

NOTES

FOREWORD

1. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, trans., Herbert Weir Smyth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 1192. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.
2. Nina Auerbach, *Private Theatricals: The Lives of the Victorians* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 4.
3. Benjamin Robert Haydon, *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. Willard Bissell Pope (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 4:56; also see 4:97, 4:110–11. Also see Clarke Olney, *Benjamin Robert Haydon: Historical Painter* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1952). In a letter of September 28, 1837, Fanny Allen notes: “Mrs N. is very beautiful—the countenance of a Sybil.” Henrietta Litchfield, ed., *Emma Darwin: A Century of Family Letters, 1792–1896* (London: John Murray, 1915), 1:283. Lady St. Helier commented that Norton “had a most perfect Grecian profile and head, and such wonderfully lustrous soft brown eyes.” *Memories of Fifty Years* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), 89.
4. The anonymous contumely is assumed to have come from John Kemble. It appears in “Custody of Infants’ Bill,” *The British and Foreign Review; or European Quarterly Journal*, 7 (July–October 1838), 407.
5. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Lives of the Sheridans* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1886), 2:436.
6. Benjamin Robert Haydon Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng 1331.
7. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, GEN MSS 260, Folder 77.

INTRODUCTION: “THE CAUDINE FORKS” AND THE OPTICS OF AUTHORSHIP

1. Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1879), 176. Also see her poem, “To Mrs. Norton.”
2. William Maginn, “‘The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters.’ No. X. Mrs. Norton,” *Fraser’s Magazine* (March 1831), 222. Another of Bulwer’s poems, “Almacks, A Satiric Sketch,” includes a reference to the Sheridan beauty. *Weeds and Wildflowers* (Paris: not published, 1826), 54.

3. Caroline Norton, "Books of Gossip: Sheridan and his Biographers," *Macmillan's Magazine* (January 3, 1861), 174.
4. Juliet Barker, ed., *The Brontës: A Life in Letters* (London: Viking, 1997), 166–67. Wilfred S. Dowden, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Moore: 1818–1847* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 2:695. Lord Lamington offered Caroline and her sisters as "the brightest proofs of the transmission of hereditary qualities." *In the Days of the Dandies* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1906), 88.
5. "Hon. Mrs. Norton's 'Undying One,'" *Fraser's Magazine* (September 1830), 180.
6. Linda M. Shires, "The Author as Spectacle and Commodity: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Thomas Hardy," in *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*, ed. Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 199. Also see Dorothy Mermin, *Godiva's Ride: Women of Letters in England: 1830–1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 43–59.
7. Alice Adburgham, *Women in Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972), 253. Also see Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800–1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
8. Hartley Coleridge, "Modern English Poetesses," *Quarterly Review* 66 (September 1840), 375. This essay has also been attributed to John Lockhart.
9. R. H. Horne, *A New Spirit of the Age* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1844), V. 1:136, 139.
10. Eric S. Robertson, *English Poetesses: A Series of Critical Biographies, with Illustrative Extracts* (London: Cassell and Company, 1883), 244.
11. This is Charlotte Brontë's comment on the sisters' use of pseudonyms. "Biographical Sketch of Ellis and Acton Bell," *Wuthering Heights* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 31. For more on actresses and social standing, see Michael R. Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 112–14, and Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), 69–101.
12. Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 175. Fanny Allen's letter of September 28, 1837 expressed a common reaction to Norton's demonstrative social manner: "Mrs Norton is a very fine actress, scarcely inferior to Grisi, I think. Her manner is very striking." Henrietta Litchfield, *Emma Darwin: A Century of Family Letters, 1792–1896* (London: John Murray, 1915), 1:283. Also see Charles Eastlake Smith, ed., *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake* (London: John Murray, 1895), 1:257 and 2:21.
13. Benjamin Robert Haydon, *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed. Willard Bissell Pope (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 4: 210. Also see Lord David Cecil, *Melbourne* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962), 225.

