy and reverence for buildings that symbolise established institutions—and Burke even describes the Bastille as a venerable castle—complicate the functions of nostalgia and the picturesque in British novels that endorse a radical sensibility. Wollstonecraft expresses a radical rejection of Burkean nostalgia when she questions the point of restoring old buildings: '[W]hy was it a duty to repair an ancient castle, built in barbarous ages, of Gothic materials?'⁵⁷ Charlotte Smith's self-avowedly pro-revolutionary novel *Desmond* (1792) is more ambiguous in its representation of the needs of revolution and, more emphatically, reform, yet its rejection of Burkean sentiments remains clear-cut. Writing home from France, the titular hero exposes the 'malignant fabrications' that are circulated in England.⁵⁸ Burkean rhetoric is denounced in a stylistic parody as sublime as Burke's own eloquence:

I will not enter into a discussion of it, though the virulence, as well as the misrepresentation with which it abounds, lays it alike open to ridicule and contradiction. [...] I foresee that a thousand pens will leap from their standishes (to parody a sublime sentence of his own) to answer such a book.⁵⁹

Burney's retrospective novel is necessarily far removed from such radical endorsements of a revolutionary agenda. The excesses of a British—off-stage, as it were—appreciation of the French Revolution are, in fact, embodied, and to an extent parodied, in the character of Elinor, a proto-feminist, pro-revolutionary, suicidal atheist who is shown to proclaim her ideological leanings primarily out of a 'spirit of contradiction' (p. 55). Various critics have considered Elinor the result of a misreading of Wollstonecraft. Julia Epstein calls her Juliet's 'profeminist revolutionary alter ego', whose suicide attempt rescues the heroine 'just as Bertha Mason would later rescue Jane Eyre'.⁶⁰ While the novel treats the

migrant's difficulties with sympathy and indignation, Elinor is, in fact, deeply tainted by her eccentric and, it is emphasised, inherently selfish appropriation of such sympathies with the suppressed. It is this twist that complicates an anti-Jacobin reading, singling out the novel as a significantly and intriguingly ambiguous treatment of the repercussions of nationalist and radical ideologies and particularly their use and abuse of sympathies with the homeless as well as of nostalgia for a home.

As Frances Burney's last novel reacts against the concept of a British nationalist counter-ideology to the expansionist French nationalism, it takes the domestic novel into the realm of a more politically conscious genre without lapsing into the openly proclaimed agenda of nationalist literature. Romantic nationalism as founded on a shared culture is instead shown to clash with a personal past; the xenophobia nurtured by Jacobin as well as anti-Jacobin ideologies with the heroine's hybridity; and a manufactured nationalist heritage nostalgia with homesickness. The liberal, even radical, attitudes underlying the representation of a woman pursued by her husband, of the racism directed against a (seemingly) black refugee, and the treatment of an employee or hired companion, however, are undercut by the exposure of the anti-heroine's false liberality and eventual breakdown. The heroine herself is not only safely married, but revealed to be white, legitimate, and a member of the British upper classes after all. Nonetheless, *The Wanderer* provides an alternative to both pro-revolutionary novels of a radical sensibility and to anti-Jacobin, Burkean, reactions, offering an exploration of the impact of imperialist and nationalist economies and ideologies at home without becoming merely a domestic novel confined to the representation of a small stratum of society. As such, it sheds a different light on the heterogeneity of Romantic fiction and the writing of the French Revolution. 

NOTES

1. Frances Burney, *The Wanderer, or Female Difficulties*, edd. Margaret Anne Doody, et al. (Oxford: OUP, 1991), p. 751. Further references to this text are from this edition and will be included parenthetically in the essay.
2. A much-disputed term, 'pre-Romantic' (or 'preromantic') has been revived by Marshall Brown in *Preromanticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). Suggesting that the prefix should be understood 'in its differentiating sense', Brown emphasises that 'preromantic' could be used to refer to the period preceding Romanticism 'precisely because it was *not yet* romantic' (p. 2). More recently, Jennifer Keith has reassessed the influence of Northrop Frye, who initiated a still prevalent label—the 'Age of Sensibility'—in an important essay first published in 1956, and of Brown's resuscitation of pre-Romanticism. Keith stresses the importance of freeing the pre-Romantics 'from merely anticipating the Romantics', while appreciating what the Romantics learned from them—'Pre-Romanticism' and the Ends of Eighteenth-Century Poetry', in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. John Sitter (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), p. 286. Cf. Northrop Frye, *Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology* (New York: Har-

