

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Carl B. Cone, *The English Jacobins: Reformers in Late 18th Century England* (New York: Scribner's, 1968), iii. For two comprehensive definitions of the origin and implications of the terms "Jacobin" and "Jacobinism" in the 1790s, see H. T. Dickinson, *British Radicalism and the French Revolution, 1789–1815* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 1–24; and Michael Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories: John Thelwall and Jacobin Writing* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2001), 21–30.
2. Gary Kelly, *The English Jacobin Novel 1780–1805* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 1–8. See also Nancy Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law: Critiquing the Contract* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 5–8.
3. Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories*, 25–27.
4. Cone, *The English Jacobins*, v.
5. Robert Bage, *Man As He Is*, ed. Ronald Paulson (New York and London: Garland, 1979), I.i.
6. William Godwin, preface to the "Standard Novels" edition of *Fleetwood* (London: Richard Bentley, 1832); reprinted in *Caleb Williams*, ed. Gary Handwerk and A. A. Markley (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2001), 448.
7. See Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, and "Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s," in *Fetter'd or Free? British Women Novelists, 1670–1815*, ed. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), 285–306; and Marilyn Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975).
8. Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 7; see also Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 33.
9. Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 14–17, 118. Patricia Meyer Spacks develops some of these characteristics in "Novels of the 1790s: Action and Impasse," in *The Columbia History of the British Novel*, ed. John Richetti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 264–65. In "Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s," Kelly also describes these novelists' shared interest in exploring the experience of the individual as a representative of humanity and in illustrating how the human character is formed

- by external circumstances, by one's domestic experience, and by reading and education (286–88).
10. *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 55.
 11. *Ibid.*, 31.
 12. *Ibid.*, 55.
 13. "Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s," 291–92. Butler goes so far as to say that the strongest influence on English intellectual life during this period was not the French Revolution, "but the rise to a far greater share of economic, social, and political influence" of the English middle class. *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 45.
 14. Claudia Johnson warns against the misleading aspects of the categories of Jacobin and anti-Jacobin in *Jane Austen: Women, Politics, and the Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xxi.
 15. Pamela Clemit, ed. *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin*, gen. ed. Mark Philp (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993), V:139.
 16. Godwin's account of the composition of *Caleb Williams* published as the Preface to the "Standard Novels" edition of *Fleetwood* (London: Richard Bentley, 1832); reprinted in *Caleb Williams*, 447. As Scrivener has written, "a major thrust of Jacobin culture was popularization, making texts wholly or partly accessible to a popular audience that ordinarily would never read such things because of their constrained opportunities for learning." *Seditious Allegories*, 12.
 17. *Caleb Williams*, 55.
 18. *British Critic* 6 (July 1795): 94; reprinted in *Caleb Williams*, 451.
 19. *Ibid.*, 451.
 20. Preface to *Memoirs of Bryan Perdue*, ed. A. A. Markley, *The Novels and Selected Plays of Thomas Holcroft*, gen. ed. W. M. Verhoeven (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), IV:4.
 21. Review of *The Castle of St. Vallery, an Ancient Story*, *Monthly Review*, ns 9 (November 1792): 337.
 22. *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, ed. Marilyn L. Brooks (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2000), 36; quoted by Spacks, "Novels of the 1790s," 248.
 23. *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: Norton, 2007), 33–34.
 24. *Ibid.*, 34.
 25. *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 32.
 26. "Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s," 287. April London argues a similar point in *Women and Property in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 156.
 27. *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789–1830* (London: Longman, 1988), 28.
 28. Kelly, "Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s," 298.
 29. *The Popular Novel in England, 1770–1800* (1932; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 311. Kelly has noted that elements of

- the Jacobins' social criticism can be seen in the works of a wide range of novelists of the period, and he lists Matthew Lewis, Ann Radcliffe, Frances Burney, Charles Lamb, and Isaac D'Israeli as examples. *English Fiction of the Romantic Period*, 26.
30. "Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s," 300.
 31. *A Tale of the Times* (1799; repr., New York and London: Garland, 1974), III:387–88; quoted by Eleanor Ty, *Unsex'd Revolutionaries: Five Women Novelists of the 1790s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 15, and *Empowering the Feminine: The Narratives of Mary Robinson, Jane West, and Amelia Opie, 1796–1812* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 101.
 32. For a thorough assessment of Robinson's contributions to radical politics of the 1790s, see Adriana Craciun, ed., *British Women Writers and the French Revolution: Citizens of the World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 60–94.
 33. See *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 33–34, 40–41, 48, 121–22, 221n36; and Grenby's bibliography of Anti-Jacobin Novels and Tales, 243–46. To his credit, Grenby does acknowledge the political complexity of these works. For Grenby's fully developed discussion of *The Banished Man* in terms of liberal and conservative politics, see the introduction to his edition of the novel, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, gen. ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), VII:xxviii–xxxiii.
 34. *Hubert de Sevrac, A Romance, of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Hookham and Carpenter, 1796), III, 316.
 35. *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*, 89. Grenby's categories and lists of both Jacobin and anti-Jacobin novels are found in "Politicised Fiction in Britain 1790–1810: An Annotated Checklist," *The European English Messenger* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 2000): 51.
 36. Roxanne Eberle provides an overview of the critical assessments that have labeled Opie's novel as either conservative or progressive in "Amelia Opie's *Adeline Mowbray*: Diverting the Libertine Gaze; or, the *Vindication of a Fallen Woman*," *Studies in the Novel* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 124–26; reprinted in *Chastity and Transgression in Women's Writing, 1792–1897: Interrupting the Harlot's Progress* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 106–35.
 37. *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 29. Similarly, in "Amelia Opie's *Adeline Mowbray*," Eberle reads the novel not as a critique of Wollstonecraft, but as a critique of the gendered assumptions that limit Godwinian political theory, 126–46.
 38. Dale Spender discusses Adeline's marital status as the reason for her ostracism in *Mothers of the Novel: 100 Good Writers Before Jane Austen* (London and New York: Pandora, 1986), 321–23. For Spender, Opie's novel reveals her admiration of Wollstonecraft in her exploration of whether marriage is good or bad for women. On Mrs. Mowbray's yielding to

- traditional notions of right and wrong despite her new philosophical principles, see Ty, *Empowering the Feminine*, 151. For other readings that validate Opie's conflicted and complicated response to Wollstonecraft and Godwin and that move beyond simply labeling her as an anti-Jacobin, see Anjana Sharma, *The Autobiography of Desire: English Jacobin Women Novelists of the 1790s* (New Delhi: Macmillan India, 2004), 234–38; and Adriana Craciun, ed., *British Women Writers and the French Revolution*, 51–53.
39. Ty, *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 29–30. Kelly interprets this aspect of the novel as the opportunity for readers to see a subversive “unofficial” text beneath the official one in “Amelia Opie, Lady Caroline Lamb, and Maria Edgeworth: Official and Unofficial Ideology,” *ARIEL* 12, no. 4 (October 1981): 8–11. See also Katharine Rogers, *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 219; Johnson, *Jane Austen: Women, Politics, and the Novel*, 22–23; Eberle, “Amelia Opie's *Adeline Mowbray*,” 136–41; and Christine M. Cooper, “Reading Otherwise: The Abortive Politics of *Adeline Mowbray*, or The Mother and Daughter,” *European Romantic Review* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 27–28.
 40. See the introduction to *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*, 15; and Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law*, 129–39.
 41. Tompkins calls Walker a reformist, albeit one who stopped well short of subscribing to Godwin's notion of perfectibility. *The Popular Novel in England*, 321–22. Marilyn Butler interprets the differences between *Theodore Cyphon* and *The Vagabond* as evidence of a shift in Walker's political values, based at least in part on Walker's knowledge as a bookseller of the quickly growing market for anti-Jacobin fiction by the late 1790s. *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 110–11. Following Butler, Grenby, in *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*, also provides a convincing argument that mercenary reasons explain this ostensible change in Walker's objective in writing political fiction (200–201) and argues that in *Theodore Cyphon* Walker objects to the Jacobin tenet of reason over emotion (79).
 42. Walker, Preface to *Theodore Cyphon: or, The Benevolent Jew* (London: B. Crosby, 1796), I:vii.
 43. For readings of *Belinda* as the work of a conservative, see Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1992), 390–93; and Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 68, 115–19.
 44. *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 20–21. In reference to *Belinda*, Claudia Johnson similarly calls Edgeworth an author who is “not specifically reformist, but [who is] nevertheless skeptical of conservative ideology.” *Jane Austen: Women, Politics, and the Novel*, 24. Mitzi Myers reads Edgeworth's writings for girls as reformist works in “The Dilemmas of Gender as Double-Voiced Narrative; or, Maria Edgeworth Mothers the

- Bildungsroman,” in *The Idea of the Novel in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert W. Uphaus (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues, 1988), 67–96.
45. As Barker-Benfield has written, Wollstonecraft too wished to distinguish between “sensibility combined with reason, and the entirely ungoverned and emotional kind characterizing the fashionable, conventional rearing of females.” *The Culture of Sensibility*, 281.
 46. *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 124. Butler attributes Edgeworth’s long popular and critical acceptance to “the safety of her tone” and a “literal, naturalistic treatment of the economic and social world” that seemed to encourage her reader “to accept the existing order of things,” 155, 157.
 47. “Amelia Opie, Lady Caroline Lamb, and Maria Edgeworth,” 20. In “Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s,” Kelly calls Edgeworth a liberal writer who “attempted to formulate a compromise between gentry and middle-class ideologies,” 301.
 48. “Class, Gender, Nation, and Empire: Money and Merit in the Writing of the Edgeworths,” *The Wordsworth Circle* 25 (1994): 92–93. See also Kelly’s discussion of Edgeworth’s “comprehensive program of political, social, and cultural reform” in “Women Novelists and the French Revolution Debate: Novelizing the Revolution/Revolutionizing the Novel,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 6, no. 4 (July 1994): 382–83.
 49. See W. M. Verhoeven and Amanda Gilroy, introduction to *The Emigrants* (New York: Penguin, 1998), xxxi.
 50. See Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 93. Kelly calls Jacobin fiction “a kind of trojan horse for social and political propaganda” and notes that the reformist novelists risked “being imprisoned in the belly of their vehicle” because the horse was “an engine of assault, not construction,” 112.
 51. *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 70.
 52. Jonathan Grossman develops this argument in *The Art of Alibi: English Law Courts and the Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002) 37–61, building on Kenneth Graham’s discussion of Caleb as an embodiment of contemporary ideology and false opinions in “Narrative and Ideology in Caleb Williams,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 2, no. 3 (1990): 225–28. Related arguments can be found in Gary Handwerk, “Historical Trauma: Political Theory and Novelistic Practice in William Godwin’s Fiction,” *Comparative Criticism* 16 (1994): 77–80; Spacks, “Novels of the 1790s,” 268–71, and *Novel Beginnings: Experiments in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 222–31; and Andrew McCann, *Cultural Politics in the 1790s: Literature, Radicalism and the Public Sphere* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999), 71–82.
 53. For varying interpretations of the novel’s two endings, see D. Gilbert Dumas, “Things As They Were: The Original Ending of *Caleb Williams*,” *SEL* 6 (1966): 584; Robert Kiely, *The Romantic Novel in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 94; Butler, *Jane*

- Austen and the War of Ideas*, 67–68; C. R. Kropf, “Caleb Williams and the Attack on Romance,” *Studies in the Novel* 8 (1976): 85–86; Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 184–98, and “‘Intellectual Physics’: Necessity and the English Jacobin Novel,” *Etudes Anglaises* 31 (1978): 174–75; Kenneth Graham, “The Gothic Unity of Godwin’s *Caleb Williams*,” *Papers on Language and Literature* 20, no. 1 (1984): 47–59, and “Narrative Ideology in *Caleb Williams*,” 215–28; Mona Scheuermann, *Social Protest in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 165–7; Tilottama Rajan, “Wollstonecraft and Godwin: Reading the Secrets of the Political Novel,” *Studies in Romanticism* 27 (1988): 240–51; Kate Ferguson Ellis, *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 160; Don Locke, *A Fantasy of Reason: The Life and Thought of William Godwin* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1990), 74–75; Pamela Clemit, *The Godwinian Novel: The Rational Fictions of Godwin, Brockden Brown, Mary Shelley* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 64–69; Gerard A. Barker, “The Narrative Mode of Caleb Williams: Problems and Resolutions,” *Studies in the Novel* 25 (1993): 8–12; Gary Handwerk, “Of Caleb’s Guilt and Godwin’s Truth: Ideology and Ethics in Caleb Williams,” *ELH* 60 (1993): 939–60; Ian Balfour, “Promises, Promises: Social and Other Contracts in the English Jacobins (Godwin/Inchbald),” in *New Romanticisms: Theory and Critical Practice*, ed. David Clark and Donald Goellnicht (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 237–38; Eric Daffron, “Magnetical Sympathy: Strategies of Power and Resistance in Godwin’s *Caleb Williams*,” *Criticism* 37, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 213–32; Glynis Ridley, “Injustice in the Works of Godwin and Wollstonecraft,” in *Women, Revolution, and the Novels of the 1790s*, ed. Linda Lang-Peralta (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 79–82; David Collings, “The Romance of the Impossible: William Godwin in the Empty Place of Reason,” *ELH* 70 (2003): 856–63; and R. S. White, *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 106–9.
54. *William Godwin as Novelist* (London: Athlone, 1981), 39.
 55. “Godwin’s Changing Conception of *Caleb Williams*,” *SEL* 12 (1972): 627. For Myers, Godwin’s “infrequent philosophic inconsistencies” in his struggle to represent the conflict between free will and necessity “suggest his awareness of the complexity of human motivation,” 628.
 56. “Narrative and Ideology in *Caleb Williams*,” 223.
 57. “Pursuing Conversations: Caleb Williams and the Romantic Construction of the Reader,” *Studies in Romanticism* 33 (1994): 599. Similarly, Gary Handwerk has written that Godwin “would ultimately have us read past the ending and take the apparent pessimism of the narratives themselves as a provocation rather than an endpoint.” “History, Trauma, and the Limits of the Liberal Imagination: William Godwin’s Historical

