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Abstract

Nicola Wigmore

Material Culture and Luxury Goods in Women's Writing of North-East England, 1790-1825

This thesis examines material culture and luxury goods in the writings of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton, three women writers from North-East England. The time period examined, 1790-1825, is dictated by the publishing dates of Jane Harvey's works, and overlaps with what is broadly termed the Romantic period, 1790-1830. The thesis aims to identify and assess ways in which regional authors address contemporary issues, specifically consumer culture and fashion, as well as considering the subsequent critical fortunes of fashionable, commercial authors.

Chapter One explores the vibrant, lively culture of Newcastle and the North-East region in the early nineteenth century. Chapter Two considers jewellery, especially miniatures and diamonds, as a device used to move narratives forward in Jane Harvey's early Gothic novels, and her later domestic novels *Auberry Stanhope* (1814), *Singularity* (1822), and *Mountalyth* (1823). Chapter Three focuses on clothing, specifically wedding dresses and fabric, and the rich character development that they contribute to the works *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806), *Stanhope, Any Thing But What You Expect* (1819), Jemima Layton's *Hulne Abbey* (1820), and Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy* (1822). Chapter Four examines shopping as a leisure activity, the frivolities associated with visiting milliners' shops in Jane Harvey's *Ethelia* (1810) and *Singularity* (1822), and Layton's *Hulne Abbey* (1820); and the masculine art of collecting curiosities in house sales in Singularity. The final chapter focuses on the domestic: first the interiors in which luxury goods are displayed, and then china, in *Singularity* and *Raymond de Percy*. Although focussing on the writers of a specific region, this thesis reveals concerns surrounding material culture and luxury goods that can be seen in contemporary women's writing throughout the country.

Material Culture and Luxury Goods in Women's Writing of North-East England, 1790-1825

Figure 1: 'At the Milliners' (1822) by John James Chalon.

Nicola Wigmore

A thesis presented for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English Studies

Durham University

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Introduction

This thesis retrieves the writings of three North-East authors of the Romantic period from scholarly obscurity: Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton.[1] Twelve novels by Jane Harvey; two novels by Jemima Layton; and a poem and play by Margaret Harvey are the basis of discussion. The work of these three women is contextualised in the region and material culture of Newcastle and surrounding areas, such as Tynemouth and Alnwick. The thesis seeks to identify and assess ways in which regional authors address contemporary issues, specifically consumer culture and fashion. The writings of these North-East women are permeated by representations of material culture and luxury goods, which draws attention to complex relationships between people and objects, and the meanings that such objects accrue, in the context of regional consumer culture. The gendered dynamics of material and consumer culture are particularly significant, and this thesis highlights associations between the body and objects such as jewellery and clothes, the blurred lines between public and private in both circulating objects and commercial spaces, and anxieties about fashion and taste. In doing so, it aims to challenge stereotypes of regionality and regional literature, demonstrating the vibrancy of both literary and consumer culture in the North-East England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the ways in which they intertwine. This thesis takes us beyond England's capital and more

[1] As we shall see in the literature review, Jane Harvey is mentioned in brief in Dale Townshend's *Gothic Antiquity: History, Romance, and the Architectural Imagination, 1760-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), and Elizabeth Neiman's *Minerva's Gothics: Politics and Poetics of Romantic Exchange, 1780-1820* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019). Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy* (1822) forms part of a collection of Gothic plays edited by John C. Franceschina, *Sisters of Gore: Seven Gothic Melodramas by British Women, 1790-1843* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000). In this body of scholarship, Jane Harvey and Margaret Harvey are considered as a fashionable novelist and playwright respectively, without consideration of their regional background.

populous cities, into regional towns and cities typically viewed as provincial.[2] As such, this thesis makes a notable contribution to scholarship in the period, offering valuable work on writers who remain seriously understudied, and contributing to the project of moving beyond London-centric models of Romantic British culture. Scholars of regional literature, such as Katie Trumpener, aim to 'map the national and transnational lineages of nationalist fiction in the early nineteenth century and to draw a new kind of map of romantic fiction in the process', and regional studies such as this thesis are a vital part of this.[3] The key critical coordinates of this work are studies on commercial print culture (particularly the Minerva Press); new materialism (especially work focusing on fashion); and research into the region and regional identity (particularly that by historians, as work on the literature of the North East remains scarce).

This thesis contributes a North-Eastern perspective to the scholarship of regional literature. For one to understand readership, literature, and culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one must consider all popular fiction, and K. D. M. Snell discusses the discrepancy between the popularity of regional novels, and the scholarly neglect of this discourse.[4] Similarly, Ian Duncan identifies the flourishing of regional or provincial fiction in the nineteenth century, characterised by a setting that is '*distinctive,* differentiated from the metropolis or from other regions

[2] Chapter One explores in more detail the treatment of North-East England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Significant works include: Katie Wales, *Northern English: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co, 2001); Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie (eds), *Economy and Culture in North-East England 1500-1800* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018); Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); and Dan Jackson, *The Northumbrians: North-East England and Its People* (London: C. Hurst & Co, 2019).

[3] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. xiv.

[4] K. D. M. Snell, 'The Regional Novel: Themes for Interdisciplinary Research', *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1990*, ed. K. D. M. Snell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1-53.

within the nation, and that it is at the same time *familiar*'.[5] Duncan argues that accelerated historical change 'is the condition through which the province or region becomes narratable: as an island, or a reef, in a rising tide of wholesale economic and social transformation'.[6] As this thesis will demonstrate, however, the works of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Layton portray regional engagement in this tide of transformation. Duncan identifies regional fiction as 'fully emerg[ing] in the historical novels of Scott, committed to the historical geography of uneven development […] regional fiction sets itself to the elegiac task of recording extinct or vanishing ways of life'.[7] In contrast, Jane Harvey mostly represents North-East England as a progressive region rather than an elegiac bastion of opposition against economic and social transformation. The works considered here therefore add nuance to Duncan's arguments that:

> Regionalism, with its insistence on local grounds of identity, thus represents the ideological crisis of a national history, whether the nation is a project still to be assembled or one that is falling apart. The region first emerges to solve the categorial problem of nationality posed by the modern imperial state.[8]

The North-East region emerges from this thesis as a lively participant in the nation's transformation, not an island isolated from the modern imperial state. Duncan identifies Mary Russell Mitford's provincial novel, *Our Village* (1823), as imagining 'a "little world of our own" in which internal familiarity, a closed system of mutual sentimental surveillance, is predicated on isolation and seclusion' – themes which can be seen in Jane Harvey's works, particularly *Ethelia* (1810), and Jemima Layton's

[5] Ian Duncan, 'The Provincial or Regional Novel' in *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*, eds. Patrick Brantlinger and William B. Thesing (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 318-335 (p. 321).
[6] Duncan, pp. 323-4.
[7] Duncan, p. 324.
[8] Duncan, p. 326.

Hulne Abbey (1820).[9] The North East portrayed in Harvey's works demonstrates a co-existence of vanishing ways of life (represented mainly in the rural areas of the region), and the bustling novelties of transformation in the city of Newcastle. Of the three writers represented here, Layton is the most troubled by vanishing ways of life, railing against the progression of Wollstonecraft and her disciples, and events in Layton's novel take place in the rural parts of the region rather than Newcastle.[10] Ina Ferris's discussion of a cultural 'subsurface' is also useful here. Ferris focuses on Irish literature and its contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of Romantic society, particularly political discourse. Ferris argues that studying Irish writings draws attention to 'the often overlooked level of culture that we might call the subsurface. This area just below the surface is the sensitive edge of cultural consciousness where minds, bodies, and social rule chafe against one another'; a subsurface essential to understanding the nation's literature.[11] This statement can be applied to regional literature as a whole, as scholars of Romantic literature must dissect the 'subsurface' contained within fiction throughout England, rather than focusing solely on London and other central cities.

This thesis is the first full-length work to focus on the writings of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton, three female writers from North-East England.[12] All three wrote fictional texts based in a domestic setting, mainly set in

[9] Duncan, p. 329.
[10] Layton's criticism of Wollstonecraft is discussed in more detail later in this Introduction.
[11] Ina Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 14.
[12] As we shall see in the literature review, Jane Harvey is mentioned in brief in Dale Townshend's *Gothic Antiquity: History, Romance, and the Architectural Imagination, 1760-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), and Elizabeth Neiman's *Minerva's Gothics: Politics and Poetics of Romantic Exchange, 1780-1820* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019). Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy* (1822) forms part of a collection of Gothic plays edited by John C. Franceschina, *Sisters of Gore: Seven Gothic Melodramas by British Women, 1790-1843* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000). In this body of scholarship, Jane Harvey and Margaret Harvey are considered as a fashionable novelist and playwright respectively, without consideration of their regional background.

Northumbria, and mainly published in the early nineteenth century. While some of Jane Harvey's early works follow the traditions of the Gothic genre, others are written in a more domestic mode; Jane Harvey is the most prolific author explored here; both Margaret Harvey and Jemima Layton wrote less and are now quite obscure. Jane Harvey probably produced the highest volume of work for a woman writing in the North East during the early nineteenth century: at least twelve novels, as well as poetry for adults and children.[13] Margaret Harvey is possibly Jane's sister, and wrote poetry and a play, and Jemima Layton wrote at least two novels.[14]

Although Jane Harvey is obscure to the twenty-first century reader, her work was published and read nationwide during the nineteenth century. The time period examined, 1790-1825, is dictated by the publishing dates of Jane Harvey's works and overlaps with what is broadly termed the Romantic period, 1790-1830. The interval of time identified here was also a key moment in the evolution of material and consumer culture, and this is reflected in the novels studied here. Jane Harvey's works govern the historical framework of the thesis because she writes both before and after Margaret Harvey and Layton; her novels were also the most widely read of the three during the early nineteenth century. As well as offering a study of region, this thesis addresses the modern treatment of fashionable, commercial authors. Jane Harvey published many of her novels with the Minerva Press, and there is a twenty-first scholarly tendency to consider Minerva's writers en masse.[15] Christina Morin states that contemporary critics have largely associated Minerva Press with 'hack authorship

[13] Given the lack of scholarship on writers from the North East of England, it is difficult to compare Harvey to other women writers from the region.
[14] As we shall see in the 'Biography' section of Chapter One, sources are conflicting on the parents of Jane and Margaret Harvey.
[15] Elizabeth Neiman writes in detail about the scholarly treatment of novels published with the Minerva Press, as does Hannah Doherty Hudson in *Romantic Fiction and Literary Excess in the Minerva Press Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), as we shall see in the literature review.

and low-quality gothic romances aimed at a newly emergent, largely undiscriminating middle- and lower-class readership'.[16] However, as Morin points out, Minerva played a significant role in disseminating Irish fiction across Britain, Europe, North America, and the British colonies, and 'Lane's lists provide an insightful overview of the difficulties, challenges, and hitherto unperceived advantages of Irish popular authorship in this period'.[17] This argument can be extended to include regional works as a whole, and this thesis considers the difficulties, challenges, and advantages of North-East popular authorship in the period. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, separating one author and considering their work individually can enrich our understanding of early-nineteenth-century literature and of material culture. Harvey situates herself as a writer of historic and antiquarian texts, rather than as a fashionable author, despite the stereotypes associated with her publishing firms. The premise for this research arose organically from a close reading of the texts: Jane Harvey's novels are saturated by descriptions of luxury goods, especially clothing and jewellery.

As well as the Minerva Press, Jane published with more prestigious firms including Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, Henry Mozley, and Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, and her works were printed by radical Newcastle publisher Eneas Mackenzie. Although little biographical information about Jane survives, we know that she spent some of her adult life in the centre of Newcastle, the country's most important print centre after London, Oxford and Cambridge at the time. Jane ran a circulating library in Tynemouth, and this commercial venture probably gave her insight into what made a fashionable novel successful. Her career as a writer began with *A Sentimental Tour of Newcastle* in 1794 and continued with volumes of poetry into the 1830s. Margaret

[16] Christina Morin, 'Irish Gothic Goes Abroad: Cultural Migration, Materiality, and the Minerva Press', *Travelling Irishness in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Marguérite Corporaal and Christina Morin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 185-204 (p. 185).
[17] Morin, pp. 185-6.

Harvey wrote the play *Raymond de Percy* (1822) and several poems, and Jemima Layton published two novels, *Spanish Tales* (1816) and *Hulne Abbey* (1822). For this body of research, I have chosen to focus on six of Jane's novels: *Warkfield Castle* (1802), *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806), *Ethelia* (1810), *Auberry Stanhope* (1814), *Any Thing But What You Expect* (1819), and *Singularity* (1822). These novels are fruitful in research terms as they span the breadth of Harvey's writing career, and are the most concerned with material culture and luxury goods. Synopses of these novels, of Margaret's *Raymond de Percy,* and Layton's *Hulne Abbey,* are provided in the appendix.

As this thesis will demonstrate, Harvey uses luxury objects to illuminate the rich relationships between people and the materials which they chose to clothe themselves in, to adorn their living spaces with, and to give to others. The chapters are structured to reflect the fact that the reader is immersed in materiality, just as the women in the novels are. Chapter One of this thesis explores biographical detail, and the Newcastle of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, where Jane Harvey lived and participated in a rich and lively city of culture. Each of the following chapters considers an aspect of material culture and luxury goods within the works of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton. The second and third chapters focus on objects that are worn. Chapter Two considers jewellery, with one section on miniature portraits and one on diamonds. Chapter Three is about clothing and contrasts the ephemerality of clothing with the solidity of the jewels in the previous chapter. The final two chapters examine the ways in which Harvey's literary characters interact with objects in the public and private spheres. Chapter Four looks at the public experience of shopping and the consumer experience, with the shop as a created public

space for women. Chapter Five considers the domestic, items such as home interiors and china, which are intended to be private but are in fact exposed to external view.

Within this research, North-East England is defined as the counties known as Northumbria/Northumberland and Durham until 1974.[18] The kingdom of Northumbria was absorbed into England in 954, but the term Northumbria continued to be used into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[19] There is a wide range of scholarly debate surrounding the terms 'North East' and 'Northern', and how to apply them.[20] As these terms are often applied retrospectively, a wider exploration of their usage is not strictly relevant to this thesis. The women concerned publish nationally and do not refer to themselves as Northern, North Eastern, or Northumbrian: Jane Harvey and Margaret Harvey both make references to Northumbria, and Jemima Layton mentions the 'northern star' or 'Flower of Yarrow', Mary Scott.[21] This may well have been a deliberate decision: an avoidance of the negative associations of Northernness that would be considered incompatible with a national writerly identity. An exploration of such stereotypes takes place in Chapter One. Discussions of the importance of region within this thesis aim to broaden the literary landscape beyond the focus on the southern regions of the country, as well as considering the works concerned within the context of the North East's reputation during the early nineteenth century.

[18] In 1974, Tyne and Wear was created as a county between Northumberland and Durham.
[19] See, for example, Dan Jackson. Instances of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton using the term Northumbria have been identified where appropriate throughout the thesis.
[20] Again, this can be seen in works such as those by Katie Wales, Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds), Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie (eds), Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds), and Dan Jackson.
[21] Jemima Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, 3 vols (London: William Pearson, 1820), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], I, p. 30.

The Political and Religious Views of Jane Harvey and Jemima Layton

An overview of the political and religious opinions of the authors is useful at the outset of this thesis. Unfortunately, little indication of Margaret Harvey's political and religious views can be read in her works. No evidence of Jane's political stance remains outside her novels, but we can surmise some political views from her texts. As we shall see in the chapters of this thesis, Harvey makes a distinction between pretenders to aristocracy, who attempt to gain titles and are overly concerned with amassing wealth, represented by Lady Walpole in *Any Thing* (1819) and the Starbucks in *Singularity* (1822), and the younger generation born into aristocratic titles, who are humble and charitable, contributing to society and providing various patronages when they inherit their titles in these novels. Layton also praises those who inherit titles, lauding the 'undaunted spirit' as an 'immortal virtue in the noble family [of the Percys]. The Crusades, the wars of the Red and White Rose, and the Border Feuds, abound with records of the prowess of the Percy family.'[22] Layton's views are perhaps influenced by the status of her own family, who were members of the gentry.

Although her novels are mostly set in England, Jane also refers to France and America. The characters in Harvey's *Singularity* lament their initial support for the French Revolution, and associate revolutionary politics with excess and frippery. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Harvey also makes frequent references to America throughout her novels: in *Singularity,* the heroine Augusta's uncle, ruined by gambling, finds refuge in America, and Clerimont escapes the guillotine by fleeing to America. Auberry Stanhope's father was killed in America, and in *Any Thing But What You Expect,* the mistress of the heroine's love interest, Lord Lochcarron, is encouraged to flee to America. In *Ethelia,* Harvey refers to the 'unhappy contest which severed

[22] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. vi.

the connection between Great Britain and her American colonies.'[23] The heroine Ethelia's sister, Auretta, elopes to America with her husband, and her child is sent from America to Ethelia in England.

Later in the novel, Louis Milford tells Auretta's daughter, his love interest, that '"I may have somewhat of the *savage* in my disposition, for I was born in America, in the midst of war and slaughter."'[24] Milford's father, it is later revealed, was a prisoner of war in America. Harvey establishes America as a place to flee to, but only as a last resort, for characters at risk of death, such as Clerimont, jilted mistresses, such as Lord Lochcarron's mistress, and eloping couples, such as Auretta and her husband. It seems likely that Harvey depicts America in this way, particularly the American war, as a commentary on the French Revolution, in a similar way to Charlotte Smith in *The Old Manor House* (1793). As Carmel Murphy points out, the American Revolution had 'exerted a profound impact on British politics and society, and it occupied an important place within political dialogue centred on questions of liberty, civil authority and revolutionary action in the 1790s.'[25] While Smith uses America to remind the user that a republic had been successfully established, however, Jane depicts America as place of war, savagery, and slaughter. Jemima Layton also conflates America with war, praising the father of the current Duke of Northumberland for his 'distinguished part in the American war'.[26]

Jane Harvey's religious views seem to be in keeping with those prevalent in England at the time. In *Mountalyth* (1823), the main characters question the celebration of the fifth of November, and Kepple states '"that loyal folks may rejoice

[23] Jane Harvey, *Ethelia,* 3 vols (London: Longman, 1810), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online,* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], I, p. 33.
[24] Harvey, *Ethelia,* II, p. 174.
[25] Carmel Murphy, 'Jacobin History: Charlotte Smith's *Old Manor House* and the French Revolution Debate', *Romanticism* 20:3 (2014), 271-81 (p. 271).
[26] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, pp. vi-vii.

over Papishes and Jacobites, and that all traitors may be deterred from hatching such treasonable plots"'.[27] Later in the novel, Harvey states that '"every face was gay, and every heart contented"' during the period of history 'when, after the suppression of the rebellion of 1745-6 internal tranquillity was firmly established under a Protestant dynasty, and patriotism was once the spirit and fashion of the day'.[28] In *Auberry Stanhope,* Lady Bradshaw's conman husband, Palliotti, is a Catholic, and in *Ethelia,* the family of Milford's wife are Catholic. As discussed in Chapters One and Four of this thesis, both Palliotti and the family of Milford's wife are immoral, and this immorality is conflated with their Catholicism. It seems from her novels, therefore, that Harvey is a Protestant.

Although no record of her religious affiliation exists, Harvey lived at Brunswick Place, the same location as Brunswick Methodist Church, and her neighbour was a Methodist minister, making it possible that Harvey was a Methodist. There were links between Methodism and America, which might explain Harvey's extensive knowledge of American politics: the founder of Methodism, John Wesley, ordained priests for the American colonies during the American Revolutionary War. Jemima Layton does not make reference to Catholicism, but she states in her Preface: 'many of the pretended followers of Christ, are inveterate against the Bible Society', which was a Protestant organisation.[29] Her declaration: 'to go to church regularly, and be in a conspicuous place, have a very smart dress, and talk with your neighbours of the occurrences of the week,- is not to be a Christian', criticises the Catholic and Church of England tradition of visiting church to be seen by others.[30] Layton's publisher, John

[27] Jane Harvey, *Mountalyth,* 3 vols (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1823), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online,* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], I, p. 7.
[28] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 20, p. 21.
[29] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. xvi.
[30] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. xii.

Hatchard, held evangelical views and published evangelical texts, which further reinforces her associations with religion and with Protestantism rather than Catholicism.

Jemima Layton's views are more conservative than Harvey's. Layton's *Spanish Tales* is a translation of Alain-René Lesage's *Histoire d'Estevanille Gonzalez* (1732), which Lesage loosely translated from the anonymous Spanish novel *Estebanillo Gonzalez* (1646). Layton's translation is faithful to Lesage's original, following the narrative and the language used. In the 'Preface' to her translation of the novel Layton makes her views on feminine sexuality clear, stating:

> It is for the advantage of the present generation, that most respectable Writers have undertaken the task of Novelists. A few years since, heroines were disciples of Mary Wollstonecraft, and more suited for the Magdalen Asylum than companions for the drawing-room. The modest virgin, and the well-tutored mind, that had been taught to fear God and honour the King, could not peruse the pages, without having all their best feelings shocked. Two authoresses of that era brought their school to annihilation, from want of delicacy in their works. Parents could no longer confide children to the tuition of those, whose works they interdicted them from reading. Some of the most modern writers have been sought out for the guardians and instructresses of youth: their works have created a school: the others pulled one down.[31]

The first Magdalen Asylum was opened in England in 1758 to receive female prostitutes under the age of thirty who wished to reform. The 'inmates' were given laundry work and needlework, and religious instruction.[32] The institution was named

[31] Layton, *Spanish Tales,* I, pp. viii-ix.
[32] Peter Higginbotham, 'The Magdalen Hospital, London', *Children's Homes,* available at: <http://www.childrenshomes.org.uk/LondonMagdalen/> [accessed 18 July 2022].

Magdalen House when it opened, but renamed the Magdalen Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes in 1772, although its purpose was never to provide medical treatment. The name 'Magdalen Asylum' was assigned to the first asylum in Dublin, opened in 1767, the Magdalen Asylum for Penitent Females. The Rev. Edward Bayly, Dean of Ardfert, gave a speech at the opening of this asylum's chapel in 1768, where he stated: 'I would have you looked upon not as what ye were, but what I trust in God you are, that is, not as Criminals, but Penitents.'[33] As a devoutly religious woman, Layton would presumably echo this view on the effectiveness of penitence, and thus recognise the potential for reformation in the heroines she condemns. The 'two authoresses of that era' who Layton refers to are not named: one is presumably Mary Hays, the second is possibly Charlotte Smith or another of Wollstonecraft's disciples listed in Richard Polwhele's poem 'The Unsex'd Females' (1798). Polwhele names Smith, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Mary 'Perdita' Robinson, Helen Maria Williams, Ann Yearsley, Mary Hays, Angelica Kauffman, and Emma Crewe. Barbauld and Yearsley are poets, and Kauffman and Crew are artists, making them less likely candidates, as Layton seems to be referring to novelists. Layton certainly agrees with Polwhele, that 'no decorum checks' Wollstonecraft.[34]

Hulne Abbey (1820) is a didactic novel and 'christian manual', where Layton's views on femininity are reinforced.[35] Layton opens the novel with a short verse, which is unattributed, so possibly self-penned. In the Preface, Layton writes: 'it was thought a work might be beneficial to society, wherein the two extremes of the female

[33] Edward Bayly, 'A sermon preached on the opening the chappel of the Magdalen Asylum for female penitents, in Leeson-street, on Sunday, the 31st day of January, 1768', *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=ECCO> [accessed 01 October 2022], p. 15.
[34] Richard Polwhele, 'The Unsex'd Females: a Poem Addressed to the Author of the Pursuits of Literature' (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798), *University of Virginia* <https://search.lib.virginia.edu/> [accessed 01 October 2022], p. 13.
[35] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. xvi.

character were depicted.'[36] Layton claims to have been 'frequently solicited' to write such a novel because of her talent, and states:

> The life of an amiable female is so much in domestic scenes, it is difficult to avoid such a character having the imputation of being stupid. Scenes in low life, and of vice, must be disgusting to many. To avoid disgusting with insipidity or vice, is not easy in depicting the characters of an amiable and a vicious woman. To have the one attractive, so as to induce others "to go and do likewise," and to shun the latter like Scylla, or Charybdis. […] Very little is brought forward in any character that is not fact.[37]

It is clear from these prefaces to her novels that Layton holds conservative views on religion and gender. As we shall see, religion is an important theme throughout her novels, and women who are not virtuous are penalised.

[36] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. ix.
[37] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, pp. ix-x.

Existing Criticism on Material Culture and Luxury Goods

Figure 2: Progress of the Toilet: Dress Completed, by Janes Gillray[38]

[38] James Gillray, 'Progress of the Toilet: Dress Completed' (1810), *Victoria & Albert Museum* <https://www.vam.ac.uk> [accessed 01 March 2021]. The website caption reads: 'This print depicts a lady, dressed for evening in the most up to date fashion of the day (1810), admiring herself in a mirror.' The caption also acknowledges the presence of *Delphine* and *The Monk*, two fashionable and controversial novels in this period, suggesting that the print's subject has been reading material deemed '"improper" for respectable women.' This illustration demonstrates the contemporary conflation between fashion and 'improper' reading materials.

This thesis, as initially stated, is the first full-length study of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton. Jemima Layton's novels are not available in print, and she is not mentioned in any literary criticism, although a few biographical details are given in the Broadview edition of her sister Anne Plumptre's novel, *Something New*.[39] Although disappointing, the lack of biographical information for these writers is not surprising, when we consider how little we know about contemporary female authors. Jane Harvey is mentioned in brief in Elizabeth Neiman's *Minerva's Gothics,* where Neiman reads Harvey as a 'more reluctant Minerva author', which seems accurate given Jane's publishing history, discussed in the following chapter.[40] The biographical information, explored in Chapter One, suggests Jane's decision to publish with Minerva Press was almost certainly to generate an income as a single woman. Neiman makes a distinction between authors such as Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, and William Wordsworth, who she argues wrote in pursuit of Romantic genius, and the Minerva authors, who wrote fashionable novels for financial gain. Commercial novels were circulated to a wider and more diverse audience, as Neiman points out, than more lofty works such as Wollstonecraft and Godwin's novels. It is difficult to analyse readership accurately, as circulating libraries were commercial ventures and did not keep records for posterity.[41] However, as Jane published with the Minerva Press, and her books were held by circulating libraries across the country, both commercial ventures, it is safe to assume she had a large readership.

[39] Deborah McLeod, 'Introduction' in Anne Plumptre, *Something New: or, Adventures at Campbell House* (1801) (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), pp. vii-xxv.
[40] Neiman, p. 204.
[41] David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008), p. 9.

In their original board bindings, 'nobody has ever claimed that […] Minerva Press novels were aesthetically pleasing and distinctive in appearance', apart from a brief period at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, when their 'binding displayed an unusual elegance'.[42] Because Minerva Press novels 'catered to the day's fashion (e.g. gothic romances, sentimental novels, tales of the times), they were and still are generally dismissed as ephemera'.[43] Hannah Doherty Hudson states that discussions of fiction from this period, what Hudson calls the 'Minerva Press Era,', 'almost invariably describe it in terms that emphasize its sheer quantity. Romantic novels, in such accounts, aren't written or crafted, they are churned out'.[44] Although Jane Harvey is not mentioned by Hudson, Harvey's prolific writing lends itself well to this account. Hudson goes on to identify the strong links between this overwhelming abundance and '"undesirable" literary developments including professional women authors and working-class literacy' in the production of novels, especially those of the Minerva Press.[45]

The Minerva Press 'served as a focal point for societal anxieties about circulating libraries (and their patrons) in general'.[46] Elizabeth Neiman argues 'Minerva Press novelists – marginalized by a feminizing discourse and, more often than not, women themselves – are uniquely situated to feel the constraints of their genre: the circulating-library novel'.[47] On the Orlando Project website, Harvey is described as 'an early and unusual practitioner of the new genre of the guidebook', who 'veers with the winds of fashion, but handles her themes with unfailing intelligence. In the earlier novels

[42] Jonathan E. Hill, 'Minerva at Aberdeen: A. K. Newman and Books in Boards', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780-1840* 16 (2006), 21-39 (p. 21).
[43] Neiman, p. xv.
[44] Hudson, p. 2.
[45] Hudson, p. 2.
[46] Hudson, p. 5.
[47] Neiman, p. xvii.

especially, the central love-story is upstaged by colourful minor characters and frequently by accompanying feminist analysis as well'.[48] As quoted above, Neiman briefly mentions Harvey as one of the Minerva Press's authors.[49] Presumably, Jane published with Minerva Press to raise money; as Allan states above, a circulating library was a commercial enterprise, and Jane ran a circulating library and published novels prolifically. This is supported by the fact her death certificate lists Jane as a 'spinster', which means she was presumably self-sufficient rather than reliant on a husband.

Dale Townshend also mentions Jane Harvey, stating that 'Gateshead-born travel writer, poet, children's author, and Gothic romancer Jane Harvey' is one who 'most enthusiastically responded to the topographical call to write about, and in so doing preserve, the Gothic antiquities of nearby and familiar locales'.[50] Townshend refers to the introductory poem on the title page of Jane's *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806), detailing 'the author's turning away from imaginary castles towards more self-consciously historical and antiquarian subject matter'.[51] This is true for most of Harvey's work: interestingly, in *Singularity* (1822), Harvey writes of a fictional castle, Starbuck Castle, which is full of modern, fashionable items rather than the antiquities of a more traditional castle. Townshend identifies a 'cry for architectural preservation, of course, [which] is a manifestation of the spirit of "heritage"' prevalent in late

[48] The Orlando Project, 'Women's Writing in the British Isles from the Beginnings to the Present' <https://orlando.cambridge.org> [accessed 01 June 2020]. The Orlando Project textbase 'comprises more than 8 million words of original scholarship about women writers' lives, bodies of work, and cultures'. The project is published through Cambridge University Press, with more than 130 graduate and undergraduate students and postdoctoral fellows contributing, along with a growing network of external contributors.
[49] Neiman, p. 204.
[50] Townshend, p. 273.
[51] Townshend, p. 158. This poem is discussed in Chapter One.

eighteenth-century Britain and Europe.[52] According to Townshend, *The Castle of Tynemouth* and *Brougham Castle* (1816):

> antiquarian romances—Gothic romances set in some of the extant ruined castles of eighteenth-century Britain—participated in this mindset, too, and thus constitute, like the topographical descriptions with which they were contemporary, an important moment in the "prehistory" of modern heritage.[53]

In her Preface to *Tynemouth,* Jane gives a history of the heritage of Tynemouth, highlighting its cultural importance and indicating that she expects her readership to extend beyond locals with existing knowledge of Tynemouth's history. Townshend describes this Preface as an attempt to negotiate the impasse of the divide between history and romance:

> through topography, the strict observance of "geographical accuracy" and the "localities of place" […] the tensions between the "integrity, truth and candour" of the historian and the "work of imagination" of the romancer might be resolved.[54]

Townshend recognises Harvey's use of footnotes as 'an attempt at counterbalancing the flighty turns of romance', which 'as Anthony Grafton, Susan Manning, and Rosemary Sweet have pointed out, was a feature particular to antiquarian writing in the period.'[55] Townshend argues that authors such as Jane, who locate their novels in Gothic ruins, and support 'their narrative with empirical facts and information concerning local antiquities', aspire to elevate their novels from Gothic romances to 'the scholarly rigour and objectivity of antiquarian topography'.[56] Townshend's

[52] Townshend, p. 272.
[53] Townshend, p. 272.
[54] Townshend, p. 274.
[55] Townshend, p. 275.
[56] Townshend, p. 275.

argument is thus similar to Neiman's: that Jane was a 'reluctant' Minerva author, seeking rather to be considered as a more 'scholarly' writer.

Jane Harvey's books are not currently available as print editions, although Chawton House have *The Castle of Tynemouth* and *Any Thing But What You Expect* available online. Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy; or, the Tenant of the Tomb* (1822), however, is published in a collection of Gothic melodramas by John C. Franceschina, alongside plays by Harriet Lee, Catherine Gore, and Mrs Burke.[57] Franceschina summarises what little biographical information is known about Margaret to preface the play. In the Preface to Franceschina's work, Catherine Haill identifies Jane Scott's *The Old Oak Chest* (1816) as the most popular female-penned melodrama during the 'heyday of Gothic melodrama', 'shamelessly appeal[ing] to vulgar tastes […] repaid by huge success'.[58] By contrast, Haill argues, Margaret 'did aspire to inject literary qualities into melodrama and based her melodrama on historical characters'.[59] Franceschina states, 'according to the few critics who took the form seriously, melodramas were supposed to be moral'.[60] He reminds us that 'during the first half of the nineteenth century, the melodrama was, by nature, a *dangerous* form of English theatre. It skirted the patent laws, aroused emotions through spectacular devices instead of poetry, and was unabashedly revolutionary in spirit and in practice'.[61]

The genre of melodrama provided female contributors 'with opportunities for double-voicing, or reinscribing their ordinary experiences into romantic adventures

[57] Franceschina states that 'nothing is known of Miss Burke (or Mrs Burke as she is called in The London Stage), but her *The Ward of the Castle* (1793) is possibly the first Gothic melodrama written by a woman (p.17).
[58] Catherine Haill in Franceschina, p. ix.
[59] Haill, p. ix.
[60] Franceschina, p. 2.
[61] Franceschina, p. 4.

in ways that were acceptable to a male-dominated art form'.[62] Franceschina cites Ellen Moers's 'similar conclusion in her discussion of Mrs. Radcliffe's Gothic novels', as a 'device to send maidens on distant and exciting journeys without offending the proprieties'.[63] According to Franceschina, *Raymond de Percy* was the first 'historical' Gothic melodrama written by a woman to be performed.[64] The suit of armour that moves in the play also occurs in Jephson's *The Count of Narbonne* (1781), where it is likely to be an allusion to the suit of armour in Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto,* as *The Count of Narbonne* is based on *Otranto,* although Franceschina does not mention Walpole's novel. Franceschina describes *Raymond de Percy* as:

> on first examination […] little more than an adaptation of Lewis's Play [*The Castle Spectre*]. The characters of Percy, Motley, and Kenrick have the same names and functions in both plays. The villain in both has an obsessive desire to possess the hero's beloved and is tormented by guilt made manifest by the apparition of a ghost in a tomb. The similarities are great, to be sure, but the differences are even more substantial. Where *The Castle Spectre* was accused of having licentious dialogue and violently democratic sentiments […] *Raymond de Percy* is perhaps the most conservatively moral play in this volume. Written by the headmistress of a girl's school in Bishopwearmouth for a provincial audience of sailors and merchants, the play presents women in their most traditional role of long-suffering heroine, unable to act without the assistance of a man.[65]

[62] Franceschina, p. 4.
[63] Franceschina, pp. 4-5.
[64] Franceschina, p. 6.
[65] Franceschina, p. 6.

Although, as Franceschina suggests, the women of the play largely conform to tradition, there are moments of transgression, such as Bertha cross-dressing to escape her uncle. Like her sister Jane, Margaret chooses a typically feminine genre to avoid offending proprieties, but finds opportunities for transgressive episodes in her narrative. Both sisters aspire to 'inject literary qualities' into their works, demonstrating their education and elevating a form of art often considered as light entertainment to something more aspirational.

Jane Harvey dedicates pages of description to items such as clothing and jewellery, and an entire chapter to a shopping experience at an estate sale. New materialism is currently a popular methodology for interdisciplinary scholarship, including studies of literature in the Romantic and Victorian period, with prominent researchers including Elizabeth Grosz, Stacey Alaimo, Susan J. Hekman, Patrick Joyce, Tony Bennett, Diana Coole, and Samantha Frost adopting this approach. Coole and Frost emphasise the fact that human beings are completely immersed in the material, and new materialism focuses on 'changing conceptions of material causality and the significance of corporeality'.[66] Although, as they point out, materialist approaches such as existential phenomenology or structural Marxism have arguably been exhausted, scholars of new materialism 'do not wish to deny their rich materialist heritage', but create a 'renewed' materialism which incorporates feminism, queer theory, and postcolonial studies.[67] Joyce and Bennett 'suggest, that questions concerning the relations between culture, economy and the social now need to be posed'.[68] Alaimo and Hekman state 'many feminists have turned their attention to

[66] Diana Coole and Samantha Frost, 'Introducing the New Materialisms' in *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics,* ed. Diana Coole and Samantha Frost (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 1-46 (p. 2).
[67] Coole and Frost, p. 4.
[68] Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett, 'Introduction' in *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn,* ed. Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-22 (p. 7).

social constructionist models'.[69] These new materialist scholars position their 'renewed' materialism as a response to postmodernism and poststructuralism, methodologies which Alaimo and Hekman argue 'have focused almost entirely on the textual, linguistic, and discursive'.[70]

The study of clothing is gendered: male and female garments have differed throughout history, but for women in particular clothing was a rare opportunity for self-expression in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Fiona Price points out that in the last three decades of the eighteenth century 'much of the political significance of the female figure is expressed through women's manipulation of the codes of taste: dress, accomplishment, reading – and the way their taste as a whole affects the community has the greatest political significance.'[71] Maurizia Boscagli argues that 'shopping for clothes is one of the designated activities for women in western cultures of abundance, fashion the cultural terrain where they are interpellated into femininity and consumption'.[72] This is particularly relevant when locating women within the emergent landscape of consumerism of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. As Price and Boscagli both highlight, it is through everyday objects, such as clothing, that we can truly understand the cultural terrain that authors such as Jane Harvey wrote about. Here, Boscagli alludes to the links between clothing, gender, and shopping that this body of research will return to frequently: the three are inextricably linked. Boscagli identifies clothing as partaking of 'the duplicity of the talisman: as aesthetic objects they are charged with intimacy

[69] Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman, 'Introduction: Emerging Models of Materiality in Feminist Theory' in *Material Feminisms,* ed. Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 1-22 (p. 10).
[70] Alaimo and Hekman, p. 3.
[71] Fiona Price, *Revolutions in Taste, 1773-1818: Women Writers and the Aesthetics of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 8.
[72] Maurizia Boscagli, *Stuff Theory: Everyday Objects, Radical Materialism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 81.

and thus occupy a potentially synesthetic position in regard to the subject'.[73] Clothes become a part of the body, an extension of the self, but also create a boundary between the self and the external world. The complexity of the relationship between clothes and the body means that, as Boscagli argues, 'the spectacle of the adorned body makes the categories of subject, gender, and materiality shifting and unstable'.[74] Will Fisher states that identity is 'constructed by being written onto and around objects', and this is particularly true of dress.[75]

Recent scholarship has taken into consideration women's clothing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries specifically, including Jennie Batchelor's *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (2005), Chloe Wigston Smith's *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (2013), Hilary Davidson's *Dress in the Age of Jane Austen: Regency Fashion* (2019), and Barbara Burman and Ariane Fennetaux's *The Pocket: A Hidden History of Women's Lives, 1660-1900* (2019). Timothy Campbell identifies a self-consciousness about fashion in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as 'Britons coordinated [a] new awareness of the historical past with an unprecedently abundant material world'.[76] Campbell attributes an 'early appreciation of how one might begin to look in history' to fashion, 'how we might look from our own contemporaneity with eyes belonging to a past era'.[77] While Campbell analyses fashion from 1740 to 1830, Hilary Davidson's work is the first single-volume survey of Regency dress. Davidson focuses on the clothing of the middling and upper classes, and argues the 'Regency is defined

[73] Boscagli, p. 88.
[74] Boscagli, p. 88.
[75] Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 42.
[76] Timothy Campbell, *Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740-1830* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), p. 12.
[77] Campbell, p. 14.

by strong clothing narratives'.[78] Davidson highlights the fact that fashion is always about bodies, as it is created and worn by bodies, 'and the body must be dressed in almost all social encounters. If fashion concerns the imaginary body, an ideal to be aspired to, dress balances clothing and adornment on the lived, experiential body.'[79] Dress was a 'negotiation based upon personal networks of taste and consumption possibilities, and it is in the eighteenth century that "the consumer" appears for the first time as a social character'.[80] Like Boscagli, Davidson cannot mention dress without referring to consumption, which reflects the co-dependency of the two concepts. Campbell similarly identifies a 'convergence of fashion, commerce and historical specificity' between 1740 and 1830.[81]

Chloe Wigston Smith also emphasises the relationship between dress and the body: 'in staging an aesthetic of concealment and disclosure, eighteenth-century fashions for women complicated the epistemology of clothes'.[82] Smith identifies 'a common consensus in eighteenth century culture in which dress and identity are collapsed together', which reiterates Fisher's point, that identity is constructed through objects.[83] Interestingly, Smith states that 'elite garments showcase the surprising contrast between the spectacular exteriors of upper-class garments and their slapdash internal constructions', a significant point when considering the relationship between the exteriority of clothing and the interiority of the body contained within.[84] By the late eighteenth century, designers of 'text and textiles alike aspired to an ideal of aesthetic

[78] Hilary Davidson, *Dress in the Age of Jane Austen: Regency Fashion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), p. 11.
[79] Davidson, p. 19.
[80] Davidson, p. 19.
[81] Campbell, p. 1.
[82] Chloe Wigston Smith, *Women, Work and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 5.
[83] Smith, p. 8.
[84] Smith, p. 8.

simplicity in language and garments'.[85] However, as Smith states, although 'late-century fashions have been hailed as a "democratic" style for women, contemporary engravings showcase how the female body was diminished and displaced by the prosthetic parts used to produce this look'.[86] There was even a brief trend for false pregnancy bumps.[87] Robert Miles refers to Rousseau's 'dress code', where his character Sophie is 'very modest in appearance and very coquettish in reality', and compares this to Ann Radcliffe's Adeline, whose dress is 'a model of this simple elegance, of instinctive coquetry, of the artificiality that disguises itself'.[88] Appearances, therefore, were deceptive, physically and metaphorically. Aileen Ribeiro cites Anne Holland, who states the 'representation of garments in art gives them the gravitas they might not have in real life'.[89] Interestingly, in terms of clothes as opposed to jewellery, Ribeiro argues the 'French felt free to paint details of dress, whereas the English were more wary in their attitude towards fashion, expressing a preference for the general over the specific'.[90] It is not surprising, then, that Smith argues 'eighteenth-century rhetoric and translation theory often connect anxieties about decorum and transparency to clothing metaphors'.[91]

As the scholars above have identified, clothing reveals the identity of the wearer, but this does not mean that a simple code of sartorial meaning exists. As Jennie Batchelor points out, 'if dress is a language, it is one whose meanings are negotiable and open to endless reinterpretation. The meanings of dress can never be controlled

[85] Smith, p. 16.
[86] Smith, p. 16.
[87] Davidson.
[88] Robert Miles, *Ann Radcliffe: The Great Enchantress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 119.
[89] Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 6.
[90] Ribeiro, p. 14.
[91] Smith, p. 31.

completely'.[92] The focus on dress reflects the 'period's preoccupation with reading the signs of appearance'.[93] Aileen Ribeiro describes dress as the only art that 'relates so closely to the narrative of our lives, both as individuals and in relation to the wider world; for clothing is simultaneously intensely personal and, as fashion, "the mirror of history"'.[94] Clothing is therefore inherently contradictory, occupying a liminal space between personal expression and public 'mirror', as well as a physical boundary between the body/self and the outside world. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards identify a gender divide created in the eighteenth century, stating that the masculine diatribe of 'an excessive and typically feminine concern with dress and fashion needs also to be understood in terms of a new area of agency for new (wealthy) women.'[95] They argue that women, 'in fashioning themselves to bear the admiring male gaze […] are also, to some extent, controlling and directing that gaze.'[96] This opportunity for feminine agency explains why most scholarship on fashion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including this thesis, focuses on female clothing. However, female dress is not simply a tool for empowerment: Munns and Richards argue the 'luxuriously clad female body provided a site for satiric and moralistic attacks on a vanity and materialism, that was also desired, as women became the commodified and eminently ornamental emblems of their fathers' and husbands' wealth and status'.[97]

The second chapter of this thesis focuses on jewellery, which is as wearable and decorative as clothing, but complicated by its monetary value and its colonial provenance. Marcia Pointon writes extensively on the cultural significance of

[92] Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 9.
[93] Batchelor, p. 13.
[94] Ribeiro, p. 3.
[95] Jessica Munns and Penny Richards, 'Introduction' in *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), pp. 1-36 (p. 12).
[96] Munns and Richards, p. 12.
[97] Munns and Richards, p. 26.

jewellery, which she describes as a 'unique material manifestation that blends the natural world with human endeavour'.[98] Pointon identifies the act of wearing jewellery as emphasising the 'importance of the wearer exclusively through the spectacle it offers to others', a comment which remind us of Munns and Richards's statement about women using clothing to control the male gaze, a key similarity between jewellery and clothing as worn objects.[99] Pointon argues that 'jewellery, by the end of the eighteenth century, bridged commerce and trade'.[100] Although the same could be argued for clothing, with the importance of the silk and cotton trades, jewellery is strictly a luxury good, whereas clothing, at least in its basic form, is an essential item. The East India Company controlled the import of diamonds and pearls into England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[101]

Pointon, like fashion scholars such as Munns and Richards, identifies women as 'key players', as 'their bodies, clothed and ornamented, are the substance, the exemplar, in which moral and economic discourse is grounded'.[102] Judith Pascoe reinforces this idea of the ornamented female body as grounds for moral and economic discourse, stating 'as if diamonds were empire, [Queen] Charlotte was never allowed to appear in public without them'.[103] Female bodies engage with the 'politics of desire including the operation of the gaze, a politics of gender and sexuality and a post-colonial politics of geography, race, class and slavery'.[104] The complexities of jewellery, like those of clothing, are gendered, and draw the female body into the political, as 'jewels and jewellery constitute a thread that connects English visual

[98] Marcia Pointon, *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 2.
[99] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 4.
[100] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 1.
[101] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 16.
[102] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 36.
[103] Judith Pascoe, *The Hummingbird Cabinet: A Rare and Curious History of Romantic Collectors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 58.
[104] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 43.

culture with continental Europe and the wider world'.[105] Jewellery is the ultimate consumer good, and Pointon identifies eighteenth century 'anxieties about impermanence, decay, and the effects of luxurious consumption', as well as a 'fascination with the diamond's apparent fallibility'.[106] However, clothing is more impermanent than jewellery, an organic substance which is easier to damage or sully.

In the same way that, as described above, clothing reflects discrepancies between appearance and reality, jewellery speaks of illusion and potential deceit. Pointon explains that jewellery in portraits often did not actually exist, and 'clothing and jewellery are thus part of a language of ornaments to be read and interpreted in actuality and stage-managed in representation'.[107] Similarly, the jewellery described by Jane Harvey in her novels, and in the majority of novels, is fictionalised. Marie Antoinette's necklace, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Four, highlights this slippage: as Pointon points out, an 'item she never possessed came to be defined by the Queen's name'.[108] Pointon argues 'London was almost as obsessed as Paris with the diamond necklace affair'.[109] However, jewellery could expose reality, as the Hastings trial, which investigated the plundering of India for items such as diamonds and pearls, 'laid before the public in graphic detail the fabric of colonial India under the rule of the British government'.[110] Jewellery therefore expands clothing's potential as a location for debate, as the 'human body, enmeshed in culture and physically adorned with precious stones, provoked consideration of the contrast between external and inner worth.'[111]

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[105] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 19.
[106] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 125. Scientists such as Jean Darcet (1768) conducted experiments with diamonds to test their combustibility. Darcet found that diamonds disappeared under intense heat, and other scientists repeated his experiments.
[107] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, pp. 39, 19.
[108] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 153.
[109] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 190.
[110] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 189.
[111] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 153.

Luxury goods, such as jewellery and ornamental clothing, were an integral aspect of of England's success as an empire and a global trader. John Sekora states that 'if trade was accepted as a beneficial activity for the nation, then a rise in consumption of luxuries would necessarily be part of those benefits'.[112] Ray A. Kelch identifies the English aristocracy, the wealthiest section of society, as 'on the whole consumers, not producers of wealth', and states that the 'Duke of Newcastle's attitude to income and expenditure was aristocratic: wealth should be used to provide for a full life in the area of one's interest or concerns'.[113] This attitude began to filter down into the upper and middling classes during the eighteenth century. From the 1780s, Anne French states, merchant entrants to the landowning class began to send their sons and daughters abroad on a Grand Tour: 'There was an aspiration to acquire a fashionable education that accorded with national and regional expectations'.[114]

Higher-class consumers, particularly men, were positioned as curators or collectors rather than shoppers. Horace Walpole, famous for his collections at Strawberry Hill, stated that 'objects have a continuous life of their own and are merely the temporary property of collector after collector'.[115] Jane Harvey names the protagonist's family Walpole in *Any Thing But What You Expect*, probably after Horace Walpole. Cynthia Sundberg Wall describes the 'giant things' in Walpole's novel, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), as 'exaggerated images of a culture obsessed with things – as the auction-going Walpole knew firsthand'.[116] Wall argues: 'the wider cultural interest in interiors

[112] John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), p. 113.
[113] Ray A. Kelch, *Newcastle: A Duke Without Money* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 1, 208.
[114] Anne French, *Art Treasures in the North: Northern Families on the Grand Tour* (Greensboro: Unicorn Publishing Group, 2000), p. 31.
[115] Horace Walpole in *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home 1750-1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), by Clive Wainwright, pp. 27-8.
[116] Cynthia Sundberg Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), p. 4.

and in the relations between objects and persons within them seeped into the sense of boundaries, and contours, and detail in eighteenth-century historiography'.[117] This blurring of lines between clothing and wearer, as described above, expanded in the eighteenth century to include other objects. The rise of consumerism engaged with existing class anxieties: as Erin K. Lichtenstein points out, the 'spread of consumer goods symbolised the collapse of medieval Europe's three estates: those who prayed, those who fought, and those who worked'.[118] However, 'material objects could still function as cultural liaisons, bridging the divide between disparate societies'.[119] The relationship between objects and the body is symbiotic: 'people made things – materially and immaterially – and things "made" people'.[120]

The gendered division of objects can thus be applied to less obvious items as well as clothing. Amanda Vickery states that the 'creation and marketing of furniture specifically targeted at men and women were decisive innovations of English manufacturing in the later eighteenth century'.[121] Vickery points out the pervasiveness of the classical role of 'decorum' as a system of organising the proper relation of people to things:

> decorum was built on the recognition of fundamental divisions in society, from sex and age to rank, office and occupation, and decreed that different forms of conduct and adornment were appropriate to one's status, company, and occasion'.[122]

[117] Wall, p. 201.
[118] Erin K. Lichtenstein, 'Identities through Things: a comment', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 2021), ed. by Paula Findlen, pp. 445-50 (p. 446).
[119] Lichtenstein, p. 446.
[120] Lichtenstein, p. 449.
[121] Amanda Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference in Georgian England: Furniture for Him and for Her', in Findlen (ed), pp. 412-30 (p. 412).
[122] Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 412.

Similarly, Lichtenstein states that 'objects came to symbolise not only external but also perceived internal characteristics – these gendered things also entered the growing private spaces of the home – gender was no longer solely at play when facing the world, but also when facing oneself'.[123] Vickery states that men were associated with 'classic geometry' and women with 'its sinuous and irregular alternatives', reinforcing 'the supreme conviction that only men comprehended structure while women merely grasped details'.[124] According to Vickery, the later eighteenth century created 'a ground-breaking departure in the history of marketing'; although 'differentiation between men's and women's tasks, pleasures, tools and ornaments is as old as time', the 'departure' was 'projecting the idea of a characteristic female demand'.[125] Vickery describes the seventeenth-century booksellers and printers as 'the pioneers in Britain' of this technique, for addressing 'specialist titles to ladies – the post-1688 print book saw the publication of custom-designed ladies' pocket diaries, a proliferation of female manuals, the *Female Spectator* in the 1740s and Lady's Magazine from 1770'.[126] This 'direct appeal to women in newspaper advertisements was heavily concentrated in the traditionally female domains of fabrics and fashions, while men as a sex were hardly identified as addressees at all -a gendered language of address is almost non-existent in early eighteenth-century adverts'.[127] This marketing is significant because the eighteenth century experienced what Vickery calls the 'first large scale use of impersonal, widely broadcast print advertising'.[128]

Materialist scholarship has therefore identified the role of objects in blurring boundaries between people and objects, opening up a new avenue for the exploration

[123] Lichtenstein, p. 448.
[124] Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 415.
[125] Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 416.
[126] Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 416.
[127] Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 422.
[128] Vickery, 'Fashioning Difference', p. 423.

of politics, gender, class, and culture. This creates a fertile ground to explore the anxieties that faced society in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The rise of consumerism and availability of luxury goods reflected contemporary concerns about the emergent middle class, developing ideas about women's rights, and colonial issues. This body of scholarship raises questions that will be returned to throughout the thesis.

Chapter One: Nineteenth-Century Newcastle

Figure 3: An Engraving of Newcastle, by William Miller (1832)

Figure 4: 'Sandhill Wine Pant, Coronation of George IV' by Henry Perlee Parker

No air-built castles, and no fairy bowers,
But thou, fair Tynemouth, and thy well-known towers,
Now bid th' historic muse explore the maze
Of long past years, and tales of other days.
Pride of Northumbria!---from thy crowded port,
Where Europe's brave commercial sons resort,
Her boasted mines send forth their sable stores,
To buy the varied wealth of distant shores.
Here the tall lighthouse, bold in spiral height,
Glads with its welcome beam the seaman's sight.
Here, too, the firm redoubt, the rampart's length,
The death-fraught cannon, and the bastion's strength,
Hang frowning o'er the briny deep below,
To guard the coast against th' invading foe.
Here health salubrious spreads her balmy wings,
And woos the sufferer to her saline springs;
And, here the antiquarian strays around
The ruin'd abbey, and its sacred ground.[1]

This poem by Jane Harvey, from the title page of her novel *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806), sets the tone for this and her other works. Harvey made the unusual decision to use her own poem as an epigraph to her second novel: her other novels use epigraphs written by other authors. In this poem, Harvey writes of the importance of the 'historic muse' and the 'antiquarian', particularly in their 'well-known' settings, such as Tynemouth Castle and Warkworth Castle (Warkfield Castle in Harvey's novel). She applauds the commercial nature of Tynemouth and its crowded ports. The 'Pride of Northumbria' is invoked, the 'cannon' and 'strength' guarding against the 'invading foe', highlighting Harvey's regional pride and the military history of the region. The

[1] Jane Harvey, *The Castle of Tynemouth*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Ormes, 1806; repr. Newcastle: Mackenzie, Jr., 1830), *Chawton House Library* <https://www.chawtonhouse.org> [accessed 01 September 2018], p. 3.

poem, like Harvey's novels, reiterates the importance of 'Northumbria' as a centre of heritage, culture, and literature. Throughout her works, as we shall see, Harvey's regional pride is evident.

This chapter begins with a section summarising biographical information about Jane and Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton, followed by a biography of the Dukes of Northumberland due to their contribution to material culture in Northumbria in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its second section explores Newcastle in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to illustrate the lively culture that Jane Harvey was a part of for at least some of her adult life. This section covers culture and the print trade in Newcastle, shopping in the region, and Newcastle's reputation as the Black Indies. The aim of this chapter is to familiarise the reader with historical Newcastle as a place of culture, with an emphasis on the city's importance as a print centre. Although Jane writes novels set in areas such as Tynemouth and semi-fictional northern villages, Warkfield and Thornbrook, she lived in Newcastle for at least part of her life. Newcastle was, and is, the capital city of the region, and the place from which information, cultural influence, and fashion would be disseminated to the provincial areas of Northumbria in the nineteenth century.

Jane and Margaret Harvey

Archival research has unearthed basic details of Jane Harvey's life. Jane Harvey's death certificate gives her date of death as 4 March 1848, aged 76, as a spinster at Brunswick Place in Newcastle. This was registered by Agnes Hill, who was present at her death and lived on Saville Row, Newcastle. In the 1841 census, Jane is listed as living at Brunswick Place, with the Wesleyan minister, Joseph Fowler, as a neighbour. Her date of birth and parents are more difficult to confirm: the age on death certificates

at the time was often inaccurate. *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English* and *Myers Literary Guide* erroneously list her parents as Lawrance [sic] and Elizabeth Harvey of Barnard Castle. In her obituary, Jane's mother, also Jane, is listed as the mother of the 'author of Tynemouth Castle'.[2] The error in *The Feminist Companion* and *Myers* presumably stems from the baptism record from 1776, which records a baptism of a child named Jane in Barnard Castle, with parents Lawrance and Elizabeth Harvey. Jane Harvey's Oxford DNB entry, written by E. A. Rees, lists Jane as 'probably the daughter of William Harvey, wharfinger (b. c.1738), and his second wife, Jane, daughter of James Marshall.' [3] Rees mentions *The Feminist Companion to Literature*, but states that 'there seems no evidence to connect her with this place [Barnard Castle].'[4] The DNB entry for Margaret Harvey, written by Francis Watt and M. Clare Loughlin-Chow, describes Jane Harvey as a miniaturist, with Andrew Morton (1802-1845), the portrait painter, as her pupil.[5] Jane's probate bond states that she died intestate and that Albany Hancock was appointed to settle her will. Albany Hancock is listed as a creditor. This implies that Jane had links to the Hancock family of Newcastle. Albany Hancock was a naturalist, biologist and supporter of Charles Darwin, who founded the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle upon Tyne in 1829. The Hancock Museum in Newcastle is named after Albany and his brother John.

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[2] *Newcastle Courant* (1803), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018].

[3] E. A. Rees, 'Jane Harvey', *Oxford DNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 01 February 2019]. Most of the sources in this section are online. This is in part due to the lack of information available on the Harveys and Layton. Searches in physical archives were also limited because of the Covid-19 pandemic. An initial search with Tyne & Wear archives brought up little beyond a census record. Baptism records and death records were found online using resources such as Ancestry and Find My Past.

[4] Rees.

[5] Francis Watt, revised by M. Clare Loughlin-Chow, 'Margaret Harvey', *Oxford DNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 01 February 2019].

Most information about Margaret Harvey comes from this Oxford DNB entry, as she is not listed in *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English* or in *Myers Literary Guide.* Watt and Loughlin-Chow list Margaret Harvey (1768-1858) as 'the daughter of John Harvey, surgeon, of Sunderland. During the early years of her life she lived with her two younger sisters, Ann and Jane, in the care of an aunt, a Miss Ilderton, in Mosley Street, Newcastle upon Tyne.'[6] Mosley Street is less than half a mile from Brunswick Place, where Jane Harvey lived in her adulthood. Margaret is not mentioned in the Oxford DNB article about Jane, but it seems likely that they were sisters. Margaret Harvey was a school headmistress at Bishopwearmouth, a village which is now part of Sunderland. Margaret wrote several poems, including *Monody on the Princess Charlotte* (1812) and *The lay of the minstrel's daughter* (1814), and the play *Raymond de Percy: a romantic melodrama (1822), based on The lay of the minstrel's daughter.* An article in *Notes & Queries* cites Elze's *Life of Byron* where a Mrs Harvey, 65 years of age, 'the authoress of several romances' meets Byron at Madame de Stael's house at Geneva in 1816, and 'swooning away at his entrance into the room, as if his Satanic majesty had arrived'.[7] Although this story cannot be verified, it provides a potential detail of Margaret's life.

As the census record and death certificate demonstrate, Jane Harvey lived at Brunswick Place, which was a hub of cultural, scientific, and literary progress. Brunswick Place in Newcastle is located in the city centre, and the residential houses there comprised a terrace. There was a Methodist Church here, and the Northumberland Institute for the Fine Arts was founded here in 1822; it therefore seems likely that Harvey was familiar with the founders and artists of this institution.

[6] Watt and Loughlin-Chow.
[7] *Notes & Queries: A Medium of Communication for Literary Men, General Readers, etc,* Series 4, Volume 10 (1872), *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org> [accessed 01 June 2022], p. 92.

Artist Thomas Miles Richardson Snr lived briefly at Brunswick Place and was a founder of the Institute.[8] An article reporting on the society's first annual exhibition acknowledged Newcastle's 'distinguished rank in the patronage bestowed on the fine arts'.[9]

The Literary and Philosophical Society (Lit & Phil) was founded in Newcastle in 1793, and met in various locations around Newcastle. George Stephenson demonstrated his 'miner's safety lamp' to the Lit & Phil in 1815, and by the early nineteenth century the Lit & Phil was 'a home for inventors, pioneers and visionaries'.[10] The Newcastle Antiquarian Society, founded in 1813, met here. The Natural History Society was formed as an offshoot of the Lit & Phil, and in 1832 the Society built Newcastle Museum behind the Lit & Phil building. The Natural History Society, formed by Albany Hancock, would eventually become part of the Hancock Museum. In 1825, the Lit & Phil opened its library on Westgate Road, less than one mile from Jane's home on Brunswick Place. According to the Newcastle Arts Centre website, Westgate Road was once 'a street of wealthy merchants' houses standing in orchards and gardens. It has also been a centre for merchants and craft guilds, recreation and entertainment, with Taverns, Theatres and Assembly Rooms.'[11] Newcastle's transition from a feudal medieval town to a pioneering industrial city 'all happened around Westgate Road with the Castle, the Cathedral, the Parish Church of

[8] Tyne & Wear Sitelines <https://twsitelines.info/SMR/15296> [accessed 02 September 2018]. This website is a gateway to Tyne and Wear's Historic Environment Record, held by Newcastle County Council.
[9] Wm. Parson and Wm. White, *History, Directory, and Gazette of the Counties of Durham and Northumberland*, Vol. 1 (Leeds: W. White & Co, 1827-8), *University of Leicester Special Collections Online* <https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/> [accessed 01 March 2020], p. xciii.
[10] The Lit & Phil <https://www.litandphil.org.uk/about-us/> [accessed 21 June 2021].
[11] Newcastle Arts Centre, 'A brief history of the buildings now owned by Newcastle Arts Centre, <https://www.newcastle-arts-centre.co.uk/history/> [accessed 04 August 2020].

St. Johns, the Assembly Rooms, Stephenson's Locomotive Works' and the Lit & Phil.[12]

As an author, and proprietor of a circulating library, Jane Harvey was variously involved in the print culture of Newcastle. Jane ran a circulating library in Tynemouth, according to her obituary, but unfortunately no records survive. David Allan points out the difficulty of analysing usership of circulating libraries, as these were commercial establishments that generally gave little thought to long-term preservation of their records for posterity (unlike subscription libraries).[13] Jane's novels were available at circulating libraries in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Salisbury, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and London. Harvey's local publisher, Eneas Mackenzie, was a strong radical, a secretary of the Northern Political Union, and the leading founder of the Newcastle Mechanics' Institute in 1824.[14] He published histories of the region which 'aimed at providing grounds for local self-improvement'.[15] Mackenzie's Circulating Library, 129 Pilgrim Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne retained all of Jane's novels.

As we discussed in the Introduction, Jane Harvey was a prolific novelist. Jane published most of her titles with Minerva Press, later known as A. K. Newman and Co, including *Warkfield Castle* (1802), *Ethelia* (1810), *Auberry Stanhope* (1814), *Brougham Castle* (1816), *Singularity* (1822), and *The Ambassador's Secretary* (1828). Jane Harvey published *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806) and *Records of a Noble Family* (1814) with Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, the oldest commercial publishing house in the United Kingdom, which still exists as the Penguin Longman

[12] Newcastle Arts Centre.
[13] Allan.
[14] Alan Bell, 'Eneas Mackenzie', *Oxford DNB* <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 01 February 2019].
[15] Bell.

Group.[16] Longman was created in 1724, and published under various names, incorporating the names of various partners, at Paternoster Row in London, until their move to Essex in the 1950s.[17] From 1797, the firm was one of the most distinguished publishing houses of its time, publishing Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott.[18] Her novel *Mountalyth* (1823) was published with another Paternoster Row publishers, Baldwin, Cradock & Joy (1810-1860), who were best known for publishing the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge's ground-breaking subscription atlas.[19]

Jane published *Any Thing But What You Expect* (1819) with Henry Mozley in Derby, father of the essayist Anne Mozley.[20] *The Governor of Belleville* (1808) was published with Vernor, Hood & Sharpe, who 'worked at the lower levels of price and quality'.[21] The dates of publication with more distinguished publishers such as Longman, Mozley, and Baldwin, and the longevity of her publishing career, suggest she was respected throughout her career, but at times had to make decisions based on finances rather than on her respectability as an author.

Jemima Layton

Jemima Layton moved to the North East when she married but was a widow when she published. *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* lists Jemima, maiden name Plumptre, as married to Frederick Layton, esq., Captain of Marines, and her novel is published under the name Mrs Frederick Layton.[22] Her sister

[16] Longman Group Archive, *Special Collections at University of Reading* <https://collections.reading.ac.uk/special-collections> [accessed 21 July 2021].
[17] British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org> [accessed 01 August 2019].
[18] Longman Group Archive.
[19] Geographicus <https://www.geographicus.com/> [accessed 01 October 2021]. Specialist dealers in fine and rare antiquarian cartography and historic maps.
[20] British Museum.
[21] British Museum.
[22] John Burke, Esq. and John Bernard Burke, Esq., *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1847), Vol. 2, p. 1048.