14. Mary Shelley, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, ed. Betty T. Bennett (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 2:256.
15. Mabell, Countess of Airlie, *Lady Palmerston and Her Times* (London, New York [etc.] Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), 1:137–38.
16. Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 173; André Maurois, *Disraeli: A Picture of the Victorian Age*, trans. Hamish Miles (New York: Random House, 1928), 357.
17. Henry E. Carlisle, ed., *A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C.*, (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1887), 2:24–25. The letter is dated January 27, 1859.
18. Alan Chedzoy, *A Scandalous Woman: The Story of Caroline Norton* (London: Allison and Busby, 1992). The others are Alice Acland, *Caroline Norton* (London: Constable, 1948) and Jane Grey Perkins, *The Life of the Honourable Mrs. Norton* (New York: Henry Holt, 1909).
19. “Living Literary Characters, No. 11. The Honourable Mrs. Norton.” *New Monthly Magazine* 31:3 (February 1831), 180.
20. *Ibid.*, 181.
21. *Ibid.*, 181, 183.
22. *Ibid.*, 180.
23. Cited by Perkins, *Mrs. Norton*, 156.
24. Maginn, *Fraser’s Magazine* 3 (March 1831), 222. For a study of this series, see Judith L. Fisher, “‘In the Present Famine of Anything Substantial’: *Fraser’s* ‘Portraits’ and the Construction of Literary Celebrity; or, ‘Personality, Personality Is the Appetite of the Age,’” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 39, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 97–135.
25. William Bates, *The Maclise Portrait Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1898), 355. The expanded 1836 text includes prurient references to Actæon, Clodius, and Peeping Tom.
26. Maginn, *Fraser’s*, 222. See Fisher, “Present Famine,” 117.
27. Kieran Dolan insightfully discusses Maclise’s drawing along with other portraits in “The Transfigurations of Caroline Norton,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30, no. 2 (September 2002), 503–27.
28. Maclise reprised this setting in 1836 when *Fraser’s* published “Regina’s Maids of Honour,” an essay on nine contemporary women writers. The writers, “every one a lovely she,” are “very busy taking tea, or coffee, as the chance may be.” Bates, *Maclise*, 355.
29. Maginn, *Fraser’s*, 222.
30. *Ibid.*, 222.
31. *Ibid.*, 222.
32. *Ibid.*, 222. Maginn, an alcoholic, may have been thinking of himself.
33. *Ibid.*, 222.
34. *Ibid.*, 222.
35. Bates, *Maclise*, 53–54. Dante Gabriel Rossetti found Maclise’s portrait of Caroline Norton “whimsical as in the spirit of the series—yet truly appreciative,—of that noble beauty which in Caroline Norton inspired the best genius of her long summer-day” (53).

36. See William St Clair, *Trelawny: The Incurable Romancer* (London: John Murray, 1977), 177–78; Eric George, *The Life and Death of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter: 1786–1846*, second edition with additions by Dorothy George (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967); and Alethea Hayter, *A Sultry Month: Scenes of London Literary Life in 1846* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 99–100.
37. Dickens is imagining which of his female acquaintances is “more kissable.” Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph*, revised and abridged (New York: Viking, 1977), 237, 204. His fantasy is less salacious than Haydon’s: “Mrs. Norton’s grand majesty of beauty is sublime, but her mouth is not sufficiently voluptuous to kiss with *inside lip*” (4:57). Norton inspired other gratuitous osculatory comments, even from confirmed bachelors like Samuel Rogers. See Carlisle, *A Selection from the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward, Q.C.*, 2:8. William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray*, ed. Gordon N. Ray (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1946), 2:373 n. 93.
38. Coleridge, “Modern English Poetesses,” 375, 376. This significance of the comparison is discussed by Elaine Hadley in *Melodramatic Tactics: Theatricalized Dissent in the English Marketplace, 1800–1885* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 146–47.
39. Coleridge, “Modern English Poetesses,” 374–75.
40. Winthrop Mackworth Praed, *The Poetical Works of Winthrop Mackworth Praed*, Vol. I (New York: Redfield, 1860).
41. Frances A. Gerard, *Some Fair Hibernians. Being a Supplementary Volume to “Some Celebrated Irish Beauties of the Last Century”* (London: Ward and Downey, 1897), 232.
42. Letter of April 21, 1833. Benjamin Disraeli, *Benjamin Disraeli Letters: 1815–1834*, Vol. I, ed. J. A. W. Gunn, John Matthews, Donald M. Schurman, and M. G. Wiebe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 1:350.
43. William Makepeace Thackeray, “A Grumble about the Christmas-Books,” *Fraser’s Magazine* (January 1847), 123.
44. Thackeray, “A Grumble,” 123.
45. Thackeray, *Letters*, 2:264.
46. Thackeray, “A Grumble,” 123, 124.
47. *Ibid.*, 123.
48. *Ibid.*, 124.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Horne, *A New Spirit of the Age*, 136. Janet Ross’s comment about G. F. Watts’s 1848 portrait confirms this opinion: “If the reader will hide the frill, and sloping shoulders—so unlike Mrs. Norton’s—with a piece of paper, he will see how far finer the head looks.” *The Fourth Generation* (London: Constable, 1912), 202.
51. Earl of Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister: An Autobiography* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1885), 50–51.

52. Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, 173. L. G. Mitchell speculates that Melbourne was peculiarly attracted to masculine women. *Lord Melbourne: 1779–1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 91–92.
53. Harold Nicholson, *Helen's Tower* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), 53. Mermin similarly “confines” Norton to Byronic dimensions, noting that “[i]n the 1820s and '30s Letitia Landon and Caroline Norton made poetic careers mostly with quasi-Byronic narratives” (8).
54. Coleridge, “Modern English Poetesses,” 376.
55. *Ibid.*, 378, 379.
56. *Ibid.*, 382.
57. Percy Fitzgerald, *Lives of the Sheridans* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1886), 2:372–73.
58. “Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse,” *Matthew Arnold: Selected Poems* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), 113.
59. Edward Bulwer Lytton, *England and the English*, ed. and intro. by Standish Meacham (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 318–19.
60. Coleridge, “Modern English Poetesses,” 382.
61. “Custody of Infants’ Bill,” *The British and Foreign Review; or European Quarterly Journal* 7 (July–October 1838), 377–78. Mermin notes: “Like Byron, she made her notorious marital misfortunes the thinly disguised subject of verse, and her attacks on the legal system that empowered her husband exposed her, like Byron, to additional obloquy on the score of her personal life” (12).
62. Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 65. Also see Hadley, 158.
63. Virginia Surtees, ed., *A Second Self: The Letters of Harriet Granville, 1810–1845* (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1990), 266.