- Fiction,” in *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre: Reforming Literature 1789–1837*, ed. Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 82.
58. “Pursuing Conversations,” 599.
 59. See Kelly’s discussion of the ending of *Hugh Trevor* in *English Jacobin Novel*, 165–66; as well as Scheuermann, *Social Protest*, 138–41; London, *Women and Property*, 167–68; and Jones, *Radical Sensibility*, 77.
 60. For Pam Perkins, *Hermesprung* “is both too political simply to amuse and too intent on amusing to be whole-heartedly political.” “Playfulness of the Pen: Bage and the Politics of Comedy,” *Journal of Narrative Technique* 26, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 43. Perkins argues that Bage might be suggesting “that despite the assumptions of his fellow jacobins the untidy complexities of political ideology cannot be satisfactorily resolved within the necessarily formulaic discourse of fiction,” 44. Scheuermann similarly criticizes the novel’s ending in *Social Protest*, 226–27. For assessments of Bage’s achievement despite the ending, see Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 75–87; Spacks, “Novels of the 1790s,” 257, and *Novel Beginnings*, 238–41; and Nancy Johnson, “‘Seated on Her Bags of Dollars’: Representations of America in the English Jacobin Novel,” *The Dalhousie Review* 82, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 423–39.
 61. Ty makes this comparison in *Unsex’d Revolutionaries*, 112–14.
 62. Elizabeth Inchbald, *Nature and Art*, ed. Shawn Lisa Maurer (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2005), 153. Scheuermann sees the ending of *Nature and Art* as “a failure not only of social but of artistic vision” in *Social Protest*, 200; and Shawn Lisa Maurer criticizes it as unrealistic in “Masculinity and Morality in Elizabeth Inchbald’s *Nature and Art*,” in *Women, Revolution, and the Novels of the 1790s*, ed. Linda Lang-Peralta (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 171–73. For defenses of Inchbald’s conclusion, see Ty, *Unsex’d Revolutionaries*, 112–14; and Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law*, 83–84, 93, although Johnson agrees with Kelly that the conclusion suggests a modification in Inchbald’s radicalism by 1796 (*English Jacobin Novel*, 113).
 63. Eberle discusses this unconventional female family in “Amelia Opie’s *Adeline Mowbray*,” 145–46.
 64. Mary Wollstonecraft, *The Wrongs of Woman: Or, Maria*, in *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto; New York: New York University Press, 1989), I:184.
 65. *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), 95–96.
 66. *Novel Beginnings*, 253.
 67. *Ibid.*, 231.
 68. *Ibid.*, 253.
 69. Mary Hays, *The Victim of Prejudice*, ed. Eleanor Ty (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 1994), 174.

70. For an insightful discussion of Hays's use of emotional experiences from her own life to shape the life of her reader, see Tilottama Rajan, "Autonarration and Genotext in Mary Hays' *Memoirs of Emma Courtney*," *Studies in Romanticism* 32, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 149–76; reprinted in *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre: Re-forming Literature 1789–1837*, ed. Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 213–39.
71. *Anna St Ives*, in *The Novels and Selected Plays of Thomas Holcroft*, ed. W. M. Verhoeven (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), II:419.
72. *Novel Beginnings*, 234.
73. *The Adventures of Hugh Trevor*, in *The Novels and Selected Plays of Thomas Holcroft*, ed. W. M. Verhoeven (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), III:433.
74. *Women and Property*, 166. John Thelwall includes a similar conversion in *The Daughter of Adoption*, transforming the evil West Indian planter Lucius Moroon from a rake into a Moravian minister driven to work as a Christian missionary to the slaves. For two deathbed conversions of antagonists in reformist novels, see Lord Grondale of Bage's *Hermesprong* and Morley of Robinson's *The Natural Daughter*.
75. On the reformations of Lady Delacour and Clarence Hervey, see Anne Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 41–44.
76. For a discussion of these novels as forerunners of political fiction in the nineteenth century, see Scheuermann, *Social Protest*, 7, 231–41. Of course, other subgenres of the novel also contributed to this development. Markman Ellis argues that the eighteenth-century novel of sensibility became a critical site for political debate in *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). In addition, Grenby has analyzed the contributions of the anti-Jacobin novel to the development of political fiction in *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*.

CHAPTER 1

1. In *Grandison's Heirs: The Paragon's Progress in the Late Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), Gerard A. Barker argues for the influence of Charles Grandison on a variety of heroes in late eighteenth-century fiction, including Orlando Faulkland of Frances Sheridan's *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph* (1761), Burney's Lord Orville of *Evelina* (1778), Inchbald's Dorriforth/Elmwood of *A Simple Story*, Holcroft's Frank Henley of *Anna St Ives*, Godwin's Falkland of *Caleb Williams*, and Austen's Mr. Darcy of *Pride and Prejudice* (1813).
2. See Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in*

- the 1790s* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); and Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For other discussions of the history and philosophical significance of sensibility and the degree to which it became a hotly contested concept by the end of the century see R. S. Crane, "Suggestions toward a Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling,'" *ELH* 1, no. 3 (December 1934): 205–30, reprinted in *The Idea of the Humanities and Other Essays Critical and Historical* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), I:188–213; R. F. Brissenden, *Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade* (London: Macmillan and New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Marilyn Butler, *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 7–28; Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986); John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 1–56; Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Desire and Truth: Functions of Plot in Eighteenth-Century English Novels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 114–46; Chris Jones, "Radical Sensibility in the 1790s," in *Reflections of Revolution: Images of Romanticism*, ed. Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 68–82; Gillian Skinner, *Sensibility and Economics in the Novel, 1740–1800* (London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 154–86; Brychan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760–1807* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1–45; R. S. White, *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005), 41–76; and Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Novel Beginnings: Experiments in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 127–59.
3. Jones, *Radical Sensibility*, 2. Similarly, Janet Todd has described the novel of sensibility as "a course in the development of emotional response." *Sensibility*, 93.
 4. Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. Jocelyn Harris (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), II:258; quoted in Todd, *Sensibility*, 77.
 5. Letter 218, To Mrs. William James, 12 November 1767, *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, ed. L. P. Curtis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 401; cited by Todd, *Sensibility*, 91.
 6. *Radical Sensibility*, 183.
 7. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 225. For Barker-Benfield's discussion of the reformation of male manners, see especially chapters 2 and 5.
 8. Barker-Benfield in *The Culture of Sensibility* discusses the way this aspect of sentimental fiction is illustrated in Richardson's *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, Holcroft's *Anna St Ives*, Inchbald's *A Simple Story*, and Edgeworth's

- Belinda* (250–58). He also examines Wollstonecraft's emphasis on the potential of the role of women in this regard (279–86).
9. *Radical Sensibility*, 13.
 10. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 262–63. See also Claudia Johnson, *Jane Austen: Women, Politics, and the Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xxii–xxiii; and Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*, 190–221.
 11. *Radical Sensibility*, 16.
 12. *Sensibility*, 130–32.
 13. See R. F. Brissenden, *Virtue in Distress*, 62–64.
 14. See Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 227.
 15. *Radical Sensibility*, 3.
 16. *Ibid.*, 64.
 17. *Ibid.*, 135. Jones cites Godwin's *St Leon* as an illustration of "how an elitist paternalism which had ideals of public service could develop into an individualistic pursuit of private gain" (135).
 18. *Ibid.*, 64. Jones also addresses Godwin's and Wollstonecraft's critiques of sensibility in "Radical Sensibility in the 1790s," 68–82. For more on Godwin's views of sensibility see Todd, *Sensibility*, 139–40.
 19. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 360. See also Todd's discussion of the "attack on sensibility" in *Sensibility*, 129–46.
 20. Todd, *Sensibility*, 141–42.
 21. *Ibid.*, 134–35.
 22. Some reformist novelists focused on the dangerous effects of an overdeveloped sensibility in women, as in Hays's *Memoirs of Emma Courtney* and Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman; or, Maria*. See Todd, *Sensibility*, 110–28.
 23. For more on the rake in the sentimental novel, see Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 231–47.
 24. See Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790–1827* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 33; Nicola J. Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel, 1790–1825: Intercepted Letters, Interrupted Seductions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 34–36; and Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*, 214–20.
 25. *Julia, A Novel*, ed. Gina Luria (New York and London: Garland, 1974), I:iii.
 26. In her devotion to public service, Julia bears a strong resemblance, for example, to the heroine of Wollstonecraft's *Mary, A Fiction*, which had been published two years earlier.
 27. For more on the significance of *Werther* in this novel see Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*, 219–20.
 28. In interpreting this episode as an act of masturbation, Jack Fruchtman reads it as a measure of Frederick's lack of self-control. Fruchtman also compares the characters in *Julia* to Williams's depictions of such figures as Madame Roland, Robespierre, and Marat in her *Letters Written in*

- France* and explores the political implications of her depictions of sensibility in the novel. "The Politics of Sensibility: Helen Maria Williams's *Julia* and the Terror in France," in *Eighteenth-Century Women: Studies in Their Lives, Work, and Culture*, ed. Linda V. Troost (New York: AMS Press, 2001), I:185–202.
29. Byron, *Don Juan*, Canto I, xciv, lines 1545–46.
 30. See Eleanor Ty, *Unsex'd Revolutionaries: Five Women Novelists of the 1790s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 73–84; Anne Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 46–48; and Fruchtman, "The Politics of Sensibility," 201. Ty also points out how *Julia* defies masculine power in alleviating the problems of her friend Mrs. Meynell by finding a post abroad for Mrs. Meynell's husband and then by inviting Mrs. Meynell to share her home. *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 82–83.
 31. Deborah Kennedy argues for the thematic connection of this poem and the novel's conclusion in "Responding to the French Revolution: Williams's *Julia* and Burney's *The Wanderer*," in *Jane Austen and Mary Shelley and Their Sisters*, ed. Laura Dabundo (Landham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), 8–9. See also Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel*, 36; and Vivien Jones, "Women Writing Revolution: Narratives of History and Sexuality in Wollstonecraft and Williams," in *Beyond Romanticism: New Approaches to Texts and Contexts 1780–1832*, ed. Stephen Copley and John Whale (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 178, 197.
 32. Cited by April London, *Women and Property in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 145.
 33. Joseph Rosenblum analyzes the ways in which Smith's male and female characters embody sense and sensibility in "The Treatment of Women in the Novels of Charlotte Turner Smith," in *Jane Austen and Mary Shelley and Their Sisters*, ed. Laura Dabundo (Landham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), 45–51. See also Kate Ferguson Ellis, *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 76–98; Diane Long Hoeveler, *Gothic Feminism: The Professionalization of Gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998), 35–50; Pat Elliott, "Charlotte Smith's Feminism: A Study of *Emmeline* and *Desmond*," in *Living By the Pen: Early British Women Writers*, ed. Dale Spender (New York: Teachers College Press of Columbia University, 1992), 100–105; Katharine Rogers, "Romantic Aspirations, Restricted Possibilities: The Novels of Charlotte Smith," in *Re-Visioning Romanticism: British Women Writers, 1776–1837*, ed. Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 86; and Joan Forbes, "Anti-Romantic Discourse as Resistance: Women's Fiction 1775–1820," in *Romance Revisited*, ed. Lynne Pearce and Jackie Stacey (New York: New York University Press, 1995),

- 297–304. For the influence of Burney's works on the novel, see Loraine Fletcher's introduction to her edition of *Emmeline* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2003), 9–35.
34. *Emmeline*, ed. Judith Stanton, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, gen. ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2005), II:27–28.
 35. Eleanor Ty discusses Smith's uses of Gothic conventions in the episodes of Emmeline's flight from Delamere in the castle in which she had grown up in *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 115–29. Ty also analyzes the roles of Mrs. Stafford and Lady Adelina as women whose life experiences are joined with Emmeline's in Smith's critique of patriarchy. See also Eva Figes, *Sex and Subterfuge: Women Writers to 1850* (New York: Persea Books, 1988), 62–68; Ellis, *The Contested Castle*, 76–92; and Elliott, "Charlotte Smith's Feminism," 91–112.
 36. The fact that this particular duel is fought at night and with swords allows Smith to emphasize that the social practice of dueling is archaic and should be obsolete, a topic that will be explored in detail in Chapter 4. See Fletcher, introduction to *Emmeline*, 21.
 37. Hoeveler discusses Smith's depiction of Godolphin as an idealized, "sentimentally feminized man" in *Gothic Feminism*, 47. For a more general discussion of Smith's blending of masculine and feminine characteristics in both her heroines and her heroes, see Joseph Rosenblum, "The Treatment of Women in the Novels of Charlotte Turner Smith," 45–51.
 38. See Fletcher's introduction to *Emmeline*, 27.
 39. Nicola Trott, "Too Good for Them" (a review of Judith Phillips Stanton, ed., *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith*, Judith Wilson, ed., *Selected Poems*, Loraine Fletcher, ed., *Emmeline*, and Jacqueline Labbe, *Romanticism, Poetry and the Culture of Gender*), *Times Literary Supplement*, June 18, 2004, 3–4. See also Hoeveler, *Gothic Feminism* 42–47, for whom Emmeline and Godolphin embody an idealized picture of emerging middle-class values in their careful control of their passions as compared to the other characters in the novel.
 40. Ellis, *The Contested Castle*, 92.
 41. *Fleetwood*, ed. Pamela Clemit, *Collected Novels and Memoirs of William Godwin*, gen. ed. Mark Philp (London: William Pickering, 1992), V:13.
 42. *William Godwin as Novelist* (London: Athlone, 1981), 104.
 43. See the introduction to *Fleetwood: or, the New Man of Feeling*, ed. Gary Handwerk and A. A. Markley (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2001), 26–27.
 44. Kelly, *The English Jacobin Novel 1780–1805* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 243–44.
 45. Rousseau develops this argument in his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750) and in his *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (1755).
 46. "Mapping Misogyny: Godwin's *Fleetwood* and the Staging of Rousseauvian Education," *Studies in Romanticism* 41 (Fall 2002): 375–98. For another persuasive assessment of Godwin's response to Rousseau in