Anne is also listed here as an authoress. The listing of the family here indicates that they were landed gentry. The Plumptres were a well-established Norwich family, with a number of distinguished scholars and clergymen in their ranks: their father Robert was President of Queens' College, Cambridge. Jemima had three brothers and five sisters. Jemima and her sisters were given a 'liberal' education and were proficient in several modern languages.[23] Anne Plumptre was an enthusiastic supporter of Napoleon and, along with their mother and one of her sisters, was estranged from the church. Given the religious overtones of Jemima's work, it seems unlikely that she was the other estranged sister. Anne translated plays by the German dramatist Augustus von Kotzebue, and her novel, *Something New: or, Adventures at Campbell-House* was published in 1801. She went on to publish four more original works, including a collection of didactic stories in 1818, with their sister Annabella. In *Something New,* Anne addresses 'the stranglehold of the beautiful heroine convention'.[24]

Jemima Layton approached Walter Scott to publish her novel under her name:

> If you will undertake the publication of the work I have no doubt it will prosper: the profit I will entirely relinquish to you. It seems better for authors to have a work brought out in a mysterious way. I have therefore put no name. You will perceive I hd permission to dedicate to the late Duke of Northumberland.[25]

Both Layton and Margaret Harvey dedicated their works to the Duke of Northumberland. Scott later wrote about Layton in his Journal (11 February 1826):

[23] McLeod, p. xii.
[24] McLeod, p. xvi.
[25] Walter Scott, *Private Letter-Books of Walter Scott,* ed. Wilfred Partington (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930), pp. 227-8.

> I remember once before, a mad woman, from about Alnwick, baited me with letters and plans—first for charity to herself or some *protégé*. I gave my guinea. Then she wanted to have half the profit of a novel which I was to publish under my name and auspices. She sent me the manuscript, and a *moving* tale it was, for some of the scenes lay in the *cabinet à l'eau.* I declined the partnership. Lastly, my fair correspondent insisted I was a lover of speculation, and would be much profited by going shares in a patent medicine which she had invented for the benefit of little babies, I believe. I dreaded to have anything to do with such a Herod-like affair, and begged to decline the honour of her correspondence in future. I should have thought the thing a quiz, but that the novel was real and substantial.[26]

Layton published with a small London publisher, William Fearman. Fearman engaged in an acrimonious debate with Walter Scott's literary agent, John Ballantyne, in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, questioning Scott's authorship of the *Tales of My Landlord* series.[27] *Spanish Tales* was published with John Hatchard, who held conservative and evangelical views. Hatchard was bookseller to Queen Charlotte and other members of the Royal Family.[28]

[26] Walter Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott,* 2 vols, ed. David Douglas (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1890; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), I, p. 116.
[27] William Fearman, 'Works Preparing for Publication', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* Volume 6 (1819), *Hathi Trust Digital Library* <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000496214> [accessed 10 October 2021], pp. 217-9.
[28] Mark Pottle, 'John Hatchard', Oxford DNB <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 01 February 2019].

The Dukes of Northumberland

Figure 5: Hugh Percy, 1st Duke of Northumberland

Figure 6: Elizabeth Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland, by Joshua Reynolds

Perhaps the most significant figures in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Northumbria were the Dukes of Northumberland. The first Duke of Northumberland, Hugh Percy (1714-1786), was recognised by contemporaries as a significant eighteenth-century collector, giving Northumberland a reputation as a place of good taste. The Duke and Duchess 'rose to unshakeable social supremacy in the second half of the eighteenth century'.[29] Laura Mayer identifies 'genuine contemporary respect for the Duke [of Northumberland] as a noted man of taste', including Thomas Chippendale's dedication of *Gentlemen and Cabinet Makers Director* to him in 1754, and recognition from the French writer Louis Dutens.[30] They were patrons of Robert Adam and employed him for his 'first major London debut in 1761', to create

[29] Laura Mayer, 'Landscape as Legacy: Elizabeth Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland, and the Gothick Garden Buildings of Alnwick, Northumberland', *Garden History* 39:1 (2011), 34-50 (p. 34).
[30] Mayer, pp. 46-7.

neoclassical interiors for Northumberland House and Syon House in London.[31] Horace Walpole went on to commission Adam for the Round Room fireplace at Strawberry Hill. Adam worked on 'far more ambitious Gothic works' at Alnwick Castle, unfortunately removed in the nineteenth century.[32] In 1766, Elizabeth Montagu described Alnwick Castle as 'the most noble Gothick building imaginable, its antique form is present on the outside, within the apartments are also Gothick in their structure & ornaments, but convenient & noble'.[33] J. Mordaunt Crook describes Alnwick Castle as the 'great set-piece of the Northumbrian Gothic Revival'.[34] Crook cites Horace Walpole's 'memorably malicious double portrait' of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland.[35] Walpole described the Duke as 'exceedingly popular with the meaner sort', stating the 'old nobility' recognised his pride, 'the littleness of his temper, or the slender portion he possessed of abilities; for his expense was mere sacrifice to vanity'.[36] The Duke collected paintings, tapestries, antique furniture, and antiquities, with a gallery at Northumberland House and rooms such as the Tapestry Room and Drawing Room organised to showcase these items.[37]

The Duchess of Northumberland was an early advocate of both the Picturesque prospect in landscapes and Gothic Revival architecture, as well as an important patroness of the period.[38] Walpole's description of the Duchess as 'that great vulgar

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[31] John Wilton-Ely, 'Style and Serendipity: Adam, Walpole and Strawberry Hill', *The British Art Journal* 11:3 (2011), 3-14 (p. 4).
[32] Wilton-Ely, p. 4.
[33] Elizabeth Montagu, 'Elizabeth Montagu's Correspondence Online', *Swansea University* <https://emco.swansea.ac.uk/home/> [accessed 22 March 2021.
[34] J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Northumbrian Gothick', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 121: 5201 (1973), 217-83 (pp. 273-4).
[35] Crook, p. 274.
[36] Crook, p. 274.
[37] Joan Coutu, 'Collecting a Canon: The Earl of Northumberland at Northumberland House and Syon House' in *Burning Bright: Essays in Honour of David Bindman,* eds. Diana Dethloff, Tessa Murdoch, Kim Sloan and Caroline Elam (London: UCL Press, 2015), pp. 55-65; Adriano Aymonino and Manolo Guerci, 'The Architectural Transformation of Northumberland House under the 7th Duke of Somerset and the 1st Duke And Duchess Of Northumberland, 1748–86', *The Antiquaries Journal* 96 (2016), 315-61.
[38] Mayer, p. 34.

countess. . . [that] Duchess of Charing Cross with her belly all diamonds and her hand in her breeches ... a jovial heap of contradictions' is similarly unflattering.[39] She collected gems, and there is a list of thirty-seven cameos and nineteen intaglios in her possession at Northumberland House.[40] The Duchess acquired paintings from her frequent travels to Flanders, the Dutch Provinces, and France, and also had a 'Musaeum', with a handwritten catalogue, containing items such as medals, miniatures, ivories, stones, minerals, shell works, butterflies, fossils, prints, and maps.[41] Although it seems that the second and third Dukes did not add significant contributions to these collections, they certainly preserved them and showcased them to visitors to Northumberland House, Syon House, and Alnwick Castle.

Layton's *Hulne Abbey* (1820), and Margaret's 'The Lay of the Minstrel's Daughter' (1814) and *Raymond de Percy* (1822) were dedicated to the third Duke (1785-1847), grandson of the first Duke, also named Hugh Percy. The third Duke of Northumberland was a Tory MP from 1807, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1829-30. In 1807 he spoke for the abolition of the slave trade and outlined a plan for gradual abolition. He was 'known to be a high Tory on the Catholic question', i.e. strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation, and he denounced the 'most indecent conduct' of Queen Caroline in 1820.[42] The third Duke of Northumberland was 'not popular in Northumberland, where he was regarded as unfriendly, reactionary, and self-important, with some justification'.[43] In his Journal, Walter Scott writes of the third Duke and Duchess of Northumberland: 'the habits of the family are early and regular;

[39] Crook, p. 275.
[40] Diana Scarisbrick, Claudia Wagner and John Boardman, *The Beverley Collection of Gems at Alnwick Castle* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2016), p. xix.
[41] Aymonino and Guerci, p. 351. Adriano Aymonio has published a book about the Duke and Duchess's patronage and collecting, *Enlightened Eclecticism: The Grand Design of the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2021).
[42] F. M. L. Thompson, 'Hugh Percy, Third Duke of Northumberland', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 01 February 2019].
[43] Thompson.

I conceive they may be termed formal and old-fashioned by such visitors as claim to be the pink of the mode.'[44] Scott describes Alnwick Castle as 'a fine old pile, with various courts and towers, and the entrance is magnificent […] The inside fitting up is an attempt at Gothic, but the taste is meagre and poor, and done over with too much gilding.'[45] At Syon House, however, the third Duke Hugh and his wife Charlotte redecorated rooms such as the Long Gallery.[46] The Duke and Duchess were keen botanists and plant collectors.[47] Charlotte was an artist, and her views of Alnwick and Warkworth Castle were published in 1824. Hugh Percy was succeeded by his brother, Algernon Percy, a great traveller and explorer who restored the castle and improved its estates.

Culture and the Print Trade in Newcastle

Eighteenth-century Newcastle was a significant contributor to the literary landscape: Katie Wales states that 'outside London, Newcastle published more grammars than anywhere else', and Alan Myers states that Newcastle was the 'country's most important printing centre after London, Oxford and Cambridge'.[48] Joan Hugman describes 'a dramatic expansion of print culture in Northumberland and Durham' with over 1700 people employed in some aspect of the book trade between 1626 and 1860.[49] Newcastle developed a 'national reputation as a centre of printing': in the eighteenth century, Newcastle had three newspapers and ten periodicals, while most towns

[44] Scott, *Journal*, II, p. 1827.
[45] Scott, *Journal*, II, p. 1827.
[46] Alnwick Castle <https://www.alnwickcastle.com/> [accessed 01 February 2022].
[47] Alnwick Castle.
[48] Wales, p. 99; Alan Myers, 'Winged Words: Literature of Newcastle' in *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co, 2001), eds. Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster, pp. 293-318 (p. 295).
[49] Joan Hugman, 'Print and Preach: The Entrepreneurial Spirit of Nineteenth-Century Newcastle' in Colls and Lancaster (eds), pp. 113-32 (p. 117).

struggled to support a single newspaper.[50] Hugman describes the *Newcastle Chronicle* as 'the leading political organ between York and Edinburgh' in the first half of the nineteenth century.[51] In the 1770s Newcastle published more children's books than any English town apart from London, and by 1790 Newcastle had 20 printers, 12 booksellers and stationers, 13 bookbinders, 3 engravers, 7 subscription libraries, and 3 circulating libraries.[52] These statistics cover the city centre alone: Jane Harvey ran a circulating library in Tynemouth, and many other Tyneside, Northumberland, and Durham towns and villages had circulating libraries. Campbell conflates 'the actual onset of periodical fashion and the rise of the circulating library'.[53] The circulating library was a means to disseminate fashion plates, but as we shall see, novels such as those by Jane Harvey also contain fashionable details that could be emulated by readers.

Divisions are often made between the north and south of England, but distinctions between the urban and provincial must also be considered. Barbara Crosbie states that the 'London-centric nature of print can lead to the conclusion that information and ideas emanated from the centre into the peripheries', but this 'supposed divide between a reactionary or plebeian parochialism and a polite metropolitan high culture proves difficult to substantiate'.[54] Crosbie argues that 'Newcastle's position as a provincial print centre can lead to an assumption that cultural mores radiated into the hinterlands as the town acted as a conduit for national trends emanating from the capital; but neither the "North East" as a region or the idea of a northern metropolis can be taken

[50] Hugman, p. 118.
[51] Hugman, pp. 118-9.
[52] Myers, p. 295.
[53] Campbell, p. 174.
[54] Barbara Crosbie, 'Provincial Purveyors of Culture: The Print Trade in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle-upon-Tyne' in *Economy and Culture in North-East England 1500-1800*, eds. Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), pp. 205-29 (p. 206).

for granted'.[55] Crosbie identifies a potential further divide, within the north/south division of the country: the division between Newcastle as a northern metropolis, and the more provincial areas where Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton set their works, such as Alnwick, Tynemouth, and Warkworth. These complications demonstrate the importance of examining each novel individually, rather than making geosocial assumptions based on these 'imagined communities', which Crosbie argues that 'print trade played a central role in creating'.[56] Crosbie suggests that it is likely that 'in Newcastle, with so much competition, each library attempted to cater for a particular clientele' which demonstrates the range of potential clientele available in the region: even provincial North-East towns could host multiple circulating libraries.[57] 'Book lending was integral to the cultural milieu of the eighteenth century', and as circulating libraries were chiefly commercial enterprises, 'customer choice shaped the outcome as the Newcastle print industry expanded'.[58] Provincial accents were seen as corrupt, and from the 1760s onwards, there was a trend for 'pronouncing dictionaries'.[59]

Commercial print endeavours, such as circulating libraries and the print trade, provided books as commodities, but Newcastle's gentry and middle classes were also concerned with the preservation of culture. Paul Usherwood identifies Newcastle's intelligentsia in the early nineteenth century as Whigs enthusiastic 'for general Progress and Reform in the universalist manner of the French Enlightenment' which led to the development of a 'secular public sphere in the town in the form of a variety

[55] Crosbie, p. 207.
[56] Crosbie, p. 229.
[57] Crosbie, p. 223.
[58] Crosbie, p. 221, p.229.
[59] Katie Wales, 'North of the Trent: Images of Northern-ness and Northern English in the Eighteenth Century' in *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830*, eds. Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 24-36 (p. 32).

of philanthropic and/or educational institutions'.[60] Men of 'invention and ideas' such as Charles Mark Palmer, Joseph Swan, George and Robert Stephenson, Charles Parson, and William Armstrong placed Newcastle 'at the cutting edge of industrial development', so that the city gained 'all the influence of a regional capital'.[61] Usherwood describes the Lit & Phil as 'the earliest and most important stamping ground' of the Newcastle middle-class elite.[62] Unlike the commercial circulating libraries, the Lit & Phil was concerned with cultural impact and preservation.

The gentry and middle classes of Newcastle were also deeply involved in the Society of Antiquaries, the Natural History Society, the Mechanics' Institute, the School of Medicine and Surgery, the Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, the Savings Bank, and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.[63] John Mitchell, a local radical, published the monthly literary magazine the *Newcastle Magazine* in 1820, but by 1827 relations between artists and the intelligentsia of Newcastle had all but broken down.[64] 1790-1830, particularly the early nineteenth century, when Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton were publishing, represents a brief but significant episode in the artistic and literary history of Newcastle, beginning with the founding of the Lit & Phil in 1793, and breaking down in the 1820s. The 1820s does not mark the end of literary and artistic interest in Newcastle, but rather a division between artists and intelligentsia: artist T. M. Richardson attempted to set up his own institution in 1827, described by Usherwood as a 'financial disaster', and in 1831 the intelligentsia set up

[60] Paul Usherwood, 'Newcastle's First Art Exhibitions and the Language of Civic Humanism' in Berry and Gregory (eds), pp. 141-51 (p. 145).
[61] Hugman, p. 116.
[62] Usherwood, p. 145.
[63] Usherwood, p. 145.
[64] Usherwood, p. 146.

the Newcastle Institution for the General Promotion of Fine Arts, which was distinguished from artist-run bodies by its emphasis on education.[65]

These Northumbrian cultural institutions were built upon a rich intellectual history. Jackson identifies a cultural 'golden age of Northumbria' in the seventh century, with the Northumbrian church generating 'an embarrassment of riches, with the Lindisfarne Gospels and the *Codex Amiatinus*, the ancient churches and libraries at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, Hexham and Corbridge, the glorious sculptured crosses at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, and Caedmon's Song of Creation […] all telling of the richness of that Northumbrian culture', alongside the enduring legacy of St Bede and St Cuthbert.[66] Dan Jackson describes Cuthbert as 'the most popular saint in England from his death in 687 to the canonisation of Thomas Becket in 1175'.[67] Daniel Defoe (1724) recognised this cultural impact, writing that in Northumberland there is 'abundant business for an antiquary; every place shows you ruined castles, Roman altars, inscriptions, monuments of battles, or heroes killed, and armies routed, and the like.'[68] Defoe states that towns such as Morpeth, Alnwick and Warkworth 'show their old castles, and some of them still in tolerable repair, as Alnwick in particular, and Warkworth.'[69] Alnwick in particular was a vibrant cultural town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This legacy began with the 9th Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy (1564-1632), who 'cultivated such an interest in astrology, medicine and alchemy that it earned him the sobriquet "the Wizard Earl"'.[70] His successors, the Dukes of Northumberland, were prominent patrons and collectors as discussed above.

[65] Usherwood, pp. 147-9.
[66] Dan Jackson, p. 10.
[67] Jackson, p. 11.
[68] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain,* ed. Pat Rogers (London: Penguin Classics, 1986), p. 537.
[69] Defoe, p. 537.
[70] Jackson, p. 64.

At least two-thirds of the population of late Georgian Alnwick could read and write, and Northumbria was renowned as a centre for learning and literacy.[71] William Davison was a prolific printer and bookseller based in Alnwick at the time.

This intellectual expansion of Northumbria afforded women from the middle classes and gentry opportunities to engage in literary and cultural dialogue. Jackson identifies 'erudite Northumbrian women who emerged to take a prominent place in Enlightenment discourse', including Mary Astell, Jane Gomeldon, Ann Fisher, and Anne Milbanke.[72] There were 'examples of female participation in learned institutions, as at the Alnwick Literary Society, where, in 1820, Annabel Carr […] lectured on "mechanics and hydrostatics"'.[73] A. W. Purdue states that one feature of the social and cultural life of Newcastle was 'the opportunity and freedom it offered women of the higher social orders, freedom which astonished, retrospectively, mid-Victorian novelists.'[74] Balls, concerts and assemblies provided opportunities for courtship to the daughters of gentry and merchant families, 'but for some at least the social world also included lectures on science and history, and many daughters were well educated and independent.'[75] Purdue expands upon the biography of Annabel(la) Carr, daughter of Ralph Carr, describing Annabella as 'exceptional' for combining a fondness for balls and attendance at lectures on science, a correspondence with George Crabbe, writing a book called *Conversations on Chemistry,* and being an accomplished musician.[76] Purdue states: 'other young women in her milieu enjoyed

[71] Jackson, p. 65.
[72] Jackson, p. 70.
[73] Jackson, p. 71.
[74] A. W. Purdue, 'Newcastle in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Northern History* 50:2 (2013), 272-84 (p. 282).
[75] Purdue, 'Newcastle in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 282.
[76] Purdue, 'Newcastle in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 282.

intellectual pursuits and their abilities in music, painting and languages were too often dismissed as mere "accomplishments".'[77]

In spite of the richness and diversity of its culture, however, the North East was distanced in some ways from the rest of the country in the eighteenth century, stereotyped as the '"alien" country of the North' by many in the south of England.[78] Elizabeth Montagu described Newcastle as 'horrible like the ways of thrift it is narrow, dark & dirty' in 1758.[79] Katie Wales points out that 'the wild North, from travellers' accounts, laid foundations in [the eighteenth century] for Romanticism and the Gothic – as a result, the discourse of Northern-ness was also positively inscribed to encompass images of natural, untamed beauty and solitude'.[80] Jane Harvey's novels are typically set in 'little' villages, such as Thornbrook in Jane Harvey's *Ethelia*; and a village features in Jemima Layton's *Hulne Abbey.* Events centre on smaller rural locations, such as Tynemouth and Alnwick. Berry and Gregory describe the North East as a 'buffer zone and liminal space between England and Scotland' between 1660 and 1830.[81] The border town of Berwick-upon-Tweed remained disputed territory until the Treaty of Fotheringhay in 1482. The North, however, identified with both countries; as Berry and Gregory affirm, 'regionalism was not incompatible with nationalism'.[82] Scottish influence was undeniable, with Thomas Faulkner suggesting that in 1800 Newcastle's architecture was 'best compared at this time to Edinburgh'.[83] The North identified with both England and Scotland in the Romantic period, and Jackson argues that Northumbrians 'differentiated what they saw as "the savage Highlanders" from

[77] Purdue, 'Newcastle in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 282.
[78] Wales, 'North of the Trent', p. 25.
[79] Elizabeth Montagu, *Elizabeth Montagu, the Queen of the Bluestockings: Her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761, Volume 2,* ed. Emily J. Climenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 138.
[80] Wales, 'North of the Trent', p.26
[81] Berry and Gregory, p. 4.
[82] Berry and Gregory, p. 10.
[83] Thomas Faulkner, 'Architecture in Newcastle' in Colls and Lancaster (eds), pp. 213-44 (p. 218).

the more civilised Lowland Scots', a viewpoint that could be seen nationwide.[84] 'Much of classical Edinburgh is built with Northumbrian sandstone', and noted Northumbrians attended Edinburgh University, including Mark Akenside, George Walker, Robert Stephenson Sir Lowthian Bell, and Thomas Kirkup.[85]

Northumbria benefited from a peaceful eighteenth century, with little civil unrest in comparison to other locations such as Manchester and London. Adrian Green states that during the eighteenth century, North-East counties 'experienced far fewer disturbances than other regions in England – communications and an effective food distribution network appear to have forestalled acute crises'.[86] This relative lack of disturbances allowed the middle class to concentrate on economic expansion. Jackson points out: 'curiously enough those centuries of border warfare have left little or no bitterness': as discussed above, Northumbrians maintained a 'cordial' relationship with their Scottish neighbours, in spite of border raids from Scotland until 1745.[87] Purdue argues that in the long eighteenth century, continuity in constitutional spheres, politics, and the social hierarchy allowed for innovation and development, and 'few towns in Britain better exemplify this than Newcastle, a town which saw little change in its institutions and social fabric, but increased in prosperity and became a thriving cultural centre with a "polite society"'.[88]

Shopping in Newcastle

Consumer society was a well-established part of life nationwide in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Early scholars of consumerism identify what Neil

[84] Jackson, p. 16.
[85] Jackson, p. 16.
[86] Adrian Green, 'Durham Ox: Commercial Agriculture in North-East England, 1600-1800' in Green and Crosbie (eds), pp. 44-67 (p. 61).
[87] Jackson, p. 15.
[88] Purdue, 'Newcastle in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 272.

McKendrick calls a 'consumer revolution in eighteenth-century England': specifically, the *ability* to consume rather than the *desire* was an 'eighteenth-century novelty'.[89] The majority of studies focus on middling and upper classes, since it is difficult to find evidence of the consumer patterns of the labouring classes. Lorna Weatherill states that 'important consumers were to be found amongst the middling sorts […] people were already conscious of their material life by the later seventeenth century'.[90] Innovations in fashion and luxury cemented shopping as a leisure activity: goods could be purchased more widely than ever from shops, pedlars, hawkers, fairs, exhibitions, auctions, and special sales, and these venues made for popular social outings.[91]

The emergence of a polite shopping culture was prevalent in Newcastle, just as it was in other provincial locations. Purdue argues: 'like many provincial towns, Newcastle acquired in the late eighteenth century the infrastructure for an expanding polite society. Shops, tailors, dressmakers and milliners increasingly provided fashionable goods and luxuries', previously only available in London.[92] Similarly, Helen Berry states that in London and in urban locations, including 'proto-industrial centres such as Newcastle upon Tyne, shops were increasing in number and in specialisation.'[93] Berry quotations Celia Fiennes's description of Newcastle: '"their shops are good and are of distinct trades, not selling many things of one shop as is the

[89] Neil McKendrick (ed) 'Introduction' in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications, 1982), pp. 1-2.
[90] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. xix.
[91] McKendrick writes in detail about the various outlets for shopping, and their multiplication in number during the eighteenth century.
[92] A. W. Purdue, *Merchants and Gentry in North-East England 1650-1830: The Carrs and the Ellisons* (Sunderland: University of Sunderland Press, 1999), p. 192.
[93] Purdue, *Merchants and Gentry,* p. 192.

custom in most country towns and cittys".'[94] Berry identifies 'much evidence in gentlewomen's diaries and correspondence' that shopping was part of everyday life for ladies in urban locations: 'like other young women of their rank across the country, Annabella and Harriet Carr stepped out on morning shopping trips from their house in Charlotte Square, Newcastle, and headed for fashionable Westgate Road'.[95] Westgate Road was named after the city wall's "West Gate": it is the oldest named street in Newcastle and follows the course of Hadrian's Wall.[96] During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Westgate was 'a street of wealthy merchants' houses standing in orchards and gardens. It has also been a centre for merchants and craft guilds, recreation and entertainment, with Taverns, Theatres and Assembly Rooms.'[97]

Eneas Mackenzie wrote a detailed account of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1827, which describes the history and present state of the city including fortifications and buildings, religious houses, public buildings, and institutions for education. Mackenzie identifies a variety of streets that had shops present, drawing on the rich history of trade and merchants in Newcastle. The Sandhill was composed of lofty buildings, 'many of which contain very large and magnificent rooms, that indicate the grandeur of the ancient merchants of Newcastle.'[98] The shops had been recently modernised, with 'the heavy projections and balconies above being pulled down, the whole range has assumed a light, airy, and elegant appearance.'[99] The old houses still exhibited 'some curious peculiarities; and as they were built before any window-tax was contemplated,

[94] Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the RHS* 12 (2002), 375-94 (p. 378).
[95] Berry, p. 380.
[96] By 1827, Eneas Mackenzie detailed the walls of the town as demolished in great part, and 'many of the fragments that remain are much dilapidated'.
[97] Newcastle Arts Centre.
[98] Eneas Mackenzie. 'The Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne', (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), *British History Online* <https://www.british-history.ac.uk> [accessed 01 February 2020].
[99] Mackenzie.

the entire front of the dwelling-rooms is occupied by windows.[100] Mackenzie goes on to examine the 'present state of Newcastle' with a detailed description of the various streets, including Collingwood Street, close to Westgate and named after Admiral Lord Collingwood, which consisted of 'handsome houses with elegant shops'. Most of the shops on the Old Flesh Market had been 'new fronted; and many being occupied by drapers, have a gay appearance'; there were 'large and elegant' shops on Mosley Street; and the shops on Dean Street 'are filled with goods of various descriptions, exhibiting an appearance of neatness and elegance not to be surpassed in any provincial town'.[101] Mackenzie presents Newcastle as a modernised metropolis, with vastly expanding trade and rapid urban development, with the heavier, old-fashioned features such as 'projections and balconies' being replaced with the more modern and aesthetically appealing glass windows that were transforming the shopping experience for Georgian consumers. Kowaleski-Wallace identifies a move indoors from the end of seventeenth century, which 'surely owed something to the improved manufacture of glass for windows; plate glass windows do not appear until the late eighteenth century, however […] window displays date also from the second half of the eighteenth-century'.[102] This is reflected in Mackenzie's repeated mention of windows, and his references to window tax.

[100] Mackenzie.
[101] Mackenzie.
[102] Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 80.

The Black Indies

Figure 7: John Bull guarding the toy-shop. Bone china jug, Staffordshire, 1803

The luxury items available for shoppers to browse and buy in Newcastle were a result of the bustling ports in the city. In her 1794 work *A Sentimental Tour Through Newcastle,* Harvey states: 'as a trading town, Newcastle may justly rank with the first in England: upwards of four hundred thousand chaldrons of coals are annually shipped here for home consumption and exportation', as well as a 'considerable' export of grindstones and 'extensive' iron works.[103] Newcastle was referred to by contemporaries as the 'Black Indies', emphasising associations with the coal trade, but also suggesting the city is a place of wealth and exotic goods. In 1796, Francis Grose defined the 'Black Indies' as 'Newcastle upon Tyne, whose rich coal mines prove an Indies to the proprietors'.[104] The references to the Indies and to proprietors suggests a subserviency to the rest of England and its trade partners. The residents of Newcastle were aware of the slave trade in the West Indies: the Lit & Phil and Brunswick Methodist Church were hubs for anti-slavery campaigns, and Charles

[103] Jane Harvey, *A Sentimental Tour Through Newcastle* (Newcastle: Akenhead, 1794), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], pp. 11-2.
[104] Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London: Hooper and Wigstead, 1796), p. 14.

Grey of Northumberland, the second Lord Grey, was the Prime Minister who passed the Reform Act in 1832 and the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833. Janet Sorensen argues that the term 'Black Indies' in relation to Newcastle is 'an evocative use of distant, colonised zones of slavery to name English places, specifically introducing connections between blackness and brutal labour into the English language'.[105] According to Sorensen, the connection between the 'new particularity of racial "blackness" and certain regional British labourers was actually widespread, for, as Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton have noted, in the eighteenth century racially charged notions of "'dirt' and 'blackness' were associated with coal miners and their living conditions"'.[106]

The importance of commercial culture to the city's economy was tangibly reinforced by the arrival and dispatch of goods and other trade activities in the ports. This labour and manufacturing process was often invisible to the middling and upper classes in other cities. Daniel Defoe emphasises the visual nature of North-East trade activity, describing the view of Newcastle as 'prodigious heaps, I might say mountains, of coal, which are dug up at every pit, and how many of those pits there are; we are filled with equal wonder to consider where the people live that should consume them'.[107] Lorna Scammell argues that the North East had a 'distinctive economy based on the mining of coal and other primary activities, as well as London contacts through the coal trade'.[108] Scammell analyses inventories of household goods to illustrate that residents of North-East England engaged with consumerism:

[105] Janet Sorensen, *Strange Vernaculars: How Eighteenth-Century Slang, Cant, Provincial Languages, and Nautical Language Became English* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p.79.
[106] Sorensen, pp. 79-80.
[107] Defoe, p. 190.
[108] Lorna Scammell, 'Was the North-East Different from Other Areas? The Property of Everyday Consumption in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' in Berry and Gregory (eds), pp. 12-23 (p. 12).

'valuations in the North East were somewhere in the middle of the range' for the country in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[109] Joyce Ellis identifies the 'presence of an impressive range of luxury trades and services [which] indicates a market among middling ranks of urban merchants, tradesmen and professionals'.[110] Newcastle was one of the busiest ports in the country for the shipping of trade merchandise, and Purdue states that the 'real power in Newcastle lay in the hands of hostmen who belonged to one of the three companies or mysteries who made up the Merchant Adventurers' Company': the Boothmen, the Mercers and the Drapers.[111]

Commercial links between Northumbria and London enabled cultural links to the capital, in spite of the provincial nature of the North-East of England. Jessica Hanser states that 'Newcastle, and to a lesser extent Durham, were remarkably in tune with fashionable trends in London'.[112] Eighteenth-century Newcastle provided most of the coal for London, which 'made Newcastle a great port and one of the main centres for recruiting for the Royal Navy'.[113] In 1724, Defoe remarked that 'they build ships here [Newcastle] to perfection […] as the coal trade occasions a demand for such strong ships, a great many are built here'.[114] The coal trade of Newcastle was essential to other trades: a 1738 petition, requesting that Parliament prevent 'the excessive rise in the price of coal, was signed by the "glass makers, brewers, distillers, sugar bakers, soap boilers, smiths, dyers, brick makers, lime burners, founders and calico printers"', suggesting a network of traders working mutually rather than individually.[115]

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[109] Scammell, p. 13.
[110] Joyce Ellis, 'The "Black Indies": The Economic Development of Newcastle, c. 1700-1840' in Colls and Lancaster, pp. 1-26 (pp. 11-12).
[111] Ellis, p. 2; Purdue, *Merchants and Gentry*, p. 4.
[112] Jessica Hanser, 'Teatime in the North Country: Consumption of Chinese Imports in North-East England', *Northern History* 49:1, 51-74 (p. 55).
[113] Paul Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: An Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 283.
[114] Defoe, p. 193.
[115] Mantoux, p. 283.

Even the common phrase 'bull in a china shop' can be attributed to Newcastle, demonstrating the prevalence of china in the region. In Oxford English Dictionary, F. Marryat's *Jacob Faithful* (1834) is cited as the first printed instance of the phrase 'bull in a china shop'.[116] However, a song called 'A Bull in a China Shop' is printed in *A Garland of New Songs,* a chapbook printed in Newcastle c. 1800. The presence of this phrase demonstrates its use in colloquial speech before 1834. *A Garland of New Songs* was part of a collection printed by John Marshall, a Newcastle bookseller and Radical sympathiser. Marshall was an important figure in Newcastle society: 'he owned the largest collection of books in the town at his circulating library in the Old Flesh Market, and printed cheap literature such as this collection, which he conveniently used to advertise the library, until his apparent bankruptcy in 1831.'[117] Marshall printed 'A Letter on the Persecution of W. H. Stephenson, a Methodist Preacher' and 'A Dialogue Between a Methodist Preacher and a Reformer'. Like Jane Harvey, therefore, he had links to the Methodist circuit: Stephenson was a Methodist preacher in Gateshead who called for 'inquiry and investigation on the awful subject' of the 'Manchester outrage' at a meeting on Newcastle Town Moor.[118] Marshall also printed ballads in support of Queen Caroline, including 'God Save the Queen: A New Song' (1819). Satirical prints such as those depicted in Figure 7 were printed on china by English potteries between 1770 and 1830, and marketed at a broader social level than other chinaware. Alongside newspapers, pottery therefore provided a means of distributing political satire to the English public, particularly the lower social classes. Few of the ceramic manufacturers marked their ware, perhaps preferring anonymity. China offers a more permanent substance for these prints than the paper of

[116] OED Online.
[117] Royal Collection Trust Online <https://rct.uk> [accessed 20 April 2021].
[118] W. H. Stephenson, *A Letter on the Persecution of the W. H. Stephenson,* (Newcastle: John Marshall, 1819), p. 3.

newspapers, which further contributes to the longevity and spread of the political propaganda.

This chapter has shown that Newcastle was a significant contributor to arts and culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: not only for people who lived in the region, but nationwide. It is safe to assume that Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton partook in fashionable practices, in spite of their provincial locations, and this is important to keep in mind throughout the thesis. The attitudes of their contemporaries, such as Defoe, indicate a snobbery towards the North East, but their opinions are not reflected in the thriving culture that existed in the region. Works written by authors from the North-East England could challenge the nation's expectations of the northern regions. The following chapters begin an analysis of the literary texts, which reflect the authors' knowledge of fashion, material culture, and luxury goods.

Chapter Two: Jewellery

Figure 8: 'Bangle set with portrait miniature of Charlotte, Duchess of Northumberland' (1831) by William Essex

Figure 9: 'The Leap of the Royal Family from the Tuileries to Montmédy' (1792).

In Chapter One, we explored the cultural heritage of Northumbria, especially Newcastle, to contextualise the works of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton. In this chapter, we move on to a literary analysis of the works. I will focus on the jewellery worn by women in Jane Harvey's novels *Warkfield Castle* (1802), *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806), *Auberry Stanhope* (1814), *Singularity* (1822), and *Mountalyth* (1823). The first section concerns the miniature portrait, a hybrid of portraiture and jewellery, which Marcia Pointon argues is marginalised both by historians of art and of jewellery.[1] Jane Harvey writes about miniature portraits in all her novels, and this extensive use of the miniature strengthens the case for believing that Jane Harvey, the miniaturist, and Jane Harvey, the novelist, were the same person. If this is the case, Harvey would have had a detailed knowledge of the miniature portrait, meaning she saw the world not only as a novelist but also as a miniaturist.

As we shall see, the physical properties of the miniature portrait make it an ideal object to facilitate complicated narratives: its size and portability make it easy to transport and display; the idealised depiction of the sitter creates a level of deceit which can be further exaggerated by the wearer; the doubling of the sitter (as real person and portrait) distorts both the reality of circumstances and the identity of the sitter. These associations of deception and doubling make the miniature suited to the mystery and obscurity of Gothic novels such as *Warkfield* and *Tynemouth*. The sitter depicted in the miniature portrait cannot control the ways in which their likeness is used – some sitters, such as Dorcella in *Warkfield,* are unaware they have been painted. However, a miniature can still be used to expose a woman to scandal, even if her role

[1] Marcia Pointon, '"Surrounded with Brilliants": Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Art Bulletin*, 83:1 (2001), (48-71) p. 53.

is completely passive, and we will examine instances of this in *Warkfield* and *Auberry Stanhope*.

The second section considers jewellery, especially diamonds, in *Auberry Stanhope* and *Singularity*. Jewellery in *Any Thing But What You Expect* is discussed in Chapter Three, as diamonds and pearls are presented here as part of a wedding outfit. As miniatures were often set in jewellery, it is likely that Jane Harvey was also knowledgeable about jewels and precious metals. In the novels, jewellery raises issues about ownership and consent: Lady Bradshaw in *Auberry Stanhope* has her jewellery stolen twice, once in a brutal, sexualised assault, and once by a fraudulent husband. Significantly, in each instance involving jewellery or miniatures, it is men who perpetrate the violation of, and violence towards, women throughout the novels. Despite the well-recognised risks of theft, however, in *Singularity*, Lady Starbuck demonstrates her standing by displaying her diamonds. The comparative worthlessness of the gemstones becomes apparent when the reader learns that Lady Starbuck is unable to provide her husband with the male heir who would secure their legacy and titles. If we consider the sexualised assault of Lady Bradshaw for her bracelets, and the overt display of jewellery by Lady Starbuck, we can read a subtle criticism of the aristocratic husband. Although women were blamed for a lack of male heir, and have been throughout history, Lady Starbuck displays her wares almost negligently, like her daughters, who elope rather than remain with the Starbucks. This could be read as a subtle sexual metaphor: Lady Starbuck has visual representations of sexual relations with her husband, both in her daughters and in her diamonds, but she does not possess the vital male heir. Lady Corbridge does not have superfluous jewellery, because her husband is a gambling addict, and she does not have any

children, male or female. It is clear, then, that Lady Corbridge is neglected emotionally, and probably sexually, by her husband.

Diamonds feature in Harvey's novels almost as often as miniatures and are similarly gendered: diamonds are worn exclusively by her female characters, rather than men, even though men wore jewellery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including rings, watch fobs, belt buckles and shoe buckles. In *Tynemouth* Ida wears a miniature portrait of his sister, but as we shall see, it was more typical for men to conceal such tokens, as Becket and Mountalyth do. Although the novels abound with examples of jewellery, they are more fleeting than those of miniatures. One miniature portrait tends to travel throughout the novel, alongside the narrative, and represents a virtuous love interest. By contrast, a specific piece of jewellery is only to be mentioned once, with another piece mentioned later in the novel. As we shall see, the fleeting nature of the jewellery examples explored in this chapter serves to reinforce the satirical treatment of the fashionable women who own the jewels. Such jewels reflect the nature of the plot of Harvey's novels: they are fast-paced, full of colourful characters and action, driving the narrative constantly forward.

Part One: Miniatures

Figure 10: Miniature Portrait of Elizabeth Ann Benson (1841), by Harriet Mackreth[2]

Warkfield Castle (1802)

Before we analyse Jane Harvey's depiction of miniature portraits, some context is useful, to help us appreciate how the miniature portrait came to be such a popular belonging in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, the miniature portrait became an affordable and popular possession amongst the middle classes. Raymond Lister describes the 'decorative nature of the miniature [as] quite distinct from that of the larger picture. It partakes, indeed, of the quality of a jewel'.[3] Stephen J. Gores identifies an '"insatiable public demand" for miniatures', likening the production of the miniature to an assembly line: fashionable miniaturists such as Richard Cosway often painted twelve sitters a day.[4] Lister explains that the miniature

[2] Harriet Mackreth was a Tyneside artist, who exhibited portrait miniatures in Newcastle.
[3] Raymond Lister, *The British Miniature* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1951), p. 2.
[4] Steven J. Gores, 'The Miniature as Reduction and Talisman in Fielding's *Amelia*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* 37:3 (1997), 573-93 (p. 574).

painter 'economize[s] in space. He needs no special studio for his work […] his in an intimate art which should be produced in intimate surroundings'.[5] Lister states that Cosway worked too easily: 'his strength because he was able to dash a portrait on to a leaf of ivory in a few strokes, and his weakness because of his careless technique'.[6] The market was consequently 'flooded' with miniatures, leading some Royal Academy portrait painters to suggests '"miniaturists were […] a mercenary corps more interested in personal gain than high art'.[7] Although no miniature portraits by Jane Harvey remain, it thus seems likely that, if Harvey the miniaturist and Harvey the novelist were the same person, Harvey created miniature portraits to make a living.

The eighteenth-century production line creation of the miniature portrait provides a marked contrast to its elite associations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the price of miniatures 'limited their clientele to the political elite'.[8] Marianne Koos describes sixteenth-century miniatures as 'guarded objects to which their owners were deeply attached emotionally'.[9] Koos gives an example of Queen Elizabeth I kissing a miniature of Mary Queen of Scots to demonstrate their use as 'gifts […] they are highly mobile artefacts, clinching political and private networks among people of differing religious, cultural, and sexual identities'.[10] Portrait miniatures were carefully guarded, wrapped in paper or silk or enclosed in lockable receptacles of gold, decorated with jewels. Koos describes the 'act of concealing and revealing, opening and closing, of moving and chasing' as 'fundamental' to the miniature portrait.[11] The most important features of the miniature, from the sixteenth century onwards, were

[5] Lister, p. 4.
[6] Lister, p. 37.
[7] Patrick Noon, 'Miniatures on the Market' in *The English Miniature,* ed. John Murdoch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 163-206 (p. 192).
[8] Gores, p. 574.
[9] Marianne Koos, 'Concealing and Revealing Pictures "In Small Volumes": Portrait Miniatures and Their Envelopes', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma,* 6 (2018), 33-54 (p. 36).
[10] Koos, p. 37.
[11] Koos, p. 41.

thus tactility and interactivity: the miniature could be held, moved, worn, concealed, opened, by its owner or wearer.

Intersections between literature and portraiture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been considered by scholars such as Alison Conway, Lynn Shepherd, Elizabeth A. Fay, and Christopher Rovee. Kamilla Elliott reads Gothic discourses and art practices 'to glean cultural mythologies informing and driving picture identification's mass rise', arguing that 'Gothic fiction is the mother ship of literary picture identification – no other literary period or genre is so pervasively, didactically, and obsessively concerned with it.'[12] As Elliott identifies, in Gothic criticism, portraits and miniatures have been considered 'richly but slimly', as evidence of 'an iconography of fear, doubt, loss, disintegration of self and disruption of law' by Frederick S. Frank; 'of counterfeits and Baudrillardian simulacra ([Jerrald E.] Hogle); of critiques of consumerism ([Angela] Wright); and of "the primal scene" ([George E.] Haggerty)'.[13] Elliott goes on to point out that portraits and miniatures appear more frequently in Gothic fiction than other motifs such as 'monasteries, convents, secret passageways, orphans, ghosts, libertines, banditti, seduction, rape, shipwrecks, dreams, cross-dressing, letters, and the discovery of lost relatives'.[14] Ann Radcliffe, in particular, 'saturates her novels in a rhetoric of painting and, more pertinent to this discussion, portraiture'.[15] Elliott argues:

> the ghosts animating Gothic fiction's ancestral portraits endow picture identification with supernatural power, as do associations forged between miniature portraits and Roman Catholic icons. Gothic fiction furthermore

[12] Kamilla Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction: The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764-1835* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), p. 6; p. 6.
[13] Elliott, p. 6.
[14] Elliott, p. 6.
[15] Elliott, p. 206.

> accords picture identification supreme epistemological authority by linking it to contemporary philosophies of mind and empiricism.[16]

As established here, the miniature is a complex motif that was prevalent in Gothic fiction.

Within this context, therefore, it is important to remember that by the early nineteenth century, miniatures were popular and readily available possessions for the middling and upper classes. Here we move on to consider Jane Harvey's first novel, *Warkfield Castle* (1802), which was published by the Minerva Press.[17] A Gothic tale which centres on a castle, presumably based on Warkworth Castle in Northumberland, *Warkfield* is set in the 1640s. As briefly mentioned in the introductory chapter, Harvey quotations Thomas Gray's 'Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College' (1747) as the epigraph for *Warkfield*:

> These shall the fury passions tear
> The vultures of the mind;
> Disdainful Anger, pallid Fear,
> And Shame that sculks behind;
> Or pining Love shall waste their youth,
> Or Jealousy, with rankling tooth,
> That inly gnaws the secret heart;
> And Envy wan, and faded Care,
> Grim-visag'd, comfortless Despair,
> And Sorrow's piercing dart.[18]

Harvey's chosen epigraph names a range of negative emotions: 'Anger', 'Fear', 'Shame', 'Jealousy', 'Envy', and 'Despair'. Such emotions are fairly typical of the melodramatic, sentimental plots of the Gothic novel. Sarabeth Grant argues that the

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[16] Elliott, p. 7.
[17] Full synopses of the main novels discussed in this thesis can be found in the Appendices.
[18] Jane Harvey, *Warkfield Castle*, 3 vols (London: Minerva Press, 1802), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], I, p. i.

moral choice of Gray's poem, 'whether or not to betray the suffering of adulthood to the college youths' expands to introduce into the speaker's consciousness 'different modes of constituting history beyond that of the exemplar, such as natural laws and empirical inquiry.'[19] This is relevant to Harvey's novel, which constructs a history around the part-fabricated Warkfield Castle, beyond the factual history of Northumbria. As well as establishing these negative emotions, the epigraph evokes the architecture of Eton College, which had Gothic elements and was built from red bricks. Harvey describes Warkfield Castle as 'built of red free-stone', a 'massy pile [that] could neither boast the beauties of architecture nor the embellishments of external ornament', a contrast to the more decorative Eton College, but built from similar red brickwork.[20] From the beginning of the novel, therefore, Harvey emphasises the importance of the material, by describing the architecture of the castle.

The main characters of the novel are introduced after several pages of architectural description. Lord and Lady Meldon live at Warkfield Castle, and their neighbours are Miss Henrietta Selby and her nephew Henry. Lord Meldon fights in the civil war on the side of the monarchy, and is forced to shelter with his friend Clement, then flee to France when they are defeated, along with his orphaned niece Celia Norford, her nurse, his steward, and the Reverend Mr Becket. In France Becket is reunited with his wife and their son Walter. A storm forces Walter Becket to find shelter at the Castle of Welburg in Germany, where he meets the mysterious Dorcella, and fixates on a miniature portrait created by her that he takes from the castle. A Parliamentarian garrison is installed at Warkfield Castle, which happened to the real Warkworth Castle during the Civil War, again suggesting that Warkfield is actually Warkworth Castle.

[19] Sarabeth Grant, 'Returning to Eton: Writing History and Temporality in Thomas Gray's "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College"', *Papers on Language and Literature,* 53:2 (2017), 132-43 (pp. 132-3).
[20] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* I, pp. 1-2.

Warkfield is defaced by the republican soldiers, and it is believed that some of the damage to the real Warkworth was created during parliamentarian occupation.

In 1660, the Meldons return to England, several years after the end of the Civil Wars. Another miniature portrait becomes significant to the narrative here, when Lady Meldon believes her husband is having an affair, as she is told that a miniature of Miss Selby belongs to him. Lord Meldon threatens to separate from his wife, but his niece Celia intervenes, and Lady Meldon is partially reformed from a gambler to a remorseful figure, as discussed in more detail later in this section. At the end of the novel, the true identities of Dorcella and Henry Selby are revealed, and Dorcella marries Walter Becket. Celia marries Henry Selby, and friendship prevails between the families. The main characters unanimously agree in the final scenes that 'all the scenes of adversity which had chequered their former years were attributed to those unhappy civil commotions which had distracted their country'.[21] The 'breaking the ties of law, and dissolving the bands which held society together' caused the deaths of Celia and Henry's fathers, the exile of lord Meldon and Mr Becket, and 'every event connected with and subsequent to those leading points.'[22] This ending follows a common formula for Minerva Press novels, where virtue is rewarded and adversity overcome: in the anonymously published *Castle of Villa-Flora* (1819), the de Montval family agree: 'the evils they had endured were indeed terrible, and of long continuance, but they agree in opinion, that they have not purchased at too dear a rate the charms of their present situation'.[23] Similarly, at the end of the anonymously published *The Black Banner* (1811), the protagonists 'found themselves beloved, not only by their husbands, but by their friends, their servants, and their subjects, fully

[21] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle*, III, p. 292.
[22] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle*, III, p. 292.
[23] Anonymous, *Castle of Villa-Flora* (London: Minerva Press, 1819), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https:go.gale.com/ps/start/do?p=NCCO> [accessed 10 February 2022], pp. 265-6.

exemplifying that grand truth, that a virtuous conduct will for ever ensure a lasting respect'.[24] This Minerva Press formula underwrites conventional truisms, appealing to its mass readership by offering endings that are unchallenging and contain a sense of morality: the good are finally rewarded, and the bad punished.

In Gothic narratives such as this, the miniature portrait becomes a useful motif to guide the reader through mysterious plotlines. Here we will examine the first miniatures in *Warkfield Castle*: the miniatures exchanged by Becket and Dorcella. The young Walter Becket and Meggison, Lord Meldon's steward, are caught in a 'dreadful storm' while travelling through Germany.[25] Becket sees the 'towers of an ancient building', and believing it to be 'perhaps a convent', they approach and take shelter here.[26] Inside the castle, they are greeted by Dorcella, a young lady whose 'form and features were such as conveyed to the beholder an idea of the most perfect beauty, and her countenance was fraught with the most lively sensibility, engaging sweetness, and artless innocence.'[27] Dorcella lives at the castle with her mother, where they 'lead a very retired life' and 'never [join] any public amusement', as if the castle is indeed a convent.[28] Becket examines Dorcella's drawings, including an 'unfinished miniature of a gentleman', and feels 'an anxious wish to obtain possession' of a small landscape she has painted, as 'it was the work of Dorcella, and might, when far distant, remind him of the Castle, and of the lovely artist who resided there'.[29] Dorcella and Walter are interrupted before she is able to give Walter permission to take the picture, but Walter, 'availing himself of the half permission he had received, deposited the

[24] Anonymous, *The Black Banner*, 4 vols (London: Minerva Press, 1811), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https:go.gale.com/ps/start/do?p=NCCO> [accessed 10 February 2022], IV, pp. 321-2.
[25] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 12.
[26] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II p. 12.
[27] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, pp. 18-9.
[28] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 25.
[29] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 29; p. 34.

landscape in his pocket-book'.[30] In exchange, Walter gives Dorcella a miniature drawn by Celia Norford of Miss Selby, 'copied from an original, which Mrs. Norford had worn in a bracelet'.[31] Dorcella examines the drawing when she is alone, admiring 'the elegance of features and amiable sensibility of countenance which characterized Miss Selby's miniature, and anxiously wished to know something more of the original'.[32] She 'endeavoured to trace a resemblance between the picture and the young gentleman from whom she received it', but 'there certainly was not the least likeness between the features of Miss Selby and those of Walter Becket'.[33] Becket and Meggison leave the castle without finding out who Dorcella's father is, and are told the castle is 'called the Castle of Welberg […] and it is haunted by the spirit of a person who was murdered there some years ago'.[34] This exchange reflects a confusion surrounding identity, a key theme of *Warkfield.* Walter Becket tells Dorcella that Celia Norford is his sister, although she is just a close family friend, and Dorcella does not tell Becket anything about her family.

Dorcella's enigmatic past matches the popular Gothic trope of the mysterious orphan employed by authors such as Charlotte Smith in *Emmeline, The Orphan of the Castle* (1788), and Ann Radcliffe in *The Italian* (1796). It is particularly fitting that Dorcella gives Becket a landscape, rather than a portrait of herself or a family member, as a landscape reveals nothing about her obscure heritage. The miniature picture simply reveals what Becket already knows: the location of Dorcella's imprisonment at the Castle of Welberg, and Becket exchanges it for a portrait of Miss Selby, which confuses Dorcella's understanding of his own heritage, as she falsely believes that the

[30] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 37.
[31] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 32.
[32] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 40.
[33] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 40.
[34] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 51.

creator of the portrait, Celia, is Becket's sister. Becket initially believes that Clement is the man in the unfinished miniature created by Dorcella, and laments that 'the relationship between Clement and the lady of the Castle [Dorcella], and the history of the person for whom the miniature pictures had been designed, were mysteries which he now never expected to unravel'.[35] Dorcella's identity and family connections are obscured, and Becket seeks to determine her connections to the Meldon, Clement, and Selby families.

Miss Selby, the subject of the other miniature, also harbours a secret about her child's lineage. Henry Selby is believed to be Lord Selby's illegitimate son and thus Henrietta's nephew, but is later revealed as the product of Henrietta Selby's marriage, giving him a claim to Selby Hall. Similarly, in *Tynemouth,* the character Orpheline is later revealed to be a marchioness's daughter. Diane Long Hoeveler states:

> proving one's legitimacy, proving that one is not an "orphan," or fatherless, becomes a persistent refrain in female gothic novels. Why? Clearly, the answer one is forced finally to confront concerns the nature of the "patriarchy" as perceived by the very different white, middle-class women who were reading and writing gothic novels.[36]

Even women who were not technically orphans, like Dorcella, had to prove their legitimacy and were disinherited by their gender. Hoeveler contends that Smith's Emmeline, who is an aristocrat through her father and middle class through her 'beautiful mother', embodies the fact that 'the British middle class built itself on the shorn backs of the aristocracy, taking wealth and property where they could and justifying the rout by exposing the emotional and spiritual inadequacies of the class

[35] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* III, p. 48.
[36] Diane Long Hoeveler, *Gothic Feminism: The Professionalization of Gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1998), p. 34.

they were replacing'.[37] Dorcella's identity is deliberately obscured by her own father, Fowler, to punish her mother. She is not a true orphan, but is separated from her family status and inheritance by the patriarchal figure of her father. Dorcella is therefore a victim of patriarchy, made vulnerable by her gender and imprisoned by her own father, and can only be rescued by the traditional protection of marriage to the middle-class Becket. The miniature in *Warkfield* raises more questions than it answers, as Becket spends most of the novel reflecting on the miniature of a gentleman created by Dorcella: 'it was a mystery he could not solve; and the more he thought about it the more did he feel himself entangled in a maze of vague and uncertain conjectures.'[38]

The treatment of the miniatures by Becket and Dorcella indicates an intimate connection between the two characters. This was fairly typical for a miniature in the eighteenth century: Jolene Zigarovich identifies the miniature and the relic as part of the slippage between sentimentality and materialism, with a focus on Richardson's 'Clarissa's cherishing of a portrait miniature as she prepares for her own death [which] signifies […] sentimental attitudes'.[39] When Becket hands the miniature of Miss Selby to Dorcella, a 'blush […] overspread her face when she took the miniature from his hand'.[40] Dorcella's blush is an implicit recognition of the miniature's meaning: a visual representation of the intimacy and love that Becket feels for her but is unable to put into words. When Becket leaves the Castle of Welberg, he is 'unable to dwell on any idea unconnected with Dorcella', and he reflects on 'the miniature-portrait pourtrayed [sic] by the fair hand of that young lady'.[41] As it could not be her father, a thought occurs that 'gave to the bleeding heart of Becket the most acute and painful sensations.

[37] Hoeveler, p. 49.
[38] Harvey, *Warkfield,* III, p. 121.
[39] Jolene Zigarovich, *Death and the Body in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2023), p. 157.
[40] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, p. 31.
[41] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, p. 63.

The original of the portrait might probably be the favoured lover of Dorcella.'[42] Later in the novel, when Becket learns that Dorcella sent the miniature of Miss Selby to a jeweller in Juliers, 'it appeared that Dorcella had so far valued his present as to send it be to set, and this idea was so delightful'.[43] Becket 'reposed the secret of his love in a breast where he knew it would be kept sacred, and from the circumstance of the miniature having been sent to Juliers, he cherished a belief that Dorcella valued his presents'.[44] Similarly, Clarissa keeps her miniature in her bosom, something Zigarovich describes as a 'performance with sentimental objects that we have seen repeatedly enacted in fiction'.[45] In these sentimental rituals, Zigarovich identifies the function of miniatures as 'visual and physical substitutes for identities and bodies and are transformed into meaningful mourning objects'.[46] Richard Walker argues that 'the eighteenth-century miniature began to lose something of its esoteric mystique and was used to embellish rings, brooches and bracelets'.[47] The use of the words 'cherished' and 'sacred' by Becket, however, indicates that some of the esoteric connotations of the miniature remained. The miniature here represents the sacred in the everyday: the domestic woman who can be worshipped. Men such as Becket fixate on the women depicted in miniature portraits, and the women who paint them, both idolising and idealising these women as perfect.

The miniature portraits become part of a gift exchange between Dorcella and Becket, one which is only partially authorised by Dorcella. Linda Zionkowski states that 'as donors, recipients, and objects of exchange themselves, women became the

[42] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 63.
[43] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 160.
[44] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 179.
[45] Zigarovich, p. 158.
[46] Zigarovich, p. 158.
[47] Richard Walker, *Miniatures: 300 Years of the English Miniature Illustrated from the Collections of the National Portrait Gallery* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1998), p. 9.

focus of cultural anxieties over the evolving significance of gifts in the eighteenth century.'[48] Zionkowski cites Claude Lévi-Strauss's description of women as '"the supreme gift among those that can only be obtained in the form of reciprocal gifts."'[49] In this sense, Becket is anxious to identify Dorcella's family so that he knows who she belongs to and can facilitate what Zionkowski calls 'the experience of exchange from the household of her father to that of her husband [which] defined virtually every aspect of a woman's future.'[50] Dorcella's reluctance to disclose information about her family, and the lack of explicit permission she gives Becket for their gift exchange, delays Becket's ability to propose marriage, and indicates her resistance to marriage. When Dorcella meets Becket she is a prisoner of her father, and cannot marry until this obstacle is removed, but she does not indicate an excessive enthusiasm for the marriage. Becket believes she has sent his gift to be set by a jeweller, and takes this as a sign of her feelings for him, but, as we shall see in the following paragraph, the miniature is stolen from her and taken to the jewellers by somebody else.

Becket's idolisation of the miniature created by Dorcella leaves women exposed to similar consequences as those depicted in Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), where Ambrosio is drawn to the devilish Matilda for her 'exact resemblance of his admired Madonna'.[51] In *The Monk,* the nun Agnes presents her lover Alphonso with a miniature portrait of herself, which she keeps locked in a cabinet.[52] The miniature of Agnes, like that by *Warkfield,* is kept concealed from sight. Alphonso 'pressed the portrait to my lips with passion' as a precursor for the sexual intimacy to come, resulting in Agnes's

[48] Linda Zionkowski, *Women and Gift Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Richardson, Burney, Austen* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 14.
[49] Zionkowski, p. 14.
[50] Zionkowski, p. 15.
[51] Matthew Lewis, *The Monk* (1796), ed. Nick Groom, *Oxford World's Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 63.
[52] Lewis, p. 111.

impregnation, imprisonment, the death of her infant, and almost her own death.[53] Although events in *The Monk* are more explicit and sexualised than Harvey's novels, both contain clear intimate associations. Agnes prizes the miniature like her virginity, keeping it locked away in an intimate space, before presenting it to Alphonso, her intended husband. Becket prize the virginity and potential marriage represented by the miniatures of Miss Cassils and Dorcella respectively. They do not consummate their relationships before marriage in the same way as Alphonso and Agnes, but the miniature represents the promise of the consequent sexual encounters that the intimacy of love and marriage will afford. Like Lewis's Alphonso, Walter Becket is a man of the church, becoming a clergyman in the final volume of *Warkfield,* and reforming Errington. The relationships associated with the miniature portrait in Harvey's novels, however, focus foremost the emotional intimacy of marriage, rather than the sexual infidelities of *The Monk.* The sexual connotations seem incidental, a result of the male/female intimacy signified by the miniature, rather than a priority. Becket and Montgomery view the miniatures' subjects or creators as idols, and the existence of the miniature makes it like a religious relic or idol, like a statue or painting of the Madonna. There is a complicated history surrounding iconophobia and its association with religion.[54] The female subject of the miniature is easy for a male admirer to possess through marriage: the other subjects represented by the miniature, such as social class and intimacy, are more difficult to claim. Elliott argues that portrait iconophilia 'licenses and opens spaces for ferocity, possessiveness, obsession, and resistance to social authority, even in the most innocent and docile Gothic heroines'.[55] The otherwise submissive heroine of Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797), Ellena, refuses to

[53] Lewis, p. 106.
[54] Kalman P. Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
[55] Elliott, p. 238.

part with her miniature portrait. Elliott states 'miniatures here and elsewhere offer threatening rehearsal and conceptual spaces for social revolution'.[56]

The second significant incident involving a miniature portrait returns *Warkfield's* narrative to the Meldon family. Dorcella's father, Fowler, steals the miniature of Miss Selby to stage a false affair between her and Lord Meldon. Fowler finds the portrait at the Castle of Welberg and:

> as he gazed on the miniature, formed the diabolical project of using it as an instrument to gratify his revenge on Lord Meldon, by poisoning his domestic happiness. Putting the picture in his pocket, he shewed it to Errington, and between them they planned and executed the following scheme: Fowler carried the miniature to a jeweller's shop, and left it there to be set; he then sized the first opportunity of being alone with Lady Meldon to praise the beauty of a picture belonging to her Ladyship, which, he said, he had seen by accident.[57]

Fowler moves the intimacy of the miniature discussed above into the more public realm: physically, to a shop where the miniature is left to be reset, and metaphorically, as it opens the Meldons to wider issues such as gambling and potential public disgrace. The 'diabolical' and 'poisoning' scheme contrasts to the language that surrounds Becket's use of the miniature, which he cherishes and treats as sacred. Fowler and Errington take advantage of the diminutive nature of the miniature's size: its smallness allows it to be stolen with ease, concealed, and transported to a jeweller. The size of the miniature portrait of the gentleman created by Dorcella is revealed by the fact that Becket holds 'the miniature in his hand'; the human body is used to determine scale,

[56] Elliott, p. 238.
[57] Harvey, *Warkfield*, III, p. 236.

an argument made by Susan Stewart, who states 'the body is our mode of perceiving scale'.[58] Chloe Wigston Smith and Beth Fowkes Tobin make a similar argument, examining 'how small things helped individuals negotiate larger political, cultural, and scientific shifts'.[59] The exact size of the object is suited to the intimate relationship it signifies: small enough to be held with ease, transported, and worn discreetly. Both Becket and Fowler place the miniature in their pockets. As Koos points out, the size of the portrait miniatures 'demand to be taken into one's hands, and in a concentrated act of immersion, studied in every detail'.[60] Gores reiterates the effectiveness of the miniature's size, arguing the 'miniature's smallness permits it to be treated not only as an image […] but also an object. The portrait miniature's materiality was, in fact, celebrated by the elaborate and valuable encrustations of gold and gemstones that sometimes surrounded it'.[61]

Errington and Fowler carry 'the miniature [of Henrietta] to a jeweller's shop, and leave it there to be set', confirming the size of miniatures in the novel: small enough to be set in a necklace or bracelet.[62] Errington then informs Lady Meldon that her husband left the miniature at the jeweller's, implying that he must therefore be having an affair with the portrait's subject, Henrietta. In this instance, the miniature is not set in jewellery to increase its value, but to expose a potential scandal, with the jewelled setting drawing attention to the portrait and the intimacy it reveals. As stated above, the miniature was often set with gold and jewels, but then hidden away in silk or in a pocket, making it a liminal item in the sense that it is dressed for exhibition but hidden

[58] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, p. 31; Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), p. xii.
[59] Chloe Wigston Smith and Beth Fowkes Tobin, 'Introduction' in *Small Things in the Eighteenth Century: The Political and Personal Value of the Miniature,* eds. Chloe Wigston Smith and Beth Fowkes Tobin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 1-14 (p. 1).
[60] Koos, p. 36.
[61] Gores, p. 576.
[62] Harvey, *Warkfield,* III, p. 236.

in intimate spaces. This liminality associated with the miniature echoes the social marginality of the exiled Dorcella, falsely orphaned by her father, Henrietta Selby, who cannot publicly claim her marriage, and Henry Selby, who is falsely orphaned by his mother's claim to be his aunt. The miniature is ideally suited for the intrigue and secrecy of the plots that surround it, by its size, portability, and liminality. The miniature is a physical representation of other means with which a woman's reputation can be damaged. Gossip, for example, can also be released into the public sphere beyond the subject's control, while the subject remains passive and sometimes even unaware of their association with scandal. While gossip is more traditionally associated with femininity, however, both sexes engage with the miniature portrait, allowing men and women to utilise it as a means of spreading scandal. This contrasts to the way in which Ann Radcliffe uses the miniature portrait in *The Italian,* where 'picture identifications bring about patriarchal reform as well as victim rescue', when the novel's archvillain is about to murder Ellena, but 'a tiny miniature portrait around the girl's neck […] terrified this powerful psyche, paralyzed a massive body, and suspended a determined mind'.[63] It is this potential power for reform and rescue that makes the miniature such an appropriate vehicle for scandalous plots, as the miniature portrait's force is manipulated for the villain's gain.