1 “THE WORLD” AND “THE (SM)ALL GREAT”: SILVER FORK NARRATIVES

1. Fitzgerald, *The Lives of the Sheridans*, 2:427–28.
2. Thackeray, *Letters*, 2:373–74.
3. This setting features prominently in *Love in “the World.”* When Colonel Maurer learns that Alice “had never been to Almacks” he stops talking to her “as Alice thought from having nothing more to say—as Col. Maurer himself thought from her not being worthy to hear” (*LW* 109). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260. For more on the haut ton, see Alison Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840* (London: Constable, 1983), 102–10.
4. The migration is described in *Stuart of Dunleath*: “the London season was over, and the flock of lions was quietly dispersing, and going to prowl

- singly or in lesser groups in the country" (*SD* 2:246). A more cutting account is found in Disraeli's *Endymion* (1:291).
5. This phrase describes the "venerable inhabitants of that venerable pile" (Hampton Court), whom Dickens also calls "the gipsies of gentility." *Little Dorrit* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998), 331. Acland, *Caroline Norton*, 24.
 6. Bulwer Lytton, *England and the English*, 85–86.
 7. *England and the English*, 85. William Hazlitt, "The Dandy School," *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*. Centenary Edition, ed. A. P. P. Howe (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1934), 20:143–49.
 8. See Matthew Whiting Rosa, *The Silver-Fork School: Novels of Fashion Preceding Vanity Fair* (Port Washington, NY: Kenikat Press, 1964; New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). Also see Sally Mitchell, *The Fallen Angel: Chastity, Class and Women's Reading, 1835–1880* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1981), 59–66.
 9. On the occasion, she was August in a quadrille dedicated to the 12 months. Wilfred S. Dowden, ed., *The Journal of Thomas Moore: 1826–1830* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 3:932–33. See Alan Horsman, *The Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 31.
 10. Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 47.
 11. Fisher, "Present Famine," 98.
 12. George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), 268. See Harriet Devine Jump, "'The False Prudery of Public Taste': Scandalous Women and the Annuals, 1820–1850," in *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts*, ed. Emma Liggins and Daniel Duffy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 1–17.
 13. Fitzgerald, *Lives of the Sheridans*, 2:370–72.
 14. James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Years of Promise 1809–1851* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1955), 111.
 15. An annotation on the cover of *Love in "the World"* accounts for why it was never published: "Prosy, foolish little book written partly as a girl and [?] after my marriage—am quite surprised at its stupidity." On the first page of the second volume, Norton repeats the disclaimer: "Novel when I was yet 'in my teens.'" Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260.
 16. She wrote, "I have been, and am, very busy with the somewhat tiresome task of 'The Scrap Book.' Thirty-six prints to be married to an equal number of copies of verses is a task which ought to admit of the employment of curates and deputies, but I do not find many willing to do duty." Gertrude Lyster, ed., *A Family Chronicle: Derived from Notes and Letters Selected by Barbarina, the Hon. Lady Grey* (London: John Murray, 1908), 248.
 17. Hazlitt, "The Dandy School," 146.
 18. Winifred Hughes, "Mindless Millinery: Catherine Gore and the Silver Fork Heroine," *Dickens Studies Annual*, 25 (New York: AMS Press, 1996), 167.

19. Carlisle, *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, Q.C., 1:287.
20. Winifred Hughes, "Silver Fork Writers and Readers: Social Contexts of a Best Seller," *Novel* 25, 3 (Spring 1992): 328–48. <http://80-weblinks1.epnet.com.silver.ulib.albany.edu>, 2.
21. All quotations from *The Dandies' Rout* are courtesy of The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Dickens employs exactly the same terms, tropes, and figures in his sketch of "dandy fashion" in *Bleak House* (BH 144).
22. William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Four Georges, Sketches of Manners, Morals, Court, and Town Life* (Garden City: Doubleday, n.d.), 108.
23. A complete and comic taxonomy of old maids appears in *Stuart of Dunleath* (2:59–61).
24. She disqualifies herself as a silver fork heroine, as Adburgham points out: "To run away for good, to elope with a lover, was social suicide. It was something never done by the heroine of a fashionable novel, although sometimes by a secondary character who is doomed to be deserted" (Silver Fork Society, 119).
25. For another poetic treatment of this theme, see "I Was Not False to Thee" (UO).
26. Of George Norton it was said: "he swallows the lovers or not according to their rank and position. Lord Melbourne yes, Captain Trelawny no." Virginia Surtees, ed., *A Second Self: The Letters of Harriet Granville, 1810–1845* (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1990), 268.
27. Cited by R. Glynn Grylls, *Mary Shelley: A Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 198.
28. Hazlitt, "The Dandy School," 144.
29. Jane Austen, *Persuasion* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 1998), 186.
30. Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy: A Public Life for the Victorian Family* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 28. For a refinement of this thesis in relation to empire, see Muireann O' Cinnéide, *Public Grandeur & Private Discomfort: Aristocratic Identity in the Works of Rosina Bulwer Lytton, Emily Eden and Caroline Norton* (Diss. Oxford University, 2004).
31. Fitzgerald, *Lives of the Sheridans*, 2:439.
32. *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York: Norton, 1997), 1962.
33. Thackeray, *The Four Georges*, 107–08.
34. Thackeray, *Letters*, 2:229.
35. *Ibid.*, 1:197.
36. Gordon N. Ray, *Thackeray: The Age of Wisdom, 1847–1863* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 53.
37. Micael M. Clarke, *Thackeray and Women* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995), 74. Clarke argues that Norton is "the 'original' for Lady Lyndon, Becky Sharp, and Clara Pulleyn Newcome."