- this novel see Anne Chandler, "‘A Tissue of Fables’: Rousseau, Gender, and Textuality in Godwin’s *Fleetwood*," *Keats-Shelley Journal* 53 (2004): 39–60.
47. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto; New York: New York University Press, 1989), V:211.
 48. *Radical Sensibility*, 68.
 49. See Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 249.
 50. *Ibid.*, 249.
 51. See Todd, *Sensibility*, 120. The rescue episode motif also indicates these novels’ debts to *Sir Charles Grandison*.
 52. See Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 148–50. For the influence of picaresque conventions on *Hugh Trevor* see Rodney Baine, *Thomas Holcroft and the Revolutionary Novel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1965) 73–95; and April London, who notes the particular influence of *Tom Jones*. *Women and Property*, 165.
 53. An annoyed reviewer in the *Monthly Review* singled out this aspect of the novel for criticism, asking "was in not possible for the author to afford Trevor other occasions of displaying his zeal in the service of his mistress, than by employing him *three times*, in the course of the novel, in rescuing her from personal danger?" Review of *The Adventures of Hugh Trevor* by Thomas Holcroft, *Monthly Review* ns 23 (July 1797): 283.
 54. See Baine, *Thomas Holcroft and the Revolutionary Novel*, 109.
 55. Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 152–53. See also Scheuermann’s discussion of Turl and Evelyn in *Social Protest in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 133–34.
 56. Robert Bage’s George Paradyne of *Man As He Is* (1792) is a similar reformist hero who is instructed alongside the reader by his reformist tutor Mr. Lindsay. In this novel Bage’s reformist objective takes shape in his characters’ debates on such issues as the rights of man and the justification for revolution, the separation of church and state, the corruption inherent to political parties, the arbitrariness of hereditary rights and property, the exploitation of the laboring class, racial injustice, the vanity of fashion, the evils of gambling and dueling, and the need for divorce laws.
 57. *English Jacobin Novel*, 155.
 58. *Ibid.*, 156.
 59. For a more extensive analysis of Holcroft’s social criticism in this novel see Scheuermann, *Social Protest*, 119–42.
 60. *Walsingham*, ed. Julie A. Shaffer (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2002), 64.
 61. Review of *Walsingham*, by Mary Robinson, *British Critic* 12 (1798): 610–12; reprinted in Robinson, *Walsingham*, ed. Julie A. Shaffer (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2002), 510.

62. Chris Cullens argues this point in "Mrs. Robinson and the Masquerade of Womanliness," in *Body and Text in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Veronica Kelly and Dorothea von Mücke (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 274.
63. "Cross-Dressing and the Nature of Gender in Mary Robinson's *Walsingham*," in *Presenting Gender: Changing Sex in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Chris Mounsey (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 138. Cullens insightfully notes that in this novel women are portrayed as "more masculinely rakish than men" (278). For other studies of gender and cross-dressing in *Walsingham* see Sharon Setzer, "The Dying Game: Cross-dressing in Mary Robinson's *Walsingham*," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 22, no. 3 (2000): 305–28; and Julie Shaffer, "Walsingham: Gender, Pain, Knowledge," *Women's Writing* 9, no. 1 (2002): 69–85.
64. "Cross-Dressing and the Nature of Gender," 160.
65. *Empowering the Feminine: The Narratives of Mary Robinson, Jane West, and Amelia Opie, 1796–1812* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 55–56.
66. "Mrs. Robinson," 285.
67. *Ibid.*, 285.
68. *Ibid.*, 276–78. See also Ellen Arnold, "Genre, Gender, and Cross-Dressing in Mary Robinson's *Walsingham*," *Postscript. Publication of the Philological Association of the Carolinas* 16 (1999): 57–68. For a comprehensive treatment of the masquerade in the period see Terry Castle's landmark *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnavalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986).
69. "Mrs. Robinson," 275–76.
70. See Ellis's discussion of these novels in *The Politics of Sensibility*, 129–34.
71. At least two contemporary reviewers recognized the relationship between Hermsprong and Voltaire's *Huron*. See the *Monthly Review* ns 21 (September 1796): 21–24, and the review published by Mary Wollstonecraft in the *Analytical Review* 24 (December 1796): 608–9. H. N. Fairchild discusses Hermsprong and other reformist heroes, including Godwin's Fleetwood and Holcroft's Frank Henley, as types of the noble savage in *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1958), 140–71. For a thorough assessment of Hermsprong's character see also Spacks, *Novel Beginnings*, 238–41.
72. *The Spectator*, vol. I, no. 1 (March 1, 1711), Addison and Steele, *et al.*, *The Spectator*, ed. Gregory Smith (London and New York: Everyman's Library, 1967), I:3. Cited in Bage, *Hermsprong*, ed. Pamela Perkins (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2002), 57.
73. See Nancy Johnson, "Seated on Her Bags of Dollars," 430; Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution (1789–1820)* (New Haven, CT: Yale

- University Press, 1983), 237–38; and London, *Women and Property*, 152.
74. See Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 133, and “Jane Austen and the English Novel of the 1790s,” 292.
 75. Review of *Anna St Ives*, by Thomas Holcroft, *Critical Review* ns 4 (April 1792): 460.
 76. Scheuermann provides a thorough analysis of Frank’s and Anna’s relationship in *Social Protest*, 89–118. See also Baine, *Thomas Holcroft and the Revolutionary Novel*, 20–42; and Kelly, *English Jacobin Novel*, 114–45.
 77. *The English Novel: A Panorama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 168. Similarly, in *Grandison’s Heirs*, Barker acknowledges that Frank shares Holcroft’s and Godwin’s beliefs concerning human perfectibility and calls him “the first important, truly lower-class, exemplary hero in eighteenth-century English fiction” (111). Barker concludes his discussion with a comparison of Henley to Smith’s Lionel Desmond (123–24).
 78. Barker recognizes Holcroft’s rescue episodes as a clear link between Frank and Sir Charles Grandison in *Grandison’s Heirs*, 105–26. The parallel between these two characters was first recognized by William Hazlitt in *Memoirs of the Late Thomas Holcroft* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816), II:114. On Frank’s character and feats of rescue see also Virgil Stallbaumer, “Thomas Holcroft as Novelist,” *ELH* 15, no. 3 (September 1948): 204–5.
 79. Scheuermann discusses Holcroft’s aim to illustrate that “such characteristics as intelligence, courage, benevolence, and even physical strength are not the province of one or the other sex” in *Social Protest*, 113. Scheuermann also discusses Holcroft’s representation of Anna as the Jacobin ideal of woman in *Her Bread to Earn: Women, Money, and Society from Defoe to Austen* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 134–44. See also Nancy Johnson’s discussion of the manner in which Holcroft “burdens heroic behavior with the duties of reform” in *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law: Critiquing the Contract* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 64.
 80. *The Young Philosopher*, ed. A. A. Markley, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, gen. ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), X:433. For Rousseau’s influence on *The Young Philosopher*, see Katharine Rogers, “Romantic Aspirations,” 81–83; Nicola Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel*, 58; Carrol Fry, *Charlotte Smith* (New York: Twayne, 1996), 104; and Angela Keane, *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s: Romantic Belongings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 103.
 81. Ty discusses the antipatriarchal aspects of George’s personality in *Unsex’d Revolutionaries*, 145–46. For an interpretation of George’s physical appearance see Elizabeth Kraft, “Encyclopedic Libertinism and 1798:

- Charlotte Smith's *The Young Philosopher*," *Eighteenth-Century Novel* 2 (2002): 257–58.
82. Joseph Rosenblum discusses the significance of the fact that George's early education is provided by his mother in "The Treatment of Women in the Novels of Charlotte Turner Smith," 47–48. See also Chris Jones on George's personality and philosophy, *Radical Sensibility*, 177–80; and Anjana Sharma, *The Autobiography of Desire: English Jacobin Women Novelists of the 1790s* (New Delhi: Macmillan India, 2004), 186–200.

CHAPTER 2

1. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, in *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto; New York: New York University Press, 1989), V:211.
2. [Mary Hays], *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain in behalf of Women* (London: J. Johnson and J. Bell, 1798), 28.
3. "The Gothic Novel, 1764–1824," in *The Columbia History of the British Novel*, ed. John Richetti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 245. See also George Haggerty's *Gothic Fiction/Gothic Form* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1989). Similarly Kate Ferguson Ellis discusses a variety of Gothic texts as "site[s] of resistance to ideological positions as well as a means of propagating them." *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), xii.
4. See Eva Figs, *Sex and Subterfuge: Women Writers to 1850* (New York: Persea Books, 1988), 56–57.
5. *Gothic Feminism: The Professionalization of Gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998), 4.
6. For readings of *Caleb Williams* as a Gothic novel, see Kenneth Graham, "The Gothic Unity of *Caleb Williams*," *Papers on Language and Literature* 20, no. 1 (Winter 1984): 57–59; Donald R. Wehrs, "Rhetoric, History, Rebellion: Caleb Williams and the Subversion of Eighteenth-Century Fiction," *Studies in English Literature* 24 (1988): 497–511; Betty Rizzo, "The Gothic Caleb Williams," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 305 (1992): 1387–89; Pamela Clemit, *The Godwinian Novel: The Rational Fictions of Godwin, Brockden Brown, Mary Shelley* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 54–56; Barbara M. Benedict, "Radcliffe, Godwin, and Self-Possession in the 1790s," in *Women, Revolution, and the Novels of the 1790s*, ed. Linda Lang-Peralta (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 89–110; and Marshall Brown, *The Gothic Text* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 149–58. Marilyn Butler examines the limits of this mode of approaching the novel in *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 57–75. For a full discussion of *Caleb Williams* and *The Wrongs of Woman*

- in the context of Gothic fiction, see Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 47–95.
7. For Emily Melville's role as a sexual victim, see Kenneth Graham, *The Politics of Narrative: Ideology and Social Change in William Godwin's Caleb Williams* (New York: AMS Press, 1990), 16–22. Mona Scheuermann also analyzes Emily's role in the novel in *Her Bread to Earn: Women, Money, and Society from Defoe to Austen* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 144–48, as does Nancy Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law: Critiquing the Contract* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 117–20.
 8. Godwin himself acknowledged this alteration of the tradition in relating his plot to the fairy tale of "Bluebeard". See his preface to the "Standard Novels" edition of *Fleetwood* in 1832, reprinted in *Caleb Williams*, ed. Gary Handwerk and A. A. Markley (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2000), 443–50. For the symbolic implications of Caleb's assumption of the role of the victimized heroine, see Alex Gold, Jr., "It's Only Love: The Politics of Passion in Godwin's *Caleb Williams*," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 19 (1977): 135–60; Mona Scheuermann, *Social Protest in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 153–54, 165; Ellis, *The Contested Castle*, 151–60; Robert J. Corber, "Representing the 'Unspeakable': William Godwin and the Politics of Homophobia," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (1990): 85–101; Barbara Benedict, "Radcliffe, Godwin, and Self-Possession in the 1790s," 89–110; Eric Daffron, "'Magnetical Sympathy': Strategies of Power and Resistance in Godwin's *Caleb Williams*," *Criticism* 37, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 225–26; Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law*, 124–25; Gavin Edwards, "William Godwin's Foreign Language: Stories and Families in *Caleb Williams* and *Political Justice*," *Studies in Romanticism* 39 (Winter 2000): 550–51; and A. A. Markley, "The Success of Gentleness: Homosocial Desire and the Homosexual Personality in the Novels of William Godwin," *Romanticism on the Net* 36–37 (November 2004–February 2005), <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2004/v/n36-37/011139ar.html>.
 9. *The Contested Castle*, 159.
 10. For more on Godwin's uses of Howard, see Scheuermann, *Social Protest*, 143–68. Godwin's allusions to John Howard's work may have been influenced by Elizabeth Inchbald, who used Howard as the model for Haswell, the hero of her 1787 play *Such Things Are* (published 1788).
 11. *Mary, A Fiction*, in *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto; New York: New York University Press, 1989), I:5. For an analysis of Wollstonecraft's exploration of sensibility in this work see Gary Kelly, "Godwin, Wollstonecraft, and Rousseau," *Women and Literature* 3, no. 2 (1975): 22.