- court, Brace & World, 1963), pp. 130–37. I use the term ‘pre-Romantic’ to refer to late-eighteenth-century novels, not simply as an alternative to calling them ‘novels of sensibility’, but as an umbrella term that encompasses the Gothic novel and the early national tale as well. These novels anticipate full-blown Romantic fiction both in time and in experimenting with the themes, topoi, and styles that came to be associated particularly with the Romantic age. As Brown has put it, ‘[i]n many cases, the preromantics fashioned empty vessels that only their successors were able to fill’ (p. 7).
3. Walter Scott, *Waverley* (1814; Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1870), p. 153.
 4. Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, edd. W. J. McCormack and Kim Walker (Oxford: OUP, 1988), pp. 81 and 80.
 5. Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson), *The Wild Irish Girl*, introd. Bridgid Brophy (London: Pandora, 1986), p. 172.
 6. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), *passim*.
 7. Cf. Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London: Routledge, 1993), *passim*.
 8. Anderson, p. 25.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 11. Thomas Nipperdey, ‘In Search of Identity: Romantic Nationalism, its Intellectual, Political and Social Background’, in *Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, ed. J. C. Eade (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983), pp. 10–15.
 12. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: Peregrine Books, 1963), pp. 23 and 14.
 13. Gary Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789–1830* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 43.
 14. Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 20.
 15. Cf. Janet Sorensen, ‘Writing Historically, Speaking Nostalgically: The Competing Languages of Nation in Scott’s *The Bride of Lammermoor*’, in *Narratives of Nostalgia, Gender and Nationalism*, edd. Jean Pickering and Suzanne Kehde (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 30–51.
 16. Homi K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 2.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
 18. You-me Park and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (eds), *The Postcolonial Jane Austen* (London: Routledge, 2000).
 19. Deidre Lynch, ‘Domesticating Fictions and Nationalising Women: Edmund Burke, Property, and the Reproduction of Englishness’, in *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture, 1780–1830*, edd. Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 59.
 20. Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), p. 14.
 21. David Lowenthal, ‘Nostalgia Tells It Like It Wasn’t’, in *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*, edd. Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase (Manchester: MUP, 1989), p. 20.
 22. Johannes Hofer, ‘Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia by Johannes Hofer, 1688’, trans. Carolyn Kiser Anspach, *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 2 (1934), 380–81.
 23. William Falconer, *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions upon Disorders of the Body* (London, 1796), pp. 155–56 and 45.

24. Thomas Arnold, *Observations on the Nature, Kinds, Causes, and Prevention of Insanity, Lunacy, or Madness* (London, 1782), pp. 265–66.
25. See J. Starobinski, 'The Idea of Nostalgia', trans. W. S. Kemp, *Diogenes* 54 (1966), 81–103. But see also George Rosen, 'Nostalgia: A "Forgotten" Psychological Disorder', *Clio Medica* 10 (1975), 29–51. In *Amnesiac Selves: Nostalgia, Forgetting, and British Fiction, 1810–1870* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), Nicholas Dames similarly suggests that when nostalgia was 'debunked' as a disease, it also '[lost] its dignity as a mode of memory' (p. 47). Boym disputes this concept of nostalgia's loss of its pathological aspect. Quite the reverse, the Romantic age saw 'its transformation from a curable disease into an incurable condition' (p. xviii). In *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1998), Ann C. Colley moreover suggests that while the Victorian painters and writers whose works she analyses 'would not have been considered clinically nostalgic by their contemporaries [...], they in some way, mirror the case studies described by physicians' (p. 3).
26. Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, trans. Victor Lyle Dowdell (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), p. 60.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
28. Jay Clayton, *Romantic Vision and the Novel* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), pp. 60–61 and 70.
29. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Poetical Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), ll. 15–16.
30. William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads* (Bristol, 1800), Preface.
31. Helen Small, *Love's Madness: Medicine, the Novel, and Female Insanity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 90.
32. Frances Burney, *Evelina*, ed. Harold Bloom (1778; New York: Chelsea House, 1988), p. 278.
33. Frances Burney, *Cecilia*, edd. Peter Sabor and Margaret Anne Doody (1782; Oxford: OUP, 1988).
34. Frances Burney, *Camilla*, edd. Edward A. and Lillian D. Bloom (1796; London: OUP, 1972), pp. 8 and 13.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 855.
36. Tracy Edgar Daugherty, *Narrative Techniques in the Novels of Fanny Burney* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 164–65.
37. Claudia L. Johnson, *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender, and Sentimentality in the 1790s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 167.
38. Cf. Margaret Anne Doody, *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), pp. 313–16; Kate Chisholm, *Fanny Burney: Her Life 1752–1840* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), p. 220.
39. Kelly, pp. 15–16.
40. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993), p. 73. Cf. Susan Fraiman, 'Jane Austen and Edward Said: Gender, Culture, and Imperialism', *Critical Inquiry* 21 (1995), 805–21.
41. Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1999), p. 27.
42. Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*, ed. R. W. Chapman (1814; London: OUP, 1953), p. 369.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
44. *Ibid.* pp. 366 and 369.