38. Clarke, 77. Invisible husbands, Carleton points out, risk instilling in their wives "that emptiness of heart which makes any excitement seem happiness, like the visions of an opium eater" (*KB* 1:150–51).
39. *Melbourne*, 224, 229.
40. Acland, *Caroline Norton*, 127.
41. Her first royal presentation was to King William IV and Queen Adelaide on April 26, 1831, and "her splendid beauty made something of a sensation." Perkins, *Mrs. Norton*, 37, 178.
42. Lady Elizabeth Holland, *Elizabeth, Lady Holland to Her Son: 1821–1845*, ed. The Earl of Ilchester (London: John Murray, 1946), 187–88.
43. This is a frequent theme in the poems collected in *The Sorrows of Rosalie* ("As When from Dreams Awakening," "Old Friends," and "The Bride") and *Kate Bouverie* ("On Reading an Old Letter" and "The Friend of Our Early Days"). This theme also runs throughout *The Dream*.
44. Barbara Leckie, *Culture and Adultery: The Novel, the Newspaper, and the Law, 1857–1914* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 126.

2 "STRANGE UNSTABLE WORLD": STRUCTURE AND SYNTHESIS IN THE FINAL NARRATIVES

1. "Our Female Sensation Novelists," *Littell's Living Age* 78:1003 (August 23, 1863), 352.
2. Anna Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866), 343.
3. "The Popular Novels of the Year," *Fraser's Magazine* 68:404 (August 1863), 262–63.
4. On the eve of her elopement, Rosalie dreams of her father and decides not to go, although in the morning this resolve dissolves (*SR* 16; also see 21–22). Beatrice invokes the name of her father in an unsuccessful attempt to dissuade Montagu from eloping (*LS* 95).
5. It is not simply a matter of women's victimization at the hands of men, however; women are also guilty of enforcing unjust social prejudice. When no longer able to pay her rent, Rosalie is forced out onto the street "beneath the inclement sky— / Woman to woman did this deed of cruelty" (*SR* 63). Women's inhumanity to women is a recurring theme in *Lost and Saved*. Maurice Llewellyn asks of his aunt: "Do such women ever care? Do they know the value of the words right and wrong? Not if weighed against invitation-cards and diamonds—certainly not" (*LS* 314–15; also see 357).
6. Barbara Z. Thaden discusses Frank's ambiguous legal status in *The Maternal Voice in Victorian Fiction* (New York and London: Garland, 1997), 80.

7. On seamstresses and lace menders, see Helena Michie, *The Flesh Made Word: Female Figures and Women's Bodies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 56, and Deborah Anna Logan, *Fallenness in Victorian Women's Writing: Marry, Stitch, Die, or Do Worse* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 32–35.
8. "Our Female Sensation Novelists," 354.
9. *Ibid.*, 362.
10. "Current Literature," *Illustrated News*, May 30, 1863, 590.
11. James Fitzjames Stephen, "Anti-Respectability," *The Cornhill Magazine* 8 (September 1863), 282.
12. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 15.
13. Stephen, "Anti-Respectability," 285.
14. Norton's heroine can be linked to Magdalene Vanstone in Wilkie Collins's *No Name*. See Winfred Hughes, *The Maniac in the Cellar: Sensation Novels of the 1860s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 30–31.
15. *Extraordinary Trial! Norton v. Viscount Melbourne, for Crim. Con. Damages laid at \$10,000!!!* (London: William Marshall, n.d.), 25.
16. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 380.
17. *Ibid.*, 344, 345.
18. *Illustrated News*, 590.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 393–94.
21. Letter of December 5, 1848, *Anna Jameson: Letters and Friendships (1812–1860)*, ed. Mrs. Stuart Erskine (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1915), 238.
22. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 381–82.
23. See Jennifer De Vere Brody, *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), 27–45.
24. "Our Female Sensation Novelists," 350; H. L. Manse, "Sensation Novels," *Quarterly Review* 113:226 (April 1863), 482–514. <http://gaslight.mtroial.ab.ca/sensnovl.htm>, 6, 12.
25. Norton shared the view of Tennyson's speaker about Nicholas I. See Otto Hans Rauchbauer, "Some Unrecorded Letters by Caroline Norton," *Notes and Queries* 17 (September 1970), 338.