12. For readings of the novel as an extension of Wollstonecraft's agenda in the *Vindication*, see Mitzi Myers, "Unfinished Business: Wollstonecraft's *Maria*," *The Wordsworth Circle* 11 (1980): 107–14; Mary Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 94–113; Gary Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789–1830* (London: Longman, 1988), 38–42; Marilyn Butler, general introduction to *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto; New York: New York University Press, 1989), I:27; Anne K. Mellor, "Righting the Wrongs of Woman: Mary Wollstonecraft's *Maria*," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 19, no. 4 (1996): 413–24; Elaine Jordan, "Criminal Conversation: Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman*," *Women's Writing* 4, no. 2 (1997): 221–34; Susan C. Greenfield, *Mothering Daughters: Novels and the Politics of Family Romance, Frances Burney to Jane Austen* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 94–102; Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law*, 140–44; and R. S. White, *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 109–16. For Wollstonecraft's uses of Gothic conventions in *The Wrongs of Woman*, see Ellis, *The Contested Castle*, 92–98; E. J. Clery, "The Politics of the Gothic Heroine in the 1790s," in *Reviewing Romanticism*, ed. Philip W. Martin and Robin Jarvis (London: Macmillan, 1992), 69–85; Eleanor Ty, *Unsex'd Revolutionaries: Five Women Novelists of the 1790s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 33–35; and Anna Neill, "Civilization and the Rights of Woman: Liberty and Captivity in the Work of Mary Wollstonecraft," *Women's Writing* 8, no. 1 (2001): 109–10. Miranda Burgess discusses the novel as an amalgamation of differing genres in *British Fiction and the Production of Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 142–49.
13. William Godwin, preface to *The Wrongs of Woman: Or, Maria, The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto; New York: New York University Press, 1989), I:81.
14. See Myers, "Unfinished Business," 109–10.
15. Ralph Wardle, ed., *Godwin & Mary: Letters of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), Letter 31, 27–28.
16. See Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 75. For assessments of Wollstonecraft's balance of politics and sentiment in *The Wrongs of Woman*, see Janet Todd, "Reason and Sensibility in Mary Wollstonecraft's *The Wrongs of Woman*," *Frontiers* 5, no. 3 (Fall 1980): 17–20; Poovey, *The Proper Lady*, 105–6; Ty, *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 31–45; and Claudia Johnson, *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender, and Sentimentality in the 1790s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 47–69.

17. Maggie Kilgour discusses this passage as “an invocation and then exorcism of conventions” (*The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 81–82).
18. *Walsingham* and *The Wrongs of Woman* share another detail in common in their attention to the plight of contemporary women. Chapter 74 of *Walsingham* details the story of an old beggar who was caught and conscripted by a press-gang while traveling to find his beloved Peggy in London. This episode parallels that of Wollstonecraft’s Peggy, who likewise loses her lover when he is conscripted by a press-gang and dies at sea in Chapter 7 of *The Wrongs of Woman*. Robinson also uses a madhouse episode in *The Natural Daughter* (1799), in which her heroine is kidnapped and imprisoned and manages to escape only when the building catches fire and burns to the ground.
19. For discussions of the relationship between the two novels see Tilotama Rajan, “Wollstonecraft and Godwin: Reading the Secrets of the Political Novel,” *Studies in Romanticism* 27, no. 2 (1988): 221–51; Scheuermann, *Her Bread to Earn*, 175–76; Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 75–95; and Gavin Edwards, *Narrative Order, 1789–1819: Life and Story in an Age of Revolution* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 139–58. Kilgour calls the stories in *Caleb Williams* and *The Wrongs of Woman* “obsessive repetitions of a single one: variations on the Rousseauian pattern in which, because of the corruption of the social system, people develop into . . . social outcasts” (*The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 84).
20. Rajan, “Wollstonecraft and Godwin,” 239.
21. For assessments of Wollstonecraft’s notes for the novel’s ending and the implications of Godwin’s editing of those notes see Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, 91–95; Mellor, “Righting the Wrongs of Woman,” 420; Daniel O’Quinn, “Trembling: Wollstonecraft, Godwin and the Resistance to Literature,” *ELH* 64 (1997): 761–88; and Tilotama Rajan, “Framing the Corpus: Godwin’s Editing of Wollstonecraft in 1798,” *Studies in Romanticism* 39, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 511–31.
22. Kelly, “Godwin, Wollstonecraft, and Rousseau,” 22.
23. Rajan, “Wollstonecraft and Godwin,” 229–30. Nicola Watson also reads the novel as a response to Rousseau in *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel, 1790–1825: Intercepted Letters, Interrupted Seductions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 51–57.
24. For Poovey, this defiance renders Maria unable to transcend her own feelings and unable to persuade the court by appealing to their feelings. *The Proper Lady*, 108.
25. “Reason and Sensibility,” 18. See also Scheuermann’s analysis of the novel’s ending in *Her Bread to Earn*, 196–98.
26. See Ty, *Unsex’d Revolutionaries*, 40–42; Scheuermann, *Her Bread to Earn*, 177; Johnson, *Equivocal Beings*, 60–61; and Mellor, “Righting the Wrongs of Woman,” 414.

27. Claudia Johnson discusses Jemima's significance in the novel in "Mary Wollstonecraft's Novels," in *Equivocal Beings*, 66–69, and in *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Claudia Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 204–207. See also Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing and Fiction, 1660–1800* (London: Virago, 1989), 247–52, and Roxanne Eberle, *Chastity and Transgression in Women's Writing, 1792–1897: Interrupting the Harlot's Progress* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 21–54. Vivien Jones analyzes Jemima and her narrative alongside the "fallen" heroines of Inchbald's *Nature and Art* and Hays's *The Victim of Prejudice* in "Placing Jemima: Women Writers of the 1790s and the Eighteenth-Century Prostitution Narrative," *Women's Writing* 4, no. 2 (1997): 201–20.
28. For interpretations of *The Victim of Prejudice*, see Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790–1827* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 118–25; Ty, *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 60–72, and "The Imprisoned Female Body in Mary Hays's *The Victim of Prejudice*," in *Women, Revolution, and the Novels of the 1790s*, ed. Linda Lang-Peralta (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 133–53; Terence A. Hoagwood, *Politics, Philosophy, and the Production of Romantic Texts* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), 122–39; Julie Shaffer, "Ruined Women and Illegitimate Daughters: Revolution and Female Sexuality," in *Lewd and Notorious: Female Transgression in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Katharine Kittredge (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 302–5; Anjana Sharma, *The Autobiography of Desire: English Jacobin Women Novelists of the 1790s* (New Delhi: Macmillan India, 2004), 168–72; White, *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism*, 163–67; and Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Novel Beginnings: Experiments in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 251–53. For the novel's similarity of purpose to *The Wrongs of Woman*, see Jane Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist: from Aphra Behn to Jane Austen* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 130–37, and "Of Use to Her Daughter?: Maternal Authority and Early Women Novelists," in *Living By the Pen: Early British Women Writers*, ed. Dale Spender (New York and London: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1992), 207–8; Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel*, 49–51; and Tilottama Rajan, "Disfiguring Reproduction: Natural History, Community, and the 1790s Novel," *The New Centennial Review* 2, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 211–52.
29. See Ty, *Unsex'd Revolutionaries*, 71.
30. *A Letter to the Women of England and The Natural Daughter*, ed. Sharon M. Setzer (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2003), 93. Ty discusses how Robinson contrasts Martha and Julia as distinctly different embodiments of sensibility in *Empowering the Feminine: The Narratives of Mary Robinson, Jane West, and Amelia Opie, 1796–1812* (Toronto:

- University of Toronto Press, 1998), 72–84. Ty argues that in Martha's example, Robinson attempts to counter anti-Jacobins' refusal to recognize sensibility as a potentially constructive human attribute.
31. See Sharon Setzer, "Romancing the Reign of Terror: Sexual Politics in Mary Robinson's *Natural Daughter*," *Criticism* 39, no. 4 (Fall 1997): 535; and Julie Shaffer, "Ruined Women," 309–10.
 32. See Setzer, "Romancing the Reign of Terror," 536.
 33. *The European Magazine* 37 (1800): 138; reprinted in Robinson, *A Letter to the Women of England and The Natural Daughter*, ed. Sharon Setzer (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2003), 329.
 34. *The British Critic* 16 (1800): 320; reprinted in Robinson, *The Natural Daughter*, 327–28.
 35. The heroine of *Emmeline*, for example, is doubled by Lady Adeline Trelawny, and Geraldine Verney of *Desmond* is doubled by the French Josephine de Boisbelle.
 36. Setzer discusses Martha and Mrs. Sedgley/Lady Susan as doubles in "Romancing the Reign of Terror," 540–42. See also Ty, *Empowering the Feminine*, 80–82; Shaffer, "Ruined Women," 292–96, 306–7; and Anne Close, "Into the Public: The Sexual Heroine in Eliza Fenwick's *Secresy* and Mary Robinson's *The Natural Daughter*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 17, no. 1 (2004): 35–52.
 37. Another parallel involves the fact that when Martha leaves home and attempts to earn a living for herself, she adopts the name "Mrs. Denison," a possible reference to Laura Denison of the third volume of *Caleb Williams*. Godwin added this character to Caleb's story in the third edition, published in 1797.
 38. This poem may have been inspired by Perdita's lines when she is spurned by the king of Bohemia in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*: "I was about to speak and tell him plainly/The selfsame sun that shines upon his court/Hides not his visage from our cottage, but/Looks on alike" (IV. iv.443–46). Robinson was famous for her portrayal of Perdita on the stage and was often referred to by this name.
 39. Introduction to *A Letter to the Women of England and The Natural Daughter*, 31.
 40. *The British Critic* 16 (1800): 321, reprinted *The Natural Daughter*, 328. Setzer provides a thorough discussion of the revolutionary politics at play in the novel in "Romancing the Reign of Terror," 531–55, as does Julie Shaffer, "Ruined Women," 283–310.
 41. *Desmond*, in *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2005), V:165.
 42. Review of *Desmond*, by Charlotte Smith, *Critical Review* ns 6 (September 1792): 100.
 43. For discussions of the politics of *Desmond*, see Diana Bowstead, "Charlotte Smith's *Desmond*: The Epistolary Novel as Ideological Argument," in *Fetter'd or Free? British Women Novelists, 1670–1815*, ed. Mary Anne

- Schofield and Cecilia Macheski (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), 237–63; Pat Elliott, “Charlotte Smith’s Feminism,” 105–12; Chris Jones, *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 163–67; Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel*, 36–39; Carrol Fry, *Charlotte Smith* (New York: Twayne, 1996), 64–80; Eleanor Wikborg, “Political Discourse versus Sentimental Romance: Ideology and Genre in Charlotte Smith’s *Desmond*,” *English Studies* 78, no. 6 (November 1997): 522–31; Katherine Binhammer, “Revolutionary Domesticity in Charlotte Smith’s *Desmond*,” in *Women, Revolution, and the Novels of the 1790s*, ed. Linda Lang-Peralta (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 25–46; Anne K. Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation: Women’s Political Writing in England, 1780–1830* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 106–21; and Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law*, 71–83.
44. Review of *Desmond*, 100. As Smith continued to launch such attacks in her works that were clearly based on her own experiences, reviewers gradually became less forgiving. In a review of *The Young Philosopher* published in the *Critical Review*, for example, the critic disapproves of Smith’s attack on law and on lawyers, regretting that she “should degrade her productions by personal satire” composed “under the influence of resentment” (ns 24 [September 1798]: 82). A reviewer in the *Monthly Review* likewise objects to Smith’s attack on lawyers in *The Young Philosopher* (ns 28 [March 1799]: 346–47).
45. Nancy Johnson discusses *Desmond* as an ideal and altruistic hero in contrast to Verney in *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law*, 71–83. Allison Conway considers his role as a sentimental hero in “Nationalism, Revolution and the Female Body: Charlotte Smith’s *Desmond*,” *Women’s Studies* 24, no. 5 (1995): 395–409. See also Jones, *Radical Sensibility*, 163–67, and Katharine Rogers, “Romantic Aspirations, Restricted Possibilities: The Novels of Charlotte Smith,” in *Re-Visioning Romanticism: British Women Writers, 1776–1837*, edited by Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 76–77.
46. For a discussion of this aspect of the novel’s ending see Bowstead, “Charlotte Smith’s *Desmond*,” 247–52; Elliott, “Charlotte Smith’s Feminism,” 110; Fry, *Charlotte Smith*, 78–80; and Loraine Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan, 1998), 150–51. Stuart Curran discusses contemporary reviewers’ reactions to this aspect of the novel in the introduction to his edition of *Desmond, Works of Charlotte Smith*, V:xv–xvi. For Josephine de Boisbelle as Geraldine’s double, see Ty, *Unsex’d Revolutionaries*, 140–42; Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel*, 38–39; Binhammer, “Revolutionary Domesticity,” 35–37; Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation*, 117–18; and Sharma, *The Autobiography of Desire*, 183–84.