45. Ibid., p. 431.
46. Marilyn Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (1975; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 241.
47. On its disputed status as a Romantic novel cf. Clayton, pp. 60–61 and 70. Kelly speaks of Austen’s ‘paradoxical status as a Romantic novelist’ (p. 111). Clara Tuite’s recent study, *Romantic Austen: Sexual Politics and the Literary Canon* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), however, considers the Austen novel as ‘a specifically Romantic form of cultural production’ (p. 1).
48. In *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), Katie Trumpener has suggested that the much disputed allusion to the slave-trade in *Mansfield Park* should be seen as ‘politically hard-hitting rather than evasive, a moment at which Austen’s reader will know to fill in contemporary debates about abolition’ (p. 163).
49. Sara Salih, ‘“Her Blacks, her Whites and her Double Face”’: Altering Alterity in *The Wanderer*’, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 11 (1999), 301.
50. Ibid., p. 307.
51. Johnson, p. 169.
52. Ibid., pp. 169–170.
53. Charlotte Smith, *Montalbert* (London: S. Low, 1795), p. 50.
54. In Charlotte Smith’s first novel, *Emmeline* (1788), by contrast, Frenchified manners and affected accents are simply ridiculed. ‘Something of a coxcomb’ (p. 363), the self-elected Frenchman Bellozane indulges in displays of ‘excessive vanity’ (p. 381) and ‘the volatility of his adopted country’ (p. 499). See Charlotte Smith, *Emmeline: The Orphan of the Castle* (London: Pandora, 1987). See Doody on false nationalities in *Evelina* (p. 52).
55. Lynch, p. 59.
56. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790; London: Penguin, 1986), p. 120.
57. Mary Wollstonecraft, *Political Writings*, ed. Janet Todd (Oxford: OUP, 1994), p. 41.
58. Charlotte Smith, *Desmond*, edd. Antje Blank and Janet Todd (1792; London: Pickering & Chatto, 1997), p. 52.
59. Ibid., p. 155.
60. Julia Epstein, ‘Marginality in Frances Burney’s novels’, *The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), p. 208. Johnson similarly suggests that ‘*The Wanderer* refutes Wollstonecraft as Burney stunningly misreads her’ (p. 145). Compare Justine Crump, ‘“Turning the World Upside Down”: Madness, Moral Management, and Frances Burney’s *The Wanderer*’, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10 (1998), 325–40. See also Claire Harman’s *Fanny Burney: A Biography* (London: HarperCollins, 2000) on Harleigh’s intellectually spineless pleadings with Elinor (pp. 324–27).

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REFERRING TO THIS ARTICLE

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CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

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'THE ENGLISH NOVEL, 1800–1829'

Update 3 (June 2002–May 2003)

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



THIS PROJECT REPORT relates to *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction published in the British Isles*, general editors Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 2000). In particular it offers fresh commentary on the entries in the second volume, which was co-edited by Peter Garside and Rainer Schöwerling, with the assistance of Christopher Skelton-Foord and Karin Wünsche. The present report is the third Update in what is intended to be a series of annual Reports, each featuring information that has come to light in the preceding year as a result of activities in CEIR and through contributions sent by interested individuals outside Cardiff.

The entries below are organised in a way that matches the order of material in the *English Novel, 1770–1829*. While making reference to any relevant changes that may have occurred in Updates 1 and 2, the 'base' it refers to is the printed Bibliography and not the preceding reports. Sections A and B concern authorship, with the first of these proposing changes to the attribution as given in the printed Bibliography, and the second recording the discovery of new information of interest that has nevertheless not led presently to new attributions. Section C includes three additional titles which match the criteria for inclusion and should ideally have been incorporated in the printed Bibliography, while the last two sections involve information such as is usually found in the *Notes* field of entries, and those owning copies of the printed Bibliography might wish (as in the case of the earlier categories) to amend entries accordingly. An element of colour coding has been used to facilitate recognition of the nature of changes, with red denoting revisions and additions to existing entries in the Bibliography, and the additional titles discovered being picked out in blue. Reference numbers (e.g. 1806: 12) are the same as those in the *English Novel, 1770–1829*; when found as cross references these refer back to the original Bibliography, unless accompanied with 'above' or 'below', in which case a cross reference within the present report is intended. Abbreviations match those listed at the beginning volume 2 of the *English Novel*, though in a few cases these are spelled out more fully for the convenience of present readers.

This report was prepared by Peter Garside, with significant inputs of information from Drs Jacqueline Belanger and Sharon Ragaz, on this occasion especially as a result of their trawls through (respectively) the Longman Letter Books and Blackwood Papers. Additional information was provided by Dr Anthony Mandal, who was also responsible for preparing the report in its final form via the *Cardiff Corvey* website. Information was also generously communicated by a number of individuals, notably: Professors Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, from Pittsburgh University, and Timothy Killick at Cardiff University. As previously the Cardiff team has benefited from its association with Projekt Corvey at Paderborn University, most recently through the joint preparation of a Bibliography of Fiction, 1830–1836 (also included in Issue 10 of *Cardiff Corvey*). Thanks are also due to Michael Bott, of Reading University Library, for help received in locating materials in the Longman archives; and to the trustees of the National Library of Scotland [NLS] for permission to quote from manuscripts in their care.

A: NEW AND CHANGED AUTHOR ATTRIBUTIONS

1820: 7

[DRISCOLL, Miss].

NICE DISTINCTIONS: A TALE.

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

vii, 330p. 8vo. 10s 6d (ECB, ER).

ER 33: 518 (May 1820), 34: 263 (Aug 1820).

Corvey; CME 3-628-48223-2; ECB 413; NSTC 2N7355 (BI BL, C, Dt, O).

Notes. Preface to 'Jedediah Cleishbotham', dated Dublin, 30 Sept 1819. A review in the *Dublin Magazine*, 1 (May 1820), ends with the following short paragraph: 'We now take our farewell of D—l's NICE DISTINCTIONS; but we sincerely hope that we may again see characters as *nicely distinguished* as this work promises' (p. 378). The copy of the novel in Trinity College, Dublin, has a pencil annotation identifying the author as 'Miss Driscoll'.