3 "THE BRETHREN OF THE LONG ROBE": LEGAL SATIRE AND COURTROOM HUMOR

1. "Cromwell and the Lawyers," *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book, 1849*, 73.
2. W. S. Gilbert, *Utopia Limited, The Complete Annotated Gilbert and Sullivan*, ed. Ian Bradley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1029.

3. Sheridan Family Papers (bMS Eng 1276), Houghton Library, Harvard University. For an early portrait of an attorney who describes himself as “monster of cruelty and meanness” (55), see “Leaves of a Life; or, the Templar’s Tale,” *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine* (1832).
4. Chedzoy, *A Scandalous Woman*, 115.
5. *Times* (London), June 23, 1836, 2.
6. *Ibid.* George expressed concern about the paternity of his second son (LCN 108).
7. *Extraordinary Trial!*, 13.
8. *Extraordinary Trial!*, 12, 15.
9. Chedzoy, *A Scandalous Woman*, 12.
10. Christine L. Krueger, “Witnessing Women: Trial Testimony in Novels by Tonna, Gaskell, and Eliot,” in *Representing Women: Law, Literature, and Feminism*, ed. Susan Sage Heintzelman and Zipporah Batshaw Wiseman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 340.
11. *Times*, June 23, 1836, 5.
12. *Ibid.*, 4.
13. *Ibid.*, 2.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, 3.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, 2.
18. *Ibid.*, 5.
19. *Ibid.* In a letter to the *Times* of August 24, 1853, George offered a different explanation: “the impropriety of her conduct and total disregard of outward appearances, by which alone society can form its opinion, no one who moved in our circles could doubt” (7). He then provided this example: “On one occasion I had seen her arm round his neck, and when I remonstrated with her she said, ‘Well, and what if I had my Melly round the neck—what was it’” (7).
20. *Times*, June 23, 1836, 5.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Extraordinary Trial!*, 36.
24. One exception occurred in closing remarks, when Campbell stated “that his client solemnly and upon his honor declared his innocence.” Defendants were not allowed to speak on their own behalf, and this maneuver was criticized in Ballantine’s *Some Experiences of a Barrister’s Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1882), 121–22.
25. Fitzgerald, *The Lives of the Sheridans*, 2:421. Norton prepared a point-for-point rebuttal of Follett’s case, which she sent to her brother immediately after the trial. British Library, Sheridan Papers, Add. 42767, f. 8.
26. British Library, Sheridan Papers, Add. 42767, f. 8.

27. See Percy Fitzgerald, *Bardell v. Pickwick* (London: Elliot Stock, 1902), as well as Randall Craig, *Promising Language: Betrothal in Victorian Law and Fiction* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000).
28. *Times*, June 23, 1836, 2.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Extraordinary Trial!*, 31.
31. *Ibid.*, 35.
32. *Times*, June 23, 1836, 5.
33. *Ibid.*, 3.
34. *Ibid.*, 5.
35. *Extraordinary Trial!*, 33.
36. *Times*, June 24, 1836, 3.
37. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1836, 5.
38. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1853, 7.
39. British Library, Sheridan Papers, Add. 42767, f. 87.
40. *Times*, June 23, 1836, 2, 5.
41. *Extraordinary Trial!*, 28.
42. *Times*, June 23, 1836, 5.
43. *Ibid.*
44. See Charles J. MacColla, *Breach of Promise: Its History and Social Considerations* (London: Pickering, 1879).
45. In *Bigley v. Dupré*, the “legal” narrative is articulated by the litigants’ attorneys; the “natural” narrative is supplied by the narrator.
46. See Alan Fischler, *Modified Rapture: Comedy in W. S. Gilbert’s Savoy Operas* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 56.
47. *Times*, June 23, 1836, 2.

4 “INK STANDS AND LAW BOOKS”: DOMESTIC AND LEGAL VIOLENCE

1. George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), 353.
2. Haydon, *Diary*, 4:215.
3. Chedzoy, *A Scandalous Woman*, 102.
4. Chase and Levenson call Lionel a “transparent counterpart to her husband.” Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy: A Public Life for the Victorian Family* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 31. Melbourne himself saw something of George in Lionel (*ELW* 69–70).
5. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 87.
6. “By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of her husband: under whose wing, protection, *cover*, she performs everything.” William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, ed. Thomas Lee, 18th ed. (London: Strahan, 1809), 1:441–42.

7. Maeve E. Doggett, *Marriage, Wife-Beating and the Law in Victorian England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1992), 35.
8. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 55.
9. British Library, Add. 44379, f. 12.
10. British Library, Add. 44379, f. 12. The distinction between opinion, which she holds appropriate to literature, and fact, which is the province of nonfiction, is also expressed in the preface to *A Voice from the Factories*.
11. British Library, Add. 44379, f. 118.
12. Kate Lawson and Lynn Shakinovsky, *The Marked Body: Domestic Violence in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002), 16. For a discussion of divorce court journalism, see Leckie, 62–111.
13. Thackeray, *Letters*, 3: 428.
14. In “The Forsaken Child,” Madeline Marchmont’s situation resembles Clara’s. She leaves her husband and son for a man with whom she has two children. Madeline ill-advisedly attempts to unite the children of her two marriages: “Woe for that day! woe for the attempt to bind together, in that strange and unnatural alliance, the children of her who had broken her first natural ties” (*KB* 2:92). A mother may see no difference between her children, irrespective of their fathers, but society does not think in these terms.