Fowler's 'diabolical project' with the miniature works because of Lady Meldon's 'vanity, and frivolity […] her mind remained almost as little furnished with useful ideas as it was at the hour of her birth.'[64] Fowler seeks revenge for Lord Meldon's support of Henrietta Selby's marriage: years before the events of the novel, Fowler wished to seduce Henrietta in spite of his own marriage, but Lord Meldon helped Henrietta to

[63] Elliott, p. 243.
[64] Harvey, *Warkfield,* I, p. 7.

arrange a secret marriage to Lord Selby, thus protecting her from Fowler. Errington and Fowler are able to enact their revenge plot because Lady Meldon is a frivolous woman, who is initially indulged by her husband. She 'contracted debts, which his Lordship […] had found it difficult to discharge. But of her thoughtless conduct his Lordship never complained to any of his friends'.[65] The couple often live apart, as Lord Meldon prefers the countryside, while his wife favours fashionable locations such as Paris and London. When his wife visits him, Lord Meldon 'represented, though in the mildest terms, the disastrous consequences that would attend a perseverance in her present habits of expense'.[66] Lady Meldon was, 'however, too fond of what the gay world calls, or rather miscalls, pleasure, to profit by the exhortations of her Lord: she still went on in the same way'.[67]

Lord Meldon hopes their removal from Paris may reconcile his wife 'to a more rational way of thinking, and [teach her] to relish the simple and refined pleasures attendant on a more retired mode of life', but his plan is unsuccessful.[68] Gambling was a common 'habit of expense' among the upper classes of British society: Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire was notorious for her gambling addiction and died without paying her debts. Both genders indulged in gambling: Lord Byron amassed enormous debts through gambling and profligate spending, and in Frances Burney's *Camilla* (1796), the eponymous protagonist's brother Lionel is a reckless spender and gambler. In Burney's *Cecilia* (1782), the protagonist's guardian Mr Harrel spends money freely on luxuries and gambling, and threatens suicide to convince Cecilia to pay his debts. Camilla and Cecilia, Burney's respective heroines, both fail to temper this extravagance, in spite of their feminine sensibility.

[65] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, p. 284.
[66] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, pp. 284-5.
[67] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, p. 285.
[68] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, p. 286.

Lady Meldon confronts her husband about the miniature when Errington has informed her: 'I saw the picture of Henrietta Selby, which you sent to Juliers to be set by the hands of Meggison, your confidential friend'.[69] Lord Meldon 'paced the room with an unusual degree of emotion, while the countenance of his lady exhibited evident symptoms of anger and confusion'.[70] His wife claims: 'I myself saw the picture in a jeweller's shop, where it was left to be set, and I will believe the evidence of my own senses before all the Meggisons in the kingdom'.[71] Lady Meldon refuses to identify the man who told her about the miniature, and her husband 'shudder[s] to think what influence that man must possess in your heart who could persuade you to dispute the faith and honour of your husband'.[72] Lord Meldon decides: 'since you have chosen to withdraw the confidence you ought to have placed in me, and to repose it in them, you are no longer worthy to be called my wife: we must part, Lady Meldon'.[73] Lord Meldon's niece, Celia, encounters her aunt afterwards and reveals: 'surely, my dear aunt, the picture you mention must have been carried into Germany by Walter Becket! I copied a miniature of Miss Selby from this on my arm, and gave it to him'.[74] Celia intervenes with her uncle on Lady Meldon's behalf: 'Lord Meldon esteemed his lady from principle, not from passion; she was the wife chosen for him by his father; he had borne patiently with all her errors, and hoped that time and experience, by correcting her judgement, would remove them; and he now felt his anger totally subside'.[75] The couple are reconciled, but Lady Meldon 'lost much of her usual gaiety, and was at times grave and dejected'.[76]

[69] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 127.
[70] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 128.
[71] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 128.
[72] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 129.
[73] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 130.
[74] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 135.
[75] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 138.
[76] Harvey, *Warkfield*, II, p. 141.

Following this confrontation, Errington joins the Meldon household as a guest. Errington tries to seduce the family's young friend, Fanny Curry, and abducts her when she refuses his advances. Lady Meldon is devastated and admits:

> Ah, my Charles! how shall I speak what I have so long concealed! My losses at play, while I was in Germany, amounted to two thousand pounds, besides the remittances I received from you; with this sum Errington furnished me, and fifteen hundred of it yet remains unpaid – this, this is my fault. Oh my Lord! I do not, I cannot expect forgiveness.[77]

Lady Meldon again invites comparison to Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who borrowed money from various sources, including the Prince of Wales, leaving her vulnerable to threats and blackmail.[78] Lord Meldon, 'far from upbraiding, […] raised her from the ground and pressed her to his bosom'.[79] Lady Meldon declares 'my repentance is sincere: from this hour I will abandon all my follies: in the presence of Mr. Becket I solemnly promise to do so'.[80] The partial reformation of Lady Meldon is now completed, and the Meldons are fully reconciled. Lady Meldon is not the only woman who must reform in Harvey's novels; the reform of Cordelia in *Any Thing But What You Expect* is discussed in Chapter Three. Errington's plot with the miniature is a precursor of his capabilities, a manipulation of intimacies which he continues by lending Lady Meldon money and by eloping with the unwilling Fanny Curry. Fanny Curry is rescued, virtue intact, and Errington is reformed by Walter Becket. The miniature of Henrietta Selby is a tangible suggestion of impropriety, but the virtue of Celia and Lord Meldon overrule its salacious suggestibility. Although Errington's plot creates discord between the Meldons, it ultimately leads to the chastening of Lady

[77] Harvey, *Warkfield,* III, p. 94.
[78] Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2004).
[79] Harvey, *Warkfield,* III, p. 94.
[80] Harvey, *Warkfield,* III, p. 95.

Meldon and a reformation of her behaviour. The miniature itself is not enough to determine a relationship, therefore: the reader must also examine how people interact with the miniature to discover relationships. A miniature, like a book, is read by a person who interprets it based on their own perspectives and motives; its message is changeable and liminal. The subject concerned, in this example Henrietta Selby, can be unaware of the use of their image: the image of the sitter is commodified and reduced to an item that can be manipulated and used in plots such as Errington's. The concealment of miniatures thus denotes not only the intimacy involved, but the implicit dangers of viewing a miniature out of context and without the explanations of those concerned.

As we have seen, Jane Harvey explores the potential of the miniature as a driver of the plot from the beginning of her novel-writing career, with *Warkfield.* Becket uses the miniature as part of his idolisation of Dorcella, and a stolen miniature creates scandal and intrigue. This intrigue is woven through the plot of the novel, where characters such as Dorcella are enigmas, and many identities are shrouded in secrecy.

The Castle of Tynemouth (1806)

Harvey's second novel, *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806), was first published with Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, with a second edition printed in 1830 by Eneas Mackenzie Jr. *Tynemouth* is a Gothic tale set in 1491, before Tynemouth Castle became a ruin. As discussed in the introductory chapter, Harvey begins the novel with a self-penned poem. The tone of the epigraph for *Tynemouth* is more positive than *Warkfield*'s: here Harvey evokes images of bravery, wealth, the 'welcome beam' that 'glads' the 'seaman's sight', and the 'balmy wings' of 'health salubrious'. The first chapter of *Tynemouth* is a history of the 'ancient monastery, town, and castle of

Tynemouth'.[81] In the second chapter, the reader is introduced to Norton, the Count of Wooler, 'one of the most conspicuous and distinguished characters in the reign of the seventh Henry', and his 'two beautiful and promising children', Ida and Rosetta.[82] At the beginning of the novel, Norton is appointed governor of Tynemouth Castle. The seventeen-year-old Ida has inherited his father's 'talents for war, and his passion for military glory', and his 'heart was warm and noble'.[83] Rosetta is fifteen, the same age as Dorcella in *Warkfield,* and 'was all of feminine virtue, grace, and loveliness that imagination can form, or language describe. Her unaffectedly soft and delicate manners were the natural emanations of a tender heart.'[84]

The Norton family move from Wooler Park to Tynemouth Castle, along with Mrs. Judith Cresswell, 'a maiden lady, distantly related to the earl of Wooler, and who, since the death of the countess, had superintended his domestic affairs, and assisted him in the education of his children'.[85] Judith has heard strange reports about the castle, and warns Ida 'after the sanctuary of Tynemouth monastery was violated, and our ancestor, Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, was dragged from it and murdered, a spell of enchantment was laid on the Castle of Tynemouth'.[86] Judith thus establishes from the beginning of the novel the Gothic and haunted nature of the castle, although the Nortons are sceptical: Ida is 'no longer able to command his features' when Judith issues this warning, and Rosetta is 'not less diverted than her brother'.[87] At the castle, Ida and Rosetta befriend Mitford Lilburne, son of the deceased Sir Robert Lilburne, previous governor of the castle and friend of Norton. They also

[81] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 10.
[82] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 19.
[83] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 19.
[84] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 20.
[85] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 21.
[86] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 21.
[87] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 21.

befriend Oswald Clifford, a friendless orphan and young officer of the garrison, and Elfrida Thornton, daughter of a private gentleman who resides in the village. The deputy-governor of the castle, Major Shipperdson, 'maintained in the world the character of a man of honour; but was in reality a designing, unprincipled villain'.[88] Shipperdson wishes to seek revenge on Norton for 'having usurped what he thought his right', the governor position at the castle.[89] In 1492 Norton is summoned to France to join the King's invasion, along with Ida and Lilburne, leaving Rosetta and Elfrida in the guardianship of Shipperdson and Clifford. The ending of *Tynemouth* is similar to that of *Warkfield,* where the protagonists are happily married, but their travails are blamed on superstition rather than on war, as the final paragraph declares: 'the primary cause of their sufferings, was the superstition of the times in which they lived, and the patience with which they endured them was eventually rewarded by a state of happiness as full and perfect as this world can afford.'[90]

In *Tynemouth,* as in *Warkfield,* the miniature is an appropriate vehicle for the Gothic plot of the novel. While in France, Norton, Count of Wooler, becomes 'a complete dupe to the most artful of her sex.'[91] He is introduced to the aptly named Narcisse, Madame de Montmiril, and a miniature portrait facilitates their romance. The first husband of Madame de Montmiril 'died in consequence of a wound which he received in a reencounter [sic] with a favourite gallant of the countess', but this information is given to Ida, not to Norton.[92] When Madame de Montmiril observes Norton's love for his daughter, 'the soft sigh of parental solicitude was reverberated from [her] gentle bosom'.[93] Madame de Montmiril tells Norton:

[88] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 22.
[89] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 22.
[90] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 116.
[91] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 49.
[92] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 50.
[93] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 50.

> "[…] how happy should I be to embrace your charming daughter, and cultivate an interest in her invaluable esteem; for I am prepared to love her by both your lordship's description, and the lovely miniature which is in your son's possession."
>
> This miniature was constantly worn by Ida, and had at his father's request been exhibited to Madame de Montmiril, who instantly and repeatedly noticed the extreme resemblance she thought it bore to the earl; and consequently the term *lovely*, which was now so unequivocally bestowed upon it by the rosy lips of Madame, could not sound otherwise than highly pleasing on his enamoured ear; not less so indeed, than was his reply to that of the countess; "Consent then, most charming of women, to honour England and Rosetta with your presence."[94]

Narcisse's description of the likeness as '*lovely*' pleases the earl so much that he invites Madame de Montmiril to England.[95] Pointon emphasises the role of miniatures in personal relationships, with the 'giving, receiving, and wearing of portrait miniatures [a] part of fashionable social practice'.[96] Here, Harvey uses the miniature as a physical representation of multiple personal relationships: between Rosetta and her father, between Norton and Madame de Montmiril, and between Rosetta and her brother Ida. The engagement in the 'fashionable social practice' of wearing portrait miniatures demonstrates the good taste of the Norton family, but the relationships honoured by the miniature make it a sentimental object rather than a materialistic possession. Ida 'constantly' wears the miniature of Rosetta, reinforcing the apparently loving connection between members of the Norton family, and giving her family a

[94] Harvey, *Tynemouth*, pp. 52-3.
[95] Harvey, *Tynemouth*, p. 52.
[96] Pointon, '"Surrounded with Brilliants"', p. 52.

way of remembering their sister or daughter who remains in England while they are in France. With the miniature portrait, Norton and Ida can display Rosetta's value to them, even in her absence. The use of Rosetta's likeness here, however, is beyond her control or even her awareness: she does not know that her father has shown Madame de Montmiril the miniature, and is unaware at this point in the novel that Madame de Montmiril even exists. Her role in this courtship is therefore completely unintentional, and she is used as an object by her male family members without her knowledge or consent. If we consider women as the 'supreme gift', as identified in the previous section, Rosetta is used to facilitate not only her own marriage, but also the marriage of her father.

The miniature transports its subject: in *Tynemouth,* Rosetta is taken to France, and in *Warkfield,* Miss Selby is carried to Germany. As Stewart points out, 'a reduction in dimensions does not produce a corresponding reduction in significance'.[97] Indeed Rosetta is more significant in miniature form, expediting the marriage between her father and Madame de Montmiril in a way she might not be able to in person, and likewise Miss Selby implicates the Meldons in scandal in *Warkfield,* a plot which could not have been undertaken using her physical person. The miniature in *Tynemouth* serves both as a reminder of Rosetta's merit, and a talisman of her male relatives' 'possession' of her, even when they are on the continent and she remains at home in England. The miniature's portability allowed men to travel the world and fully inhabit the public sphere, while carrying a miniature of their female loved ones, anticipating the cherished photographs carried by modern travellers. The Norton men use the miniature portrait to openly display their sentimentality and attachment to their female relative. Their actions are performative and their sincerity is questionable.

[97] Stewart, p. 43.

Later in the novel, Norton imprisons Rosetta under Madame de Montmiril's directions. Such complications are in keeping with the history of the miniature – in the previous section of this chapter, I discuss Koos's example of Queen Elizabeth kissing a miniature portrait of Mary Queen of Scots. This relationship was exceptionally complicated: Queen Elizabeth kissing a miniature of her cousin is as performative as Ida wearing the miniature of his sister, who is later imprisoned by their father. The surface relationships depicted by the miniature thus have deeper meanings that are not immediately apparent, allowing the miniature to be used as a deceptive device. A narrative can be created around it that does not reflect the entire truth, making it an ideal tool to reflect unreliability and complexity.

The miniature in *Tynemouth* is displayed very differently to the miniature in *Warkfield,* which is concealed first in the pocket of Becket, then in Fowler's pocket. In *Tynemouth* the miniature is 'exhibited', like a portrait in a gallery, which highlights the central paradox of the miniature: the simultaneous existence of the intimate connections discussed above and the typically public exhibition of portraits. Ancestral portraiture was commonly displayed in aristocratic homes: for example, in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), the protagonist Elizabeth Bennet views portraits of the Darcy family at Pemberley. Christopher Rovee identifies such portraits as 'essential elements in a visual display of wealth and power'.[98] Likewise, the Nortons employ the miniature portrait of Rosetta as a visual display of the wealth and power that Madame de Montmiril would gain by marrying the Count. In Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) portraiture and wealth are similarly associated, when the servant Justine is falsely accused of murdering Frankenstein's younger brother William and

[98] Christopher Rovee, *Imagining the Gallery: The Social Body of British Romanticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 1.

stealing his miniature portrait of their mother Caroline. Rovee points out Justine, 'in effect, is accused of coveting not just the portrait, but Caroline's standing. Her personal history is particularly threatening to the bourgeois ideology of upward mobility' because Justine becomes a servant after her father's death, rather than being born into servitude.[99] The theft of the miniature portrait at the time of the murder conflates the stealing of Caroline's likeness in the portrait and the taking of her life.

This coveting of social status mirrors events in *Tynemouth*, where Madame de Montmiril admires the miniature portrait of Rosetta for the potential upward mobility it represents: Madame de Montmiril's elevation to the title of Countess of Wooler. The miniature of Rosetta embodies a microcosm of the higher social class held by the Count of Wooler and his son. Justine in *Frankenstein* is falsely accused of stealing the miniature, but Madame de Montmiril deliberately manipulates the miniature, and its surrounding narrative, to her advantage. The sinister hint that a woman might murder another for her social standing is reflected in Madame de Montmiril's plotting, when she has Rosetta imprisoned and plans to have her stepdaughter disposed of. The miniature portrait can therefore be an emblem of danger for its subject: women such as Caroline or Rosetta are made vulnerable by the creation of their likenesses. The Norton men believe they control the narrative created by the miniature, but it is in fact manipulated by Madame de Montmiril to her own advantage.

When the miniature portrait is considered in this fashion, a double presence of a person and their likeness is established, which draws on the Gothic motif of the double. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar write about Bertha as Jane Eyre's double in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847).[100] Gero Guttzeit argues that the doubling of

[99] Rovee, p. 137.
[100] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic: the Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979; repr. 2000) offers a detailed analysis of doubles such as Jane and Bertha in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre.*

Frankenstein and his monster in Mary Shelley's novel poses a threat to the 'myth of the "solitary genius" of the Romantic author': the author cannot be unique and original if his copy exists.[101] Barry Murnane identifies the doppelganger as 'an unsettling figure because it renders problematic any fixed sense of individuality or subjectivity—it is a figure of identity as/in crisis'.[102] The doubling of Rosetta, as a person and as a miniature, in Harvey's Gothic novel, reflects two crises in the novel: the crisis of Rosetta's identity as her new stepmother manipulates her father and has Rosetta imprisoned, and the wider identity crisis created by social mobility. The miniature engages in a narrative separate from Rosetta's own, by being present in France and 'meeting' Madame de Montmiril without her awareness. Madame de Montmiril is given the advantage of seeing her stepdaughter before Rosetta can meet her. The miniature portrait, however, is a facsimile of Rosetta's body (presumably head and shoulders, although Harvey does not specify), without the presence of her identity and character.

This doubling creates a narrative that spirals beyond its creator's control, like the works of the Romantic author. Multiple narratives are created around the miniature by Madame de Montmiril, Ida, the Count, and Rosetta. As discussed in the previous section, this also takes place in *Warkfield*, where Miss Selby is implicated in a scandal without her knowledge and consent. In *Warkfield*, Fowler and Errington create a false narrative, where Lord Meldon has the miniature of Miss Selby set in jewellery because she is his mistress, and this story is believed by Lady Meldon. Identity thus becomes open to interpretation, and can be manipulated by others. This untethered identity creates instability. Rosetta's circumstances are similarly changeable, as her

[101] Gero Guttzeit, 'Authoring Monsters: Mary Shelley, Edgar Allan Poe and Early Nineteenth-Century Figures of Gothic Authorship', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 54:3 (2018), 279-92 (p. 284).
[102] Barry Murnane, 'Doppelganger', in *The Ashgate Encyclopedia of Literary and Cinematic Monsters*, ed. Jeffrey A. Weinstock (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 172–77 (p. 172).

stepmother, 'scowling with dark malignity', attempts to force Rosetta to marry O'Bryen instead of her betrothed, Lilburne.[103] When Rosetta refuses, Madame de Montmiril has her imprisoned and tells Norton 'our darling child is […] the suffering victim of sorcery and magic: her fine understanding is gone, and she is now labouring under the most dreadful insanity.'[104] In the same way that Rosetta has little control over the narratives that surround her miniature, she has little control over her own life. Rosetta is 'fully sensible of the danger she was exposed to, by being thus in the power of her artful step-mother.'[105] Clifford attempts to help Rosetta escape, but they are discovered and Rosetta is 'restored to the exquisite misery of her situation', where 'she sunk beneath such accumulated misery, and a raging fever reduced her, in three days, past all hope of recovery.'[106] Rosetta is therefore reduced, physically and mentally, to little more than a 'lovely inanimate form'.[107]

This absence of a fixed identity is helped by the fictionalised elements of the miniature portrait. The miniature represents an idealised version of the sitter, and their associated social position, rather than a realistic facsimile. The clothes and jewellery represented in portraits were often exaggerated or even invented by the painter, reflecting a level of invention present in portraiture similar to the descriptions of clothing in novels. Furthermore, women borrowed or hired jewels, and women who owned many jewels often chose to be painted without them.[108] When Madame de Montmiril becomes Countess of Wooler, she is 'eclipsed' by Rosetta and consequently 'nourished the bitterest envy, the most rancorous hatred, against the sweet

[103] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 75.
[104] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 70.
[105] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 71.
[106] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 81.
[107] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 80.
[108] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* pp. 20-30. Pointon writes at length about the complexities of analysing the jewellery depicted in portraiture.

unsuspecting girl; and resolved to seize the earliest opportunity of ridding herself of so formidable a rival'.[109] This 'rancorous hatred' is a marked contrast to the maternal love that Madame de Montmiril promises to provide when she views the miniature portrait of her stepdaughter. Madame de Montmiril's manipulations demonstrate the ease with which the miniature becomes part of a narrative. The discrepancies between fantasy and reality can be used to the advantage of manipulative characters such as Madame de Montmiril. Madame de Montmiril can present herself as an ideal stepmother because the miniature offers a one-sided relationship, allowing control over her own reaction to Rosetta, without Rosetta's response.

Unlike a face-to-face meeting between two people, the Count of Wooler only sees Madame de Montmiril's opinion of his daughter, without being exposed to Rosetta's judgements of her stepmother, allowing Madame de Montmiril to direct the situation. Rovee argues 'portraiture summons the spectre of the missing original even as it eradicates the original', which can be applied to the situation in *Tynemouth*: Madame de Montmiril is more capable of loving a 'spectre' than a female rival who can 'eclipse' her.[110] The reality of the life envisioned by Madame de Montmiril is disappointing, in the same way that Rosetta's actual presence is different to her miniature, indicating that Madame is unsuitable to enter the nobility: an idea explored throughout Harvey's novels, where good character and breeding are essential for a person to successfully fulfil an aristocratic role. In this context, therefore, the miniature points to the potential complications and disappointments of upward mobility. Madame de Montmiril is poisoned at the end of the novel under Shipperdson's orders, and 'after the guilty and wretched Countess of Wooler had confessed the crimes of her ill-spent life […] she

[109] Harvey, *Tynemouth*, p. 66.
[110] Rovee, p. 147.

then expired, and her departure was marked by the most dreadful agonies.'[111] Her social mobility ultimately fails, as:

> the remains of the unhappy countess were consigned to the grave with as little funeral pomp as could be used, consistently with the rank she had held in life: and all who knew the earl, sincerely rejoiced on seeing him emancipated from his connection with a woman, who was at once a disgrace and scourge to his name and family.[112]

Madame de Montmiril is the inverse of Rosetta and Ida's 'lamented mother'.[113] Marilyn Francus writes about Nicholas Rowe's *The Ambitious Stepmother* (1700) and the Earl of Carlisle's *The Stepmother* (1800), which both 'use the wily machinations of stepmothers to trigger their plots'.[114] Francus points out that 'neither play features a strong patriarchal figure, as fathers are physically and psychologically absent.'[115] The same is true of *Tynemouth,* where the Count of Wooler and his son Ida are physically absent for most of the novel, and when Wooler discovers his wife has imprisoned Rosetta, he is 'unsuspecting and deluded'.[116] Wooler allows his wife to persuade him that 'nothing will hurt her health as much as the sight of those she loves', and so does not visit his daughter.[117] 'The tender, though weak and easy father, placed the most implicit reliance on her [Madame de Montimiril's] assurances'.[118] Francus identifies 'an unexamined stereotype of stepmotherhood, a stereotype that functions as cultural shorthand for female maliciousness', citing examples from Henry Fielding's *Amelia* (1751), Sarah Scott's *Millenium Hall* (1762), and Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of*

[111] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 109.
[112] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 110.
[113] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 19.
[114] Marilyn Francus, *Monstrous Motherhood: Eighteenth-Century Culture and the Ideology of Domesticity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 123.
[115] Francus, p. 124.
[116] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 70.
[117] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 71.
[118] Harvey, *Tynemouth,* p. 71.

Udolpho (1794).[119] As Francus states, 'the stepmother defies the essentialist narrative of motherhood and family – a narrative that is central to domestic ideology and the idealization of motherhood – and so stepmotherhood is typed as inherently deviant, naturally unnatural.'[120] In the Gothic tale of *Tynemouth*, Madame de Montmiril is certainly the most threatening monster encountered by the heroine Rosetta. As we shall see in Chapter Three, Harvey returns to the stepmother stereotype in *Any Thing But What You Expect* (1819).

In *Tynemouth*, the miniature continues to be embroiled in scandal and intrigue, but it evolves to become a vehicle for the Gothic plot of the novel. The miniature portrait in *Tynemouth* creates a double presence, a classic Gothic motif, and a consequent absence of fixed identity for the person represented within the portrait. From this point on, miniatures are almost exclusively portraits, rather than the landscapes that are created by Dorcella in *Warkfield.* Jane Harvey takes full advantage of the potential for a portable likeness of a person to be transported, concealed and engaged in intrigue – largely because of the power of the Gothic double presence created by a small portrait.

Auberry Stanhope (1814)

Auberry Stanhope (1814), like *Warkfield*, was published by the Minerva Press. Jane Harvey chooses the opening lines of James Beattie's *The Minstrel; or, the Progress of Genius* (1771-4) for the epigraph of *Auberry Stanhope*:

> Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb,
> The steep, where Fame's proud temple shines afar;
> Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
> Has felt the influence of malignant star,

[119] Francus, p. 125. Francus also writes about Elizabeth Allen Burney, stepmother to Frances Burney, who was widely criticised by Frances and her siblings.
[120] Francus, p. 125.

And waged with fortune an eternal war;
Checked by the scoff of pride, by envy's frown,
And poverty's unconquerable bar,
In life's low vale remote has pined alone,
Then –[121]

Interestingly, Harvey omits the end of the final line, which reads 'dropt into the grave, unpitied and unknown.'[122] This changes the tone of the poem, from one about the difficulties of fame, and the likelihood of dying unknown, to one that implies fame is difficult but can be achieved. Beattie was a philosopher and poet, and Harvey's use of the poem as an epigraph establishes a key theme in *Auberry Stanhope*: that of fame and genius as an author. *Auberry Stanhope* is set in Kirkford, a fictional village in north-west Northumberland 'containing some valuable lead mines and productive farms'.[123] Kirkford is possibly based on Kirkharle, the birthplace of landscape gardener Capability Brown.

Auberry Stanhope was adopted by his aunt Camilla, sixteen years before the novel begins.[124] Camilla is a writer and 'the name of Author was enshrined in [Auberry's] heart, as the most glorious of earthly titles'.[125]At the beginning of the novel, Auberry saves Julia Ingleby, daughter of the Rector Dr Ingleby, when the roof of the rectory collapses, and falls in love with her. However, Julia is engaged to her cousin, Lord Mellinghurst, and her father will not allow the engagement to be broken. When Julia and Lord Mellinghurst are about to be married, a Swedish woman named Ulrica interrupts the wedding and declares herself to be Mellinghurst's wife. At the end of the

[121] Jane Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, 3 vols (London: Minerva Press, 1814), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.co?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], I, p. i.
[122] James Beattie, *The minstrel, in two books: with some other poems* (1771-4), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=ECCO> [accessed 01 October 2022], p. 1.
[123] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, I, p. 4.
[124] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, I, p. 7.
[125] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, I, p. 24.

novel Julia and Stanhope finally marry, after Stanhope has inherited money and an estate from his grandfather. The novel closes with a statement that without an 'Approving Conscience' everything else is but '"Dust in the balance"', a quotation from Isaiah 40:15.[126] The final lines of the novel state:

> Without this bosom angel, the pillow of love is strewed with thorns, and the cup of friendship mixed with bitters; the poetical laurel is poison to the head, and the voice of friendship a dagger to the soul; Stanhope is a stranger to these inward torments, and when surrounded by all that can charm the eye, the ear, and the mind, he can look into his heart also, and behold a still lovelier prospect there.[127]

In *Auberry Stanhope,* the eponymous character creates a miniature portrait of his love interest, Julia Ingleby, and cherishes it in a similar way to Becket in *Warkfield.* Auberry Stanhope:

> possessed a fine taste for drawing and painting; and when his aunt was employed in domestic affairs, he found a sweet employment for many a solitary half-hour in sketching miniatures of Miss Ingleby; one of which was so correct a likeness, that he finished it with the most scrupulous care, and preserved it as his choicest treasure.[128]

Auberry has the 'fair image […] enshrined in a gold case, he could now wear in his bosom without fear of injuring it, but which had a purer and richer shrine in his excellent heart.'[129] When Auberry falls ill for several days and is treated by medical attendants, 'the miniature of Miss Ingleby, which, inclosed in a gold case, he had

[126] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 278.
[127] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, pp. 278-9.
[128] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 135.
[129] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, pp. 279-80.

constantly worn suspended by a ribbon round his neck, was no longer there'.[130] However, 'vain was his search for the miniature of Miss Ingleby, he could discover no trace of it, and was compelled to yield it up as lost; yet to no one but Phebe did he ever mention that loss; no other article of his property was missing'.[131] Auberry later receives a parcel, and in it is the 'lost miniature of Miss Ingleby; no longer enshrined in its gold case, but not less welcome to the enraptured eyes of Stanhope, than if it had been encircled with diamonds'.[132] Phebe, who is the niece of Stanhope's landlady, later tells Julia: '"During his illness, I saw that he wore the miniature of a lady suspended on a ribbon round his neck, and the first moment I beheld you, Madam, I knew it to be yours"'.[133] Phebe reveals that her aunt's husband, Lawson, was the one to remove the miniature from Auberry while he was ill: '"I know not whether he was tempted to this scandalous action by his avarice, or by a supposition that Lady Bradshaw would like to become possessed of the portrait"'.[134]

Lady Bradshaw is a rich widow who attempts to seduce Stanhope, and rumours spread that she is his mistress. When Stanhope rejects her because he still loves Julia, Phebe informs George, Julia's brother, that:

> "[…] her ladyship resented some part of [Stanhope's] conduct […] she has successfully exerted her influence to deprive him of the employment he used to obtain from the booksellers, and she speaks of him every where as vicious, dissipated, and presumptuous in the extreme, a character he by no means deserves."[135]

[130] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 152.
[131] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 159.
[132] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 215.
[133] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 260.
[134] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 261.
[135] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 191.

The miniature is associated with dishonour, like the miniature in *Warkfield*, but it is saved from becoming an agent in the narrative of the scandal by Phebe, who takes the miniature from Lawson's shop and returns it to Stanhope. The treatment of the miniature in *Stanhope* is thus similar to both the treasured miniatures created by Dorcella in *Warkfield*, and the miniature of Miss Selby, which Errington has set in jewellery to orchestrate a scandal between Miss Selby and Lord Meldon.

Although men did sit for miniatures, and Dorcella created a half-finished miniature of a gentleman in *Warkfield*, it is miniatures of female sitters that are present throughout eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature. Many women also created miniatures: as we have discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, it seems likely that Jane Harvey was a miniaturist as well as an author, and female artists such as Harriet Mackreth (Figure 10) also painted miniature portraits. Alexandra K. Wettlaufer argues that the portrait is the artistic genre 'most readily identified with women', because the 'private, intimate, and even domestic nature of the portrait made it a "suitable" genre for the female amateur, while large numbers of the women supporting themselves as artists were also portraitists'.[136] Susan Frye identifies miniature painters such as Levina Teerlinc, Jane Segar, and Esther Inglis, who rose to prominence in the early modern period.[137] Miniature portraits of women were more commercially successful, Lister argues, because 'the decorative values of the feminine attire of the time lent themselves more favourably to their treatment'.[138]

The professional painter Margaret Gillies (1803-87), and her author sister Mary Gillies (1800-70), 'lived and worked together for fifty years: Mary writing fiction,

[136] Alexandra K. Wettlaufer, *Portraits of the Artist as a Young Woman: Painting and the Novel in France and Britain, 1800-1860* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), p. 195.
[137] Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 76.
[138] Lister, p. 39.

poetry, reviews, children's literature, and translations, and Margaret painting miniatures, portraits, genre scenes, and watercolours'.[139] The Gillies were born to a well-connected, intellectual Scottish family, and it is possible that the Harvey sisters, Jane and Margaret, had a similar working relationship. Margaret Gillies used her art for social reform: Wettlaufer explains, 'translating the intimate form into the social sphere of public engagement, Gillies used the miniature for broad dissemination of images of […] Unitarian, liberal, and/or Romantic thinkers both at the RA exhibition and in the pages of her radical press'.[140] Although none of Harvey's miniatures still exist, and there is no evidence that she employed the form of the miniature as a political motif, Gillies demonstrates the potential to use the miniature as a political device. Through the miniature format, the painter calls attention both to her gender and to her subject matter, moving a "feminine" art form into the public realm and demonstrating the constructed nature of the boundaries that would separate them'.[141] Wettlaufer's argument can also be applied to the female novelist, who uses the 'feminine' form of the novel to move into the public realm and demonstrate the 'constructed nature' of boundaries. In the same way, therefore, that the novel can challenge boundaries and engage with the public sphere, the miniature can escape its private restraints and affect perspectives on larger, more public issues.

It is significant, however, that Stanhope creates the miniature of Julia Ingleby, rather than being given it, or taking it, as Becket and Errington do in *Warkfield.* The miniature here raises the issue of consent. Auberry does not have Julia's permission to create her likeness in miniature form, and Julia is unaware that the portrait is even created. This lends another layer of secrecy to the miniature, on top of that described above, where

[139] Wettlaufer, p. 196.
[140] Wettlaufer, p. 201.
[141] Wettlaufer, p. 201.

the miniature is concealed in pockets. When one considers the ease in which a miniature can be used to engineer a scandal, coupled with its secret creation in *Stanhope,* the miniature can become something sordid. In the extract quoted above, Stanhope finds 'a sweet employment for many a solitary half-hour in sketching miniatures of Miss Ingleby'.[142] This gives an obsessive quality to his feelings for Julia, a love that consumes his thoughts, in a similar way to Becket with Dorcella, but unlike Becket, who contemplates an existing miniature created by Dorcella, Stanhope creates his own miniature likeness of Julia. As discussed in the previous section with Rosetta, this creates a second version of herself, but one that Julia is unaware even exists. Although it is not stated in *Tynemouth,* Rosetta was presumably aware of the miniature portrait of herself and will have sat for its painting. This develops identity from the instability demonstrated in *Tynemouth,* to something potentially chaotic; the idea that multiple versions of a person could exist, without their knowledge or consent. Unlike *Warkfield* and *Tynemouth, Stanhope* is not a Gothic novel, but it does contain subtle Gothic elements: the collapsed house that Stanhope saves Julia from is reminiscent of a Gothic ruin, for example. The miniature adds a further nod to the Gothic, with its doubling of Julia.

When Auberry Stanhope first visits the Ingleby house, he 'contemplat[es] a beautiful miniature, which, together with several others of the same size, hung over the mantle-piece.'[143] The miniatures are 'the present august representatives of the ancient and noble families of Ingleby and Maitland.'[144] One of the miniatures is Julia Ingleby's intended husband, Lord Mellinghurst. This is a larger scale exhibition of miniatures than that in *Tynemouth,* as discussed above, and it is displayed like the ancestral

[142] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 135.
[143] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 118.
[144] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 118.

portraits in *Pride and Prejudice* discussed in the previous section. As Rovee points out, however, Elizabeth Bennet 'remains flatly unimpressed with Darcy's ancestral portraits: "In the gallery there were many family portraits, but they could have little to fix the attention of a stranger."'[145] In contrast, Stanhope admires the Ingleby portraits, to the point of being distracted from the conversation: 'Stanhope listened, and occasionally made a reply, or offered an observation, but while his lips were thus employed, his eyes were contemplating [the] beautiful miniature' above the mantelpiece. The miniature that captures Stanhope's attention is a portrait of Julia, which is like Elizabeth's interest in Darcy's portrait, but George Ingleby, Julia's brother, 'direct[s] the attention of his friend to the miniature of a handsome young man which hung next to that of his sister […] "Yes, that is my noble cousin, and future brother-in-law."'[146] The future plans for the Ingleby lineage, as well as their ancestral past, is mapped out on their wall, with the planned marriage for Julia Ingleby demonstrated by the placement of the miniatures. This chimes with Rovee's argument that, in *Pride and Prejudice*:

> Miss Bingley describes the portrait gallery as people at the beginning of the nineteenth century were beginning to experience it, as two things simultaneously: an institution invested with the authority of the past, and a representative space that could put on view the face of the present.[147]

When Stanhope observes Julia in the portrait gallery, just as Elizabeth observes Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice,* he considers his potential position within the family. The portraits allow him to consider the appearance of Julia and Lord Mellinghurst in a way that would be inappropriate when he contemplates them face-to-face. The portrait

[145] Rovee, p. 191.
[146] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 121.
[147] Rovee, p. 3.

gallery, when considered in this sense, highlights the way the nobility was expected to consider their families in the nineteenth century: always considering both the authority of the past, and the face of the present. This is an extension of the Gothic doubling mentioned above: a noble person must consider their past and present selves simultaneously, and the portrait is a visual representation of this.

Another instance involving miniature portraits takes place in the second volume of *Stanhope.* After his aunt's death, Stanhope takes up a position as a tutor for the Colbrook family in Richmond. The elder daughter of the Colbrooks returns to the family home as a wealthy young widow – the Lady Bradshaw discussed above. Lady Bradshaw discovers:

> other talents in this obscure and portionless young man, for which her ladyship found such employment, as gave great annoyance to the parental and prudential feelings of her mother; an hour of the morning was regularly devoted to sitting for her miniature, not to Cosway or Shelley, but to Auberry Stanhope.[148]

Harvey refers to two of the leading miniaturists of the Georgian and Regency era, Richard Cosway and Samuel Shelley, with the implication that Stanhope is as talented as they are. Harvey offers a rare example of a person sitting for a miniature, which is unusual not only for Jane Harvey, but of novels in general. Most miniatures are introduced when they have already been created, like the miniature of Rosetta in *Tynemouth,* or Dorcella's miniature landscape in *Warkfield.* Becket glimpses a half-finished portrait by Dorcella, but he does not see her working on it. The reader is given the opportunity to consider the craftsmanship involved in creating a miniature. Harvey's exposure of the creation process further removes the miniature portrait from

[148] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 26.

what Rovee refers to as the 'elitism of exhibition culture'.[149] Once again, the miniature portrait represents two very different things simultaneously: the elitism of the portrait gallery in *Pride and Prejudice,* and the sentimental, more amateur creation of miniatures by people such as Stanhope. Again, the miniature is similar to the novel here, as the novel combines elements of elite literature and human sentiment.

The second volume of *Stanhope* includes a third miniature, making this novel particularly significant amongst Harvey's works. As in the previous instance, Harvey explores the sitting process for the miniature. Julia Ingleby visits her cousin, Lady Maria, who is supposed to marry Julia's brother, George. Maria has decided she does not want to marry George, but she wishes "to send him, out of pure pity, a resemblance of my beautiful self"'.[150] Maria goes on to tell Julia:

> "to tell you the grand secret at once, I called yesterday at B–'s in –street, Soho, and sat for the outlines of my miniature; as I wish to have it a perfect piece, without any blunders in drapery or colouring, I told B– I should attend him again this morning, for if I had ordered the man to come here, your father would have deemed me guilty of little less than treason; so now, dear Julia, in return for this unlimited confidence, will you go with me to B–'s? we will put on large bonnets and veils, and then our angelships won't be recognized, nor my ringlets deranged, and if my uncle inquires where we have been, we can say, walking in the park."[151]

Lady Maria is the opposite of the more reserved Julia, vivacious and confident in her 'beautiful self'. Unlike Julia, Lady Maria can reject her family's plans for her 'as Lady Maria had no parents to control her choice, [so] no reasonable objection could be urged,

[149] Rovee, p. 5.
[150] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 269.
[151] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 269

except that which Julia foresaw would originate in her father's self-interested views'.[152] 'Mr B–' is possibly Henry Bone, a successful miniaturist who lived at Berners Street in Soho.[153]

Maria surrounds the process of sitting for the miniature with subterfuge and deception, similar to the examples discussed above, where the miniature is used to facilitate scandal. Maria deceives her uncle about her intentions to marry George Ingleby. The portrait she has commissioned does not denote love like Stanhope's miniature of Julia Ingleby, and as one might assume, but is used to cushion a rejection and to give George a 'resemblance of her beautiful self'. Maria takes advantage of the Gothic doubling created by the miniature, to give George a part of herself, when she cannot commit her whole self to him. Harvey subverts the destabilising potential represented by the miniature portrait here, with Maria demonstrating female agency and a hint of playfulness with her usage of the miniature. Maria takes control both of her intended marriage, choosing her own husband, Brindley, instead of the one chosen for her, and of her own portrayal, by commissioning a miniature portrait of herself to give to her rejected suitor. Lady Maria uses a large bonnet and veil to cover her face, something which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. Julia asks: '"why should we tell my father we have been walking in the park? it will be sufficient to say we were about a little purchase you wish to make, I believe he will not inquire very minutely what the article is."'[154] Lady Maria replies:

> laughing, "do you not perceive that you are only patching our consciences, and misleading my uncle as effectually as if were to tell him we had been

[152] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 270.
[153] National Portrait Gallery <https://www.npg.org.uk> [accessed 01 August 2019]. Bone began his work with a pencil copy onto squared paper, before tracing with red chalk onto the enamel surface that would be fired to fix the chalk outline
[154] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 271.

walking in the park? he will only suppose I have been ordering a new hat or cloak – my miniature will be the last thing which enters his brain."

Lady Maria is clearly not concerned about 'patching our consciences', and is more comfortable in the deception than Julia. Julia enjoys the company of her 'lively cousin', and perhaps learns from her example.[155] When Julia and Maria arrive at Mr B–'s, he is 'employed in finishing the miniature of a gentleman'.[156] Lady Maria recognises the portrait as Stanhope, who is by now a celebrated poet. The miniature inspires 'that feeling so exquisite, so powerful, which Julia now experienced', demonstrating that a portrait can have the same power as the person it depicts to stir 'that convulsive motion with which the heart vibrates to the sound of a name connected with the finest chords of memory'.[157] The miniature is thus an emotionally charged object, a fitting representative of the love connections described above.

The association between miniature portraits and marriage continues at Mr B –'s, when he 'put[s] into [Lady Maria's] hands another miniature', one of '"Mr Stanhope's intended bride"'.[158] This is a Miss Honeywood, '"Stanhope resides in the same house with her, and is her father's intimate friend"'.[159] Stanhope and Miss Honeywood are 'on those terms of easy and familiar intimacy which subsist between the nearest relatives; but neither of them appeared to have formed a wish that this sentiment should ever be exchanged for one more tender.'[160] Julia is again misled about Stanhope's intentions; earlier in the novel Julia believes he will marry Lady Bradshaw, and now she thinks he will marry Miss Honeywood. Julia and Lady Maria believe '"those portraits are intended no doubt for an exchange of love tokens"', in spite of

[155] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 271.
[156] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II p. 271.
[157] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 272.
[158] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 274.
[159] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 274.
[160] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 213.

the fact that Lady Maria has commissioned a portrait as part of her rejection of George's proposal.[161] This demonstrates the power of the stereotypical associations of the miniature, of love, over the more playful and unusual attributes employed by those such as Lady Maria. Even Lady Maria herself does not assume that others would use the miniature in the same way that she does. The miniature portrait in *Stanhope* creates playful misdirects such as Lady Maria's miniature created 'out of pity', and the set of miniatures of Stanhope and Miss Honeywood. The intent of the viewer of the miniature is therefore important. If the miniature portrait is used as intended, as a love token, it can indicate positive consequences. However, when characters such as Madame de Montmiril and the Meldons form complicated narratives around the miniature, their plots fail. The reader is left with a warning about the effects of manipulating or tarnishing values such as love and virtue, which can be represented by the miniature portrait.

In *Auberry Stanhope*, it is a man who creates a miniature of his love interest, subverting the gendered roles established in Harvey's earlier novels. The issue of consent becomes pertinent here, as a male creates a double of a female. An element of subterfuge is also added, although it is more playful than the scandals of Harvey's earlier novels. This is perhaps because the secrecy is created by Lady Maria, a woman, who retains control of her own likeness by commissioning it. By contrast, Stanhope creates his miniature of Julia without her knowledge or consent, and as we shall see in the second section of this chapter, Julia initially offers some resistance to the relationship with Auberry: certainly, she resists any physical contact when they first meet.

[161] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, pp. 274-5.

Mountalyth (1823)

Harvey's later novel, *Mountalyth* (1823), is not one of the main texts of this thesis, but it is one we will consider briefly in this section. Harvey uses a passage from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* as the epigraph for *Mountalyth*: 'Indeed a banished man,/I know not how a traitor.'[162] *Mountalyth* opens at 'the mansion and domain of Cassilwood' in Northumberland, where 'the lovely Jemima, the daughter and presumptive heiress of Sir James and Lady Mary Cassils' is seated.[163] 'Never in the freest exercise of her unbounded power did nature create a fairer form than that of Jemima Cassils'.[164] Montgomery is thrown from his horse in front of the gate, and they 'feared the gentleman's left arm was broken immediately above the elbow.'[165] Widdrington, who is visiting Cassilwood, questions Montgomery on his origins, but '"I dare say I mentioned almost every respectable family in Scotland of his name, but I can't find that he is related to any of them – he has fallen from the moon, I think."'[166]

The miniature in this novel is used in a similar way to Dorcella's miniature in *Warkfield,* to illustrate the protagonist Montgomery's obsessive love interest:

> From the time when he [Montgomery] first beheld the beautiful miniature of Miss Cassils, he found it the chief magnet of attraction in Miss Kepple's room; it was the object to which his eyes kept paying their entering homage, and directed their parting glance: and since he had conversed with the fair original, since he became acquainted with the graces of her mind, and the virtues of her heart, he had been visited by an ardent desire to carry with him to Scotland […] a copy of those lovely features.[167]

[162] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. i.
[163] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 4.
[164] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 4.
[165] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 14.
[166] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 61,
[167] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, pp. 147-8.

The ‘homage’ Montgomery pays to the miniature of Miss Cassils echoes the religious language in *Warkfield.* Montgomery falls to the ‘temptation of copying Miss Cassils’s picture’, but he recognises that ‘such a possession would be a dangerous one; it could only serve to nourish that passion, so insidious in its approaches’.[168] The biblical connotations of the words ‘temptation’ and ‘passion’, coupled with the adjectives ‘dangerous’ and ‘insidious’, highlight the intensity of Montgomery’s feelings, and the danger that he faces over his possession of the miniature.

Montgomery, like Stanhope, creates a miniature of Miss Cassils without her knowledge and consent. It is significant that men do this to women, not vice versa – men have control over women, to the point of being able to create a miniature without the female sitter’s consent. ‘All he now proposed was, to sketch the outline, and, with the assistance of memory […] to finish the painting when and where he should have leisure.’[169] While he is sketching the outline, he is interrupted by Miss Widdrington, who exclaims: ‘“I have caught you, I think I *have* caught you.”’[170] Miss Widdrington threatens to tell Miss Cassils, but ‘“No, I beg you will not,” said Douglas; and while he spoke, he took care to secure the sketch in his pocket-book, lest she should lay violent hands on it.’[171] He explains that ‘“I owe so much to this family […] I feel most anxious to possess every little memorial of Cassilwood.”’[172] Their exchange demonstrates that Miss Widdrington has interrupted Montgomery in an intimate, secret act. As with the examples in *Warkfield* and *Stanhope,* Montgomery wishes to keep his miniature a secret, and becomes embarrassed when he is caught, meaning that he is aware his act is a transgression. Montgomery believes that by copying the

[168] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 148.
[169] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, pp. 148-9.
[170] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 149.
[171] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 149.
[172] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 149.

original, rather than taking it, his act is less invasive, but he is aware that it is still a violation. In a similar scene in Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Du Pont steals a bracelet which has a miniature of the protagonist Emily from her mother. Emily remains unaware of both the theft and of his romantic feelings for her: when the miniature is revealed, she does not reciprocate his feelings. In Harvey's novel, however, Montgomery eventually becomes Lord Mountalyth and marries Jemima, so his feelings are reciprocated. The connotations of forced possession are therefore blurred, but the miniature remains a slippery metaphor, eluding the simple definition as a signifier of a loving relationship: it can be complicated by the nature of the owner, and the way they came to possess the portrait. The potential revelation of the miniature seems sordid, revealing his copying of the miniature and obsessive passion as indecent. Hanneke Grootenboer suggests that the miniature 'provides an intimate space in which painting serves as the mise-en-scene for an encounter that allows us to fall back on ourselves […] it makes our intimacy an exterior power'.[173] The intimacy represented by Montgomery's portrait of Miss Cassils is so intense that he must hide it from view, in recognition of its 'exterior power'. The portrait is hidden as discreetly and protectively as the naked body, investing the miniature with power and reflecting the fact that the miniature can be viewed with the same intimacy as a nude figure.

Montgomery, in a similar fashion to the treatment of the miniatures above, keeps the miniature of Miss Cassil a secret, hiding it in his pocket-book. In the second volume of the novel, Montgomery is put on trial for '"aiding, abetting, and assisting, and conspiring to aid, assist, and abet, the enemies of our sovereign lord the king."'[174] Montgomery denies these claims, replying: '"I am innocent of the crime alleged; I was

[173] Hanneke Grootenboer, *Treasuring the Gaze: Intimate Vision in Eighteenth-Century Eye Miniatures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 5.
[174] Harvey, *Mountalyth*, II, p. 52.

born a subject of these realms, and I acknowledge his majesty, King George the second, for my true and lawful sovereign"'.[175] When his pocket-book is searched, he resolves to 'endure any thing, rather than expose the resemblance of Miss Cassils before so many witnesses'.[176] He is willing for his other papers to be exposed, but for the miniature he requests 'paper, wax, and a light, that I may seal it up'.[177] Montgomery's secrecy reinforces the illicit nature of his obsession; as discussed above, he is aware of the dangerous nature of this possession. Montgomery is more secretive than Becket in *Warkfield* is about his love for Dorcella. This is in part because Dorcella lives in isolation in a castle, whereas Miss Cassils lives in society, where she could hear of Montgomery's violation of her image. Becket is also unsure of Dorcella's identity, whereas Montgomery knows that he cannot marry the heiress Miss Cassils until his fortunes change and he becomes Lord Mountalyth. In *Mountalyth,* it is the male protagonist's identity which is obscured rather than the heroine's; as Mr Widdrington declares above, '"he has fallen from the moon, I think"'. As mentioned in the previous section, as Harvey's writing career progresses, her treatment of objects becomes more complex, twisting the themes established in her earlier novels to form more convoluted narratives.

The treatment of the miniature in *Mountalyth* is similar to that in *Warkfield* – the miniature is idolised and becomes a representation of a seemingly unattainable woman. In both novels, however, the woman in question eventually marries the man who reveres her – possibly because he already owns a part of her, in the miniature he has taken. Like Stanhope, Mountalyth is the creator of the miniature portrait. This is a masculine trespass into the feminine world of miniatures and jewellery. Men such as

[175] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* II, p. 52.
[176] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* II, pp. 64-5.
[177] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* II, pp. 64-5.

Mountalyth and Stanhope conceal the miniature and shroud its existence in secrecy, not only because they recognise that they have taken something without the woman in question's consent, but because they wish to hide the feminised romance that treasuring a miniature in this way indicates. By continuing to use the miniature portrait in her later novels, Harvey brings an element of the Gothic into the domestic. Although fashionable ideas about the content of novels had changed by 1814 and 1823, when these novels are written, subtle reminders of the Gothic are retained.

Part Two: Jewellery

Figure 11: The Diamond Necklace involved in the Affair of the 'Collier de la Reine' (c.1785).

The second section of this chapter moves on to consider jewellery, in particular diamonds, in the novels of Jane Harvey and Jemima Layton. In the instances explored in the first section of this chapter, the reader tends to follow one miniature throughout the narrative of the novel, pulling together plots, characters, and motifs to focus the attention. By contrast, the jewellery we will be focusing on in the second part of the chapter is generally only present for brief episodes. The novels are saturated with descriptions of jewellery, but they are transient, reflecting the flashing qualities of the gems and precious metals represented. These fleeting, but frequent, examples flicker into the reader's imagination as pertinent reminders of the wider concerns of the novels, such as gender roles, class, and sexuality. While miniatures tend to be associated with dedication to a love interest, jewellery belongs to fickle, but fascinating, side characters such as Lady Bradshaw in *Auberry Stanhope* and Lady Starbuck in *Singularity*: women who stand for fashion and frivolity, in contrast to the virtue and substance associated with Dorcella in *Warkfield* and Rosetta in *Tynemouth.* In part this shift reflects Harvey's move from the Gothic to more domestic fiction, in keeping with fashion, but the episodic nature of jewellery here also underlines the satirical treatment of the women concerned. In a sense, Lady Bradshaw and her peers are as gaudy as the jewellery that they invest with such value.

Auberry Stanhope (1814)

If, as discussed above, we assume that Jane Harvey the novelist was also Jane Harvey the miniaturist, we can assume that she had a practical knowledge of other jewels and precious metals, which were used to set miniature portraits. As we have seen, Harvey discusses the setting of miniature portraits at jewellers on several occasions, suggesting that she may have done the same with her own miniature portraits.

In *Auberry Stanhope,* there are episodes involving other items of jewellery, beyond the miniature portraits discussed above. After his gallant rescue of Julia Ingleby from the collapsed rectory house, explored in the previous section, Stanhope comes to the aid of another woman when he finds Lady Bradshaw 'struggling in the grasp of a ruffian, who was in the act of tearing her bracelets from her arms; "Desist, infamous villain!" exclaimed Stanhope', and the robber flees.[178] This attempted theft is clearly violent: the ruffian is 'brutal', not simply a robber. The verb 'tearing' is a violent one, and one that suggests something more fragile than jewellery, making it sound as if something has been damaged. Clothing can be torn, or skin. The ruffian must have been close to Lady Bradshaw to take her bracelets, and this, along with the mention of a body part, her 'arm', gives an additional sense of violation to the act. Although it is not a sexual or physical assault, Lady Bradshaw has been touched by a stranger without her consent, as well as having her belongings taken from her. Johnson quotations from Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* as an example of the word 'ruffian', '*Ruffian,* let go that rude uncivil touch,/ Thou friend of an ill fashion!'[179] This example, where Valentine witnesses his friend Proteus threatening to rape Silvia, is similar to Stanhope's exclamation, of 'Desist, infamous ruffian!', which further reinforces Lady Bradshaw's vulnerability to sexual violation at this moment, as a woman alone at night being attacked by a 'ruffian'. The theft of jewellery is therefore closely associated with sexual assault. A woman wearing jewellery is vulnerable; her jewels draw attention to her body as an ornament, and therefore to her sexuality. As mentioned above, this follows an expected pattern, where a male perpetrator assaults a female victim. For the miniatures in the previous section, women are exposed to a

[178] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 125.
[179] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: W. Strahan, 1755), *Johnson's Dictionary Online* <https://www.johnsonsdictionaryonline.com> [accessed 01 October 2018].

subtle violation of their sexuality and a blurring of consent, whereas here Lady Bradshaw is subjected to overt violence. In this instance, as in his rescue of Julia from the fallen rectory, Auberry Stanhope is the heroic male in contrast to the villainous ruffian.

We have discussed the issue of consent relating to miniatures in the previous section, and this remains relevant when considering other forms of jewellery. Obviously, Lady Bradshaw does not consent to her jewellery being taken by a ruffian, and she does not consent to the threat of sexual violence. When one examines jewellery in this context, the question of ownership is also raised. For miniature portraits, ownership is a more complicated topic, as more people are involved: the owner of the item, the subject of the portrait, and the creator of the picture, as a minimum. The creator of an item of jewellery such as Lady Bradshaw's bracelet has a simpler relationship with their creation, because such pieces are usually made for commercial purposes, whereas miniatures are an example of the commercialisation of sentiment. In the following sections, we explore the sentiment that can be attached to jewellery, through processes such as gift-giving or heirlooms, but in the case of Lady Bradshaw, no emotional significance is given to the bracelets. As soon as Stanhope has rescued Lady Bradshaw, she 'exclaimed with vivid emotion, while she pressed his hand and clung to his arm', which re-directs the reader's attention to her body – pressing against and clinging to Stanhope – rather than to her jewellery.[180] Lady Bradshaw takes advantage of this moment of vulnerability to touch Stanhope in a way that would be inappropriate in most social settings. Her body is as close to Stanhope as the bracelets were to her arm, and although body parts are not explicitly named, the reader can envision the body of Lady Bradshaw clinging to Stanhope. Lady Bradshaw

[180] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 125.

consents here to the heroic actions of Auberry Stanhope, in a way that Julia Ingleby does not. When Stanhope rescues Julia, it is expected that 'the mangled form of the lovely Julia lay buried beneath this dreadful pile', but when he finds her she is 'stretched on the floor', completely unharmed, in an undamaged part of the Rectory.[181] Julia initially 'leaned on his supporting bosom', but when she realises that Stanhope is a handsome, male stranger, she is 'prompted [with] the immediate impulse of withdrawing from his supporting arm'.[182] This difference in response between the two women is reflected in the way that Lady Bradshaw goes on to actively pursue Stanhope as a romantic partner, while Julia quietly acquiesces to the wishes of her father.

The bracelets are used as a narrative device, in the sense that they orchestrate a situation for Stanhope to rescue Lady Bradshaw from, but Harvey focuses on Lady Bradshaw, her body and her 'vivid emotion', rather than the jewellery, in the way that she does with the miniature portrait. If the miniature creates a doubling of the body, jewellery such as bracelets focuses the energy of the body, returning the reader's attention to the character's physicality. Jewellery in this instance emphasises not only Lady Bradshaw's physical form, but her 'vivid emotion', as she 'reclined on [Stanhope's] bosom, overcome, it may be supposed, with the terror she had recently experienced'.[183] When Stanhope first intervenes in the attempted robbery, he does not realise that Lady Bradshaw is the victim, and it is not until she reclines on his bosom that he 'found that the fair form […] was no other than that of Lady Bradshaw'.[184] Again, this contrasts to the virtuous Julia, of whom Stanhope 'retained only her hand', despite the fact that 'Miss Ingleby found the task of self-support a difficult one' due

[181] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 47; p. 50.
[182] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 50; p. 51.
[183] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 126.
[184] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 126.

to a 'violent contusion on her right temple'.[185] Harvey states Auberry 'possessed too much gallantry, politeness, and humanity, to omit saying and doing any thing that might tend to re-animate her spirits and assure her of his protection.'[186] Auberry's rescue of Lady Bradshaw further re-animates her interest in him, and embroils Stanhope in scandal when he rejects Lady Bradshaw, and she spreads malicious rumours about him, as discussed above. The gallantry and politeness that Stanhope displays here comes about directly from the situation: it begins as a theft of jewellery, but rapidly evolves into Stanhope rescuing Lady Bradshaw, and Lady Bradshaw believes that his heroic actions must mean Stanhope views her as a love interest. A situation is initially created by the existence of the bracelets, and their consequent theft, but the associated emotions evolve beyond the basic theft of an object, into a convoluted situation between potential lovers.

Lady Bradshaw is the victim of a second theft later in the novel, when she marries Count Palliotti, a conman posing as an Italian nobleman, and he steals her jewellery. Palliotti claims to be related to Bonaparte, but another gentleman reveals he is not, and 'neither is he an Italian nobleman – but a Frenchman of very mean extraction […] a notorious gamester and a suspected spy of France'.[187] He had 'attempted to commit a most daring fraud on an eminent merchant, but happily the villainous design was discovered time enough to frustrate it; the rascal fled, and, it was generally supposed, escaped to Europe as a common sailor'.[188] When Lady Bradshaw learns of her husband's deception, she returns home to find that her 'India cabinet is gone!'[189] The cabinet contains 'all her ladyship's jewels, the family ones of the Bradshaws, and her

[185] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, I, p. 51.
[186] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, II, p. 126.
[187] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 132.
[188] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 133.
[189] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 182.

whole stock of bills and ready cash, making her loss […] between thirteen and fourteen thousand pounds'.[190] Lady Bradshaw has an emotional reaction to this robbery, similar to that of the first theft, but this is an outburst rather than the feminine reclining against Stanhope's bosom: '"Lost, ruined, betrayed, and robbed!" she shrieked.'[191] The theft is coupled with a betrayal by her husband: she discovers he deceived her, then returns home to find he has absconded with her valuables. Lady Bradshaw reflects:

> her own loss she would gladly have put up with, could she, by so doing, have silenced the tongue of rumour, which she was well aware would blazon and exaggerate her misfortune; but the jewels bequeathed her by her late husband were her's [sic] for life only, and were afterwards to descend as heir-looms to the estate in Kent, to a remote relation of the Bradshaw family; of course it would be absolutely necessary to use every possible endeavour to apprehend the pretended Count and his accomplices, the priest and the valet.[192]

The theft of her jewellery embroils her in scandal, in a similar way to the theft of the miniatures explored above. The ownership of the jewels is complicated: those bequeathed to her by her late husband are only hers temporarily before they pass on to a distant relative. Heirlooms can be stolen, or even lost or sold on by a more negligent temporary owner. The consideration of jewellery as heirlooms taps into a wider discourse: heirlooms represent the stable transmission of property within a family, but they are vulnerable to theft, loss, or sale. This reflects not only the complications of inheritance, but women's tangential place in relationships of inheritance. Jewellery was often the only property that a woman could inherit in the early nineteenth century, as estates could be entailed to prevent female inheritance. Women could thus be

[190] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 183.
[191] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 183.
[192] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, pp. 183-4.

reduced to little more than the caretakers of jewellery upon the death of their husband or father, leading to a reduction in circumstances beyond her own control. As jewellery passes between owners, it becomes a transient object. Even gifts from her late husband do not truly belong to Lady Bradshaw, limiting the potential for emotional attachment, but also reducing any power that such gifts might afford her. The bracelets that the ruffian attempts to steal from Lady Bradshaw in the previous episode may not even belong to her; they might be heirlooms, of which she is guardian rather than owner. If these items are stolen, as Lady Bradshaw recognises, she is exposed to scandal and rumour. Lady Bradshaw is advised that it is:

> necessary to give immediate information at Bow-street, and at the banks; to write to General Colbrook and Mr. Dennington, the executors of Sir Marmaduke Bradshaw's will, and to advertise a description of the jewels in two or three different newspapers.
>
> "I shall never survive this disgrace!" cried her ladyship, in a mingled transport of grief and fury.[193]

This gives the modern reader an insight into the process following a theft such as the one of Lady Bradshaw's jewellery. The 'disgrace' that she will not 'survive' is the failure of her guardianship of the heirlooms entrusted to her. Lady Bradshaw has failed in a position of trust: as the wife of Sir Marmaduke, she should have provided an heir, which she has not, and she has also failed to keep the family jewellery safe. Women are treated as conduits for the passing on of property between men – the benefits of wealth and property are as transient as the jewels that pass through their hands and onto the next heir. However, both of these events are beyond her control, demonstrating the risks of marrying into nobility: the unrealistic expectations of a

[193] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 184.

woman, to provide heirs and guard jewels from predators. In this sense, Lady Marmaduke is similar to Lady Starbuck, who is discussed below, another frivolous woman who cannot provide a male heir and redirects her attention to gaudy displays of jewellery. Her second marriage has increased this vulnerability, as the man she assumes she can trust, and invites into her home, steals her belongings and exposes her to scandal.