1822: 10

[?HACK, Mrs William].

REFORMATION: A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES.

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

I 362p; II 303p; III 333p. 12mo. 18s (ECB, ER).

ER 38: 522 (May 1823); WSW II: 30.

Corvey; CME 3-628-48523-1; ECB 484; NSTC 2R5611 (BI BL, C).

Notes. A draft letter to William Hack of 1 Aug 1822 in the Longman Letter Books reads: 'On the other side you have the opinion of our literary friend respecting the Novel you sent us. As it is the first production of the Author we requested our friend to go into detail & if she will make the proposed alterations, we shall be happy to see the MS again, when it is very likely we shall engage in the publication. The MS is forwarded by this nights coach' (Longman I, 101, no. 311A). The letter is addressed to Hack at Market St., Brighton. The Longman Divide Ledger entry for this novel indicates a balance due to 'Mrs Hack' of £7. 8. 6 (dated 1 Feb 1825): this points to the likelihood that *Reformation* was the work of the wife or a female relation of William Hack. It might even be possible to attribute the novel to Maria Barton Hack (1777–1844), a prolific writer of children's literature, though her first work, *Winter Evenings: or Tales of Travellers*, appeared in 1818. Mention of the present item being 'a first work' is made in another letter to William Hack, evidently later in 1822, sending further recommendations from the reader and returning the MS (no. 296B).

1823: 20

[?ASHWORTH, John Harvey or ?FRENCH, Augustus].

HURSTWOOD: A TALE OF THE YEAR 1715. IN THREE VOLUMES.

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

I v, 241p; II 250p; III 218p. 12mo. 16s 6d (ECB, ER).

ER 39: 512 (Jan 1824); WSW II: 42.

Corvey; CME 3-628-47753-0; ECB 290; NSTC 2A17728 (BI BL, C, O; NA DLC, MH).

Notes. Dedication to Archer Clunn, Esq. of Griffynhavel, dated Hallcar, County of Radnor, June 1823. **Attributed to Ashworth in H&L and generally in catalogues and bibliographies.** However, a letter of 12 Sept 1823 addressed to the Revd. Augustus French in the Longman Letter Books, concerning terms, makes no mention of any other author: 'Agreeably to my promise I have examined the MS of "Hirstwood" [*sic*] and the house is willing to engage in the speculation on the terms I explained to you—namely, that the house should be at the expense & risk of Paper, Printing &c &c and that the profits of the first & future editions be divided equally with the author—you will please to inform me if the terms are agreed to, as the Work should appear as early as possible' (Longman I, 101, no. 381A) The letter is addressed to French at Westbury, near Bristol. It is also perhaps significant that other works commonly attributed to Ashworth were published in the 1850s or later.

1825: 2

[O'DRISCOL, John].

THE ADVENTURERS; OR, SCENES IN IRELAND, IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH. IN THREE VOLUMES.

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

I iv, 341p; II 321p; III 322p. 12mo. 21s (ER, QR).

ER 42: 514 (Aug 1825), 43: 356–72 (Feb 1826) full review; QR 32: 549 (Oct 1825).

Corvey; CME 3-628-47021-8; NSTC 2A4376 (BI C, E, O).

Notes. Identified as O’Driscol’s through a sequence of letters in the Longman Letter Books. In a letter to J. O’Driscol Esq of 14 June 1823, the firm state: ‘We shall be happy to publish the Tale to which you allude on the plan upon which we publish your work on Ireland, dividing the profits of every edition’ (Longman I, 101, no. 369). That the ‘tale’ relates to the above novel is evident from a sequence of other letters from Longmans written to the widow and her representatives after the author’s death. In the last of these, to a Mr N. Vincent, Owen Rees on 31 Oct 1829 writes: ‘we will thank you to pay her the inclosed £60, taking a proper receipt, stating it to be a settlement in full for all the Interest of the said John O’Driscol in “Views of Ireland” “The Adventurers” & “The History of Ireland” first edition’ (I, 102, no. 106D). O’Driscol’s other works include *Views of Ireland, moral, political, and religious* (1823) and *The History of Ireland* (1827), both of which were published by Longmans. This is one of four novels which are together given full reviews in ER (Feb 1826) under the page-top heading ‘Irish Novels’.

1825: 15

[DODS, Mary Diana].

TALES OF THE WILD AND THE WONDERFUL.

London: Printed for Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 5 Waterloo-Place, Pall Mall; and A. Constable and Co. Edinburgh, 1825.

x, 356p. 8vo. 10s 6d (ECB).

WSW II: 53–4.

Corvey; CME 3-628-51167-4; ECB 576; NSTC 2B41787 (BI BL, C, O; NA DLC, MH).

Notes. Dedication to Joanna Baillie. Wolff’s proposal (vol. 1, p. 111; Item 601) of Dods, a friend of Mary Shelley and a contributor to *Blackwood’s Magazine*, as an alternative solution to the contested issue of George Borrow’s authorship of this work, finds incontestable support in two sources. In two letters to William Blackwood, of 16 and 5 May 1825, David Lyndsay discusses details of the work as its author (NLS, MS 4015, ff. 27, 29). David Lyndsay in turn is identified as a pseudonym of Mary Diana Dods by Betty T. Bennett in her *Mary Diana Dods, A Gentleman and a Scholar* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1991), where this collection of tales is discussed directly as Dods’s own (see pp. 23, 64–8). ECB dates Oct 1825.