5 “HALF A LIFE”: NARRATIVES OF WOMEN AND POLITICS

1. Fitzgerald, *Lives of the Sheridans*, 2:436.
2. Anthony Trollope, *Phineas Finn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 1:58.
3. K. D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 158. Justin McCarthy cites Lady Palmerston as epitomizing the lamentable influence of women in politics. “The Petticoat in the Politics of England,” in *Victorian Women’s Magazines: An Anthology*, ed. Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 155. Also see Dorothy Stetson, *A Woman’s Issue: The Politics of Family Law Reform in England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982).
4. *Lady Palmerston and Her Times*, 2:180. Hoge and Olney note that after the trial, Lady Cowper “took an exceedingly dim view of her brother’s association with Mrs. Norton. . . . Like most of his family, Melbourne’s sister was more concerned with protecting his future than with assuaging Mrs. Norton’s distress” (*LCN* 129).
5. George Eliot, *Felix Holt, the Radical* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), 328.
6. See Michael Sadleir, *The Strange Life of Lady Blessington* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1947).
7. *Reynolds’s Miscellany* 1:15 (February 13, 1847), 233.
8. Sadleir, *Lady Blessington*, 323.

9. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, 158.
10. Haydon, 4:271.
11. Lady Marguerite Blessington, *The Repealers. The Works of Lady Blessington* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart, 1838), 1:249.
12. Sadleir, *Lady Blessington*, 323.
13. Blessington, *The Repealers*, 1:249.
14. Charles C. F. Greville. *The Greville Memoirs: A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV and King William IV* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1874), 3:349.
15. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, 158.
16. Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson point out that the petticoat was “used to depict female influence in the realm, as well as women’s dominance within the home. It would be wrong to assume, however, that these portrayals of female power were invariably and simplistically misogynist.” *Women in British Politics, 1760–1860* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 1.
17. Barbara Leah Harman, *The Feminine Political Novel in Victorian England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 6.
18. Lyster, *A Family Chronicle*, 69.
19. Greville, cited by Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, 156.
20. See W. M. Torrens, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable William Second Viscount Melbourne* (London: Macmillan, 1878).
21. Torrens, *Memoirs*, 1:138–39.
22. Hoge and Olney, (*LCN* 7).
23. Chedzoy, *A Scandalous Woman*, 78.
24. André Maurois, *Disraeli: A Picture of the Victorian Age*, trans. Hamish Miles (New York: D. Appleton, 1928), 95–96.
25. Benjamin Disraeli, *Benjamin Disraeli Letters: 1835–1837*, Vol.2, ed. J. A. W. Gunn, John Matthews, Donald M. Schurman, and M. G. Wiebe (Toronto: University of Toronto Pres, 1982), 2:425.
26. Maurois, *Picture of the Victorian Age*, 73.
27. Disraeli, *Letters*, 1:350.
28. Lyster, *A Family Chronicle*, 72.
29. Edward John Trelawny, *Letters of Edward John Trelawny*, ed. H. Buxton Forman, C.B. (New York: AMS, 1973), 199.
30. Cited by Fitzgerald, *Lives of the Sheridans*, 398–99.
31. Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, 53–54.
32. Greville, *Greville Memoirs*, 3:349. Melbourne used the same expression with Norton (*ELW* 71).
33. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 50.
34. Greville, *Greville Memoirs*, 3:349; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 36.
35. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 15.
36. Both Acland and Chedzoy assume this circumstance. Acland further contends that passages in the novels can be construed as signs that Norton

- experienced an unwise love and that its object was Herbert (*Caroline Norton*, 166–67).
37. Alice Acland, *Caroline Norton* (London: Constable, 1948), 170–71.
 38. R. C. Terry notes that “highly visible signs of victimized wives deprived of their children,” such as Caroline Norton and Rosina Bulwer, “possibly coloured the Trevelyan’s marriage break-up in *He Knew He Was Right*.” R. C. Terry, ed., *Oxford Reader’s Companion to Trollope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 395.
 39. R. H. Horne, *Orion: An Epic Poem*, ll. 239, 277–78, <http://www.bartleby.com/246/77.html>.
 40. Richard A. Levine, *Benjamin Disraeli* (New York: Twayne, 1968), 146.
 41. See John Raymond, *Queen Victoria’s Early Letters* (London: Batsford, 1963), 71–72.
 42. Jack Lindsay, *George Meredith: His Life and Work* (London: Bodley Head, 1956), 163.
 43. S. M. Ellis, *George Meredith: His Life and Friends in Relation to His Work* (London: Grant Richards, 1919), 331.
 44. Norton herself had grown used to such comparisons, exemplified by the comment of Mrs. Frederick Sullivan: “Mrs. Norton, too splendidly, magnificently, furiously beautiful. . . . She had a Cleopatra head! I never saw anything so tormentingly beautiful”—an intimation of exotic excess echoed by Anne Thackeray, who remarked that her father’s acquaintance was “a beautiful slow sphinx” (Lyster, *A Family Chronicle*, 69). Hester Thackeray Ritchie, ed., *Thackeray and His Daughter: The Letters and Journals of Anne Thackeray Ritchie, with Many Letters of William Makepeace Thackeray* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924), 151.
 45. Upon learning that Norton was not responsible for leaking the secret, Meredith inserted this retraction into the novel: “A lady of high distinction for wit and beauty, the daughter of an illustrious Irish House, came under the shadow of a calumny. It has latterly been examined and exposed as baseless. The story of ‘Diana of the Crossways’ is to be read as fiction.”
 46. Neil Roberts finds Meredith misrepresents Norton’s “authentic political activity” and calls his aesthetic choices “provoking.” *Meredith and the Novel* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 206.