The reader is given a hint that Lady Bradshaw could have intuited her husband's nature before she committed to marriage, because of his religion. Lady Bradshaw and Count Palliotti were 'married yesterday by a Roman Catholic priest, and the ceremony is to be repeated, according to the form of the church of England'.[194] In Chapter One, we discussed Harvey's views on Catholicism, and the anti-Catholicism that was prevalent both nationally and regionally. One of the collaborators in Palliotti's fraud is this Roman Catholic priest, conflating Catholicism with scandal. Palliotti's insistence on a Catholic wedding is an indicator of his foreignness, which is visible, as Palliotti is 'a very handsome but not very young looking man, who had indeed the appearance of a foreigner'.[195] The Count is visibly different and alien, indicators that should have warned Lady Bradshaw of the risks she took in marrying him, making her complicit in her own fate for failing to recognise the outward signs of his immorality. Although marriage to an Italian count would not generally be considered an advantageous match for the widow of an English baronet, Palliotti claims to be the fourth cousin of Napoleon and to have an immense fortune, and Lady Bradshaw marries him in an attempt at upward mobility. Palliotti and his accomplices 'escaped with their booty, first to Ireland, and from thence to America.'[196] His flight to Ireland

[194] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 166.
[195] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 130.
[196] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 273.

is presumably facilitated by his Catholicism. Lady Bradshaw is punished for her bad decision:

> Lady Bradshaw retired into the country until the *nine days' wonder* blew over […] but] in public places she finds herself the object of general notice, rendered insupportably galling by the sneer of ridicule which accompanies it; and in private parties she is deserted by her admirers, and triumphed over by her rivals.[197]

Her only friendships are with her mother and Mrs. Fenton, but she finds this 'insupportable […] when they take for the theme of their conversation the domestic happiness and elegant establishment of Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope.'[198] Lady Bradshaw cannot escape from the scandal, and remains envious of Stanhope and his marriage to Julia Ingleby at the conclusion of the novel. This seems a fitting punishment for the scandal she created surrounding Stanhope, earlier in the novel, and her attempts at upward nobility. Lady Bradshaw's behaviour, and consequent punishment, is reminiscent of Madame de Montmiril in *Tynemouth*, who uses the Count of Wooler to become upwardly mobile and attempts to destroy the heroine Rosetta because she perceives this younger, more attractive woman as a potential threat.

In *Auberry Stanhope*, jewellery facilitates the kind of scandal that is thwarted in the episodes with miniatures discussed above. If miniatures draw the reader's attention inwards, to the personality and inner turmoil of Harvey's characters, other jewellery directs the gaze outwards, to consider the opinions of society and the outer world. Lady Bradshaw is a fashionable woman who attempts to destroy Stanhope's reputation, and this is reflected in the transient nature of the jewellery associated with

[197] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, pp. 274-5.
[198] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 275.

her: both in the briefness of the episodes, in comparison to the miniature portraits, and in the briefness of the time for which she owns the items before they are stolen.

Singularity (1822)

This section examines the prominence of jewellery in Harvey's later novel, *Singularity* (1822), which is set in contemporary southern England and published with the Minerva Press, by then known as A. K. Newman. Harvey's shift in content, from Gothic to a more domestic narrative, mirrors the shift in fashion for novels at the time. This movement was presumably typical for a Minerva Press author. Harvey opens *Singularity* with an epigraph from *Hamlet*: 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends,/ Rough-hew them how we will.'[199] This quotation is spoken by Hamlet to Horatio, and establishes a sense of predetermination before events of the novel begin. The novel opens with a domestic scene, in the living room of Elder Grove, the Cleavland family's mansion, with Mr. and Mrs. Cleavland present, their younger son Frederick, and their cousins, the Romney sisters, who are both spinsters. Frederick wishes to go into the navy, but Cleavland tells his son: '"No, no, boy; I will have no mutilated hero coming home to me with a wooden leg and a patch over his eye, lounging away the rest of his life in miserable inaction'.[200] Cleavland describes his eldest son, Charles, 'as presumptive – nay, acknowledged heir, to my uncle's fortune, has no occasion to embrace any profession; but that need not operate as a reason why he should lounge away his life in doing nothing'.[201] When Emma Romney defends Charles, stating: 'I know of no appendage he wants but a wife', Cleavland retorts: '"If I had not noosed

[199] Jane Harvey, *Singularity*, 3 vols (London: A. K. Newman and Co., 1822), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], I, p. i.
[200] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 3.
[201] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 4.

myself as soon as I did, I should have escaped many plagues and evils which torment me at this day – not the lightest of which is the fashionable uselessness of your gadabout favourite, Master Charles."[202] Cleavland tells the others: '"Agricultural and scientific pursuits are the only ones in which I wish to see my sons engaged, because they may be adopted and pursued without violation of conscience, and with the greatest benefit and advantage to mankind"'.[203] A servant enters with letters, which include an invitation to Starbuck Castle in a fortnight, which has been extended by the 'new baronet', Sir Thomas Starbuck, who is '"really and truly presumptive heir to the earldom of Corbridge; the present earl has been married nearly twenty years without issue"'.[204] This opening chapter establishes several problems specific to the middling and upper classes: the idleness of heirs, such as Charles, waiting to inherit their fortunes; the employment of second sons; the upward mobility of men such as Sir Thomas Starbuck, who 'was a grazier in a sequestered part of Lancashire […] but, now that he has succeeded to sir Danby Starbuck's hoards, and expects one day to rank with nobility, […] aspires to all sorts of county honours'; and the complications of inheritance.[205]

Miniature portraits feature in the second volume of *Singularity*, as a physical representation of the relationship between the heroine Augusta and her drawing master De Rosemonde. Augusta is introduced when her mother collects her from a boarding school in Bath. She is Cleavland's 'best-beloved child', and he '"dread[s] the return of my girl […] because she will no longer be my own sensible, ingenuous Augusta; twelve months at a Bath boarding-school will have destroyed that dignity and energy of mind of which she gave such early and distinguished promise."' Augusta was

[202] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 5.
[203] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 14.
[204] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 18.
[205] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 17.

educated by her father, and is his 'very prototype, but the likeness was so softened, as to be in every point favourable to Augusta – every turn of her face was marked by surpassing elegance, every lineament touched with superior delicacy'.[206] At school, Augusta has fallen in love with her drawing master, Eugene De Rosemonde, who Mrs. Cleavland 'could not help thinking […] rather a dangerous associate in her daughter's studies'.[207] Augusta meets De Rosemonde again, in an incident discussed in Chapter Four, and receives letters from him. When she confesses to her father, he confiscates her letters and drawing materials. The existence of the miniatures is revealed when Augusta confesses her feelings for De Rosemonde to her father, and Cleavland asks if '"perhaps you have some time or other amused yourself with sketching the features of Mr. de Rosemonde"'[208] Harvey reveals: 'grief, love, and shame struggled so violently in Miss Cleavland's bosom […] She *had* portrayed the likeness of De Rosemonde'.[209]

Cleavland recognises the popular practice of creating a miniature likeness of a love interest, discussed in the previous section, and Augusta is ashamed of her actions, as well as grief-stricken at the idea of giving up her drawing. Augusta has kept the miniatures safely guarded: to retrieve them she 'unlocked her cabinet, and drew the miniatures from their concealment'.[210] Augusta also keeps a letter from her lover De Rosemonde in her pocketbook. The 'quick step of [her brother] Charles approaching the door, made it advisable to give this new treasure an asylum in her pocketbook'.[211] The letter, 'in which she found a thousand delicacies and beauties', is kept in a secretive and protective 'asylum': as the pocket is concealed on the person of its

[206] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 46.
[207] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 56.
[208] Harvey, *Singularity*, II, p. 255.
[209] Harvey, *Singularity*, II, p. 255.
[210] Harvey, *Singularity*, II, p. 257.
[211] Harvey, *Singularity*, II, p. 185.

wearer, it is easier for Augusta to both hide the letter, and protect it from damage.[212] Like the eponymous heroine in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), who sews her letters and papers into her petticoats to conceal them, Augusta hides her letters within her clothing.[213] Her father, Cleavland, carries letters from De Rosemonde and Cleirmont in his pocket and pocketbook respectively.[214] As Augusta's miniatures are later consigned to the fire by her father, the physical threat to the letter is real.

The letter, like the miniature, is ephemeral, both symbolically, as multiple humans are involved in its creation, transference and possession, making ownership difficult to determine, and physically, as both objects can be destroyed. In spite of their greatly treasured natures, these objects are fragile: like the human souls associated with each miniature or letter, and the relationships that are signified. This episode revisits preoccupations discussed in the previous section on miniatures. Augusta is the creator of the miniature, like Stanhope in *Auberry Stanhope,* and like Stanhope she has 'a very fine genius for portrait-painting, and the knowledge of this it probably was which induced her father to suppose she had painted De Rosemonde'.[215] The miniatures are concealed, shrouded in secrecy like Becket's miniature portrait of Dorcella in *Warkfield,* or Montalyth in *Mountalyth*. Harvey thus continues to conflate the miniature portrait with secrecy and love. Like the women discussed above, the secret of De Rosamunde's birth is eventually revealed, and he is discovered to be the nephew of the Earl of Corbridge, thus preceding Sir Thomas Starbuck as heir to his fortune. The biblical implications discussed in the miniature section are also present in *Singularity:* Augusta undergoes a 'pilgrimage' to her chamber to retrieve the

[212] Harvey *Singularity,* II, p. 184.
[213] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela* (1740), eds. Thomas Keymer and Alice Wakely (Oxford: Oxford University Press – Oxford World Classics, 2008), p. 227.
[214] Harvey, *Singularity,* III, p. 243; II, p. 226.
[215] Harvey, *Singularity,* II, p. 257.

miniatures, and recognises '"how basely should I violate my conscience, if I were to carry one picture to my father, and yet have another in my possession!"'[216] Cleavland takes the pictures from his daughter and the 'resemblances of Augusta's preserver were consigned to the flames.'[217] This further reinforces the biblical undertones created by the imagery of a pilgrimage and Augusta's potentially violated conscience, drawing on the cleansing but destructive nature of fire. Fire, like a passionate relationship, can become uncontrollable, making it rather a cliched choice to destroy the evidence of the relationship Cleavland hopes to end between his daughter and De Rosemonde.

In contrast to Madame de Montmiril in *Tynemouth,* Cleavland rejects the potential for upward mobility represented by the miniature. The miniature's significance is demonstrated, as it must be destroyed to end Augusta's love, and she is obedient to her father's wishes. At the end of the novel, however, a change in fortunes for the Cleavland family gives Augusta equal status to De Rosemonde, and the couple are allowed to marry. Cleavland declares: 'I cannot restore the miniature – that I destroyed; but the original shall be yours, for he is worthy of you'.[218] In a similar manner to *Tynemouth,* there is an explicit acknowledgment that the miniature and 'original' coexist, and offer different perspectives or realities: Cleavland must meet the 'original' to decide that he is 'worthy 'of his daughter, a subversion of Madame de Montmiril's hatred of Rosetta upon meeting the 'original' in *Tynemouth.* In the case of diamonds and miniatures, jewellery contributes to the narrative of the novels, and the perspective of others in judging a person. This instance thus demonstrates

[216] Harvey, *Singularity,* II p. 256; II, p. 259.
[217] Harvey, *Singularity,* II, p. 260.
[218] Harvey, *Singularity,* III, p. 283.

Harvey's continuing interest in the miniature portrait and its complicated connotations.

Diamonds are also significant in *Singularity,* where they take centre stage in a tawdry display of wealth. The Cleavland family accept the invitation to Starbuck Castle mentioned at the beginning of this section, and the aforementioned earl of Corbridge is also present, along with his wife Lady Corbridge. Unusually for Harvey, Starbuck Castle is a fictional castle, rather than a real castle like Tynemouth and Warkfield. The party visiting the castle divides by gender: the gentlemen go outside to view the horses and carriages, and Lady Starbuck 'exhibit[s] her apartments to the ladies', where she leaves her toilet-boxes open:

> [the] expensive articles they contained, even her ladyship's diamonds, which it cannot be supposed were always left unguarded, were purposely placed in view; while costly strings of coral and pearls, superb shawls, gold chains, and whatever else can be supposed to constitute the extravagance of female costume, met the eye at every turn.[219]

This display of trinkets and luxury items, where 'every object proclaimed studied negligence and systemic disorder' is a typical demonstration of nineteenth-century female taste.[220] In *Saint Ronan's Well,* Walter Scott satirises this feminine artfully contrived negligence:

> How can a clumsy male wit attempt the arrangement of all the *chiffonerie* by which […] all the trash usually found in the pigeon-holes of the bureaus of old-fashioned ladies, may now be brought into play by throwing them, carelessly grouped with other unconsidered trifles, such as are to be seen in

[219] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 72.
[220] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 71.

> the windows of a pawnbroker's shop, upon a marble *encoignure* or a mosaic work table, thereby turning to advantage the trash and trinketry, which all the old maids or magpies, who have inhabited the mansion have contrived to accumulate.[221]

The 'unguarded' nature of Lady Starbuck's jewels indicates their performative worthlessness to their owner. The negligence is *studied,* and the disorder *systemic,* two oxymorons that demonstrate the deliberate nature with which Lady Starbuck has made it seem that she is so rich she does not concern herself with theft. As we have seen above, diamonds are vulnerable to robbery, although the culprits are generally 'rogues' like the anonymous man who assaults Lady Bradshaw in *Auberry Stanhope.* The strings of pearls and 'superb shawls' are strewn across a dressing table, rather than worn as intended, to 'constitute the extravagance of female costume'; the 'disorder' of this display demotes these objects to the kind of 'trash' that Scott describes. The items lose their sense of purpose and meaning, divorced from appropriate clothing and from the women who should be wearing them. The presence of Lady Starbuck remains in her shawls and strings of jewels, however: they are placed in disarray in her intimate dressing room, emphasising the associations between herself and the jewels.

Diamonds are part of a wider discourse surrounding female sexuality in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which is especially relevant to *Singularity*. As we have seen, diamonds raised questions of ownership, as they were often gifted or stolen. Scandal surrounded jewellery not only in literature, but in real life situations. In the early nineteenth century, the infamous 'Diamond Necklace Affair'

[221] Walter Scott, *Saint Ronan's Well* (1823), ed. Mark Weinstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 89.

created potent associations between diamonds and Marie Antoinette. The con-woman Jeanne de la Motte forged Marie Antoinette's purchase of a necklace for two million livres, miring the French queen in scandal. La Motte is depicted in Figure 9 catching jewels that fall from Marie Antoinette's skirts, which carries sexual innuendo. La Motte claimed descent from French royalty, highlighting the instability of the French class system: 'in 1788 the royal genealogist Antoine Maugard estimated that, at most, a quarter of noble titles were genuine'.[222] Such deceit reminds the reader of the conman Palliotti in *Auberry Stanhope,* who was a jewel thief. At the beginning of the Revolution Marie Antoinette became a symbol of French royalist extravagance: she was widely caricatured and accused of profligacy, incest, and lesbianism, following a long tradition of conflating female excess with sexuality. Sekora cites Aquinas's argument: 'original sin is to be understood as luxury, the penchant for needless, temporal things. Once tainted, Adam and Eve and all subsequent parents transmit the sin to their children as a genetic predisposition for sensuality'.[223] The French Revolution demonstrates this 'genetic predisposition for sensuality': the people attempted to replace the extravagant monarchy with a republic, but were left vulnerable to the Reign of Terror followed by Napoleon's opulent empire.

Such politics are particularly significant when considering the comments on the French Revolution that *Singularity* contains. Mr. Cleavland's friend Clerimont returns to England from France, although Augusta previously believed that Clerimont 'perished at the guillotine'.[224] Clerimont is abandoned by his wife, who is 'swallowed up by the vortex least befitting a female character – the vortex of revolutionary

[222] Jonathan Beckman, *How to Ruin a Queen: Marie Antoinette and the Diamond Necklace Affair* (London: John Murray, 2014), p. 21.
[223] Sekora, p.45.
[224] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 231.

politics'.[225] This vortex had swallowed up women such as those condemned by Layton, including Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hays. In *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), Hannah More argued that women's education and conduct determined the moral state of the nation. More states that 'the great uses of study are to enable [a woman] to regulate her own mind, and to be useful to others […] knowledge which is rather fitted for home consumption than foreign exportation'.[226] Clerimont blames himself for instilling in his wife 'the false values of liberty and equality', but Cleavland assures his friend that they 'were at most but passive friends of the revolution, hailed it from the purest motives […] the cause which we hoped would give stability of freedom, of happiness, and of comfort, to a great and powerful nation.'[227]

Cleavland condemns 'the atrocities which stained its career, and the despotism which so long checked its progress, had their origin in fortuitous accidents, which made no part of either the wish or the design of the first leaders.'[228] By 'first leaders', Harvey presumably means more moderate leaders such as Brissot and Lafayette, rather than radical figures such as Robespierre. Harvey uses clothing to associate republican Paris with lxuury; Clerimont's wife was 'habited in all the extreme – I will say, the licentious extreme, which the fashion of the day authorized'.[229] Madame Clerimont is 'surrounded by all of pomp and luxury that imagination could invent or wealth command, she sent a look of cold disdain, and republican scorn'.[230] She illustrates the perceived hypocrisies of revolutionary politics: revolutionaries

[225] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 256.
[226] Hannah More, *Strictures on the modern system of female education. With a view of the principles and conduct prevalent among women of rank and fortune*, 2 vols (London: Cadell and Davies, 1799), II, pp. 2-3.
[227] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 270.
[228] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 270.
[229] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 270.
[230] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 271.

criticised the ‘pomp and luxury’ of the monarchy, but in fact favoured it themselves. As we will see in Chapter Three, Napoleon and his wife were renowned for favouring luxury goods, especially clothing and jewellery. The atrocities of the French Revolution are therefore clearly linked to luxury goods, and the ‘licentious’ fashionable clothing is literally ‘stained’ with the atrocities and despotism that Harvey’s Cleavland condemns. Harvey makes clear the hypocrisy of the revolutionaries replacing Marie Antoinette with ‘licentious extreme’ fashion.

The ‘Diamond Necklace Affair’ was an effective vehicle for scandal partially because diamonds were often used as a symbol of sexuality outside of marriage: with mistresses, rather than with wives as the miniatures described above tend to suggest. The necklace involved in the ‘Diamond Necklace Affair’ was commissioned for Louis XV’s mistress. Although the diamond engagement ring did not become popular until the 1930s, literary mistresses are frequently gifted with diamonds, such as the mistress of the Marquis in Ann Radcliffe’s *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), Charlotte Brontë’s Mina Laury, and Céline Varens in *Jane Eyre* (1847). In Richardson’s *Pamela,* Mr B gives Pamela his mother’s diamonds, which she wears for their wedding. These frequent associations indicate a transactional relationship between man and mistress, rather than a simple decorative device. It is the feminine associations with diamonds, not the properties of the gemstones themselves, that give the potential for sexual scandal.

When one considers these scandalous connotations, Lady Starbuck’s display of diamonds exposes the shallowness of the Starbucks, rather than achieving the desired admiration for Lady Starbuck. The diamonds make it clear that Lady Starbuck is focusing on the wrong objects in her attempts to garner respect from other women, just as Marie Antoinette was seen to represented as caught up in frivolities alien to

the social and pollical problems of pre-revolutionary France. Lady Starbuck is a frivolous and fashionable woman, like the caricatures of Marie Antoinette, Clerimont's wife, and Lady Bradshaw. As discussed in the introduction to this section, characters such as the Cleavlands clearly disapprove of the Starbucks. Lady Starbuck has accrued consumer objects such as diamonds to demonstrate her social standing, but it becomes clear that a male heir would be a more effective indicator of her status, as well as providing a guarantee that her wealth will be retained by her family. Lady Starbuck uses her display of expensive jewellery to cultivate competition with other upper-class women: on entering the room, Lady Starbuck declares: '"this is my dressing-room, lady Corbridge"', making it clear who the exhibition of wealth is intended to impress.[231] Lady Corbridge is an earl's wife and Lady Starbuck's social superior, but Lady Starbuck manages to belittle her:

> Lady Corbridge felt mortified and humiliated while contemplating this exhibition of sumptuous grandeur; for lord Corbridge had through life been too much the votary of the turf and the gaming-table to admit of any competition in fashionable superfluities between his lady and lady Starbuck, whose spouse never sacrificed at any such shrines.[232]

The display of unworn jewellery and shawls reflects the fundamental futility of the 'competition' between Lady Corbridge and Lady Starbuck, as both women are beholden to their spouses for the gift of jewellery and titles. As mentioned above, however, a hint of sexual dissatisfaction can be read into diamonds in *Singularity*, especially if one considers the frequent sexual associations made between diamonds and women. Lady Starbuck openly displays her wares, but she only has daughters.

[231] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 71.
[232] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 72.

The diamonds in this instance could be read as a metaphor for sexual congress – the Starbucks clearly reproduce but are only able to provide daughters. The jewels are tossed carelessly aside and openly displayed, just as the existence of their daughters openly declares that the couple have attempted to create a male heir but been unsuccessful. The Corbridges, however, may not be sexually active, as they have no heirs at all, and Corbridge is too busy gambling to provide 'fashionable superfluities' to his wife – which could encompass not only jewels, but the sexual union necessary to provide heirs. Like Lady Meldon in *Warkfield*, Lord Corbridge has a gambling addiction, but it is his wife rather than Corbridge who is consequently 'humiliated. Lady Starbuck should be seeking favour with the countess as a potential benefactor, but her deliberate 'humiliation' demonstrates the Starbucks's presumptive sense of their own importance and resentment of the situation. As Byrne points out, 'women's possession of objects owned, or gained by inheritance or marriage, was often insecure'.[233] Lady Corbridge initially seeks consolation by reflecting:

> she possessed a much more splendid toy in her title; but even this ray of comfort vanished from her mind when she recollected the humiliating fact, that the wives of baronets are entitled to addressed in the same style as those of the lower orders of nobility […] and not only was lady Starbuck her ladyship now, but would, in the event of the earl of Corbridge's death without issue, be the countess of that title, while herself should shrink down into a dowager.

Although their husbands are afforded different titles, their wives are addressed 'in the same style', demonstrating a further discrepancy between genders. The shrinking of a woman after the death of her husband, to a dowager, revisits the gendered

[233] Sandie Byrne, p. 17.

complications of inheritance discussed earlier in this chapter. Lady Starbuck believes that she will rise, while Lady Corbridge shrinks.

The crucial problem faced by both Lady Corbridge and Lady Starbuck, however, is the same. Like Lady Bradshaw in *Auberry Stanhope*, neither woman has a male heir: Lady Starbuck has only daughters, and Lady Corbridge is childless. Childlessness further reinforces the associations with Marie Antoinette: Marie Antoinette did not become pregnant for the first eight years of her marriage, and her first child was a girl. Blame for lack of heirs was typically ascribed to the woman, rather than her husband, and Lady Starbuck's love of luxury goods could have been perceived as at least partly responsible: in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith states the 'Highland woman frequently bears more than twenty children, while a pampered fine lady is often incapable of bearing any, and is generally exhausted by two or three.'[234] Smith argues that luxury 'seems always to weaken, and frequently destroy altogether, the powers of generation' in the fair sex.[235] As Smith's work demonstrates, it was commonly believed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that feminine 'enjoyment' of luxury, such as diamonds, jewellery, and shawls, would deny the ultimate aristocratic status symbol: a son and heir. Lady Starbuck exhibits her jewels to inspire envy, rather than to attract the attention of her husband, demonstrating where her priorities lie. Lady Starbuck views the ornamental function of jewellery as secondary to the wealth they demonstrate, divorcing diamonds from any functionality and locating them solely as useless luxury consumer products. Sir Thomas Starbuck is also culpable as a purveyor of luxury goods in Harvey's novel, as he acknowledges his wife's value by gifting her with expensive

[234] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London: A. Strahan, 1776), *University of Michigan* <https://quod.lib.umich.edu> [accessed 01 October 2020], p. 120.
[235] Smith, p. 120.

jewellery, rather than attempting to redirect her attentions to more important aspects such as their moral responsibilities as landowners, religious instruction, or indeed an attempt to create a male heir. Unlike a title, the jewels are tangible and can be displayed to visitors.

The Corbridge title will be passed on to another woman, 'shrinking' Lady Corbridge to a dowager, but Lady Starbuck will retain ownership of her jewels. As we explored in the section about *Auberry Stanhope*, jewels were often heirlooms that often belonged to the family rather than to a woman personally, reflecting an impermanence. Even the queen consort's jewels were passed on to her successor when her husband died. Lady Starbuck's jewels are not the guarantor she desires, as she does not gain the Corbridge title. The term 'heirloom' echoes a sense of emptiness to these belongings, as they are not the 'heir' that an aristocratic marriage is intended to produce. Even if a woman owns her jewels, as Lady Starbuck does, without heirs to pass them to she is not securing the family's legacy, which is the most essential role of the upper-class wife. Although Harvey apportions some responsibility to the male side of an aristocratic partnership, by criticising Lord Corbridge and his love of gambling, rather than simply deriding Lady Starbuck for her love of trifles, both the Corbridges and the Starbucks represent a shallow version of aristocracy who place value in the wrong items. Lady Corbridge dies before her husband, when her dress sets on fire, a fate perhaps less 'dreadfully galling' than becoming a dowager duchess.[236] Lady Starbuck exhibits her diamonds, like the men in *Tynemouth* and *Warkfield* exhibit miniatures of women who are significant to them. In another of Harvey's novel, *Brougham Castle* (1816), the hero Cyrus recognises that 'titles and wealth, divested of their better uses, and only considered as they minister to the *pride*

[236] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 73.

of their possessors, are but the gilded toys of life.'[237] This is a lesson that must also be learned in *Singularity.* The diamonds are not mentioned again, however: like the jewels discussed in *Auberry Stanhope,* they appear only once, unlike the more enduring miniature. Just as the Starbucks briefly enjoy their position as heirs to the Earl of Corbridge, the diamonds sparkle across the page before disappearing from the reader's attention. The Starbucks' daughters elope, and it is revealed that the Starbucks are preceded in the line of inheritance by De Rosemonde.

This chapter has explored the treatment of jewellery, especially miniatures and diamonds, in novels by Jane Harvey. The miniature is elevated beyond the importance of its materials, paper/canvas and paint, to a representation of a love that requires 'worthiness' but could also cause potential destruction. The women in miniatures are vulnerable to the unknown: they can be transported in the form of the miniature and used in schemes without their knowledge. Miniature portraits denote a romantic, idolised love, a love of the soul, whereas diamonds are associated with sexuality and the female body, but both objects raise issues of ownership and consent. The men who venture into the feminised world of miniature portraits are secretive in their creation of such items, which are often drawn without the sitter's permission. Through diamonds and other jewellery, Harvey depicts women who have been tainted by luxury, reduced to shallow, grasping methods of attempting to gain power, while the real means remain beyond their control. Jewellery draws the reader's attention to the body of its owner: whether worn, as with Lady Bradshaw in *Auberry Stanhope,* or unworn, with Lady Starbuck in *Singularity.* But these women are made

[237] Jane Harvey, *Brougham Castle*, 2 vols (London: Minerva Press, 1816), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online* <https://go-gale-com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ps/start.do?p=NCCO> [accessed 01 September 2018], II, p. 212.

vulnerable to violent assaults from men, or conversely, emotional and sexual neglect from their husbands.

Perhaps the most important distinction to be made between the miniature portrait and other jewellery, however, is the one raised in the introduction: one miniature tends to follow the narrative of the novel, while there are multiple diamonds or pieces of jewellery, which tend to be seen for only one scene. As the episodes discussed in this chapter demonstrate, this is a reflection on the women associated with the jewellery involved. Women portrayed in miniatures, such as Rosetta and Dorcella, are constant, steady and virtuous, while the women who own jewellery are shallow and frivolous and may lose their jewels through theft or disinheritance. Women such as Lady Bradshaw and Lady Starbuck therefore become interchangeable, as disposable as the fashion they consume, whereas women such as Dorcella and Julia are unique and must be valued. Jewellery and miniatures draw the reader's attention to gender, sexuality, and identity, all while demonstrating a regional engagement in fashion, material culture and luxury goods. Harvey does not condemn material culture in her novels, but she does highlight the importance of being wary when engaging in the purchase and enjoyment of luxury goods. Women must be vigilant about how they are perceived if they attribute too much value to diamonds and jewellery, at the expense of more important concerns, such as virtue, legacy (especially the provision of heirs), and romantic love.

Chapter Three: Clothes

Figure 12: 'Evening Dresses for April 1810' published in La Belle Assemblée

Clothes, like the jewellery discussed in the previous chapter, crowd the descriptions in Harvey's novels. Like diamonds, the reader does not encounter the same dress twice. The descriptions of clothing are far more detailed than those of jewellery, miring the reader in the sartorial, and forcing the narrative to pause as one considers the visual portraits Harvey creates. While jewellery moves as quickly as the action-packed plots of Harvey's novels, clothing creates moments of indulgence, both for the reader and for the author. Portrait painters recognised the importance of clothing, and, if we assume that Harvey was a miniaturist, she may have drawn on her own experiences for the details of dress that fill her novels.

Women from the upper and middle classes were given more choice in their dress in the late eighteenth century, and consequently more opportunities for self-expression and agency. The affordability of muslin marked a turning point for female fashion in this period. Jane Harvey and Jemima Layton use dress to draw attention to aspects of personality: a 'whimsical medley' of costume highlights the ostentation of a mother and daughter in *Any Thing*, and a torn dress implicates an old maid in scandal in *Hulne Abbey* (1820). Simple white dresses emphasise the virtue of heroines such as Jemima and Dorcella. Women with the means to spend money on clothes could engage in the public sphere of consumerism, and examine the private interiority of their own self, simultaneously.

This chapter begins with an examination of wedding dresses in *Tynemouth* and *Auberry Stanhope,* novels we have discussed in the previous chapter, before introducing Harvey's *Any Thing But What You Expect* (1819). The second section considers fabric in *Any Thing,* and the third section introduces Jemima Layton's novel, *Hulne Abbey* (1820), and explores the ephemerality of clothing in this novel.

Part One: Wedding Dresses

Figure 13: 'Wedding Dress', August 1829, published in R. Ackermann's Repository of Fashions

The Castle of Tynemouth (1806)

In the previous chapter, we explored miniature portraits in Jane Harvey's Gothic novel, *The Castle of Tynemouth* (1806). This section considers wedding dresses in *Tynemouth.* Interestingly, Harvey does not describe the wedding facilitated by the miniature portrait, as described above, between the Count of Wooler and Madame de Montmiril. The novel does end, however, with a multiple wedding, in which Judith, Rosetta, Vincentina, and Elfrida marry their respective grooms. Judith is marrying Mr. Thornton, a gentleman from the village who is the father of Elfrida. The wedding takes place in the middle of December, and the superstitious Judith is happy because 'a lovelier morning for the season of the year never shone from the heavens, to the great joy of Judith, who observed, that "Happy is the bride whom the sun shines on."'[1] Judith:

> according to the etiquette of the times, was first led to the altar, dressed in a petticoat of black velvet trimmed with gold fringe; and a gown, or rather mantle, of rich brocade; she looked so gay, and so pleasant, that in the course of the day, Thornton declared that he thought her full as handsome as any of the three young brides.[2]

Royal women from the time period *Tynemouth* is set in, such as Mary Tudor, Queen of France; Katherine of Aragon; and Elizabeth Woodville, queen consort of King Edward IV, are commonly depicted in black dresses in their portraits. At the end of the sixteenth century, 'black became firmly established as the colour of power and authority' in European culture.[3] Black was also established as the colour of traditional vestments for Protestant ministers in fifteenth-century Europe, to reflect the role of

[1] Harvey, *Tynemouth*, p. 116.
[2] Harvey, *Tynemouth*, p. 116.
[3] Elizabeth Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 93.

clergy as figures of 'professional solidity and intellectual authority […] to set a standard of anti-erotic decency in dress'.[4] Judith, restored following her trial and overturned death sentence for witchcraft, wears a colour associated with power, authority, and the clergy. However, black is also associated with witchcraft, in particular black magic, so the colour is invested with multiple implications. As stated in the introductory paragraph, this is a far more detailed description than those given of jewellery. We do not know the material, or the more intricate shaping, of Lady Bradshaw's bracelets, for example, and the exact nature of the jewels stolen from her safe is not given. But the reader can picture Judith's sumptuous velvet and brocade gown, and even imagine the feel of the fabric's texture. The description of clothing is therefore immersive, inviting the reader to pause and visualise a gown, rather than follow the fast-paced narratives. This is a moment where the reader can pause and indulge, and to indulge in such a dress would be rare for a woman such as Judith Cresswell, who is the housekeeper and former nursemaid for the family of the Count of Wooler.

Judith's husband, Thornton, explicitly contrasts his bride with 'the three young brides', who are dressed quite differently to Judith:

> Rosetta, Vincentina, and Elfrida, wore all the attractions of the sister graces; they were attired exactly alike in robes of white satin, and their beautiful hair confined with rows of pearl; and their adoring lovers received them from the venerable prior, as the choicest blessings heaven could bestow.[5]

Rosetta is marrying Lilburne, Vincentina is marrying Ida, and Elfrida is marrying Clifford. Dressed identically and in stark contrast to the more mature bride, the three

[4] Graeme Murdock, 'Dressed to Repress? Protestant Clerical Dress and the Regulation of Morality in Early Modern Europe', *Fashion Theory*, 4:2 (2000), 179-99 (p. 190).
[5] Harvey, *Tynemouth*, p. 116.

girls become homogenised into one bride, suggesting a loss of feminine individuality when they enter the marriage market. The girls are interchangeable, neatly parcelled off to their respective husbands in their matching gowns, a satirical comment from Harvey on the fate of young brides. Their satin dresses match the fashions of the late fifteenth century. A white wedding dress in the 1490s is somewhat anachronistic, but points to the virtue of the three brides.[6] White wedding dresses became popular in the early nineteenth century, and Edwina Ehrman cites the Christian association of white with innocence as a significant reason for white's popularity.[7] In *Warkfield,* 'the charms of [Dorcella's] person were heightened, if possible, by the simplicity of her dress, which was white, while her auburn hair was loosely bound with a blue fillet'.[8] In her later novel, *Auberry Stanhope* (1814), Harvey acknowledges the Gothic tradition of utilising the colour white to denote a character's purity: when describing a stereotypical fashionable novel, Harvey refers to the trope of the heroine discovering 'the form of her mother, habited in white […] kneeling before an altar'.[9] The significance of the colour white is discussed in more detail in the following sections. Harvey directly compares the young brides to the sister graces, who were Greek goddesses of fertility, making it clear what the intention of the wedding is. In her later novels, such as *Any Thing,* Harvey continues the narrative after the wedding, rather than placing it at the end as it is in *Tynemouth. Tynemouth* ends with implications of wedded bliss, in the virtuous yet fertile young brides, and gay and pleasant older one. It is significant that this wedding takes place in December, as well as at the close of

[6] White is not exclusively a marker of purity. Charles I was crowned in white robes, and Leanda de Lisle states that, although for some this denoted the purity of his soul, for others it recalled prophecies of the 'Dreadful Dead Man', a prince in white who is lost in the eye of the world and in the love of his people.
[7] Edwina Ehrman, *The Wedding Dress: 300 Years of Bridal Fashion* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), p. 41.
[8] Harvey, *Warkfield,* II, pp. 18-9.
[9] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 105.

the novel, reinforcing the idea that something is drawing to an end. This will be returned to in the section about *Any Thing.*

A description of wedding dresses is not normally given in early nineteenth century novels. Clair Hughes points out that wedding dresses are typically absent in novels of the period, stating that Jane Austen 'dispatches her brides summarily', and Hazel Jones is in agreement that 'wedding clothes are never a significant feature in [Austen's] novels.[10]. In Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801), Lady Delacour states that '[s]omething must be left to the imagination. Positively I will not describe wedding dresses'.[11] The gowns of the young brides in *Tynemouth* leave 'something to the imagination', as Lady Delacour recommends in *Belinda,* while Judith's is described in more detail, but it is important to remember that her black velvet petticoat and rich brocade are in keeping with the historical period *Tynemouth* is set in. Hughes argues that 'wedding dresses are described across the history of the novel, but paradoxically, they do not herald unalloyed bliss […] They may even be very bad news indeed'.[12] The comparative lack of literary wedding dress descriptions points to 'the need many novelists feel to separate the ideal permanence of marriage from the vagaries of fashion'.[13]

The euphemistic phrase used by Lady Delacour, 'left to the imagination', implies an intimacy associated with weddings: a hint at the conjugal relations that follow the wedding ceremony, involving the removal of the wedding dress, is suggested by the 'clinging' nature of the wedding dresses fashionable during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The eponymous heroine of Jane Austen's *Emma* favours

[10] Clair Hughes, *Dressed in Fiction* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), p. 162; Hazel Jones, *Jane Austen and Marriage* (London: Continuum, 2009), p. 61.
[11] Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda* (1801), ed. Linda Bree, *Oxford World's Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 477-8.
[12] Hughes, p. 159.
[13] Hughes, p. 179.

a wedding dress which is quite unlike the dresses in *Tynemouth*, with 'no taste for finery or parade; and Mrs. Elton, from the particulars detailed by her husband, thought it all extremely shabby, and very inferior to her own. – "Very little white satin, very few lace veils; a most pitiful business!"'[14] Mrs Elton would approve of the younger brides' gowns in *Tynemouth*. Jones gives an example of a dress, similar to the white satin gowns in *Tynemouth,* that 'would have impressed [Mrs Elton] […] recorded in *The Ipswich Journal* in 1812: "The bride wore a real Brussels point lace over white satin … A cottage bonnet of Brussels lace with two ostrich feathers; … a deep lace veil and white satin pelisse trimmed with swansdown"'.[15] Jones notes Austen's opinion of inappropriate display in a letter: "What an alarming Bride Mrs Coln Tilson must have been! Such a parade is one of the most immodest pieces of Modesty that one can imagine."'[16] The dresses in *Tynemouth* reflect the period Harvey sets the novel in, but as we shall see, Harvey continues to describe bridal attire in her later novels, which have contemporary settings. This is unexpected in an early nineteenth century novel and illustrates attitudes towards marriage and luxury. From the eighteenth century onwards, as Ingrid H. Tague points out, women accepted 'a life of domestic bliss in a sentimental marriage' in exchange for 'the pleasures of love, education, and household power'.[17] Women were constantly reminded, however, that 'modern, fashionable society was undermining those values, destroying loving families by encouraging mercenary matches where the only consideration was

[14] Jane Austen, *Emma* (1815), ed. Fiona Stafford (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), p. 447.
[15] Jones, p. 67.
[16] Jones, p. 67, quoting Jane Austen, Letter 65, 17-18 January 1809, in Jane Austen, *Jane Austen's Letters*, 4th edn, ed. Deirdre Le Faye (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 172-5 (p. 175).
[17] Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), p. 49.

money'.[18] Tague argues that critics portrayed fashionable activities as a distraction for women:

> from their natural domestic role and from their natural subservience to men. In response, didactic writers portrayed fashion and consumption as quintessentially feminine, yet also threatening to feminine purity.[19]

As the following sections will continue to demonstrate, Harvey's description of wedding dresses allows the women in her novels to discover a middle ground between luxury and purity, both feminine traits, by portraying virtuous young women in simple, pure gowns.

[18] Tague, p. 49.
[19] Tague, p. 49.

Auberry Stanhope (1814)

Figure 14: 'The Graces in a High Wind' (1810), by James Gillray[20]

In this section, we revisit *Auberry Stanhope,* a novel in which several weddings take place. The wedding ceremony is significant to the narrative in *Auberry Stanhope,* as the protagonist's love interest, Julia Ingleby, has a wedding to Lord Mellinghurst arranged for her by her father. However, this wedding is interrupted by Lord Mellinghurst's wife, a beautiful 'foreigner', in an episode that anticipates the famous wedding scene in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847). This wedding is not witnessed by the protagonist, but is recounted to him by his friend George Ingleby, who is Julia's brother. In preparation for Julia's wedding, their father, Dr Ingleby 'sacrificed avarice to ostentation, and insisted that every article of dress which Julia ordered, should be splendid and elegant in the first degree'.[21] Julia obeyed, but she looked forward to 'the

[20] James Gillray, 'The Graces in a High Wind' (1810), The British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org> [accessed 01 August 2019].
[21] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 280.

day named for her nuptials, with a feeling which had in it so much of horror and of despair.'[22] Such ostentation in dress would not be appreciated by Julia, as earlier in the novel, when choosing a servant, Julia dismisses any applicants who are 'vainly gaudy in their dress'.[23] The elegance and fashionable nature of simple gowns is recognised in *Auberry Stanhope,* rather than the ostentatious and 'splendid' garments ordered by Dr. Ingleby, as Lady Bradshaw is considered by George Ingleby to be a 'fascinating siren, habited in all that elegant simplicity which renders a graceful form and a beautiful face so attractive'.[24] It is interesting that both the virtuous Julia and the 'siren' Lady Bradshaw favour simplicity: it would clearly be reductive to judge women based solely on their clothing.

Although the wedding dress worn by Julia is not explicitly described, it can be assumed that Julia ordered a 'splendid and elegant' gown along with the wedding trousseau described above. As the wedding is recounted by George Ingleby, one would not expect this young gentleman to provide a detailed description of the wedding gown. When George recounts Julia's wedding to Mellinghurst, he tells Stanhope: '"Julia turned exceedingly pale when Mellinghurst led her towards the Bishop, which I did not wonder at, for I always considered it rather a match of obedience than inclination on her part"'.[25] However, George goes on to describe a young woman interrupting the wedding, and:

> in broken English, uttered in a voice of wild agitation, implored the Bishop to stop – pointing to the earl, and emphatically pronouncing, 'My husband!' […] the fair foreigner, whose youth, beauty, innocent countenance, and apparent distress, might have interested a savage, grasped Lord Mellinghurst's arm and

[22] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 280.
[23] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* II, p. 234.
[24] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 207.
[25] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 31.

> exclaimed, 'You know me your wife, Frederic! you not marry another!' […] Julia] stepped forward, and taking her hand, said, 'I conjure you, in the name of Heaven, to speak the truth, my good girl; - are you, indeed, married to this gentleman?' – 'My Julia! my angel!' said this infernal fiend, 'why will you question this poor simple girl? she scarcely knows what a marriage ceremony means.'"[26]

Lord Mellinghurst's wife bears a striking resemblance to Bertha Mason in *Jane Eyre:* like Bertha, she is 'foreign' and beautiful, and presented as 'wild'. Interestingly, Harvey uses terms similar to those used by Brontë to describe Bertha, but applies them to Lord Mellinghurst instead. Bertha is described as savage and demonic, but it is Lord Mellinghurst who is referred to as an 'infernal fiend', and it is stated that her beauty and youth 'might have interested a savage', implying that Mellinghurst is a savage for his interest in her.[27] Unlike Jane Eyre, however, Julia does not go through with her interrupted wedding, but marries Auberry Stanhope, leading to a positive outcome for the bride and for the protagonist.

Julia 'interrogate[s] the young Lady' and learns that she is the orphan daughter of a merchant at Upsal. Mellinghurst "'tried every art to persuade her to live with him as his mistress, but finding he could not succeed, he married her according to the forms of the Swedish church'".[28] When Mellinghurst returned to England, '"he shipped his wife on board a merchantman […] she was placed in lodgings on Northumberland-street, where Lord Mellinghurst had frequently visited her since his return to England."'[29] This is also recounted to Stanhope by George Ingleby. Mellinghurst 'shipped his wife on board a merchantman' as if she were an object or

[26] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 34.
[27] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 34; p. 35.
[28] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, pp. 35-6.
[29] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 6.

possession, reinforcing his attitude towards women. Harvey states that Mellinghurst's wife is from Upsal, presumably meaning the Swedish town of Uppsala, as they marry according to the forms of the Swedish church. As she is from Europe and white, as opposed to Bertha Mason, who is from Jamaica and possibly of mixed race, Mellinghurst's wife is less 'foreign' to the contemporary English reader in the early nineteenth century than Bertha.

George Ingleby finally reveals that Mellinghurst's wife is 'the poor injured Ulrica', a Swedish name.[30] The name Ulrica, and her circumstances, also anticipates the Ulrica of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), one of the influences for Bertha Mason. In *Ivanhoe,* Ulrica is a Saxon woman, daughter of the lord of Torquilstone. Scott's Ulrica is imprisoned for decades at Torquilstone, driving her insane, and she sets the castle on fire and 'appeared on a turret, in the guise of one of the ancient furies, yelling forth a war-song, such as was of yore raised on the field of battle by the scalds of the yet heathen Saxons.'[31] Scott's Ulrica, like Bertha Mason in *Jane Eyre,* sets fire to her home as a result of her 'insanity'. Harvey's Ulrica seems to escape this fate, as she is placed as a boarder with a family at Isleworth until she hears from her family, 'to whom it seemed her decided wish to return; as Mellinghurst, it was evident, had no intention of cementing their marriage according to the English law.'[32] Although Harvey's Ulrica is initially in a state of 'wild agitation', her insanity is not permanent like Bertha Mason's, and she seems to otherwise be a respectable young woman. At the end of the novel, Lord Mellinghurst 'leads a life nearly as secluded as that of an absolute hermit', and 'his unfortunate young wife has returned to her own country, and the bosom of her family, and it is to be hoped that time, which seldom fails to

[30] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 38.
[31] Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe,* ed. Ian Duncan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 339.
[32] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 51.

tranquillize [sic] the sorrows of the innocent sufferer, will shed oblivion over her woes.'[33] Ulrica's innocence is again emphasised, and she is embraced by her family. This marks a further contrast to Bertha Mason, who remains a prisoner of Mr Rochester, and to Scott's Ulrica, who is imprisoned by the murderer of her family. Harvey's Ulrica is thus more fortunate in her fate, and her innocence is rewarded with a safe return to her family. Crucially, her wishes are respected, which are to return to her family, whereas her counterparts are forced into captivity against their will.

Julia Ingleby's second wedding contrasts markedly to her first, and this is reflected in her clothing. When Julia marries Stanhope, she is 'adorned with simple and modest grace, wore in her bosom a bouquet composed of laurel, intermingled with the snow-drop, the first fair flower of the spring, and the pure emblem of herself.'[34] The 'simple and modest grace' of her bridal attire is the opposite of the 'splendid' and ostentatious clothing her father chooses for her thwarted wedding to Lord Mellinghurst. It seems her gown, like her husband, is a choice of her own. In the same way that affording Ulrica some agency allows her to escape the tragic fate of Bertha and Scott's Ulrica, when Julia is allowed to marry the man of her choice, her wedding is successful. It is 'obvious to the whole of her surrounding friends, that she would make Stanhope the best of wives, for there was at all times in her behaviour to him a degree of respect, approaching to veneration'.[35] The reduced description, compared to that of Judith Cresswell's dress, suggests Julia is a less indulgent bride, in keeping with her character. Julia's simple attire reflects the fact that she exhibits the feelings which 'every amiable woman would wish to cherish for her husband, and every sensible man would endeavour to merit from his wife'.[36] These feelings are 'far different […]

[33] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, pp. 272-3.
[34] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 263.
[35] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 261.
[36] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 261.

from that pert and flippant familiarity with which many ladies treat their lovers, and that mock-dominion which they affect to exercise over them'.[37] Julia Ingleby is thus a bride for the early nineteenth century reader to aspire to, representing a careful combination of agency with modesty, respect, and amiability. Harvey demonstrates here that a woman can have some autonomy without abandoning such principles.

Julia's second wedding is different not only to her first, but also to the wedding of her aunt, Miss Maitland, which offers the reader far more indulgence than that of Judith Cresswell. Miss Maitland marries Miss Honeywood's uncle, Fenton, 'arrayed in hymeneal splendor [sic].'[38] Miss Maitland's extravagance throughout the novel culminates in the lengthy description of her wedding dress. George Ingleby is also a witness to this wedding, although he is not the one to recount it. Witnesses to the wedding 'tittered outright' at Miss Maitland's outfit, and George 'felt his clerical gravity put to a severe test'.[39] Miss Maitland was:

> habited in a frock of worked India muslin, with necklace, bracelets, and drop earrings of coral; a Spanish hat of scarlet velvet turned up with a plume of white feathers, beneath which sported a profusion of golden ringlets; a scarlet mantle trimmed with ermine, and a pair of scarlet boots completed her attire.[40]

The 'tittering' of her companions makes it clear that they find her outfit ridiculous. Although she wears fashionable muslin, Miss Maitland's accessories of coral jewellery, a scarlet Spanish hat, a scarlet mantle, ermine, and scarlet boots, are ostentatious. Her mantle is like the brocade mantle worn by Judith Cresswell in *Tynemouth,* but Miss Maitland's is brighter and trimmed with ermine. When contrasted with Judith, Miss Maitland demonstrates a pre-existing extravagance that

[37] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 261.
[38] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 192.
[39] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 193.
[40] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* III, p. 193.

will continue into her married life, while Judith's gown is presented as a momentary indulgence for her wedding day. The ermine trim and the scarlet colour of her mantle resembles the coronation robes worn by royal figures such as George III, Napoleon, and his empress Josephine, and are clearly too 'dazzling' for a simple wedding. At the end of the novel Miss Maitland 'has no great reason to repent her matrimonial engagements; she has exchanged the dull uniformity of a country life, for all the pleasures of London'.[41] Fenton has no 'great tenderness for her', but 'he never attempts to restrain her, for he is prodigal to a fault in all pecuniary matters.'[42] Miss Maitland has therefore found her own form of happiness in marriage, and her dazzling finery at her wedding ceremony reflects the lifestyle she continues in her 'matrimonial engagements'. Interestingly, Miss Maitland 'never uttered the word *obey*' during her wedding ceremony, demonstrating another form of female agency.[43] Although she is ridiculed, therefore, Miss Maitland creates a pleasurable life for herself. Miss Maitland's wedding is far more frivolous than the solemn occasion of Julia's weddings, and this is also reflected in the contrasting natures of the two women. One can imagine the eventual consequences, especially when considering Lady Meldon in *Warkfield*, who favours a similar lifestyle, but Harvey omits them from *Auberry Stanhope.*

[41] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 271.
[42] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 271.
[43] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope*, III, p. 194.

***Any Thing But What You Expect* (1819)**

Figure 15: The Diamond Eaters, Horrid Monsters! (1788).

Any Thing But What You Expect (1819) is, like *Singularity,* a more domestic tale than Harvey's earlier Gothic novels. Harvey opens the novel with an epigraph from an Old English ballad, *Nut Browne Mayde*. 'The Nut Brown Maid' is a story of feminine constancy, where a baron's daughter falls in love with a squire. The squire is a noble lord in disguise and assures her that he will marry her. This constancy is reflected in the fidelity of *Any Thing's* heroine, Cordelia Walpole, to her husband, even when he abandons her. At the beginning of *Any Thing,* Cordelia travels to her father's house, Holleyfield, 'summoned to attend that parent whom she had not seen half a dozen times in her whole life, under the certainty that he was dying', where she will also meet her stepmother 'hitherto scarcely known, yet so much so as to have made an unfavourable impression'.[44] Cordelia is a typical romantic heroine, similar to Dorcella and Rosetta: 'a lovely girl of seventeen, her form was light and graceful; her hair a fine auburn; the rose of health bloomed on her lovely cheek; and every emotion of her soul spoke in her sweet blue eyes.'[45] When Cordelia and her escort pause at an inn, they meet Lord Lochcarron, who lives close to Holleyfield at Ravenpark, and offers to escort the women on their journey. 'Miss Walpole felt the pensive influence of the hour, and spoke little, listening however with interest to the remarks which her companions made'.[46] As 'the shades of the evening deepened', a man on horseback approaches their carriage, and levels a pistol at Lord Lochcarron's head. Lochcarron draws a pistol, but his groom shoots the robber first. Cordelia feels:

> a sensation of alarm and of horror beyond the power of description to paint; for, new to life and its varied circumstances, educated in retirement, and inured only to scenes and sounds of tranquillity and peace, her every faculty,

[44] Harvey, *Any Thing But What You Expect* (Derby: Henry Mozley, 1819), *Chawton House Library* <https://www.chawtonhouse.org> [accessed 01 September 2018], p. 3.
[45] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 1.
[46] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 2.

attribute, and operation of nerve and of soul were vivid, elastic, and unblunted in the most extreme degree.[47]

Cordelia's education in retirement and previously sheltered existence is similar to that of heroines such as Arabella in Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752), and the eponymous heroine of Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778). Lord Lochcarron is thus positioned from the beginning of the novel as '"the gallant knight who protected a fair damsel on her road from St. Albans"'.[48] Cordelia's father, Sir Charles Walpole, 'weakened by illness, and, it may be, having his feelings blunted by the soporific and narcotic remedies he had taken of late', dies a week after Cordelia arrives at Holleyfield.

Of the many weddings in Harvey's novels, *Any Thing's* is probably the most significant to its novel's narrative. After Lord Walpole's death, Cordelia's stepmother, Lady Walpole, schemes to arrange a double wedding for herself and Cordelia, to the Earl of Dunotter and his son Lord Lochcarron respectively. Unlike the wedding in *Tynemouth*, which takes place at the end of the novel, this double wedding happens in the middle of *Any Thing*, and much of the following narrative is concerned with its aftermath. Although all of Harvey's novels contain weddings, this is certainly the one which is the most central to its novel's plot: the others take place amongst other events, such as Becket's travels in Europe and engagement in the English Civil War before he marries Dorcella in *Warkfield*. As mentioned in the previous section, the wedding in *Tynemouth* occurs at the end of the novel, in December, giving the nuptials a sense of finality. By contrast, the wedding in *Any Thing* takes place in the middle of the novel, at the end of September, a season of change. The arrangements of the wedding are

[47] Harvey, *Any Thing*, pp. 2-3.
[48] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 62.

complex, and the result of Lady Walpole's concentrated scheming. Cordelia privately condemns 'the malignant, revengeful cruelty – for it seemed to deserve no better epithet' with which Lady Walpole treats 'Sir Charles Walpole on one of the last days of his life'.[49] However, her father's death leads to 'Cordelia's forced dependence on Lady Walpole'.[50] When Lady Walpole and Cordelia meet Lord Dunotter after Lord Walpole's death, Lady Walpole assures Cordelia that: '"nothing could have been more gothic, vulgar, illiberal, and foolish, than the appearance of remembering an old rusty family quarrel" between the Walpoles and Dunotters.'[51] Lady Walpole's 'every wish, hope, aim, and purpose centred in self; and for her own aggrandisement, interest, and advantage, her every faculty was perpetually at work'.[52] This is reflected in Lady Walpole's clothing, as Cordelia notices that 'she had even thus early made an alteration in her mourning; her style of dress was becoming, and though now far from young, she still looked lovely'.[53] Lady Walpole orchestrates a trip for Cordelia and their guests, and claims she cannot join them as she has a sprained ankle, but this 'was only a scheme to get them all out of the way for a time' while Lord Dunotter visited.[54] Lady Walpole tells Cordelia that Lord Lochcarron is attached to Miss Borham, the niece of his father's steward, and Lord Dunotter visited to propose a marriage between Cordelia and Lochcarron. Cordelia experiences a 'conflict between such opposite passions' at this proposal: 'to be the wife of Lord Lochcarron appeared a blessing of such magnitude', but Cordelia 'could contemplate herself in no other light than of a

[49] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 37; p.37.
[50] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 37.
[51] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 39.
[52] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 8.
[53] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 39.
[54] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 49.

sword destined to sever [sic] this engagement' between Lochcarron and Miss Borham.[55]

The double wedding meets some resistance from both younger participants. Lochcarron is initially resistant to marrying Cordelia, telling his father: '"my lord, you know my heart is already attached."'[56] However, his father reveals that his steward, uncle of Lochcarron's lover, has '"cheated me of upwards of six thousand pounds." When Lord Lochcarron heard these words, he was so overwhelmed with shame and confusion, that he was ready to sink to the ground'.[57] Dunotter also exploits 'the filial expectations of Lochcarron, by hinting, that should he slight Miss Walpole, her mother-in-law would very probably retract the sort of tacit consent she had already given to become Lady Dunotter'.[58] Lord Dunotter and Lady Walpole push for an immediate wedding, and Cordelia 'though she continued to protest with real sincerity of intention that she would not be married yet, was wearied and teased by their importunities into fixing on her own dress also.'[59] Cordelia realises that an objection to marrying immediately 'would be to indirectly censure the conduct of Lady Walpole, who was acting with still more indefensible precipitancy, having so lately lost her husband.'[60] Cordelia is thus left with little choice, and 'every remaining arrangement requisite for the solemnization of the two marriages the following day was settled.'[61] The Dunotters and Cordelia are all caught up in the machinations of Lady Walpole, although the marriage is mutually advantageous for Lord Dunotter, as he wishes to gain Lady Walpole's wealth.

[55] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 52.
[56] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 61.
[57] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 61.
[58] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 62.
[59] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 63.
[60] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 72.
[61] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 72.

Harvey describes the jewellery and dresses worn for this double wedding in detail:

> Lady Walpole improved so well, that she came forth a superb and gay, though not juvenile bride; her dress was composed of white satin, silver net, and rich fringe of the same material; while the ornaments disposed about her person, which were as numerous as fashion would sanction, were all of diamonds; no assistance that art has contrived to aid nature was omitted; and the satisfaction of her heart spread such a radiance over her countenance, that she might literally be said to beam smiles, and breathe rapture. Cordelia wore a most elegant dress of her own work; her beautiful hair needed no adornment, and a pearl necklace was all of her costume that could be termed ornamental; yet altogether her face and form looked interestingly lovely.

If we first consider the dress of Lady Walpole, the comparisons to the bridal gowns in *Tynemouth* are immediately apparent. Like Rosetta, Vincentina, and Elfrida, Lady Walpole chooses satin for her bridal gown. Lucy Ashton, the central character in Walter Scott's novel of the same year, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), is 'splendidly arrayed [in] white satin and Brussels lace' for her wedding, similar to Lady Walpole's dress.[62] Scott's novel, however, is set in eighteenth-century Scotland. The gown manifests Lady Walpole's desires, as she 'would have preferred all the splendour and public display possible, had the choice rested with her, but at all events the choice of her dress did, and that she resolved should indeed be dazzling'.[63] By contrast, Lord Dunotter 'hinted his wish that the double marriage might be celebrated as privately and with as little parade as possible'.[64] However, Harvey does not dismiss Lady Walpole's fashion choices outright. Although Lady Walpole has vulgar tastes,

[62] Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), ed. Fiona Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 318.
[63] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 69.
[64] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 68.

like Mrs Elton does, Lady Walpole is 'superb' in her own way, not a ridiculous figure like Mrs Elton. Harvey demonstrates that new fashions co-exist with the older, rather than replacing them, and this is also true of the attitudes they reflect. Lady Walpole wears a traditional gown and enters an appropriate marriage for a lady of nobility: she counsels Cordelia against romance, assuring her 'no well-educated young person now cherishes such vulgar gothic notions – they are only solicitous to marry about their rank and expectations'.[65]

In contrast to her stepmother, Cordelia favours the simple, 'elegant' dress fashionable in the Romantic period for her wedding gown, one of her own work: probably embroidery, indicating that she can create decoration rather than merely being a decorative object herself, as well as possessing suitably feminine skills.[66] The difference in bridal dress reflects the two women's attitudes toward marriage: Lady Walpole wants an old-fashioned marriage, where she will benefit from the wealth and status of her husband, while Cordelia wishes for a love match. Cordelia's dress indicates her sensibility and commitment to the permanence of marriage, while Lady Walpole is concerned with material gain. Cordelia, who leaves her dress to the imagination as recommended by Lady Delacour in the quotation from *Belinda* above, is a virginal bride, while Lady Walpole is entering her second marriage. Cordelia's husband leaves during their wedding breakfast, so the marriage remains unconsummated, and Cordelia retains her innocence until her husband becomes more familiar with her character. Cordelia's idealistic notions are thwarted when Lord Lochlarron abruptly 'rushes' from their wedding. Her husband believes she is 'a woman of imbecile understanding, unformed principles and trifling frivolous habits',

[65] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 52.
[66] Fashion is described in more detail in the following section.

and she becomes so forgettable to him that he does not recognise her when they are reunited.[67] Cordelia is misguided by her stepmother's advice, and 'the vanity of eighteen […] was not very likely to reject the glittering and fascinating baits held out to its contemplation of an impending coronet' and 'all that is splendid and expensive in jewels and dress'.[68] Following her husband's departure, Cordelia becomes so ill she needs opium to sleep, her hair falls out, and she 'suffers from frequent alienations of the mind and delirious ramblings': marriage, and abandonment, transform her into the 'imbecile' her husband believes her to be.[69] However, 'she has an excellent constitution, and as her frame becomes invigorated so does her mind'.[70] The recovered Cordelia conducts devotional exercises and reflects that she has 'done evil so that good may come': an extract from Romans 3:8.[71] Cordelia is the victim of bad guardianship: she is an orphan being advised by her 'showy' stepmother, 'an everlasting schemer'. Cordelia represents the vulnerability of young women, and how easily a naïve young noble woman can be used to the advantage of her guardians.

Both women transform their attire following the double wedding. Cordelia's clothing changes to reflect the evolution of her character, which highlights the contrast between dress in Harvey's novels and the constancy of the miniature portrait. This partially reflects the changing nature of sartorial fashion, making clothing an unreliable indicator of character, but also reminds the reader that people, especially young girls, can change. Dress is associated with the parts of the character that can alter over time, but the miniature represents more enduring qualities such as love and virtue. After Lochcarron abandons her, Cordelia is 'splendidly miserable […] arrayed

[67] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 69.
[68] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 53; p. 65.
[69] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p.88.
[70] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 92.
[71] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 94.

in her nuptial dress, surrounded by all the pomp and magnificence that taste could invent, luxury suggest, or wealth command'.[72] Such luxuries cannot bring happiness to her. Lady Dunotter, formerly Lady Walpole, orders 'patterns of new clothes, which were all to be submitted to Cordelia's inspection', but Cordelia 'refused making any purchases beyond what were consistent with the undress costume she had never departed from since her disastrous marriage'.[73] Cordelia has set aside the luxurious attire of her 'nuptial dress' in favour of her 'undress costume'. Hilary Davidson describes undress as 'the informal ensemble into which one changed from night attire for breakfast […] working at home or paying morning visits.'[74] Undress was looser than formal dress, and 'white was the overwhelmingly popular colour for morning undress among the gentry'.[75] Cordelia's undress therefore perhaps resembles her nuptial dress in colour, and her autumnal transformation reminds the reader that this was a September wedding. Cordelia is initially reduced, just as nature retreats in autumn in readiness for winter, but the reader knows that spring will bring revival.

Cordelia's sartorial transformation continues, when Lord Dunotter encourages his daughter-in-law to disguise herself, escape the control of Lady Dunotter, and leave the house to find Lord Lochcarron. Cordelia tries on 'different articles of dress', and her disguise is so effective that:

> Lord Dunotter himself was surprised at the apparent change: she put on a dark habit, and not having worn a riding-dress since the alteration in her person which the fever effected, the contrast was more striking; her own hair was not yet sufficiently grown to dispense with a wig, and she purposely chose one considerably darker than her own beautiful tresses; a very large straw bonnet

[72] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 78.
[73] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 120.
[74] Davidson, p. 78.
[75] Davidson, p. 79.

> nearly concealed her face from observation, and a veil of green crape was so disposed, as to shade it entirely when occasion required.[76]

Cordelia's emotional and spiritual changes are reflected in the physical changes to her body and hair. The riding-habit emphasises the change in her appearance and is the opposite to undress. A riding-habit is designed to be worn outside, whereas undress was only to be worn in the home; the riding-habit is fitted and dark, while undress is loose and presumably white. Davidson identifies the riding-habit as a garment 'in which masculine tailoring intersected with feminine fashions'.[77] Cordelia has abandoned the feminine helplessness which characterises her earlier in the novel and is about to set upon the more masculine pursuit of riding into the outside world and seeking, or hunting, her wayward husband. The darkness of the habit reflects Cordelia's maturity: as we shall see below, white dresses were associated with young women, but older women favoured darker colours. The green crape, and growth of her hair, suggest a movement into spring, away from the transitional autumn and winter that Cordelia has already endured. Although she has not lost her sexual innocence, Cordelia has cast off the naivety which frustrated Lord Lochcarron. Her disguise reflects the ability of feminine artistry, to conceal a woman's identity with clothing and accessories, but it also reflects truths about her development, and Cordelia manipulates clothing in this way with the noble intention of finding her husband and repairing their marriage. When she is reunited with her husband, Cordelia is 'in the simple costume which her travelling circumstances permitted, with no more of decoration than suited the domestic fireplace, was, "When unadorn'd, adorn'd the most."'[78] This quotation, from St. Jerome, summarises neatly what Cordelia has

[76] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 132.
[77] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 156.
[78] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 171.

learned as she progressed through the narrative: from being seduced by the idea of a coronet, to recognising that decoration is unnecessary. When Cordelia and her husband inherit the Dunotter title, she is 'admired as the model of elegance, and looked up to as the standard of fashion', but Cordelia is 'most solicitously scrupulous not to set any example in dress or manners which may possibly injure public morals, or militate against true taste'.[79] Cordelia recognises that her role as Lady Dunotter is to set an example to others, and uphold public morality. Harvey creates several clear visual descriptions of Cordelia that could be considered side-by-side by the reader: first of her wedding dress, then her undress while she reforms her character, and finally her simple, unadorned clothing as a wife restored to her husband.