Further edn: Philadelphia 1826 (NSTC).

1827: 29

[CROWE, Eyre Evans].

VITTORIA COLONNA: A TALE OF ROME, IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. IN THREE VOLUMES.

Edinburgh: William Blackwood, and T. Cadell, London, 1827.

I 278p; II 247p; III 252p. 12mo. 18s (ECB, QR); 18s boards (ER).

ER 46: 534 (O&T 1827); QR 36: 603 (O&T 1827).

Corvey; CME 3-628-48919-9; ECB 616; NSTC 2E1362 (BI BL, C, O; NA DLC, MH).

Notes. The arguments of Wolff (1, 323) for attributing this title to Crowe, as opposed to Charlotte Anne Eaton, finds substantial support in the Blackwood Papers, where letters between Crowe and Blackwood directly relating to the composition and production of the novel are found between Mar 1825 and June 1827 (see NLS, MSS 4014, 4106, 4019). In the last of these, Crowe complains that '[t]he second title [...] is rather aping Constable's Rome in the 19th Century' (MS 4019, f. 65), this itself alluding to Charlotte Anne Eaton's successful travelogue, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, first published by Archibald Constable & Co in 1820. Confusion caused by the two titles offers the most likely explanation of why Eaton's name became associated with this novel at all.

Further edn: German trans., 1828.

1828: 4

[?CHALKLEN, Charles William and/or ?CHALKLEN, Miss].

THE HEBREW, A SKETCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: WITH THE DREAM OF SAINT KENYA.

Edinburgh: Printed for W. Blackwood, and T. Cadell, Strand, London, 1828.

viii, 232p. 12mo. 5s 6d (ECB).

Corvey; CME 3-628-51037-6; ECB 262; NSTC 2H15773 (BI BL, E, O).

Notes. Pp. [221]–232 contain 'The Dream of Saint Kenya' (poem). Surviving letters in the Blackwood papers indicate that the author was either the Revd Charles William Chalklen or his sister. In the first of these, dated 5 Sept 1827, Chalklen urges William Blackwood for a response to manuscripts sent: 'It is odd I shd not yet have heard from you anything of ye "Hebrew" now in your hands—at least in your house. It is by a Lady and my Sister [...] I must hear from you a decisive answer as to whether you will risque ye publication of ye // 1. *Hebrew* // 2. *Sworn Brothers* // 3. *Shadow* // in one volume' (NLS, MS 4019, f. 27). This letter gives Chalklen's address as Kingstead, near Thrapston, Northants. Chalklen's statement that 'The Hebrew' is the work of his sister is repeated in a similar letter of 1 Nov 1827 (f. 29), which refers to 'The "Hebrew" a Tale by my Sister—in my handwriting'; but any authorship other than that by the sender appears to receive sceptical treatment in the reader's report sent by David Macbeth Moir to Blackwood on 3 O&T 1827: 'I return you Charles Chalklands [*sic*] alias Williamson, alias ——s MSS which I have carefully read over' (MS 4020, f. 39). No mention of a sister can be found in two letters

from Chalklen's father, on 8 Jan and 11 Mar 1828, concerning what appears to be a private financing of 'The Hebrew' with Blackwood handling the public launch (MS 4021, ff. 84, 86). Altogether it is not clear whether *The Hebrew* was primarily written by Chalklen's sister (whose surname might then of course have been different), or by Chalklen himself, though the latter is perhaps more likely. Charles William Chalklen's acknowledged works include *Babylon, a Poem* (1821) and *Semiramis, an Historical Morality, and Other Poems* (1847). ECB dates Mar 1828.

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

1812: 63 [?WATSON, Miss], ROSAMUND, COUNTESS OF CLARENSTEIN. The question mark qualifying the attribution, hitherto based on the MS inscription in the Harvard copy, can now be removed in the light of two letters by Dorothy Wordsworth. The first, to Jane Marshall of 2 May 1813, reads: 'I write merely to request that you will send Miss Watson's Novel as soon as you have done with it' (*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: III: The Middle Years*, ed. by Ernest De Selincourt, 2nd edn., rev. by Mary Moorman and Alan G. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), II, 95). Another letter of 18 Feb 1815 to Sara Hutchinson, commenting on Anna Maria Porter's *The Recluse of Norway* (1814: 46), states: 'There is a good deal of Miss Watson in the colouring of the Ladies [i.e. Porter sisters]; and when love begins almost all novels grow tiresome' (ibid., II, 203). Support for this definitely being the daughter of Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, is found in a later letter of 26 Feb 1826, where Dorothy writes of 'Watson's of Calgarth (the Bishop's Daughter)', the Watsons having settled at Calgarth in 1789 (*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: V: The Later Years*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd edn., ed. and rev. by Alan G. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), I, 95).