6 “LOPSIDED AND LEFT-HANDED LAWS”: NARRATIVES OF MOTHERS AND WIVES

1. Haydon, *Diary*, 4:112.
2. “The Grand Fraserian Festival,” *Fraser’s Magazine*, (January 1836), 78.
3. Katherine Moore, *Victorian Wives* (London: Allison and Busby, 1974), 53.
4. *The Separation of Mother and Child* exists in an earlier version, *Observations on the Natural Claim of the Mother to the Custody of Her Infant*

- Children as Affected by the Common Law Right of the Father* (London: James Ridgway and Sons, 1837). Perkins reports that Norton was working on this document immediately after her separation from her husband (Mrs. Norton, 130).
5. See, for example, Egremont's speech on the People in *Sybil* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 276–77.
 6. One reviewer praised the poem for what is, in effect, the essence of Norton's philosophy and expression: "the writer's catholic breadth of sympathy with all weakness and all misfortune, and at the same time the searching anatomy of . . . hard-hearted vice." "*The Child of the Islands*," *The Quarterly Review* 76:151 (June 1845), 8. One of the epigraphs in *Mary Barton* comes from the poem. For more on the relation of Norton and Gaskell, see Shirley Foster, *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Literary Life* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 75–77. Also see Michael Young, "The Writer as Reader in *Mary Barton*," *Durham University Journal* 67 (December 1974), 92–102.
 7. Letter to Editor, *Examiner*, August 26, 1836. This view is upheld in *Lost and Saved* (433–36).
 8. Norton's name was invoked in support of this position by Wendell Phillips at the Women's Rights Convention of 1851. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, ed., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 1, (New York: Arno and the New York Times, 1969), 228. It has been suggested that Norton's stance is a pragmatic compromise. See Kathryn Caras, *Public Complaint and Private Sorrow: The Feminism of Caroline Norton* (Diss. Indiana University, 1984), 27, 45–46; and Stetson, *A Woman's Issue*, 47–50.
 9. British Library, Add 44379, f. 12.
 10. Dorothy E. Zaborszky, "'Domestic Anarchy and the Destruction of the Family': Caroline Norton and the Custody of Infants Bill," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 7, no. 5 (November/December 1984), 397.
 11. Joan Huddleston, "Introduction," *Caroline Norton's Defense* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1982), ii. Margaret Forster writes: "Her particular brand of feminism began as naïve and romantic but ended as something much more daring and closer to the ideas of those 'strong minded women' she so abhorred." *Significant Sisters: The Grassroots of Active Feminism, 1839–1939* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1984), 16.
 12. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 81.
 13. Chedzoy, *A Scandalous Woman*, 119.
 14. Harriet Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, ed. Maria Weston Chapman (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1877), 302.
 15. "The Non-Existence of Women. Letter to the Queen on Lord Chancellor Cranworth's Marriage and Divorce Bill," *The North British Review* 23 (May–August 1855), 560.