- Allison Conway analyzes the darker nuances of these parallels in her essay "Nationalism, Revolution and the Female Body," as does Angela Keane in *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s: Romantic Belongings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 86–90.
47. See Elliott, "Charlotte Smith's Feminism," 110–11; Susan Allen Ford, "Tales of the Times: Family and Nation in Charlotte Smith and Jane West," in *Family Matters in the British and American Novel*, ed. Andrea O'Reilly Herrera, Elizabeth Mahn Nollen, and Sheila Reitzel Foor (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Press, 1997), 24–25; and Mellor, *Mothers of the Nation*, 118–21.
 48. "Charlotte Smith and British Romanticism," *South Central Review* 11, no. 2 (1994): 70.
 49. Introduction to *Desmond, Works of Charlotte Smith*, V:vii–xi. For more on the significance of Smith's use of the epistolary format, see Bowstead, "Charlotte Smith's *Desmond*."
 50. "Metaphoricity and the Romance of Property in *The Old Manor House*," *Novel* 34, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 229. In this essay, Labbe credits Smith with the development of a new genre, the "romance of property."
 51. *The Old Manor House*, ed. Ina Ferris, in *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, gen. ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), VI:410.
 52. Introduction to *Desmond*, in *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, V:xvi–xvii.
 53. Smith's footnote on this issue reads as follows: "It has lately been alledged in defence of the Slave Trade, that Negroes on board Guineamen are allowed almost as much room as a Soldier in a Transport.—Excellent reasoning!" (VI:298). Eamon Wright discusses this passage and others like it in *British Women Writers and Race, 1788–1818: Narrations of Modernity* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 73–74.
 54. For a discussion of Smith's manipulation of the romance tradition in this novel see Joseph F. Bartolomeo, "Subversion of Romance in *The Old Manor House*," *SEL* 33 (1993): 645–57; Jones, *Radical Sensibility*, 167–70; and Miranda J. Burgess, "Charlotte Smith, *The Old Manor House*," in *A Companion to Romanticism*, ed. Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 122–29.
 55. Angela Keane provides an insightful interpretation of the role of many of the novel's disenfranchised minor characters in *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s*, 96–102.
 56. Ferris, introduction to *The Old Manor House, Works of Charlotte Smith*, VI:xii, xix. For more on Smith's uses of Gothic conventions see Fry, *Charlotte Smith*, 54–59, 108–11. Similarly, Jones analyzes Smith's uses and revisions of the novel of sentiment in *Radical Sensibility*, 177–84.
 57. Julia M. Wright discusses *Secresy* as a "mosaic of the gothic, the romantic, the libertine, and the didactic (of various ideological stripes) under the general generic rubric of the epistolary" in "'I Am Ill Fitted': Conflicts of Genre in Eliza Fenwick's *Secresy*," in *Romanticism, History and the*

- Possibilities of Genre: Re-forming Literature, 1789–1837*, ed. Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 153. See also Watson, *Revolution and the Form of the British Novel*, 44; Isobel Grundy, introduction to *Secresy; or, The Ruin on the Rock*, ed. Isobel Grundy (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1998), 25–30; Rajan, “Disfiguring Reproduction,” 225–31; Close, “Into the Public,” 41–45; and Spacks, *Novel Beginnings*, 188–90, 218–21.
58. *Political Justice* (1796 edition), *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin*, ed. Mark Philp (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993), IV:161.
 59. *England’s First Family of Writers: Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Mary Shelley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 4.
 60. See Sarah Emsley, “Radical Marriage,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 11, no. 4 (July 1999): 477–98.
 61. *Secresy*, ed. Grundy, 74.
 62. Malinda Snow develops a related interpretation of *Secresy* in light of England’s growing imperialistic agenda in India in “Habits of Empire and Domination in Eliza Fenwick’s *Secresy*,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 14, no. 2 (January 2002): 159–75.
 63. For a discussion of Bage’s deliberate links between Lord Grondale and the French monarchy, see Pamela Perkins’s introduction to her edition of *Hermesprung* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2002), 27.
 64. Mona Scheuermann explores the issue of filial duty in *Hermesprung* at length in *Social Protest*, 220–24, and *Her Bread to Earn*, 155–66; see also Pam Perkins, “Playfulness of the Pen: Bage and the Politics of Comedy,” *Journal of Narrative Technique* 26, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 38–39; April London, *Women and Property in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 150–53; and Johnson, *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law*, 100–102.
 65. See Scheuermann’s analysis of Maria Fluart’s character, *Her Bread to Earn*, 152–55, 166–68; Perkins, “Playfulness of the Pen,” 39–40; and London, *Women and Property*, 151. Both Perkins and London identify Clarissa’s friend and correspondent Anna Howe of Richardson’s *Clarissa* as a forerunner of the outspoken Miss Fluart.
 66. Colin B. and Jo Atkinson enumerate the novel’s parallels to *Evelina* in “Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*, and Women’s Rights,” *Eire–Ireland* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 97–98. For more on Burney’s influence on *Belinda* see Marilyn Butler, *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 308–11, and *Jane Austen and the War of Ideas*, 140–44.
 67. This subplot was partly based on a similar scheme practiced by Edgeworth’s father’s friend, the poet Thomas Day, with the young Sabrina Sidney. Edgeworth also borrowed from Inchbald’s 1788 play *The Child of Nature*, a translation of *Zélie ou l’ingénue*, by Stéphanie de Genlis.

- See Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 243. For critical interpretations, see Spencer, *The Rise of the Woman Novelist*, 161–62; G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 391; Julie Shaffer, “Not Subordinate: Empowering Women in the Marriage Plot—the Novels of Frances Burney, Maria Edgeworth, and Jane Austen,” *Criticism* 34, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 61–64; Susan Greenfield, “‘Abroad and at Home’: Sexual Ambiguity, Miscegenation, and Colonial Boundaries in Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” *PMLA* 112, no. 2 (March 1997): 222–24, and *Mothering Daughters*, 119–23; Andrew McCann, *Cultural Politics in the 1790s: Literature, Radicalism and the Public Sphere* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 203–4; Mitzi Myers, “My Art belongs to Daddy: Thomas Day, Maria Edgeworth and the Pretexts of *Belinda*: Women Writers and Patriarchal Authority,” in *Revising Women: Eighteenth-Century ‘Women’s Fiction’ and Social Engagement*, ed. Paula Backscheider (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 104–46; Catherine Toal, “Control Experiment: Edgeworth’s Critique of Rousseau’s Educational Theory,” in *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts*, ed. Heidi Kaufman and Chris Fauske (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 212–31; Clíona Ó Gallchoir, *Maria Edgeworth: Women, Enlightenment and Nation* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005), 37–47; and Joanne Cordon, “Revising Stereotypes of Nationality and Gender: Why Maria Edgeworth Did Not Write *Castle Belinda*,” in *New Essays on Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Julie Nash (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 147–56.
68. Edgeworth, Original Sketch of *Belinda*, from Frances Edgeworth’s *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, with a selection from her letters (1867), in *Belinda*, ed. Siobhán Kilfeather, *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth*, gen. ed. Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003), II:439.
 69. Original Sketch of *Belinda*, in *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth*, II:441.
 70. *Belinda*, in *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth*, II:179.
 71. For analyses of Harriet Freke and her role in the novel, see Colin B. and Jo Atkinson’s reading of her as an expression of Edgeworth’s views on women’s rights in “Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*, and Women’s Rights,” 94–118. Barker-Benfield reads Freke as an attack on Wollstonecraftian feminism in *The Culture of Sensibility*, 388–91. For additional readings, see Suvendrini Perera, *Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 18–21; Darryl Jones, “Frekes, Monsters and the Ladies: Attitudes to Female Sexuality in the 1790s,” *Literature and History* 4, no. 2 (Autumn 1995): 15–18; Greenfield, “Abroad and at Home,” 217–18; Lisa Moore, *Dangerous Intimacies: Toward a Sapphic History of the British Novel* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 75–108; McCann, *Cultural Politics*

- in the 1790s, 184–92; Toal, “Control Experiment,” 225–26; and Alison Harvey, “West Indian Obeah and English ‘Obee’: Race, Femininity, and Questions of Colonial Consolidation in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” in *New Essays on Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Julie Nash (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 1–29.
72. For Edgeworth’s original plan to have Lady Delacour die of her breast cancer, see her Original Sketch of *Belinda*, in *Works of Maria Edgeworth*, II:440.
73. For interpretations of Lady Delacour’s role in the novel see Figes, *Sex and Subterfuge*, 87–88; Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, “Home Economics: Domestic Ideology in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 29, no. 3 (Fall 1988): 242–62; Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 257–58, 386–92; Heather MacFadyen, “Lady Delacour’s Library: Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda* and Fashionable Reading,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 48, no. 4 (March 1994): 423–39; Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 190–94; Greenfield, “Abroad and at Home,” 216–24, and *Mothering Daughters*, 111–16; Nicholas Mason, “Class, Gender, and Domesticity in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” *The Eighteenth-Century Novel* 1 (2001): 271–85; Jordana Rosenberg, “The Bosom of the Bourgeoisie: Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” *ELH* 70 (2003): 575–96; Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 151–77; and Patricia Matthew, “Corporeal Lessons and Genre Shifts in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies* 4, no.1 (Spring 2007), <http://www.ncgsjournal.com/issue42/matthew.htm>.
74. Smith, *The Young Philosopher*, X, 4.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Rambles Farther: A Continuation of Rural Walks: In Dialogues. Intended for the Use of Young Persons*, ed. Elizabeth Dolan, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, gen. ed. Stuart Curran (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), XII:124.
2. Some scholars question the sincerity of any abolitionist bent in Smith’s work due to her tireless attempts to obtain a favorable judgment concerning her children’s rights to inherit her father-in-law Richard Smith’s estate, an estate that included Gay’s plantation in Barbados. Three letters survive in which Smith harangues her addressees about the value of this estate, which included several slaves (see Judith Phillips Stanton, ed., *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith* [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003], 282, 343, 353). Although the tone of these letters is indeed mercenary, it is important to place them in the context of the body of Smith’s correspondence, the great majority

of which consists of desperate pleas for money to assist in feeding her nine children. In addition, as Loraine Fletcher has pointed out, while these letters “never express regret about the source of the money she claimed for her children,” Smith as a businesswoman “was of course dealing with people who would regard such regret as a sign of insanity” (*Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan, 1998), 291). While modern readers may find it difficult to accept what may appear today as callous references to those suffering under slavery, it is also important to acknowledge the degree to which slavery was an inextricable component of the British economy in the late eighteenth century.

3. *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 2. G. J. Barker-Benfield discusses the link between sensibility and the antislavery movement, as well as the work of such figures as prison reformist John Howard, in *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 224–25. See also Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 49–128, and Brychan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760–1807* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 46–72. Carey traces abolitionist discourse in sentimental novels written earlier in the eighteenth century, including Sarah Scott’s *The History of Sir George Ellison* (1766), Henry Mackenzie’s *Julia de Roubigné* (1777), and Thomas Day’s *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783–89). Finally, Moira Ferguson analyzes the relationship between the abolitionist and feminist movements in *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery, 1670–1834* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).
4. Angelo Costanzo provides an overview of this movement in his introduction to *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2001, 2004), 21–26. See also Wylie Sypher, *Guinea’s Captive Kings: British Anti-Slavery Literature of the XVIIIth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942; repr. New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 1–24; and Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*, 49–55.
5. See Costanzo, introduction to *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 21; and Debbie Lee, *Slavery and the Romantic Imagination* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 11.
6. See Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*, 117–18.
7. See Anne K. Mellor, “‘Am I Not a Woman, and a Sister?’: Slavery, Romanticism, and Gender,” in *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture: 1780–1834*, ed. Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 311–12.

8. See Alan Richardson, "Slavery and Romantic Writing," in *A Companion to Romanticism*, ed. Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 463.
9. British slaves were still required to complete a four-year apprenticeship period after their emancipation in 1833. For thorough histories of slavery and the abolitionist movement in England, see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770–1823* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975); Claire Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780–1870* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); and Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005).
10. See *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 287. To support her claim, Wheeler cites significant changes in the definition of the word "race" found in the 1771, 1781, and 1797 editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. See also the work of Felicity Nussbaum, especially "Women and Race: 'A Difference of Complexion,'" in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700–1800*, ed. Vivien Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 69–88, and *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1–20. For a thorough analysis of the geohumoral foundations of British attitudes about race, particularly during the English Renaissance, see Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
11. Other examples include William Blake's "The Little Black Boy" (1789), Robert Burns's "The Slave's Lament" (1792), William Lisle Bowles's "The African" (1794), and Robert Southey's "The Sailor Who Had Served in the Slave-Trade" (1798).
12. See Stephen F. Wolfe, "'The Bloody Writing is for ever torn': Inscripting Slavery in the 1790s," in *Revolutions and Watersheds: Transatlantic Dialogues 1775–1815*, ed. W. M. Verhoeven and Beth Dolan Kautz (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 169; and Lee, *Slavery and the Romantic Imagination*, 14–15. In *Bury the Chains*, Hochschild analyzes Clarkson's work at length, as well as other abolitionists such as Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, and John Newton.
13. For an extensive collection of abolitionist writings from the period, including tracts, fiction, poetry and drama, see *Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation: Writings in the British Romantic Period*, 8 vols., gen eds. Peter J. Kitson and Debbie Lee (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999).
14. See John Bugg, "The Other Interesting Narrative: Olaudah Equiano's Public Book Tour," *PMLA* 121, no. 5 (October 2006): 1424–42.
15. Moira Ferguson discusses the influence of the Falconbridges' work in *Subject to Others*, 198–208.