By contrast, Lady Dunotter is forced to change her dress, rather than choosing to transform as Cordelia does. Lord Dunotter falls from his horse and his arm must be amputated. Lady Dunotter:

> had hoped to shine in the circle, and glitter in the hemisphere of fashion, and when she contrasted the splendid equipages and gay dresses she had planned in idea, with Lord Dunotter's sick event and mutilated form, she became peevish, fretful, and disposed to quarrel with fate.[80]

Rather than becoming a sympathetic nurse, as might be expected of a wife, Lady Dunotter considers the effects on her own lifestyle. Lady Dunotter leaves 'nursing and soothing her father-in-law' to Cordelia, and finds herself 'sole paramount-directress over the stewards and servants […] and thus did that love of power and of money, which had always been ascribed to Lady Dunotter, receive complete gratification.'[81] Lady Dunotter is aware that her position is temporary, and 'as a usurper dreads the

[79] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 209.
[80] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 98.
[81] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 98.

restoration of a lawful sovereign, so did her ladyship dread the thought of Lord Lochcarron's arrival; aware that she must resign into his hands great part of her present power'[82] Upon her husband's death, Lady Dunotter returns to Holleyfield, and 'with the first change of sables, she emerged from all the gloom of widowhood, and entered into fresh schemes of aggrandizement'.[83] Again, Lady Dunotter rapidly discards her mourning clothes, but 'the unfortunate accident which ultimately caused her lord's death happened before her presentation at court' and as a consequence she is unlikely to make a lucrative marriage, although she 'thinks it very likely that she may, in due time, be constituted successor to the deceased marchioness' of Belford, 'it happens very unfortunately that no one else, not even the noble marquis himself, can see the smallest probability of any such event taking place.'[84] Lady Dunotter is not reformed in the same way that Lady Meldon is in *Warkfield,* and does not suffer for her actions like Madame de Montmiril in *Tynemouth,* but her scope has been severely limited and it is unlikely that she will gain any further influence over others, as she had over Cordelia. Her lack of change is reflected in her continued attraction to fashionable dress. Although she is dissatisfied with her circumstances, they are likely to be comfortable, and she has retained the Walpole residence of Holleyfield. Her reduced but not dire circumstances are perhaps a hint from Harvey that her actions do not deserve the harshest punishment. Lady Walpole is, after all, both a manipulator and a victim of the patriarchal class system, rather than an unforgivably evil woman.

[82] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 98.
[83] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 207.
[84] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 207.

The following section returns us briefly to the depiction of jewellery in Harvey's novels. Unlike the jewellery described in the previous section, this jewellery is described as part of clothing as it forms part of the bridal attire of Cordelia and Lady Walpole. This jewellery is worn as intended, a contrast to the futile display of Lady Starbuck's diamonds in *Singularity*. Cordelia, a young girl born into aristocracy, favours simple jewellery for her wedding.[85] Pearls are associated with innocence, a contrast to the diamonds discussed in the previous chapter: physically, pearls are soft compared to the hardness of diamonds, and they are white, the colour of purity. However, pearls are unavoidably products of colonialism and slavery: the 1788 cartoon in Figure 15 depicts Warren Hastings pouring a bag of 'Indian plunder', diamonds and pearls, into the mouth of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, George III and Queen Charlotte. The image of the 'diamond eaters' is reminiscent of 'opium eaters', with the diamonds and pearls in the image resembling droplets of laudanum. Goods plundered from the colonies were consumed greedily: literally, in the case of opium. Like opium, gemstones are depicted as drugs, consumed voraciously by wealthy purchasers, who implicitly supported colonialism with their spending. As stated above, Cordelia becomes dependent on opium to sleep following her husband's departure. Jewels were often brought from abroad: in Austen's *Mansfield Park,* William Price brings his sister 'a very pretty amber cross from Sicily': he 'had wanted to buy a gold chain too, but the purchase had been beyond his means, and therefore not to wear the cross might be mortifying him'.[86] Jane Austen's brother Charles bought gold chains and amber topaz crosses for Jane and their sister Cassandra with money he won for capturing a French privateer.[87] Cordelia's pearls are implicitly a

[85] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 76.
[86] Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (1816), ed. Kathryn Sutherland (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 235.
[87] Paula Byrne, *The Real Jane Austen: A Life in Small Things* (London: William Collins, 2014), p. 237.

part of this complex discourse, which emphasises the inherent contradictions of empire, juxtaposing glorious conquest, and the unknown and exotic nature of the colonies, with the British repression of the natives of conquered lands.

Figure 16: Edouard Cibot's Anne Boleyn in the Tower (painted in 1835).

Cordelia is a victim of consumerism and repression, and the importance of her role as a wife is emphasised by the fact that Harvey chooses to describe her wedding dress, rather than an everyday gown such as those of the other women in the novel explored below. As a wife, Cordelia grows from subservience to a more influential role. Throughout *Any Thing*, Cordelia is reminded that 'women are never free agents;

obedience is one of the first duties enjoined them y both divine and human laws'.[88] Pointon points out that the word 'necklace' combines a bodily part and an item of decorative clothing, evoking the 'material relationship between necklace and body – stone touching flesh'.[89] This etymology has not previously been applied in literary studies, but it resonates when considering the vulnerability of women such as Cordelia in *Any Thing,* and even older women such as Lady Corbridge and Lady Starbuck. The necklace itself is thus an emblem of repression, suitable wedding attire for Cordelia, who enters into a marriage arranged by her stepmother to the reluctant Lord Lochcarron. This becomes even more apparent when one considers the long history of association between necklaces and slavery, and black slaves were often depicted wearing diamond or pearl 'collars' in eighteenth-century artwork.[90] These connotations transferred to white women who wore similar necklaces: the style involved in the Diamond Necklace Affair, discussed in the previous chapter (Figure 11), was referred to as *collier d'esclavage,* a necklace of slavery.[91]

Cordelia's 'simple pearl necklace' evokes similar depictions of women 'bound' by jewellery: in Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho,* for example, the protagonist Emily's 'beautiful chesnut tresses are negligently bound up in pearls' in a visual representation of her imprisonment in the castle of Udolpho.[92] The young brides in Harvey's *Tynemouth* also wear their hair 'confined in rows of pearls' for their wedding day. Upper-class women were often associated with pearls: Joshua Reynolds's 1759 portrait of Kitty Fisher embodied one popular eighteenth-century story, 'the banquet at which Cleopatra swallowed a pearl'. Cleopatra was said to have

[88] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 128.
[89] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 166.
[90] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* pp. 167-8.
[91] Beckman, p. 101.
[92] Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), ed. Jacqueline Howard (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), p. 293.

dissolved a pearl in vinegar, and drunk it, as a demonstration of wealth and to win a bet with her lover Marc Antony.[93] One of history's most infamous pearl necklaces is Anne Boleyn's pearl necklace with its 'B' shaped pendant. In Sir Thomas Wyatt's (1503-42) poem 'Whoso List to Hunt:

Graven with diamonds in letters plain
There is written, her fair neck about:
Noli me tangere, for Caesar's I am,
And wild to hold, though I seem tame.[94]

Anne's necklace, like Marie Antoinette's, denotes the fact that she 'belongs' to somebody. Both necklaces bind their female wearers into a form of slavery, a physical representation of the gilded cage of royal marriage. Queens, like noblewomen, use luxury to denote their power, but it is also their downfall: Marie Antoinette was a symbol of French royal extravagance, and Anne Boleyn, like the Corbridges and Starbucks in *Singularity,* could not produce a male heir. The execution of Louis VXI and Marie Antoinette was intended to end royal primogeniture, physically cutting the line of the French succession. Anne Boleyn, elevated from a knight's daughter to be Queen of England, reflects both the dangers of social mobility that affect Lady Starbuck and Madame de Montmiril, and the incompatibility between luxury and the begetting of male heirs that Adam Smith identifies, discussed in the previous chapter. This, coupled with the colonial associations of pearls, adds a subtle symbolic weight to the necklace worn by Cordelia for her wedding.

Attitudes towards Anne Boleyn have changed throughout history, but in the early-nineteenth century she was generally a figure of sympathy and wronged innocence

[93] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects.*
[94] Thomas Wyatt, 'XI' in *The Complete Poems* ed. R. A. Rebholz (London: Penguin, 1992), pp. 77 (p. 77).

(Figure 16). In her juvenile 'History of England', Jane Austen describes 'Anna Bullen' as an 'amiable Woman' who was 'entirely innocent of the Crimes with which she was accused, of which her Beauty, her Elegance, and her Sprightliness were sufficient proofs'.[95] Jane Harvey, like Austen, was fascinated by the Tudors and Stuarts, making frequent references to the royal dynasties in her novels. Harvey frequently quotations Oliver Goldsmith in her novels, and it is likely that she read his *History of England*, in which he expressed similar views to Austen's on Anne Boleyn.

Gaetano Donizetti's opera *Anna Bolena* (1830) was a popular portrayal of this sympathetic attitude: interestingly, this opera uses a miniature portrait as a narrative device in a similar way to Harvey's plots discussed in the previous chapter. Mark Smeaton attempts to return a miniature of Anne he has stolen, but King Henry VIII seizes on it as proof of his love for Anne. Goldsmith, Austen, and Donizetti positioned Anne Boleyn as a maligned woman, who was falsely accused of adultery and incest: the same sexual crimes as Marie Antoinette. Anne Boleyn was the first queen of England to be executed: as a woman accused of sexual misconduct, Anne is a figurehead for the dangers of sexuality, even for innocent women. The link between the neck and jewellery becomes macabrely literal for Anne Boleyn and Marie Antoinette=: the necklace delineates the vulnerable place each woman will have her life severed from her body. The gruesome nature of their deaths strikes a similar tone to the demise of Lady Corbridge in her burning dress in *Singularity*. The grotesque nature of Marie Antoinette's death was recognised and even glamorised by contemporaries: in 1794, there was a brief fashion in France for guillotine earrings, with the severed heads of the monarchs depicted below (Figure 17). Mourning

[95] Jane Austen, *Sanditon, Lady Susan & The History of England: The Juvenilia and Shorter Works of Jane Austen* (1810s), ed. Kathryn White (London: Macmillan Collector's Library, 2016), p. 116.

jewellery was similarly macabre, and often featured skulls or skeletons. No position, even as lofty as Queen of England or France, provides safety. Within this context, the reader can almost sympathise with Lady Walpole for dispassionately selecting husbands for herself and Cordelia: even the most prestigious marriage presented risk to women, whether in childbirth, or in rare cases, execution, or murder.

Lady Walpole wears ornaments 'as numerous as fashion would sanction […] all of diamonds', creating a contrast with her stepdaughter and indicating her existing aristocratic status as Lord Walpole's widow, and the status she is about to achieve as the bride of Lord Dunotter.[96] Lady Walpole does not restrict her jewels to her neck as her stepdaughter does, suggesting that she will be less bound by her marriage, one of convenience for both her and Lord Dunotter. The contrast between Lady Walpole and Cordelia mirrors that of diamonds and pearls: the artificial and the natural. Pointon highlights the fact 'diamonds require the intervention of the human hand to reveal their beauty, but pearls have been regarded through most of history as an amazing product of nature suggestive of immaculate perfection'.[97] Both gemstones are valuable, but the diamond requires human intervention, just as Lady Walpole must 'contrive' her beauty with diamonds, while Cordelia uses pearls to enhance her 'immaculate perfection'. Jewellery was sentimentalised, as described above with the intimacy associated with miniatures, which elevated gemstones above their undesirable origins, facilitating an implicit acceptance of the colonial corruption of jewels. Both women wear 'colonial plunder', marking both as exploiters and victims of colonialism: they benefit through the ownership of jewels, but suffer from the negative connotations. Lady Walpole is tarnished with the sexual impurities of

[96] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 76.
[97] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 113.

diamonds, and Cordelia is so innocent that her husband believes her to be 'simple'. Pointon cites Horace Walpole's lament to Lady Mary Coke: '"no woman of quality will deign to wear any more diamonds" […] He was, of course, proved wrong'.[98] This statement by their namesake seems particularly relevant to Harvey's Walpole family.

As well as demonstrating the splendour she desires to display, the diamonds worn by Lady Walpole reflect the fact that she has no children: like Lady Corbridge, she is surrounded by luxury but fails to provide heirs. The expensive consumerism demonstrated throughout both novels cannot purchase the one thing these women desire above anything else: an heir to continue the family name. Aristocratic marriages were arranged to produce heirs, but there was no guarantee: Henry VIII was notorious for discarding wives in his quest for a son. The jewels are a symbol of impermanence: women can be cast aside as easily as changing a necklace, but they can be bound easily as well. Lady Starbuck attempts to employ diamonds to her advantage by exhibiting them but is as vulnerable as the other woman in the novels discussed above. Lady Walpole is similar to Clerimont's wife, discussed in the previous chapter, who fell prey to revolutionary fervour in France. In *Singularity,* Clerimont realises his wife's immorality when she is unmoved by the death of their child in infancy: Lady Walpole similarly does not grieve for her sons. Early in the novel, it is revealed that Lady Walpole had two sons who died in early childhood, to the grief of Sir Charles, who 'had ever been ardently desirous of male offspring', and her ladyship mourned, not 'from the ride of maternal anguish', but because 'her sons would have been the undisputed heirs to the greatest part of their father's wealth', and their deaths mean 'the prospect of much future greatness […] passed away from

[98] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 40.

her for ever'.[99] Sir Charles expresses the typical nobleman's desire, for 'male offspring', and Lady Walpole fails in this task. Her second husband, Lord Dunotter, already has a son, which frees her from this marital obligation.

As this section has demonstrated, Cordelia and Lady Walpole depict two different types of noblewomen, each marrying for separate reasons, which is reflected in their bridal attire. The associations established in Harvey's other novels remain the same here, however, and are particularly concentrated in *Any Thing,* as its narrative focuses on this double wedding and its ramifications. It is interesting that although jewellery and clothing are both worn items, it is relatively rare that they are brought together in Harvey's novels in the way that they are in *Any Thing.* The double wedding is loaded with references to material culture and luxury goods, with women at the centre. Unlike the brides in *Tynemouth,* Cordelia and Lady Walpole are dressed very differently, and go on to shape two distinct marriages. The reader does not learn the fate of the brides in *Tynemouth and* can only imagine that their identical bridal attire was continued into three indistinguishable marriages. Although as brides, the women of *Any Thing,* like those of *Tynemouth,* are like the commodities that surround them, by showing us Cordelia and Lady Walpole as wives, Harvey reminds us of differences in femininity.

[99] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 9; p. 9; p. 9.

Figure 17: Golden Guillotine Earrings depicting the Severed Heads of Marie Antoinette and King Louis XVI, based on a 1794 original.

Part Two: Fabric

Figure 18: 'Morning Dress for May 1800' published in The Lady's Monthly Museum

Any Thing But What You Expect (1819)

In the first section of this chapter, we explored wedding dresses, and the fabrics mentioned explicitly were satin and brocade. This section moves on to consider fabrics used for everyday dress, firstly in *Any Thing But What You Expect*, then in Jemima Layton's *Hulne Abbey* (1820) and Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy* (1822). Specific details of fabric are often omitted from the early nineteenth century novel because of the general assumption that any contemporary reader would be familiar with popular textiles such as muslin and silk. In Burney's *Cecilia* (1782), for example, the eponymous heroine's identity is confirmed by 'the account of her dress' given in a newspaper advertisement, but the only description the reader is given is that 'her dress was in much disorder'.[100]

Similarly, in Burney's *Evelina* (1778), when Evelina writes 'her chief objection was to our dress, for we have had no time to *Londonize* ourselves', no detail is given on how their dress was wrong, and how it could be 'Londonized'.[101] Evelina's grandmother, Madame Duval, is at one point 'very busy in wiping her negligee, and endeavouring to save it from being stained by the wet, as she said it was a new Lyon silk': this detail points to Madame Duval's vanity and interest in clothing.[102] Overall, Burney assumes that her readers will know what a 'Londonized' dress looked like, or a 'disordered' dress, without giving detail of the fabric. Burney states 'the pit at the opera required the same dress as the boxes' and assumes readers would be familiar with opera dress as she gives no further detail.[103] Exceptions can be found in Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817), which features Henry Tilney's conversation with Catherine

[100] Frances Burney, *Cecilia* (1782), eds. Peter Sabor and Margaret Anne Doody, *Oxford World's Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 913; p. 902.
[101] Frances Burney, *Evelina* (1778), ed. Vivien Jones, *Oxford World's Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 27.
[102] Burney, *Evelina*, p. 64.
[103] Burney, *Evelina*, p. 86.

Morland about her sprigged muslin dress, and Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818), which is examined below.

For the most part, fashionable gowns were muslin dresses, such as those in Figures 12 and 18. Muslin was an affordable cotton textile, made readily available when the Calico Acts were lifted in 1774, and Chloe Wigston Smith argues that muslin 'replaced the heavy damask silks and brocaded, embroidered textiles of the early eighteenth century'.[104] Muslin 'transformed life': the material was 'relatively cheap and easy to work with', allowing women to own more dresses and wear lighter colours.[105] Its soft, transparent properties made it the most popular fabric for the fashionable neo-classical styles.[106] Its popularity is demonstrated by the fact that authors felt a description of a fashionable gown was redundant. Muslin was not always white: in *Northanger Abbey,* for example, Catherine lies awake 'debating between her spotted and her tamboured [embroidered] muslin'.[107] The fashion plate in Figure 18 demonstrates the popularity of colours and spotted muslin, depicting a 'pink muslin gown' and 'blue cambric, spotted muslin; white muslin cloak trimmed with lace'.[108] As we shall see in this section, however, silk was not completely retired. The fashion plate in Figure 12 demonstrates, depicting 'a robe of amaranthus figured sarsnet', with 'amaranthus' referring to the red of the fabric and 'sarsnet' to a silk fabric.[109] Aileen Ribeiro argues that the extreme neoclassical simplicity popular during the French Revolution began

[104] Smith, p. 182.
[105] Hughes, p. 36.
[106] National Portrait Gallery, 'Fashion Plates: Fabrics – Muslin', *National Portrait Gallery* <https://www.npg.org.uk> [accessed 01 August 2019].
[107] Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (1817), ed. Marilyn Butler (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), p. 52.
[108] The Ladies Monthly Museum, 'Morning Dress for May 1800', *National Portrait Gallery,* <https://www.npg.org.uk> [accessed 01 August 2019].
[109] La Belle Assemblée, 'Evening Dresses for April 1810', *National Portrait Gallery* <https://www.npg.org.uk> [accessed 01 August 2019].

to disappear in the first decade of the nineteenth century, even in France, with a gradual trend for fuller, more decorated costume.[110]

Satin and velvet returned to favour in the second decade of the nineteenth century, sometimes mixed with muslin.[111] Napoleon dictated the wearing of silk at his French court in an attempt to combat England's dominance of the cotton industry, so fashionable women wore transparent cottons, gauzes and nets over silk under-dresses: the floating fabrics softened the silhouette and added subtle colour.[112] The editor of the fashion and etiquette compendium, *The Mirror of the Graces* (1811), 'regretted the abandonment of "the easy shape and flowing drapery" in dress', in favour of the less flattering 'tight-fitting costume supported by corsets' that pushed the bosom into a '"sort of fleshy shelf"'.[113] Fashion in the early nineteenth century was thus not completely dominated by muslin, but it was certainly a popular fabric, particularly amongst young girls.

The first example of detailed clothing description in *Any Thing* occurs when Cordelia is walking with Lucy, 'the servant appointed by Lady Walpole to attend her, who did not rank very high in her estimation'.[114] This description of Lucy establishes both Cordelia's opinion of the servant, and Cordelia's dependence on her stepmother, as she is unable to appoint her own servants. Cordelia and Lucy pass Lord Lochcarron and Miss Borham, and Lucy declares:

> "Good gracious, ma'am, what a beautiful spencer, I never saw such a rich, *lustresome,* charming satin in my life;" as the article had quite escaped Cordelia's observation, she could neither assent nor dissent […] Lucy, finding

[110] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 123.
[111] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 124.
[112] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 124.
[113] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 125, quoting *The Mirror of the Graces* (1811).
[114] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 23.

her say unnoticed, resumed, "but that hat is not fit to wear with it; a close cottage is not suitable for evening dress; a pink lining makes the complexion look fine, to be sure, and a handsome face seems any thing, to be sure; not that she is so extraordinary beautiful, to be sure […]"[115]

The reader, like Cordelia, is forced by Lucy to pause and consider the spencer and cottage bonnet worn by Miss Borham, and in doing so, one muses upon not only the clothing, but also upon the body contained within. The attention is drawn to Miss Borham and Lord Lochcarron, walking together, as if it is presented in a portrait or tableau. Clothing here does not guide the reader through the narrative, in the way that the miniature portrait does, but brings events to a halt as one studies a character. Lucy is the person who reveals to Miss Walpole that '"most people think [Lochcarron] will marry"' Miss Borham, but she is quickly distracted when they discover that Lady Hootside and her family have arrived at Holleyfield, and 'the important question of whether peach-blossom or Pomona would be the most becoming colour for the evening dance in the servant's hall, took instant possession of her brains'.[116] Such attention to clothing, coming from Lucy, initially seems frivolous, and to be associated with the lower classes and women who are 'not […] very high in [Cordelia's] estimation'.[117] Such overt interest in clothing is attributed to a lower class character, but women in the upper classes also scrutinise gowns; however they do not express their opinions out loud.

This association between observations on clothing and the lower class is rapidly broken, however, when Cordelia enters the drawing-room at Holleyfield and 'beheld such a group as no combination of ideas derived from her previous intercourse with

[115] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 23.
[116] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 24.
[117] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 23.

society could have assisted her to frame an idea of'.[118] Cordelia is first introduced to the dowager Lady Hootside, who is about fifty, and whose eyes were 'augmented by the rouge on her cheeks, the contrasting shade of her dark curled wig, and the mingled plumes and roses which crowned it'.[119] It is the attire of Lady Melissa Mannark, the countess's eldest daughter, which is most striking, however. Melissa is dressed 'in such a costume that it was difficult to ascertain whether or not it concealed a human form; she had superadded to her Merino travelling habit and furred cap, a mantle calculated for the meridian of a Russian winter'.[120] Her hand is 'immersed in a muff as large as a young bear of Nova Zembla'.[121] At first Cordelia believes Melissa to be ill, but her 'next conclusion was that either insanity or idiotism prompted an appearance so unsuited to the season and the weather'.[122]

By contrast, Melissa's younger sister, Lady Caroline, wears 'a veil of finest lace, which together with her thin white robe and azure scarf […] gave her – the appearance of being beyond mortality'.[123] Caroline is 'so thin, so fragile': the fragility of her body is emphasised, the opposite to Melissa's outfit, which 'conceals' her 'human form'.[124] Cordelia thinks Caroline seems 'amiable, and far from feeling that envy and rivalship which too frequently torture young ladies when first introduced to contemporary beauty, contemplated in idea a delightful companion'.[125] Again, the reader is made to pause here, and gaze at Melissa and Caroline, considering the young women within the unusual costumes, as well as the clothing itself. It is clear that the ladies are more interested in Cordelia than their brother, as 'the earl himself […] at the moment of

[118] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 24.
[119] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 24.
[120] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 25.
[121] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 26.
[122] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 26.
[123] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 26.
[124] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 26.
[125] Harvey *Any Thing,* p. 25

Miss Walpole's entrance […] was kneeling on one knee – not in homage to a lady, but before a large spaniel dog'.[126] Although when Cordelia is presented to him, 'Lord Hootside quitted the paw of his shaggy favourite with a cordial shake, and took the fair hand of Cordelia'.[127] The introduction of the Hootside family, their clothing and their mannerisms, make it clear that they are eccentric. This is even reflected in their title, which contrasts to the more dignified names of Walpole, Dunotter, and Lochcarron. Such observations, however, are part of Cordelia's internal dialogue rather than spoken aloud, and certainly not associated with gossip as they are by Lucy the maid in the previous example. This marks one of the distinctions between the upper and lower classes: upper class women may have similar opinions to those of the lower classes, but they are aware of the impropriety of voicing them aloud. Although Cordelia pauses, just as Lucy does, to look upon the clothing of other women, she does not express her opinions aloud.

In the Mannark sisters, Harvey presents the reader with two caricatures of the types of noble femininity typical to the early nineteenth century. Melissa represents a form of artfully cultivated female eccentricity, shown when she claims to believe that it is February; when her brother tells her that it is June, she views:

> her own habiliments with well-counterfeited surprise; "and you have all been cruel enough to see me distil myself to a tincture with heat, and never told me it was summer"; as she spoke, she threw off her mantle, unbuttoned her habit, and snatching the cap from her head converted it into a fan, and used it with such vehemence, that her luxuriant hair waved about in all directions as she flew away to her dressing room.[128]

[126] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 25.
[127] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 25.
[128] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 27.

Cordelia, unused to mixing with such characters, asks her stepmother '"is that poor young lady deranged?"'[129] Lady Walpole tells Cordelia: '"her ladyship is one of the most elegant, highly-accomplished young women in the whole circle of fashion – her absence of mind, I allow, sometimes leads her into little eccentricities, but they only render her the more charming."'[130] Lady Walpole 'proceeded to explain the principles on which a defect becomes tantamount to a beauty, by saying, "We are all sensible of the value of admiration, and all wish to gain it, but that admiration which is the meed of manifest, decided superiority, not being voluntary homage, is paid unwillingly"'.[131] Lady Walpole goes on to explain that 'studied, acquired, becoming deficiencies' can be admired if '*judiciously* managed': the example she gives is of a 'beautiful woman' pretending to be lame occasionally to draw attention to her 'handsome foot', and people 'pretending to be deaf and blind, who can recover their sight, if a beau appears at twenty yards' distance'.[132] Harvey cleverly satirises the 'affectations' of the 'circle of fashion': to Cordelia, ignorant 'hitherto […] of the artificial modes of life', such behaviour seems like that of an imbecile or insane person.[133] Ironically, because Cordelia is not able to dissemble in the same way as these women, her husband initially believes her to be an imbecile. Cordelia's education by her stepmother is clearly misguided, but demonstrates how calculating such behaviours were.

By the time the other guests have arrived, Lady Melissa has conveniently discarded her unflattering clothing for something more elegant, tasteful and ornamented:

> Lady Melissa was now completely metamorphosed; her thick travelling vestments were exchanged for the most light and elegant drapery; her hair was

[129] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 27.
[130] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 27.
[131] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 27.
[132] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 27.
[133] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 28.

> arranged with care and taste, and her hands and arms, released from their furry incumbrances, displayed every suitable ornament of fashion, very well assorted, excepting that the fair wearer, not to be quite out of character, had placed a valuable ring on the thumb instead of a finger of her left hand.[134]

Lady Melissa's performative eccentricities are shown in front of a very select audience: her family members, Lady Walpole, and Cordelia, but they are divested along with her outer garments when the rest of the guests arrive. Her actions in front of the guests are limited to 'taking sugar when she meant cream, and committing a hundred other well contrived blunders'.[135] As Julie Park points out, 'in its relationship to space, fashion belongs to the public, and the public's need to mediate social relations through objects'.[136] Lady Melissa manipulates the clothing she wears to mediate social relations, wearing different forms of clothing dependent on the social situation. Her sister, Lady Caroline:

> was even more *bizarre* [sic] than at first; her airy sylph-like garments were disposed in the first fantastic forms; her eyes, as if unable to support the glare of vulgar objects, were shaded by preservers; her ears, annoyed, no doubt, by the sounds of a strange habitation, were carefully stuffed with the softest wool; and her sense of smelling was guarded by a case of the most curious India fillagree [sic] workmanship which she carried in her hand.[137]

If Lady Melissa represents feminine eccentricity, Lady Caroline displays exaggerated female fragility, emphasising the delicacy traditionally admired in noblewomen in the early-nineteenth century. When their brother, Lord Hootside, pays attention to

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[134] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 28.
[135] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 28.
[136] Julie Park, *The Self and It: Novel Objects in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 27.
[137] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 27.

Cordelia, 'the two ladies Mannark were seized at the same moment with such fits of sneezing, that their features were convulsed, their dress disordered, and every thing about them thrown into the greatest confusion'.[138] In part their behaviour is because their brother 'perfumed the two bouquets intended for his sisters so plentifully with snuff', but they also efficiently draw attention from Cordelia and onto themselves.[139] Lady Melissa clearly views Cordelia as a rival, and her eccentricities are intended to manipulate Cordelia as well as potential suitors. Lady Melissa, like the Starbucks in *Singularity*, demonstrates that the nobility can be calculated and shallow. This character study is illustrated by Lady Melissa's clothing, and its effectiveness is clear. Few other objects can be used to reflect character in this way: as Lady Melissa is in the Walpole home, the only belongings she has with her are her clothes. As we shall see in Chapter Five, interiors can also be used to demonstrate character to the reader. In the case of women such as Lady Melissa, however, it is clothing that offers the most pertinent clues, and here Harvey uses sartorial description to create a memorable portrait of a young lady, which satirises the eccentricities of certain members of the nobility. As discussed in the Introduction, clothing and the body contained within are inextricably interlinked, and this is demonstrated in the scene concerning the Mannark sisters.

A second incident involving clothing takes place when Cordelia meets her rival for Lochcarron's affections, his mistress, Miss Borham, whose dress was commented on above by the servant Lucy. Miss Borham is widely known as Lord Lochcarron's mistress, and it is eventually revealed that she was first the lover and potential countess of Lochcarron's father, Lord Dunotter. The dress of Miss Borham:

[138] Harvey, *Any Thing,* pp. 28-9.
[139] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 29.

> combined all that taste could invent or fashion authorize in morning costume; but like every thing else about these people, it seemed too studied; all ornamental dress, all that is beyond the mere purposes of decorum and neatness, is intended to display and set off the person of the wearer to the greatest advantages; but excess in this, as in every thing else, destroys every good effect; and by drawing the attention of the beholder from the *adorned* to the *adornment,* leaves her person without that admiration to which it is, perhaps, truly entitled, and exposes her dress to wonder in the first instance, and, very probably, to censure in the second.[140]

Harvey chooses the word 'adorned' to contrast Miss Borham with Cordelia, who as described above, needs no adornment. The 'excess' of her costume reflects the general excess exhibited by Miss Borham, especially in her sexual behaviour, as she conducts affairs with both Lord Dunotter and Lord Lochcarron. The word 'excess' is similar to the description of the 'extreme' fashion associated with the French Revolution and sexual proclivity in *Singularity,* discussed in the previous chapter.

Miss Borham deliberately dresses above her station, and she later acknowledges that her uncle 'enabled me to dress in a style greatly beyond my station in life', and as a consequence she developed a 'taste for high life, its luxuries, parade, and gratifications'.[141] Unlike Lady Walpole, Miss Borham experiences a complete fall: she is 'humbled now to the dust, and beholding when I turn my eyes to the mirror, an awful memento of mortality in this faded form'.[142] Removed from the patronage of her uncle and her lovers, Miss Borham becomes a pathetic creature, 'humbled now to the dust' and on the verge of death. However, Miss Borham has clearly been manipulated by

[140] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 33.
[141] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 116.
[142] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 116.

her uncle into soliciting the attentions of Lord Dunotter and Lord Lochcarron. Cordelia weeps over the letter she is sent by Miss Borham with 'such attention, surprise, pity, and emotion', recognising the plight of this vulnerable young woman.[143] Miss Borham has been in Scotland with Lochcarron's aunt and her worthy chaplain, 'whose pious and inestimable instructions have cleared my understanding from the mists and errors that oppressed it'.[144] Miss Borham has therefore experienced a spiritual reformation, which Lady Walpole has not. Although Miss Borham is reduced to a state close to death, while Lady Walpole resides in Holleyfield, the contemporary reader would presumably believe that spiritual redemption is worth the loss of material comfort and admire the fate of Miss Borham over that of Lady Walpole.

[143] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 119.
[144] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 119.

Figure 19: 'Walking Dress' (January 1825), published in The Ladies' Pocket Magazine

In a third example, detailed clothing description plays a key role, when the Hootside family and Cordelia attend a house sale at Orton Abbey. It is later revealed that Lady Walpole created this excursion as a diversion so that she could arrange Cordelia's marriage to Lochcarron with Lord Dunotter, which adds an additional layer of complexity to the narrative of this episode. Cordelia views a vast collection of objects at Orton Abbey, and an exhibition of upper-class people; but she is also being sent away from the negotiations for her own marriage. By stepping into this outer world of consumerism and nobility on display, Cordelia steps away from her own life, and is excluded from a decision which directly affects her. Harvey thus displaces her heroine, moving her away from a vital moment in the narrative to something less important, mirroring the ease in which women in the early-nineteenth century could be displaced from their own lives.

At Orton Abbey, Cordelia's party meet a friend of Lord Hootside, Mr Harrington, and his uncle, Sir Roger Cottingham. Sir Roger inherited his brother's title and estate, 'previous to which he had been an eminent West-India merchant, possessing great wealth, and married to a woman of a very ample fortune'.[145] When Cordelia first encounters the Cottinghams, however, she is unaware of their identity. Cordelia 'saw in one of the drawing-rooms, two ladies, who appeared to be mother and daughter; "Originals, I'll stake my life," whispered Lord Hootside to Miss Walpole, at the same time glancing his eye on the strangers'.[146] The Cottingham ladies are presented as exhibition pieces, displaying exotic fashion and fabrics, like mannequins or fashion dolls. Lord Hootside even describes them as '"originals"', which in the early nineteenth century was a reference to original sin, associating the Cottingham women

[145] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 49.
[146] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 44.

with Eve. The Cottinghams are deliberately introduced in a picture gallery, emphasising their nature as exhibits rather than women. Again, as discussed in the previous section, clothing invites the reader to pause, and observe a tableau, rather than following the narrative of the novel. Although Cordelia meets the women in a picture gallery, her gaze is arrested by their attire rather than the paintings on display:

> the elder lady was tall, extremely thin, and sallow complexioned, circumstances, which she seemed to be so far from regarding as disadvantageous, that she appeared to have taken all possible pains by her mode of dress to render them more conspicuous; she wore a gown of black sarcenet trimmed with amber colour; the ribbons of her hat were the same, and a long veil of green crape depending from it shaded one side of her face; and either influenced by a false taste, or an ostentatious passion for display, she had added as many ornaments of topaz as her neck, ears, and fingers could be loaded with; her waist, lengthened beyond the fashionable dimensions, was adorned with a clasp of the same; and her whole person was as upright and formal, as one cannot help supposing Pygmalion's ivory bride to have been. Such was the mother; her daughter bore no resemblance to her in person, for so far as the mere outline of form and feature were concerned, she was neither distinguishable for beauty nor for the want of it; her dress was composed of splendid and costly materials, but in other respects it seemed a strange and whimsical medley of the costume of all the nations that do exist, or have existed, in the civilized world; her hair was arranged in the style of some old portraits about the reign of the first Charles; her hat and plumes were decidedly Spanish, under which, as if to make the incongruity more striking, she wore a French cap; to complete her head-piece, she had attached to her

> hat a long veil, like that with which Penelope is sometimes delineated; this shaded one shoulder, and from the other depended a rich and elegant eastern shawl; the bosom of her gown was intended for Roman, but the effect was spoiled by a Turkish girdle; and her boots, made in imitation of the buskins with which Diana is painted, were marred by a tier of French flounces at the bottom of the dress. Cordelia, who thought she had never beheld an object so gorgeously fine, peeped and peeped again through the long lashes of her beautiful eyes.[147]

Cordelia admires the 'gorgeously fine' clothing of the Cottinghams, but Harvey makes it clear that their dress is unusual: Miss Cottingham's dress is 'a strange and whimsical medley', and Lady Cottingham's is 'ostentatious'. The word 'whimsical', defined by Johnson's Dictionary as 'freakish; capricious; oddly fanciful', was in popular use at the time.[148] In a 1765 letter, Horace Walpole describes some 'ancient wooden chairs' he 'coveted' as 'carved or turned in the most uncouth and whimsical forms'.[149] Similarly, Catherine in Austen's *Northanger Abbey* describes a cabinet as 'whimsical'.[150] The word is also commonly applied to humans: in Burney's *Evelina,* Madame Duval calls the habit of English women always wearing hats 'vulgar', and Sir Clement agrees, 'fancy[ing] they were originally worn by some young and whimsical coquet'.[151] In Austen's *Pride and Prejudice,* Elizabeth's uncle describes Darcy as 'a little whimsical in his civilities […] great men often are'.[152] The word is not gendered, therefore, and can even be applied to inanimate objects such as cabinets

[147] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 45.
[148] Johnson.
[149] Horace Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence,* ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1984), 48 vols, I, p. 90.
[150] Austen, *Northanger Abbey,* p. 123.
[151] Burney, *Evelina,* p. 61. Later in the novel, when Evelina is prevented from retiring to dress for dinner, she is 'so much ashamed of appearing whimsical and unsteady, that I could not look up' (Burney, *Evelina,* p. 331).
[152] Austen, *Pride and Prejudice,* p. 191.

and chairs. When applied to people, however, it is slightly negative, and there is a sense that whimsy is a deliberate behaviour, cultivated by 'coquets' in *Evelina* or great men like Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice.* Harvey's description of the Cottinghams as 'whimsical' therefore suggests there is something deliberate and performative in the way they are dressed, a hint of self-awareness in their 'strangeness'. The stillness of this tableau, where Cordelia openly observes the clothing of these women, reflects the similarity to objects, however, such as Walpole's whimsical wooden chairs.

The Cottinghams's dress is in fact a precursor for fashion in the early 1820s, anticipating the direction in which fashion was moving. Ribeiro identifies the 'mixture of the historical with the exotic' as 'particularly English' for this period.[153] Blending exotic fashion with English dress was therefore not unusual, although the Cottinghams present an extreme example. Muslin dresses were worn alongside, and gradually replaced by, tunics, scarves, veils and mantles of lace, tulle, blonde, and net.[154] Pelisses, such as those shown in the fashion plates in Figures 12 and 19, became the fashionable day dress of the 1820s and 'in a sense, this dress with its opulence and luxury fabrics, looks forward to the bourgeois society of the 1820s and 1830s.[155] Although, as discussed above, muslin made clothing more affordable, women still spent great amounts of money on their attire. In 1809, Empress Josephine of France spent 920,816 francs on two hundred round gowns and tunics of embroidered muslin to be worn over satin dresses, in spite of Napoleon's hatred of English cotton: Josephine and her daughter claimed that their dresses were made of 'Saint-Quentin linen'.[156] The ephemerality of Romantic fashion, and the curious 'medley' of styles favoured by women such as the Cottinghams, reflects the political turbulence of the

[153] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 127.
[154] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 127.
[155] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 129.
[156] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 120.

time. For women in particular, fashion allowed for self-expression and the exploration of political ideals through dress and style. It was also a complicated terrain for women to negotiate, as it conflates the private, with the potential for self-expression, and the public, as women's garments were observed by others.

In the detailed description of the Cottinghams's clothing, Harvey demonstrates her awareness of fashion, both local and international, with reference to Turkish, French, and Roman styles, and her education, with comparisons to Penelope, Pygmalion, and Diana. The reader recognises a satirical aspect to the description: the Cottinghams are overloaded with items. Miss Cottingham's clothing contains elements of the neoclassical, which was fashionable in the Romantic period: the Roman bosom, the long veil, and the buskins in which Diana is painted, but these elements are 'marred' by the anachronistic Turkish girdle, Spanish plumes, and French flounces. In this house full of oddities and expensive commodities, the Cottinghams stand out as 'object[s]' that Cordelia cannot stop looking at. These women present another exhibit at the house sale: a caricature of the ostentation favoured earlier in the eighteenth century. Contemporary novels, such as *The Monk* (1796) and *Emma* (1815), often contrast women from the younger and older generations to highlight the ostentatious fashions of the earlier period; however, it is unusual for a young woman and her mother to both favour the older fashions. In the examples discussed above, such as the wedding in Harvey's *Tynemouth,* older and younger women choose contrasting gowns. Similarly, in the opening scene of *The Monk,* Lewis contrasts the 'brawny' Leonella with her beautiful niece Antonia, who has her 'bosom carefully veiled. Her dress was white; it was fashioned with a blue sash and just permitted to peep out from under it a little foot of the most delicate proportions'.[157] Antonia's white dress was

[157] Lewis, *The Monk*, pp. 8-9.

fashionable for a young woman at the time. Although the clothing of Leonella is not detailed, the description is unflattering and her 'brawny' form is juxtaposed to the 'delicate' Antonia, while Lady Cottingham and her daughter both favour similar fashions. *The Mirror of the Graces* (1811) describes 'an increased movement towards greater demarcation in dress among women of different ages; young women looked best in pastel colours, whereas the "lady of majestic deportment" was better advised to choose "the fuller shades of yellow, purple, crimson, scarlet, black and grey"'.[158] Age was thus a factor for women to consider when choosing their clothes.

The older of the two women, Lady Cottingham, wears 'sarcenet', which Johnson's Dictionary describes as: 'fine thin woven silk'.[159] Different colours are used in the warp and weft of sarcenet, giving a subtle colour change as the fabric moves.[160] Johnson cites Shakespeare's *Trolius and Cressida*: 'No! why are thou then exasperate, thou idle/ immaterial skein of sleave-silk, thou green sarcenet/ flap for a sore eye, thou tassel of a prodigal's/ purse, thou?'[161] Shakespeare associates 'sarcenet' with 'idleness' and 'immateriality', and his use of 'sarcenet' as an insult is especially relevant in this novel, where the protagonist's namesake is a Shakespearian heroine. Harvey reinforces this association by using the Shakespearian spelling of 'sarcenet', rather than 'sarsnet', as it was almost always spelled in Regency fashion magazines, or sarsenet.[162] The changing colour of the fabric, and Lady Cottingham's shading veil, provide a deceptive element to the cloth, which is far more intricate than the simple white muslin in fashion at the time.

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[158] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 126.
[159] Johnson.
[160] Southampton University, 'Fashion in the Age of the Georgians: 1714 – 1800', *Southampton University* <https://www.southampton.ac.uk> [accessed 01 January 2020].
[161] William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida* (1609), ed. Kenneth Muir (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 215.
[162] Southampton University, 'Fashion in the Age of the Georgians'.

The purchase of clothing was a rare opportunity for upper-class women to engage in consumerism, which meant it was also a chance for women to misstep if they did not have good taste. The display of the two Cottingham women covered in luxurious commodities, in a house that has been filled with objects for sale, is significant. Lady Cottingham is 'loaded' with topazes, and her waist is 'lengthened beyond the fashionable dimensions' of the empire-line popularised in the Romantic period. In both her silhouette and her ostentation, Lady Cottingham is exaggerated in scale, a 'lengthened' and 'loaded' figure offering a bulk of jewels and an excess of waist, contrasting with the miniaturised portraits of the previous chapter. By contrast, her daughter's figure is restricted by a 'girdle' and 'buskins'.[163] Such items, along with the long veils and shawls worn by the Cottinghams, would restrict their movement with their weight and length, as well as softening the natural feminine shape of their bodies. French women often wore shawls, but the English fashion magazine, *La Belle Assemblee* (1806) thought 'shawls were more likely "to conceal and vulgarise, than to display the contours of an elegant form"', and these shawls were less likely to appear in British portraiture.[164] Fabric, as a more malleable material than metal, makes it easier to elongate and distort the figure than jewellery. Both Cottinghams are overloaded with fabric and jewellery: the distortion of their silhouettes reflects a change that goes beyond the surface of their appearances – their very shapes are changed by consumerism. By overloading themselves in consumer goods, the Cottinghams offer an outward display of avarice.

The innocent Cordelia is fascinated by the Cottinghams, but ironically views them as spectacles, rather than admiring them as they desire. The impracticality of these

[163] Johnson defines a 'buskin' as 'a kind of half boot; a shoe which comes to the midleg', which Diana wears in Canto VI, Verse XVI of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590). A 'girdle' is 'any thing drawn around the waist and tied or buckled' (Johnson).
[164] Ribeiro, p. 125.

outfits makes it clear they are chosen solely for their aesthetic value, a marked contrast to muslin, which became fashionable as it was easy to wear and wash. The trappings of consumerism, even feminine items like sumptuous fabrics and jewels, distort the femininity of their shapes, and the Cottinghams become objects in themselves. Objects dominate the descriptions in Harvey's novels, and overwhelm people, rather than people dominating the things they wear and own. Park describes the importance of clothes and other objects as part of a 'strange transformation of things into a powerful vocabulary of selfhood during eighteenth-century England's rise to a global market economy' through objects traditionally considered as 'trivial […] supplements of the human': dolls, puppets, wigs, hats, and similar items.[165] If such items give a vocabulary to selfhood, Harvey demonstrates that not everybody understood this complex language of consumerism. Any message contained within the clothing selected by the Cottinghams is lost in the confused 'medley' of garments and accessories that the women choose. The potential autonomy afforded by the vocabulary of objects is further reduced by the commodification of femininity.

The Cottinghams, reduced to figures underneath their clothing, become like the fashion dolls popularised in the eighteenth century. Park describes these dolls as an 'instrument for the rise of consumerism and the period's abandonment to high artifice'.[166] The Cottingham ladies embody artifice in this scene. They are reduced from women to display pieces, losing any humanity and reinforcing the risks faced by the nobility: like Lady Starbuck in the previous chapter, they are too focused on artificial goods rather than fundamental values such as virtue, integrity, and family. Harvey pauses the narrative to give a detailed description of the women, as they stand

[165] Park, p. xiii.
[166] Park, p. 105.

motionless, further reinforcing their role as dolls or artworks and allowing the reader to scrutinise the Cottinghams as if they are inanimate objects.

Cordelia is not uncomplicatedly virtuous in the same way as Layton's heroine Jemima, who is discussed in the following section. As she gazes on the Cottinghams, she exposes her naivety, but also reveals an unspoken longing and covetousness. Cordelia's fascination with the dress of the Cottingham ladies reflects upon the gazer herself, as well as the subject of her gaze. As stated in the introduction, Campbell identifies window shopping as a kind of unfulfilled longing, and Cordelia gazes at the clothes of the Cottinghams as if she is window shopping. Clair Hughes argues the reason that Austen omits details of dress is because 'dress "was not considered a suitable or interesting topic for general conversation" – and decorum is a key virtue in the novels'.[167] Cordelia's detailed observation and open examination of the Cottinghams's clothing therefore suggests a lack of 'decorum' in Cordelia herself. Although Cordelia does not describe her own dress, her covetousness is clear in the details of the clothing. In discussing the longing of such consumers, Stana Nedanic identifies 'a permanently unfocused dissatisfaction, a longing for some hard to define emotion fulfilment' that was transferred to a longing for 'material objects that could act as a proxy for the emotions and thus make them real' in the Romantic period.[168] This statement is relevant to Cordelia: she is an orphan, in the guardianship of her emotionally neglectful stepmother: Lady Cottingham and her daughter are proxies for the maternal relationship she lacks. The clothing of the women enshrines a familial relationship that Cordelia covets but cannot express. In a consumerist society, as a potential buyer at an auction, Cordelia can judge and desire a commodity, but she is

[167] Hughes, p. 35.
[168] Stana Nedanic, 'Romanticism and the Urge to Consume in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century' in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, eds. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 208-227 (210).

unable to analyse the complexities of her desire for a maternal figure, which is impossible to fulfil. The clothing is at once 'strange and whimsical' and 'costly and splendid', encapsulating Cordelia's complex reaction to the observation of a mother and daughter in a public situation, rather than the domestic household more commonly associated with motherhood and family.

There is an aspect of regionalism present in the lengthy descriptions Harvey gives of the Cottinghams. Authors who focused on fashionable society, like Austen and Burney, could safely assume that readers would know what outmoded clothing looked like, without an exhaustive description. It is interesting, therefore, to compare Jane Harvey to other authors, such as the Scottish novelist Susan Ferrier, who sets parts of her novels in the Scottish Highlands. In *Marriage* (1818), Susan Ferrier writes descriptions of clothing that are similar to Jane Harvey's. A contrast is made between the fashionable Lady Juliana and her 'judicious' aunts:

> it was not surprising that they, in their shrunk duffle great-coats, vast poke-bonnets, red worsted neckcloths, and pattens, should gaze with horror at her lace cap, lilac satin pelisse, and silk shoes. Ruin to the whole race of Glenfern, present and future, seemed inevitable from such a display of extravagance and imprudence.[169]

One of the aunts, Miss Jacky, is 'unrivalled as the sensible woman of Glenfern', and even 'her very garments seemed to partake of the prevailing character of their mistress: her ruff always looked more sensible than any other body's; her shawl sat more sensibly on her shoulders; her walking shoes were acknowledged to be very sensible;

[169] Susan Ferrier, *Marriage* (1818), ed. Rosemary Ashton (London: Virago Press, 1986), p.41

and she drew on her gloves with an air of sense'.[170] When the 'loud' and 'authoritative' Lady Maclaughlan visits Glenfern, she arrives in a 'pea-green chariot':

> clothed in a light coloured, large flowered chintz raiment, carefully drawn through the pocket holes […] displaying a dark short stuff petticoat, which, with the same liberality, afforded ample scope for the survey of a pair of delicately formed feet and ankles, clad in worsted stockings and black leather shoes something resembling buckets. A faded red cloth jacket, which bore evident marks of having been severed from its native skirts, now acted in the capacity of a spencer. On the head rose a stupendous fabric, in the form of a cap, on the summit of which was placed a black beaver hat […] a small black satin muff in one hand, and a gold-headed walking-stick in the other, completed the dress and decoration of this personage.[171]

Lady Juliana is amazed by Lady Maclaughlan's 'ridiculous dress and rude eccentric manners […] uncouth garb and singular address', but recognises her 'air of aristocracy' and 'stern imperious manner'.[172] Ferrier, like Harvey, is arguably more aware of a readership that would not necessarily recognise what would be considered 'ridiculous' or 'uncouth' in the northern regions of Britain: in Ferrier's case, the Scottish Highlands. When Lady Maclaughlan changes for dinner, her dress is again described in some detail:

> she was now arrayed in a pompadour satin négligée, and petticoat trimmed with Brussels lace. A high starched handkerchief formed a complete breastwork, on which, amidst a large bouquet of truly artificial roses, reposed miniature of Sir Sampson, *a la militaire.* A small fly cap of antique lace was

[170] Ferrier, *Marriage,* pp. 46-7.
[171] Ferrier, *Marriage,* pp. 49-50.
[172] Ferrier, *Marriage,* p. 52.

> scarcely perceptible on the summit of a stupendous frizzled toupee, hemmed in on each side by large curls. The muff and stick had been relinquished for a large fan, something resembling an Indian screen […] while a vast brocaded work-bag was suspended from the other.[173]

Ferrier's description of dress has the opposite effect to Harvey's Cottingham ladies. While the Cottinghams are overwhelmed by the number of clothes and decorative objects they wear, the space occupied by Lady Maclaughlan matches her 'uncouth garb'. Lady Maclaughlan seems as 'large' as her clothing, because she is equally 'uncouth' and loud, while the Cottinghams stand in an exhibition when Cordelia meets them, and act in a more refined way. Lady Maclaughlan is not simply a physically large woman; her voice and actions are also expansive. When the novel's setting moves to London, less description is made of the clothing: Lady Juliana tells her daughter Mary: 'Your style of dress is very obsolete, my dear', without expanding upon what makes the dress obsolete.[174] When reading novels by Harvey, and similar authors such as Ferrier, we might speculate that regional authors consider their readership in a different way to capital-centric novelists, and write more inclusively, rather than assuming that all readers would be familiar with the fashions of London. Although this theory is to be tested, novels written by authors such as Harvey offer regional readers a description of fashionable clothing, like the fashion plates available in circulating libraries alongside novels, so readers could choose certain aspects of clothing from the 'whimsical medley' of clothing to emulate. Fashion plates were inspirational and were not copied blindly by the women who looked at them, and such

[173] Ferrier, *Marriage,* p. 56.
[174] Ferrier, *Marriage,* p. 251.

detailed descriptions of clothing offer a similar selection to choose from, rather than an outfit that should be imitated like-for-like.

If we compare the extravagant dresses worn by the Mannark sisters and the Cottinghams with the wedding gowns of the previous section, particularly Cordelia's, a sharp contrast becomes clear. Cordelia's wedding gown is a temporary indulgence in fashion and consumerism, but other women have imbibed material culture and luxury goods as a part of their everyday life. Although the Mannark sisters initially seem to have better prospects, and Miss Borham is Lord Lochcarron's love interest at the outset, it is Cordelia who ultimately triumphs, with a successful marriage and achievement of a suitable title. The evolution of Cordelia creates a more satisfying narrative, but it also shows potential for change when one avoids the inherent risks of becoming too engrossed in material culture. Cordelia and the other young women in *Any Thing* all have the potential to be distracted by luxury goods, and become a Lady Starbuck or a Lady Corbridge, but Cordelia demonstrates the means by which an impressionable girl can circumnavigate this, by considering instead her spiritual wellbeing.

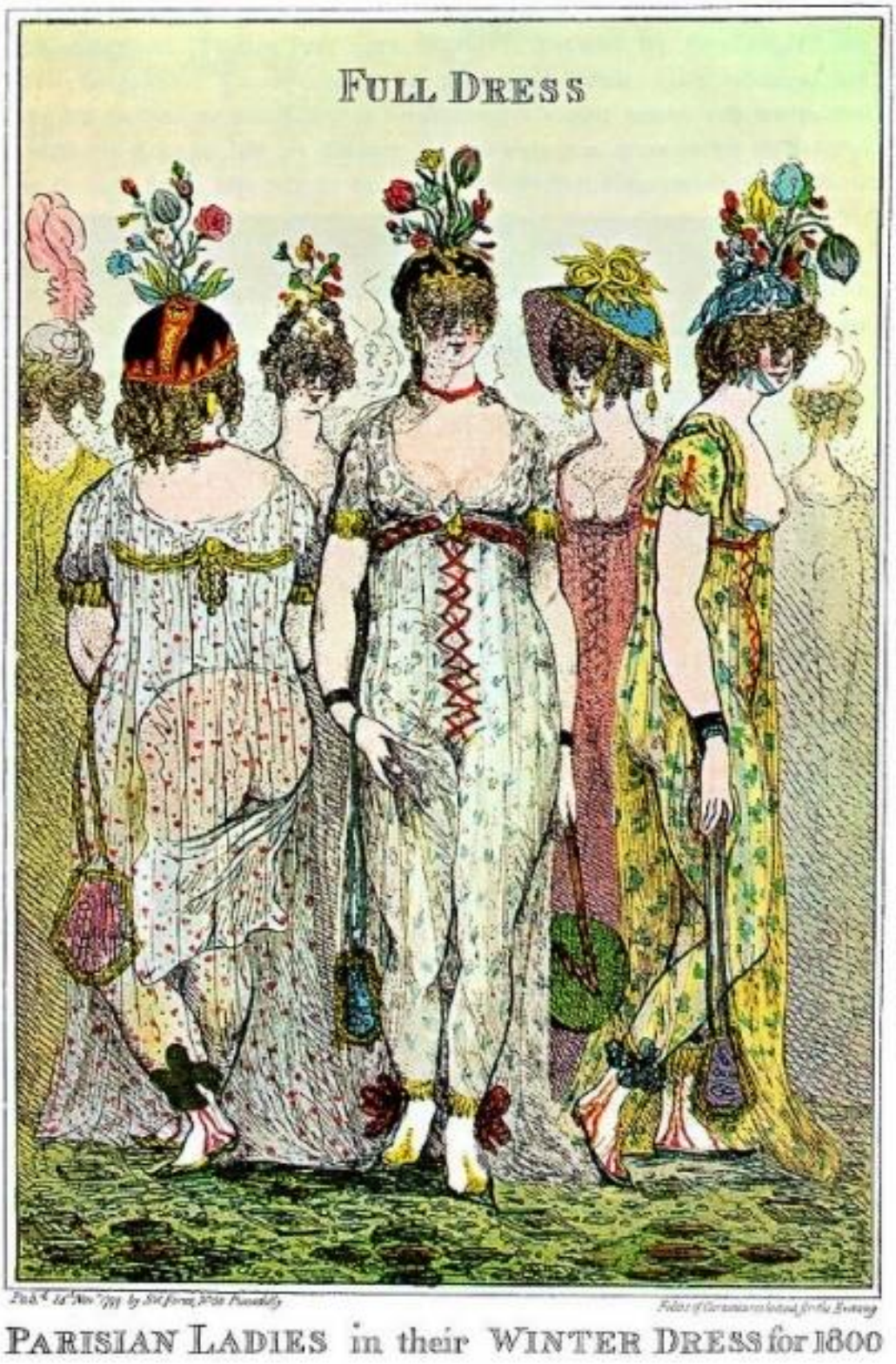

Figure 20: Parisian Ladies in their Winter Dress for 1800 by Isaac Cruikshank.

This section moves on to consider depictions of fabric in Jemima Layton's *Hulne Abbey* (1820), which, as discussed in the Introduction, is a didactic novel and 'christian manual'.[175] The narrative follows the widower Sir Robert de Grey and his daughter Jemima as they tour the country, meeting colourful characters like the Tabbies, who demonstrate the potential pitfalls presented by society. Layton makes her opinions on luxuries clear in her Preface, stating the virtuous must not envy the wicked, as 'howsoever they may abound in the outward luxuries and magnificence of the world, it is but splendid misery: the pill, though gilded, still is a bitter pill to swallow.'[176] Sir Robert is a widower 'drawn from life, and will, probably, be recognised by those who had the advantage of his acquaintance'.[177] Jemima is similar to Harvey's heroines: she is sixteen, her 'heart was open and sincere', and 'her form was elegance itself – in her, perfect symmetry was seen […] Nature seemed determined in forming this lovely creature, to shew what human nature was capable of in her fairest works'.[178] Elliott identifies symmetry in 'Gothic fiction […] heroines as evidence of moral self-sameness and sameness with moral others'.[179] Jemima's beautiful appearance mirrors her good character, which Layton attributes in part to the death of her mother: 'if she must lose one parent, and both are equally amiable, the mother is the least loss. A mother cannot forbear exulting, or being jealous of a daughter's beauty; both will have bad consequences.'[180] Jemima thus clearly represents the positive extreme of the female character which Layton sets out to depict, as well as drawing attention to the potential for rivalry between women: even a mother can be jealous of her own daughter.

[175] Layton, *Hulny Abbey*, I, p. xvi.
[176] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. xi.
[177] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. xiii.
[178] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, pp. 12-4.
[179] Elliott, p. 88.
[180] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. 14.

The first example of clothing in *Hulne Abbey* concerns the heroine, Jemima. Jemima is allowed to choose her own dress for the first ball she attends, and Layton contrasts her taste with women who use clothing to draw attention to themselves:

> Such a woman is not reduced to the necessity of stripping herself almost naked to be looked at; or to kick out her feet in company, to the annoyance of all, who walk about the room to have her feet admired: nor did she pull up her petticoats to her knees as she walked about, to shew all the world she had handsome legs; neither pride, vanity, nor affectation, formed any part of our heroine.[181]

This passage emphasises the way that clothing draws attention to the body within the dress, as well as the garment itself: the muslin fashionable in the Romantic period clung to the body and was translucent, as satirised by Cruikshank in Figure 20. The potential for dress to demonstrate 'pride, vanity, [or] affectation' is clear, marking the significance of Jemima's choice of gown. In the wrong dress, she could associate herself with vice and the sexuality of being 'almost naked'. As this is the first dress that Jemima is selecting without her father's assistance, it becomes an essential marker of her innate virtue. If her father had chosen the dress, it would be a projection of his own perception of Jemima, making her role in this decision crucial.

In the previous section, we discussed sartorial fashion in the early nineteenth century. Jemima favours the simplicity that was fashionable for garments in 1820, but rejects the trend for muslin, with its tendency to reveal. Layton demonstrates to readers that it is possible to be fashionable without compromising morality. The gown chosen by Jemima is 'handsome without shew. A Brussels lace dress over white satin, and her

[181] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, pp. 16-17.

mother's jewels adorned her neck and hair'.[182] Muslin and lace are translucent, but silk and satin are opaque, creating a firm barrier between the body and any potential transgression. Her jewels, belonging to her deceased mother, have sentimental value alongside their ornamental properties; therefore they have some value beyond their aesthetic qualities, demonstrating that Jemima is sentimental rather than vain or shallow. Although dresses were also inherited, jewels are a more permanent heirloom than clothing. Brussels lace was sought after for the quality of their linen thread, with 'qualities of whiteness, fineness, and strength that could not be replicated anywhere else in Europe'.[183] Figure 13 shows a dress of Brussels lace over a slip of white silk fabric, worn as a wedding dress. Brussels lace was more commonly used as a trim rather than for a full gown, or for formal occasions: Ribeiro states 'lace had been revived for court dress in France, and although it was never to regain the importance it had during the eighteenth-century, it had remained in favour for wedding dresses and trousseaux, accessories and layettes'.[184] In *Auberry Stanhope,* Mrs Stanhope tells Auberry Stanhope that '"highly elevated and pompous language [… is] as ridiculous in a compliment paid to the memory of a dear departed friend, as would be a suit of mourning composed of brocade and Brussel's [sic] lace."'[185] Harvey makes it clear here that Brussels lace is unsuitable for mourning clothes, implying that such lace is better suited to clothing for celebratory occasions such as weddings. The lace of Jemima's dress therefore evokes images of wedding dresses and trousseaux.

White dresses became fashionable bridal wear in the Romantic period, as discussed in the first section of this chapter: coupled with the lace overlay, Jemima's dress

[182] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. 18.
[183] Melina Watt, 'Textile Production in Europe: Lace, 1600-1800', *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2003) <https://www.metmuseum.org> [accessed 01 March 2020].
[184] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 127.
[185] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* I, p. 29.

closely resembles contemporary wedding gowns, suggesting her chastity and marriageability. As a list of love interests directly follows the description of the gown, it is clear that Jemima attends the ball to attract a husband. Her autonomy in the choice of this gown suggests that she has some involvement in the selection of her spouse. The dress demonstrates Jemima's other assets as a wife, as a white dress was a status symbol in the Romantic period. White dresses signified wealth: muslin was only a truly practical fabric for women with higher incomes, who could afford servants for its upkeep: gowns could be torn and soiled more easily than their silk counterparts. Although the popularity of muslin was attributed to the availability of cotton and the ease with which it could be washed, these characteristics meant that muslin was less durable: as Hughes points out, 'because muslin garments soiled easily and had to be washed and changed often, extensive indulgence in this fashion involved the employment of several servants […] Jane Austen and her sister, both on limited incomes, tended to keep their muslins for special occasions'.[186]

There are also subtle regional associations with the colour white: Newcastle's famous "Whitecoats", foot soldiers in undyed uniforms, fought on the side of the Royalist cavalry in the Civil War.[187] This force was assembled by the Marquis of Newcastle in 1642, and 'gained their name from the undyed white wool of their doublets; insufficient dye being available at the time': the Whitecoats promised 'they themselves would dye it in the enemy's blood'.[188] This further illustrates the ease with which a white garment could be sullied. Few Whitecoats survived the Battle of Marston Moor in 1644, which took place near York, dying 'courageously' for the

[186] Hughes, p. 38.
[187] Leanda De Lisle, *The White King: The Tragedy of Charles I* (London: Penguin, 2018), p. 190. These were men that Henrietta Maria had known during her time in the North in 1643.
[188] Rosie Serdiville and John Sadler, *The Great Siege of Newcastle 1644* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), p. 66.

Royalist cause.[189] The Ridleys of Newcastle were also involved in the formation and command of the 'White Stocking Regiment' of 1740, who were mostly young men, several of whom were merchant's apprentices, associated to preserve the peace of the town.[190] The White Stockings were still spoken about in the early nineteenth century. When considered in this fashion, white is a subtle political statement: as Jemima Layton's husband was a soldier, it is likely that she had some awareness of military history, especially for the local area. Layton expresses Royalist sympathies in *Hulne Abbey,* stating in her preface: 'our late excellent King has shewn, for a series of years, a heart feelingly alive to the virtues of a christian'.[191] Layton goes on to celebrate Roxburgh 'where the royal presence was encircled by the nobility of the land […] where the royal nuptials, and the birth of princes, made a kingdom joyful'.[192] Roxburgh Castle, in the Borders of Scotland, was a vital fortress often in the hands of the English. The castle has been a ruin since its destruction in 1460 by the armies of King James II of Scotland, who was killed during the siege. This is lamented by Layton: 'revenge, rapine, and innumerable crimes, have cursed that ground with every human sin. Avenging Providence at length has razed the walls'.[193] Layton explicitly links royalty and white clothing: one of the Tabbies, Mrs Lydia, dislikes one of her 'blood-royal' relatives because she 'wears a white satin gown, which is too young for her'.[194] The Tabbies are disrespected for their taste throughout the novel, so this comment reflects more poorly on Mrs Lydia than the person she describes. It is clear that for Layton, even royalty is not immune to 'avenging Providence' and must demonstrate 'christian' virtues and avoid 'human sin': but as a whole she respects

[189] Serdiville and Sadler, p. 67.
[190] John Sykes, *Local Records: Or, Historical Register of Remarkable Events,* Vol. 1 (1833), p. 163.
[191] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. xv.
[192] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. 50.
[193] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. 51.
[194] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* III, p. 85.

royalty. Although the traditional associations of white are clearly most relevant, there is a nuance of political and military history contained within Jemima's gown, pointing to a strength of character that underpins her virtue: to Layton, the Whitecoats were courageous, and members of the royal family are largely virtuous.