16. George Eliot, "Life and Opinions of Milton," *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Thomas Pinney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 156.
17. Eliot, for example, disapproved of Norton's public feud with Ellen Wood. *The Letters of George Eliot*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 5:208.
18. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260.
19. Meeting Norton in 1858, John Lothrop Motley wrote that her beauty and demeanor "twisted men's heads off and hearts out." George William Curtis, ed., *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1889), 242.
20. "Woman's Law.—Mrs. Norton's Letter to the Queen," *The Law Review and Quarterly Journal of British and Foreign Jurisprudence* 22 (1855), 334.
21. "The Laws Relating to Women," *The Law Review and Quarterly Journal of British and Foreign Jurisprudence* 20 (1854), 27–28. Also see, "The Non-Existence of Women," 536.
22. Cited by Moore, *Victorian Wives*, 49.
23. Letter to John Murray, cited by Perkins, *Mrs. Norton*, 151. Also see Barbara Caine, *English Feminism 1780–1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 93–102.
24. James O. Hoge and Jane Marcus note that Norton was less romantic and radical than Wollstonecraft, but that as writers and women of influence in nineteenth-century England they had much in common. "Introduction," *Selected Writings of Caroline Norton* (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1978), vii–viii.
25. Fitzgerald, *Lives of the Sheridans*, 432.
26. John Kilham, *Tennyson and The Princess: Reflections of an Age* (London: Athlone Press, 1958), 142–69. For more on Norton and Tennyson, see: Thomas Sadler, ed., *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, and Co., 1869), 2:335; Lord Hallam Tennyson, ed., *Tennyson and His Friends* (London: Macmillan, 1911), 41; and Robert Martin, *Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 284.
27. John Kemble, "Custody of Infants' Bill," *The British and Foreign Review; or, European Quarterly Journal* 7 (July–October, 1838): 395.
28. Kemble, "Custody of Infants' Bill," 397, 402, 410. Other derogative terms include: "she-fire-brand" (404), "she-misanthrope—man-hateress" (405), and "social Ate" (405). This author also refers to Norton's "well-known, though perhaps *non-convicted* gallantries" in connection with the alleged affair with Lord Melbourne (407). Norton was defended by Nathaniel Ogle in *Fraser's Magazine* (February 19, 1839), 210.
29. See Martin, *Tennyson*, 284.
30. Lyster, *A Family Chronicle*, 244.
31. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260.
32. *Ibid.*

33. Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy*, 43, 45. Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 83–84.
34. For the biographical basis of the tale, see Fitzgerald, 2:430.
35. *Ibid.*, 429.
36. *Ibid.*, 2:433.
37. The trope of a child torn from the mother's breast occurs several times in Wollstonecraft and Norton (*M* 61, 139; *PL* 3, 69, 104).
38. Kemble, "Custody of Infants' Bill," 309. Norton responded directly in a letter to the *Times* (August 29, 1838), noteworthy for its acknowledgment of women's inferiority.
39. Perkins, *Mrs. Norton*, 155.
40. Sir Henry Sumner Maine, *Ancient Law* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).
41. Harriet Martineau, *A History of Thirty Years Peace* (London: 1878), 4:10.
42. Bryan A. Garner, ed., *Black's Law Dictionary*, 6th ed. (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1990), 623.
43. He observes: "these fictions of law, although at first they may startle the student, he will find upon further consideration to be highly beneficial and useful." *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1765), 3:43.
44. For a discussion of this principle as well as of the events leading to the Divorce Act of 1857, see Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).
45. Kemble, "Custody of Infants' Bill," 386–90.
46. *Ibid.*, 407.
47. Eliza Lynn Linton, "One of Our Legal Fictions," *Household Words* 9 (April 1854), 260.
48. Arthur Arnold, *The Hon. Mrs. Norton and Married Women* (Manchester: A. Ireland, 1878), 3.
49. Hadley, *Melodramatic Tactics*, 162.
50. Lynda Nead argues that "although Norton played a central role in the campaign for married women's rights, her demands remained within the parameters of an uncritical acceptance of marriage and the ideology of female sexual passivity." *Myths of Sexuality* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 54.
51. For a discussion of maternity and maternal plots in Norton and others, see Elisabeth Rose Gruner, "Plotting the Mother: Caroline Norton, Helen Huntingdon, and Isabel Vane," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 16:2 (Fall 1997), 303–25.
52. Her formula exactly defines the situation of Caroline Norton, described by one biographer as that of a "reluctant rebel." Moore, *Victorian Wives*, 53.
53. *Remarks upon the Law of Marriage and Divorce; Suggested by The Hon. Mrs. Norton's Letter to the Queen* (London: James Ridgway, 1855), 3.

54. *Remarks upon the Law of Marriage and Divorce*, 3.
 55. Cited by Perkins, 254.

AFTERWORD: "SUCH IS THE TALE THEY TELL!": THE NARRATIVES OF CAROLINE NORTON

1. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 56.
2. Sheridan Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, (bMS 1276).
3. John Fowles, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (New York: New American Library, 1969), 95.
4. British Library, Sheridan Papers, Add. 40526, f. 312.
5. Norton herself turns such feelings into poems like "May-Day, 1837" and "The Fever-Dream" (*D* 216–22), both written after her children were removed from her care.
6. British Library, Sheridan Papers, Add 42767, f. 97.
7. Patricia Pulham notes that for Hemans and Norton "Sappho as art object merges with their identities." "'Jewels—delights—perfect loves': Victorian Women Poets and the Annuals," in *Essays and Studies 2003*, ed. Alison Chapman (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 28.
8. Yopie Prins, "Personifying the Poetess: Caroline Norton, 'The Picture of Sappho,'" in *Women's Poetry, Late Romantic to Late Victorian: Gender and Genre, 1830–1900*, ed. Isobel Armstrong and Virginia Blain (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 61.
9. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 29.
10. Beatrice Brooke is also compared to a "young Hagar" (*LS* 336).
11. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 70.
12. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, GEN MSS 260, Folder 72.
13. "In Memory of W. B. Yeats," in *W. H. Auden: Selected Poems*, ed. Edward Mendelson (New York: Random House, 1979), 82.

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