16. Earle's narrative was drawn from Benjamin Moseley's brief synopsis of Mansong's life in his 1799 *A Treatise on Sugar*. For more information on *Obi* and the other works it inspired in 1800 and afterward, see Charles Rzepka's introduction to *Obi: A Romantic Circles Praxis Volume*, ed. Charles Rzepka, August 2002, <http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/obi>.
17. *Obi; or, the History of Three-fingered Jack. In a Series of Letters from a Resident in Jamaica to his Friend in England* (London: printed for Earle and Hemet, 1800), 11.
18. See Rzepka, introduction to *Obi: A Romantic Circles Praxis Volume*, para. 6.
19. J. M. S. Tompkins compares the noble savage motif in this novel to Inchbald's *Nature and Art* and Bage's *Hermesprung* in *The Popular Novel in England 1770–1800* (London: Constable and Co., 1932; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 311–12.
20. For a catalogue of such accounts see Wylie Sypher, "The African Prince in London," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2, no. 2 (April 1941): 237–47, and Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555–1833* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 45–66. An example contemporaneous with the publication of Mackenzie's novel can be found in the anonymous tract entitled *The Black Prince. A True Story: Being An Account of the Life and Death of Naimbana, An African King's Son, Who arrived in England in the Year 1791, and set sail on his Return in June, 1793* (London: Howard & Evans, n.d.). See Ferguson, *Subject to Others*, 220–28. For Sypher's assessment of Mackenzie's novel, see *Guinea's Captive Kings*, 287–89.
21. For accounts of this incident, see *The Gentleman's Magazine* XIX (1749): 89–90, and *The London Magazine* XVIII (1749): 94, cited by Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain*, 46. See also Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human*, 189–90.
22. *Slavery: Or, The Times*, 2 vols. (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinsons and J. Dennis, 1792), I:190.
23. For M. O. Grenby's classification of *Slavery: or, The Times* as an anti-Jacobin work due to Mackenzie's treatment of contemporary France, see *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 221n36.
24. *Adeline Mowbray, or The Mother and Daughter*, ed. Shelley King and John B. Pierce (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1999), 138.
25. Anne Mellor discusses the significance of Savanna's role as a mother figure to Adeline in "Am I Not a Woman, and a Sister?," 322–23, and *Mothers of the Nation: Women's Political Writing in England, 1780–1830* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 105. See also Susan Greenfield's insightful analysis of Savanna's role as an agent of exchange and mediation between Adeline and her mother in *Mothering Daughters: Novels and the Politics of Family Romance, Frances Burney to Jane Austen* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 134–44.

26. "The Story of the Pineapple': Sentimental Abolitionism and Moral Motherhood in Amelia Opie's *Adeline Mowbray*," *Studies in the Novel* 30, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 356. Ellis discusses parallels between slavery and the "'bonds' of love and marriage' in *The Politics of Sensibility*, 55.
27. "Amelia Opie's *Adeline Mowbray*: Diverting the Libertine Gaze; or, the Vindication of a Fallen Woman," *Studies in the Novel* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 142.
28. For more on Wollstonecraft and slavery, see Moira Ferguson, *Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean Connections* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); and Moi Rickman, "'Tied To Their Species By The Strongest of All Relations': Mary Wollstonecraft and the Rewriting of Race as Sensibility," in *British Women's Writing in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 140–57.
29. While discussions of race in *St Leon* are rare, Stephen F. Wolfe addresses Godwin's oblique treatment of slavery and contemporary abolitionist concerns in *Caleb Williams* in his reference to Falkland's West Indian estate and its management by Caleb's friend Mr. Collins. See "'The Bloody Writing is for ever torn': Inscribing Slavery in the 1790s," in *Revolutions and Watersheds: Transatlantic Dialogues 1775–1815*, ed. W. M. Verhoeven and Beth Dolan Kautz (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 177–79, and "'Are Such Things Done on Albion's Shore?' The Discourses of Slavery in the Rhetoric of English Jacobin Writers," *Nordlit* 6 (1999): 169.
30. For an insightful analysis of Marguerite's depiction as a modern "Jacobin" woman, see Mona Scheuermann, *Her Bread to Earn: Women, Money, and Society from Defoe to Austen* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 148–52.
31. *St Leon*, ed. Pamela Clemit, *Collected Novels and Memoirs of William Godwin*, gen. ed. Mark Philp (London: Pickering, 1992), IV:194.
32. *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, ed. Mark Philp, *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin*, gen. ed. Mark Philp (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993), III:421.
33. See Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 167. Historians have recorded as many as 128 such gradations to describe individuals of mixed race. See Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, *Minorities in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 106–7, and Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (New York: Walker, 1964), 54–62; both cited by Brathwaite, *Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770–1820*, 167n.
34. *Henry Willoughby* (London: G. Kearsley, 1798), I:218.
35. *The Daughter of Adoption; A Tale of Modern Times* (London: R. Phillips, 1801), I:274.

36. *The West Indian: A Comedy* (London: W. Griffin, 1771). Reprinted in facsimile in *The Plays of Richard Cumberland*, ed. Roberta F. S. Borkat (New York: Garland, 1982), I:4.
37. "Epistle to William Wilberforce," lines 47–50, in *The Poems of Anna Laetitia Barbauld*, ed. William McCarthy and Elizabeth Kraft (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 116; cited by Wylie Sypher, "The West-Indian as a 'Character' in the Eighteenth Century," *Studies in Philology* 36 (1939): 518.
38. *Julia de Roubigné* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777; repr. New York and London: Garland, 1979), II:42–43.
39. *The Banished Man and The Wanderings of Warwick*, ed. M. O. Grenby, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, VII:38.
40. For discussions of Smith's treatment of slavery in this novel see Carrol Fry, *Charlotte Smith* (New York: Twayne, 1996), 96–100; and M. O. Grenby, introduction to *The Banished Man and The Wanderings of Warwick*, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, VII:xiii–xvi. Grenby points out that Smith's treatment of life in the West Indies was greatly influenced by her friend Bryan Edwards, who published *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* in 1793.
41. *The Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, ed. David Lorne Macdonald, *The Works of Charlotte Smith*, XI:119.
42. Mitzi Myers also cites the influence of Thomas Day's bad Creole boy Tommy Merton of *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783–89) on Mr. Vincent in "My Art belongs to Daddy? Thomas Day, Maria Edgeworth and the Pre-texts of *Belinda*: Women Writers and Patriarchal Authority," in *Revising Women: Eighteenth-Century 'Women's Fiction' and Social Engagement*, ed. Paula Backscheider (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 105.
43. Jessica Richard discusses the significance of Mr. Vincent's penchant for gambling as a defect of his character in "'Games of Chance': *Belinda*, Education and Empire," in *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts*, ed. Heidi Kaufman and Chris Fauske (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 192–211.
44. "'Abroad and at Home': Sexual Ambiguity, Miscegenation, and Colonial Boundaries in Edgeworth's *Belinda*," *PMLA* 112, no. 2 (March 1997): 222. Greenfield argues that Edgeworth intends her readers to associate aspects of Mr. Vincent's personality with stereotypical characteristics of Africans to indicate his unsuitability as a suitor to an English woman. See also Greenfield, *Mothering Daughters*, 116–23. For another discussion of Mr. Vincent and race, see Perera, *Reaches of Empire: The English Novel from Edgeworth to Dickens* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 21–26. In changes she made to *Belinda* for a new edition in 1810, Edgeworth responded to criticism by dramatically altering Belinda's expressions of interest in Mr. Vincent and by removing her promise to marry him. See Marilyn Butler, *Maria Edgeworth: A Literary*

- Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 494–95; Perera, *Reaches of Empire*, 15–34; and Kathryn Kirkpatrick’s analysis of Edgeworth’s excisions and alterations in “‘Gentlemen Have Horrors Upon This Subject’: West Indian Suitors in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 5, no. 4 (July 1993): 331–48. Finally, Alison Harvey offers a particularly provocative reading of the intersections of colonialism, gender, and race in the novel in “West Indian Obeah and English ‘Obee’: Race, Femininity, and Questions of Colonial Consolidation in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” in *New Essays on Maria Edgeworth*, ed. Julie Nash (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 1–29.
45. Kathryn Kirkpatrick contrasts Lady Delacour’s role in the novel with that of the initially more idealized Lady Anne Percival, arguing that the Percivals’ connection to Mr. Vincent and the imputed association of their having gained their wealth in the West Indies call into question Lady Anne’s suitability as a role model for Belinda. See “The Limits of Liberal Feminism in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” in *Jane Austen and Mary Shelley and Their Sisters*, ed. Laura Dabundo (Landham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), 73–82.
 46. “Abroad and at Home,” 220. Here Greenfield also points out the symbolic significance of Mr. Vincent’s later attempt to shoot himself in the head, like the speaker in Day’s poem, when he realizes that he has lost Belinda. Perera calls the reference to Day’s poem “one of a series of thwarted pairings between European and colonial alien” in the novel (*Reaches of Empire*, 31). See also Frances R. Botkin, “Questioning the ‘Necessary Order of Things’: Maria Edgeworth’s ‘The Grateful Negro,’ Plantation Slavery, and the Abolition of the Slave Trade,” in *Discourses of Slavery and Abolition: Britain and its Colonies, 1760–1838*, ed. Brychan Carey, Markman Ellis, and Sara Salih (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 197–98. For an analysis of the theoretical implications of Edgeworth’s treatment of Africans and slavery in *Belinda* see Andrew McCann, “Conjugal Love and the Enlightenment Subject: The Colonial Context of Non-Identity in Maria Edgeworth’s *Belinda*,” *Novel* 30, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 56–77, reprinted in *Cultural Politics in the 1790s: Literature, Radicalism and the Public Sphere* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 181–206.
 47. See Greenfield’s discussion of Juba’s role in *Belinda* in “Abroad and at Home,” 220–24. For Greenfield, Juba’s presence in the novel strengthens Mr. Vincent’s association with Africans.
 48. *The Limits of the Human*, 242.
 49. See Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 494–95, and Perera, *Reaches of Empire*, 15–34. Kathryn Kirkpatrick compares the two editions and assesses Edgeworth’s changes in “‘Gentlemen Have Horrors Upon This Subject,’” 331–48.
 50. *The Limits of the Human*, 19.

51. Michael Scrivener has pointed out that the pseudonym alludes to the lecture hall where Thelwall often lectured to enormous audiences at No. 2 Beaufort Buildings, Strand (*Seditious Allegories: John Thelwall and Jacobin Writing* [University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2001], 240). See also Gregory Claeys, ed., *The Politics of English Jacobinism: Writings of John Thelwall* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995), xx, xxxiv.
52. For assessments of Thelwall's prolific career as a reformist writer and lecturer, see E. P. Thompson, "Hunting the Jacobin Fox," *Past and Present* 142 (February 1994): 94–140; Claeys's introduction to *The Politics of English Jacobinism*, xiii–lviii; and Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories*, 1–17. The Gillray cartoon on the front cover of this volume illustrates one of Thelwall's performances at a political rally.
53. *The Daughter of Adoption*, I:67.
54. Scrivener discusses this episode in *Seditious Allegories*, 274.
55. See Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society*, 248–51, and Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories*, 240–41.
56. See Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories*, 241–42. Scrivener suggests that Parkinson may be named for physician, writer, and London Corresponding Society member James Parkinson (1755–1824).
57. Review of *The Daughter of Adoption*, by John Beaufort [John Thelwall], *Monthly Review* ns 35 (August 1801): 356.
58. *Table Talk* (entry dated 24 July 1830), ed. Carl Woodring, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, gen. ed. Kathleen Coburn and Bart Winer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), XIV, part 1, 180–81 and 180n6. Among those who have noted this parallel are Peter Kitson, "Coleridge's Anecdote of John Thelwall," *Notes and Queries* ns 32, no. 3 (September 1985): 345; E. P. Thompson, "Hunting the Jacobin Fox," 108 n58; and Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories*, 242.
59. *Seditious Allegories*, 244.
60. Review of *The Daughter of Adoption*, by John Beaufort [John Thelwall], *Monthly Review* ns 35 (August 1801): 356, 357.
61. Review of *The Daughter of Adoption*, by John Beaufort [John Thelwall], *Critical Review* ns 31 (February 1801): 234–35.
62. Scrivener discusses the strikingly reformist aspects of Seraphina's and Henry's marriage in the context of Godwin's and Wollstonecraft's work in *Seditious Allegories*, 242–43.
63. See Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 41–46.
64. *Imperfect Sympathies: Jews and Judaism in British Romantic Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 3–4.
65. See Neville Hoad, "Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington*: The Price of Sympathetic Representation," in *British Romanticism and the Jews: History, Culture, Literature*, ed. Sheila A. Spector (Basingstoke and New York:

- Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 125; and Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660–1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 188–89.
66. Sheila A. Spector, “The Other’s Other: The Function of the Jew in Maria Edgeworth’s Fiction,” *European Romantic Review* 10, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 333.
 67. Spector discusses this topic in her introduction to *British Romanticism and the Jews: History, Culture, Literature* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 2.
 68. For an analysis of Levi’s work see Michael Scrivener, “British-Jewish Writing of the Romantic Era and the Problem of Modernity: The Example of David Levi,” in *British Romanticism and the Jews: History, Culture, Literature*, ed. Sheila A. Spector (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 159–77.
 69. See David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 316.
 70. *Ibid.*, 317–20.
 71. “The Other’s Other,” 310. Spector’s categories build on the work of Edgar Rosenberg in *From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1960), 206–33. See also Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 41–77.
 72. *Natural Rights and the Birth of Romanticism in the 1790s* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 106.
 73. *The Merchant of Venice* III.i.58–73.
 74. See, for example, the reviews of the novel in the *Critical Review* ns 17 (June 1796): 238, and in the *Monthly Review* ns 20 (August 1796): 477. Walker’s characterization of Bensadi may also owe a debt to Smollett’s Joshua Manasseh of *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753) and to Gotthold Lessing’s influential play *Nathan der Weise*.
 75. *The Plays of Richard Cumberland*, ed. Borkat, V:21.
 76. *Imperfect Sympathies*, 34.
 77. “Jews and Other ‘Outlandish Englishmen’: Ethnic Performance and the Invention of British Identity under the Georges,” *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 791–92.
 78. *Monthly Review* ns 20 (August 1796): 476.
 79. Spector discusses this episode and argues that Edgeworth’s treatment of minority figures reflects her own status as an Anglo-Irish “other” in “The Other’s Other,” 321–22. See also Eamon Wright, *British Women Writers and Race, 1788–1818: Narrations of Modernity* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 80–81.
 80. Rachel Mordecai, Letter to Maria Edgeworth, 7 August 1815, published in *Harrington*, ed. Susan Manly (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2004), 298.
 81. *Harrington*, 298.