1813: 1 ANON, DEMETRIUS, A RUSSIAN ROMANCE. Some light is thrown on the authorship in a letter of 6 Jan 1813 to Revd William Manley in the Longman Letter Books: 'We were duly favored with your letter & the life of Demetrius which we have perused with pleasure; and if you & the authoress approve we will undertake the publication of it on the same plan as we publish the works of Mrs Opie & several other of our authors—we to print the work at our own risk & divide the profits of every edition with the author. // We could put the work to press as soon as we receive your answer. // The title we consider as rather of two [*sic*] classical an appearance for a novel & we would recommend the author to think of a more popular nature' (Longman I, 98, no. 4). Taken at face value, this indicates female authorship, with Manley acting as a go-between; on the other hand, some room ought perhaps to be allowed

for Manley himself having a more direct hand in the composition than acknowledged. Evidently, in this case Longmans' advice over the title led at best only to modification.

1819: 29 [BUSK, Mrs. M. M.], ZEAL AND EXPERIENCE: A TALE. See 1825: 17 below, for a more positive identification of the author as Mary Margaret Busk.

1820: 10 ANON, TALES OF MY LANDLORD, NEW SERIES, CONTAINING PONTEFRACT CASTLE. A letter from Robert Cadell to Archibald Constable, written at the height of the furore over this allegedly spurious publication, opens up the possibility of authorship by Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847). Cadell on 30 Oct 1819 writes: 'You will see by the Morning Chronicle of this day that John B[allantyne] has got a reply to his letter, it is causing some laughing—and the best is to say nothing more on the subject at present—it is now no quizz—I hear that Thos Dibdin is the author' (NLS, MS 323, f. 36v). It is possible that Cadell here is referring to authorship of the riposte against Scott's representative in the paper, and there is also an alternative Dibdin in Thomas John Dibdin (1771–1841), the actor and playwright. The possibilities are at best faint, though it is perhaps worth noting that Thomas Frognall Dibdin was known in the Constable circle, and is also on record of having at least dabbled with fiction at this period (his *La Belle Marianne: a tale of truth and fiction*, a short piece, was published in 1824).

1821: 17 ANON, TALES OF MY LANDLORD, NEW SERIES, CONTAINING THE FAIR WITCH OF GLAS LLYN. As the sequel to the first 'new series' (1820: 10), the comments made above relating to possible authorship by Dibdin might also apply to this title.

1821: 22 [BENNET, William], THE CAVALIER. A ROMANCE. NSTC in listing the Philadelphia 1822 edn. held at Harvard notes: 'sometimes attributed Thomas Roscoe junior'. Two further 'Bennet' titles, *The King of the Peak* (1823: 23) and *Owain Goch* (1827: 16), are given in DNB and CBEL₃ as by Thomas Roscoe (1791–1871), the son of William Roscoe. The dedication of *The King of the Peak* to the Mayor of Liverpool might also seem to promote the idea of a Roscoe / Liverpool connection. Furthermore, several of the letters addressed to William Bennett Esq in the Longman archives appear at points to indicate that he is the agent rather than actual author. See, for example, the firm's letter of 7 Jan 1823: 'If your friend can fix on any other good title, it may be as well not to take that of "King of the Peak": for, though it may be explained away in the Preface, at first it will be considered as an adoption of part of the title of Peverell of the Peak' (Letter Books, Longman I, 101, no. 338). On the other hand, there can be no denying the Derbyshire credentials of this set of

novels; and, in this particular instance, the author responded in his Preface by asserting that ‘there are many respectable gentlemen in the county of Derby, who can bear witness that I intended publishing this work under the title it bears, before there was any annunciation of Peveril of the Peak’ (vol. 1, p. xvi). Especially telling in this regard is the family copy described in Wolff (vol. 1, p. 71; Item 385), with a note laid in saying ‘These books were written by my great grandfather William Bennet under the pseudonym Lee Gibbons’. One possible solution for the Longman letters might be that Bennet’s father, another William, was acting on behalf of his trainee lawyer son. Alternatively a precocious younger Bennet could have been successfully juggling the roles of author and agent himself. Is there evidence of a family of Derbyshire lawyers in Chapel-en-le-Frith (the place given in the Dedication of 1821: 22)?

1825: 17 [BUSK, Mrs. M. M.], TALES OF FAULT AND FEELING. BY THE AUTHOR OF “ZEAL AND EXPERIENCE”. Clear identification of the author as Mary Margaret Busk (1779–1863) can be found in Ellen Curran, ‘Holding on by a Pen: the Story of a Lady Reviewer’, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 31:1 (Spring 1998), 9–30. Busk, whose literary career followed the financial difficulties of her father (Alexander Blair) and husband (William Busk), is described there as a prolific contributor to the reviews, her many other publications including several histories, translations and children’s book. It would also appear that it was this writer’s parents who are being referred to by Maria Edgeworth in a letter of 4 March 1819: ‘After spending at the rate of ten thousand a year in high London society he died almost ruined leaving his widow scarce £400 a year. She now writes novels if not for bread for butter’ (*Letters from England, 1813–1844*, ed. by Christina Colvin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 173). No novels by Mrs Blair have so far been identified, though the date of Edgeworth’s letter perhaps opens up the possibility of collaboration with her daughter on *Zeal and Experience* (see under 1819: 29, above).