A second incident involving clothes centres around the 'Tabbies', who are the antithesis to the virtuous Jemima. Layton uses sartorial references to emphasise the differences between the 'two extremes of femninity', and the contrast between Jemima's simple white gown and the ripped dresses of the Tabbies quickly becomes significant.[195] The 'Tabbies' are three matronly sisters who are ridiculed by others throughout the novel as 'malignant old maids'.[196] In the Preface, Layton states: 'what is the object of the Tabbies? to endeavour to level superiority of mind and person to their own level; their tongues may be compared to the bed of Procrustes, that would have mankind reduced to one standard.'[197] As well as referring to an old maid, Johnson's Dictionary has 'Tabby' as 'a kind of waved silk': one of the Tabbies is named Mrs Silke, further associating the old maids with the old-fashioned silk fabric.[198] The Tabbies invite themselves to Rokeby, where Jemima is staying, and here Mrs Silke is chased across a field by a bull, and her maid is grieved to 'see her mistress with her clothes so spoilt'.[199] Another houseguest, Dr Stukeley, glimpses Mrs Silke 'all tattered and torn, and thought she must have met with some water-closet adventure, and he way-laid the Abigail, to question her on how this tearing of clothes happened'.[200] Layton does not specify the material of Mrs Silke's torn clothing, but if the material is silk, it is more expensive and difficult to tear. An old maid tearing her

[195] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. ix.
[196] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. 304.
[197] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. xiii.
[198] Johnson, p. 2012.
[199] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 150.
[200] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 150.

gown escaping from a virulent, masculine animal like a bull is an obvious sexual metaphor, especially as the more respectable Dr Stukeley assumes that Mrs Silke had a 'water-closet adventure'.

Mrs Silke's gown is an outward display of her humiliation and damaged situation, as a woman ridiculed throughout the novel. Even old-fashioned silk cannot protect her from damage. Although silk, like Jemima's satin, is opaque and more robust than muslin, a torn silk dress is revealing: potentially more so than a muslin gown. In Frances Burney's *Evelina,* Evelina's suitor, Sir Clement, stages a masked robbery on a carriage containing Evelina and Madame Duval. Madame Duval is tied to a tree in a ditch, and 'so forlorn, so miserable a figure, I never before saw. Her head-dress had fallen off; her linen was torn; her negligee had not a pin left in it; her petticoats she was obliged to hold on; and her shoes were perpetually slipping off. She was covered with dirt, weeds, and filth'.[201] Like Mrs Silke, Madame Duval is ridiculed here: 'the servants were ready to die with laughter'.[202] Madame Duval is also an older woman, although she is a widow rather than an old maid, and wishes to sue Evelina's estranged father for Evelina's inheritance. The Tabbies in *Hulne Abbey* rely on the hospitality of others to remain in society, so there is a similar sense of dependency on others. Mrs Silke also shares Madame Duval's greed: she is referred to as 'the *Welsh Swindler*' for attempting to borrow money from a Dean in Wales.[203] For both women, there is a sense of comeuppance in the staged accident, and they are both targeted by men as part of a planned humiliation. The tearing of Mrs Silke's gown, by the masculine animal of the bull, is a reminder that even old maids have sexual desires, like Madame Duval in *Evelina* who travels with her young lover.

[201] Burney, *Evelina,* p. 150.
[202] Burney, *Evelina,* p. 150.
[203] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* II, p. 4.

The Tabbies constantly list the suitors they have spurned, and attempt to seduce Sir Roger into marriage. Although they are dismissed as old maids, and therefore un-sexualised women, the Tabbies still have potential to compete with other women. A similar event takes place in Robert Bage's *Hermsprong*, in which Miss Fluart's 'fine muslin apron [is] ill-treated upon this occasion' by Lord Grondale, who 'pull[s] a young lady's cloaths to pieces' because 'a kiss is refused'.[204] The tussle takes place in a pavilion, where classical paintings are displayed, which Miss Fluart can 'hardly […] look upon', telling Miss Campinet, '"My dear, for all they were goddesses, very few of them had any cloaths to their backs"'.[205] The fashions criticised by Layton are inspired by these classical paintings: but, in reality, the thin gown leaves Miss Fluart vulnerable to lascivious masculine desire. The 'mirrors' in the pavilion reflect back Miss Fluart's 'own self' eight times, suggesting that she is conflicted: part of her may yearn for a sexual encounter, but another part is resistant.[206] The crucial difference, however, is that Maria Fluart is young, beautiful, and independently wealthy, but Mrs Silke is an old maid who depends upon the hospitality of others. If one compares such tussles to the ruffian who steals jewellery from Lady Bradshaw in *Auberry Stanhope*, one is again reminded of the vulnerability of women. The sexuality of a woman in a torn dress is more overt than the implied carnality of Lady Bradshaw – the tearing of clothes makes parts of the naked body visible, whereas in *Auberry Stanhope* Lady Bradshaw remains clothed and her body parts are only hinted at when she embraces Stanhope.

Mrs Silke's ultimate humiliation comes when the male houseguests trick her into meeting a male servant in the water-closet in the middle of the night, and her clothing

[204] Robert Bage, *Hermsprong*, ed. Pamela Perkins (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2002), pp. 184-5.
[205] Bage, p. 188.
[206] Bage, p. 188.

is disarrayed for a second time. The guests at Rokeby are 'determined to raise a laugh at the tabbies' when they discover Mrs. Frost suspects an intrigue between one of the housemaids, Betty, and Mr Hill.[207] Sally Silke is determined to interrupt the intrigue, but the ostler pretends to believe that Sally is in fact Martha, another housemaid, and 'caught of Sally, and gave her a violent embrace'.[208] Sally is unsure how to react, fearing the questioning of her virtue:

> if the charity she met with was only what she dealt out to others, Sal Silke knew it was all up with her virtue […] Sally was silent; the inamorato grew more alive, and tore off Sally's handkerchief; it was one of her best tippets; Sally *then* thought it time to scream out, "I will be ravished! help, make haste!" The ostler knew the more ridiculous figure Sally made, the better he should please his employers: so he gave her wig a pull on one side, and her cap a pull in the contrary direction: by this time in rushed Molly Frost, and Lydia Crabtree; the ostler now turned to Molly, and gave her a violent embrace, at the same time pulling her handkerchief from her neck.[209]

Like Miss Fluart in *Hermsprong*, Mrs Silke is sexually assaulted by a man, but because she is an old maid it is treated with humour. The disarray of Mrs Silke's clothing is an outward display of her supposedly immoral behaviour, and adds to the hilarity of the situation for her assailants, as 'the ostler knew the more ridiculous figure Sally made, the better he should please his employers'. Walter Scott, who, as described in the Introduction, declined Layton's novel and dismissed her as 'a mad woman, from about Alnwick', describes this scene in the '*cabinet à l'eau*' as a 'moving tale'.[210] There is a marked contrast between Miss Fluart's treatment in *Hermsprong* and Mrs Silke's in

[207] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 18.
[208] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 22.
[209] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, pp. 22-3.
[210] Scott, *Journal*, 11 February 1826, I, p. 116.

Hulne Abbey, but the potential for scandal is recognised in both scenarios, as Mrs Silke fears the questioning of her virtue if she is discovered. The sense of comeuppance is clear, as Mrs. Silke knows that 'if the charity she met with was only what she dealt out to others […] all was up with her virtue'. Layton states: 'there should be some asylum built for these restless tabbies, they are worse in society than lunatics.'[211] Mrs Silke embodies vice, and she does not learn from this incident: she dies at a gambling table, and the Tabbies are 'a warning that to be defamatory Quixottes [sic] is not the purpose for which we are sent into the world, but to purify our own sinful bodies'.[212] The Tabbies therefore fulfil Layton's aim of presenting two extremes of feminine behaviour.

Another woman presented as a cautionary tale is Mrs Perton, a woman who has married above her station and cuckolded her husband, and Layton again refers to clothing to contrast Jemima with a less virtuous woman. Mrs Perton is in 'perpetual warfare' with her housekeeper Maria, and 'full of spite, [Maria] would kick by accident, and spill her dinner over Mrs Perton's gown'.[213] This soiling is an act of aggression, demonstrating the way one person can sully another and emphasising the vulnerability both of the female body and the feminine reputation. The gauzy nature of muslin, the ease with which it can be torn or dirtied, reminds the reader of the ephemeral nature of the garment and the body contained within. Mrs Perton is a secondary character in *Hulne Abbey*, but even literary heroines are not immune to dirt: in Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), the heroine Elizabeth Bennett notoriously walks miles to visit her sister, and Caroline Bingley comments on Lizzie's 'blowsy'

[211] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 8.
[212] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, III, p. 254.
[213] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 281.

hair, and Louisa Hurst on 'her petticoat, six inches deep in mud'.[214] 'Petticoat' here refer to an underskirt rather than an undergarment: Elizabeth wears a style of gown more fashionable in the 1790s, perhaps suggesting her provincial ways.[215] Elizabeth's unfashionable gown also indicates a deliberate choice to reject the frivolities of sartorial fashion, rather than suggesting provisional backwardness in taste. Although Lizzie does not expose her undergarment, there is an element of indecency: Efrat Margalit argues the 'sexual audacity' implied by the dirty petticoat is 'further emphasized by Louisa's remark about the dirt reaching above Elizabeth's "ancles"'. Although ankles were not yet taboo, as they became in the Victorian period, 'they were certainly a locus of sexual indecency if too much exposed'.[216]

Women such as Elizabeth and Mrs Perton are tarnished by associations with dirt: Lizzie risks her reputation being affected by her muddy petticoat, and the scandalous Mrs Perton is constantly sullied by her maid. Lizzie demonstrates her concern for her sister Jane, who is ill from riding in a storm, as well as her independence of spirit. By contrast, Mr and Mrs Perton are manipulated into marriage by her mother, Mrs Hobnail, who is 'such a Machiavel […] she could almost out-manoeuvre the devil herself.'[217] Mrs Perton is 'lusty and brawny, and smelt vigorously; and could heave a sack of wheat as well as a man', quite unlike the lively, intelligent Lizzie.[218] Although Mrs Perton's strength is physical, and Lizzie is a strong character, both women display a vigour that defies the contemporary stereotype of women as demure and virtuous, like Jemima. Mary Douglas summarises dirt as 'dangerous': we denounce behaviour

[214] Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice,* eds. Fiona Stafford and Christina Lupton (Oxford: Oxford University Press – Oxford's World Classics, 2019), p. 26.
[215] Fiona Stafford, 'Explanatory Notes' in *Pride and Prejudice,* p. 317.
[216] Efrat Margalit, 'On Pettiness and Petticoats: The Significance of the Petticoat in *Pride and Prejudice*', *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal On-Line* 23:1 (2002).
[217] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. 74.
[218] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. 75.

as ‘dirty and dangerous; [other cultures] taboo it’.[219] Such taboos ‘depend on a form of community-wide complicity’: ‘there is no such thing as dirt; no single item is dirty apart from a particular system of classification in which it does not fit […] dirt is essentially disorder’.[220] Women who create disorder, such as Mrs Silke and Mrs Perton, are affected by dirt in Layton’s novel. These female characters resist simple classification, Mrs Perton as a woman who marries up and rises through the class system, and Mrs Silke as a ‘Tabby’. Women such as old maids cannot be easily categorised in upper society, or in society in general, where girls are expected to go from being daughters to wives and mothers: Mrs Silke is transgressive, and does not follow social guidelines with her ‘quixotic’ behaviour. William A. Cohen identifies ‘filthy’ people as ‘unassimilably other’, as filth ‘challenges the dichotomy between subject and object’.[221] Mrs Silke’s behaviour is never dangerous: she simply does not conform to feminine ideals of demureness. Her associations with torn clothing and filth, both metaphorical and physical, demonstrate the danger of the non-conforming woman. As Campbell points out, ‘dress is not so durable as architecture, music and poetry’.[222] If dress is more feminine than these durable objects, femininity itself becomes less durable, reflected in the lack of female agency.

Several women in *Hulne Abbey* are presented in didactic anecdotes shared by men such as the Marquis of Worthrop. The Marquis tells the story of a dinner he hosted, where ‘the juice of some preserved quinces was spilt all over the new white satin dress of Miss Phillippina Bearskin; and when she arose from the table, she looked as if she

[219] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Pollution and Taboo* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p. xi.
[220] Douglas, pp. xii-xviii.
[221] William A. Cohen, ‘Introduction: Locating Filth’ in *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, eds. William A. Cohen and Ryan Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesotta Press, 2005), pp. vii-xxxvii, p. viii.
[222] Campbell, p. 20.

had been committing murder'.[223] Dirt here represents another violent act, but that of murder rather than sexual assault. The women contained within gowns can be soiled by vice such as murder or sexuality, but it is also a reminder that appearances can be deceptive, as Miss Bearskin only *looks* as if she has been committing murder. The fact that this story is told by the Marquis indicates the male gaze, and male judgement, that women are subjected to. Clothing is a barrier between the naked body of the wearer, and the outside world, but it is an organic, permeable barrier that can easily be crossed or besmirched by the actions of others. As a commodity, the gown is vulnerable to spills and tearing. Although silk is expensive, and muslin relatively so, they are unreliable investments. This indicates that women are a commodity, but one that is unreliable: a heiress or otherwise wealthy woman is considered a valuable commodity, but she can be soiled by scandal or fail to produce an heir, like the women discussed in the previous chapter. It also indicates the lack of control a woman holds over her own reputation: Phillippa Bearskin and Mrs Perton have items spilled on them, and Mrs Silke tears her gown by narrowly escaping a bull. Here, clothing is used to facilitate scandal, like the miniature portraits discussed in the previous chapter.

Unclean women present a dramatic contrast to Jemima in her pristine white gown. The Misses Joy, who attend the same ball as Jemima, have 'a quality of smelling very strong when they were heated with dancing, something resembling the smell of a goat', so that other attendees talk 'loudly near them of the advantages of warm bathing, and the healthiness of frequent changes of linen'.[224] Their uncleanliness identifies them as sub-standard rivals to Jemima, rather than the romantic novel's tradition of appearance making a woman less attractive than the heroine. An unpleasant smell is more

[223] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 214.
[224] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 281.

evocative than an unattractive physical appearance, and hints at sexuality, as they smell animalistic when they are 'heated'; the improper Mrs Perton also smells vigorously. Mary Douglas aligns bathing with religious cleanings: a deeper cleansing, beyond the body, of the soul, which is particularly relevant to Layton's didactic warnings about our time on earth being intended to purify the body, as well as being in keeping with the associations between odour and sexual misconduct.[225] There was also a contemporary concern that unclean clothing could carry disease: in *Adeline Mowbray,* for example Adeline flees a household with smallpox, and fears that 'as her clothes were the same, she might still impart disease to her child'.[226] Maxine Morag highlights the popularity of cosmetics in France as part of a 'push for simpler fashion and better hygiene' rather than beautification.[227] An unclean woman, both physically and metaphorically dirty, could not be considered conventionally attractive, because uncleanliness was associated with immorality, and the dangers of disease. Dirt, however, is tangible, while an immoral character cannot be seen, leading people to seek out visible indicators of vice as a means of reassurance. For an author such as Layton, therefore, conflating visual dirt and metaphorical uncleanliness guides the reader through the didactic tale to the correct conclusion, with no room for error.

As we have seen in this section, Layton is more overt than Harvey in setting out the moral to each tale. It is clear in each instance which kind of femininity the woman in question represents, from the two tropes Layton defines from the beginning of her novel. Jemima does not evolve into a virtuous young woman like Cordelia in *Any Thing*: she is inherently good from the outset. There is no risk of Jemima's dress tearing like Mrs Silke's or becoming contaminated with uncleanliness like Mrs Perton.

[225] Douglas, p. xi.
[226] Opie, pp. 207-10.
[227] Maxine Morag, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 9.

Jemima is a simple model of morality for the contemporary reader to aspire to, while Harvey's heroines reflect a journey that readers may also follow. If we compare the sexuality of Mrs Perton and Mrs Silke with the sexuality associated with jewellery in Harvey's novels, discussed in the previous chapter, Layton presents a sexualised woman as simply farcical, unlike the nuanced figures like Lady Bradshaw that Harvey creates. In Layton's novel, a woman is either virtuous like Jemima, or ridiculous like Mrs Silke, and sex is used as a tool to further humiliate the Tabby. There is no room for sympathy or redemption in *Hulne Abbey*: a woman is either good or bad.

Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy* (1822)

Figure 21: Woman's cape in Royal Stewart tartan, made c.1810-20. [228]

[228] Rosie Waine, 'Reclaiming Romance: Highland dress and the material culture of the Highland Revival, c.1750–c.1900', *National Museums Scotland* <https://www.nms.ac.uk> [accessed 01 August 2022]. The aim of this five-year research project (2018-2023) is to survey and re-interpret the Highland dress and tartan fashion holdings of National Museums Scotland, assessing them for future research and display potential.

The final section of this chapter considers *Raymond de Percy* by Margaret Harvey. There is a move away from gendered depictions here, as tartan and plaid are used Margaret Harvey to reinforce national identity and the close links between Northumberland and Scotland. The descriptions in this play contrast with the more fashionable gowns described in the novels of Jane Harvey and Jemima Layton. *Raymond de Percy* is a play set in Northumberland, telling the story of the Percys, the Earl of Northumberland's family. The titular Raymond de Percy is the son of the current Earl of Northumberland, and events take place mainly at Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. In Margaret Harvey's play, the noble heroine Bertha de Umfranville is dressed '*in Boy's Clothes: she ought to be in a Highland Dress, with Plaid, Bonnet and Plume of grass-green Feather, the Angus' colour*'.[229] Margaret expands upon this description in 'The Lay of the Minstrel's Daughter' (1814), the poem upon which the play is based. In the poem, Bertha 'Wrapt in a plaid, with bonnet, dirk, and plume,/ A stripling warrior's garb I did assume.'[230] This creates an image of Bertha as a female warrior, who adopts 'Boy's Clothes' to escape from her 'cruel' uncle Angus and return to the protection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. This image is at odds with Francheschina's description, quotationd in the Introduction, of *Raymond de Percy* as a play which 'presents women in their most traditional role of long-suffering heroine, unable to act without the assistance of a man.'[231] Bertha is both the 'kinswoman and affianced bride' of 'young Umfranville, Angus's noble heir'.[232] Harvey sets out clear expectations for the clothing that Bertha should be wearing: plaid and the Angus' colour, to demonstrate her loyalties. Bertha subverts gender

[229] Margaret Harvey, ''Raymond de Percy' in *Sisters of Gore: Seven Gothic Melodramas by British Women, 1790-1843* (Bishopwearmouth: Garbutt, 1822; repr. Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), ed. by John C. Franceschina, pp. 173-224 (p. 203).
[230] Margaret Harvey, *The Lay of the Minstrel's Daughter* (Newcastle: J. Marshall, 1814), p. 138.
[231] Franceschina, p. 6.
[232] Margaret Harvey, *Raymond de Percy*, p. 186.

stereotypes by wearing male clothing, and imitates Mary Queen of Scots, who allegedly wore male clothing to escape from Borthwick Castle, as well as many other fictional and dramatic characters, such as Constance in Walter Scott's 'Marmion'. It was also common for women to wear male clothing on stage; therefore Margaret Harvey follows a long tradition of female actresses cross-dressing. When she flees Angus, Bertha rejects her uncle physically and symbolically, as she does not wear his colours, rejecting the 'grass-green' feather she ought to be wearing. It is not until the end of the play, when her uncle has been vanquished, that Bertha wears a '*dress white satin, surmounted by a tartan plaid*': the white expected of an innocent maiden, and the tartan that indicates a renewed loyalty to her fiancé's family.

By choosing highland dress and tartan plaid to dress her heroine in, as well as echoing Mary Queen of Scots' Borthwick Castle escape, Harvey identifies Alnwick with Scottish heritage rather than English. Mary Queen of Scots, like Anne Boleyn in the previous section of this chapter, was a sympathetic heroine in the Romantic imagination. The assumption of Scottish clothing was a popular political statement at the time: Ribeiro attributes an interest in Scottish culture to the proscription of the kilt and plaid following the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, and points out that the English, unlike most European peoples, had no national costume or regional dress.[233] The Prince of Wales was particularly interested in Scottish culture, and wore Highland dress in a visit to Scotland orchestrated by Sir Walter Scott in 1822.[234] Scott is credited with remaking 'Scottish tartan itself into a world-historical textile'.[235] The female body was not the only thing to be commodified: national identity was also a victim of consumerism. Tartan has a rich and complex history, with many interpretations: Sally

[233] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, p. 231.
[234] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress*, p. 231.
[235] Campbell, p. 213.

Tuckett identifies the use of tartan as 'a symbol of loyalty and rebellion; as representing fading Highland heritage; as a visual reminder of British empire; as a marker of social status; and a means of highlighting racial difference'.[236] Its practical and aesthetic features, however, were 'just as responsible for tartan's popularity and entry into the fashionable world in the early nineteenth century as its politicised and romanticised past'.[237] The adoption of another culture's dress was echoed in the population of fancy dress and fashion from other countries: women such as the Cottinghams created a cultural collaboration by adopting clothing from a variety of countries and cultures. Such items were transplanted into English culture, displaced from their usual surroundings and divorced of potential political meaning. Maxine Berg identifies novelty as a key driving force behind the fashion for exotic goods, including 'new textile fabrics, especially printed calicoes imported initially from India then manufactured at home'.[238] Goods were not only appropriated in England, but the manufacturing process as well, completely removing such items from their culture: something could be made in an Indian, Spanish, or Italian style that had never been in the country that inspired it, and combinations could be created that were geographically and politically impractical. Commodities transported women who had no opportunity to travel: the Cottinghams were unlikely to have visited Spain, Rome, or Turkey, but their garments could even transport them to mythological settings such as Diana's forest. Their desire for exotic and novel commodities signals a deeper longing for exotic and rich experiences which were beyond the scope of their normal lives.

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[236] Sally Tuckett,'Reassessing the Romance: Tartan as a Popular Commodity, c. 1770-1830', *The Scottish Historical Review* 95:2 (2016), 182-202 (p. 182).
[237] Tuckett, p. 185.
[238] Maxine Berg, 'New Commodities, Luxuries and Their Consumers in Eighteenth-Century England' in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850,* eds. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 63-85 (p. 65).

This chapter has shown the complexities that surround clothing in Jane Harvey's novels, Jemima Layton's novel, and Margaret Harvey's play. Clothing was a part of material culture that all women must partake in, and in this sense, it is a unifier. However, as we have seen, dress carries a wide range of meaning. A bride might temporarily indulge in the enjoyment of luxury goods on her wedding day, but if she continues to attribute too much value to material culture, a woman runs the risk of neglecting her other duties. The descriptions of clothing in Harvey's novels, in particular, mire the reader in luxury and demonstrate a difficulty faced by the contemporary reader – dress was an enjoyable indulgence, as it is today. However, unlike the jewellery that moves with the plot, clothing creates tableaux, where the characters, and the reader, are fixed in place. An obsession with dress and the associated luxury forces one to stand still, and eventually stagnate, rather than moving on with life. The cautionary tales in Jemima Layton's novel are more direct than this: a woman must be chaste and dress modestly and cleanly, or she will be tainted by scandal and sexuality. In a sense, Margaret Harvey is more progressive than Jane Harvey and Layton – rather than focusing on femininity in her discussions of clothing, as is typical, Margaret illustrates issues of national identity, drawing on a wider discourse that affected both genders. The next chapter will consider the acquisition of the luxury goods described in these chapters.

Chapter Four: Shopping

Figure 22: Shopping for fabric (1809) from Rudolph Ackermann's The Repository of Arts.

Figure 23: Pellatt and Green's glassware shop in St Paul's Churchyard, London (1809)

Chapters Two and Three of this thesis discussed jewellery and clothing. Some mention has been made of acquiring such objects: Lady Walpole in *Any Thing* wishes to purchase new dresses, for example. Prices for jewellery are obtained at a jeweller's shop in Layton's *Spanish Tales,* and jewellery is left at a jeweller's shop to facilitate a scandal in *Warkfield Castle.* Miniature portraits are created on a more amateur level, and circulated through gifting, but in *Auberry Stanhope* there is also a visit to a popular miniaturist. Shopping is a shadow attached to luxury goods: it is not explicitly mentioned, but the goods discussed above were purchased at some point. Consumerism is at the centre of material culture.

This chapter considers the acquisition of objects at milliners' shops and estate sales. Shopping was necessary, but it was also a leisure activity for the middling and upper classes. The shop itself is a liminal space, somewhere between the private home and the public outdoors. Intimacy was cultivated in such places, but they were also 'gilded theatres': a place to attend for entertainment and meeting people of similar social standing.[1] Purchasing goods and seeking entertainment was intertwined for women of the upper classes in the early-nineteenth century. This chapter explores the complex relationship between shopping and sociability, which raises the expected questions of propriety. Just as women were expected to behave in a certain way at home or at a theatre, female decorum was scrutinised whilst shopping. Moreover, Deidre Shauna Lynch identifies the further potential of the shop as a place to look, as well as to buy: 'as something besides a theatre of buying and selling, the shop might have served – if only *in potentia* – as a theatre for deliberating and debating.'[2]

[1] *The Female Tatler*, 'On Shopping' in *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from the Tatler and the Spectator*, ed. Erin Mackie (Boston: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 292.
[2] Deidre Shauna Lynch, 'Counter publics: shopping and women's sociability' in *Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770-1840,* ed. Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 211-236 (p. 224).

Part One: Milliners

Figure 22: 'Les Invisibles' (1810), by William Brocas.

Figure 23: Les invisibles en Tête-à-Tête, from Le Supreme Bon Ton, c. 1810-1815

The first part of this chapter explores milliners in Harvey's novels *Ethelia* and *Singularity,* and Layton's novel *Hulne Abbey.* Millinery became an established trade in the eighteenth century, and involved the making and trimming of women's hats, although this soon expanded to involve the sale of trimmings and accessories for other items of clothing. Milliners were primarily women, like those depicted in Figure 1, and this picture demonstrates the variety of colours and trimmings that they provided. Davidson states: 'women shopped regularly and in small quantities for dress-related items […] Every place larger than a hamlet had at least a shoemaker, and a village store combining a grocery, draper and haberdasher.'[3] This is in keeping with the examples of millinery visits in *Ethelia, Hulne Abbey,* and *Singularity.*

The milliner could be associated with frivolity, fashion, and immorality, and this reflects upon the women who gave her regular patronage. In Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* (1814), the heroine Juliet witnesses 'the selfishness of personal vanity. The good of a nation, the interest of society, the welfare of a family, could with difficulty have appeared of higher importance than the choice of a ribbon, or the set of a cap'.[4] Chloe Wigston Smith argues that '[i]n eighteenth-century periodicals and fiction, the act of purchasing, selling or producing clothes was tinged with sexual implications. The bodies of milliners and dressmakers […] were often conflated with the goods they produced and sold.'[5] As we shall see, fashionable women such as Auretta in *Ethelia,* Lady Bradshaw in *Auberry Stanhope,* Miss Lemon in *Hulne Abbey*, and Miss Blennerhasset in *Singularity* are frequent visitors to the milliners: Lady Bradshaw visits so often that her callers seek her out at the milliner rather than her home. Jennie Batchelor identifies an association between mantua-makers and milliners and

[3] Davidson, p. 110.
[4] Frances Burney, *The Wanderer: or, Female Difficulties* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Ormes and Brown, 1814), 4 vols, III, p. 106.
[5] Smith, p. 162.

characteristics such as 'pride, social ambition and a lack of moral refinement' made by writers and artists.[6] This was facilitated by their role '[a]s active agents in the burgeoning consumer economy […] women who worked in the dressmaking trades became vehicles through which critics could debate the changes in social and cultural production wrought by the commercialisation of fashion.'[7] The contemporary reader would apply this understanding of the immoral, ambitious milliner to novels such as Harvey's and Layton's, and attribute similar values to her regular customers. The woman who works for the milliner, rather than the owner, is both tainted by the association and a figure of pity. Nicola Pullin argues 'the pathetic image of the poor little milliner or dressmaker in popular art, fiction, and political rhetoric consistently mobilized contemporary opinion against poverty and new modes of capitalist production'.[8]

The implications of fashionable clothing discussed in the previous chapter are naturally applied to the milliner as creator and adapter of such garments. Batchelor states that milliners were 'frequently presented as metaphoric equivalents of dress and fashion', and the fact that they sold trimmings such as laces and ribbons, and accessories including handkerchiefs, caps, and hats, became increasingly important in the second half of the eighteenth century, 'when female consumers sought to compensate for the increased simplicity of fashionable dress with elaborate decorations.'[9] The milliner's 'power and influence over their fashionable clientele is more extensive and damaging' than that of the tailor, because the milliner is a '"compleat Mistress of the Art of Dissimulation"', required to flatter all complexions,

[6] Batchelor, p. 52.
[7] Batchelor, p. 52.
[8] Nicola Pullin, '"A Heavy Bill to Settle with Humanity": the Representation and Invisibility of London's Principal Milliners and Dressmakers' in *Famine and Fashion: Needlewomen of the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Beth Harris (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 229-242 (p. 229).
[9] Batcher, pp. 53-5.

and manipulate the female body into different shapes.[10] These expectations are alluded to in *Hulne Abbey,* when Miss Lemon and her companions criticise their milliners for failing to set off their features to the best advantage.

This chapter also considers how a woman who needs to visit a milliner can do so without compromising her morality. Virtuous women, such as Augusta in *Singularity,* must visit the milliner at times, and as we shall see, it can provide a difficult terrain for the sensible heroine to negotiate. Augusta manages to visit a milliner for mourning clothes without becoming tainted by scandal or impropriety. While there, she also encounters Miss Blennerhasset, a fashionable young woman, and recognises the shortcomings of her mode of shopping. As with many female occupations, there is a clear form of decorum to be followed when visiting a milliner to avoid being associated with frivolity, or the more scandalous implications of sexuality and lack of decorum.

Ethelia **(1810)**

Jane Harvey's 1810 novel *Ethelia* focuses on the life of the titular heroine, and, as we shall see, bears some similarities to Jane Austen's works, in particular *Pride and Prejudice* (1813). This section compares a visit to the milliner's in *Ethelia* to one in *Pride and Prejudice.* The main plot is different from that of a typical Austen novel, however: although *Ethelia* details the romance of Ethelia and Major Milford, the main narrative of the novel follows Ethelia setting up an independent household at Thornbrook Hall.

Jane Harvey opens *Ethelia* with an epigraph from Alexander Thomson's poem 'Dispregiator di quanto'l Mondo brama' (1801), which translates as 'derogatory of

[10] Batchelor, p. 55.

what the world craves'. In *Ethelia,* Harvey tells the reader that 'the characters which adorned, enriched, and gave a local value to Thornbrook; a little hamlet in Northumberland' were 'more estimable for real worth, and more remarkable for eccentricity, than any ["student of human nature"] has found in the higher walks of society'.[11] It is here that the Reverend Eldred Walters watches over his flock. Although Eldred loves his position, he 'discovered and regretted the want of polished society in its neighbourhood'.[12] On a visit to his family in Kent, Eldred meets the Glenholme sisters and marries Phillis Glenholme. The elder sister, Priscilla, is ruled by her passion for dramatic writers, while Phillis:

> might indeed be called chief maid of honour to the Empress of Fashion, for she was ever the first to fall in with all the whims of her fickle majesty, and to adopt every fresh mode and every new term which appeared in her fanciful court. The fine symmetry of her form was preserved by the strictest attention to the articles of exercise and regimen; - all the milks, creams, lotions, and washes for the complexion, that ever were invented, might be found in her dressing-room; while her face was constantly defended by veils, masks, sun-fans, umbrellas, and parasols, as each in rotation became the reigning taste. She was perfectly versed in the etiquette of those assemblies which are held in the houses of fashionable ladies […] Her graceful form was fascination itself when figuring at a ball.[13]

Phillis thus represents the kind of femininity discussed in detail in the previous chapters, in women such as Lady Bradshaw, Lady Starbuck, Miss Borham, and Lady Walpole, and is presumably a frequenter of a milliner to purchase excessive amounts

[11] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, pp. 1-2.
[12] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 4.
[13] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 12.

of accessories. However, Eldred is convinced by the Glenholmes that Phillis is ill, and that her ailment can only be remedied if she marries Eldred.

Mrs. St. Lawrence visits Thornbrook to congratulate Mrs. Walters on her marriage and arrival in the village. She is 'the gay and fashionable widow of a merchant in Newcastle, who left her in what are called easy circumstances, but which her manner of living promised to make very uneasy ones', and is accompanied by her son and two nieces, Auretta and Ethelia.[14]

> The lovely person of Auretta Riversdale, over whose head seventeen years had scarce passed, was one of Nature's finest masterpieces: her form was elegance itself; her step was grace; her voice was harmony […] Yet where Nature is most liberal of personal graces, she frequently withholds the infinitely more precious gifts of the mind […] she was frivolity itself; for Mrs. St. Lawrence, who idolized [sic] her, and who believed it certain that her personal charms would secure her a splendid alliance, had constantly directed the little attention she was capable of bestowing, to the improvement of her person alone.[15]

In contrast to the lengthy description of her sister Auretta, and of the Misses Glenholme earlier in the novel, Ethelia at first 'seemed too insignificant to attract even momentary notice.'[16] It is Eldred who first turns his attention to 'the younger Miss Riversdale, who had not once opened her lips', while her aunt and Mrs Walters discuss the last Newcastle assembly.[17] Ethelia is 'very low in stature, and none of her features had the slightest pretensions to be called handsome except her eyes, which expressed such a degree of spirit and keen penetration, as induced Walters to believe there was

[14] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 28.
[15] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, pp. 30-1.
[16] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 33.
[17] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 34.

some soul within'.[18] Mrs. St. Lawrence interrupts the conversation between Ethelia and Eldred to apologise for bringing her younger niece, declaring: '"I can make nothing of her, nothing at all. I could not suffer such a hoiden to be seen in my parties."'[19] A hoiden is defined in Johnson's Dictionary as 'an ill-taught awkward country girl'.[20] Ethelia is skilled at needlework, but her education has been neglected. However, she 'possessed strong intellectual powers, and a genius capable of receiving a very high polish'.[21] Ethelia accepts an invitation from Eldred to spend time at the vicarage, where he directs her studies.

A key similarity between *Ethelia* and *Pride and Prejudice* can be seen in their explorations of the relationship between sisters – Ethelia and Auretta in *Ethelia,* and the Bennet sisters in *Pride and Prejudice.* Both Auretta and Lydia are associated with frivolity, and later with scandal, and their patronage of local milliners creates comparative scenes in the two novels. In the opening scenes of *Ethelia,* Auretta is deemed to be exaggerating her grief when she purchases mourning garments following their cousin's death:

> The lovely eyes of Auretta were frequently suffused with tears, and her voice intercepted by sobs; - to her sister she expressed herself deeply grieved for her cousin's death, but eight hours had not passed ere Auretta was closeted with her milliner.[22]

Auretta's insincerity in this scene is typical of her character. When Auretta is first introduced to the reader, as detailed above, she is described as frivolity itself. Auretta's 'really elegant taste in dress was spoiled by a too slavish attention to fashion; but

[18] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 34.
[19] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 36.
[20] Johnson's Dictionary Online.
[21] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 47.
[22] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 130.

amply skilled in the science of killing time, Auretta promenaded in every place of fashionable resort'.[23] Harvey makes a distinction between elegant taste and fashion, in keeping with the examples discussed in Chapter Three. Auretta promenades in fashionable resorts, again demonstrating that such places are as prolific in Newcastle as they are in London or Bath. Her willingness to leave the house and promenade in fashionable locations is reflected in her love of shopping, and highlights the risks inherent in the liminality of shopping: it is easy to cross the boundary between public and private, and find oneself in too public a place.

Auretta relies on her guardian Mrs. St. Lawrence, just as Cordelia relies on Lady Walpole in *Any Thing.* Although Mrs. St. Lawrence's social standing is lower than that of Lady Walpole, her guardianship is similarly misdirected, with a focus on material gain rather than the morality of her charges. Auretta has been 'nominally taught almost every female accomplishment, but she excelled in nothing but dancing'.[24] Auretta represents a 'giddy' stereotype of femininity, similar to the youngest Bennet sister Lydia in *Pride and Prejudice,* with her mind 'more vacant than [her] sisters''.[25] Lydia is 'particularly frequent' to pay her 'duty to their aunt and to a milliner's shop just over the way', visiting three or four times a week.[26] Auretta elopes with Dorville, and sends her illegitimate child to live with Ethelia, which reminds the reader of Lydia's elopement with Mr. Wickham. Auretta does not visit the milliner as Lydia does; instead, her milliner visits Auretta. They are 'closeted' together, and the gender of the milliner is not specified. This gives a hint of the sexual salaciousness to follow, especially when one considers the immorality frequently attributed to the milliner identified above, as Auretta will go on to bear an illegitimate child. Like

[23] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 32.
[24] Harvey, *Ethelia,* I, p. 32.
[25] Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 21.
[26] Austen, *Pride and Prejudice,* p. 21.

Lydia, 'a favourite with her mother', Auretta is favoured by her aunt and guardian: yet both girls find themselves immersed in scandal.[27]

Regency headwear was frequently satirised for enabling inappropriate behaviour: Figures 23 and 24 recognise the potential of contemporary bonnets for shielding '*Tête-à-Têtes*'. As Elizabeth Veisz points out, in *Pride and Prejudice* Austen creates an outcome that does not fully reward or punish Lydia for acting upon her desires, but instead interweaves 'Lydia's seduction plot with Elizabeth's courtship narrative in a way that marks the novelist's particular kind of moral authority, absent of and distinct from legal, ecclesiastical, or community sanction.'[28] In *Ethelia,* Harvey presents a similar interweaving of Auretta's seduction and Ethelia's courtship narrative, but her literary world contains a darker reality than *Pride and Prejudice,* following a more typical novelistic trajectory for the fallen woman. Auretta is seduced, ruined, and dies, destroying her reputation in the process. Her illegitimate daughter is tangible evidence of Auretta's scandalous behaviour and remains present in her hometown village with her sister as a reminder, while Lydia's ruin takes her away from her home and family. Although Ethelia eventually overcomes the shameful rumours that Auretta's daughter is her own child, and marries Milford, her reputation suffers until the final chapters of the novel as a consequence of her sister's indiscretions. Auretta's daughter represents a culmination of her frivolous behaviour: in the same way that her closeting with the milliner, dancing and giddiness can be witnessed by others, her child is a visible display of impropriety. The milliner therefore signposts the reader not simply to the potential immorality of frequent customers, but to the *visible* immorality. Unlike the more secretive scandals that accumulate around the miniatures and other jewellery,

[27] Austen, *Pride and Prejudice,* p. 34.
[28] Elizabeth Veisz, 'Lydia's Prospects: Scandal, Sequels, and Second Chances', *Persuasions* 35 (2013), 235-43, (p. 235).

discussed in Chapter Two, frequent visitors to the milliner such as those by Auretta and Lydia are associated with events that cannot possibly be covered up, such as elopement and the birth of an illegitimate child. Fashionable women, who choose to draw attention to their looks, also risk inviting observation of their misdeeds.

The milliners visited by Lydia and Auretta are a common feature in literature, as hats offered a form of self-expression for the Regency woman. In *Auberry Stanhope,* Fenton visits Lady Bradshaw's milliner in Bond-street to find her rather than her home, suggesting how frequently she can be found there.[29] In the tableau created by the Cottinghams in *Any Thing,* discussed in Chapter Three, the hat chosen by Miss Cottingham is a Spanish hat and plumes, with a French cap. Englishwomen embraced 'a vast array of headwear', including the poke bonnet, and *La Belle Assemble* (1808) offers 'in February, pearl-trimmed Mary Queen of Scots coifs, fringed gold or silver Chinese turbans and muslin (Chambery) turbans; in March the editors suggested an "Anne Boleyn cap of black lace, tamboured in shaded green silk or chenille"; in April there were Minerva bonnets and Grecian "mobs" (caps), followed by a number of other "antique" styles over the next few months, such as bandeaux, diadems and coronets'.[30] In *Hulne Abbey,* much is made of the spinster Mrs Silke collecting wedding-caps – a physical manifestation of her hopes for a wedding that will never happen. As we saw in the previous chapter, Cordelia uses a bonnet to disguise her appearance, but this is with noble intentions, as she wishes to seek her husband and repair their marriage. These examples of headwear will by necessity have been purchased from milliners, but their purchase does not feature in the novels. Brief mention is made of Cordelia's own work on her wedding dress, as discussed in the

[29] Harvey, *Auberry Stanhope,* Vol. 3, p. 162.
[30] Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress,* p. 126.

previous chapter, but for the most part women's work, such as the creation of clothing, accessories, and other needlework, remains unacknowledged and unseen. The working-class women who conducted such work are largely absent from Harvey's novels, with a focus on women from the upper and middling classes. It is these higher-class women, who are more visible, who are more exposed to scandal by visiting milliners.

We return briefly to the topic of clothing, as clothing is used to provide a contrast between Mrs Walters and Ethelia. Mrs Walters is 'a being whose frivolous mind was entirely occupied by dress and diversions; who could listen to no instruction – give no information.'[31] Just as descriptions of clothing saturate the novels, Mrs Walters's mind is so entirely occupied with thoughts of clothing and diversions that she cannot think of anything else. In contrast, Ethelia, who is unconcerned with dress or appearances, has a 'clear, comprehensive, philosophical mind'.[32] Walters does not 'suffer himself to draw the line of comparison between her and the lady with whom he was destined to pass, or rather drag, on life', but the comparison is made clear to the reader, and 'once only, in the bitterness of anguish', Walters exclaims: '"Oh, had I seen Ethelia Riversdale previous to my journey to Kent!"', but the 'very thought seemed criminal'.[33] Nevertheless, the distinction is clearly made between the two women, and throughout the novel rumours abound that Walters and Ethelia are having an affair, and that Henrietta is their child. Indeed, when Mrs Walters dies, the local gossips 'ventured to predict that the match between Milford and Miss Riversdale would now go off' and '"she'll marry her old friend, the vicar, after all."'[34] Although they remain friends, however, Ethelia marries Milford. The milliner is not specifically mentioned

[31] Harvey, *Ethelia,* II, p. 17.
[32] Harvey, *Ethelia,* II, p. 18.
[33] Harvey, *Ethelia,* II, pp. 18-9.
[34] Harvey, *Ethelia,* II, p. p. 186.

here, but one can assume that Mrs Walters is closeted with a milliner as frequently as Auretta, given her 'entire occupation' with dress and diversions. By contrast, Ethelia gives little consideration to clothing, and demonstrates a more comprehensive and moral mind.

The activity of 'shopping' in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, visiting shops such as milliners and purchasing smaller items, was chiefly a feminine activity. One of the first uses of the word 'shop' as a verb in a novel is in Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778).[35] Vickery states: 'as far as genteel women were concerned, shopping was a form of employment and one that was most effectively performed by women', and this certainly seems to be the case.[36] In *The Female Tatler* (1709), the narrator Mrs Crackenthorpe describes Ludgate-Hill, a shopping street in London, as 'as agreeable an amusement as a lady can pass away three or four hours in; the shops are perfect gilded theatres'.[37] A shop was as much as place for entertainment as a 'theatre': shopping was a leisure activity, where women enjoyed browsing and social interactions, without necessarily purchasing goods. Maxine Berg describes shops as 'public spaces, but small in scale, offering conversational as well as economic exchange'.[38] In a letter to *The Spectator* (1712), a shopkeeper, 'Rebecca the *distress'd*', complains about women window-shopping in this manner, touching goods without making purchases, and 'displacing' and 'disordering' her shop:

> these Rakes are your idle Ladies of Fashion, who having nothing to do, employ themselves in tumbling over my Ware. One of these No-Customers (for by the way they seldom or never buy any thing) calls for a Set of Tea Dishes, another

[35] Vivien Jones, 'Explanatory Notes' in Frances Burney, *Evelina,* ed. Vivien Jones, *Oxford World's Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 407-69 (p. 414). Jones identifies the earliest use of 'a shoping' [sic] in the OED in 1764.
[36] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter,* p. 164.
[37] *The Female Tatler*, p. 292.
[38] Berg, 'New Commodities', p. 259.

> for a Bason, a third for my best Green Tea […] I can compare 'em to nothing but the Night-Goblins that take a Pleasure to over-turn the Disposition of Plates and Dishes in the Kitchens of your housewifely Maids.[39]

A similar complaint about 'the terrible practice of the female mode of shopping' was printed in *The Weekly Visitor* (1810), bemoaning the 'want of female modesty' when such customers 'enter shops, call for several articles, discomposing the goods, and at length take [their] leave without buying a single thing'.[40] The female shopper visits the 'gilded theatres' for the experience of shopping and being served by shop-keepers. Presumably, given their frequent visitors to their milliners, Auretta and Lydia are both extensive window-shoppers. Simply entering a shop makes a consumer part of a transaction, with the expectation of making a purchase rather than merely browsing. Shopping was therefore a social activity where women must be aware of the appropriate etiquette, with greater risk of transgression as women crossed into the masculine sphere of commerce and business. Timothy Campbell describes window shopping as 'unconsummated longing', which when considered with the lack of female modesty described in *The Weekly Visitor*, and the immorality associated with the milliner, adds an element of sexuality to the process of browsing.[41] Touching as well as looking at displays makes this a tactile, sensual experience: women were touching garments that would then be purchased by another woman and worn on her body. The act of shopping also gave women power; it was a safe public space for them to enter, disrupt displays, socialise, and waste time, without the shopkeeper having the authority to correct this behaviour directly. For women of lower social standing, who could not afford servants, it was an opportunity to experience being waited on by

[39] Richard Steele, '*Spectator* No. 336 Wednesday, March 27, 1712, Steele on a Shopkeeper's Complaint' in *The Commerce of Everyday Life*, p. 223.
[40] A. C. Morton, *The Weekly Visitor* (New York, 1810), Volume 3, p. 314.
[41] Campbell, p. 15.

another person. In *The Wanderer,* Juliet notices that women without rank or fortune are taken advantage of by the milliner, while 'the rich and grand […] were capricious, difficult, and long in their examinations, because their time was their own'.[42] The class structures in society were still enforced at the milliner's, and the experience was clearer more leisurable and enjoyable for women of the upper classes.

This is not to say, however, that men were not shoppers, or uninterested in consumer goods. In *Ethelia,* the military officer Milford uses his pocket to conceal a miniature of his wife Louise, who his friends and family are unaware that he married. When he chooses to reveal the story of Louise to Ethelia, Milford 'took from his pocket a small case which contained the miniature of his deceased lady'.[43] Milford initially believes the rumours that surround Ethelia, engaging in the feminine activity of gossip, just as he has conducted the feminine activity of shopping. However, he is redeemed by the story of his heartbreak and his apology to Ethelia. He rescues Ethelia's niece and ward, Henrietta, when she is kidnapped, and marries Ethelia at the end of the novel. The miniature here is a memento, a talisman held in memorial of the woman that he loved, who died along with his infant daughter. Milford shows Ethelia the miniature of Louise while telling her the story of her elopement, and believes that 'had I never tempted her to quit the protection of her father, she might now, perhaps, be living and happy'.[44] The miniature carries various reminders, like those discussed in Chapter Three: of an unfulfilled love affair, a beloved woman who has died, and the blame and guilt that Milford carries for his part in her death. Milford uses the miniature as a physical embodiment of the story, where his 'feelings were tortured' by the tragic fate of his wife and infant daughter.[45] The piece of jewellery he carries is

[42] Burney, *The Wanderer,* III, p. 109.
[43] Harvey, *Ethelia,* III, p. 115.
[44] Harvey, *Ethelia,* III, p. 116.
[45] Harvey, *Ethelia,* III, p. 116.

elevated beyond a simple trinket or decorative item, as it might be considered to be if it belonged to a woman. Milford's sentimental treatment of the miniature portrait, like that of Beckett, Ida, and Auberry in Chapter Two, demonstrates an elevation of commodity beyond the frivolity of shopping and fashion.

The male shopper is as complex as his female counterpart: Milford is a potential enemy who becomes a friend and husband to Ethelia, a man in possession of a feminine item of jewellery. Erin Mackie cites the description in *The Spectator* 81 of 'a beau's brain, like his apartment, […] as a mere compendium of fashionable things', whereas a 'coquette's desires are inscribed upon her heart' to demonstrate that fashionable consumerism is 'gendered in the conventional way that links masculinity with the mind and rationality, and femininity with the heart and emotions'.[46] A male shopper can be ruinous, but the consequences are conventionally masculine – financial and economic – whereas Auretta and Lydia become embroiled in feminine scandal and loss of reputation. In the eighteenth century, careless spending was believed to have catastrophic consequences: Mackie states that 'the fetishization of fashion can lead to disasters more complete than bad object choice or a trivial social life: it threatens to cancel human relations and social institutions'.[47] Fashionable consumers are associated with other vices, such as gambling, just as Mrs Silke is in *Hulne Abbey*, as discussed in the previous chapter. People who overspent were not merely careless and rude, like the window shoppers described in the letters above; their behaviour can be immoral and embroil those around them in scandal and financial hardship. In Harvey's *Any Thing*, discussed in more detail in the second half of this chapter, Miss Cottingham is excited by 'a relaxation of the purse strings in favour of her darling

[46] Erin Mackie, *Market a la Mode: Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in* The Tatler *and* The Spectator (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997), pp. 67-8.
[47] Mackie, p. 65.

objects'.[48] As already explored, Miss Cottingham and her mother overload themselves with objects. On finding 'there would probably be a purchase made, [she] became in a moment a convert to English pictures, and found a thousand beauties in the piece which had before escaped her notice'.[49] Miss Cottingham wishes to purchase an item she did not initially like, for the simple joy of spending money. The pastime of shopping, rather than the actual obtainment of goods, is satirised by Harvey here.

Hulne Abbey (1820)

An episode involving visits to a milliner, with similar connotations of fashion, frivolity, and immorality, features in Jemima Layton's *Hulne Abbey.* The heroine, her father Sir Robert de Grey, and their guests, Lord Cardross and Lord de Courcy, agree to attend a ball. As the lords are eligible bachelors:

> some of the ladies now thought their crisis of fate approaching, and many were the visits paid to the milliner in the morning. They had not much hopes of a peer dancing with them; but they determined to set off their attractions in their gaudiest attire.[50]

The gaudiness of the goods purchased at a milliner is clear here. The ladies are like Auretta, seeking the latest fashions in spite of their gaudiness, rather than the more sensible choices of Jemima and Augusta. Just one page before the milliners are mentioned, Layton mentions that 'Lot's wife ought to play a lesson to the company; and the diamond gallery, from which she might enrich and adorn her hair'.[51] Layton

[48] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 45.
[49] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 46.
[50] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, p. 235.
[51] Layton, *Hulne Abbey,* I, pp. 233-4.

does not refer to actual diamonds: the 'company' who ought to consider Lot's wife are exploring the underground caverns at the 'heights of Abram' in Matlock.[52]

The ladies who visit their milliner in the hope of attracting a peer would do better to consider their morality: it is the virtuous Jemima who ultimately marries a peer, and as discussed in the previous chapter, Jemima favours simple clothing over ostentatious fashion. Indeed, the ladies are disappointed by the services provided by their milliners:

> Miss Lemon thought she was ill-used, that the milliner had not taken pains with her cap […] Miss Rogget insisted, she would have been the best dancer, only her shoes pinched her: and Mrs. Waller said, her dress-maker had ruined her figure, by making her gown so ill.[53]

The purchases made by these women cannot compensate for their poor dancing or ruined figures. This lack of physical perfection reflects their inner faults, and although the women blame their milliners and dress-makers, it is their own shortcomings that are to blame. When Jemima, her companion Isabella, and the lords, leave, Miss Roggett is 'now convinced she was the best dancer, her shoes no longer pinched her'; Miss Lemon's cap is suddenly 'so very bewitching, and she looked so fascinating in it, it grew so great a favourite with her, she said, if the house was on fire she should call out, Oh! my cap! my cap!', and Mrs. Waller's dress 'upon a second putting on, was quite the thing, to shew [sic] off a fine figure; but on the first time of wearing a dress, it somehow will go wrong.'[54] This rapid change of opinion reflects the shallowness and inconsistency of the ladies, with the implication that such frivolity extends towards wider decisions, such as male company, as after the peers leave 'Mr. Curran was not despised in the absence of better men.'[55] Miss Lemon and her

[52] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. 233.
[53] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. 246.
[54] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, pp. 249-50.
[55] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, I, p. 249.

companions are not mentioned again in the novel, demonstrating that they are as inconsequential as their frippery.

Singularity (1822)

How could women shop, then, without being considered frivolous like Auretta, Lydia or Miss Lemon? In Harvey's 1822 novel, *Singularity,* the sensible heroine Augusta must purchase mourning garments following her uncle's death. Augusta is travelling and cannot 'in the present rapid whirl of her movements, render her travelling costume exactly what it ought to be in the existing family circumstances'.[56] Augusta visits a local milliner in Burton, Berkshire:

> She [Augusta] wished to purchase a black veil and gloves, a black silk handkerchief for her neck, and to have some slight but appropriate alterations made in her hat.
>
> She found Mrs. Atkinson a person of polished and pleasing manners. In a country town, so remote from the metropolis, it could not be expected that her stock of goods was either large or of the first-rate materials, but the taste and elegance she displayed in making up the articles, compensated in a great measure for those deficiencies which people of sense will anticipate and overlook in such a situation.
>
> Miss Cleavland soon selected the articles she wanted, and Mrs. Atkinson courteously invited the ladies to rest themselves in her back-parlours, while she employed her needle in doing what was requisite at the hat and veil. They had not sat long when a very smart carriage stopped at the door, and a party of three ladies alighted, and came into the shop. Mrs. Atkinson laid down her work, and

[56] Harvey, *Singularity,* II, p. 107.

went to attend them, while Mrs. Graham and Augusta had a full view of all that passed through the glass-door.[57]

Augusta is making essential purchases to ensure the propriety of her mourning garments. She 'quickly' selects her items, rather than browsing in a leisurely manner. There is no subterfuge, as there is when Auretta 'closets' herself with her milliner with the excuse of buying mourning clothes. The items are not fashionable or 'first-rate', but demonstrate the 'taste and elegance' both of the milliner and her customers. Unusually, the process of manufacturing is shown, as Mrs. Atkinson 'employs her needle', allowing the reader to appreciate the time and labour such women spent in making such goods. As discussed earlier in this chapter, this is generally missing from novels, implying that the upper-class women involved do not consider the work involved in creating their garments. The three ladies who arrive in the carriage represent a more typical experience of fashionable shopping. One of these ladies, Miss Blennerhasset, addresses the milliner:

In a tone ought not perhaps to be used, indeed unless you were asking a culprit if he had forged a bill, or stolen a purse – "Have you any of the new Congress bonnets?"

The milliner replied – "No, madam – I have not ventured to order any of them in; the sale is uncertain, and they are very expensive."

The lady seemed to understand Mrs. Atkinson's business better than she did herself, for she exclaimed – "Dear! It would certainly be worth your while to keep things that are fashionable! Why, if I were in your place, in summer, when people are down at their country-seats, and parties are travelling in the vicinity of the lakes, I would keep quite a show-shop!"

[57] Harvey, *Singularity*, II, pp. 107-8.

Miss Blennerhasset's rudeness illustrates the vulgarity of ladies who might seek 'first-rate' goods and fashionable clothing. The name Blennerhasset is one with a long history of noble Northumbrian and Irish lineage, as well as the name of a village in Cumbria. The 'Congress bonnet' is not a term used in contemporary fashion plates, demonstrating the ephemerality of the fashion and suggesting Mrs. Atkinson was correct not to stock them. Congress canvas is a stiff fabric used for needlepoint, which was possibly used for a bonnet. It seems most likely that the 'Congress bonnet' is similar to the 'long, tunnel-like visors' satirised by William Brocas in Figure 23, which clearly suggests sexual congress. The exaggerated versions in Brocas's caricature 'force the wearer to rely on male escorts to walk, although the men's own high collars and large hats turn them into unreliable guides'.[58] Augusta and Miss Blennerhasset both seek headwear that obscures the face; however Augusta's veil indicates her mourning, and is tasteful, elegant, and modest. Miss Blennerhasset seeks a bonnet to demonstrate her extravagance and fashionable status, as well as the possibility of congress as satirised in the plates. While a veil is subtle and purposeful, the bonnet draws attention, an exaggerated cover of the face which prevents the wearer from seeing clearly, and is expensive to purchase. Miss Blennerhasset's sight is restricted physically and metaphorically by fashion, focussing on fashion at the expense of other, more important issues such as good manners and respectability.

The importance of mourning clothes is recognised by other sensible literary heroines. The protagonist of Radcliffe's *Udolpho,* Emily, is embarrassed by her lack of mourning clothes: her appearance 'excited some surprise; for she was without a hat, having had time only to throw on her veil before she left the castle, a circumstance, that compelled her to regret again the want of money, without which is was impossible

[58] The Metropolitan Museum of Art <https://www.metmuseum.org> [accessed 02 August 2021].

to procure this necessary article of dress'.[59] Like Augusta in *Singularity*, Emily wishes to be clothed appropriately. She is concerned here by the way others perceive her, and the surprise she excites, rather than her own feelings. Contrary to the stereotypical female shopper identified by Mackie, the 'coquette' who shops to fulfil her heart and emotions, Emily and Augusta shop to conform to propriety and meet basic standards. Augusta economises by having an existing hat modified, rather than purchasing a new one. Berg points out 'women and men were intensely conscious of clothing, and clothing accounted for high insurance valuations and detailed bequests'.[60] As discussed in the previous chapter, clothing was expensive. A black veil also conceals one of the titular mysteries in *Udolpho*, when Emily discovers a picture 'concealed by a veil of black silk'.[61] The veil has potential here to conceal and reveal, with its presence conveying mystery. Considering veils in this sense lends a coquettish and playful air to Augusta and Emily's purchases, inviting the gaze in a subtler fashion than the outlandish bonnets favoured by Miss Blennerhasset. Harvey illustrates that it is possible to be modest without completely abandoning fashion, and subtly demonstrates the potential intrigue of an appropriately dressed woman.

Even heroines such as Augusta, however, are vulnerable to the improprieties of shopping. When Augusta leaves the shop in *Singularity*, she is almost trampled by a bull, but rescued by her love interest De Rosemonde. This scene is similar to that in *Hulne Abbey*, where Mrs Silke is trampled by a bull, discussed in the previous chapter, but Augusta manages to avoid the danger, humiliation, and potential scandal of such an episode. Unlike Mrs Silke, Augusta has a love interest to rescue her, the man she ultimately marries. De Rosemonde's presence is a reminder that shopping is not

[59] Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), ed. Jacqueline Howard (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), p. 454.
[60] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, pp. 238-9.
[61] Radcliffe, *Udolpho*, p. 233.

exclusively feminine, nor is it a private activity, and the bull reinforces this sense of vulnerability. As De Rosemonde is present on a shopping street, it can be assumed that he was engaged in the activity of shopping. Kowaleski-Wallace points out that shopping 'operates around a series of binary oppositions': the masculine elements of business, control, and mastery, and the feminine connotations of family, a lack of control, no mastery, and emotion.[62] In Burney's *Evelina,* the heroine visits a milliner, and immediately runs 'up stairs to wipe the dirt off my gown' where she has fallen in the street'.[63] These encounters in *Singularity* and *Evelina* draw attention to the liminality of the milliner and similar shops; as well as being a space between public and private, they are somewhere between indoors and outdoors – not being the private space of a home, nor the outside space of gardens or a park. It is easier for 'dirt' to cross the threshold of a milliner's, as they tend to exit directly onto the street, and far more people enter and exit than a residential building. The doorway is a physical boundary, but one that can be easily crossed, especially in a shop as it is open to the public. As discussed in the previous chapter, literary 'dirt' can harbour disease or scandal; metaphorically, gossip could cross the threshold as easily as dirt on a person's gown. The visitor to the milliner's is under public scrutiny, and must consider the dirt that accompanies them. Miss Watkins calls Evelina 'into the shop, to look at caps and ribbons', where she finds Sir Clement 'busily engaged in looking at lace ruffles'.[64] When Sir Clement speaks to Evelina, she turns away 'to examine the ribbons'.[65] The three characters in the scene 'look at' and 'examine' goods, rather than purchasing, and Sir Clement engages in the feminine pastime of window-shopping for lace ruffles. In this sense, he is similar to Austen's Tilney conversing about muslin with Catherine

[62] Kowaleski-Wallace, p. 84.
[63] Burney, *Evelina,* p. 327.
[64] Burney, *Evelina,* p. 327.
[65] Burney, *Evelina,* p. 328.

Morland, discussed in the previous chapter. In contrast, Harvey's De Rosemonde does not enter the milliner's, but rescues Augusta in the street outside the shop. The liminality of the shop, its setting between public/private, indoors/outdoors, frivolity/necessity, is transferred to the goods it contains in literary scenes where men look at lace ruffles and women purchase veils. The potential for the blurring of boundaries in the shop makes it an ideal literary device to explore gender, sensibility, and class. Shops in the early nineteenth century were constantly changing and evolving, and their novelty enhances literary narratives.

As one might therefore expect, Harvey presents the activity of shopping in different ways for men and for women. In *Mountalyth,* Montgomery is in mourning for his uncle. His:

> travelling dress was black, but it required some little additions to constitute mourning […] he called at a shop near St. Nicholas's Church, and furnished himself with the articles he wanted.[66]

The brevity of this masculine visit to a shop, compared to Augusta's visit to the milliner for her own mourning dress, reflects the gendered difference in shopping. Montgomery's visit is more functional: shopping is simply to purchase items, rather than a leisure activity, for him. As we shall see in the following section, however, men who enjoyed the purchasing of items were positioned as collectors. This allowed the male shopper to pontificate to others about their interest, and, by presenting items carefully selected and curated into a collection, elevating them above female fripperies such as ribbons, trim, and lace, and thus above consumerism. Their collections were treated as akin to museums, or cabinets of curiosities, rather than indulgence in consumer society.

[66] Harvey, *Mountalyth,* I, p. 227.

Part Two: House Sales

Figure 24: Virgin Mary and Christ Child by Guido Reni ca. 1600-13.

A house sale takes place in just one of the novels, *Any Thing*, but Harvey devotes an entire chapter to the visit, where both genders are seen to shop. Lady Walpole proposes a visit to Orton Abbey, a fictional abbey close to the Walpoles's Buckinghamshire seat, Holleyfield. As discussed in the previous chapter, it is later revealed that Lady Walpole orchestrates this visit so that she can arrange Cordelia's wedding to Lochcarron, linking the estate sale to the narrative of the novel. Orton Abbey is:

> a neighbouring mansion, which, together with its furniture, library, paintings, and stud, was advertised for sale; it had been the residence of a distinguished character lately deceased, a man of great wealth and taste, and contained numerous articles of real value, and many more to which the whims and caprices of fashion attached an importance beyond their intrinsic worth.[67]

Harvey makes an immediate distinction here between 'articles of real value' and fashionable items, to prepare the reader for the visit to Orton Abbey. The 'delightful' excursion takes place as planned, and the party proceed to:

> Orton-abbey; the house and grounds, both possessing every embellishment which the refined taste and travelled experience of their late owner could bestow, amply recompensed the trouble of walking over them […] the admirable collection of paintings was the grand object of attraction to every visitor who either possessed or pretended to taste; those were not, as is seen in many old mansions, dispersed in different apartments all over the house, but their collector, who had expended all the interest and much of the capital of a very splendid fortune, in thus decorating his dwelling, had built a superb gallery for their reception, and here the eye might riot of their varied beauties without ever being

[67] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 43.