82. For critical analyses of *Harrington*, see Edgar Rosenberg's treatment of the novel alongside Cumberland's *The Jew* in *From Shylock to Spengali*, 60–70, and Neville Hoad, "Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington*," 121–38. Michael Ragussis provides an insightful psychoanalytic analysis of the novel and calls it "the first work in English to inquire into the nature of the representation of Jewish identity" (113; 57) in "Representation, Conversion, and Literary Form: *Harrington* and the Novel of Jewish Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 16, no. 1 (Autumn 1989): 113–43, and *Figures of Conversion: "The Jewish Question" & English National Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 57–88. For the particular influence of philosopher Moses Mendelssohn on *Harrington*, see Susan Manly, "*Harrington* and Anti-Semitism: Mendelssohn's Invisible Agency," in *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts*, ed. Heidi Kaufman and Chris Fauske (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 235–49. Related studies also include Silvia Mergenthal, "The Shadow of Shylock: Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Edgeworth's *Harrington*," in *Scott in Carnival*, ed. J. H. Alexander and David Hewitt (Aberdeen: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1993), 320–31, and John Plotz, *The Crowd: British Literature and Public Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 43–75.
83. *Harrington*, ed. Marilyn Butler and Susan Manly, *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth*, gen. ed. Marilyn Butler (London: Pickering and Chatto: 1999), III:286.
84. See her letter to Edgeworth dated 28 October 1817, in *Harrington*, 301.
85. See Spector, "The Other's Other," 332. For another discussion of *Harrington*'s controversial ending, see Twila Yates Papay, "A Near-Miss on the Psychological Novel: Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington*," in *Fetter'd or Free? British Women Novelists, 1670–1815*, ed. Mary Anne Schofield and Cecilia Macheski (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), 359–69. Page discusses Edgeworth's possible intentions in "Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington*: From Shylock to Shadowy Peddlers," *The Wordsworth Circle* 32, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 12–13, and Edgeworth's own disappointment with the novel's ending and its reception in *Imperfect Sympathies*, 156–58. Rosenberg points out that George Eliot would reverse the situation in *Daniel Deronda* (1876), making her Gentile hero free to marry a Jewish bride only when he can prove himself a Jew (*From Shylock to Spengali*, 65–67; for more on this topic see also Ragussis, "Representation, Conversion, and Literary Form," 142, and *Figures of Conversion*, 86). Ragussis interprets the conclusion as a variation on the conversion motif and argues that Berenice's "conversion" be read in light of her father's textual analysis of *The Merchant of Venice*, in which he points out that the original source for Shakespeare's Shylock was a Christian character ("Representation, Conversion, and Literary Form," 132–43, and *Figures of Conversion*, 77–88).

86. Marcus Wood analyzes other political works in which Thelwall focuses on the plight of English labourers and African slaves in “William Cobbett, John Thelwall, Radicalism, Racism and Slavery: A Study in Burkean Parodics,” *Romanticism On the Net* 15 (August 1999), <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/thelwall.html>.
87. *Imperfect Sympathies*, 3.

CHAPTER 4

1. *Such Follies Are: A Novel* (London: printed for William Lane at the Minerva Press, 1795), I:1.
2. Review of *Such Follies Are: A Novel*, *British Critic* 6 (September 1795): 189.
3. For a thorough analysis of Holcroft’s social criticism in this novel, see Mona Scheuermann, *Social Protest in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 119–42.
4. Gary Kelly discusses this aspect of Inchbald’s social criticism in *Nature and Art in The English Jacobin Novel 1780–1805* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 102–3.
5. Phyllis Deutsch addresses the topic of gambling in detail and focuses largely on the careers of noted gamblers Charles James Fox and the Duchess of Devonshire in “Moral Trespass in Georgian London: Gaming, Gender, and Electoral Politics in the Age of George III,” *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 3 (September 1996): 637–56. For an overview of gambling in Britain in the late eighteenth century and afterward, see David G. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling* (New York: Gotham, 2006), 158–80.
6. See Gerda Reith, *The Age of Chance: Gambling and Western Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 65.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Gillian Russell, “Faro’s Daughters: Female Gamblers, Politics, and the Discourse of Finance in 1790s Britain,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 4 (2000): 481.
9. Reith, *The Age of Chance*, 66.
10. Thomas Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the Shadows of Chance: The Novel and the Culture of Gambling in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 38.
11. *Ibid.*, 41.
12. *Ibid.*, x.
13. *Ibid.*, x.
14. *Ibid.*, 249.
15. *Ibid.*, 41; see also William D. Brewer, “Mary Robinson as Dramatist: The *Nobody* Catastrophe,” *European Romantic Review* 17, no. 3 (July 2006): 271.

16. "Faro's Daughters," 481.
17. Cited by Russell, "Faro's Daughters," 500n2. "Hazard" is a dice game and an early version of craps; "E-O" ("even-odd"), an early version of roulette, is a game of chance in which the appropriation of the stakes is determined by whether a ball falls into one of several niches on a wheel marked "E" or "O." (A woman in the foreground of Gillray's etching on the front cover of this book is spinning an "E-O" wheel.) "Faro" was an especially popular card game in the late eighteenth century in which players bet against a banker, or dealer, on the order certain cards will appear when taken from the top of the deck. The game seems to have derived its name from the fact that certain cards once depicted the image of a pharaoh (*OED*). Russell points out that a faro banker stood to win great sums because he or she would win in the case of a tie or "anomalous outcomes" (486).
18. See Deutsch, "Moral Trespass," 640.
19. Reith, *The Age of Chance*, 70.
20. Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the Shadows of Chance*, 35.
21. *Ibid.*, 61.
22. Russell, "Faro's Daughters," 484, 501n11.
23. In "Faro's Daughters," Russell discusses the evidence for women's participation in gaming, including the Lord Chief Justice Kenyon's attempts to crack down on this practice and James Gillray's caricatures of women gamblers (482–500). In "Moral Trespass," Deutsch also discusses the common conception that gaming could serve to masculinize women and feminize men (647–55).
24. See Deutsch, "Moral Trespass," 647–48.
25. "Present State of the Manners, Society, Etc. Etc. of the Metropolis of England," *Monthly Magazine* (September 1800): 138–40; repr. in *PMLA* 119, no. 1 (January 2004): 113.
26. See Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson* (New York: Henry Holt, 1957; repr. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing, 1973), 332–33.
27. A "rouleau" is a roll of coins. In faro and other card games, "paroli" refers to "the leaving of the money staked and the money won as a further stake, or the staking of double the sum before staked." When used as a verb, "paroli" means "to stake one's money over again, plus that gained by it" (*OED*).
28. *Nobody, A Comedy in 2 Acts*, Larpent Licensing manuscript LA1046 (application for license dated November 27, 1794); microfiche copy of the Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, CA) manuscript, *Three Centuries of Drama; Plays Submitted to the Lord Chamberlain; English, 1731–1800, Three Centuries of English and American Plays, 1500–1830* (New Canaan, CT: Readex, 1989), Act II, p. 32.
29. "Vingt-un" or "vingt-et-un" is the French name for the card game known as "Twenty-one;" "Rouge-et-Noir" is a card game played on a

- table with two red and two black diamond-shaped sections, upon which players place their stakes according to the color upon which they wish to bet (*OED*).
30. For accounts of the *Nobody* disaster, see Bass, *The Green Dragoon*, 346–48; M. J. Levy, ed., *Perdita: The Memoirs of Mary Robinson* (London: Peter Owen, 1994), 142–43; Paula Byrne, *Perdita: The Literary, Theatrical, Scandalous Life of Mary Robinson* (New York: Random House, 2004), 305–13; and Brewer, “Mary Robinson as Dramatist,” 265–73.
 31. *Wives as They Were, and Maids as They Are, The Plays of Elizabeth Inchbald*, ed. Paula Backscheider (New York and London: Garland, 1980), II:12. Inchbald wrote that Miss Dorrillon “appears to have been formed of the same matter and spirit as compose the body and mind of the heroine of the ‘Simple Story’—A woman of fashion with a heart—A lively comprehension, and no reflection:—an understanding, but no thought—Virtues abounding from disposition, education, feeling:—Vices obtruding from habit and example.” *The British Theatre; or, A Collection of Plays, Which Are Acted at the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Haymarket, with Biographical and Critical Remarks, by Mrs. Inchbald* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808), XXIII:2; quoted by Annibel Jenkins, *I’ll Tell You What: The Life of Elizabeth Inchbald* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 416–17.
 32. *Sketches of Modern Life; or, Man As He Ought Not To Be* (London: W. Miller, 1799), I:72.
 33. Review of *Sketches of Modern Life*, by William Frederick Williams, *Monthly Review* ns 30 (September 1799): 95.
 34. *Ibid.*
 35. “Gambling, History, and Godwin’s *St. Leon*,” *European Romantic Review* 11, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 397. Similarly, B. J. Tysdahl discusses the novel as a critique of Burke’s notion of chivalry in *William Godwin as Novelist* (London: Athlone, 1981), 77–96.
 36. Crump, “Gambling, History, and Godwin’s *St. Leon*,” 397.
 37. *Ibid.*
 38. *Ibid.*, 402.
 39. *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 162.
 40. Gary Handwerk, “Historical Trauma: Political Theory and Novelistic Practice in William Godwin’s Fiction,” *Comparative Criticism* 16 (1994): 82. Handwerk extends his analysis of the novel in “History, Trauma, and the Limits of the Liberal Imagination: William Godwin’s Historical Fiction” in arguing that *St. Leon*’s reformist efforts are undercut by his inability to perceive historical repetition or “to acknowledge his complicity with his age.” *Romanticism, History, and the Possibilities of Genre: Re-forming Literature 1789–1837*, ed. Tilottama Rajan and Julia M. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 75.
 41. Handwerk, “Historical Trauma,” 84–85.

42. Review of *St. Leon*, by William Godwin, *Monthly Mirror* 9 (January 1800): 29–30; cited by Crump, “Gambling, History, and Godwin’s *St. Leon*,” 397.
43. Review of *St. Leon*, by William Godwin, *Monthly Magazine* 8 (January 20, 1800): S1054.
44. Review of *St. Leon*, by William Godwin, *The Antijacobin Review and Magazine* 5 (January 1800): 25.
45. *Ibid.*, 26.
46. Review of *Memoirs of Bryan Perdue*, by Thomas Holcroft, *Monthly Review*, ns 52 (February 1807): 216.
47. Review of *Memoirs of Bryan Perdue*, by Thomas Holcroft, *Annual Review* 4 (1805): 645.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Review of *Memoirs of Bryan Perdue*, by Thomas Holcroft, *British Critic* 27 (January 1806): 82.
50. Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the Shadows of Chance*, 44.
51. *Humphry Clinker*, ed. James L. Thorson (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983.), 195. It is true, however, that toward the end of the eighteenth century, tradesmen occasionally challenged aristocrats over unpaid bills. Although aristocrats usually rebuffed such challenges as being beneath their dignity, some duels were fought over such disputes. See Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-century England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 146.
52. Donna T. Andrew, “The Code of Honor and its Critics: The Opposition to Duelling in England, 1700–1850,” *Social History* 5, no. 3 (October 1980): 410.
53. McLynn, *Crime and Punishment*, 141; 143–44.
54. *Ibid.*, 147–48.
55. V. G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 153.
56. *Ibid.*, 168–69.
57. *Ibid.*, 53.
58. *Ibid.*, 54.
59. Introduction to *Emmeline*, ed. Loraine Fletcher (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2003), 20.
60. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History*, 187–88.
61. See Andrew, “The Code of Honor,” 420–21. In *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) (80–81), G. J. Barker-Benfield relates this trend to the eighteenth century’s “campaign for the reformation of manners,” as discussed by Norbert Elias in *The History of Manners* (New York: Pantheon, 1982).
62. McLynn, *Crime and Punishment*, 143.
63. John Bennett, *A Discourse Against the Fatal Practice of Duelling* (Manchester: C. Wheeler, 1783), 8–9; cited by Andrew, “The Code of Honor,” 423.

64. For more discussion of the arguments against dueling, see François Bil-lacois, *The Duel: Its Rise and Fall in Early Modern France*, ed. and trans. Trista Selous (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 129–43; Andrew, “The Code of Honor,” 409–34; and Kiernan, *The Duel in European History*, 192–93. An example of the religious argument against dueling can be found in Wilberforce’s *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1797).
65. *A Simple Story*, ed. Pamela Clemit (London: Penguin, 1996), 63.
66. For commentary on this episode, see Miriam Wallace, “Wit and Revolution: Cultural Resistance in Elizabeth Inchbald’s *A Simple Story*,” *European Romantic Review* 12, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 106–7; and Jenkins, *I’ll Tell You What*, 287.
67. Amelia Opie, *The Father and Daughter with Dangers of Coquetry*, ed. Shelley King and John B. Pierce (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2003), 256. For a discussion of this novel, see Catherine H. Decker, “Women and Public Space in the Novel of the 1790s,” in *Women, Revolution, and the Novels of the 1790s*, ed. Linda Lang-Peralta (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 17–18.
68. Part I, Letter LVII, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, or the New Heloise*, translated and annotated by Philip Stewart and Jean Vaché, *The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, gen eds. Roger D. Masters and Christopher Kelly (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), VI:125.
69. Edition of 1796, *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin*, gen. ed. Philp (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993), IV:69.
70. Edition of 1793, *ibid.*, III:58.
71. Gerard Barker attributes this episode to the influence of Richardson’s *Sir Charles Grandison* in *Grandison’s Heirs: The Paragon’s Progress in the Late Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1985), 131–32.
72. Coke Clifton’s emotional response to this incident would not have been an unusual reaction. In Robinson’s *Hubert de Sevrac* (1796), for example, the aristocratic hero is assaulted by an unknown assailant in the dark, and becomes despondent and nearly goes mad when he realizes that he has no way to avenge his family name and honor by challenging the unknown perpetrator.
73. For a detailed analysis of Frank Henley’s highly idealized character see Barker, *Grandison’s Heirs*, 105–26.
74. Peter Faulkner discusses Bage’s treatment of dueling in *Man As He Is in Robert Bage* (Boston: Twayne, 1979), 115–17.
75. *The Emigrants*, ed. W. M. Verhoeven and Amanda Gilroy (New York: Penguin, 1998), 13.
76. Introduction to *Nature and Art*, ed. Shawn Lisa Maurer (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2005), 23.