1827: 62 [SCARGILL, William Pitt], TRUCKLEBOROUGH HALL; A NOVEL. An element of doubt was cast in Update 1 on whether this title, as well *Rank and Talent* (1829: 72), and *Tales of a Briefless Barrister* (1829: 73), conventionally attributed to Scargill and all upmarket novels published by Henry Colburn, should be unquestioningly treated as by Scargill. The records of the Royal Literary Fund indicate that almost certainly his. A letter from Mrs Scargill to C. P. Roney (4 Jan 1837), concerning subscriptions to the posthumous *The Widow’s Offering*, gives *Truckleborough Hall* as the first work by the author to be listed in the title-page (RLF 27: 839, Item 5). Two cuttings from the *Morning Chronicle* of 1855 included in the file (Item 8) also give as among the authors works: *Truckleborough Hall*, *Rank and Talent*, and *Tales of a Briefless Barrister*. No mention is made at any point of *Truth. A Novel by the author of Nothing* (1826: 68), *Elizabeth Evanshaw*, *The Sequel of Truth* (1827: 61), and *Penelope*;

or, *Love's Labours Lost* (1828: 70), which must remain at best problematically connected with Scargill.

1828: 1 ANON, DE BEAUVOIR; OR, SECOND LOVE. A letter from George Croly to William Blackwood, 21 Jan 1828, identifies the author as a female acquaintance: 'A lady, the widow of an officer, & a friend of mine, has just published a Novel, *De Beauvoir, or Second Love* which strikes me as *clever*, & of which she has prodigious anxiety to have some notice taken in the more prominent publications. I should wish to oblige her by some *short* account of two or three pages of Criticisms in your Magazine. [...] The book is graceful & vigorous, a particular novel without any of the stupidities & affectations of boudoir & drawing room knowledge which have brought the name into disrepute' (NLS, MS 4021, f. 126).

C: NEW TITLES FOR INCLUSION

1806.

PALMER, Sarah Cornelia.

THE DREAM. BY SARAH CORNELIA PALMER.

London: Printed by E. Thomas, Golden-Lane, Barbican. For J. M'Kenzie, No. 20, Old-Bailey, and sold by W. Harris, High-Street, Shadwell, and the Booksellers in Town and Country, 1806.

iv, 123p. 8vo. 3s (cover).

C 8000.c.230; NSTC P199 (BI O).

Notes. Clear fictional narrative within the encompassing frame of a dream. 'Contents' (pp. [iii]–iv) lists main components, but without giving page numbers. Cambridge copy (not recorded in NSTC) is in original paper covers, with front cover supplying fuller details than the t.p. proper. This reads: 'This day published, (3s.) The Dream: or Sketches of Some Remarkable Personages in High Life. [...] London: Printed and Published by J. Mackenzie, Old Bailey; and Sold by Mr. Harris, Bookseller, Shadwell; Mr. Skelton, Southampton; Mr Matthews, Portsmouth; Mr. Woolmer and Mr. Rising, Exeter; Mr. Birdsall, Northampton; Mr. Sutton, Nottingham; and all other Booksellers in Town and Country, 1806.' End cover carries a full-page adv. for 'J. Mackenzie, Bookseller and Publisher', informing 'Friends & Customers, that they may be supplied with Account Books of all Descriptions, Ruled and Plain; Cyphering and Copy Books; Memorandum Books; Bibles, Testaments, and Spellings; Reading Made Easy; Watt's Divine Songs; Thomson's Seasons, and the Death of Abel, very Neat Pocket Editions, Embellished with Elegant Engravings; Gilt and Plain Paper; Black Lead Pencils, and Stationery of all Kinds, on the Most Reasonable Terms.'

1827.

[?YU CHIAO LI]; REMUSAT, [Jean Pierre Abel] (*trans.*).

IU-KIAO-LI: OR, THE TWO FAIR COUSINS. A CHINESE NOVEL FROM THE FRENCH VERSION OF M. ABEL-REMUSAT. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Hunt and Clarke, Covent-Garden, 1827.

I xxxv, 259p; II 290p. 12mo. 14s (ECB).

O 27.261; ECB 303; NSTC 2Y2340 (BI BL, C, E; NA DLC).

Notes. Trans. of *Iu-kiao-li, ou les deux cousines, roman chinois traduit par M. Abel-Remusat* (Paris, 1826). Inscription in Chinese characters between half-titles and t.p. in each vol. 'Advertisement', pp. [vii]–viii; 'French Translator's Preface', pp. [ix]–xxv. Footnote to the latter states: 'Some commencing observations on the nature and tendency of the modern novel or romance, and on the productions of Sir Walter Scott in particular, are omitted as possessing little which has not been frequently repeated by English writers' (ixn). 'Note' (unn.) states that 'A copy of *Iu-Kiao-Li* has for nearly two hundred years formed a part of the very rich collection of Oriental works in the King's Library at Paris', and asserts the authenticity of the text. Running headlines read: 'JU-KIAO-LI: OR, THE TWO COUSINS'. Explanatory footnotes passim in the main text. 'Supplementary Notes, supplied by J. H. Pickford, Esq., Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris' at end of each vol. No definitive information about an originating Chinese author has been discovered. ECB dates May 1827.

Further edn: 1830 as *The Two Fair Cousins; a Chinese Novel* (OCLC).

1829.

ANON.