> weary; might compare and comment on their separate excellence, and decide on the chief merits of not only each artist, but of each individual picture.[68]

Again, Harvey comments on taste: some visitors will possess it, others will pretend to. Although the collector had 'great wealth and taste', not all of the objects contained within the abbey are tasteful. The paintings are not 'dispersed', but concentrated in one gallery, much as descriptions of clothing, jewellery, and other objects saturate Harvey's novels. At the abbey, Cordelia and her party meet Sir Roger Cottingham, 'a gentleman about fifty, short, plump, and habited in an olive-brown coat and a white waistcoat', his wife and daughter.[69] Miss Cottingham, the eccentrically dressed young woman described in Chapter Three, interrupts the party 'expressing their admiration, and doing ample justice to the merits of the illusive canvass' and 'turning on her heel with quick contempt, exclaimed, "Pshaw, it's English!" "And certainly not the less to be valued on that account, dear Ellen," said Harrington.'[70] Miss Cottingham, a young lady obsessed with the exotic, feels 'contempt' for English paintings. Harvey lightly satirises her fashionable taste, as she dismisses a painting simply for being English. Her mother expresses similar views, showing her 'favourite curiosities', which are all 'foreign'. Lady Cottingham invites her husband Sir Roger to '"walk down stairs and look at the beautiful china; it is real old, oriental porcelain, and the most splendid and elegant I ever saw"'.[71] Lady Cottingham:

> triumphantly exhibited her favourite curiosities; descanting most learnedly on their several beauties, pointing out in what each separate piece excelled, and classing them with all the precision of an adept in any science […] "Pho," said Sir Roger, "I think nothing of these foreign things; our own manufacture beats

[68] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 44.
[69] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 45.
[70] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 46.
[71] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 47.

them hollow; I would not give our last set of Wedgewood, which only cost me twenty pounds, for all the stuff that is here." "Oh, fie! Sir Rogers," said Lady Cottingham, with a smile, "I really am ashamed of your want of taste –" "Taste!" interrupted the baronet, "what taste can there be in admiring such ugly things; you talk of pictures, but I should be glad to know what design, what expression, what grace, what perspective you can find here."

Lady Cottingham, however, does not dismiss pieces simply for being English, but points out how each piece excels, and gives a 'learned' analysis of the goods. Harvey is drawing attention to the amount of time such people with 'fashionable' tastes spent considering material objects. There is also an element of criticism of fashionable female education, where upper-class women were taught 'precision' in lighter subjects such as music, dancing, and etiquette, rather than science. Sir Roger explores the premises, and returns 'exclaiming, "I have seen something which I think is worth the whole of the pictures and china in the house; I beg you will all do me the favour to come and see it".[72] Sir Roger leads the party to a large shed at the garden to show them 'this great curiosity':

A monster more dreadful than any of those which provoked the prowess of the valorous knights, whose achievements were treasured in the capacious memory of Don Quixote, only it neither was nor ever had been animated by the springs of life, but was sculptured in grey marble and, all circumstances considered, was not ill executed, whether it was ill designed was another question, for certainly it was a complete nondescript, and not the likeness of any thing on earth; the dimensions were large to enormity; the head was that usually painted for a dragon; the jaws were extended to a terrific wideness, for the original use of this

[72] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 48.

> beautiful object had been to serve as a mouth-piece for a small fountain; it had besides the wings of a griffin, widely extended, the tail of a dragon, the scales of a crocodile, and feet armed with long talons.[73]

Harvey refers to Miguel de Cervantes's novel, *Don Quixote* (1605). Most of Don Quixote's accomplishments take place in his imagination; for example, he believes that the windmills he encounters are giants he must defeat in combat. The evocation of Don Quixote alongside the 'valorous knights' he admires remind the reader that reality and imagination are two separate entities, and the tastes of the Cottinghams are as unreliable as Don Quixote's delusion. Miss Cottingham declares that the figure is 'ugly' and that '"fountains […] were out of fashion, and at all events, the figure for such a purpose ought to be a mermaid, a dolphin, or something of that description." "And you ought to be a goose," said her father"'.[74] The baronet declares: 'you will hardly contend that the exertion of labour requisite to make a teapot, can be put in competition with that which must be exerted to carve an image; then as to durability, the wear of ages will not injure this, but your china may be gone in a moment; besides, there is an air of antiquity about this figure which stamps a high value upon it"'.[75] His wife argues that '"that is exactly the reason why I prize the old china […] beyond that, the beauty of the colours exceeds any thing of the kind that art can produce; and if more labour be requisite to form this grotesque image, I think you will grant at least that there is an infinitely greater display of genius in the figures which ornament real oriental porcelain"'.[76] Lord Hootside returns:

> followed by the woman whose business it was to show the house, bearing in her hand one of the china vases which her ladyship admired so much […] the

[73] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 49.
[74] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 49.
[75] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 49.
[76] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 49-50.

> earl took it from her, and holding it beside the marble monster, exhibited one of the figures pourtrayed on it, so like the nondescript, that any indifferent spectator would have affirmed the one to be the original, and the other the copy. All present unanimously declared that no likeness could be more striking, and even Lady Cottingham smiled an assent to the general opinion; "Well," said Sir Roger, "as every body sees so great a resemblance they shall not be separated; we will purchase both on the day of sale, if the price is not altogether out of the way." Lady Cottingham looked delighted, but her daughter declared "she thought nothing of either of them; the paintings were a thousand times better worth buying."[77]

Just as clothes and jewellery crowd her novels, the objects for sale crowd this chapter: paintings, figures, china, and other items. The figure selected by Sir Roger is 'ugly' and 'monstrous', but it is valued for the labour required to produce such an object. The masculine reaction to this item, provided by Sir Roger, is to recognise the practical aspects of it; while the women revere it for its appearance. It is ironic that the women find the figure 'ugly', but admire the figures on the china vases that Lord Hootside proves to be exact copies. Male guidance is required to 'exhibit' this 'resemblance' to the female party, demonstrating the importance of masculine assistance when women negotiate the complexities of commercial objects. The figure, 'more dreadful' than the monsters of *Don Quixote,* has 'dimensions large to enormity'. The 'giants, monsters and dragons' of Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quixote* are already enormous, and the figure looms 'more dreadful' above them.[78] The giants, monsters and dragons in *Don Quixote,* however, are fictional results of an overactive

[77] Harvey, *Any Thing,* p. 50.
[78] Miguel Cervantes, *Don Quixote* (1605), ed. John Rutherford (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 515.

imagination. Although Sir Roger is presented as the tastemaker, instructing the women, it seems perhaps that his taste is equally as vulgar as he believes Lady Cottingham's to be.

A divide between genders becomes apparent at this house sale. The more frivolous women, the Cottinghams, are overwhelmed by the collection and require a masculine curator to guide them through the myriad items to make appropriate purchases. Cordelia, 'obeying the impulse of a naturally fine taste, was attracted towards a Virgin and Child by Guido, on which she stood gazing, wrapt in mute wonder and delight': unlike the Cottinghams, who loudly express their opinions, Cordelia is 'mute' in her admiration of the painting, which is the only painting that Sir Roger declares worth purchasing.[79] The 'Virgin and Child by Guido' seems likely to be a painting by Guido Reni, an Italian Baroque painter renowned for his classical renderings of classical and mythological scenes. Art collectors such as the first Duke of Northumberland and Sir Robert Walpole owned paintings by Guido Reni, demonstrating their popularity during the eighteenth century, particularly with contemporary fashion for neoclassicalism.[80] Cordelia demonstrates that women are capable of demonstrating 'naturally fine taste', but the Cottinghams offer the squawking, tasteless potential of female consumerism. Although Sir Roger commends the painting, he is guided by Cordelia's mute admiration of it, rather than picking it out himself. His ostentatious instruction of the women is therefore unnecessary, representing a masculine bullying of his female relatives, rather than his own good taste.

[79] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 48.
[80] The State Hermitage Museum Online <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org> [accessed 05 August 2020].

Figure 25: Winchester geese, c. 1660

Harvey presents Sir Roger as a blustering figure of masculinity, who insults his female relatives through metaphors of geese. When Sir Roger tells his daughter she ought to be a goose, he refers to the 'multitude of every species of domestic fowls […] their united notes created a concert, which for loudness of tone and variety of sounds at least, could scarcely have been equalled by all the instruments in the world', including 'geese with their goslings'.[81] The female party, with the exception of Cordelia, create such a cacophony of noise with their opinions that they are comparable to these 'fowls' who create a 'clamour' of meaningless sound. Johnson defines 'goose' as 'a large waterfowl proverbially noted, I know not why, for foolishness', citing examples of 'goose' as fool in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *King Lear*.[82] His insult is ironic, as Sir Roger is the person who speaks the most at the estate sale, pontificating about the goods present. It is clear, however, that men such as Sir Roger expect women to remain 'mute' and listen to his opinions. The conflation

[81] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 48.
[82] Johnson's Dictionary Online.

of these women with geese, along with their eccentric costumes described in the previous chapter, create a caricature of femininity. Sir Roger's monster 'figure' is an opposing caricature of masculinity: also a winged creature, with its 'wings of a griffin', this creature is immobile, but looms above the geese in terms of dimension and its monstrous form; a silent threat to the foolish feminine goose.

Sir Roger's description of his daughters as geese also has Shakespearean connotations. King Lear's fool declares: 'Winter's not gone yet, if the wild geese fly that way'.[83] In the notes, Stanley Wells cites Thomas Dekker's *The Bellman of London*, where 'Tom of Bedlam's band of madcaps, otherwise called "Poor Tom's flock of wild geese", whom here thou seest by his black and blue naked arms to be a man beaten to the world'.[84] The phrase 'Winchester geese' was used by Shakespeare as a euphemism for prostitutes in *Henry VI* and *Troilus and Cressida*, a reference to the Bishop of Winchester's ownership of brothels in Southwark.[85] A 'galled goose' is a person suffering from venereal disease, either a prostitute or her client.[86] The slipware dish in Figure 26 is a visual representation of this phrase, demonstrating its popular use. These fallen women were buried in the un-consecrated grounds of Cross Bones Cemetery, in spite of the church's profits from their work. Geese, therefore, carry the darker connotations of prostitution, the ultimate exploitation of the female by consumerism, and of disease. There is some irony in the fact that Cordelia admires a religious scene, while her companions are compared to prostitutes, given the conflation of prostitution and religion. King Lear despairs of his 'pelican daughters', a reference to the 'ancient fable that young pelicans fed on their parents' blood, which

[83] William Shakespeare, *King Lear* ed. Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), II.4.39. The OED has Shakespeare as one of the first users of the phrase 'wild goose chase'.
[84] Stanley Wells, 'Notes' in *King Lear*, p. 162.
[85] Kenneth Muir, 'Notes' in *Troilus and Cressida* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 192.
[86] Muir, 'Notes', p. 192.

came to be applied to Christ's redemption of mankind by his blood'.[87] The pelican is therefore something of a paradox: both a religious figure, and a parasitic creature that drains its parents' blood. Cottingham perhaps views his daughters as similarly parasitic: immoral fowl that wish only to consume. Cordelia, meanwhile, is superior, offering some redemption of the feminine consumer. King Lear, when reunited with his beloved daughter, declares: 'We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage'.[88]

The bird metaphors used throughout *King Lear* demonstrate the paradoxes and complications of fatherhood and stereotypical gender roles in a way that resonates in *Any Thing*. Cottingham admires Cordelia as an ideal daughter, but encounters the paradoxes and ironies of her consumerism; he derides his own daughters as foolish and likens them to prostitutes, which dishonours himself and his family as well as the women. If Cottingham's daughters are frivolous, he has failed to educate them appropriately as a father. Harvey subtly demonstrates the intrinsic links between men and women: insulting femininity reflects equally upon the masculine. Sir Roger's bombastic disparaging of women, when placed beside Cordelia's 'mute' dignity, exposes his own faults, and ironically elevates the heroine above his masculine pomposity: the reader is left admiring Cordelia's silent good taste over Sir Roger's loud self-aggrandizement. While his female companions might be compared to 'geese' and 'pelicans', Sir Roger is like Shakespeare's 'frantic Talbot' in *Henry VI,* although Harvey does not explicitly make this link: 'like a peacock sweep along his tail; / We'll pull his plumes and take away his train'.[89] The 'triumph' and pride of the peacock can easily be taken away: the masculine pomposity of Sir Roger invites 'pulling' and deconstruction.

[87] Shakespeare, *King Lear,* III.4.39; Wells, 'Notes', p. 190.
[88] Shakespeare, *King Lear,* V. 3. 9.
[89] William Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part One,* ed. Michael Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), III.3.6-7.

The monstrous dragon-griffin hybrid and the foolish goose are two opposing examples of the follies of humanity: Sir Roger purchases an enormous, but hideous, figure to demonstrate his good taste, while his wife and daughter exclaim loudly over expensive paintings and china that are mere imitations of other art. Neither offers an ideal version of consumerism: perhaps the most tasteful consumer in the party visiting the estate sale is Cordelia, who quietly appreciates Guido's religious scene and takes her own wonderment and enjoyment from the painting. This internal 'wonder' is one of the potential benefits of consumerism: a person can own an object that elevates not their status, as the china or the figure might when it is admired by others, but benefits the owner on a higher level. Cordelia does not purchase the Guido painting, but Sir Roger upholds the painting as the only one that he would buy from the estate sale. Sir Roger therefore benefits from Cordelia's good taste, but she remains disengaged from consumerism. While this denotes her superiority, it also means that Cordelia is similar to the window-shoppers derided by *The Weekly Visitor* above: for 'want of female modesty', they browse goods with no intention of buying. The female shopper is caught in a paradox: if she buys goods, she becomes a consumer, but if she only browses, she lays herself open to the charge of lacking 'female modesty'.

The Shakespearean associations continue throughout *Any Thing,* associating femininity with silence, which reinforces the desired female attitude towards shopping. Cordelia shares her name with the heroine of Shakespeare's *King Lear* and has a similar nature. When Harvey's Cordelia admires the painting, she is as 'mute' as the 'silent' Cordelia in Shakespeare, when asked to declare her love to her father.[90] Nahum Tate's version of *King Lear* was the stage version in London from 1681 to 1838, with 'the dubious distinction of ending with Lear giving Cordelia as a bride to

[90] Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act 1, Scene 1, Line 56.

Edgar'.[91] In the original Shakespeare play, Cordelia and her father both die, and Cordelia never interacts with Edgar. Edward Tomarken argues that Tate 'transformed the original tragedy into a political drama about the family as a microcosm of the state', where Cordelia's indifference to Lear is caused by her love for Edgar.[92] Samuel Johnson praises *King Lear,* and Tomarken states 'for Johnson, the tragedy engages the interest of the general reader because, although few of us can identify with the dilemma of a degraded king, most care about the suffering of an injured father'.[93] Johnson favours Tate's amended conclusion of *King Lear,* as he was '"many years ago so shocked by *Cordelia's* death, that I know not whether I ever endured to read again the last scenes of the play till I undertook to revise them as an editor"'.[94] Although Tate's version was the one most often performed in the early nineteenth century, it seems likely that the well-read Jane Harvey was aware of the original ending to *King Lear*.

Harvey's Cordelia is married to a man of her stepmother's choosing, and like Shakespeare's Cordelia she remains mute, not only when viewing the painting, but when she is presented with her potential husband before marriage. Immediately after the wedding ceremony in *Any Thing*, Cordelia's husband abandons her and she is not reunited with him until the end of the novel: like Tate's representation of Cordelia, the fate of her love remains uncertain until proceedings are complete. As Tomarken points out, 'Johnson's interpretation is firmly based upon deep sympathy for Cordelia'.[95] When Cordelia is abandoned by her husband in *Any Thing*, she almost dies, but she is reunited with him and they fall in love at the end of the novel. In a

[91] Edward Tomarken, *Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare: The Discipline of Criticism* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), p. 90.
[92] Tomarken, p. 90.
[93] Tomarken, p. 95.
[94] Tomarken, p. 96.
[95] Tomarken, p. 97.

sense, Harvey incorporates both of Cordelia's Shakespearean fates: her death in the original, and her love story in Tate's version. A part of Harvey's Cordelia does die when her marriage almost fails; when she recovers, she loses her naivety and commits herself to morality, to reconcile with her husband. Harvey's Cordelia, therefore, is both a tragic heroine, and the centre of a political drama with 'family as the microcosm of state'. The Walpole family is complicated, with Cordelia raised apart from her father, returning just before his death, and Lady Walpole rapidly marrying again and discarding the Walpole title. Lady Walpole represents the older aristocracy, while Cordelia and her husband depict the new aristocracy, with a focus on using their titles and wealth to do good.

Cordelia's silence is feminine: the masculine stereotype forbids shyness or quietness in men, expecting men to be like Sir Roger instead. In *Singularity,* Augusta has two 'silent admirers', 'for bashfulness sealed the lips of Edward Monkhouse, and poverty those of De Rosemonde'.[96] Augusta believes her admirers to be 'repelling back those breathings of love […] for what young man of the modern day is bashful?'[97] Augusta acknowledges, however, that she 'did not wish either of them to speak out more clearly'.[98] Just as Sir Roger seems to admire Cordelia's silence, and her husband resents it, Augusta wishes her suitors to remain silent rather than push their cases, as she has no romantic feelings for Monkhouse and knows she cannot marry De Rosemonde at this stage in the narrative, before his status as heir to the Corbridge title is discovered. De Rosemonde's silence and patience are ultimately rewarded, when his true identity is recognised and he marries Augusta. Similarly, Jane Austen's desirable romantic hero Mr Darcy is frequently 'silent', suggesting that

[96] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 242.
[97] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 242.
[98] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 243.

silence was a quality that women desired in men.[99] Female writers such as Harvey and Austen demonstrate what their heroines find attractive, qualities that men of the period might not recognise themselves. Silence for Cordelia in *Any Thing*, however, has unfortunate consequences: as discussed above, her silence leads Lochcarron to misunderstand her intelligence and abandon her, which draws further parallels with *King Lear*. Tate eliminates the part of the fool, and Tomarken argues 'since the part of the fool and that of Cordelia could easily have been assumed by the same actor and since Lear uses the term "fool" to refer to Cordelia, Johnson's sensitivity to the function of these two characters bring him closest to the modern position'.[100]

Cordelia's surname is as significant as her first name, both when considering her role as a female shopper, and in the wider context of the novel. The choice of the surname Walpole draws the reader's attention to the famous and prolific contemporary collector Horace Walpole. Like the owner of Orton Abbey, who creates a gallery to display his 'admirable collection of paintings', Marion Harney points out that Horace Walpole designed his house Strawberry Hill 'to create a background to Walpole's collection of cultural and historical artefacts – each "singular", "unique", or "rare" – artfully displayed to produce their own narrative'.[101] Walpole was influenced by the taste of the first Duke of Northumberland: as stated in Chapter One, the Duke of Northumberland commissioned Robert Adam for his major London debut in 1761, to remodel the interiors of Syon House, only a few miles away from Walpole's Strawberry Hill. John Wilton-Ely states that 'Walpole at the heart of fashionable society had been swift to praise' Adam's work at Syon House,

[99] Austen, *Pride and Prejudice,* p. 19.
[100] Tomarken, p. 97.
[101] Marion Harney, *Place-Making for the Imagination: Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. xiv.

and Adam went on to design some of the interiors at Strawberry Hill.[102] The Duke of Northumberland's Alnwick Castle, like Strawberry Hill, favoured the Gothic revivalist style.[103] Although, as discussed in Chapter One, Walpole insulted the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, it is clear that he respected their taste enough to commission the same architect.

Walpole was a collector of luxury items, and for masculine consumers, the purchase of goods was often an art form, closer to the curation of a collection than the frivolous visits to a milliner depicted in *Ethelia* and *Pride and Prejudice.* Wainwright argues Walpole recognised that objects have a 'continuous life of their own and are merely the temporary property of collector after collector'.[104] In the Preface to 'A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole', Walpole acknowledges that his collection was 'made out of the spoils of many renowned cabinets'.[105] There is an irony in the ephemerality of these collections: they are collected for their rarity and prestige, to curate and protect antiquities, but prestigious 'cabinets' of curiosities must be disbanded for other collectors such as Walpole to own them and to enhance their collections. There was work involved in the masculine curation of goods: Wainwright states the 'acquisition of appropriate furnishings was complicated and time consuming [in the eighteenth century …] furniture could be purchased from shops and auctions or acquired as presents from friends'.[106] In a 1765 letter to Cole, Horace Walpole 'envied and coveted' the 'ancient wooden chairs […] carved or

[102] John Wilton-Ely, 'Style and Serendipity: Adam, Walpole and Strawberry Hill', *The British Art Journal* 11:3 (2011), 3-14 (p. 4). Robert Adam was a prominent neoclassical architect, born in Scotland, who set up his practice in London.
[103] Laura Mayer discusses the influence of Elizabeth Percy on this style, especially in the landscapes and garden buildings of Alnwick Castle. J. Mordaunt Crook discusses the importance of the 'Gothick' in Northumberland in 'Northumbrian Gothick', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 121:5201 (1973), 271-83.
[104] Wainwright, pp. 27-8.
[105] Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole* (Twickenham: Strawberry-Hill Press, 1784), p. 2.
[106] Wainwright, p. 26.

turned in the most uncouth and whimsical forms' belonging to a Mr Bateman, who purchased them from 'different farmhouses in Herefordshire'.[107] In 1790, Walpole writes to Jane Pope to tell her he has settled with John Seth about some furniture, following appraisal, and 'agreed to take the goods and furniture at their valuation'.[108] Walter Scott furnished his farmhouse 'from sales, from brokers' shops, and from all manners of hospitals for incurable furniture'.[109] Scott also suggested that 'a sale might be advantageously made to the public of our miscellaneous stock & of such books especially of the showy kind as you can collect by exchange (not purchase) in London'.[110]

More locally, in 1716, a country house like Gateshead Park in Northumbria, was an outpost, relying for goods on 'parcels from town, and town was London, not Newcastle. Furniture came from London as did tea, ordering from Twinings, hats and dress material for the ladies and wigs and fishing rods for the men'.[111] Such renowned collectors as Walpole and Scott, therefore, made considered purchases from sources such as estate sales and 'hospitals for incurable furniture'. This masculine consumerism took place away from the 'gilded theatres' and social exchanges of feminine shopping. The rarity of the objects they collected creates a competitiveness: the 'figure' Sir Roger purchases is completely unique, and his ownership prevents another from buying it. 'Cabinets' could be compared and judged to ascertain which collector had the best taste. Cordelia's surname therefore associates her with the more respectable kind of shopping, as a masculine collector rather than a woman shopping for fripperies, as discussed above. Through Cordelia, Harvey demonstrates that

[107] Walpole, *Correspondence*, I, p. 90.
[108] Walpole, XLII, pp. 306-7.
[109] Walter Scott, *Correspondence, The Walter Scott Digital Archive* <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk> [accessed 01 November 2020], p. 224
[110] Scott, *Correspondence*, p. 426.
[111] Purdue, *Merchants and Gentry,* p. 75.

women could also be collectors, and shop in a more considered and tasteful fashion than the frivolous Auretta and Lydia, or even Augusta, who shops within the constraints of respectable femininity.

Shopping and consumerism capture details of character that speak to the wider world and characterisation of the people in Harvey's novels. As we have seen in this chapter, feminine consumerism is a more frivolous pursuit, while the masculine purchasing of goods is a considered, time-consuming purchase. Cordelia navigates the challenging terrain of femininity to become recognised for her good taste, and in her marriage, she demonstrates her role beyond that of passive, silent wife to become a modern, responsible member of the nobility alongside her husband. In *Singularity*, Augusta is similarly conscientious when she is elevated through marriage to the nobility. When considered side-by-side, Cordelia illustrates the inherent good taste that can be present in the nobility, while Augusta portrays a respectable and sensible femininity that deserves to be elevated to a higher class. By contrast, a woman such as Auretta, who frequents the milliner's shop, sinks into the pitfalls of female frivolity, and almost drags her respectable sister with her. Harvey's women are not ill-fated, but they take risks when they challenge the boundaries of society with activities such as shopping. Augusta and Cordelia trace a social shift in views of female shoppers in just ten years, as they are not condemned by their consumerism as easily as Auretta is. Rather, they are virtuous women who can shop in an appropriate fashion. As shopping became less of a novelty, worries about the impact on femininity relaxed, and room was made for sensible women to make purchases without demeaning their characters. Like the dresses described in the previous chapter, shopping in Harvey's novels invites the reader into a scene, but it is one with movement, unlike the tableaux of Lady Cottingham or Melissa Mannark explored in

Chapter Three. The reader, like the woman concerned in the novel, must navigate material culture – and the contemporary reader may be reassured to see that women like Cordelia and Augusta could enjoy shopping while remaining virtuous.

Chapter Five: Domestic

Figure 26: 'A Family in an Interior Taking Tea', c. 1740

Figure 27: Lost Treasures at Strawberry Hill

The final chapter of this thesis considers the domestic, the private domain of the household, as a contrast to the more public arena of the shop. The clothing and jewellery described in the second and third chapters are worn most often in the home, whether it is the wearer's home or a home they are visiting. Harvey's novels centre on the home. In her earlier Gothic novels, the home is the titular castle, such as Warkfield or Tynemouth, whereas in her later fiction, the home tends to be the mansion of an upper-class family, such as the home of the Cleavlands in *Singularity,* or Holleyfield in *Any Thing.* Karen Lipsedge writes about the rise of domestic sociability in the eighteenth century, creating a more sophisticated visual culture where a member of the gentry '"could read the signs of an interior and interpret it in terms" of the owner's education, wealth, taste and social position'.[1] This judgement of the owner's taste meant 'the need to represent oneself appropriately in the interior and the surrounding garden became of the utmost significance.'[2] This quotation from Lipsedge can be applied to Lady Starbuck's negligent display of diamonds in *Singularity,* as discussed in Chapter Two, as well as Harvey's other novels. Wainwright identifies 'Romantic Interiors' that resist traditional classification, which include: Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill; William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey; Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford; George and Mary Elizabeth Lucy's Charlecote Park; and Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick's Goodrich Court.[3] Wainwright states that: 'such interiors are each so singular and indeed unique, they should each be in a class of one, their own.'[4] As this chapter will explore, this singularity can be applied to the interiors focused upon by Harvey in her novels, in particular those in *Singularity.*

[1] Karen Lipsedge, *Domestic Space in Eighteenth-Century British Novels* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 2. Lipsedge cites Charles Saumarez-Smith, *Eighteenth Century Design: Design and Domestic Interior in England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993).
[2] Lipsedge, p. 22
[3] Wainwright, p. 3.
[4] Wainwright, p. 2.

As this thesis considers visual culture, and domestic sociability caused an increased sophistication in the visual, it is therefore fitting to devote the final chapter to the interiors within which clothes and jewellery were displayed, and their significance in terms of taste. The first section considers interiors in Jane Harvey's *Singularity* and Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy*. The second section considers china in *Singularity* and in Layton's *Hulne Abbey*. In *Singularity,* a teapot is invested with emotional and familial connections, allowing women to dominate the domestic space while exploring the liminal arenas of shops and similar exterior locations. In *Hulne Abbey,* the manufacturing process is explored. In both novels, china goods are used in the exploration of gender and class.

Part One: Interiors

In interior design, as in clothing, fashion and taste were two separate entities: fashion favoured excess, while taste avoided vulgarity. Lipsedge states the 'desire to express individuality through interior décor was tempered largely by the fear of appearing vulgar […] during this period it became a powerful weapon with which to insinuate a lack of breeding.'[5] The period Lipsedge writes about is the eighteenth century, but such anxieties continued into the early nineteenth century. A vulgar house was 'characterised by its excess.'[6] Peter N. Lindfield argues that 'furniture makers predominantly supplied pieces according to the Neoclassical patterns […] or in the Greek and Egyptian Revival styles' in the early nineteenth century.[7] From 1808, Gothic Revival furniture began to regain popularity, but it was considered suitable only for a 'real Gothic mansion'.[8] Diana Davis states that 'the taste for "French", overlaid by an appetite for picturesque variety, resulted in a stylistic promiscuity in Regency interiors', a time period she identifies as 1790 – 1830.[9] The trend for furniture thus echoed the trends for fashion as described in Chapter Three: an eclectic mix of decorative items selected from different cultures. Lindfield refers to a 'chaos of modern Gothic Excrescences' in the Regency period, which can be extended to furniture more generally.[10] A great deal of money was spent on furnishings, just as it was on clothing: Hugh Percy, third Duke of Northumberland (1785-1847), 'is thought to have spent £160,000 on furnishings in his London townhouse'.[11]

[5] Lipsedge, p. 49.
[6] Lipsedge, p. 49.
[7] Peter N. Lindfield, *Georgian Gothic: Medievalist Architecture, Furniture and Interiors, 1730-1840* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 180.
[8] Lindfield, p. 180.
[9] Diana Davis, *The Tastemakers: British Dealers and the Anglo-Gallic Interior, 1785-1865* (London: Yale University Press, 2020), p. 1.
[10] Lindfield, p. 180.
[11] Davis, p. 41.

In *Singularity*, Harvey juxtaposes the fashionable Starbuck Castle with the tasteful and homely Hornsby House. Harvey uses not only descriptions of furnishings, but also allusions to scale, so that characters are at times dwarfed by their surroundings. The interiors, as Lipsedge suggests above, reflect the natures of their owners. The settings in *Singularity* are fictional, but Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy* is set in the historical Alnwick Castle. Margaret Harvey describes a 'Gothick' interior in her stage directions, but this is in keeping with the historical setting. Jane Harvey uses historical castles, Warkworth and Tynemouth, in *Warkfield Castle* and *The Castle of Tynemouth.* The key difference is that, by the time Jane and Margaret were writing, Warkworth and Tynemouth Castles were both ruins, while Alnwick Castle still stood, and housed the collections of the Dukes of Northumberland.

Singularity **(1822)**

Singularity is primarily preoccupied with money and luxury, as reflected in Harvey's rich description of interiors. Such descriptions are comparable to those of clothing and jewellery explored in the previous chapter, in the length and depth Harvey devotes to them. The first interior description given is that of Starbuck Castle. When the Cleavlands visit Starbuck Castle, they find:

> a dazzling display of every luxury in season, set out with a splendour and magnificence which could hardly be excelled in any private mansion in the kingdom […] such irrefragable proofs of wealth as will always leave the scantily-endowed givers of entertainments at humble distance.[12]

The distinction between a castle and the Cleavlands's 'private mansion' is clear even in terms of architecture, and the Starbucks' display is intended to humble the visitors.

[12] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 61.

Starbuck Castle is clearly not a Gothic castle, like Tynemouth or Warkfield. However, Mrs Cleavland is descended from a 'genteel family' and has:

> seen all the grandeur, the pomp, and the glitter that can adorn and diversify [wealth], and knew exactly in what degree a well-regulated mind ought to appreciate such things; and happy in the enjoyment of the purest domestic felicity, she could see all the dazzling finery of Starbuck Castle, without feeling any sense of inferiority.[13]

The 'finery' on 'dazzling display' at Starbuck Castle thus fails to achieve Sir Thomas Starbuck's objectives, in spite of his attempts to control others' perception of his ancestral seat, as he tells his family: 'there is Woburn Abbey, and Holkham, and Scarisbrick [… but] I don't think any one of them comes up to Starbuck Castle'.[14] Sir Thomas's snobbery is apparent throughout the novel, and he 'think[s] very little of the wisdom of that head which has never been able to raise the feet of its owner to the step of a carriage'.[15] Sir Thomas is the presumptive heir of the Earl of Corbridge, but he is 'related to the family in a very distant degree'.[16] The 'self-imputed pre-eminence' of the Starbucks leads to their own downfall, when two of their daughters elope to escape their parents' 'own selfish views of avarice and aggrandizement', and they are disinherited by the Earl of Corbridge in favour of his newly discovered nephew.[17]

Harvey does not condemn the entire aristocracy in *Singularity,* or in her novels as a whole, instead engaging in contemporary debates that considered overindulgence in luxury as synonymous with idleness or 'indolence'. Aristocrats such as the Duke of Northumberland had busy political careers and were expected to invest in the local

[13] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 74.
[14] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 77.
[15] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 79.
[16] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 18.
[17] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 81; Harvey, *Singularity,* III, p. 276.

area. Sekora states: 'eighteenth-century expectations for a great landed magnate were fairly well acknowledged: he should make annual contributions to charities such as schools, hospitals and the like', and as well as taking the lead in celebrating national events and victories in war, 'he should entertain the local nobility and gentry; he should provide appropriate cups or plates for races and other local contests, as well as using his influence at the centre of power for local economic advantage'.[18] In *Singularity,* Cleavland tells his family that Sir Thomas 'expects one day to rank with nobility, he aspires to all sorts of county honours – chairman at public meetings, foreman of the grand jury, high sheriff, and member of parliament'.[19] However, Sir Thomas does not take on the associated responsibilities of titled aristocracy: instead, 'to heap sum on sum, add acre to acre, and boast of his wealth and possessions, are the only purposes for which he lives'.[20] By contrast, when the true heir, Eugene, inherits the Corbridge title, 'raised to a very high rank amidst the subjects of this great realm, Eugene and his Augusta never lose sight of the important duties attached to it'.[21] Eugene and Augusta prioritise their social responsibilities, pursuing a 'never-ceasing and unwearied effort to give happiness to every human being within the sphere of their influence'.[22] As a counterpoint to the ostentatious Starbuck Castle, very little description is offered of Eastwell, the 'modern and elegant villa in the very vicinity of the emporium of the muses, Oxford', where Eugene and Augusta choose to live.[23] Certainly, an 'elegant villa' is more modest than Starbuck Castle. Harvey limits her criticism to the landed nobility who do not recognise and fulfil their responsibilities to the local community. Distant relations such as the Starbucks are not sufficiently noble

[18] Sekora, p. 40.
[19] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, pp. 17-8.
[20] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 20.
[21] Harvey, *Singularity,* III, p. 348.
[22] Harvey, *Singularity,* III, p. 349.
[23] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 68.

to recognise these duties, whereas Eugene has an innate understanding of his role. The name 'Eugene' is unusual for the time period, and further directs the reader towards Eugene's potential inheritance, as 'Eugene' is derived from the Greek εὐγενής, meaning 'well-born'.[24] Luxury, however, remains essential to showcase status and support local and national trade, and the precariousness of social standing is reflected in the complicated nature of consumption, and the ease with which the Starbucks commit multiple faux pas.

Furnishings contribute to the narrative by providing insight into the characters who own them, although they can mislead more naïve characters such as Augusta. In Harvey's earlier Gothic novels, castles are given the name of their area, as are Tynemouth and Warkfield. In *Singularity,* however, houses carry the surnames of their respective families, which reinforces their importance to characterisation. Starbuck Castle contains luxury commodities appropriate to the prideful and avaricious Starbucks, whereas Hornsby House is full of objects that reflect the importance of 'order and comfort' to the Hornsbys. As J. Stobart points out, 'choice, combined with the imperatives of fashion and taste […] could form a minefield of dangerous and costly mistakes for the unaware, not least because of the information asymmetries that came with new goods and changing tastes'.[25] There was no definitive guide provided for the 'unaware', such as Augusta: she must learn by trial and error over the course of the novel the significance of objects and what they indicate about their owners. The choices represented by consumerism, the 'singular' and 'wonderful' novelties that can be purchased with ease by the middling classes, thus represent a 'minefield' of dangers for the Romantic consumer. Every commodity acquired reflects a choice made by its

[24] OED.
[25] J. Stobart, *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 4.

owners. Items are set apart by their functionality: those at Starbuck Castle are selected for their 'splendour and magnificence', as an outward display of ostentatious wealth. The goods at Hornsby House, a working agricultural farm, all have a purpose: food, china, or cutlery, or items that contribute to the house's 'order and comfort'. Their value, of course, is objective, as is a definition of luxury. The Starbucks have, as Cleavland points out, more money than they know what to do with, while the Hornsbys are concerned with function, agricultural pursuits, and providing hospitality to their friends and family.

The Starbucks own some functional items, but how such objects are used is as important as their purchase. This is typical of eighteenth-century aristocracy; as Kelch states, the aristocracy were voracious consumers, seeking to display their status.[26] The books at Starbuck Castle are never read, and the countries they depict have not been travelled by the Starbucks:

> In the castle library, all the "Royal and Noble Authors" were there, glowing in morocco and glittering in gold; with volumes of history which their owner never read, and travels which the baronet and his lady perused without exactly knowing whether countries explored by the travellers lay under the eastern or western hemisphere.[27]

The Starbucks demonstrate the potential idleness and vice associated with luxury, in contrast with the hardworking Hornsbys. Their belongings are selected as status symbols. The "Royal and Noble Authors" references Horace Walpole's 'A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England' (1758), which listed works by royalty and nobility, including Richard I, Edward II, Lord Cobham, and the Earl of Worcester.

[26] Kelch, p. 2.
[27] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 66.

The Starbucks appropriate luxury consumables for their own gain because of their ill-breeding. Harvey's Sir Thomas was merely 'a grazier in a sequestered part of Lancashire – even then, rich as a Jew', according to Cleavland, before he inherited Sir Danby Starbuck's 'hoards' and became heir presumptive to the earl of Corbridge, and the Cleavland family frequently criticise the 'pride' of the Starbucks.[28] Cleavland's opinions of Sir Thomas demonstrate his investment in the status quo and a resistance to this kind of social mobility. Alongside the revelation of Eugene's 'true identity' as heir to the Corbridge fortune, *Singularity* tracks the importance of breeding, like novels such as Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline* (1788) and Henry Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones* (1749). Sir Thomas Starbuck's love of luxury, along with his idleness, speaks to a wider contemporary discourse. John Sekora traces associations between indulgence in luxury and idleness back to the fall of the Roman Empire.[29] In 1748, James Thomson wrote *The Castle of Indolence* as part of a political opposition to Robert Walpole, where an overindulgence in luxury drains the bodies of the castle's residents.[30]

Harvey provides the reader with a contrasting domestic interior at Hornsby House, home of the 'opulent farmer' Mr Hornsby and his daughter, where Mr Cleavland and his daughter Augusta stay during their travels, and find:

> Every appearance of neatness and comfort, but quite in the antique style […] so great a degree of order and comfort reigned throughout the whole, that Augusta

[28] Harvey, *Singularity*, I p. 17. Jane Austen's unsavoury character John Thorpe uses the phrase 'rich as a Jew' twice in *Northanger Abbey*. As René Goldman points out, it is unlikely that Austen ever met a Jewish person. In the nineteenth century, the 'majority of the Jews lived in wretched poverty in small towns in Poland or Russia, or urban slums like London's East End. To the wilfully ignorant and blind, Jews were all rich and Jewish finance controlled the world' (Goldman, n.p.). Authors such as Harvey and Austen no doubt owe such clichés in part to classic literature such as Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. Before 1834, Jewish people in England struggled even to qualify for poor relief (David Feldman, p. 163).
[29] Sekora, p. 40.
[30] Christine Gerrard, '*The Castle of Indolence* and the Opposition to Walpole', *The Review of English Studies* 41:161 (1990), 45-64 (p. 48).

> felt much better reconciled to the idea of passing the night in this place, than she had been first invited to do so.[31]

The Hornsbys do not wish to humble their guests as the Starbucks do, preferring to offer them hospitality and comfort. Their belongings are 'in the antique style', rather than 'in season' like those at Starbuck Castle. There is a class distinction here, with the home of a wealthy farmer more inviting than the castle of aristocrats. The Starbucks are social climbers, but the Hornsbys know and keep their place, and this is reflected in the unpretentious comfort of their home. Their table is set with:

> china dishes (literally so, not plates) [sic] […] piled high with toast, tea-cakes, and numerous tempting varieties, enriched with plums and spices; all was on such an enormous scale, that, with the huge form of the lady-president, Augusta felt as if seated at the board of some giant of old – every thing which surrounded her conspired to carry on the mental delusion.[32]

Although the comforts of Hornsby House make Augusta feel small, it is an enveloped feeling, almost that of a fairy tale, with 'giants of old', rather than the diminishment of the 'inferiority' that the Starbucks aim to inspire. The description invokes a return to childhood and its innocence and comforts, rather than humility. Augusta is dwarfed by her surroundings as if she is visiting the house of a 'giant': the scale of items present creates 'mental delusion'. Susan Stewart argues that 'we are enveloped by the gigantic, surrounded by it, enclosed within its shadow […] both the miniature and the gigantic may be described through metaphors of containment – the miniature as contained, the gigantic as container'.[33] Cynthia Sundberg Wall describes the giant things in Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* as 'exaggerated images of a culture obsessed with

[31] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, pp. 211-2.
[32] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 213.
[33] Stewart, p. 71.

things – as the auction-going Walpole knew firsthand'.[34] Wall goes on to discuss Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron,* where Reeve 'repossesses the giant things of *Otranto* into a domesticated (if gothic) setting, laying the less visible tracks for quietly smuggling interior detail in the boxcars of special effects'.[35] Wall argues that 'Reeve, like Richardson, Radcliffe, and to a lesser (contemporary) extent Scott, was critically scolded for her domestic details and prolix descriptions'.[36] As Wall argues, however, in Reeve's work these details domesticate the Gothic. In Harvey's *Singularity,* details of interiors can alienate, as in Starbuck Castle, or comfort, as in Hornsby House. The objects at Hornsby House contrast with the miniatures described in Chapter Three, not only in terms of size, but as 'container' opposing 'contained'. If the miniatures indicate interiority and a sense of the internal self, the interior of Hornsby House encompasses exteriority, a person's place within the external world, both physically (in the sense that Augusta is present within the house) and metaphorically (in the sense that the interior mirrors the Hornsbys' position within their local community).

The interiors of Starbuck Castle and Hornsby House reflect a recurring realisation in *Singularity,* which is that things are not always as they seem. Augusta's love interest, De Rosemonde, is revealed to be the nephew of the Earl of Corbridge, and Miss Hornsby is in fact kind. Eugene 'takes after the wrong side of the house; for had he resembled his father instead of his mother, his identity would have been more easily proved'.[37] Harvey implies here that a person's heritage, and even their class status, could be identified by their appearance. The gigantic 'envelopes' Augusta, allowing the 'enormous scale' of the objects to contribute to the 'comfort' she feels, not only from the objects present, but from the 'huge form of the lady-president' and her father

[34] Wall, p. 4.
[35] Wall, p. 204.
[36] Wall, p. 204.
[37] Harvey, *Singularity,* III, p.

Mr Hornsby. Augusta 'thought this place, and every thing belonging to it, the most singular and even wonderful of any she had ever seen'.[38] Harvey's allusion here to the novel's title, *Singularity,* indicates the significance of Hornsby House, as it is here that Augusta learns not to judge based on appearances, one of the most important messages of this novel. Augusta is young and 'had the faults of young people; she was perhaps too easily captivated with a polished exterior and pleasing address […] she had been charmed with Mrs. Graham's winning and graceful way'.[39] Augusta contrasts Mrs. Graham with 'the uncourtly roughness of Miss Hornsby, then in one of her most testy moods, the comparison was so much to the disadvantage of the last-named lady, that it made Augusta the more eager to return to Kirby-mere.'[40] However, Augusta comes to realise 'how weak, how fallacious, and how dangerous it is, in forming our opinions of, and attachments to strangers, to suffer ourselves to be guided by fancy, impulse, and any thing else but the solid rules of reason and principle.'[41] Within the enormity of Hornsby House's interior, Augusta's attention is initially misdirected to the external appearance of women such as Miss Hornsby and Mrs. Graham, but eventually she recognises the importance of seeing beyond the outside, to recognise the virtues of the person within. Learning to see past the surface is a conventional moral, which Harvey uses to validate the figures she promotes and embodies as embodying traditional virtues, such as Miss Hornsby. The Starbucks *can* be judged by their appearances, reflecting their shallowness, while a depth is attributed to Eugene and Miss Hornsby that goes beyond the surface of what they seem.

A third example of significant domestic interiors takes place within the characterisation of Mrs. Graham. Mrs. Graham contrasts to Lady Starbuck and Miss

[38] Harvey, *Singularity,* I, p. 224.
[39] Harvey, *Singularity,* II, p. 98.
[40] Harvey, *Singularity,* II, p. 98.
[41] Harvey, *Singularity,* II, pp. 98-9.

Hornsby, because it is the *lack* of a domestic interior that reflects the nature of her character. When Augusta meets her, Mrs Graham is the housekeeper at the secluded Kirby-mere House, which belongs to the Starbucks. The mystery of Mrs Graham is enhanced by the lack of interiority, both the physical interior of a house belonging to her, and the metaphorical interiority of her emotions and secrets. Just as the reader is given more insight into Miss Hornsby's character through her home's interior, Mrs Graham's secrecy is reflected by her lack of permanent residence – as the examples above reflect, domestic interiors can give insight into character, but Augusta, and the reader, cannot benefit from this knowledge with Mrs Graham. The interior of Kirby-mere is not described: Harvey instead describes the views from the windows, of 'an endless variety of all that is allowed to constitute the perfection of picturesque and rural beauty'.[42] Mrs Graham is 'very different from what [Augusta] would have expected, both as an inhabitant of this secluded place and the housekeeper of lady Starbuck; she […] was still a very smart little figure, with a pleasant countenance and pleasing address'.[43]

Mrs Graham initially provides a less complex representation of her class than Miss Hornsby does: she has a clearly defined role as a housekeeper and servant, while Miss Hornsby is the daughter of a wealthy farmer, but speaks in dialect and is a 'rough', masculine woman – characteristics more typical of a member of the working class. However, Mrs Graham is later revealed to be the sister of Mr. St. George, heir to the Corbridge title. Augusta is initially 'charmed' by the housekeeper and chooses to remain with her at Kirby-mere House, the Starbucks' old house, rather than progress to Hornsby House, but witnesses Mrs Graham digging with a spade in the courtyard

[42] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 157.
[43] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 162.

late at night and is 'terrified, chilled, and horror-struck, images of the most dreadful description, and appalling deeds of darkness, thronged to her imagination'.[44] Her digging with a spade becomes doubly duplicitous when we consider that her actions take place at somebody else's residence, where she presumably does not have the authority to dig in the courtyard. Mrs Graham eventually reveals that she was captured with St George in Paris, and corroborates the identity of Augusta's drawing master, De Rosemonde, as Eugene St George, heir to the Earl of Corbridge: Augusta witnessed her burying the documentary evidence that verifies Eugene's identity. Prior to Mrs Graham telling her story to the Cleavlands, however, Augusta is simply aware that the housekeeper is concealing a secret, which is a potential 'deed of darkness'. Items such as these documents, and the teapot Augusta purchases, are the key to revealing Eugene's true identity, to be discussed in more detail below. It is not until Cleavland acquires £10,000 that is owed to him that he deems his fortune equal to that of the Corbridges and condones his daughter's marriage to Eugene, which indicates the importance of money, in spite of Cleavland's condemnation of the Starbucks for their avarice, as well as a focus on equality of status.

Raymond de Percy (1822)

In her play *Raymond de Percy*, Margaret Harvey recognises the propriety of some display of wealth in the setting of Alnwick Castle. Her stage directions for the opening scene dictate a '*Banqueting Hall, with Proper Ornaments*'.[45] This simple direction is a marked contrast from the detailed descriptions of luxury that Jane Harvey revels in. In part this is because Starbuck Castle is fictional, whereas Alnwick Castle is a real

[44] Harvey, *Singularity*, II, pp. 92-3.
[45] Margaret Harvey, 'Raymond de Percy', p. 183.

location. *Raymond de Percy* is set in the sixteenth century, and medieval and renaissance rooms were more sparsely furnished than those in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 'The Lay of the Minstrel's Daughter', Margaret describes the castle's interior in more detail:

> Within its silent chambers still were placed,
> Of costly kind, thought faded and defaced,
> It's last Lord's furniture and pictures rare,
> Of steel-clad knights and ladies passing fair.[46]

Inherited furniture and ancestral portraits are the 'proper ornaments' one might expect to find in a castle such as Alnwick. The 'Proper Ornaments' also reflect the nobility and bravery of the Earl of Northumberland, established in the opening scene, when Sir Conrade declares 'Thanks, brave Northumberland, thy courtesy keeps pace and honours the rich means with which thou art blest.'[47] Northumberland 'honours' his belongings, giving the sense that he is deserving of the ornaments and castle that belong to him. Margaret Harvey presents Northumberland as a worthy nobleman, similar to the younger generations in Jane Harvey's novels, such as Eugene and Augusta in *Singularity*. The Earl of Northumberland in the sixteenth century, Henry Percy, was known as the Wizard Earl for his scientific and alchemical experiments. He was born at Tynemouth Castle, where Jane Harvey sets her novel. Margaret Harvey's Earl of Northumberland refers to the 'brave Northumbrians', and his son Raymond as their 'gallant leader, how every trial proves your worth beyond my utmost hopes', when his son returns victorious from battle.[48] The family is thus established from the beginning as excellent examples of nobility, deserving of their titles. The

[46] Margaret Harvey, *The Lay of the Minstrel's Daughter,* pp. 32-3.
[47] Margaret Harvey, 'Raymond de Percy', p. 183.
[48] Margaret Harvey, 'Raymond de Percy', p. 185.

'proper ornaments' indicate the importance of the historical accuracy of the play, and endorses the propriety of an ancient noble family such as the Percys, who used 'proper' items to demonstrate their ancestry.

In the second scene, Margaret describes '*a Gothick Apartment in Alnwick Castle.*'[49] In this apartment, Northumberland's fool, Motley, and his dwarf, Goliah, drink wine and discover that someone has attempted to poison Raymond, a fitting plotline for a 'Gothick apartment'. Conrade attempts to poison Raymond, but his servant Kenrick saves Raymond rather than administering the poison as directed. Raymond pretends to die, but attends a joust at Alnwick in disguise and reveals his identity at the end, after Conrade's villainy has been revealed. Meanwhile, the fool Motley stalks Conrade as a spectre: *'a gigantic figure slowly rises, bearing a flaming torch in one hand, and the other resting on the hilt of his sword',* threatening the 'guilty soul' of Kenrick and Conrade.[50] Throughout the play there are mentions of 'dark magic spells and incantations foul', and Northumberland warns that 'wicked spirits hold their revels' in the Marble Hall, and 'from the dark and dreary vaults beneath, strange and unhallowed sounds, at midnight hour, have often struck the lonely traveller's ear.'[51] This imagery is fitting within the Gothic setting of the play, and reminds the audience of *The Castle of Otranto,* where a gigantic spectre roams the castle. *Raymond de Percy* also has a similar plotline to Walter Scott's *Doom of Devorgoil* (1818; published 1830). The 'gigantic' here is supposed to be terrifying, rather than enveloping, as it is in Jane Harvey's *Singularity.* Although, as Franceschina points out, the names of the fools are the same as those in M. G. Lewis's *The Castle Spectre,* the fools here are on the side of the 'good' characters rather than the villains.[52] In *Raymond de Percy,* the

[49] Margaret Harvey, 'Raymond de Percy', p. 188.
[50] Margaret Harvey, 'Raymond de Percy', p. 210.
[51] Margaret Harvey, 'Raymond de Percy', p. 209, p. 188, p. 188.
[52] Franceschina, p. 6.

supernatural threat is alluded to, and a false ghost is created, but no true supernatural events take place, such as the murdered heroine's return as a ghost in Lewis's play, or the spirit of Lord Erick in Scott's play.

The third scene of the play takes place in '*an old Apartment in Conrade's Castle, the Floor chequered in large Squares of black and white, to represent Marble'*.[53] The contrast to Starbuck Castle in this Marble Hall, and in the 'Gothick apartment', is again apparent: there is nothing 'Gothick' or 'old' in Starbuck Castle; the display is of 'every luxury in season', with volumes of books 'glittering in gold'. The starkness of Margaret's medieval setting contrasts with the modernity of consumerism and luxury. The Duke of Northumberland's famous collections, discussed in previous chapters, in part explain the brevity of Margaret's stage directions, as the contents of Alnwick Castle are well-documented, but antiquities are more respectable than the fashionable, 'in season' consumables that fill Starbuck Castle. The sparsity of description also highlights the importance of the words selected by Margaret. Following on from the first three scenes, interior descriptions are no longer given, although architectural descriptions are provided of Conrade's castle and the Earl of Angus's castle. Robert Adam's most substantial Gothic commission took place at Alnwick Castle, and although the State Rooms were destroyed in 1852, Peter N. Lindfield argues that Adam's copious designs suggest that 'Alnwick's Gothic interiors reflected the Neoclassical Gothic of Walpole's Round Room rather than the clearly Gothic designs for Croome Court's church.'[54]

As suggested earlier, the 'Gothic' apartment in *Raymond de Percy* invites comparison to Jane Harvey's Gothic castles in her earlier novels, which also have

[53] Margaret Harvey, 'Raymond de Percy', p. 189.
[54] Lindfield, p. 176.

historical settings. *The Castle of Tynemouth* is set in the 1490s, and *Warkfield Castle* in the 1640s. Like Alnwick Castle, Tynemouth Castle is a real place, and although the titular castle in Jane's *Warkfield Castle* is fictional, it seems to be based on Warkworth Castle. Both Tynemouth Castle and Warkworth Castle are now ruins, which was also the case when Jane Harvey was writing. Jane describes Warkfield Castle as having neither 'beauties of architecture nor the embellishments of external ornament'.[55] Warkfield Castle is taken over by parliamentary forces during the English Civil War, and 'together with the gardens and grounds belonging to it, had been most shamefully defaced and abused by republican soldiers'.[56] Alnwick Castle, Warkfield and Tynemouth are given the name of their estate rather than the family, and this is significant as Jane invests these castles with the history of their surroundings: Warkfield bears the scars of the Civil War, and Tynemouth is 'haunted' by local legends. Both castles, like Margaret's Alnwick Castle, belong to families who fully appreciate their ancestral and local legacy. Lord Meldon, in *Warkfield Castle,* enjoys 'a happy return to his native country, and a joyful restoration to the possessions of his ancestors'.[57] Even Meldon's steward, Meggison, 'participated in all the happiness of his beloved master; he thought no country like England, and no part of it like Northumberland, and no spot on the globe like Warkfield'.[58] Warkfield Castle, then, is not a place of supernatural terrors like Tynemouth: it is a home, to which Meldon longs to be restored to.

While *Warkfield Castle* is grounded in the military action of the English Civil War, *Tynemouth* centres on more supernatural threats, in a similar way to Margaret Harvey's *Raymond de Percy*. Tynemouth Castle is considered by Judith, the

[55] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* I, p. 1.
[56] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 184.
[57] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 182.
[58] Harvey, *Warkfield Castle,* II, p. 183.

superstitious nursemaid in *The Castle of Tynemouth*, to be in a 'chilling and dreary' situation'.[59] Little description of the interiors is given beyond the colours of rooms:

> Some were enchanted, and others haunted; in that [room] the furniture was yellow, which she termed a forsaken colour; and in this it was red, the reflection of which would, she [Judith] said, disorder the optic system.[60]

From the fourteenth century onwards, the colour yellow was associated with deception, envy, and dishonour, reinforced by medical associations between yellow bile and a choleric temperament. Greenish yellow signified demonic sulphur, and Judith's beliefs follow this tradition.[61] Red is perhaps a negative colour, especially for a young lady like Rosetta, for its political associations: during the Protestant Reformation it was linked to luxury and the excesses of the Catholic Church, which is especially relevant as many events in the novel take place in the Priory of Tynemouth. After the French Revolution, red became associated with progressive movements and radical left-wing politics.[62] The Paris militia wore blue and red cockades on their hats during the 1789 storming of the Bastille. Rosetta assures Judith 'that the colour of the hangings would not affect her sight in the least', which could refer to the disordered optics Judith fears, in the quotation above, or to revolutionary politics.[63] As discussed in the Introduction and Chapter Three, Jane Harvey sympathised with some of the ideals of the French Revolution, but was not radical politically and did not support the actions following the overthrow of the monarchy.

Judith also rejects a green room: 'No, my dear, you must not sleep in that room, on any account; for the furniture is of a most unlucky colour—*when the bed is green*,

[59] Harvey, *Castle of Tynemouth,* p. 25.
[60] Harvey, *Castle of Tynemouth,* p. 29.
[61] Michel Pastoureau, *Yellow: The History of a Color* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
[62] Michel Pastoureau, *Red: The History of a Color* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).
[63] Harvey, *Castle of Tynemouth,* p. 25.

sorrows are soon seen.'[64] Green was an ambivalent colour, associated with luck and hope, but also disorder and poison. It was seen as a changeable colour, in part because green pigments were so difficult to produce, and associated with the changeable and fleeting: childhood, love, and money.[65] Judith finally settles on a blue room, 'hung with tapestry, and furnished with a bed, curtains, and chairs of dark blue velvet; and true blue, Mrs. Judith declared, was the very best of all colours'.[66] Blue was associated with the Virgin Mary and royalty, as well as being worn by the Paris militia in the French Revolution, as mentioned above.[67] The colours are not enough to protect against witchcraft and the supernatural: Judith goes on to nail a horseshoe on the threshold, source a bedstead made of mountain-ash, 'the only wood proof against the power of witchcraft', and tapes a holed stone above the bed with images of St. Mary and St. Oswin.[68] Judith's belief in the supernatural places her at risk, when Madame de Montmiril accuses Judith of witchcraft and she is convicted to be burned. The eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries saw belief in magic abandoned by the middling and upper classes, until its resurgence in popularity in the 1820s, and eighteenth-century childrearing and household manuals even warned 'the servant-employing classes about the influence that "superstitious" matrons and nursemaids were having on their charges'.[69] Harvey clearly satirises Judith's suspicions, as the reader recognises that the rooms in Tynemouth Castle are normal, and that Judith can make supernatural associations with almost any colour.

[64] Harvey, *Castle of Tynemouth,* p. 25.
[65] Michel Pastoureau, *Green: The History of a Color* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).
[66] Harvey, *Castle of Tynemouth,* p. 26.
[67] Michel Pastoureau, *Blue: The History of a Color* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).
[68] Harvey, *Castle of Tynemouth,* p. 26.
[69] Thomas Waters, 'Magic and the British Middle Classes, 1750-1900', *Journal of British Studies* 54:3 (2015), 632-53 (p. 636).

This section has demonstrated the contrast between Jane Harvey's rich, lengthy descriptions of interior furnishings, and Margaret Harvey's sparse depictions of various rooms in Alnwick Castle. In Jane's novels, as we have seen, extravagant luxuries indicate vulgarity, while more functional objects can indicate a homeliness, as well as a contentment with one's station in life. In *Tynemouth,* Judith's superstitions are satirised when she finds superstitious associations with standard colours such as green, yellow, and red. Jane explores the way that events in Gothic novels frequently take place within domestic settings, and Judith's extreme superstition satirises the ways in which Gothic novelists place supernatural elements in the most innocuous of settings. Kate Ferguson Ellis writes about the Gothic preoccupation with the home, but it is the 'failed home that appears on its pages, the place from which some (usually "fallen" men) are locked out, and others (usually "innocent" women) are locked in'.[70] In *Tynemouth,* Rosetta is locked in her room – presumably the blue room approved of by Judith – by Madame de Montmiril. The domestic ideology is subverted, like the Gothic trope identified by Ellis, but the supernatural elements are satirical. If, as Ellis argues, 'we look at the Gothic novel as an increasingly insistent critique of the ideology of separate spheres', Harvey's satire subtly ridicules this ideology, contributing a further dimension to this commentary.

[70] Kate Ferguson Ellis, *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novels and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), p. ix.

Part Two: China

Figure 29: Teapot ca. 1770, Worcester factory

Figure 30: Manufacture of porcelain in the 18th century, (c1900).

Singularity (1822)

This section explores the importance of china and porcelain: as we shall see, the imagery surrounding Augusta's teapot in *Singularity* reflects the female role both as consumer and consumed commodity, but extends beyond this to emphasise important relationships in the novel. Augusta visits the 'famous earthenware manufactory' in 'Newcastle-under-Line [sic]' while travelling with her father, Cleavland, and his friend Doctor Monkhouse.[71] Doctor Monkhouse intends to 'order an elegant and complete dinner-service to be made according to pattern, similar to one he had lately seen at the table of his learned friend'.[72] During this visit, Augusta obtains an object that becomes pivotal to the plot of the novel:

> In looking over the various articles, Augusta found a teapot, which seemed to excel every thing of the kind she had before seen; the shape was singularly beautiful, and the porcelain had nearly the fineness of oriental china; but the landscapes that adorned it (for each side exhibited a different one) were what chiefly charmed Miss Cleavland, whose taste for perspective was ever predominant.[73]

The reference to the 'singularity' of the novel's title emphasises the importance of the teapot to the novel, as it leads to the conversation which reveals Eugene's heritage. Cleavland explains:

> "As we journeyed in the carriage, we talked of those landscapes [on the teapot], as having been copied from the drawings of Mr. St. George; and when my daughter was at Kirby-mere, and found, from Mrs. Graham, that she had been in France, she shewed her the teapot. This led to the information that

[71] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 134. The significance of the spelling of Newcastle-under-Line, and Newcastle as the Black Indies, is discussed in more detail in Chapter One.
[72] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 136.
[73] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 136.

> Mrs. Graham and her husband had been in St. George's service, and were prisoners with him in France; and all this I, of course, detailed to Clerimont, rejoicing with him on the light which we did not doubt it was in Mrs. Graham's power to throw on the subject of St. George's marriage"[74]

Mr. St. George is the brother and heir of the Earl of Corbridge, and Eugene is revealed to be his son. Cleavland declares: '"to that teapot which Augusta bought in Staffordshire, Mr. St. George may, for any thing I now see to the contrary, owe his restoration to the title and fortune of his ancestors"'.[75]

The likelihood of Augusta finding such an important object by chance while travelling is small, lending an element of fate and autonomy to the teapot that is similar to items such as Tolkien's ring, which seeks out the wearer. Mark Blackwell writes about it-narratives, which were popular in the eighteenth century:

> a type of prose fiction where inanimate objects (coins, waistcoats, pins, corkscrews, coaches) or animals […] serve as the central characters. Sometimes these characters enjoy a consciousness – and thus a perspective – of their own; sometimes they are merely narrative hubs around which other people's stories accumulate.[76]

Although *Singularity* is not an it-narrative, the teapot is a 'narrative hub' reminiscent of such fiction.

Commodities are typically valued for their newness when purchased in retail establishments such as the one in *Singularity.* In the previous chapter, we saw that

[74] Harvey, *Singularity*, III, pp. 110-1.
[75] Harvey, *Singularity*, III, p. 110.
[76] Mark Blackwell, 'Introduction' in *Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Mark Blackwell (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), pp. 9-19 (p. 10).

shoppers were concerned with the quality and fashionable status of goods in shops. The teapot acquired by Augusta is an unusual commodity because it is imperfect:

> the article was the faulty remnant of a superb tea-equipage made for the earl of Corbridge; the designs which she admired so much were, he understood, genuine views from nature, taken in France by the late Mr. St. George, his lordship's brother.[77]

Augusta can see beyond the 'faulty' nature of the teapot, appreciating its value beyond a commodity, which elevates her above the typical consumer. Like Cordelia in *Any Thing*, she can evaluate the worth of an object in its own right, rather than concerning herself with fashion. The teapot is only slightly damaged: 'the man pointed to a very small crack in the inner rim of the lid, and said that was the imperfection to which he alluded'.[78] This imperfection was previously unnoticed by Augusta, further emphasising its importance to her as more than a commodity.

The creation of the teapot for the Earl of Corbridge reinforces the links with Northumbria, and demonstrates that good taste was associated both with the elite and with those from the north of the country. Although *Singularity* is not set in Northumbria, there is an element of regionality in the significance attributed to a china object. China was an important commodity in Newcastle, where 'ownership of china was notably higher than anywhere else but London', even though ownership of other items 'representing novelty and increased comfort' was behind Kent, London, and South Lancashire.[79] According to Hanser, Northumbrian gentry collected chinaware en masse: 'by the mid eighteenth century, families such as the Bowes, Delavals, Swinburnes, and Greys of Backworth had acquired vast quantities of chinaware, for

[77] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 136-7.
[78] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 138.
[79] Scammell, p. 13.

both ornamental and everyday use'.[80] China and pottery was imported to be sold in Newcastle, but it was also manufactured there. The Tyneside pottery industry began with Mr John Warburton's brown-ware pottery, established around 1730. R. C. Bell describes the Tyneside earthenware industry as 'flourishing'[81] during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The distribution of earthenware goods demonstrates a 'local need' or desire for earthenware, and demonstrates that potteries took advantage of Newcastle's ports to import and export goods. The distribution of these commodities from Newcastle to the rest of the country was largely dependent on the ships and ports of the coal trade. Even the tea associated with china was a politically charged commodity: tea was among the most smuggled items in Scotland, which D. C. Janes attributes to the 'heavy duties imposed upon imports' such as tea, and the East India Company's 'monopoly of imports'.[82] The Edinburgh Tea Company advertised tea in the *Newcastle Chronicle* that was for sale in Newcastle and Durham. North-East England and tea were therefore an intrinsic part of the smuggling network, and the illicit politics surrounding this.