77. Ibid.
78. Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the Shadows of Chance*, 249.
79. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History*, 121.
80. Ibid., 154.
81. Ibid., 160.

CHAPTER 5

1. *The Excursion of Osman, The Son of Abdallah, Lord of the Vallies; A Political Romance: Including Some Anecdotes Relative to a Great Northern Family* (Liverpool: T. Schofield, 1792), xii.
2. Northmore writes in a footnote on ships that “this work is intended to blend together the *utile dulci*,” *Memoirs of Planetes, or a Sketch of the Laws and Manners of Makar. By Phileleutherus Devoniensis* (London: J. Johnson and J. Owen, 1795), 29n; repr. in Gregory Claeys, ed., *Utopias of the British Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 137–98.
3. Wishing to avoid charges of libel, the author of *The Excursion of Osman* offers this widely received proverb as the reason why he has chosen not to reveal the key to his allegory on contemporary Europe (viii). By contrast, Northmore refers to it in his description of the Godwinian civilization “Makar,” writing that this particular proverb “found no receptacle there. If a man did wrong, he was sure to be told of it. Riches afforded no shelter to error” (130).
4. Michael Gamer discusses the distinctions that Reeve draws between the genres in “Maria Edgeworth and the Romance of Real Life,” *Novel 34*, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 240–41.
5. *The Progress of Romance, through Times, Countries, and Manners* (Colchester: W. Keymer and London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1785; repr., New York: Garland, 1970), I:6, 12.
6. *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the Animal World*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Dodsley, 1766), 138. Cited by Reeve, *The Progress of Romance*, II:86.
7. Review of *The Excursion of Osman*, *Analytical Review* 17 (October 1793): 203.
8. William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 164–65.
9. Nigel Aston, *The French Revolution, 1789–1804: Authority, Liberty, and the Search for Stability* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 224; see also Doyle, *Oxford History*, 172.
10. Doyle, *Oxford History*, 172.
11. Aston, *French Revolution*, 224; 242–43; Doyle, *Oxford History*, 172.
12. Aston, *French Revolution*, 228; Doyle, *Oxford History*, 304.
13. See, for example, John Hawkesworth, *Almorán and Hamet: An Oriental Tale* (1761); John Langhorne, *Solyman and Almena* (1762);

- Frances Sheridan, *The History of Nourjahad* (1767); and William Tooke, *The Loves of Othniel and Achsah* (1769), among many others.
14. Jowler represents the United States of America.
 15. The cleaning of the filthy Augean stable was one of the famous labors of Heracles in ancient Greek myth.
 16. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “deodand” as “a thing forfeited or to be given to God” or “forfeited to the Crown to be applied to pious uses, e.g. to be distributed in alms.” A “heriot” is “a feudal service, originally consisting of weapons, horses, and other military equipments, restored to a lord on the death of his tenant; afterwards a render of the best live beast or dead chattel of a deceased tenant due by legal custom to the lord of whom he held.”
 17. Behn’s *Oroonoko* was dramatized by Thomas Southerne in 1695. Other influences of this story on *The Excursion of Osman* are noteworthy. Like Prince Oroonoko, for example, Alla-moor and her sister are captured when they are invited to a social occasion on board the slave ship that will ultimately carry them to North America.
 18. See Claeys, introduction to *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, xxvi.
 19. For analyses of *Memoirs of Planetes* within the tradition of utopian literature, see Gregory Claeys, “Utopianism, Property and the French Revolution Debate in Britain,” in *Utopias and the Millennium*, ed. Krishan Kumar and Stephen Bann (London: Reaktion Books, 1993), 46–62; and April London, “Clock Time and Utopia’s Time in Novels of the 1790s,” *Studies in English Literature* 40, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 539–60.
 20. See *Political Justice* (1793 ed.), Book VIII, Chapter VIII, ed. Mark Philp, *Political and Philosophical Writings of William Godwin*, gen. ed. Mark Philp (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1993), III:476.
 21. *Memoirs of Planetes* also parallels *Gulliver’s Travels* in its final chapter, in which Planetes is picked up and carried back to Europe by a Portuguese ship. It is noteworthy that the Portuguese sailors fear Planetes when he initially speaks French to them, because the French “had been represented to them by their priests as cannibals” (142)—a satirical reference to their government’s and the Inquisition’s efforts to discredit revolutionary France with their own people, as in Spain.
 22. The name also may have been inspired by a utopian work of 1641, Gabriel Plattes’s *A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria*.
 23. *Political Justice; Political and Philosophical Writings*, III:453.
 24. “The principal object of punishment is restraint upon a dangerous member of the community; and the end of this restraint would be answered, by the general inspection that is exercised by the members of a limited circle over the conduct of each other.” *Political and Philosophical Writings*, III:304.
 25. Claeys also cites Rousseau’s *Discours sur l’origine de l’inégalité* (1754) as an important influence on late eighteenth-century utopian works that

- advocated the abandonment of private property, introduction to *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, xvii.
26. More's treatment of private property also shows the influence of the *Republic* of Plato. In Book III, for example, Plato's "guardians" of the city are not allowed to own property or to accumulate wealth in order to assure that they remain unbiased in their rule over the "producer" class and that they avoid the temptation to accumulate more property or power.
 27. The availability of an education to both men and women is also a notable characteristic of Plato's *Republic*, Book V.
 28. Northmore later published treatises on renaming the bones of the body in *A Triplet of Inventions* (1796) and in *A Quadruplet of Inventions* (1799).
 29. For thorough discussions of British utopian works of the late eighteenth century, see the works listed by Gregory Claeys and April London in the bibliography. Claeys's introduction to *Utopias of the British Enlightenment* provides perhaps the most detailed overview of the genre during the period and includes a chronology of utopian texts from 1700 to 1802. In addition, Claeys's essay "Utopianism, Property and the French Revolution Debate" provides a particularly insightful assessment of the degree to which utopian works in the 1790s respond to contemporary debates concerning republicanism and commerce, as well as the ways in which they draw upon or extend the ideas of Paine and Godwin. Claeys also acknowledges the contributions of these texts to the development of modern socialism.
 30. "Aratus" was a Greek poet (c. 315–240 BCE) who wrote an astronomical poem called the *Phaenomena*, later translated into Latin by Cicero.
 31. James Raven and Antonia Forster note that this work was sometimes attributed to an H. Whitmore. See *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, gen. eds. Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), I: 676.
 32. April London discusses these two works, among others, in "Clock Time and Utopia's Time," 540n6. London likewise assesses the utopian novel of the late eighteenth century and the ways in which a host of anti-Jacobin novels satirized the utopian strain in reformist works in "Radical Utopias: History and the Novel in the 1790s," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16, no. 4 (July 2004): 783–802.
 33. "Utopianism, Property and the French Revolution Debate," 61.
 34. Introduction to *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, xii. It is noteworthy that Reeve classes *Robinson Crusoe* as a work that gives an account of an "unknown" and "Ideal" country in *The Progress of Romance*, I:125.
 35. Introduction to *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, xv–xvi.

36. *Theodore Cyphon* includes the escape and pursuit narrative in the stories of the hero Theodore and in that of his brother-in-law Jason Hanson, who is sold into service to the East India Company and is sent into the Raj.
37. Moody, Review of *Henry Willoughby*, *Monthly Review* ns 27 (October 1798): 233.
38. *Henry Willoughby. A Novel.* (London: G. Kearsley, 1798), I:58–59.
39. April London traces this source in “Radical Utopias,” 792.
40. The only information about himself that the author of *Henry Willoughby* provides in his brief preface to the novel is the statement that he has just come of age and that it has been twelve months since his return from the nautical profession, “a profession eminently hostile to the pursuits of literature, and the cultivation of the understanding” (I:i).
41. In “Radical Utopias,” London provides an insightful analysis of the symbolic importance of Henry’s involvement in print culture and the publishing industry as “a model for the iniquities of capital relations” (792).
42. Wylie Sypher comments on this novel’s treatment of slavery in *Guinea’s Captive Kings: British Anti-Slavery Literature of the XVIIIth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942; repr., New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 309–10.
43. See Claeys, introduction to *Utopias of the British Enlightenment*, xviii.
44. A similarly piqued reviewer in the *British Critic* criticizes the novel’s “considerably overcharged” depiction of the abuses “on board our men of war,” as well as the “various exaggerations and misrepresentations of the conduct of the higher orders of the community, of the ministers of religion, and of religion itself.” Review of *Henry Willoughby*, *British Critic* 12 (October 1798): 426.
45. For a discussion of this novel in light of British attitudes toward emigration see Tilar J. Mazzeo, “The Impossibility of Being Anglo-American: The Rhetoric of Emigration and Transatlanticism in British Romantic Culture, 1791–1833,” *European Romantic Review* 16, no. 1 (January 2005): 59–78.
46. In the Introduction to their edition of *The Emigrants*, W. M. Verhoeven and Amanda Gilroy point out that the rights of women are left out of Imlay’s utopian vision. Imlay likewise has no place for the Native Americans in his plans, unless they choose to be assimilated into the white community (New York: Penguin, 1998), xl–xli. See also W. M. Verhoeven’s analysis of the novel and its relationship to both *Henry Willoughby* and to George Walker’s *The Vagabond* (1799) in “‘New Philosophers’ in the Backwoods: Romantic Primitivism in the 1790s’ Novel,” *The Wordsworth Circle* 32, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 130–33; and John Seelye’s assessment of the reformist aims of *The Emigrants* in “The Jacobin Mode in Early American Fiction: Gilbert Imlay’s *The Emigrants*,” *Early American Literature* 22 (1987): 204–11.

47. Amanda Gilroy discusses the ideological connection between relaxed divorce laws and late eighteenth-century Americans' devotion to the ideal of freedom in "'Espousing the Cause of Oppressed Women': Cultural Captivities in Gilbert Imlay's *The Emigrants*," in *Revolutions and Watersheds: Transatlantic Dialogues 1775–1815*, ed. W. M. Verhoeven and Beth Dolan Kautz (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 197. See also Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 137, cited by Gilroy, "'Espousing the Cause of Oppressed Women,'" 197.
48. Gilroy analyzes this episode, as well as the episode involving Caroline's sister Eliza in "'Espousing the Cause of Oppressed Women,'" 191–205. Gilroy insightfully points out ways in which the chivalric attitudes of Imlay's male characters undercut the author's attempts to represent the promise of America for female emancipation.
49. Anna Neill relates aspects of the novel to Wollstonecraft's philosophy and writings in "Civilization and the Rights of Woman: Liberty and Captivity in the Work of Mary Wollstonecraft," *Women's Writing* 8, no. 1 (2001): 113–14, as does Mazzeo in "The Impossibility of Being Anglo-American," 63–67.
50. "'Seated on Her Bags of Dollars': Representations of America in the English Jacobin Novel," *The Dalhousie Review* 82, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 426.
51. *Ibid.*, 427.
52. Johnson assesses Smith's depiction of America in *The Young Philosopher*, its promise of freedom from property, and the contradictions inherent in this vision in "Seated on Her Bags of Dollars," 434–39. See also William D. Brewer's assessment of the influence of J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur and Thomas Paine on the novel in "Charlotte Smith and the American Agrarian Ideal," *English Language Notes* 40, no. 4 (June 2003): 51–61; and Elizabeth Kraft, "Encyclopedic Libertinism and 1798: Charlotte Smith's *The Young Philosopher*," *Eighteenth-Century Novel* 2 (2002): 266–67. Leanne Maunu considers Smith's utopian treatment of America in both *The Young Philosopher* and *The Old Manor House* in "Home is Where the Heart Is: National Identity and Expatriation in Charlotte Smith's *The Young Philosopher*," *European Romantic Review* 15, no. 1 (March 2004): 51–71.
53. Chris Jones interprets Glenmorris's loyalty to cause over country as a specific reference to Godwin's *Political Justice*. "Radical Sensibility in the 1790s," in *Reflections of Revolution: Images of Romanticism*, ed. Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 180.
54. For Nancy Johnson's reading of the ending of *The Young Philosopher* as a comment on the state of reformist radicalism at the end of the century,

see *The English Jacobin Novel on Rights, Property, and the Law: Critiquing the Contract* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 167–69. It is true that Smith concludes *The Banished Man* (1794) with a similar group of like-minded friends settling together in Italy. Nevertheless, while the English Edward Ellesmere, like George Delmont, leaves England to escape the conservative values of his aristocratic family, the other characters in the novel settle in Italy to escape dramatic political turmoil in their home countries of France and Poland.

55. Review of *The Young Philosopher*, by Charlotte Smith, *The Antijacobin Review and Magazine* 1 (August 1798): 188.
56. Review of *The Young Philosopher*, by Charlotte Smith, *Critical Review* ns 24 (September 1798): 82–84.
57. “Radical Utopias,” 790.

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