THREE WEEKS IN THE DOWNS, OR CONJUGAL FIDELITY REWARDED: EXEMPLIFIED IN THE NARRATIVE OF HELEN AND EDMUND. A TALE FOUNDED ON FACT. BY AN OFFICER'S WIDOW.

London: Published by John Bennett, Three-Tun Passage, Ivy-Lane, Paternoster-Row; and W. Bennett, Russell-Street, Plymouth, 1829.

663p. 8vo.

O Vet.A6.e.2132; xNSTC.

Notes: Additional engraved t.p., also dated 1829, and bearing the imprint of John Bennett alone. Introductory address (3 pp. unn.) in which the authoress acknowledges indebtedness 'to some valuable *Periodicals*, as well as to a recent and excellent work entitled the *Night Watch*' (for the latter, see 1828: 11). 'Contents' (4 pp. unn.) also precede main narrative, which itself commences on p. [3]. Engraved frontispiece, plus six other plates interleaved in text, all save one (undated) bearing the date 1829. Evidently published first in numbers. Collates in fours.

Further edn: 1834 (NSTC 2D18353).

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

Nothing new to report for this section.

E: NEW INFORMATION RELATING TO EXISTING TITLE ENTRIES

1815: 21 {DESPORRINS, M.}, THE NEVILLE FAMILY. The existing entry should be replaced with the following, as a result of the discovery in the National Library of Ireland of the original 1814 Cork edn., complete with subscription list.

{DESPOURRINS, M.}.

THE NEVILLE FAMILY; AN INTERESTING TALE, FOUNDED ON
FACTS. BY A LADY. IN THREE VOLUMES.

Cork: Printed for the Author, by W. West & Co. Nelson-Place, 1814.

I xi, iv, 250p; II 220p; III 188p. 12mo. 13s 6d (QR).

QR 13: 531 (July 1815).

D DixCork1814; xNSTC.

Notes: Dedication ‘to the Right Honorable Lady Kinsale’, signed ‘M. Despourrins’. ‘Subscribers’ Names’ (c. 325 names, mostly from Kinsale and County Cork), vol. 1, pp. [i]–xii. Collates in sixes. Details from QR almost certainly relate to the London 1815 edn. (see below).

Further edn: London 1815 (Corvey – probably a reissue with cancel t.p, and lacking the subscription list), CME 3-628-48190-2).

1821: 65 SIDNEY, Philip Francis, THE RULING PASSION, A COMIC
STORY, OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Further information about this
title has arisen through a letter addressed to ‘Allson & Sidney’ in the Longman
Letter Books. Dated 30 Dec 1820, this reads: ‘We wish you had sent us a copy
of Ruling Passion. If we are not mistaken it is a translation either from the
French or Italian. We have no objection to publish the work for you on the
usual terms we do such matters—to account for the books we may sell at the
Trade Sale price & charge a commission of 10 P Cent on the sales, you paying
all the expenses of Advertising, freight, &c. // Have you not been too sanguine
of its sale having printed 2000 copies?’ (Longman I, 101, no. 70). It is likely that
Allison & Sidney are ‘the Proprietors of the Hull Packet [a weekly newspaper]’,
for whom the novel was printed. Mention of the work being a translation also
helps explain the presumably facetious ‘revived, revised, and edited’ incorpo-
rated in the fuller title. OCLC (accession no. 8634631) identifies this work as
based on *La Fuerza de la sangre* of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, which itself

had been translated into English as *The Prevalence of Blood* (London, 1729), and again, more recently, as *The Force of Blood, A Novel* (London, Printed for the translator, by T. Gillet, 1800). No copy of this work with Longmans included in the imprint has been discovered, though it is possible that the firm helped in the remaindering of what is almost certainly correctly perceived to be an over-large impression.

F: FURTHER EDITIONS PREVIOUSLY NOT NOTED

1802: 42 MEEKE, [Mary], MIDNIGHT WEDDINGS. A NOVEL. Blakey lists 2nd edn., 1814 (which is also mentioned in the French trans. of 1820).

1820: 34 HOGG, James, WINTER EVENING TALES. Ian Duncan in his Introduction to the recent Stirling / South Carolina edn. of this work (EUP, 2002) gives the sub-title of the German trans. of 1822 as; *Winter-Abend-Erzählungen*. He also states that it was ascribed to 'Sir James Hogg', had a Preface by Sophie Man, and was published first in Berlin in 1822, then again in Vienna in 1826 (p. xx).

1826: 14 [BANIM, John and Michael], TALES OF THE O'HARA FAMILY, SECOND SERIES. Republished 1834 as *The Nowlans, and Peter of the Castle* (OCLC).

1829: 38 [GRATTAN, Thomas Colley], TRAITS OF TRAVEL; OR, TALES OF MEN AND CITIES. New edn. 1834, as *Tales of Travel; or Traits of Men and Cities* (OCLC).

1829: 59 [MARRYAT, Frederick], THE NAVAL OFFICER; OR, SCENES AND ADVENTURES IN THE LIFE OF FRANK MILD MAY. New edn. 1835, as *Frank Mildmay; or, the Naval Officer* (OCLC).

1829: 68 RITCHIE, Leitch, TALES AND CONFESSIONS. New edn. 1833, with additions, as *London Nights' Entertainments* (COPAC). 

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