The teapot signifies heritage, history, and art, rather than representing a simple commodity. The trope of mysterious family lineage is used by a range of authors, including Ann Radcliffe, Frances Burney, and Charlotte Smith; however, none of these authors hinge a crucial plot revelation on a china teapot. The reader of Gothic and romantic literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is more familiar with an item such as a miniature or letter being used to reveal the true identity

[80] Hanser, p. 60.
[81] R. C. Bell, *Tyneside Pottery,* (London: Studio Vista, 1971), p. 6. Bell cites W. Parsons and W. White, *History, Directory and Gazette of the Counties of Durham and Northumberland,* volume I, 1827; volume II, 1828.
[82] Derek Charles Janes, 'Fine Gottenburgh Teas: the import and distribution of smuggled tea in Scotland and the north of England c. 1750–1780', *History of Retailing and Consumption* 2:3 (2016), 223-38 (p. 224).

of a person with unknown parentage: Harvey's earlier novel, *Warkfield Castle* (1802), is more conventional in this sense, with a miniature revealing the identity of the mysterious Dorcella, as discussed in Chapter Two. In comparison to a miniature, the teapot is ephemeral, and is in fact broken during a carriage ride. Its fragility symbolises the precarious journey of Eugene to his title of the Earl of Corbridge, and out of context seems comedic: but within the novel itself, Augusta's careful guarding of the teapot makes it as sentimental an item as a miniature. Jane Harvey's utilisation of such objects demonstrate her singularity as an author, in both senses of the Johnson definition: 'some character or quality by which one is distinguished from others', and 'any thing remarkable; a curiosity'.[83]

In spite of its imperfections, Augusta values the teapot and treats it as a fragile object, in a way that is reminiscent of the frail china jar in Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* (1714):

> Whether the nymph shall break Diana's law,
> Or some frail china jar receive a flaw;
> Or stain her honour, or her new brocade;
> Forget her prayers, or miss a masquerade;
> Or lose her heart, or necklace, at a ball.[84]

Augusta recognises the frailty of china, as she 'packed her newly-acquired treasure in a little basket, which was carefully placed on her knee'.[85] Doctor Monkhouse teases Augusta by asking 'what penalty he should incur by being so unfortunate as to

[83] Johnson's Dictionary Online.
[84] Alexander Pope, 'The Rape of the Lock' in *The Rape of the Lock and Other Major Writings,* ed. Leo Damrosch (London: Penguin Classics, 2011), pp. 37-59 (p. 46).
[85] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 139-140.

overturn the basket, and break her newly-acquired teapot'.[86] In *The Rape of the Lock,* as Beth Kowaleski-Wallace points out, the heroine:

> Belinda occupies two places within an economy of exchange. She is both […] an item to be traded and a consumer of commodities. Within the poem, one image – that of fine china or porcelain – best conveys her dual status. On the one hand, Belinda is like a precious piece of china, ready to be broken at any moment […] on the other hand, the poem asserts Belinda's keen appreciation for the very commodity that serves as a metaphor for her condition.[87]

Within this context, Dr Monkhouse's playful teasing takes on a sexual undertone: as a single man travelling with Augusta, Dr Monkhouse represents a potential threat to the virginity of Augusta, in the same way that Pope's flawed china jar is compared to a 'nymph' breaking Diana's law. A comparison to Diana is reminiscent of the three brides as the sister graces at the end of *Tynemouth,* discussed in Chapter Three.

The china in *The Rape of the Lock* encapsulates Belinda's condition and signals a range of qualities stereotypically associated with female shoppers: 'namely, an obsession with what is expensive and beautiful; a taste for what is sensual or luxurious; a longing to possess extraordinary articles of value.'[88] The reader sees Augusta acquiring the teapot, reinforcing these consumerist connotations, but it extends beyond this. The money is not seen explicitly changing hands, and the teapot moves beyond the metaphor of china as the consumed and consuming female in *The Rape of the Lock*: the teapot in *Singularity* reinforces a journey for the characters affected, provides an 'elegant memento of Mr. St. George's captivity', and creates unity between the St.

[86] Singularity, I, p. 150.
[87] Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China, and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 29:2 (1995), p. 153.
[88] Kowaleski-Wallace, 'Women, China and Consumer Culture', p. 154.

George family and the Cleavland family.[89] The importance of the teapot is reinforced throughout the novel: 'When Miss Cleavland took up the little basket which contained the memorable teapot, which seemed destined to be the source of discoveries, she found it well stored with gingerbread-cake and biscuits'.[90] Harvey openly acknowledges the teapot here as a 'memorable' object.

Augusta's teapot, which already has an imperfection on its lid, is damaged again during her travels, further proving its frailty. In the jolting carriage, when the cart 'lost its equilibrium', Miss Hornsby's 'massy frame' was:

> precipitated with violence against the slender one of her companion […] she grasped at the first object that presented itself, which happened to be the delicate arm of Augusta; her hold of the basket was of course loosened, and away it flew into the middle of the cart – open went the lid – out rolled the china; and poor Augusta, when she heard the small and terrible sound which denoted its demolition, could not repress a faint scream.[91]

Augusta's 'faint scream' is a further allusion to *The Rape of the Lock*:

> Not louder shrieks to pitying Heaven are cast,
> When husbands, or when lapdogs breathe their last,
> Or when rich China vessels, fall'n from high,
> In glittering dust and painted fragments lie![92]

The 'China vessel' falls from Augusta's lap, rather than 'on high', but her lap could be considered as 'on high' in the sense of her class status and status as an innocent,

[89] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 201.
[90] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 177.
[91] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, pp. 201-2.
[92] Pope, p. 51. Wollstonecraft, like Pope, associates women with lapdogs: as noted in Chapter Two, Wollstonecraft states that some women 'hug their chains, and fawn like the spaniel' (Wollstonecraft, p. 105).

virginal woman. Miss Hornsby's reaction to Augusta's distress further reinforces the class divide between the two women:

> "Fiddlestick!" responded Miss Hornsby – "what a to-de you're meaking about a bit crockery teapot! I could na help it, Lyney; an' what canna be cured mun ay be endured; we canna get through t'warld without menny things to bide war than a broken teapot".[93]

Miss Hornsby speaks in dialect, portraying her as a lower-class woman in comparison to Augusta, which complements her 'massy frame' and coarse clumsiness in knocking the basket from Augusta's lap. Unlike Augusta, Miss Hornsby dismisses the teapot as 'a bit crockery teapot', failing to recognise its importance. This episode, like other interactions between Miss Hornsby and Augusta described in the previous section, contrasts the class of the two women involved: while Miss Hornsby derides Augusta for valuing a frivolous commodity rather than the 'menny things' that trouble Miss Hornsby, Augusta judges Miss Hornsby for failing to recognise the artistic and sentimental value of the china teapot.

If the teapot is a metaphor for the female body, like the 'china jar' in *The Rape of the Lock,* its damage during travel reflects the potential for women to be sullied while travelling the country. The journey leaves a physical mark on the teapot. The further a woman moves into the world, the more she engages with the dangers of the public sphere. This offers a further statement on class: Miss Hornsby's scorn regarding the teapot's damage suggests that this is an upper-class concern. Miss Hornsby travels without a companion, seemingly without considering her reputation in the way that a woman of Augusta's standing might. Augusta's 'delicate arm' in contrast to Miss Hornsby's 'massy frame' juxtaposes the two women: it is clear which female body

[93] Harvey, *Singularity*, I, p. 202.

would be compared to the 'frail china'. Speakers in dialect are often viewed as more authentic and honest. Scholars such as Joan Beal state that dialect contributed to the 'creation and validation of working-class identities'.[94] In particular, 'Geordie', or Tyneside dialect, evoked 'sympathetic local, working-class figures'.[95] Harvey therefore presents the frailty of the female form as a class construct, rather than as fact: Miss Hornsby's physical solidity provides evidence of the potential for women to be physically and mentally stronger.

The associations created between china and Belinda in Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* are part of a wider discourse of feminisation in literature of the period. In Charles Lamb's essay 'Old China' (1823), the narrator Elia describes his partiality for china as follows:

> I have an almost feminine partiality for old china. When I go to see any great house, I inquire for the china-closet, and next for the picture gallery. I cannot defend the order of preference, but by saying, that we have all some taste or other, of too ancient a date to admit of our remembering distinctly that it was an acquired one. I can call to mind the first play, and the first exhibition, that I was taken to; but I am not conscious of a time when china jars and saucers were introduced into my imagination.[96]

Karen Fang argues that 'the ambitions of empire and the pleasure of commodity culture romantically coalesce' in 'Old China'.[97] Fang identifies Elia's description of porcelain as 'a visually beguiling item that induces in him an almost feminine desire.

[94] Joan Beal, 'Nineteenth-century dialect literature and the enregisterment of urban vernaculars' in *Dialect and Literature in the Long Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Jane Hodgson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 17-32 (p. 21).
[95] Beal, p. 22.
[96] Charles Lamb, 'Old China' in *Essays of Elia* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1823).
[97] Karen Fang, 'Empire, Coleridge, and Charles Lamb's Consumer Imagination', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 43:4 (2003), 815-43 (p. 815).

Such gendered description of longing suggests Elia's near participation in a distinctly female consumer culture'.[98] Fang states that, by figuring porcelain as 'a stimulus to "imagination"', 'Old China' 'conflates commodity culture with aesthetic inspiration to suggest an inclusive, consumer version of the romantic tradition'.[99] As Fang points out, 'Coleridge's career as a poet was supported by an annuity he received from the porcelain manufacturers Thomas and Josiah Wedgwood'.[100] The teapot combines the artistry of the landscape painting of St. George, with the consumerism and empire of porcelain. Fang argues:

> for Elia the aura of porcelain china emanates from its provenance […] Lamb's essay betrays its geopolitical concerns by using only [the term china]. "Old China" plays upon these geographic connotations of "china" when Elia's description of his teacup juxtaposes England and China, punningly comparing "our optics" and the angles of incidence "in our world", to the exotic and quaintly primitive society of the teacup's painted scene [a blue willow pattern containing landscape and figures].[101]

In *Singularity,* the teapot is referred to as both porcelain and china, conflating England and China, and presenting the less exotic landscape of France, rather than the Far Eastern scene of Lamb's china. Augusta's teapot provides a nuanced representation of colonialism, where England and China, romanticism and consumerism, co-exist rather than being juxtaposed as they are in 'Old China'.

Augusta demonstrates an emotional connection to the teapot, cradling it on her lap and shrieking when the teapot is broken. She is preoccupied with the item throughout the novel: 'Miss Cleavland did not forget her mutilated teapot, which doctor

[98] Fang, p. 815.
[99] Fang, p. 816.
[100] Fang, p. 816.
[101] Fang, p. 822.

Monkhouse had more than once promised her should have a new handle, when they were again all settled at Berkshire'.[102] This reflects that the teapot also has a social function, beyond its revelations surrounding Eugene: as Hanser points out, 'civilised' women such as Sara Delaval made social visits '"to drink tea"'.[103] The drinking of tea is posed as a 'civilised' and social 'ritual', bringing people together but also signifying their good taste by adopting this practice. Karen Lipsedge points out that possessing porcelain and china good was not enough, and it was equally important to have 'the ability to use these exotic goods as everyday functional objects; thereby transforming the ritual of tea-drinking into a powerful visual statement about the owner's, and in particular the hostess's, taste and social position.'[104] The functionality of the items, alongside their aesthetic qualities, is therefore important. Markman Ellis explains:

> the tea-table has proved a useful focus for recent discussions of the role of female manners, in constructing codes of polite behaviour in the early eighteenth century, as a space that is feminized, but not necessarily feminine. Furthermore, as a space gendered by its association with female manners, the tea-table is particularly associated with concerns about the anti-social energies in female taste and manners, especially luxury consumption and gossip.[105]

With such a fragile object, women are able to create their own circle where they are empowered, as hostess and social visitor. The tea ceremony also denotes a class division: in Figure 27, 'A Family in an Interior Taking Tea', a lower-class female figure peers through the door, excluded from the tea drinking ritual. As Ellis states,

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[102] Harvey, *Singularity*, Vol. 2, p. 104.
[103] Hanser, p. 62. Sara Delaval notes in her pocket diary a 1755 visit to Miss Wolleston's '"to drink tea".
[104] Lipsedge, p. 43.
[105] Markman Ellis, *Tea and The Tea-Table in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), Vol. 1, p. xxii.

female gossip and consumption might take place at this table, giving women their own feminine space in which to interact. The lower classes were kept separate, and the idea of lower classes drinking tea created social anxiety. However, tea drinking followed a common trajectory, what Sidney W. Mintz describes as the way in which 'substances might percolate downwards in English society, as they became less costly and more common, and as their use among the working poor rose'.[106] Mintz argues that, for the lower classes, the tea-drinking ritual bore little resemblance to higher-class tea drinking. 'Tea-drinking among the poor, for instance, probably began in connection with work, not with the home'.[107] For the upper classes, tea was a leisure activity, associated with domesticity, and distinct from the work connections made for the lower classes.

In *Singularity*, the teapot is associated with Northumbria, as a commodity commonly created in the North East of England. China is feminised, and associated with the perceived fragility of women, especially upper-class women like Augusta. Tea-drinking permeated the lower classes, but it was a different experience to the leisurely ritual enjoyed by the upper classes. In *Singularity* especially, the teapot is a narrative hub similar to the inanimate objects contained within eighteenth-century it-narratives. The complicated stories that surround the teapot and its origins submerge the reader in the importance of material goods, where a single china object can be invested with great significance.

[106] Sidney W. Mintz, 'The Changing Roles of Food in the Study of Consumption' in *Consumption and the World of Goods* eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), pp. 261-73 (p. 265).
[107] Mintz, p. 265.

Hulne Abbey (1820)

As we have seen, the location of the manufacturing process, and particularly its location in England rather than abroad, is important in *Singularity.* Jemima Layton also comments on the manufacture of china in *Hulne Abbey* (1820), and offers a similar commentary on class and feminisation. Isabella Neville, Jemima's married travelling companion, asks Mr Bearchurch if he went 'to Derby, to see the manufactory of china?'[108] Mr Bearchurch replies:

> 'I was fool enough to go there, and there again I was glutted with sweets. I do not care how china is made. There I was dragged to see a man turning a wheel, and shaping the china: then I was stewed to a place to see it baked; then hoisted up to see it painted; then there was a pack of frowsy old women what they call printing the china.'[109]

China is associated here with gluttony and the negative stereotype of 'frowsy old women', similar to the Tabbies discussed in Chapter Three. Mr Bearchurch, 'an ill-tempered, morose, rude clergyman' is 'glutted with sweets' and 'stewed to a place to see it baked', associating the manufacture of china with the baking of food.[110] A person can be gluttonous with food and overeat 'sweets': similarly, a person can overindulge in china. These women are a waste product of the 'manufactory of china': the opposite to those indulging in the tea drinking ceremony in the portrait above. The conversation between Mr Bearchurch and Isabella takes place at the tea-table, which makes his comments ironic as he is indulging in the ceremony that he frowns upon, highlighting the potential hypocrisies surrounding the tea ritual and purchase of china. As Mr Bearchurch is an 'ill-tempted, morose' clergyman, he offers a religious perspective on

[108] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 97.
[109] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 97-8.
[110] Layton, *Hulne Abbey*, II, p. 94.

porcelain, and the associated gluttony and frivolity. Isabella is a sensible married woman, who has been chosen to chaperone Jemima. Before her marriage, Isabella is in love with Mortimer de Montalt, but he marries a woman who is irresponsible and fritters his money away. In this didactic novel, Jemima Layton depicts the potential consequences of engaging in fashionable consumerism and the gossip ritual at the tea table. Just as the Tabbies, discussed in Chapter Three, are associated with vices such as pride and gambling, the 'frowsy' old women here are conflated with gluttony and offered as a cautionary tale to women such as Isabella and Jemima.

If the china in *Singularity* represents the liminality of the shopping spaces discussed in the previous chapter, brought into the feminised domestic space, the manufactory in *Hulne Abbey* depicts a less attractive feminine space. The manufactory is a workspace for women of a lower class, not the attractive young women like Isabella, who sits at the tea table and discusses this space with Mr Bearchurch. Isabella and Jemima, the young women of *Hulne Abbey*, do not set foot in the manufactory, but are informed of it by a clergyman. Their viewpoint of the manufactory is filtered through his masculine, and religious, lens. Mr Bearchurch explicitly states that he does not care how china is made. His viewpoint represents a wider lack of interest in the manufacturing process, in spite of the obsession with the goods that this process produces. In *Singularity,* Augusta is not concerned with the manufacturing process of her china teapot, beyond the painting of the landscapes onto it. The manufacturing space is an unsavoury location that should be avoided, especially by the upper-class women represented by Isabella and Jemima. As stated in Chapter Three, the manufacturing of clothing does not take place in novels, and the creation of china is also avoided. The negativity of the manufactory is similar to the incident in the water-

closet described in Chapter Three, suggesting that to consider what takes place in a manufactory is as inappropriate as a discussion of what happens in the water-closet.

This brief episode in *Hulne Abbey* makes associations between china and class that are similar to those in *Singularity*: the lower classes are linked with china through the manufacturing process and functionality, whereas the upper classes purchase china as decorative items and as part of the leisurely tea-drinking ritual. In both novels, china products are feminised: in *Singularity,* Augusta's teapot draws attention to the fragility of upper-class women, and in *Hulne Abbey,* china emphasises the unattractiveness of the women involved in its manufacture. In both novels, china provides an insight into the domestic life of the characters involved.

Conclusion

Figure 31: Merino walking dress, Swansdown muff and satin bonnet (1810s)

At the close of this study, we revisit *Any Thing But What You Expect*'s eccentric Lady Melissa Mannark, whom we first met in Chapter Three, and who crystallises this thesis's argument about the permeation of material culture and luxury goods in the writings of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton. Dressed 'in such a costume that it was difficult to ascertain whether or not it concealed a human form; she had superadded to her Merino travelling habit and furred cap, a mantle calculated for the meridian of a Russian winter', Melissa claims to believe that it is February; when her brother tells her that it is June, she 'thr[ows] off her mantle, unbutton[s] her habit, and snatching the cap from her head convert[s] it into a fan'.[1] While the heroine Cordelia believes Melissa to be deranged, Cordelia's stepmother Lady Walpole praises the elegance and accomplishments of Melissa and asserts that her eccentricities only make her more charming. This use of luxury goods to denote both elegance and eccentricity is typical of Harvey's manipulation of material culture. Melissa is at once charming and odd, contriving and deranged.

Harvey does not simply describe the presence of luxury objects: her usage of them illuminates the rich relationships between people and the materials which they chose to clothe themselves in, to adorn their living spaces with, and to give to others. The reader is immersed in materiality – just as the women in the novels are. Such detailed explorations of fashionable goods can be found throughout Harvey's novels, as well as in the works of Margaret Harvey and Jemima Layton. Their works anticipate the later Victorian obsession with decorative abundance and detail, a high stage in the history of what scholars have come to call 'things'. This term was introduced by scholars including Bill Brown, who writes about 'the indeterminate ontology where

[1] Harvey, *Any Thing*, p. 25; p. 27.

things seem slightly human and humans seem slightly thing-like'.[2] Lorraine Daston argues that without things we would not talk, and that things talk by accreting meaning.[3] Both of these arguments are relevant to the works of Jane and Margaret Harvey, and Layton: where 'things' are slightly human, and at times seem to speak through their accreted meaning, as this thesis has argued throughout.

This is the only scholarly study to date of women's writing of North-East England, 1790-1825 to consider Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton. As this thesis has demonstrated, their writings contain a particular, sometimes surprising, concentration on material goods. The literary and intellectual culture of North-East England remains largely overlooked, but an examination of this specific set of regional writers has revealed that their works are alive, varied, and engaged. The findings of this thesis challenge scholarly London-centric tendencies, just as the working of Jane and Margaret Harvey and Jemima Layton challenged a general assumption in the early nineteenth century that all culture and fashion was contained within the country's capital. The North East was seen as the Black Indies when compared to the rest of England, chiefly associated with coal mining, as we saw in Chapter One – a stereotype which remains today. As we have seen, however, the works of Jane Harvey, Margaret Harvey, and Jemima Layton, are populated with the upper and middling classes, subverting the stereotype of the North East as a predominantly working-class region. Their knowledge of material culture, and their representations of Newcastle as modern and urban, challenge the contemporary reputation of North-East England as provincial, dirty, and backward. The chapters of this thesis have demonstrated that higher-class women within these works are just as concerned with luxury goods as

[2] Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 13.
[3] Lorraine Daston, 'Introduction' in *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), pp. 9-26 (p. 9).

their southern counterparts: Jane Harvey's satire of Melissa Mannark in *Any Thing,* the homogenous young brides in *Tynemouth,* and the ridiculous Miss Maitland in *Auberry Stanhope,* are as entertaining to a reader in the south of the country as they are to her North-East readers. Although focussing on the writers of a specific region, this thesis has revealed concerns surrounding material culture and luxury goods that can be seen in contemporary women's writing throughout the country.

The luxury goods considered in this thesis are jewellery, especially miniatures and diamonds; clothing, specifically wedding dresses and fabric; and interior furnishings. The chapters identify a gendering of material culture, through dramas of deception, identity, consent, and sexuality. Jane Harvey gives an unusual level of description in her portrayal of these luxury 'things', which again reflects the fact that the fascination with luxury goods and material culture had permeated English regions far beyond London. The writers' preoccupation with female characters reflects the gendering of material culture, as this thesis has identified throughout its chapters. Shopping, as explored in Chapter Four, is a particularly feminised pastime. The scenes in milliners' shops depicted by Jane Harvey and Jemima Layton bear comparison to those in novels by Burney, Austen, and other women writers of the time, which reinforces the relevance of the writings of women of North-East England throughout the nation. The house sale in *Any Thing* contains meticulous descriptions of the house, the items for sale, the people present, and the navigations of material culture. As this thesis has demonstrated, such descriptions are typical of Harvey, and part of what makes her a fascinating author with preoccupations and emphases distinctive from those of many of her contemporaries. The final chapters of this thesis have brought the reader full circle, demonstrating the way in which the significances of luxury goods are bound up with the nature of the shopping experience and with the interiors within which they

are displayed. Each of these aspects form an integral part of material culture, and when considered together – as has been done throughout this thesis – show how truly immersive the consumption of luxury goods was in the early nineteenth century. Jane Harvey's readers clearly enjoyed reading descriptions of material goods, and this gives us an indication of what kind of experiences were expected in fashionable novels.

A close reading of these works has revealed explorations of gender, class, and identity that were concerns of other female writers at the time, from across the nation. This body of research demonstrates the richness and complexity of works which are often dismissed as fashionable ephemera, in particular novels published by the Minerva Press. Throughout this thesis, we have seen that fashionable and popular novels do not necessarily produce formulaic content, and certainly should not be dismissed as unimportant. To return to the quotation from Hudson in the Introduction of this thesis:

> Discussions of fiction from this period almost invariably describe it in terms that emphasize its sheer quantity. Romantic novels, in such accounts, aren't written or crafted, they are churned out, poured forth in torrents or mass-produced; they don't simply appear but swarm and deluge, springing up like mushrooms or many-headed hydras.[4]

This thesis has rescued three writers from this homogenising tendency, reading their productions as deserving of critical attention as individual literary works and revealing how much they repay this kind of study. If we condemn such works for their volume, we continue to subscribe to what Hudson refers to as 'societal anxieties about circulating libraries (and their patrons) in general'.[5] For a true understanding of the

[4] Hudson, p. 2.
[5] Hudson, p. 5.

literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the lives that women lived amongst material culture and luxury goods, we must think about *why* such novels were popular, and what messages are contained within. The work of this thesis has enhanced our understanding of the representation of material culture and luxury goods, and future studies of regional women's writing during this period will continue to do so.

Key Text Synopses

The following synopses are included to demonstrate the lively plots of the writings, especially those by Jane Harvey, and to highlight references to Northumberland and North-East heritage.

Novels by Jane Harvey

Warkfield Castle (1802)[1]

Lord and Lady Meldon live at Warkfield Castle in Northumberland.[2] Their neighbours at Selby Hall are Miss Henrietta Selby and her orphaned nephew Henry.[3] Lord Meldon and his brother-in-law Colonel Norford fight against Cromwell in the English Civil War (1642-51), and flee to Ireland upon defeat, as parliament seize the castle. Colonel Norford dies and Lord Meldon retrieves his now-orphaned niece Celia Norford and takes her to France with her nurse Fanny Curry, his steward Meggison and the Reverend Mr Becket.[4] They follow the Roman Causeway to Scarborough, where Meggison ventures into the village to purchase food and does not return.[5] In France Becket is reunited with his wife and his son Walter.[6] Lady Meldon is enjoying the

[1] Published by Minerva Press, set in 1640s Northumberland. Warkfield Castle is presumably based on Warkworth Castle. The castle features in Shakespeare's *Henry IV Parts 1 and 2*. Warkworth Castle was damaged during the English Civil War. It was initially held by Royalist forces, but when Scots invaded in 1644 they forced its surrender. Due in part to the tourism generated by Thomas Percy's poem *The Hermit of Warkworth* (1771), the third Duke of Northumberland conducted some preservation work, and his successor had the keep restored. The damage caused in the English Civil War is loosely reflected in the events of the novel, as republican soldiers 'shamefully deface' the castle.

[2] Possible link to the Northumberland hamlet of Meldon.

[3] The Selby family originated from Yorkshire, but owned Biddlestone Hall and Twizzell Castle in Northumberland.

[4] The name Celia is a possible reference to the English travel writer Celia Fiennes. Meggison was a common name in Northumberland.

[5] Possibly the Devil's Causeway in Northumberland.

[6] The name Walter Becket is possibly a reference to Walter Scott and Thomas Becket, although Scott was not much known in 1802.

court life in France and losing significant sums of money by gambling. Celia Norford and Walter Becket are raised and educated together.

In 1657 the French government obliges British royalists to quit France – the Meldons and Beckets retire to Bruges, and the Herberts and Lady Meldon to Germany.[7] Here Lady Meldon meets Lady Craister and her rakish son Francis Errington.[8] Walter and Meggison escort Lady Meldon to Germany after she has visited her husband. They are caught in a storm on their return and take shelter at the 'haunted' Castle of Welburg, where they meet the beautiful Dorcella and her mother.[9] Walter becomes obsessed with Dorcella.

In 1660, the Meldon estates are restored and the party returns to England. Lord Meldon does not wish his niece to reside under the same roof as Errington, so sends Celia and Fanny, Fanny Curry's daughter, to Mrs Staplyton's boarding school in Scarborough.[10]

In 1663, Henry Selby is stationed with the military at Yarmouth and Walter Becket is at university in Oxford. They journey together to Warkfield. Errington declares his love to the young Fanny, but also pursues Celia. Henry declares his feelings to Celia and proposes marriage on his return from military service.

In 1666 Walter Becket and Captain Henry Selby return to Warkfield.[11] On his way, Captain Selby is injured by Errington when he attempts to stop him from carrying off Fanny. Henrietta hears of her nephew's accident and reveals that Henry is in fact her son. Lady Meldon is devastated by the news and reveals that Errington loaned her

[7] In 1657 Oliver Cromwell signed the Treaty of Paris, allying England with France against Spain and merging the Anglo-Spanish War with the Franco-Spanish War.
[8] Craster village close to Alnwick. Errington village in Corbridge, Northumberland.
[9] This could be based on the Castle of Wewelsburg, an unusual triangular-shaped Renaissance castle in a German village.
[10] Possibly based on her sister Margaret's school in Sunderland.
[11] 1666 was the year of the Great Fire of London.

money in Germany for her gambling debts. She resolves to abandon all her follies and the Meldons are fully reconciled.

Lord Meldon tells his wife the story of Miss Selby. In 1643 her father died and left her guardianship to his friend Duncombe at York.[12] Duncombe declared for the parliamentary party and was often visited by officers including the 'base' Fowler and his ward the 'virtuous' Captain Saville, who was forced by his guardian to take arms in a cause he abhorred. Fowler is already married, but he pursues Henrietta, and is supported by Duncombe. Saville is also charmed by Henrietta and proposes marriage to protect her. They are married by Mr Becket with her brother's approval. Selby and Saville are apprehended by Fowler's soldiers and both injured. Saville is believed to be dead, and Henry Selby instructs Henrietta to pass her son off as her nephew to secure his inheritance.

Meggison reveals that Fowler's wife and infant son were both alive at Dunderdale Castle. It becomes apparent that Dorcella's father, Mr Lanesborough, is probably General Fowler, and Walter believes that Saville is still alive in Welburg Castle. Meldon's friend Clement, Meggison and Walter Becket journey from Shields to Germany to recover Fanny Curry.

It is revealed Julia Clement eloped with Fowler to escape the marriage planned for her by her father, and Fowler imprisoned her. Fowler also imprisoned Saville and told him that his son and wife are dead. Fowler's son died of consumption, and he believes this to be the vengeance of heaven.

Errington has treated Fanny with respect throughout her abduction and made repeated offers for her hand. He visits Fowler, but Fowler worries about his own

[12] The Duncombe family of Yorkshire have a seat in Helmsley, North Yorkshire ,called Duncombe Park.

exposure and encourages Errington to return Fanny to her home. The men duel, Errington is wounded and Fowler is killed. As he dies Fowler tells Saville that his wife and son are still alive. The party return to Northumberland and the Savilles are reunited. Walter Becket marries Dorcella, Henry Selby and Celia marry, and Mrs Staplyton's son marries Fanny Curry. Walter becomes pastor of Alnford.

The Castle of Tynemouth (1806)[13]

In 1491, widower William de Norton, Earl of Wooler, is appointed governor of Tynemouth Castle.[14] He is accompanied by his son Ida, daughter Rosetta, and their housekeeper and governess Judith Cresswell.[15] Judith warns that their ancestor Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, was murdered at Tynemouth monastery and a spell of enchantment has lain on the castle ever since.[16]

The Nortons meet Major Shipperdson, the 'unprincipled' deputy governor, and the monk Father Vincent, who takes on the education of the Nortons. The son of the former governor, Mitford Lilburne, becomes Norton's ward.[17] They are joined by Elfrida Thornton, daughter of a private gentleman from the village, and Oswald Clifford, a young officer of the garrison who is an orphan.[18] Clifford is held in high esteem by Lilburne, who recommends him to the favour of the earl. Lilburne and Clifford are both in love with Rosetta, and Elfrida is in love with Clifford.

In 1492, the Earl of Wooler is summoned to join the king's invasion of France, leaving the castle in the care of Major Shipperdson. Lilburne declares his love to Rosetta. He is to be knighted by Norton, but mysteriously vanishes. He returns during Vespers in a habit stained with blood, then leaves for the continent without bidding Rosetta goodbye.

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[13] Set in 1491, Northumberland. The novel opens with a preface that details potential errors when writing, and a chapter on the history of Tynemouth Castle.
[14] Fictional title. Wooler is a small village in Northumberland.
[15] Ida was an Anglican king in 550AD. The Rosetta Stone was discovered in Egypt in 1799 by Napoleon's soldiers. The stone became British property in 1801 and scholars such as Thomas Young studied the hieroglyphics. Their work laid the foundations for our knowledge of ancient Egyptian language and culture. Cresswell is a village in Northumberland.
[16] Robert de Mowbray was Earl of Northumbria from 1086 to 1095. His army killed Malcolm III of Scotland and his son at the Battle of Alnwick in 1093. Malcolm III was buried for a time at the monastery in Tynemouth.
[17] The revolutionary John Lilburne (1614-57) was born in Sunderland. Mitford is a small village in Northumberland. William Clifford was a cousin of an important Westmorland magnate, and served under the earl of Northumberland and briefly held Alnwick Castle in the 1400s.
[18] Oswald was a famous king of Northumbria.

The earl, Ida, and Lilburne leave for the continent, and Ida assures Rosetta that Lilburne is the 'dupe of priestcraft' and that Ida will help him to recover his senses in France. Following the unsuccessful siege of Boulogne, Ida and Lilburne wish to remain and tour France, and the earl accompanies them to Paris. Here he meets Narcisse, the widowed Countess de Montmiril. Major Shipperdson's nephew Edward O'Bryen arrives at the castle, and both wish for a union between O'Bryen and Rosetta. The major makes a formal proposal to Elfrida's father, which is received coldly, but he continues to pursue Elfrida. The earl and his new wife return to the castle, but the countess finds herself eclipsed by Rosetta. She attempts to rid herself of her rival by persuading the earl to marry Rosetta to O'Bryen. Rosetta tells her father that she is promised to Lilburne and wishes to either fulfil her engagement with him or take the veil. She refuses to marry O'Bryen, so the countess devises a scheme with the major.

The countess tells the earl that Rosetta is the victim of sorcery and magic at Judith's hand. Rosetta is imprisoned in her apartments until the spell is removed and Judith is imprisoned. The countess offers to free Rosetta if she will marry O'Bryen and threatens to drag her to a convent in Italy when she refuses. Clifford attempts to help Rosetta escape, but they are thwarted by the countess and soldiers and imprisoned. Clifford is charged with assaulting and wounding a senior officer and sentenced to be shot. Judith is brought to trial for witchcraft, convicted and sentenced to be burned. Elfrida is seized and carried off by ruffians hired by Shipperdson.

Ida and Lilburne travel to Rouen, where Lilburne has secret business. They save Madame Montandre and her orphan companion Orpheline from a gang of banditti.[19] Madame Montandre recognises Lilburne as the son of her late husband. Lilburne is

[19] The French translation of Charlotte Smith's *Emmeline* (1788) has the full title *Emmeline, ou l'orpheline du chateau.*

injured by the banditti, but Ida receives a letter entreating him to return and save Rosetta, so he leaves Lilburne in the care of the women. Ida arrives as Judith is being tied to the stake and rescues her. He is joined by the soldiers, who are loyal to him over Shipperdson. He is told that Clifford has escaped and Rosetta is in a state of insanity. Wooler receives his son and imputes the faults of his wife to mistakes, but they learn that Lady Wooler and Major Shipperdson have fled.

Lilburne and Clifford are reunited by chance at the York/Durham border. Lilburne is accompanied by Madame Montandre and Orpheline, and Clifford has rescued Elfrida. Lilburne tells Clifford that when he disappeared before being knighted, he met a man who claimed to be his brother Charles. When Lilburne refused to believe him, there was a conflict and Lilburne stabbed Charles, then fled to the cottage of his friend Guillaime de Villette who confirmed Charles's story. Sir Robert Lilburne had stolen Madame Montandre from a convent to marry her, and her parents had the marriage dissolved. On their death, her parents bequeathed a large fortune to Charles on the condition he never made himself known to his father, so Madame concealed the secret of his birth from him completely. When Charles learned of this he travelled to Tynemouth to meet his father. Father Vincent nursed Charles to health.

They are reunited at Tynemouth, where Clifford declares his intention to devote himself to a monastery, and Elfrida wishes to take the veil. Clifford apprehends a soldier hired by the countess, who confesses that Shipperdson and the countess had fled to the Yorkshire coasts. Shipperdson proceeded to the place he expected to find Elfrida but she had already been rescued. When she learned of the Elfrida plot from one of Shipperdson's men, the countess becomes angry. The countess and Shipperdson devise a plot to rob the earl and blow up the castle and monastery with

gunpowder, which has been foiled by Clifford. The countess attempts to poison Shipperdson, but he finds out and instead poisons her.

Father Vincent reveals himself to be the Marquis of Morzonico, an Italian nobleman of high birth and considerable fortune. He was ‘destined from birth’ to marry Narcisse, but as her character rendered this impossible, he married another. In revenge, Narcisse bribed his nurse to kidnap his baby daughter and take her to France. The grief caused the marchioness to become ill and die, and it is discovered that Orpheline is Vincentina del Morzonico. The countess repents on her deathbed.

King Henry VII visits York and is attended by Father Vincent, the Earl of Wooler and Lilburne. Thornton refuses Elfrida permission to take vows. Ida dresses as an old hag and pretends to tell the fortune of the party. He tells Elfrida that she should marry the deputy governor, which causes her distress, but it is revealed that Oswald Clifford is to be made the deputy governor, and Elfrida marries him. Mr Thornton makes a ‘blunt’ proposal that Mrs Cresswell become his housekeeper and wife. The earl resigns the government of Tynemouth Castle while he is at York and the king transfers this to Ida.

Ethelia (1810)[20]

Reverend Eldred Walters marries Miss Phillis Glenholme, and her sister Priscilla comes to live with them in Thornbrook in Northumberland.[21] The Walters move to Thornbrook at the 'height of that unhappy contest which severed the connection between Great Britain and her American colonies'.

They are visited by Mrs St Lawrence, her son Osbert, and her two nieces Auretta and Ethelia Riversdale.[22] Ethelia becomes Walters's 'favourite companion'. Osbert falls in love with Priscilla, but dies before they can be married, and asks her to always be a friend to Ethelia. His estate is 'entailed on the male branch', leaving his mother a victim of her 'fatal attachment to gaiety'.

Auretta becomes attached to the foppish Dorville, and her aunt to his companion Romer, who 'resembles Satan'.[23] A double union between the two couples is arranged, but Auretta and Dorville elope, accompanied by Romer, who has taken all of the money belonging to Mrs St Lawrence and her nieces. Mrs St Lawrence dies of a burst blood vessel, and the elopement becomes the subject of village gossip.[24]

Ethelia, left alone with a small income, decides to let Thornbrook Hall along with Dorothy, the nurse who cared for her when she was younger. Ethelia's friends arrive with an infant who was handed to them on an American voyage, with the request that they take it to Ethelia. Their story leads Ethelia to deduce that the child is the daughter of Auretta and Dorville.

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[20] Set in contemporary Northumberland.
[21] Possible reference to "Sir Eldred of the Bower" by Hannah More.
[22] Osberht of Northumberland. Osberht was king of Northumbria in the 9th century. 'The History of Auretta; or the Fatal Effects of Impatience' was printed in the *Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine* in America in 1784.
[23] Maria Dorville was a Gretna Green bride in *The Fair Cambrians* (1790), an anonymous Minerva publication.
[24] Mrs Delville in Frances Burney's *Cecilia* collapses with a broken blood vessel.

Ethelia raises the child, Henrietta, and rumours spread that she is the daughter of Ethelia and Walters. Henrietta is educated alongside the Walters daughters, Phillis and Juliet (the latter named by her aunt after the Shakespearean heroine).

The owner of Thornbrook Hall, Mr Hepple, dies and Ethelia purchases the estate.[25] Mr Douglas, the executor of his will, proposes marriage but she declines.

In 1798, Phillis Walters and Henrietta are both seventeen. Priscilla Glenholme stages frequent plays involving most of the village. Henrietta is accidentally shot in the arm during a production. Eldred, Walters's son, proposes to Henrietta while she is still ill, threatening to 'commit folly' if she refuses, and she accepts on the condition of approval from their 'mutual friends'.

Ethelia and Henrietta visit Tynemouth to aid in their recovery, where they meet the young military officer Louis Milford. When the ladies return to Thornbrook, Louis and his father Major Milford have a gig accident close to their home and are taken to Thornbrook Hall to recuperate. The Milfords hear gossip about Ethelia and Henrietta, and Ethelia hears that Major Milford was a prisoner of war in America and eloped with a general's daughter.

Eldred Walters and his sisters arrive home. Henrietta is in love with Louis, but is too embarrassed to tell Ethelia about her promises to Eldred. Eldred continues to press their engagement.

Mr and Mrs Walters receive a letter from a widow, Mrs Asgill, who states that Eldred exacted a promise of marriage from her daughter Charlotte. Walters insists his son must implore forgiveness and honour the engagement, but Eldred tells his father that he is engaged to Henrietta, although he has no intention to marry either. Walters sends for Ethelia and Henrietta to join them in Newcastle, and Henrietta breaks down

[25] Hepple is a small village in Northumberland.

and confesses to her aunt about the engagement. Walters declares the engagement null and void.

The party attend a performance of *As You Like It* at Newcastle's public theatre, and see Major Milford. He apologises to Ethelia for judging her based on gossip and rumours, and they are reconciled. Phillis Walters is 'half in love' with Major Milford, in spite of their age difference.

Major Milford tells Walters the story of his son's birth. In 1777, the 16-year-old Milford was taken as a prisoner of war in America. The daughter of his gaoler, Louise, falls in love with him, but she is a Catholic. Milford promises to convert to Catholicism, and they marry on his release. They have a son and daughter, but Milford believes they cannot inherit his estate as they are baptised as Catholics. Milford leaves his wife, in order to perform his military service at Chesapeake Bay, but when he returns she and his daughter have disappeared. There are rumours that Louise has eloped, but he learns that her father promised her reconciliation and imprisoned her instead. Louise and their daughter both died.

Milford tells his son he is in love with Ethelia, and Louis admits his own attachment to Henrietta, but he is deterred by her lack of fortune and the mystery of her birth. Their marriage is delayed by the death of Mrs Walters, and the village gossips speculate that Ethelia will now marry Walters instead.

Henrietta is kidnapped, then rescued by Milford, who recognises one of the two kidnappers as Father Phillippe, the priest who facilitated Louise's escape from her father to marry Major Milford. On their return to Thornbrook, they learn that Phillis Walters has eloped. Ethelia and Milford marry, and Henrietta accompanies Priscilla Glenholme on a visit to London.

Milford receives a letter from Ireland containing his first wife's wedding ring. The letter claims that Louise is still alive in a convent, and that Henrietta is his daughter. Milford is initially determined to tear himself from Ethelia so that his children are not branded with infamy, but Walters points out that Ethelia could be pregnant. Milford resolves to travel to Ireland, where his son is serving in the army, and investigate the claims.

While in Ireland, Milford receives a letter informing him of a jaunting car accident, where one of the passengers would like to make reparations to him before he dies. The man is Father Phillippe, who confesses that he and the count Villadour, a relative of Louise's father, had undertaken the office of spies for the American government under the names Romer and Dorville. Father Phillippe had no intention of marrying Mrs St Lawrence, and Villadour none of marrying Auretta, but he was passionately in love with her – they eloped but Auretta insisted on marriage first.

Father Phillippe confirms that Louise and her daughter died, and that he shot Villadour in a duel after threatening to inform Louise's father of Villadour's marriage, which would invalidate his claim to inheritance of Louise's father's estate. He met Fraser and Eldred, who became 'so involved in deep play' that they could not remain in England, and decided to elope to America with Phillis and Henrietta. When the plot to take Henrietta failed, they vowed vengeance on Milford. The party sailed to Ireland to avoid discovery, and wrote the false letter to Milford. Fraser and Phillis died in the accident and Eldred fractured his arm. Eldred is repentant and wishes to devote his time to agricultural pursuits in Ireland.

Milford returns to Ethelia, and they have a son and daughter. Louis Milford and Henrietta marry, and Miss Glenholme remains living with her brother-in-law Walters. Ethelia is the 'happiest of wives and best of mothers'.

Any Thing But What You Expect (1819)[26]

Cordelia Walpole is summoned to Holleyfield to attend her dying father; she has only met him half a dozen times, and has never met her stepmother. [27]

Sir Charles has an extensive landed inheritance, which is mostly unentailed. His grandfather was extravagant with money, and placed Charles's father with an eminent merchant in London for rapid accumulation of wealth. Charles's father is determined to be the first and last merchant in the family, and purchases a baronetcy.[28]

Sir Charles dies a week after his daughter's arrival, and his landed property is all bequeathed to Lady Walpole, to pass to Cordelia and her heirs upon Lady Walpole's death. Cordelia is left some money and her guardianship is vested in Lady Walpole. The will causes a breach between Lady Walpole and Mrs Emerson, who leaves Cordelia and returns home.

Lady Hootside visits the Walpoles with her son, the earl, and two daughters, Melissa and Caroline. The Walpoles and Hootsides attend an estate sale together, where they meet a friend of Lord Hootside, Mr Harrington, who is accompanied by his uncle, Sir Roger Cottingham, Roger's wife and their daughter.

Lord Dunotter, father of Lochcarron, becomes a constant visitor and 'declared lover' of Lady Walpole. Lady Walpole encourages Cordelia to consider Lord Lochcarron as a husband, and Lord Dunotter pushes his son into proposing marriage to her. Lord Lochcarron is attached to the orphaned Miss Borham, the niece of his steward Pringle; however, Lord Dunotter tells him that Pringle owes Dunotter £6000.

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[26] Set in contemporary England. Details are not given but the main houses are in Kent.
[27] Cordelia is the heroine of Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Walpole could refer to Robert or Horace Walpole. Lochcarron is a village in Scotland.
[28] This may be a reference to the Liddell family, who were descended from wealthy Newcastle merchants. In 1821 Tory politician Thomas Liddell was raised to the peerage as Baron Ravensworth, of Ravensworth Castle in Durham. Thomas employed the 'Father of the Railways' George Stephenson from 1804 in his Killingworth colliery, and his daughter Alice was Carroll's inspiration for *Alice in Wonderland.*

Dunotter tells his son that he must marry Cordelia to save his father from ruin. Lochcarron believes Cordelia to be ‘a woman of imbecile understanding, unformed principles and trifling frivolous habits’.

The double wedding, of Lochcarron to Lady Walpole and Dunotter to Cordelia, takes place at Holleyfield. During the bridal toast, Lochcarron receives a letter and rushes from the house on foot towards Ravenpark. Cordelia is assured that Lochcarron has unexpectedly had to travel to the continent and that Miss Borham is in Scotland. Cordelia is given opium to help her sleep and suffers from ‘frequent alienations of her mind’ and delirious ramblings. Cordelia eventually recovers, and Mr Crompton, a lawyer, arrives, and informs her that Lochcarron has instructed him to annul the marriage. Lady Dunotter is determined to contend for the legality of the marriage.

Cordelia conducts devotional exercises and reflects that she has ‘done evil so that good might come’ (Romans 3:8). She resolves to amend her faults, and writes a long letter to Mrs Emerson detailing every event and circumstance. Cordelia experiences a change in appearance as well as manner, with side effects from the opium and deliriums including loss of her hair.

Dunotter cannot trace his son, and is thrown from his horse on his return to Ravenpark. His arm is amputated. Dunotter learns that his son is in Paris, and that Miss Borham is dying.

Dunotter sends a packet of letters to Cordelia’s apartments, which include the letter Lochcarron received on their wedding day. The letter was from Ralph Pringle, telling him that Miss Borham was carried to his lordship’s seat in Scotland on his father’s orders, and Pringle states that ‘if I had even robbed your noble father, ought he to have reimbursed himself with the honour of my niece’. The packet also contains a confessional letter from Miss Borham to Dunotter’s sister: Caroline Borham was

encouraged to marry above her station and pursued marriage with Lord Dunotter, and she was loved at once by parent and child. Pringle attempted to convince her to flee with him to America, but she could not leave Lord Dunotter. Lord Dunotter asks Cordelia to go to Poole in search of Lord Lochcarron. Cordelia is walking alone when Lochcarron's terrier brushes against her gown. When she sees Lochcarron she screams wildly, but Lochcarron does not recognise her and assumes her shock was caused by the dog. He escorts her to the inn and leaves his calling card. Lochcarron returns in the morning and still fails to recognise Cordelia. While Cordelia is in another room, her companion Mrs Brooks informs Lochcarron of Cordelia's true identity and gives him a packet of letters from his father. He leaves and Cordelia resolves to return home in the morning. She receives a letter from Mrs Emerson informing her that her aunt has died and Cordelia is heir to her considerable property. Lochcarron returns and begs Cordelia for forgiveness, telling her that 'changed as you are in stature, voice, expression – everything but beauty and goodness'. Cordelia tells Mrs Brooks 'he certainly never saw me when we were married'. Cordelia forgives Lochcarron and tells him how ill his father is, and they depart for home immediately.

Lady Dunotter makes an effort to conciliate Lochcarron, looking up to him as head of the family. Lord Dunotter dies and leaves his whole unentailed property to Cordelia.

Singularity (1822)[29]

Singularity opens on the Cleavland family in their home, Elder Grove, as they discuss potential professions for their son Frederick, who wishes to go into the navy. The Cleavlands are invited to a dinner party at Starbuck Castle, the home of Sir Thomas Starbuck. Sir Thomas is presumptive heir to the Earl of Corbridge, and has three daughters. He is afraid that every young man who speaks to his daughters will run away with them. The title of the Earl of Corbridge was created in 1715 by George I for services rendered to the crown.[30]

Cleavland's son Charles is heir to Cleavland's uncle Rhodes, but Cleavland's marriage to a woman of no fortune, and the singularity of some of his opinions, may prevent Rhodes from leaving his money to Charles. Mr Rhodes is first partner in the firm of a house long established in an extensive West India trade.

Mrs Cleavland retrieves their daughter Augusta from a boarding school in Bath, where she has spent twelve months. Her governess instructs Augusta to show her mother her portfolio of 'beautiful' pencil drawings; Augusta's drawing master is Mr De Rosemonde, and Mrs Cleavland overhears another student stating that he took no such pains with any other lady.

Charles Cleavland leaves for Ireland with his friend O'Hara. Mr Rhodes sends for Cleavland and Charles, but as Charles is away Cleavland decides to take Augusta to Oxford, then on to Cumberland to meet Rhodes. They are joined by Cleavland's friend Dr Monkhouse. Cleavland discourages a match between Monkhouse's son and Augusta, because Monkhouse's son will inherit a fortune and Augusta will not. They

[29] Set in contemporary Berkshire, although location is not immediately identified.
[30] Fictional title. Like the Corbridge title, the Duke of Newcastle was recently established. Likewise, the Duke of Northumberland was created in 1766 by King George III in recognition of political services to the crown.

meet De Rosemonde on their journey, and Cleavland is impressed with his good breeding and highly pleasing features.

It is revealed that the Earl of Corbridge is a gamester, who was the ruin of Augusta's maternal uncle Fane. Along with Mr St George, the earl's brother, Fane was imprisoned in France after ruining himself with vice and follies.

Dr Monkhouse is purchasing the Starbucks's old house, and Cleavland and Augusta travel with him here. The housekeeper, Mrs Graham, reveals that she was captured with St George in France as her husband was in the service of St George. They meet Dr Monkhouse's cousin, Hornsby, and his daughter, and drive to Hornsby House to stay overnight before journeying to Mr Rhodes.

Cleavland meets a traveller and recognises him as his old friend, Clerimont. Clerimont was a banker in Paris during the Revolution, and Augusta understood him to have perished at the guillotine. Clerimont tells Cleavland that he was betrayed and denounced by his partner, Vauban, and abandoned by his wife. Vauban betrayed Clerimont and his brother and they are added to the blacklist for the guillotine, so they flee to America.

Clerimont informs Cleavland that Rhodes is extremely ill and the affairs of his house much embarrassed, as a result of some unfortunate speculations made by his business partners. The insolvency of Mr Rhodes is the ruin of Charles's best hopes.

Cleavland leaves Augusta at Hornsby House while he visits Rhodes.[31] Rhodes dies, and Clerimont returns to Hornsby House with a letter to Augusta from her father. Cleavland has immediately returned home, as he has been informed that Frederick has run away to become a sailor. Charles arrives to escort Augusta and Mrs Graham home.

[31] Hornsby is a village in Cumbria.

Augusta is almost trampled by an ox while visiting the shopping street, but De Rosemonde saves her. De Rosemonde is revealed to be the nephew of Clerimont. De Rosemonde declares his feelings for Augusta, but says that he must soon leave England never to return. The Countess of Corbridge dies when her dress catches fire.

Frederick has been traced by the father of his companion George: they attempted to board a ship to America, but Frederick was rejected. George thinks Frederick may have fallen overboard. Cleavland goes to Portsmouth to try to find his son but he is unsuccessful.

Augusta, Charles, and Dr Monkhouse arrive at Elder Grove just after Cleavland's return. Augusta describes her rescue by De Rosemonde, and her father tells her to decline his addresses.

Cleavland decides to leave Elder Grove, to let the house and grounds and take a large farm in Devon or Somerset, but Charles disagrees with his plans. Cleavland receives a letter from Clerimont, telling him that de Rosemonde will soon be acknowledged as Eugene St George. He is therefore nephew to the present Earl of Corbridge, presumptive heir to title and estates.

In the letter, Clerimont describes his connection to Eugene. When Clerimont was detained in France on suspicion of being a robber or an English spy, the wife of his jailor was Madame Rainville, formerly his acquaintance. She asks him if he knows an 'English villain' called St George, who murdered her son Theodore. St George was a prisoner in France for over two years and befriended Theodore. Madame Rainville says that he murdered Theodore in the mountains and pretended that he was slain and mangled by a wolf. She was unaware of the fact that St George was husband to her daughter Sophie and she was far advanced in pregnancy. Madame Rainville hoped her husband's influence with the government might get St George put into close

confinement while a divorce could be expedited. When his son was born, she arranged for him to be informed that he died at birth. Sophie died six months later. Madame Rainville promises Clerimont that if he adopts the child and never reveals his parentage, she will free him and get him safe conduct to Rochfort. St George wasted his life doing nothing and was a professed gamester, so Clerimont decided that Eugene could not benefit from knowing such a parent.

Mrs Graham's husband witnessed Theodore being attacked by a wolf, proving that St George was not a murderer. Eugene resembles his mother rather than his father, which makes it harder to prove his identity. However, Mrs Graham was present at his parents' wedding. Mrs Cleavland believes the proofs to be insufficient and defective, and the earl remains doubtful about Eugene's parentage. Clerimont tells Cleavland that he is happy for Eugene and Augusta to marry.

Miss Starbuck has eloped with O'Hara. Cleavland receives a letter telling him that Frederick is in Nova Scotia, as he hid in the hold of the ship. He has been resigned to the care of Mrs Cleavland's brother Albert, who has been in South America. Sir Thomas promises his daughter Grace to the earl of Corbridge, but she has no inclination to marry a man as old as her father. Grace runs away to the O'Haras.

In London, Fane gives Cleavland the £10,000 that he owes to his sister. This allows Cleavland to give up the farm he has acquired in Somersetshire, and he tells Augusta that she may marry Eugene now that their fortunes are equal.

The niece of Monsieur Rainville, a French duchess, writes to the earl to verify Eugene's identity. Eugene and Augusta marry and plan to reside with the earl, and Fane persuades Sir Thomas to allow Charles to marry Rose Starbuck. The earl dies suddenly in a fit of apoplexy and his title passes to Eugene.

Hulne Abbey by Jemima Layton (1820)

Hulne Abbey opens with a Preface lauding the 'princely spirit of the owner of Alnwick Castle' and his prowess in the American war.[32] Layton outlines the characters, describing the 'two extremes of female character' – a lady who did all the good in her power and one who was tyrannical and oppressive. She claims that 'to denounce the faults of others' is to be like the French reformers. Layton describes Sir Robert de Grey as 'a great national blessing', while Mrs Silke and Mrs Frost 'boast of ancestry but want of worth'. Dr Welsh demonstrates the dangers of 'too much abounds in the world' as he is a rich glutton. Layton concludes this preface by setting out her novel as a 'christian manual', and that to 'do justice, love and mercy and walk humbly with God is the only path to happiness'.

Sir Robert is the last surviving male of the de Grey family of Hulne Abbey. He supports king and constitution, recognising his duty to fear God and honour his king. Lady de Grey died after five years of marriage, leaving one child, Jemima.[33] The beauty of this 'northern star' is lauded and compared to Mary Scott, the 'flower of Yarrow'.[34]

Sir Robert is regularly involved in the affairs of his estate, and saves a poor tenant Phoebe Hummerstone from being put on trial for being a witch.[35] The widow Hobnail

[32] Hulne Abbey, or Hulne Priory, is close to Alnwick. It is possibly the first Carmelite foundation in Britain.
[33] Jemima is also the name of an ex-prostitute and prison warder in Mary Wollstonecraft's *Wrongs of Women* (1798).
[34] Mary Scott (1548-1598) was an ancestor of Walter Scott. Mary Scott was given in marriage to a notorious Border Reiver, Wat Scott of Kirkhope. *The Flower of Yarrow* was a song that first appeared 1694 in the manuscript of a Harburn, Northumberland musician. The tune was popular on both sides of the border. Mary Scott was known for her beauty and gentleness, as demonstrated by her tact in managing her turbulent husband: when the larder was empty, she would place a dish containing his spurs in front of him at the dinner table so he knew that it was time to go raiding again (National Museums Scotland website).
[35] In Anon. *Horrid Murder. The trial of Thomas Simmons…* (London, 1807), Mrs Hummerstone was the name of the victim of a brutal murder. In Greek mythology, Phoebe is a Titan, daughter of Uranus and Gaea.

is determined to have sole dominion of the parish of Branxton.[36] She tyrannizes the inhabitants of the cottages annexed to her farm. Mrs Hobnail encourages an 'amorous dalliance' between her daughter Molly and the clergyman Mr Perton. She attempts to intoxicate Perton and 'put him to bed to Molly' to force a marriage, and when this fails she bribes the blacksmith to impregnate Molly. Perton marries Molly and the grandeur and magnificence of their house is admired by all.

Sir Robert decides to take Jemima on a tour of the coast then southwards. They travel through Holy Island, Lindisfarne and Bamburgh.[37] They visit their friends the Nevilles at Kyloe. Isabella Neville is some years older than Jemima, and deeply enamoured of Mortimer de Montalt. Mortimer falls in love with Miss Fitz Roger and they marry. Isabella joins the travelling party, and they travel through Tynemouth, Bamburgh Castle, Warkworth and Durham. The party is joined by Lord de Courcy at Durham. De Courcy is the owner of Prudhoe Castle, and he does not box, use tobacco or gamble. They are then joined by Lord Cardross at Rokeby. Both men are in love with Jemima. Here they meet the 'Tabbies', three 'frumps' or old maids: Mrs Sarah Silke, Mrs Mary Frost, and Mrs Lydia Crabtree.[38] Mary Frost claims an aversion to marriage, stating that she has no end of suitors but nothing can convince her to change her name. Mary lived with her brother and attempted to bribe a man to marry her. Lydia wants always to be going out and living at other people's expense. Lydia once 'took possession' of a widower's house, as 'possession is nine points of the law' and refused to leave in spite of impropriety of conduct. Sal Silke spends her winter in Bath.

[36] Branxton is a village and parish in Northumberland.
[37] Layton notes St Cuthbert's 'decided aversion to the female sex'. Locations explored in Walter Scott's *Marmion* (1806).
[38] 'Tabby' was used to refer to an old maid: contemporaries such as Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, use this term in their letters. 'Tabby' was also a kind of waved silk, which is mirrored in the surname Silke. The surnames 'Frost' and 'Crabtree' are also indicative of the personalities attributed to old maids: frigidity and crabbiness.

She is ‘strong as a horse’ and worked like a man in her garden, keeping her family afloat.

The gentlemen discover that Mary suspects Mr Hill of being fond of one of the servants, and decide to have a laugh at the Tabbies’ expense. Mr Williams is to dress in the clothes of a housemaid and an assignment is arranged at night. Mr Hill claims that Betty the housemaid has agreed to meet them near the water closets in Mary’s hearing, and the Tabbies arrange to be there. At the appointed hour, the ostler pretends to mistake Mrs Silke for a housemaid and catches hold of Sally in a violent embrace. Mrs Lydia and Mrs Mary are also subjected to ‘violent embraces’. The gentlemen arrive to accuse the Tabbies of ‘intrigue’ and joke about pregnancy. The moral of this tale is that ladies should not be over eager to expose others, as ‘our wickedness may fall on our own pate’.[39]

Isabella receives a letter from her father, telling her that the extravagance of Mortimer de Montalt’s wife has resulted in a mode of life beyond their income. This drew the attention of gamblers to Mortimer, who was tempted into playing and lost £15,000. His father refuses to help him, but Isabella offers her own money to assist. Lord Cardross advises her to give £10,000 and says that he will give the same, but she refuses and insists the deed must be all her own.

The Tabbies attempt to marry Sir Robert and jealously plot against Jemima. Sally Silke falls walking through a garden that is being watered, and is then chased and overthrown by a bull. There is further gossip about the water closet incident, and she is nicknamed Europa after her run-in with the bull. Mr Hill and Mr Williams dress a figure in men’s clothes and put it under Mrs Mary Frost’s bed.

[39] As discussed in the Introduction, Walter Scott refers to the ‘amusing incident in the water closet’ when he disparages Layton in his letters.

Sir Robert decides to return to Hulne Abbey, and Isabella experiences a sinking of spirits. Isabella and Lord Cardross marry. Mrs Mortimer de Montalt dies in childbirth, and Mortimer can see the superiority of Isabella, the one he loved, to the one possessed.

Lord de Courcy and Jemima de Grey marry. Sir Robert dies. Lord Nawark Cardross, Isabella's son, falls in love with Lady Jemima Fitz-Lacy, Jemima's daughter, and they eventually marry.

Sally Silke dies at a gambling table, Molly Frost dies of a bad cold, and Lydia Crabtree falls and strikes her head on a fender while arguing against a 'lovely portrait' of her youngest sister.

Raymond de Percy by Margaret Harvey (1822)

Raymond de Percy is a play based on Margaret Harvey's epic poem, *The Lay of the Minstrel's Daughter* (1814). Both the play and poem are set in Alnwick Castle in the sixteenth century.[40] As the poem follows broadly the same plot, a synopsis of the poem has not been included. The play was performed in Sunderland in 1822.

The first act of the play opens on the Earl of Northumberland greeting Sir Conrade, who has taken residence at the nearby Marble Hall. Northumberland warns that 'wicked spirits hold their revels there', but Conrade dismisses this as 'mere delusions of a sickly brain'.

Northumberland welcomes his son, Raymond de Percy, to Alnwick Castle. Gwynilda is Raymond's fiancée, and Raymond promises that they marry the following day. Raymond declares that Conrade is a villain, and when questioned by his father promises to explain his agitation at Conrade's presence when he is calmer.

The Earl of Angus's heir, Hubert de Umfranville, is expected at the castle, as he is a close friend of Raymond. Hubert pines for Bertha, his kinswoman and affianced bride, but the earl forbids the claim and will disown Hubert if he persists. Bertha is imprisoned at Castle Angus.

Raymond is overtaken with a 'sudden stupor' and faints. Servants gossip that he may have been poisoned. Unbeknownst to Northumberland, Conrade has ordered his vassal Kenrick to poison Raymond. Raymond is believed to be dead.

Duncan, Northumberland's harper, aids Bertha in her escape from Castle Angus.

[40] Walter Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* was published in 1805. Both poems have six cantos and both are set in the sixteenth century.

Conrade happens upon Gwynilda, who is in mourning at Raymond's tomb, and declares his intent to 'seize' her, but a voice from the tomb calls him a 'villain'. Conrade is bound in a stupor, and Gwynilda flees.

Bertha enters Gwynilda's apartment in 'Boy's Clothes', and tells Bertha tells Gwynilda that Hubert is journeying to Palestine. Northumberland promises Bertha his protection.

Conrade visits the tomb again and strikes it with his sword, calling forth the 'tenant of the tomb'. The spectre rises, clad in black armour, and drives Conrade away.

Motley, Northumberland's fool, claims to have seen the 'little Scotch macaroni' that arrived today 'unrobing' in Gwynilda's room. Ursula, the governante at Alnwick Castle, tells him that the 'man he saw' was a woman, although she does not reveal Bertha's identity.

The spectre enters Conrade's Marble Hall and summons a band of fiends, who carry Kenrick away, descending through the floor. Conrade faints.

The Earl of Northumberland hosts a tilt and tournament on Alnwick's green. Umfranville, now the Earl of Angus, will display his skill in arms and shortly means to wed Lady Bertha. He conquers in the lists Philip de Valence, Pembroke's Earl, the same that betrayed his betrothal to his father. The mysterious Lord Ravenna arrives to take part in the tournament.

Kenrick enters Conrade's castle disguised as the hermit Anselmo. Conrade confesses that he repaid Northumberland's 'gentle usage and fair courtesy' by 'stealing a treasure when beneath his roof'. He describes Kenrick as his friend and regrets that his actions led to Kenrick's 'doom'. He tells Kenrick (disguised as Anselmo) that he is dying and implores him to tell 'noble Percy' that he who 'blighted the promise of his noble line, in the dark, dread arrears, gave life for life'.

Motley, Northumberland's fool, is revealed to have been the spectre that carried off Kenrick. One of the banditti (whose midnight revels were disturbed by Sir Conrade being in the castle) carried him down into the vaults beneath the Marble Hall.

A knight advances from the crowd at the tilts to challenge Hubert de Umfranville. He is wounded and falls. Anselmo removes the helmet of the knight and reveals the knight to be Conrade. He throws off his cowl and reveals himself as Kenrick. He reveals that Conrade is truly penitent. Kenrick reveals that he saved Lord Raymond but by sacred bond held that he should 'never divulge the horrid secret, till twice twelve moons had pass'd o'er Alnwick's towers'. Gwynilda faints, and Lord Ravenna removes his helmet, revealing himself to be Lord Raymond. He has Kenrick carry Conrade away to tend to him, and Raymond and Gwynilda resolve to marry.

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